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# Minorities' Perceptions of Minority-White Biracials: The Role of Identification for Cognitive, Affective, and Behavioral Responses

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MINORITIES' PERCEPTIONS OF MINORITY-WHITE BIRACIALS: THE ROLE OF  
IDENTIFICATION FOR COGNITIVE, AFFECTIVE, AND BEHAVIORAL RESPONSES

by

SABRICA BARNETT

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in partial  
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,  
the City University of New York

2014

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the  
Graduate Faculty in Psychology in satisfaction of the  
dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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## Abstract

## MINORITIES' PERCEPTIONS OF MINORITY-WHITE BIRACIALS: THE ROLE OF IDENTIFICATION FOR COGNITIVE, AFFECTIVE, AND BEHAVIORAL RESPONSES

by

Sabrica Barnett

Advisors: Professors Daryl Wout and William Cross, Jr.

Research on intergroup relations has a rich history in social psychology, with scholars devoting a considerable effort investigating factors that influence stereotyping, prejudice and discriminatory behavior. The results of these studies suggest that individuals' cognitions, affect, and behaviors are affected by their own group memberships as well as the groups to which others belong. People generally view the groups that they belong to (their ingroup) positively, and view the groups that others belong to (outgroups) stereotypically (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). However, much of the research on social identification and subsequent perceptions has focused on socially distinct groups rather than groups that blur categorical boundaries. As such, there is a dearth of research on how individuals identify with and perceive people who belong to multiple racial groups.

To address this gap in the literature, I investigated minorities' identification with minority-White biracials, as well as the downstream cognitive (warmth and competence stereotypes), affective (pride, shame), and behavioral (facilitation, distancing) consequences of identification across three studies. Results demonstrated that Black (Study 1) and Hispanic (Study 2) participants were equally identified with biracials and other ingroup members (Blacks, Hispanics), and were less identified with outgroup members (Whites). In contrast, White

participants (Study 1) were most identified with other White people, least identified with Black people, and moderately identified with Black-White biracial people.

Moreover, Black participants stereotyped Blacks and Black-White biracials as equally warm and competent (Study 1); Hispanic participants felt equally proud of and were equally willing to help Hispanics and Hispanic-White biracials (Study 2); and both Black and Hispanic participants felt equally ashamed when a Black or Hispanic and Black-White or Hispanic-White biracial person acted in a stereotypically negative manner, and wanted to distance themselves from the wrongdoer (Study 3). In contrast, minorities perceived Whites less positively across measures of stereotypes, emotions and behaviors. Finally, consistent with self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987), minorities' identification with minority-White biracials predicted their group-based stereotypes, emotions and behaviors. These results make an important contribution to the limited work on perceptions of biracial people, and extend previous research regarding the role of identification for intergroup perceptions.

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CHAPTER 1: Introduction and Aims

## Background & Significance

*“Much of social life is about who we include, who we exclude, and how we all feel about it.”*

– Abrams, Hogg, & Marques (2005)

Research on intergroup relations has a rich history in social psychology, with scholars devoting a considerable effort investigating factors that influence stereotyping, prejudice and discriminatory behavior (Allport, 1954; Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, & Sherif, 1961; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The results of these studies suggest that individuals’ cognitions, feelings, and behaviors are affected by their own group memberships as well as the groups to which others belong. People generally view the groups that they belong to (their ingroup) positively, and view the groups that others belong to (outgroups) stereotypically (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). To date, much of the research on social identification and subsequent perceptions has focused on socially distinct groups rather than groups that are “overlapping, blended or ambiguous” (Bodenhausen, 2010). As such, there is a dearth of research on how individuals identify with and perceive people who belong to multiple racial groups (Sanchez & Bonam, 2009).

To address this gap in the literature, this dissertation investigates minorities’ social identification with minority-White biracials<sup>1</sup>, as well as the downstream consequences of identification. Drawing on the social identity approach (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Richer, & Wetherall, 1987), across three studies I explore the extent to which Blacks and Hispanics identify with Black-White and Hispanic-White biracials. I also examine Blacks’ and Hispanics’ stereotypes (warmth, competence), emotions (pride, shame), and behaviors (facilitation, distancing) towards minority-White biracials. Finally, I investigate the extent to

which minorities' identification with minority-White biracials predicts their stereotypes of, feelings for, and behaviors towards biracials.

### **Theoretical Framework: The Social Identity Approach**

The social identity approach – comprising of social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and self-categorization theory (SCT; Turner et al., 1987) – is a highly influential theory of group processes and intergroup behaviors (Hornsey, 2008). Social identity is defined as “that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership” (Tajfel, 1978, pg. 63). Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) contends that people spontaneously divide the world into “us” (ingroups) and “them” (outgroups). Moreover, SIT assumes that people are motivated to evaluate themselves positively, and that in so far as they define themselves in terms of some group membership, they will be motivated to evaluate that group positively as well.

Self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987) is an extension of SIT and attempts to explain the underlying processes by which a particular social identity becomes psychologically affecting. SCT suggests that individuals’ self-concepts can be conceptualized by three levels of categorization. At the highest level is our categorization of the self as a human being (human identity), at the intermediate level is our categorization of the self as a member of a social group (social identity) and at the lowest level is our categorization of the self as an unique individual (personal identity). SCT assumes there is a “functional antagonism” between the levels, such that as one level becomes more salient the other levels become less so.

Though SCT proposes that there is a continual competition between self-categorization at the personal and group level, it acknowledges that rarely does a single social group or level of



categorization become salient. Rather, self-perception may reflect a particular group or categorization that has become more dominant based on features of the social context (Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty, 1994). People who are categorized and perceived as different in one context (i.e., Californians and New Yorkers) can be recategorized and perceived as similar in another context (Americans vs. Europeans) without any actual change in their own positions. Thus, whether people see themselves as similar or different and the extent to which they do so are not fixed, absolute givens; they vary with how, and at the level of which, people categorize themselves and others. As such, self-categorization is a dynamic, context dependent process, and determined by comparative relations in a given context.

The idea that social identities, or identifications based on group membership, are as much expressions of self as personal identity is central to self-categorization theory. When a social identity is salient, SCT argues that social perception becomes “depersonalized” such that individuals no longer see themselves as unique individuals, but as interchangeable representatives of a social group (Turner et al., 1987). Individuals perceive themselves as similar to other ingroup members (“I am like them”) and dissimilar from outgroup members (“I am not like them”). When people view themselves in terms of their social group memberships, they see themselves as having the characteristics associated with the group, hold similar attitudes and beliefs to other group members, and act in ways they believe group members should act (Turner et al., 1987). Thus, when people self-categorize as a group member rather than as individuals, they tend to think, feel and act in accordance with their group-level self, rather than their individual-level self. As Mackie, Smith & Ray (2008) note, in a very real sense, the group becomes a part of the self.

## **Downstream Consequences of Social Identification**

Self-categorization theory explicitly predicts ingroup-outgroup distinctions have a profound influence on intergroup relations:

*“The transformation of the self embodied in depersonalization not only reflects group relationships but is, we argue, the psychological process underlying group behavior...The self functions as the conduit by which collective processes and social relationships mediate the cognitive functioning of the individual”* (Turner et al., 1994, p. 460).

Research has supported these claims. Perceptually, individuals tend to perceive all persons who belong to their social group as more similar than they really are and view ingroup members as being dissimilar to outgroup members (Krueger & DiDonato, 2008). Cognitively, people hold more positive stereotypes about ingroup members than outgroup members (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008). Emotionally, people experience more positive affect toward other members of the ingroup than towards members of the outgroup (Otten & Moskowitz, 2000). And behaviorally, people are more helpful toward ingroup members than towards outgroup members (Dovidio, Gaertner, Validzic, Matoka, Johnson, & Frazier, 1997). Self-categorization leads people to interpret the world with the group’s outcomes in mind, so they evaluate outcomes in terms of what is good or bad for the group, regardless of their consequences for the individual.

Research also shows that not only does categorizing oneself as a group member influence how people think, feel, and act, but individuals’ level of identification with a group is also influential (Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 2002). People who acknowledge that they belong to a particular social group may not necessarily view themselves as similar to other group members, feel as committed to the group, or behave in terms of that group membership (Ashmore, Deaux,

& McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004; Cross, 1971; Ellemers, Kortekaas, & Ouwerkerk, 1999; Tropp & Wright, 2001). Individuals may prefer to belong to another group, or simply be indifferent to a particular social group membership. Thus, although a recognition of one's group membership can produce a psychological connection between the self and the group, there is a considerable amount of variability in the extent to which people identify with and feel a sense of interconnectedness with their group and other group members. As such, the extent to which individuals' self-categorization with a group influences their thoughts, emotions and actions should depend on the degree to which individuals identify with it.

In sum, the social identity approach provides a framework for understanding individual's psychological connections to social groups. When people socially identify with a group, they perceive themselves to be similar to other ingroup members and dissimilar to outgroup members. They also have more positive cognitions and affect, and engage in more positive behaviors, with ingroup members than with outgroup members. Additionally, identification is an individual difference variable in which people can vary considerably.

### **Empirical Research on Minority-White Biracials**

Much of the research on social perceptions of biracials has focused on racial categorization (i.e., "What race are you?"). For example, recent studies have presented individuals with either a racially ambiguous photo or information regarding a target person's ancestry and asked them to categorize the target's race into monoracial categories – White or minority (Chao, Hong, & Chiu, 2013; Chen & Hamilton, 2012; Good, Sanchez, & Chavez, 2013; Halberstadt, Sherman, & Sherman, 2011; Ho, Sidanius, Levin, & Banaji, 2011; Peery & Bodenhausen, 2008; Rodeheffer, Hill, & Lord, 2012). These studies have generally found that minority-White biracials are more likely to be categorized as minority than White in implicit

categorization tasks (Halberstadt et al., 2011; Ho et al., 2011; Peery & Bodenhausen, 2008; except for Chen & Hamilton, 2012, in which Black-White biracials were more likely to be categorized as White than Black<sup>2</sup>).

In contrast to implicit categorizations, individuals tend to recognize biracials' dual group membership on more deliberate tasks. For example, Perry & Bodenhausen (2008, Study 2) found that participants were more likely to categorize Black-White biracials as "Multiracial" than "White," "Black" or "None of the Above" during an untimed forced-choice task. Moreover, the majority of respondents (74.1%) described the target as multiracial when they were allowed to write in their own racial categorizations. Likewise, Ho et al. (2011, Study 1) found that individuals categorized the race of a target with two White and two minority (Black or Asian) grandparents slightly under the midpoint of the scale ( $M = 3.82$ ,  $SD = .57$ ), in which (1 = completely minority, 4 = equally minority and White, 7 = completely White). Thus, people are likely to categorize a minority-White person as "biracial" when they are given the option to do so.

Little research has explored the downstream consequences of perceiving a group once they've already been categorized as biracial. As Chen and Hamilton (2012) note, no published research has investigated whether individuals have stereotypes and attitudes associated with a biracial category (for exception, see Sanchez & Bonam, 2009). Moreover, much of the research on the racial categorization and perception of biracials has focused on responses from White participants, making it difficult to determine the role of the perceiver's race in the perception of others (Willadsen-Jenson & Ito, 2008). Understanding how people identify and perceive biracials is important because ingroup-outgroup distinctions provide the basis for intergroup cognitions, affect, and behavior (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner et al., 1987). As outlined above, individuals'

identification with groups determines the degree to which their group membership is psychologically affecting and socially consequential (for review, see Ellemers et al., 2002). Indeed, some researchers contend identification is a near indispensable construct in understanding intra- and intergroup dynamics (Abrams et al., 2005). Thus, establishing whether minorities socially identify with minority-White biracials has important implications for how biracials are valued and treated in society.

### **Blacks and Hispanics in the US and New York**

The United States is becoming increasingly racially and ethnically diverse. One reason for these changing demographics has to do with the rise in interracial marriage and the growth of the multiracial population. Marriage between members of different racial and ethnic groups rose from 150,000 marriages in 1960 to 3.1 million in 2000 (Lee, 2008). Today, 5.4 million, or 9.5% of Americans, are interracially married (Johnson, 2013). The rise in interracial marriages, due in part to the landmark 1967 ruling *Loving vs. Virginia* that overturned the country's anti-miscegenation laws, has led to a simultaneous growth in the multiracial population. The 2000 Census was the first time in U.S. history that citizens were allowed to self-categorize with more than one race. In that Census, 6.8 million people (2.4% of the total population) selected two or more racial groups (Jones & Smith, 2001). The number of people identifying as multiracial increased to 9 million, or 2.9% of the total population, in 2010 (Humes, Jones, & Ramirez, 2011).

In this dissertation, I focus on Blacks and Hispanics because they are two of the largest minority groups in the United States and are the two most common groups to be included in the multiracial population. For example, as of July 1, 2012, there were 44.5 million Blacks and 53 million Hispanics living in the United States (U.S. Census, 2013a,b). It is projected that by July

1, 2060, the number of Blacks in America will increase to 77.4 million and the number of Hispanics will soar to 128.8 million (U.S. Census, 2013a,b). By far, the most common type of interracial marriages in the United States is between Whites and Hispanics, accounting for 37.6% of all interracial marriages (Johnson, 2013). In contrast, marriages between Whites and Blacks are still relatively rare; there were 422,250 interracial marriages in 2010, accounting for 7.9 % of interracial marriages. However, of the 57 multiracial combinations Americans selected in the 2010 Census, a plurality self-categorized as both Black and White (1.8 million people; 20.4% of total interracial population). Hispanic-White biracials, who are counted as part of the “White and Some Other Race” category, accounted for 1.7 million people (19% of total interracial population) in 2010.

New York is an ideal place to pursue my dissertation research as it leads the country as the state with the largest Black population (3.7 million) and is one of 8 states that has a Hispanic population of 1 million or more (U.S. Census, 2013a,b). With just under 600,000 multiracial people, New York also ranks as one of the top three states in which Americans reported more than one race on the 2010 Census (Humes et al., 2011). Moreover, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, the site of my participant recruitment, is a minority-majority institution. Of the 15,000 students enrolled at John Jay in 2013, 72% were minority, with Blacks (21%) and Hispanics (37%) as the two largest racial/ethnic groups ([www.jjay.cuny.edu](http://www.jjay.cuny.edu)).

In sum, Blacks and Hispanics represent the largest minority groups – both in America and in New York State – and are part of the largest sub-populations of multiracial individuals. Moreover, the number of Blacks and Hispanics in America are projected to increase rapidly over the next 50 years, yet their experiences are largely ignored in social psychological literature (Shelton, 2000; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). Given these changing demographics, the question of

how minorities form perceptions of multiracial people, as well as the consequences of those perceptions, is of increasing importance to psychology and ethnic studies.

### **General Aims of This Dissertation**

As reviewed above, several significant gaps exist in the social science literature regarding minorities' perceptions of minority-White biracials. Specifically, there is a dearth of research on the downstream consequences of perceiving a group as biracial and little research has been conducted on minorities' perceptions of various social groups, including biracials. To address these gaps, this dissertation will address three primary aims: 1) Explore whether minorities socially identify with minority-White biracials; 2) Examine minorities' cognitive, emotional, and behavioral responses related to minority-White biracials; and 3) Investigate the relationship between identification, cognitions, emotions, and behaviors.

Specifically in Chapter 2, I examine the extent to which Blacks socially identify with Black-White biracials, comparing their identification with biracials to their identification with ingroup members (Blacks) and outgroup members (Whites). I also include White participants as a comparison group in order to explore the effects of perceiver race. Drawing on the social identity approach, I hypothesize that participants' identification with Black-White biracials will predict how positively they stereotype biracials.

In Chapter 3, I attempt to replicate and extend the findings from Study 1 by examining Hispanics' identification with and stereotypes of Hispanic-White biracials. I also include measures of affect and behaviors to investigate the extent to which Hispanics' feel pride for and are willing to help Hispanic-White biracials. I again investigate the extent to which Hispanics' identification with biracials predicts how they think about, feel for and behave toward Hispanic-White biracials.

Finally in Chapter 4, I investigate how features of the social context impact minorities' emotions and behaviors towards minority-White biracials. I experimentally manipulate whether minorities' experience social identity threat (the fear that an ingroup members' negative actions will reflect badly on oneself and one's group) in response to a minority-White person's negative actions and investigate the extent to which they feel ashamed and are motivated to distance themselves from the biracial person.

Collectively, these studies shed light on understudied populations, providing empirical data on both minority and multiracial groups. The results of these studies demonstrate not only how Blacks and Hispanics perceive minority-White biracials across a number of important outcomes (stereotypes, emotions, behaviors), but also the psychosocial process by which individual level factors (identification) and contextual factors (social identity threat) influence these outcomes.



## Notes for Chapter 1

<sup>1</sup> Throughout this paper I refer to “multiracial” and “biracial” individuals. I use “multiracial” to refer to any individual who identifies with more than one race, including people who identify with two, three, or four or more racial categories as defined by the U.S. Census. In contrast, I use the term “biracial” to specify individuals whose racial categorizations include exactly two racial categories.

<sup>2</sup> Chen & Hamilton (2012) offer several explanations for their findings. First, their study has different methodology from the others in that they include a “Multiracial” response option in the implicit categorization task. Second, their findings are consistent with neurological data that show perceivers differentiate multiracial faces from Black faces more quickly than from White faces (Willadsen-Jenson & Ito, 2006). Finally, participants were recruited from a student body in which the majority is White (52%) and only 3% are Black. As such, participants may have been relying on local base rates.

CHAPTER 2: Study 1 – Blacks' Perceptions of Black-White Biracials

## Introduction

*“First Black president! I don't care why we have a first Black president. I'm just happy to have one. I am! I know I keep saying [Obama] is the first Black president, and yes, I know that he's biracial. But I don't care. He's the first Black president!”* -- Wanda Sykes

In her HBO comedy special, “I’m a Be Me”, Wanda Sykes (2009) struts around the stage bragging about Barack Obama’s successful run for presidency. She expresses happiness that America elected its “first Black president” and discusses how the entire Black community takes pride in his success. Later in the special, Sykes acknowledges Obama’s racial ancestry – his mother is a White woman from Kansas and his father is a Black man from Kenya. But Obama’s mixed racial ancestry does not matter. To the Black community, she says, Barack Obama is Black and Black people share in his success.

