



## Increasing Ethnic Diversity Moderates Longitudinal Effects of Individual Differences on Friendship Homophily

Journal:	<i>Journal of Community &amp; Applied Social Psychology</i>
Manuscript ID	CASP-16-155.R1
Wiley - Manuscript type:	Research Article
Keywords:	Same-ethnic friendship preference, children, social-emotional adjustment, national and ethnic identity, school ethnic composition
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Increasing Ethnic Diversity Moderates Longitudinal Effects of Individual Differences on  
Friendship Homophily

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and ethnic identity, school ethnic composition

For Peer Review

## Abstract

This study examined direct and interactive effects of social-emotional adjustment, national and ethnic identification and school ethnic composition on friendship homophily among 214 ethnic minority and 183 ethnic majority English children, aged between 5 and 11 years. The data came from a longitudinal study, which included three time points, spanning a twelve-month period. Results of multi-level latent growth curve models showed that among ethnic minority English children (teacher-rated) peer problems and ethnic identity were associated with more friendship homophily whereas a bicultural identity was not related to more friendship homophily. Among ethnic majority English children the effects of peer problems and English identity were moderated by school ethnic composition, such that these factors were not associated with more friendship homophily in more ethnically diverse schools. The findings are discussed based on theories of intergroup contact and intergroup threat.

## ETHNIC DIVERSITY MODERATES FRIENDSHIP HOMOPHILY

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Increasing Ethnic Diversity Moderates Longitudinal Effects of Individual Differences on  
Friendship Homophily

Children in many European countries go to increasingly ethnically diverse schools. This opens the opportunity for children to form friendships with children from diverse ethnic groups, which could then reduce prejudice and improve intergroup relations (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Cross-ethnic friendships are also beneficial for ethnic minority children as they buffer against the negative effects of discrimination (e.g., Bagci, Rutland, Kumashiro, Smith, & Blumberg, 2014). However, a host of studies shows that when taking the opportunity structure into account (i.e., the availability of same- and cross-ethnic peers), the number of cross-ethnic friendships in schools is lower than would be expected by chance (Moody, 2001). This suggests that students exhibit a preference for same-ethnic friendships, commonly referred to as friendship homophily (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001). In this paper, we are interested in explaining changes in friendship homophily as a function of (1) individual differences and intra-individual change in social-emotional adjustment and ethnic and national identity (individual-level variables), and (2) school ethnic composition (school-level variable). We are particularly interested in differences in the association of individual-level variables and friendship homophily depending on school ethnic composition.

It is important to note that it is difficult to measure friendship homophily directly and there is no perfect fit between friendship homophily in theory and the proxies most commonly used to operationalize it (Smith, McFarland, van Tubergen, & Maas, 2016). For the purpose of this study, and consistent with prior work, we define friendship homophily as the percentage of same-ethnic friends in school held by a child out of all their nominated friends (Titzmann & Silbereisen, 2009), controlling for the availability of same- and cross-ethnic peers in school (i.e., the opportunity structure).

Prior research has established a relationship between friendship homophily and individual-level variables like social-emotional adjustment (e.g., Kawabata & Crick, 2008)

## ETHNIC DIVERSITY MODERATES FRIENDSHIP HOMOPHILY

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Other research shows that friendship homophily is influenced by school-level variables like school ethnic composition (e.g., Smith et al., 2016). However, these individual-level and school-level relationships were studied in isolation and how school ethnic composition may alter the influence of individual-level variables has not been examined. Given that school ethnic diversity by itself is not sufficient to promote interethnic friendships (Smith et al., 2016), it is important to examine diversity in relation to other aspects that may influence how students respond to ethnic diversity in school (Thijs & Verkuyten, 2014). This study set out to fill this lacuna by examining how school ethnic composition may alter the influence of social-emotional adjustment on friendship homophily.

Individual *social-emotional adjustment* is associated with friendship homophily. For example, children high in prosociality and with high leadership skills have been found to have relatively more cross-ethnic friendships (Kawabata & Crick, 2008; Lease & Blake, 2005) while children who are relationally aggressive or scoring high on externalizing behaviours (e.g., fighting, name-calling) have been found to have relatively fewer cross-ethnic friendships (Kawabata & Crick, 2011). While prosocial behaviour is predictive of having successful peer relations in general (Aboud & Mendelson, 1996), research suggests that it may be uniquely related to having cross-ethnic friendships (e.g., Kawabata & Crick, 2008). These findings are in line with social-cognitive theory, which suggests that children with higher social-emotional skills and lower behavioural problems are more able to form and maintain friendships across groups (Aboud & Levy, 2000). This may be because socially competent children (e.g., who are high in empathy, leadership skills, and sociability) are more likely to form diverse friendship networks and to be relationally inclusive. On the other hand, aggressive and withdrawn children find it harder to make friends and are more likely to have limited and exclusive friendship networks (Crick et al., 1999). Thus, these children may find it difficult to reach out across ethnic boundaries and form friendships with cross-ethnic peers. Other indicators of positive social-emotional adjustment are likely to be negatively associated

## ETHNIC DIVERSITY MODERATES FRIENDSHIP HOMOPHILY

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1  
2 with friendship homophily. The current research examined the relationship between  
3  
4 friendship homophily and two additional indicators of social-emotional adjustment, namely  
5  
6 self-esteem and peer problems. We predicted that children's self-esteem would be negatively  
7  
8 associated with friendship homophily (Hypothesis 1). On the other hand, children who  
9  
10 experience problems getting along with peers are at risk of negative social-emotional  
11  
12 adjustment (Parker & Asher, 1987). Thus, we expected that children's peer problems would  
13  
14 be positively associated with friendship homophily (Hypothesis 2).

