

On the Outside Looking In: Exclusion, Belonging, and Self-Identification

by

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Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of Doctor
of Philosophy in the Department of
Psychology and Neuroscience in the Graduate School
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ABSTRACT

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Abstract

In line with Social Identity Theory, the social groups we claim (e.g., race, gender, religion) help define our sense of self and fulfill fundamental belonging needs.

However, social exclusion experiences may also be especially informative for Multiracial and Multicultural groups (people who claim more than one racial or cultural group identity respectively) since these groups directly challenge singular social categorization norms. In my dissertation, I test the role of group-based exclusion as a catalyst for shifts in self-identification among Multiracial and Multicultural individuals. Specifically, in Chapter 2, two studies test how racial ingroup and outgroup exclusion and inclusion via Cyberball may differentially influence Multiracial individuals' sense of belonging and identification to multiple ingroups. Chapter 3 explores how Multicultural Latino/a/e Americans respond to institutional exclusion communicated via a mock-Census form. Chapter 4 draws from the observed patterns in the previous two sets of studies and tests how exclusion from specific sources predicts identification with various available ingroups for Multiracial and Multicultural people in a series of mediation models.

In sum, I find that social exclusion experiences impact not only the ways Multiracial and Multicultural people feel accepted or rejected by different ingroups, but also that exclusion impacts their evaluative and cognitive perceptions of group-level identification. Furthermore, results reveal that the direction of identification (decreased

or increased) is influenced by both the specific source of exclusion and the target ingroup membership. This research demonstrates how social exclusion, in contrast to inclusion, acts as a previously underacknowledged, but highly salient pathway of social identity development, particularly for minority-group compared to majority-group identities. Additionally, this work highlights the importance of considering identification as multifaceted and fluid and contributes to the field's understanding of social identity development and negotiation.

Dedication

To my family

Contents

Abstract.....	iv
List of Tables.....	xii
List of Figures.....	xiii
Acknowledgements	xiv
Chapter 1. Introduction and Theoretical Framework	1
1.1 Social Identification and Exclusion.....	2
1.1.1 Source of Exclusion	5
1.1.2 Identity as Multidimensional	8
1.2 This Dissertation.....	9
1.2.1 Multiracial Identity	10
1.2.2 Multicultural Identity	13
1.2.3 The Present Research	15
Chapter 2. Sources of Exclusion: Group Status and Interpersonal Exclusion (Studies 1a and 1b)	17
2.1 Introduction.....	17
2.1.1 Multiracial Identity and Multiple Memberships	18
2.1.2 Source of Exclusion	20
2.2 Study 1a	23
2.2.1 Methods	23
2.2.1.1 Participants.....	23
2.2.1.2 Design and Procedure.....	24

2.2.1.3 Measures	26
2.2.2 Results	28
2.2.2.1 Baseline Characteristics and Perceptions of Exclusion.....	28
2.2.3 Discussion.....	35
2.3 Study 1b	37
2.3.1 Methods	38
2.3.1.1 Participants.....	38
2.3.1.2 Design and Procedure.....	39
2.3.1.3 Measures	40
2.3.2 Results	43
2.3.2.1 Baseline Characteristics and Perceptions of Exclusion.....	43
2.3.2.2 Main Analysis.....	45
2.3.3 Discussion.....	52
2.4 Discussion: Studies 1a and 1b	55
2.4.1 Limitations and Future Directions	59
2.4.2 Conclusion	60
Chapter 3. Rejection in the Real-World: Institutional Exclusion of Multiple Groups.....	61
3.1 Background.....	62
3.1.1 The Challenge of Latine Identity: Race or Ethnicity?	62
3.1.2 Identity Threat: Invalidating American identity.....	65
3.1.3 Behaviors: Political Engagement.....	67
3.2 Study 2a	67

3.2.1 Methods	68
3.2.1.1 Participants.....	68
3.2.1.2 Design and Procedure.....	70
3.2.1.3 Measures	70
3.2.2 Results	74
3.2.2.1 Psychological Effects.....	74
3.2.2.2 Political Behaviors.....	77
3.2.3 Discussion.....	79
3.3 Study 2b	80
3.3.1 Methods	82
3.3.1.1 Participants.....	82
3.3.1.2 Design and Procedure.....	83
3.3.1.3 Measures	83
3.3.2 Results	85
3.3.2.1 Psychological Effects.....	85
3.3.2.2 Political Behaviors.....	88
3.3.3 Discussion.....	89
3.4 Discussion: Studies 2a and 2b	91
3.4.1 Limitations and Future Directions.....	94
3.4.2 Conclusion	95
Chapter 4. Exclusion, Belonging, and Self-Identification Mediation Model	97
4.1 Background.....	97

4.1.1 Considering Multiple Targets and Sources of Exclusion	99
4.1.2 Study Design.....	102
4.2 Methods	104
4.2.1 Participants and Design.....	104
4.2.2 Procedure and Measures	105
4.3 Study 3a: Multiracial Sample	107
4.3.1 Data Analysis Strategy.....	107
4.3.2 Results	108
4.3.2.1 Model 1	108
4.3.2.2 Model 2	110
4.3.3 Discussion.....	115
4.4 Study 3b: Multicultural Sample	117
4.4.1 Data Analysis Strategy.....	117
4.4.2 Results	118
4.4.2.1 Model 1	118
4.4.2.2 Model 2	121
4.4.3 Discussion.....	125
4.5 Discussion: Studies 3a and 3b	125
4.5.1 Limitations and Future Directions.....	130
4.5.2 Conclusion	131
Chapter 5. Conclusions.....	132
5.1 Summary of Studies.....	132

5.1.1 Chapter 2.....	132
5.1.2 Chapter 3.....	134
5.1.3 Chapter 4.....	136
5.2 Cross-Cutting Themes	138
5.3 Limitations and Future Directions.....	142
5.4 Final Summary	143
References	144
Biography	164

List of Tables

Table 1: Condition Effects on Belonging, Positive Affect, and Perceived Ingroup Similarity.....	33
Table 2: Model 1: Multiracial Sample, Mediation of Exclusion and Identity Centrality by Belonging and Self-Stereotyping.....	111
Table 3: Multiracial Sample, Mediation of Exclusion and Identity Centrality by Solidarity and Self-stereotyping.....	112
Table 4: Model 1: Multicultural sample, Mediation of Exclusion and Identity Centrality by Belonging and Self-Stereotyping	119
Table 5: Model 2: Multicultural Sample, Mediation of Exclusion and Identity Centrality by Solidarity and Self-stereotyping	122

List of Figures

Figure 1: Between-Subjects Experimental Design	26
Figure 2: Threatened Belonging and Perceived Ingroup Similarity.....	32
Figure 3: Post Racial Collective Self-Esteem Predicted by Pre Racial Collective Self-Esteem and Condition Type.....	34
Figure 4: Study 1b Manipulated Study Profile Labels.....	40
Figure 5: Identity Solidarity and Satisfaction by Condition Type and Racial Ingroup	50
Figure 6: Perceived Ingroup Similarity After Cyberball Exclusion.....	52
Figure 7: Likelihood of Voting in November 2020 Election	78
Figure 8: Latine Identity Satisfaction and Solidarity	87
Figure 9: Proposed Model 1.....	103
Figure 10: Proposed Model 2.....	103
Figure 11: Model 1: Multiracial Sample.....	112
Figure 12: Model 2 Multiracial Sample.....	115
Figure 13: Model 1: Multicultural Sample.....	121
Figure 14: Model 2: Multicultural Sample.....	124

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Chapter 1. Introduction and Theoretical Framework

How do we come to conceptualize and define ourselves? As social beings, people are apt to identify themselves by group memberships. Tajfel and Turner's (1979) Social Identity Theory (SIT; as well as Social-Categorization Theory, SCT; Turner et al., 1987) has been central to the field's perspective on group-based identities positing that social identity is part of an individual's larger self-concept that comes forth from the knowledge of an individual's own belonging to a social group. Thus, the social groups we claim (e.g., race, gender, religion) help define our sense of self and fulfill fundamental belonging needs. However, belonging may be threatened by painful social experiences like exclusion (e.g., Smart Richman & Leary, 2009), which is extremely common (e.g., Nezlek et al., 2012), but thus-far an underacknowledged factor of social identity conceptualization. As people are highly alert to potential belonging threats (e.g., Leary, 2005), social exclusion may serve as a particularly salient cue about one's group membership(s) and social identity. I argue that social exclusion has thus far been underrecognized as a pathway to developing and negotiating social identification. In this dissertation, I explore how social exclusion may be particularly informative for "non-prototypical" group members such as Multiracial and Multicultural¹ people (those

¹ Throughout this dissertation, I use the terms "Multiracial" and "Multicultural" to broadly refer to individuals with two (e.g., Biracial and Bicultural) or more within-domain group memberships. Additionally, "Multiracial" and "Multicultural" are capitalized as these terms may represent a specific racial/ethnic/cultural identity (e.g., White, Black, American; Graham, 2021).

who claim more than one racial or cultural group membership) who report higher rates of social exclusion than other racial and ethnic groups (Albuja et al., 2019c; Shih & Sanchez, 2005). These two rapidly growing, yet understudied, demographic groups highlight the dynamic nature of identity while also challenging the fields' current practices of regarding racial and ethnic identity as singular and stable (e.g., Phinney, 1990). Below, I discuss the framework for this argument by describing the relationship between social identity, exclusion, and belonging, and how these may be particularly pertinent to understanding both the identity challenges Multiracial and Multicultural populations face and how they negotiate their social identities.

1.1 Social Identification and Exclusion

Many notable psychologists have observed that people's views of themselves are socially affected by both intrapersonal and intergroup dynamics (Campbell & Green, 1965; Festinger, 1954; Maslow, 1968; Rogers et al., 1977). As SIT/SCT are fundamentally socially based theories, individuals learn about their culturally and personally relevant ingroups and outgroups in their environment through interpersonal relationships, intergroup contact, socialization, and social comparisons to others (e.g., Turner, 1987). Further, people actively seek out information about their value to self-relevant groups (e.g., group-value model; Tyler & Lind, 1992), are sensitive to the quality of their social bonds, and alert to any potential belonging threats (e.g., sociometer theory, Leary, 2005). It stands to reason then that inclusive and exclusive experiences from ingroup and

outgroup interactions shape conceptions of group boundaries and self-categorization into groups. Indeed, the process of social categorization, a fundamental component of SIT (e.g., Turner, 1987), has been described as “understanding what something is by knowing what other things it is equivalent to, and what other things it is different from” (McCarthy, 1999, p. 1). In line with this definition of social categorization, I propose that we apply the same concept to self-identification within collective groups, such that both our ingroups (those we are similar to and included by) and outgroups (those we are different from and excluded by) are both relevant to forming and maintaining collective identification.

However, previous theorizing on collective or group-based identities has focused mainly on the ways *inclusion* shapes identity. SIT and SCT follow that individuals self-categorize as members of a group and construct a social identity around this membership (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner et al., 1987), yet, this largely supposes that existing category memberships are clear, distinct, and that everyone has available groups that are inclusive and able to satisfy their belonging needs. In contrast to these assumptions, social identity is complex (e.g., Gaither, 2018; Roccas & Brewer, 2002) and identity is fluid and malleable such that people negotiate and revise their identity by exploring suitable possibilities and eventually forming commitments to certain groups (Erikson 1958; 1963; Kroger & Marcia, 2011; Marcia, 1966). Further, the process of categorization is reductive by design. To artifice and impose boundaries and limitations

onto naturally occurring individual differences (e.g., racial groups) that define certain groups can only reflect a diminutive view of human diversity. Thus, people do not always easily fit into the existing socially constructed categories such that certainty of membership to a group is not always clear, particularly for those that are “non-prototypical” of existing groups and categorization structures like Multiracial and Multicultural people. Moreover, racial classification attempts by others often result in experiences of stress and frustration for the targets of the classification (e.g., Butler-Sweet, 2011). Given that the extant research on social identity has focused on an inclusion perspective, I posit that there is a need to consider social identity through a lens of social exclusion in order to provide a more wholistic approach to understanding how social interactions influence collective identification.

Social exclusion is a ubiquitous experience (e.g., Nezlek et al., 2012), and yet it has remained understudied as it relates to identity formation and maintenance. Broadly, social exclusion refers to all experiences that cause social distance and psychological separation from others (e.g., Riva & Eck, 2016). Social exclusion is a painful but ubiquitous occurrence that everyone is slated to experience in their lives regardless of their own personal qualities or group memberships. Across situations and contexts, this separation from others can be called various names: ostracism, rejection, discrimination, marginalization, stigmatization, dehumanization, isolation, shunning, cold-shoulder, social slights, microaggressions, romantic rebuffs, bullying, stereotyping (e.g., Johnston

& Nadal, 2010; Mellor et al., 2008; Smart Richman & Leary, 2009; Williams, 2009).

Although each of these experiences, terms, and labels have specific definitions and contexts in which they occur, here, I focus on their commonality of thwarting the fundamental psychological need to belong (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). In short, social exclusion threatens one's ability to establish valued and stable relationships with others, a process that SIT requires. Thus, I argue that the quality of group-relevant interactions is influential such that exclusion may specifically communicate that one's belonging to a group, and furthermore their membership to a group, is threatened. Further, it is necessary to understand how social exclusion shapes the experiences of marginalized groups as social exclusion can be a result of discrimination wherein individuals are unable to participate fully in economic, social, political, and cultural life (United Nations, 2018). By impeding full participation within mainstream social structures and activities, social exclusion can lead to disadvantage, deprivation, and exploitation (e.g., Jehoel-Gijsbers & Vrooman, 2007).

1.1.1 Source of Exclusion

Exclusion experiences are two-sided such that there is the *target* of the exclusion and the *source* of the exclusion. Seminal research on intersectionality has underscored that as everyone holds memberships within multiple groups, people may experience discrimination across multiple identities that they claim (e.g., gender and race; Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Further, research on cross-race interactions highlights the ways people

are attuned to the social identities of those they interact with and that sharing or not sharing a social identity with an interaction partner may result in positive or negative outcomes respectively (e.g., Tropp & Page-Gould, 2015). However, few studies have considered how people navigate a multiplicity of exclusion (e.g., Ball et al., 2021) or how specific sources of exclusion may lead to different downstream outcomes (e.g., Bernstein et al., 2010).

Although some exclusion is explicit, it is often ambiguous and implicit. For example, rather than having their identity directly denied, Multiracial and Multicultural people may be asked questions about their identity. In a recent study, collaborators and I found that 94.3% of almost 300 mixed-heritage participants (inclusive of both Multiracial and Multicultural people) have been asked “What are you?” by either friends, acquaintances, or strangers in their lives (Tsai et al., 2021). In these cases of identity questioning, the intent might be discriminatory, but it is less clear what might be informing someone to ask that question as the reasons might be malicious or innocuous (e.g., Albuja et al., 2019b). It is important to recognize the effect of ambiguous exclusion particularly as it is highly salient and easily perceived. For instance, people report feeling excluded in cases as subtle as when conversation flow lags, when people laugh without them, when they are left out of an information circle, or even when people fail to make eye contact (e.g., Koudenberg et al., 2011; 2013; Pickett & Gardner, 2005; Wirth et al., 2010).

A large body of research has investigated how attributing ambiguous events to discrimination can be self-protective (e.g., Berry Mendes et al., 2008; Hoyt et al., 2007), but can also lead to greater psychological distress, poorer mental well-being, and poorer physical health (see Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009 for review). Some research has explored how targets of exclusion make attributions of discrimination experiences regarding their own group membership (e.g., “I am treated unfairly because I am Black”; Armenta & Hunt, 2009; Brugger, 2021; Romero & Roberts, 2003). However, this type of attribution assumes that a target believes that they are perceived as a member of a specific social group across contexts. For dual-identified people like Multiracial and Multicultural individuals, attributions about discrimination may be far more varied as they may identify with multiple ingroups and may also be inconsistently perceived and categorized to belong to different groups.

For example, observers vary in how they categorize Multiracial faces, categorizing them as mixed-race, within their lower-status identity group, or even to group memberships they don't claim (e.g., Multiracial people are sometimes categorized as “Hispanic/Latino”; Chen & Hamilton, 2012; Peery & Bodenhausen, 2008; Feliciano, 2016). Thus, Multiracial people may be unsure of how observers racially categorize them. Similarly, Multicultural people like Latino/a/e Americans are also inconsistently and sometimes inaccurately classified if people incorrectly assume they are foreign born (e.g., Cheryan & Monin, 2005), and sometimes categorized them alongside existing U.S.

racial classification systems (e.g., Afro-Latino/a/e people may be categorized as African American without regarding their Latin heritage; e.g., Godoy Peñas, 2020). Taken together, unlike the experiences of monoracial or monocultural individuals, Multiracial and Multicultural people are categorized inconsistently by others such that attributions about the role of one's group membership within an interaction might vary widely. Therefore, within a Multiracial and Multicultural context, it may be more reliable to focus on the target's perception of the exclusion source's social identity ("White people exclude me") rather than attributions about how their group membership is perceived.

1.1.2 Identity as Multidimensional

Although one's self-categorization (i.e., claiming a specific label) within a group may remain stable across the lifespan (e.g., identifying as Black or a cisgender male), there are other cognitive beliefs and affective evaluations associated with these identities that are malleable across situation and context. Identity cognitions include one's belief that they are perceived as similar to other group members (e.g., individual self-stereotyping; Leach et al., 2008), how important one perceives a group to be to their self-concept (e.g., Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; centrality, Sellers et al., 1998; salience, Stryker & Serpe, 1994), one's certainty that they are a group member (e.g., Mohr & Fassinger, 2000), and integration of identities (i.e., perceived sameness between their identities and continuity over time; Huynh et al., 2011). Affective evaluations include one's commitment or emotional bond to their group (e.g., solidarity, Leach et al., 2008) and

satisfaction with their group (Leach et al., 2008; private regard, Sellers et al, 1998; see Ashmore et al., 2004 for review). In the present research, I approach studying self-identification through this lens of multidimensionality by considering these multiple components of group-level self-identification. Additionally, many identities are formed and negotiated over time such that identity development is neither linear nor finite. Although theoretical models of identity development support a fluid nature of identity (Erikson, 1963; Marcia, 1966; Tajfel & Turner, 1974; Leach et al., 2008), research on identity development, and particularly racial and ethnic identity development, has largely studied identity as singular, linear, and stable. Contemporary theories have recognized identity multi-dimensionality (e.g., Identity Complexity Theory, Roccas & Brewer, 2002), and other work has called attention to the context-dependent nature of identity (Yip, 2005). Yet, limited research has empirically studied the context dependent factors that shape identity formation of racial and ethnic identity (particularly beyond adolescence).

1.2 This Dissertation

I argue in this dissertation that social exclusion is a unique catalyst for identity reconceptualization such that experiences of group-based social exclusion communicate one's potentially wavering membership within a group. In a response to the threatened belonging that one experiences from exclusion, one readdresses their conceptualizations of their self-relevant groups (e.g., am I similar to other group members, is this group

important to me, do I like being in this group, am I a legitimate group member?). This association may be particularly poignant for individuals that are highly excluded and non-prototypical of existing group categorizations (i.e., especially essentialized categories). Multiracial and Multicultural groups experience high rates of social exclusion compared to other racial and cultural groups specifically due to their multiple identities (e.g., Shih & Sanchez, 2005). Furthermore, Multiracial and Multicultural people may have particularly malleable social identities as they contradict existing racial, ethnic, and cultural boundaries by occupying more than one category within a social domain (e.g., two or more racial groups or two or more cultural groups respectively). In the following sections, I outline the unique opportunities these groups provide for studying the relationship between exclusion and identity.

1.2.1 Multiracial Identity

Despite representing over 10% of the U.S. population as of 2020 (U.S. Census, 2020), research on Multiracial people remains in its early stages. One of the biggest challenges in studying this population is this group's heterogeneous nature (e.g., Rockquemore et al., 2009) and the multiplicity of factors that may influence racial identification including racial phenotypicality and knowledge of heritage languages (e.g., Tsai et al., 2021). Additionally, unlike monoracial groups, Multiracial people have multiple groups with which they may identify, and they invoke various strategies to negotiate their group memberships such as employing cultural capital and ethno-

linguistic styling (e.g., Tsai et al., in press). Furthermore, there are patterns of identification that Multiracial people may fall within: (1) Multiracial people may identify jointly with their multiple component monoracial groups (e.g., “I am Asian and White”), (2) some oscillate between different identification patterns depending on the situation (“Sometimes I identify as Black, sometimes as mixed”), (3) some use Multiracial as their reference point, identifying with terms that refer to a mixed-heritage background specifically (e.g., “Multiracial”, “Biracial”, “mixed”), (4) some choose a single “home base” monoracial group to identify with (“I am Black”), and lastly (5) some aim to deconstruct racial categorizations by refusing to participate in racial categorization (e.g., “Race is socially constructed and I won’t participate in this system”; Renn, 2000). Notably, Multiracial people may use different strategies across their lives such that their racial identification is not fixed (e.g., Poston, 1990).

Across different social groups, people may alter their strategies for identification depending on factors like attention, cognitive resources, and situational cues that make a particular social identity more or less salient (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Based on longitudinal research with adolescents, an estimated 12% of adolescents switch responses about their racial self-identification depending on context (e.g., interviewed at school or at home; Harris & Sim, 2002), and adolescents who reported themselves as Multiracial compared to monoracial at wave-one were four times more likely to change how they report their racial identity at wave-two (Hitlin et al., 2006). Further, data from

this longitudinal research also finds that identity shifts in both directions such that some wave-one Multiracial people later identify as monoracial while other wave-one monoracial people later identify as Multiracial (Doyle & Kao, 2007). This research suggests people do not move linearly between stages of group identification but reconsider their group memberships over time. Yet, little work to date has empirically explored what factors might spark revision of group self-identification.

Given their shifting identification, Multiracial people have a flexible ingroup membership (Vinluan & Remedios, 2020), but they are also more likely to be socially excluded because of this identity flexibility (e.g., Renn, 2008). As Multiracial people in particular may revise their racial identity over their lifespan in response to social interactions (e.g., Rockquemore & Laffosy, 2005), the high rates of exclusion this group faces may be particularly informative to identity development and negotiation (e.g., Shih & Sanchez, 2005). For example, Multiracial people commonly experience specific types of exclusion such as identity denial or questioning, where their membership to their racial group(s) is challenged (e.g., “you’re not really Asian;” Renn, 2009; Sanchez, 2010; Townsend et al., 2009; Albuja et al., 2019a). Previous work has shown that this identity denial is perceived as stressful for both Multiracial and Multicultural individuals (Albuja et al., 2019a).

Multiracial people may also experience identity denial and questioning from various sources (e.g., from ingroup and outgroup members), but they also face a

“double rejection” from their various perceived ingroup memberships (e.g., being rejected from both White and Asian monoracial component groups; Shih & Sanchez, 2005). Thus far, no research to date has empirically tested how exclusion from various within-domain ingroups might differently impact Multiracial self-identification. In efforts to de-center whiteness within Multiracial research (e.g., Garay & Remedios, 2021), it is imperative for research to focus on the lived-experiences of Multiracial individuals with the goal of serving this marginalized population.

1.2.2 Multicultural Identity

Similar to Multiracial individuals, Multicultural people also straddle boundaries between cultural groups and experience high rates of exclusion. In particular, many Multicultural individuals (e.g., Asian Americans) are vulnerable to a “foreigner stereotype” (Cheryan & Monin, 2005) and are not seen as “typical” Americans. Thus, they might experience identity questioning wherein an identity is challenged and doubted by others (e.g., “Where are you *really* from?”; Albuja et al., 2019a; Cheryan & Monin, 2005). Previous work on Multicultural individuals has explored cultural assimilation (e.g., Rudmin, 2003), Multicultural identity integration (e.g., Huynh et al., 2011; Herrmann et al., 2021), and identity denial and these questioning experiences (e.g., Albuja et al., 2019a&c). Yet, limited work to date has explored the role that exclusion plays in Multicultural identification. The role of exclusion might be particularly relevant

for Multicultural Latine² Americans as they have been increasingly targeted for discrimination (e.g., Hassan, 2019), and may experience structural social exclusion barring them from full participation in economic, social, political, and cultural life (United Nations, 2018). Furthermore, much of the existing literature on Multicultural individuals has focused on Asian American populations even though Latine Americans represent one of the fastest growing populations in the U.S. accounting for 52% of the population growth in the last 10 years (Colby & Ortman, 2015). Thus, it is becoming increasingly important to understand the exclusion and subsequent identity experiences for this group.

Notably for Latine Americans, experiences of exclusion may not only occur interpersonally, but also institutionally. Currently, the U.S. Census Bureau considers “Hispanic/Latino” a pan-ethnic group and not a racial group. However, this classification system used by the U.S. government is not equitable to how Latine communities identify on average. For example, the Pew Research Center reports that

² Debates about the proper terms to describe people with ancestry from Latin America and Spain are abundant. Within the last decade, efforts to focus on gender inclusivity have sparked the rise of the term “Latinx,” which has quickly been adopted by various organizations and within higher-education and the scientific community (e.g., Cardemil et al., 2019). Yet, this term is widely unknown and unused among adults that identity themselves as Hispanic/Latino/a (Noe-Bustamente et al., 2020), many even find it offensive (e.g., Torregrosa, 2021). Further, critics point out that this term is an anglicanisation of a non-English word that lacks consideration for Spanish speakers and language rules (e.g., Kaur, 2020), ultimately representing a White/American-centric attempt to impose ideologies onto another culture and catering to White/American audiences. In effects to refocus psychological science on decolonization, I use the term “Latine,” developed by Spanish-speakers as an alternative gender-inclusive label that is designed to work within the language rules of Spanish (e.g., Slempp, 2020).