Wanda Sykes’ observations illustrate an interesting theoretical issue. Biracial people are members of multiple racial groups. Theoretically, then, monoracial people who share a racial group membership with biracials may consider them to be racial ingroup or racial outgroup members. Whereas Blacks typically identify with other Black people and are less identified with White people, it is unclear how Blacks identify with people who are both Black *and* White. Understanding people’s identification with biracials is important because ingroup-outgroup distinctions provide the basis for intergroup cognitions, affect, and behavior (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner et al., 1987). Thus, the extent to which people identify with biracials has important implications for how biracials are valued and treated in society.

The purpose of this first study is to understand the extent to which Blacks identify with Black-White biracials and how identification with biracials is related to how positively they stereotype members of the group. I also compare Blacks perceptions of Black-White biracials

with those of Whites to examine whether there are racial group differences in participants' identification with, and stereotypes of, Black-White biracials. Finally, I investigate the mechanisms through which identity-related processes impact individuals' stereotypes of Black-White biracials.

### **Social Identification**

Social identification involves a connection between the self and some other person or group (Deaux, 1996). According to the social identity perspective (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner et al., 1987), the process of identification involves "depersonalization" whereby people come to perceive themselves more as interchangeable representatives of a social group rather than unique individual persons. Through social identities, individuals become connected to others by virtue of their common attachment to a group rather than their personal relationships (Turner et al., 1994). Identification does not require interdependence with others who share the same identity. Rather, it is a psychological connection with others that can exist independently of any physical contact (Deaux, 1996).

Recent conceptualizations of social identification emphasize its multidimensional nature (Ashmore et al., 2004; Cross, 1971; Ellemers et al., 1999; Leach et al., 2008; Roccas, Sagiv, Schwartz, Halevy, & Eidelson, 2008; Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998). For example, people can vary in terms of how positively they feel about a group, how important the group is to the self-concept, and how much of a bond they feel with other group members. Several studies have found that these components of identity could be empirically distinguished (Ellemers et al., 1999; Leach et al., 2008; Roccas et al., 2008). Other researchers have argued that as its most basic level, identification can be more simply conceptualized as the degree to which the group is included in the self (Tropp & Wright, 2001).

Across multiple studies and social identities, Leach et al. (2008) found that the degree to which individuals perceive themselves as similar to, and having things in common with, average group members was the aspect of identification most associated with a depersonalized sense of self and a greater degree of overlap between the self and group. These findings are consistent with self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987), which directly posits that as a result of the depersonalization process individuals come to perceive themselves as similar to other ingroup members (“I am like them”) and dissimilar from outgroup members (“I am not like them”). Perceiving oneself as similar to other group members leads individuals to view themselves as sharing a common fate with other group members and sharing emotionally in the group’s successes and failures (Deaux, 1996; Leach et al., 2008; Omoto & Snyder, 1995; Pickett & Brewer, 2005; Tropp, & Wright, 2001; Turner et al, 1987). As indicated by the Wanda Sykes’ quote, anecdotal evidence suggests Blacks feel connected to Black-White biracials and view biracials’ successes as their own. Thus, it is this aspect of identification (i.e., perceived similarity to other group members) that I examine in the present study.

### **Minority-White Biracials’ Identification with Monoracial Groups**

To date, little research has examined group identification and biracials. The few studies that exist have focused on identification from the biracial person’s point of view. For example, Good, Chavez, & Sanchez (2010) found that the more minority-White biracials felt connected to a minority group (“I feel that Black people ‘get me’.”), the more they viewed themselves as similar to other minority group members (“I am similar to other Black people.”). Good et al. (2010) also found that minority connectedness was a stronger predictor of perceived similarity than minority appearance (“I look Black.”). Consistent with self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987), the results demonstrated that feeling a psychological connection with minorities was

associated with a greater degree of overlap between the self and the group. Moreover, for biracials at least, identifying with a group had less to do with phenotypic appearance than with whether one perceived commonalities with other group members.

In a study examining perceived discrimination, group identification and life satisfaction, Giamo, Schmitt, & Outten (2012) found that the more biracial people perceived themselves as the targets of discrimination, the less satisfied they were with life. However, social identification mediated the effect of perceived discrimination on life satisfaction. Specifically, this study used Leach et al.'s (2008) multidimensional measure of social identification and found that individuals' perceived similarity to average group members was the only aspect of identification that significantly mediated a positive relationship between perceptions of discrimination and life satisfaction. That is, feeling similar to other biracial people attenuated the negative effects of discrimination on psychological well-being. Collectively, these two studies suggest that having a depersonalized sense of self in which one perceives similarities between oneself and other group members is an especially important aspect of identification.

### **Whites' Identification with Black-White Biracials**

While researchers have begun to investigate biracial peoples' identification with various racial groups (Giamo et al., 2012; Good et al., 2010), there is a dearth of research examining monoracial peoples' identification with a biracial group. To address this gap in the literature, I have begun a program of work exploring individuals' identification with minority-White biracials, as well as the downstream consequences of identification for cognitive and affective responses. For example, Barnett & Wout (2014) investigated White individuals' identification with, stereotypes of, and anxiety around Whites, Blacks and Black-White biracials in a brief internet-based study. Results revealed that participants showed greater identification with Whites

than with Black-White biracials, stereotyped Whites more positively than they stereotyped Black-White biracials, and felt more anxiety around Whites than Black-White biracials. In contrast, they were more identified with Black-White biracials than with Blacks, stereotyped Black-White biracials more positively than Blacks and felt less anxiety around Black-White biracials than around Blacks. That is, White individuals evaluated other Whites most positively, Black-White biracials moderately positively, and Blacks least positively across a number of outcomes (identification, stereotypes, anxiety). Additionally, greater identification with the target group predicted more positive group stereotypes and decreased intergroup anxiety. Thus, the extent to which Whites viewed themselves as similar to Black-White biracials predicted how positively they stereotyped biracial people as well as how anxious they felt around biracial people. To my knowledge, this was the first study to examine Whites' identification with biracials as well as the downstream consequences of identification for cognitive and affective responses.

### **Blacks' Identification with Black-White Biracials**

While recent work has begun to examine Whites' identification with biracials, no research has examined Blacks' identification with biracials. There is reason to suspect, however, that Blacks' and Whites' identification with biracials may differ. Social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) contends that higher status groups are more concerned about identity protection, whereas lower status groups are more concerned about identity enhancement. In order to avoid the risk of losing status, higher status groups may try to evade association with lower status groups, whereas lower status groups may embrace a common group identity because sharing an identity with higher status group members enhances their social position (Gonzalez & Brown, 2006). In the United States, Whites have higher social status than Blacks (Devine &

Elliot, 1995; Kahn, Ho, Sidanius, & Pratto, 2009). Thus, SIT would predict that Whites (a higher status group) would be motivated to differentiate their ingroup from Black-White biracials, whereas Blacks (a lower status group) may be motivated include biracials as part of their ingroup.

Additionally, Blacks may identify with Black-White biracials to build group solidarity and for political mobilization (Davis, 1991; Hickman, 1997; Hollinger, 2003). In the United States, Black-White biracials have historically been perceived on the basis of the long-standing principle of hypodescent (the “one-drop” rule), which specifies that biracial persons should be categorized and treated as members of the socially subordinate racial group (Banks & Eberhardt, 1998; Davis, 1991; Harris, 1964). As such, any person with *any* known Black ancestry has historically been considered Black (Davis, 1991). Despite its original intention as a means to subjugate Black people in the United States, Blacks generally apply the one-drop rule to themselves and fight to preserve it (Davis, 1991).

For example in the early 1990’s, a “multiracial movement” emerged, fueled by a coalition of mixed-race individuals and advocacy groups whose goal was the addition of a multiracial category to the 2000 U.S. Census (Rockquemore & Brunisma, 2008). Black leaders and Civil Rights’ groups opposed the movement, arguing that Census data is used to enforce civil rights legislation and that adding a multiracial category would make it difficult to accurately collect data on the effects of discrimination. Implicit in this argument is the assumption that if Black-White biracials are categorized as “multiracial” it will take power and resources away from Blacks. After a lengthy task force studied the issue, the U.S. Office of Management and Budget compromised by allowing citizens to select more than one race on the 2000 U.S. Census, but for civil rights purposes those who select more than one race are counted as the lower status



group. Collectively, theory and American history suggest Blacks will perceive themselves as similar to and sharing commonalities with Black-White biracials.

### **Implications of Identifying with Biracials**

Research has shown that individuals' identification with groups determines the degree to which their membership is psychologically affecting and socially consequential (for a review, see Ellemers et al., 2002). Specifically, individuals tend to evaluate the groups that they identify with more favorably than groups to which they do not (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). This ingroup bias can encompass many forms, such as cognitions (stereotyping), affect (emotions) and behaviors (discrimination). In the present study, I examine group stereotyping. Stereotypes are cognitions that people have about the attributes of social groups and their members (Stephan & Stephan, 1996). Research suggests that stereotypes consist of two fundamental dimensions – warmth and competence (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002). Warmth allows individuals to quickly assess whether a social group has good or ill intentions toward one's own group, whereas competence allows individuals to assess whether the group is capable of acting on those intentions (Fiske et al., 2002). In general, groups that one identifies with (ingroups) are stereotyped as having high competence and high warmth whereas groups to which one does not identify (outgroups) are stereotyped less positively on one or both dimensions (Fiske et al., 2002; Cuddy, Fiske & Glick, 2007). Thus, the degree to which individuals identify with Black-White biracials should predict how positively they stereotype the group and its members.

### **Aims and Hypotheses**

The first aim of this study is to examine Blacks' identification with Black-White biracials. I use a mixed-methods design to investigate Blacks' identification with Blacks, Whites and Black-White biracials. Whites are included as a comparison group. Drawing on social

identity theory and American history, I hypothesize that Blacks will equally identify with Blacks and Black-White biracials, and show greater identification with both groups than with Whites. Replicating Barnett & Wout (2014), I expect that Whites will show the greatest identification with Whites, the least identification with Blacks and be moderately identified with Black-White biracials. A second aim is to investigate the association between identification and stereotypes. As the process of identification is a universal process and not specific to any one social group (Turner et al., 1987), I expect that greater identification with Black-White biracials will lead both Blacks and Whites to perceive biracials as warmer and more competent.

## **Method**

### **Participants**

Forty-seven Black and White undergraduates from John Jay College participated in a web-based study. Because I was interested in American stereotypes, six participants who were born outside of the United States or immigrated to the US at age 10 or older were removed from analyses<sup>1</sup>. Among the 41 participants (Black  $N = 23$ , White  $N = 18$ ) included in the analyses, 63% were female and the mean age was 20.07 ( $SD = 4.33$ ). Forty-two percent of the participants in the sample were freshmen, 27% were sophomores, 27% were juniors, and 5% were seniors. Fifty-nine percent of participants' mothers and 62% of participants' fathers had obtained either a high school degree or had completed some college but had not obtained an undergraduate degree. Approximately 20% of parents had less than a high school degree (Mothers = 17%, Fathers = 21%) and the remaining parents had a masters or an advanced degree (Mothers = 9%, Fathers = 13%).

## Procedure and design

Participants were recruited to an online study investigating perceptions of social groups. After providing informed consent, participants completed measures of identification with Blacks, Whites and Black-White biracials. A repeated-measures design was used in order to examine how the same individual identified with the three groups. Participants then filled out measures of stereotypes (competence and warmth) related to a Black, White or Black-White biracial target group. Finally, participants reported their demographic information, read a debriefing page that described the purpose of the study, and received research credit for their participation.

## Materials

**Identification.** Following Leach et al. (ISS scale; 2008), identification was measured with two items: “I am similar to the average [target group] person” and “I have a lot in common with the average [target group] person”. Both items were assessed on a seven-point scale, on which 1 = *strongly disagree* and 7 = *strongly agree*. Scale reliability was good (Black  $r = .73$ ; White  $r = .88$ ; Biracial  $r = .69$ ). Higher scores indicate greater identification with the target group.

**Stereotypes.** Consistent with the Stereotype Content Model (SCM; Fiske et al., 2002), 6 items measured participants’ perceptions of the target group’s *competence* (“How competent are [target group] people?”) and 6 items measured *warmth* (“How friendly are [target group] people?”). Both measures were reliable ( $\alpha_{\text{competence}} = .87$ ;  $\alpha_{\text{warmth}} = .89$ ). All items were assessed on a five-point scale (1 = not at all to 5 = extremely), with higher scores indicating more positive stereotypes.

## Results

Analyses proceeded in several steps. First, a mixed-methods ANOVA was conducted to examine participants' identification with Blacks, Whites and Black-White biracials to test for group differences across target groups and participant race. Second, independent *t*-tests were conducted to examine group differences between Black and White participants' stereotypes of Black-White biracials. Third, bivariate correlations were examined for associations between key variables. Finally, regression analyses were conducted to investigate whether participants' identification with Black-White biracials predicted their stereotypes of the group.

### Identification

To test Aim 1, a repeated measures ANOVA with participant race as the between-subjects factor (Blacks, Whites) and target group as the within-subjects factor (Blacks, White, Black-White biracials) was used to examine participants' identification with the three target groups. Collapsing across target group, there was a significant between-subjects effect of participant race on identification,  $F(1, 39) = 4.37, p = .04, \eta^2 = .10$ . Whites ( $M = 4.82, SE = .18$ ) showed greater group identification than Blacks ( $M = 4.30, SE = .16$ ). The within-subjects main effect of target group on identification was not significant,  $F(1.836, 71.60) = .64, p = .52, \eta^2 = .02$ . However, this effect was qualified by a significant interaction between target group and participant race,  $F(1.836, 71.60) = 18.63, p < .001, \eta^2 = .32$ , indicating that identification with the three target groups depended on the participants' race (see Figure 1). To examine this interaction, I separately analyzed identification with the three groups by participant race.

**Black participants.** As hypothesized, paired samples *t*-tests revealed that Black participants were more identified with Blacks ( $M = 4.74, SD = 1.41$ ) than with Whites ( $M = 3.54, SD = 1.33$ ),  $p < .01$ , and more identified with Black-White biracials ( $M = 4.63, SD = 1.23$ ) than

with Whites,  $p = .02$ . Importantly, Black participants were equally identified with Blacks and Black-White biracials,  $p = .72$ .

**White participants.** In line with Barnett & Wout (2014), paired samples  $t$ -tests revealed that White participants were more identified with Whites ( $M = 5.78$ ,  $SD = 1.00$ ) than with Blacks ( $M = 4.06$ ,  $SD = 1.06$ ) and with Black-White biracials. ( $M = 4.61$ ,  $SD = 1.27$ ),  $ps = .001$ .

Consistent with past research, participants were more identified with Black-White biracials than with Blacks,  $p = .02$ .

### **Stereotypes**

Participants were supposed to have been randomly assigned to rate their perceptions of stereotypes related to one of three target groups: Blacks, Whites or Black-White biracials.

Unfortunately, there was a glitch in the survey platform and the majority of participants ( $n = 29$ ) rated Black-White biracials, while 12 participants rated Whites and zero participants rated Blacks. Because the study is focused on perceptions of biracials and due to small sample size, the White target group was removed from all further analyses. I next looked at differences on stereotypes of biracials by participant race. While Whites' ratings of Black-White biracials' competence and warmth were slightly higher than Blacks' ratings, independent  $t$ -tests found the differences to be non-significant (see Table 1).

### **Correlations**

Bivariate correlations among study variables are shown in Table 2 for the total sample as well as separately for Black and White participants. Overall, participants' identification with Black-White biracials was positively related to their stereotypes of biracials. However, this relationship seems to be an artifact of Blacks' ratings, as the variables were not significantly related for the White sample. For both Blacks and Whites, identification with Black-White

biracials was highly correlated with their identification with Blacks and uncorrelated with their identification with Whites. Age was unrelated to identification and stereotypes. Gender was significantly correlated with group stereotypes for the total sample, and with warmth for the Black sample, but was unrelated in the White sample. Black women were more likely to positively stereotype Black-White biracials than Black men. As such, gender was used as a covariate in the regression analyses. Gender was unrelated to identification across samples.

### **Regression Analyses**

Next, I tested whether participants' identification with Black-White biracials predicted whether they stereotyped biracials as competent and warm (Aim 2). Identification with Black-White biracials was mean-centered, participant race was coded as White = 0 and Black = 1, and gender was coded as Women = 0 and Men = 1. I conducted a hierarchical regression analyses to examine the impact of each of the three variables on stereotypes sequentially.

**Competence.** In Step 1, competence was regressed on identification ( $\beta = .45$ ) and was significant. Because the bivariate correlations showed that the relationship between identification and competence differed for Blacks and Whites, participant race was entered in Step 2. Identification ( $\beta = .46$ ) was a significant predictor, however participant race ( $\beta = -.17$ ) was not. Finally, gender was entered into the model. Identification ( $\beta = .37$ ) continued to be a significant predictor, though its effect was reduced. Gender ( $\beta = -.32$ ) marginally predicted competence, while participant race ( $\beta = -.24$ ) remained non-significant. The total model explained 32% of the variance in competence (see Table 3).

**Warmth.** The same steps were used to investigate participants' stereotypes of biracials' warmth. In Step 1, identification with Black-White biracials ( $\beta = .37$ ) significantly predicted warmth. In Step 2, identification ( $\beta = .40$ ) was a significant predictor, however participant race

( $\beta = -.25$ ) was not. Finally, gender was entered into the model. Gender ( $\beta = -.37$ ) was the only significant predictor. Participant race ( $\beta = -.32$ ) marginally predicted warmth, while identification ( $\beta = .29$ ) was reduced to non-significance. The total model explained 32% of the variance in warmth (see Table 4).

### **Discussion**

The present study investigated Blacks' identification with Blacks, Whites, and Black-White biracials. Results showed that Blacks were equally identified with Blacks and Black-White biracials, and less identified with Whites. These findings are consistent with Wanda Sykes' observations; Blacks do not differentiate between Blacks and Black-White biracials. While Blacks may acknowledge biracials' dual racial group membership, for all intents and purposes they view Black-White biracials as Black. In contrast to Blacks, Whites differentiated between Whites and Black-White biracials, such that Whites identified the most with other Whites, then with Black-White biracials and then with Blacks. These findings support assertions from social identity theory that higher and lower status groups may have differing motivations for including biracials in their ingroup.

The current findings also support assertions from self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987) that identification is an important mechanism in determining how group members are perceived and valued. Regression analyses demonstrated that the more individuals identified with Black-White biracials, the more they stereotyped biracials as competent and warm. In other words, those who perceived themselves as being similar to, and having commonalities with, Black-White biracials were more likely to positively stereotype the group and its members. However, participant gender reduced the effect of identification on competence and completely negated its effect on warmth. An examination of the mean scores by gender and race showed that

for White participants, there were no significant differences between men and women on competence and warmth (though women rated biracials more positively than men). In contrast, for Black participants, there was a significant difference between men and women in how positively they stereotyped Black-White biracials' warmth. Black women perceived biracials as warmer than did men. The sample was too small to do more advanced analyses investigating interactions. Moreover, with only 6 men in the Black sample, I do not have confidence that it is a reliable effect. However, future research should look into gender differences in stereotyping Black-White biracials broadly, as well as the interaction of gender and participant race.

