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Crossing Status Divides: Stereotypes, Strategies, and Solutions

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CROSSING STATUS DIVIDES: STEREOTYPES, STRATEGIES, AND SOLUTIONS

Cydney Hurston Dupree

**A DISSERTATION
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Abstract

The state of interracial relations in America remains a work in progress. This dissertation presents two related lines of work that examine intergroup divisions—one at the societal level, another at the interpersonal level. Both programs of research explore stereotypes surrounding members of advantaged and disadvantaged social groups—their content, the forms they can take, and their ultimate role in macro- and micro-level divisions. One such stereotype is associations between race and status that link Whites with high-status positions and Blacks with low-status positions. Chapter 1 introduces a novel measure of race-status associations (RSAs), testing its validity and exploring the consequences of holding RSAs for Whites' occupational preferences for self and others. Chapter 2 explores RSAs among minority participants, further determining how such stereotypes can limit—or promote—social mobility among minorities. The final two chapters extend this work by examining how stereotypes can impact divisions between groups on the interpersonal level, influencing self-presentation in same- versus other-group settings. Chapter 3 reports experimental and archival studies that find a subtle but reliable consequence of endorsing racial equality: patronizing minorities. White liberals presented less competence to minorities than to other Whites. This apparently unintentional but patronizing competence-downshift suggests that well-intentioned Whites draw on low-status/competence stereotypes to affiliate with minorities. Finally, Chapter 4 presents evidence that well-intentioned Blacks also draw on stereotypes when attempting to affiliate with outgroup members. Black conservatives adopted the opposite outgroup-focused affiliation strategy, reversing the stereotype applied to their ingroup by engaging in a competence upshift with a White (versus Black) interaction partner. Discussion considers applications in additional applied domains, implications for intergroup divisions, and directions for future research.

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Table of Contents

Abstract	iii
Acknowledgments	iv
Table of Contents	v
General Introduction	1
Chapter 1	7
Chapter 2	38
Chapter 3	73
Chapter 4	123
Conclusions and Implications	134
References	141
Appendices	162

Crossing Status Divides: Stereotypes, Strategies, and Solutions

This dissertation presents two related lines of work that examine intergroup divisions—one at the societal level, another at the interpersonal level. My research examines the ways in which stereotypes can widen intergroup divides by exacerbating social inequality and influencing intergroup interactions. One series of studies suggests that associations between race and status can have implications for Whites' and Blacks' occupational preferences, predicting responses that may keep minorities out of high-status spaces. Another suggests that stereotypes depicting Blacks as incompetent can influence well-intentioned Whites' self-presentation during cross-group interactions, motivating well-meaning but ultimately patronizing shifts in competence. This work integrates theory on the stereotyping and prejudice (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008; Durante, Tablante, & Fiske, 2017; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002), attitudes towards the status quo (Fiske, 1993; Jost & Banaji, 1994; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994; Snyder & Miene, 1994), and cross-status interactions (Bergsieker, Shelton, & Richeson, 2010; Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, 1998; Swencionis & Fiske, 2016).

Introduction

In the United States, social group membership is often confounded with social class. Race is no exception. Race continues to reflect social status in several ways. Economic advancement provides an example of ties between race and status. Not only do wealth disparities remain along racial lines, but they are growing. Since the end of the Great Recession, the racial wealth gap has widened steadily. The Black-White wealth gap is now wider than it has been since 1989, with White households having 17 times the wealth of Black households (Kochhar & Fry, 2014). This Black-White wealth gap in part reflects a history of discriminatory policy

decisions and extant institutional inequalities. For example, homeownership rates and returns to homeownership are still unequal, due to the redlining of Black neighborhoods and discriminatory lending practices that remain in place (Massey, 2005; Rugh & Massey, 2010). Racial disparities in college graduation rates, differential returns on a college degree, and the racial income gap also widen the Black-White wealth gap (Sullivan et al., 2015).

The media may strengthen ties between race and status by exaggerating the racial wealth gap. Although a racial wealth gap exists, the majority of those living in poverty in the United States are White (as Whites constitute the majority group in this country). However, the media erroneously depicts the poor as consisting primarily of Blacks (Gilens, 1996). A recent study examining 474 media stories about poverty that were printed from 1992 to 2010 found that Blacks were represented in nearly half of these stories, although Blacks made up only 25% of those living below the poverty line during that time span (van Doorn, 2015). Furthermore, the media tend to portray Blacks living in poverty as either working- or middle-aged, excluding the elderly and disabled—those who are most likely to elicit sympathy (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007; Gilens, 1996).

The stereotypes applied to different racial groups reflect this race-based status hierarchy. Perceptions of a social group's competence (capability, skill) tend to align with perceptions of a social group's status (prestige, economic success) (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008; Durante, Tablante, & Fiske, 2017). Stereotypes depicting racial minorities as lower in competence than Whites have endured over the past century (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Krueger, 1996). Over 80 years ago, some of the most common stereotypes used to describe Blacks and Latinos included “lazy,” “ignorant,” and “stupid” (Katz & Braly, 1933). More recently, stereotypes continue to characterize Blacks and Latinos as “low in intelligence” and “ignorant” (Devine &

Elliot, 1995; Krueger, 1996; Weaver, 2007). The fact that racial minorities continue to be stereotyped as low in competence reflects a societal representation of Blacks and Latinos as low-status racial groups relative to Whites.

People believe that race reflects status. Stereotypically Black names imply lower status than do stereotypically White names. Markers of lower or higher social class also make biracial individuals perceived as more Black or more White, respectively, both to themselves and to others (Fryer & Levitt, 2004; Penner & Saperstein, 2008). These findings suggest a status hierarchy that is based on race. Chapters 1 and 2 of this dissertation provide further support for this idea, finding that both White and Black participants associate White targets with high-status positions and Black targets with low-status positions.

Approaching Cross-Race Interactions: The Role of Meta-perceptions

This implied race-based status hierarchy can bring tension to interracial interactions. Meta-perceptions—beliefs about what an outgroup member thinks about oneself as a member of a high-status or low-status racial group—contribute to such tensions. For Whites and racial minorities, meta-perceptions can prompt a disinclination to engage in interracial contact. For example, Krueger (1996) found that Whites and Blacks overestimated how negatively they were viewed by members of the other racial group. Furthermore, Shelton and colleagues (2005, 2009) found that both White and Black students underestimated outgroup members' willingness to engage in interracial contact. Although Whites and Blacks both showed interest in having more contact with racial outgroup members, both group members thought that their own reasons for avoiding interracial contact differed from outgroup members' reasons for avoidance. Whites and minorities both attribute their own failure to initiate interracial contact to a fear of race-based rejection, but they attribute outgroup members' inaction to a lack of interest (Shelton &

Richeson, 2005; Shelton, Richeson, & Bergsieker, 2009). In this way, Whites and Blacks both underestimated the extent to which outgroup members also wished to engage in interracial interaction and outgroups' own fear of race-based rejection, possibly contributing to the decision to avoid outgroup members. This phenomenon reveals how, for both Whites and racial minorities, meta-perceptions—in addition to stereotypes and prejudice—can give rise to basic misunderstandings that preclude interracial contact.

When people do engage in interracial contact, meta-perceptions can quickly derail a successful interaction, elevating tension and anxiety. A large body of work on meta-stereotypes—beliefs about the stereotypes that another group holds toward one's own group—speaks to this effect. Members of the high-status racial group, Whites, show concern that outgroup members will view them in a negative light (Vorauer, Hunter, Main, & O'Connell, 2000; Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, 1998); Whites have negative expectations about how they will be viewed by members of a lower-status racial group. Such meta-stereotypes included traits such as selfish, egocentric, arrogant, or close-minded. Of note, some of the meta-stereotypes that Whites did hold were not explicitly negative (e.g. wealthy). Rather, they reflected a contrast with the lower-status racial group, providing further evidence that Whites acknowledge a link between race and status. However, for Whites, holding negative meta-stereotypes was associated with negative emotions about intergroup contact and reduced self-concept clarity, suggesting that Whites' meta-stereotypical concerns may make them less enthusiastic about interacting with minorities (Vorauer et al., 1998).

Whites are not the only ones with meta-stereotypical concerns. Racial minorities, as low-status group members, also worry about being negatively stereotyped by outgroup members due to their low-status group membership. Sigelman and Tuch's (1997) analysis of over 500 Black

adults nationwide revealed that over 75% of respondents thought that most Whites view Blacks as less intelligent than Whites. These racial minorities' meta-stereotypical concerns can have implications for the classroom. Black and Latino students also have negative expectations for White instructors' ability to fairly evaluate their work (Brown & Dobbins, 2004). Furthermore, Black students generally evaluate the probability of being negatively stereotyped by White evaluators as high— unless counter-stereotypical information about the evaluator is provided (Wout, Shih, Jackson, & Sellers, 2009).

Managing Cross-Race Interactions: Goals and Strategies

Meta-stereotypical concerns may prompt Whites and racial minorities to develop specific impression management goals and self-presentational strategies in hopes of successfully managing such interactions with racial minorities. Bergsieker, Shelton, and Richeson (2010) examined this very question, testing the prediction that Whites and racial minorities would have different impression management goals when interacting with each other. Whites' and minorities' divergent interaction goals reflect these meta-stereotypical concerns. When interacting with racial minorities, Whites had the goal to appear more likeable. In contrast, when interacting with Whites, racial minorities had the goal to appear more worthy of respect (Bergsieker et al., 2010). This pattern of divergent goal preferences held even for Whites and minorities who were in pre-existing relationships, suggesting that meta-stereotypic concerns impact interracial interactions over time.

