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ON THE COLOR LINE: THE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF WHITE/BLACK
BIRACIAL SELF-CATEGORIZATION

By

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A thesis submitted to the
Graduate School-New Brunswick
Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey
in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Science

Graduate Program in Psychology

written under the direction of

Dr. Diana T. Sanchez

and approved by

New Brunswick, New Jersey

October 2011

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

On the color line: The social consequences of White/Black biracial self-categorization
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Black/White biracial individuals are marginal group members at the periphery of both Black (i.e., low status) and White (i.e., high status) groups. However, scant research has investigated the consequences of self-categorization for how multiracial people are perceived. The proposed research investigated the extent to which perceptions of White/Black biracial targets depend on their self-categorization (i.e., as Black or biracial). Drawing from social identity theory, I also examined whether perceivers' race and racial identification moderated responses to biracial targets' self-categorization, as well as the mechanisms that may account for differential responses to biracial targets (e.g., perceptions of loyalty) that guide perceiver's evaluations of these targets.

Consistent with expectations, Black perceivers saw the biracial target as higher in social status. However, only Black (and not White) perceivers positively evaluated the Black self-categorizing target as more competent than the biracial self-categorizing target.

Support for the hypothesis that perceivers higher in racial identification would show more favorability towards the Black self-categorizing target than the biracial self-categorizing target was not found for either Black or White participants. Moreover, the predicted significant three-way interaction of racial identification with race and condition on disloyalty was not found. Thus, racial identification did not moderate these effects.

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Introduction

The 2000 United States (US) Census marked the first time in nearly a century that individuals were able to select more than one race¹ in official government records, and by extension self categorize as multiracial. In the most recent Census conducted in 2010, 9.1 million (2.9%) individuals chose to do so (Humes, Jones & Ramirez, 2011; Saulny, 2011), and projections estimate that number will grow to 20% by 2050 (Farley, 2001). As of 2000, the most recent date for which this information is currently available, 93% of all multiracial respondents were actually biracial, meaning that they selected only two as opposed to three or more racial groups on the census form (Jones & Symens-Smith, 2001). Asian/White, Black/White, and Hispanic/White identities were the three most common biracial combinations (Brunsma, 2005; Holloway, Wright, Ellis, & East, 2009), thereby making minority/White biracial populations the largest and fastest growing segment of the multiracial population (Lee & Bean, 2004) and one of the largest and fastest growing segments of the US population overall (US Census Bureau, 2001).

Due to the population growth and the newly affirmed option of biracial self-categorization, now is an important time for multiracial research in general and White/minority biracial research in particular. Yet there is a paucity of empirical work that investigates multiracial populations (Sanchez & Bonam, 2009). The present study will examine how perceptions of biracial targets vary, depending on their self-categorization as either Black or biracial (i.e., White and Black). In doing so, the present research will address the social consequences of racial categorization for biracial targets, about which little is known.

Most research on the self-categorization of the biracial population has focused on the target's perspective, including how, when, and why biracial individuals identify racially across social contexts (e.g., Herman, 2004; Root, 1996; Shih & Sanchez, 2005, 2009; Townsend, Markus, & Bergsieker, 2009). This research has shown that biracial individuals have fluid identities, and often change their racial self-categorization across time (Harris & Sim, 2002; Sanchez & Garcia, 2009; Sanchez, Shih, & Garcia, 2009). Yet few studies, if any, explicitly examine how or whether biracial individuals' self-categorization choices impact perceivers' views of them (Sanchez & Bonam, 2009). Rather, the little research that considers how perceivers view biracial individuals has centered on the automatic racial categorization of biracial targets (e.g., Ho, Sidanius, Levin, & Banaji, 2011; Peery & Bodenhausen, 2008). Of these studies, none examine the role of targets' self-categorization in perceivers' evaluations of them. Also, scant research examines the consequences of a target's self-categorization on social consequences beyond immediate racial categorization (for an exception, see Sanchez et al., 2010).

Research should seek to understand the consequences of self-categorization on broader social perception processes because White/minority biracial individuals' self-categorization choices may impact the way that others perceive and treat them, to great social and personal consequence. In contrast to Whites, racial minorities in the United States are stigmatized because they experience the lions' share of prejudice and discrimination, barriers to upward mobility, and other inequalities that threaten their human potential (e.g., Allport, 1964; Devine, 1989; Garcia, Erskine, Hawn, & Casmay, 1981; McWhirter, 1997; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). White/minority biracial targets who self-categorize as minority may be vulnerable to the same outcomes of inequality that

other minorities experience, yet we do not know if multiracial individuals who self-categorize as minority will be accepted as full-fledged in-group members by other minorities. In addition, little research to date has addressed how self-categorization as either biracial or White affects perceptions of White/minority biracial targets.

Biracial individuals who reveal their biracial identity have been shown to experience bias and are subject to negative evaluations (Sanchez & Bonam, 2009), and when minority status confers advantage (i.e., minority scholarship) they are seen as “not minority enough” to have a legitimate claim to affirmative action (Good, Chavez & Sanchez, 2010; Sanchez et al., 2010). Neither of these studies examines how biracial targets are treated based on their self-categorization. The present research will extend previous work by exploring how perceptions and evaluations of White/Minority biracial individuals differ, depending on how the target self-categorizes (e.g., as Minority or Biracial) as well as perceiver characteristics including perceiver race and level of racial identification. A further aim is to explore whether perceptions of group disloyalty guide Black perceivers’ evaluations of biracial targets.

Thus, this project will advance previous work on perceptions of biracial targets by examining the consequences of self-categorization choices. I will apply tenets of social identity theory (c.f., Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and its antecedents to explain why observers negatively perceive biracial individuals who self-categorize as biracial. In doing so, I will also explain the tendency for Black/White biracial individuals, more so than other minority/White biracial individuals, to self-identify as a monoracial minority (and not biracial). Specifically, Black/White biracial populations may identify as Black to avoid the backlash they may receive from both Black and White communities by taking on

biracial or White labels. As a consequence, this research seeks to explain a psychological mechanism that may in part reinforce the inequities between Blacks and Whites (Lee & Bean, 2010; Penner & Saperstein, 2008; Saperstein & Penner, under review) by reinforcing the one-drop rule.

Racial Categorization in Social Perception

Social categorization is the cognitive process that underlies nearly all intergroup phenomena (Allport, 1954). A person's racial categorization conveys invaluable information for perceivers such as whether they should consider him or her as part of their in-group or out-group and how nice or threatening the person may be (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007). Indeed, race is among the most salient and meaningful bases for the formation of an in-group because it is easily observable and culturally meaningful (Fiske, 1998). The negative social consequences (e.g., prejudice and discrimination, barriers to social mobility) of racial categorization for monoracial minorities are well documented in social psychological literature (e.g., Allport, 1954; Brewer, 1988; Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Macrae & Bodenhausen, 2000, 2001). However, more recent research has shown that not all category members elicit the same type or intensity of response. The extent to which a person is seen as a typical or average member of his or her racial group plays a role in how he or she is perceived and treated (Blair, 2002; Blair, Judd, Fallman, 2004; Maddox, 2004; Livingston & Brewer, 2002; Penner & Saperstein, 2008; Sanchez, Good & Chavez, 2010; Turner, 1985). Specifically, the more "afrocentric" features an individual has (e.g., darker skin, coarser hair, broader nose), the more automatic prejudice he evokes (Blair, Judd, Fallman, 2004; Livingston & Brewer, 2002), the more she is described with negative and stereotypical traits (Blair, Judd, Sadler & Jenkins, 2002; Maddox, 2004),

and the harsher criminal sentences she will receive (Blair, Judd & Chapleau, 2004). Sociological work has also shown that individuals who exhibit lower social status markers (i.e., visibly poor; incarcerated) are categorized as Black more so than White (Penner & Saperstein, 2008) suggesting that Black categorization evokes lower social status.

Racial Categorization of Biracial Targets. The significant within-group differences in social perception of race, coupled with the fact that biracial individuals are peripheral members at the border of two racial groups (i.e., unmatched to the group prototypes; Noel, Wann, & Branscombe, 1995; Turner, 1985), adds complexity to perceivers' racial categorization of them (Sanchez et al., 2010). Yet, little is known about how racial categorization processes operate for biracial targets, and the majority of work conducted in this area has focused on automatic categorization. Work on automatic categorization demonstrates that the principle of hypodescent, in which individuals with any amount of minority ancestry are classified as such (i.e., the one drop rule), plays a role in perceivers' categorization of biracial targets, but other research shows that their own categorizations are fluid and subject to social cues. Indeed, biracial targets are categorized as minority more frequently and more quickly than they are categorized as White (Ho, Sidanius, Levin & Banaji, 2011), although perhaps primarily in automatic categorization and the categorization of Black/White biracial targets (Ho, Sidanius, Levin & Banaji, 2011) and less so in deliberate racial categorization tasks and categorization of Asian/White biracial targets (Peery & Bodenhausen, 2008; Sanchez et al., 2010).