The results of the present study have important implications for intergroup relations. Research has shown that negative stereotypes strongly predict negative racial attitudes and intergroup bias (Plant & Devine, 2003; Stephan et al., 2002; Riek et al., 2010). The findings of the present study suggest that Black-White biracials may benefit from ingroup bias, such that both Blacks and Whites may have more positive racial attitudes about, and exhibit less intergroup bias with, Black-White biracials than with outgroup members. However, compared to other ingroup members, Blacks and Whites should treat Black-White biracials differently. Because of their shared racial group membership with Blacks, Whites may give fewer ingroup advantages to Black-White biracials compared to other Whites. In contrast, Blacks should have similar attitudes about Blacks and Black-White biracials, and treat both groups in a similar manner. Future research should examine these possibilities.

In the present study, participants were instructed to think about Black-White biracials as a group, rather than as separate individuals. Following Cuddy et al. (2007), I was interested in examining participants' perceptions of social groups, and the impact of those perceptions for



various intergroup phenomena. By focusing on large social categories, I eliminate confounding factors, such as physical appearance, that may influence participants' perceptions of group attributes. Moreover, as many people do not knowingly encounter multiracial people in their social environments (Chen & Hamilton, 2012) I sought to provide a more realistic context for participants. For example, people are more likely to learn that someone is mixed race via college or job applications, governmental forms, or other written documents than in intrapersonal interactions. As such, I provided racial categories without any individuating information. It is possible that having both visual or other cues and categorical information may lead to different outcomes.

Additionally, in the present study I assessed a specific aspect of social identification – the extent to which individuals view themselves as similar to average group members – because it is the component of identification most associated with a depersonalized self-perception (Leach et al., 2008). There is some indication that other aspects of identification may influence group stereotyping. For example, a meta-analysis by Riek, Mania, and Gaertner (2006) found that identity importance had a weak, but significant, effect on stereotyping. People who were highly identified with their ingroup were more likely to negatively stereotype target group members than people who were less identified. The authors noted it is likely that the more important a group is to an individual, the more sensitive they may be to anything that may harm it. In a study examining minority-White biracials' identification, perceived similarity to other group members was a stronger predictor of outcomes than was identity importance (Giamo et al., 2012). However, it would be worthwhile for future researchers to assess other aspects of social identification, as well as their possible interactions, in relation to minorities' identification with biracials.

While the results from this study support assertions from the social identity approach (i.e., higher and lower status groups have differing motivations for identifying with social groups), an alternative explanation is that the significant target group effect is being driven by Black participants' identification with other Black people. For example, Black participants' mean identification with other Black people was 4.74, on a 7-point scale, whereas White participants' mean identification with other White people was 5.78. As Black people are acutely aware of the negative stereotypes related to their group, it is possible that participants in this study did not view themselves as similar to the average Black person, whom they considered to have negative attributes. However, Black participants' identification with their ingroup was above the mid-point of the scale, suggesting that they did indeed identify with their racial group. As such, it is possible that the significant effect of participant race is being driven by White participants' unusually high identification with their racial group. Future research should look into this possibility.

### **Conclusion**

This study is an important first step in understanding how minorities identify and stereotype minority-White biracials. It demonstrated the importance of taking into account perceiver race and not assuming that studies conducted with White samples generalize to all racial groups. The study also offers support for the social identity perspective using natural groups rather than groups artificially created in a lab. At the applied level, the findings suggest minority-White biracials may be valued and treated equivalently to other Blacks.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Following Wiley, Deaux and Hagelskamp (2012) participants who were born outside of the United States, but who immigrated to the US when they were age 10 or younger, were retained for analysis. Results are the same if they are excluded. However, due to small sample size, they were retained for power.

CHAPTER 3: Study 2 – Hispanics' Perceptions of Hispanic-White Biracials

## Introduction

The results from Study 1 provided evidence that Black people are equally identified with Blacks and Black-White biracials, and are less identified with Whites. Moreover, participants' level of identification with a group predicted how positively they stereotyped members of the group. Questions remain, however, regarding whether these findings generalize to other minority groups in America or whether the findings are unique to Blacks. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, Hispanics are the fastest growing minority group in the United States (US Census, 2013). Given their increased presence in American society, it is surprising that there has been no systematic research examining Hispanics' perceptions related to a biracial target group.

Therefore, the aim of the present research is to investigate the thoughts, feelings and behaviors Hispanics have toward Hispanic-White biracials. Specifically, I examine the extent to which Hispanic individuals identify with Hispanics, Whites and Hispanic-White biracials in order to investigate whether the findings from Study 1 generalize to other minority groups in America. Additionally, I use the Stereotype Content Model (SCM; Fiske et al., 2002) and Behaviors from Intergroup Affect and Stereotypes map (BIAS; Cuddy et al., 2007) to explore Hispanics' cognitions, affect and behaviors related to the three target groups. Finally, I test whether identification is an antecedent to the BIAS map framework in order to investigate the influence of identity processes on how people think about, feel and act toward social groups.

### **Do Hispanics Identify with Hispanic-White Biracials?**

As described in Chapter 2, social identification involves a psychological connection with a social group, in which one perceives similarities between oneself and other members of the group (Turner et al., 1987). This perceived similarity leads individuals to view themselves as sharing a common fate with other group members and share emotionally in the group's successes

and failures (Deaux, 1996; Leach et al., 2008; Omoto & Snyder, 1995; Pickett & Brewer, 2005; Tropp & Wright, 2001; Turner et al., 1987). While much research has explored the downstream consequences of identification for cognitive, affective and behavioral responses (for review, see Ellemers et al., 2002), there is a dearth of studies investigating individuals' identification with biracial groups. Preliminary evidence from Barnett & Wout (2014) and the previous chapter suggest that both White and Black individuals show identification with Black-White biracials, though to differing degrees. Black individuals are equally identified with Blacks and Black-White biracials, whereas White individuals are relatively more identified with Whites than Black-White biracials. Both Black and White individuals, however, show greater identification with Black-White biracials than with outgroup members. Moreover, the extent to which both Black and White individuals' identify with biracials predicts their stereotypes, and in the case of Barnett & Wout (2014), their emotions toward the group. Do these findings extend to Hispanic populations?

In the U.S., Hispanics are considered an ethnic group. Thus, Hispanics can be racially White, Black, or any combination of the five officially recognized racial groups designated by the U.S. Census. Many Hispanics, however, view their ethnicity as their race (Rodriguez, 2000). For example, in both the 1990 and 2000 Censuses, 97% of those who marked "Other" as their race were Hispanic (Lee, 2008). While race and ethnicity have been theorized to be distinct constructs, researchers have found that they cannot be empirically distinguished. For example, in a literature review examining racial and ethnic socialization, Hughes et al. (2006) proposed using the term *ethnic-racial* socialization as they didn't find separating the constructs of race and ethnicity to be "conceptually or empirically useful" (pg. 749).

As such, researchers have compared Blacks' and Hispanics' across a variety of outcomes (Cohen & Garcia, 2005; Deaux, Reid, Martin, & Bikmen, 2006). Studies have found that many of the stereotypes related to Blacks are equally applied to Hispanics, such as being unintelligent, drug users, and prone to violence (Nadler & Clark, 2011; Schmader & Lickel, 2006a; Unnever & Cullen, 2012). Moreover in the U.S. social hierarchy, Blacks and Hispanics occupy the lowest social positions (Kahn et al., 2009). Thus, the social identity approach would predict that as a lower status group, Hispanics, like Blacks, would be motivated to enhance their position by having more inclusive group boundaries. As such, I hypothesize that Hispanics' identification with Hispanic-White biracials will be similar to Blacks' identification with Black-White biracials. That is, I expect Hispanic individuals to show greater identification with other Hispanics than with Whites. Moreover, based on findings from Chapter 2, I expect Hispanic individuals to equally identify with Hispanics and Hispanic-White biracials.

### **The SCM and BIAS Map**

Some groups experience our unconditional positive behavior; for example, we help our friends and close allies. Other groups experience our unconditional negative behavior – we harm our enemies and attack people we hate. Many groups do not receive universal positive or negative behavior; sometimes we help or cooperate with a specific group and sometimes we exclude or demean these very same groups. The Stereotype Content Model (SCM, Fiske et al., 2002) and the Behaviors from Intergroup Affect and Stereotypes (BIAS) map (Cuddy et al., 2007) provide a framework for understanding how people think about, feel for, and act towards groups. Below I provide a brief summary on the research conducted using the framework.

**Stereotypes.** The SCM posits that evaluations of warmth and competence underlie group stereotypes. The warmth dimension – comprised of traits such as friendliness and trustworthiness

– allows individuals to assess others’ perceived intent. The competence dimension – comprised of traits such as intelligence and efficacy – relates to perceived capability to enact intent.

Research has found that a wide variety of social groups, including occupations, nationalities, gender, race and socioeconomic types, could be differentiated along the dimensions of warmth and competence in both national and international samples (for review, see Cuddy et al., 2008). For example, studies have examined warmth and competence stereotypes of older people (Cuddy & Fiske, 2002; Cuddy, Norton, & Fiske, 2005), Asian Americans (Lin, Kwan, Cheung, & Fiske, 2005), immigrants (Lee & Fiske, 2006), subgroups of gay men (Clausell & Fiske, 2005), subgroups of women (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2004; Eckes, 2002), subgroups of Black Americans (Williams & Fiske, 2006), and more. These studies generally show that ingroups are stereotyped as high in warmth and competence, and outgroups as low on one or both dimensions (Cuddy et al., 2008).

**Emotions.** The SCM also contends that evaluations of warmth and competence elicit unique emotional responses (Fiske et al., 2002). Depending on how warm or competent groups are stereotyped, different emotions emerge. For example, groups stereotyped as warm and competent (i.e., ingroups) elicit feelings of admiration and pride, whereas groups stereotyped as cold and incompetent elicit feelings of contempt and disgust. Groups stereotyped as cold, but competent elicit envy and jealousy, whereas groups stereotyped as warm but incompetent elicit pity and sympathy. Research using both correlational and experimental designs generally support the differentiation of these four emotions towards groups based on the extent to which they are stereotyped as possessing warmth and competence (Cuddy et al., 2007; Fiske et al., 2002).

**Behaviors.** An extension of the SCM, the Behaviors from Intergroup Affect and Stereotypes (BIAS) map (Cuddy et al., 2007) delineates how different behaviors toward groups



and their members emerge as a consequence of how people think and feel about them. The BIAS map distinguishes among two types of behaviors – facilitating and harmful. Facilitating behaviors lead to favorable outcomes or gains for groups, and include both active (i.e., acting for) and passive (i.e., acting with) actions. Harmful behaviors lead to detrimental outcomes or losses for groups, and is also distinguished by active (i.e., acting against) and passive (i.e., acting without) behaviors. According to the BIAS map, stereotypes – and the emotions elicited from those stereotypes – predict the behavioral tendencies individuals have towards group. For example, two experimental studies testing the causal relations hypothesized by the BIAS map showed that high warmth groups (Study 2) and admired groups (Study 3) elicited higher active and passive facilitation (Cuddy et al., 2007). As warmth and admiration are associated with ingroups (Fiske et al., 2002), the findings suggest that individuals are more willing to help or associate with members of groups they identify with than with members of groups they don't.

In sum, the SCM and BIAS map suggest that the most positive cognitions, affect and behaviors are reserved for ingroup members. However, no study using the BIAS framework has measured individuals' identification with the various social groups before assessing their perceptions of them. I propose that the degree to which Hispanics socially identify with Hispanic-White biracials should predict their stereotypes, emotions and behaviors toward biracial group members. Because I hypothesize that Hispanics will identify with Hispanic-White biracials to the same degree to which they identify with other ingroup members (Hispanics), I expect participants to stereotype Hispanic-White biracials as warm, feel admiration for Hispanic-White biracials and show a willingness to help Hispanic-White biracials. Moreover, I hypothesize participants' responses to Hispanic-White biracials will not differ from their responses related to Hispanics, but will be significantly higher than their responses to Whites.

## **The Role of Identification for Stereotypes, Emotions and Behaviors**

As stated in its name, the BIAS map predicts that behavioral tendencies towards groups stem from both stereotypes and emotions. Specifically, it contends that stereotypes predict emotions, which in turn, activate certain behavioral tendencies. Using a national sample of nearly 600 adults (77% White, 6% Black, 9% Latino), Cuddy et al. (2007) tested whether stereotypes were better predictors of behaviors than emotions. For each behavioral tendency, adding emotions to the models significantly improved the  $R^2$ , but adding stereotypes did not. Moreover, emotions were found to mediate the relationship between stereotypes and behaviors. For example, admiration mediated the relationship between warmth and both active and passive facilitation.

However, despite theorizing that ingroups are stereotyped more favorably than outgroups, Cuddy and her colleagues never actually measure participants' identification with the various social groups they reported on. As described in Chapter 2, self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987) contends that the extent to which people identify with social groups has important implications for stereotypes, emotions and behaviors. Indeed, in both Barnett & Wout (2014) and in Chapter 2, I found that identification was an important predictor for Black and White participants' stereotypes of Black-White biracials. As such, in the present study, I add identification to the BIAS map model. I hypothesize that greater identification with Hispanic-White biracials will lead Hispanic participants to stereotype Hispanic-White biracials as warm, which in turn, will lead to greater admiration for and a greater willingness to help biracials.

### **Aims and Hypotheses**

The first aim of the study is to examine Hispanics' identification, stereotypes, emotions and behavioral tendencies in regards to Hispanics, Whites, and Hispanic-White biracials. I hypothesize that Hispanics will equally identify with Hispanics and Hispanic-White biracials,

and report greater identification with both of those groups than with Whites. A second aim is to investigate the downstream consequences of identification. I expect that greater identification with a target group will lead participants to stereotype the group as warm, have greater admiration for the group and its members, and be more willing to help the group. That is, I expect to demonstrate that group differences on stereotypes, emotions and behavioral tendencies can be explained by participants' identification with the group. Finally, a third aim is to test the predictions of the SCM and BIAS map, which states that perceiving a group and its members as warm leads to feeling more pride and admiration for the group, which in turn, leads to a greater willingness to help group members. I add an important component to the model, investigating whether identification predicts warmth in the chain (see Figure 2).

## **Method**

### **Participants**

Fifty-five self-identified Hispanic undergraduates from John Jay College participated in an online study in exchange for course credit. As in Chapter 2, participants who were born outside of the United States or who immigrated to the United States at age 10 or older were removed from analyses ( $n = 5$ ). Among the 50 participants retained for the analyses, 74% were female (one participant did not specify their gender) and the mean age was 19.34 ( $SD = 2.13$ ). Four participants were born outside of the US (3 in the Dominican Republic and the fourth in Mexico), but had moved to America by the age of 3 ( $M_{age} = 2.75$ ,  $SD = .50$ ).

### **Procedure**

Participants were recruited to an online study investigating perceptions of social groups. After providing informed consent, participants were randomly assigned to think about Hispanics, Whites, or Hispanic-White biracials. Participants then filled out measures of identification,

stereotypes, emotions, and behaviors related to the assigned target group. Finally, participants reported their demographic information, read a debriefing page that described the purpose of the study, and received research credit for their participation.

## Materials

**Identification.** As used in Chapter 2, identification with the target group was measured with two items: “I am similar to the average [target group] person” and “I have a lot in common with the average [target group] person” (ISS scale; Leach et al., 2008). Both items were assessed on a seven-point scale, on which 1 = *strongly disagree* and 7 = *strongly agree*. Scale reliability was good ( $r = .78, p < .01$ ). Higher scores on this measure indicate greater identification with the target group.

**Warmth.** As used in Chapter 2, 6-items (warm, friendly, sincere, good natured, well-intentioned, trustworthy) measured participants’ stereotypes of the target group’s warmth (Fiske et al., 2002). The measure was reliable,  $\alpha = .80$ . All items were assessed on a five-point scale (1 = not at all to 5 = extremely), with higher scores indicating greater warmth.

**Admiration.** Following Fiske et al. (2002), participants were asked whether they felt proud of, admired, respected and were inspired by target group members. The four items were rated on a five-point scale, where 1 = *not at all* and 5 = *extremely*. The scale had excellent reliability ( $\alpha = .91$ ).

**Facilitation.** Consistent with the BIAS Map (Cuddy et al., 2007), facilitation was measured with four items. Two items assessed the extent to which participants would help or protect target group members (active facilitation) and two items assessed the extent to which participants cooperate and associate with target group members (passive facilitation). Items were rated on a five-point scale, where 1 = *not at all* and 5 = *extremely*. Because the BIAS map

predicts that warmth and admiration lead to both active and passive facilitation, all four items were averaged to create one facilitation measure. These scale demonstrated good reliability ( $\alpha = .88$ ).

## Results

### Group Differences

To test for target group differences (Aim1), one-way ANOVAs were conducted for each dependent variable, followed by planned contrasts. Means and standard deviations for the key variables by target group are displayed in Table 5.

**Identification.** There was a significant effect of condition on identification,  $F(2, 47) = 3.45, p = .04, \eta^2 = .13$ . In line with findings from Chapter 2, participants were more identified with Hispanics ( $M = 4.44, SD = .84$ ) and with Hispanic-White biracials ( $M = 4.50, SD = 1.63$ ) than with Whites ( $M = 3.50, SD = 1.20$ ),  $ps < .05$ . Also consistent with previous findings, participants were equally identified with Hispanics and Hispanic-White biracials,  $p = .90$ .

**Warmth.** There was a significant effect of condition on warmth,  $F(2, 47) = 3.51, p = .04, \eta^2 = .13$ . In line with findings from Chapter 2, participants stereotyped Hispanics ( $M = 3.55, SD = .49$ ) and Hispanic-White biracials ( $M = 3.62, SD = .51$ ) as warmer than Whites ( $M = 3.18, SD = .53$ ),  $ps < .05$ . Also as expected, participants stereotyped Hispanics and Hispanic-White biracials as equally warm,  $p = .67$ .