How might these impression management goals translate to specific strategies that Whites and Blacks use to meet these goals in interracial interactions? In an assessment of Whites' and Blacks' behavior when responding to a (presumably) real interaction partner, Bergsieker and colleagues (2010) tested whether Whites' and Blacks' behavioral tendencies

would correspond with the divergent impression management goals found previously. More specifically, they predicted that Whites' and Blacks' tendency to emphasize their competence through self-promotion or emphasize their likeability through ingratiation would diverge in interracial interactions, but that no such difference should emerge in same-race interactions. Their findings supported this prediction. Whites who were highly engaged in the interaction showed higher levels of ingratiation than self-promotion when responding to a Black confederate than when responding to a White one. However, the difference between self-promotion and ingratiation did not reach significance when they responded to a White confederate. For Black participants, this pattern flipped. Although Black participants showed more self-promotion behavior than ingratiation when interacting with a White confederate, this difference did not reach significance for a same-race interaction (Bergsieker et al., 2010). These findings suggest that Whites and Blacks display a behavioral response to the unique impression management goals that generated by the meta-stereotypical concerns unique to an interracial context.

This dissertation begins with an initial investigation of these stereotypes—specifically, associations between race and status. Chapters 1 and 2 will report the development of novel measures assessing race-status associations and detail examinations of how race-status associations can predict status-relevant responses among Whites (Chapter 1) and Blacks (Chapter 2) in ways that can maintain or break down the status quo. The second half of this dissertation moves into the area of interpersonal interactions, reporting studies that explore how stereotypes can influence Whites' (Chapter 3) and Blacks' (Chapter 4) self-presentation in same-versus cross-status interactions.

Chapter 1: Race-Status Associations Predict which Jobs Whites Prefer for Self and Others

Chapter Summary

Research has rarely examined stereotypes linking race and status, let alone their consequences for Whites' desire to maintain high status. Despite the rise in prominent counter-stereotypical minority exemplars, race-status associations (RSAs) remain, linking Whites with high-status positions and Blacks with low-status positions. Using a novel measure of RSAs, three studies test its validity and explore the consequences of holding RSAs for Whites' occupational preferences for self and others. RSAs related to Whites' *status-keeping* responses: rejection of low-status jobs for self (Study 1) and rejection of high-status jobs for low-status Blacks (Study 2). These effects were mediated by perceived belonging. The final study tested discriminant validity of the RSA measure. Whites' associations between race and status related to, but were distinct from, social dominance orientation and explicit prejudice against Blacks (Study 3).

Introduction

Oprah Winfrey was once famously denied access to a \$38,000 handbag while shopping at a boutique store; the employee claimed that the bag was “too expensive” for her. According to Michelle Obama, Barack Obama was on numerous occasions mistaken for a waiter or a valet at black-tie events before his presidency. And Ruth Simmons, former President of Brown University and first Black president of an Ivy League institution, was followed and questioned by store employees while perusing the aisles of Saks Fifth Avenue in New York City. More recently, a charged scene at a pool party resulted in police being called on Black teens using a private community pool; reportedly tensions elevated after White residents allegedly told those teens to “go back to your Section 8 home,” referring to public housing units reserved for those living at or below the poverty line (Cole-Frowe & Fausset, 2015). These and other well-publicized anecdotes illustrate Blacks being stereotyped as lower in social status than Whites.

The present research examines whether Whites link race and status, as well as the consequences of holding such race-status associations for social inequality. To drive the investigation of this broad issue and derive testable hypotheses, this chapter considers three broad questions: (a) Do Whites hold race-status associations, (b) what effects do race-status associations have on Whites’ occupational preferences for the self and for others, and (c) do RSAs relate to Whites’ attitudes toward the status quo or toward racial minorities?

Compared to an abundance of prejudice research, very little work has delved into stereotypes depicting Blacks as low in status and Whites as high in status, though social psychologists have found trait attributions consistent with these stereotypes (Fiske, Bergsieker, & Russell, 2009; Katz & Braly, 1933; Krueger, 1996). The present research extends this literature by directly examining associations that link race with status per se. Because

perceptions of groups' social status correlates strongly perceptions of groups' competence (Durante et al., 2013), status is operationalized as those occupations seen as requiring the least competence (low status) versus those seen as requiring the most competence (high status). Three studies examine whether Whites link race and status, how race-status associations relate to existing psychological constructs, as well as the consequences of holding such race-status associations for judgments that maintain social inequality. To drive the investigation and derive testable hypotheses, the present research considers three questions: (a) Do Whites hold race-status associations (RSAs); (b) what effects do race-status associations have on Whites' occupational preferences for the self and for others; and (c) do RSAs relate to Whites' attitudes toward status hierarchies or toward racial minorities?

Do Whites Hold Race-Status Associations? As noted, a growing racial wealth gap—and the media's exaggeration of this gap—may play a role in perpetuating associations between race and status. Racial diversity in the United States is on the rise, but so too is inequality. As noted, this Black-White wealth gap in part reflects a history of discriminatory policy decisions and extant institutional inequalities. Furthermore, distorted depictions of Blacks in the media may also contribute to Blacks being more readily associated with low-status economic positions than high-status ones. The media emphasizes racial wealth disparities by depicting the poor as mostly Black, potentially contributing to race-status ties by making such links descriptively normative.

Finally, the stereotypes surrounding Whites and Blacks provide further evidence that links race and status. Social psychologists have spent decades deciphering the stereotypes of different racial groups (since Katz & Braly, 1933); only recently has the field investigated stereotypes involving class and social status (for a current overview, see Moya & Fiske, 2017).

However, scant work jointly examines race and status. Findings from the stereotype content model (SCM) suggest investigating perceptions of social status and race simultaneously. The SCM, which maps images of social groups along the two fundamental dimensions of person perception—warmth and competence— shows that Whites are seen as high in both warmth and competence, making them a high-status, admired group in society (Fiske et al., 2002).

Generically, Blacks were unaccountably located in the middle of the SCM, not especially high or low in warmth or competence. The authors suggested that a cancellation effect for different subgroups with opposite valences likely induced this neutral positioning; that is, class distinctions within a social group may differentiate among positions in the SCM. Subsequently, predominantly White respondents indicated that poor Blacks are seen as low in both warmth and competence, making them a low-status group viewed with contempt, while Black professionals are seen as high in both warmth and competence, making them a high-status source of pride (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007; Fiske et al., 2002).

Social class markers have consequences for attitudes expressed toward Black targets. Whites demonstrate diminished racial bias toward Black professionals, especially after America's first Black president (Fiske, Bergsieker, Russell, & Williams, 2009). As for Black targets seen as low in competence (i.e., low-status Blacks), even Black respondents view these Blacks as contemptible, while admiring high-status Blacks, further implicating status in race-based evaluations (Fiske et al., 2009). As noted, markers of lower or higher social class also make biracial individuals seem more Black or more White, respectively, both to themselves and to others (Penner & Saperstein, 2008).

A widening Black-White wealth gap, distorted depictions of Blacks in the media, and the impact of social-status markers on reactions to Blacks together lead to the first prediction.

Hypothesis 1: Whites will associate White targets with high-status positions and Black targets with low-status positions.

Do Race-Status Associations Predict Whites' Own Occupational Preferences?

Individual differences in race-status associations may exist due to in several factors, including one's history of outgroup contact, one's degree of media exposure, or the biases of one's social network. If some Whites are more likely to associate race and status, how might holding such race-status associations relate to Whites' own preferences as they consider occupations that can result in upward or downward social mobility? To derive hypotheses to answer this question, consider research that illuminates the effects of stereotyping on the advantaged.

For high-status groups, stereotyping can serve a *status-keeping* purpose, reinforcing group boundaries and maintaining an unequal status quo (Fiske, 1993; Jost & Banaji, 1994; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994; Snyder & Miene, 1994). More specifically, stereotypes ascribed to disadvantaged groups render them as incapable of achievement, depicting the disadvantaged as especially well-suited to occupy their low status in the current social order (Allport, 1954; Eagly & Steffen, 1984; Hoffman & Hurst, 1990; Fiske, 1993; Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost & Kay, 2005; Kay et al., 2007; Kay et al., 2009; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). In this way, stereotypes tell a story about low-status group members: They deserve to be disadvantaged; they belong there. For the advantaged, associating the White ingroup with high-status and Blacks with low-status can reinforce the extant social order, prompting *status-keeping* responses for self.

Thus, Whites who more strongly associate their ingroup with high status are more likely to respond in ways that maintain their relatively advantaged state. Because Whites currently are the advantaged racial group, a status-keeping response should entail avoidance of low-status positions that could threaten said advantage. Avoidance of threatening situations is well-

documented (Archer, 1979; Blanchard & Blanchard, 1988; Blanchard et al., 2001; Epstein, 1972), holding primacy over pursuit of further advantage. In addition, if Whites already associate ingroup with high status, their own high status should be the default. Furthermore, loss aversion—the tendency to weigh losses more strongly than gains (Kahneman & Tversky, 1984)—has been used to explain primacy responses to losing (versus gaining) majority status, as the loss of majority status within a group decreases attraction to that group more so than the gain of majority status increases attraction (Prislin & Christensen, 2002; Prislin, Limbert, & Bauer, 2000).

Associating race and status should strongly relate to the notion that low-status groups belong in their position of disadvantage. As described, this is one function of the stereotypes that depict low-status group members in a negative light. Therefore, perceptions of one's own belonging within positions should play a mediating role; Whites who strongly associate the ingroup with high status will be motivated to maintain such status by rejecting low-status positions because they feel they do not belong there.

Hypothesis 2a: Associations between race and status will relate to status-keeping responses, predicting rejection of low-status positions.