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17 *Intergroup factors* also play a role in children's decision-making about same- and cross-  
18  
19 ethnic friendships. Children's sense of group identity (e.g., identification with their ethnic or  
20  
21 national group) should be relevant in this regard. Accordingly, Rutland and colleagues (2012)  
22  
23 showed that, among ethnic minority status English children, bicultural identity (identification  
24  
25 with both their ethnic group and the host society) was associated with less friendship  
26  
27 homophily. However, their research did not look at children from the majority status group.  
28  
29 We can assume that group identity will also play a role for majority status children's  
30  
31 friendship homophily. Thus, majority status children's national identification or minority  
32  
33 status children's ethnic identification should be positively associated with friendship  
34  
35 homophily (Hypothesis 3). This higher preference for same-ethnic friendships can be  
36  
37 explained in terms of social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), which posits that people  
38  
39 have a need for a positive social identity. When ethnicity is an important aspect of people's  
40  
41 social identity, they will think and act in terms of this collective identity and will thus favour  
42  
43 their ingroup. Previous research has also shown that bicultural identity is associated with less  
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45 friendship homophily among minority group children (Rutland et al., 2012). Thus, we expect  
46  
47 bicultural identity to be associated with less friendship homophily (Hypothesis 4).

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52 *School ethnic composition* (i.e., the share of ethnic minority members in a school  
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54 ranging from low to high ethnic density) reflects different opportunities to form cross-ethnic  
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56 friendships for majority and minority group members. Thus, for minority group children an  
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## ETHNIC DIVERSITY MODERATES FRIENDSHIP HOMOPHILY

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2 increasing share of co-ethnic pupils should lead to more homophily as for them this means  
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4 fewer opportunities for cross-ethnic ties and more opportunities for same-ethnic ties, and vice  
5  
6 versa for majority group children (for supporting evidence see Geven, Kalmijn, & van  
7  
8 Tubergen, 2016).  
9

10  
11 How school ethnic composition moderates the influence of individual child  
12  
13 characteristics on having interethnic relations has not to our knowledge been thoroughly  
14  
15 investigated yet (cf. Thijs & Verkuyten, 2014). Greater presence of ethnic minority children  
16  
17 in a school may increase the salience of an intergroup category division (Brenick, Titzmann,  
18  
19 Michel, & Silbereisen, 2012). Thus, individual social-emotional adjustment may become less  
20  
21 predictive for friendship homophily in situations where the intergroup context is salient.  
22  
23 There, intergroup factors such as intergroup attitudes, perceptions of the intergroup climate,  
24  
25 and the perception of group norms may instead become more relevant (Jugert, Noack, &  
26  
27 Rutland, 2011). Therefore, we expected that the positive association between peer problems  
28  
29 and friendship homophily would be *less* pronounced in school contexts with a higher share of  
30  
31 ethnic minority status pupils (Hypothesis 5). Similarly, we expected that the negative  
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33 relationship between self-esteem and friendship homophily would be *less* pronounced in high-  
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35 ethnic density schools (Hypothesis 6). This should apply to both ethnic majority and ethnic  
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37 minority status children.  
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42 With regard to the interaction of ethnic and national identity with school ethnic  
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44 composition, two opposing predictions can be made for ethnic majority group children. On  
45  
46 one hand, ethnic majority group children who identify strongly with their national group may  
47  
48 feel threatened by being in a more diverse context (Smith et al., 2016; Vervoort, Scholte, &  
49  
50 Scheepers, 2011) and may thus show even greater friendship homophily (Hypothesis 7a). On  
51  
52 the other hand, a higher share of ethnic minority children increases contact opportunities and  
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54 actual contact between members of both groups. Thus, national identity may also become less  
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56 relevant for making choices about intergroup friendships in contexts with a higher share of  
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2 ethnic minority members where there are many opportunities for intergroup contact  
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4 (Hypothesis 7b). With regard to ethnic minority children, we expected the positive association  
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6 of ethnic identity with friendship homophily would be more pronounced as the share of ethnic  
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8 minority members increases (Hypothesis 8). This is because a higher share of ethnic minority  
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10 members should allow ethnic minority children with a strong ethnic identity to make friends  
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12 among the same ethnic group.  
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15 With one exception, all the above hypotheses refer both to associations among  
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17 predictors at Time 1 and the intercept and slope of friendship homophily, as well as the  
18  
19 correlated changes (changes in the predictor and the slope of friendship homophily), as we  
20  
21 had no theoretical assumptions for intercept- or slope-specific associations. The exception  
22  
23 was Hypothesis 4, for which we did not look at changes in bicultural identity affecting  
24  
25 changes in friendship homophily. While theoretically interesting, our operationalization of  
26  
27 bicultural identity involved the interaction of the continuous measures of ethnic and national  
28  
29 identification. The only way to look at change in bicultural identity would thus be to first  
30  
31 create change scores for ethnic and national identification, respectively and then to look at the  
32  
33 interaction of these change scores and how this might relate to homophily. However, it is not  
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35 clear what an interaction effect deriving from change scores would indicate.  
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## 38 Method

### 39 Participants and procedure

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42 Participants consisted of 398 (203 boys, 195 girls;  $M$  age = 7.56 years,  $SD$  = 1.51)  
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44 White English ethnic majority ( $n$  = 183) and South Asian English ethnic minority ( $n$  = 215)  
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46 children. The children were recruited from 20 schools in ethnically heterogeneous, semi-  
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48 urban, and lower-middle income areas in South-East England. The ethnic breakdown of these  
49  
50 children was as follows: 45.2 % White, 41 % Indian, 4% Pakistani, 2.3% Sri Lankan, 1.5%  
51  
52 Bengali, 1.3% Nepalese and 0.3% Tamil. The ethnic composition of these schools varied  
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54 from 2% to 62% ethnic minority status children (median 20%), and the classroom  
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## ETHNIC DIVERSITY MODERATES FRIENDSHIP HOMOPHILY