**Admiration.** There was a significant effect of condition on admiration,  $F(2, 47) = 17.28, p < .001, \eta^2 = .42$ . As hypothesized, participants showed greater admiration for Hispanics ( $M = 3.86, SD = .64$ ) and Hispanic-White biracials ( $M = 3.70, SD = 1.04$ ) than for Whites ( $M = 2.40, SD = .70$ ),  $ps < .001$ . Also as expected, there was no difference between participants admiration for Hispanics and Hispanic-White biracials,  $p = .57$ .

**Facilitation.** There was a significant effect of condition on facilitation,  $F(2, 47) = 8.02$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .25$ . As predicted, participants were more willing to help Hispanics ( $M = 3.88$ ,  $SD = .86$ ) and Hispanic-White biracials ( $M = 3.65$ ,  $SD = .86$ ) than Whites ( $M = 2.82$ ,  $SD = .69$ ),  $ps < .01$ . As predicted, participants were equally willing to help Hispanics and Hispanic-White biracials,  $p = .43$ .

### **Bivariate Correlations**

Bivariate correlations among study variables (see Table 6) indicate that identification was positively related to warmth, admiration, and facilitation. Moreover, stereotypes, emotions and behavioral tendencies were all positively correlated with each other. Gender was unrelated to the key variables. However, age was significantly correlated with identification, such that older participants were more identified with the target groups than younger participants. As such, age was used as a covariate in all regression analyses.

### **Mediation Analyses**

Next, I tested the hypothesis that identification is an important predictor of stereotypes, emotions and behavioral tendencies (Aim 2). More specifically, I wanted to know whether the effect of target group on warmth, admiration and facilitation operated indirectly through identification. Following procedures outlined in Hayes (2013), I conducted several mediation analyses using the PROCESS SPSS macro (Model 4), with 5,000 bias-corrected bootstrapped resamples. Methodologists have recommended bootstrapping as a way to avoid power problems associated with small samples or samples that have asymmetric or non-normal distributions (Hayes, 2009; Shrout & Bolger, 2002; Taylor, MacKinnon, & Tien, 2008). In bootstrapping analyses, the indirect effect is considered to be significant when the bias-corrected 95% confidence interval levels do not include 0. Because I hypothesized that participants would have

similar ratings of Hispanics and Hispanic-White biracials, and since I did not observe differences between ratings of Hispanics and Hispanic-White biracials in the one-way ANOVAs, the two conditions were combined for analyses. Thus, target group was coded as: 0 = White and 1 = Hispanic and Biracial.

**Warmth.** As shown in Figure 3, identification was a significant mediator of the relationship between target group and warmth ( $B = .10$ ,  $SE = .06$ , 95% CI: .01, .27). Participants were more identified with Hispanics and Hispanic-White biracials than with Whites, which in turn, led them to stereotype Hispanics and Hispanic-White biracials as warmer than Whites,  $F(3, 46) = 4.05$ ,  $p = .01$ ,  $R^2 = .21$ .

**Admiration.** As shown in Figure 4, identification was a significant mediator of the relationship between target group and admiration ( $B = .23$ ,  $SE = .12$ , 95% CI: .03, .55). Participants were more identified with Hispanics and Hispanic-White biracials than with Whites, which in turn, led them to feel more admiration for Hispanics and Hispanic-White biracials than for Whites,  $F(3, 46) = 17.62$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $R^2 = .53$ .

**Facilitation.** As shown in Figure 5, identification was a significant mediator of the relationship between target group and facilitation ( $B = .22$ ,  $SE = .13$ , 95% CI: .0121, .56). Participants were more identified with Hispanics and Hispanic-White biracials than with Whites, which in turn, led them to be more willing to help Hispanics and Hispanic-White biracials than Whites,  $F(3, 46) = 9.38$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $R^2 = .38$ .

**Sequential mediation.** Finally, I tested whether the effect of target group on participants' willingness to help group members operated indirectly through identification, warmth, and admiration (Aim 3). For this analysis, I used sequential mediation procedures recommended by Taylor et al. (2008) with the PROCESS SPSS macro (Model 6; Hayes, 2013) and 5,000

bootstrapped samples. The predicted model was *target group* → *identification* (Mediator 1) → *warmth* (Mediator 2) → *admiration* (Mediator 3) → *facilitation*. Age was used as a covariate and was non-significant in every model. As such, I do not discuss its effects below.

As shown in the previous analyses, the effect of target group on facilitation was significant ( $B = .93, p = .001$ ). Next, the mediating path was tested in several steps (see Table 7). In Step 1, target group was regressed on Mediator 1 (identification) and was found to be significant ( $B = .77, p < .05$ ). In Step 2, Mediator 1 and target group were regressed on Mediator 2 (warmth). Identification significantly predicted warmth ( $B = .13, p = .04$ ), while the effect of target group on warmth was reduced to non-significance ( $B = .29, p = .08$ ). In Step 3, Mediator 2, Mediator 1 and target group were regressed on Mediator 3 (admiration). Warmth ( $B = .65, p = .002$ ), identification ( $B = .21, p = .01$ ), and target group ( $B = .96, p < .001$ ) were all significant predictors of admiration. In Step 4, Mediator 3, Mediator 2, Mediator 1, and target group were regressed on facilitation. Admiration significantly predicted facilitation ( $B = .46, p = .006$ ), while warmth ( $B = -.18, p = .46$ ), identification ( $B = .17, p = .08$ ), and target group ( $B = .23, p = .41$ ), were reduced to non-significance. Finally, in Step 5, a bootstrap estimate of the predicted indirect effect was generated, along with confidence intervals. The hypothesized mediation (*target group* → *identification* → *warmth* → *admiration* → *facilitation*) was significant,  $B = .03$ , 95% CI [.003, .12].

That is, Hispanic participants were more identified with Hispanics and Hispanic-White biracials than with Whites, which lead participants to stereotype Hispanics and Hispanic-White biracials as warmer than Whites. Greater perceptions of warmth lead to greater feelings of admiration and pride, which in turn, lead participants to show a greater willingness to help group members.



## Discussion

This study provides the first empirical investigation of the degree to which Hispanics identify with Hispanic-White biracials. Consistent with findings from Chapter 2, results show that participants are equally identified with Hispanics and Hispanic-White biracials, and show greater identification with both groups compared to Whites. These findings suggest that participants experienced a depersonalized identity in which they perceived themselves as being similar to, and sharing commonalities, with Hispanic-White biracials. Participants stereotyped Hispanics and Hispanic-White biracials as equally warm, felt equally proud of Hispanics and Hispanic-White biracials, and were equally willing to help Hispanics and Hispanic-White biracials. In contrast, participants reported less positive stereotypes, emotions and behaviors towards Whites compared to both Hispanics and Hispanic-White biracials. These results support assertions that the psychological connection between self and other group members engenders perceptions of shared fate and interdependence (Leach et al., 2008; Omoto & Snyder, 1995; Pickett & Brewer, 2005; Turner et al., 1987).

Also consistent with Chapter 2, the current findings demonstrate that identification explains the relationship between target group and participants' stereotypes, emotions and behaviors toward a group. Participants evaluated Hispanics and Hispanic-White biracials more positively than they evaluated Whites, in part, because they were more identified with Hispanics and Hispanic-White biracials than with Whites. These findings support assertions from the self-categorization theory that how much a person identifies with a group can have a significant impact on various outcomes (Turner et al., 1987). While the analyses demonstrated that identification significantly mediated the effects of target group on warmth, admiration and facilitation, target group remained a significant predictor of both admiration and facilitation,

suggesting that other factors not measured in this study may play a role in their relationship. Future research should examine what these factors may be.

### **Strengths and Limitations**

Results from this study suggest that the inclusion of identification adds valuable information to the BIAS map framework. As predicted, sequential mediation analyses demonstrated that identification with the target group was a crucial precursor to the causal link between stereotypes, emotions and behaviors. The more participants identified with a group, the more positively they evaluated the group. In previous studies investigating the BIAS map, participants were asked to think about stereotypes as culturally shared knowledge, in part to reduce social desirability (Cuddy et al., 2007; Fiske et al., 2002). However, societal prejudices do not always equal personal prejudices. People are acutely aware of the negative stereotypes others have of their racial groups (Steele, 1997; Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, 1998; Wout, Shih, Jackson, & Sellers, 2009) and expect to be negatively stereotyped by outgroup members (Frey & Tropp, 2006). Indeed, research shows that both Blacks and Hispanics, who occupy the lowest status in the US social hierarchy, separate how they personally view their groups from how other people view their groups (Crocker, Luhtanen, Blaine, & Broadnax, 1994; Wiley, Perkins, & Deaux, 2008). Thus, a strength of the current study is that I measured participants' personal stereotypes, emotions and behaviors rather than assessing what they thought "most Americans" think.

In contrast to the repeated measures design I used in Chapter 2, the current study used a between-subjects design in which participants reported their stereotypes, emotions and behavioral tendencies toward only one social group – Hispanics, Whites or Hispanic-White biracials. Despite the change in methods from Chapter 2 to Chapter 3, both studies demonstrated

the same effect – Blacks and Hispanics do not differentiate between ingroup members and biracials. Thus, the present study not only replicates the previous study's findings, but shows that it is a robust effect that generalizes to other minority groups.

One important limitation of the research is that it employs a correlational design to test the mediation. Although the causal sequence that I investigated is consistent with both research on social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and intergroup relations work (Cuddy et al., 2007; Mackie et al., 2008), the study would be strengthened by investigating alternative causal pathways using path analyses or structural equation modeling. One alternative would be that stereotyping one's group as warm and friendly and/or feeling pride and admiration for a group leads to increased identification with it, which in turn, leads to more positive behaviors. Future research should examine these possibilities.

Finally, one should keep in mind that behavioral tendencies reported by participants in the present research cannot be seen as the same thing as actual behaviors. Behavioral intentions indicate a readiness to achieve a more general change in relation to the environment, such as avoiding a dangerous person or situation, or helping group members (Yzerbyt, Dumont, Wigboldus, & Gordijn, 2003). More research is needed to ascertain the impact of social emotions on people's actual behaviors.

CHAPTER 4: Study 3 – The Role of Social Identity Threat on  
Minorities' Perceptions of Minority-White Biracials

## Introduction

The results of the previous two chapters demonstrate that Black and Hispanic individuals equally identify with biracials and other ingroup members, and are less identified with Whites. Additionally, the studies show that minorities' identification predicts their stereotypes, emotions and behavioral tendencies towards members of the groups. That is, Blacks and Hispanics positively stereotype, feel proud of and are willing to help ingroup members and biracials, and these responses significantly differ from how they think about, feel for and behave towards Whites. Just as people feel pride and admiration for the successes of other ingroup members, they also feel shame and guilt for the negative actions of others (for review, see Lickel, Steele, & Schmader, 2011). The present study aims to extend the findings of Chapters 2 and 3 by examining minorities' responses to minority-White biracials within the context of social identity threat - the fear that one will be judged on the basis of or confirm the stereotypes associated with one's group (Shelton, Richeson, & Vorauer, 2006; Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002).

Threats to social identity can take many forms (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999; Cohen & Garcia, 2005; Shapiro & Neuberg, 2007; Wout, Danso, Jackson, & Spencer, 2008), varying by source of threat (self, outgroup member, ingroup member), target of the threat (self, outgroup member, ingroup member), and class of threat (categorization, distinctiveness, value, acceptance). I examine threats emanating from the awareness that the poor performance of a single individual in one's group may be viewed by others through the lens of a stereotype and be generalized into a negative judgment of oneself and the entire group (Cohen & Garcia, 2005; Lickel, Schmader, Curtis, Scarnier, & Ames, 2005). Blacks and Hispanics report higher levels of social identity threat than do Whites and Asians, and find social identity threat more worrisome than other types of threat, such as stereotype threat – the fear of personally confirming a negative

stereotype of one's groups (Cohen & Garcia, 2005). An interesting theoretical question, then, is to what extent do Blacks and Hispanics experience social identity threat in response to the actions of a biracial person? No research to date has investigated this question.

The present study aims to fill this gap in the literature by examining minorities' experiences of social identity threat in relation to the behavior of ingroup members, outgroup members or biracials. Specifically, I examine the extent to which Blacks and Hispanics feel ashamed and want to distance themselves from a minority, White, or minority-White biracial person who acts in a manner that is stereotypic of minorities. Because social identity threat occurs when an individual is afraid that the actions of an ingroup member may reflect badly on oneself or one's group, understanding whether minorities feel threatened due to a biracial person's negative behavior can elucidate the extent to which minorities are socially identified with biracials.

### **Social Identity Threat**

Social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) contends that the groups people belong to are an important part of their self-concept. Because people want to see themselves in a positive light, they also strive to maintain a positive image of the groups that they belong to. People feel threatened when their social group memberships could be viewed by others in a negative light. Because group identities are tied to one's self-concept, threats to group identity are also perceived as threats to one's self (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

While a plethora of research has examined the extent to which individuals are concerned with personally confirming a negative stereotype about the group (for review, see Steele et al., 2002), little work has examined the extent to which individuals are concerned with the stereotype-confirming actions of other members of their ingroup (for review, see Lickel et al.,

2011). Researchers contend that when people view themselves in terms of their group memberships, the definition of “self” extends to other members of the group (Turner et al., 1987). As such, the stereotypic actions of an ingroup member are threatening because individuals are concerned that they themselves could be viewed negatively (Vorauer et al., 1998).

People are acutely aware of the negative stereotypes others have of their racial groups (Steele, 1997; Vorauer et al., 1998; Wout et al., 2009) and actively search for contextual cues to determine how others in the social context will perceive and treat them (Murphy & Taylor, 2012; Steele et al., 2002; Vorauer, 2006). Moreover, individuals’ fears of being negatively judged based on the actions of other ingroup members are not unfounded. Across three studies, Henderson-King & Nisbett (1996) found that the negative actions of just one Black person were generalized to judgments about other Black people and resulted in Whites’ avoidance of subsequent interactions with other Blacks.

Recent work has found that the extent to which individuals feel threatened as a consequence of another person’s behavior depends on two key elements: 1) sharing a group membership with the person performing the act and 2) the action must be relevant to a negative stereotype about the group (Cohen & Garcia, 2005; Lickel et al., 2005; Schmader & Lickel, 2006a,b). Lickel et al. (2005) asked undergraduates to recall events when the actions of a family member, a friend, and a person who they did not know very well but who happened to share their ethnicity made them feel ashamed. Events involving an ethnic ingroup member were rated as more relevant to their group identity than events involving a family member or friend. Moreover, identity relevance significantly predicted the extent to which individuals viewed the person’s behavior as reflecting negatively on themselves and their feelings of shame.

Cohen & Garcia (2005) investigated whether Blacks experienced social identity threat when a same-race (vs. White) peer expressed doubt about their ability to perform an IQ (vs. art) test. Social identity threat only occurred when a Black peer was in danger of confirming a negative stereotype about the group (i.e., intellectual inferiority). When a Black peer expressed concern about taking a test that was irrelevant to stereotypes about Blacks (i.e., drawing ability), Blacks did not experience threat. Additionally, they did not experience social identity threat due to a White peer's actions in either the intellectual or art test condition. Collectively, these studies demonstrate that shared group membership and stereotype-relevant actions are necessary conditions to elicit social identity threat.

### **Emotional and Behavioral Reactions to Social Identity Threat**

Research shows that individuals feel ashamed for another's wrongdoing to the extent that they feel the person's behavior is relevant to a social identity that they have in common and view the other's person's behavior as reflecting negatively on themselves or their group (Lickel, Schmader, & Barquissau, 2004; Lickel et al., 2005; Schmader & Lickel, 2006a,b). Shame is greater when the potential for public exposure is high because it elicits feelings of self-consciousness and fears that one will be rejected by others (Schmader & Lickel, 2006a; Smith, Webster, Parrott, & Eyre, 2002; Tangney, Wagner, Hill-Barlow, Marschall, & Gramzow, 1996). As such, shame is related to responses aimed at insulating oneself from negative evaluation and involves a desire to hide, disappear, or escape from the situation and public scrutiny (Lickel et al., 2005; Tangney, Miller, Flicker, & Barlow, 1996).

For example, Schmader & Lickel (2006a) asked Hispanics to think about a time when they observed a person who shared their ethnicity do something that seemed to be consistent with a negative stereotype that people had about their ethnic group. Stereotypicality of the event



was related to feelings of shame, but was unrelated to other emotions. In a follow up study, the authors had Hispanic and White participants read a variety of scenarios and imagine that the person described was of the same race or ethnicity as themselves. The scenarios involved a target person engaging in positive or negative behavior. Importantly, the negative behaviors were rated by an independent group of Hispanic and White students to be more stereotypic of Hispanics than Whites. Even though the events were identical, results showed that Hispanics reported feeling significantly more shame than did Whites, suggesting that Hispanics viewed the negative behavior of the ingroup member as being more relevant to their group identity than did Whites.

One strategy that individuals employ to cope with social identity threat is to physically or psychologically distance oneself from the situation or the wrongdoer (Cameron, Duck, Terry, & Lalonde, 2005; Cohen & Garcia, 2005; Lickel et al., 2005; Schmader & Lickel, 2006b). Across a number of experiments and social identities (i.e., race, gender), Cohen & Garcia (2005) found that participants coped with social identity threat by attempting to disassociate themselves from the person in danger of confirming a negative stereotype of the group. For example, participants sat farther away from the person (Studies 1 & 3), distanced themselves from the stereotypical qualities of their racial group (Studies 1 & 2), and refused to indulge in the same snack as the fellow ingroup member (Study 3). Cameron et al. (2005) showed that perceived threat to the image of the group lead individuals to psychologically distance themselves from the group by stereotyping themselves as dissimilar to other group members along a variety of group traits.

Consistent with research that shows group-based emotions predict intergroup behaviors (Mackie et al., 2008; Cuddy et al. 2007), Lickel et al. (2005) found that participants were more likely to report that they wanted to “disappear from the situation” and that they “did not want to be associated in any way with the person who caused the event” when they felt that a negative

event was related to a group identity compared to events involving family members or friends. Moreover, feeling ashamed for an ethnic group member's negative behavior predicted their desire to distance from them. Similarly, in a study investigating the relationship between emotions and behavioral tendencies, Schmader & Lickel (2006b) found that shame uniquely predicted individuals' tendencies to distance from the negative event.

Collectively, research shows that individuals experience social identity threat when an ingroup member performs an act that could potentially confirm a negative stereotype about their group. Experiencing social identity threat leads individuals to feel ashamed for the wrongdoer's behavior and motivated to distance themselves from both the situation and the person performing the negative act. The present study examines whether these emotional and behavioral tendencies extend to biracials.

