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**RACE AND GENDER EFFECTS ON ATTITUDES
TOWARD FRIENDSHIP NORM VIOLATIONS**

A Thesis in

Sociology

by

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ABSTRACT

Several basic social norms, widely shared across cultures, govern friendships. Yet endorsement of friendship norms is likely to differ depending on the particular gender and racial composition of a pair of friends. Previous research finds, for example, that men tend to be less disapproving of rule-breaking than women, especially when it involves their male friends. However, there is a lack of literature that investigates variations in reactions by race. As such, I examine the degree to which race, as well as gender, influence assessments of friendship behavior using a sample from a survey of workers on the Amazon Mechanical Turk platform. Participants (N=387) evaluate violations of friendship norms described in vignettes in which the friend's gender and race (white or African American) are experimentally manipulated. Vignettes described scenarios in which a friend challenged friendship norms (e.g., disclosed a secret, cancelled plans). I address two questions; first what differences exist in the approval levels of norm violations? Second, do these approval levels differ by the race and gender of the friend and participant? I hypothesize that women will disapprove more than men of a friend who violates norms of emotional closeness and trust. I also hypothesize that African Americans will receive more disapproval in norm violations in comparison to whites. In addition, I test whether individuals are more forgiving of rule-breaking on the part of a friend of the same, rather than a different, gender or race category. Finally, in a test of contact theory, I examine the degree to which previous experience with interracial friendships moderates disapproval in the face of violations of friendship norms by members of a different race. Findings suggest that reactions to misbehaviors differ based on the gender and race of the people within the relationship. Furthermore, cross-gender and cross-race friendships are experienced differently for individuals of a majority versus a minority race.

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INTRODUCTION

Friendships represent crucial ties for individuals, in part, because these relationships provide a range of positive benefits. Friendships not only shape and improve cognitive and social skills (Hartup 1996), but also promote prosocial behavior (Allen et al. 2005; Moody et al. 2011), lead to positive outcomes on mental health (Ueno 2005) and academic performance (Vaquera & Kao 2008), and provide support throughout life transitions (Waldrip, Malcolm, & Jensen-Campbell 2008). Furthermore, friendships bring happiness and can be a resource for joy (Argyle & Crossland 1987; Larson & Bradney 1988), while also providing stability for intimate relationships (Felmlee, 2001; Parks & Floyd 1996) and support against stress and pressure (Giordano 2003). Yet, friendships can be fleeting (Faris and Felmlee, 2018) and challenging, especially those that attempt to cross the boundaries of race and gender, although these types of friendships remain understudied.

The maintenance and continuation of friendships depends on adherence to formal and informal rules, or social norms, that despite being widely shared, vary from individual to individual and across socially coherent groups and cultural contexts (Argyle and Henderson 1984; Brewer 1999). In part because of cultural, group mismatches, and misunderstandings, a friend's behavior may deviate from tacit friendship rules or norms in some situations. Such violations may threaten the bond between friends.

Although cross-gender friendships and the associated varying social norms have been studied (e.g. Felmlee and Sweet-Sinclair 2012; Felmlee and Muraco 2009; Galupo et al. 2012), there is limited research regarding friendship norms within interracial friendships. Understanding the reactions to social norm violations in cross-race friendships is of particular interest since there may be differences in expectations in these friendships, and such differences may vary based on

the characteristics of the individual. Due to racial stereotypes, for instance, there may be discrepancies in how individuals perceive the behaviors of others of a different racial group other than their own. In addition to cross-race friendships, friendships that cross gender boundaries may also face challenges (Felmlee, Sweet & Sinclair 2012; Felmlee and Muraco 2009; Galupo et al. 2012). Therefore, it is important to consider both the gender and race of the individuals within a relationship through an intersectional perspective. In doing so, researchers will be able to better understand the reactions toward friendship rule violations and can help to better understand variation and conflicts within cross-race and cross-gender friendships. Given the salience of friendship in our society, and at the same time, the potential for misunderstandings across racial and gender boundaries, this topic is an essential one for further investigation.

Building on previous research, this study adds to the literature on friendships and norm violations by first, considering race, and second, examining gender and race together from an intersectional perspective. Specially, this work studies the extent to which race and gender shape reactions to non-normative friendship behaviors. I examine how individuals react to friendship norm violations based on the gender and race of the friend. Towards this end, I use a vignette experiment approach to examine differences within same-race and interracial friendships. I expect that both gender and race will affect the assessment of friendship norms in the vignettes.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Theoretical Background

This research draws from four major theories for its foundations: (i) expectation state theory, (ii) theories of homophily, (iii) intergroup contact theory, and (iv) intersectionality theory.

Here, each theory is discussed in the context of friendships norms and perceptions of norm violations in cross-gender and cross-race friendships.

Expectation Status

According to expectation state theory, individual characteristics, such as race and gender, affect the status of an individual. Each characteristic (e.g. gender, race) has its own set of stereotypes that influence others' expectations of a person with that characteristic. Research on the ways in which individuals perceive one another and make social judgments (Mollering 2001; Ridgeway 2001) emphasizes that behavior is dependent upon preconceived expectations that are built from both experience and stereotypes. For example, women are generally perceived as more emotional and more nurturing than their male counterparts in friendships (Glick & Fiske 2001). So, a friend might be surprised when a woman responds unemotionally and is perceived as non-nurturing. These characteristics and stereotypes are influenced by cultural beliefs, which consequently affect status (Ridgeway 1991). The allocation of status based on preconceived experiences is fundamental to the cycle of inequality within the societal gender system (Ridgeway 2011).

Because expectation state theory contends that preconceptions affect behavior, friendship dynamics are likely to be influenced by status-based expectations. More specifically, friendships between genders and races are apt to be affected by preconceived expectations and prior experiences, that are often shaped by unequal status on the basis of gender and race.

Homophily

While expectation theory argues that preconceived expectations dictate status and interpersonal interactions, the theoretical concept of homophily concerns social patterns that exist within societies with varying statuses and expectations. Homophily refers to the tendency of individuals forming groups with those who share similar features and expectations. In other words, individuals affiliate with others who are similar to themselves. More precisely, homophily is defined as “the principle that a contact between similar people occurs at a higher rate than among dissimilar people.” (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook 2001: p. 416), and it influences friendships and peer groups. Friendships that are not homophilous such as cross-gender and cross-race relationships, on the other hand, are more stressful than those within the same race or gender (Galupo 2009; Ueno 2005). Therefore, friends are more likely than non-friends to share similar characteristics.

Two different processes that contribute to homophily within friendships are socialization and selection. Socialization, or peer influence, refers to “the tendency for friends to influence similar attributes in each other over time”, whereas selection “refers to the tendency for individuals to choose friends with similar attributes” (Ryan 2001: p. 1136). Peer influence can manifest itself directly and indirectly within both relationships and group dynamics. Selection may result in similarities of characteristics within adolescent peer groups, since adolescents may choose friends who are more similar to themselves (Epstein 1983; Hartup 1993).

The pattern of homophily, thus, suggests that more friendships will be formed within a race and/or gender category than between races or genders. Furthermore, over time, friendships are likely to become more homogenous, thereby reinforcing preconceptions towards one’s own demographic group (Aboud, Mendelson, & Purdy 2003). In other words, I expect that due to

homophily, individuals will approve more of friends of the same gender and/or race when they violate a friendship norm.

Intergroup Contact Theory

Though patterns of homophily exist, individuals also develop friendships with others who do not have the same background; these relationships can be defined as cross-group relationships. According to contact theory, increased contact in cross-group friendships reduces prejudice between groups (Binder et al. 2009; Pettigrew & Tropp 2006) and can also attenuate prejudice toward out-group members (Allport 1954). As contact theory suggests, accepting positive views of interracial relationships and inclusivity has a beneficial effect in developing interracial friendships. For instance, Page-Gould, Mendoza-Denton and Tropp (2008) find that individuals who have cross-race friendships have lower anxiety about potential intergroup contact. Furthermore, as individuals spend more time with people of different racial backgrounds than their own, and, engage in self-disclosure, larger cross-group effects become evident (Pettigrew & Tropp 2006; Pettigrew 1998).

Though contact theory could be applied to many demographic differences (e.g., socioeconomic status, race, gender, sexuality), the present study will focus on race and gender. In this context, I expect that the greater the number of cross-race friends one has, the less critical they will be of norm violations that cross racial boundaries.

Intersectionality Theory

In addition, forms of oppression related to race, class, gender and sexuality are interconnected and affect one another. This argument is the basis of intersectionality theory (Collins 2000; Zinn & Dill 1996). From an intersectionality perspective, examining race and

gender identities separately is insufficient for developing an understanding of their influence on oppression and social inequality. For the purposes of this study, therefore, I consider the intersection of race and gender.

Gender and Friendship

Gender plays an important role in interpersonal relationships by affecting self-definition and expectations. In particular, esteem-related motivations and behaviors vary by gender. For example, men define themselves using more independent self-definitions that do not rely upon others, whereas women define themselves using more dependent self-definitions (Cross & Madson 1997). How individuals define themselves influences how they interact with others, which in turn influences their expectations within interactions and relationships. For example, women have higher expectations than their counterparts in relation to intimacy, mutual activities and communication, whereas men have higher expectations for status and wealth in their friendships (Hall 2011).

Prior research finds that reactions to friendship norm violations differ by the gender of the individuals within a friendship (Felmlee & Muraco 2009; Felmlee, Sweet & Sinclair 2012). In examining same-gender and cross-gender friendship violations, Felmlee, Sweet & Sinclair (2012) found that women were harsher towards other women who did not retain confidential information; men, on the other hand, often were less harsh in their reactions toward friendship violations on the part of other men.

While the literature on friendship norms shows that gender plays an important role in perceptions, there is little research on the effect of confounding factors such as race. This research hopes to contribute to the gap in the current literature related to friendships by examining gender and race in friendships from a joint intersectional perspective.