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2 compositions were similar to these school figures. Children were assessed individually by a  
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4 researcher, with all measures contained within a booklet, to ensure good comprehension of all  
5  
6 items across the age range. The measures were piloted and were pictorially based, in order to  
7  
8 aid understanding particularly among young children. The study was longitudinal with three  
9  
10 equidistant assessments, spanning one year. The study also contained other measures on  
11  
12 acculturation and multiculturalism not used in the present analyses.  
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**Individual-Level Measures**

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17 **Friendship homophily.** We asked children to name their five best friends, asked  
18  
19 about their ethnicity, and scored homophily as the percentage of same-ethnic friendships  
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21 among these five friendship nominations (c. Titzmann & Silbereisen, 2009). Friendship  
22  
23 homophily was calculated by dividing the number of same-ethnic friends by the total number  
24  
25 of same-ethnic and cross-ethnic friends multiplied by 100. Please note that this measure does  
26  
27 not control for opportunities to form same- and cross-ethnic friendships. This is why in the  
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29 analyses we included school ethnic composition to control for the opportunity structure.  
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33 **Self-esteem.** We used an adapted version of the Self Perception Profile for Children  
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35 (Harter, 1985) to measure children's global self-esteem with six items. Every item consists of  
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37 two connected but opposing statements (e.g., 'Some kids are often unhappy with themselves  
38  
39 BUT other kids are pretty pleased with themselves'). Children were asked to select the  
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41 statement that best described them (e.g., either 'some kids are often unhappy with themselves'  
42  
43 or 'other kids are pretty pleased with themselves'). They then indicated the extent to which  
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45 that statement applied to them ('very true' or a 'a little true'). Ratings were later combined to  
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47 make up a 4-point scale (e.g., reflecting happiness with oneself from very little to very much).  
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49 Cronbach's alphas ranged from .63 to .65 for ethnic majority and .64 to .69 for ethnic minority  
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51 children.  
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55 **Peer problems.** Teachers completed the Strengths and Difficulties questionnaire  
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57 (SDQ; Goodman, 1997) for each participating child. The questionnaire assesses emotional  
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2 symptoms, conduct problems, hyperactivity/inattention, peer problems, and pro-sociality with  
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4 five items each. Items were scored on a 3-point scale from 1 'not true' to 3 'certainly true'.  
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6 Cronbach's alphas for peer problems ranged from .65 to .71 for ethnic majority and from .66  
7  
8 to .70 for ethnic minority children.  
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10  
11 **Ethnic and English identification.** Children were presented with four questions  
12 regarding their identification with the ethnic group that they had rated as most important to  
13 them (e.g., 'How proud are you about being [ethnic group]?'). Children responded on a scale  
14 from 1 'not at all' to 4 'very'. The English identification measure was identical to the ethnic  
15 identification measure, but the items referred to 'English' rather than the child's ethnic group.  
16  
17 Cronbach's alphas for ethnic identification ranged from .62 to .79 for ethnic majority and  
18 from .71 to .73 for ethnic minority children. Cronbach's alphas for English identification  
19 ranged from .69 to .76 for ethnic majority and from .82 to .84 for ethnic minority children. It  
20 was not possible to differentiate between ethnic and English identification among ethnic  
21 majority children and we therefore concentrated only on the English identification measure in  
22 this group.  
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### 34 **School-Level Measures**

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37 **School ethnic composition.** We used the percentage of ethnic minority status children  
38 in the school as a continuous measure of school-level ethnic composition (Range = 1.73 – 63,  
39  $M = 25.64$ ,  $SD = 14.56$ ). Data on Ethnic composition were provided by schools principals  
40 only once during data collection.  
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46 **Socio-economic status (SES).** We used publicly available data at the level of local  
47 authority in which schools were situated to gauge the socio-economic background of students  
48 (school-level variable). We used the Income Domain Affecting Children Index (IDACI;  
49 APHO, 2011), which assesses the percentage of children aged 0-15 living in income-deprived  
50 households across local authorities. In this sample, the IDACI ranged from .06 to .55 across  
51 schools ( $M = 0.22$ ,  $SD = 0.10$ ).  
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## Results

We used multilevel latent growth curve modelling (Curran, McGinley, Serrano, & Burfeind, 2012) to examine changes in friendship homophily. Models were run in Mplus 7.4 (Muthén & Muthén, 2012-2015), using full information maximum likelihood estimation (FIML) with robust standard errors (MLR estimator). Residual covariances of exogenous variables were estimated so that all cases could be included in data analyses through missing data estimation. Multilevel modeling was important because our data were hierarchically structured (ie., there are three levels: time points, individuals, schools) and our hypotheses concerned group level variables (school ethnic composition). Correlations among all measures are presented in the Appendix. The analyses proceeded in three steps. First, we estimated unconditional latent growth curve models to examine changes in friendship homophily descriptively. Second, we estimated conditional latent growth curve models where we added predictors of intercept and slope. Third, we tested our hypothesized cross-level interactions, one by one. The conditional models first included gender, age, and SES as predictors. There were no main or interactive effects of gender, age, or SES. Therefore, gender, age, and SES were excluded from subsequent analyses.

First, we modelled friendship homophily as linear growth with an estimate of the intercept (centered at Time 3) and a slope. The linearity assumption in the growth curves was based on the fact that the three measurement occasions do not allow higher order functions to be estimated (Singer & Willet, 2003). The intraclass correlations suggested that only between 1-2 % of the variance in friendship homophily at the different time points was attributable to differences across schools. However, when we tested the unconditional models separately for majority and minority group children, results suggested that 16-27 % of the variance for majority group children and 27-33 % of the variance for minority group children was attributable to schools. We thus decided to continue with separate analyses of majority and minority group children.