### **Aims and Hypotheses**

The first aim of this study is to examine Blacks' and Hispanics' feelings of shame and desire to distance from a minority (Black or Hispanic), White, or minority-White biracial person acting in either a manner that is stereotypic of Blacks and Hispanics (threat condition) or a manner that is unrelated to a stereotype of Blacks and Hispanics (non-threat condition). Based on theory and research, I hypothesize that minorities will feel more ashamed and report a greater motivation to distance themselves when a Black or Hispanic person, as opposed to a White person, behaves in a manner that is stereotypically-relevant to Blacks and Hispanics. Based on findings from Chapters 2 & 3, which demonstrate that Blacks and Hispanics are equally identified with - and have equivalent emotional and behavioral responses - to ingroup members and biracials, I hypothesize that minorities will not differ in their emotional and behavioral reactions to a minority and biracial wrongdoer. Moreover, because social identity threat occurs

when one could be judged in light of a negative stereotype of the group, I expect no group differences when the target person behaves in a manner that is not stereotypic of minorities (non-threat condition). A second aim is to investigate the extent to which individuals' feelings of shame influence their motivation to distance from the situation and wrongdoer. I hypothesize that the effect of social identity threat on distancing will be mediated by participants' feelings of shame, but only for actions related to a minority or biracial target person.

## **Method**

### **Participants**

Participants were 131 self-identified Black ( $n = 45$ ) and Hispanic ( $n = 86$ ) undergraduates from a city university in the northeast. They took part in the study in exchange for either course credit or a \$5 gift certificate to an online retailer. Students receiving credit were recruited through the Psychology research pool; paid participants were solicited via flyers posted around campus. Participants were 102 (78%) women and 29 (22%) men ranging in age from 18 to 45 years ( $M = 20.83$ ,  $SD = 3.71$ ). Most (82%) were born in the United States. On average, the first-generation students had moved to the United States when they were 8 years old ( $SD = 5.9$ ). For participants who reported their ethnic background ( $n = 114$ ), the largest groups were Dominican (15%), Puerto Rican (10%), Mexican (7%), African-American (4%), Guyanese (4%), Haitian (4%), and African (3%).

### **Procedures and Design**

Participants were recruited to participate in an online study investigating perceptions of social groups in America. Those who agreed received a link to the study's website and, after providing online consent, participants were randomly assigned to either a threat (50%) or non-threat (50%) condition. In each condition, participants were instructed to read a scenario

(described below) and imagine that that they had personally witnessed the event described. In the threat condition the target person behaved in a manner that is stereotypically negative of minorities, whereas in the non-threat condition the target person behaved in a manner that was unrelated to a stereotype of minorities. The race of the target person performing the behavior in the scenario was experimentally manipulated; participants were randomly assigned to read about a Minority ( $n = 35$ ), White ( $n = 26$ ), or Biracial ( $n = 26$ ) person. For the Minority and Biracial conditions, the target person's race was matched to the participant's race. For example, Black (Hispanic) participants read about a Black (Hispanic), White, or Black-White (Hispanic-White) biracial person. Following the experimental manipulations, participants completed emotion and behavior measures. Participants also completed two manipulation checks. One assessed whether they read the scenario and the other assessed the effectiveness of the threat manipulation.

### **Manipulation and Measures**

**Condition.** Scenarios described in the threat and non-threat conditions were adapted from Schmader & Lickel (2006a). The scenarios were used because they had been developed and pretested with both minority and White participants, who rated the threat scenario as being significantly more stereotypic of minorities than Whites. Research shows that shame is greater when the potential for public exposure is high (Smith et al., 2002; Tangney et al., 1996). As such, both scenarios involve participants' learning about the event via a public TV broadcast on the local news.

Participants in the *threat condition* read, "You are watching the local news and you hear about a big drug bust that took place earlier that day. As the reporter describes the amount of drugs that were seized, you are shown footage of police officers escorting a person, described to be a 20-year old [target group] man, in handcuffs to the squad car. The man had been convicted

previously of drug charges. A tip from a neighbor led the police to search the house where they found a drug lab in the back room.”

Participants in the *non-threat condition* read, “You are watching the local news and you hear about a 5-year old boy that fell into the East River. As a reporter describes the rescue efforts, you are shown footage of a person, described to be a 20-year old [target group] man, jumping into the river after the boy. The man was able to pull the boy to safety, risking his life to save someone else.”

**Manipulation checks.** To assess the effectiveness of the threat manipulation, participants were asked to respond to the following question: “How positive or negative is the person’s behavior (man selling drugs/man saving boy)?” The item was assessed on a 7-point scale on which 1 = very positive and 7 = very negative. Additionally, at the end of the survey, participants were asked to recall various aspects of the story, including the age, race, and gender of the target person. Responses were used to assess the effectiveness of the race manipulation.

**Shame.** After reading each scenario, participants rated how much the situation described made them feel a variety of emotions. Following Schmader & Lickel (2006a) participants’ feelings of shame were assessed with three items ( $\alpha = .85$ , *ashamed*, *embarrassed*, *humiliated*). Items were rated on a 7-point scale on which 1 = does not describe my feelings at all and 7 = describes my feelings very well.

**Distancing.** Following both Lickel et al. (2005) and Schmader & Lickel (2006a), six-items were used to assess participants’ motivation to distance themselves from the situation and wrongdoer (e.g., “I would not want people to know that I share this person’s racial or ethnic identity” and “I would feel like I would want to disappear from the situation”). Items were rated

on a 7-point scale on which 1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree. Internal reliability was good,  $\alpha = .85$ .

A principal components factor analysis with Direct Oblimin rotation was used to assess whether shame and distancing would each load on its own unique factor. Findings revealed the expected two-factor structure (with Eigenvalues  $> 1$ ), explaining 65.39% of the variance. The shame and distancing items loaded on the expected factors, with loadings ranging from .42 to .90.

## Results

### Preliminary analyses

2(Race of participant: Black, Hispanic) x 2(Condition: Threat, Non-threat) x 3(Target Group: Minority, Biracial, White) ANOVAs were conducted to examine the appropriateness of combining Black and Hispanic participants. Participant race did not directly predict any of the study variables nor were any of the two- or three-way interactions involving participant race significant. Moreover, correlations among variables were in the same direction and similar in magnitude across race of participants, thereby justifying the combined sample.

### Manipulation checks

The threat manipulation had the intended effect. The scenario described in the threat condition was rated more negatively ( $M = 5.86$ ,  $SD = .1.18$ ) than the scenario described in the non-threat condition ( $M = 1.11$ ,  $SD = .44$ ),  $F(1,129) = 936.63$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .88$ . Moreover, all participants correctly recalled the race of the target person described in the scenario.

## Group differences

Means for each variable broken down by target group and threat condition are shown in Table 8. A series of 3(target race: Minority, Biracial, White) x 2 (condition: Threat, Non-Threat) ANOVAs were conducted to explore group differences, followed by planned contrasts.

**Shame.** Participants reported feeling significantly more shame in the threat condition ( $M = 2.62$ ,  $SD = 1.79$ ) than in the non-threat condition ( $M = 1.22$ ,  $SD = .68$ ),  $F(1, 119) = 27.79$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .19$ . This main effect was qualified by a marginally significant condition by target group interaction,  $F(2, 119) = 2.54$ ,  $p = .08$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .04$  (see Figure 6). Consistent with predictions, participants in the threat condition felt significantly more shame when imagining a Minority person ( $M = 2.99$ ,  $SD = 1.97$ ) behaving in a stereotypically negative manner than when imagining a White person ( $M = 1.90$ ,  $SD = .97$ ) acting in a similar manner,  $t(39) = -1.08$ ,  $p = .03$ . Also as expected, participants felt more shame for a Biracial person's ( $M = 2.77$ ,  $SD = 1.98$ ) negative actions compared to a White person's negative actions,  $t(32) = -1.80$ ,  $p = .08$ . Importantly, participants felt *equally* ashamed when a Minority and Biracial person behaved stereotypically,  $t(44) = -.37$ ,  $p = .72$ . In the non-threat condition, there were no significant group differences in participants' feelings of shame when imagining the target person acting in a non-stereotypic manner.

**Distancing.** There was a main effect of threat  $F(1, 124) = 241.72$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .43$ , such that participants showed a greater motivation to distance from the situation and target person in the threat condition ( $M = 4.41$ ,  $SD = 1.26$ ) than in the non-threat condition ( $M = 2.40$ ,  $SD = .96$ ). However, neither the main effect of target group nor the interaction was significant.

## Bivariate Correlations

Consistent with predictions, associations between shame and distancing differed in significance and magnitude for the Minority and Biracial target groups compared to the White target group. When participants imagined a Minority or Biracial person acting in a stereotypically negative manner, shame was significantly related to distancing ( $r = .64$  and  $.56$ ,  $ps < .01$ , respectively); greater feelings of shame were associated with a greater desire to want to distance from the situation and wrongdoer. In contrast, participants' feelings of shame were unrelated to their desire to distance from a White person who behaved badly ( $r = .33$ ,  $p = ns$ ).

## Moderated Mediation Analyses

I hypothesized that shame would mediate the direct effect of condition on distancing for scenarios involving a Minority or Biracial person, but not a White person (see Figure 7). Because I did not observe differences in participants' feelings of shame between the Minority and Biracial target groups in the ANOVA and for theoretical reasons, they were combined in the moderated mediation analysis. Following the guidelines of Hayes (2013), I tested for the hypothesized conditional indirect effect of threat condition on distancing via shame using the SPSS Process macro (Model 7). This macro calculates bootstrapped confidence intervals for the indirect effects at each level of the moderator variable. Significant indirect effects are indicated when zero falls outside of the 95% bootstrapped confidence intervals. For the analysis, the dummy coded condition variable (0 = threat, 1 = non-threat) served as the independent variable, the dummy coded target group variable (0 = Minority/Biracial, 1 = White) was the moderator and the mean-centered shame variable served as the mediator. As hypothesized, the indirect effect of threat condition on distancing via shame was significant for the Minority/Biracial target group ( $B = -.50$ , 95% CI:  $-.77, -.26$ ). In contrast, the indirect effect was not significant for the White target



group ( $B = -.14$ , 95% CI:  $-.36, .07$ ). That is, reading about a Minority or Biracial person (but not a White person) behaving in a stereotypically negative manner (vs. non stereotypic manner) increased participants' feelings of shame, which in turn, led to a greater motivation to distance from both the situation and perpetrator. The final model explained 51% of the variance in distancing (see Table 9).

I also conducted a moderated mediation analysis investigating the conditional indirect effect of threat condition on distancing through shame comparing just the Biracial and White target groups. The analysis yielded the same results as reported above. The conditional mediation model was significant for the Biracial target group ( $B = -.42$ , 95% CI:  $-.85, -.11$ ), but not the White target group ( $B = -.12$ , 95% CI:  $-.36, .04$ ). Finally, I ran a model comparing the Minority and Biracial target groups. Again, the pattern of results were consistent with the initial model. The conditional mediation model was significant for both the Biracial target group ( $B = -.49$ , 95% CI:  $-.95, -.19$ ) and the Minority target group ( $B = -.55$ , 95% CI:  $-.92, -.25$ ).

### **Discussion**

The present study investigated the effect of social identity threat on minorities' feelings of shame and their motivation to distance themselves from a negative event caused by either an ingroup member (Black or Hispanic), outgroup member (White), or biracial group member. In general, participants felt more ashamed when imagining a young man being arrested on drug charges than when imagining a young man saving a little boy from drowning. However, participants' feelings of shame depended on the race of the man portrayed in the story. Participants felt significantly more shame when witnessing a Black or Hispanic man being arrested than when witnessing a White man being arrested. Importantly, Blacks and Hispanics felt *equally* ashamed for a minority and biracial target person's negative actions. This is the first

study to provide evidence that minorities have emotional and behavioral reactions for the misdeeds of biracial people.

These findings are consistent with past research showing individuals feel shame for another person's actions to the extent that the person's behavior is seen as relevant to a shared group identity and confirms a negative stereotype about the group (Cohen & Garcia, 2005; Lickel et al. 2005; Schmader & Lickel, 2006a). In America, Blacks and Hispanics are commonly stereotyped as "thugs" and "drug dealers". The present findings suggest that Black and Hispanic participants were aware of this negative stereotype about their groups and experienced shame and embarrassment that their group was being portrayed in a negative light by a person with whom they shared a racial group membership. However, participants did not experience shame for the non-stereotypic actions of an ingroup member. Thus, the present findings are consistent with past work that shows social identity threat to be a situational threat (Shelton et al., 2008; Steele et al., 2002). Because participants felt shame for a biracial person's actions, results also suggest Blacks and Hispanics viewed a negative event involving a biracial person as being relevant to their own group identity. This finding is consistent with results from Chapters 2 & 3 demonstrating that Blacks and Hispanics equally identify with biracials and other ingroup members.

In the present study, feeling shame for another person's misdeeds motivated participants to distance themselves from the target person and event, but only in response to an ingroup (vs. outgroup) member. Moderated mediation analyses demonstrated that participants' motivation to distance themselves from a minority or biracial person who had behaved in a stereotypically negative manner was due to their feelings of shame for the person's misdeeds. However, participants' motivation to distance from a White person's misdeeds was unrelated to their

feelings of shame. Research shows that the emotions elicited from the actions of another person are differentiated by how the event is perceived with respect to the self (Tangney, Niedenthal, Covert, & Hill-Barlow, 1998). People are most likely to feel ashamed for other people's actions when it seems that by virtue of their wrongdoing, they tarnish the image of a group membership they have in common (Lickel et al., 2005; Schmader & Lickel, 2006b). These findings suggest that Blacks and Hispanics were motivated to distance themselves from a minority or biracial person, but not a White person, because they felt their actions could be generalized to a negative evaluation of themselves. While minorities desired to distance themselves from a White person who behaved badly, it was not due to their feelings of shame. A White person's misdeeds may have elicited other emotions not assessed in this study, such as intergroup anxiety, or simply reflected that fact that the person did something bad. The latter interpretation is consistent with data that shows Hispanics and Whites did not differ in their motivation to distance from an ingroup member's misdeeds (Schmader & Lickel, 2006a).

In the current study, I investigated minorities' feelings of shame for an ingroup member's negative behavior. However, people can also feel guilt for others' actions. Research shows that group-based guilt is elicited when the negative actions of others bring to mind some way in which we feel personally or collectively complicit in their actions (Lickel et al., 2004; Lickel et al. 2005; Lickel et al., 2011). Whereas shame has been shown to be related to motivations to distance from the wrongdoer and their actions, guilt predicts approach motivations and a desire to make reparations (Schamder & Lickel, 2006b). For example, individuals are motivated to apologize for and repair whatever harm the other person has done to the extent that they feel guilty (Lickel et al., 2005; Schmader & Lickel, 2006a,b).

Group-based shame and guilt, and their respective behavioral motivations, have implications for intergroup relations. Feeling shame is largely self-protective and leads to individuals distancing themselves from their group in an attempt to protect the self from negative evaluation. However, there is evidence that distancing may also be collectively adaptive. For example, shame was found to predict U.S. and British students' desire to withdraw troops in Iraq (Iyer, Schmader & Lickel, 2007). In contrast, guilt is more other focused (Schmader & Lickel, 2006b). Feeling guilty for the negative actions of one's ingroup predicts greater support for affirmative action policies (Boeckmann & Feather, 2007), apology on behalf of the group (Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, & Manstead, 1998, McGarty et al., 2005), and reparations for past actions (Brown, González, Zagefka, Manzi, & Čehajić, 2008; Iyer, Leach & Crosby, 2003). Future research should investigate whether minorities feel guilty for the actions of a biracial person's negative actions as well as their motivations to make reparations.

In the present study, shame ratings were fairly low suggesting participants did not feel particularly threatened by the wrongdoer's actions in the social identity threat condition. For example, the highest mean rating was 2.99 on a 7-point scale in relation to the Minority person's negative actions. In comparison, Schmader & Lickel (2006a) found that Hispanics had mean shame scores of 3.82 (Study 1) and 5.49 (Study 2) after reading about a Hispanic person acting in a stereotypically negative manner. The low scores in the current study may explain why the interaction between condition and target group on shame was found to be only marginally significant. One explanation for the low scores may be that I had participants respond to a single scenario (positive or negative) whereas Schmader & Lickel (2006a) had participants respond to twelve different scenarios (6 positive and 6 negative). Reading a number of scenarios with different valence may have made the threats in the threat conditions more salient for participants.

However, while the means in the current study may have been lower than in Schmader & Lickel (2006a), the pattern of results are consistent with their findings.

### **Conclusion**

*“I know I keep saying [Barack Obama] is the first Black president. Yes, I know he’s biracial, but I don’t care. Well, that’s unless he fucks up. If he fucks up, I’m gonna be the first one to say, ‘Who voted for the half-White guy?!’”* – Wanda Sykes (2009)

In Chapter 2, I introduced my study using a quote from Wanda Sykes. In the quote, she talked about how she considered Barack Obama to be Black even though she acknowledged his mixed race ancestry. However, as illustrated in the full quote above, Sykes later suggests that if Barack Obama performs negatively in the national spotlight, he will no longer be considered Black; he will just be that “half-White guy”. The findings of the present research provide empirical evidence of Sykes’ observation. People experience social identity threat when an ingroup member performs an act that could potentially confirm a negative stereotype about their group. In turn, social identity threat leads individuals to feel ashamed for the wrongdoer’s behavior and motivates them to distance themselves from both the situation and wrongdoer.

## CHAPTER 5 – General Discussion & Conclusion

## Summary

The central focus of this dissertation was to investigate minorities' identification with minority-White biracials, as well as the downstream cognitive (warmth and competence stereotypes), affective (pride, shame), and behavioral (facilitation, distancing) consequences of identification. While previous work has found that social identification plays an important role in how individuals think about, feel for and act towards various groups (Ellemers et al., 2002; Turner et al., 1987), no published research to date has examined the extent to which minority individuals identify with a biracial group. Across three studies, my dissertation examined Blacks' and Hispanics' identification with Black-White and Hispanic-White biracials and offers the first empirical evidence that monoracial minority individuals socially identify with, and have stereotypes, emotions and behaviors related to minority-White biracials.

Specifically, Chapter 2 addressed the extent to which Blacks identified with Black-White biracials and found that participants' were equally identified with biracials and other Blacks, and less identified with Whites. These findings were in contrast to Whites' identification with Black-White biracials, in which participants were most identified with other ingroup members, least identified with outgroup members and moderately identified with biracials. Moreover, for both Black and White participants, identifying with Black-White biracials led them to positively stereotype members of the group. Therefore, Chapter 2 established that Blacks and Whites have differing identification with Black-White biracials, and that their identification predicted how positively biracials were stereotyped.