Race and Friendship

Studies examining race and friendships primarily focus on the social integration and the social organization of interracial friendships. For example, patterns of racial interaction can be found at young ages such as adolescence, when adolescents are more likely to be close friends with individuals who are the same race/ethnicity as themselves (Kao & Joyner 2004). When friend groups are more homogenized, this tends to reflect segregation within the social setting (Mouw & Entwistle 2006).

Patterns of segregation are prevalent within the United States and influence friendships based on race. As Allport notes in his book *The Nature of Prejudice*, “Segregation is a form of discrimination that sets up spatial boundaries of some sort to accentuate the disadvantage of members of an out-group.” (Allport 1954: 53). In other words, segregation creates boundaries and hierarchies that further emphasize the subordinate status of the out-group, or in this case, the minority racial group. Moreover, this phenomenon occurs when society denies equal treatment to individuals or groups of people (Allport 1954: 51).

Several studies examine the role of friends from different backgrounds and how these relationships affect other cross-group interactions outside of their existing friendships. For example, the number of cross-group friendships that an individual has can influence how they interact with others. Most often, individuals do not have many cross-group friendships in comparison to same-group friendships (Carlson, Wilson, & Hargrave 2003; Turner & Cameron 2016). A lack of cross-group friendships can lead to increased in-group bias, preference, and intergroup anxiety, and it can also result in fewer out-group friendships developing (Levin, van Laar & Sanius 2003). These factors may in turn lead to interracial friendships declining with age (Aboud, Mendelson, & Purdy 2003; Cooley, Elenbaas & Killen 2016).

There exist two factors that can potentially reduce the possibility of cross-group friendships. The first is the fear of being a target of prejudice or appearing prejudiced (Devine & Vasquez, 1998; Plant 2004; Stephan & Stephan 1985), and the second focuses on the fear of miscommunication and misunderstandings between individuals of different groups (Vorauer & Sakamoto 2006), which may make individuals more hesitant to engage in cross-group friendships. In particular, individuals of minority backgrounds feel less understood in cross-race interactions than in same-race interactions (Mallett, Akimoto, & Oishi 2016).

It is important, however, to note that cross-race interactions can be a predictor of favorable out-group attitudes (Carlson, Wilson & Hargrave 2003). For example, in a study by Gomez and Fernandez (2011), extended contact was found to be a predictor of positive intergroup attitudes and expectancies within Spanish and immigrant participants. Furthermore, Page-Gould, Mendoza-Denton and Tropp (2008) found that participants who developed cross-group friendships had lower anxiety in relation to intergroup contact settings. Participants who interacted with a partner of a different race, and had prior contact experience with those of a different race, typically had lower stress reactions over the course of friendship meetings than those with little prior contact experience. Overall, interactions within cross-group relationships may lower potential friendship segregation and discrimination in cross-race relationships.

Two of the largest racial/ethnic groups in the United States-- blacks and whites-- provide an example of reduced levels of cross-race interaction. In general, both blacks and whites typically have less contact and interactions with each other as social equals, although having more contact and interaction would decrease potential hostility and anxiety within interactions and relationships (Jackman & Crane 1986). A study by Fischer (2008) predicted higher levels of friendship diversity for minority students than for white students; however, the higher levels diminished within highly diverse schools. Furthermore, blacks are more likely than whites to

report having interracial friends (Sigelman & Welch 2008; Hughes, Way, & Rivas-Drake 2011; Stearns, Buchmann and Bonneau 2009).

Scholars interested in understanding outgroup and same-group interactions also note the marginality and isolation minority groups tend to experience. For example, minorities may feel pressure to have more friendships within minority groups rather than majority groups due to marginality and isolation (Mehra, Kilduff & Brass 1998). Additionally, blacks are also more likely to perceive black-white relations as problematic, since blacks more often perceive racial hostility than whites (Sigelman & Welch 1993; Hurtado 1992 Sedlacek 1987) and report more negative experiences (Ancis, Sedlacek & Mohr 2000). Furthermore, blacks form their own support network due to feelings of exclusion, and whites typically have more racially homogenous networks compared to other racial/ethnic groups (McPherson et al. 2001).

The formation of friendships between within-group and cross-group individual is also influenced by the specific race of the out-group individual. For example, black students and white students are more likely to become friends with Hispanic students in comparison to other racial groups (Quillian & Campbell 2003). Whites are less likely to have interracial friendships with blacks compared to other groups (Berry 2006). Additionally, cross-race friendships with Asians and Hispanics are more common than those between white and black students (Kao & Vaquera 2006; Quillian & Campbell 2003).

Though gender differences and friendship behaviors have been studied, there is still a lack of literature on perceptions of norms and norm violations within interracial friendships. The goal of this research, therefore, is to examine the differences in how individuals perceive violations within friendships, and how their perspectives differ based on both the gender and race of the individuals. Additionally, the current research investigates how individuals react to friendship norm violations based both on their own race, and that of their friend's. Findings may reveal patterns of race and gender biases in friendship perceptions. Exploring reactions to

violations of friendship norms and how they vary by the gender and race of the individuals within the relationship is therefore a novel contribution to the literature on friendships and on gender and racial inequality.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

This thesis seeks to answer three research questions:

RQ1: What differences exist in the approval levels of norm violations?

RQ2: What are the differences in approval levels by the race and gender of the friend?

RQ3: Does having friends of a different race change how you react to a friend violating a friendship norm?

I hypothesize (H1) that women will disapprove more of a friend who violates norms of emotional closeness and trust than men. Additionally, I hypothesize (H2) that African American friends will receive more disapproval in norm violations in comparison to whites. Lastly, I test (H3) whether individuals are more forgiving of rule-breaking on the part of a friend of the same race and gender, rather than a friend of a different race and gender.

DATA AND METHODS

Sample

This study uses data collected from an online sample of individuals within the United States on Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk) during the spring of 2017. This sample contains a racially diverse group of participants, consisting of white, African American, Asian, and Latinx (see Table 1).

The study had a sample size of 387 participants. In the final sample, approximately 79.3% are white, and 20.7% of the participants are a racial/ethnic minority (see Table 1). The average age within the sample is 36 years old and the median age is 32. The youngest participants were 18 years old and the oldest in the sample was 72 years old. The largest racial/ethnic category, aside from white, was Asian (8.2%), and the sample consists of slightly more women (57.4%) than men. In addition, the study's sample has a higher percentage of individuals within the lower middle-class/middle-class socioeconomic status (with approximately 85% of the sample's household income under \$100,000). Approximately 36.7% obtained a bachelor's degree, and the second highest percentage of individuals, 26.6%, received some college education (see Table 1).

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics: Demographics of sample

Variable	N	%	Mean
Gender			
Male	165	42.6	
Female	222	57.4	
Race			
Asian/Pacific Islander	34	8.24	
Black/African American	28	7.24	
Latinx	16	4.13	
Native American	1	0.26	
White	307	79.33	
Other	1	0.26	
Age (years)	387		36
SES			
\$0-\$9,999	15	3.88	
\$10,000-\$24,999	55	14.21	
\$25,000-\$49,999	117	30.23	
\$50,000-\$74,999	87	22.48	
\$75,000-\$99,999	57	14.21	
\$100,000-\$124,999	28	7.24	
\$125,000-\$149,999	9	2.33	
\$150,000-\$174,999	7	1.81	
\$175,000-\$199,999	3	0.77	
\$200,000 +	3	0.77	
Prefer not to answer	6	1.55	
Highest Degree of Education			
High School Degree =<	30	7.75	
Some College	103	26.61	
Associate / 2-year degree	51	13.18	
Bachelor's degree	142	36.69	
Some Graduate School	14	3.61	
Post Graduate Degree	47	12.14	
Number of friends of different race			
1-2 friends	109	28.2	
3-4 friends	105	27.1	
5-6 friends	41	10.6	
7+ friends	106	27.4	
None	26	6.7	

Measures

The dependent variable in this study is the appropriateness rating of the friend's behavior in each friendship norm violation scenario, which each participant was asked to rate after reading an experimentally manipulated vignette that embedded friend's race and gender as experimental conditions. The appropriateness level is based on a Likert scale rating (from a scale of 1 = extremely appropriate to 7 = extremely inappropriate). After rating the behavior of the friend, participants are asked to explain their reasoning for why they think the behavior was either appropriate or inappropriate via an open-ended format. The independent variables in this study are the gender and race of the friend and participant, which are coded as dichotomous variables, with gender entered as (Female = 1, Male = 0), and for the race of the participant, the variable is coded as dichotomous, (White = 1, Minority = 0). The variable for the race of the participant was treated as dichotomous because the percentage of individuals from any particular minority race/ethnicity within the study was too small to differentiate among various minority race categories. The number of friends of a different race also is included as a covariate. The survey question asked "How many friends of a different race than yours do you have?" and responses were coded as a categorical variable, with no friends = 0, one to two friends = 1, three to five friends = 2, six to ten friends = 3, and ten or more friends = 4.

Study Design

The study design consists of a vignette experiment. Using a vignette approach to collect data is useful, because it allows the creation of realistic scenarios that may occur in society, therefore, reducing potential respondent biases. Each vignette used is based on widely held friendship rules that Argyle and Henderson (1984) examined and in which they found that the

breakdown and dissolution of friendships are related to violations of a number of endorsed friendship rules. Argyle and Henderson (1984) studied friendships across four different cultural samples (i.e., British, Italian, Hong Kong, and Japanese). The findings from Argyle and Henderson are crucial, because they show that these friendship rules are found within several cultures, are broadly held, and influence the maintenance and conditioning of interpersonal relationships (see Figure 1).

To manipulate the race and gender of the friend within each vignette scenario, I chose names that could implicitly reveal both of these characteristics. Names also were chosen that were similar in socioeconomic status, such that variations by SES would be minimized (Gaddis 2017). Additionally, I manipulate gender through the name and pronouns within the scenarios. The study uses names that indicate race (using two different racial groups; African American and white). Based on previous research by Gaddis (2017) regarding the role of race in name perceptions, this study uses 8 different names for each race and gender combination. For African Americans friends, I use the names Jamal, Tyrone, Ebony, and Tanisha. For White friends, I included the names Jake, Todd, Megan, and Emily.