Hypothesis 2b: This effect will be mediated by reduced feelings of own belonging in low-status positions.

Do Race-Status Associations Predict Whites' Reactions to Status-Seekers? Beyond appraisals of one's own occupational preferences, race-status associations may also predict Whites' appraisals of those seeking to attain or maintain high status. Success in attaining high status depends on the support of others, which may include encouragement from mentors, peers, and family. The most direct and perhaps most necessary form of support comes from

gatekeepers—that is, those who influence others’ ability to attain status. Such gatekeepers may include admission committees, human resources professionals, and the managers, boards, and committees who determine promotions or higher-level hiring. Accordingly, this research considers the influence of race-status associations on Whites’ responses as gatekeepers, examining their appraisals of ingroup or outgroup job candidates seeking to attain a high-status position.

Consider first the potential impact of race-status associations on Whites’ responses to job applicants based on target race and status. As discussed, stereotypes can preserve the social position of the advantaged, depicting low-status groups as belonging at the bottom of the social hierarchy (Allport, 1954; Eagly & Steffen, 1984; Hoffman & Hurst, 1990; Fiske, 1993; Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost & Kay, 2005; Kay et al., 2007; Kay et al., 2009; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). For members of the advantaged social group, stereotypes may not only maintain social hierarchy by prompting their own rejection of low-status positions. Indeed, maintenance of a social hierarchy has two requirements. First, the advantaged must maintain their own advantaged status; second, the advantaged must exclude the disadvantaged. Therefore, stereotypes may also prompt rejection of low-status group members who would seek to improve their situation. System justification and social dominance studies show that explicitly endorsing the status quo disadvantages the low status, reducing outgroup helping (Wakslak, Jost, Tyler, & Chen, 2007) and reducing support for egalitarian social policies (Jost & Thomson, 2000; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Although the RSA measure assesses the extent to which participants associate race and status (rather than the extent to which they endorse such associations), if RSAs behave like system-justification variables, then, for Whites, holding associations between race and status can also relate to status-keeping responses toward different targets—in this case, predicting rejection

of outgroup members seeking to attain a high-status position.

As with system justification, associations between race and status may further enable keeping low-status group members out of advantaged spaces by engendering the belief that low-status group members do not belong in such spaces. In this case, a relationship between race-status associations and rejection of status-seeking Black targets should be mediated by reduced perceptions of applicant belonging.

Hypothesis 3a: Associations between race and status will predict responses to status-threatening outgroup job applicants—specifically, rejection of Black applicants seeking high-status jobs.

Hypothesis 3b: This effect will be mediated by perceptions of job-applicant belonging.

Overview of the Present Research. The present research has three main goals. First, it examines whether Whites hold RSAs—associating Whites with high-status positions and Blacks with low-status positions. Second, it explores the potential consequences of holding RSAs and whether the same RSAs could have different effects for Whites as they consider their own occupational prospects or those of others seeking a high-status position. A series of experiments investigates whether RSAs relate to Whites’ occupational preferences for self and others. The first dependent variable is job appeal, which plays a crucial role in maintaining institutional-level inequality (e.g., Cheryan et al., 2009; Gaucher et al., 2011). Because job appeal helps motivate seeking or maintaining high status, the research first examines whether RSAs predict Whites’ own preferences for high-status or low-status positions. The next test is whether RSAs predict Whites’ appraisals of other White or Black job applicants who seek either to attain or to maintain high status. White participants reviewed the resumes of Black or White job applicants seeking a high-status position, then assessed their hireability and belongingness ratings, all analyzed as a

function of their associations between race and status.

The third and final goal of the current work is to determine whether Whites' RSA scores relate to measures of system justification or outgroup prejudice, and if so, how distinctive or redundant they are. The study hypothesized that RSAs would be correlated but not redundant with constructs assessing high-status group members' attitudes toward the status quo, including Social Dominance Orientation (SDO; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994) and System Justification (Kay & Jost, 2003). The study also tested whether Whites' RSA scores related to prejudice against Blacks by including the Modern Racism Scale (MRS; McConahay, 1986)

Study 1: Do RSAs Predict Whites' Own Job Preferences?

The first two studies examine race-status associations and their potential implications for Whites' occupational preferences. Study 1 examines occupational preferences for the self, testing whether RSA scores predict Whites' preference for having high- or low-status positions.

This study first investigates whether White participants associate White targets with high-status positions and Black targets with low-status positions. It then tests Hypotheses 2a and 2b by determining whether holding any such RSAs predicts status-keeping responses—that is, rejection of low-status positions for themselves. Finally, it considers whether any relationship between RSAs and rejection of low-status positions can be explained by reduced perceptions of belonging with such positions.

Method. One-hundred and eighty-two participants who self-identified as White were recruited online via Amazon's Mechanical Turk. Five were excluded who did not identify as White in the final demographics portion of the survey, leaving 177 participants (138 women). After the initial screening survey, participants completed the measures described next, in the order shown. Following all measures, participants provided demographic information.

Job appeal. Participants rated their preference for 14 high-status or low-status occupations. For each job, participants responded to three items measuring appeal (“This job is appealing”; “I think I could enjoy this job”; “This job seems interesting”; 1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*), items used previously to examine occupational preferences (Gaucher et al., 2011). Responses to these three items were averaged to form a job-appeal score for each job ($\alpha = .82 - .92$). Job-appeal scores for all low-status jobs were then averaged to create a low-status job appeal score for each participant ($\alpha = .79$). Similarly, job appeal scores for all high-status jobs were also averaged to create a high-status job appeal score for each participant ($\alpha = .72$).

Perceived belonging. Two items assessed perceived belonging in each job (“I could fit in well at this job” and “I’m similar to people who work at this job”; 1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). These items were adapted from Walton and Cohen’s (2007) Belonging Scale to specify the occupational domain. Item responses for each job were averaged such that greater scores reflected greater perceived belonging in an occupation ($\alpha = .55 - .90$). Job belonging scores for all low-status jobs were averaged to create a low-status job belonging score for each participant ($\alpha = .87$); belonging scores for all high-status jobs were also averaged to create a high-status job belonging score for each participant ($\alpha = .80$).

RSAs. A face-job pairing task measured race-status associations: Participants read that they would see a series of faces, and that for each face they were to “guess the job or occupation of the person shown.” For each target, participants selected one of 14 occupations (seven high-status positions and seven low-status positions, randomly presented) as that person’s occupation. A total of 20 separate trials included ten Black and ten White target faces, randomly presented. Participants were therefore allowed to select the same job for more than one target.

The racial stimuli were derived from the “White Faces” and “Black Faces” color picture

sets, originally developed by Frantz and colleagues (2004) and cropped such that only eyes, eyebrows, and noses appeared.

Because perceived competence is closely aligned with social status (Fiske, 2004), the measure operationalized high- versus low-status occupations as those perceived to require respectively the highest versus lowest level of competence. These occupations came from Fiske and Dupree (2014), who assessed perceived warmth and competence of commonly mentioned jobs in American society. In this and all studies, participants responded to seven occupations reportedly requiring the most competence and seven perceived as requiring the least competence. See Appendix A for a complete list of occupations.¹

Results. Hypothesis 1 proposed that Whites would associate White targets with high-status and Black targets with low-status positions.

RSAs. First steps analyzed participants' responses to the face-job pairing task with a binomial (sign) test. This analysis determines whether the number of high-status jobs applied to Whites differs from the number assigned to Blacks, and simultaneously, whether the number of low-status jobs assigned to Blacks differs from the number assigned to Whites. Put simply, this shows whether the proportion of high-status jobs assigned to White targets and high-status jobs assigned to Black targets differed significantly from 50% (i.e., random assignment). An exact binomial sign test indicated that target race significantly affected assignment of job status.

¹ These studies also included a novel, less conscious measure of RSAs, assessing participants' automatic associations between race and status with a race-status implicit association test (RS-IAT). For this reaction-time measure of RSAs, participants responded to the same Black or White faces and high-status or low-status jobs as used in the face-job pairing task. Across studies, results did not reveal consistent effects of implicit RSAs on participants' job preferences for the self or for others. The lack of effects for implicit RSAs suggest that more deliberate measures of the group's relative advantage more readily capture that recognition of advantage, going on to reliably predict status-relevant behavior.

Estimated frequency of assigning a high-status job was significantly higher when the target was White than when the target was Black, $p < .001$. Of 177 participants, 145 (81.9%) more frequently assigned high-status jobs to Whites than to Blacks (and more frequently assigned low-status jobs to Blacks than to Whites). Seventeen participants (9.6%) assigned high-status jobs to Whites and to Blacks with equal frequency, and 15 participants (8.5%) more frequently assigned high-status jobs to Blacks than to Whites.

Examining the specific number of high-status jobs assigned to targets reveals a significant effect of target race, with participants assigning more high-status jobs to White targets ($M = 6.10$, $SD = 1.71$) than to Black targets ($M = 2.99$, $SD = 1.90$), $F(1, 176) = 242.39$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .58$. The RSA score subtracted the number of high-status jobs assigned to Black targets from the number of high-status jobs assigned to White targets. Higher scores represented more high-status jobs assigned to White targets than to Black targets.

Job appeal. Judd, Kenny, and McClelland's (2001) method of analyzing continuous moderators in a repeated-measures design tested the effect of RSA on participants' job preferences. First, a difference score represented participants' own overall job preferences by subtracting low-status job appeal from high-status job appeal. Higher scores represented a preference for high-status jobs over low-status jobs. The analysis then entered the job-appeal difference score, the high-status job appeal score, and the low-status job appeal score as dependent variables in separate linear regressions, including the RSA score (i.e., the difference between the number of high-status jobs assigned to White targets and the number of high-status jobs assigned to Black targets) as the predictor variable.