Chapter 3 examined Hispanics' identification with Hispanic-White biracials and also found that participants were equally identified with biracials and other ingroup members, and less identified with Whites. Additionally, Chapter 3 demonstrated that Hispanics had equivalent

stereotypes, emotions and behaviors towards biracials and ingroup members, and had less positive responses among those dimensions towards Whites. That is, Hispanic participants stereotyped Hispanic-White biracials and Hispanics as equally warm, felt equally proud of Hispanic-White biracials and Hispanics, and were equally willing to help Hispanic-White biracials and Hispanics. In contrast, participants perceived Whites as less warm, felt less proud, and were less willing to help Whites compared to Hispanic-White biracials and Hispanics. Finally, participants' identification predicted their cognitive, affective and behavioral responses. These results replicate and extend the findings from Chapter 2, demonstrating that the effects found in Study 1 generalize to a different population and to different intergroup responses.

While Chapters 2 & 3 examined minorities' identification with minority-White biracials generally, Chapter 4 investigated minorities' reactions to a single biracial person's actions. Results showed that Blacks and Hispanics experienced social identity threat – the fear that the poor performance of an ingroup member may be viewed through the lens of a stereotype and be generalized to a negative judgment of oneself or the entire group – in response to a Black-White or Hispanic-White biracial person acting in a stereotypically negative manner, but not when they acted in a non-stereotypic manner. Specifically, under conditions of threat, participants felt equally ashamed of a minority or minority-White biracial person's negative actions, and significantly more shame for the negative actions of a minority or biracial person than for the negative actions of a White person. There were no group differences in participants' level of shame or motivation to distance from the wrongdoer in the non-threat condition. Chapter 4 also demonstrated that participants' feelings of shame mediated their motivation to distance from the wrongdoer, but only in response to a biracial or ingroup member (vs. outgroup member). Thus, Chapter 4 established that minorities perceived the negative actions of a minority-White biracial



person as reflecting badly on themselves and their group, which led to specific emotional and behavioral responses.

Taken together, the results of the three studies suggest that Blacks and Hispanics socially identify with Black-White and Hispanic-White biracials. Consistent with the social identity approach (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner et al., 1987), the findings consistently demonstrated that minorities perceived themselves as interchangeable representatives of a group that included both minorities and minority-White biracials. The findings suggest that Blacks and Hispanics experienced a “depersonalized” self-concept, perceiving themselves as being similar to and having commonalities with Black-White and Hispanic-White biracials.

Moreover, the current findings also support assertions from self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987; 1994) that the process of social identification is an important mechanism in determining how group members are perceived and valued. Mediation analyses demonstrated that the more minorities identified with minority-White biracials the more likely they were to positively stereotype the group, share emotionally in group member’s successes or failures, and be willing to help the group or distance from it. Differences in minorities’ group identification explained target group differences between minorities, Whites and minority-White biracials on the cognitive, affective and behavioral measures assessed. These results are consistent with past research showing that feeling a psychological connection with other group members is associated with a greater degree of overlap between the self and the group, and that self-group overlap mediates a number of important outcomes, such as prejudice reduction, self-esteem, and life satisfaction (Giamo et al., 2012; Good et al., 2010; Leach et al., 2008; Stone & Crisp, 2007; Tropp & Wright, 2001).

### **Factors That May Predict Identification**

While the present data demonstrate the effects of social identification on intergroup behavior, the current research does not investigate what factors may influence minorities' identification with minority-White biracials. Self-categorization theory argues that social identification is highly context-dependent (Turner et al., 1987). Thus, identification with minority-White biracials may depend on aspects of the perceiver, aspects of the target, and/or aspects of the social context. Research on the racial categorization of biracials shows that people who have higher racial status, view their racial group as central to their self-concept, live in hard economic times, are cognitively depleted, or believe in racial essentialism have stricter boundaries for who they consider to be part of their racial ingroup than those who do not have these attributes (Castano, Yzerbyt, Bourguignon, & Seron, 2002; Chao et al., 2013; Chen & Hamilton, 2012; Ellemers et al., 2002; Ho et al., 2013; Penner, & Saperstein, 2008; Rodehaffer et al., 2012). As such, these factors may be relevant to minorities' identification with minority-White biracials.

For example, research suggests perceiver ideology plays an important role in racial categorization. Several studies have found that individuals who are higher in racial essentialism (i.e., beliefs that race differences reflect real biological differences) or in social dominance orientation (i.e., beliefs that lend legitimacy to the extant social system) are more likely to use race as a basis for categorization and to racially categorize ambiguous targets as minority (vs. White) compared to individuals who are less likely to endorse these ideologies (Chao et al., 2013, Chen & Hamilton, 2012; Ho et al., 2013). These studies suggest, then, that minorities who conceptualize race as a fundamental and meaningful way to sort the world and who prefer inequality amongst groups would be more likely to identify with minority-White biracials.

Historically, perceptions of minority-White biracials in the US has been governed by the long-standing principle of hypodescent (the “one-drop” rule), which specifies that biracial persons should be categorized and treated as members of the socially subordinate racial group (Banks & Eberhardt, 1998; Davis, 1991; Harris, 1964). Thus, minorities identifying with minority-White biracials would be consistent with the existing system of racial stratification whereas perceiving minority-White biracials as socially distinct from minorities would imply that extant racial boundaries are permeable and unstable. These effects would be predicted to differ for Whites, such that greater endorsement of racial essentialism and social dominant orientation should lead to less identification with minority-White biracials.

Additionally, socio-structural factors may impact minorities’ identification. For instance, across two studies Ho et al. (2013) found that Whites who were greater in social dominance orientation were more likely to categorize Black-White biracials as Black when they were led to believe that Blacks represented a growing socioeconomic threat compared to when they were led to believe there was no progress in the socioeconomic status of Blacks. Likewise, another set of studies by Rodeheffer et al. (2012) showed that Whites who were primed with scarcity pictures (e.g., an empty office) or words (e.g., debt) were more likely to categorize morphed Black-White biracial faces as Black than individuals primed with abundance pictures (e.g., a thriving office) or words (e.g., harvest). Collectively, these studies suggest that times of economic hardship and perceived intergroup competition lead people to be less inclusive, and this was especially true for people who endorsed inequality between groups. While these studies were conducted with White samples, similar effects may occur for minorities. For example, if minorities were led to believe that they were in direct competition with minority-White biracials (e.g., minority scholarships), it is possible they would become less inclusive and dis-identify with biracials.

Aspects of the target group may also impact identification. In the present research, I had participants report their identification with minority-White biracials without providing pictures of biracials. However, it is unclear who participants were thinking of when they were responding to the questions. For example, individuals may be thinking of biracials as a general social representation, a specific individual that they know personally, or exemplary public figure (e.g., President Obama, Halle Berry). It is possible that prototypicality may play a role such that minority-White biracials who look more minority are perceived to be more minority, and in turn, engender greater identification. However, research using pictures has provided mixed results regarding their usefulness for understanding perceptions of biracials.

For example, most studies have utilized computer generated photos of biracials, in which faces of Whites and Blacks (Asians) are morphed together so that the resulting picture is exactly 50% White-50% Black (Asian) (Chao et al., 2013; Chen & Hamilton, 2012; Ho et al., 2011; Rodeheffer et al., 2012; Pauker et al., 2009; Willadsen-Jensen & Ito, 2008). This is done in an attempt to make the biracial target truly ambiguous; it doesn't clearly appear to belong to a White or minority category. However, real biracial people are not a clear blend of racial categories, and there is huge heterogeneity in terms of hair texture, skin color, facial features, etc. Only one study has compared individuals' responses to real and morphed biracial faces and found that the morphed faces were categorized more often as White than Black, whereas the real faces were equally likely to be categorized as Black and White (Chen & Hamilton, 2012). Blacks and Hispanics are heterogeneous populations; it is not unusual to see individuals in the same family whose skin tone varies across the spectrum from light to dark. Indeed, some researchers claim up to 90% of all Blacks are mixed race (Davis, 1991). As such, I suspect minorities do not rely solely on phenotype in determining their identification with biracials.

Additional research shows that contextual cues can alter individuals' perceptions of biracials. Across three studies, Ito, Willadsen-Jensen, Kaye, and Park (2011) found that racially-ambiguous photos (Black-White morph) were perceived as more prototypically Black in a White-only (vs mixed-race context), and less prototypically Black in a Black-only context. Conversely, the same photos were seen as more prototypically White in a Black-only context (vs. mixed-race context), and less prototypically White in a White-only context. Black participants were not included in the study so it is unclear how contextual cues may affect their perceptions of Black-White biracials. Other contextual cues that individuals may attend to are categorical labels. In a facial-recall task, Pauker and Ambady (2009) labeled half of the ambiguous faces (Black-White morph) as "White" and half as "Black". Results showed that ambiguous faces paired with an ingroup or outgroup label elicited effects parallel to those of actual ingroup and outgroup members. That is, White participants were better at remembering White faces and ambiguous faces labeled "White" than Black faces and ambiguous faces labeled "Black". The patterns held true for Black participants as well; Black participants were better at remembering Black faces and ambiguous faces labeled "Black" than White faces and ambiguous faces labeled "White". These findings suggest that minorities in this dissertation may be identifying with minority-White biracials because they share a categorical membership. This interpretation would be consistent with studies on cross-categorization. For example, if a perceiver is a Black male and multiple social categories are salient (race & gender), a target group may share ingroup membership on both dimensions (Black male), one dimension (Black female, White male) or neither dimensions (White female). Results from these studies suggest that as long as there is some basis for shared categorization, similarities will outweigh differences (Crisp & Hewstone, 1999; Dovidio et al., 1997; Gaertner, Mann, Murrell, & Dovidio, 1989; Migdal, Hewstone, &

Mullen, 1998; Mullen, Migdal, & Hewstone, 2001; Robbins & Kruger, 2005; Urban & Miller, 1998).

### **Strengths and Limitations**

As reviewed in Chapter 1, the majority of research on perceptions of biracials has focused on racial categorization. These studies were concerned with understanding the extent to which monoracial individuals racially categorize an ambiguous target as minority (Asian or Black) or White (Chao et al., 2013; Chen & Hamilton, 2012; Good et al., 2013; Halberstadt et al., 2011; Ho et al., 2011; Peery & Bodenhausen, 2008; Rodeheffer et al., 2012). Understanding racial categorization is important because subsequent intergroup phenomena depend on ingroup-outgroup distinctions (Turner et al., 1987). However, categorizing a target as belonging to a particular racial group does not mean that individuals' particularly identify with it. Researchers have noted that social identification is a multidimensional construct whereby people who categorize themselves as belonging to the same social group may vary on their commitment to the group, the importance they assign to their membership in the group, their perceived similarity to other group members, etc. (Ashmore et al., 2004; Cross, 1971; Ellemers et al., 1999; Leach et al., 2008; Roccas et al., 2008; Sellers et al., 1998). Research has also shown that people may identify with groups to which they do not categorically belong, such as men identifying with women who are feminists (Wiley, Srinivasan, Finke, Firnhaber, & Shilinsky, 2012) and advantaged groups identifying with disadvantaged groups (van Zomeren, Postmes, Spears, & Bettache, 2011). Thus, an important contribution of the current study is that it moves beyond racial categorization by examining the degree to which minorities identify with minority-White biracials, as well as the downstream consequences of identification.

The results of these studies only reflect the experiences of individuals who self-identified as Black or Hispanic. Researchers have noted that the majority of research on intergroup relations has ignored the perspective of minorities (Shelton, 2000). Indeed, a meta-analysis revealed that over 70% of intergroup contact research involved only Whites (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). Likewise, Blacks' and Hispanics' perceptions of minority-White biracials are not well-represented in the literature. For example, only a few studies examining monoracial individuals' racial categorization of minority-White biracials included Blacks and Hispanics as participants, ranging from 2-10% and 4-18% of the samples, respectively (Chao et al., 2013; Chen & Hamilton, 2012; Good, Sanchez, Chavez, 2013; Ho et al., 2011), while others had no Blacks or Hispanics at all (Ho et al., 2013; Peery & Bodenhausen, 2008; Rodeheffer et al., 2012). Additionally, Blacks' and Hispanics' perceptions may differ from Asians' and Whites' perceptions because of their relatively lower status in the U.S. racial hierarchy. Indeed, researchers have found that race is more consequential for some groups (e.g., Blacks) than for others (e.g., Asians), and that failing to recognize these racial differences can have important consequences for intergroup relations, such as increased support for "color-blind" policies (Bean & Lee, 2009; Brown et al., 2009). Results from Chapter 2 show differing effects for Blacks' and Whites' identification with Black-White biracials, supporting claims that perceiver race is an important moderator of social perception (Willadsen-Jensen & Ito, 2008). Thus, another strength of the present research is its focus on minorities' perceptions. The studies provide crucial empirical data on two understudied racial groups.

The results of this research may, in part, be dependent on the broader social context in which the participants sampled in the studies reside. Specifically, the participants were recruited from a minority-majority institution that is located in a racially and ethnically diverse urban city.

It is possible that the sizeable representation of the major racial and ethnic racial groups in New York City helps makes individuals' identification with and perceptions of minority-White biracials more normative and socially acceptable as they are routinely exposed to and interact with individuals of varying racial and ethnic backgrounds. Minority individuals in less diverse contexts may differ in their perceptions of minority-White biracials compared to participants in this research. However, self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987) predicts that being in the numerical minority in a given social context would heighten one's identification with the group. As such, Blacks' and Hispanics' who reside in majority-White contexts may be more, not less, identified with minority-White biracials compared to participants in the current study.

### **Future Research**

*Ingroup bias.* An important contribution of the current study is that it moves beyond racial categorization by examining the downstream consequences of identifying with minority-White biracials. The results revealed that minority-White biracials were perceived equally favorably to other ingroup members, and more favorably than Whites across a number of outcomes. The present findings suggest minority-White biracials should benefit from ingroup bias such that minorities should favor minority-White biracials over outgroup members. Researchers have differentiated between material forms of ingroup bias (e.g., resource allocations) and symbolic forms of ingroup bias (e.g., trait ratings) and argued that lower status groups are more likely to engage in material forms of bias to help the group grow strong and facilitate social change (Scheepers, Spears, Doosje, & Manstead, 2006). While the current work demonstrated that minority-White biracials did indeed benefit from ingroup bias on symbolic measures, it is unclear whether the effects would hold for more material forms of bias.

A worthwhile study would be to investigate material forms of ingroup bias, perhaps using



the Tajfel et al. (1971) matrices that allow researchers to assess individuals' preferred method of allocating resources between ingroup and outgroup members. Each matrix pits one allocation strategy against one or two others, such that one can assess the relative strength of a strategy over another. Individuals can allocate resources fairly by equally allocating resources to the ingroup and outgroup; maximize joint profit, whereby the largest reward is allocated to each group; maximize ingroup profit, whereby the largest reward is allocated to the ingroup irrespective of the amount of reward for the outgroup; or maximize the difference between the groups, such that the ingroup is rewarded more than the outgroup even at the cost of absolute ingroup profit (Tajfel et al., 1971). The latter two strategies denote ingroup bias and studies in the minimal group paradigm suggest that individuals overwhelmingly prefer favoring their ingroup over the outgroup, even when other alternatives were open to them (Tajfel et al., 1971).

Would minorities allocate more resources to minority-White biracials compared to Whites? My dissertation results suggest yes. However, the more interesting theoretical question is in regards to what strategy minorities would choose if they had to divvy up resources between biracials and other minorities. Recent work examining the extent to which individuals perceive various groups as deserving minority resources found that Black-White biracials were perceived as less deserving of minority resources than both monoracial Blacks and Black-Native American biracials (Good, Sanchez, & Chavez, 2013). However out of 158 participants, 48% were White and only 9% were Black. As such, it is unclear how perceiver race impacted participants' ratings of Black-White biracials deservingness for minority resources.

Research in the social identity tradition suggests that an ingroup minority (i.e., less prototypical ingroup member) will be perceived as different from the self when compared with an ingroup majority (an intragroup context), yet similar to the self when compared to an

outgroup member (intergroup context) (David & Turner, 1999). That is, as the comparative social context becomes broader, a person who has been perceived as different can come to be perceived as comparatively similar, and vice versa (Turner et al., 1987). Thus, self-categorization theory would predict that minorities would perceive minority-White biracials as outgroup members and show ingroup bias by allocating more resources to minorities than minority-White biracials. Social identity theory would also predict that this effect would be heightened if minorities felt that resources were limited, as ingroup bias increases as a function of perceived intergroup competition (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Future research should explore these possibilities.

*Interracial interactions.* The present findings also suggest minorities may have more positive interracial interactions with minority-White biracials than with Whites. Interracial interactions tend to be stressful, awkward, and rife with miscommunication (Richeson & Trawalter, 2008; Trawalter, Richeson, & Shelton, 2009; Vorauer & Sakamoto, 2006), often due to negative expectations and concerns about rejection (Mallet, Wilson, & Gilbert, 2008; Shelton & Richeson, 2005; Shelton et al., 2006). As such, individuals enter interracial interactions with concerns about the possible challenges they may face (Wout, Murphy, & Steele, 2010) or avoid interacting with outgroup members altogether (Plant & Butz, 2006; Plant, Butz, & Tartakosky, 2008; Shelton & Richeson, 2005; West, Shelton, & Trail, 2009).

One contextual cue that can affect people's experiences in interracial interactions is group membership; when race is salient, people expect racial ingroup members to perceive them positively and racial outgroup members to perceive them negatively (for review, see Frey & Tropp, 2006). For example, Blacks (but not Whites) expect a White interaction partner to perceive them more negatively, and in turn, anticipate more challenges during an upcoming

interaction (Wout et al., 2010). Similarly, in a study examining interactions between same- and different-race roommate pairs, Whites' and minorities' concerns about being prejudiced were related to their self-reported anxiety for inter- but not intraracial interactions (Shelton, West & Trail, 2010). This line of research suggests, then, that individuals should experience social identity threat in inter- but not intragroup interactions.

Questions remain about the dynamics that occur when monoracial and multiracial individuals interact. That is, are minorities' concerned about being negatively stereotyped and rejected by minority-White biracial interaction partners? The results from the current research suggest the answer is no. Blacks and Hispanics were equally likely to view biracials and other minorities as warm and friendly and report positive feelings towards group members. As such, minorities should not expect to be negatively stereotyped when interacting with a biracial person and should expect the interaction to go relatively smoothly.