For the survey, participants are presented with a friend (of a randomized gender and race) for each of the 13 vignette scenarios (see Figure 1), in which the friend violates a friendship norm. Following each ordered vignette, participants are asked to rate their approval of the friend's behavior on a Likert scale of 1-7, from extremely appropriate to extremely inappropriate. They are then asked why they had that response to the violation in an open-ended format.

For this study, I focus on six of the thirteen scenarios (not standing up when someone speaks critically, disclosing a secret, canceling plans for a hot date, cheating on a significant other, pushing during an argument, and remaining on the phone while spending time together). Seven scenarios are not discussed here, because of a lack of significant findings or due to missing data. Five scenarios failed to document significant findings (receiving an unexpected gift, coming

over unannounced, not socializing with friends, eating off a friend's plate without asking, kissing on the cheek, not confiding in a friend). The last scenario (borrowing \$50 and never repaying them back) was eliminated due to incomplete data. However, it is important to note that in a separate analysis, which included both the six scenarios noted along with this last scenario, borrowing \$50 and not repaying it, the last scenario had significant findings (see Table 9).

Prior to the final analysis, six previous analyses were completed. The first consisted of all 13 scenarios and the total sample, the second included all 13 scenarios with only a white sample, the third included 6 scenarios with the total sample, the fourth included 6 scenarios with only a white sample, the fifth included 7 scenarios (including the borrowing money scenario) with the total sample, and the last analysis included 7 scenarios with the white sample. In all analyses with only a white sample, there were little to no significant results.

To test the hypotheses, I utilize a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) to determine if the participant's approval of the norm violations is altered by the manipulation of the gender and race of the friend. To do so, this study uses a factorial MANOVA to compare the main effects of the participant's gender and race, the friend's race and gender, and the interaction between these independent variables on the appropriateness rating toward a friendship norm violation. Therefore, I use a 2 (Participant Gender: M v. F) x 2 (Friend Gender: M v. F) x 2 (Participant Race: Minority v. White) x 2 (Friend Race: African American v. White) x 13 (Norm violated) mixed factorial design.

I use measures of MANOVA with the inappropriateness rating for each of the norm violations to examine whether certain friendship norm violations are more acceptable than others. The analysis is broken into two sections. First, I consider the MANOVA results, and second, I describe the univariate analyses and the content of the open-ended responses.

Scenario 1 (Cancel plans for a “hot date”): “Suppose that you have plans to go to a movie with your friend, [name], next Saturday. On Friday, [name] calls you and says that (p/n) has a hot date and (p/n) has to cancel plans with you.”
 Friendship Rule: Should be faithful to one another.

Scenario 2 (Disclose secret): “You told your friend, [name], something in confidence that was very important to you. Later, you found out that (p/n) told someone else this secret.”
 Friendship Rule: Should not discuss that which is said in confidence with the other person.

Scenario 3 (Speaking critically): “Last weekend some of your acquaintances got together for dinner, and you were unable to attend. Later you heard that someone said something very critical about you at the gathering. Your friend, [name], did not stand up for you.”
 Friendship Rule: Should stand up for the other person in their absence.

Scenario 4 (Cheating): “Your friend, [name], has been in a relationship for a year. You see (p/n) kissing someone who is not their partner.”
 Friendship Rule: Should be faithful to one another.

Scenario 5 (Pushing during argument): “Your friend, [name], and you have an argument. During the argument (p/n) pushes you.”
 Friendship Rule: Should not intentionally touch the other person/respect

Scenario 6 (Phone): “You and your friend, [name], are hanging out together. (p/n) is on their phone the whole time you are together.”
 Friendship Rule: Should strive to make the other happy while in their company

Figure 1: Focal vignette scenarios

RESULTS

Multivariate Analysis

I examine whether perceptions of norm violations differ by the gender and race of the perceiver and the gender and race of the hypothetical friend using a four-factorial (participant's gender and race x friend's gender and race) multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) which includes each of the appropriateness ratings of the vignettes as the dependent variables.

Additionally, I control for the variable "number of friends of a different race" as a covariate.

Utilizing this method of analysis allows me to examine both the main effect of the difference in how individuals judge norm violations based on their own gender and race, as well as how they will rate misbehaviors by friends based on the friends' gender and race. Furthermore, the interactions between both the participant's gender and race and the friend's gender and race allow me to examine same-gender/race versus cross-gender/race friendship differences and the intersection between cross-gender and cross-race friendships. At the multivariate level, appropriateness ratings varied by the main effects of the participant's gender, $F(6, 310)=5.909$, $p<0.001$, and the friend's gender, $F(6, 310)=2.399$, $p=0.028$. Additionally, the interactions between the participant's race and the friend's gender was statistically significant at the 0.05 significance level, $F(6, 310)=2.64$, $p=0.016$, and the interaction between friend's race and gender was also significant, $F(6, 310)=1.29$, $p=0.008$. The covariate representing the number of friends of different race, was insignificant, $F(6, 310)=1.969$, $p=0.070$ (see Table 2).

Table 2: Multivariate tests for MANCOVA Analysis with covariates number of friends of different race

	Value	F	Df1	Df2	p
Participant Race	0.01247 0.988 0.01263 0.01263	0.652	6	310	0.688
Participant Gender	0.10262 0.897 0.11436 0.11436	5.909	6	310	< 0.001***
Friend Race	0.03385 0.966 0.03503 0.03503	1.810	6	310	0.097
Friend Gender	0.04438 0.956 0.03530 0.03530	2.399	6	310	0.028 *
Participant Race*Participant Gender	0.03410 0.966 0.0353 0.0353	1.8244	6	310	0.094
Participant Race*Friend Race	0.01818 0.982 0.01852 0.01852	0.957	6	310	0.455
Participant Gender*Friend Race	0.00471 0.995 0.00473 0.00473	0.245	6	310	0.961
Participant Race*Friend Gender	0.04862 0.951 0.05111 0.05111	2.64	6	310	0.016 *
Participant Gender*Friend Gender	0.02541 0.975 0.02607 0.02607	1.347	6	310	0.236
Friend Race*Friend Gender	0.02444 0.976 0.02505 0.02505	1.294	6	310	0.008 *

Participant Race*Participant gender*Friend Race	0.05449 0.946 0.05763 0.05763	2.977	6	310	0.088
Participant Race*Participant Gender*Friend Gender	0.02930 0.971 0.03019 0.03019	1.560	6	310	0.158
Participant Race*Friend Race*Friend Gender	0.00560 0.994 0.00563 0.00563	0.291	6	310	0.863
Participant Gender*Friend Race*Friend Gender	0.00812 0.992 0.00819 0.00819	0.423	6	310	0.863
Participant race*Participant Gender*Friend Race*Friend Gender	0.01080 0.989 0.01092 0.01092	0.564	6	310	.759
Friends Different Race (Cov)	0.06529 0.936 0.06707 0.03774	0.866 0.864 0.862 1.969	24 24 24 6	1252 1083 1234 313	0.651 0.6544 0.656 0.070

Note: The Value order is respectively Pillai Test, Wilks Lambda, Hotelling's Trace, Roy's Largest Root.

Univariate Analyses

The univariate analyses (see Tables 3-8) show that participants differed in how acceptable it was for friends to break norms within five of the six scenarios.

Cancels plans for a “hot date”

In the scenario in which a friend cancels plans for a “hot date”, the three-way interaction between participant’s race and gender and the friend’s race was significant, $F(6, 310)=7.67$, $p=0.006$ (Table 3). In Figure 2, the relationship between participant’s gender and race and the friend’s race is split into two graphs (male and female participant). The results reveal that white male participants were harsher in their response to black friends who cancelled plans in comparison to white friends, and furthermore minority male participants were the least harsh towards white friends when they canceled plans for a “hot date”. Additionally, white female participants disapproved more of a black friend who canceled plans for a “hot date” in comparison to a white friend. For example, one white female participant wrote in the open-ended response when her black friend canceled plans, “I would be hurt because she cancelled plans she made with me beforehand just to go out with some guy.” In contrast, minority women were equally as disapproving of both white and black friends when they canceled plans, suggesting that the race of the friend did not matter for them (Figure 2).

Moreover, the main effect of friend’s gender is significant and the effect remains while considering the three-way interaction, $F(6, 310)=18.36$, $p=0.01$ (Table 3). On average, female friends were disapproved of more when they canceled plans for a hot date in comparison to male friends (Table 12). For instance, one white female participant wrote, “Because Jamal should not blow off his friends for a date”, and a black female participant commented, “I would be somewhat frustrated, as I hate when people change plans at last minute, but at least I wasn't stood

up the day of the movie.” Lastly, the interaction between participant’s race and friend’s gender is significant, $F(6, 310)=5.39, p=0.02$.

Disclosing a secret

Unlike the other five scenarios, there were no significant differences between both genders and races in the univariate analysis of when a friend disclosed a secret (Table 4). In the open-ended responses, participants commented on similar themes, such as “it was told in confidence”, and “trust is crucial in relationships” suggesting that the trust norm was violated.

Not defending friend when spoken critically

The three-way interaction between the participant’s race, gender and the friend’s race is significant within the scenario in which a friend did not defend them when someone spoke critically of them, $F(6, 310)=6.19, p=0.01$ (Table 5). In Figure 3, minority male participants were more punitive of a white friend who did not speak up for them in comparison to a black friend. For female participants, minority female participants were more punitive than white female participants of both white and black friends who did not come to their defense when someone spoke critically of them (Figure 3). For instance, one Hispanic male commented, “I thought that Emily would have my back but I was wrong.”

Cheating on significant other

The three-way interaction between the participant’s race and gender and the friend’s gender also was significant, $F(6, 310)=4.54, p=0.03$ (Table 6). For instance, white male participants disapproved more of a female friend’s behavior than a male friend’s when they were caught cheating on their significant other (Figure 4). Minority female participants, but not minority males, also disapproved more of a female friend who cheated on their significant other in comparison to a male friend. Additionally, the covariate on the number of friends of a different race than the participant’s was marginally insignificant for the scenario when a friend was caught cheating on their significant other, $F(6, 310)=2.34, p=0.06$ (Table 6). In other words, the higher

number of friends of different race, the less disapproval the participant would have toward the norm violation.