## ETHNIC DIVERSITY MODERATES FRIENDSHIP HOMOPHILY

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Model fit for the unconditional models was good;  $\chi^2(4) = 6.14, p = .189, RMSEA = .054, CFI = .994, TLI = .992, SRMR_{within} = .001, SRMR_{between} = .010$  for ethnic majority group children;  $\chi^2(4) = 4.42, p = .352, RMSEA = .022, CFI = .999, TLI = .998, SRMR_{within} = .005, SRMR_{between} = .017$  for ethnic minority group children. Among both ethnic majority and ethnic minority group children, results showed a significant intercept at the school level ( $Intercept_{ethnic\ majority} = 80.61, SE = 3.35, p < .001; Intercept_{ethnic\ minority} = 32.85, SE = 4.93, p < .001$ ) but no significant slope ( $Slope_{ethnic\ majority} = 1.36, SE = 1.23, p = .270; Slope_{ethnic\ minority} = 1.29, SE = 0.87, p = .138$ ). Thus, children in both groups showed friendship homophily at the school level but there was no significant overall time trend across schools. There was, however, significant variability in intercept and slope of friendship homophily among ethnic majority and ethnic minority group children at the individual level, suggesting interindividual differences in levels of friendship homophily and in intraindividual change.

To explain these interindividual differences we added predictor variables to intercept and slope in the next step. All continuous variables were grand-mean centred. We included T1 school ethnic composition as a covariate on the school level. We added the T1 social-emotional adjustment variables (self-esteem, and peer problems). We also included T1 English identification for majority group children and T1 English and T1 ethnic identification as well as their interaction for minority group children. These T1 predictors were direct predictors of the intercept and slope in friendship homophily. The T3 measures of social-emotional adjustment and ethnic and English identification were used to estimate difference scores<sup>1</sup>. These were regressed on the slope in friendship homophily, allowing us to estimate correlated change. The model fit was acceptable and the results are summarized in Table 1 for majority group and in Table 2 for minority group children.

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<sup>1</sup> Due to convergence problems we were not able to use latent change differences scores as suggested by Ferrer and McArdle (2003). The inclusion of many latent variables in models with random slopes (necessary to examine cross-level interactions) becomes computationally very demanding and likely requires larger samples.

## ETHNIC DIVERSITY MODERATES FRIENDSHIP HOMOPHILY

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2 The results for majority group children showed that only school ethnic composition ( $b$   
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4 =  $-.66$ ,  $p < .001$ ), was significantly associated with the intercept (but not the slope) at the  
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6 school level<sup>2</sup>. Thus, school ethnic composition (i.e., a higher share of ethnic minority  
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8 members in school) was associated with relatively lower levels of friendship homophily  
9  
10 among ethnic majority group children at Time 3. None of the other predictor variables at the  
11  
12 individual level was significant (suggesting no support for Hypotheses 1 through 4). As  
13  
14 predicted, the cross-level interactions peer problems at Time 1  $\times$  school ethnic composition on  
15  
16 the slope<sup>3</sup> ( $b = -.25$ ,  $p = .035$ ) and English identification at Time 1  $\times$  school ethnic  
17  
18 composition on the intercept ( $b = -.43$ ,  $p < .001$ ) of friendship homophily were significant  
19  
20 (suggesting support for Hypotheses 5 and 7b). No other cross-level interactions were  
21  
22 significant (no support for Hypothesis 6). To examine these interactions, simple slopes were  
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24 calculated to indicate the relationship between these variables and friendship homophily at 1  
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26 standard deviation above and below the mean school ethnic composition for the sample  
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28 (Aiken & West, 1991).  
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32 The simple slopes between peer problems at Time 1 and the slope in friendship  
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34 homophily were not significant for children in low,  $b = 3.71$ ,  $p = .627$ , or in high ethnic  
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36 composition schools,  $b = -4.46$ ,  $p = .366$  (see Figure 1), although it is noteworthy that they  
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38 were differently signed. This cross-level interaction suggests that majority group children  
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40 with more peer problems show a stronger increase in friendship homophily over time but only  
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42 in low not in high ethnic density schools. The simple slopes between English identification  
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44 and the intercept in friendship homophily were marginally significant and positive for  
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48 <sup>2</sup> Please note that because school ethnic composition is interacted with other predictors in the model, this  
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50 coefficient captures the effect of ethnic composition when all the interactive terms are at their mean value.

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52 <sup>3</sup> Due to convergence problems, residual covariances of exogeneous covariates could not be estimated for this  
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54 cross-level interaction. This means that results for this interaction effect are based on 88 cases with complete  
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56 data.  
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2 children in low,  $b = 6.49$ ,  $p = .061$ , and significant and negative for children in high ethnic  
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4 composition schools,  $b = -7.49$ ,  $p = .003$  (see Figure 2). This cross-level interaction suggests  
5  
6 that majority group children with stronger English identification showed *more* friendship  
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8 homophily at the end of the study only in low but not in high ethnic density schools. Put  
9  
10 another way, school composition attenuated the effects of social-adjustment and national  
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12 identity on friendship homophily for majority group children.  
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15 The results for the minority group children showed that peer problems ( $b = 16.75$ ,  $p <$   
16  
17  $.05$ ), ethnic identification ( $b = 17.00$ ,  $p < .001$ ), and school ethnic composition ( $b = 1.03$ ,  $p <$   
18  
19  $.001$ ) were associated with higher levels of friendship homophily at Time 3 (partial support  
20  
21 for Hypotheses 2 and 3). In support of Hypothesis 4, the main effect of ethnic identification  
22  
23 was qualified by a significant English  $\times$  ethnic identification interaction ( $b = -11.18$ ,  $p <$   
24  
25  $.001$ ). We calculated simple slopes to clarify the nature of this interaction (see Figure 3). The  
26  
27 simple slopes between ethnic identification and friendship homophily were significant for  
28  
29 children with low English identification,  $b = 27.25$ ,  $p < .001$ , and also for children high in  
30  
31 English identification,  $b = 6.83$ ,  $p = .026$ . Thus, ethnic identification increased friendship  
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33 homophily more strongly when English identification was low but not as strongly when it was  
34  
35 high. In other words, a bicultural identification did not increase friendship homophily as much  
36  
37 as a purely ethnic identification did. None of the cross-level interactions was significant (no  
38  
39 support for Hypotheses 5 through 8). We also tested whether ethnic or English identification  
40  
41 interacted with school ethnic composition but none of these interactions was significant.  
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### 45 Discussion