As described by Judd, Kenny, and McClelland (2001), when a difference score is regressed on predictor variables, a significant y-intercept reveals a main effect of the within-

subject variable from which that difference score is calculated (in this case, job status). A significant main effect of job status on job appeal emerged, $F(1, 176) = 597.83, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .77$). White participants generally found high-status jobs ($M = 4.33, SD = 1.15$) more appealing than low-status jobs ($M = 1.90, SD = 0.81$).

Next, RSA scores significantly predicted overall preference for high-status over low-status jobs—that is, the interaction between RSA and job status, $\beta = .17, t(175) = 2.33, p = .021$. The following analyses deconstructed this interaction as Hypothesis 2a specified. Simple-effects tests determined whether associations between race and status predicted participants' preference for high-status jobs or their preference against low-status job. Hypothesis 2a stated that RSA would relate to status-seeking behavior among Whites, taking the specific form of rejecting low-status jobs. RSA scores significantly predicted reduced preference for low-status jobs—that is, rejection of low-status positions, $\beta = -.26, t(175) = -3.53, p = .001$. In contrast, RSA scores did not predict participants' increased preference for high-status jobs—that is, pursuit of high-status positions, $\beta = .02, t(175) = 0.25, p = .802$.²

Perceived belonging. As with job appeal, perceived belonging ratings were averaged across all high-status jobs to create a high-status belonging score. Perceived belonging ratings were then averaged across low-status jobs to create a low-status belonging score. Finally, difference scores for perceived belonging were computed, with higher difference scores representing greater perceived belonging in high-status jobs than in low-status jobs. This

² A second set of analyses was run across studies that controlled for participants' current social class. Participants' reported income and level of education were standardized and summed to create a composite measure of overall objective social class rank (see Kraus, Horberg, Goetz, & Keltner, 2013). This social class rank was then added to each regression model as a control variable. Controlling for social class across studies did not alter the pattern or significance level of reported results.

difference score, high-status belonging, and low-status belonging were entered as dependent variables in linear regressions including RSA scores as predictors.

A significant main effect of status emerged ($F(1, 176) = 75.58, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .30$), suggesting that these White participants overall felt greater belonging in high-status positions ($M = 3.61, SD = 1.23$) than in low-status positions ($M = 2.48, SD = 1.16$). As with job appeal, RSA scores predicted the perceived belonging difference score, revealing a significant interaction between job status (high-status, low-status) and RSAs, $\beta = .20, t(175) = 2.65, p = .009$.

Deconstructing this interaction revealed that RSA scores significantly predicted reduced felt belonging in low-status positions, $\beta = -.27, t(175) = -3.69, p < .001$. However, RSA scores did not predict felt belonging in high-status positions, $\beta = .02, t(175) = 0.31, p = .754$.

Moderated mediation analyses. As described earlier, RSA scores significantly predicted Whites' overall preference for high-status over low-status jobs, going on to significantly predict rejection of low-status jobs and reduced feelings of belongingness in low-status jobs. Using bootstrapping analyses (Preacher, 2013), mediation analysis first tested whether the indirect effects of RSAs on Whites' overall preference for high-status over low-status jobs was explained, in part, by perceived belongingness in high-status over low-status jobs. Using the PROCESS macro developed by Hayes (2014; Model 4), the macro drew 10,000 bootstrap samples (with replacement) to produce 95% bias-corrected confidence intervals (BC CI). The indirect effect of RSAs on overall preference for high-status over low-status jobs via perceived belonging reached significance, as indicated by 95% confidence interval not including zero, $\beta = .13, BC CI = [0.0348, 0.2291]$.

The following analysis tested whether rejection of low-status jobs was explained, in part, by reduced feelings of belonging in such positions (Hypothesis 2b). As shown in Figure 1, the

indirect effect of RSAs on low-status job appeal via perceived belonging reached significance, $\beta = -.18$, BC CI = $[-0.2779, -0.0906]$. However, perceived belonging did not explain the effect of RSAs on preference for high-status positions, $\beta = .02$, BC CI = $[-0.0942, 0.1275]$. These findings provide evidence that the relationship between RSAs and Whites' rejection of low-status jobs is explained, at least in part, by reduced perceptions of belonging in such positions.

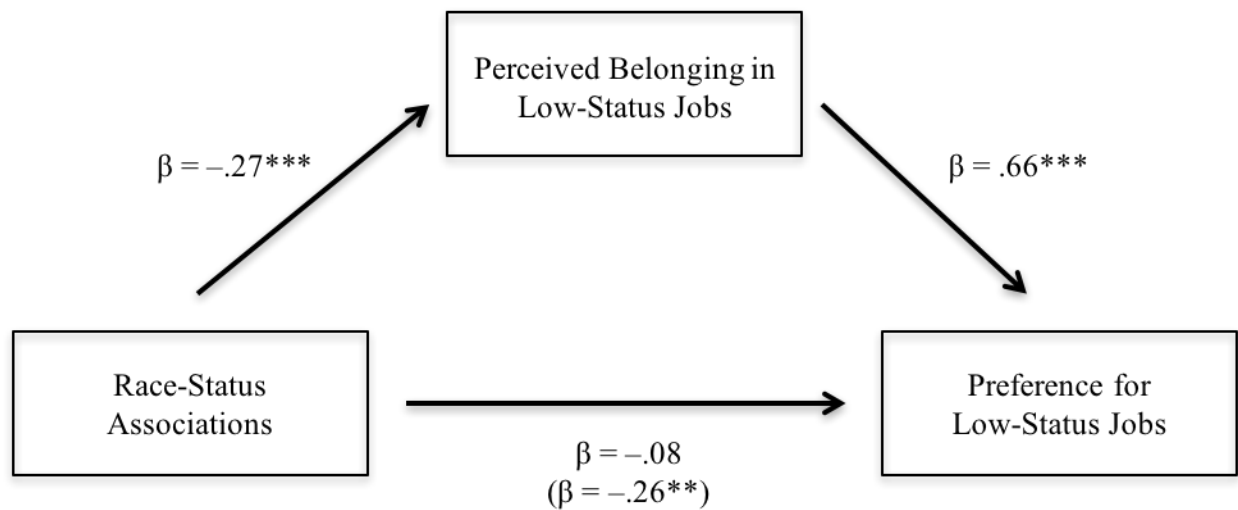


Figure 1. Mediation model showing effect of race-status associations on Whites' preference for low-status jobs, as mediated by perceived belonging. All values are standardized coefficients. Asterisks show significant paths ($*p < .05$, $**p < .01$, $***p < .001$) and $\dagger p < .10$.

Discussion. These findings support the first hypotheses. White participants associated White targets with high-status positions and Black targets with low-status positions (Hypothesis 1). Furthermore, associating race and status predicted Whites' status-keeping responses in one specific way: RSA scores predicted reduced preference for low-status jobs (Hypothesis 2a). This supports the view that, for members of advantaged racial groups, stereotypes can serve a function—maintaining societal inequality by prompting the advantaged to avoid violating the

current social order; Hypothesis 2a is a variant on the usual system-justifying beliefs (Allport, 1954; Eagly & Steffen, 1984; Hoffman & Hurst, 1990; Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost & Kay, 2005; Kay, Jost, et al., 2007; Kay et al., 2009; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Finally, the relationship between Whites' RSA scores and rejection of low-status jobs was mediated by reduced perceived belonging in low-status positions (Hypothesis 2b). For Whites, associating Blacks with low-status (and Whites with high-status) is enough to convince Whites that they themselves do not belong in low-status positions. Reduced feelings of belonging appear to keep high-RSA Whites from low-status positions—thus serving a status-keeping purpose.

Study 2: Do RSAs Predict Whites' Reactions to Status-Seekers?

The next experiment tested whether race-status associations predict Whites' reactions to stereotypical or counter-stereotypical White and Black job candidates seeking to gain or maintain status. Participants reviewed the resume of a high- or low-status White or Black job candidate—applying for either a high-status or a low-status job. As the prior study shows, RSA scores predict Whites' status-keeping preferences (such that RSAs predict rejection of low-status jobs). The relationship between RSAs and status keeping supports the notion that people are fundamentally motivated to either achieve or maintain high status (e.g., Anderson et al., 2015). This led us to propose that RSAs would predict responses to others as job candidates who were seeking to attain high-status positions.

Study 2 tests the hypothesis that Whites' RSA scores will predict status-keeping responses, predicting reactions to job applicants who seek to attain high-status positions. In this case, RSAs may predict rejection of an outgroup target seeking a high-status job (i.e., a Black target seeking a high-status position) because, functionally, Whites holding strong associations between race and status should relate to status maintenance.

This effect may be especially pronounced for stereotypical (versus counter-stereotypical) outgroup members—that is, Black job applicants who are characterized as coming from a low-status background (versus Black job applicants who are characterized as counter-stereotypically high in status). To test this notion, this study included an applicant status manipulation as an exploratory step. In other words, for Whites, holding RSAs may especially predict rejection of a status-challenging, stereotypical outgroup job applicant.

Method. Five hundred and fifty U.S. participants were recruited via Amazon’s Mechanical Turk; only those who self-identified as White were forwarded to the full survey. Five participants indicated that they were non-White or of mixed race in the final demographic portion of the full survey; these participants were excluded, leaving 545 participants (267 women). Manipulated variables included target race, target status, and job status; the measured predictor was the RSA measure.

Upon completing the initial screening survey, participants were invited to complete a study about jobs and occupations. They were randomly assigned to review the resume of a Black or White job candidate from a high-status or low-status background. This job candidate was seeking either a high-status job or a low-status job.