Target and perceiver characteristics also influence social categorization and perception such that biracial individuals take on the racial characteristics of the "cued"

race. Biracial faces that are identified with a racial label (Levin & Banaji, 2006; Wilton, Sanchez, & Giamo, 2011), name (e.g., Barry versus Barak; Hilliar & Kemp, 2008), or stereotypical hairstyle (MacLin & Malpass, 2001) were seen to take on the physical characteristics associated with the racial label or name. In addition, individuals who held essentialist beliefs about race (i.e., views that race is fixed) remembered faces in terms of the applied racial label more than individuals who held incremental beliefs about race (i.e., that race is fluid; Eberhardt, Dasgupta, & Banaszynski, 2003; Pauker & Ambady, 2009). Further, individuals who had higher levels of prejudice relied on negative stereotypes when classifying racially ambiguous faces (Hugenberg & Bodenhausen, 2004). Thus, both target and perceiver characteristics should be explored as antecedents to racial classification (Pauker & Ambady, 2009).

Because biracial targets have options for how they self-categorize, their categorizations imply underlying attitudes towards their constituent racial groups, including preferences for, or importance of, a particular racial group to the person's self-identity (i.e., racial identification). In addition to racial cues like phenotype and status, racial identification guides interpersonal interaction (Kaiser & Wilkins, 2010; Pinto, Marques, Levine & Abrams, 2010). White perceivers often (accurately) detect the extent to which racial minorities' are identified with their social group (e.g., Kaiser & Wilkins, 2010; Wilkins, Kaiser, & Rieck, 2009), and react more negatively toward highly identified racial minorities than they do toward weakly identified minorities (Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009; Sellers & Shelton, 2003), because they perceive them as rejecting the racial status hierarchy (Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009; Kaiser & Wilkins, 2010) in which Whites are accorded more status than other racial minorities (Ho, Sidanius, Levin, &

Banaji, 2011). For example, Whites expressed more bias toward minorities who joined minority-affiliated groups (e.g., Black Student Caucus) as compared to those who joined unaffiliated groups (e.g., Student Council; Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993), because minority-affiliated group choices signal higher levels of racial identification (Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009).

Moreover, self-categorization heightens perceivers' reliance on specific group stereotypes (e.g., Hugenberg & Bodenhausen, 2004, Sanchez et al., 2010), because categorization precedes stereotype activation and use (e.g., Allport, 1954; Brewer, 1988; Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Macrae & Bodenhausen, 2000; 2001). Specifically, a biracial person's categorization as Black will be associated with more use of stereotypes than other conditions. For example, White/Black biracial targets who were categorized as Black (due to the targets' increased amount of Black ancestry) were also associated with more stereotypically Black experiences (e.g., experiencing racial discrimination) and traits (e.g., athleticism; Sanchez et al., 2010). Also, racially ambiguous faces were seen as more Black when they were hostile (but not happy), showing that perceivers use stereotypes to guide perception (Hugenberg & Bodenhausen, 2004).

Based on this work, I expect a biracial individual's racial self-categorization will signal to perceivers his or her level of identification with respective groups (i.e., racial identification). Black/White biracial targets who self-categorize as Black will be seen as more identified with their Black and less identified with their White identity than those who self-categorize as biracial. As a corollary, those who self-categorize as biracial will be seen as more identified with their Black and less identified with their White identity than those who self-categorize as White. Thus, both Black and biracial self-categorization

will cue identification with Blacks and social distance from Whites, but to varying degrees.

Perceiver Race in Affective Evaluations of Biracial Targets

A person's race shapes her social world, including how she perceives others. Social groups are comprised of individuals who see themselves as members of the same social category (cf. social identity theory; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Evaluations between groups are largely comparative, predicated on contrasting the values, members, or shared goals of the in-group with those associated with out-groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). If race is made salient, Blacks will view fellow Blacks as in-group members and non-Blacks as out-group members, whereas Asians will view fellow Asians as in-group members and non-Asians as out-group members. However, because biracial individuals belong to two racial groups, the way that they are construed by monoracial perceivers who belong wholly to one of their constituent racial backgrounds is less clear, because monoracial perceivers can consider these individuals as either in-group or out-group members. In these cases, the designation of in-group or out-group status may depend on several factors, including perceiver characteristics (i.e., racial identification and group enhancement motives) and how the target self-categorizes.

Group enhancement motives. According to social identity theory, a person's group identity is important to his or her self-concept; that is, a person's sense of who "I" am is comprised in part of who "we" are (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Individuals are motivated to maintain positive self (Sedikides, 1993) and social identities (Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990; Tajfel & Turner, 1986), which can be achieved by positively differentiating the in-group from comparison out-groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). One

way that group members can establish a positive group image is by keeping high status members close and distancing from or excluding low status members. Thus, group enhancement motives may encourage the inclusion of high status group members, even if they are peripheral members. If the peripheral member increases the group's status, group members may employ an inclusive strategy wherein the target must display group loyalty. However, if the peripheral member lowers the group's status, group members may employ an exclusive strategy and seek to maximize social distance from the target.

Perceptions of disloyalty. Biracial individuals are peripheral racial group members who must seek to gain acceptance in the group (Noel, Wann, & Branscombe, 1995). Social groups compete with out-groups for status and resources, and their ability to do so is strengthened by individuals who improve (i.e., loyal group members) the group's welfare and weakened by individuals who damage the group (i.e., disloyal group members or "black sheep"; Levine & Moreland, 2002; Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988). To gain acceptance to their racial groups, biracial targets can prove their loyalty by adhering to group norms (i.e., acting similar to group members) and advancing and promoting the group (i.e., being trustworthy; Brewer & Silver, 2000; Levine & Moreland, 2002; Zdaniuk & Levine, 2001).

However, perceivers will only look for loyalty if adding the group member improves status (Zdaniuk & Levine, 2001). Higher status individuals who prove their loyalty may be welcomed into the group and viewed favorably, but lower status individuals may be eschewed. In the US, racial categories are fluid (i.e., subject to change over time; Lee & Bean, 2010; Penner & Saperstein, 2008; Saperstien & Penner, under review), but there is an entrenched racial status hierarchy that accords Whites the greatest

status and Blacks the least status² (Ho, Sidanius, Levin, & Banaji, 2011). Consequently, White/Black biracial individuals have the potential to lower the status of the White category and raise the status of the Black category (e.g., Penner & Saperstein, 2008; Saperstein & Penner, under review).

Thus, when faced with White/Black biracial individuals, Black perceivers may see biracial targets as raising group status and seek to include them as loyal group members, but White perceivers may see biracial targets as lowering group status and seek to exclude all biracial individuals *carte blanche*. If White/Black biracial targets' Black self-categorization proves loyalty to Blacks, Black perceivers should react positively to biracial targets who self-categorize as Black (but not biracial or White). However, self-categorization as either Black or Biracial distances Black/White biracial targets from Whites. Therefore, White perceivers may have positive reactions to biracial targets who self-categorize as Black or Biracial (but not White). Thus, both White and Black perceivers may resist targets' biracial self-categorizations, though for different reasons.

Racial identification. Group identification plays a causal role in social perception, including evaluations of group disloyalty. Disloyal group members elicit unfavorable reactions, the strength of which is heightened by perceiver's identification with the group (Coull, Yzerbyt, Castano, Paladino & Leemans, 2001; Marques, Abrams, Paez & Martinez-Taboada, 1998). Moreover, group identity is the "social glue" that holds groups together (Van Vugt & Hart, 2004, p. 585) because individuals who are highly identified with their group are more likely to stay with, and promote the interests of, the group (Zdaniuk & Levine, 2001).

Highly identified individuals are more selective and protective of their group, and are more highly motivated to preserve a positive group image (Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990) through exclusionary strategies designed to enhance the group (Castano, Yzerbyt, Bourguignon & Seron, 2002). For example, individuals who had higher levels of group identification take longer to categorize and subsequently accept racially ambiguous faces as in-group members, and they categorize fewer of these targets as in-group members (Castano, Yzerbyt, Bourguignon & Seron, 2002). Moreover, Whites with high levels of racial identification are likely to view biracial faces as dissimilar to ingroup faces (Wilton et al., 2011). This line of reasoning may explain why minority groups were opposed to the shift to multiracial classification in the 2000 US Census, which was argued on the grounds that the new policy would shrink the visibility of racial minorities in statistical data, and by extension, the money and services allotted to their communities (Nagai, 2010) and political influence (Rockquemore & Brunson, 2002). It also explains why White perceivers rely on hypodescent principles when categorizing ambiguous targets Black more frequently than White in the absence of racial labels (Ho, Sidanius, Levin & Banaki, 2011).