46  
47 In this study, we examined for the first time the longitudinal effect of individual  
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49 differences in social-emotional adjustment, national and ethnic identity on friendship  
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51 homophily among English ethnic minority and majority group children. Moreover, we  
52  
53 considered whether these effects are moderated by school ethnic composition. Significantly,  
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55 the findings of this longitudinal study showed that school ethnic composition moderated the  
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## ETHNIC DIVERSITY MODERATES FRIENDSHIP HOMOPHILY

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2 influence of individual social-adjustment and national identity on friendship homophily for  
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4 White English but not for ethnic minority English children. Thus, for one indicator of social-  
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6 emotional adjustment (peer problems) and for English identity we found that that a higher  
7  
8 share of ethnic minority children at the school level attenuated the effect of social-emotional  
9  
10 adjustment and national identity on friendship homophily.  
11

12  
13 Why did these interactive effects occur only among majority group children? We had  
14  
15 argued that a higher proportion of minority group children at the school level increases  
16  
17 salience of an intergroup context (cf. Brenick et al., 2012). However, one may also argue that  
18  
19 ethnic boundaries and ethnicity are chronically accessible for ethnic minority children by  
20  
21 virtue of being a minority member in society (McGuire, McGuire, Child, & Fujioka, 1978) .  
22  
23 In contrast, for ethnic majority children their ethnic group membership is usually less salient.  
24  
25 Thus, it may be that varying proportions of ethnic minority members at school have more of  
26  
27 an impact in terms of intergroup salience for majority than for minority group children. This  
28  
29 may explain then why individual differences in peer problems become less relevant as a  
30  
31 predictor of friendship homophily among ethnic majority group children in schools with a  
32  
33 higher proportion of ethnic minority pupils.  
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36  
37 At the individual level, we found effects of social-emotional adjustment, national and  
38  
39 ethnic identity only for ethnic minority group children. As expected, minority group children  
40  
41 who were rated by their teachers to have peer problems and who identified strongly with their  
42  
43 ethnic group showed more friendship homophily. The effect of ethnic identity was qualified  
44  
45 by an interaction effect, such that ethnic minority children with a bicultural identity (high in  
46  
47 ethnic and English identity) did not show more friendship homophily (cf. Rutland et al.,  
48  
49 2012). The latter finding also fits with other research showing that cross-ethnic friendships are  
50  
51 more likely to occur if ethnic minority students identify strongly with the host country  
52  
53 (Leszczensky, Stark, Flache, & Munniksmas, 2016).  
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1  
2 The interaction of national identity and school ethnic composition for ethnic majority  
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4 group children runs counter to the argument that ethnic majority group members feel  
5  
6 threatened by a higher presence of ethnic minority members and thus strongly identified  
7  
8 individuals should feel particularly threatened and react by showing even greater ingroup  
9  
10 preference (Thijs & Verkuyten, 2014; Vervoort et al., 2011). Our finding is more in line with  
11  
12 intergroup contact theory, which suggests that more contact opportunities should help to  
13  
14 break down ethnic boundaries. This is also in line with findings showing that *actual*  
15  
16 proportion of immigrants is associated with contact effects while *perceived* proportion of  
17  
18 immigrants is associated with threat effects (Pettigrew, Wagner, & Christ, 2010; Semyonov,  
19  
20 Raijman, Tov, & Schmidt, 2004).  
21  
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23  
24 The effect of contact opportunity, however, was greater for children with a strong  
25  
26 English identity. One can assume that highly identified children will also have more  
27  
28 favourable attitudes towards their own compared to ethnic outgroups (Nesdale, Durkin,  
29  
30 Maass, & Griffiths, 2005). Previous research has shown that cross-ethnic contact only  
31  
32 improved ethnic attitudes for students with initially unfavourable attitudes (Munniksmas,  
33  
34 Stark, Verkuyten, Flache, & Veenstra, 2013). In addition, studies have shown that intergroup  
35  
36 attitudes are predictive of having cross-ethnic friends (Jugert et al., 2011). Thus, strongly  
37  
38 identified White English children may have had more room for improvement in their  
39  
40 intergroup attitudes and this was reflected in their less homophilous friendship choices.  
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44 Our finding that school ethnic composition moderates the impact of national identity  
45  
46 for White English children but not for ethnic minority English children may be explained in  
47  
48 light of findings showing that intergroup contact is less effective for improving intergroup  
49  
50 attitudes among ethnic minority group children (Feddes, Noack, & Rutland, 2009). Another  
51  
52 reason for this group difference may be that English identity may be more malleable than  
53  
54 ethnic identity (Condor, 2006). Thus, what it means to be English may differ depending on  
55  
56 contextual factors such as whether one is in a more mono-ethnic or multi-ethnic school. In a  
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1  
2 more diverse setting White English children's English identity may also encompass children  
3  
4 from other ethnic groups. Thus, their concept of Englishness may be more inclusive than that  
5  
6 of White English children attending ethnically homogeneous schools (see Barrett, 2005;  
7  
8 Rutland, 1999). This fits with the findings of Knifsend and Juvonen (2014) which suggest that  
9  
10 school level diversity can promote social identity complexity. In contrast, ethnic identity is  
11  
12 less ambiguous as to who is included in this category (only ethnic minority members) and is  
13  
14 often subjectively defined dichotomously by skin colour.  
15