Preliminary evidence supports this assumption. The results of two studies found that Black participants categorized both Blacks and Black-White biracials as ingroup members, and Whites as outgroup members (Wout & Barnett, 2014). Moreover, participants had more positive meta-stereotypes (how one expects to be perceived by others) of Blacks and Black-White biracials than Whites. That is, Black participants expected that other Black and Black-White biracial people would view them more positively than Whites would. Additionally, in the context of an anticipated interaction, participants anticipated fewer challenges to occur during the interaction when expecting to interact with either a Black or a Black-White biracial partner compared to a White partner. The effect of group membership on the challenges Blacks' expected to face was mediated by warmth meta-stereotypes. In other words, Black participants expected that a Black or Black-White biracial (vs. White) interaction partner would view them as

friendly. In turn, greater perceptions that one would be seen as friendly led participants to anticipate the interaction to go more smoothly. More research is needed to see if these results can be replicated and extended to other groups.

Additionally, research is needed investigating live interactions between minorities and minority-White biracials. To date, only one study has examined intergroup interactions with biracials, investigating the interaction from the biracial person's perspective. Across two studies, Black-White biracials were primed with either their Black or White identity before interacting with a Black or White confederate (Gaither, Sommers, & Ambady, 2013). Findings revealed that when the primed racial identity matched that of the interaction partner, biracial individuals expected to get along better, communicate better, and like their interaction partner more than when they were primed with an identity that did not match their partner's. Moreover, behavioral coding indicated that biracials exhibited lower levels of anxiety, made more eye contact and were more engaged during the interaction in the same race (vs. different race) prime condition. While informative, this study had a few important limitations. First, the study lacked a control condition, so it is unclear if biracials experience social identity threat when not primed with a specific racial identity. Second, biracials interacted with a confederate. Thus, it is unclear if the monoracial partner would experience social identity threat when interacting with a biracial person.

While my dissertation research suggests that minorities should expect to have positive interaction experiences with minority-White biracials because they view them equivalently to ingroup members, results from Gaither et al. (2013) suggest that minorities' experiences should depend on their biracial partners' identification. That is, if a minority-White biracial individual is more identified with their White (vs. minority) racial group membership as they enter the

interaction, they will perceive it as an intergroup context resulting in greater anxiety and uncomfortableness during the interaction. Dyadic methodology would be especially useful in studying live interactions as it would allow researchers to understand expectations and concerns not only for the perceiver, but for the interaction partner. For example, a minority interaction partner would be predicted to have differing expectations prior to, and behaviors during, an interaction if they were interacting with a minority-White biracial person whose White (vs. Black or multiracial) identity was most salient. Future research is needed to understand the dynamics that occur when monoracial and multiracial individuals interact. These are questions I plan to pursue in a tenure-track research position.

### **Conclusion**

President Obama's successful run for presidency has renewed interest in discussions about race relations in America, particularly in what it means to be multiracial. With 9 million people identifying as multiracial on the 2010 Census, it is increasingly important that we recognize and begin to understand this group of people. This dissertation makes an important contribution to the limited work on perceptions of biracial people, providing researchers with much needed context to understand minorities' identification, cognitions, affect, and behaviors toward minority-White biracials.

Table 1. Means (standard deviations) for stereotypes of Black-White biracials by participant race  
(Chapter 2)

		Competence	Warmth
Participant Race	<i>n</i>	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)
<b>Black</b>			
Men	6	3.47 (.33) <sub>a</sub>	3.25 (.27) <sub>a</sub>
Women	11	3.95 (.63) <sub>a</sub>	3.89 (.56) <sub>b</sub>
Total	17	3.78 (.58)	3.67 (.57)
<b>White</b>			
Men	7	3.69 (.70) <sub>a</sub>	3.74 (.52) <sub>a</sub>
Women	5	4.28 (.59) <sub>a</sub>	4.17 (.82) <sub>a</sub>
Total	12	3.93 (.70)	3.92 (.66)

Note: Means with differing subscripts within each column and participant race differ significantly based on independent *t*-tests ( $p < .05$ ).

Table 2. Correlations between key variables for total sample and by participant race (Chapter 2)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Total Sample (n = 29)</i>						
1. Identification (Whites)						
2. Identification (Biracials)	-.10					
3. Identification (Blacks)	-.30	.54**				
4. Competence (Biracials)	.19	.45*	.21			
5. Warmth (Biracials)	.17	.37*	.24	.91**		
6. Age	-.01	-.07	-.02	-.04	-.05	
7. Gender	.09	-.31	-.10	-.38*	-.39*	-.15
<i>Black Participants (n = 17)</i>						
1. Identification (Whites)						
2. Identification (Biracials)	-.24					
3. Identification (Blacks)	-.19	.53*				
4. Competence (Biracials)	-.05	.53*	.39			
5. Warmth (Biracials)	-.18	.53*	.48 <sup>t</sup>	.94**		
6. Age	-.02	-.02	-.02	-.14	-.01	
6. Gender	.05	-.37	-.21	-.42	-.56*	-.18
<i>White Participants (n = 12)</i>						
1. Identification (Whites)						
2. Identification (Biracials)	.50					
3. Identification (Blacks)	.13	.55 <sup>t</sup>				
4. Competence (Biracials)	.52	.38	.06			
5. Warmth (Biracials)	.44	.24	.07	.87**		
6. Age	-.49	-.08	.09	-.06	-.14	
7. Gender	-.45	-.18	.30	-.44	-.33	-.25

Note: Gender was coded 0 = Women, 1 = Men.

\*\* $p < .01$

\* $p < .05$

<sup>t</sup> $p = .06$

Table 3. Predictors of Black-White biracials' competence stereotypes (Chapter 2)

	<i>B</i>	SE	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	95% <i>CI</i>	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>
<i>Step 1</i>							.20
Identification with biracials	.22	.09	.45	2.58	.02	.05, .39	
<i>Step 2</i>							.23
Identification with biracials	.23	.09	.46	2.67	.01	.05, .40	
Participant race	-.21	.22	-.17	-.99	.33	-.66, .23	
<i>Step 3</i>							.32
Identification with biracials	.18	.09	.37	2.13	.04	.01, .36	
Participant race	-.29	.21	-.24	-1.38	.18	-.73, .14	
Gender	.40	.22	.32	1.81	.08	-.06, .35	

Note: Participant race was coded 0 = White, 1 = Black. Gender was coded 0 = Women, 1 = Men.

Identification with Black-White biracials was measured on a scale from 1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree, and was mean-centered for analyses.



Table 4. Predictors of Black-White biracials' warmth stereotypes (Chapter 2)

	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	95% <i>CI</i>	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>
<i>Step 1</i>							.14
Identification with biracials	.18	.09	.37	2.08	.05	.002, .35	
<i>Step 2</i>							.20
Identification with biracials	.19	.08	.40	2.26	.03	.02, .36	
Participant race	-.30	.21	-.25	-1.41	.17	-.74, .14	
<i>Step 3</i>							.32
Identification with biracials	.14	.08	.29	1.68	.11	-.03, .31	
Participant race	-.39	.21	-.32	-1.90	.07	-.82, .03	
Gender	.45	.21	.37	2.10	.05	.01, .89	

Note: Participant race was coded 0 = White, 1 = Black. Gender was coded 0 = Women, 1 = Men.

Identification with Black-White biracials was measured on a scale from 1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree, and was mean-centered for analyses.

Table 5. Means (standard deviations) for all study variables by target group (Chapter 3)

Dependent Variables	Target Group			<i>F</i>	$\eta^2$
	Hispanic ( <i>N</i> = 18)	Biracial ( <i>N</i> = 15)	White ( <i>N</i> = 17)		
Identification	4.44 <sub>a</sub> (0.84)	4.50 <sub>a</sub> (1.63)	3.50 <sub>b</sub> (1.20)	3.45*	.13
Warmth	3.55 <sub>a</sub> (0.49)	3.62 <sub>a</sub> (0.51)	3.18 <sub>b</sub> (0.53)	3.51*	.13
Admiration	3.86 <sub>a</sub> (0.64)	3.70 <sub>a</sub> (1.04)	2.40 <sub>b</sub> (0.70)	17.28***	.42
Facilitation	3.88 <sub>a</sub> (0.86)	3.65 <sub>a</sub> (0.86)	2.82 <sub>b</sub> (0.69)	8.02***	.25

*Note.* Means with differing subscripts within each row differ significantly based on planned contrasts ( $p < .05$ ). Identification is rated on a 7-point scale; warmth, admiration and facilitation are rated on 5-point scales.

\*\*\* $p \leq .001$

\*\*  $p < .01$

\* $p < .05$

Table 6. Correlations between key variables (Chapter 3)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Identification						
2. Warmth	.39**					
3. Admiration	.54**	.60**				
4. Facilitation	.52**	.34*	.66**			
5. Gender	-.05	-.01	.01	-.05		
6. Age	.34*	.14	.21	.18	-.18	

\*  $p < .05$

\*\* $p < .01$

Table 7. Indirect effect of target group on facilitation through identification, warmth and admiration (Chapter 3)

	Coefficient	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>
<i>Step 1 (DV = Identification)</i>					.19
Target group	.77	.37	2.05	.05	
Age	.15	.08	1.83	.07	
<i>Step 2 (DV = Warmth)</i>					.21
Identification	.13	.06	2.16	.04	
Target group	.29	.16	1.77	.08	
Age	-.01	.04	-.26	.80	
<i>Step 3 (DV = Admiration)</i>					.63
Warmth	.65	.20	3.34	.002	
Identification	.21	.08	2.53	.02	
Target group	.96	.22	4.36	< .001	
Age	-.03	.05	-.62	.54	
<i>Step 4 (DV = Facilitation)</i>					.48
Admiration	.46	.16	2.87	< .01	
Warmth	-.18	.23	-.75	.46	
Identification	.17	.10	1.82	.08	
Target group	.23	.28	.83	.41	
Age	-.01	.05	-.28	.78	

*N* = 50. Unstandardized regression coefficients are reported. Indirect effect is significant, *b* = .03, *SE* = .02, 95% CI [.003, .12]. Bootstrap sample size = 5000.

Target group is coded White = 0, Hispanic/Biracial = 1. Age is used as a covariate.

Table 8. Means and standard deviations for study variables by threat condition and target group (Chapter 4)

	Minority				Biracial				White			
	Threat		Non-Threat		Threat		Non-Threat		Threat		Non-Threat	
	<i>(n = 24)</i>		<i>(n = 27)</i>		<i>(n = 24)</i>		<i>(n = 24)</i>		<i>(n = 18)</i>		<i>(n = 14)</i>	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Shame	2.99	1.97	1.17	.54	2.77	1.98	1.16	.64	1.90	.97	1.44	.96
Distancing	4.35	1.38	2.04	.87	4.55	1.30	2.65	.78	4.31	1.07	2.68	1.24

Table 9. Conditional indirect effect of threat condition on distancing via shame, moderated by target group (Chapter 4)

	Coefficient	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>
<i>Shame (mediator model)</i>					.26
Constant	.96	.20	4.89	< .001	
Condition	-1.72	.27	-6.30	< .001	
Target group	-.98	.38	-2.60	0.01	
Condition x target group	1.25	.56	2.24	0.03	
<i>Distancing (dependent variable model)</i>					.51
Constant	4.16	.14	29.64	< .001	
Shame	.29	.07	4.17	< .001	
Condition	-1.55	.21	-7.32	< .001	

Conditional indirect effects at each level of the moderator (bootstrap analyses)

	Coefficient	95% CI		
		SE	Lower Limit	Upper Limit
<i>Shame</i>				
0 (Minority/Biracial target groups)	-.50	.13	-.77	-.26
1 (White target group)	-.14	.11	-.36	.07

N = 125. Unstandardized regression coefficients are reported. Bootstrap sample size = 5000.

Figure 1. Mean identification with target group as a function of participant race (Chapter 2)

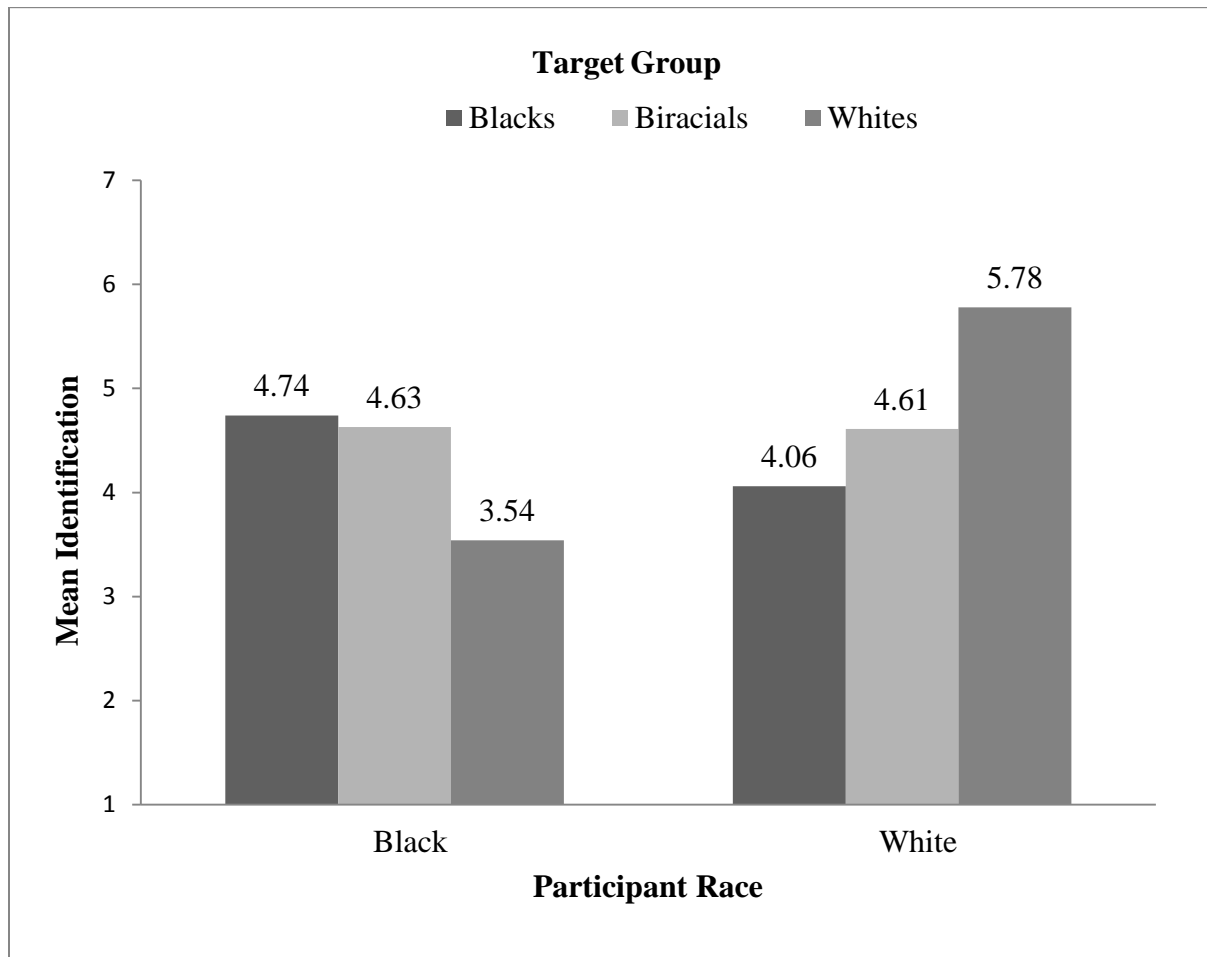


Figure 2. Hypothesized model of the indirect effect of target group on facilitation via identification, warmth and admiration (Chapter 3)

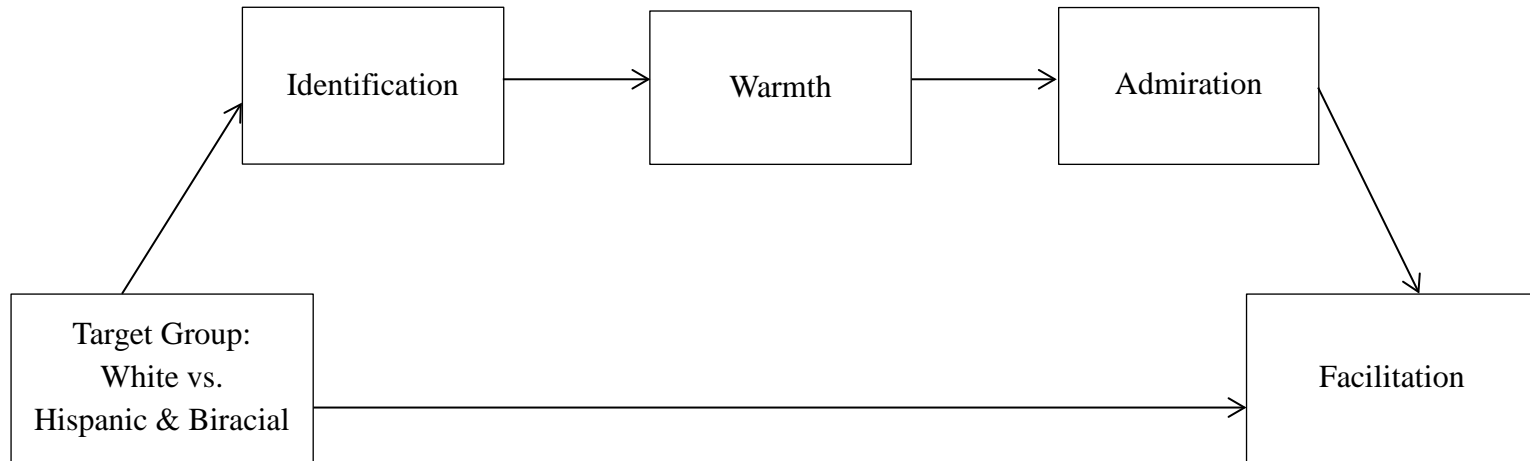
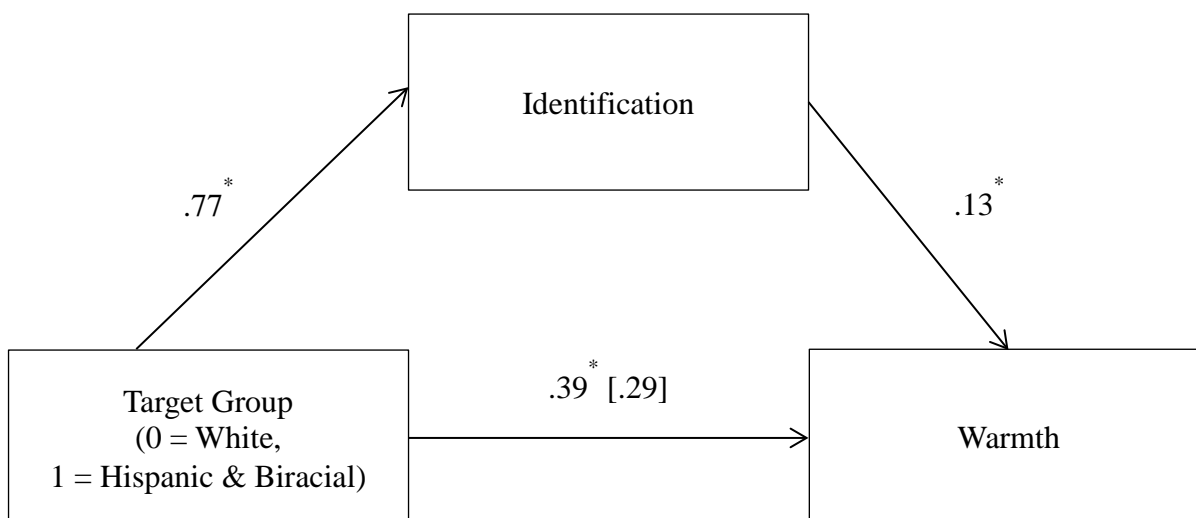