Participants assigned to each of these eight experimental conditions reviewed a scenario adapted from Pedulla (2014). Participants were asked to imagine helping a friend, who works at a local business currently seeking a new employee, by reviewing the resume of a job applicant. For the high-status job condition, the friend runs recruitment at a local hospital in the process of hiring a doctor. For the low-status job condition, the friend runs a local restaurant in the process of hiring a new dishwasher.

Participants were then asked to thoroughly review the job applicant’s resume; they could

not move forward to the next portion of the study until at least 60 seconds had passed. All participants reviewed the resume of a Black or a White job applicant; race was signaled by a stereotypically Black name (Darnell Jackson) or a stereotypically White name (Jake Miller). For the high-status job, seeking a position as doctor, resumes featured the applicant's educational background (i.e., college and medical degrees), detailed information on medical internships and residencies, medical volunteer experience, and professional memberships. These details did not differ across applicant race or applicant status conditions. For the low-status job, seeking a position as a dishwasher, resumes included the applicant's educational background (i.e., high school degree) and previous workplace experience.

A "Highlights" section of the resume signaled the applicant's status. This section included three statements that briefly described why the applicant was the best choice for the position. For the high-status applicant, this section included the statement, "My father was a lawyer for 30 years, so I know the meaning of hard work." The low-status application read, "My father was a janitor for 30 years, so I know the meaning of hard work." (See Appendix B for sample resumes.)

After reviewing the job applicant's resume, participants responded to seven questions that assessed perceived hireability of the applicant, including "How likely is it that you would recommend interviewing this applicant for the job?"; "How likely is it that this applicant has the skills necessary for the job"; and "What yearly salary [low-status job condition: hourly wage] would you recommend this applicant receive?" ($\alpha = .93$). These items were adapted from previous research that has assessed perceived hireability of job applicants (Moss-Racusin, Dovidio, Brescoll, Graham, & Handelsman, 2012; Rudman & Glick, 2001). All questions appeared in random order, answered on a 7-point scale.

Three questions adapted from Walton and Cohen (2007) assessed perceived belonging of the job candidate (“If hired, how likely do you think it is that the applicant would feel comfortable in this position?”; “If hired, how well do you think this applicant would fit in with his or her coworkers?”; and “If hired, how similar do you think the applicant would feel to his or her coworkers?”; $\alpha = .86$). All questions appeared in random order, answered on a 7-point scale.

As a check of the applicant race and applicant status manipulations, participants then responded to two forced-choice items asking the applicant’s race (i.e., White, Black, Latino/Hispanic, Asian/Asian-American, Native American, Other) and social class (i.e., lower class, working class, lower-middle class, middle class, middle-upper class, upper class, upper upper class). Finally, participants completed the same RSA measure as in Study 1.

Results. Results should replicate those found in Study 1, such that Whites would associate White targets with high-status positions and Black targets with low-status positions.

RSAs. Target race significantly affected assignment of the job titles by status. An exact binomial sign test found that estimated frequency of assigning a high-status job was significantly higher when the target was White than when the target was Black, $p < .001$. Of 545 participants, 408 (74.9%) more frequently assigned high-status jobs to White targets than to Black targets and more frequently assigned low-status jobs to Black targets than to White targets. Also, 55 participants (10.1%) assigned high-status jobs to Whites and to Blacks with equal frequency, and 82 participants (15.0%) more frequently assigned high-status jobs to Blacks than to Whites. Besides the frequency of high-status job assignment, an ANOVA revealed a significant effect of target race on the number of high-status jobs assigned. Participants assigned more high-status jobs to White targets ($M = 5.86$, $SD = 1.90$) than to Black targets ($M = 3.08$, $SD = 2.16$), $F(1, 544) = 448.50$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .45$.

Manipulation checks. To determine the success of applicant race and applicant status manipulations, the following analyses tested the effect of randomly assigned condition on participants' reports of the applicant's race and status.

Eighty percent of participants correctly reported whether the applicant was White or Black. Twenty percent (30 participants in the White applicant condition, 77 in the Black applicant condition) responded incorrectly.³ A chi-square test of independence revealed that participants' responses to the applicant race manipulation check item were not due to chance, $\chi^2(5, N = 545) = 261.41, p < .001$.

To examine whether participants correctly reported the applicant's status, participants' responses to the applicant status manipulation check item were dichotomized. For participants in the *low-status applicant* condition, responses that the applicant was middle-upper class or lower were coded as 1 = *correct*, while responses that the applicant was higher than middle-class were coded as 0 = *incorrect*. For participants in the *high-status applicant* condition, responses that the applicant was middle class or higher were coded as 1 = *correct*, while responses that the applicant was lower than middle class were coded as 0 = *incorrect*. Seventy-six percent of participants correctly reported whether the applicant was low status or high status. Twenty-four percent (25 participants in the low-status applicant condition, 105 in the high-status applicant condition) responded incorrectly. A chi-square test of independence revealed that participants' responses to the applicant status manipulation check item were not due to chance, $\chi^2(6, N = 545) = 224.05, p < .001$.

Perceived hireability. Hypothesis 3a proposed that White participants' RSA scores would

³ In a more conservative test of the hypotheses, participants who failed the manipulation checks across studies were not excluded. Excluding those who failed the manipulation checks did not alter the pattern of results.

predict rejection of a status-threatening, outgroup job applicant seeking high-status positions. This response may be especially strong for stereotypical outgroup status-seekers: that is, low-status Black applicants seeking high-status jobs.

Linear regression models tested whether RSA scores (the number of high-status jobs assigned to Blacks subtracted from the number of high-status jobs assigned to Whites) interacted with Applicant Race (White applicant = -1; Black applicant = 1), Applicant Status (High-status applicant = -1; Low-status applicant = 1), and Job Status (High-status job = -1, Low-status job = 1) to predict perceived hireability of applicants seeking a high-status or low-status job.⁴ See Table 1 for the results of all regression analyses.

⁴ There were no effects of any manipulation on participants' RSA scores ($ps > .191$).

Table 1

Summary of Regression Analyses for RSA (Race-Status Association) scores Predicting Whites' Appraisals of Status-Seeking Job Applicants (i.e., Job Applicants Seeking a High-Status Position) by Applicant Race and Applicant Status

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable					
	Perceived Hireability			Perceived Belonging		
	β	t	p	β	t	p
RSA	-.02	-0.49	.626	-.01	-0.16	.783
Applicant Race	.07	1.80†	.072	.07	1.67†	.095
Applicant Status	.07	1.86†	.064	.05	1.24	.216
Job Status	.37	9.16***	.000	.19	4.44***	.000
RSA × Applicant Race	-.07	-1.84†	.066	-.08	-1.85†	.066
RSA × Applicant Status	.08	1.35	.177	.17	2.76**	.006
RSA × Job Status	.01	0.12	.902	.02	0.48	.632
Applicant Race × Applicant Status	.00	0.02	.981	-.00	-0.03	.978
Applicant Race × Job Status	-.06	-1.57	.116	-.00	-0.05	.959
Applicant Status × Job Status	.00	-0.01	.991	.04	1.0	.301
RSA × Applicant Race × Applicant Status	-.09	-1.62	.105	-.16	-2.67**	.008
RSA × Applicant Race × Job Status	.05	1.18	.240	.03	0.79	.427
RSA × Applicant Status × Job Status	.04	1.00	.317	-.01	-0.18	.859
Applicant Race × Applicant Status × Job Status	.03	0.66	.507	-.01	-0.29	.771
RSA × Applicant Race × Applicant Status × Job Status	.09	2.30*	.022	.08	1.81†	.071

Note. All continuous variables were standardized. For all effects of and interactions with Applicant Race, White job applicant is coded as -1. For all effects of and interactions with Applicant Status, high-status job applicant is coded as -1. For all effects of and interactions with Job Status, high-status job is coded as -1.

† $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Results revealed a significant $\text{RSA} \times \text{Applicant Race} \times \text{Applicant Status} \times \text{Job Status}$ interaction when predicting perceived hireability, $\beta = .09$, $t(530) = 2.30$, $p = .022$. Further probing revealed that the $\text{RSA} \times \text{Applicant Race} \times \text{Applicant Status}$ effect for perceived hireability was significant for applicants applying to the high-status jobs ($\beta = -.15$, $t(265) = -2.45$, $p = .015$) but not for applicants applying to low-status jobs ($\beta = .03$, $t(264) = 0.55$, $p = .581$).

To test Hypothesis 3a, simple-effects tests decomposed the $\text{RSA} \times \text{Applicant Race} \times \text{Applicant Status}$ interaction that predicted hireability of applicants seeking a high-status job. The PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2014; Model 3) tested the $\text{RSA} \times \text{Applicant Race}$ effect in predicting a responses to (1) high-status applicants seeking to maintain high-status (i.e., status-keepers) and (2) low-status applicants seeking to attain high-status (i.e., status-seekers).

The $\text{RSA} \times \text{Applicant Race}$ interaction reached significance for status-seeking job applicants ($\beta = -.26$, $t(265) = -2.96$, $p = .003$) but not for status-keeping job applicants ($\beta = .03$, $t(265) = 0.42$, $p = .677$). As hypothesized, and seen in Figure 2, Whites' RSA scores predicted rejection of a Black status-seeking job applicant, $\beta = -.31$, $t(265) = -2.36$, $p = .017$, and marginally predicted acceptance of a White status-seeking job applicant, $\beta = .21$, $t(265) = 1.77$, $p = .078$.