Within the open-ended responses in this vignette, participants made comments about the friend's dishonesty and infidelity. For instance, one Hispanic female participant commented on her black female friend, "I don't respect those that cheat" and one black female participant commented also, "She's cheating on her significant other. That is dishonest behavior. She is sneaky." Similarly, white participants felt the same way, responding with similar reactions. For instance, a white female wrote, "never ever cheat if you are with someone in a relationship then you should never cheat with anyone else. break up with them first".

Physically pushing during argument

For the scenario when a friend pushes during an argument, the two-way interaction between the participant's race and the participant's gender is significant, $F(6, 310)=4.88$, $p=0.04$ (Table 7). This interaction suggests that male participants were more punitive than female participants when a friend pushed them during an argument. Additionally, contrary to intuition, females were the least critical of when a friend pushed them during an argument (Figure 5). In the open-ended responses, participants' comments were similar for both gender and race, commenting thoughts such as, "He crossed the line when he physically touched me", or "Hurtful physical actions aren't acceptable". These responses suggest that the norm of respect was violated.

The main effect of the participants' gender also is significant, $F(6, 310)=27.02$, $p<0.001$ (Table 7). Male participants disapproved more of a male friend, in comparison to female participants, who pushed them during an argument ($M=4.81$, $SD=2.37$) (Table 10).

Texting on phone

For the scenario when a friend is on his or her phone and texting during a meal, the interaction between the participant's race and gender is significant, $F(6, 310)=5.42$, $p=0.02$. The

interaction between participant's gender and the friend's gender also reaches statistical significance, $F(6, 310)=6.05$, $p=0.01$ (Table 8). Minority male participants disapproved of a friend's behavior more in comparison to female participants (See Figure 6). Both men and women rated friends of the opposite gender as more inappropriate when they were on their phone during time spent together. Men disapproved more of female friends for texting on their phone in comparison to male friends (Figure 7). For instance, one male participant wrote, "She should pay attention to me and be in the moment, I don't appreciate the fact that she's on the phone." Similarly, females also rated male friends more harshly in comparison to female friends (Figure 7).

Differences also exist by the gender and race of the friend, $F(6, 310)=4.27$, $p=0.04$ (Table 8). In Figure 8, white male friends were disapproved of more than white female friends, and additionally, black female friends were disapproved more for being on their phones during a meal than black male friends (Figure 8). For instance, minority women were more critical toward white male friends ($M=5.29$, $SD=2.19$) than black male friends ($M=4.68$, $SD=2.04$) (see Table 11), when the friend was texting during time spent together. Additionally, white men were harsher towards black female friends ($M=5.26$, $SD=2.05$) in comparison to white female friends ($M=4.49$, $SD=2.50$) in the same scenario (Table 11). For example, one white male participant commented on his black friend, "Seems like she's only hanging out with me to make other people jealous or she's trying to make me jealous by being on her phone. Or she is uncomfortable and not saying anything about it".

Borrow Money

In a separate analysis with the six previous scenarios, not shown, the vignette scenario when a friend borrows \$50 from them and does not pay them back was added. Within this scenario, the three-way interaction between participant's gender, friend's race and friend's gender was significant in the univariate analysis, $F(6, 310)=6.19$, $p=0.01$ (Appendix: Table 1). Within the

three-way interaction, female participants disapproved more of black male friends who borrowed money and did not pay them back in comparison to white male friends (Appendix: Figure 9). Additionally, male participants showed more disapproval towards black female friends who borrowed money and did not pay them back in comparison to white female friends (Appendix: Figure 9). Within the open-ended responses, in contrast to the other scenarios, comments highlighted concerns with regard to socio-economic status within the context of the scenario. For example, one participant (a Hispanic man) wrote about when his black male friend borrowed money, “He should pay me back when he gets a chance but he knew I needed the money.” This indicates that there may be a concern regarding the financial savviness of black friends in comparison to white friends.

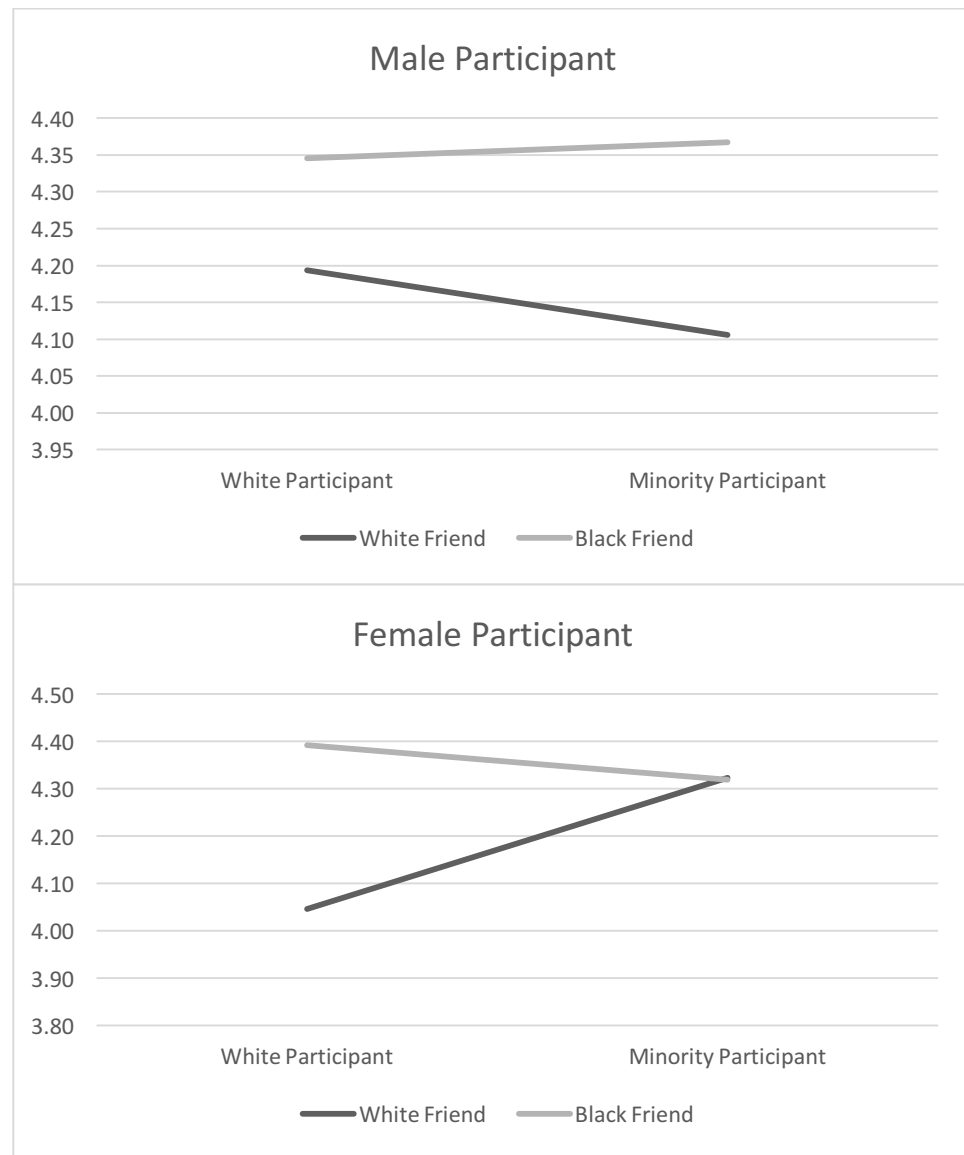


Figure 2: 3-way interaction between Participant Race, Participant Gender and Friend Race for “cancels plans for a “hot date”.