The Present Research

The present research examined the role of self-categorization and racial identification in Black and White perceivers' evaluations of Black/White biracial targets. Specifically, this project sought to demonstrate that (1) Black and White perceivers would differ in the status that they confer to the biracial target, such that Black perceivers will confer higher status to the biracial target, (2) the effect of self-categorization (Black or Biracial) on evaluations of biracial targets would be moderated by perceivers' levels

racial identification, and (3) perceptions of disloyalty would mediate the moderation of group identification by self-categorization on Black perceivers' evaluations of biracial targets.

Specifically, I hypothesized that, compared to White perceivers, Black perceivers would see the biracial target as higher in social status. This is because, while both Black and White perceivers will compare the biracial target to themselves, Blacks will see the biracial target's White ancestry as conferring higher status than Black-only ancestry, whereas Whites will see the biracial target's Black ancestry as conferring lower status than White-only ancestry. I also hypothesized that both Black and White perceivers would evaluate Black/White biracial targets who self-categorize as Black most positively, compared with those who self-categorize as biracial (because Whites will react favorably to the biracial target's perceived social distancing from Whites via Black self-categorization), and that only Black (and not White) participants would see Black/White biracial targets who self-categorize as biracial as disloyal compared with those who self-categorize as Black. I further predicted that perceptions of disloyalty would serve as the mechanism that guides Black perceiver's affective evaluations of, and interest in interacting with, biracial. I also expected that Black perceivers who are highly racially identified would evaluate Black/White biracial targets who self-categorize Black as most loyal, compared with those who self-categorize as biracial. However, I expect that White perceivers would not look for loyalty in biracial targets because they would see them as lower in social status; thus, I predicted no difference between White perceivers' evaluations of biracial targets on perceived loyalty.

Current Study

The current study tested the effects of a biracial target's racial self-classification and perceiver race and racial identification on Black and White perceivers' perceptions and evaluations of Black/White biracial targets. Specifically, (1) affective evaluations and interest in interaction, (2) perceived status, and (3) perceived loyalty were assessed as the main dependent variables.

Method

Participants

Due to the low participation rate among monoracial Black participants from within the Human Subjects Pool, data from two samples are reported and simultaneously analyzed to test the hypotheses. In the first sample, I recruited 25 monoracial African American (M age = 18.96; SD = 1.49; 16 women; n = 10 in Biracial condition) and 172 monoracial White (M age = 18.77; SD = 1.18; 77 women; n = 73 in Biracial condition) participants from the Rutgers University Psychology Department Human Subjects Pool to participate in the study in the laboratory in exchange for two research credits. In the second sample, I also recruited 110 monoracial African American (M = 20.72; SD = 2.63; 66 women; n = 60 in Biracial condition) and 38 monoracial White (M = 20.42; SD = 1.92; 22 women; n = 19 in Biracial condition) participants from the greater Rutgers community to participate in the study in a field setting in exchange for entrance into a cash lottery of \$100. Thus a total of 345 participants (M = 19.59; SD = 2.07; 181 women) took part in this study, including 135 monoracial African American (M = 20.40; SD = 2.55; 82 women; n = 70 in Biracial condition) and 210 monoracial White participants (M = 19.07; SD = 1.97; 99 women; n = 92 in Biracial condition).

Procedure

The research employed a 2 (target racial disclosure: Black vs. Biracial) x 2 (perceiver race: White vs. Black) between subjects design with participants randomly assigned to target racial disclosure condition. Participants were recruited to a study that ostensibly explored individuals' inferences to personality and background based on an author's writing. The study was entitled, "Read the Writer". The procedures employed for Subject Pool and Non-Subject Pool participants varied slightly to accommodate the different settings (i.e., laboratory versus field) and are thus fully described below separately for each sample.

Laboratory Protocol for Subject Pool Participants. Subject pool participants participated in the experiment within a laboratory setting. In order to mask the experimental interest in race, participants completed a prescreen survey upon entering the departmental subject pool that included the group identification measure (Collective Self-Esteem – Importance to Identity Subscale; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992) as well as their race, and results were obtained for all participants. Also based on this information, I invited Black participants to take part in the study in order to encourage their participation and recruit the necessary number of Black participants.

Once in the laboratory, after providing informed consent, participants reviewed two writers, one involving a monoracial White author (filler task) and one involving a White/Black biracial author (experimental task). They were instructed to form impressions of author's background and personality (e.g., "writing style is determined by the different choices that authors make when writing, and so writing style can be seen as a reflection of the author"). To motivate participants to pay attention to the authors' information, they were told that they would be asked to recall information from the

information sheet and essay during the study. The presentation of the target packs was counterbalanced to avoid order effects. Only the essay written by the biracial author was of experimental interest. In all cases, the participant was instructed to fully review the target's information, including the background information sheet and essay. After doing so, participants completed an evaluation of the essay and writer that included all dependent measures, including affective evaluations and perceived disloyalty (described fully below). They also completed a short manipulation check to ensure that they correctly remembered the target's racial background (i.e., that the target had biracial ancestry) and racial self-classification (i.e., whether the target self identified as White or Biracial). Following this, the participant read the second information sheet and essay, and again completed the same dependent measures and manipulation check. Upon completion of all dependent measures and manipulation checks for each of the two target packets, participants completed a final, short questionnaire to obtain their demographic information, including age, gender and race, as well as a suspicion probe to gauge participants' knowledge of the true purpose of this study. Finally, participants were fully debriefed and given two research participation credits.

Field Protocol for Non-Subject Pool Participants. The procedure for Non-Subject Pool participants followed that for Subject Pool participants with the following modifications made to accommodate the field setting. First, participants were approached on campus³ by a female Research Assistant (one Black and one White) who asked participants to take part in the study in exchange for being entered into a lottery to win a cash prize. Five drawings of \$100 were offered in order to encourage participation among a limited population demographic (i.e., Black college students)⁴. The lottery should not

have influenced participants' responses to the dependent measures, but I will test for sample differences to ensure this was the case. In addition, only the experimental task (i.e., White/Black biracial author) was given in order to reduce the time required to complete the survey and thus increase participation. Finally, the group identification measurement (Collective Self-Esteem – Importance to Identity Subscale; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992) was administered in the beginning of the survey. To mask the emphasis of race, additional, race-unrelated filler items were also included. Because of the differing participation settings and procedures, we controlled for setting in the analysis.

Materials

Collective Self Esteem – Importance to Identity Subscale. The four-item identity subscale of Luhtanen & Crocker's (1992) Collective Self Esteem Revised Scale assessed participants' racial identification. Using a 7 point Likert-type scale with 7 (*strongly agree*) and 1 (*strongly disagree*), participants answered questions about how central their racial group is to their self-concept. Sample items include, "In general, belonging to my racial group is an important part of my self image" and "The racial group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am." The scale displayed good internal consistency for all subjects ($\alpha = .81$), as well as for both Black ($\alpha = .72$) and (White $\alpha = .83$) subjects. For the complete scale, see Appendix A1.

Affective evaluations. Warmth and competence ratings were used to determine participants' affective evaluations of the target because these two dimensions represent central and universal traits that play an important role in impression formation (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008). Participants indicated the extent to which they believed the author is characterized by each of ten traits, ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*extremely*). The

traits capture five judgments each of warmth (e.g., “Warm”; $\alpha_{\text{all subjects}} = .93$; $\alpha_{\text{Black subjects}} = .93$; $\alpha_{\text{White subjects}} = .91$) and competence (e.g., “Competent”; $\alpha_{\text{all subjects}} = .94$; $\alpha_{\text{Black subjects}} = .92$; $\alpha_{\text{White subjects}} = .91$) that were used in Sanchez & Bonam (2009). Higher scores on each subscale represent higher warmth or competence. For the complete scale, see Appendix A2.

Perceived Status. The target’s perceived social status was measured via participants’ estimations of the targets’ neighborhood (e.g., “The author is from Newark, NJ”; “The author is from Princeton, NJ”) and parents’ profession (e.g., “The author’s father is a bus driver”; “The author’s father is a lawyer”), and education (“The author’s father attended Middlesex Community College”; “The author’s father attended Princeton University”). Participants indicated the extent to which they felt these events are likely, ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*extremely*). Because I created novel items assessing status using both high and low status items, I conducted factor analysis on the participants who passed the manipulation check (for a full explanation of why this subset was used, please see the “Manipulation Check” section of the Results, below) to determine whether I could collapse the items into one scale of overall status. Using varimax rotation, factor analysis revealed two factors accounting for 64.75% of the variance. All high status items loaded above .70 on one dimension and no higher than .13 on the other dimension. All low status items loaded above .65 on the low status dimension and no higher than .13 on the high status factor. The factor loadings for all scale items are shown in Table 1. Therefore, I created two separate status scales of high and low status. The high status scale was reliable for all subjects ($\alpha = .85$), as well as for both Black ($\alpha = .84$) and (White $\alpha = .85$) subjects. The low status scale was reliable for

all subjects ($\alpha = .76$), as well as for both Black ($\alpha = .74$) and (White $\alpha = .75$) subjects. The scales were scored such that higher scores on the high status scale indicate higher status, and higher scores on the low status scale indicate lower status (i.e., items taping low status were not reverse scored for the low status scale). I will report both scales in all status analyses. For the complete scales, see Appendix A3.