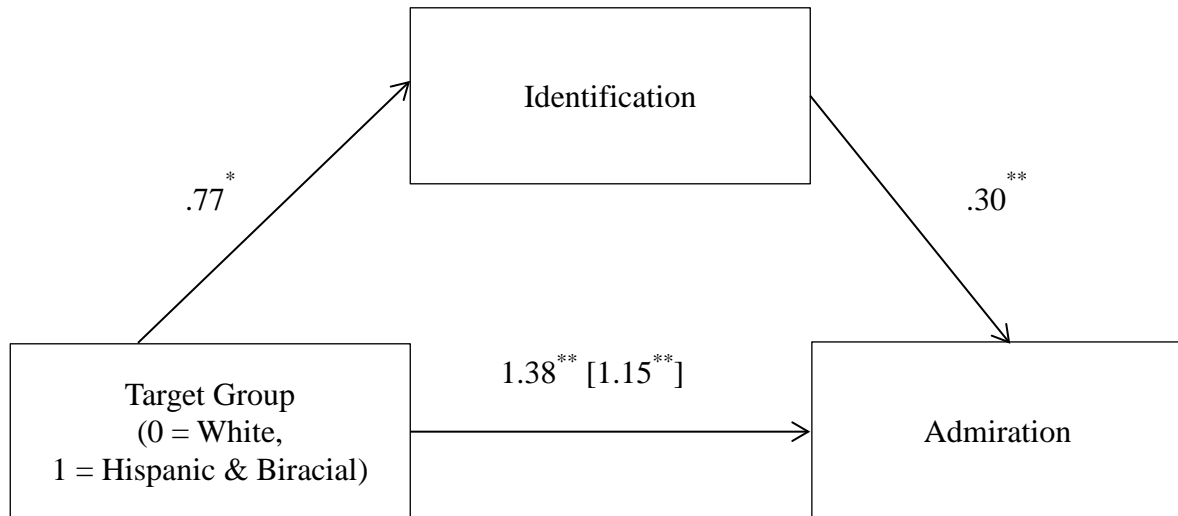


Figure 3. Indirect effect of target group on warmth via identification (Chapter 3)



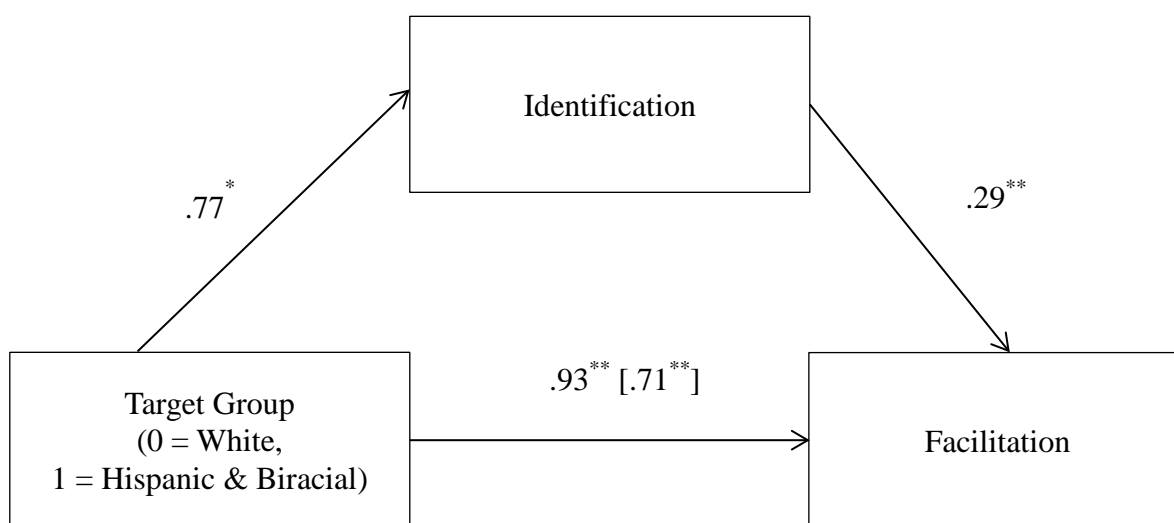
$N = 50$ . Unstandardized regression coefficients are reported. Indirect effect is significant,  $B = .10$ ,  $SE = .06$ , 95% CI  $[.01, .27]$ . Bootstrap sample size = 5000. Age is used as a covariate.  $p < .05$ .  $R^2 = .21$ .

Figure 4. Indirect effect of target group on admiration via identification (Chapter 3)



$N = 50$ . Unstandardized regression coefficients are reported. Indirect effect is significant,  $B = .23$ ,  $SE = .12$ , 95% CI [.67, 1.62]. Bootstrap sample size = 5000. Age is used as a covariate. \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*  $p < .05$ .  $R^2 = .53$ .

Figure 5. Indirect effect of target group on facilitation via identification (Chapter 3)



$N = 50$ . Unstandardized regression coefficients are reported. Indirect effect is significant,  $B = .22$ ,  $SE = .14$ , 95% CI [.02, .57]. Bootstrap sample size = 5000. Age is used as a covariate. \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*  $p < .05$ .  $R^2 = .38$ .

Figure 6. Interaction of threat condition and target group on shame (Chapter 4)

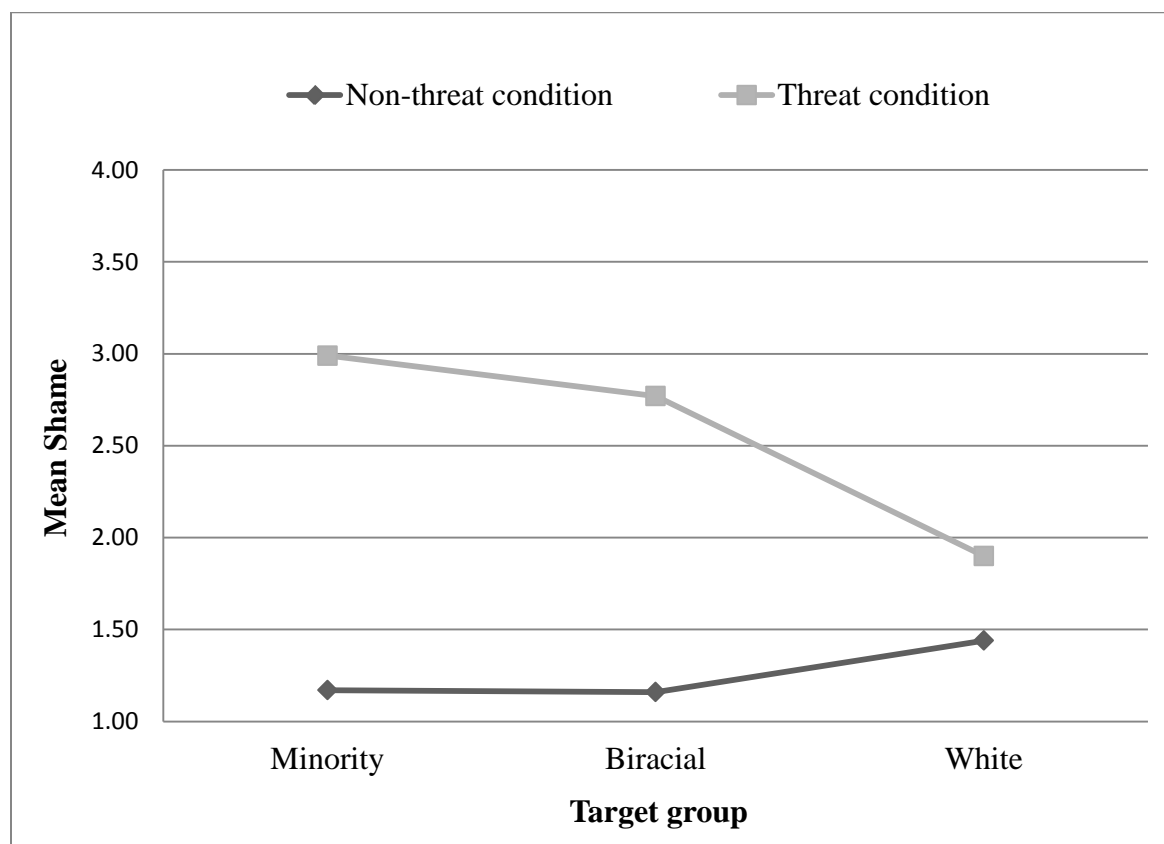
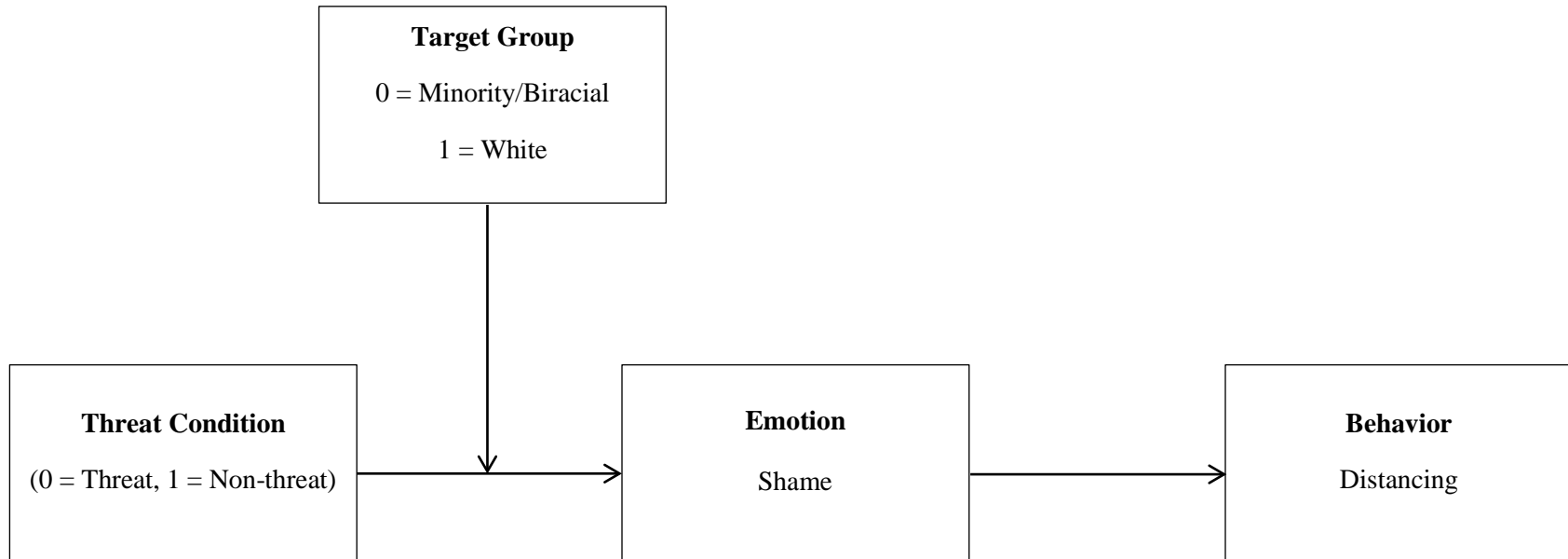


Figure 7. Hypothesized conditional indirect effect of threat condition on behavior via emotions, moderated by target group (Chapter 4)



## Appendix A

**Identification Measure (Leach et al., 2008)**

We'd like to know how similar you think you are to the typical [target group] person. These ratings should not be based on how you think others view you, but on how *you personally view yourself* in comparison to [target group] people.

Strongly Disagree				Neither Agree nor Disagree				Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7		

1. I am similar to the average [target group] person.
2. I have a lot in common with the average [target group] person.

**Note:**

Target groups used in Chapter 2 = Black, White, Black-White biracial

Target groups used in Chapter 3 = Hispanic, White, Hispanic-White biracial

## Appendix B

**Stereotype Measures (Fiske et al., 2002)**

In this section, we are interested in how you view [target group] people. Please read each statement carefully, and answer the following questions using the scale provided.

Not at all		Somewhat		Extremely
1	2	3	4	5

*Competence*

1. How confident are [target group] people?
2. How competent are [target group] people?
3. How capable are [target group] people?
4. How intelligent are [target group] people?
5. How efficient are [target group] people?
6. How skillful are [target group] people?

*Warmth*

1. How sincere are [target group] people?
2. How warm are [target group] people?
3. How friendly are [target group] people?
4. How good-natured are [target group] people?
5. How well-intentioned are [target group] people?
6. How trustworthy are [target group] people?

**Note:**

Target groups used in Chapter 2 = Black, White, Black-White biracial

Target groups used in Chapter 3 = Hispanic, White, Hispanic-White biracial

## Appendix C

**Emotion Measure (Fiske et al., 2002)**

Now we are going to ask you about some feelings that you may have towards [target group: Hispanic, White, Hispanic-White biracial] people.

Not at all

Somewhat

Extremely

1

2

3

4

5

1. To what extent do you feel proud of [target group] people?
2. To what extent do you admire [target group] people?
3. To what extent do you have respect for [target group] people?
4. To what extent do you feel inspired by [target group] people?



## Appendix D

**Behavior Measure (Cuddy et al., 2007)**

We are now interested in how you may act towards Hispanic people. In general, how do you (or would you) behave toward [target group: Hispanic, White, Hispanic-White biracial] people?

Not at all

Somewhat

Extremely

1

2

3

4

5

1. To what extent do (would) you help [target group] people?
2. To what extent do (would) you cooperate with [target group] people?
3. To what extent do (would) you protect [target group] people?
4. To what extent do (would) you associate with [target group] people?

## Appendix E

**Demographic Information**

We'd now like to ask some questions about *yourself*.

1. What race do you consider yourself? (Choose as many as applies)

- Asian American or Pacific Islander
- Black or African American
- Caribbean or West Indian
- Hispanic or Latino/a
- Native American
- White or European American
- Other: Please specify

2. What is your gender?

3. What is your age?

4. What country were you born?

5. If you were not born in the US, at what age did you come to the States?

6. What ethnicity do you consider yourself?

7. What did you think this survey was about?

8. These questions may have brought up other thoughts or feelings about race in America. Please use the space provided below to express these thoughts and to provide feedback about your experiences taking this survey.

## Appendix F

**Threat Scenario (adapted from Schmader & Lickel, 2006a)**

Below is a news report of an event that took place in NYC. As you read about the event, imagine that you are personally at the scene and witnessing the event. After the story, we would like you to answer several questions about what you would think and feel in response to the situation. There are no right or wrong answers. We are simply interested in your personal reactions.

You are watching the local news and you hear about a big drug bust that took place earlier that day. As the reporter describes the amount of drugs that were seized, you are shown footage of police officers escorting a person, described to be a 20-year old [**target group**] man, in handcuffs to the squad car. The man had been convicted previously of drug charges. A tip from a neighbor led the police to search the house where they found a drug lab in the back room.

1. How positive or negative is the person's behavior (man selling drugs)?

**Very Positive** 1      2      3      4      5      6      7      **Very Negative**

2. Thinking about the scenario (man selling drugs), how does the event make you feel?

	Does not describe my feelings at all			Describes my feelings very well			
Happy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Sad	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ashamed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Proud	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Humiliated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Angry	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Good	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Embarrassed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Guilty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

3. Still thinking about the scenario (man selling drugs), how would you react if you witnessed the event as it happened?

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

1. I would want to be completely unassociated from the person who caused the event.
2. I would feel like I would want to disappear from the situation.
3. I would not want to be connected with the person who caused the event in any way.
4. I would wish that this person was not of my same race or ethnic group.
5. I would be proud that this person shared my race or ethnic identity.
6. I would not want people to know that I share this person's racial or ethnic identity.

## Appendix G

**Non-Threat Scenario (adapted from Schmader & Lickel, 2006a)**

Below is a news report of an event that took place in NYC. As you read about the event, imagine that you are personally at the scene and witnessing the event. After the story, we would like you to answer several questions about what you would think and feel in response to the situation. There are no right or wrong answers. We are simply interested in your personal reactions.

You are watching the local news and you hear about a 5-year old boy that fell into the East River. As a reporter describes the rescue efforts, you are shown footage of a person, described to be a 20-year old **[target group]** man, jumping into the river after the boy. The man was able to pull the boy to safety, risking his life to save someone else.

1. How positive or negative is the person's behavior (man saving boy)?

**Very Positive** 1      2      3      4      5      6      7      **Very Negative**

2. Thinking about the scenario (man saving boy), how does the event make you feel?

	<b>Does not describe my feelings at all</b>				<b>Describes my feelings very well</b>			
Happy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Sad	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Ashamed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Proud	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Humiliated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Angry	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Good	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Embarrassed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Guilty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

3. Still thinking about the scenario (man saving boy), how would you react if you witnessed the event as it happened?

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

1. I would want to be completely unassociated from the person who caused the event.
2. I would feel like I would want to disappear from the situation.
3. I would not want to be connected with the person who caused the event in any way.
4. I would wish that this person was not of my same race or ethnic group.
5. I would be proud that this person shared my race or ethnic identity.
6. I would not want people to know that I share this person's racial or ethnic identity.

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