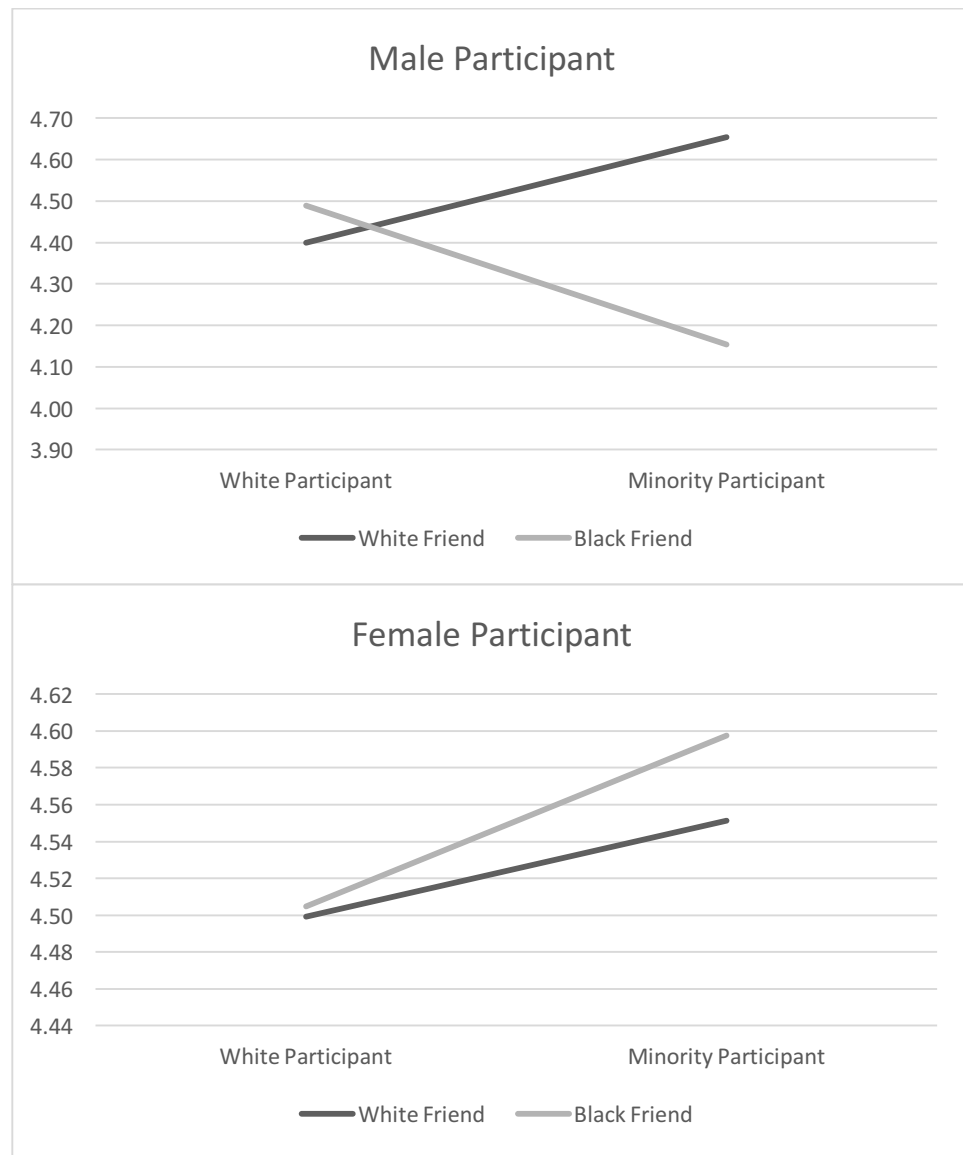


Figure 3: 3-way interaction between Participant Race, Participant Gender, and Friend Race for “not defending friend when spoken critically.”

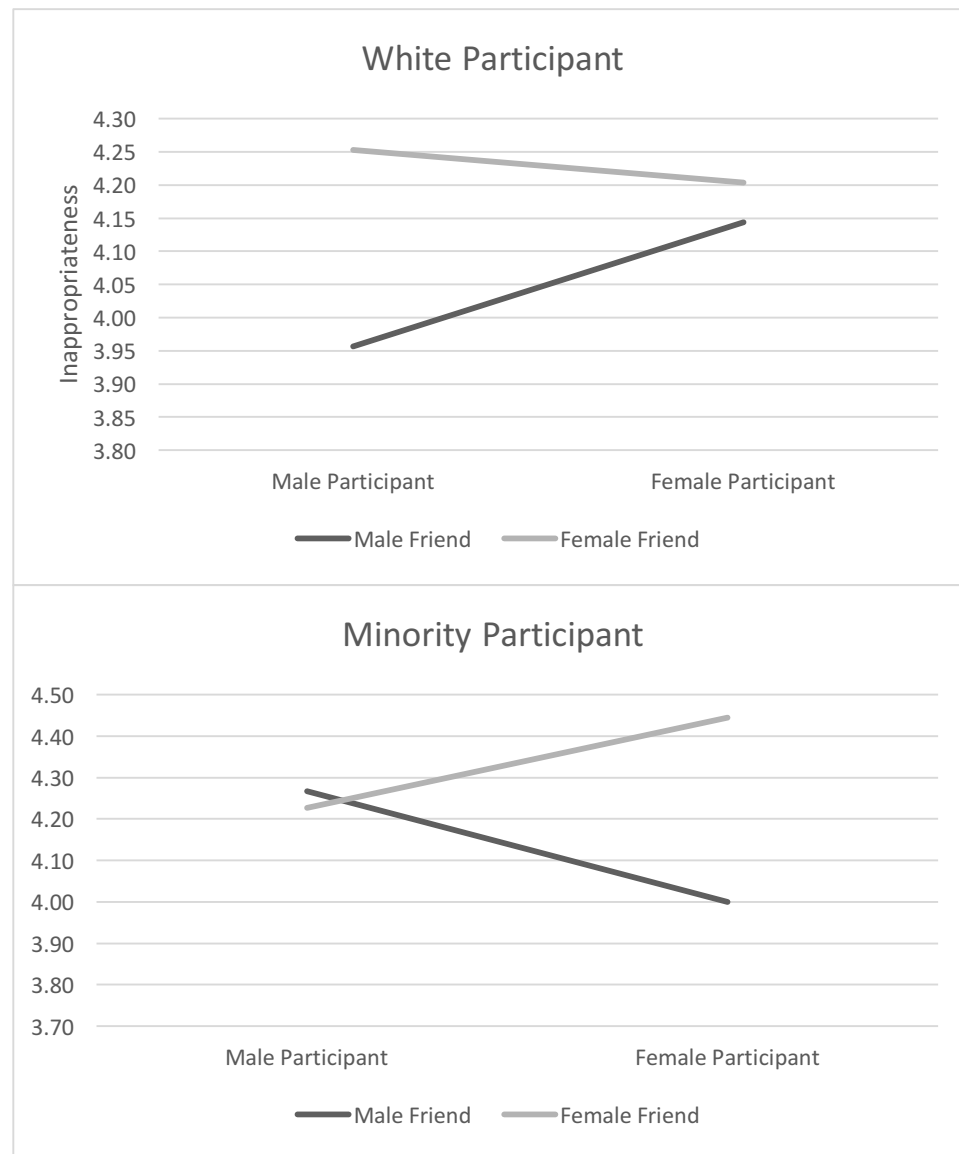


Figure 4: 3-way interaction between Participant Gender, Participant Race, and Friend Gender for “cheating on significant other.”

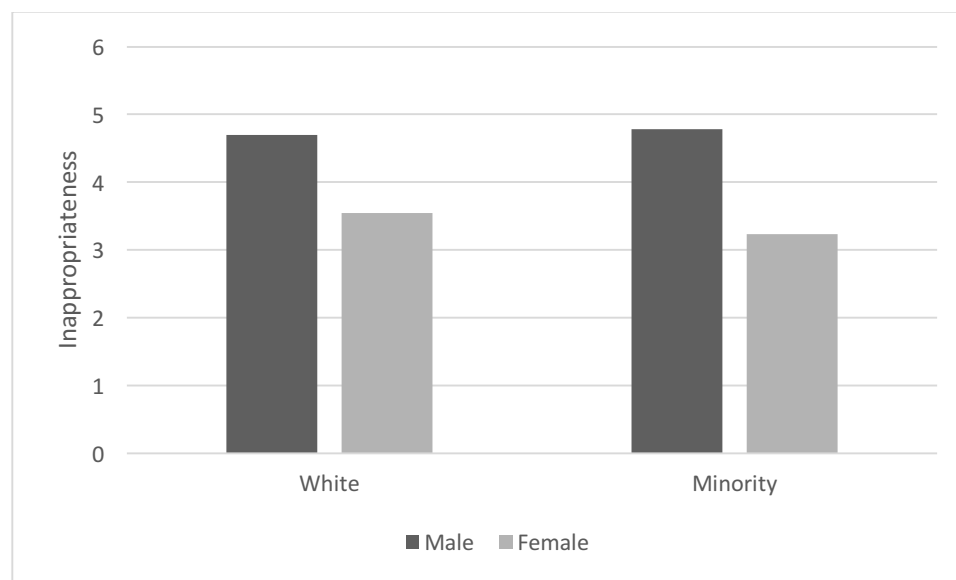


Figure 5: 2-way interaction between Participant Gender and Participant Race for “physically pushing during argument”

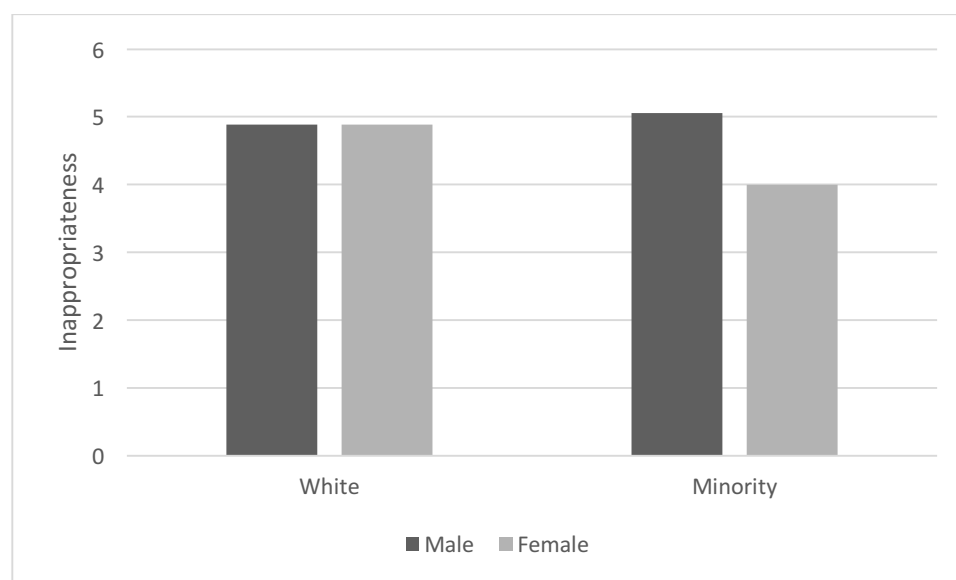


Figure 6: 2-way interaction between Participant Gender and Participant Race for “texting on phone.”