### 16 17 **Limitations and Practical Implications**

18  
19 Our measure of friendship was limited to within-school friendships and based on one-  
20  
21 sided rather than reciprocal nominations. Another limitation was our measure of school ethnic  
22  
23 composition, which was based on the percentage of ethnic minority children in a school. It  
24  
25 would have been preferable to have a measure of ethnic diversity, such as the Simpson index  
26  
27 (Simpson, 1949) that takes into account the number of different cultural groups in the school  
28  
29 and the relative representation of each group. It would also have been desirable to test for  
30  
31 ethnic group differences within one joint analysis. However, variance between schools existed  
32  
33 mainly within ethnic and not between ethnic groups and joint analysis would have required  
34  
35 testing three-way interactions terms (e.g., ethnicity  $\times$  peer problems  $\times$  composition), which  
36  
37 was not feasible given the limited power of our sample.  
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40  
41 Care should also be taken when extrapolating our findings to other ethnic minority  
42  
43 groups. South Asian ethnic minority members are a very settled group in the UK and may not  
44  
45 be comparable to other ethnic minority groups who may be perceived as more threatening  
46  
47 (e.g., Syrian refugees). It is also important to note that the schools under study are not  
48  
49 representative of the ethnic makeup of schools in the UK in general. A native majority and  
50  
51 one particular ethnic minority group (South Asians) dominated all the sampled schools. Thus,  
52  
53 the relatively high levels of friendship homophily exhibited by White English children may in  
54  
55 part be explained by this particular constellation of ethnic groups as previous research  
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1 suggests that ethnic majority students feel threatened in such moderately diverse contexts  
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3  
4 (Moody, 2001; Smith et al., 2016). Finally, although we used a longitudinal design, we cannot  
5  
6 make any strong claims about the causal direction of the established relationships. It is likely  
7  
8 that most relationships are rather dynamic and bidirectional.  
9

10 The results of this study suggest that at least for ethnic majority children a higher share  
11  
12 of ethnic minority members in school may be beneficial for intergroup relations. This is  
13  
14 because individual factors that may inhibit cross-ethnic friendships, such as problematic  
15  
16 social behaviour and strong national identity seem to become less relevant in more ethnically  
17  
18 dense school contexts. As ethnic minority children still exhibited much lower friendship  
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20 homophily than ethnic majority children even in high ethnic density schools, the beneficial  
21  
22 effects of ethnic density to intergroup relations may not be limited to ethnic majority children  
23  
24 but may benefit all children.  
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### 27 **Conclusion**

28 This study showed that individual differences in social adjustment and group  
29  
30 identification are related longitudinally with changes in friendship homophily. Importantly,  
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32 however, for ethnic majority children these longitudinal relationships were moderated by  
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34 school ethnic composition while they were not for ethnic minority children.  
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For Peer Review



## ETHNIC DIVERSITY MODERATES FRIENDSHIP HOMOPHILY

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Table 1

*Unstandardized Coefficients (Standard Errors) of a Multilevel Latent Growth Curve Model**Predicting Intercept and Slope in Ethnic Friendship Homophily for Ethnic Majority Group**Children (N = 182)*

Predictors	Intercept	Slope
Level 1 – individual level		
Self-esteem		
T1	1.41 (2.48)	-1.51 (1.83)
T1-T3 Change		1.59 (1.10)
Peer problems		
T1	-3.09 (4.03)	-3.65 (4.91)
T1-T3 Change		1.73 (9.03)
English Identification		
T1	-0.11 (4.65)	2.61 (3.43)
T1-T3 Change		4.08 (2.45)
Level 2 – school level		
School Ethnic Composition	-0.66*** (0.16)	-0.13 (0.17)
R <sup>2</sup> Level 1	.01	.12
R <sup>2</sup> Level 2	.75	.50

Note.  $\chi^2(14) = 15.09$ ,  $p = .372$ , RMSEA = .021, CFI = .998, TLI = .993, SRMR<sub>within</sub> = .031,

SRMR<sub>between</sub> = .014.

\*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

Table 2

*Unstandardized Coefficients (Standard Errors) of a Multilevel Latent Growth Curve Model Predicting Intercept and Slope in Friendship Homophily for Ethnic Minority Group Children (N = 214)*

Predictors	Intercept	Slope
Level 1 – individual level		
Self-esteem		
T1	1.04 (3.57)	-0.57 (1.87)
T1-T3 Change		0.53 (1.70)
Peer problems		
T1	16.75* (7.08)	4.19 (3.72)
T1-T3 Change		-7.80 (4.83)
English Identification		
T1	1.27 (1.66)	0.34 (1.16)
T1-T3 Change		-0.36 (1.64)
Ethnic Identification		
T1	17.00*** (3.94)	5.58 (3.36)
T1-T3 Change		3.96 (2.50)
English × Ethnic Identification T1	-11.18***	-2.00 (1.86)
Level 2 – school level		
School Ethnic Composition	1.03 (0.11)***	0.17 (.02)***
R <sup>2</sup> Level 1	.15	.17
R <sup>2</sup> Level 2	.69	.99