Perceived Disloyalty. Perceived racial group disloyalty was measured with an adjusted perceived racial identification measure of the target using the membership subscale of Luhtanen & Crocker's (1992) Collective Self Esteem Revised Scale. On a 7 point Likert-type scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*), participants answered questions about the target's Black and White group membership including, "The author is a worthy member of his WHITE race/ethnic group" (or "The author is a worthy member of his BLACK race/ethnic group") and "The author is a cooperative participant in the activities of his WHITE racial/ethnic group" (or "The author is a cooperative participant in the activities of his BLACK racial/ethnic group"). The internal consistency of the Black membership scale was good for all ($\alpha = .73$) participants, as well as for Black ($\alpha = .68$) and White ($\alpha = .75$) participants separately. The internal consistency of the White membership scale was good for all ($\alpha = .75$) participants, as well as for Black ($\alpha = .68$), and White ($\alpha = .79$) participants separately. For the complete scale, see Appendix A4.

Interest in Interaction. Participants imagined that they and the author of the essay lived in the same dorm building and then were asked to indicate the extent to which they would like to interact with the target in three situations (e.g., "Would you like to meet this person?") on a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*extremely*). The scale

reliability was good for all ($\alpha = .94$) participants, as well as Black ($\alpha = .95$) and White ($\alpha = .94$) participants separately. For the complete scale, see Appendix A5.

Filler items. In addition to the main dependent measures, filler questions about the author's political affiliation, favorite book, and best friend's gender were also included to disguise the experimenter's interest in the race-related scales and to bolster the cover story. For a list of filler items, see Appendix A6.

Target Packets. Target packets were comprised of (1) a cover sheet explaining the essay prompt, (2) a background information sheet that the author seemingly completed and which contained basic information about the author, and (3) the essay. Laboratory participants reviewed one filler target packet with a White male author as the focus, and one experimental target packet with a Black/White biracial author as the focus, whereas field participants only reviewed the experimental target packet with a Black/White biracial author as the focus. However, in all cases, only the Black/White biracial target was of experimental interest (see Appendix A7a-c).

Cover Sheet. The cover sheet explained the basic goals of the study, and informed participants that the information that they reviewed in the experiment was created by a former Rutgers student as a part of a previous experiment. The same cover sheet was used for all targets; thus, all participants saw the same cover sheet, and laboratory participants saw the same cover sheet two times during the experiment (see Appendix A7a).

Background Information Sheet. The background information sheet contained information about the author, including his racial ancestry (i.e., information about his parents' race) and his racial self-classification. For the Black/White biracial author, the

background information sheet manipulated the target's racial self-classification via the target's selection of either one (e.g., Black only) or two (e.g., both Black and White) check boxes to denote his race. Specifically, the White/Black biracial author checked only the "African American / Black" box (i.e., Black racial identification condition) or both the "African American / Black" and "Caucasian / White" boxes (i.e., biracial identification condition) on the racial demographic section. In addition, regardless of the author's racial self-classification, the Black/White biracial author stated that he is half Black and half White in response to an open-ended prompt. The "filler" author always selected "White" for his racial classification and stated that he is "Italian through and through" in order to subtly reduce the salience of the biracial participant's statement of racial ancestry.

A photograph of the author accompanied each essay to ensure that participants did not imagine that the author's self-classification is a function of his phenotype (Sanchez et al., 2010). Because self-categorization options depend on phenotype (e.g., Maddox, 2004), I chose to use a photo of a biracial, racially ambiguous target who could "pass" as White (see Appendix A7b). This photograph was of a Black/White biracial target who was perceived as biracial and racially ambiguous and served as part of the stimulus set in Pauker et al., 2009. The Background Information Sheet was hand written to increase the participant's belief that the authors are actual individuals.

Essay. Two essays were used in the study. The White author's essay described a meaningful experience volunteering with children, and the Black/White biracial author's essay described how his racial background influenced his desire to travel and learn about other cultures (see Appendix A7c). Participants were told that each essay was written by

a different Rutgers University undergraduate during a previous study, when in fact each essay was composed by the researcher specifically for this experiment.

Results

Manipulation Check

A manipulation check to confirm that participants accurately remembered the target's self-categorization was included after the dependent measures. The question stated, "How did the author identify his/her race on the information sheet?" and the options were listed as Black, White, and Biracial. In addition, there was an open-ended format in which participants were asked to write-in the participant's ancestry. In my proposal, I stated that those who did not pass the manipulation check would be removed from further analyses. Analysis on the first 281 participants revealed that 89 people (31.67%) failed the manipulation check, the majority ($n = 87$) of whom were participants in the Black self-categorization condition (e.g., participants stated that the target self-categorized as Biracial, even though he self-categorized as Black). In other words, participants were seeing the targets as Biracial despite their self-categorization as Black. At first, I thought that the wording of the manipulation check question ("How did the author identify his/her race on the information sheet?") may be too ambiguous because the target alludes to his biracial background in the essay, and perhaps, the participants were using the essay rather than the information sheet to infer the target's race. Thus, for the remaining 64 participants, a second manipulation check was added to clarify how the author self-categorizes. This question stated "On the information sheet, how did the author respond to the question: 'What is your race/ethnicity? (check as many as apply)'. Please check the box(es) that the author selected." See Appendix A8 for the full wording

of both questions. Upon final analysis of the manipulation check questions, 111 participants (32.17%) failed the manipulation check again. The majority ($n = 108$) of these participants were again in the Black self-categorization condition (e.g., participants stated that the target self-categorized as Biracial, even though he self-categorized as Black). Chi square analyses revealed that both White participants ($\chi^2(1, N = 210) = 75.04, p < .000$) and Black participants ($\chi^2(1, N = 135) = 55.20, p < .01$) made substantially more errors in the Black self-categorization condition (0% Errors for Whites; 2.70% Errors for Blacks) than the biracial self-categorizing condition (59.46% Errors for Whites; 37.84% Errors for Blacks). However, both Black and White participants made errors at the same rate, $\chi^2(1, N = 345) = .14, p = .71$. Because participants failed to pass the manipulation check and it is unclear why this failure occurred (for speculation, see the discussion section), I report the analyses for the participants who accurately reported the target's racial self-categorization ($n = 234$) only.

Preliminary Analyses

The means and standard deviations for all study variables by condition are shown in Table 2 and by race in Table 3. Correlations between all dependent measures are shown in Table 4 (Black and White participants), Table 5 (White participants) and Table 6 (Black participants). T-tests revealed no significant differences between participants in the Biracial versus Black conditions on any measure. However, Black and White participants differed significantly on racial identification, perceived low status, and perceived Black and White loyalty.

Analysis for Accurate Sample

Before examining the main hypotheses, I ran three separate analysis of variance (ANOVA) analyses on all dependent measures (warmth, competence, perceived high status, perceived low status, perceived White disloyalty, perceived White disloyalty, and interest in interaction) to rule-out potential effects of gender, order of presentation of experimental versus filler essays (laboratory participants only), and sample (laboratory versus field). Gender, order, and location effects analyses were run separately to preserve statistical power. These preliminary analyses revealed that gender and location (but not order) significantly predicted the dependent variables (warmth, competence, White loyalty, and Black loyalty, and high and low status). Thus, location and gender were added as covariates into all subsequent analyses.

To explore the hypothesis that Black perceivers will see the Black/White biracial target as higher in status than White perceivers, I conducted a 2 (participant race) x 2 (condition) Analysis of Covariance (ANCOVA) on both the high and the low status variables with location and gender added as covariates. Contrary to expectations, there were no main effects or interactions (all $ps > .19$) on the high status variable, including the predicted main effect of race. However, I found the expected significant main effect of race on the low status variable such that **White participants ($M = 3.78, SD = .89$) viewed the biracial target as being lower in status (i.e., higher on the low status measure) than Black participants ($M = 3.11, SD = 1.09$), $F(1, 233) = 7.66, SE = 7.02, p = .006, \eta^2 = .03$. Also consistent with expectations, no other main effects or interactions were found (all $ps > .32$).**

To explore the hypothesis that perceivers will rate the Black/White biracial target who self-categorizes as biracial negatively and the Black/White biracial target who self-

categorizes as Black positively, I conducted 2 (participant race) x 2 (condition) ANCOVAs on affective evaluations (warmth and competence) and interest in interaction. Location and gender were added as covariates. I predicted a main effect of condition such that people would like and want to interact more with the biracial target who categorizes as Black versus Biracial.