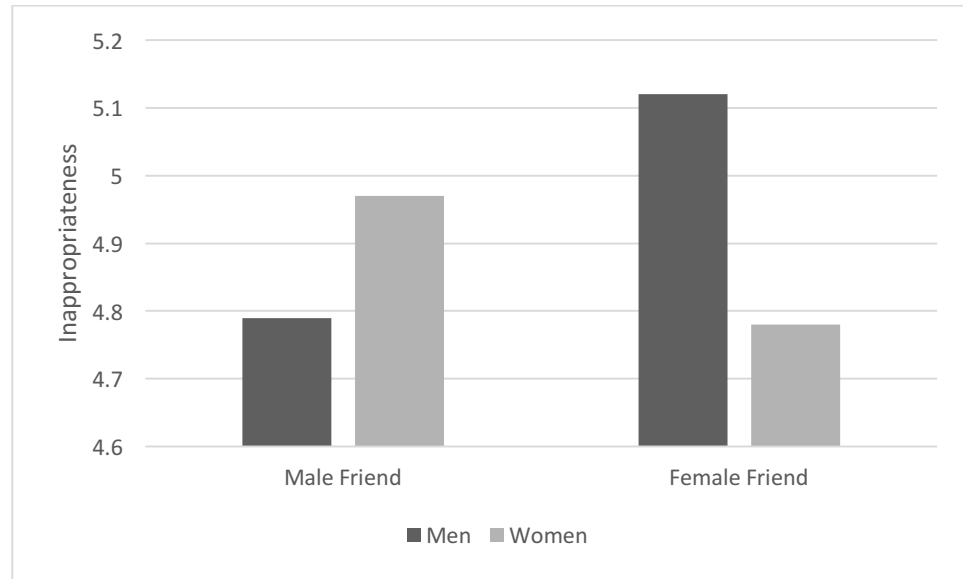


Figure 7: 2-way interaction between Participant Gender and Friend Gender for “texting on phone.”

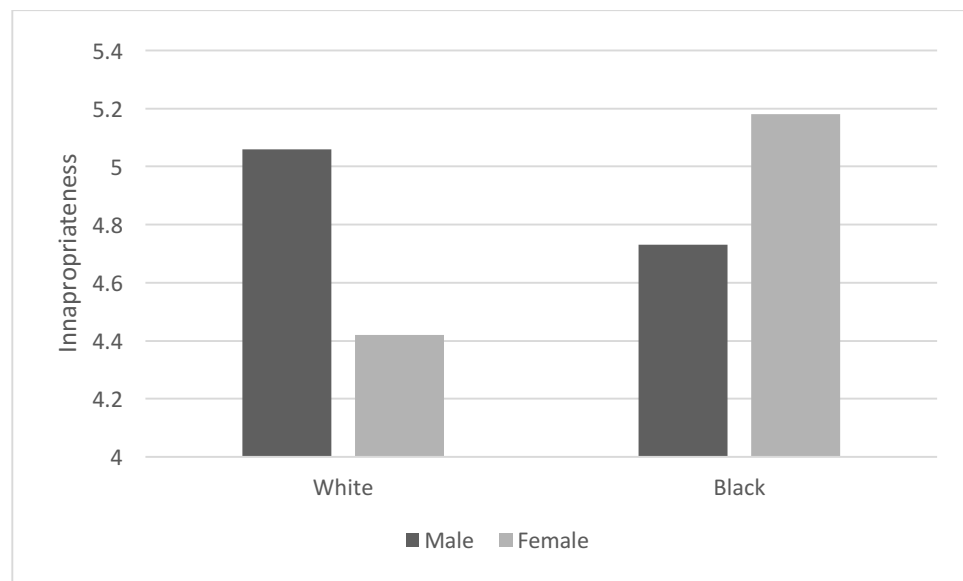


Figure 8: 2-way interaction between Friend Race and Friend Gender for “texting on phone.”

Table 3: Cancel Plans Univariate Analysis.

	Sum sq	Df	Mean Sq	F	Pr(>F)	
RespondentRace	1.99	1	1.99	0.76	0.39	
RespondentGender	0.54	1	0.54	0.21	0.65	
FriendRace	0.67	1	0.67	0.25	0.62	
FriendGender	18.36	1	18.36	7.0	0.01	*
RespondentRace*RespondentGender	4.28	1	4.28	1.63	0.20	
RespondentRace*FriendRace	1.66	1	1.66	0.63	0.43	
RespondentGender*FriendRace	0.62	1	0.62	0.24	0.63	
RespondentRace*FriendGender	14.14	1	14.14	5.39	0.02	*
RespondentGender*FriendGender	0.12	1	0.12	0.05	0.83	
FriendRace*FriendGender	1.48	1	1.48	0.56	0.45	
RespondentRace*RespondentGender*FriendRace	20.13	1	20.13	7.67	0.01	*
RespondentRace*RespondentGender*FriendGender	2.84	1	2.84	1.08	0.30	
RespondentRace*FriendRace*FriendGender	0.06	1	0.06	0.02	0.89	
RespondentGender*FriendRace*FriendGender	0.20	1	0.20	0.08	0.78	
RespondentRace*RespondentGender*FriendRace*FriendGender	3.20	1	3.20	1.22	0.27	
Friends Different Race (Cov)	7.24	4	1.81	0.69	0.60	
Residuals	826.36	315	2.62			

Signif. Codes:	0= ***	0.001 = **	0.05 = *	. =	1 = ""	0.1

Table 4: Secret Univariate Analysis.

	Sum sq	Df	Mean Sq	F	Pr(>F)
RespondentRace	4.42	1	4.42	0.75	0.39
RespondentGender	2.01	1	2.01	0.34	0.56
FriendRace	12.11	1	12.11	2.05	0.15
FriendGender	2.83	1	2.83	0.48	0.49
RespondentRace*RespondentGender	18.85	1	18.85	3.18	0.08
RespondentRace*FriendRace	4.57	1	4.57	0.77	0.38
RespondentGender*FriendRace	3.53	1	3.53	0.60	0.44
RespondentRace*FriendGender	18.23	1	18.23	3.08	0.08
RespondentGender*FriendGender	1.42	1	1.42	0.24	0.62
FriendRace*FriendGender	18.41	1	18.41	3.11	0.08
RespondentRace*RespondentGender*FriendRace	4.13	1	4.13	0.70	0.40
RespondentRace*RespondentGender*FriendGender	5.48	1	5.48	0.93	0.34
RespondentRace*FriendRace*FriendGender	2.54	1	2.54	0.43	0.51
RespondentGender*FriendRace*FriendGender	0.66	1	0.67	0.11	0.74
RespondentRace*RespondentGender*FriendRace*FriendGender	0.11	1	0.11	0.02	0.89
Friends Different Race (Cov)	11.79	4	2.95	0.50	0.74
Residuals	1864.98	315	5.92		

Signif. Codes:	0= ***	0.001 = **	0.05 = *	. =	1 = ""
				0.1	

Table 5: Critical Univariate Analysis.

	Sum sq	Df	Mean Sq	F	Pr(>F)	
RespondentRace	0.74	1	0.74	0.29	0.60	
RespondentGender	8.09	1	8.09	3.21	0.07	
FriendRace	0.04	1	0.04	0.02	0.89	
FriendGender	1.92	1	1.92	0.76	0.38	
RespondentRace*RespondentGender	0.11	1	0.11	0.04	0.84	
RespondentRace*FriendRace	6.91	1	6.91	2.74	0.10	
RespondentGender*FriendRace	0.55	1	0.55	0.22	0.64	
RespondentRace*FriendGender	16.91	1	16.91	6.70	0.01	*
RespondentGender*FriendGender	0.98	1	0.98	0.39	0.53	
FriendRace*FriendGender	0.48	1	0.48	0.19	0.66	
RespondentRace*RespondentGender*FriendRace	15.63	1	15.63	6.19	0.01	*
RespondentRace*RespondentGender*FriendGender	3.39	1	3.39	1.34	0.25	
RespondentRace*FriendRace*FriendGender	3.27	1	3.27	1.29	0.26	
RespondentGender*FriendRace*FriendGender	0.03	1	0.03	0.01	0.91	
RespondentRace*RespondentGender*FriendRace*FriendGender	2.31	1	2.31	0.92	0.34	
Friends Different Race (Cov)	5.01	4	1.25	0.45	0.74	
Residuals	794.93	315	2.52			

Signif. Codes:	0= ***	0.001 = **	0.05 = *	. =	1 = ""	
				0.1		

Table 6: Cheating Univariate Analysis.

	Sum sq	Df	Mean Sq	F	Pr(>F)	
RespondentRace	2.60	1	2.60	0.58	0.44	
RespondentGender	4.94	1	4.94	1.11	0.29	
FriendRace	22.93	1	22.93	5.17	0.02	*
FriendGender	2.21	1	2.21	0.50	0.48	
RespondentRace*RespondentGender	0.09	1	0.09	0.02	0.89	
RespondentRace*FriendRace	1.66	1	1.66	0.38	0.54	
RespondentGender*FriendRace	0.59	1	0.59	0.13	0.72	
RespondentRace*FriendGender	5.24	1	5.24	1.18	0.28	
RespondentGender*FriendGender	0.88	1	0.88	0.20	0.66	
FriendRace*FriendGender	7.48	1	7.48	1.69	0.20	
RespondentRace*RespondentGender*FriendRace	0.03	1	0.03	0.07	0.79	
RespondentRace*RespondentGender*FriendGender	20.10	1	20.10	4.54	0.03	*
RespondentRace*FriendRace*FriendGender	0.00	1	0.00	0.00	1.0	
RespondentGender*FriendRace*FriendGender	7.68	1	7.68	1.73	0.19	
RespondentRace*RespondentGender*FriendRace*FriendGender	0.07	1	0.07	0.02	0.90	
Friends Different Race (Cov)	41.46	4	10.37	2.34	0.06	Marg.
Residuals	1396.01	315	4.432			

Signif. Codes:	0= ***	0.001 = **	0.05 = *	. =	1 = ""	
				0.1		

Table 7: Argument Push Univariate Analysis.