51% of Latine people identify as “some other race” or offer “Hispanic/Latino” as their race, and 67% of Latine adults say “Hispanic” is part of their racial background (Parker et al., 2015). Clearly, Latine people in the U.S. struggle to place themselves within a structural system that was not designed to accommodate their identities. Additional challenges in identifying Latine people have been debated as the inclusion of a citizenship question was argued to be added to the 2020 Census. This question may have served as a direct threat to Latine people’s sense of belonging in America as opponents of this question argued its addition would deter many Latine people residing in the U.S. from completing the Census. Yet, no empirical research has explored how these institutionally derived exclusion experiences, and multiple sources of threat, might impact Multicultural Latine American identity, feelings of belonging within the U.S., and their subsequent political engagement.

1.2.3 The Present Research

In this dissertation I aim to expand current theorizing about social identity development and negotiation by exploring how social exclusion influences self-identification for dual-identified people. In Chapter 2 I explore how Multiracial people negotiate racial identification as they experience interpersonal exclusion from multiple ingroups. In Chapter 3 I investigate how exclusion from an institutional source impacts Multicultural Latine Americans identification with their cultural identity groups and potential social behaviors. Finally, in Chapter 4 I test a mediation model identifying the

pathways through which social exclusion experiences impact racial/ethnic identification towards various group memberships for Multiracial and Multicultural people. As Multiracial and Multicultural people experience high rates of exclusion, I aim to establish how these experiences may aid in the development and negotiation of complex social identities.

Chapter 2. Sources of Exclusion: Group Status and Interpersonal Exclusion (Studies 1a and 1b)

2.1 Introduction

The vast literature on social exclusion finds that regardless of who is being ostracized and for whatever reason, that the experience of exclusion is generally threatening to basic psychological needs (Williams, 2009), depresses positive affect, and leads to a host of other physiological and psychological issues (e.g., Williams & Nida, 2011). Given these robust effects of exclusion experiences, there is contradicting evidence on whether the effects of exclusion may be moderated by the social identity of the exclusion source (e.g., racial identity). Some research on the effects of exclusion (i.e., ostracism) suggests that exclusion stemming from liked and hated groups is equally aversive to people (Gonsalkorle & Williams, 2007). However, other work suggests that essentialized ingroup exclusion (e.g., exclusion from same-race members) threatens psychological needs (e.g., belonging, self-esteem) more strongly than essentialized outgroup exclusion (Bernstein et al., 2010; Sacco et al., 2014). One important limitation of this existing research is that it has only tested the effect of exclusion from essentialized groups with racial majority members (White), who are typically less identified with their racial/ethnic identity than people of minority racial group backgrounds (e.g., Charmaraman & Grossman, 2010; Horowitz et al., 2019; Jaert & Reitzes, 1999; Worrell et al., 2019). As Multiracial people may claim membership to multiple racial ingroups and

also experience exclusion from multiple sources, investigating how this group navigates exclusion provides novel insight into the effects of multiple ingroup exclusion.

2.1.1 Multiracial Identity and Multiple Memberships

Existing research on monoracial populations demonstrates that individuals respond to social belonging threats by activating important group identities and strengthening group bonds (Branscombe et al., 1999; Knowles & Gardner, 2008; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). However, this effect remains unclear for Multiracial individuals who may not only identify with multiple racial ingroups, but may experience exclusion from these multiple ingroups. This Multiracial “double rejection” is an exceedingly common experience across Multiracial individuals of all different backgrounds (e.g., Sanchez & Shih, 2005). Many Multiracial people report feeling excluded from community, friends, and familial monoracial groups (e.g., Tsai et al., 2021). Further, across both part-White and multiple-minority Multiracial people, greater experiences of identity denial (e.g., being told to identify differently) were associated with lower feelings of identity autonomy, greater conflict between racial identities, and lower levels of belonging (Albuja et al., 2019c, 2020). Still, as the Multiracial population is heterogenous in nature, it is important to distinguish between different Multiracial backgrounds. For example, many Multiracial individuals can claim membership in both high-status (e.g., White) and low-status (e.g., Black) groups and thus straddle the gap between majority and minority experiences. Conversely, multiple-minority Multiracial people identify with

two (or more) low-status racial groups and do not have access to a privileged status, thus, multiple-minority Multiracial people may contend with lower public regard for Multiracial individuals (Sanchez, 2011; Albuja et al., 2020).

In considering exclusion as a systemic issue (e.g., Crenshaw, 2011), concerns with preserving a White dominating power structure has imposed particular restrictions on Multiracial people with White ancestry. Laws and practices designating interracial marriages (anti-miscegenation) and racial categorization (one-drop and blood-quantum) have focused on preserving a purity of White status and ensuring privileges for monoracial White people only (Cruz & Berson, 2001; Jordan, 2014). Thus, despite having White ancestry, part-White Multiracial people are excluded from majority-privileges. At the same time, part-White Multiracial people are also excluded from their minority monoracial ingroups. For example, Asian Americans may question Asian/White Multiracial people's identity preferences and loyalty, assuming that Asian/White Multiracial people want to identify as White and will be disloyal to their Asian American ingroup (Chen et al., 2019). Additionally, high nationalist identified Black individuals endorse rejecting part-Black Multiracial people as members of the Black community (Franco et al., 2019). Although Multiracial people (of both part-White and multiple-minority ancestry) report experiencing discrimination at similar (and sometimes higher) levels to monoracial minorities (Brackett et al., 2006; Herman, 2004), people also consider Multiracial individuals to be less worthy of receiving minority

resources compared to monoracial minority people (e.g., Good et al., 2013; Sanchez et al., 2011). Further, both monoracial majority and minority groups oppose including Multiracial individuals in anti-discrimination policies (Campbell & Herman, 2010). Thus, Multiracial people with White ancestry are not only excluded from their monoracial ingroups, but they are also excluded from broader domains of majority and minority groups, being simultaneously treated as “too-White” but also not “White-enough” to gain full access to either of these spaces. In this way, “double rejection” for part-White Multiracial people not only refers to their denial of membership to specific monoracial groups, but it can also refer to their denied membership to higher or lower-status group memberships. Considering Critical Race Psychology (CRP) and the need to decenter Whiteness within psychological research (e.g., Crenshaw et al., 2011; Garay & Remedios, 2021), the current work aims to explore the role that exclusion plays in shaping Multiracial identity in order to benefit and serve these groups that experience exclusion from multiple sources and account for the influence of racial hierarchy and power.

2.1.2 Source of Exclusion

Social exclusion can take on many different forms. Explicit forms of exclusion, like identity denial, where one's membership to their racial/ethnic group(s) is directly challenged (e.g., “you're not really Asian;” Renn, 2009; Sanchez, 2010; Townsend et al., 2009) has been found to be highly stressful for Multiracial and Multicultural individuals

(Albuja, et al., 2019a). Additionally, previous correlational research with Multiracial Black individuals (of both part-White and multiple-minority backgrounds) finds that explicit rejection (i.e., identity invalidation) from Black people is experienced as more invalidating and painful than rejection from other racial ingroups. Additionally, Multiracial people that experience greater rejection from a Black ingroup as opposed to another available ingroup report higher rates of racial homelessness and challenges with racial identity (Franco & Franco, 2016). This suggests that the source of exclusion is important to how Multiracial individuals construct their racial identity, however, no research to date has empirically tested this relationship. The extant literature on ostracism (i.e., social exclusion via ignoring another or group; e.g., Williams, 2009) suggests that people's daily experiences of ostracism stem from someone of the same social status (versus lower or higher; Nezlek et al., 2012; 2015). Nevertheless, racial/ethnic identity has not been considered in this research. Perhaps in contrast to monoracial individuals, part-White Multiracial people experience high rates of exclusion from others with varying status levels. However, little work has explored the effect of status in moderating the effects of exclusion experiences. One study on status within the workplace found that exclusion from a high status versus a low status ostracizer resulted in more negative reactions to exclusion (Fiset et al., 2017). Yet, this has not been tested among essentialized categories.

The effects of exclusion and inclusion are strengthened when people are excluded or included by essentialized ingroups (Bernstein et al., 2010), and this relationship is mediated by participants' perception of similarity with the source of exclusion or inclusion (and only when interacting with an ingroup and not an outgroup; Sacco et al., 2014). As perception of one's similarity to a group (their self-stereotyping) is a component of one's identification to social groups (Leech et al., 2008), other social identity constructs may too be influenced by social exclusion. The negative emotional effects of ostracism have been noted to threaten self-concept (Bastian & Haslam, 2010; Williams, 2009), yet little research has explored how experiences of exclusion may influence how individuals construct their identity, particularly in relation to group memberships. As Multiracial people have highly flexible identities, some ingroup identities may become more or less important, or central to their self-concept after experiencing exclusion. It is important to recognize what might influence racial identity centrality or importance as stronger racial identification can protect individuals against the negative effects of discrimination (e.g., Cobb et al., 2018; French & Chavez, 2010; Settles et al., 2010; Sellers et al., 1998). Additionally, research has found that rejection may influence categorical perceptions. Compared to included people, rejected people distinguish more sharply between-category distinctions relative to within-category distinctions of social stimuli (e.g., morphed Black and White faces; Sacco et al., 2011). As such, rejected individuals may become more attuned towards the boundary that divides

social categories. Taken together, exclusion from ingroup members compared to outgroup members may then increase categorical distinctions between available ingroups, resulting in decreased perceived similarity of one's ingroups.

Here, I test how the various types of exclusions that Multiracial individuals commonly face may differentially impact their sense of belonging and identification. I hypothesize that (i) exclusion from an ingroup will threaten belonging and depress mood, (ii) increase identity centrality, and also (iii) decrease perceived similarity between self-relevant ingroups compared to exclusion from an outgroup.

2.2 Study 1a

2.2.1 Methods

2.2.1.1 Participants

First, participants completed a pre-screen form and indicated their racial identity and how strongly they identified with the racial group(s) they selected (e.g., Multiracial people may select several monoracial groups and/or select "Biracial or Multiracial" as a label). Individuals that either selected more than one racial group or "Biracial or Multiracial" were invited to participate in the study. An *a priori* power analysis for a one-way ANCOVA with 3 groups and 1 covariate suggested 158 participants for 80% power to detect a minimum effect size of $f = .25$ (Faul et al., 2009). In total, 164 part-White Multiracial students recruited through Duke University's SONA system and Interdisciplinary Behavioral Research Center (IBRC) completed the study. Participants

were excluded from final analysis for failing any of the three manipulation checks: (i) reporting the incorrect gender ($n = 5$) or (ii) incorrect race ($n = 9$) of the other Cyberball “players”, or (iii) reporting that they were included 20% of the time or more during the Cyberball game ($n = 7$). Thus, 143 part-white Multiracial students (30.8% male, 69.2% female, 24.5% White/Black, 26.6% White/Latine, 4.2% White/Middle Eastern, 32.2% White/Asian, 12.6% White/ two or more minority groups) were included in the final analysis (final sample is under-powered because in-person data collection was forced to conclude early due to COVID-19).

2.2.1.2 Design and Procedure

Participants came into the lab for a purported online social interaction study (data collected Spring 2019-Spring 2020). Participants were told that they would be playing with other people from different universities and diverse organizations in an online game. The game, Cyberball, is a pre-programed virtual ball-tossing game in which the participant is intentionally excluded by the other “players” (Williams & Jarvis, 2006). These other “players” were used to simulate exclusion from specific racial groups. The race of these “players” was manipulated through photos from the Chicago Face Database (Ma et al., 2015) and labels under each image of the “players” race (manipulated groups were gender-matched to the participant such that female participants saw an all-female group and male participants saw an all-male group). To justify having photos of the other “players,” participants were asked if the experimenter

could take a photo of them to upload to their “game profile.” Participants were informed they would see other players’ photos and that others would see their photo, but they would not see their own photo. They were told this was done to mimic a real-life interaction (wherein you would normally only see others’ faces and not your own). After their photo was taken and ostensibly “uploaded” to the online game, participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions where they were excluded by a specific group: (a) their majority ingroup members, (b) their minority ingroup members, or (c) minority outgroup members (see Figure 1). For example, a Multiracial participant who is Black and White would be randomly assigned to either: (a) a group of White members (Majority ingroup), (b) a group of Black members (minority ingroup), or (c) an outgroup minority race group (randomized between all the racial groups that individual indicated in the pre-screen that they did not belong to; Figure 1).

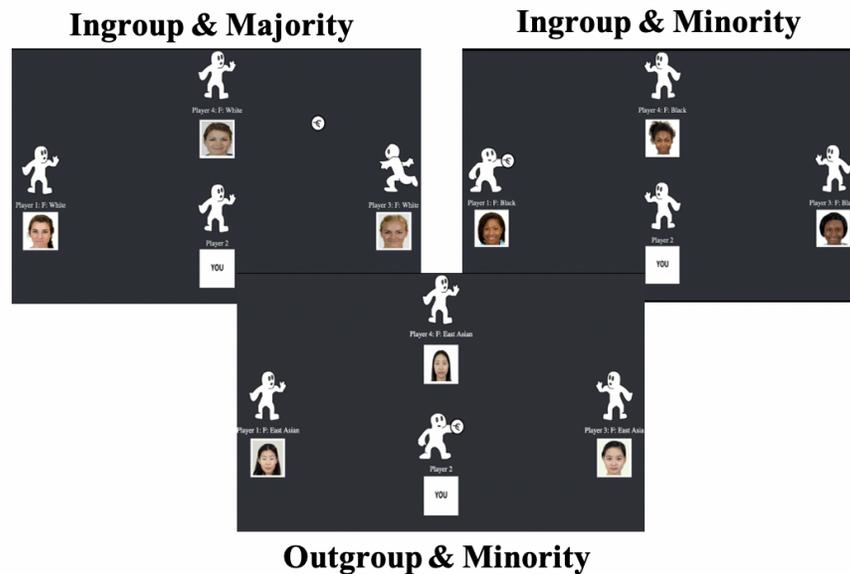


Figure 1: Between-Subjects Experimental Design

Note. All participants were randomly assigned to one of three condition types. Minority group conditions were based on each participant’s self-relevant groups.

2.2.1.3 Measures

To assess threat to psychological needs following the experimentally manipulated ostracism, the *Need Threat Scale* (Williams, 2009) was used. This measure assesses threats to four psychological needs (self-esteem, meaningful existence, control, and belonging), with 5-items for each need posing statements such as, “I currently feel... [rejected; like an outsider; invisible; meaningless].” Participants were asked to rate how much they experienced each feeling from 1 (not at all) to 5 (extremely). This scale also contains a measure of positive and negative mood (e.g., good/friendly/happy; bad/unfriendly/ angry) where participants rated their current feelings from 1 (not at all) to 5

(extremely). Composite scores were calculated across the four psychological needs and for positive and negative affect (α 's > .73).

Participants were asked to report on the exclusion they experienced during Cyberball by rating if they were (i) ignored and (ii) excluded from the group, rating their experience from 1 (not at all) to 5 (extremely). Additionally, they estimated the percentage of ball tosses they received during the game (from 0 to 100%).

The *Collective Self-Esteem-Race version* (identity subscale; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992) was used to assess how strongly individuals identified with each of their various racial ingroups. Participants were asked 4-items about how strongly they identify with their ingroup ("The racial/ethnic group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am") rated from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). This measure was administered at two timepoints: during the pre-screen phase to assess a baseline level of racial/ethnic identification and then following the Cyberball manipulation in the lab. Furthermore, participants received various versions of the measure based on the specific racial/ethnic groups they reported that they belonged to (e.g., a White/Black/Latine person completed three different versions of this measure at two different time points). A composite score from the four items across all self-identified racial groups was taken wherein higher scores indicated a stronger collective racial self-esteem, α 's > .65.

The *Inclusion of Ingroup in the Self* (IIS; Tropp & Wright, 2001) measure was adapted to measure the degree of similarity or overlap one perceives between their

available racial group memberships. This is a single item measure that uses a visual display of two circles (representing two different self-relevant monoracial groups) that vary in their physical distance or overlap (completely separate (1) to completely overlapping (5)).

2.2.2 Results

Statistical analyses were completed in RStudio (2018). The alpha level was set to .05 for all analyses unless reported otherwise; Bonferroni corrections for multiple comparisons were implemented per family of analyses, when appropriate.

2.2.2.1 Baseline Characteristics and Perceptions of Exclusion

2.2.2.1.1 Pre-Test Scores

First, a one-way ANOVA was conducted testing participants' racial identification (racial collective self-esteem) prior to the lab visit and Cyberball game. This analysis revealed that prior to the experimental portion of the study, there was no significant difference between the racial identification of the participants across the randomized conditions types, $F(1, 134) = 1.97, p = .155$ ($M = 4.7, SD = 1.2$). Next, I tested whether the specific Multiracial groups (e.g., White/Black, White/Asian), were evenly distributed across the three condition types. A Chi-square analysis revealed there was no significant evidence of an association between condition and racial group, ($\chi^2 = 12.05, p = .149$) such that the racial groups were evenly distributed across condition types.

2.2.2.1.2 Perception of Exclusion

One-way ANCOVAs were conducted to compare the effects of the three different exclusionary groups on the perception of the exclusion severity (i.e., the estimated frequency of ball tosses received and the participant rating of how excluded they were) whilst controlling for pre-test collective racial self-esteem. For estimated ball tosses, Levene's test and normality checks were performed and assumptions were met. There was a significant effect of condition on estimated ball tosses, $F(2, 133) = 12.37, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .16$, and no significant difference of racial identity saliency, $p = .203$. Post hoc analyses indicated that participants reported that they received significantly fewer ball tosses when playing with the (White) majority ingroup ($M = 4.9\%, SD = 0.6$) than from either the minority ingroup ($M = 7.1\%, SD = 0.7, t(133) = -3.28, p_{\text{Bonferroni}} < .001$), or the minority outgroup ($M = 8.1\%, SD = 0.7, t(133) = -1.15, p_{\text{Bonferroni}} < .001$) although all conditions received the same number of ball tosses.

For participants' rating of their exclusion, Levene's test and normality checks were performed and assumptions were violated for both (p 's $< .017$). A transformation did not resolve issues of non-normality; thus, a Games-Howell post hoc test was used. There was a significant effect of condition on participant rating of the exclusion, $F(2, 133) = 3.62, p = .029, \eta_p^2 = .05$, and no significant difference of collective racial self-esteem, $p = 0.621$. Post hoc analyses using a Game-Howell correction indicated that participants reported that they were excluded significantly more by the (White) majority ingroup (M

= 4.6, $SD = 0.6$) than the minority outgroup ($M = 4.3$, $SD = 0.7$, $t(133) = 2.68$, $p_{\text{Games-Howell}} = .033$).

2.2.2.2 Main Analysis

2.2.2.2.1 Threatened Needs and Affect

One-way ANCOVAs were conducted to compare the effects of the three different exclusionary groups on psychological needs (e.g., meaningful existence, self-esteem, control, and belonging) whilst controlling for collective racial self-esteem. Assumptions of Levene's test were met across all four outcomes (p 's > .427), but assumptions of normality were violated (p 's < .027, with the exception of control, $p = .305$). As a parametric ANCOVA is robust to violations of either normality or homoscedasticity, the analysis was carried out as planned (e.g., Olejnik & Algina, 1984). There was no significant effect of condition or racial collective self-esteem on meaningful existence, self-esteem, or control, p 's > 0.138. There was a significant difference in threatened belonging following the exclusion between different group types, $p = .047$, and collective racial self-esteem was not significant, $p = .417$; see Table 1 Post hoc analyses using a Bonferroni correction indicated that belonging needs were threatened marginally more after majority ingroup (White) exclusion ($M = 4.5$, $SD = 0.4$) than from minority ingroup exclusion ($M = 4.2$, $SD = 0.6$), and minority outgroup exclusion ($M = 4.2$, $SD = 0.6$; see Figure 2).

A one-way ANCOVA of condition type controlling for collective racial self-esteem also showed that condition type, and not racial collective self-esteem, $p > .726$,

marginally impacted participant's positive affect, $p = .060$, but not negative affect, $p = 0.857$ (see Table 1). Post hoc analyses using a Bonferroni correction indicated that participants felt less positive when excluded from a minority ingroup ($M = 2.4, SD = 0.8$) than a minority outgroup ($M = 2.8, SD = 0.9$).

2.2.2.2.2 Perceived Ingroup Similarity

A one-way ANCOVA was conducted to compare the effects of the three different exclusionary groups on perceived ingroup similarity whilst controlling for collective racial self-esteem. Levene's test and normality checks were carried out and the assumptions met. There was a significant difference in perceived ingroup similarity following the exclusion between different group types, $F(2, 136) = 5.91, p = .003, \eta_p^2 = .09$, and racial collective self-esteem was not significant, $p = .601$. Post hoc tests showed that when participants were excluded from an ingroup ($M_{\text{high status}} = 4.2, SD = 0.8; M_{\text{low status}} = 4.1, SD = 0.7$) perception of ingroup similarity was higher than when excluded from an outgroup ($M = 3.5, SD = 0.7, p's < .009$; see Table 1 and Figure 1).

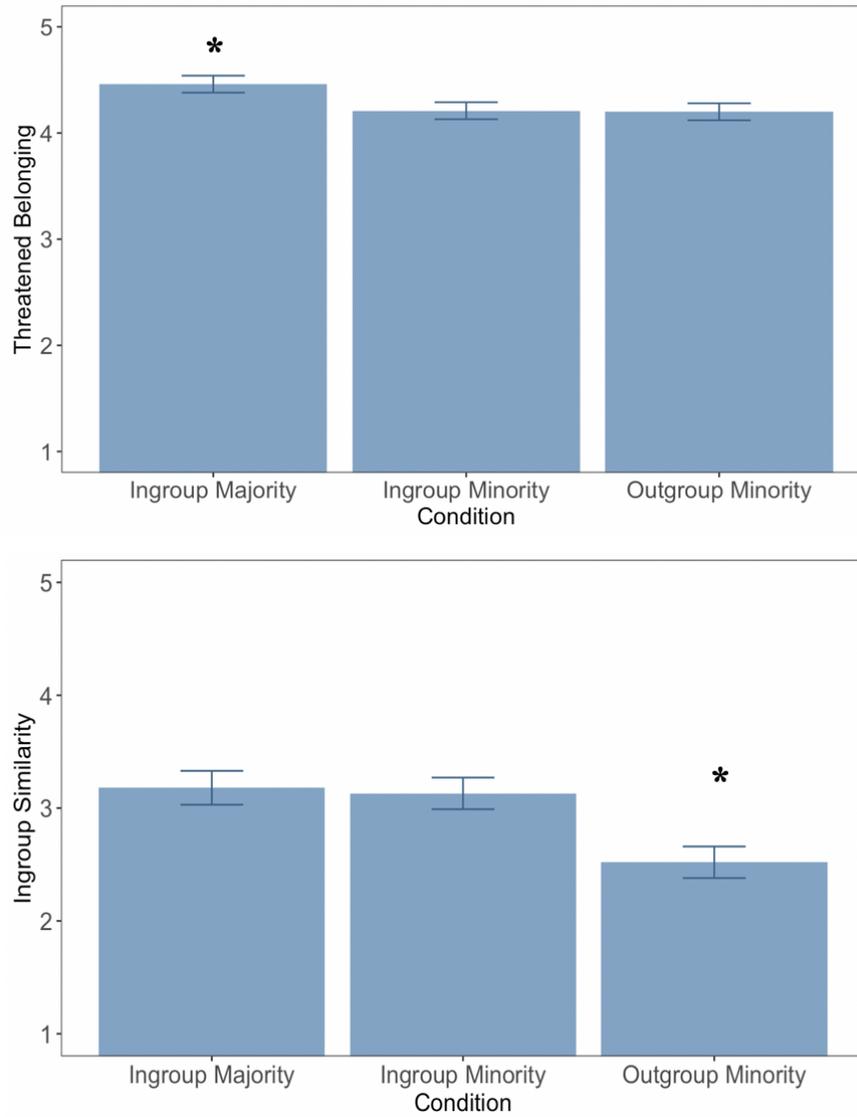


Figure 2: Threatened Belonging and Perceived Ingroup Similarity

Note. Participants excluded from a majority ingroup reported higher threatened belonging than those excluded from minority groups. Also, those excluded from ingroups reported a higher perception of similarity between their ingroups compared to participants excluded from a minority outgroup (controlling for pre-test collective racial self-esteem).

Table 1: Condition Effects on Belonging, Positive Affect, and Perceived Ingroup Similarity

Outcome	Variable	SS	df	F	p	η_p^2
Belonging	Condition	1.81	2	3.13	.047*	0.04
	Racial CSE Pre	0.33	1	1.14	.289	0.00
	Group 1 M (SD)	Group 2	df	t	p	p.adj
	In/High 4.5 (0.4)	In/Low	133	2.16	.032*	.097~
	In/Low 4.2 (0.6)	Out/Low	133	0.00	.953	1.000
	Out/Low 4.2 (0.6)	In/High	133	2.21	.029*	.086~
Outcome	Variable	SS	df	F	p	η_p^2
Positive Affect	Condition	4.14	2	2.87	.060~	0.04
	Racial CSE Pre	0.09	1	0.12	.730	0.00
	Group 1 M (SD)	Group 2	df	t	p	p.adj
	In/High 2.5 (0.8)	In/Low	136	0.89	.376	1.000
	In/Low 2.4 (0.8)	Out/Low	136	-2.37	.019*	.058~
	Out/Low 2.8 (0.9)	In/High	136	-1.43	.155	.436
Outcome	Variable	SS	df	F	p	η_p^2
Ingroup Similarity	Condition	12.31	2	6.62	.002	0.09
	Racial CSE Pre	0.32	1	0.341	.560	0.00
	Group 1 M (SD)	Group 2	df	t	p	p.adj
	In/High 3.2 (0.8)	In/Low	132	0.27	.791	.000
	In/Low 3.1 (0.8)	Out/Low	132	2.99	.003**	.010*
	Out/Low 2.5 (0.9)	In/High	132	3.23	.002**	.005**

Note. One-way ANCOVA of belonging, affect, and perceived ingroup similarity by condition (majority ingroup, minority ingroup, minority outgroup), controlling for initial scores of collective racial self-esteem. Adjusted p-values display Bonferroni correction for multiple comparisons. ~ $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

2.2.2.2.3 *Collective Racial Self-Esteem (Strength of Identification)*

Finally, to predict collective racial self-esteem after the experimental conditions, an OLS regression was used controlling for pre-test collective racial self-esteem. This overall model was statistically significant, $F(3, 127) = 39.11$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = 0.47$, and there

was a significant main effect of pre-score collective racial self-esteem, $t(127) = 10.69, p < .001$, and a marginally significant main effect of exclusion condition (majority ingroup vs. minority outgroup), $t(127) = -1.71, p = .089, \eta_p^2 = .09$. Across participants, those with higher collective racial self-esteem prior to the experiment also reported higher collective racial self-esteem after the experiment. Additionally, those excluded by a majority ingroup (White), reported marginally higher collective racial self-esteem than those excluded by a minority outgroup (see Figure 3).