Note.  $\chi^2(18) = 25.80, p = .105, RMSEA = .045, CFI = .987, TLI = .947, SRMR_{within} = .024,$

$SRMR_{between} = .023.$

\*  $p < .05.$ \*\*\*  $p < .001.$

## Figure captions

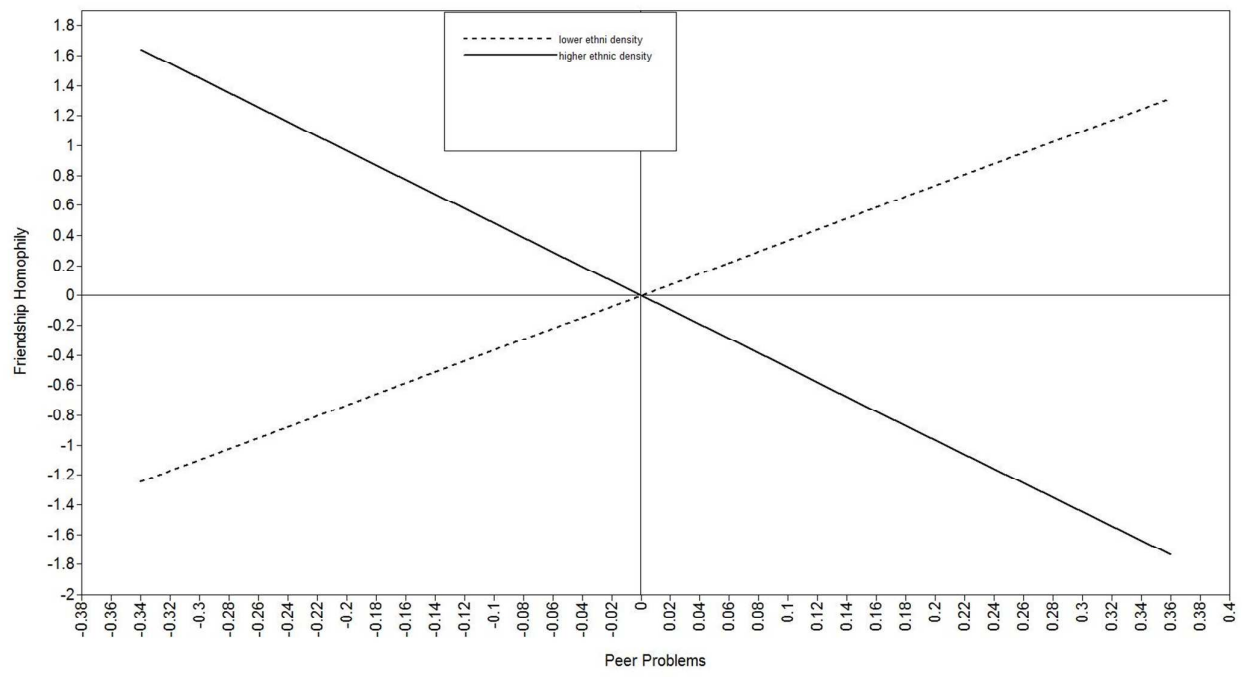
*Figure 1.* Cross-level interaction: Peer problems and friendship homophily moderated by school ethnic composition among White English children.

*Figure 2.* Cross-level interaction: English identification and friendship homophily moderated by school ethnic composition among White English children.

Figure 3. Student-level interaction: Ethnic identification and friendship homophily moderated by English identification among ethnic minority children.

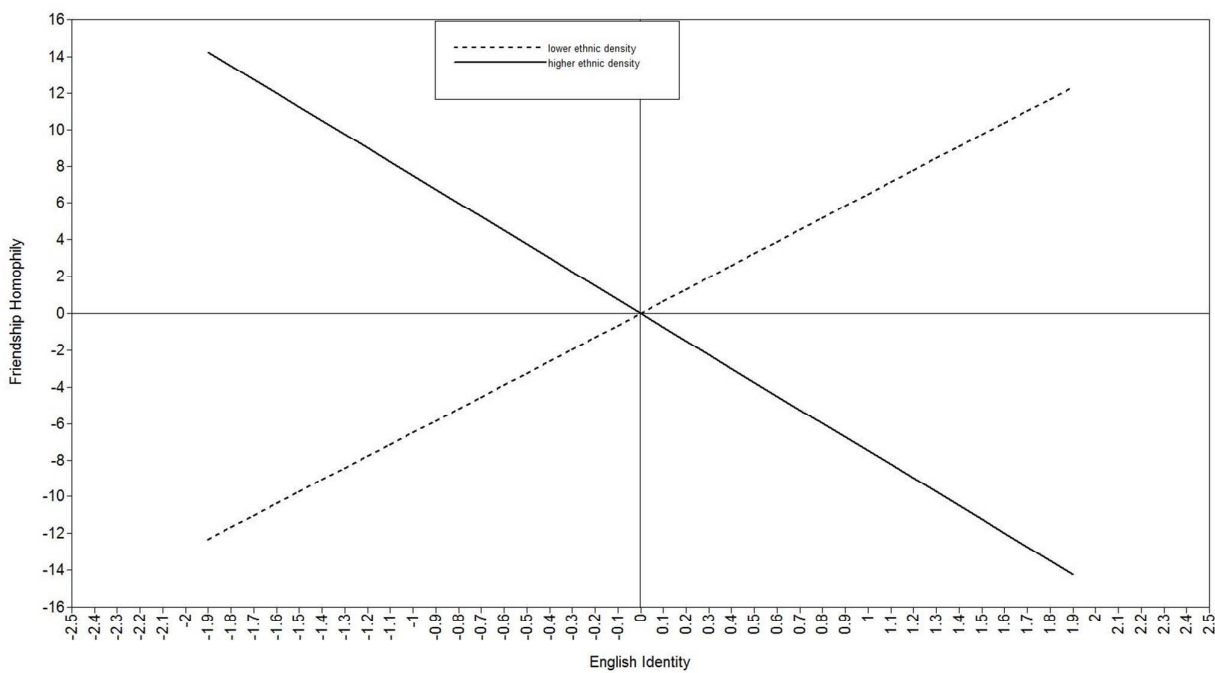
ETHNIC DIVERSITY MODERATES FRIENDSHIP HOMOPHILY