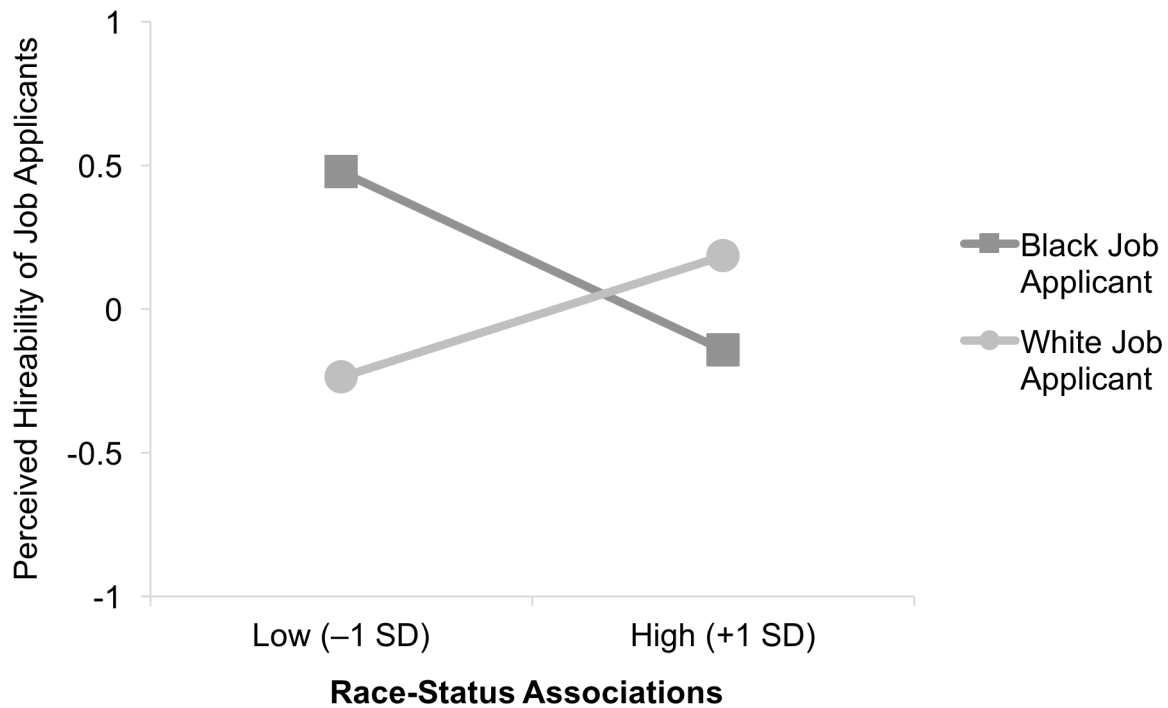


Figure 2. Whites' perceived hireability (standardized) of a status-seeking job candidates (i.e., low-status job candidates, seeking a high-status job) as a function of Race-Status Associations and Applicant Race.

Perceived belonging. A linear regression tested whether RSA scores interacted with applicant race, applicant status, and job status to predict perceived belonging of applicants seeking a high-status or low-status job. As shown in Table 1, a marginal $\text{RSA} \times \text{Applicant Race} \times \text{Applicant Status} \times \text{Job Status}$ interaction was found, $\beta = .08$, $t(530) = 1.81$, $p = .070$. Further probing revealed that the $\text{RSA} \times \text{Applicant Race} \times \text{Applicant Status}$ interaction predicted perceived belonging of applicants seeking a high-status job ($\beta = -.17$, $t(265) = -2.81$, $p = .005$) but not perceived belonging of applicants seeking a low-status job ($\beta = -.04$, $t(265) = -0.70$, $p = .482$).

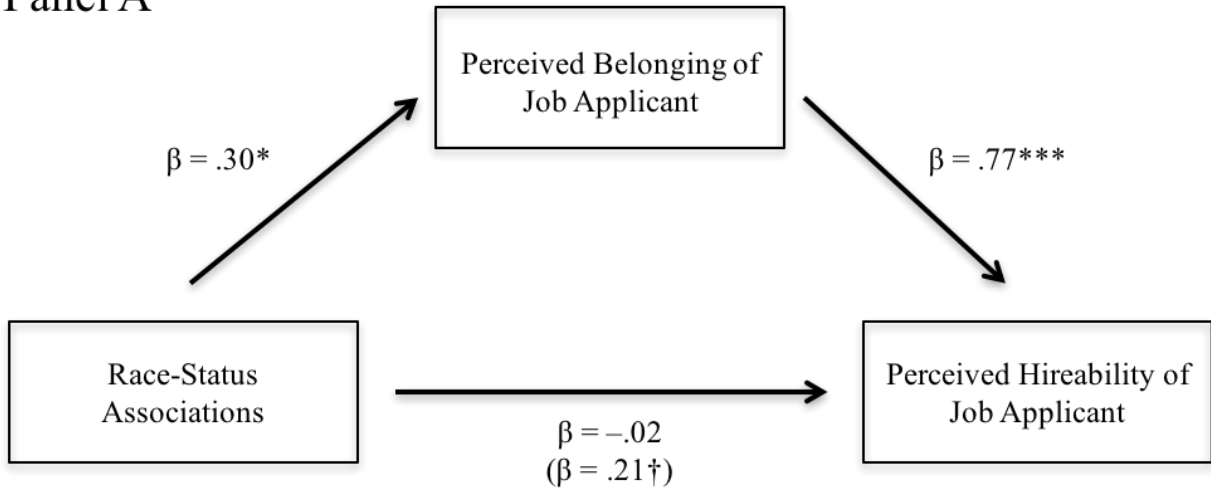
As with perceived hireability, the $\text{RSA} \times \text{Applicant Race}$ interaction reached significance

for status-seeking job applicants (i.e., low-status job applicants seeking a high-status job; $\beta = -.27$, $t(265) = -3.04$, $p = .003$) but not for status-keeping job applicants (i.e., high-status job applicants seeking a high-status job; $\beta = .07$, $t(265) = 0.85$, $p = .397$). As hypothesized, Whites' RSAs scores marginally predicted rejection of a Black status-seeking job applicant, $\beta = -.24$, $t(265) = -1.84$, $p = .067$, and acceptance of a White status-seeking job applicant, $\beta = .30$, $t(265) = 2.49$, $p = .013$.

Mediation analysis. Finally, using mediation analysis I tested whether Whites' perceptions of job applicant belonging would explain why RSAs interacted with applicant race to predict perceived hireability of a status-seeking job applicant, predicting acceptance of a White status-seeker and rejection of a Black status-seeker. The PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2014; Model 8) ran bootstrapping analyses in order to test this moderation mediation model.

Moderated mediation analyses separately examined the conditional indirect effects of RSA on perceived hireability of a Black status-seeker and perceived hireability of a White status-seeker via perceptions of applicant belonging (see Figure 3). For participants responding to a Black status-seeker, the 95% bias-corrected confidence interval (BC CI) did not contain zero $\beta = -.19$, BC CI $[-.3594, -.0391]$, indicating significant mediation at $\alpha = .05$. For participants responding to a White status-seeker, the 95% bias-corrected confidence interval, albeit positive, also did not contain zero $\beta = .24$, BC CI $[.0551, .4394]$. These findings provide support for a moderated mediation hypothesis. Increased perceptions of job-applicant belonging mediated the effect of RSA on perceived hireability for a White status-seeker, while decreased perceptions of applicant belonging mediated the effect of RSA on perceived hireability of a Black status-seeker.

Panel A



Panel B

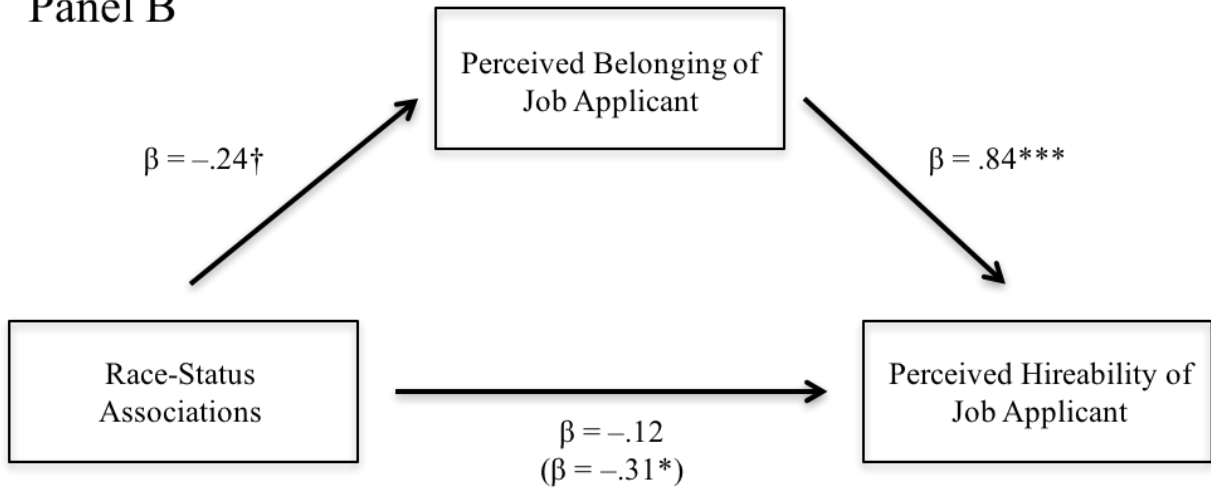


Figure 3. Mediation models showing race-status associations predicting perceived hireability of job applicants through perceived belongingness for White (Panel A) versus Black (Panel B) job applicants. All values are standardized coefficients. Values in parentheses represent direct relationships (i.e., total effects); values without parentheses represent relationships after all variables were included in the model (i.e., direct effects). Asterisks show significant paths ($^*p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$) and $^\dagger p < .10$.

