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One of Us: Monoracial Latinx Perspectives of Multiracial Latinx-White Individuals

Rosemary Rojas

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ONE OF US: MONORACIAL LATINX PERSPECTIVES OF
MULTIRACIAL LATINX-WHITE INDIVIDUALS

A Thesis
Presented to the
Faculty of
California State University,
San Bernardino

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts
in
Psychological Sciences

by
Rosemary Rojas
August 2023

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Approved by:

Dr. Brittany Bloodhart, Committee Chair, Psychology

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ABSTRACT

Little is known about bias against Multiracial individuals, but no research has specifically examined the experiences of Latinx-White Multiracial people and their exclusion from the Latinx community. Two experimental studies tested the effects of a target's perceived Multiracial identity on Latinx participants' beliefs and attitudes towards about Multiracial Latinx-White individuals. Utilizing social categorization theory, I hypothesized that Multiracial Latinx-Whites pose a threat to the distinctiveness of the Latinx community via perceived better social status and less discrimination. Specifically, Multiracial targets who appear more White than Latinx will be perceived by Monoracial Latinx participants to have higher social status, experience less discrimination, and therefore pose a greater threat to the distinctive experience of Monoracial Latinx groups, which will ultimately result in exclusion from the group. Results will help elucidate the attitudes of Latinx Americans, who are heavily understudied in social psychology, and perceptions about Multiracial Latinx-White Americans, about whom no research has been published.

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First and foremost, I would like to acknowledge and thank my advisor, Dr. Brittany Bloodhart. Without you I would still be lost in the sea of research, not knowing which way is up. You have guided me through this journey and I could never thank you enough.

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Lastly, I would like to acknowledge California State University, San Bernardino's Office of Student Research. Without this department's financial support, I would not have been able to perform this study.

DEDICATION

To my brother. Who always listened to me ramble on about my research and showed true interest in what I love.

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CHAPTER ONE:

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Although over 22.6 million people and growing identify as Multiracial, these individuals routinely express feeling like they are excluded from the racial groups with which they identify (Parker et al., 2015). Psychological research has only recently started to explore the perceptions and experiences of Multiracial people, and has largely been limited to those who identify as Black and White, and to a lesser extent, Asian and White (Young et al., 2017; Chen et al., 2018). In addition to this, research has also begun the exploration into Monoracial individuals' perceptions of Multiracial individuals, yet with a focus largely on the populations discussed above (Sanchez & Bonam, 2009; Ho et al, 2013; Chen et al, 2018). No research, to my knowledge, has explored the perceptions of the unique experience of Multiracial Latinx-White individuals from their Monoracial Latinx counterparts.

To better understand the unique experiences of Multiracial individuals within the U.S. population, researchers have largely utilized theories of racial categorization, including Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and Social Categorization Theory (Turner et al., 1987), from both the perspective of Monoracials individuals and Multiracials individuals (Chen et al., 2018; Good et al., 2010; Ufkes et al., 2012). Past research has demonstrated that while

Multiracial individuals share racial background and heritage with Monoracial groups, their overlapping heritage into multiple racial groups may cause these individuals to be rejected and placed within an “outgroup” (Schmitt et al., 2003). On the other hand, Monoracial individuals identify with a single racial heritage, thus resulting in certain acceptance from their racial “ingroup” (Schmitt et al., 2003). This suggests that the presence of overlapping heritages that Multiracial individuals hold may threaten the distinctiveness of the Monoracial community. More specifically I aim to understand the factors or specific threats the lead to exclusion of Multiracial individuals because of this need for intergroup distinctiveness. Past research has also found that strength of identification with a racial group may play a role when members of the ingroup are deciding whether to include a Multiracial individual within the ingroup (Branscombe et al., 1999; Brewer, 1991; Hutchinson et al., 2006; Norman & Chen 2019). Specifically, high and low identifiers perceive threats at different levels, low or high, when their ingroups are threatened. Thus, Monoracial individuals with stronger levels/degrees of group identification may be more likely to exclude Multiracial individuals from their ingroup.

Threat to Distinctiveness

For the Monoracial Latinx community, group members may believe that Multiracial people might challenge several distinct characteristics that are seen to

make up the Latinx ingroup identity. Social Identity Theory states that individuals place and associate themselves within different social groups that create and sustain meaning around their own personal identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This process is known as social categorization, and the groups are formed based on similarities between the individual and a group of other people. These similarities can be based on any meaningful characteristics, including race, culture, and gender. This categorization can explain an individual's perception about those who belong in their group, (i.e., their ingroup). Tajfel and Turner (1979) also identified that once social categorization was complete, individuals start the process of social comparison: comparing one's ingroup against those that they deem to not belong (i.e., their outgroup). These comparisons usually result in the individual believing that their ingroup, in many respects, is better than outgroups, because an individual's group membership is tied to their personal self-esteem and well-being (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In other words, individuals need to define how their group is distinct from other groups.

Researchers have found that there are several important components to socially categorizing an identity group (Young et al., 2017; Chen et al., 2018; Ufkes et al., 2012; Molix & Bettencourt, 2010; Warner et al., 2007). The first two related components are homogeneity and differentiating boundaries between ingroups and outgroups. According to past research, minority racial groups seek greater group homogeneity because within society they are “othered” from the majority racial group (Pickett & Brewer, 2001). This creates

more distinct or stereotypical characteristics and attitudes that a person must acquire to be considered a part of the ingroup (Pickett & Brewer, 2001; Wilson & Hugenberg, 2010). This distinctiveness is also related to the component of group loyalty. Those within the ingroup that are seen as more prototypical of the group are also seen as having greater loyalty to said group, via the individual promoting the interests of the group (Chen et al., 2018; Ufkes et al., 2012; Young et al., 2016). Loyalty also relates to the idea of a preference or positive attitude towards the ingroup. When a member of the ingroup shows a preference towards the ingroup over other groups, they are then seen as being more loyal (Chen et al., 2018). Promoting similar interests and preference toward the ingroup also increases the idea that the group is more unified. In the context of racial ingroups and outgroups, unity may also present itself as the idea of racial essentialism. In general, those who support racial essentialism believe that the culture or heritage of the group should be passed down without interruption or 'contamination' from outgroups (Verkuyten & Brug, 2004). This would lead to more unified cultural practices and beliefs within the ingroup. Taken together, each individual component of social categorization ultimately promotes the idea of distinctiveness and the value of maintaining distinct differentiation between ingroups and outgroups (Wohl et al., 2010).

Multiracial Threats to Monoracial Distinctiveness

Multiracial people might pose a threat to the distinctiveness of Monoracial groups. As stated above, when individuals create ingroups their social identity

and self-esteem are tied to them, but what does it mean to be a member of a racial group? Past research has discussed the importance of shared values and experiences to create a stronger group dynamic especially for a minority racial group (Schmitt et al., 2003; Young et al., 2017). Multiracial individuals have unique experiences with belonging to multiple racial or cultural groups, which might merge their beliefs, practices, and identities. This merge produces new perspectives that may not be welcomed within a community who is seeking greater group homogeneity like minority racial groups and those who believe in racial essentialism. Additionally, Multiracial individuals who also belong to a majority group could threaten Monoracial groups' unity because majority cultural practices and beliefs may differ from the stereotypical Monoracial communities' views. Since Multiracial people belong to more than one racial identity, Minority Monoracial group members might believe that their loyalty to a single community may be compromised (Chen et al., 2018; Young et al., 2016).

Taken together, research has demonstrated that members of the ingroup may perceive various threats to the overall distinctiveness of the group. Although these threats vary in content, loyalty, homogeneity, unity, shared values, similar experiences, race essentialism, blurring of in- and out-group boundaries all suggest that it is important for the ingroup to remain distinct from outgroup members. Therefore, I suggest that various perceptions of a Multiracial person as being distinctly different from the Monoracial group could pose a perceived threat to the distinctiveness of the group. Below, I identify 2 potentially different

experiences that Multiracial and Monoracial people have that could lead to a perceived threat to the distinctiveness of Monoracial groups.

Specific Threats; Perceived Discrimination and Social Status

When speaking about Monoracial minority groups, they have two important experiences; discrimination and lower social status. Although these are negative experiences, research shows that racial groups form identity around these shared experiences (Schmitt et al., 2003). Thus, the belief that Multiracial individuals do not share these negative experiences could suggest threats to homogeneity, differentiating boundaries, loyalty, attitude towards ingroup, unity, and race essentialism, or otherwise known as a threat to distinctiveness. Specifically, Monoracial Latinx community members may be more likely to exclude Multiracial Latinx people from the Monoracial Latinx community. Two possible factors that threat to distinctiveness might arise from could be that Multiracial people may be perceived to have different experiences of discrimination within their lifetime or different social status may be seen as the experience of outgroup, rather than ingroup, members.