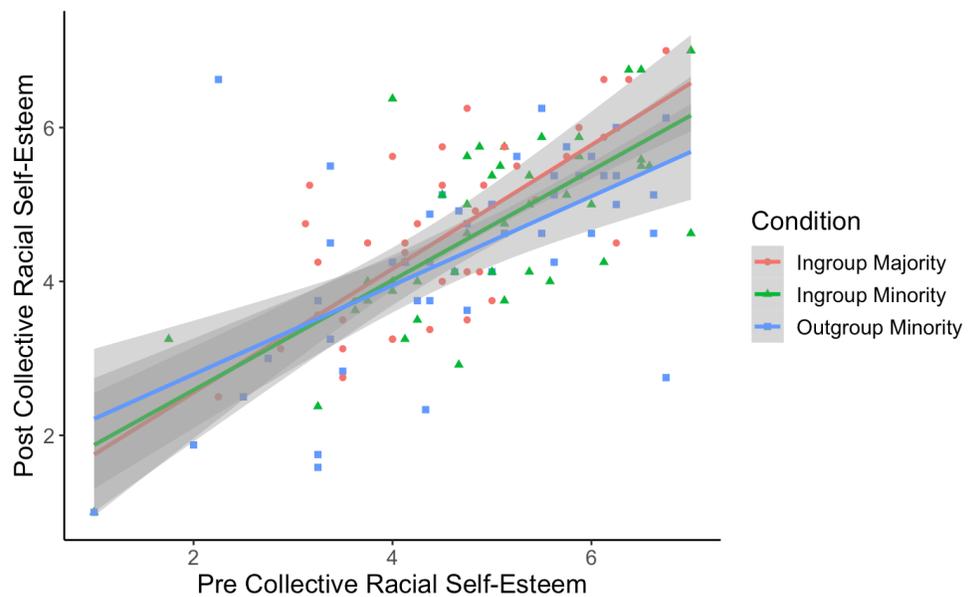


Figure 3: Post Racial Collective Self-Esteem Predicted by Pre Racial Collective Self-Esteem and Condition Type

Note. Participants excluded from their majority ingroup reported marginally higher collective racial self-esteem (to all their available ingroup memberships) compared to participants excluded from a minority outgroup.

2.2.3 Discussion

In Study 1a, I find evidence that exclusion may have differing effects on psychological outcomes for part-white Multiracial people depending on the excluding group's relations to that Multiracial individual. Specifically, I find that exclusion from a majority ingroup leads Multiracial individuals to feel higher levels of threat to their belonging needs, perceive higher similarity between their multiple racial group memberships, and also experience higher collective racial self-esteem, when compared to exclusion from a minority outgroup. Additionally, I find that exclusion from a minority ingroup results in decreased positive feelings and higher perceived similarity between racial group memberships compared to exclusion from a minority outgroup. Taken together, Study 1a provides evidence that exclusion from an ingroup, being either a majority or a minority ingroup, may significantly impact belonging and identity conceptualizations compared to exclusion from an outgroup. This supports previous research suggesting that the effects of exclusion are exacerbated when the exclusion is perpetrated by an essentialized ingroup versus an outgroup (Bernstein et al., 2010). Additionally, exclusion from a majority rather than a minority ingroup may be perceived as more severe (i.e., participant's estimate they received fewer ball tosses) and more threat to belonging needs.

Although Study 1a demonstrates that one's overall collective racial self-esteem (i.e., averaged across self-relevant ingroup memberships) may change as a result of

exclusion from a specific group, it remains unclear whether exclusion-impacted identification might differ between one's self-relevant ingroup memberships (e.g., identification with one's White versus Black versus Multiracial ingroup). As Multiracial people have multiple ingroup memberships available to them (e.g., Townsend et al., 2009), they may identify with some of their self-relevant ingroups more than others. For example, most Multiracial people more highly identify with their minority status identity over their majority status identity (Parker et al., 2015). Further, some research has identified that distinguishing between primary and secondary racial identification for Multiracial people may illuminate existing health disparities between groups (Wey et al., 2018). For understanding Multiracial identity and experiences, it may be important to disaggregate between the multiple ingroups that Multiracial people may claim. Similarly, although Study 1a identified that majority ingroup exclusion might pose a particularly high threat to belonging needs, it remains unclear whether exclusion across different racial group types might differently impact belonging to one's different group memberships.

Study 1a serves as one of the first studies to identify that experiences of exclusion by specific racial groups for Multiracial people may influence racial identity conceptualizations. Yet, existing theorizing on social identity has largely only considered an inclusion framework of identity (e.g., Tajfel & Turner, 1979), whereby people define their social identity by inclusion within particular groups. Therefore, Study 1b will build

upon Study 1a by further testing whether exclusion, rather than inclusion, is unique in influencing belonging needs and identity constructs for Multiracial people.

Additionally, Study 1a tested the perceived similarity between ingroups, but it did not test how participant's saw themselves as similar or prototypical of each group they interacted with. Positive interactions with others lead to increased perceptions of similarity (e.g., Morry, 2005) and these feelings of inter-personal similarity may also aid in securing the stable and satisfying and long-term relationships that fulfil belonging needs (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Thus, Study 1b will explore perceived self-similarity and other identity constructs (e.g., identity satisfaction or solidarity) related to one's ingroup identity that may be impacted by exclusion experiences.

2.3 Study 1b

In Study 1b, I aim to expand results of Study 1a by testing whether exclusion from different racial groups may influence belonging and identification disparately to Multiracial people's various available ingroups. Further, Study 1b will consider how Multiracial people navigate between both exclusion and inclusion interactions from different sources. In Study 1b, (H1) I hypothesize that all exclusion conditions will threaten belonging needs more than inclusion conditions. (H2) I also predict that there will be differences in self-identification measures between exclusion conditions (such that exclusion from one group will increase subsequent self-identification with another available ingroup), but there will be no significant difference in these measures between

inclusion conditions. (H3) Additionally, I predict that exclusion from ingroups will threaten belonging needs to that specific group (e.g., exclusion from a White group will threaten belongingness to a White group) and that exclusion from certain groups (majority ingroup, White) will threaten belonging more than exclusion from other groups (minority outgroup; replicating Study 1a). Finally, (H4) I hypothesize that exclusion from ingroups will increase perceived ingroup similarity (replicating Study 1a) and also decrease identity clarity to the excluded group (e.g., exclusion from a White group will decrease certainty of belonging to a White category).

2.3.1 Methods

2.3.1.1 Participants

Part-white Multiracial participants were recruited through Duke University's Interdisciplinary Behavioral Research Center (IBRC), Qualtrics Prime Panel platform, and through social media advertising (e.g., Facebook) and were compensated with either payment from the platform service (Qualtrics) or compensated with a \$12 Amazon e-gift card for their participation in the study. Individuals qualified for the study if they selected "White" and at least one other racial group identity from the list provided (Black/African American, Hispanic/Latino/a/x, American Indian/Native American, Middle Eastern, East Asian, South Asian, Southeast Asian, Pacific Islander). An *a priori* power analysis for a repeated measures ANOVA with 8 groups suggested 236 participants for 80% power to detect a minimum effect size of $f = .20$ (Faul et al.,

2009). Participants were excluded from the final analysis for (i) violating more than one bot detection meta-data statistic (e.g., impossible completion times, multiple entries, gibberish or nonsensical responses, see Buchanan & Scofield, 2018), (ii) failing two attention checks (e.g., “For this question, select ‘4’”), (iii) or failing one or more manipulation checks (not reporting the correct gender, correct race, correct condition, estimating greater than 25% ball tosses in exclusion conditions and less than 20% ball tosses in inclusion conditions). The final sample consisted of 269 part-white Multiracial individuals (39.4% male, 60.6% female, 23.0% White/Black, 16.0% White/Latine, 3.7% White/American Indian, 1.1% White/Middle Eastern, 40.1% White/Asian, 0.4% White/Pacific Islander, 15.6% White/ two or more minority groups, $M_{age} = 31.2$, $SD = 10.6^1$).

2.3.1.2 Design and Procedure

Study 1b was conducted online in Spring of 2022. Participants completed all measures within one session of the online study where they first completed baseline measures of the identity related questions (see below) followed by a series of filler questions (e.g., Big Five Inventory, John & Srivastava, 1999; Machiavellianism Scale, Dahling et al., 2009). Next, participants were randomly assigned to either an (i) Inclusion or Exclusion condition and to either a (ii) Majority Ingroup (White), Minority Ingroup,

¹ Age was only measured for participants recruited in the online advertising or Qualtrics platform, $n = 136$

Minority Outgroup, or Multiracial group of Cyberball “players.” Whereas participants viewed photos of the other Cyberball “players” during the game in Study 1a, participants in Study 1b were instead provided a “Study Profile Label” that included their race/ethnicity and gender information based on the demographic information they provided at the beginning of the study. Participants were told the label created for their identity would be shown to other players during the game. Participants were also shown the labels of the other “players” during the game (gender-matched to participant) that represented the condition specific racial/ethnic group (see Figure 4). As a manipulation check, participants had to report the gender and race/ethnicity of the other players after the game concluded. Finally, participants were asked to complete survey items regarding belonging and the same identity measures once again.

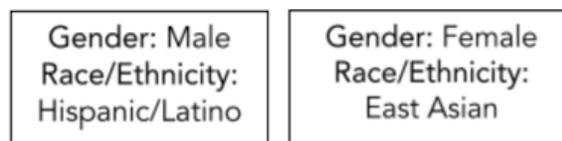


Figure 4: Study 1b Manipulated Study Profile Labels

Note. Labels displayed under the pre-programmed Cyberball players to identify a gender-matched group and specific race.

2.3.1.3 Measures

The Group Level Self Definition (Leach et al., 2008) full 14-item measure was used to assess different self-identification concepts both at the beginning of the study before

the manipulation and afterwards after the manipulation. This measurement consists of 5 subscales: Solidarity (e.g., “I feel a bond with [White/Black/Multiracial] people”), Satisfaction (e.g., “I am glad to be [White/Black/Multiracial]”), Centrality (e.g., “I often think about the fact that I am [White/Black/Multiracial]”), Self-stereotyping (e.g., “I am similar to the average [White/Black/ Multiracial] person”), and Group-homogeneity (e.g., “[White/Black/Multiracial] people are very similar to each other”). Each item was adapted to be applied to the three (or more) potential ingroup memberships participants may identify with (i.e., White, minority ingroup, Multiracial), such that participants answered each subscale a minimum of three times related to their self-relevant identity groups. Items are rated from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree), and a composite score was made for each racial group and subscale at each timepoint, α 's > .69).

The *Collective Identity Clarity Measure* (Usborne & Taylor, 2010) was used to test the certainty of one's beliefs about one's social group (e.g., “In general, I have a clear sense of what my racial group is”). The 8 items were scored from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) and this measure was administered both before and after the study manipulation (α 's < .69).

The *General Belongingness Measure* (Malone et al., 2012) was used to assess achieved belonging both before and following the Cyberball game. I adapted the original version (which measured general belonging) to assess belonging levels to specific group memberships (e.g., “When I am with other[White/Black/Multiracial]

people, I feel included"). Participants rated these 8 items (4 items in subscale Acceptance/Inclusion and 4 in subscale Exclusion/Rejection) from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) related to their White identity, their self-relevant minority ingroup identity, and their Multiracial identity, and a composite score was made for each racial group and subscale (α 's > .82).

Finally, as in Study 1a, the following measures were used in Study 1b. The *Need Threat Scale* (Williams, 2009) was used to assess threat to psychological needs and affect following the Cyberball game (α 's > .71). Participants were also asked to rate the severity of their exclusion and estimate the number of ball tosses they receive (α 's > .82).

Additionally, as in Study 1, The *Collective Self-Esteem-Race version* (importance subscale; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992) was used to assess how strongly individuals identified with each of their various racial ingroups. Participants were asked to think about one of their self-relevant racial ingroups and then presented with 4-items about how strongly they identify with their ingroup (e.g., "The racial/ethnic group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am") rated from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

Participants completed this measure for all self-relevant ingroups both before the study manipulation and afterwards (α 's > .61)². Finally, the single-item measure *Inclusion of*

² Due to low reliability, reverse coded items ("Overall, my race/ethnicity has very little to do with how I feel about myself") were removed from the final analyses and only the positively valence items were retained.

Ingroup in the Self (IIS; Tropp & Wright, 2001) was administered as well both before and after the Cyberball manipulation.

2.3.2 Results

Statistical analyses were completed in RStudio (2018). The alpha level was set to .05 for all analyses unless reported otherwise; Bonferroni corrections for multiple comparisons were implemented when appropriate.

2.3.2.1 Baseline Characteristics and Perceptions of Exclusion

2.3.2.1.1 Pre-Test Scores

To test whether participants across condition types began the study with similar collective racial self-esteem levels, identity conceptions (i.e., solidarity, centrality), belonging, perceived ingroup similarity, and clarity, I conducted two-way ANOVAs by the study condition type (exclusion vs. inclusion) and group type (majority ingroup, minority ingroup) on these outcome variables prior to the Cyberball game. This analysis revealed that prior to the experimental portion of the study, there was a marginal interaction of condition types (exclusion vs. inclusion) and group type (majority ingroup, minority ingroup, minority outgroup, Multiracial) on collective racial self-esteem, $F(3, 261) = 2.54, p = .057, \eta_p^2 = .03$, a significant main effect by condition type on identity solidarity, $F(1, 261) = 4.21, p = .041, \eta_p^2 = .02$, a marginal main effect of condition type on identity self-stereotyping, $F(1, 261) = 2.76, p = .098, \eta_p^2 = .01$, and a significant main effect of condition type on perceived ingroup similarity, $F(1, 261) = 5.23, p = .023$,

$n_p^2 = .02$ (all other baseline comparisons were not significantly different, p 's > .112). To account for these baseline differences, the following models will predict post-test scores and treat baseline measures as covariates within each model (see Vickers 2001).

Next, I tested whether the specific Multiracial groups (e.g., White/Black, White/Asian), were evenly distributed across the eight condition types. A Chi-square analysis revealed there was no significant evidence of an association between condition and racial group, ($\chi^2 = 47.80, p = .249$) such that the racial groups were evenly distributed across condition types.

2.3.2.1.2 Perception of Exclusion

To check participant's awareness of the study manipulation, two-way ANOVAs were performed on the estimated ball tosses received and the participant rated exclusion they experienced during the game across condition type (exclusion vs. inclusion) and group type (majority ingroup, minority ingroup, minority outgroup, Multiracial).

Levene's test and normality checks were performed and assumptions were satisfied.

There was a significant main effect of condition type (exclusion vs. inclusion) and group type (majority ingroup, minority ingroup, minority outgroup, Multiracial) on estimated number of ball tosses received (p 's < .049), and a marginal interaction between condition type and group, $F(3, 261) = 2.58, p = .054, n_p^2 = 0.02$. Additionally, there was a main effect of condition type on participant rated exclusion, $F(1, 261) = 121.12, p < .001, n_p^2 = .31$.

Across all group types, participants in the inclusion conditions estimated they received significantly more ball tosses ($M_{\text{Total}} = 30.4\%, SD = 12.9$) and rated that they were

excluded less ($M = 2.1$, $SD = 1.0$) than participants in the exclusion condition ($M_{\text{Total}} = 14.5\%$, $SD = 8.5$; $t(267) = -11.96$, $p_{\text{Bonferroni}} < .001$; $M = 3.6$, $SD = 1.2$; $t(267) = 11.05$, $p_{\text{Bonferroni}} < .001$).

2.3.2.2 Main Analysis

2.3.2.2.1 Threatened Needs and Affect

To assess the effect of the Cyberball game's condition type (exclusion vs. inclusion) and group type (majority ingroup, minority ingroup, minority outgroup, Multiracial) on psychological needs (belonging, control, self-esteem, meaningful existence), two-way ANCOVAs were performed controlling for baseline collective racial self-esteem. Levene's test and normality checks were performed and assumptions were satisfied. There were significant main effects for condition type (exclusion vs. inclusion) on belonging, $F(1, 260) = 123.23$, $p < .001$, $n_p^2 = .31$, control, $F(1, 260) = 66.81$, $p < .001$, $n_p^2 = .20$, self-esteem, $F(1, 260) = 79.72$, $p < .001$, $n_p^2 = .23$, and meaningful existence, $F(1, 260) = 121.26$, $p < .001$, $n_p^2 = .31$. Participants reported higher threats to belonging, control, and meaningful existence across all exclusion conditions vs. inclusion conditions. For belonging, there was also a marginal main effect of condition group, $F(1, 260) = 1.18$, $p = .091$, $n_p^2 = .02$, and of baseline collective racial self-esteem, $F(1, 260) = 3.14$, $p = .078$, $n_p^2 = .01$. Participants reported higher threatened belonging when interacting with their minority ingroup ($M = 3.2$, $SD = 1.1$) compared to a Multiracial group ($M = 2.9$, $SD = 1.2$; $t(264) = 2.00$, $p = .051$, $p_{\text{Bonferroni}} = .304$). Additionally, there was also a significant main effect of condition type (exclusion vs. inclusion) for positive $F(1, 260) = 72.00$, $p < .001$, $n_p^2 =$

= .21, and negative mood, $F(1, 260) = 47.46, p < .001, \eta^2 = .15$, such that exclusion conditions overall resulted in more negative ($M = 2.8, SD = 1.0$) and less positive mood ($M = 2.4, SD = 0.9$), compared to inclusion conditions ($M_{\text{negative}} = 2.0, SD = 0.9; M_{\text{positive}} = 3.4, SD = 0.8$).

2.3.2.2.2 General Belongingness Measure

Repeated measures models were calculated to measure racial-specific (White, self-relevant minority ingroup, and Multiracial) belonging (acceptance and rejection) following the Cyberball game between both condition types (exclusion vs. inclusion) and group types (majority ingroup, minority ingroup, minority outgroup, Multiracial), controlling for baseline levels of belonging. Levene's test and normality checks were performed and assumptions were satisfied. For the measure of acceptance, there was a significant main effect of baseline belonging, $F(2, 522) = 429.86, p < .001, \eta^2 = .62$, and racial identity group, $F(2, 522) = 26.38, p < .001, \eta^2 = .09$. Across all conditions, participants reported higher levels of acceptance within their Multiracial ingroup ($M = 4.3, SD = 1.0$), compared to their Minority ingroup ($M = 4.0, SD = 1.0$), and their White ingroup ($M = 3.7, SD = 1.2; p'_{\text{Bonferroni}} < .001$). Similarly, for the measure of rejection, there was a significant main effect of baseline belonging, $F(2, 522) = 155.16, p < .001, \eta^2 = .37$, and racial identity ingroup, $F(2, 522) = 16.56, p < .001, \eta^2 = .06$. Across all conditions, participants reported higher rejection from their minority ($M = 3.4, SD = 1.2$) and majority ($M = 3.6, SD = 1.3$) ingroup identities compared to their Multiracial identity ($M = 3.1, SD = 1.1; p'_{\text{Bonferroni}} < .001$).

2.3.2.2.3 Identity Measures

2.3.2.2.3.1 Racial Collective Self-Esteem

Repeated measures models were calculated to measure racial-specific (White, self-relevant minority ingroup, and Multiracial) collective racial self-esteem following the Cyberball game between both condition types (exclusion vs. inclusion) and group types (majority ingroup, minority ingroup, minority outgroup, Multiracial), controlling for baseline collective racial self-esteem. Levene's test and normality checks were performed and assumptions were satisfied. There was a main effect of baseline collective racial self-esteem, $F(1, 522) = 283.63, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .49$, and racial identity group, $F(2, 522) = 16.85, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .04$, such that across conditions, White racial collective self-esteem ($M = 4.1, SD = 1.1$) was significantly lower than both Multiracial ($M = 4.5, SD = 1.3; t(803) = 4.50, p_{Bonferroni} < .001$) and minority ingroup collective self-esteem ($M = 4.4, SD = 0.9; t(803) = 3.17, p_{Bonferroni} = .005$).

2.3.2.2.3.2 Group-Level Self Definition

Repeated measures models were calculated to assess racial-specific (White, self-relevant minority ingroup, and Multiracial) identity constructs (solidarity, satisfaction, centrality, self-stereotyping, perceived ingroup homogeneity) following the Cyberball game between both condition types (exclusion vs. inclusion) and group types (majority ingroup, minority ingroup, minority outgroup, Multiracial), controlling for baseline levels of identity constructs. Levene's test and normality checks were performed and assumptions were satisfied. There was a significant main effect of baseline identity

solidarity and racial identity group, p 's $<.001$, on racial identity solidarity, and there was a significant interaction between racial group and condition type, $F(2, 522) = 3.34$, $p = .036$, $n_p^2 = .01$. Post hoc pairwise analyses revealed that Multiracial identity solidarity was higher when participants were in an exclusion condition ($M = 4.3$, $SD = 0.2$) rather than an inclusion condition ($M = 4.0$, $SD = 0.2$; $t(782) = 1.67$, $p_{\text{Bonferroni}} = .092$), but White identity solidarity was higher in inclusion conditions ($M = 3.4$, $SD = 0.2$) rather than in exclusion conditions ($M = 3.2$, $SD = 0.2$; $t(782) = -1.71$, $p_{\text{Bonferroni}} = .078$; see Figure 5).

For racial identity satisfaction, there was a significant main effect of baseline identity satisfaction and racial identity group, p 's $<.001$, a marginal main effect of group type, $F(3, 260) = 2.12$, $p = .098$, $n_p^2 = .02$, and a marginal interaction between racial group and condition type, $F(2, 522) = 2.77$, $p = .064$, $n_p^2 = .01$. Post hoc analysis revealed that specifically, White identity satisfaction was higher when participants were included ($M = 3.6$, $SD = 0.2$) compared to when excluded ($M = 3.3$, $SD = 0.2$; $t(781) = -2.43$, $p_{\text{Bonferroni}} = .015$) across group types (see Figure 5). Additionally, across racial groups, participants had marginally higher identity satisfaction after an outgroup minority interaction ($M = 4.1$, $SD = 1.3$) compared to ingroup majority or minority interactions ($M_{\text{majority}} = 3.9$, $SD = 1.0$; $M_{\text{minority}} = 3.9$, $SD = 1.1$; p 's $<.045$; $p_{\text{Bonferroni}} <.267$).

For racial identity centrality, there was a main effect of baseline identity centrality, $F(2, 260) = 371.57$, $p <.001$, $n_p^2 = .59$, and racial identity group, $F(2, 522) = 50.68$, $p <.001$, $n_p^2 = .16$, such that across conditions, White identity centrality was significantly

lower than minority ingroup ($t(803) = 8.70, p_{\text{Bonferroni}} < .001$) or Multiracial identity centrality ($t(803) = 7.27, p_{\text{Bonferroni}} < .001$). Similarly, for racial identity self-stereotyping, there was a main effect of baseline identity self-stereotyping, $F(2, 260) = 253.37, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .49$, and racial identity group, $F(2, 522) = 11.44, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .04$. Across conditions, White identity self-stereotyping was significantly lower than Multiracial identity self-stereotyping ($t(803) = 6.43, p_{\text{Bonferroni}} < .001$). Finally, for post racial identity homogeneity, there was only a significant main effect of baseline identity homogeneity, $F(2, 260) = 297.09, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .53$.

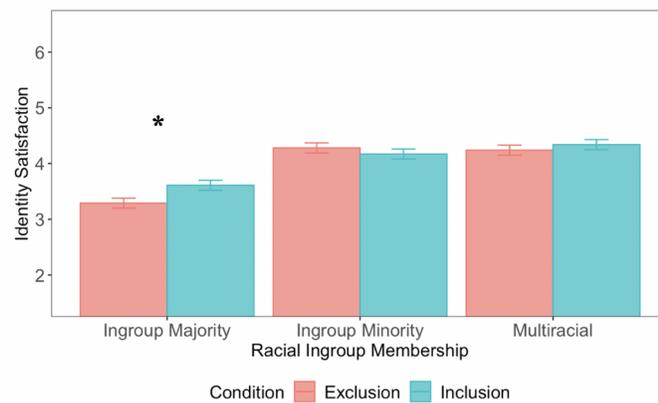
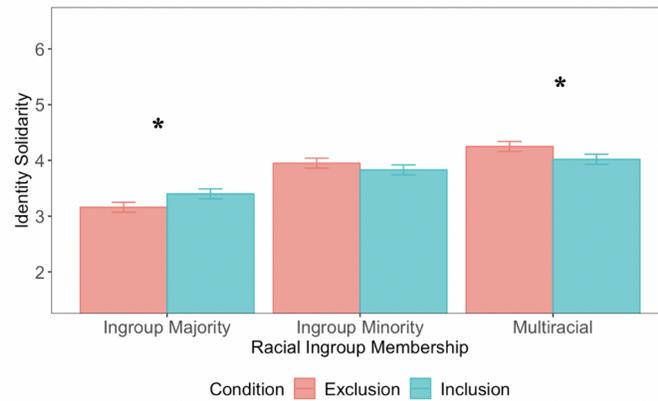


Figure 5: Identity Solidarity and Satisfaction by Condition Type and Racial Ingroup

Note. Multiracial identity solidarity was higher after exclusion compared to inclusion, but White identity solidarity was higher after inclusion compared to exclusion. Additionally, White identity satisfaction was higher when included compared to excluded (controlling for baseline measures of solidarity and satisfaction).