For the warmth variable, a significant main effect of location was found such that participants in the lab ($M = 5.35$, $SD = .92$) rated the target as warmer than participants in the field ($M = 5.00$, $SD = .1.22$), $F(1, 233) = 3.93$, $SE = 4.39$, $p = .05$, $\eta^2 = .02$. No other significant main effects, including the hypothesized main effect of condition, or interactions emerged on warmth (all $ps > .24$).

For the competence variable, a marginally significant main effect of race emerged such that White participants ($M = 4.90$, $SD = 1.09$) perceived targets as more competent than Black participants ($M = 4.73$, $SD = 1.29$), $F(1, 233) = 2.83$, $SE = 3.85$, $p = .09$, $\eta^2 = .01$. A significant Race x Condition interaction was found, $F(1, 233) = 5.81$, $SE = 7.89$, $p = .02$, $\eta^2 = .03$. Follow up t-tests using estimated means and the estimated standard error of the grand mean revealed that **Black participants in the Biracial condition** ($M = 4.25$, $SD = 0.67$) **rated the target as less competent than Black participants in the Black condition** ($M = 4.89$, $SD = 1.47$), $t(88) = -7.48$, $p = .014$. No significant condition differences emerged for White participants, $t(142) = 2.14$, $p = .10$. There were no significant main effects or interactions on interest in interaction (all $ps < .21$).

To explore the hypothesis that Black (but not White) perceivers will see the Black/White target who self-categorizes as biracial as disloyal to Blacks, I conducted the same analytical procedure as described on the disloyalty measures with location added as

a covariate. A significant main effect of location emerged on Black loyalty such that participants in the lab ($M = 5.90, SD = .75$) rated the target as more loyal to Blacks than participants in the field ($M = 5.11, SD = .98$), $F(1, 232) = 4.22, SE = 3.62, p = .04, \eta^2 = .02$. However, contrary to expectations, no other significant main effects or interactions emerged on Black loyalty (all $ps > .31$). Similar to the Black loyalty measure, a marginally significant main effect of location emerged on White loyalty such that participants in the lab ($M = 5.75, SD = .68$) rated the target as more loyal to Blacks than participants in the field ($M = 5.00, SD = 1.01$), $F(1, 232) = 2.79, SE = 2.71, p = .10, \eta^2 = .01$. Thus, those who completed the study in the laboratory setting viewed the target as more loyal overall (i.e., more loyal to both Black and White racial groups). However, contrary to expectations, no other significant main effects or interactions emerged on White loyalty (all $ps > .43$).

Moderation by Racial Identification. I also hypothesized that racial identification would moderate the effect of the target's self-categorization on affective evaluations of the target. That is, I predicted that the centrality of perceivers' race to his or her self-concept would change the relationship between the target's racial disclosure condition and perceivers' evaluations of the targets. Specifically, I predicted that perceivers higher in racial identification would show more favorability towards the Black self-categorizing target than the Biracial self-categorizing target.

To test this hypothesis, I first standardized racial identification and used dummy codes to examine the Black categorization condition advantage over the Biracial categorization condition. Specifically, I created dummy codes referred to as condition (Black = 1, Biracial = 0), participant race (White = 1, Black = 0), and location (1 =

laboratory, 0 = field). All dummy codes were standardized. Following the procedures of Aiken & West (1991), I also generated two interaction terms: (1) racial identification score x condition and (2) racial identification score x condition x race. Then I regressed the affective evaluation (i.e., competence, warmth) and interest in interaction variables separately on: (1) racial identification, (2) condition, (3) participant race, (4) location, (5) racial identification x condition, (6) racial identification x race, (7) condition x race, and (8) racial identification x condition x race. I predicted a significant two-way interaction term between racial identification and condition for warmth, competence and interest in interaction.

There was a main effect of location on the warmth variable, $\beta = .16$, $p = .06$, such that that participation in the laboratory setting predicted higher warmth evaluations of the target, though it only achieved marginal significance in this sample. No other main effects or interactions, including the expected racial identification and condition interaction, emerged (all $ps < .42$).

On the competence variable, there were no main effects (all $ps > .43$). However, a significant condition x race interaction emerged, $\beta = .18$, $p = .01$ (see Figure 1). To explore this two-way interaction between condition and race, I examined main effects of condition for Black and White participants separately. There was a main effect of condition for Black participants, $\beta = -.28$, $p = .02$, such that for Black participants the target's self-categorization as Black predicted lower ratings of the target's competence. For Whites, condition did not predict ratings of the target's competence, $\beta = .10$, $p = .27$. No other significant interactions emerged (all $ps > .29$).

On the interest in interaction (i.e., behavior) variable, there were no main effects (all $ps > .21$) or two-way interactions (all $ps > .15$). However, there was a significant three-way race x condition x racial identification interaction, $\beta = -.16, p = .03$ (see Figure 2). To explore the three-way race x condition x racial identification interaction, I regressed interest in interaction on the racial identification and condition interaction as well as the main effects of condition, racial identification, location, and gender separately for Black and White participants. For Black participants, a marginally significant main effect of gender emerged, $\beta = .18, p = .09$ (Men = 1, Women = 0), such that men were more likely to rate the target as competent. No other significant main effects emerged (all $ps > .22$). However, there was also a significant racial identification and condition interaction for Black participants, $\beta = .28, p = .01$, which I decomposed by examining the data by condition. **This analysis revealed that for Black participants in the Black condition, racial identification positively predicted the desire to interact with the target, $\beta = .52, p = .01$, whereas for Black participants in the Biracial condition, racial identification did not predict desire to interact with the target, $\beta = .07, p = .56$.**

To test whether racial identification would moderate the effect of the target's self-categorization on perceived loyalty, I ran similar regression models for Black loyalty and White loyalty. I predicted that racial identification would predict perceptions of Black loyalty more for Black self-categorizing biracial target than the Biracial self-categorizing target. There was a main effect of location, $\beta = .17, p = .04$, such that participation in the laboratory setting corresponded with higher ratings of the target's Black loyalty. There was also a significant racial identification and race interaction on Black loyalty, $\beta = -.13, p = .05$. No other interactions or main effects emerged on Black loyalty (all $ps > .24$) or

White loyalty (all $ps > .13$). Thus, the predicted three-way interaction between participant race x condition x racial identification on disloyalty was not found. To explore the significant racial identification x race interaction on Black loyalty, I examined the main effects of racial identification on Black loyalty for Blacks and Whites separately. No main effects emerged for White or Black participants (all $ps > .12$).

Mediated Moderation. I further hypothesized that, for Black (but not White) participants, Black disloyalty would mediate the moderation of affective perceptions of the target by group identification. However, since there were no significant interaction of racial identification with race and condition on disloyalty, I could not complete this analysis.

Discussion

The present research examined how perceivers' evaluations of White/Black biracial individuals vary, depending on how the target self-categorizes (i.e., as Black or Biracial) and perceiver characteristics (i.e., race, racial identification). Drawing from social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), I contended that Black perceivers (who are high in racial identification) would seek to increase the status of their in-group by adding biracial individuals. I also argued that these individuals would see Black/White biracial individuals who self-categorize as biracial as disloyal, and would evaluate them negatively for their perceived transgression. However, White/Biracial individuals reduce the status of the White category, so White perceivers would seek to exclude all biracial individuals from their in-group as well, and thus evaluate them negatively for self-categorizing as biracial. Consistent with expectations, Black perceivers perceived the biracial target as higher in social status. This pattern of data shows initial support for the

contention that Blacks may be more highly motivated than Whites to include Black/White biracial individuals in their racial group, because they believe that doing so has the potential to raise the social status of their ingroup.

I also hypothesized that both Black and White perceivers would resist biracial categorization by positively evaluating and wanting to interact more with the Black self-categorizing biracial target than the Biracial self-categorizing biracial target. However, I found only minimal support for this prediction based on the fact that Black participants in the Biracial condition rated the target as marginally less competent than Black participants in the Black condition. The lack of further support for this prediction is perhaps surprising given prior research that shows that Biracial individuals who reveal their biracial identity experience bias and are subject to negative evaluations (Sanchez & Bonam, 2009). Although the Sanchez and Bonam study compared Biracial individuals to monoracial Blacks, one may expect a similar pattern of data to emerge if, as argued, participants indeed inferred the target's level of Black racial identification (and social distance from Whites) from his self-categorization (see Racial Categorization of Biracial Targets, in the Introduction). Thus, one reason that this finding may not have emerged is that the self-categorization manipulation may have been too subtle and may not have completely manipulated the Biracial versus Black self-categorization. I provide a more detailed discussion on the issues related to the manipulation check in a separate section below under the heading, "Manipulation of Black Versus Biracial Self-Categorization."

New to this research, I also predicted that individual differences in perceivers' levels of racial identification would moderate the effect of self-categorization on evaluations of biracial targets. In support of this idea, I found that for Black participants

in the Black condition, racial identification positively predicted the desire to interact with the target, whereas for Black participants in the Biracial condition, racial identification did not predict desire to interact with the target. However, the prediction that for Black (but not White) participants, Black disloyalty would mediate the moderation of affective perceptions of the target by group identification could not be tested since there were no significant interaction of racial identification with race and condition on disloyalty.

Manipulation of Black Versus Biracial Self-Categorization

The most significant limitation to the study is the fact that nearly one-third of the participants (111 participants, or 32.17%) failed the manipulation check designed to ensure accurate categorization of the target as either Biracial or Black, depending on his self-categorization on the information sheet. This indicates that the self-categorization manipulation was too subtle, perhaps particularly when paired with the target's disclosure of his biracial background in the essay (which could imply biracial self-categorization) and the demand to rate the target in terms of his Black and White identity, and clouds interpretation of significant differences (or the failure to find expected differences) that emerged as a result of condition (i.e., Black versus Biracial). As discussed, most ($n = 108$) of the participants who incorrectly responded to the manipulation check rated the target's self-categorization as Biracial despite his actual self-categorization as Black, suggesting that participants who made manipulation check errors used the target's biracial ancestry, and not his self-categorization, as the primary cue for his classification. This finding also suggests that participants were influenced by the instruction to rate the target in terms of both his Black and White identity. I purposefully had the target write about his biracial ancestry for two reasons. First, I wanted to increase the plausibility of

the cover story (that these were real students and the study aim was to accurately infer their personalities and backgrounds) and minimize the potential to reveal the true experimental interest in race. Second, I wanted to ensure that participants acknowledged the target's biracial ancestry, and not simply rely on the established tendency to classify biracial targets according to the principle of hypodescent (i.e., as Black; Ho, Sidanius, Levin, & Banaji, 2011; Peery & Bodenhausen, 2008, Sanchez et al., 2010). The fact that participants categorized the biracial target as such when he wrote about his biracial ancestry is consistent with prior research that shows that hypodescent is less prevalent in deliberate racial categorization tasks (Peery & Bodenhausen, 2008; Sanchez et al., 2011). However, to correct for this in the future, the study materials should be revised to increase the salience of the target's self-categorization as either Black or Biracial, despite the presence of his Biracial ancestry. This can be achieved by also manipulating the target's self-identification as either Black or Biracial. For example, the target can begin the essay by stating either, "I'm half Black and half White, but I've always identified myself mostly as Black" in the Black condition, or "I'm half Black and half White, and I've always identified myself mostly as Biracial" in the Biracial condition.

However, the conclusion that participants relied on the target's ancestry is not categorical, and so I discuss two alternative explanations for why so many participants failed the manipulation task: (1) the manipulation check question wording was unclear and thus not a good measure of participants' categorizations of the target, and (2) participants simply were not paying attention to personal information that the target disclosed. First, I examined the possibility that the wording of the manipulation check question itself ("How did the author identify his/her race on the information sheet?") was

too ambiguous because the target writes about his biracial background in the essay. Thus, I added a second, more direct question about the target's self-categorization ("On the information sheet, how did the author respond to the question: 'What is your race/ethnicity? (check as many as apply)'. Please check the box(es) that the author selected.") to clarify that the measure of interest was the target's self-categorization, not the fact that he had biracial ancestry. Indeed, I thought that participants who failed the first manipulation check question may be using the target's description of his racial ancestry in the essay, and not his racial self-classification on the information sheet, to infer his race. However, participants continued to incorrectly answer the second question. Of the 64 participants who received both questions, 48 responded to both questions in the exact same way (16 incorrectly), and only 11 correctly responded to the second question when they had incorrectly answered the first question.

Second, I examined the possibility that participants simply were not paying attention to the study by analyzing peoples' responses to other questions about the target that were provided on the information sheet. All of the participant correctly indicated the target's gender (male), that he did not mention any siblings on the information sheet or essay, and wrote in the open ended question that the target had one Black and one White parent. Taken together, this information suggests that participants were paying attention to the target's information and that the question wording was not the primary cause of the manipulation check mistakes.

Other Limitations and Future Directions

A second limitation to this experiment is the use of the two separate (laboratory and field) samples, which was necessary in order to recruit the necessary number of

minority participants required for statistical significance. In order to recruit individuals outside of the laboratory setting, I modified slightly the experimental protocol (see the Methods Section) to facilitate recruitment by shortening the study, measuring racial identification at the beginning of the survey (as prescreen data were not available), and offering \$100 lottery incentives. As a result, effects of location emerged in the data. Although I statistically controlled for these effects in data analysis, one seeks not to introduce variance into the data that is the result of the experimental protocol. Moreover, it is impossible to determine from this data which of the differences between the laboratory versus field protocol impacted participants. For example, it is possible that I cued participants to race by measuring their levels of racial identification before they reviewed the target's information, and thus impacted their responses to the biracial target. Also possible, the cash incentives could have motivated participants to respond differently if they were interested in the potential cash reward.

Furthermore, the limited sample characteristics of university populations warrant that conclusions based on the collected data should be drawn with care; findings may not be replicable in an older, more geographically diverse population. Caution should also be taken in interpreting these data as representative of all minority groups. In the US, Asians, Blacks, and Latinos (the most common minority groups in White/Minority biracial pairings, and thus the primary focus of this discussion) have different (1) historical legacies of oppression, (2) experiences with prejudice and bias, and (3) barriers to and current levels of upward mobility. Generalizations to Asian and Latino populations from a Black-only sample are cautioned. For example, Asian communities value "racial purity" (Root, 1996; Shih & Sanchez, 2005), so Asians may be more averse to biracial

categorization than Blacks or Hispanics. On the other hand, as the “model minority” Asians are seen as a high-status, competitive out-group (i.e., competent and intelligent; Ho & Jackson, 2001; Lin, Kwan, Cheung, & Fiske, 2005). Thus, Asians may experience lower levels of social threat than Blacks and Latinos, and consequently resist biracial categorization less than Blacks and Latinos. Future research should explore separately how Asian and Latino perceivers’ react to Asian/White and Latino/White biracial individuals respectively, depending on how the target self-categorizes.

Future research should also address the behavioral consequences of biracial categorization. Social group members have options at their disposal for responding to loyalty and disloyalty by in-group and out-group members alike (Levine & Moreland, 2002), including punishment or social coercion to restore group-normative responses. If perceivers view biracial categorization as disloyal, will they respond by punishing the target? Future work should also explore potential strategies (e.g., displaying loyalty) to reduce negative evaluations of biracial individuals who self-categorize as biracial. For example, if a biracial person self-categorizes as biracial, but displays other acts of loyalty (e.g., joining racial minority groups, interacting with racial minorities, expressing minority attitudes), will perceivers evaluate them differently? These two research streams would also improve the ecological validity of this research. Finally, race essentialism should be examined as a potential moderator of the effect of self-categorization on evaluations of biracial targets. Individuals who view race as a biological reality see individuals who belong to a given racial category as sharing deep, unchangeable “essences” or similarities. Would these individuals therefore resist biracial categorization,

because biracial categorization disrupts this structured and unbridgeable categorical heuristic?

Research that explores the perceptions of, and attitudes towards, White/minority individuals is timely and has the potential to reveal a social context in which racial self-categorization interacts with perceiver race and racial identification to reinforce social inequalities (Lee & Bean, 2007; Saperstein & Penner, under review) and impact US diversity goals. Moreover, due to the personal nature of racial categorization, a complete understanding of the social contextual forces that impact biracial individuals' self-categorization choices has important implications for biracial individuals' health and well being. In sum, reframed for the 21st century, the critical question regarding W.E.B. DuBois' (1961) famous Black-White axis now concerns how perceivers evaluate individuals who self-categorize on the "color line" (Bean & Lee, 2007).

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Table 1

Factor loadings and communalities based on a principle components analysis with varimax rotation for 8 items from the novel target status scale (N = 234)

	High Status Component	Low Status Component
1) The author is from Newark, NJ.	0.13	0.64
2) The author is from Princeton, NJ.	0.69	-0.09
3) The author's father is a bus driver.	0.01	0.84
4) The author's father is a construction worker.	-0.01	0.78
5) The author's father is a lawyer.	0.88	0.13
6) The author's father is a doctor.	0.90	0.07
7) The author's father attended Princeton University.	0.83	-0.01
8) The author's father attended Middlesex Community College.	-0.08	0.79

Table 2

Means and Standard Deviations for All Study Variables by Condition (N = 234)

	Biracial	Black	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>SE</i>
	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)			
CSE	4.1 (1.49)	3.78 (1.53)	-1.47	220	.22
Warmth	5.2 (0.99)	5.19 (1.22)	-.11	232	.15
Competence	4.86 (1.16)	4.78 (1.21)	-.47	232	.16
Perceived High Status	3.55 (1.04)	3.56 (0.98)	.06	232	.01
Perceived Low Status	3.49 (1.09)	3.58 (.88)	.58	232	.08
Perceived White Disloyalty	5.35 (0.95)	5.36 (1.1)	.10	231	.14
Perceived Black Disloyalty	5.45 (0.94)	5.65 (0.97)	1.46	231	.13
Interest in Interaction	5.15 (1.22)	5.19 (1.21)	.24	232	.17

* all *ps* > .14.

Table 3

Means and Standard Deviations for All Study Variables by Race (N = 234)

	Biracial	Black	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>SE</i>
	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)			
CSE	3.54 (1.40)	4.69 (1.40)	-6.00	220	0.19**
Warmth	5.29 (0.90)	5.06 (1.28)	1.60	232	0.14
Competence	4.90 (1.09)	4.73 (1.29)	1.05	232	0.16
Perceived High Status	3.45 (0.91)	3.71 (1.20)	-1.88	232	0.14
Perceived Low Status	3.78 (0.89)	3.11 (1.10)	5.15	232	0.13**
Perceived White Disloyalty	5.49 (0.98)	5.14 (1.00)	2.63	231	0.13**
Perceived Black Disloyalty	5.68 (0.89)	5.26 (0.99)	3.34	231	0.13**
Interest in Interaction	5.20 (1.15)	5.10 (1.31)	0.61	232	0.16

** $p < .01$

Table 4
Correlations Among All Study Variables – Black and White Participants (N = 234).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. CSE	--							
2. Warm	-.03	--						
3. Competent	.01	.72**	--					
4. High Status	.10	.22**	.25**	--				
5. Low Status	-.12	-.02	-.09	.02	--			
6. White Disloyalty	-.09	.29**	.34**	.18**	-.02	--		
7. Black Disloyalty	-.08	.28**	.33**	.14*	.01	.76**	--	
8. Interest in Interaction	.02	.50**	.53**	.29**	-.09	.37**	.33**	--

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 5

Correlations Among All Study Variables – White Participants (N = 144)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. CSE			--					
2. Warm	-.04	--						
3. Competent	.11	.70**	--					
4. High Status	-.02	.28**	.36**	--				
5. Low Status	-.15	-.09	-.20*	.05	--			
6. White Disloyalty	-.03	.45**	.47**	.25**	-.06	--		
7. Black Disloyalty	-.10	.43**	.46**	.26**	-.08	.85**	--	
8. Interest in Interaction	-.02	.50**	.60**	.32**	-.17*	.46**	.43**	--

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 6

Correlations Among All Study Variables – Black Participants (N = 90)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. CSE	--							
2. Warm	.04	--						
3. Competent	-.07	.75**	--					
4. High Status	.15	.19	.16	--				
5. Low Status	.18	-.02	-.04	.07	--			
6. White Disloyalty	-.02	.10	.16	.15	-.11	--		
7. Black Disloyalty	.13	.10	.15	.07	-.04	.61**	--	
8. Interest in Interaction	.11	.51**	.44**	.28**	-.04	.25*	.20	--

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Figure 1.

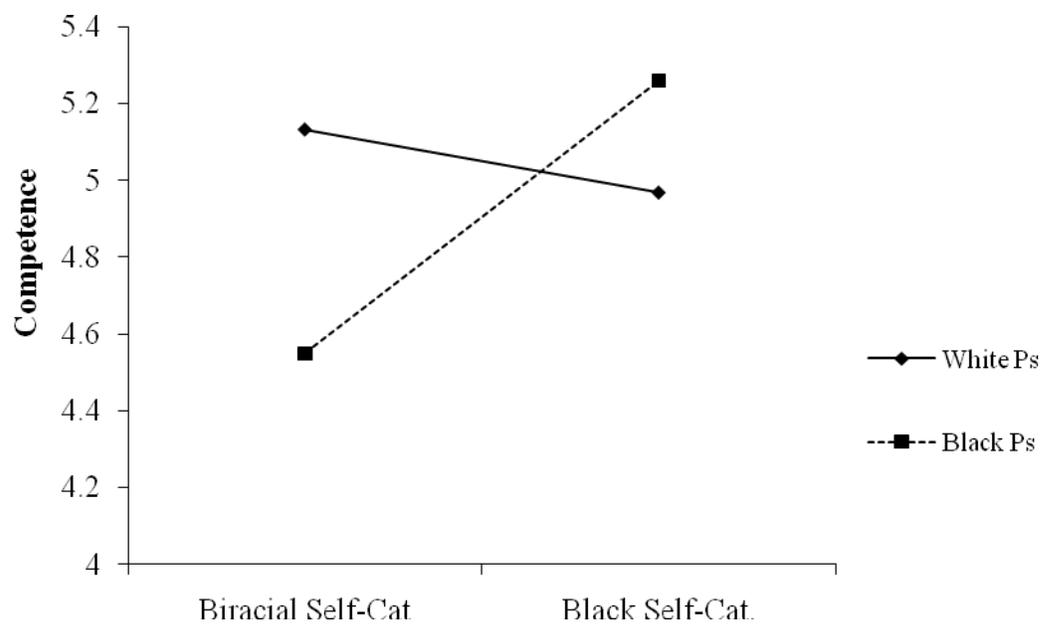
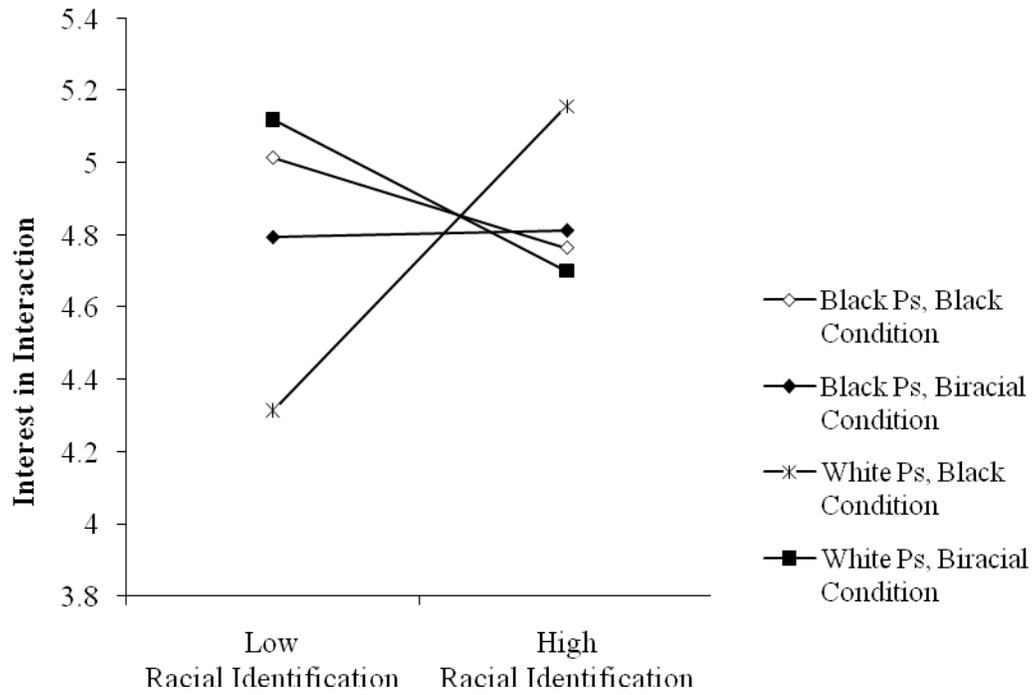
Condition and Race Interaction on Competence

Figure 2.

Condition, Racial Identification, and Race Interaction on Interest in Interaction



Footnotes

¹ Although the lines between race and ethnicity are frequently blurred, I distinguish between these terms in this research. Specifically, the present research uses these terms according to the following definitions articulated by Moya and Markus (2010): *race* refers to a set of practices that categorize individuals into groups based on perceived characteristics, and associates value and privilege with those categories, whereas *ethnicity* refers to a set of practices that enable individuals to be categorized by shared characteristics, but in doing so convey shared pride and belonging.

² Whites are accorded the greatest status, followed by Asians, Latinos and Blacks (Ho, Sidanius, Levin, & Banaji, 2011).

³ Recruitment locations included the campus center and classrooms.

⁴ Historically, Black participants have low representation in the subject pool. To obtain the number of Black participants required for statistical power, I needed to recruit them from the field.

Appendix A1

Collective Self Esteem Scale – Importance to Identity (Items 1-4)

Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements.							
	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
1. Overall, my race/ethnicity has very little to do with how I feel about myself.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. The racial/ethnic group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. My race/ethnicity is unimportant to my sense of what kind of a person I am.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. In general, belonging to my race/ethnicity is an important part of my self image.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. It is easy for me to concentrate on my activities.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Frequently when I am working I find myself worrying about other things.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Time always seems to be passing slowly.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. I often find myself at “loose ends,” not knowing what to do.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. I am often trapped in situations where I have to do meaningless things.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. Having to look at someone's home movies or travel slides bores me tremendously.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Note. Items 6-10 are filler items and were only included for Non-Subject Pool participants.

Appendix A2

Affective evaluations

To what extent does the author have the following traits?							
	Not at all						Extremely
1. Warm	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Good natured	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Sincere	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Trustworthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Kind	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Capable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Efficient	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Organized	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Skillful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. Competent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix A3

Perceived target status

How likely do you think it is that each of the following statements is true about the author?							
	Not at all						Extremely
9) The author is from Newark, NJ. (LS)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10) The author is from Princeton, NJ. (HS)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11) The author's father is a bus driver. (LS)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12) The author's father is a construction worker. (LS)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13) The author's father is a lawyer. (HS)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14) The author's father is a doctor. (HS)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15) The author's father attended Princeton University. (HS)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16) The author's father attended Middlesex Community College. (LS)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Note. (HS) = "High status"; (LS) = "Low status"

Appendix A4

Perceived group disloyalty

Thinking about the author's WHITE identity, please indicate the extent to which you believe:							
	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
1. The author is a worthy member of his WHITE race/ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. The author feels he doesn't have much to offer to his WHITE racial/ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. The author is a cooperative participant in the activities of his WHITE racial/ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. The author often feels he's a useless member of his WHITE racial/ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Thinking about the author's BLACK identity, please indicate the extent to which you believe:							
	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
1. The author is a worthy member of his BLACK race/ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. The author feels he doesn't have much to offer to his BLACK racial/ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. The author is a cooperative participant in the activities of his BLACK racial/ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. The author often feels he's a useless member of his BLACK racial/ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix A5

Interest in Interactions

Imagine that you and the author of this essay lived in the same dorm building.							
	Not at all						Extremely
Would you like to meet this person?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Would you like to hang out with this person in the common area?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Would you like to talk to this person?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix A6

Filler Items

To what extent is this essay...							
	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
...a good essay.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
...well written.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
...enjoyable to read.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
...structured (e.g., coherent, organized, logical).	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

How likely do you think it is that the author is a member of the following political parties?							
	Not at all						Extremely
Democrat	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Republican	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Independent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Green	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Libertarian	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

How likely do you think that each of the following books is the author's favorite?							
	Not at all						Extremely
The Heart of Darkness, by Joseph Conrad	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn, by Mark Twain	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Catcher in the Rye, by J.D. Salinger	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Count of Monte Cristo, by Alexandre Dumas	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

What do you think is the gender of the author's best friend?	
	Male
	Female

Appendix A7a

Target Packet: Cover Sheet

We are interested in the way that people form impressions of individuals based on their writing. For this task, we would like you to read essays and then answer questions about the writing and the author.

On the following pages, you will see two different essays, each written by a different author. The essays were written by Rutgers students as a part of a previous experiment wherein they were asked to complete some basic personality and background questions, and then write a short essay based on the following prompt:

“Please describe a personal experience, memory, or other reflection that you believe illuminates an important aspect of who you are as a person.”

Your task is to read each essay and then evaluate the author and his or her writing by answering several questions about the essay, the writing style, and what you think the author is like personally. **You will be asked questions about the author later in the study so please pay attention to the details in the essay.**

Some research has shown that we can make “deep” inferences about other people, such as what they are like or where they are from, more easily when we visualize them in our mind’s eye. Thus, a photograph of each author’s face – but only his or her face – will be provided at the bottom of the essay.

Appendix A7b

Target Packet: Background Information Sheet – Experimental

Black categorization

What is your gender? M / F

How old are you? 20

What is your race/ethnicity? (check as many as apply)

- White
- Black/African American
- American Indian or Alaska Native
- Asian
- Native Hawaiian, Guamanian or Chamorro, Samoan and other Pacific Islander
- Hispanic or Latino
- Other (please specify) _____

Tell us a little bit about yourself:

I'm half White and half Black, so I've always been interested in traveling and culture. I'm a psych major and I like learning about how people interact. I also like to eat a lot!

Do you give your consent to use these materials (photo, essay, information sheet) in future experiments? Y/N



Target Packet: Background Information Sheet – Experimental

Biracial categorization

What is your gender? M / F

How old are you? 20

What is your race/ethnicity? (check as many as apply)

- x White
- x Black/African American
- American Indian or Alaska Native
- Asian
- Native Hawaiian, Guamanian or Chamorro, Samoan and other Pacific Islander
- Hispanic or Latino
- Other (please specify) _____

Tell us a little bit about yourself:

I'm half White and half Black, so I've always been interested in traveling and culture. I'm a psych major and I like learning about how people interact. I also like to eat a lot!

Do you give your consent to use these materials (photo, essay, information sheet) in future experiments? Y/N



Target Packet: Background Information Sheet – Non-experimental

How old are you? 19

What is your gender? M / F

What is your race/ethnicity? (check as many as apply)

White

Black/African American

American Indian or Alaska Native

Asian

Native Hawaiian, Guamanian or Chamorro, Samoan and other Pacific Islander

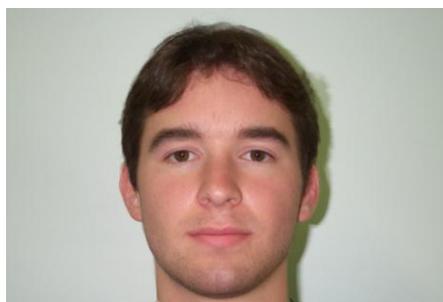
Hispanic or Latino

Other (please specify) _____

Tell us a little bit about yourself:

I'm a sophomore at Rutgers, probably going to be a chemistry major. I'm from Jersey. I have 2 older brothers who I hang out with a lot. I'm Italian through and through!

Do you give your consent to use these materials (photo, essay, information sheet) in future experiments? Y/N



Appendix A7c

Target Packet: Essay - Experimental

I've always been interested in learning about other peoples' cultures, and I think that interest "illuminates" who I am. I think my interest in culture all started because my mom's White and my dad's Black, and so I've had an interesting perspective on how people form different groups, interact and get along with each other. But my interest has moved beyond that first spark, and has now taken on a life and form of its own.

Now, I want to find opportunities to travel and see the world. I'd really love to try to study abroad for a semester. I think it would be really great to travel to a completely new place, and see how people act. Even if I didn't speak the language, I think that's okay because I'd just be able to sit back and watch how people interact with each other nonverbally.

Yet, some people think that you have to travel outside of the US to see another culture, but that's not really true. There are so many different people from different nations and ethnic backgrounds here that you can learn and explore a lot. Even people who have lived in the US for many decades can develop distinct cultures. In the South, for example, the local culture there is so distinct from what we experience here in NJ. The list can go on and on.

So, I really think that my experiences growing up with exposure to both a White mother and Black father helped me to be interested in travel and culture.

Target Packet: Essay – Non-experimental

Volunteering to work for a program called Summer Quest was a memorable and influential experience for me because it taught me about commitment. Summer Quest is designed to help students that are in the sixth through twelfth grade experience a "positive summer experience." I was in charge of putting together a schedule of activities for each week. This was a very difficult assignment. I had to plan fun events, but also make them very inexpensive. I had to negotiate prices for admission, and figure out transportation and food cost. It also taught me a lot about planning and time organization. I had to plan months in advance, and fill in every second of the day with activities to keep the students busy. Now I know that in the future when I am in the real world, I can plan big events and pull them off successfully because of this experience.

When I first signed up, I thought that there would be no way I could volunteer, work, and go to school full time, but I decided that I would try it and just drop it if it became too much. I was not fully committed yet. The first day fueled the desire to give up even more. All I did was fill out paper work, talk to the director, and prepare snacks. This all changed on my second visit. It was then that I was allowed to go into a class for the first time. I saw the smiling faces on the kids. The drudging volunteer work became more to me like a magnificent opportunity. Commitment then became part of the job. When I committed to those children that I would be there on a certain day, I was there. I learned that once you agree to something, stick it out. In the very beginning doing it may seem useless or hard, but stick with it, in the end you may learn to love it.

Appendix A8

Manipulation Checks

How did the author identify his/her race on the information sheet?	
	White
	Black
	Biracial

On the information sheet, how did the author respond to the question: “What is your race/ethnicity? (check as many as apply)”. Please check the box(es) that the author selected	
	White
	Black/African American
	American Indian or Alaska Native
	Asian
	Native Hawaiian, Guamanian or Chamorro, Samoan and other Pacific Islander
	Hispanic or Latino
	Other (please specify)