Multiracial individuals may be seen as a threat to the Latinx ingroup if they are believed to experience less discrimination than ingroup members. Those within Monoracial minority groups, they may find commonality with one another because they are often victims of discrimination and prejudice (Schmitt et al., 2003). Some within the Monoracial minority community may believe since the Multiracial individual is also a member of the majority, then the Multiracial

individual is also responsible for the discrimination and prejudices that they face. With this in mind, the minority Monoracial group members may believe that, since majority racial groups are responsible for discriminative acts, Multiracial individuals that share a majority-group racial identity would not be able to completely understand the ingroup disadvantage (Chen et al., 2018) and may not have had the same societal experiences as those who are only a member of the minority (Ho et al., 2013). Without these shared experiences, some Monoracial Latinx group members may believe that those who are Multiracial individuals may not completely understand the hardships that stereotypical individuals from their group face leading to lessened homogeneity within the community as a whole.

In addition to experiencing less discrimination, Monoracial individuals might also believe that Multiracial individuals benefit from a higher social status than Monoracial ingroup members. Previous research has suggested that race or skin tone is used as a cue to determine an individual's social status (Torres et al., 2019). More specifically, individuals who are perceived as having a darker skin tone are believed to have a lower social status than those of a more olive complexion (Torres et al., 2019), theoretically because there are disproportionately more dark-skinned individuals within disadvantaged classes (Salgado & Castillo, 2018). In relation to this study, I believe that Multiracial individuals who are perceived as being more "White-passing," the idea that a person from one or multiple racial groups can be accepted or perceived as solely white, will more likely be viewed as having a higher social status. On the other

hand, I believe that those who are perceived as more Latinx will be seen as having the same or lower social status than the participant. Social status is an important variable to measure separately from discrimination because those who are perceived as having higher social statuses may be thought to have more resources, prestige, and/or opportunities than those who identify solely as Latinx regardless of discrimination experiences, thus being perceived as a threat to the distinctiveness of the Monoracial group, more specifically a threat to group homogeneity (Pape et al., 2012; Salgado & Castillo, 2018).

Community Identification

Research has demonstrated that groups benefit the wellbeing of the individuals within the group. When an individual feels threatened or has some form of doubt, they can look to their ingroup and find safety and comfort in who they are (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The positive perceptions of this ingroup assist in the self-esteem of the individual themselves and keeping this positive image of their ingroup is not only beneficial, but necessary for their mental state (Albuja et al., 2019; Schmitt et al., 2003). Therefore, a threat to one's ingroup may be interpreted as a threat to the self of highly-identified group members. According to previous research, these individuals are first categorized into two different subgroups within their ingroups, low identifiers with the group or high identifiers with the group (Hutchinson et al., 2006). Research has demonstrated that the

level of identification with an ingroup can influence how an individual will perceive their ingroup and can create a differing reaction when their ingroup is threatened (Hutchinson et al., 2006).

Individuals who do not strongly identify with their racial group (i.e., are low identifiers), see their group as more characteristically diverse or heterogeneous (Hutchinson et al., 2006). This leads researchers to believe that, because they view their group as more heterogeneous, low identifiers can distance themselves mentally and emotionally from their ingroup, so they are less likely to view the group's distinctiveness as being threatened (Hutchinson et al., 2006). On the other hand, individuals who identify strongly with their racial group (i.e., are high identifiers) see their group as more characteristically similar, otherwise known as homogeneous. Additionally, the level of identification a Monoracial individual has with their racial ingroup can influence the degree to which Multiracial individuals are perceived to threaten the distinctiveness of the group. Those who are high-identifiers perceive their group as more homogeneous, which means that those who do not fit this definition of group membership will threaten the groups' distinctiveness (Hutchinson et al., 2006). Researchers believe that this creates more distinct or stereotypical characteristics and attitudes that a person must acquire to be considered a part of their ingroup (Pickett & Brewer, 2001). Individuals who are low-identifiers with a group/community can distance themselves mentally and emotionally from this group, thus they will not perceive group distinctiveness as being threatened (Hutchinson et al., 2006).

Taken together, the previous literature suggests that those who are high-identifiers with their respective groups would find that those with low perceived discrimination or social status as a threat to distinctiveness, while those who are low-identifiers would find those with low perceived discrimination and social status as less of a threat to distinctiveness. In terms of this study, Monoracial individuals who identify strongly with their Latinx racial background will be more likely to exclude the individuals threatening the groups distinctiveness than those who are low identifiers.

This study specifically focuses on perspectives of Monoracial Latinx individuals about the perceived threat to distinctiveness and ultimate exclusion of Multiracial Latinx/White individuals when attempting to identify with their Latinx community. While it is true that the Latinx community and Multiracial individuals are heavily understudied, this is not the only reason that these individuals must be studied. Multiracial individuals have a unique experience of exclusion or identity denial from groups that they deem their own, which could lead to an abundance of detriments to their mental health and self-esteem (Albuja et al., 2019; Schmitt et al., 2003). While this has been apparent in other populations (Chen et al., 2018; Good et al., 2010; Ufkes et al., 2012), research on the Latinx population in this area has been insufficient. Ultimately, I hope that the results of this study will help identify factors that lead to Multiracial exclusion and assist in creating interventions to not only create a stronger community, but ultimately

result in the alleviation of the negative impacts that are brought about from this exclusion.

Present Research

The purpose of this study was to examine the possible factors that can influence the decision of excluding a Multiracial Individual from a minority community. More specifically I examined the influence of; personal identification with own group/community, perceived racial identity of target, perceived social status of self and target, and perceived discrimination of self and target on rates of exclusion from group/community. Because of perceptions of racial discrimination in the U.S., Multiracial individuals may be perceived as having more or less status depending on whether they “look” more like the majority (White) or minority (Latinx) group. Therefore, I predicted the following;

H1: Perceived racial identity of the Multiracial target as more White than Latinx will increase perceived social status. Such that if the target is viewed as more White than Latinx then the participant would view them as having a higher social status than themselves.

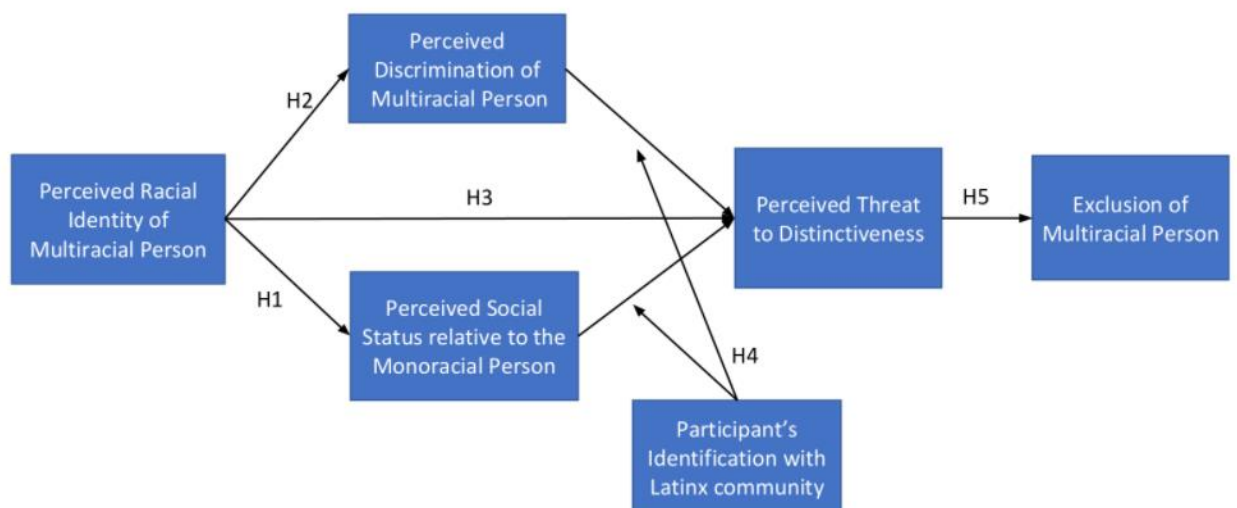
H2: Perceived racial identity of the Multiracial target as more White than Latinx will decrease perceived discrimination. More specifically, the participant would view the more White passing individual as having less experience with discrimination in their lives than themselves.

H3: Perceived racial identity of the Multiracial target as more White than Latinx will increase perceived threat to distinctiveness.

H4 interaction: Participants perceived personal identification with their Latinx community will interact with the target's perceived discrimination and perceived social status to influence perceived threat distinctiveness. More specifically; when the participant is a high identifier with their community in addition to the perceived social status of the target is high and their perceived discrimination is low, perceived threat to distinctiveness is high.

H5: Perceived threat to distinctiveness will influence exclusion with the Latinx community, such that higher threats to distinctiveness will increase rates of exclusion.

Figure 1. Proposed Model



CHAPTER TWO:

STUDY 1

Methods

Participants

I collected data from 207 U.S. adults who identified as Monoracial Latinx with the use of a undergraduate students from a participant pool and social media (i.e., Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram). Participants were only selected into the study if they indicated that they only belong to a Latinx racial or ethnic group (i.e., not also checking another racial category) and that they only belong to one Latinx racial or ethnic group (i.e., not also checking multiple Latinx origin groups). The survey was solely provided in English for participants.

Measures and Materials

Participants took an online Qualtrics survey, which was completed on either a volunteer no incentive basis or volunteer college participant pool credit incentive. The measures of internal reliability are noted after each measure.

Perceived Racial Identity of the Target. The racial identity of the Multiracial target was manipulated by giving participants images of different individuals from Multiracial Latinx/White backgrounds. All the images were of Multiracial individuals, which were obtained from the American Multiracial Face Database with permission given to use in this study by Dr. Jacqueline Chen (*private*

communication: Chen et al., 2020). The Multiracial faces were pilot tested to determine participants' perceptions of each target's racial background.

Participants completed this task for 9 different Multiracial individuals' faces: 6 females and 3 males. Participants were given a sliding scale for 7 different racial groups (Latinx, White, Black/African American, Asian, Middle Eastern, Native American, and other) and asked to determine the percentage of racial heritage or background of each individual in the picture possessed, with the qualification that all sliders must add up to 100%. Within this study, perceived racial identity is measured as the proportion of perceived Latinx by White from the slider scale scores with positive results indicating more Latinx appearing (MLA) and negative indicating more White appearing (MWA). The participants then were assigned a single face and were informed to reference that face as 'AJ' when moving forward in the study. See Appendix G for images of the faces measurement of perceived racial identity.

Latinx Background. Participants were asked to indicate what their racial and ethnic background is from the following choices: White, Latinx/o(a), Black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, Bi/Multiracial, or other. Only if the participant chose Latinx/o(a), then they moved on to the next portion of the survey where they are asked about their Latinx origin. This was used to identify an origin country for the individual to provide greater personalization for closeness to one's community. The options of the origins are; Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Salvadorian, Dominican,

Guatemalan, Colombian, Honduran, Ecuadorian, Peruvian, Other (fill in option), or I do not identify as Latinx. This choice was used to fill in questions as indicated below and to remove participants who did not qualify for the study (i.e., those who said they did not identify as Latinx).

Latinx Identification. To measure identification with a specific Latinx community, I adapted and modified Cameron's (2004) Three-Factor Model of Social Identity. This model measures group identification with respect to three categories; centrality, ingroup affect, and ingroup ties. The higher the score the greater the identification with the specified group/community, see Appendix A. There are a total of eighteen items divided into the three subcategories described above. This measure is scored on a 7-point Likert scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree, with items such as, "I often think about the fact that I am a(n) (Latinx Background)" (centrality), "In general, I'm glad to be a(n) (Latinx Background)" (ingroup affect), and "I have a lot in common with other (Latinx Background) s" (ingroup ties). This scale showed adequate internal reliability in the pilot study, Cronbach's $\alpha = .797$ for centrality, $.879$ for ingroup affect, and $.888$ for ingroup ties, which is consistent with other studies with internal consistencies ranging from Cronbach's $\alpha = .67$ to $.78$ for centrality, $.77$ to $.82$ for ingroup affect, and $.76$ to $.84$ for ingroup ties (Cameron, 2004).

Perceived Social Status. In order to measure the participants' perceptions of the Multiracial target's social status, I adapted and modified Adler et al.'s (2000) MacArthur Scale of Subjective Social Status, which is used to measure

the perceived rank of an individual's social status relative to others in their group. I modified this scale so that the participant assessed their group/community's perceived rank relative to others in the United States as well as social status they perceive the Multiracial individual to have relative to others in the United States. This was done to compare the participant's perception of both their own group/community and a Multiracial individual's social statuses, see Appendix B. The participants were specifically asked, "Where would you place members of your [Latinx Background] community on this ladder, relative to all people in the U.S.?" This scale had two items on a ranking from one to ten, with ten meaning lowest ranking in social status and one being the highest position in social status. This measure has showed adequate internal reliability in the pilot study, Cronbach's $\alpha = .614$, which is consistent with other studies with internal consistencies ranging from Cronbach's $\alpha = .62$ (Operario et al., 2004). To score this scale, I created a proportion by subtracting the average score of AJ's perceived social status from the average score of the participants' perceived social status. Positive results mean that, on average, the participants perceive themselves as having a higher social status than AJ, while negative numbers mean that the participants perceive themselves as having a lower social status than AJ.

Perceived Discrimination. To measure the participants' perceptions of the Multiracial target's level of experienced discrimination, I adapted and modified Williams et al.'s (1997) Everyday Discrimination Scale to have participants

assess how much they believe that they are discriminated against in their day-to-day lives in comparison to the target Multiracial individual, see Appendix C. This scale contains nine items that ask participants to finish the following statement, “This probably happens to me ____ often than AJ” when reading individual question stems like, “People act as if they think I am not smart” or “I am called names or insulted.” Responses are measured on a 5-point Likert scale from “much less” to “much more.” In the pilot study, this scale had an internal reliability of Cronbach’s $\alpha = .868$. See Appendix C for a complete list of items.

Threat to Distinctiveness. There is not currently a scale, to my knowledge, that measures threat to distinctiveness. Therefore, I created a measure for threats to distinctiveness to determine if the participants found the target Multiracial individual to be highly threatening to their group/community’s distinctiveness across six different subcategories suggested in the literature; loyalty, race essentialism, homogeneity, blurring in/out group boundaries, unity, and attitudes towards ingroup, see Appendix D. The scale consists of 13 items, which question what type of impact ‘AJ’ would be perceived to have on the participants’ specific communities based on statements presented to them, such as AJ would “Diminish individual loyalty to my community”, “Make it harder to differentiate my group from other ethnic/racial groups”, and “Increase positive feelings members have toward our community” (reverse coded). This was measured on a 7-point scale, with response options from strongly disagree (1) to

strongly agree (7). The internal reliability of this measure in the pilot study was Cronbach's $\alpha = .89$.

Exclusion from the Latinx Community. Last, to measure exclusion I created three vignettes to determine participant's desire, or lack thereof, to exclude the target from the participant's community. Previous studies have used similar vignettes or situations from which participants can exclude others. I adapted some of these to be more specific to the Latinx community. The first vignette is a scenario which describes the target as being a speaker at a heritage celebration that relates to the participant. The participants were asked, "How supportive or opposed are you to AJ speaking at this event?" which was scored on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 "strongly oppose" to 5 "strongly support". The next vignette pertained to the target's deservingness of a scholarship deemed for Latinx students. The participants were asked, "How much do you think AJ deserves the scholarship?" which was scored on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 "not at all" to 5 "a great deal." The final vignette created a scenario where the target would be joining the participant's family through marriage. The participants were asked, "How would you feel about AJ joining your family? Would you accept them into the family?", which was scored on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 "definitely not" to 5 "definitely yes." The order of the vignettes was presented randomly.

Procedure

All participants were tested individually online. The participants were sent a link to an online Qualtrics questionnaire. To begin, the participants read and agreed to the informed consent in order to continue with the study. Participants were told that the purpose of the study is to investigate Latinx individual's experiences, beliefs, and views regarding their cultural community. Once consent was obtained, the participants were then asked which Latinx origin group that they identify with the most. First the participants were asked a series of questions to determine their level of identification with their community. Then the participants were randomly presented 9 different faces, both male and female, and asked to rank them on a slider scale on what racial identity the participants believed that these targets belonged to. Once they ranked all 9 faces, they then were presented with a single face that they had already seen before and were told that this is 'AJ'. The single image of 'AJ' was then used as a reference for the rest of the survey. Then they were instructed to respond to questions about the target individual's perceived social status and discrimination in relation to their own. In addition, they were asked about whether they would exclude the target in three different scenarios. Then the stimulus image was presented once more to the participant. Here they were asked to measure the racial background of the target and rate it based solely on the face presented to them. After completing all the tasks given, the participants were asked to provide demographic information and thanked for their participation.

Design and Analysis

I analyzed the data using Hayes' (2022) PROCESS model 91 for SPSS, which conducts a series of indirect effects tests (using 10,000 bootstrap samples with 95% confidence intervals). I tested 2 versions of the model, using "perceived discrimination of the Multiracial person" as mediator 1 in the first model, and "perceived social status relative to the Monoracial person" as mediator 1 in the second model, see Figures 2 and 3. In both models, "perceived racial identity of the Multiracial person" was the IV, "perceived threat to distinctiveness" was the second mediator, "participant's identification level with the Latinx community" was the moderator/W variable, and "exclusion of the Multiracial person" was the DV.

Results

Model 1: Perceived Discrimination

To examine hypotheses 2-5, I first tested whether perceived discrimination and threat to distinctiveness (M1 and M2) mediate the relationship between perceived racial identity of the target (X) and exclusion of the target from the participants Latinx community (Y), including the participant's identification with their community as a moderator of the relationship of M1 and M2, see table 1 for correlations between measures and descriptive statistics. The omnibus test for the model was significant, $F(3, 186) = 64.586, p < .001, R^2 = .510$ (see Figure 2). In support of H2, perceived racial identity predicted less perceived discrimination

when no other variables were included (step 1 of model: $B = -.003^1$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [-.004, -.002]). Specifically, when participants perceive AJ as being MWA, they believe that AJ experiences less discrimination than the participant. In support of H3, perceived racial identity predicted perceived threat to distinctiveness (step 2 of the model: $B = -.004$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [-.006, -.002]): when the targets perceive AJ to be MWA then they perceive them as a greater threat to distinctiveness of the participant's Latinx community. In support of H5, perceived threat to distinctives predicted exclusion of the target (step 3 of model: $B = .445$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.353, .536]), with the targets who are rated as a higher threat to distinctiveness being excluded at higher rates than those who are deemed not a threat to distinctiveness.

Table 1. Bivariate Pearson Correlations between Measures

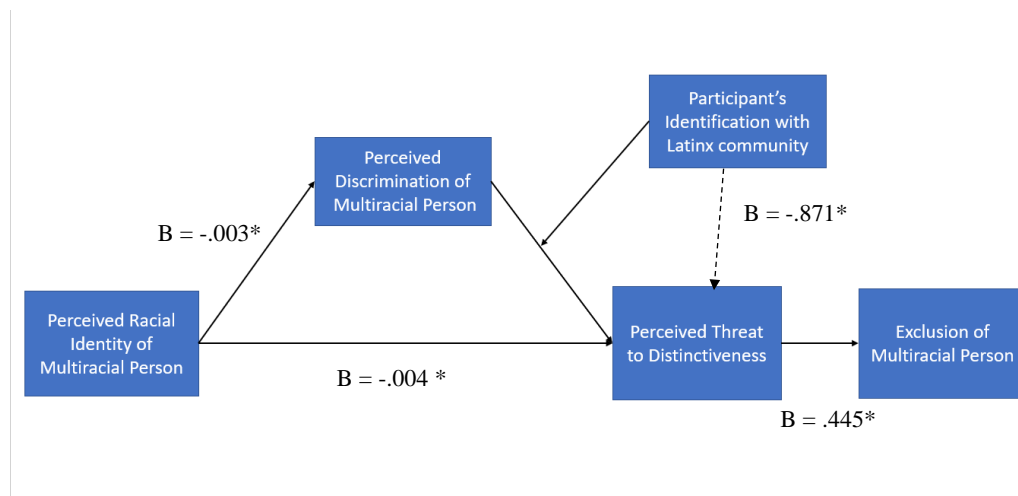
Measures	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
1. Racial Identification (Based on Proportions)	7.067 (76.498)					
2. Perceived Discrimination	-.322**	2.898 (.732)				
3. Social Status	-.256**	.178*	.852 (2.134)			
4. Community Identification	.060	.024	.127	5.327 (1.118)		

¹ Perceived discrimination was measured on a 100-point scale, thus for every 1-unit change in perceived racial identity, perceived discrimination went down 3 points.

5. Threat to Distinctiveness	-.406**	.290**	.219**	-.108	3.060 (1.025)	
6. Exclusion	-.514**	.220**	.289**	-.200**	.647**	1.843 (.823)

Note. Means and standard deviations are reported on the diagonal. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Figure 2. Model 1 with Proportions as Predictor

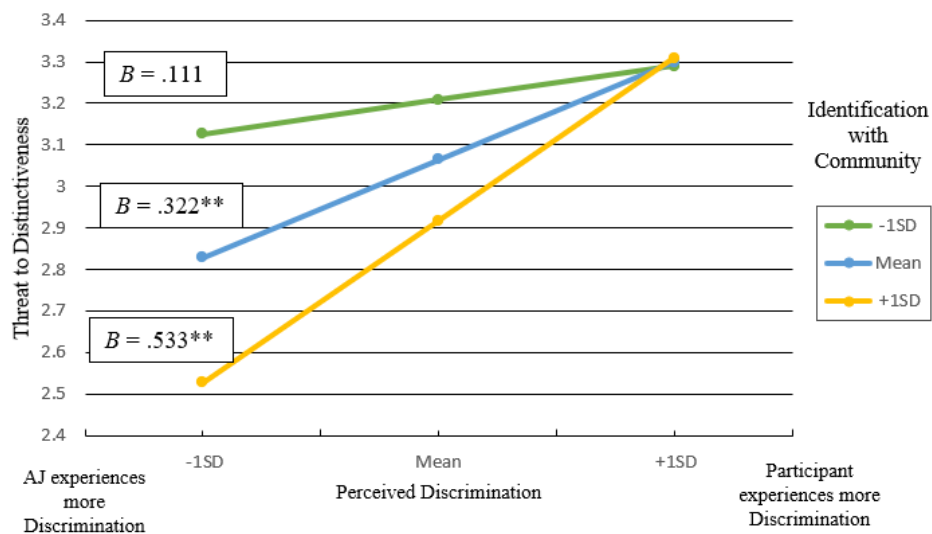


Note. * Indicate $p < .05$.

In support of H4, the model indicated that the interaction between perceived discrimination and participant's identification with their community was statistically significant and accounted for a significant increase in explained variance in exclusion of the target from the Latinx community, $\Delta F(1, 185) = 6.835$, $p < .01$, $\Delta R^2 = .028$. In order to explore the interaction, I examined regressions between perceived discrimination and threat to distinctiveness at -1 SD, Mean, and +1 SD of community identity. There was no relationship between

perceived discrimination and threat to distinctiveness when perceived community identification was low, while the relationship between perceived discrimination and threat to distinctiveness was significant and positive when community identification was moderate and high; see Figure 3. In addition, I also found a direct, negative relationship between perceived community identification and perceived threat to distinctiveness above and beyond the influence of perceived racial identification and perceived discrimination (see Figure 2), although this relationship was not predicted and should be interpreted with caution.

Figure 3. Perceived Discrimination X Community Identification Interaction on Threat to Distinctiveness



Note. * $p < .05$.

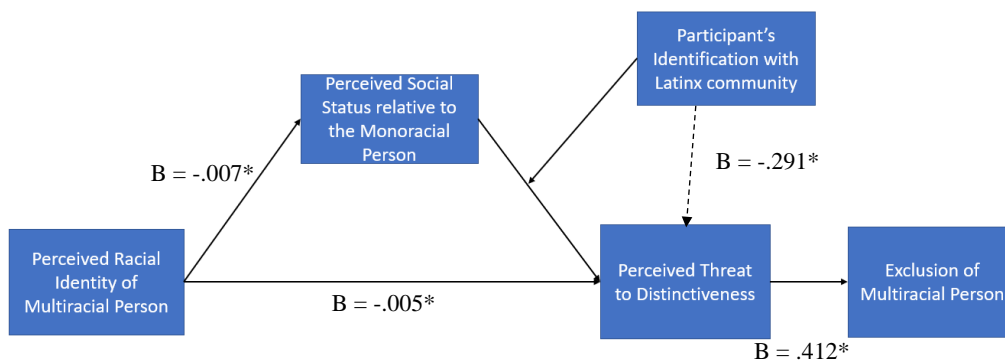
Model 2: Perceived Social Status

To examine hypotheses 1 and 3-5, I tested whether perceived social status (M1) and threat to distinctiveness (M2) mediate the relationship between perceived racial identity of the target (X) and exclusion of the target from the participant's Latinx community (Y), including the target's identification with their community as a moderator of the relationship of M1 and M2. For H1, I predicted that perceived racial identity of the Multiracial target as MWA would increase perceived social status. Such that if the target was viewed as MWA then the participant would view them as having a higher social status than themselves. For H3, I predicted that perceived racial identity of the Multiracial target as MWA would increase perceived threat to distinctiveness. For H4, I predicted that participants perceived personal identification with their Latinx community would interact with the target's perceived social status to influence perceived threat distinctiveness. More specifically; if the participant was a high identifier with their community in addition to the perceived social status of the target being high, their perceived threat to distinctiveness would also be high. Lastly for H5, I predicted that perceived threat to distinctiveness would influence exclusion with the Latinx community, such that higher threats to distinctiveness would increase rates of exclusion.

The omnibus test for the model was significant, $F(3, 169) = 63.169, p < .001, R^2 = .529$ (see Figure 4). In support of H1, perceived racial identity of the target stimuli predicted the perceived social status of the target (step 1 of the

model: $B = -.007$, $p < .001$, 95% CI $[-.012, -.003]$), with targets who are perceived as MWA being perceived to have higher social status than those who are perceived as MLA. In support of H3, perceived racial identity predicted perceived threat to distinctiveness (step 2 of the model: $B = -.005$, $p < .001$, 95% CI $[-.006, -.003]$), with the targets who are perceived as MWA being perceived as a greater threat to distinctiveness of the participant's Latinx community compared to those who are perceived as MLA. In support of H5, perceived threat to distinctives predicted exclusion of target (step 3 of model: $B = .412$, $p < .001$, 95% CI $[.323, .501]$), with the targets who are rated as a higher threat to distinctiveness being excluded at higher rates than those who are deemed not a threat to distinctiveness.

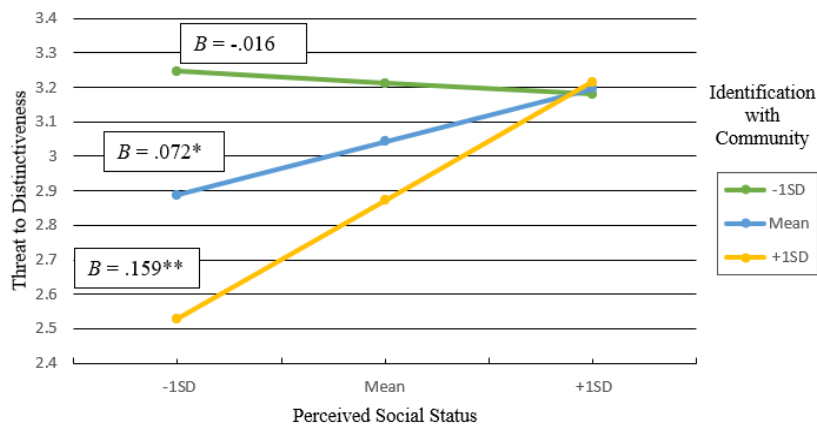
Figure 4. Model 2 with Proportions as the Predictor



Note. * Indicate $p < .05$.

The model indicated that the interaction between perceived social status and participant's identification with their community was statistically significant and accounted for a significant increase in explained variance in exclusion of the target from the Latinx community, $\Delta F(1, 168) = 7.634$, $p < .01$, $\Delta R^2 = .034$. An exploration of the interaction indicated that there was no relationship between perceived social status and threat to distinctiveness when perceived community identification was low, while the relationship between perceived social status and threat to distinctiveness was significant and positive when community identification was moderate and high; see Figure 5. In addition, I also found a direct, negative relationship between perceived community identification and perceived threat to distinctiveness above and beyond the influence of perceived racial identification and perceived social status (see Figure 4), although this relationship was also not predicted and again should be interpreted with caution.

Figure 5. Perceived Social Status X Community Identification Interaction on Threat to Distinctiveness



Note. * Indicate $p < .05$.

CHAPTER THREE:

STUDY 2

With the findings from Study 1 yielding prominent results, I decided to replicate the study with a more generalizable sample. Since Study 1 solely included undergraduate students, I gathered a sample from across the USA via Qualtrics, a national survey platform. Study 2 differed from Study 1 in a few other important ways. I also included additional information about whether the individual was Multiracial or Monoracial. I implemented this because as people we make initial judgements about a stranger, which I believe is what we uncovered in Study 1. Yet in the real world after the initial meeting, we may learn more about an individual which may or may not shape how we view them. Although my hypotheses assumed that the target was multiracial, I did not specifically tell participants in Study 1 that the target was multiracial. Therefore, Study 2 directly tests the proposed model when participants are told the target is multiracial vs. monoracial. Further, the participant was told that the target ('AJ') was either 'Multiracial Latinx/White,' 'Monoracial Latinx,' or 'Monoracial White,' depending on condition.

Methods

Participants

I collected data from 280 U.S. adults who identified as Monoracial Latinx with the use of a survey recruitment company, Qualtrics. Qualtrics partners with over 20 online sample providers and recruit participants through double-opted-in marketing research panels from across this network. The average age of the participants was higher than those in Study 1 (Study 1: $M = 23.882$, $SD = 6.066$; Study 2: $M = 36.618$, $SD = 13.151$). In addition, since Study 2 participants were recruited from the general U.S. population, I assume that participants in Study 2 were, on average, less educated than college participants in Study 1, although education level was not measured in Study 2. A majority of participants identified as female in both studies, but Study 1 had a much higher percentage of female participants than Study 2 (Study 1: $f = 187(90.3\%)$; Study 2: $f = 185(66.3\%)$). Participants selected into the study indicated that they only belong to a Latinx racial or ethnic group (i.e., not also checking another racial category) and that they only belong to one Latinx racial or ethnic group (i.e., not also checking multiple Latinx origin groups). If participants selected more than one origin group or the “I do not identify as Latinx” option, they were excluded from the survey. If the participant selected a single origin group, the participants were asked to follow the instructions given in the questionnaire and complete the tasks given. Participants were given the option to complete the study in English or Spanish.

Measures and Materials

Participants completed all survey questions online, on a volunteer monetary incentive basis, roughly \$8.13 per participant. All measures used in Study 1 were replicated in Study 2, with minor adjustments to 'Perceived Racial Identity of Target' as detailed below. In addition to measures provided from the previous study, participants were asked an additional question about whether they believed that the target was a part of their origin group (i.e., Mexican, Ecuadorian, etc.) at the end of the study.

Perceived Racial Identity of Target. The racial identity of the Multiracial target was experimentally manipulated by giving participants a single image of an individual from a Multiracial Latinx/White background. Unlike in Study 1, photos of the Multiracial target were randomly labeled as either Monoracial White, Monoracial Latinx, or Multiracial Latinx/White. Using pilot information from Study 1, I used one of three faces to randomly distribute to participants. The face stimuli that participants in Study 1 rated closest to a perfect split of 50% Latinx and 50% White was chosen as one of the faces for Study 2. The other two faces that were chosen were deemed as having a ratio closer to 70/30 with one leaning towards MLA, while the other was deemed to be MWA. This created a 3x3 experimental manipulation, with participants being given one of three face stimuli (50% Latinx and 50% White, 30% Latinx and 70% White, or 70% Latinx and 30% White) and one of three racial identity labels (Monoracial White, Monoracial Latinx, or Multiracial Latinx/White). Within Study 1, I tested both male and female

faces, but found that only the female faces fit this criterion. Thus, to remove an additional variable of target gender, I only used female faces in Study 2. The final images used for the targets are presented in Appendix F. The participants utilized the same slider scale as used in Study 1 to indicate the perceived composition of the face stimuli that were presented, which was presented after the exclusion questions.

Procedure

All participants were surveyed individually online. The participants were sent a link to an online Qualtrics questionnaire. To begin, the participants read and agreed to the informed consent in order to continue with the study. Participants were told that the purpose of the study is to investigate Latinx individual's experiences, beliefs, and views regarding their cultural community. Once consent was obtained, the participants were then asked which Latinx origin group that they identify with the most. First the participants were asked a series of questions to determine their level of identification with their community. Then the participants were randomly presented with one of the three target faces and one of three racial identity labels Monoracial Latinx, Monoracial White or Multiracial Latinx/White. Then they were instructed to respond to questions about the target individual's perceived social status and discrimination in relation to their own. In addition, they were asked about whether they would exclude the target in three different scenarios (same as Study 1). Then the stimulus image was presented once more to the participant and they were asked to measure the

racial background of the target and rate it based solely on the face presented to them. Last, participants were asked if they perceived the target to be from the same origin groups as themselves. After completing all the tasks given, the participants were asked to provide demographic information and thanked for their participation.

Design and Analysis

The study design was replicated from Study 1 with slight modifications. The independent variable (IV1) of given racial identity of the target had three different levels; a Monoracial Latinx target, Monoracial White target, and Multiracial Latinx/White target. The independent variable (IV2) of face of the target also had three different levels; Multiracial face (50% White/50% Latinx), MLA face (30% White/70% Latinx), and MWA (70% White, 30% Latinx). In contrast to Study 1, the independent variables were between, rather than within-participants variables. IV1 and IV2 were tested as both separate predictors and as a single predictor based on their interaction.

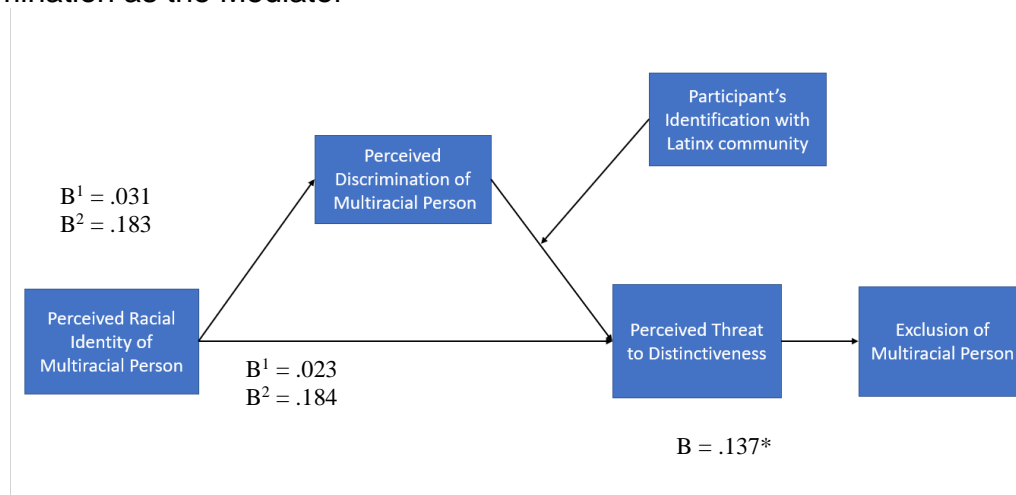
Results

Model 1: Perceived Discrimination

To examine hypotheses 2-5, I tested whether perceived discrimination and threat to distinctiveness (M1 and M2) mediate the relationship between perceived racial identity of the target (X) and exclusion of the target from the participants

Latinx community (Y), including the participant's identification with their community as a moderator of the relationship of M1 and M2, see table 2 for correlation between measures and descriptive statistics. Within this study perceived racial identity was first measured with the comparison of the three target faces. This variable was categorical with the Multiracial face coded as 1, the MLA face as 2, and the MWA face as 3. The Multiracial face was set as the reference group. The omnibus test for the model was significant, $F(4, 275) = 4.445$, $p < .01$, $R^2 = .061$, (see Figure 6). However, the only individual pathway that was significant was the relationship between threat to distinctiveness and exclusion, $B = .139$, $SE = .037$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.067, .211]. This result indicated that targets who are deemed as a threat to distinctiveness are more likely to be excluded from the Latinx community.

Figure 6. Model 1 with 3 Target Faces as the Predictor and Perceived Discrimination as the Mediator



Note. B¹ represents the comparison of the Multiracial face to the MLA face. B² represents the comparison of the Multiracial face to the MWA face. * $p < .05$.

Table 2. Bivariate Pearson Correlations between Measures

Measures		1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
1.	Racial Identification (Based on Face)	.971 (.816)								
2.	Racial Identification (Based on Label)	.064	.007 (.834)							
3.	Racial Identification (Based on Interaction)	.000**		.938 (.818)						
4.	Racial Identification (Based on Proportions)	.133 *	.113	.136	6.693 (59.469)					
5.	Perceived Discrimination	.097	.015	.060	.196 **	.755 (.760)				
6.	Social Status	.041	.101	.118	.086	.161 **	.237 (2.142)			
7.	Community Identification	.085	.086	.067	.013	.159 **	.037	.264 (.901)		

8. Threat to Distinctiveness	110	039	193	.160 **	288 **	.001	.225 **	.034	
									(.982)
9. Exclusion									2.500
	.085	012	052	.105	054	027	.050	220 **	(.586)

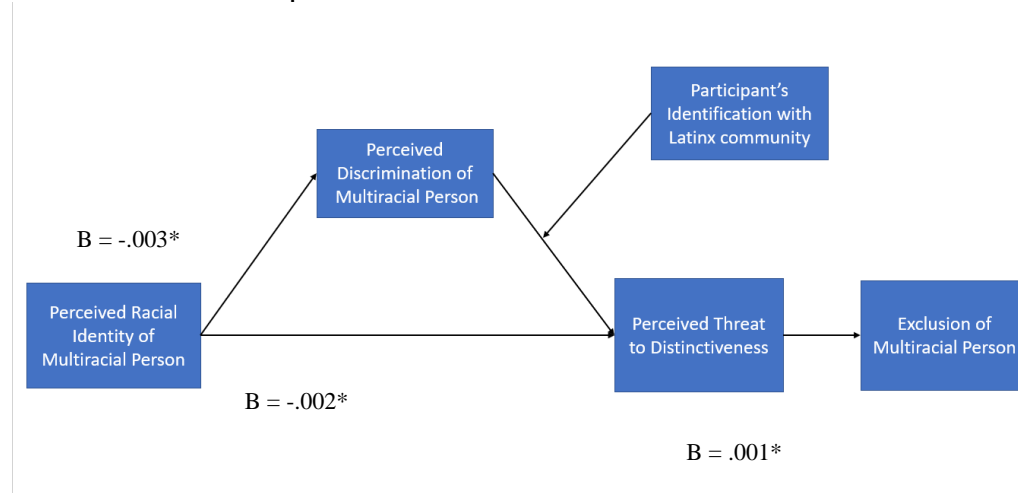
Note. Means and standard deviations are reported on the diagonal. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Because the results from the experimental manipulation of face stimuli in Study 2 did not replicate the perceived racial identity of the face stimuli from Study 1, I decided to investigate further. I replicated the model above using racial identity label as the IV. This variable was categorical with the Multiracial label coded as 1, the Latinx label as 2, and the White label as 3. The Multiracial label was set as the reference group. This resulted in a significant omnibus test once more, $F(4, 275) = 4.181$, $p < .01$, $R^2 = .057$. However, the only individual pathway that was significant was the relationship between threat to distinctiveness and exclusion, $B = .125$, $SE = .037$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.052, .198]. This result indicated that targets who are deemed as a threat to distinctiveness are more likely to be excluded from the Latinx community. In addition to this test, I then analyzed the model using the interaction between face stimuli and Multiracial label as the IV. Once more this variable was categorical with the Multiracial face coded as 1, the MLA face as 2, and the MWA face as 3. The Multiracial face was set as the reference group. I then filtered to only use participants who were

shown the Multiracial label. This model was found to be not significant, $F(4, 91) = .494, p = .74, R^2 = .021$.

Because the manipulation of face and racial identity labels did not produce significant findings, I decided to explore whether the model worked using the original measure of racial identity composition that was used as the predictor variable in Study 1. The omnibus test for this model was significant, $F(3, 276) = 5.252, p < .01, R^2 = .054$, (see Figure 7). Unlike the model using the experimental manipulation, this version yielded many more significant pathways akin to Study 1. In support of H2, perceived racial identity predicted perceived discrimination when no other variables were included (step 1 of model: $B = -.003, p < .01, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.004, -.001]$), with participants reporting the target that they perceived as being MWA experience less discrimination than the participant themselves. In support of H3, perceived racial identity predicted greater threat to distinctiveness (step 2 of the model: $B = -.002, p < .05, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.004, -.0001]$), with the targets who are perceived as MWA being rated as a greater threat to distinctiveness to the participant's Latinx community. In support of H5, perceived threat to distinctiveness predicted exclusion of target (step 3 of model: $B = .128, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI } [.056, .201]$), with the targets who are rated as a higher threat to distinctiveness being excluded at higher rates than those who are deemed as less of a threat to distinctiveness. The only pathway that did not replicate the Study 1 findings was the interaction between perceived discrimination by community identification on threat to distinctiveness.

Figure 7. Model 1 with Proportions as Predictor



Note. * Indicates $p < .05$.

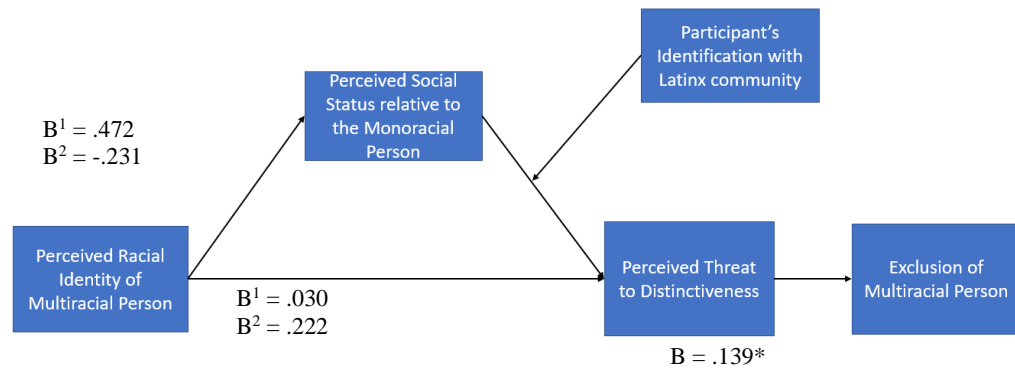
Model 2: Perceived Social Status

To examine hypotheses 1 and 3-5, I tested whether perceived social status and threat to distinctiveness (M1 and M2) mediate the relationship between perceived racial identity of the target (X) and exclusion of the target from the participants Latinx community (Y), including the target's identification with their community as a moderator of the relationship of M1 and M2. Like the analyses performed above, I tested the three different versions of the racial identification variable (Target Face Comparison, Racial identity label, and the interaction between the two). The first omnibus test for the model including the racial identification variable comparing the three faces² was significant, $F(4, 273) = 4.452$, $p < .01$, $R^2 = .061$, (see Figure 8). Again, there was only one pathway

² Multiracial face coded as 1, MLA face coded as 2, and MWA face coded as 3.

that was significant. In support of H5, perceived threat to distinctiveness predicted exclusion of the target (step 3 of model: $B = .139$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.069, .208]), with the targets who are rated as a higher threat to distinctiveness being excluded at higher rates than those who are deemed not a threat to distinctiveness.

Figure 8. Model 2 with 3 Target Faces as Predictor



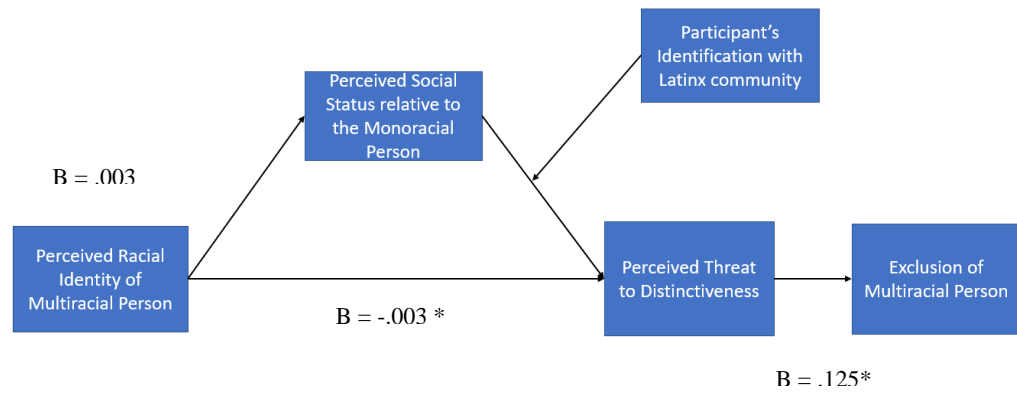
Note. B^1 represents X^1 comparison of the Multiracial face by MLA. B^2 represents X^2 of the Multiracial face by MWA. * $p < .05$.

Like the models testing perceived discrimination, the model using racial identity label was found to be significant, $F(4, 273) = 4.212$, $p < .01$, $R^2 = .058$. Yet the only pathway that was significant was the relationship between threat to distinctiveness and exclusion, $B = .122$, $SE = .036$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.052, .193]. This result indicated that targets who are deemed as a threat to distinctiveness are more likely to be excluded from the Latinx community. Also, the interaction

between face stimuli and label were not significant when perceived social status was used as a mediator: $F(4, 91) = 1.37, p = .251, R^2 = .057$.

Once more, because the results from the experimental manipulation of face stimuli in Study 2 did not replicate the perceived racial identity of the face stimuli from Study 1, I retested the model using the same version of the predictor as Study 1. The omnibus test for this model was significant, $F(3, 274) = 5.282, p < .01, R^2 = .055$, (see Figure 9). In support of H3, perceived racial identity predicted perceived threat to distinctiveness (step 2 of the model: $B = -.003, p < .01, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.005, -.001]$), with the targets who are perceived as MWA being perceived as a greater threat to distinctiveness of the participant's Latinx community. In support of H5, perceived threat to distinctives predicted exclusion of target (step 3 of model: $B = .125, < .001, 95\% \text{ CI } [.055, .195]$), with the targets who are rated as a higher threat to distinctiveness being excluded at higher rates than those who are deemed not a threat to distinctiveness. Unlike Study 1, I did not find the interaction between threat to distinctiveness and perceived social status to be significant.

Figure 9. Model 2 with Proportions as Predictor



Note. * Indicates $p < .05$.

CHAPTER FOUR:

DISCUSSION

Findings from Study 1 suggest that college-aged Latinx individuals find social status and perceived discrimination as important components to their community's identity. When placing judgment on a potential addition to their Latinx community, if the newcomer is thought to not have similar experiences in these two areas based solely on their appearance, then they would be seen as a threat to distinctiveness. If seen as a threat to distinctiveness, then the individual would be more likely to be excluded from the Latinx community. I had also found that this is especially true for those who have moderate to high identification with their Latinx community.

While findings from Study 1 yielded promising results, findings from Study 2 shed light on more information. From the results of Study 2, I found that when using the manipulation as the IV, the model was found to be not significant. But when I utilized the same model with version of the IV from Study 1, I found the model to be significant. This suggests that rather than there being an issue with the model itself, that there is an issue with the manipulation variable. I found that rather than accepting the label or 'identity' that is presented to the participants, they are more likely to base their categorization of the target solely on their own perception of what they believe the target to be. This finding contradicts past research that Americans are more likely to categorize a Multiracial target as their lower-status group regardless of whether or not that the target's ancestry is

known (Chen et al., 2017). Past research suggests that this categorization, known as hypodescent, is primarily seen in White Americans to preserve the social hierarchy, or status quo, I have not seen this same pattern in Latinx Americans (Ho et al., 2013; Chen, 2019). Rather I am seeing the opposite, with Latinx Americans categorizing Multiracial Latinx-White individuals as being White rather than Latinx like hypodescent suggests.

A possible reason as to why the measure variable is working while the manipulation variable did not is that the order of the effects may differ than what I have proposed. There may be additional factors within the model that may be predicting the perception of the target's racial identity rather than the information provided to them. This could possibly be that the participant had pre-existing notions or biases about the target and this led to them excluding the target from their group. The participant would then justify this exclusion by recording that they are not the same racial background as themselves or a member of their community. While this is a possibility, I believe that this unlikely occurred.

The differences between the two studies may represent different generational views and/or ways that individuals adapt to new circumstances within their own communities. Previous research has found that younger Latinx individuals and American-born Latinx individuals are more likely to perceive discrimination and report discrimination than older and immigrant Latinx individuals (Perez et al., 2008; Araujo-Dawson, 2015). The mean age of the

participants in Study 1 was younger than that of Study 2. Also, only about 10% of participants in Study 1 identified as being first generation U.S. citizens, while the percentage raised to just under 30% in Study 2. In addition to this, research has also uncovered that Latinx individuals with higher education are also more likely to report discrimination than their counterparts (Findling et al., 2019). In Study 1, I utilized a undergraduate participant pool which is accessed solely by undergraduate students. While in Study 2, I failed to ask the education level of the participants, but it can be gleamed that not all participants were college undergraduates or graduates.

Limitations

The Latinx community is encompassed by a multitude of different countries, thus leading to necessary collection of varying country of origin. In Study 1, I collected data in Southern California, which led my sample to be primarily made of Latinx individuals who identify as Mexican. While this was a good start, a way to combat this limitation was to utilize Qualtrics' sample pool to hopefully obtain a more generalizable and representative sample. Yet once again the participants in Study 2 primarily identified as Mexican. While this leads us to better understand Monoracial Mexican individuals' perspectives, I believe it would be difficult to generalize this to all Latinx individuals. To combat this, I recommend future research to specify the target sample even more to specific Latinx origin groups.

Within this study, I decided to split the original model into two separate models, which resulted in some limitations. First, when dividing the model into two rather than using structural equation modeling, I increase the risk of type I error in my analyses. This division can also lead to the findings being perceived as resulting in greater uniqueness than the truth. The two variables perceived discrimination and social status are inherently interconnected with one another, which can yield overlapping explained variance in the model.

The results of this study have important implications of understanding the exclusion of Multiracial individuals. While this subject has been studied in previous literature, there has been a lack of understanding as to why this exclusion is occurring from the perpetrators point of view rather than the victim. One important factor to understand this exclusion is threat to distinctiveness. The groups we identify with are necessary for our well-being, self-esteem, and our sense of identity. With these ingroups being so necessary for our self-esteem, we have an understanding that when individuals have a strong tie to their community, they will perceive this threat as being greater. In addition to this, we found that racial identity also plays a role in perceiving if someone is a threat or not to the distinctiveness of our community. The relationship between these two factors can be partial explained by our perception of the individual's social status and perceived racial discrimination.

APPENDIX A:
LATINX COMMUNITY IDENTIFICATION

LATINX COMMUNITY IDENTIFICATION

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
I often think about the fact that I am a(n) \${q://QID7/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Overall, being a(n) \${q://QID7/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} has very little to do with how I feel about myself.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In general, being a(n) \${q://QID7/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} is an important part of my self-image.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The fact that I am a(n) \${q://QID7/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} rarely enters my mind.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am not usually conscious of the fact that I am a(n) \${q://QID7/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being a(n) \${q://QID7/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} is an important reflection of who I am.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In my everyday life, I often think about what it means to be a(n) \${q://QID7/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

In relations to your \${q://QID7/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} community, how much do you agree or disagree with the statements below?

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
I have a lot in common with other \${q://QID7/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}s.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel strong ties to other \${q://QID7/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}s.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I find it difficult to form a bond with other \${q://QID7/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}s.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I don't feel a sense of being "connected" with other \${q://QID7/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}s.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I really "fit in" with other \${q://QID7/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}s.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In a group of \${q://QID7/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}s, I really feel that I belong.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
In general, I'm glad to be a(n) \${q://QID7/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I often regret that I am a(n) \${q://QID7/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I don't feel good about being a(n) \${q://QID7/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Generally, I feel good when I think about myself as a(n) \${q://QID7/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Just thinking about the fact that I am a(n) \${q://QID7/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} sometimes gives me bad feelings.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Cameron, J. E. (2004). A three-factor model of social identity. *Self and identity*, 3(3), 239-262.

APPENDIX B:
PERCEIVED SOCIAL STATUS

PERCEIVED SOCIAL STATUS

Instructions: Think of this ladder as representing where people stand in the U.S.. At the top of the ladder are the people who are the best off – those who have the most money, the most education, and the most respected jobs. At the bottom are the people who are the worst off – those who have the least money, least education, the least respected jobs, or no job. The higher up people are on this ladder, the closer they are to having the highest status in society; the lower people are, the closer they are to having the lowest status in society.



Where would you place members of your $\{q://QID7/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$ community on this ladder, relative to all people in the U.S.? Please click on one of the numbers, 1-10, where you think you stand at this time in your life relative to other people in the U.S.

Remember,
1 = Best off

10 = worst off

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Where would you place AJ on this ladder? Please click on one of the numbers, 1-10, where you think they stand at this time relative to other people in the U.S.

Remember,
1 = Best off

10 = worst off

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Adler, N. E., Epel, E. S., Castellazzo, G., & Ickovics, J. R. (2000). Relationship of subjective and objective social status with psychological and physiological functioning: Preliminary data in healthy, White women. *Health Psychology*, 19(6), 586–592. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0278-6133.19.6.586>

APPENDIX C:
PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION

PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION

Compared to AJ, how often do you think any of the following things happen to you in your day-to-day life?

This probably happens to me ____ often than AJ.

	Much Less	Somewhat less	About the same	Somewhat more	Much more
I am treated with courtesy.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am treated with respect by others.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I receive poor service at restaurants or stores.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People act as if they think I am not smart.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People act as if they are afraid of me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People act as if they think I am dishonest.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People act as if they think they are better than me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am called names or insulted.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am threatened or harassed.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Williams, D. R., Yu, Y., Jackson, J. S., & Anderson, N. B. (1997). Racial differences in physical and mental health: Socio-economic status, stress and discrimination. *Journal of health psychology*, 2(3), 335-351.

APPENDIX D:
THREAT TO DISTINCTIVENESS

THREAT TO DISTINCTIVENESS

AJ wants to join your \${q://QID7/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} community. What impact, if any, do you think AJ's membership in your community would have?

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
Diminish individual loyalty to my community	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Positively affect the loyalty some members have toward our community	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Negatively affect the essential racial makeup of my community	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Increases the ethnic/cultural bonds of our \${q://QID7/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} community	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Negatively impact the similarity of our community members	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Make \${q://QID7/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}s feel more similar to each other	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Make it harder to differentiate my group from other ethnic/racial groups	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Make my community more special	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Diminish the unity of my community	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Make my community feel more unified	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Cause our community to feel like we are not on the same page	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Select Agree	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Increases positive feelings members have toward our community	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Decrease the safety net of the community	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

This measure was self-made.

APPENDIX E:
EXCLUSION VIGNETTES

EXCLUSION VIGNETTES

Imagine that AJ has organized an event and will be the speaker at an upcoming \${q://QID7/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} heritage celebration. AJ will talk about \${q://QID7/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} Americans' experiences living and working in the United States. Specifically, the event will address discrimination towards \${q://QID7/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} American's.

How supportive or opposed are you to AJ speaking at this event?

Strongly Oppose

☐

Somewhat Oppose

☐

Neither oppose nor support

☐

Somewhat Support

☐

Strongly Support

☐

AJ is a college student and applying for a selective scholarship for Hispanic and Latinx students. The purpose of this scholarship is to help students from minority backgrounds to subsidize the cost of tuition, books, and living expenses.

How much do you think AJ deserves the scholarship?

None at all

☐

A little

☐

A moderate amount

☐

A lot

☐

A great deal

☐

Imagine that your cousin comes to a family celebration and introduces AJ as their fiancé. How would you feel about AJ joining your family? Would you accept them into the family?

Definitely not

☐

Probably not

☐

Might or might not

☐

Probably yes

☐

Definitely yes

☐

This measure was self-made.

APPENDIX F:
FACE STIMULI

FACE STIMULI



Latinx 50.82%/White 40.23%



Latinx 31.95%/White 58.61%



Latinx 56.50%/White 28.55%

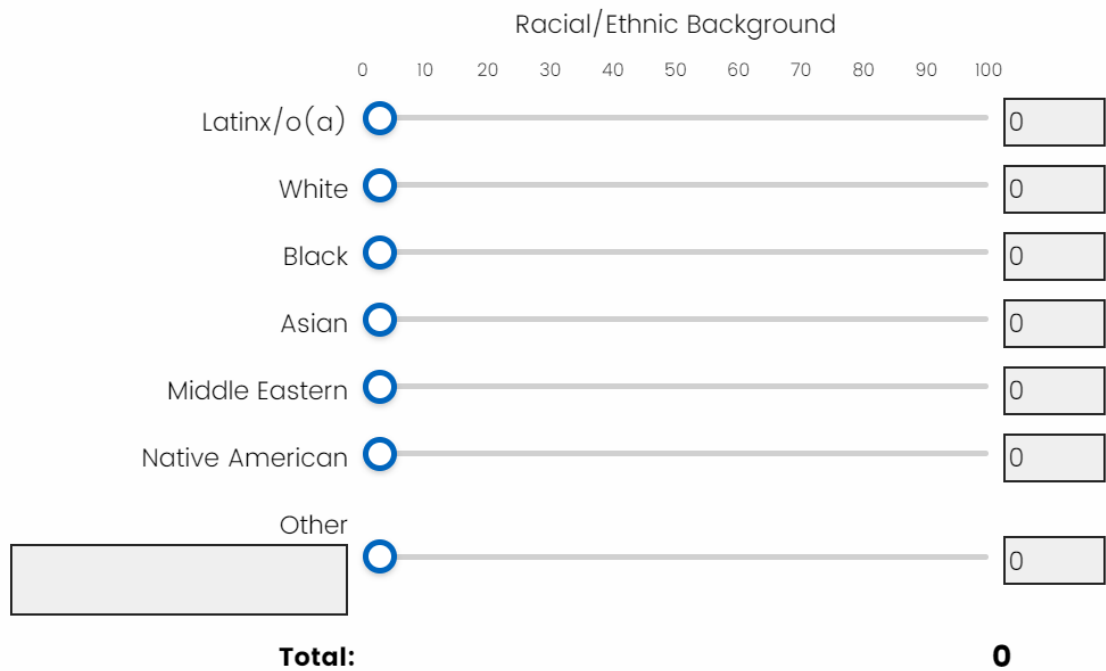
Chen, J.M., Norman, J.B., & Nam, Y. (2020). Broadening the Stimulus Set:
Introducing the American Multiracial Faces Database. *Manuscript in press*
at Behavior Research Methods.

APPENDIX G:
RACIAL SLIDER SCALE

RACIAL SLIDER SCALE

What racial or ethnic background do you think AJ has?

Responses should add up to 100%



This measure was self-made.

APPENDIX H:
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL



June 10, 2022

CSUSB INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD
Administrative/Exempt Review Determination
Status: Exempt
IRB-FY2022-333

Brittany Bloodhart Rosemary Rojas
CSBS - Psychology
California State University, San Bernardino
5500 University Parkway
San Bernardino, California 92407

Dear Brittany Bloodhart Rosemary Rojas :

Your application to use human subjects, titled "One of Us" has been reviewed and determined exempt by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of California State University, San Bernardino under the federal regulations at 45 CFR 46. As the researcher under the exempt category, you do not have to follow the requirements under 45 CFR 46 which requires annual renewal and documentation of written informed consent which are not required for the exempt category. However, exempt status still requires you to attain consent from participants before conducting your research as needed.

This approval notice does not replace any departmental or additional campus approvals which may be required including access to CSUSB campus facilities and affiliate campuses. Investigators should consider the changing COVID-19 circumstances based on current CDC, California Department of Public Health, and campus guidance and submit appropriate protocol modifications to the IRB as needed. CSUSB campus and affiliate health screenings should be completed for all campus human research related activities. Human research activities conducted at off-campus sites should follow CDC, California Department of Public Health, and campus guidance. See CSUSB's [COVID-19 Prevention Plan](#) for more information regarding campus requirements.

Your responsibilities as the investigator include reporting to the IRB Committee the following three requirements highlighted below. Please note, failure of the investigator to notify the IRB of the below requirements may result in disciplinary action.

- Submit a protocol modification (change) form if any changes (no matter how minor) are proposed in your study for review and approval by the IRB before being implemented in your study to ensure the risk level to participants has not increased,
- Submit an unanticipated/adverse events form if harm is experienced by subjects during your research, and
- Submit a study closure through the Cayuse IRB submission system when your study has ended.
- Ensure your CITI human subjects training is kept up-to-date and current throughout the study for all investigators.

The protocol modification, adverse/unanticipated event, and closure forms are located in the Cayuse Human Ethics (IRB) System. If you have any questions regarding the IRB decision, please contact Michael Gillespie, the Research Compliance Officer. Mr. Michael Gillespie can be reached by phone at (909) 537-7588, by fax at (909) 537-7028, or by email at mgillesp@csusb.edu. Please include your application approval identification number (listed at the top) in all correspondence.

If you have any questions regarding the IRB decision, please contact Dr. Jacob Jones, Assistant Professor of Psychology. Dr. Jones can be reached by email at Jacob.Jones@csusb.edu. Please include your application approval identification number (listed at the top) in all correspondence.

Best of luck with your research.

Sincerely,

Nicole Dabbs

Nicole Dabbs, Ph.D., IRB Chair
CSUSB Institutional Review Board

ND/MG

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