	Sum sq	Df	Mean Sq	F	Pr(>F)	
RespondentRace	3.92	1	3.92	0.87	0.35	
RespondentGender	121.8	1	121.8	27.02	<0.001	***
FriendRace	6.81	1	6.81	1.51	0.22	
FriendGender	22.01	1	22.01	4.88	0.03	*
RespondentRace*RespondentGender	20.19	1	20.19	4.48	0.04	*
RespondentRace*FriendRace	0.29	1	0.29	0.65	0.80	
RespondentGender*FriendRace	0.37	1	0.37	0.08	0.77	
RespondentRace*FriendGender	2.47	1	2.47	0.55	0.46	
RespondentGender*FriendGender	1.91	1	1.91	0.42	0.52	
FriendRace*FriendGender	0.37	1	0.37	0.081	0.78	
RespondentRace*RespondentGender*FriendRace	0.02	1	0.02	0.004	0.95	
RespondentRace*RespondentGender*FriendGender	4.68	1	4.68	1.04	0.31	
RespondentRace*FriendRace*FriendGender	0.69	1	0.69	0.15	0.70	
RespondentGender*FriendRace*FriendGender	1.41	1	1.41	0.31	0.58	
RespondentRace*RespondentGender*FriendRace*FriendGender	2.0	1	2.0	0.44	0.51	
Friends Different Race (Cov)	13.11	4	3.28	0.73	0.57	
Residuals	1419.78	315	4.51			

Signif. Codes:	0= ***	0.001 = **	0.05 = *	. =	1 = ""	
				0.1		

Table 8: Phone Univariate Analysis.

	Sum sq	Df	Mean Sq	F	Pr(>F)	
RespondentRace	0.93	1	0.93	0.24	0.63	
RespondentGender	2.79	1	2.79	0.71	0.40	
FriendRace	6.50	1	6.50	1.65	0.20	
FriendGender	4.13	1	4.13	1.05	0.31	
RespondentRace*RespondentGender	21.29	1	21.29	5.42	0.02	*
RespondentRace*FriendRace	6.58	1	6.58	1.70	0.20	
RespondentGender*FriendRace	0.01	1	0.01	0.001	0.97	
RespondentRace*FriendGender	1.63	1	1.63	0.42	0.52	
RespondentGender*FriendGender	23.74	1	23.74	6.05	0.01	*
FriendRace*FriendGender	16.76	1	16.86	4.27	0.04	*
RespondentRace*RespondentGender*FriendRace	4.50	1	4.50	1.15	0.29	
RespondentRace*RespondentGender*FriendGender	0.52	1	0.52	0.13	0.72	
RespondentRace*FriendRace*FriendGender	0.01	1	0.01	0.00	0.97	
RespondentGender*FriendRace*FriendGender	0.686	1	0.686	0.17	0.68	
RespondentRace*RespondentGender*FriendRace*FriendGender	3.2	1	3.2	0.82	0.37	
Friends Different Race (Cov)	11.70	4	2.92	0.75	0.56	
Residuals	1236.52	315	3.93			

Signif. Codes:	0= ***	0.001 = **	0.05 = *	. =	1 = ""	
				0.1		

Table 9: Means and standard deviations for men and women on inappropriateness of norm violations for total sample.

Norm Violated	Total Sample		Men		Women	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Secret	4.33	2.53	4.55	2.50	4.17	2.64
Critical	4.48	2.04	4.27	2.00	4.63	1.75
Cancel	4.25	2.14	4.22	2.14	4.28	2.00
Cheating	4.17	2.53	4.11	2.37	4.22	2.53
Argument Push	4.05	2.53	4.81	2.33	3.50	2.28
Phone	4.84	2.33	4.91	2.34	4.78	2.50
Borrow Money	4.84	2.50	4.85	2.33	4.84	2.50

Note: Participants rated appropriateness of norm violation on a 7-point Likert scale with 1= extremely inappropriate to 7=extremely appropriate.

Table 10: Means and standard deviations for white and minority participants on inappropriateness of norm violations for total sample.

Norm Violated	Total Sample		White		Minority	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Secret	4.33	2.53	4.35	2.53	4.27	2.53
Critical	4.48	2.04	4.46	2.04	4.53	1.85
Cancel	4.25	2.14	4.23	2.00	4.36	2.14
Cheating	4.17	2.53	4.09	2.53	4.49	2.25
Argument Push	4.05	2.53	3.99	2.64	4.33	2.50
Phone	4.84	2.33	4.88	2.34	4.66	2.04
Borrow Money	4.84	2.50	4.72	2.50	5.32	1.94

Table 11: Means and standard deviations across all friendship combinations on appropriateness of norm violations

		Secret	Critical	Cancel	Cheating	Argument Push	Phone
White male to white female	Mean	4.13	4.44	4.38	3.99	4.53	4.49
	SD	2.45	1.74	2.14	2.53	2.50	2.50
White male to white male	Mean	4.29	4.36	4.01	3.88	4.02	5.07
	SD	2.48	2.04	2.14	2.53	2.23	2.34
White male to black male	Mean	4.23	4.48	4.30	4.03	3.88	4.77
	SD	2.64	1.74	1.96	2.32	2.64	2.33
White male to black female	Mean	4.90	4.49	4.40	4.52	4.06	5.26
	SD	2.71	1.74	2.01	2.25	2.53	2.05
White female to white male	Mean	4.32	4.39	3.90	4.06	3.78	4.91
	SD	2.48	2.04	2.10	2.53	2.23	2.34
White female to white female	Mean	3.93	4.61	4.19	3.96	4.18	4.30
	SD	2.45	2.04	2.14	2.53	2.53	2.50
White female to black male	Mean	4.25	4.63	4.39	4.23	3.91	4.81
	SD	2.64	1.76	1.94	2.32	2.45	2.33
White female to black female	Mean	4.64	4.38	4.40	4.45	3.90	5.18
	SD	2.53	1.74	2.01	2.25	2.58	2.05
Minority female to white male	Mean	4.28	4.41	4.10	3.99	3.54	5.29
	SD	2.53	1.74	2.14	2.53	2.42	2.19
Minority female to white female	Mean	4.17	4.70	4.55	4.14	4.21	4.33
	SD	2.45	1.86	2.15	2.32	2.25	2.50
Minority female to Black male	Mean	3.94	4.65	4.18	4.02	3.50	4.68
	SD	2.64	1.99	2.00	2.32	2.52	2.04
Minority female to black female	Mean	4.68	4.54	4.46	4.75	3.74	5.02
	SD	2.71	1.74	1.94	2.25	2.45	2.04
Minority male to white male	Mean	4.06	4.18	3.76	3.84	4.53	4.75
	SD	2.53	2.00	2.14	2.01	2.50	2.04
Minority male to white female	Mean	4.29	5.13	4.45	4.03	4.82	4.45
	SD	2.38	2.04	2.14	2.42	2.46	2.35
Minority male to black male	Mean	4.63	4.21	4.21	4.69	4.60	4.69
	SD	2.25	1.72	2.00	2.04	2.50	1.99
Minority male to black female	Mean	4.71	4.10	4.52	4.43	4.50	5.21
	SD	2.38	1.79	1.96	2.25	2.50	2.06

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine the boundaries of reactions to friendship norm violations within friendships that cross race and gender. In doing so, I aimed to examine how individuals perceive friendship norm violations based on their gender and race and the gender and race of the friend. I used a vignette study approach to examine differences in reactions to friendship behaviors.

Overall, as expected, both race and gender often shape how participants reacted toward misbehaviors of a friend. The main effects of the participant's gender and friend's gender were significant in the multivariate analysis. In addition, the interaction effects between participant's race and friend's gender were significant, as well as the interaction between friend's race and gender in the multivariate analysis. Lastly, the relationship between the number of friends of a different race than the participant and the rating given for the friendship norm violations was marginally insignificant in the final model.

In the univariate analysis, women often viewed behaviors such as a friend not defending them when spoken critically of, and cheating on their significant other as more inappropriate than did men. This suggests that women generally were harsher than men when their friend violated friendship norms of trust. However, the main effect of the participant's gender was insignificant within the univariate analyses which does not support the hypothesis (H1) that women would disapprove more than men of a friend who violates norms of emotional closeness and trust. Similar to previous research by Felmlee and Sinclair (2012), men were more critical of female friends who canceled plans for a "hot date", which suggests that men may be harsher to women in regard to more emotional behaviors, since these are typically viewed as more "romantic" characteristics.

Exploring differences by race, participants were sometimes harsher in their evaluation of black friends who broke a friendship rule, than they were of white friends (e.g., cheating on significant other, and cancelling plans for a “hot date”), however minority participants were harsher toward white friends who did not defend them when someone spoke critically of them. These findings did not fully support the hypothesis (H2) that black friends will receive more disapproval in norm violations in comparison to white friends, since the main effect of the friend’s race was significant in only the univariate analysis for when a friend cheated on their significant other. Similarly, the hypothesis (H3) that individuals will be more forgiving of rule-breaking on the part of a friend of the same, rather than a different race or gender does not hold. These findings also suggest that race affects reactions to perceived rule-breaking on the part of a friend. Additionally, these results suggest that there may be discrimination within friendships in certain instances, since individuals can judge those of another race more negatively. Therefore, future research is warranted to further investigate the effect of perceptions of norm violations in friendships where each party is a minority versus where each is white.

Interestingly, the scenario when a friend discloses a secret had no significance within the analysis. This may indicate that race and gender do not influence how individuals perceive this type of trust violation. Furthermore, this may mean that the rule of confidence, which was violated in the disclosing secret scenario, is universal and is consistent, regardless of race and gender. Additionally, other findings, such as men disapproving more within the scenario in which a friend pushes during an argument, may allude to concerns of violence or potential for physical harm. For instance, male participants may consider a push as a prelude to a more violent altercation but may perceive less potential for harm from a female friend. These findings warrant further study.

One interesting finding that must be noted relates to the age of participants and the number of friends of a different race than themselves. Within the sample, the average age of

participants was 36, and the highest reported number of friends of a different race was one or two friends (28.2%, Table 1). The second highest category was 7 or more friends (27.4%, Table 1). This brings into question how salient and prevalent interracial friendships are among adults, since prior literature on friendships and race primarily focus on adolescent samples and suggests that interracial friendships decline over age. Therefore, adult interracial friendships should be investigated further.

My findings show that reactions to norm violating behaviors differ in some scenarios based on the gender and race of the people within the relationship. Also, cross-gender and cross-race friendships are experienced differently for individuals of a majority versus a minority race. Therefore, future research should investigate the relationship between the perceptions of others and how they affect cross-gender and cross-race friendships. Additionally, perceptions of norm violations within minority-minority in contrast to majority-majority and majority-minority relationships warrants further investigations.