2.3.2.2.3.3 Perceived Ingroup Similarity and Racial Identity Clarity

An OLS regression model was used to predict the perceived ingroup similarity following the Cyberball game between both condition types (exclusion vs. inclusion) and group types (majority ingroup, minority ingroup, minority outgroup, Multiracial), controlling for baseline levels of perceived ingroup similarity. Levene’s test and

normality checks were performed and assumptions were satisfied. Overall, the model was significant, $F(8, 260) = 125.3, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .02$. There was a significant main effect of baseline perceived ingroup similarity ($\beta = .91, t(260) = 30.75, p < .001$) and minority ingroup ($\beta = 0.31, t(260) = 2.18, p = .031$). Additionally, there was a marginal main effect of Multiracial group ($\beta = 0.24, t(260) = 1.67, p = .097$), and a marginal interaction between minority ingroup and inclusion ($\beta = -0.38, t(260) = -1.84, p = .066$). Post hoc analysis revealed that there was no difference in perceived ingroup similarity when *included* by either a majority or minority ingroup ($\beta = -0.07, t(260) = -0.48, p_{Bonferroni} = .963$), yet, perceived ingroup similarity was marginally higher when *excluded* by a minority ingroup compared to a majority ingroup ($\beta = 0.31, t(260) = 2.18, p = .031, p_{Bonferroni} = .133$; see Figure 6).

An OLS regression model was also used to predict the perceived identity clarity following the Cyberball game between both condition types (exclusion vs. inclusion) and group types (majority ingroup, minority ingroup, minority outgroup, Multiracial), controlling for baseline levels of perceived identity clarity. Levene's test and normality checks were performed and assumptions were satisfied. Overall, the model was significant, $F(8, 260) = 77.92, p < .001, R^2 = .69$. Within the model estimates, there was only a main effect of baseline perceived identity clarity, $t(260) = 24.68, p < .001$.

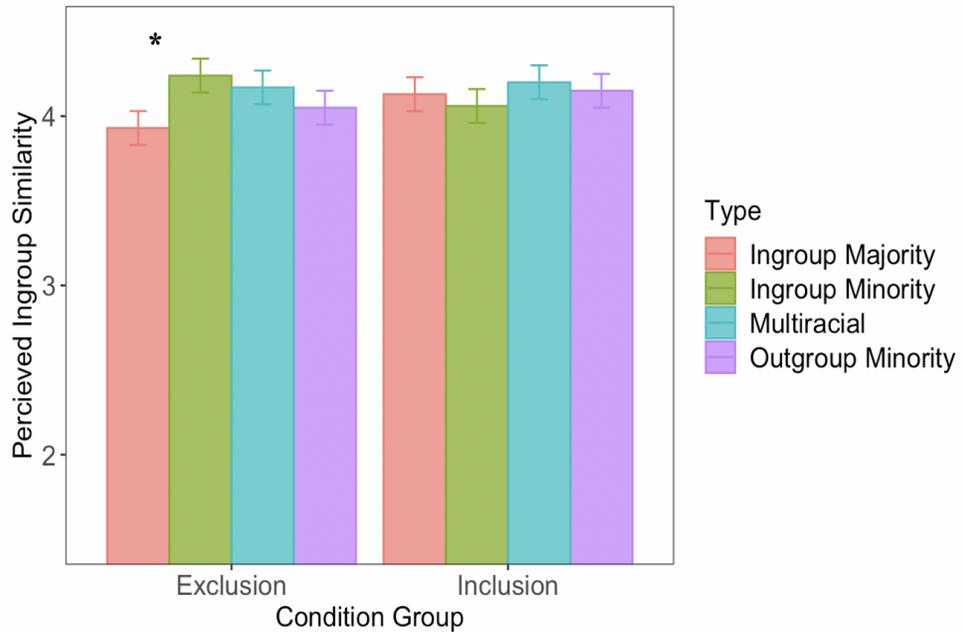


Figure 6: Perceived Ingroup Similarity After Cyberball Exclusion

Note. Perceived racial ingroup similarity did not differ when included by different group types, however, it did decrease when excluded by a minority ingroup compared to a majority ingroup (controlling for baseline perceived ingroup similarity).

2.3.3 Discussion

In Study 1b, I find evidence supporting H1 in line with previous research demonstrating the negative effects of exclusion on psychological needs of belonging, control, self-esteem, meaningful existence, and affect (e.g., Williams, 2009). Moreover, in partial support of H2, I find evidence demonstrating the unique role that exclusion plays in racial identification for Multiracial people – when excluded rather than included (by any group type), participants’ Multiracial identity solidarity increased, yet White identity solidarity and satisfaction decreased. This suggests that as Multiracial people

experience more exclusion across contexts, they may become more identified with their Multiracial identity membership and simultaneously deidentified with their White identity membership. Knowing that Multiracial people generally report high rates of exclusion (Shih & Sanchez, 2005) and that they tend to choose to identify more with their minority monoracial group or a Multiracial identity over a White identity (e.g., Renn, 2003 ; this study), these results suggest a causal link between these high rates of exclusion and patterns of Multiracial identification. Additionally, in partial support of H4, results in Study 1b suggest no change in perceived ingroup similarity across inclusion from different groups, however, exclusion from a minority ingroup resulted in higher perceived ingroup similarity than exclusion from a majority ingroup. Taken together, this suggests that exclusion experiences, rather than inclusion, specifically influence how Multiracial people think about their racial identification.

Study 1b also provides evidence supporting Study 1a and further suggesting that the group membership of people we socially interact with is consequential. Specifically, participants report that across their racial group memberships, their racial identity satisfaction was higher after interacting with a minority outgroup (i.e., being excluded or included by) compared to a minority or majority ingroup. This suggests that Multiracial people may be particularly sensitive to social interactions with members from their majority and minority monoracial ingroup memberships. This increased sensitivity to any interaction with these group memberships may be a result of the high-

rates of exclusion that is perpetrated from these groups for Multiracial people (e.g., Shih & Sanchez, 2005). Similarly, Study 1b also highlights that interacting with (i.e., being excluded or included by) a minority ingroup, rather than a Multiracial group, is more threatening to belonging needs. Expanding upon research suggesting that the effects of exclusion might be moderated by ingroup versus outgroup membership (Bernstein et al., 2010), here I find that different ingroup memberships can also moderate exclusion effects for Multiracial people. This provides evidence that the group membership of an excluder may influence how Multiracial people process that exclusion experiences and the impact this has on their racial identification.

Finally, I find mixed evidence supporting H2 and H3. Across condition types (exclusion vs. inclusion) and group types (majority ingroup, minority ingroup, minority outgroup, Multiracial), I find that Multiracial participants report higher identity centrality, saliency, and self-stereotyping to their Multiracial and minority ingroup identities compared to their majority ingroup identity (White). Further, participants report across all condition types that they feel more accepted by their Multiracial group membership and more rejected by their majority and minority ingroup memberships. This identification and feeling of acceptance with a Multiracial group is in-line with previous research on Multiracial identification (e.g., Norman et al., 2020). Notably, although participants report that they are more identified with the group they feel accepted by (Multiracial) and less identified with a group they feel more rejected by

(majority ingroup), they are also more identified with a group they report feeling rejected by, their minority ingroup.

2.4 Discussion: Studies 1a and 1b

Across two studies, I tested whether exclusion and inclusion from specific racial groups differentially impacted belonging and racial identification for part-White Multiracial people. Results provide evidence suggesting that (i) exclusion experiences play a unique role in how Multiracial people think about their racial identification and (ii) that the social identity of an excluder(s) is additionally impactful to these identity conceptualizations.

Building upon the research identifying the negative effects of social exclusion on psychological needs such as belonging, meaningful existence, control, and self-esteem (e.g., Williams, 2009), results from this set of studies suggest that exclusion experiences may also influence how Multiracial people think about their racial identification. In Study 1a, results demonstrate that the importance of one's racial identity (i.e., racial collective self-esteem) may be malleable as a result of exclusion experiences, increasing in response to exclusion from a majority ingroup compared to a minority outgroup. Although Study 1b did not replicate this change in importance of identification after exclusion (see below for further discussion), it did reveal that following *exclusion* rather than inclusion from any group type, Multiracial identity solidarity increased. This provides initial evidence that social exclusion may serve as a pathway to group-level

identification for specific group memberships (e.g., Multiracial rather than majority or minority ingroup). Conversely, White identity solidarity and satisfaction increased following *inclusion* from any group type rather than exclusion.

This has important implications on how self-identification is constructed across different racial groups. In line with the perspective that a social identity development focus on inclusion alone (e.g., Tajfel & Turner, 1979) broadly represents a majority (White) perspective (e.g., Straka & Gaither, in prep), I find in Study 1b that Multiracial people's identification with their White identity increases as a result of inclusion experiences. Conversely, as minority groups are often defined in opposition to majority groups and experience high rates of discrimination, exclusion may play a significant role in identity development and maintenance for these identities. Further, these changes in racial identity constructs provides evidence of the flexible nature of racial identification and demonstrates that exclusion as well as inclusion experiences may shape it. Additionally, this work builds upon previous research exploring the psychological and perceptual effects of ostracism. In particular, where past research has found that exclusion exacerbates categorical thinking (Sacco et al., 2011), this study suggests this may also be influenced by the source of exclusion. As shown in Study 1b, majority ingroup exclusion led to lower perceived ingroup similarity compared to minority ingroup exclusion suggesting that exclusion from a majority ingroup spurred more categorical thinking compared to minority ingroup exclusion.

Across both studies, I find that interactions with some groups (being either exclusive or inclusive) is experienced as more threatening to belonging needs than interactions with other groups. In Study 1a, exclusion from a majority ingroup was significantly more threatening to belonging needs than exclusion from a minority ingroup or outgroup. In Study 1b, I found that any interaction with one's minority ingroup (either exclusion or inclusion) was more threatening to belonging needs than interaction with a Multiracial group. This builds upon previous research showing more negative and positive effects of exclusion and inclusion respectively from ingroups (Bernstein et al., 2010) in suggesting that as distinctions between ingroup and outgroup membership are blurred for Multiracial people, the effects of exclusion from different sources may vary. In Study 1b, I also found that across condition types, a sense of belonging was high for a Multiracial membership and low for majority and minority ingroup memberships. This suggests that belonging may be an important factor in determining the effects of rejection for Multiracial people such that their sense of belonging to an ingroup might influence how they are psychologically affected by interactions with that group. As a sense of belonging to majority and minority ingroup may be low for Multiracial people, they may be highly sensitive to interactions with these groups that may serve as a reminder of their tenuous membership. For example, Study 1b also finds that across condition types and specific group memberships,

Multiracial people's identity satisfaction was higher after interacting with an outgroup minority as opposed to an ingroup majority or minority group.

Alternatively, compared to monoracial groups that are defined by strict boundaries, a Multiracial category may be viewed as a highly inclusive category due to its heterogeneous nature. Thus, interactions with other Multiracial people may be perceived through this inclusive lens that is less threatening to belonging. Relatedly, Study 1b also revealed that overall, across all condition types, participants reported that their White identity centrality, self-stereotyping, and collective self-esteem was lower than that of their minority or Multiracial identity. In line with previous research (e.g. Renn, 2003), Multiracial individuals may find primary racial identification and ingroup membership with either their minority ingroup identity or a "Multiracial" identity. In particular, this study suggests that primary identification with a Multiracial identity might be a potentially protective option after being excluded. As the definitional boundaries of a Multiracial identity are more inclusive compared to monoracial groups, claiming this identity might buffer effects of social exclusion (e.g., Binning et al., 2009).

Finally, one possible reason for the lack of full replication between Studies 1a and 1b might be the change in experimental methods. Specifically, the use of the photos (plus a label) in Study 1a to communicate racial group membership may have been more salient than the labels alone (Study 1b) as the photos may have been more similar to a real-life interaction. Furthermore, where participants in Study 1a reported no baseline

differences in their racial collective self-esteem between condition types, there were several baseline differences identified in Study 1b. Both studies were fully randomized but baseline differences in Study 1b suggests there were differences between the samples in Study 1a and 1b. Although age was not measured in Study 1a, the sample consisted largely of college-aged students such that the average age may have been significantly younger than the sample in Study 1b ($M_{age} = 31.2$). Given that early adulthood may be a unique period of identity exploration (e.g., Phinney et al., 2006), the sample in Study 1a may have responded more strongly to identity challenges than the older participants in Study 1b. Research also shows that the effects of ostracism might be more severe among younger (< 60 years old) vs. older adults (Hawley et al., 2011) suggesting that some participants in Study 1b (minimum of three participants over the age of 60) may have responded less strongly to the specific exclusion experiences.

2.4.1 Limitations and Future Directions

Although the attribution of the ostracism was not measured in this study, previous research suggests that racial minorities may spontaneously refer to experiences of racial discrimination when prompted to think about experiences of ostracism (with no direction to explicitly consider their racial identity; DeSouza et al., 2019). Indeed, where White individuals may only attribute ostracism to racism with interacting with a cross-race group (Black), Black individuals have been shown to attribute their ostracism to racism when excluded by either a White or Black group, suggesting that ostracism is a

highly racialized experience for racial minority groups (e.g., Goodwin et al., 2010). This current study is limited in only exploring the experiences of exclusion among Multiracial people with White ancestry. Research on the experiences of Multiracial and mixed-raced individuals has traditionally focused on the experiences of White/Black, and other part-White Multiracial people (e.g., Asian/White; Brunisma & Rockquemore, 2001). As social and psychological research has under-considered the experiences of multiple-minority Multiracial people (e.g., Spickard et al. 2017), it is imperative to explore how these groups may experience exclusion. Finally, as the effects of social exclusion regarding threatened fundamental psychological needs and decreased mood has been found to vary by experimental paradigm (e.g., Bernstein & Claypool, 2012), it is also important to expand this research by exploring Multiracial exclusion within different contexts.

2.4.2 Conclusion

Across two studies, I find that the effects of social exclusion may be moderated by the social identity of an exclusion source as well as the social identities of the target. I find that exclusion from majority versus minority ingroups can result in both increased threat and collective racial identification for Multiracial people (Study 1a). Further, I find that social exclusion broadly increases Multiracial identification while decreasing White identification and that exclusion, and not inclusion, may influence people's perception of the similarity between their multiple group memberships (Study 1b).

Chapter 3. Rejection in the Real-World: Institutional Exclusion of Multiple Groups

Studies 1a and 1b demonstrated that the specific group-related qualities of an exclusion source (e.g., group membership) in interpersonally communicated exclusion impacted threats to belonging and self-identification. Of course, exclusion does not only occur in interpersonal interactions (e.g., institutional discrimination), and many “modern” forms of discrimination occur in subtle ways (e.g., microaggressions). Further, exclusion may be threatening to a single identity (e.g., excluded for being Black), or it may threaten multiple identities at a time (e.g., intersectionality, being excluded for being Black and a woman). Where Studies 1a and 1b focused on how the source of interpersonal exclusion may affect self-identification, Studies 2a and 2b will focus on how exclusion from an institutional source (i.e., mock Census demographic forms) may impact identity. Specifically, Studies 2a and 2b will test a real-world example of exclusion from an institutional source on Multicultural Latine Americans who may experience denial of their Latine identity and American identity. This set of studies will expand on Studies 1a and 1b by exploring exclusion from a different source and how it may impact belonging needs and self-identification as well as subsequent social behavior.

3.1 Background

Currently, the U.S. Census Bureau considers “Hispanic/Latino”¹ an ethnic group and not a race. However, this classification system used by the U.S. government is not equitable to how Latine communities identify on average. The Pew Research Center reports that 51% of Latine people identify as “some other race” or offer “Hispanic/Latino” as their race, and 67% of Latine adults say “Hispanic” is part of their racial background (Parker et al., 2015). Clearly, Latine people in the U.S. struggle to place themselves within a structure that was not designed to accommodate their identities. Further challenges in identifying Latine people have been debated as the inclusion of a citizenship question was argued to be added to the 2020 Census. The Census acts as a proxy of the values of the government and how it recognizes and categorizes its people. By marginalizing the “Hispanic/Latino” label as an ethnicity separate from the recognized racial groups on demographic forms, this can subtly communicate implicit messages that Latine people are not prototypical, recognized, or valued members of U.S. society.

3.1.1 The Challenge of Latine Identity: Race or Ethnicity?

Several federally recognized racial groups refer to largely diverse sets of individuals. For example, “Asian” can refer to anyone with ancestry from any of the 48

¹ “Hispanic/Latino” refers to the specific category label used by the U.S. Census Bureau

countries in Asia,² consisting of people with varying skin tones, languages, and cultural practices. Yet, “Hispanic/Latino,” which broadly refers to individuals with origins from Central or South America as well as the Iberian Peninsula, is considered a pan-ethnic group and is not formally recognized as a racial group in the United States.

Nevertheless, people with “Hispanic/Latino” ancestry are racialized within American society. Racialization is the specific social process by which meanings and attributions are attached to inherited characteristics often for the purpose of exploitation and exclusion (e.g., Massey, 2014). Further, race is a socially developed construct that can be continually negotiated and reinvented. Although people of Mexican origin were legally classified as White by the 1848 Treaty of Guadeloupe Hidalgo, this institutional level classification did not translate to a social acceptance of Latine people as White within American society. Both historically and contemporarily, Latine individuals have been exploited (e.g., labor, Maldonado, 2009) and excluded in the U.S. (e.g., denied access to resources). Additionally, Latine Americans report high rates of discrimination (e.g., Findling et al., 2019; Lopez et al., 2018) and face negative stereotypes similar to other low-status racialized groups in the U.S. (e.g. Fox, 2004; Gonzalez et al., 2002; Sui & Paul, 2017).

2 As currently recognized by the United Nations

As the classification system used by the U.S. government does not always accurately capture how Latine communities identify (e.g., Parker et al., 2015), this can also conflate race versus ethnicity identification discussions. Further still, the way Latine Americans racially identify has also shifted over the last decade. Data from the 2020 Census shows that from 2010 to 2020, the number of people of Hispanic or Latin origin reporting more than one race increased by 567% from 3 million (6.0%) to 20.3 million (32.7%), compared to those identifying as White alone which decreased by 52.9% from 26.7 million to 12.6 million (U.S. Census, 2020). This might reflect an acknowledgement of “mestizo” and “mulatto” (i.e., Multiracial) heritage among many Latine Americans (e.g., Gonzalez-Barrera, 2015), and it may also suggest an attempt for Latine Americans to identify themselves within the existing U.S. racial classification system.

Because of their ethnic classification but racialized treatment, research on Latine people is highly nuanced, spanning both cultural and race based psychological research. Within the context of ethnicity, higher Latine ethnic identity is important as it is predictive of greater well-being (e.g., French & Chavez, 2010; Torres & Ong, 2010). Similarly, scholarship on marginalized racial groups (e.g., Black Americans) has overwhelmingly demonstrated that increased identification with one’s racial group is protective against the negative effects of discrimination (e.g., Cobb et al., 2018; Settles et al., 2010; Sellers et al., 1998). However, when considering the context of the U.S. racial classification system, Latine Americans may have a more difficult time determining their

category membership (e.g., Parker et al., 2015). Here, I argue that the exclusion of “Hispanic/Latino” from the U.S. observed racial category list may act as a subtle oppression of Latine identification. When faced with uncertainty, which can be caused by discrimination and exclusion, people are more likely to strongly identify with highly entitative groups – groups that are perceived as “real groups” by nature of having perceived clear boundaries, internal homogeneity, and perceived common goals and fate (e.g., Campbell, 1958; Hogg et al., 2007). The lack of federal recognition of Latine American people undercuts the validity of “Hispanic/Latino” as a group, which may result in lower identification with this group. Notably, I am not arguing that the U.S.’s racial classification is the preferred option of designating racial categories. Rather, I am arguing that given this existing system and its downstream implications (e.g., allocations of government spending, congressional representation), people of Hispanic/Latin origin should be fully included within the existing system instead of marginalized by it (e.g., Trucios-Haynes, 2000).

3.1.2 Identity Threat: Invalidating American identity

Perhaps more widely debated as a possible source of identity threat on the U.S. Census was the possibility of including a citizenship question on the 2020 Census. Many Latine (and Asian) Americans report microaggressions of being seen as a “perpetual foreigner” (e.g., Sue et al., 2007) and indeed, empirical research shows that people implicitly associate White people as more American than ethnic minority groups (e.g.,

Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Devos & Banaji, 2005). Awareness of this stereotype is predictive of greater depression among Latine Americans (e.g., Huynh, 2011), and Multicultural people who report higher identity denial also report feeling less freedom to choose their identity and perceive greater conflict between their identity groups (e.g., Albuja et al., 2019c). Further, research also demonstrates that Multicultural people who are denied their American identity experience higher stress and slower cortisol recovery following denial experiences (Albuja et al., 2019a). Thus far, the research on identity denial has only considered interpersonally communicated denial (e.g., Albuja et al., 2019a), and although some work with Multiracial people has explored how demographic forms may threaten identity (e.g., Townsend et al., 2009), no work to my knowledge has explored how Latine Americans experience identity denial from an institutional source (i.e., the U.S. Census). As these identity denial experiences can influence belonging (e.g., Albuja et al., 2019c), it may also impact one's self-identification to available ingroups. One study found that when Latine immigrants were rejected by Americans, they deidentified with the United States (Wiley, 2013). However, Multicultural people often respond to identity denial by reasserting their denied identity (e.g., "Actually, I *am* American"; Albuja et al., 2019a; Cheryan & Monin, 2005), suggesting that they may alternatively feel more strongly identified with their threatened identity.

3.1.3 Behaviors: Political Engagement

Identity reassertion can be accomplished verbally or behaviorally (e.g., Cheryan & Monin, 2005), and political engagement such as voting might serve as a form of behaviorally reasserting one's identity. Increased identification can generate group behaviors (e.g., Hogg & Abrams, 1988), and a recent study of British voters found that experiences of institutional discrimination, but not interpersonal discrimination, was motivating to individuals to engage in mainstream politics (Oskooii, 2020). Further, other research has found that Latine voting behaviors can be shifted through using Spanish on government forms (Abrajano & Panagopoulus, 2011). As there is high variability in Latine partisanship (Fraga et al., 2011) and Latine Americans are quickly becoming one of the fastest growing demographic groups in the U.S. (U.S. Census, 2020), their engagement with politics is becoming increasingly important to understand.

3.2 Study 2a

For Latine American Multicultural people, marginalizing the "Hispanic/Latino" label as an ethnicity separate from the recognized U.S. racial groups on the Census may communicate implicit messages that Latine individuals are not prototypical members of U.S. society with each demographic form serving as a direct source of identity denial. Furthermore, as Latine Americans are often questioned about their citizenship status and seen as foreigners (Cheryan & Monin, 2005), the use of a citizenship question may act as an identity threat cue for Latine Americans since their American identity is being

denied by their government through a federally-regulated form. Knowing how markers of inclusions on demographic forms may shift Latine voting motivations is critical (Flores & Lopez, 2018), especially within presidential election years.

In this set of studies, I aim to test how a subtle form of exclusion from an institutional source may affect Multicultural Latine Americans' feelings of belonging to their Latine and American identities and if these exclusion experiences impact motivations to engage in American politics. Here, I will compare how threat to participants' Latine identity (e.g., categorizing "Hispanic/Latino" as an ethnicity vs. racial group) vs. threat to their American identity (i.e., Latine recognition and membership to the U.S.) may differentially impact belonging, identity conceptions, and post-exclusion behavior.

3.2.1 Methods

3.2.1.1 Participants

An *a priori* power analysis conducted using G*Power (Faul et al., 2009) recommended 199 participants to achieve 80% power for a two-way ANOVAs based with a small-medium effect size ($f = .20$, $\alpha = .05$). Latine American participants were recruited for this online experiment through Duke University's undergraduate participant and community pool ($N = 128$) and Qualtrics Prime Panels ($N = 130$) in October 2020. All participants were pre-screened prior to entering the study and qualified to participate if they indicated they were Hispanic/Latino/a/x (this could be in

addition to any other racial/ethnic group) and an American citizen (such that they would be eligible to vote in an election). Participants in Study 2a were compensated with either class credit (Duke P&N SONA), a \$10 Amazon gift card (IBRC), or agreed upon amounts with Prime Panel services.

Participants that failed two out of two attention checks in the study (e.g., “In the version of the Census form I saw: (i) Hispanic/Latino was listed as [an ethnicity, a racial group, do not remember], (ii) There was [not] a question about my citizenship, do not remember”) were excluded from the analyses ($n = 27$). Thus, the final sample included 231 participants ($M_{\text{age}} = 32.9$; 39.0% male, 59.3% female, 0.7% non-binary or another gender) of which 48% selected “Hispanic/Latino/a/x” as their only race/ethnicity, 27.7% Hispanic/Latino & White, 19.5% Hispanic/Latino/a/x & Black, and 4.8% Hispanic/Latino/a/x and more than two other racial groups. Heritage countries included 36.4% Mexican, 16.5% Cuban, 10% Puerto Rican, 4.8% Colombian, 3.9% Spanish, 3% Peruvian, 2.6% Venezuelan, 9.1% Multiple countries, 3.9% Not Listed, and < 2% individually from the following countries: Brazil, Chile, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Uruguay. In terms of their political ideologies, participants were 62.8% extremely to slightly liberal, 21.6% moderate, and 15.6% extremely to slightly conservative.

3.2.1.2 Design and Procedure

Participants were first shown an 80-second informational video about the U.S. Census briefly discussing its designed purpose (U.S. Census Bureau, 2020). Participants were then told the researchers were interested in how people perceive the U.S. Census and that they would be asked to complete a mock-form that may reflect a past, present, or future version of the Census. All experimentally manipulated Census forms included the official U.S. Census logo at the top and the instructions used by the 2020 Census with edits only to reflect the different study conditions (e.g., “*Note. Please answer Question 1 about ethnicity and Question 2 about race. For this census, Hispanic origins are not races*”). All participants were randomly assigned to one of the four condition types (2x2 design). Participants either saw the ethnicity framing of “Hispanic/Latino” and no citizenship question (Condition 1: this was the format of 2020 U.S. Census), the ethnicity framing with the inclusion of the citizenship question (Condition 2), racial framing and no citizenship question (Condition 3), and racial framing plus the citizenship question (Condition 4). Following the mock Census forms, all participants then answered the same series of questions regarding psychological states and politically oriented motivations.

3.2.1.3 Measures

Affect and Threatened Needs. To measure negative affect resulting from the mock Census forms, participants answered the *State Trait Emotion* 4-item measure (e.g., Albuja

et al., 2019a). These items asked participants to rate how offended, stressed, annoyed, and angry they felt from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree; $\alpha = .82$). Next, the PANAS (Watson et al., 1988) 10-item scale was also used to measure positive and negative affect (“Interested, Excited, Upset, Scared”) and asked participants to respond to each emotion they might be experiencing from 1 (Very slightly or not at all) to 5 (Extremely; α 's $> .81$).

Participants also completed a shortened version of the *Need Threat Scale* (Williams, 2009) which includes items regarding how much threat participants experience towards their psychological needs (see Methods Study 1a). Two items were used to assess threat towards belonging (“rejected,” “like an outsider,” $\alpha = .83$), self-esteem (“good about myself [r],” “that my self-esteem is high [r],” $\alpha = .78$), meaningful existence (“invisible,” “meaningless,” $\alpha = .84$), and control (“I have the ability to significantly alter events [r],” “like decisions are out of my control,” $\alpha = .17$). Due to low reliability between the two items measured to assess threat to control, the two items are analyzed separately. A composite score for each need (except control) was taken such that higher scores for each measure indicate more threat experienced toward that psychological need.

Latine and American Identity. To assess baseline levels of identification with their Latine and American identities respectively, participants were asked to respond to two items during the prescreen stage of the study: “The fact that I am [Latino/a/x/American]

is an important part of my identity” (1, strongly disagree to 5, strongly agree). After the study manipulation, *The Group Level Self Definition* sub-scale measure of centrality (Leach et al., 2008) was used to assess the centrality of participants’ Latine and American identities. Participants were given three statements relating to their Latine identity and three statement relating to their American identity (e.g., “I often think about the fact that I am [Latino/a/x/American]”) and asked to indicate their agreement from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Composite scores for Latine Identity Centrality ($\alpha_{\text{Latine}} = .91$) and American Identity Centrality ($\alpha_{\text{American}} = .86$) were taken from each set of three items such that higher scores indicated higher identity centrality.

Additionally, the three-item *Identity Autonomy* modified scale (Sanchez, 2010) was used to measure how much participants felt they had the ability to racially identify as they desire. Participants indicated their level of agreement from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) on statements such as, “I feel that I have a say in how I racially identify.” A composite score was taken of the three items, such that higher scores indicated higher identity autonomy, $\alpha = .71$.

Latine and American Belonging. The Ocampo (2018) *Latinx Belonging Measure* was used to assess how participants felt like they as Latine people belong in the U.S. (internal sub-scale; e.g., “How strongly do you feel like you as a Latino/a/x belong in the United States (r),” $\alpha = .58$) and whether they felt valued by other Americans (external sub-scale; e.g., “Most Americans appreciate you as a Latino/a/x in the U.S. (r),” $\alpha = .90$). Three items

from the internal component were rated from 1(Extremely) to 4 (Not at all) and three items from the external component items were rated from 1 (Strongly agree) to 5 (Strongly disagree) such that higher scores indicate feeling more accepted and more valued respectively. Participants were also assessed on their Racial Collective Self-Esteem public regard (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992), which included four items regarding how other people perceive the participants' racial/ethnic group ("Overall, my racial/ethnic group is considered good by others"). Items were rated 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) and a composite score was taken such that higher scores indicate feeling that others have a high regard for Latine people, $\alpha = .73$.

Impressions of the Census. To assess impressions of the manipulated Census forms, participants were asked to rate the version of the mock-Census they saw on various positive traits (e.g., inclusionary, representative, fair, unbiased, $\alpha = .94$), and negative traits (e.g., exclusionary, offensive, discriminatory, prejudiced, $\alpha = .85$). Additionally, participants were asked to respond to the statement, "If the Census looked like the example I saw, I would be inclined to complete it", and indicated their responses from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Political Engagement and Beliefs. Finally, participants were asked, "Are you eligible to vote in the upcoming November 2020 election?" and only participants that responded "yes" ($n = 229$) were then asked, "How likely are you to vote in the November general election?" (adapted from Perry-Gallup, 2016) rated from 1 (definitely will not vote) to 4

(definitely will vote). Additionally, I measured political efficacy beliefs using six items such as, “I trust the government to do what is right”. Participants rated items from 1 (agree strongly) to 5 (disagree strongly; $\alpha = .75$), such that higher composite scores indicate higher efficacy beliefs.

3.2.2 Results

Statistical analyses were completed in RStudio (2018). The alpha level was set to .05 for all analyses unless reported otherwise; Bonferroni corrections for multiple comparisons were implemented per family of analyses when appropriate. The following results report two-way ANOVAs (racial framing vs. ethnicity framing by citizenship question vs. no citizenship question) and Levene’s test and normality checks were performed, and assumptions were met for all models.

3.2.2.1 Psychological Effects

3.2.2.1.1 State Trait Emotion

A two-way ANOVA was used to test the effects of the racial or ethnicity framing and the presence or absence of a citizenship question on affect by testing the state trait emotion and PANAS positive and negative subscales. There was a marginal main effect of race vs. ethnicity framing on participants’ state trait emotions, $F(1, 227) = 3.11, p = .080, \eta_p^2 = .01$. Those that saw the ethnicity framing reported being more offended and upset ($M = 2.9, SD = 1.7$) than those that saw the racial framing ($M = 2.5, SD = 1.4$). There were no significant effects on positive affect or negative affect (PANAS; p ’s $> .132$).

3.2.2.1.2 Need Threats: Belonging, Existence, Self-Esteem, Control

A two-way ANOVA was used to test the effects of the racial or ethnicity framing and the presence or absence of a citizenship question on psychological needs to belong, control, self-esteem, and meaningful existence. There was a significant main effect of race vs. ethnicity framing on threat to participants' belonging needs, $F(1, 227) = 9.70, p = .002, \eta_p^2 = .04$, meaningful existence needs, $F(1, 227) = 4.80, p = .030, \eta_p^2 = .02$, and control (item 1), $F(1, 227) = 3.35, p = .068, \eta_p^2 = .01$, and item 2, $F(1, 227) = 4.15, p = .043, \eta_p^2 = .02$. Participants that saw the ethnicity framing felt significantly more threat to their belonging ($M = 1.6, SD = 1.2$), meaningful existence ($M = 1.6, SD = 1.3$), and need for control, ($M_{item\ 1} = 2.9, SD = 1.3; M_{item\ 2} = 2.5, SD = 1.4$) than those that saw the racial framing mock Census form, ($M_{Belonging} = 1.1, SD = 1.0; M_{Existence} = 1.2, SD = 1.1; M_{Control1} = 2.6, SD = 1.2; M_{Control2} = 2.2, SD = 1.2$). There was no significant effect of ethnicity vs. racial framing on self-esteem, $F(1, 227) = 1.78, p = .184$.

There was also a significant main effect of the presence vs. absence of the citizenship question on meaningful existence, $F(1, 227) = 5.27, p = .023, \eta_p^2 = .02$, such that those that received the citizenship question reported more threat to their meaningful existence ($M = 1.6, SD = 1.3$) than those that did not receive the citizenship question ($M = 1.2, SD = 1.1$). There was no significant effect of the presence or absence of the citizenship question on participants' belonging, control, or self-esteem needs, p 's >

123.

3.2.2.1.3 *Latine and American Identity: Centrality*

A two-way ANOVA was used to test the effects of the racial or ethnicity framing and the presence or absence of a citizenship question on Latine and American identity centrality as well as identity autonomy. There was a marginal main effect of race vs. ethnicity framing on Latine identity centrality, $F(1, 227) = 3.14, p = .078, \eta_p^2 = .01$, and a marginal main effect of the presence vs. absence of the citizenship question on American identity centrality, $F(1, 227) = 2.68, p = .103, \eta_p^2 = .01$. Participants that saw the racial framing of the mock Census form reported higher racial identity centrality ($M = 4.0, SD = 0.8$), compared to those that saw the ethnicity framing ($M = 3.7, SD = 0.9$). However, participants that saw the citizenship question reported slightly higher American identity centrality ($M = 4.0, SD = 1.1$) compared to those that did not see the citizenship question ($M = 3.8, SD = 1.1$). There were no significant effects of framing or citizenship question on identity autonomy, p 's > .324.

3.2.2.1.4 *Belonging: Acceptance and Value and Collective Self-Esteem: Public Regard*

A two-way ANOVA was used to test the effects of the racial or ethnicity framing and the presence or absence of a citizenship question on perception of public regard towards Latine Americans as well as feelings of belonging and appreciation. There was a significant main effect of race vs. ethnicity framing on Latine belonging, $F(1, 227) = 8.45, p = .004, \eta_p^2 = .04$, and a marginal main effect of the presence vs. absence of the citizenship question on feeling valued as a Latine American, $F(1, 227) = 2.73, p = .100, \eta_p^2 = .01$. Participants that saw the racial framing of the Census reported that they felt more

accepted by Americans ($M = 3.2, SD = 0.6$), compared to those that saw the ethnicity framing ($M = 2.9, SD = 0.6$). Participants that saw the citizenship question reported that they felt more valued by Americans ($M = 3.7, SD = 1.2$), compared to those that did not see the citizenship question ($M = 3.4, SD = 1.2$). There was no significant effect on perceived public regard for one's Latine identity, $p's > .401$.

3.2.2.2 Political Behaviors

3.2.2.2.1 Impressions of the Census

A two-way ANOVA was used to test the effects of the racial or ethnicity framing and the presence or absence of a citizenship question on impressions of the Census and likelihood of completing it. There was a marginal main effect of the presence vs. absence of a citizenship question on participants likelihood of completing the Census, $F(1, 227) = 3.00, p = .090, \eta_p^2 = .01$, such that participants that saw the citizenship question reported that they would be less likely to complete a similar Census form ($M = 3.9, SD = 1.3$), compared to participants that saw a Census form without the citizenship question ($M = 4.2, SD = 1.0$). There was no significant effect of framing or question presence on positive or negative impressions of the Census form, $p's > .160$.

3.2.2.2.2 Motivations to Vote and Political Efficacy

A two-way ANOVA was used to test the effects of the racial or ethnicity framing and the presence or absence of a citizenship question on beliefs of political efficacy and likeliness of voting in the upcoming November 2020 election. There was a marginal main interaction between framing and question presence on likeliness of voting, $F(1,$

225) = 3.81, $p = .052$, $n_p^2 = .02$. When participants were presented with the racial framing of the Census form, there was no difference in likeliness to vote whether or not they saw the citizenship question ($t(225) = 0.81$, $p_{\text{Bonferroni}} = 1.664$). However, when the ethnicity framing was used, there was a marginal difference in voting likeliness when the citizenship question was present on the mock Census form ($M = 3.8$, $SD = 0.4$) rather than absent ($M = 3.5$, $SD = 0.9$; $t(225) = -1.96$, $p = .051$, $p_{\text{Bonferroni}} = 0.204$; see Figure 7).

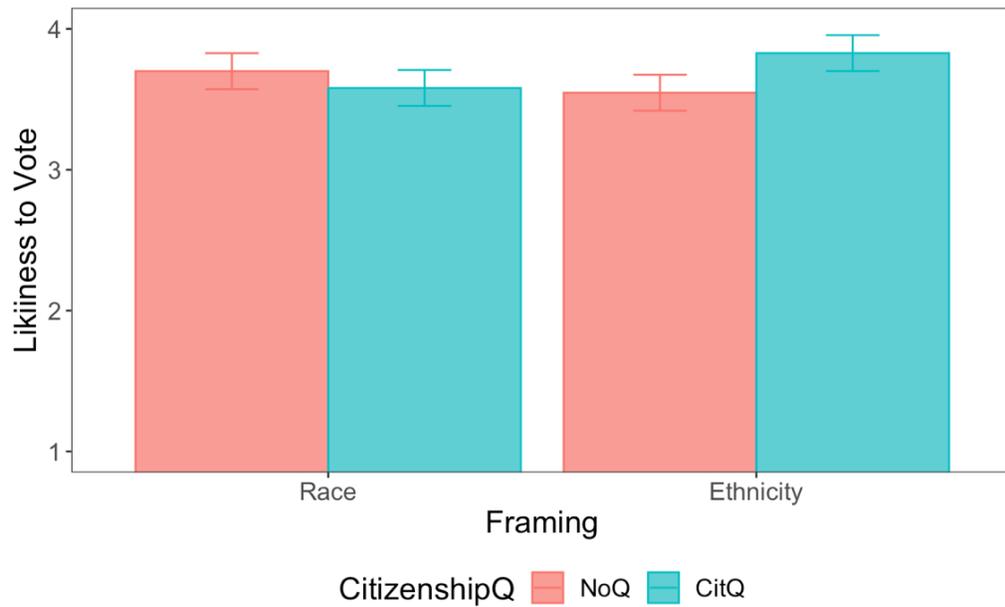


Figure 7: Likelihood of Voting in November 2020 Election

Note. Participants reported they were more likely to vote after seeing two subtle threats on a mock Census: ethnicity framing and the inclusion of a citizenship question.

3.2.3 Discussion

In sum, these results suggest that completing the Census form, even in its most recent format from 2020, may be a stressful experience for Latine American Multicultural people. Study 2a demonstrated that completing a mock Census form in line with the currently used form that frames “Hispanic/Latino” as an ethnicity rather than a racial group resulted in more negative affect, as well as experiencing higher threat to psychological needs of belonging, control, and meaningful existence. Further, it impacted Latine-specific identity centrality such that seeing the racial framing vs. the ethnicity framing resulted in higher Latine identity centrality. Additionally, the racial framing rather than the ethnicity framing also made Latine participants feel more accepted by U.S. society. Thus, the use of the racial framing rather than the ethnicity framing may also provide some clarity in terms of potential racial identification for Latine people.

Aside from the framing of “Hispanic/Latino” identity, the citizenship question presence versus absence had significant effects as well. When the citizenship question was included on the mock Census form rather than excluded from the form, participants experienced higher threat to meaningful existence, reported marginally higher American identity centrality, and also reported they would be less likely to complete the U.S. Census if it looked like the version administered in the study. However, participants also reported that they felt more valued by other Americans when the citizenship

question was present versus absent. Within the Latine American community, there is prejudice against individuals who have not gained citizenship or who immigrated illegally (e.g., Pena, 2018). Thus, for Latine Americans who are U.S. citizens, the presence of the citizenship question may have actually reminded them of their perceived higher status compared to non-U.S. citizen Latine people (e.g., Lee & Fiske, 2006). Although participants felt more threatened when the citizenship question was present, they may have also felt more valued as a citizen themselves in comparison to non-citizens. Further, this suggests that the presence of this threat may influence how Latine Americans think about their similarity or solidarity with their ingroup identity.

When combined, the ethnicity framing and the citizenship question led to marginally increased willingness to vote compared to the presence of a single threat alone (ethnicity only or citizenship only). Notably, willingness to vote did not differ between the no-threat and dual-threat conditions. Thus, participants may be differentially motivated by both positive and negative experiences (e.g., voting because you feel included in the system or voting to reassert your membership as a citizen). Yet, it is currently unclear whether this effect may be specific to a contentious electoral season.

3.3 Study 2b

Study 2b aims to explore what additional self-identification constructs (i.e., solidarity, self-stereotyping, clarity, ingroup homogeneity) related to participants' Latine

and American group memberships may be affected by the census delivered exclusion, and to explore the effects of subtle social identity threats outside of a particular election cycle. This will better inform our understanding of the functioning of exclusion on self-identification when exclusion is specifically targeting marginalized identities. In addition, it will further test the generalizability of behavioral responses.

In Study 2b, I hypothesize that the ethnicity framing of “Hispanic/Latino” will still cause a negative affective response as well as threatened belonging, meaningful existence, and control. Moreover, an ethnicity framing will result in decreased perception of ingroup cohesion (ingroup homogeneity), perceived goodness of fit or perception of prototypicality (self-stereotyping), as well as decreased identity clarity. Conversely, I predict that a racial framing will increase commitment to the Latine group (solidarity), satisfaction with the group, and centrality of the group identity. Further, with the broader inclusion of Latine people residing in the U.S. in Study 2b (see 2b methods), I predict that the citizenship question might garner more severe threat to belonging as well as increased negative affect. Regarding self-identification, I also predict that a citizenship question will decrease American identity solidarity, self-stereotyping, and identity clarity, but increase American identity centrality. Lastly, outside of the context of a contentious election season, I predict that motivations to vote or engage in political activity might be muted.

3.3.1 Methods

3.3.1.1 Participants

Latine American participants were recruited for this online experiment through Duke University's undergraduate participant and the IBRC's community pool ($N = 41$) and Qualtrics Prime Panels ($N = 168$) between April and May of 2021. All participants were pre-screened prior to entering the study and only qualified to participate if they indicated they were Hispanic/Latino/a/x (this could be in addition to any other racial/ethnic group). Unlike Study 2a, they did not have to identify as an American citizen. Participants were compensated with either class credit (Duke P&N SONA), a \$10 Amazon gift card (IBRC), or agreed upon amounts with Prime Panel services. Participants that failed two out of two manipulation checks in the study (e.g., "In the version of the Census form I saw: (i) Hispanic/Latino was listed as [an ethnicity, a racial group, do not remember], (ii) There was [not] a question about my citizenship, do not remember") were excluded from the analyses ($n = 34$). Thus, the final sample included 175 participants ($M_{\text{age}} = 45.0$; 37.7% male, 58.3% female, 0.6% non-binary or another gender, and 0.6% no response) of which 37.7% selected "Hispanic/Latino/a/x" as their only race/ethnicity, 38.3% Hispanic/Latino & White, 13.1% Hispanic/Latino/a/x & Black, 0.6% Hispanic/Latino/a/x and Native American, 0.6% Hispanic/Latino/a/x and East Asian, 5.7% Hispanic/Latino/a/x and more than two other racial groups, and 2.9% Hispanic/Latino/a/x and other or prefer not to answer. Heritage countries included 33.1% Mexican, 12.6% Cuban, 8.6% Puerto Rican, 13.1% Multiple countries, 17.1% Not

provided, and <3% individually from the following countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Saint Martin. In terms of their political ideologies, participants were 46.9% extremely to slightly liberal, 29.7% moderate, 23.4% extremely to slightly conservative, and 1.1% no response. Although U.S. citizenship was not a pre-requisite of Study 2b, only 3 of the 92 participants asked about their citizenship status (by nature of being randomly assigned to the citizenship question condition) reported that they were not U.S. citizens.

3.3.1.2 Design and Procedure

Study 2b will follow the same design and procedure as Study 2a.

3.3.1.3 Measures

Following Study 2a, Study 2b also used the *State Trait Emotion* 4-item measure (e.g., Albuja et al., 2019; $\alpha = .91$), the full measure of the *Need Threat Scale* (Williams, 2009; belonging, meaningful existence, self-esteem, α 's > .77; control, $\alpha = .56^3$), the *Latinx Belonging Measure* (Ocampo, 2018; α 's > .63), positive and negative impressions of the mock-Census form (α 's > .73), and an item about likeliness of completing the Census if it looked like the form presented in the study. The 1-item voting motivation question was

3 Reliability was not improved by dropping any items from this measure, thus all items were retained.

also adapted to the following: “How likely are you to vote in the next general election?” (adapted from Perry-Gallup, 2016).

The full 14-item *Group Level Self Definition Measure* (Leach et al., 2008) was used to assess different self-identification concepts applied to both a Latine and American ingroup (e.g., “I feel a bond with [Latino/a/x;American] people”; α 's > .81). The *Collective Identity Clarity Measure* (Usborne & Taylor, 2010) was also used to measure the stability, consistency, and certainty of one's beliefs about one's social group. This measure includes items such as, “My beliefs about my cultural identity often conflict with each other (r)”, and a composite score was taken such that a higher score indicates higher identity clarity ($\alpha = .80$). Additionally, the *Bicultural Identity Integration Measure* (Distance and Conflict; Cheng & Lee, 2009) was included to measure the perceived disparity and conflict between participants' multiple cultural ingroups (Latine and American). Participants were asked question such as, “My cultural identity is best described by a blend of all the racial groups to which I belong (r; Distance)” and “I do not feel any tension between my different cultural identities (r; Conflict).” Composite scores were taken such that higher scores indicate larger perceived distance between identity groups ($\alpha = .70$)⁴ and higher conflict between groups ($\alpha = .81$).

4 Two items had to be dropped from measure for reliability

Finally, to measure political engagement beyond voting likeliness, participants were given a list of other political engagement behaviors (e.g., “Contacting an elected official”; adapted from Pew Research Center, 2018) and asked to rate their likeliness of doing each behavior from 1 (definitely will not) to 7 (definitely will; $\alpha = .85$).

3.3.2 Results

3.3.2.1 Psychological Effects

3.3.2.1.1 State Trait Emotion and Need Threats: Belonging, Existence, Self-Esteem, Control

A two-way ANOVA was used to test the effects of the racial or ethnicity framing and the presence or absence of a citizenship question on affect and psychological needs. There were no significant effects of the framing or question inclusion on affect or needs for belonging, self-esteem, control, or meaningful existence, p 's > .158.

3.3.2.1.2 Identity Clarity, Integration, and Overlap

A two-way ANOVA was used to test the effects of the racial or ethnicity framing and the presence or absence of a citizenship question on participant's identity clarity, and Multicultural identity integration and perception of overlap with group memberships. There was no significant effects of the framing or question inclusion on identity clarity, perceived identity conflict, or identity overlap, p 's > .152. There was a marginal main effect of race vs. ethnicity framing on perceived identity distance, $F(1, 171) = 3.44, p = .065, \eta_p^2 = .02$. Perceived distance between cultural ingroups was higher when “Hispanic/Latino” was framed as a race ($M = 5.6, SD = 1.3$) rather than an ethnicity ($M = 5.1, SD = 1.5$).

3.3.2.1.3 *Latine and American Identity: Centrality, Satisfaction, Solidarity, Self-Stereotyping, and Ingroup Homogeneity*

A two-way ANOVA was used to test the effects of the racial or ethnicity framing and the presence or absence of a citizenship question on Latine and American group-level self-definition constructs. There was a significant interaction between race vs. ethnicity framing and presence vs. absence of the citizenship question on Latine identity satisfaction, $F(1, 171) = 5.94, p = .016, \eta_p^2 = .03$, and solidarity, $F(1, 171) = 6.83, p = .010, \eta_p^2 = .04$. When participants were given the racial framing, the presence of the citizenship question resulted in higher Latine satisfaction ($M = 4.6, SD = 0.5$) and solidarity ($M = 4.3, SD = 0.7$) than the absence of the citizenship question ($M_{\text{satisfaction}} = 4.1, SD = 1.0; M_{\text{solidarity}} = 3.7, SD = 1.2; p'_{\text{SBonferroni}} < .058$; see Figure 8). There was no effect of framing or citizenship question on Latine identity centrality, self-stereotyping, or perception of ingroup homogeneity, $p's > .201$.

For American identity, there was a significant main effect of race vs. ethnicity framing on American identity perception of ingroup homogeneity, $F(1, 171) = 4.83, p = .029, \eta_p^2 = .02$, and a marginal effect on American solidarity, $F(1, 171) = 2.71, p = .101, \eta_p^2 = .01$. Overall, participants who experienced the racial framing reported a higher perception of ingroup homogeneity related to their American identity ($M = 3.8, SD = 1.0$) compared to those experiencing the ethnicity framing ($M = 3.5, SD = 1.2$). There was no effect of framing or citizenship question on American identity centrality, satisfaction, or self-stereotyping, $p's > .147$.

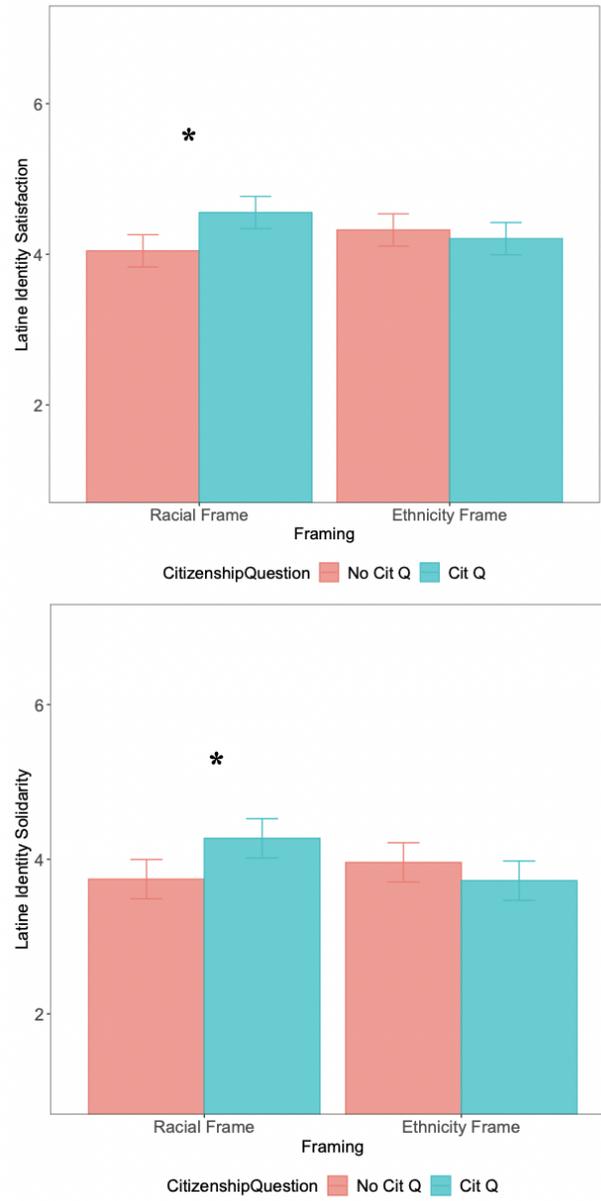


Figure 8: Latine Identity Satisfaction and Solidarity

Note. When Latine Americans saw the racial framing, their Latine identity satisfaction and solidarity was higher when the citizenship question as present rather than absent.

3.3.2.1.4 *Latine Belonging: Acceptance and Value*

A two-way ANOVA was used to test the effects of the racial or ethnicity framing and the presence or absence of a citizenship question on feeling accepted as well as feeling valued in the U.S. There was a significant main effect of the presence vs. absence of the citizenship question on feeling accepted (internal subscale), $F(1, 171) = 5.46, p = .021, \eta^2 = .03$, and valued in the U.S. (external sub-scale), $F(1, 171) = 6.77, p = .010, \eta^2 = .04$. When participants received the citizenship question on their mock Census form, they reported they felt less accepted as a Latine person in America ($M = 3.1, SD = 0.8$) than when they did not see the citizenship question ($M = 3.3, SD = 0.6$). However, receiving the citizenship question on their mock Census form also made participants feel individually more valued by American society ($M = 2.1, SD = 0.9$) than when they did not see the citizenship question ($M = 1.8, SD = 0.8$).

3.3.2.2 Political Behaviors

3.3.2.2.1 *Impressions of the Census*

A two-way ANOVA was used to test the effects of the racial or ethnicity framing and the presence or absence of a citizenship question on impressions of the Census and likelihood of completing it. There was a significant main effect of race vs. ethnicity framing on positive impressions of the Census form, $F(1, 171) = 4.68, p = .032, \eta^2 = .03$, and on participants likelihood of completing the Census, $F(1, 171) = 5.19, p = .024, \eta^2 = .03$. Participants that saw the racial framing of the mock Census reported they had a more positive impression of the Census ($M = 5.5, SD = 1.3$) and would be more likely to

complete a similar version ($M = 4.5, SD = 0.9$), compared to participants that experienced the ethnicity framing ($M_{\text{positive}} = 5.1, SD = 1.3; M_{\text{complete}} = 4.2, SD = 1.0$). There was no significant effect of framing or question presence on negative impressions of the Census form, $p's > .434$.

3.3.2.2.2 *Political Engagement and Motivation to Vote*

A two-way ANOVA was used to test the effects of the racial or ethnicity framing and the presence or absence of a citizenship question on future political engagement and likelihood of voting in the next general election (November 2024). There was no effect of framing or citizenship question on willingness to engage in politics in the future, $p's > .384$. There was also no significant effect on likelihood of voting, $F(1, 165) = 2.18, p = .142, \eta^2 = .01$.

3.3.3 Discussion

In Study 2b, the use of “Hispanic/Latino” ethnicity versus racial framing on the mock-Census form was not experienced as threatening to psychological needs like belonging and meaningful existence as in Study 2a. This may suggest that given a specific socio-political context like a contentious election session, sensitivity to threat in one’s environment may be heightened. Nevertheless, participants who experienced the racial rather than the ethnicity framing of the mock-census still reported (as in Study 2a) that they had a higher positive impression of the Census and that they would be more likely to complete a similar looking Census form in the future. They also reported a higher perception of ingroup homogeneity among Americans and perceived higher

distance between their cultural identities (Latine and American). Where previous research has found that greater identity denial predicts higher perception of identity conflict (e.g., Albuja et al., 2019c), here I find that inclusion of “Hispanic/Latino” as a racial group leads to an increased perception that Americans are more similar to one another (increased homogeneity) and perhaps relatedly, that one’s Latinx and American identity were more different from one another. As the racial framing may have increased the perceived entitativity of the “Hispanic/Latino” category as a racial group, participants may have disassociated “Hispanic/Latino” as a cultural group, seeing it as more distinct than from their other cultural identity.

Additionally, seeing the citizenship question versus not made participants feel more rejected by Americans but also more valued by American society (replicating Study 2a). Although it was not a pre-requisite of Study 2b, almost all (of the participants that reported citizenship in the citizenship question present conditions) were U.S. citizens. Thus, the presence of the citizenship question may have threatened participants by priming them to think of their perpetual foreigner status (e.g., Cheryan & Monin, 2005), while simultaneously priming them to think of their higher-status compared to non-citizen Latino Americans, making them feel more valued by American society.

Results also revealed an interaction between the mock Census framing and question use such that when the racial framing was used, the presence versus the absence of the citizenship question resulted in participants reporting higher solidarity

and satisfaction with their Latine identity. When participants were provided with an entitative ingroup membership that they may claim (Latine as a racial group) and then experienced threat to another social identity (American identity through citizenship question), their identification with the entitative available ingroup membership increased. Notably, “Hispanic/Latino” being presented as an entitative group alone did not increase identification, but identification increased with the presence of a threat in addition to having a more entitative group membership available.

Finally, there was no effect of the manipulated Census form on future political engagement or likeliness of voting in a future election. As the mock Census form was not reported to be as threatening to psychological needs in Study 2b compared to Study 2a, the subtle threat communicated through the mock form may not have been salient enough to promote changes in political behavior question. Thus, the behavioral consequences of institutional identity threat may be restrained by context (e.g., a specific political season).

3.4 Discussion: Studies 2a and 2b

Across Studies 2a and 2b, I find significant evidence that the most recent version of the Census, wherein it frames Hispanic/Latine identity as an ethnic group rather than a racial group, presents a significant challenge to Latine Americans. Within the context of a contentious election season (October 2020), subtle threats such as demographic form formatting that specifies “Hispanic/Latino” as an ethnicity rather than a racial group

results in higher perceived threat to psychological needs of belonging, meaningful existence, and control, and also results in more negative mood. Results suggest that minority groups may experience exclusion from institutional sources via demographic forms, although the strength of the effect may be dependent upon the larger socio-political context (e.g., within a political election season). Nevertheless, outside of a context of an upcoming Presidential election (May 2021, Study 2b), Latine Americans still responded more positively to the racial framing of the Census versus the ethnicity framing. This suggests that the current categorization of “Hispanic/Latino” may be frustrating to Latine Americans, and this may extend to other institutions that use similar categorizations.

These results also suggest the use of the citizenship question on the Census is potentially problematic as well. In Study 2a, I find that the presence of the citizenship question is threatening to meaningful existence needs and results in decreased likelihood to complete the Census, although the strength of this effect may again be constrained to a specific context (Study 2b). Notably, in Study 2a, the presence of the citizenship question resulted in participants reporting they felt more valued by Americans, and in Study 2b, participants also reported feeling more valued by American society but simultaneously reported they felt more *rejected* by Americans. Participants’ own citizenship status may have resulted in their increased feeling of being valued in the United States. Despite this, participants still experienced threatened meaningful

existence and felt rejected when the citizenship question was present (Studies 2a and 2b). This highlights an important difference between the constructs of belonging such that a particular stimuli, such as the citizenship question, may make Latine Americans feel simultaneously rejected but also valued.

Constructs of cultural identification were also impacted by the different Census formats. I find that Latine identity centrality (Study 2a) and perception of American ingroup homogeneity (Study 2b) were higher in the non-threatening racial framing condition versus the threatening ethnicity framing condition. As opposed to the type of exclusion examined in Study 1a and 1b, this exclusion of the ethnicity categorization may result in lower entitativity (“groupedness”) of the “Hispanic/Latino” category. In support of previous research, this suggests that the perception of a category as a real group may influence how people identify with that group (e.g., Hogg et al., 2007). However, future research is needed to directly explore how framing a “Hispanic/Latino” identity as a racial group rather than an ethnicity may impact perceptions of entitativity.

Finally, when the racial framing and citizenship question were presented together (versus racial framing and no citizenship question), participants reported higher Latine identity solidarity and satisfaction. As shown in Study 1b where Multiracial people may respond to exclusion by increasing identification with some available ingroups and decreasing identification with others, here I find evidence that certain identity threats (i.e., ethnicity framing) that invalidate the group’s entitativity

result in lower identity centrality to the domain-specific identity (Latine identity). However, I also find that when provided an entitative group (i.e., seeing the racial framing), the threat of the citizenship question provoked higher Latine solidarity and satisfaction. As suggested by Studies 1a and 1b, dual-identified individuals may respond to threats to one identity domain by increasing their identification with another available ingroup memberships. This suggests that the increased perception of having multiple ingroup memberships (e.g., identity complexity; Roccas & Brewer, 2002) may act as a buffer from social threats such that when one group identity is threatened, people may turn to another ingroup membership to protect belonging and self-esteem.

3.4.1 Limitations and Future Directions

The current research is unable to identify subgroup differences between Latine Americans of different countries of origin. For example, there are notable differences between Cuban, Puerto Rican, and Mexican Americans regarding outcomes relating to educational attainment, substance use, and political behaviors and orientation (e.g., Lopez et al., 2016; Randolph et al., 1998; Torres, 2004). Although there may be subgroup differences regarding the effects of “Hispanic/Latino” framing and the use of a citizenship question, higher-powered subgroup samples are necessary to examine these potential subgroup difference. Similarly, as both studies 2a and 2b include all or a majority of Latine Americans with U.S. citizenship, it is unclear how those without citizenship would respond to the use of the citizenship question. The current set of

studies is also only able to explore hypothetical political engagement; thus, it is unclear how the presence of threat on demographic forms may influence real-life political engagement. Finally, the current study looked at institutional threat communicated via the U.S. government, but additional research is necessary to determine if Latine Americans have negative reactions to “Hispanic/Latino” racial versus ethnicity framing in other applications such as on demographic forms used by other organizations like hospitals and schools.

3.4.2 Conclusion

The current research explored Latine American’s experience of institutional exclusion of their Latine and American cultural identities perpetrated via a mock U.S. Census. Within a politically contentious context (i.e., leading up to the November 2020 election; Study 2a), Latine Americans found an ethnicity framing of “Hispanic/Latino” versus a racial framing to be highly threatening. Additionally, even after this election season (Study 2b), the ethnicity framing was still viewed negatively. Additionally, across both studies, the use of the citizenship question made Latine Americans feel more rejected. Results also suggest that identification with different cultural ingroups is particularly malleable for Multicultural Latine Americans as a result of experiencing exclusion (e.g., citizenship question) when an alternative ingroup was made available (e.g., “Hispanic/Latino” framed as a racial group). Taken together, this suggests that many Latine Americans experience threats to their identity when completing currently

used demographic formats. Furthermore, it suggests that additionally debated changes, such as using a citizenship question, would also be threatening to Latine Americans.

Chapter 4. Exclusion, Belonging, and Self-Identification Mediation Model

Together, Studies 1a-2b have empirically demonstrated that the effects of social exclusion on Multiracial and Multicultural identification depend in part on the source of the exclusion and the particular identity being excluded or targeted (e.g., White, Monoracial Minority, Multiracial). These studies suggest that exclusion from different sources directly impact various components of group identification such as solidarity (e.g., one's commitment to a group) and self-stereotyping (e.g., perception that one is similar to the group) of different available ingroups (e.g., Leach et al., 2008). Building on this research, Studies 3a and 3b will test whether rejection from different sources predicts the strength of identification (i.e., centrality) to different available ingroups for Multiracial and Multicultural people via changes to their sense of identity solidarity, self-stereotyping, and belonging in a mediation model. This study expands on the research exploring the relationship between rejection and identification by quantitatively documenting how group-level identification is multidimensional and interrelated such that interactions with different ingroups may impact identification with other ingroup memberships.

4.1 Background

Experiencing social rejection via discrimination may threaten one's need to belong (Baumeister & Leary, 1995) and can have negative psychological consequences such as higher levels of anxiety and lower levels of personal self-esteem (e.g., Klonoff et

al., 1999; Williams, 2009). However, rather than internalizing negative societal views communicated through discrimination, marginalized groups make active efforts to maintain favorable self-evaluations (e.g., Allport, 1954; Crocker & Major, 1989; Cross, 1995; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The Rejection-Identification Model (RIM) posits that when faced with discrimination, individuals become more strongly identified with their socially devalued group in order to maintain feelings of belonging and personal self-esteem (Branscombe et al., 1999). Increasing ingroup identification allows belonging needs to be more dependent on acceptance from other ingroup members protecting the individual from potential rejection from outgroup members. Although several studies support this relationship wherein discrimination leads to increased group identification (e.g., Bourguignon et al., 2006; Garstka et al., 2004; Ramos et al., 2012), some studies have found that only group-level rejection (e.g., “Black people are treated unfairly”) leads to increased racial/ethnic identification whereas personal rejection (e.g., “I am treated unfairly because I am Black”) actually *reduces* ethnic ingroup identification (e.g., Armenta & Hunt, 2009; Brugger, 2021; Romero & Roberts, 2003). Moreover, research focusing on national identities has found support for the Rejection-Disidentification Model, such that discrimination may also be associated with decrements in national identification (e.g., Bobowik et al., 2017; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). For example, research with Turkish-Dutch Muslims found that perceived discrimination predicted both stronger Turkish-Muslim identification and weaker national identification (Dutch;

Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). Thus, many different factors might influence the relationship between rejection and group identification and more research is needed to elucidate what pathways lead to increased and decreased group identification.

4.1.1 Considering Multiple Targets and Sources of Exclusion

The majority of the research exploring the relationship between rejection and identification has only considered rejection towards a single group membership perpetrated by a non-specified outgroup source (e.g., “Black people are treated unfairly” or “I am treated unfairly because I am Black” asks only about one devalued group membership and does not specify the source of the rejection). Yet, results from Studies 1a and 1b suggest that the source of exclusion can moderate the psychological effects of rejection and influence group identification. Thus, it is largely unclear how rejection from multiple sources towards multiple possible ingroup memberships might impact racial/ethnic identification for dual-identified people (e.g., Multiracial and Multicultural). One qualitative study found that when considering the different group memberships that Multiracial Japanese Americans may identify with and be excluded from, participants’ monoracial identities were related to physical appearance, sense of belonging, and exclusion from the corresponding monoracial group (i.e., Japanese identification was related to Japanese physical appearance, sense of belonging, and exclusion), but there was no effect of these variables on another monoracial or Multiracial identity (i.e., Japanese physical appearance, belonging, and exclusion did not

affect European or Multiracial identity), suggesting that Multiracial people have multiple identities that are negotiated separately (AhnAllen et al., 2006).

However, one recent study considering intersectionality found differing pathways between interminority rejection and group identification. Specifically, among sexual minority Black people, greater perceived heterosexism within one's racial community was found to predict both greater sexual minority and racial identification (i.e., increased identification with the targeted group and with the excluding group), however, racism within one's sexual minority community predicted greater racial identification but did not predict sexual minority group identification (Ball et al., 2021).

This research suggests that identification with one ingroup (e.g., sexual minority) can be influenced by negative interactions with another ingroup (e.g., ethnic minority) and partially supports a motivation of identity maintenance by which individuals cope with rejection by immersing themselves into another group that may provide social support. However, this pattern might apply differently towards dual-identified people as they have autonomy to identify with other groups within a single domain. For Multiracial and Multicultural people who experience exclusion from multiple possible ingroups, but who can also identify with different ingroups within a single domain, rejection from an ingroup may *decrease* identification with the excluding group and *increase* identification with another available ingroup.

Taken together, the relationship between exclusion and identification for Multiracial and Multicultural people may be highly variable, suggesting the need for more research exploring potential mediating and moderating factors. For example, although the theorizing around RIM suggests that discriminated individuals increase their ingroup identification as a way to fortify their belonging needs (Branscombe et al., 1999), to my knowledge, no research has tested potential mediating variables that may influence the relationship between perceived discrimination and ingroup identification (i.e., existing models have only tested this relationship as a direct pathway). It remains unclear how influential factors like belonging might mediate the relationship between perceived discrimination and group identification (e.g., AhnAllen et al., 2006). Further, understanding the mechanisms that may lead to differences in identity centrality (i.e., identity importance) is particularly important as this construct is related to positive health and academic outcomes for minority groups (Cobb et al., 2018; French & Chavez, 2010; Settles et al., 2010; Sellers et al., 1998). Additionally, building on our current understanding of the relationship between social exclusion and ethnic/racial identification centrality is especially important for Multiracial and Multicultural populations which face high rates of social exclusion (e.g., Shih & Sanchez, 2005), that may lead to negative health consequences (Albuja et al., 2019a).

In one study considering identity as multidimensional rather than unidimensional, researchers found that perceived discrimination towards Multiracial

people (source unspecified) predicted increased solidarity (i.e., commitment to an ingroup), self-stereotyping (i.e., perceived self-similarity to an ingroup), and perceived ingroup homogeneity (i.e., similarity among ingroup members) towards a Multiracial identity, but not identity centrality (i.e., identity importance; Giamo et al., 2012).

However, other research suggests that identity centrality mediates the relationship between perceived discrimination and self-esteem (Armenta & Hunt, 2009), and racial discrimination and linked fate (i.e., belief that what happens to a group will impact you) have been found to be associated with increased Multiracial racial identification (Gonlin, 2021). Additionally, results from Studies 1a-2b suggest that social exclusion might influence identity solidarity, self-stereotyping, and identity centrality towards different group memberships depending upon the source of the exclusion for Multiracial and Multicultural people.

4.1.2 Study Design

Here, I aim to expand our current understanding of the relationship between rejection and group identification by considering how multiple sources of exclusion influence identification with multiple available ingroups by examining identity as multidimensional. In particular, I aim to identify potential mediators of the relationship between source-specific rejection and the strength of group identification (i.e., identity centrality). Based on empirical data presented in Chapters 2 and 3, I propose that exclusion from one group will lead to decreased identification with that same group

(e.g., centrality) and this will be mediated by decreased feeling of belonging and perceived self-similarity to that same group (see Figure 9). Additionally, exclusion from a specific group will also increase identification with another available ingroup, and this will be mediated by increased solidarity and perceived self-similarity to the other available ingroup (see Figure 10).

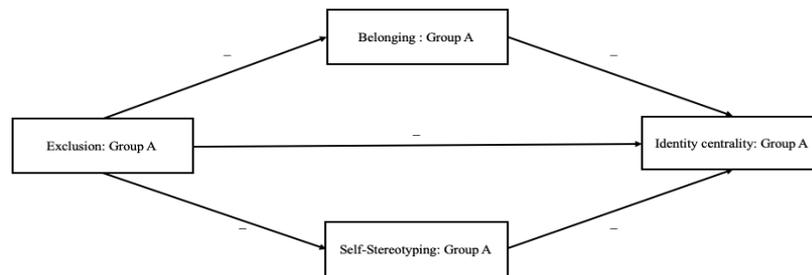


Figure 9: Proposed Model 1

Note. Hypothesized mediated relationship between exclusion source and identity centrality to group

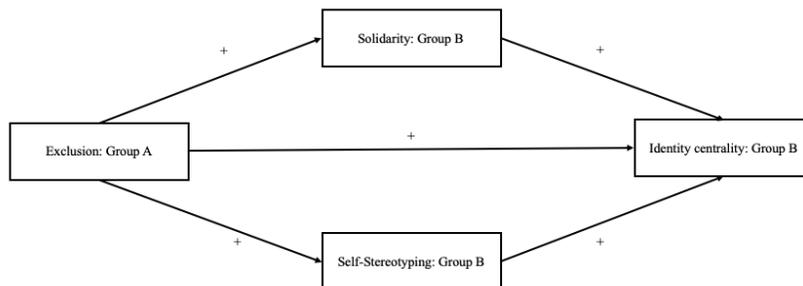


Figure 10: Proposed Model 2

Note. Hypothesized mediated relationship between exclusion source and identity centrality of another available ingroup

4.2 Methods

4.2.1 Participants and Design

An *a priori* power analysis for OLS regression with five predictors variables (1 predictor, 2 mediators, 2 covariates) suggested 281 participants for 90% power to detect a minimum effect size, $f = .06$ (Faul et al., 2009). Participants completed a pre-screen form to qualify for the study. Participants qualified for the study if they were part-White Bi/Multiracial (i.e., identified by selecting White and an additional monoracial group, and indicated they were born in the U.S.)¹ or that they were American- Bi/Multicultural (i.e., they identify as American and were either born outside the U.S. or have at least one parent born outside the U.S.)² Participants were recruited through Duke University's SONA system, the Interdisciplinary Behavioral Research Center (IBRC), advertisements on social media (e.g., Facebook and Twitter), and Prolific Research Panels. Participants were excluded from final analysis for (i) violating more than one bot detection meta-data statistic (e.g., impossible completion times, multiple entries, gibberish or nonsensical responses, see Buchanan & Scofield, 2018), or (ii) failing the attention check (e.g., "For this question, select '4'"). In total, 333 part-White Multiracial participants were included in Study 3a ($M_{\text{age}} = 33.6$, $SD = 13.0$; 27.3% male, 68.8% female, 3.9% trans, non-binary, or

1 See Chapter 2 for rationale on using a part-White Multiracial demographic

2 Although Multiracial individuals might identify their racial identity as "Multiracial" alone (and not identify with other monoracial categories), this qualification was used in order to prompt participants with questions about their self-relevant multiple group memberships.

prefer not to answer; 24.9% White/Black, 20.7% White/Latine, 5.1% White/Native American, 1.2% White/Middle Eastern, 30.3% White/Asian, 0.6% White/Pacific Islander, 17.1% White/ two or more minority groups). Additionally, 301 American-Multicultural participants were included in Study 3b ($M_{\text{age}} = 30.2$, $SD = 10.2$; 36.5% male, 61.1% female, 2.3% trans, non-binary, or prefer not to answer; 18.9% White, 5.3% Black (African American and Sub-Saharan African), 9.0% Latine, 0.3% Native American, 1.0% Middle Eastern, 35.2% Asian, 30.2% Multiracial; 29.9% Born outside U.S., 70.1% have one or two parents born outside U.S.).

4.2.2 Procedure and Measures

Studies 3a and 3b were both conducted online in Spring of 2022. Participants were presented with the following items in randomized order that were adapted to refer to a participant's self-identified ingroup (e.g., a participant that identified as White/Asian would be asked the following measures about their White, Asian, and Multiracial identity) and participants completed all measures within one session of the online study.

Exclusion. To measure exclusion, five-items from the *Need Threat Scale- Belonging* subscale (Williams et al., 2009) were adapted to refer to a specific source of exclusion. For example, items included, "I am rejected by [American/ Chinese] people", "I am excluded from [American/Chinese] spaces." Participants indicated their agreement with

each statement from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree), and a composite score was taken such that higher scores indicated higher rates of exclusion, α 's > .90).

Belonging. To measure belonging to one's ingroups, I adapted items from the *Latino and American Belonging Measure* (Ocampo, 2018). This three-item measure included the following statements: "Most [White/Black] people appreciate you," "Most [White/Black] people respect you," "Most [White/Black] people value your presence." Participants indicated their agreement with each statement on a Likert scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree), and a composite score was taken, α 's > .71)

Identity Solidarity, Self-stereotyping, and Centrality. Part of the *Group-Level Self-Definition* (Leach et al., 2008) measure was used to assess different self-identification concepts. The subscales included were: Solidarity ("I feel a bond with [White/Black/Biracial or Multiracial] people"), Centrality ("I often think about the fact that I am [White/Black/ Biracial or Multiracial]"), and Self-stereotyping ("I am similar to the average [White/Black/ Biracial or Multiracial] person"). Items are rated from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree), and a composite score was made for each racial group and subscale, α 's > .70).

Covariates: Rejection Sensitivity, U.S. Born, and Racial Ambiguity. Within both the Multiracial and Multicultural sample, a shortened measure of Rejection Sensitivity (Berenson et al., 2009) was used (five items). This measure presents scenarios where a person could be rejected by different people/groups (e.g., "You ask your parents or other

family members to come to an occasion that is important to you”). After reading each scenario, participants rate how concerned they would be about being rejected and how much they expect to be rejected, from 1 (very unconcerned / very unlikely) to 6 (very concerned/ very likely), $\alpha's > .53$. For Multiracial participants, their perception of their own physical racial ambiguity was included as a covariate measure in the model (“How racially/ethnically ambiguous do you think you look?”). Participants scored their physical appearance from 1 (not at all) to 7 (extremely). Finally, for Multicultural participants, their country of birth was included as a covariate in the model as well (born in the U.S. vs. born outside the U.S.).

4.3 Study 3a: Multiracial Sample

4.3.1 Data Analysis Strategy

The principle analytic procedure was a mediation analysis using the PROCESS macro for R (Model 4; Hayes, 2018). Two separate models were tested. The first model was tested twice for both participants’ racial identity ingroups: minority ingroup and White. In the first model, exclusion by one ingroup (e.g., minority ingroup) and identity centrality to that ingroup (e.g., minority ingroup) served as the independent and dependent variables respectively. Belonging and self-stereotyping to that ingroup (e.g., minority ingroup) were entered into the model as parallel mediators, and participants’ racial ambiguity and rejection sensitivity were entered as covariates (see Figure 9).

In the second model, exclusion by one ingroup (e.g., minority ingroup) and identity centrality to another ingroup (e.g., White) served as the independent and dependent variables respectively. Solidarity and self-stereotyping to the other available ingroup (e.g., White) were entered into the model as parallel mediators, and racial ambiguity and rejection sensitivity were entered as covariates (see Figure 10). This model was tested thrice for identification with three possible ingroup identities: White, minority ingroup, and Multiracial identity. Standardized regression coefficients are provided for the associations between the study variables. Using the PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2018), the indirect effect provides a coefficient of the mediation. Bootstrapping with 5,000 models is used to assess the significance of the coefficient, with a confidence interval that does not include 0 indicating significance.

4.3.2 Results

4.3.2.1 Model 1

Hypothesized Model 1 was first tested for participant's majority (White) racial group identity and next for their self-relevant minority racial group identity (e.g., Black). Results are presented in Table 2 and Figure 11. Results from this parallel mediation regression analysis indicated that the amount of exclusion participants experience from White people is indirectly negatively related to their White identity centrality through a fully mediated relationship with belonging and self-stereotyping to a White ingroup (total indirect effect, 95% CI [-0.32, -0.21]). There was no significant effect of either

covariate, p 's > .093. For the overall model, these variables account for 35% of the variance in White identity centrality, $F(5, 324) = 34.17, p < .001, R^2 = .35$. As part-White Multiracial people experience greater exclusion from White people, this predicts lower identification to their White identity, via threatening their sense of belonging and self-stereotyping to a White ingroup.

The same model was applied to test this same relationship for participants' minority racial identity. Opposed to exclusion from White people, results indicated that exclusion from one's minority racial ingroup had a direct positive effect on minority ingroup identity centrality as well as a negative indirect effect related to minority ingroup identity centrality through a partially mediated relationship with belonging and self-stereotyping to that minority ingroup (total indirect effect, 95% CI [-0.35, -0.14]). There was no significant effect of either covariate, p 's > .600. For the overall model, these variables account for 29% of the variance in minority cultural identity centrality, $F(5, 324) = 26.39, p < .001, R^2 = .29$. This model reveals two pathways through which monoracial minority ingroup exclusion effects identification for part-White Multiracial people: As part-White Multiracial people experience greater exclusion from their monoracial minority ingroup, this directly increases minority identification, yet, through a mediated pathway, this greater exclusion may also threaten minority ingroup belonging and self-stereotyping, alternatively resulting in decreased minority identification.

4.3.2.2 Model 2

Next, the hypothesized Model 2 was tested for participant's exclusion from either their majority (White) or their self-relevant minority racial group identity and identity centrality with an alternatively available ingroup (White, self-relevant minority ingroup, Multiracial). In total, four models were tested: (i) White exclusion & minority racial identity, (ii) White exclusion & Multiracial identity, (iii) minority exclusion and White identity, or (iv) minority exclusion and Multiracial identity. Results are presented in Table 3 and Figure 12. For White exclusion, results from this parallel mediation regression analysis indicated that White exclusion was indirectly positively related to minority and Multiracial identity centrality through a fully mediated relationship with solidarity to a minority or Multiracial ingroup. There was no significant effect of either covariate or the self-stereotyping mediator, p 's > .168. For the overall models, variables account for 64% and 66% of the variance in minority and Multiracial identity centrality, respectively. As part-White Multiracial people experience greater exclusion from White people, this ultimately increases their identification with their minority monoracial ingroup and their Multiracial identity via increasing their solidarity to these groups.

For the minority ingroup, results indicated that greater exclusion from a minority ingroup directly positively predicted Multiracial identity centrality without mediation, $F(5, 324) = 127.96, p < .001, R^2 = .66$, and there was no effect of minority exclusion on White identity centrality (see Table 3).

Table 2: Model 1: Multiracial Sample, Mediation of Exclusion and Identity Centrality by Belonging and Self-Stereotyping

Outcome	Predictor	β	SE	LLCI	ULCI	t	p
Direct Effects							
White ID Centrality	White Belonging	0.24	0.06	0.13	0.35	4.37	<.001***
	White Self-Stereotyping	0.47	0.04	0.33	0.50	9.28	<.001***
	White Exclusion	0.07	0.05	-0.03	0.17	1.36	.175
	Racial Ambiguity	-0.08	0.04	-0.15	0.01	- 1.68	.094
	Rejection Sensitivity	0.03	0.01	-0.02	0.04	0.63	.528
	Indirect Effects						
Total		-0.29	0.04	-0.37	-0.21		
American Belonging		-0.11	0.03	-0.17	-0.05		
American Self-Stereotyping		-0.18	0.04	-0.25	-0.11		
Direct Effects							
Minority ID Centrality	Minority Ingroup Belonging	0.24	0.06	0.14	0.39	4.22	<.001***
	Minority Ingroup Self-Stereotyping	0.44	0.05	0.31	0.50	8.30	<.001***
	Minority Ingroup Exclusion	0.14	0.06	0.04	0.26	2.67	.008**
	Racial Ambiguity	-0.02	0.04	-0.10	0.06	- 0.52	.601
	Rejection Sensitivity	-0.01	0.01	-0.03	0.03	- 0.14	.888
	Indirect Effects						
Total		-0.24	0.05	-0.35	-0.14		
Minority Ingroup Belonging		-0.11	0.03	-0.17	-0.05		
Minority Ingroup Self-Stereotyping		-0.13	0.03	-0.20	-0.07		

Note. LLCI = bootstrapped lower-level confidence interval; ULCI = bootstrapped upper-level confidence interval. $F(5, 324) = 34.17, p < .001, R^2 = .35$; $F(5, 324) = 26.39, p < .001, R^2 = .29$

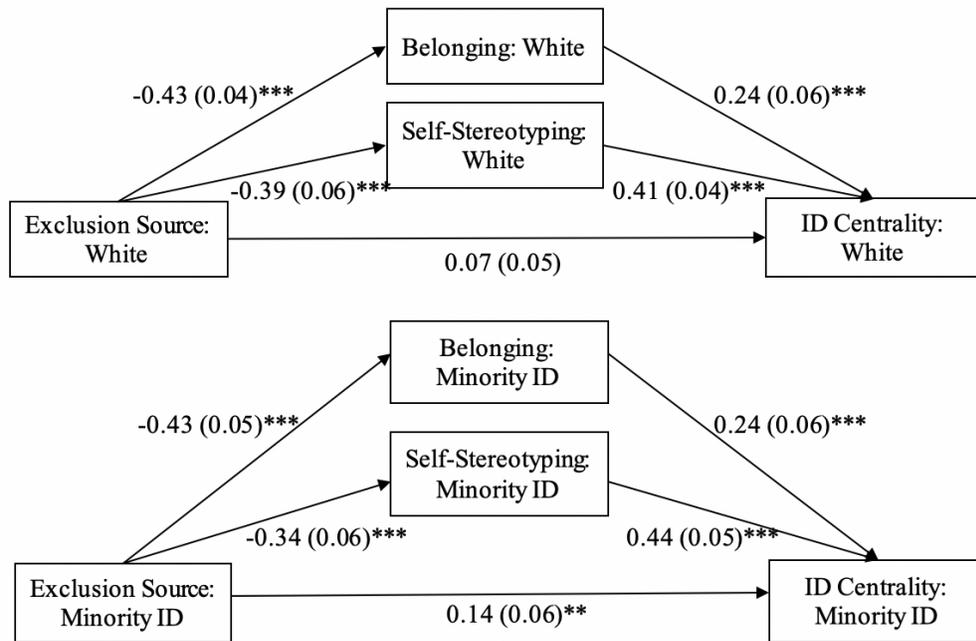


Figure 11: Model 1: Multiracial Sample

Note. With covariates of racial ambiguity and rejection sensitivity.

Table 3: Multiracial Sample, Mediation of Exclusion and Identity Centrality by Solidarity and Self-stereotyping

Outcome	Predictor	β	SE	LLCI	ULCI	t	p
Direct Effects							
Minority ID Centrality	Minority Ingroup Solidarity	0.83	0.04	0.71	0.87	18.71	<.001***
	Minority Ingroup Self-Stereotyping	-0.03	0.04	-0.11	0.05	-0.76	.445
	White Exclusion	-0.02	0.03	-0.08	0.05	-0.53	.594
	Racial Ambiguity	0.03	0.03	-0.03	0.08	0.84	.404
	Rejection Sensitivity	0.02	0.01	-0.01	0.03	0.54	.587
Indirect Effects							

	Total	0.10	0.05	0.01	0.19		
	Minority Ingroup Solidarity	0.11	0.05	0.01	0.20		
	Minority Ingroup Self-Stereotyping	-0.01	0.01	-0.02	0.01		
	Direct Effects						
Multiracial ID Centrality	Multiracial Solidarity	0.82	0.04	0.67	0.84	17.01	<.001***
	Multiracial Self- Stereotyping	-0.01	0.05	-0.10	0.08	-0.27	.784
	White Exclusion	-0.02	0.03	-0.08	0.05	-0.56	.576
	Racial Ambiguity Rejection	-0.04	0.03	-0.10	0.02	-1.19	.236
	Sensitivity	-0.05	0.01	-0.03	0.01	-1.38	.169
	Indirect Effects						
	Total	0.12	0.05	0.02	0.21		
	Multiracial Solidarity	0.12	0.05	0.02	0.22		
	Multiracial Self- Stereotyping	-0.00	0.01	-0.02	0.01		
	Direct Effects						
White ID Centrality	White Solidarity	0.68	0.05	0.53	0.71	13.10	<.001***
	White Self- Stereotyping	0.07	0.05	-0.03	0.16	1.42	.156
	Minority Ingroup Exclusion	0.03	0.04	-0.05	0.11	0.65	.516
	Racial Ambiguity Rejection	-0.08	0.03	-0.13	-0.00	-1.97	.049*
	Sensitivity	0.00	0.01	-0.02	0.02	0.05	.958
	Indirect Effects						
	Total	-0.01	0.05	-0.10	0.09		
	American Solidarity	-0.01	0.05	-0.10	0.08		
	American Self- Stereotyping	0.00	0.01	-0.01	0.02		
	Direct Effects						
Multiracial ID Centrality	Multiracial Solidarity	0.75	0.04	0.67	0.84	17.16	<.001***

Multiracial Self-Stereotyping	-0.01	0.05	-0.10	0.08	-0.23	.822
Minority Exclusion	0.07	0.04	0.01	0.15	2.21	.028*
Racial Ambiguity	-0.05	0.03	-0.11	0.01	-1.61	.109
Rejection Sensitivity	-0.06	0.01	-0.04	0.00	-1.80	.072
Indirect Effects						
Total	-0.05	0.05	-0.15	0.05		
Multiracial Solidarity	-0.05	0.05	-0.15	0.05		
Multiracial Self-Stereotyping	0.00	0.00	-0.01	0.01		

Note. LLCI = bootstrapped lower-level confidence interval; ULCI = bootstrapped upper-level confidence interval. $F(5, 324) = 114.32, p < .001, R^2 = .64$; $F(5, 324) = 125.29, p < .001, R^2 = .66$. $F(5, 324) = 78.10, p < .001, R^2 = .55$; $F(5, 324) = 127.96, p < .001, R^2 = .66$. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

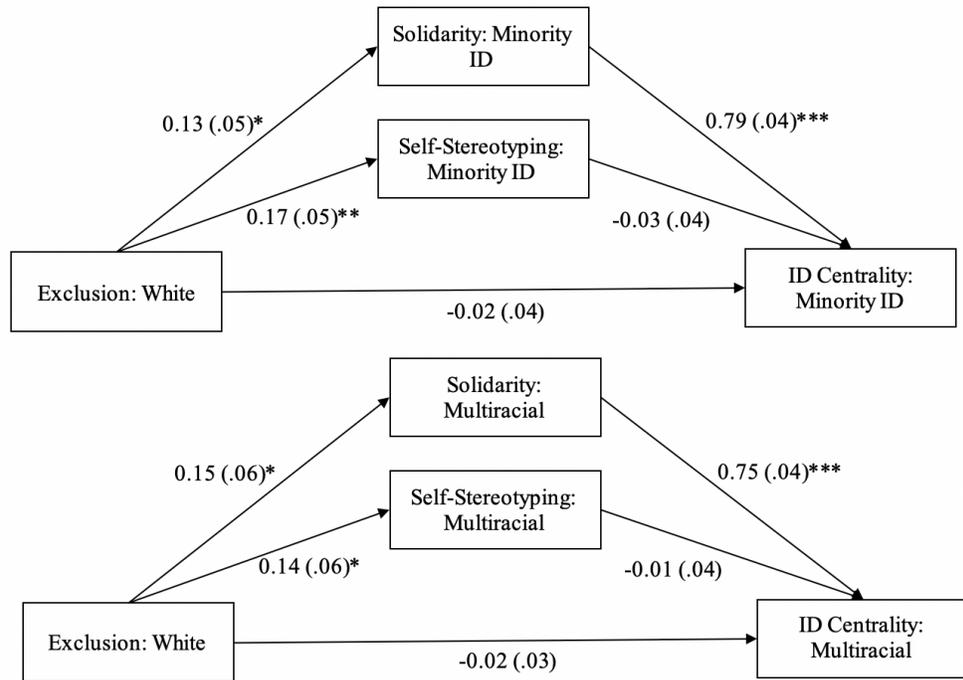


Figure 12: Model 2 Multiracial Sample

Note. With covariates of native to the U.S. or not and rejection sensitivity.

4.3.3 Discussion

Where previous research has found contradictory results regarding whether exclusion results in increased or decreased group identification (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1999; Bobowik et al., 2017; Armenta & Hunt, 2009), Study 3a demonstrates evidence that increased or decreased racial identification is dependent upon the source of the exclusion and the ingroup membership being considered. Here, I find that greater perceived exclusion from White people results in *decreased* White identification, via decreased White belonging and self-stereotyping, but at the same time, greater White

exclusion also leads to *increased* minority monoracial and Multiracial identification via increased minority monoracial and Multiracial solidarity. This suggests that as part-White Multiracial people experience greater exclusion from their White ingroup, they feel less similar to other White people and feel less like they belong with White people. However, when people are socially excluded, they desire to regain acceptance and establish coalition with others (e.g., DeWall & Richman, 2011). Therefore, as Multiracial people can claim multiple possible ingroup memberships, their exclusion from one possible ingroup (e.g., White) may direct them to feel more solidarity with other available ingroups (e.g., minority monoracial and Multiracial), which results in increased identification with these other available group memberships.

However, there are differences in this pattern of identification between exclusion from one's *majority* monoracial ingroup and their *minority* monoracial ingroup. Where greater exclusion from White people only resulted in decreased White identification, greater perceived monoracial minority exclusion directly led to *increased* monoracial minority identification, but also indirectly led to *decreased* minority identification via threatened monoracial minority belonging and self-stereotyping. Additionally, greater perceived monoracial minority exclusion directly resulted in increased Multiracial identification and had no effect on White identification. Thus, in contrast to greater White exclusion that pushes Multiracial people away from a possible White identification and instead towards identifying with their other available ingroups,

exclusion from monoracial minority people does not push Multiracial people towards increasing identification with their available White ingroup. Instead, greater monoracial minority exclusion leads directly to increased, or indirectly (via threatened belonging and self-stereotyping) to decreased identification with the monoracial minority group and increased identification with a Multiracial group. The contradicting direct and indirect effects of monoracial minority exclusion on minority group identification further suggests that Multiracial people's identification with their monoracial minority ingroup is highly nuanced. Also, in line with recent research on Multiracial people's identification as "Multiracial" (e.g., Norman et al., 2021), results here show that exclusion from either majority or minority monoracial ingroups increases Multiracial identification.

4.4 Study 3b: Multicultural Sample

4.4.1 Data Analysis Strategy

For the Multicultural sample, the principle analytic procedure follows that in the Multiracial sample: mediation analysis using the PROCESS macro for R (Model 4; Hayes, 2018). Two separate models were tested. The first model was tested twice for both participants' cultural identity groups: American and minority cultural group. In the first model, exclusion by one ingroup (e.g., American) and identity centrality to that ingroup (e.g., American) served as the independent and dependent variables respectively. Belonging and self-stereotyping to that ingroup (e.g., American) were

entered into the model as parallel mediators, and the being born in the U.S. or not (dichotomous variable) and rejection sensitivity were entered as covariates (see Figure 9). In the second model, exclusion by one ingroup (e.g., American) and identity centrality to another available ingroup (e.g., cultural minority) served as the independent and dependent variables respectively. Solidarity and self-stereotyping to the other available ingroup (e.g., cultural minority) were entered into the model as parallel mediators, and being born in the U.S. and rejection sensitivity were entered as covariates (see Figure 10). This model was tested thrice for identification with three possible ingroup identities: American, cultural minority, and Multicultural identity.

4.4.2 Results

4.4.2.1 Model 1

Hypothesized Model 1 was first tested for participants' majority (American) cultural group identity and next for their self-relevant minority cultural group identity (e.g., Chinese). Results are presented in Table 4 and Figure 13. Results from this parallel mediation regression analysis indicated that exclusion from Americans is indirectly negatively related to American identity centrality through a fully mediated relationship with belonging and self-stereotyping to an American ingroup (total indirect effect, 95% CI [-0.45, -0.27]). There was no significant effect of either covariate, p 's > .590. For the overall model, these variables account for 40% of the variance in American identity centrality, $F(5, 288) = 39.09, p < .001, R^2 = .40$. When Multicultural people experience

greater exclusion from Americans, their American identification decreases via threatened belonging and self-stereotyping to an American identity.

The same model was applied to test whether this same relationship would hold for participants' minority cultural identity as well. Similarly, results indicated that exclusion from one's minority cultural ingroup is indirectly negatively related to that minority ingroup identity centrality through a fully mediated relationship with belonging and self-stereotyping to that minority ingroup (total indirect effect, 95% CI [-0.43, -0.25]). There was no significant effect of either covariate, p 's > .870. For the overall model, these variables account for 36% of the variance in minority cultural identity centrality, $F(5, 288) = 32.94, p < .001, R^2 = .36$. When Multicultural people experienced greater exclusion from their minority cultural ingroup, their identification with that minority ingroup decreased via threats to their belonging and self-stereotyping to that group.

Table 4: Model 1: Multicultural sample, Mediation of Exclusion and Identity Centrality by Belonging and Self-Stereotyping

Outcome	Predictor	β	SE	LLCI	ULCI	t	p
Direct Effects							
American ID Centrality	American Belonging	0.32	0.06	0.22	0.47	5.52	<.001***
	American Self-Stereotyping	0.45	0.05	0.33	0.53	8.49	<.001***
	American Exclusion	0.04	0.06	0.01	-0.07	0.16	.484
	US Born	-0.02	0.14	-0.36	0.21	-0.54	.591
	Rejection Sensitivity	-0.01	0.02	-0.04	0.03	-0.26	.795
Indirect Effects							

	Total	-0.35	0.05	-0.45	-0.27		
	American Belonging	-0.17	0.03	-0.24	-0.10		
	American Self-stereotyping	-0.19	0.04	-0.26	-0.12		
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		Direct Effects					
	Minority Ingroup Belonging	0.31	0.06	0.21	0.46	5.36	<.001***
	Minority Ingroup Self-stereotyping	0.40	0.05	0.26	0.45	7.21	<.001***
	Minority Ingroup Exclusion	0.02	0.06	-0.10	0.14	0.26	.793
Minority ID	US Born	0.01	0.14	-0.26	0.30	0.15	.883
Centrality	Rejection Sensitivity	-0.01	0.02	-0.03	0.03	-0.16	.871
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		Indirect Effects					
	Total	-0.34	0.05	-0.43	-0.25		
	Minority Ingroup Belonging	-0.16	0.04	-0.24	-0.09		
	Minority Ingroup Self-stereotyping	-0.17	0.03	-0.24	-0.11		

Note. LLCI = bootstrapped lower-level confidence interval; ULCI = bootstrapped upper-level confidence interval. Results of linear regression models testing parallel mediation. $F(5, 288) = 39.09, p < .001, R^2 = .40$; $F(3, 288) = 32.93, p < .001, R^2 = .36$. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

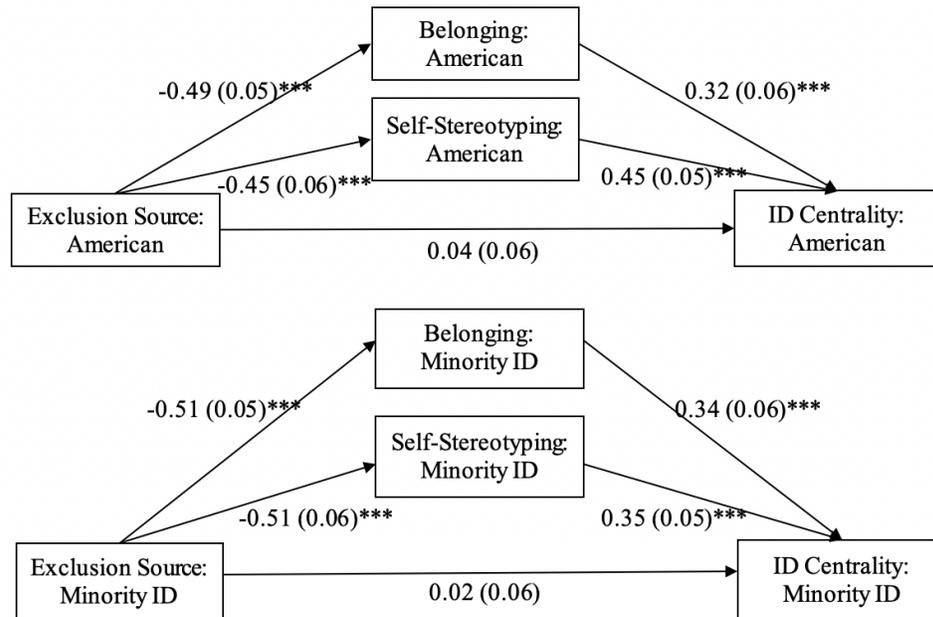


Figure 13: Model 1: Multicultural Sample

Note. With covariates of native to the U.S. or not and rejection sensitivity.

4.4.2.2 Model 2

Next, the hypothesized Model 2 was tested for participant's exclusion from either their majority (American) or their self-relevant minority cultural group identity and identity centrality with an alternatively available ingroup (American, self-relevant minority ingroup, Multicultural). In total, four models were tested: (i) American exclusion & minority cultural identity, (ii) American exclusion & Multicultural identity, (iii) minority exclusion & American identity, or (iv) minority exclusion & Multicultural identity. Results are presented in Table 5 and Figure 14. For American exclusion, results from this parallel mediation regression analysis indicated no mediation effect, but there

was a significant direct positive effect on Multicultural identity centrality ($p's < .048$).

That is, greater exclusion from Americans directly increased Multicultural identification.

For minority ingroup exclusion, results indicated that exclusion from a minority ingroup was indirectly related to American identity centrality and Multicultural identity centrality through a fully mediated relationship with solidarity and self-stereotyping to an American ingroup and Multicultural ingroup (total indirect effect, 95% CI [-0.21, -0.01]; 95% CI [-0.20, -0.01]). There was no significant effect of either covariate, $p's > .212$. For the overall model, these variables account for 62% and 60% of the variance in American and Multicultural identity centrality, $p's < .001$. When Multicultural people experienced greater exclusion from their minority cultural ingroup, their identification with their majority (American) cultural group and Multicultural group decreased via decreasing solidarity and self-stereotyping to those groups.

Table 5: Model 2: Multicultural Sample, Mediation of Exclusion and Identity Centrality by Solidarity and Self-stereotyping

Outcome	Predictor	β	SE	LLCI	ULCI	t	p
Direct Effects							
Minority ID Centrality	Minority Ingroup Solidarity	0.71	0.05	0.58	0.77	14.05	<.001***
	Minority Ingroup Self-Stereotyping	0.06	0.05	-0.04	0.14	1.20	.233
	American Exclusion	0.03	0.04	-0.05	0.10	0.63	.531
	US Born	0.03	0.12	-0.14	0.32	0.78	.438
	Rejection Sensitivity	-0.03	0.01	-0.04	0.01	-0.85	.394
Indirect Effects							
	Total	-0.02	0.05	-0.12	0.07		

	Minority Ingroup Solidarity	-0.02	0.54	-0.11	0.07		
	Minority Ingroup Self-Stereotyping	-0.00	0.01	-0.01	0.01		
Direct Effects							
Multicultural ID Centrality	Multicultural Solidarity	0.62	0.06	0.51	0.73	11.02	<.001***
	Multicultural Self-Stereotyping	0.18	0.06	0.07	0.29	3.13	.002**
	American Exclusion	0.08	0.04	0.01	0.16	2.00	.047*
	US Born	0.04	0.11	-0.11	0.34	0.96	.336
	Rejection Sensitivity	-0.04	0.01	-0.04	0.01	-1.09	.277
Indirect Effects							
	Total	0.05	0.05	-0.05	0.15		
	Multicultural Solidarity	0.03	0.04	-0.05	0.11		
	Multicultural Self-Stereotyping	0.02	0.01	-0.00	0.05		
Direct Effects							
American ID Centrality	American Solidarity	0.72	0.05	0.58	0.77	14.57	<.001***
	American Self-Stereotyping	0.12	0.05	0.02	0.20	2.38	.018*
	Minority Ingroup Exclusion	0.01	0.04	-0.07	0.09	0.28	.783
	US Born	-0.04	0.12	-0.36	0.09	-1.16	.248
	Rejection Sensitivity	0.05	0.01	-0.01	0.04	1.25	.213
Indirect Effects							
	Total	-0.11	0.05	-0.21	-0.01		
	American Solidarity	-0.09	0.04	-0.18	-0.01		
	American Self-Stereotyping	-0.01	0.01	-0.04	0.00		
Direct Effects							
Multicultural ID Centrality	Multicultural Solidarity	0.62	0.06	0.51	0.73	10.99	<.001***
	Multicultural Self-Stereotyping	0.20	0.06	0.08	0.31	3.47	0.001**
	Minority Exclusion	0.07	0.04	-0.00	0.16	1.85	.065
	US Born	0.04	0.11	-0.10	0.35	1.06	.291
	Rejection Sensitivity	-0.04	0.01	-0.04	0.01	-0.98	.326

Indirect Effects				
Total	-0.10	0.05	-0.20	-0.01
Multicultural Solidarity	-0.08	0.04	-0.16	0.00
Multicultural Self- Stereotyping	-0.02	0.02	-0.06	0.00

Note. LLCI = bootstrapped lower-level confidence interval; ULCI = bootstrapped upper-level confidence interval. $F(5, 288) = 79.31, p < .001, R^2 = .58$; $F(5, 288) = 85.80, p < .001, R^2 = .60$. $F(5, 288) = 93.00, p < .001, R^2 = .62$; $F(5, 288) = 85.53, p < .001, R^2 = .60$. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

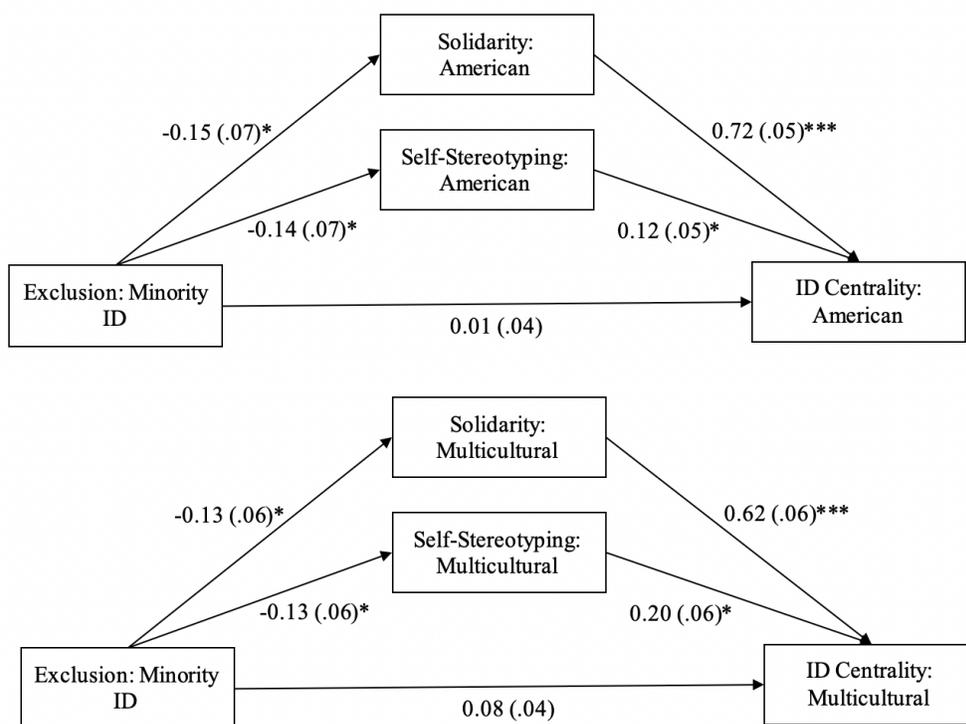


Figure 14: Model 2: Multicultural Sample

Note. With covariates of native to the U.S. or not and rejection sensitivity.

4.4.3 Discussion

Results from Study 3b with a Multicultural sample of people partially replicate the results observed in Study 3a with Multiracial people. As in Study 3a, greater perceived exclusion from a majority ingroup (American) led to decreased identification with that group via decreased belonging and self-stereotyping to that group membership. At the same time, greater perceived American exclusion also directly led to increased Multicultural identification, but had no effect on identification with participants' minority cultural group (e.g., Indian).

Study 3b also suggests that the source of exclusion is important to understanding the effect of exclusion on identification and that exclusion from a minority cultural ingroup may be particularly challenging for Multicultural people. Here I find that greater exclusion from a minority cultural ingroup resulted in decreased identification with all available ingroups (minority, American, Multicultural).

4.5 Discussion: Studies 3a and 3b

Across two studies I find that social exclusion impacts the strength of identification for Multiracial and Multicultural people to different available ingroups. Further, the directionality of the identification (increased or decreased) depends in part on the source of the exclusion (i.e., who is doing the excluding) and which group identification is considered (e.g., American, Brazilian, Multicultural). Additionally, this

set of studies reveals that this relationship is sometimes mediated through sense of belonging, self-stereotyping, and solidarity to a specific group membership.

Previous research has found that among part-White Multiracial people, most choose to identify with their minority monoracial group, and sometimes with their Multiracial identity, over their majority racial identity (e.g., Norman et al., 2021). Study 3a offers evidence explaining this pattern – greater exclusion from White spaces decreases White identification while increasing minority monoracial and Multiracial identification by decreasing sense of belonging and self-stereotyping to a White ingroup and increasing solidarity to people’s minority monoracial and Multiracial ingroup identity. Similarly, in Study 3b, Multicultural people that perceive greater exclusion from their majority ingroup (American) report decreased American identification via decreased belonging and self-stereotyping to Americans as a group, but also report directly (i.e., non-mediated) increased Multicultural identification. These results provide evidence to the “social reconnection hypothesis” positing that exclusion may turn people towards forging connections with others that could satisfy social connection needs rather than towards those that perpetrate exclusion (e.g., Maner et al., 2007). Yet, in contrast to previous research suggesting that Multiracial identification may not be influenced by interactions with other group memberships (e.g., AhnAllen et al., 2006), here I find evidence that identities within a domain are interrelated such that identification with one group can be influenced by interactions with another group for

both Multiracial and Multicultural people. Additionally, these results suggest that a “Multiracial” and “Multicultural” specific identification might be particularly protective in the face of exclusion. As these groups are heterogeneous by nature, definitionally including individuals from various backgrounds, increasing identification with a perceived inclusive group might reduce the amount of exclusion one faces. Indeed, Multiracial people that claim a Multiracial label rather than identifying with a higher- or lower-status ingroup report higher well-being (e.g., Binnings et al., 2009). Similarly, increased integration between cultural ingroups has been shown to lead to greater well-being for Multicultural people as well (e.g., Benet-Martinez et al., 2002).

Results also suggest that for Multiracial people, exclusion from their minority monoracial ingroup may result in increased identification with this group, but this identification can alternatively be reduced if sense of belonging and self-stereotyping to that ingroup are decreased. The current model is unable to explain any specific mechanism that accounts for the increased identification in the face of exclusion. These conflicting pathways might suggest boundary conditions to the “social reconnection hypothesis.” Although excluded people may try to forge new connections with others, not those that exclude them (e.g., Maner et al., 2007), there may be differences when considering personal-level (being excluded as an individual with no reference to group memberships; Maner et al., 2007) compared to group-level exclusion as explored in the present research. Additionally, research on Multiracial friendships finds that with

greater racial discrimination, Multiracial people report having more in common with their minority racial ingroup, but simultaneously experience less acceptance from this group (Franco, 2019). Furthermore, not all Multiracial people may perceive that they have a choice of ingroup memberships with which to identify. Because of historic practices of racial categorization (i.e., one-drop-rule) older generations of Black Multiracial people in particular were racially categorized as Black, with no choice of a Multiracial categorization or identification. Thus, minority exclusion may be perceived as exclusion from one's main racial ingroup, which may lead to efforts to buy back favor within the group if excluded.

In this set of studies, I observe some similarities between the patterns of exclusion and identification between Multiracial and Multicultural people. For both groups, exclusion from their majority ingroup membership (i.e., White or American) results in decreased identification with that group membership but increased identification with a heterogenous identity group (i.e., Multiracial or Multicultural). However, there were also notable differences between the Multiracial and Multicultural samples – where exclusion from a monoracial minority ingroup predicted higher Multiracial identification, exclusion from a minority cultural group predicted decreased identification with all available ingroups (i.e., American, minority ingroup, and Multicultural). Although both Multicultural and Multiracial people may hold dual identities within a single domain, their experiences of exclusion may differ. For example,

where Multiracial people often do not share all the components of their racial identity with their family members (e.g., parents may be of two different monoracial groups), Multicultural people might have family and social networks comprised of individuals with the same cultural background. Thus, exclusion from this group may correspond to larger ties with family and social networks, making potential exclusion especially threatening. Further, Multiracial people might have more experiences facing exclusion from their minority ingroup compared to Multicultural people, and thus, have developed ways to cope with this threat (e.g., Albuja et al., 2019a) such as seeking out alternative racial ingroups.

Finally, although these results are in line with the main premise of RIM wherein greater perceived discrimination results in increased ingroup identification, they are also in contrast to the research identifying that group-level discrimination (e.g., “Black people are treated unfairly”) increases identification whereas personal discrimination (e.g., “I am treated unfairly because I am Black”) reduces identification (Armenta & Hunt, 2009; Brugger, 2021; Romero & Roberts, 2003). Notably, these differences may be explained by the different methodological approach used in the present research. Rather than focusing on the target’s attribution of the exclusion (“because I am Black”), this research focuses on the target’s perception of group-level membership of the exclusion source (e.g., “I am excluded from American spaces”). When focusing on the group-level perception of personal discrimination (i.e., this group excludes me) rather than group-

level attributions of personal discrimination (i.e., I'm excluded because of my group membership), social exclusion broadly leads to decreased identification with a majority group membership and increased identification with a minority group membership.

4.5.1 Limitations and Future Directions

This study did not explore the effects of exclusion from a Multiracial or Multicultural source as these groups being more heterogenous may not be common sources of exclusion for dual-identified people (e.g., Norman et al., 2021). Nevertheless, coinciding with the increase in interracial marriages as well as globalization trends, there has been increased policing of what “counts” as Multiracial or Multicultural. That is, who is allowed to claim a Multiracial or Multicultural identity? For example, does someone with a predominantly monoracial background but some mixed-race ancestry (e.g., White and 1/16th Native American) “count” as being mixed-race (e.g., Linskey & Garnder, 2019)? Further, as most research to-date includes only first and second-generation immigrants within the research of Bi/Multicultural people (e.g., Benet-Martinez, 2002; Yamplosky et al., 2013), do third generation people (i.e., grandparents were born in another country) not “count” as Multicultural? Thus, it may be increasingly important to understand how exclusion from a Multiracial or Multicultural category membership affects racial identification. Furthermore, the current studies included participants that straddle majority-minority group boundaries (i.e., part-White

Multiracial and American Multicultural). Thus, it remains unclear whether these patterns of identification extend to individuals that occupy multiple minority spaces.

4.5.2 Conclusion

In sum, I find quantitative evidence demonstrating that exclusion from specific ingroups predicts centrality to different available ingroup memberships for Multiracial and Multicultural people. When Multiracial and Multicultural people are excluded from a majority ingroup (e.g., White or American), their identification to that group membership decreases via decreasing sense of belonging and self-stereotyping to a White ingroup. However, greater perceived exclusion from this majority ingroup also increases identification to a minority monoracial ingroup and/or a Multiracial group via an increase in solidarity with that group membership for Multiracial people, or directly increases Multicultural identification for Multicultural people. Exclusion from minority ingroup sources leads to varying patterns of increased and decreased identification with different group memberships between Multiracial and Multicultural people.

Chapter 5. Conclusions

This dissertation investigated how social exclusion impacts Multiracial and Multicultural identity negotiation and maintenance. Across three sets of studies, I found that exclusion can uniquely increase and decrease multiple dimensions of group-level identity depending upon the source of the exclusion and which ingroup membership is considered. This research provides evidence to the fluid, multidimensional, and malleable nature of social identity as well as identity complexity. Expanding upon the field's understanding of self-identification and construction of social identities, these results further demonstrate that exclusion is an underacknowledged yet powerful pathway of social identity development and negotiation, particularly for minority rather than majority-based group identification.

5.1 Summary of Studies

5.1.1 Chapter 2

In Chapter 2, I examined how Multiracial people experience interpersonal exclusion from various sources via a manipulated online ball-tossing game (e.g., Williams & Jarvis, 2006), and whether exclusion rather than inclusion led to differences in racial identification. Study 1a found that the effects of exclusion not only differ when interacting with ingroups versus outgroups (e.g., Bernstein et al., 2010), but for Multiracial people, these differences depend in part on the majority or minority status of that ingroup. Specifically, Study 1a found that compared to exclusion from a minority

outgroup, exclusion from a majority ingroup (White) resulted in a perception of greater exclusion severity, threatened belonging, increased perception of ingroup similarity, and increased racial collective self-esteem.

Further, results from Study 1b demonstrated important differences between exclusion and inclusion for Multiracial identity negotiation. When excluded rather than included (across group types tested), Multiracial people experienced an increase in their Multiracial identity solidarity and a decrease in their White identity solidarity and satisfaction. Thus, majority and minority group identities may be conceptualized and influenced by social interactions in opposite ways such that a majority identity (White) increases when *included*, but a minority identity (“Multiracial”) increases when *excluded*. This suggests that racial group memberships may be associated with opposing characterizations of social interactions (e.g., White people are included and Multiracial people are excluded) and that exclusion is uniquely important for understanding the development of minority-group identities (e.g., Cross, 1971). Additionally, these results revealed that exclusion from different groups (majority vs. minority ingroup), but not inclusion from different groups, influences perceptions of ingroup similarity, meaning that exclusion may lead Multiracial people to perceive more differences or similarities between their group memberships. Therefore, exclusion, compared to inclusion, may be uniquely informative about the boundaries that define social groups.

5.1.2 Chapter 3

In Chapter 3, I explored how institutional exclusion could be communicated to Multicultural Latine Americans via formatting of a mock-Census form and how this impacted identification as well as hypothetical political engagement. Studies 2a and 2b demonstrated that, particularly within a contentious socio-political context, subtle exclusion communicated via a mock-Census form can be highly threatening and can influence the ways Latine Americans construe their Latine and American identities. In Study 2a, prior to the 2020 Presidential election, Latine Americans that completed a mock-Census demographic form categorizing “Hispanic/Latino” as an ethnicity rather than a racial group experienced greater threat to psychological needs of belonging, control, and meaningful existence, as well as increased negative mood. They also felt more rejected by U.S. society and identified less strongly with their Latine identity. This suggests that the ethnicity framing of “Hispanic/Latino” is not only threatening to psychological needs and experienced negatively, but that it can also have a profound effect on how Latine Americans negotiate their racial/ethnic identity by negating the entitativity (i.e., perception of “groupedness”) of “Hispanic/Latino” as a group membership. Thus, the current U.S. racial classification system might subtly dampen collective identification with “Hispanic/Latino,” and this may have larger ramifications on efforts to galvanize collective action among Latine Americans.

In Study 2a, the presence of the citizenship question was also threatening. Specifically, the presence of the citizenship question resulted in lower self-reported likeliness of completing a real Census form that used this question, threatened meaningful existence, but also increased American identity centrality. Taken together, this suggests that the ethnicity framing and the use of the citizenship question were perceived as highly threatening, but they may have varying effects on the ways Latine Americans negotiate their identification to their dual-identity memberships. Finally, when faced with both the threatening ethnicity framing and citizenship question, participants reported they were marginally more likely to vote in the upcoming election, signaling that Latine Americans may respond to increased identity threat by increasing their political engagement.

As opposed to Study 2a, Study 2b occurred outside of a particular election season and showed that participants reactions to the ethnicity framing threat were not as strong (no increased threat to belonging, meaningful existence, or control), but people still had negative impressions of the mock Census. Participants that experienced the ethnicity rather than the racial framing still reported a more negative impression of the Census and reported they would be less likely to complete the Census if it used this framing in Study 2b. This suggests that within a threatening context, exclusion from the U.S. racial classification system has negative psychological consequences for Latine Americans, but even beyond this context, it serves as a deterrent for Latine Americans to participate (i.e.,

complete the Census) within a system that excludes them. In Study 2b, there was no change to racial identification as a result of framing, but the ethnicity framing resulted in lower perceived ingroup homogeneity among Americans and lower distance between Latine and American identities. Thus, even outside of particular political contexts, Latine Americans have negative impressions of the ethnicity framing and the way “Hispanic/Latino” is framed has implications on how Latine Americans perceive similarity between and within their group memberships. Additionally, Study 2b found that when the racial framing and citizenship question were paired together, this resulted in increased Latine solidarity and satisfaction, suggesting that exclusion may be more likely to lead to *increased* identification when an entitative group membership is available. Through a lens of identity complexity (e.g., Roccas & Brewer, 2002), this suggests that before people can turn to another ingroup identity to protect them from identity threats to one group membership (e.g., citizenship question), they must perceive that they have another ingroup membership available to them (e.g., Latine identity).

5.1.3 Chapter 4

Finally, in Chapter 4, I tested a hypothesized model of how exclusion from specific sources predicts identification with various available ingroups for Multiracial and Multicultural people. Mediation models tested found that sense of belonging, self-stereotyping (e.g., perceived similarity to an ingroup), and solidarity (e.g., emotional commitment to an ingroup) mediate the relationship between exclusion and

racial/ethnic identity centrality (e.g., importance). Further, the directionality of identification (increased or decreased centrality) is dependent both on the source (which ingroup is excluding) and the target (which ingroup identity is being measured). For Multiracial people, exclusion from either a majority (White) or minority ingroup resulted in *increased* Multiracial identification via indirect (increasing Multiracial solidarity) and direct pathways, respectively. White exclusion also resulted in *decreased* White identification but *increased* minority monoracial ingroup identification. Further, minority monoracial ingroup exclusion predicted minority ingroup identity centrality along two pathways: minority exclusion directly increased minority identity centrality, but indirectly via the mediated pathway (decreasing belonging and prototypicality to a monoracial minority ingroup), minority identity centrality was decreased. In sum, for Multiracial people, exclusion experiences lead to increased Multiracial identity, sometimes increased or decreased minority identity, and decreased White identity. These findings elucidate a causal pathway of previously identified patterns of Multiracial identification (e.g., Renn, 2000). As Multiracial people face high rates of social exclusion (e.g., Shih & Sanchez, 2005), they deidentify with their majority-status identities and instead increase identification to minority group memberships (monoracial minority or Multiracial).

For Multicultural people, I similarly find that exclusion from the majority ingroup (American) results in increased Multicultural identification and decreased

majority identification (American), via decreased American belonging and solidarity. Thus, majority-sourced exclusion in particular might lead both Multiracial and Multicultural people to identify with definitionally inclusive groups like “Multiracial” or “Multicultural,” as their inclusive nature might buffer against the effects of social exclusion (e.g., Binnings et al., 2009). However, the other patterns of results are more nuanced for Multicultural people: exclusion from a minority cultural ingroup leads to decreased identification with all available ingroups (e.g., American, minority cultural ingroup, and Multicultural). This pattern of responses suggests that minority ingroup exclusion might represent rejection that is long-lasting and isolating, possibly decreasing attempts to reconnect with group memberships (e.g., Twenge et al. 2007). Thus, there are important differences between how Multiracial people and Multicultural people experience exclusion from their respective minority ingroup identities. However, opposed to some previous studies (e.g., AhnAllen et al., 2006), results from both samples suggest that identification with one ingroup can be impacted by exclusion from another ingroup, demonstrating that within-domain identities are maintained and negotiated jointly with other identities.

5.2 Cross-Cutting Themes

Previous theorizing about social identity has largely focused on an inclusion framework (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In this dissertation, I find evidence supporting the need to consider exclusion as an important pathway of identity development and

negotiation as results reveal that social exclusion can influence how Multiracial and Multicultural people uniquely conceptualize their membership to their various ingroups. Social exclusion not only challenges a sense of belonging, but I find it also impacts cognitive (self-stereotyping, perceived ingroup homogeneity, centrality) and evaluative (solidarity and satisfaction) dimensions of group identification. Thus, social exclusion may serve as a particularly salient cue about group membership as it can impact the multiple dimensions of group-level identification (e.g., Leach et al., 2008). Further, I find here that the cognitive dimension regarding identity centrality can be influenced by other cognitive (self-stereotyping) and evaluative (solidarity) dimensions of group-based identity. This suggests that certain dimensions of identity (i.e., solidarity) may be more malleable as a result of subtle and ambiguous exclusion experiences, and this may later inform other identity dimensions. As noted by Williams (2009), there are different stages in which people respond to ostracism experiences such that reactions to exclusion events might differ given the amount of time passed. Reflexive reactions, those occurring immediately during and after the event, might capture negative affect, where reflective reactions (occurring at a later time but as soon as a few minutes later, e.g., Wirth & Williams, 2009) involve how individuals cope and interpret their exclusion (e.g., Goodwin et al., 2012). Results across these studies suggest that certain components of group-level identification (e.g., solidarity, self-stereotyping) might be reflexive reactions

to exclusion, whereas identity centrality might be influenced by these perceptions and change within a reflective stage.

Moreover, results indicate that there may be important differences between the development of majority versus minority group identities. According to Cross's stage model of Black identity development (Cross, 1971), an "awakening of racial consciousness" coincides with a time or event in which the "individual undergoes an experience that suddenly and sharply calls race into focus" (Mann-McFarlane, 2020, p. 63). Thus, people may be made aware of a group-based identity (e.g., racial group) and their perceived membership to that group as a result of specific negative social experiences. Similarly, Hoffman & Hoffman's (2006) integrated model emphasizes how challenges of belonging are part of identity development for people of color but not for White people. In line with these models, I broadly find that exclusion from both majority and minority ingroups *increases* identification with minority and Multiracial/Multicultural group membership, but *decreases* identification to majority White and American groups. This suggests that people may hold specific lay theories about how majority and minority-based identities may be constructed around differing patterns of social interactions. As part-majority Multiracial and Multicultural individuals straddle the boundary between majority and minority group membership, they may have identity development experiences that integrate the experiences of both minority groups and majority groups. Furthermore, this research supports a continuum

Multiracial identity model (Rockquemore & Laffosy, 2005) rather than a stage model (Poston, 1990), as changes in the components of group-level identification may influence self-categorizations (e.g., identifying with monoracial or mixed-race labels). Results from this set of studies also provide additional evidence supporting both the complexity (e.g., Roccas & Brewer, 2002) and fluidity of racial and ethnic identification.

Finally, as many of the identity experiences of Multiracial and Multicultural groups are not adequately captured by linear models of identity development, research with dual-identity populations may serve to highlight important limitations in the field's extant research. For example, this current work underscores that ingroup identification is malleable and inter-related, yet, the majority of psychological research regarding group memberships does not account for variability in group identification or for membership to multiple groups both between and within-domains. Further, this research highlights a need for inclusive methodologies for measuring racial/ethnic group membership in psychological research. For instance, researchers should consider inclusive formatting (e.g., grouping "Hispanic/Latino" with all other racial/ethnic groups) and make efforts to account for multiple group memberships (e.g., allow participants to select all groups that apply to them). This initial research may also be more broadly applicable towards other social groups that are vulnerable to exclusion and discrimination (e.g., minoritized and marginalized populations). Taken together, this research calls attention to the power that social exclusion has in identity

development processes, highlighting the need for the field to expand its theorizing around group-identification, particularly in consideration of minoritized identities.

5.3 Limitations and Future Directions

One of the main limitations of this current research is the narrow demographic groups considered: Multiracial people with White ancestry and American-Multicultural people. Research on the experiences of Multiracial and mixed-raced individuals has traditionally focused on the experiences of White/Black, and other part-White Multiracial people (e.g., Asian/White; Brunsmma & Rockquemore, 2001; Davenport, 2018). As social and psychological research has under-considered the experiences of multiple-minority Multiracial people (e.g., Spickard et al. 2017), it is imperative to explore how these groups may experience exclusion. It remains unclear whether multi-minority Multiracial people may negotiate group identification as a result of exclusion experiences in the same manner as part-White Multiracial people. Similarly, psychology is overwhelming and disproportionately focused on WEIRD (Western/White, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, Democratic) populations, with little consideration for populations outside the United States (e.g., Selvanathan et al., in prep). More research is necessary to understand how Multicultural individuals negotiate identity outside of an American-centric context. Another potential limitation with this research is considering varying Multiracial and Multicultural subgroups (e.g., Black/White/Asian, Native American/White) as larger aggregate groups (Studies 1a, 1b, 3a, 3b). Although these

groups might share many commonalities, these mixed-heritage groups are not a monolith and have varied experiences based on specific cultural-histories and political processes (e.g., Straka et al., 2021). Thus, future research should consider exploring within-group differences among Multiracial and Multicultural people in how they experience exclusion.

5.4 Final Summary

In sum, this research demonstrates that for dual-identified people, experiences of exclusion that are particularly common for these groups, are integral to racial/ethnic identity negotiation and development. Across three sets of studies, I find that exclusion experiences impact the way Multiracial and Multicultural people perceive solidarity and satisfaction with, similarity to, and centrality of their various group memberships. As exclusion is aversive, it pushes Multiracial and Multicultural people to seek out inclusion via identifying with other ingroups that may fulfil belonging needs. Further, this research underscores the need to consider identification as multifaceted and fluid by identifying that exclusion impacts multiple constructs of identity, and the effects are dependent on the source of the exclusion and the target group considered (of the multiple ingroup identities). Finally, this research contributes to the field's understanding of identity complexity and flexibility and highlights the important role that exclusion plays in the development of social identity.

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Biography

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