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Peer Review

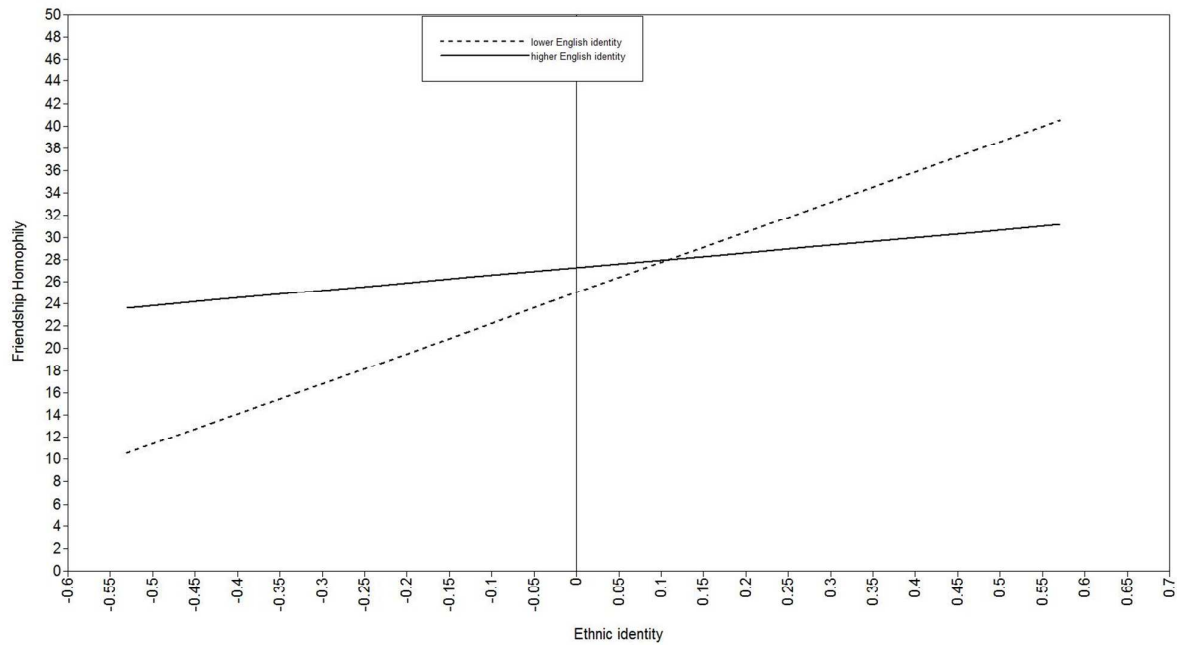
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Peer Review

ETHNIC DIVERSITY MODERATES FRIENDSHIP HOMOPHILY

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## ETHNIC DIVERSITY MODERATES FRIENDSHIP HOMOPHILY

28

## Appendix

*Correlations, means, and standard deviations of all variables for majority group (N = 182) and minority group (N = 215) children*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Homophily T1	-	.62**	.58**	.26**	.02	-.04	-.03	.15	-.07	.00	.18**	.08
2. Homophily T2	.54**	-	.67**	.26**	.05	-.06	.03	.01	-.08	-.05	.15*	.10
3. Homophily T3	.46**	.63**	-	.37**	.05	-.01	.07	.13	-.01	-.02	.25**	.21**
4. School Ethnic Composition	-.28**	-.40**	-.49**	-	.08	-.00	-.18*	.10	.01	-.08	.09	.14
5. Self-esteem T1	.17*	.07	.06	.07	-	.33**	-.19*	-.33**	.09	.06	.10	.12
6. Self-esteem T3	-.01	.05	.10	-.04	.25**	-	-.04	-.10	-.08	.01	.16*	.31**
7. Peer problems T1	.04	-.03	-.05	-.01	-.20**	-.18*	-	.41**	.11	-.03	-.01	-.06
8. Peer problems T3	-.08	-.12	-.09	.13	-.22**	-.07	.58**	-	-.06	-.04	.02	-.04
9. English identification T1	.03	.05	.01	.05	.07	-.02	-.07	-.07	-	.47**	-.23**	-.10
10. English identification T3	-.08	-.09	.02	.01	.23**	.26**	-.09	-.20*	.20*	-	-.13	-.14
11. Ethnic identification T1 <sup>a</sup>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.37**
12. Ethnic identification T3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mean	78.31	77.12	80.78	25.45	3.28	3.32	1.26	1.22	3.77	3.79	-	-
	44.20	44.37	46.09	25.80	3.24	3.32	1.29	1.23	3.05	3.13	3.88	4.01
SD	25.53	25.55	23.53	14.44	0.57	0.56	0.33	0.32	0.63	0.52	-	-
	32.74	32.74	31.96	14.69	0.61	0.59	0.36	0.30	0.93	0.83	0.53	0.42

*Note.* Correlations for majority group children below and correlations for minority group children above the diagonal. Means and SDs for majority group children in top row, and means and SDs for minority group children in bottom row. <sup>a</sup> Ethnic identification not assessed among ethnic majority children.

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ .