

**Violating hypodescent: Do White-identified Black & White Biracials threaten Whites' social status?**

BY

OLIVIA HOLMES  
B.A., Guilford College, 2013

THESIS

Submitted as partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of Master of Arts in Psychology  
in the Graduate College of the  
University of Illinois at Chicago, 2016

Chicago, Illinois

Defense Committee:

Courtney M. Bonam, Chair and Advisor  
Daniel Cervone  
Julie Chen

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>CHAPTER</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 A gap in research on <u>Multiracials: Perceptions of their</u> <u>personal racial identity</u> .....	2
1.2 Racial Status Threat.....	4
1.2.1 Status Legitimizing Worldviews.....	5
1.2.2 Downstream Consequences.....	6
2. STUDY ONE: DOES VIOLATING HYPODESCENT PROMPT RACIAL STATUS THREAT?.....	7
2.1 Method.....	7
2.1.1 Participants.....	7
2.1.2 Design.....	7
2.1.3 Procedure.....	7
2.1.4 Materials and Primary Measures.....	8
2.1.4.1 Profile Forms.....	8
2.1.4.2 Racial Status Threat.....	9
2.1.4.2.1 Positive and Negative Affect Scale.....	9
2.1.4.2.2 Public Regard for Collective Self-Esteem.....	9
2.1.4.2.3 Acknowledgement of White Privilege.....	9
2.1.4.3 Social Dominance Orientation.....	10
2.1.4.4 Attention Checks.....	10
2.1.4.5 Parent Checks.....	10
2.1.4.6 Racial Background Check and Racial Identity Manipulation Check.....	11
2.2 Results.....	11
2.2.1 Predicted Results.....	11
2.2.2 Preliminary Analyses.....	11
2.2.3 Main Analyses.....	13
2.3 Discussion.....	16
3. STUDY TWO: DOES RACIAL STATUS THREAT PROMPT OPPERTUNITY DENIAL?.....	18
3.1 Hypodescent and Opportunity Denial.....	18
3.2 Hyperdescent and Opportunity Affordance.....	18
3.3 Method.....	19
3.3.1 Participants and Design.....	19
3.3.2 Procedure.....	19
3.3.3 Materials and Primary Measures.....	19
3.3.3.1 Opportunity Denial.....	19
3.3.3.1.1 Candidate Support.....	19
3.3.3.1.2 Voting Decision.....	20
3.3.3.2 Ingroup Outgroup Determination.....	20
3.4 Results.....	20
3.4.1 Predicted Results.....	20
3.4.2 Preliminary Analyses.....	21
3.4.3 Main Analyses.....	22
3.5 Discussion.....	28

## TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued)

4.	GENERAL DISCUSSION.....	30
4.1	Multiracial Personal Racial Identification.....	30
4.2	Racial Status Threat.....	30
4.3	Measurement Limitations.....	31
4.4	Paradigmatic Limitations.....	32
5.	CONCLUSION.....	34
	REFERENCES.....	35
	APPENDICIES.....	42
	Appendix A.....	43
	Appendix B.....	44
	IRB APROVAL LETTER.....	45
	VITA.....	48

## LIST OF FIGURES

<u>FIGURE</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
1. Anticipated results of Multiracial racial Identification on Negative Emotions, Public Regard for Collective Self-Esteem, and Acknowledgement of White Privilege.....	12
2. The effect of a Multiracial person’s racial identification on Public Regard for Collective Self-Esteem, moderated by Social Dominance Orientation.....	15
3. Proposed model of the effect of Multiracial personal identification on perceived ingroup membership through racial status threat, moderated by Multiracial personal identification.....	21
4. The effect of candidate personal racial identification on voting.....	23
5. The effect of Multiracial personal racial identity on ingroup determination.....	24
6. The effect of candidate racial identity on support for placing candidate on ballot through racial status threat.....	25
7. The effect of candidate racial identity on support for electing candidate through racial status threat.....	26
8. The effect of candidate racial identity on ingroup determination through racial status threat, for candidates who identify as White.....	27

## SUMMARY

In the present research I expand beyond racial categorization to examine how a Black/White Multiracial person's personal racial identities shape perceivers' more substantive reactions to and judgments of them. In particular, a White-identified Multiracial may pose a specific threat to White status on the racial hierarchy by pushing the exclusive group boundaries of Whiteness, leading to negative emotion, concern about other's holding Whites as a group in lower regard, and a perceived loss of privilege. In Study 1, I investigated how racial identification (White, Black or Biracial) affects White's experience of racial status threat, moderated by social dominance orientation. Racial status threat did not vary due to identification, however those high in social dominance orientation perceived that others have a more negative image of Whites due to seeing the White-identified target. In Study 2, I tested whether racial identification affects denial of opportunity for the target and the extent to which the target is considered an ingroup member, and if racial status threat can explain the relationship. Multiracial racial identification again did not shift Whites experience of racial status threat as I measured it, and did not explain the relationships between Multiracial racial identification and opportunity denial or ingroup determination. Interestingly, participants did view the target as more of an ingroup member when the target identified as White, but ultimately reported being less likely to give the White-identified target an opportunity. These findings highlight the value of studying how target racial identification impacts perceiver's views of the status hierarchy and ingroup boundaries.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

“I’m not lying when I say I’m White,” says a White/Black Biracial man discussing his racial identity at a social entrepreneurship conference. He was not attempting to “pass” or deceive anyone about his racial background: while acknowledging his ancestry, he still found himself identifying more as White than Black or Biracial. He personally identified this way, even though phenotypically he appeared to be Black. In fact, he had applied to a job and reported “White” on the application. During the interview, his potential employer was surprised and taken aback upon first seeing him.

This anecdote highlights how Multiracial people can racially identify in a number of different ways, which may not always align with others’ perception of them. Such flexible racial identity challenges biological conceptions of race (Young, Sanchez, & Wilton, 2013), which is a view of race as a fixed, inherited trait. This static view of race helps maintain racial group boundaries and racial hierarchy in the United States (Ho, Sidanius, Cuddy, & Banaji, 2013; Williams & Eberhardt, 2008). It is therefore plausible that Multiracial people might also invoke a sense that the racial hierarchy is shifting. Whites, who hold dominant status within this hierarchy (Oliver & Shapiro, 1995; Knowles & Peng, 2005), may therefore perceive Multiracials as a threat to their status within the hierarchy. This is the psychological experience of *racial status threat* (RST), a concern that one’s racial group is losing status within the racial hierarchy.

While Multiracials in general likely invoke racial status threat, I contend White-identified Multiracials<sup>1</sup> will do so even more than Multiracials who identify racially in other ways. Identifying as White may indicate a shift in racial hierarchy, as it indicates open racial ingroup boundaries, which may be interpreted as a loss of ingroup distinctiveness and power. This pattern should be exacerbated the more Whites value social hierarchy. Further, this threat may have important consequences for White-identified Multiracial people. The more Whites perceive and feel a threat to their racial status, the more

---

<sup>1</sup> Multiracials with both racial minority and White ancestry.

they may be motivated to maintain the racial hierarchy. Whites may therefore be more likely to deny White-identified Multiracials an opportunity, vs. Multiracial-identified and Black-identified Multiracials. The extent to which Whites' perceive and feel a threat to their racial status should explain this opportunity denial.

### **1.1 A gap in research on Multiracials: Perceptions of their personal racial identity**

Despite a rapidly growing Multiracial population (Frey, 2014), research on Multiracial people is lacking. A growing, but still limited, literature in psychology has examined Multiracials' own firsthand experiences, such as their racial identity formation (Rockquemore & Brunsma, 2002; Miville, Consantine, Baysden, & So-Lloyd, 2005; Stepney, Sanchez, & Handy, 2015), identity flexibility (Good, Chavez, & Sanchez, 2010; Townsend, Fryberg, Wilkins, & Markus, 2012; Gaither, Sommers & Ambady, 2013), conceptions of race as a flexible, social construct (Bonam & Shih, 2009; Shih, Bonam, Sanchez & Peck, 2007), and psychological wellbeing (for a review, see Shih & Sanchez, 2005; Sanchez, Shih & Garcia, 2009). Other work has focused on perceptions of Multiracial people, such as: how others racially categorize them (Peery & Bodenhausen, 2009; Ho, Sidanius, Levin, and Banaji, 2011; Chen & Hamilton, 2012), cognitive processing of racially ambiguous faces (Pauker, Weisbuch, Ambady, Sommers, Adams, & Ivcevic, 2009; Hillar & Kemp, 2008), maintenance of social hierarchy by categorizing Multiracials as minorities (Ho et al., 2013; Krosch, Berntsen, Amodio, Jost, & Van Bavel, 2013), perceptions and judgments of multiracial peoples' social potential (Sanchez & Bonam, 2009; Good, Sanchez, & Chavez, 2013), and how perceivers' own individual differences influence perception and categorization of Multiracials (Herman, 2010; Eberhardt, Dasgupta, & Banaszynski, 2003).

Given this limited literature, many unanswered questions regarding Multiracials' experiences and perceptions of Multiracials remain. For example, studies on perceptions of Multiracials often provide perceivers with a Multiracial target's racial background, tasking them with racially categorizing the Multiracial target (Ho et al., 2011). Lacking are studies providing perceivers a Multiracial target's racial background *and* personal racial identity—a pressing gap because Multiracials' personal racial

identity can be flexible (e.g., contextual shifts can occur within one individual; Rockquemore & Brunson, 2002) and may be inconsistent with others' categorizations of them (Remedios & Chasteen, 2013). Here I fill this gap, expanding beyond racial categorization to examine how Multiracials' personal racial identities shape perceivers' more substantive reactions to and judgments of them. I begin with perceptions of Multiracials with White and Black ancestry who identify as White.

Particularly little is known about Black/White Biracial people who identify as White (Stepney, Sanchez, & Handy, 2015). Additionally, although Black/White Biracial individuals choose to identify as either Biracial or Black more often than White, some Minority/White Multiracial people do identify as White (Brittian, Umaña-Taylor, & Derlan, 2013; Townsend et al., 2012; Good, Chavez, and Sanchez, 2010). In one sample, Brittian et al. (2013) found that 8.24% of Black/White Biracials identify as White. Contextual cues also open the door for people who do not primarily identify as White to do so at times. These cues include the racial make-up of people in a Multiracial person's social environment (Wilton, Sanchez, & Garcia, 2013) and being asked to focus on their White parent (Gaither, Sommer, & Ambady, 2013).

Additionally, particularly little is known about how others perceive a Multiracial person, given not only the Multiracial person's racial composition but also her or his own racial identity choice. Two rare exceptions do begin exploring this question, however. Sanchez and Bonam (2009) found that a minority scholarship applicant identifying as Black/White Biracial was rated less warm, competent and scholarship worthy than their Monoracial Black counterpart. A perception that Multiracials face less discrimination than their Monoracial minority counterparts also likely drives this kind of judgment, (Good, Sanchez, and Chavez, 2013). Perceptions of identity choice beyond Biracial have yet to be studied, however.

I will begin filling this gap by examining perceptions of White-identified Multiracial people. White-identified Multiracials are a particularly interesting case because their racial identification contradicts *hypodescent* norms (Peery & Bodenhausen, 2009; Chen & Hamilton, 2012; Ho et al 2011;



Ho et al., 2013), which label a Multiracial person only as their minority ancestry (e.g., Ho et al., 2011).

White-identified Multiracials may thus elicit a negative response from Whites because they are claiming an exclusive identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Brewer, 1991).

## **1.2 Racial Status Threat**

By identifying as White, Minority/White Multiracials are implicitly communicating that minority ancestry does not prevent them from being White. Whites may see this kind of claim to White identity as shifting the definition of Whiteness. I contend that this identification against hypodescent may lead Whites to perceive a shift to their status in the racial hierarchy. This perceived shift may be threatening to Whites who may believe their group will lose status in the social hierarchy and therefore the power and resources traditionally afforded to the group.

White-identified Multiracial people may be particularly threatening to Whites because they challenge hierarchical and biological conceptions of race that maintain racial hierarchy and inequality (Young, Sanchez, & Wilton, 2013; Ho et al., 2013). Multiracial people, regardless of their personal racial identity, already challenge biological conceptions of race (Young, Sanchez, & Wilton, 2013). I expect White-identified Multiracial people will challenge biological notions of race even more. A Multiracial identifying as White means the group is not exclusive to people who have solely White ancestry, discrediting biological notions of Whiteness. As a result, when faced with a White-identified Multiracial, Whites may believe Whiteness is losing its meaning as a biologically distinct group. Therefore, White-identified Multiracials may be worrisome to Whites who need the group to remain exclusive to maintain power (Brewer, 1991; Ho et al., 2013) by retaining social and financial benefits and resources for the ingroup (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). I expect these concerns will cause Whites to feel their group is losing status in the racial hierarchy.

More specifically, when faced with a White-identified Multiracial person, Whites should feel a sense of *racial status threat* (RST). Namely, RST is the feeling of psychological threat of losing group status position on the racial hierarchy due to shifting definitions of race. If Whites are concerned about a

loss of status based on perceived shifting hierarchy, then they should perceive a loss of White privilege (Swim & Miller, 1999), experience negative emotions (Borelli, Sbarra, Crowley, & Mayes, 2011), and believe that others hold Whites as a group in lower regard (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992).

### **1.2.1 Status Legitimizing Worldviews**

I expect the intensity of RST to vary within White people. Rather, White people who have been socialized to regularly employ status legitimizing worldviews, such as those high in social dominance orientation, are likely more susceptible to RST as a result of seeing a White-identified Multiracial person (see Figure 1). *Status legitimizing worldviews* (SLWs) are views that justify differences in society (Kaiser & Wilkins, 2010; Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009). For Whites, SLWs aid in the maintenance of their place in the social hierarchy (Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009). This may be due to threats to White social identity, contextually derived threats arising from membership in a given social group (Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002), which motivate prejudice against racial out groups (Hewstone & Willis, 2002).

Multiracials may be particularly threatening to Whites' SLWs, as their very existence challenges biological notions of race and status hierarchy that is dependent on status differentials (Young, Sanchez, & Wilton, 2013). The psychological process of RST is probably more severe for White observers who report high *social dominance orientation* (SDO), an individual trait SLW (Hewstone & Willis, 2002): Those high in SDO show preference for social group based hierarchy and resulting inequalities, which can be threatened by concerns of changing racial group boundaries when encountering multiracial identity (Ho et al, 2013).

### **1.2.2 Downstream Consequences**

For Whites, the shifts in racial hierarchy mean potential loss of privilege, power and resources, as expanding the definition of Whiteness means a sharing of these previously exclusive benefits. These benefits include greater access to wealth, healthcare, jobs, education, and justice than other racial groups (Bertrand & Mullinathan, 2004; Oliver & Shapiro, 1995; Kozol, 1991; Brown et al., 2003). A White-identified Multiracial may be seen as a person attempting to take advantage of their White Ancestry in

order to obtain these privileges. Therefore, I expect a White-identified Multiracial will be denied White ingroup membership and benefits such as job and political opportunities, and that such opportunity denial will be explained by the extent to which a White person experiences RST.

## 2. STUDY ONE: DOES VIOLATING HYPODESCENT PROMPT RACIAL STATUS THREAT?

In study one, I will test the presence of RST in Whites by manipulating a Black/White Biracial's racial identification (as Black, White, or Biracial Black/White). I hypothesize a target identifying as White (rather than as Biracial or Black) results in RST for Whites, which I anticipate will be moderated by social dominance orientation.

### 2.1 Method

#### 2.1.1 Participants

Participants were a national sample of White U.S. citizens recruited via Amazon.com's Mechanical Turk participant panel (Mason & Suri, 2011; Rand, 2012; Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011). An a priori power analysis indicated 53 participants per condition (159 total) would be required to detect a small effect size (.25) with a power of .8 and an alpha of .05. I have chosen to sample above this recommendation in anticipation of excluding participants from the analyses, and thus oversampled. A total of 308 White, US citizens were collected. 60.1% were female, 39.6% male, and .3% (One participant) defined themselves as "Other". The mean age of the sample was 35.82 ( $SD = 13.21$ ), and ranged from 18 to 86.

#### 2.1.2 Design

This study had three conditions: the racial identity of a target as Black, White, or Black and White Biracial. I held the target's racial ancestry constant (always Black and White).

#### 2.1.3 Procedure

After providing informed consent, participants were told that the study's purpose was to investigate first impressions of political candidates based on social network profile information. Participants viewed a profile of a young male candidate for a local non-partisan political office. Participants were randomly assigned to view a candidate who personally identifies as White, Black, or Black and White Biracial. Pictures of his parents (a Black man and White woman) were present to indicate the candidate's racial background. After viewing the profile, participants were asked a series of

initial memory questions regarding non-race related information on the profile, and then saw the profile once more. This procedure is intended to boost participants' attention to the profile information. Next, to maintain the cover story, participants were asked to give their first impressions of the candidate, first free response then warmth and competence ratings (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002). Participants then provided their understanding of the study's purpose, measures to capture the psychological experience of RST, and the Social Dominance Orientation scale. Next participants completed the race conceptions scale (Williams & Eberhardt, 2008) and two measures of motivation to control prejudice (Glaser & Knowles, 2008; Plant & Devine, 1998). These two measures are unrelated to my main MA thesis research questions. Participants then answered a second set of profile memory questions, this time including the parents' racial background and the candidate's racial identity (as a manipulation check). Finally participants provided their demographic information, then were thanked and debriefed.

#### **2.1.4 Materials and Primary Measures**

##### **2.1.4.1 Profile Forms**

Participants viewed the social network profile of a young man running for city council. In addition to other racially benign personal facts, the profile explicitly stated that the target identifies as Black, White, or Black/White Biracial<sup>2</sup>. Across all three conditions, the profile featured pictures of the

---

<sup>2</sup> To develop the profile and personal racial identity manipulation, I performed 3 rounds of piloting, each time improving recall for the target's identity. In the final round, I collected data from 85 White participants via Mechanical Turk. Of these participants, 65 (76.5%) correctly identified the target's personal racial identity overall. All participants assigned to the Biracial-identified target correctly recalled his identity. Participants assigned the Black-identified target correctly recalled his identity 60.7% of the time, and 70% of participants assigned the White-identified target correctly recalled his identity. In the Black-identified condition, 25% mistakenly recalled the target as Biracial-identified, while the rest did not remember (14.3%). In the White-identified condition, 10% mistakenly recalled the target as Biracial-identified, 0.03% (1 participant) recalled the target as Black-identified, and 16.7% did not remember. I believe manipulation check scores are low for the Black and White identifying conditions not because participants are disengaged from the study but because they are recalling the information in line with how they are racially categorizing the target.

target's Black father and White mother, implicitly communicating the target's Black and White ancestry<sup>3</sup>. (See Appendix A for full profile).

#### **2.1.4.2 Racial Status Threat**

I operationalized racial status threat with three measures: the private regard subscale of collective self-esteem, state negative emotion, and acknowledgment of White privilege.

##### **2.1.4.2.1 Positive and Negative Affect Scale**

The Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS) is a measure of one's emotional state (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988). In addition to the emotions already listed in the PANAS, I have added "threatened," to measure feelings of threat. The positive items on the scale will be regarded as filler items. Participants indicated to what extent they feel each emotion at the moment, from 1, "Very slightly or not at all" to 5 "Extremely". Higher scores indicate greater negative emotions.

##### **2.1.4.2.2 The Public Regard subscale for collective self-esteem**

The Public Regard subscale of the Collective Self-esteem Race specific scale (CSE-R), a measure of how positively you think others view your group (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Participants indicated to what extent they agree with that statements regarding collective self-esteem from 1, "Strongly Disagree," to 7 "Strongly Agree". Higher score indicate positive collective self-esteem. In the case of public regard, higher scores indicate that the participant believes that others see Whites in a positive light.

##### **2.1.4.2.3 Acknowledgement of White privilege**

I used the Acknowledgement of White Privilege scale (AWPS) from Swim and Miller (1999), a measure of the extent to which one thinks White people experience privilege within society. AWPS gives insight to belief in how much power the participants believe their racial group possesses. Participants indicated to what extent they agree with that statements regarding White privilege from 1,

---

<sup>3</sup> In a pilot with 50 participants collected via Mechanical Turk, an independent samples t-test showed no difference in perceptions of age of the father ( $M = 3.20$ ,  $SD = .99$ ) and the mother ( $M = 3.43$ ,  $SD = .86$ ),  $t(49) = -1.87$ ,  $p = .07$ .

“Strongly Disagree,” to 7 “Strongly Agree”. Higher scores indicate more acknowledgement of White privilege.

#### **2.1.4.3 Social Dominance Orientation**

I administered a shortened four-item measure of Social Dominance Orientation (SDO; Knowles, Lowery, Hogan, and Chow, 2009) from the original scale (Pratto, et al., 1994). Participants indicated to what extent they agree with that statements regarding SDO from 1, “Strongly Disagree,” to 7 “Strongly Agree”. Higher scores indicate that the participant is high in SDO and thereby more strongly favors social hierarchical structures.

#### **2.1.4.4 Attention Checks**

Five multiple-choice items were used to assess the extent to which participants paid attention to the profile (the first 3 came after the profile early on in the study, all 5 followed the primary measures): candidate’s birthday, candidate’s city of residence, college graduation year, target gender, and target’s relationship status. Additionally, four questions in the first round of attention checks asked participants to recall the gender of the parents in the profile and their relationship to the candidate (Two each for mother and father).

#### **2.1.4.5 Parent Checks**

Four multiple-choice items assessed whether participants are aware of the candidate’s racial ancestry as both Black and White. Participants were asked to recall the relationship (to the candidate) of the people pictured in the candidate’s profile, as well as these individuals’ race. Participants were first asked to recall the relationship between the candidate and the parent<sup>4</sup>. For the Father, relationship options include father, stepfather, uncle, grandfather and adoptive father. For the mother, relationship options include mother, stepmother, aunt, grandmother, and adoptive father. The participant’s response to the relationship item was automatically inserted into the next item, and race (in the second set of

---

<sup>4</sup> In piloting, 95.3% of participants accurately identified the male pictured in the profile as the candidate’s father. 94.1% correctly identified the woman pictured as the candidate’s mother.

attention check items after the dependent variables and measured moderators). Participants could select the parent as being Black, White, Asian, Hispanic, or Native American. Participants passed the parent attention check if they identify the male as the candidate's father and Black, and the female as the candidate's mother and White.

#### **2.1.4.6. Racial Background Check and Racial Identity Manipulation Check**

Two multiple-choice items assessed memory for the target's racial identity. Participants were asked to identify the candidate's racial background by selecting one or more of the following racial categories: White, Black, Asian, Latino, and Native American. They were then asked to recall the target's racial identification, by selecting the racial identity portion of the profile they were shown (See Appendix B).

## **2.2 Results**

### **2.2.1 Predicted Results**

I predict that the seeing the White-identified target will lead to more RST than the Biracial- and Black-identified targets. I anticipate this pattern in all three of the dependent variables representing RST (Figures 1a, 1b, and 1c). This will be moderated so that those high in SDO will experience more RST than those low in SDO. Furthermore, I anticipate an interaction where those who are high in SDO will experience the most RST for the White-identified target followed by the Biracial and finally the Black-identified target. I expect this same pattern to emerge for those low in SDO, however to a lesser extent than the high SDO participants.



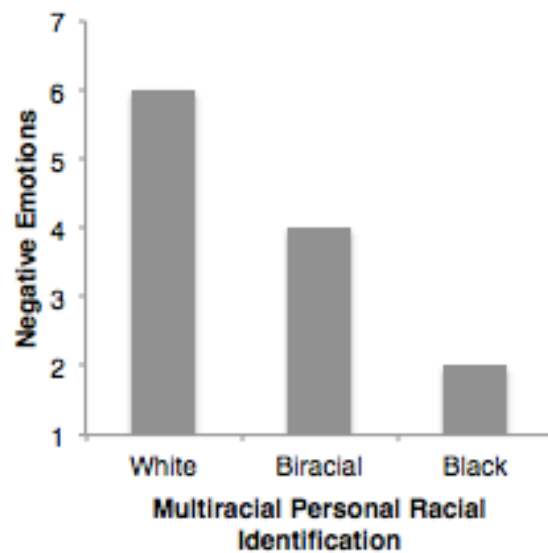


Figure 1a. The anticipated results of the effect of Multiracial Personal Racial Identification on Negative Emotions.

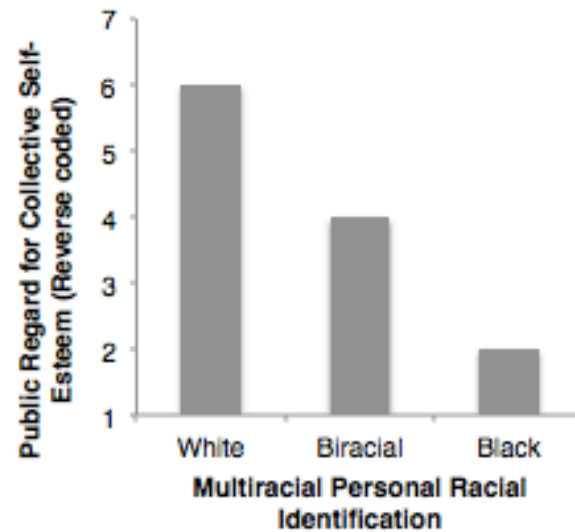


Figure 1b. The anticipated results of the effect of Multiracial Personal Racial Identification on the Public Regard subscale of Collective Self-Esteem.

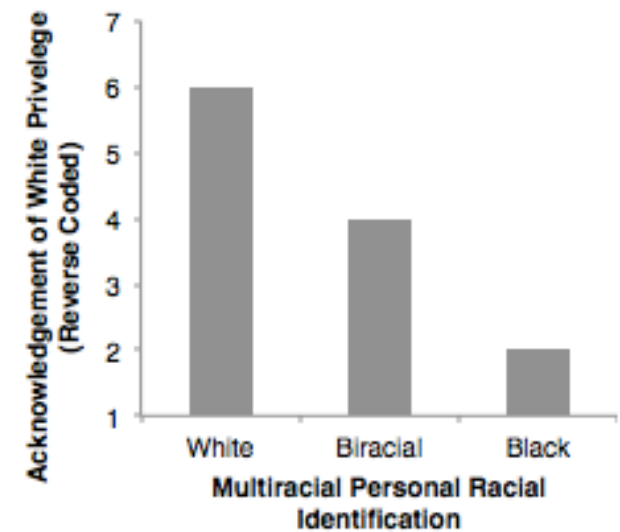


Figure 1c. The anticipated results of the effect of Multiracial Personal Racial Identification on Acknowledgement of White Privilege.

**Figure 1.** The anticipated results of Multiracial Personal Racial Identification on Negative Emotions, the Public Regard subscale of for Collective Self-Esteem, and Acknowledgement of White Privilege.

### 2.2.2 Preliminary Analyses

Of the 308 White Participants, 13 incorrectly identified the race of the father, 8 incorrectly identified the race of the mother, 21 incorrectly identified the relationship of the father to target, and 18 incorrectly identified the relationship of the mother to target. Fifty-seven participants incorrectly remembered the target's racial identification. The average score for the remaining attention check items was 90.19% ( $SD = 12.58\%$ ), and did not differ by condition,  $F(2,305) = 1.88, p = .155, \omega^2 = .006$ .

Following MA thesis committee recommendations, analyses were conducted with two different filters. Filter 1 excluded participants who incorrectly recalled the relationship of the parents to the target and/or the parent's races ( $N = 258$ ;  $M_{age} = 35.39, SD = 12.54$ ; 69.2% Female, 38.4 % Male, .4% ( $n = 1$ ) "other"). The more stringent Filter 2 again excluded both those who incorrectly recalled the relationship of the parents to the target and/or the parent's races, as well as those who failed to recall the racial identification of the target ( $N = 216$ ; Mean age = 35.12,  $SD = 12.40$ ; 63.9% Female, 35.6 % Male, .5% ( $n = 1$ ) "other"). Only Filter 1 was used for the following main analyses. Any differences in results between Filters 1 and 2 are discussed in footnotes.

### 2.2.3 Main Analyses

I conducted three one-way analyses of variance (ANOVA) of target racial identity (Black, White, Biracial Black-White) on the three dependent variables representing RST. Inconsistent with my predictions, I found no effect of racial identity on negative emotion ( $M = 1.41, SD = .45, F(2, 252) = .48, p = .62, \omega^2 = -.004$ ) or the Public Regard subscale of Collective self-esteem ( $M = 5.09, SD = 1.08, F(2, 253) = .11, p = .893, \omega^2 = -.006$ ). Inconsistent with the predicted pattern, there was a trending effect of racial identity on White privilege,  $F(2, 255) = 1.695, p = .186^5, \omega^2 = .005$ . Participants were most likely to acknowledge their White privilege after viewing the biracial Black/White target whom identified as Biracial ( $M = 4.69, SD = 1.47$ ), followed by the Black- ( $M = 4.37, SD = 1.62$ ) and finally

---

<sup>5</sup> As the probability of observing a racial identity effect, were it to occur, was low (observed power = .355), it is plausible that this racial identity effect is present and not merely due to chance. This is an issue I return to in Study 2.

White-identified targets ( $M = 4.31$ ,  $SD = 1.53$ ). Simple contrasts revealed that acknowledgement of White privilege did not differ between the Black- and White-identified targets ( $p = .810$ ).

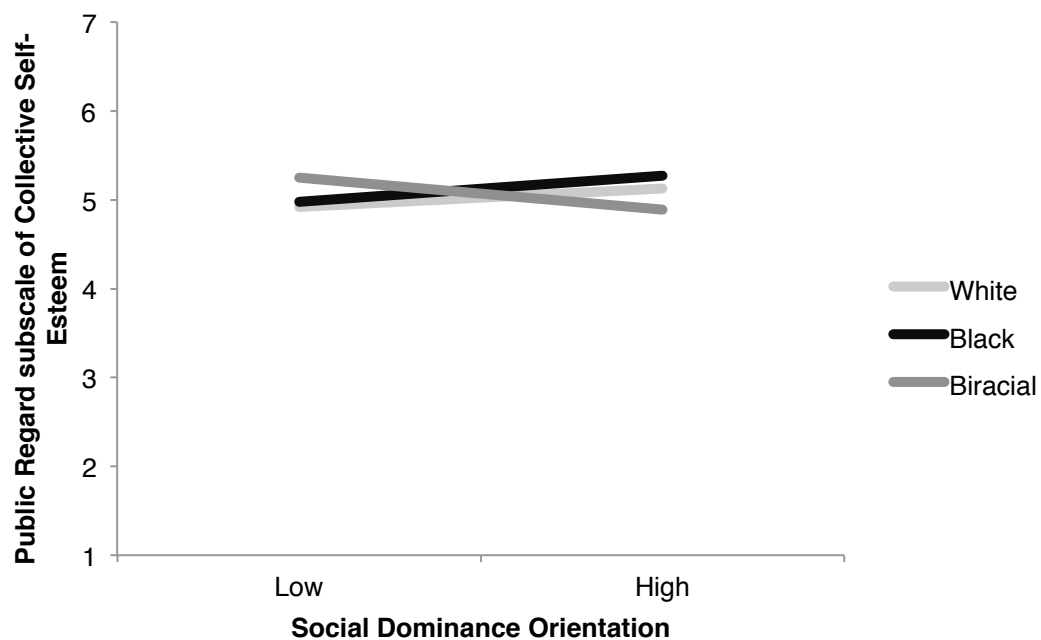
Acknowledgement of White privilege did marginally differ between the Biracial and White-identified targets ( $p = .098$ ) and was trending between the Biracial and Black-identified targets ( $p = .149$ ).

Next, I used hierarchical multiple regression to test whether SDO moderates the effect of identifying against hypodescent on the three measures of RST. In each analysis, a two-step process was utilized: First, the independent variable (racial identity) and moderator (SDO) were included in the model. In the second block, interaction terms were added to the model. A significant difference between the models due to the addition of the interaction terms would indicate moderation. To fully explore the multicategorical nature of the racial identity manipulation, I created dummy coded variables for this moderation analysis (Kenny, 2015; Hayes & Preacher, 2013), with the Black-identified condition as reference category. I chose to use the Black-identification because the core hypotheses focus on identifying against hypodescent, and identifying as Black is the only option consistent with hypodescent. D1 compares Biracial-identified to Black-identified, and D2 compares White-identified to Black-identified.

SDO did not moderate the effect of candidate racial identification on negative emotion: Although candidate racial identification and SDO did account for a significant amount of the variance in negative emotion,  $R^2 = .11$ ,  $F(3, 248) = 10.09$ ,  $p < .001$ , when the interaction terms of condition and SDO were added to the model, they did not account for a significant amount of the variance in negative emotion,  $\Delta R^2 = .01$ ,  $\Delta F(2, 246) = .36$ ,  $p = .700$ , indicating no moderation. The interaction terms were not significant (D1 and SDO,  $b = -.03$ ,  $t(246) = -.66$ ,  $p = .512$ ; D2 and SDO,  $b = -.04$ ,  $t(246) = -.76$ ,  $p = .450$ ).

As with negative emotion, SDO did not moderate the effect of candidate racial identification on the Public Regard subscale of Collective self-esteem. Candidate racial identification and SDO did not account for a significant amount of the variance in public regard for collective self-esteem,  $R^2 = .002$ ,

$F(3, 249) = .17, p = .920$ . When the interaction terms of condition and SDO were added to the model, they did account for a marginally significant increase in the amount of the variance in negative emotion,  $\Delta R^2 = .02, \Delta F(2, 247) = .36, p = .085$ . This marginal effect appears to be driven by the interaction term of D1 and SDO,  $b = -.27, t(247) = -2.07, p = .040$  (See figure 2), and not by the interaction of D2 and SDO,  $b = -.01, t(247) = -.09, p = .931$ <sup>6</sup>. This indicates that the Biracial-identified target significantly differed from the Black-identified target when interacting with SDO, while the White-identified-target did not.



**Figure 2.** The results of the effect of a Multiracial person's racial identification on the Public Regard subscale of Collective self-esteem, moderated by Social Dominance Orientation.

Continuing the pattern, SDO did not moderate the effect of racial identity on white privilege. Racial identity and SDO did account for a significant amount of the variance in white privilege,  $R^2 = .05, F(3, 251) = 4.17, p = .007$ . However when the interaction terms of condition and SDO were added

<sup>6</sup> In filter two, SDO did moderate the effect of candidate racial identification on public regard. Candidate racial identification and SDO did not account for a significant amount of the variance in public regard,  $R^2 = .003, F(3, 208) = .29, p = .875$ . When the interaction terms of condition and SDO were added to the model, they did account for a significant amount of the variance in negative emotion,  $\Delta R^2 = .028, \Delta F(2, 206) = 2.98, p = .053$ . Just as in filter one, this effect appears to be driven by the interaction term of D1 and SDO,  $b = -.29, t(247) = -2.07, p = .037$ , and not by the interaction of D2 and SDO,  $b = .06, t(206) = .35, p = .354$ .

to the model, they did not account for a significant increase in the amount of the variance in acknowledgement of white privilege,  $\Delta R^2 = .001$ ,  $\Delta F(2, 249) = .02$ ,  $p = .982$ . The interaction terms were not significant (D1 and SDO,  $b = .01$ ,  $t(249) = .07$ ,  $p = .941$ ; D2 and SDO,  $b = -.03$ ,  $t(249) = -.13$ ,  $p = .898$ ).

### **2.3 Discussion**

Overall, the results did not show support for my hypotheses. Racial identification did not affect the Public Regard subscale of Collective self-esteem, or negative emotion. Target racial identification did reveal a marginal effect on acknowledgment of White privilege, albeit in an unexpected pattern. Acknowledgement of White was higher for the Biracial-identified target privilege compared to both the Black- and White-identified targets. I speculate that this pattern may be due to perceptions of the target's ingroup membership. The White-identified and Black-identified targets may be perceived as upholding traditional forms of hierarchy by either identifying with the higher status group to potentially be afforded benefits, or by committing oneself fully as an outgroup member. Biracial-identified targets have one foot on either side of the line so to speak, therefore freeing a White person to both acknowledge the flexibility of identity and the social construction of race, whereas the White-identified target does not. Study 2 will test acknowledgment of White Privilege again to see if the effect is actually there, as well as the other two measures of RST.

Furthermore, social dominance orientation did not moderate the effect of the multiracial candidate's personal racial identification on acknowledgement of White privilege or negative emotion. Although SDO did marginally moderate the effect of racial identification on the Public Regard subscale of Collective self-esteem, it was not in the predicted pattern. Rather than those high in SDO experiencing less public regard after seeing the White-identified target, public regard was lowest when seeing the Biracial identified, followed by the White- and finally Black-identified targets. This pattern may be due to heightened awareness of dual racial identities, which may have resulted in more awareness of the shifting demographics and hierarchy of the United States. In particular, there may be

some concern in the inclusion of Biracial-identified persons in the White ingroup. For those high in SDO, a Biracial-identified person indicates a person who may be considered partially part of the White-ingroup, thereby pushing the boundaries of what is considered White. In particular, Whites high in SDO may be concerned that others will think that others do not see their group in high regard due to Biracial-identified people occupying more than one racial identity simultaneously. This concern is not present for the White-identified target, which perhaps is due to acceptance because of perceived commitment of the target to the ingroup. Conversely, heightened concern for the openness of ingroup bounds may have caused Whites low in SDO to be more concerned with other's perceptions of their groups inclusivity, which is why seeing a Biracial-identified target heightens public regard for collective self-esteem: Including Biracial-identified persons in the White ingroup makes the ingroup more inclusive, whereas the White-identified may be perceived as opting to choose one to be a part of the group. Study 2 will follow this up by examining to what extent racial identification affects perceptions of White ingroup membership.

Overall, Study 1 findings do not support the hypothesis that a Black/White Biracial person's racial identification as White heightened RST in Whites. Despite this overall lack of support and consistent with my hypothesis, participants did acknowledge marginally less White privilege when seeing a White vs. Biracial identified Black/White person. Study 2 will provide an opportunity to test to robustness of this marginal effect.

### **3. STUDY TWO: DOES RACIAL STATUS THREAT PROMPT OPPORTUNITY DENIAL?**

The objective of study two is to examine how RST, potentially triggered by identifying against hypodescent, affects Whites' willingness to give a political opportunity to a Black/White Multiracial person. Again, I expected a White-identified target would induce RST in Whites. I will extend this finding by measuring the consequences of RST for Multiracial targets. I have two competing hypotheses:

#### **3.1 Hypodescent and Opportunity Denial**

RST could cause Whites to deny a White-identified Multiracial individual an opportunity with social, political, and economic consequences. I expect Whites to be less supportive of the White-identified candidate (vs. the Black or Biracial identifying candidates). I will conduct a mediation analysis and expect to find that experiencing RST will explain why Whites did not support this candidate (opportunity denial).

Furthermore, participants should exclude the White-identified Multiracial from their ingroup, as per the definition of hypodescent. I will conduct a mediated moderation and expect to find that experiencing RST should explain why White-identified Multiracials in particular are excluded from the White ingroup.

#### **3.2 Hyperdescent and Opportunity Affordance**

Alternatively, RST could cause whites to give a White-identified Biracial an opportunity (vs. the Black or Biracial identified candidates). RST is the fear that social hierarchy is changing. For a White person experiencing RST, the fear of the hierarchy changing may result in a desire to maintain power for Whites by broadening the definition of Whiteness to include a White-identified target.

Hyperdescent indicates that the participant is including the White-identified target in the ingroup. I will conduct a mediated moderation and expect to find that experiencing RST should explain why White-identified Multiracials in particular are included in the White ingroup.

### **3.3 Method**

#### **3.3.1 Design and Participants**

Participants were a national sample of White U.S. citizens recruited via Amazon.com's Mechanical Turk participant panel ( $N = 309$ , for the same reasons stated in Study 1). The sample consisted of 55% females, 44.3% males, and .3% (One participant) defined themselves as "other". The mean age of the sample was 37.30 ( $SD = 13.20$ ) and ranged from 18 to 76.

Just like Study 1, Study 2 had three conditions: the personal racial identity of a target will be Black, White, or Black and White Biracial. I will hold the target's racial ancestry constant (always Black and White).

#### **3.3.2 Procedure**

I administered the same protocol as study one, with the exclusion of the SDO scale. I also measured support for the target's city council campaign, support for putting the candidate on the ballot to run for office, and whether or not the participant would vote for the candidate in the election. These items were asked following the first impression items and before the RST items (as outlined in the procedure of study one).

#### **3.3.3 Materials and Primary Measures**

##### **3.3.3.1 Opportunity denial**

Two measures assessed the extent to which participants denied the target a status granting opportunity.

##### **3.3.3.1.1 Candidate support**

Participants indicated to what extent they both support the candidate running for city council and whether they support putting the candidate on the ballot for the election. For both types of items, participants first indicated whether or not they support or oppose the candidate, or if they are undecided. If at this junction the participant supports the candidate, they were routed to an item about the degree to which they support the candidate (Five-point likert scale, 1 = "Very Weakly", 5 = "Very



Strongly”). If the participant selected oppose they were routed to an item asking for the degree of their opposition (Five-point likert scale, -1 = “Very Weakly”, -5 = “Very Strongly”). If a participant had indicated that they were unsure/undecided, they were routed to an item asking if they lean toward supporting (1), opposing (-1), or are still unsure (0).

#### **3.3.3.1.2 Voting decision**

Participants were asked whether or not they would vote for the candidate (“Yes” or “No”).

#### **3.3.3.2 Ingroup outgroup determination**

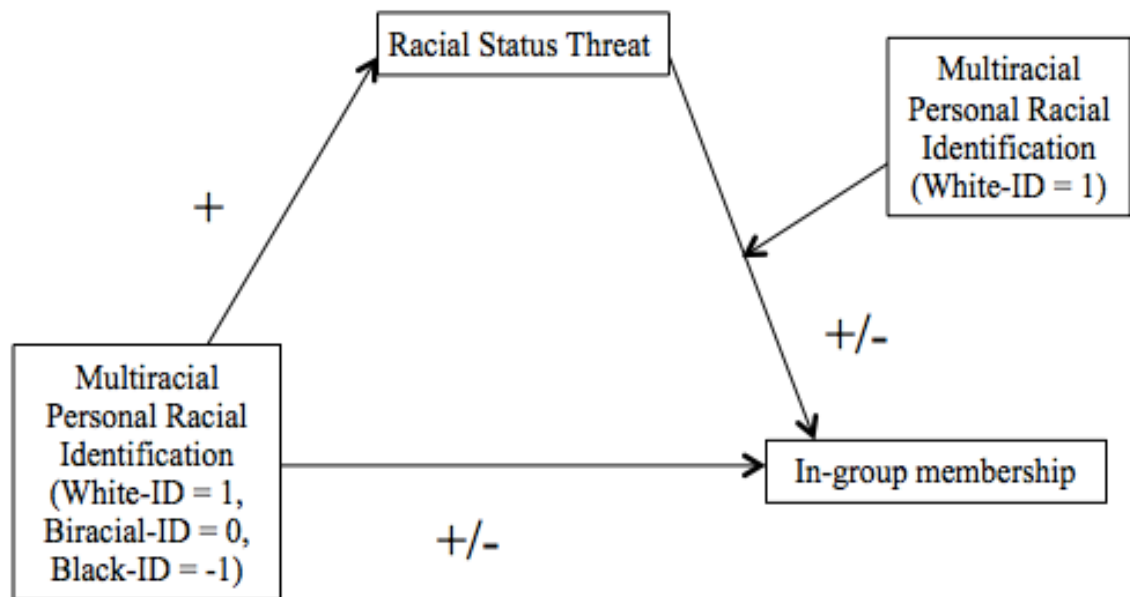
Participants were asked whether or not they consider the target a member of their ingroup and to what extent. I first asked participants to choose whether or not they consider the candidate as part of their racial group (ingroup member), a different racial group (outgroup member) or both a part of their racial group and a different racial group. If the participant identifies the candidate as a member of the ingroup, they were routed to the item “To what extent to you see the candidate as a member of your racial group?”. If the candidate is identified as an outgroup member, the item “To what extent to you see the candidate as a member of a different racial group?” was displayed. Both items are measured on a seven-point likert scale from 1 “Somewhat,” to 7 “Very much”. Participants who identify the candidate as being an equal member of their ingroup and an outgroup answered both items. The final scale used for ingroup determination ranged from 0 to 7. If a participant indicated that they considered the target an outgroup member only, they received a 0 on the ingroup scale.

### **3.4 Results**

#### **3.4.1 Predicted Results**

I expected to replicate the results of study one in regards to the relationship between racial identity on the three RST indicators (see Figures 1a, 1b, and 1c). I predicted participants would be more likely to deny an opportunity to a White-identifying biracial candidate than a Biracial- or Black-identifying candidate. This relationship should be mediated by RST so that direct effect of candidate racial identity on candidate support to be simultaneously and fully mediated by the three RST indicators.

I also anticipated a mediated moderation in which the effect of Multiracial personal racial identification on perceived ingroup membership is mediated by RST, but the relationship between the mediator and outcome is dependent on the Multiracial identification condition: In the White-identifying condition, RST should predict less perceived ingroup membership, but in the Biracial- and Black-identifying conditions, should not predict perceived White ingroup membership (Figure 3).



**Figure 3.** Proposed model of the effect of Multiracial personal identification on perceived ingroup membership through racial status threat, moderated by Multiracial personal identification.

### 3.4.2 Preliminary analysis

Of 309 White Participants, 14 incorrectly identified the race of the father, three incorrectly identified the race of the mother, 20 incorrectly identified the relationship of the father to target, and 17 incorrectly identified the relationship of the mother to target. The average score for the remaining attention check items was 88.78% (SD = 13.11%), and did not differ by condition,  $F(2,306) = .01$ ,  $p = .994$ ,  $\omega^2 = -.006$ . Sixty-eight participants incorrectly recalled the target's racial identification. Twenty participated previously in study one.

Just as in study one, analyses were conducted twice with different filters: In the first, participants who incorrectly recall the relationship of the parents to the target and/or the parent's races, and also

participated in study one were excluded from analyses ( $N = 245$ ; Mean age = 37.47,  $SD = 13.25$ ; 57.8% Female, 41.8 % Male, .4% ( $n = 1$ ) chose not to report their gender). A second more stringent filter excluded both those who incorrectly recall the relationship of the parents to the target and/or the parent's races, also participated in study one, and those who failed to recall the racial identification of the target ( $N = 192$ ; Mean age = 37.18,  $SD = 13.13$ ; 58.9% Female, 40.6 % Male, .5% ( $n = 1$ ) chose not to report their gender). The following analyses have been conducted with the more inclusive filter one. Any differences in results between the two filters will be noted in footnotes.

### 3.4.3 Main analyses

I first conducted five one-way ANOVAs to test the effect of target racial identity on 1) RST indicators (PANAS, Public regard, and White privilege), and 2) support for the candidate (support for putting the candidate on the ballot and support for electing the candidate). I then conducted a Chi-square analysis to examine the effect of racial identification on the participants' decision to vote for the candidate.

The ANOVA results regarding the RST dependent variables replicated that of study one: There is no effect of racial identity on negative emotion ( $M = 1.48$ ,  $SD = .53$ ),  $F(2, 239) = .63$ ,  $p = .54$ ,  $\omega^2 = .003$ , the Public Regard subscale of Collective self-esteem ( $M = 5.04$ ,  $SD = .99$ ),  $F(2, 239) = 1.16$ ,  $p = .315$ ,  $\omega^2 = .001$ , and White privilege ( $M = 4.54$ ,  $SD = 1.56$ ),  $F(2, 241) = .93$ ,  $p = .394$ ,  $\omega^2 = -.001$ .

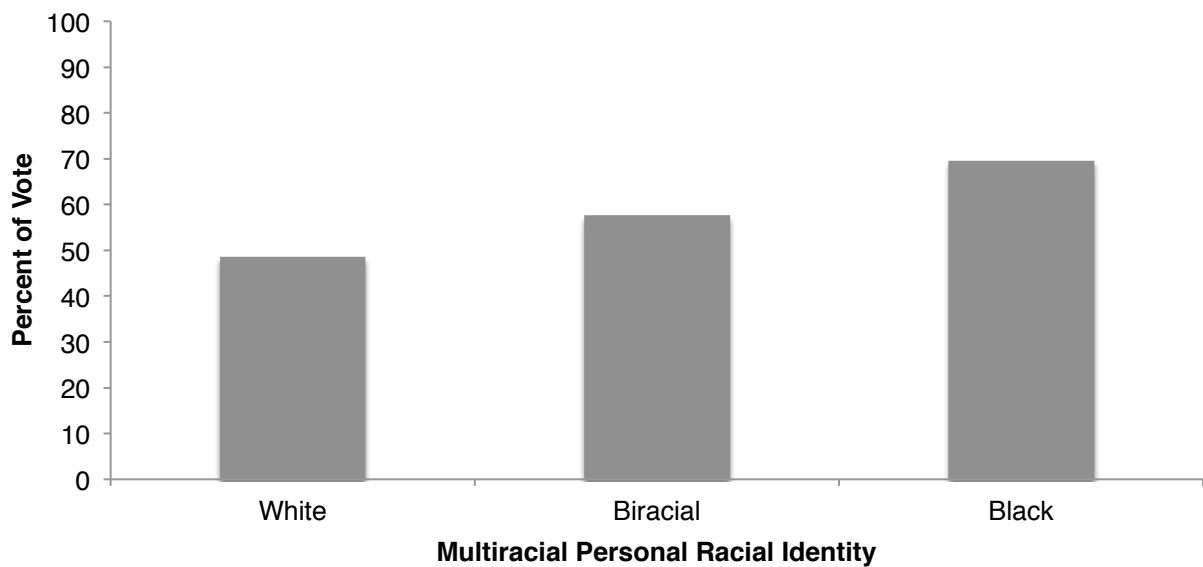
Racial identity had a trending effect on support for putting the candidate on the ballot ( $M = 2.37$ ,  $SD = 2.29$ ),  $F(2, 241) = 2.10$ ,  $p = .125$ ,  $\omega^2 = .01$  (observed power = .429)<sup>7</sup>. Participants reported less support for placing the White-identified candidate on the ballot ( $M = 1.93$ ,  $SD = 2.40$ ) than the Biracial-identified ( $M = 2.48$ ,  $SD = 2.09$ ,  $p = .123$ ) and the Black-identified condition ( $M = 2.66$ ,  $SD = 2.39$ ,  $p =$

---

<sup>7</sup> Under the more stringent filter two, candidate racial identity did have an effect on support for putting the candidate on the ballot,  $F(2, 188) = 4.76$ ,  $p = .015$ ,  $\omega^2 = .033$ . Participants reported less support for placing the White-identified candidate on the ballot ( $M = 1.53$ ,  $SD = 2.55$ ) than the Biracial-identified ( $M = 2.59$ ,  $SD = 1.98$ ,  $p = .010$ ) and Black-identified candidates ( $M = 2.70$ ,  $SD = 2.16$ ,  $p = .003$ ). There was no difference between the Biracial- and Black-identified candidates in support for putting them on the ballot ( $p = .742$ ).

.051). There was no difference between the Biracial- and Black-identified candidates in support for putting them on the ballot ( $p = .619$ ).

Furthermore, racial identity had a trending effect on support for electing the candidate ( $M = .82$ ,  $SD = 2.24$ ),  $F(2, 239) = 1.60$ ,  $p = .206$ ,  $\omega^2 = .005^8$ . Participants reported less support for electing the White-identified candidate ( $M = .51$ ,  $SD = 2.38$ ) than the Black-identified ( $M = 1.15$ ,  $SD = 2.19$ ),  $p = .077$ ), but not the Biracial-identified target ( $M = .79$ ,  $SD = 2.16$ ,  $p = .420$ ) and. There was no difference between the Biracial- and Black-identified candidates in support for electing them ( $p = .295$ ). Consistent with these trends, racial identity did effect whether the participant would vote for the candidate,  $X^2(2, N = 245) = 7.02$ ,  $p = .030^9$ ,  $V = .17$ . Black- and then Biracial-identified candidates were more likely to be voted for than White-identified candidates (see figure 4).

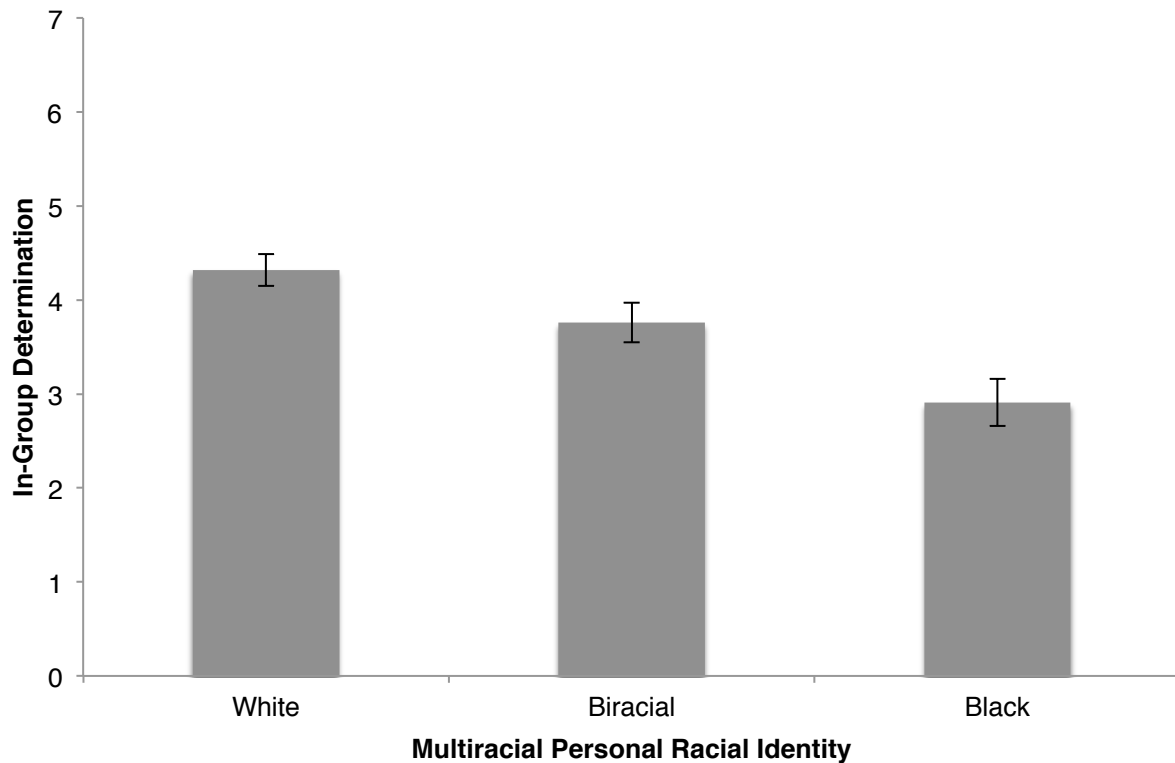


**Figure 4.** The results of the effect of candidate personal racial identification on voting.

<sup>8</sup> With filter two, candidate racial identity had a marginal effect on support for electing the candidate  $F(2, 187) = 2.38$ ,  $p = .096$ ,  $\omega^2 = .014$ . Participants reported less support for electing the White-identified candidate ( $M = .18$ ,  $SD = 2.36$ ) compared to the Biracial-identified ( $M = .89$ ,  $SD = 2.12$ ,  $p = .079$ ) and Black-identified candidates ( $M = 1.09$ ,  $SD = 2.15$ ,  $p = .038$ ). There was no difference between the Biracial- and Black-identified candidates in support for electing them ( $p = .589$ ).

<sup>9</sup> In filter two, candidate racial identity had only a trending effect on whether the participant would vote for the candidate,  $X^2(2, N = 192) = 3.430$ ,  $p = .180$ ,  $V = .13$ . Black- and then Biracial-identified candidates were more likely to be voted for than White-identified candidates.

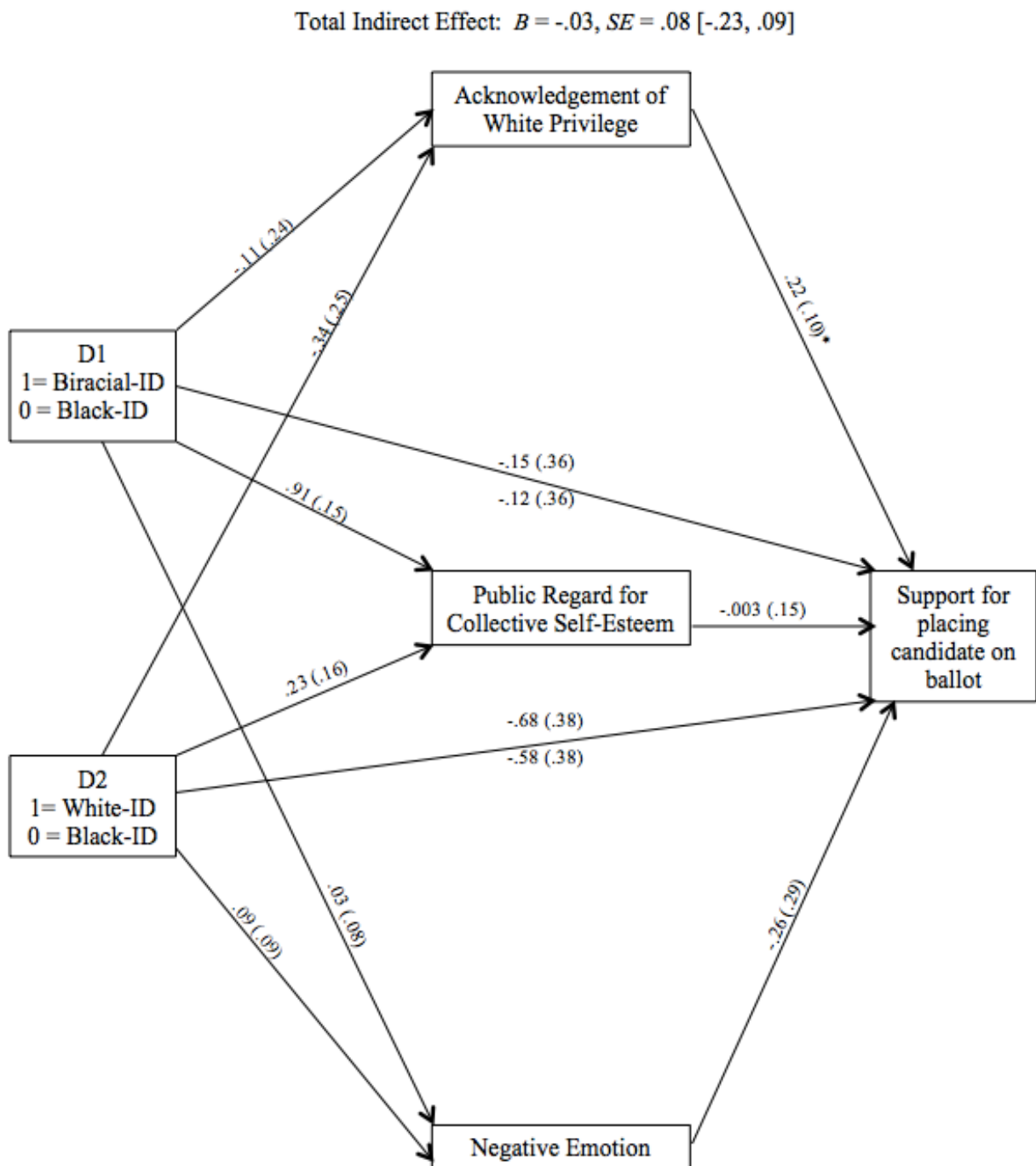
Racial identification did affect the extent to which the candidate was perceived to be an ingroup member by the participant,  $F(2, 242) = 11.61, p < .001, \omega^2 = .08$ . The White-identified target ( $M = 4.43, SD = 1.43$ ) was considered more of an ingroup member, followed by the Biracial- ( $M = 3.76, SD = 2.05$ ) and finally Black-identified targets ( $M = 2.91, SD = 2.25$ ; see figure 5). Simple contrasts revealed significant differences between all conditions (all  $p$ -values  $< .03$ ).



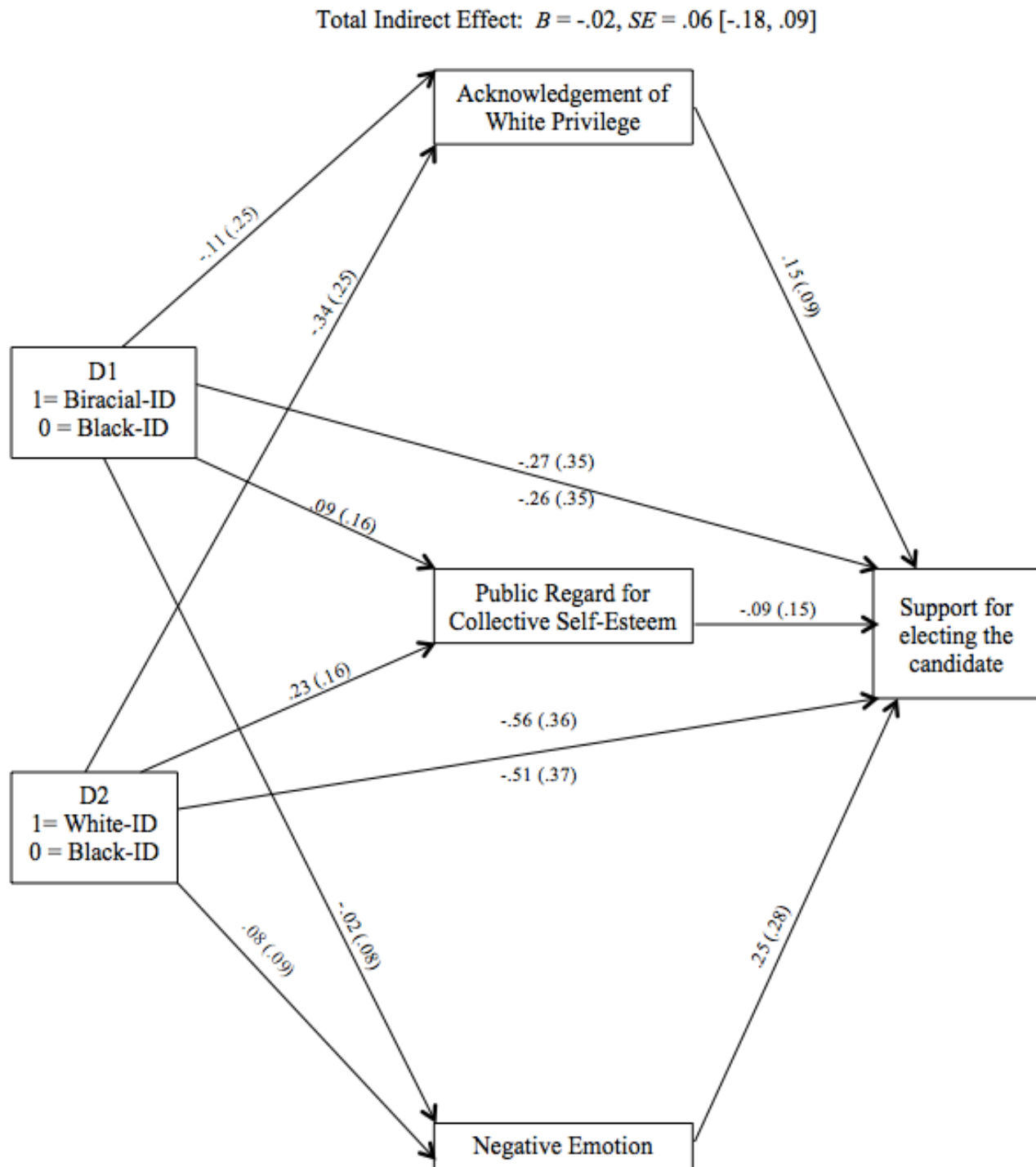
**Figure 5.** The means of the effect of Multiracial personal racial identity on ingroup determination. Standard error is represented in the figure by error bars attached to each column.

Next I conducted a multiple mediation analysis using the PROCESS Macro in SPSS (Hayes, 2012; Hayes, 2013) to test the mediation of RST on the relationship between racial identification and opportunity denial. I used the same dummy codes from study one (D1: Biracial = 1; D2: White = 1; Hayes & Preacher, 2013) to conduct a multiple mediation model with a multicategorical independent variable. There was no indirect effect of racial identity on supporting putting the candidate on the ballot

through the measures of RST (See Figure 6). Further, there was no indirect effect of racial identity on supporting electing the candidate through the measures of RST (See Figure 7).



**Figure 6.** Multiple Mediation Results: Effect of candidate racial identity on support for placing candidate on ballot through the measures of racial status threat. For the paths from the predictors to the outcome variable, numbers above the line indicate the total effect and numbers below indicate the direct effect. All coefficients are unstandardized and standard errors are in parentheses.

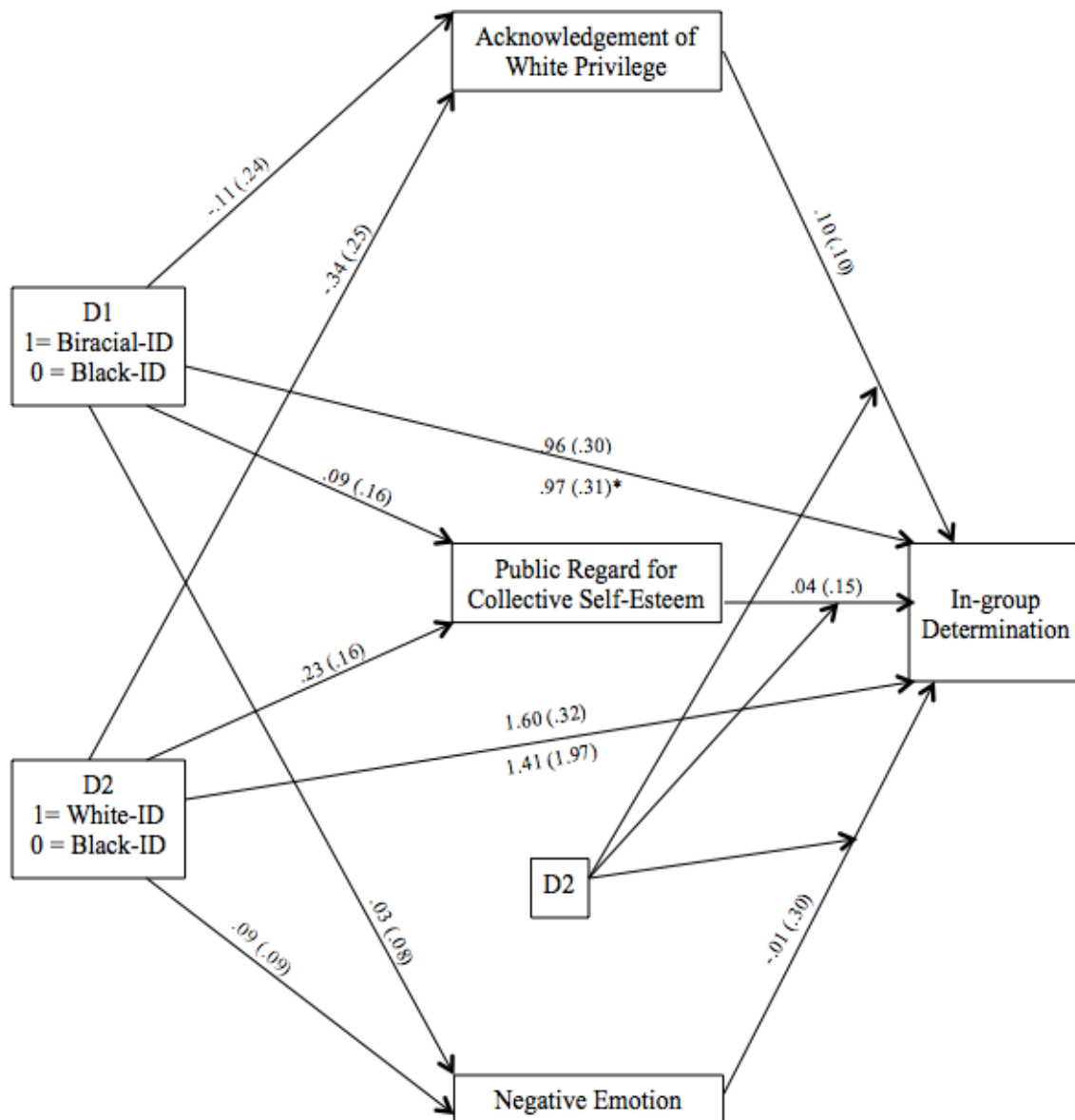


**Figure 7.** Multiple Mediation Results: Effect of candidate racial identity on support for electing candidate through the measures of racial status threat. For the paths from the predictors to the outcome variable, numbers above the line indicate the total effect and numbers below indicate the direct effect. All coefficients are unstandardized and standard errors are in parentheses.

I then used the PROCESS Macro to conduct a moderated multiple mediation with racial identity as the independent variable (Dummy coded, Hayes and Preacher, 2013), ingroup determination as the

dependent variable, White-identity (dummy coded as White = 1, Black = 0) as the moderator, and the RST measures as the mediators. There was no indirect effect of candidate personal racial identity on ingroup determination through the measures of RST (See Figure 8).

Indirect Effects: White Privilege,  $B = -.03$ ,  $SE = .06$  [-.24, .03]; Public Regard for Collective self-esteem,  $B = .01$ ,  $SE = .05$  [-.07, .16]; Negative Emotion,  $B = -.0002$ ,  $SE = .05$  [-.12, .10].



**Figure 8.** Moderated Multiple Mediation Results: Effect of candidate racial identity on ingroup determination through the measures of racial status threat, for candidates who identify as White. For the paths from the predictors to the outcome variable, numbers above the line indicate the total effect and numbers below indicate the direct effect. All coefficients are unstandardized and standard errors are in parentheses.



### 3.5 Discussion

Overall, the results provided partial support for my hypotheses. First, I did not replicate the acknowledgement of White privilege trend found in Study 1, indicating less confidence that the Study 1 effect is not merely due to chance. More generally, I did not find evidence that Multiracial people who identify as White (vs. Biracial or Black) produce heightened RST in Whites, and it follows that the measures of RST did not mediate the relationship between the Multiracial candidate's racial identity and the two main dependent measures of Study 2—candidate support and ingroup determination (specifically when the participant saw the White-identified target).

However, participants did view the target as more of an ingroup member when the target identified as White, followed by Biracial, and finally, Black. Despite this pattern, participants did ultimately report being less likely to vote for the candidate, showing that the White-identified candidate was less likely to be voted into office than the Black- and Biracial-identified candidates. This pattern was also found for support for the candidate being placed on the ballot and being elected under the more stringent filter two.

As predicted with the *hyperdescent and opportunity affordance* hypothesis, White-identified Multiracials are included in the White ingroup: The White-identified target was considered more of an ingroup member, followed by the Biracial- and finally Black-identified targets. However, the ingroup identification did not translate to opportunity affordance. Rather, opportunity denial was observed. Instead of White-identified targets being given the opportunity, they were least likely to receive it. This contradiction is odd, given that inclusion in the ingroup would usually result in being afforded certain ingroup benefits, such as jobs (Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002; Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004). Perhaps there is some distinction made between a White-identified Biracial person and a Monoracial White person. To test this finding, future research should include Monoracial White and Black targets. Further, because White-identified Multiracial are denied an opportunity despite being perceived as an ingroup member, Study 2 does provide partial evidence that Whites experience RST in reaction to a

White-identified White/Black Biracial person; it is perhaps functioning differently from how I operationalized it. I explore this idea further in the general discussion.

All together, these findings suggest that although White-identified Biracial targets might be considered more of an ingroup member than Biracial- and Black-identified Biracial targets, they are not more likely to benefit from being considered an ingroup member in terms of being provided an opportunity.

#### **4. GENERAL DISCUSSION**

This research adds to the literature on perceptions of Multiracial identity and is the first to examine the racial identification of a Multiracial target. By doing so, these studies attempted to highlight how target racial identification impacts perceivers' views of the status hierarchy and ingroup boundaries. Specifically, these studies investigated whether Multiracial racial identification as White leads Whites to experience threat due to concerns that Whites are losing status in the racial hierarchy.

##### **4.1 Multiracials' Personal Racial Identification**

Findings revealed evidence that a Multiracials' personal racial identification plays a role in how White people will likely respond to them, particularly when participants were considering whether to 1) afford this person an opportunity and 2) include this person in their racial ingroup. Specifically, White-identified Black/White biracial targets were not afforded opportunities compared to Black- and Biracial-identified targets, despite being considered to be more of a member of the White-in group (Study 2). This finding has real world implications for White-identified Multiracials, who will be denied opportunities. Perhaps the White identification is seen as a cue to amount of White ancestry or embodiment of White culture, which has been shown to result in denial of minority designated opportunities (Good, Sanchez & Chavez, 2013). However no racial qualifier was attached to the political position, suggesting that something about the White-identified target may have been perceived as making the target an inappropriate candidate for election. In particular, the White identified target may be perceived as either confused about their identity, only identifying as White when potentially beneficial, or both.

##### **4.2 Racial Status Threat**

Contrary to my predictions, I found that racial identification does not affect White's experience of RST as I measured it (Studies 1 and 2), and I did not find evidence that those higher in SDO would experience RST more strongly than those low in SDO (Study 1). Although there was some evidence of a shift in acknowledgement of White-privilege due to candidate identification, it was not in the predicted

pattern. Furthermore, in Study 2 Multiracial racial identification again did not shift Whites' experience of RST as I measured it, and so it follows that RST did not explain the relationship between racial identification and opportunity denial or ingroup determination (Study 2). In sum, neither the *hypodescent and opportunity denial* nor the *hyperdescent and opportunity affordance* hypotheses regarding these mediations were supported.

### **4.3 Measurement Limitations**

Although I did not find evidence for RST, Whites may still experience it. If that is the case, then one possible limitation of these studies is the measurement of RST. The way I measured acknowledgement of White privilege, public regard, and negative emotion may not be capturing how White people generally experience the threat of their group losing status. I measured these concepts explicitly, but it is possible that RST is instead an implicit psychological experience. Indeed, White identity tends to operate implicitly rather than explicitly (Knowles & Peng, 2005). Future research could continue examining RST by measuring Whites' implicit racial identity with a Me/Not Me response task measure of self-association (e.g. see Markus, 1977; Knowles, Lowery, Chow, & Unzueta, 2014). If Whites do experience RST, I would expect White people to demonstrate a dampened association between the self and Whiteness when places under threat. Further, physiological measures of emotion could also capture implicit expression of negative responses to a White-identified Multiracial, such as cortisol levels (Bachanan, al'Absi, & Lovallo, 1999). Finally, acknowledgement of White privilege could instead be measured implicitly using the Go/No Go Association Test (Nosek & Banaji, 2001) with White and not White as concept categories and privilege/status relevant words as the target stimuli to be sorted into these categories.

It is also possible that I did not measure the dimensions that most accurately capture the RST construct. Directly measuring perceptions of change group status could be another way to capture RST. In the future research, I will measure Whites' perception of their group's social hierarchical status in the present to examine whether perceived status lowers under conditions that should induce RST.

#### **4.4 Paradigmatic Limitations**

It is also possible that I did not identify RST not because it does not exist, but instead because of paradigmatic limitations. For example, it is possible that exposure to any Biracial Black/White person induces RST equally (regardless of personal identification). Here, my main research aim was to investigate the impact of racial identification on how Multiracial people are perceived and treated. I therefore did not include Monoracial comparison groups in these studies. However, future work with a primary aim of examining how Whites experience RST could do so.

Alternatively, it is also possible that mere exposure to a Biracial Black/White person—even one who personally identifies as White—is not alone enough to induce RST. Instead, the shifting racial landscape of the United States, specifically that the Multiracials are the fastest growing racial segment of the population, may need to be salient to elicit RST. To examine this idea, White participants could first read about the growing Multiracial population (Frey, 2014) and then be introduced to the profile of a White-identified Multiracial. The salient concern of the shifting face of their ingroup may then result in a concern that their group's status will shift downward in the future.

A candidate running for local office may not be a salient threat to status on the social hierarchy. Namely, the local, non-partisan position may not be seen as having strong power or influence, which therefore does not induce concerns for White ingroup power loss (Lowery, Unzueta, Knowles, & Goff, 2006).

The paradigm might also have left participants with the option to disarm the threat by not fully recognizing the fact that some targets identify against hypodescent. A number of participants did not recall the personal racial identification of the target (18.51% in study one and 21.04% in Study 2 failed to recall how the target racially identified). Those failing this manipulation check may view racial identity in a fixed way (Eberhardt, et al., 2003), which may have then prevented them from encoding the norm-violating racial identity of the White-identified target. Instead, these participants may have instead attended to information provided about the race of the target's parents and ultimately used hypodescent

when categorizing the Multiracial target. By doing so, racial identification may not matter at all for how they are perceived. Consequently, participants who answered the racial identification manipulation check wrong might have prevented themselves from experiencing RST. This possibility might be a particularly interesting coping strategy, because participants with a fixed view of race would theoretically experience the most threat in response to a White-identified Multiracial. Future work could disarm this potential coping strategy to more thoroughly examine the potential experience of RST. Future research could also examine effect of ignoring Multiracial racial identification on Multiracial people, who may experience psychological consequences as a result of the identity denial (Sanchez & Bonam, 2009).

## 6. CONCLUSION

The present research examined processes involved in racial hierarchy maintenance—a pressing social problem. While I did not find full support for my predictions, further work in this area has the potential to further illuminate social psychological processes leading to discrimination and denial of economic resources. If Whites do experience RST, alleviating it could potentially inform interventions intended to stop discriminatory behavior that it might induce. Finally, future related work will expand understandings of how Multiracial people are perceived and treated, as well as constraints on the racial identities they choose despite common descriptions of their racial experience as being wholly flexible. Increasing knowledge of such processes is critical, given the rapidly growing Multiracial population.

## REFERENCES

- Bachanan, T. W., al'Absi, M., & Lovallo, W. R. (1999). Cortisol fluctuates with increases and decreases in negative affect. *Psychoneuroendocrinology*, 24, 227-241. doi:10.1016/S0306-4530(98)00078-X
- Bertrand, M., & Mullainathan, S. (2004). Are Emily and Greg more employable than Lakisha and Jamal? A field experiment on labor market discrimination. *American Economic Review*, 94, 991–1013
- Bonam, C., & Shih, M. (2009). Exploring Multiracial individuals' comfort with intimate interracial relationships. *Journal of Social Issues*, 65, 87-103. DOI: 10.1111/j.1540-4560.2008.01589.x
- Borelli, J. L., Sbarra, D. A., Crowley, M. J., & Mayes, L. C. (2011). Mood Symptoms and Emotional Responsiveness to Threat in School-aged Children. *Journal of Clinical Child and Adolescent Psychology*, 40(2), 220–232. doi:10.1080/15374416.2011.546047
- Branscombe, N. R., Schmitt, M. T., & Schiffhauer, K. (2007). Racial attitudes in response to thoughts of white privilege. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 37, 203–215. doi:10.1002/ejsp.348
- Braxton-Herbert, T., Bailon, A., Mowry-Housley, T., Love, L., & Mai, J (Hosts). (2015, November 2). Keeping it real with Rachel Dolezal. In R. Miskowiec (Producer), *The Real*. Burbank, CA: Warner Brothers Studios.
- Brewer, M. B. (1991). The social self: On being the same and different at the same time. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 17, 475-482.
- Brittian, A. S., Umaña-Taylor, A. J., & Derlan, C. L. (2013). An examination of biracial college youths' family ethnic socialization, ethnic identity, and adjustment: Do self-identification labels and university context matter? *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 19, 177-189.
- Brown, M. K., Carnoy, M., Currie, E., Duster, T., Oppenheimer, D. B., Schultz, M. M., & Wellman, D. (2003). *Whitewashing race: The myth of a color-blind society*. Berkeley: University of California Press



- Buhrmester, M., Kwang, T., & Gosling, S. D. (2011). Amazon.com's Mechanical Turk: A new source of inexpensive, yet high-quality, data. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 6, 3–5.
- Chen, J. M., & Hamilton, D. L. (2012). Natural ambiguities: Racial categorization of multiracial individuals. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 48(1), 152–164.  
doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2011.10.005
- Eberhardt, J. L., Dasgupta, N., & Banaszynski, T. L. (2003). Believing is seeing: the effects of racial labels and implicit beliefs on face perception. *Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin*, 29(3), 360–70. <http://doi.org/10.1177/0146167202250215>
- Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J. C., Glick, P., & Xu, J. (2002). A model of (often mixed) stereotype content: Competence and warmth respectively follow from perceived status competition. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 82, 878-902.
- Frey, W. H. (2014). *Diversity Explosion: How New Racial Demographics are Remaking America*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute Press.
- Gaither, S.E., Sommers, S.R., & Ambady, N. (2013). When the half affects the whole: Priming identity for biracial individuals in social interactions. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 49, 368-371. doi: 10.1016/j.jesp.2012.12.012
- Glaser, J., & Knowles, E. D. (2008). Implicit motivation to control prejudice. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 44, 164-172.
- Good, J. J., Chavez, G. F., & Sanchez, D. T. (2010). Sources of self-categorization as minority for mixed race individuals: Implications for affirmative action. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 16, 453-460.
- Good, J. J., Sanchez, D. T., & Chavez, G. F. (2013). White ancestry in perceptions of Black/White biracial individuals: implications for affirmative-action contexts. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 43, E276–E286. doi:10.1111/jasp.12020

- Hewstone, M., Rubin, M., & Willis, H. (2002). Intergroup bias. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 53, 575-604. Doi: 0084-6570/02/0201-0575\$14.00
- Hayes, A. F. (2012). PROCESS: A versatile computational tool for observed variable mediation, moderation, and conditional process modeling. Retrieved from <http://afhayes.com>.
- Hayes, A. F. (2013). *An introduction to mediation, moderation, and conditional process analysis: A regression-based approach*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Hayes, A. F., & Preacher, K. J. (2013). Statistical mediation analysis with a multicategorical independent variable. *British Journal of Mathematical and Statistical Psychology*, 451–470. <http://doi.org/10.1111/bmsp.12028>
- Herman, M. R. (2010). Do you see what I am? How observers' backgrounds affect their perceptions of multiracial faces. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 73(1), 58–78. <http://doi.org/10.1177/0190272510361436>
- Hilliar, K. F., & Kemp, R. I. (2008). Barack Obama or Barry Dunham? The appearance of multiracial faces is affected by the names assigned to them. *Perception*, 37(10), 1605–1608.
- Ho, A. K., Sidanius, J., Cuddy, A. J. C., & Banaji, M. R. (2013). Status boundary enforcement and the categorization of black–white biracials. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 49(5), 940–943. doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2013.04.010
- Ho, A. K., Sidanius, J., Levin, D. T., & Banaji, M. R. (2011). Evidence for hypodescent and racial hierarchy in the categorization and perception of biracial individuals. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 100, 492-506. doi: 10.1037/a0021562.
- Kaiser, C. R., & Pratt-Hyatt, J. S. (2009). Distributing prejudice unequally: Do Whites direct their prejudice toward strongly identified minorities? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 96, 432-445.
- Kaiser, C. R., & Wilkins, C. L. (2010). Group identification and prejudice: Theoretical and empirical advances and implications. *Journal of Social Issues*, 66, 461-476.

- Kenny, D. A. (2015, March 31). Moderator variables. Retrieved September 20, 2015, from <http://davidakenny.net/cm/moderation.htm>
- Knowles, E. D., Lowery, B. S., Chow, R. M., & Unzueta, M. M. (2014). Deny, distance, or dismantle? How White Americans manage a privileged racial identity. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 9, 594-609. doi: 10.1177/1745691614554658
- Knowles, E. D., Lowery, B. S., Hogan, C. M., & Chow, R. M. (2009). On the malleability of ideology: Motivated construals of color-blindness. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 96, 857-869.
- Knowles, E. D., & Peng, K. (2005). White selves: Conceptualizing and measuring a dominant-group identity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 89, 223-241. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.89.2.223
- Kozol, J. (1991). *Savage inequalities: Children in America's schools*. New York, NY: Crown.
- Krosch, A. R., Berntsen, L., Amodio, D. M., Jost, J. T., & Van Bavel, J. J. (2013). On the ideology of hypodescent: Political conservatism predicts categorization of racially ambiguous faces as Black. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 49(6), 1196-1203. <http://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2013.05.009>
- Lipsitz, G. (1998). *The possessive investment in Whiteness: How White people profit from identity politics*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Lowery, B. S., Unzueta, M. M., Knowles, E. D., & Goff, P. A. (2006). Concern for the ingroup and opposition to affirmative action. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90, 961-974. DOI: 10.1037/0022-3514.90.6.961
- Luhtanen, R., & Crocker, J. (1992). A collective self-esteem scale: Self-evaluation of one's social identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 18, 302-318.
- Markus, H. R. (1977). Self-schemata and processing information about the self. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 35, 63-78. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.35.2.63

- Mason, W., & Suri, S. (2012). Conducting behavioral research on Amazon.com's Mechanical Turk. *Behavioral Research Methods*, 44, 1-23. doi: 10.3758/s13428-011-0124-6
- Miville, M. L., Constantine, M. G., Baysden, M. F., & So-Lloyd, G. (2005). Chameleon changes: An exploration of racial identity themes of multiracial people. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 52(4), 507–516. <http://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.52.4.507>
- Nagel, T. (1986). *The view from nowhere*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Nosek, B. A., & Banaji, M. R. (2001). The go/no-go association task. *Social Cognition*, 19, 625-664.
- Oliver, M. L., & Shapiro, T. M. (1995). *Black wealth/white wealth: A new perspective on racial inequality*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Pauker, K., Weisbuch, M., Ambady, N., Sommers, S. R., Adams Jr., R. B., & Ivcevic, Z. (2009). Not So Black and White: Memory for Ambiguous Group Members. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 96(4), 795–810. Retrieved from <http://www.scopus.com/inward/record.url?eid=2-s2.0-65349117514&partnerID=40&md5=83095edfb2b09bd0c78576e5364dcfcf>
- Peery, D., & Bodenhausen, G. V. (2008). Black + White = Black hypodescent in reflexive categorization of racially ambiguous faces. *Psychological Science*, 19(10), 973–977. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9280.2008.02185.x
- Plant, E. A., & Devine, P. G. (1998). Internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 3, 811-832.
- Pratto, F., Sidanius, J., Stallworth, L. M., & Malle, B. F. (1994). Social dominance orientation: A personality variable predicting social and political attitudes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 67, 741–763.
- Rand, D. G. (2012). The promise of Mechanical Turk: How online labor markets can help theorists run behavioral experiments. *Journal of Theoretical Biology*, 299, 172–179.
- Remedios, J. D., & Chasteen, A. L. (2013). Finally, someone who “gets” me! Multiracial people value others’ accuracy about their race. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*.


- Rockquemore, K. & Brunσμα, D. L. (2002). Socially embedded identities: Theories, typology, and processes of racial identities among Black/White biracials. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 43, 335-356. DOI: 10.1111/j.1533-8525.2002.tb00052.x
- Sanchez, D. T., & Bonam, C. M. (2009). To disclose or not to disclose biracial identity: The effect of biracial disclosure on perceiver evaluations and target responses. *Journal of Social Issues*, 65(1), 129-149. DOI: 10.1111/j.1540-4560.2008.01591.x
- Shih, M., Bonam, C., Sanchez, D., & Peck, C. (2007). The social construction of race: Biracial identity and vulnerability to stereotypes. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 13, 125-133.
- Steele, C. M., Spencer, S. J., & Aronson, J. (2002). Contending with group image: The psychology of stereotype and social identity threat. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 34, 379-440.
- Stepney, C. T., Sanchez, D. T., & Handy, P. E. (2015). Perceptions of parents' ethnic identities and the personal ethnic-identity and racial attitudes of Biracial adults. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 21, 65-75. doi: 10.1037/a0037542.
- Swim, J., & Miller, D. (1999). White guilt: Its correlated and relationships to attitudes about affirmative action. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 22, 500-515.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. (1986). The social identity theory of inter-group behavior. In S. Worchel, & W. Austin (Eds.), *The Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, 7-24.
- Townsend, Fryberg, Wilkins, & Markus (2012). ). Being mixed: Who claims a biracial identity? *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 18, 91-96.
- Watson, D., Clark, L., & Tellegen, A. (1988). Development and validation of brief measures of positive and negative affect: The PANAS scales. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 54, 1063-1070,
- Williams, M. J., & Eberhardt, J. L. (2008). Biological conceptions of race and the motivation to cross racial boundaries. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 94(6), 1033-1047.

Wilton, L. S., Sanchez, D. T. & Garcia, J. A. (2013). The stigma of privilege: Racial identity and stigma consciousness among biracial individuals. *Race and Social Problems*, 19, 41-56.

Young, D. M., Sanchez, D. T., & Wilton, L. S. (2013). Crossroads of race: Racial ambiguity and biracial identification influence psychological essentialist thinking. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 19(4), 461-467.


## APPENDICES

Appendix A




Name

**Family**



Father



Mother

**Basic Information**

Birth Date

September 16th

Age

27

Relationship Status

Single

Race

Black & White Biracial

Gender

Male

Interests

Hanging out with Friends, Music

Religion

Christianity

Hometown

Chicago

Currently Resides

Chicago

College Major

Business, Computer Science

Graduation Year

2008

**Contact Information**

Phone

Email

@gmail.com



## Appendix B

You saw information from one of the following profiles. Which one did you see?

- ☐ **Basic Information**
- |                     |                |
|---------------------|----------------|
| Birth Date          | September 16th |
| Age                 | 27             |
| Relationship Status | Single         |
| Race                | White          |
- ☐ **Basic Information**
- |                     |                        |
|---------------------|------------------------|
| Birth Date          | September 16th         |
| Age                 | 27                     |
| Relationship Status | Single                 |
| Race                | Black & White Biracial |
- ☐ **Basic Information**
- |                     |                |
|---------------------|----------------|
| Birth Date          | September 16th |
| Age                 | 27             |
| Relationship Status | Single         |
| Race                | Black          |
- ☐ None of the above
- ☐ I don't remember

**Approval Notice  
Continuing Review (Response To Modifications)**

September 9, 2014

Courtney Bonam, PhD  
Psychology  
1007 W Harrison, M/C 285  
Chicago, IL 60607  
Phone: (312) 355-0808

RE: **Protocol # 2012-0591**  
**“Race and Space”**

Dear Dr. Bonam:

Your Continuing Review (Response To Modifications) was reviewed and approved by the Expedited review process on September 3, 2014. You may now continue your research.

Please note the following information about your approved research protocol:

<b><u>Protocol Approval Period:</u></b>	September 3, 2014 - September 3, 2015
<b><u>Approved Subject Enrollment #:</u></b>	6,000 (4,019 subjects enrolled)
<b><u>Additional Determinations for Research Involving Minors:</u></b>	
The Board determined that this research satisfies 45CFR46.404 ', research not involving greater than minimal risk. Therefore, in accordance with 45CFR46.408', the IRB determined that only one parent's/legal guardian's permission/signature is needed. Wards of the State may not be enrolled unless the IRB grants specific approval and assures inclusion of additional protections in the research required under 45CFR46.409 '. If you wish to enroll Wards of the State contact OPRS and refer to the tip sheet.	
<b><u>Performance Sites:</u></b>	UIC
<b><u>Sponsor:</u></b>	RTOG
<b><u>PAF#:</u></b>	Not available
<b><u>Grant/Contract No:</u></b>	Not available
<b><u>Grant/Contract Title:</u></b>	Not available
<b><u>Research Protocol:</u></b>	

- a) Race & Space Research Protocol; Version 6; 08/25/2014

**Recruitment Materials:**

- a) Flyer; Version 3; 07/11/2012
- b) UIC Recruitment Email; Version 3; 07/11/2012
- c) Professional Org Recruitment Email; Version 3; 07/11/2012
- d) Online Study Description; Version 3; 07/11/2012

**Informed Consents:**

- a) Lab Consent; Version 2; 07/05/2012
- b) Online Consent; Version 2; 07/05/2012
- c) Debrief; Version 1; 07/11/2012
- d) Waiver of Signed Consent Document granted under 45 CFR 46.117 for online consent

**Parental Permission:**

- a) A Waiver of Parental Permission has been granted under 45 CFR 46.116(d) and 45 CFR 46.408(c); however, as per UIC Psychology Subject Pool policy, at least one parent must sign the Blanket Parental Permission document prior to the minor subject's participation in the UIC Psychology Subject Pool.

Your research meets the criteria for expedited review as defined in 45 CFR 46.110(b)(1) under the following specific categories:

(6) Collection of data from voice, video, digital, or image recordings made for research purposes., (7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including but not limited to research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

**Please note the Review History of this submission:**

Receipt Date	Submission Type	Review Process	Review Date	Review Action
07/25/2014	Continuing Review	Expedited	08/08/2014	Modifications Required
08/25/2014	Response To Modifications	Expedited	09/09/2014	Approved

Please remember to:

→ Use your **research protocol number** (2012-0591) on any documents or correspondence with the IRB concerning your research protocol.

→ Review and comply with all requirements on the OPRS website under:

**"UIC Investigator Responsibilities, Protection of Human Research Subjects"**

*(<http://tiger.uic.edu/depts/ovcr/research/protocolreview/irb/policies/0924.pdf>)*

**Please note that the UIC IRB has the prerogative and authority to ask further questions, seek additional information, require further modifications, or monitor the conduct of your research and the consent process.**

**Please be aware that if the scope of work in the grant/project changes, the protocol must be amended and approved by the UIC IRB before the initiation of the change.**

We wish you the best as you conduct your research. If you have any questions or need further help, please contact OPRS at (312) 996-1711 or me at (312) 996-9299. Please send any correspondence about this protocol to OPRS at 203 AOB, M/C 672.

Sincerely,

Anna Bernadska, M.A.

Enclosures:

**1. Informed Consent Documents:**

- a) Lab Consent; Version 2; 07/05/2012
- b) Online Consent; Version 2; 07/05/2012
- c) Debrief; Version 1; 07/11/2012

**2. Recruiting Materials:**

- a) Flyer; Version 3; 07/11/2012
- b) UIC Recruitment Email; Version 3; 07/11/2012
- c) Professional Org Recruitment Email; Version 3; 07/11/2012
- d) Online Study Description; Version 3; 07/11/2012

cc: Michael E. Ragozzino, Psychology, M/C 285  
OVCR Administration, M/C 672

## VITA

NAME: Olivia Louis Holmes

EDUCATION: B.S., Psychology, Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, 2013

M.A., Social and Personality Psychology, University of Illinois at Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, 2016

Ph.D., Social and Personality Psychology, University of Illinois at Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, anticipated 2018

TEACHING: Department of Psychology, University of Illinois at Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, 2013 – present

Department of Psychology, Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, 2012

HONORS: Honorable Mention, Ford Foundation Predoctoral Fellowship, National Academy of Sciences, 2015

Honorable Mention, Ford Foundation Predoctoral Fellowship, National Academy of Sciences, 2014

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIP: Society for Personality and Social Psychology

Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues

American Psychological Association

Association for Psychological Sciences

MANUSCRIPTS IN PREP **Holmes, O.**, Bonam, C., Franco, M., & Hayes, K. But you don't look White": How do racial identification and skin color interact with perceiver race to impact ratings of Biracial psychosocial wellbeing?

Franco, M, & **Holmes, O.** The Biracial group membership scale.

**Holmes, O.**, & Bonam, C. Would Obama be president if he identified as White?: Opportunity consequences for White-identified Black and White Biracials

SERVICE: Co-chair, Student Advisory Board of the Diversity Advancement Committee, Department of Psychology, University of Illinois at Chicago, 2014-Present