CONCLUSION

This work adds to the understandings of friendship norms by examining the extent to which race and gender shape reactions to non-normative friendship behaviors. Using a vignette experiment approach, differences in reactions to friendship norm violations within and across race and gender were studied to address three research questions:

RQ1: What differences exist in the approval levels of norm violations?

RQ2: What are the differences in approval levels by the race and gender of the friend?

RQ3: Does having friends of a different race change how you react to a friend violating a friendship norm?

I expected that both gender and race would affect the assessment of friendship norms in the vignettes. I expected that (H1) women would disapprove more than men of a friend who violates norms of emotional closeness and trust. I also hypothesized (H2) that African Americans would receive more disapproval in norm violations in comparison to whites. Lastly, I hypothesized that (H3) individuals are more forgiving of rule-breaking on the part of a friend of the same race and gender, rather than a friend of a different race and gender.

The data suggests that females disapproved of norm violations of emotional closeness and trust (e.g., not defending when spoken critically of, and cheating on significant other) more so than males, however the main effect of the participant's gender was insignificant in the univariate analyses, thus not supporting the hypothesis (H1). The study's findings also reveal that African Americans did receive more disapproval in some norm violations in comparison to whites (e.g., cheating on significant other, and cancelling plans for a "hot date"), but not all. Furthermore, (H2) that black friends will receive more disapproval in norm violations in comparison to whites was not supported, since the main effect of friend's race was insignificant

within the univariate analyses with the exception of when a friend was caught cheating on their significant other. Lastly, hypothesis (H3) that individuals would be more forgiving of rule-breaking on the part of a friend of the same, rather than the other gender and race categories did not hold. Rather than being more forgiving of friends of similar backgrounds, minority participants were harsher to African American friends who violated a friendship norms in some situations, whereas white participants were more forgiving of white friends who violated a norm in several cases.

There are limitations to the current study. The first concern is the duration of the study and the diversity of the participants. The dataset is restricted to individuals and their responses from only one point in time. In addition, the friend in the survey is either white or black, but there were not enough black participants to directly compare with white participants. Instead, a comparison was made between whites and all minorities. Furthermore, the current sample is a stronger reflection of the responses of whites and non-whites to norm friendship violations, than it is to white and blacks. Therefore, in the future, increasing the sample size of minority participants, particularly black participants, will be useful, since it would allow comparisons to be made between white and blacks in their responses.

The second limitation to this study concerns measurement. The study uses a single measure for the level of appropriateness of the behavior in the vignettes, in addition to the short-answer response, this limits the ability to check the reliability of the dependent variable. Additionally, there is the potential issue of social desirability bias, because individuals may not respond truthfully in order for their responses to appear more socially desirable. Furthermore, some of the vignettes used within the study may challenge certain friendship rules while reinforcing other friendship rules. For instance, while the scenario when a friend cancels plans violates the friendship norm of being faithful to one another, an alternative rule raised by this also

suggests that the participant could and/or should respect the other's privacy, and allow a friend to do as they wish.

Using a vignette study approach to examine how an individual will perceive a friendship violation is valuable and illustrates the importance of context for when a friendship violation occurs. Furthermore, since the vignettes represent norm violations and they resemble aspects of real-world situations, this study design allows the study to strengthen the validity of what the study aims to measure (Hughes & Huby 2002). A vignette approach allows researchers direct experimental manipulation of the independent variable (Hughes 1998). Using a vignette approach, in comparison to a traditional survey design, also allows for less risk of bias in estimates related to the omission of covariates (Maxwell & Delany 2004).

Additionally, following each Likert scale is a short-answer response in which the participant can explain their response further. This enables the researcher to validate that gender and race are interpreted correctly based on the pronoun used in the open-ended response and any allusions to race. Finally, in an attempt to reduce bias, participants were not allowed modify responses as they completed the survey.

Future work would benefit from several improvements to the survey. Each participant should be presented with a different friend for each vignette. This will lower the potential influence of progressive aggression for each vignette within the survey. Additionally, future research should examine the patterns in open-ended responses, since there may be common and recurring themes.

The findings of this work underscore the potential impact of race and gender within friendships and suggests future research directions. The effect of race on perceptions of norm violations in friendships where each party is a minority, versus where each is white, is of particular interest and may lead to findings contradictory to current beliefs. If indeed, as this work suggests, norm violations within minority-minority relationships are sometimes perceived more

harshly, the reasons for this ought to be illuminated. Violations of norms involving violence or the threat of violence between male friends, in contrast with cross-gender relationships also warrants further investigation. The relationship between the number of cross-race relationships one accumulates or loses as they age is of interest for future research, as well.

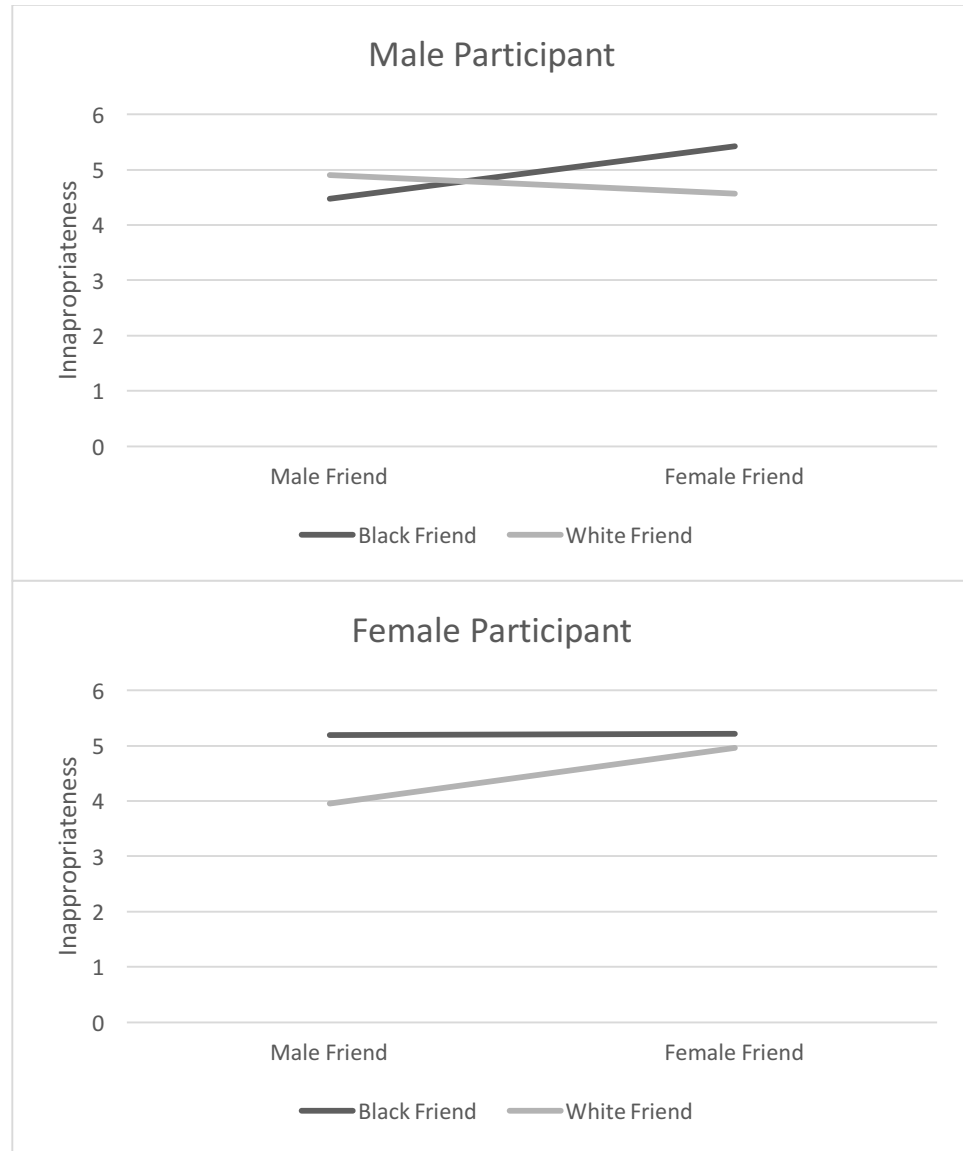
APPENDIX: SUPPLEMENTARY ANALYSES

Figure 9: Supplementary analysis: 3-way interaction between Participant Gender, Friend Gender, and Friend Race for Borrow money.

Table 12: Supplementary Univariate Analysis Borrow Money.

	Sum sq	Df	Mean Sq	F	Pr(>F)	
RespondentRace	13.00	1	13.00	3.15	0.077	
RespondentGender	0.56	1	0.56	0.13	0.714	
FriendRace	22.79	1	22.79	5.52	0.019	*
FriendGender	18.87	1	18.87	4.57	0.033	
RespondentRace*RespondentGender	2.58	1	2.58	0.62	0.430	
RespondentRace*FriendRace	0.85	1	0.85	0.21	0.650	
RespondentGender*FriendRace	3.15	1	3.15	0.77	0.383	
RespondentRace*FriendGender	5.45	1	5.45	1.32	0.251	
RespondentGender*FriendGender	0.75	1	0.75	0.18	0.669	
FriendRace*FriendGender	0.42	1	0.42	0.10	0.750	
RespondentRace*RespondentGender*FriendRace	0.00	1	0.00	0.00	0.977	
RespondentRace*RespondentGender*FriendGender	0.59	1	0.59	0.14	0.705	
RespondentRace*FriendRace*FriendGender	0.00	1	0.00	0.00	0.975	
RespondentGender*FriendRace*FriendGender	17.78	1	17.78	4.31	0.039	*
RespondentRace*RespondentGender*FriendRace*FriendGender	0.43	1	0.43	0.11	0.746	
Friends Different Race (Cov)	54.29	4	13.57	3.29	0.012	*
Residuals	1238.62	300	4.13			

Signif. Codes:	0= ***	0.001 = **	0.05 = *	. =	1 = ""	
				0.1		

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