Discussion. The results of Study 2 establish some possible downsides of holding associations between race and status. In support of the third hypothesis, Whites' race-status associations predicted perceptions of status-seeking job candidates: that is, low-status jobs applicants seeking to attain a high-status job. This effect was moderated by applicant race, such that RSA scores were especially likely to predict rejection of Black job applicants from low-status backgrounds. In this way, RSAs predict an alternative form of status keeping: keeping low-status outgroup members out of high-status positions. However, Whites' RSA scores predicted acceptance of White job candidates, especially those from low-status backgrounds. This suggests that, for Whites, associations between race and status can predict ingroup favoritism as strongly as it does outgroup derogation, relating to status-keeping for the self and the ingroup.

Study 3: Do RSAs Differ from System Justification or Prejudice?

The final study tests discriminant validity of the RSA measure. Study 3 determines whether RSAs overlap completely with Whites' explicit attitudes toward Blacks and two measures of Whites' attitudes about the status quo (Social Dominance Orientation, System Justification). As described, stereotypes, especially those that depict the disadvantaged as less deserving, can maintain social hierarchy (Allport, 1954; Eagly & Steffen, 1984; Hoffman & Hurst, 1990; Fiske, 1993; Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost & Kay, 2005; Kay et al., 2007; Kay et al., 2009; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Studies 1 and 2 found that, for Whites, associating race and status relates to status keeping—those who most strongly hold these RSAs were most likely to act in ways that preserve the social hierarchy. Therefore, Whites' RSA scores should be moderately correlated but not redundant with these high-status group members' self-reported attitudes toward the status quo. RSAs should also overlap with prejudice but not completely.

Method. One hundred and seventy-six participants (74 women) who self-identified as White completed this study via Amazon's Mechanical Turk. Participants completed the following measures in random order.

RSAs. Participants responded to the same face-job pairing task as used in prior studies.

Social Dominance Orientation. Participants completed the 16-item SDO Scale (Pratto et al., 1994). Sample items include "We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups" (reverse-scored), and "Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place" ($\alpha = .96$). The Likert scale ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*).

System Justification. Participants also completed the 8-item System Justification Scale, which according to Kay and Jost (2003), measures "perceptions of the fairness, legitimacy, and justifiability of the prevailing social system" (p. 828). Participants responded to item such as "Society is set up such that people get what they deserve," and "American society needs to be radically restructured" (reverse-scored), on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly agree*) to 9 (*strongly disagree*) ($\alpha = .89$).

Explicit prejudice against Blacks. Participants completed the 6-item Modern Racism Scale (MRS; McConahay, 1986), to assess explicit prejudice against Blacks. For this task, participants responded to items such as "Discrimination against Blacks is no longer a problem in the United States" on a 5-point Likert Scale ($\alpha = .92$).

Results.

RSAs. A binomial (sign) test again analyzed participants' responses to the face-job pairing task, to see if the proportion of high-status jobs assigned to White targets and high-status jobs assigned to Black targets differed significantly from 50% (i.e., random assignment). An exact binomial sign test indicated that target race significantly affected assignment of job status.

Estimated frequency of assigning a high-status job was significantly higher when the target was White than when the target was Black, $p < .001$. Out of 176 participants, 130 (73.9%) more frequently assigned high-status jobs to Whites than to Blacks (and more frequently assigned low-status jobs to Blacks than to Whites). Eighteen participants (10.2%) assigned high-status jobs to Whites and to Blacks with equal frequency, and 28 participants (15.9%) more frequently assigned high-status jobs to Blacks than to Whites.

Examining the specific number of high-status jobs assigned to targets reveals a significant effect of target race, with participants assigning more high-status jobs to White targets ($M = 5.78$, $SD = 1.79$) than to Black targets ($M = 3.25$, $SD = 1.87$), $F(1, 175) = 124.32$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .42$.

Correlations. As shown in Table 2, Participants' RSA scores were moderately correlated with Social Dominance Orientation ($r(175) = .25$, $p < .001$) and explicit attitudes toward Blacks ($r(175) = .37$, $p < .001$). However, RSA scores did not relate to System Justification Scores ($r(175) = .07$, $p = .360$).

Table 2
Correlation Matrix of Variables, with Scale Means and Standard Deviations

Variables	1	2	3	4
1. Race-Status Associations	—	.25***	.07	.37***
2. Social Dominance Orientation	.25***	—	.40***	.74***
3. System Justification Scale	.07	.40***	—	.38***
4. Modern Racism Scale	.37***	.74***	.38***	—
Mean	2.53	36.24	4.49	1.97
SD	3.01	20.06	1.70	1.05

Note. † $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Discussion. This study demonstrated some preliminary convergent and divergent validity of the RSAs measure. As expected, the more participants associated Whites with high-status and Blacks with low-status positions, the more they supported the hierarchical status quo (SDO). Whites' RSA scores also related to explicit anti-Black prejudice. Both correlations were small to moderate, but not so high as to suggest redundancy. The moderate RSA-prejudice overlap suggests, as in Study 2, Whites' associations between race and status may predict derogation of Blacks, especially if they threaten Whites' place in the status quo.

Chapter Discussion

The first aim in the present work was to evaluate the interplay of status and race in social perception. White participants responded to a measure of race-status associations via a face-job guessing task. The current work predicted that participants would favor stereotype-congruent race-status pairings (i.e., Whites in high-status occupations and Blacks in low-status occupations). The present findings support this hypothesis. Whites had difficulty rapidly associating Blacks with high-status occupations or associating Whites with low-status occupations.

The second goal was to examine the consequences of holding race-status associations for Whites' occupational preferences. Over 50 years of social psychological research has found that negative stereotypes applied to outgroups can prompt perceivers to feel prejudice and to discriminate toward such groups (Allport, 1954). This work drew on theories exploring how stereotypes can reinforce group boundaries and maintain group hierarchies (Eagly & Steffen, 1984; Fiske, 1993; Jost & Banaji, 1994; Pratto et al., 1994) to predict that holding race-status associations would relate to status-keeping behavior among the advantaged. Indeed, Studies 1

and 2 revealed that RSAs predicted Whites' own rejection of low-status positions and rejection of a stereotype-congruent, status-seeking outgroup job candidate (a low-status Black applicant for a high-status position). Across studies, these effects were mediated by reduced perceptions of belonging: both for oneself and for status-seekers. Although the RSA measure does not assess endorsement or justification of the status quo, holding race-status associations may seem to relate to maintaining the existing social order, by keeping oneself—and outgroup others—“in one's place.” Indeed, in meeting this third goal, Study 3 revealed that Whites' RSAs scores correlated moderately with Social Dominance Orientation and explicit anti-Black prejudice.

No intergroup story is complete without the disadvantaged group's perspective. Chapter 2 gains this perspective by examining (a) whether Blacks also hold associations between race and status, (b) whether RSAs predict Blacks' own status-relevant responses, including occupational preferences for the self and other, and (c) whether, for Blacks, RSAs relate to system justification or outgroup favoritism.

Chapter 2: Race-Status Associations Predict Which Jobs Blacks Prefer for Self and Others

Chapter 2 Summary

Despite the many counter-stereotypical minority and majority group members, race-status associations (RSAs) nevertheless link Whites with high-status positions and Blacks with low-status positions. The current research examines how such RSAs can limit—or promote—social mobility among minorities. Using two novel measures of RSAs—one assessing relatively deliberate RSAs, the other implicit RSAs—three studies test their validity and explore their consequences for Blacks’ occupational preferences for self and others. Blacks’ implicit RSAs predicted competitive *status-seeking* responses: own preference for high-status jobs (Study 1) and rejection of other Black job applicants (Study 2). Unlike for Whites in the previous chapter, status seeking among Blacks was not mediated by perceived belonging. Study 3 tested discriminant validity of the two RSA measures. For these Black participants, implicit RSA, but not explicit RSA, predicted implicit pro-White/anti-Black attitudes (measured via IAT), but neither measure related to explicit prejudice or system justification (Study 3). For Blacks to endorse race-status associations, the current findings suggest that this measure must be implicit.

Introduction

Although decades of research have revealed how stereotypes of minorities influence White perceivers, only recently have social psychologists considered the impact of negative stereotypes on the targets. There is little question that minorities are largely aware of the negative stereotypes that are applied to their social group. Stereotypes are widely known in society, if not as widely endorsed as they once were (Devine, 1989; Devine & Elliot, 1995; Fiske et al., 2002). As part of American culture, minorities are not oblivious to the negative characteristics assigned to their ingroup. Like Whites, minorities are exposed to distorted depictions of minorities in the media. Unlike Whites, minorities are in the unfortunate position of being the targets of negative stereotypes. As such, they are forced to contend with the threat of being stereotyped by others on a regular basis, potentially impacting academic performance and inducing stress or anxiety (Steele & Aronson, 1995; Wout, Shih, Jackson, & Sellers, 2009). Indeed, Blacks and other minorities expect Whites to stereotype them as unintelligent, lazy, or aggressive (J. M. Brown, 1998; Sigelman & Tuch, 1997). Minorities should be no less aware than Whites of associations between race and status. As such, the first prediction follows.

Hypothesis 1: Blacks will associate White targets with high-status positions and Black targets with low-status positions.

In deriving hypotheses as to how race-status associations may impact Blacks' own occupational preferences, the existing literature suggests two opposing sets of predictions. The following pages examine these two different literatures that serve as the foundation of these opposing predictions. First consider how negative stereotypes affect the self-concept, motivations, and decisions of stigmatized group members. For women and racial minorities, stereotypes depicting the ingroup in a negative light can prompt stereotype threat—a

predicament based on the possibility that one could inadvertently confirm negative stereotypes applied to one's group (Steele & Aronson, 1995; for a review, see Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002). For women, stereotype threat can undermine performance in counter-stereotypical domains, prompting disengagement from math-oriented opportunities and eliciting stereotypically feminine beliefs (Aronson, Quinn, & Spencer, 1998; Aronson & Steele, 2005; Davies, Spencer, & Steele, 2005; Inzlicht & Ben-Zeev, 2000; Pronin, Steele, & Ross, 2004). Mere exposure to stereotypic images can lead women to avoid math tasks and show less interest in math-related occupations (Davies, Spencer, Quinn, & Gerhardstein, 2002). Reduced feelings of belonging in counter-stereotypical domains play a crucial role here, often driving the effect of stereotype threat and stereotypic images on women's avoidance of counter-stereotypical domains (Cheryan et al., 2009; Davies, Spencer, & Steele, 2005; Walton & Cohen, 2007). While some work has considered the role of belonging in racial minorities' academic achievement (Walton & Cohen, 2007), parallel evidence does not yet address Blacks' pursuit or avoidance of counter-stereotypical domains.

If Blacks respond as women do, then, as members of the disadvantaged racial group, race-status associations, which characterize the ingroup as low-status and Whites as high-status, may threaten or frustrate, leaving Blacks less willing to pursue upward social mobility. If Blacks respond as Whites do, their job preferences will be mediated by feelings of belonging.

Hypothesis 2a: For Blacks, associations between race and status will predict decreased status-seeking responses, rejection of high-status positions.

Hypothesis 2b: This effect will be mediated by decreased feelings of belonging in high-status positions.

However, some research suggests an alternate possibility: Perhaps associating the

ingroup with low status and Whites with high status may create reactance, bolstering motivation to attain such high status. Repeated exposure to stereotypes that depict the ingroup negatively can lead to disidentification with the ingroup as a means to protect the self from threat (Crocker & Major, 1989; Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 2002; Steele 1992, 1997). In this case, race-status associations may prompt disidentification with the ingroup, allowing disadvantaged group members to feel freer to pursue high status. Furthermore, the desire for high status constitutes a fundamental human motivation (for a review, see Anderson, Hildreth, & Howland, 2015). The possibility remains that perceiving the ingroup as lower in status can provide further impetus to attain high status, regardless of belonging. In this sense, seeing oneself as farther from the finish line may prompt one to work harder to get there.

If so, the relationship between Blacks' race-status associations and increased preference for high-status positions should not be mediated by increased feelings of belongingness in high-status positions. Blacks who most strongly associate their own group with low-status positions may be more motivated to attain high status, but due to the nature of this race-status association, not because they feel they belong there. Therefore, this alternative hypothesis follows:

Hypothesis 3a: For Blacks, associations between race and status will predict status-seeking responses, pursuit of high-status positions.

Hypothesis 3b: This effect will not be mediated by increased feelings of own belonging in high-status positions.

As noted in the prior chapter, race-status associations may also predict Whites' and Blacks' appraisals of others seeking to attain or maintain high status. For Whites, associations between race and status predicted status-keeping responses, derogation of status-seeking outgroup members who could threaten one's own privileged position. Turning to members of

low-status groups as judges, exposure to ingroup members who have achieved high status can prompt upward social comparison, with women or racial minorities sometimes feeling threatened by successful ingroup members, which may result in the rejection of counter-stereotypical (high-status) exemplars (Asgari, Dasgupta, & Stout, 2012; Mendes et al., 2001; Parks-Stamm, Heilman, & Hearn, 2008; Rudman & Phelan, 2010; Swencionis & Fiske, 2015).

Furthermore, such divisions may be especially pronounced within the Black community (Harris & Khanna, 2010; Johnson & Kaiser, 2012; Lacy, 2004; Neckerman, Carter, & Lee, 1999). For example, high-status Blacks can be labeled as “whitewashed” or “sell-outs” (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Harris & Khanna, 2010; Neckerman et al., 1999). Moreover, wealthy Black victims of blatant and undeniable discrimination received less empathy from members of their own racial group than did nonwealthy victims of discrimination (Johnson & Kaiser, 2012); Black participants also rated wealthy Blacks as less racially identified.

Thus, for Blacks, associations between race and status should again relate to status-seeking responses—in this case, competitive reactions to status-seeking job applicants (i.e., targets seeking a high-status position). As described, reactions should be stronger for ingroup targets. Blacks who hold stereotypical race-status associations may be more likely to reject status-seeking ingroup targets in a show of competitiveness. In contrast, little evidence suggests that Blacks who already associate Whites with high status will be especially likely to reject White targets who seek a high-status job.

If Black participants who hold these stereotypic race-status associations are further motivated to pursue high-status positions (whether or not they feel they belong in such positions; Hypothesis 3), Blacks should not reject status-seeking ingroup targets simply because they feel that these ingroup targets do not belong in high-status positions. Any such rejection of status-

seeking Black targets would likely be a result of threatening upward social comparison, prompting a competitive response to a target who could jeopardize one's own goals. Therefore, perceived belonging of a Black status-seeker should not mediate rejection of such a target.

Hypothesis 4a: For Blacks, associations between race and status will predict competitive reactions to ingroup job applicants—specifically, rejection of Black applicants seeking high-status jobs.

Hypothesis 4b: This effect will not be mediated by decreased perceptions of applicant belonging.

How Are Race-Status Associations Expressed by Blacks?

Black participants may require a more nonconscious measure of race-status associations. Minorities often show ingroup devaluation—further suggesting recognition of negative stereotypes—but this devaluation is expressed on the nonconscious, rather than conscious, level (Rudman, Feinberg, & Fairchild, 2002). Because Black participants are members of the devalued social group, recognition of associations between race and status may be more likely to occur on the implicit level than on the explicit level. Simply put, it may be more difficult for Blacks to comfortably admit to race-status associations than it would be for Whites. As such, for Black participants an automatic measure of race-status associations may be more predictive of status-relevant responses than a more deliberative measure. To address this possibility, an additional, more automatic measure of race-status associations is necessary.

The current research program develops both explicit and implicit measures of race-status associations. The explicit measure directly assesses participants' conscious links between race and status (described previously), whereas the implicit measure determines more automatic, less conscious associations between race and status. The implicit measure draws on the implicit

association test (IAT), shown to be largely immune to demand characteristics (Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998). Furthermore, this implicit measure relies on reaction times, thereby obstructing strategically completing the task and determining relatively automatic associations over which individuals have less control. As this is the first investigation of explicit and implicit associations between race and status, the examination of these two separate belief patterns is exploratory. There were no specific hypotheses regarding the relative predictive power of implicit or explicit race-status associations on Blacks' occupational preferences.

Study 1: Do RSAs Predict Blacks' Own Job Preferences?

Study 1 determines whether Black participants associate White targets with high-status positions and Black targets with low-status positions. Further, this study tests two opposing hypotheses. If, for members of the disadvantaged racial group, RSAs relate to *decreased* status-seeking responses, then RSAs should correlate negatively with preferences for high-status jobs (rejection of high-status jobs) or positively with preferences for low-status jobs (pursuit of low-status jobs; Hypothesis 3, disengagement). Alternatively, if, for Blacks, RSAs relate to *increased* status-seeking responses, then RSAs should correlate positively with preferences for high-status jobs (pursuit of high-status jobs) or negatively with preferences for low-status jobs (rejection of low-status jobs; Hypothesis 4, competition). To test these opposing predictions, Black participants completed measures of job preferences, perceived belonging, and explicit and implicit RSAs.

Method

Participants. One hundred and thirty-seven U.S. Black participants were recruited from Amazon's Mechanical Turk. A larger pool of participants had completed a pre-screen survey; only those who self-identified as Black were directed to the full survey. Seven participants did

not affirm that they were Black in the final demographic portion of the full survey; these participants were excluded. Six participants' IAT responses did not meet Greenwald and colleagues' (2003) recommended screening criteria (more than 10% of trials answered in under 300 milliseconds) and 21 did not provide the correct identification code for both explicit and implicit measures, leaving us unable to link explicit RSA scores to implicit RSA scores. Though implicit and explicit scores were measured in the same session, they were measured with different programs. As such, if an identical identifier was not present in both datasets, participants' explicit and implicit scores could not be determined. These participants were excluded. These a priori screening procedures left 102 participants (56 women) with complete data on all measures.

Procedure and measures. After the initial screening survey, participants completed the following measures. Following all measures, participants again provided demographic information.

Job appeal. Participants rated their preference for 14 high-status or low-status occupations. For each job, participants responded to three items measuring appeal ("This job is appealing"; "I think I could enjoy this job"; "This job seems interesting"; 1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*), items used previously to examine occupational preferences (Gaucher et al., 2011). Item responses for each job were averaged such that greater scores reflected greater preference for an occupation ($\alpha = .86 - .95$). Job-preference scores across low-status jobs and across high-status jobs were averaged separately to create low-status job-preference scores ($\alpha = .78$) and high-status job-preference scores ($\alpha = .82$).

Perceived belonging. Two items assessed perceived belonging in each job ("I could fit in well at this job" and "I'm similar to people who work at this job"; 1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 =

strongly agree). These items were adapted from Walton and Cohen's (2007) Belonging Scale to specify the occupational domain. Item responses for each job were averaged such that greater scores reflected greater perceived belonging in an occupation, ($\alpha = .59 - .89$). Perceived belonging scores were then averaged across low-status jobs and across high-status jobs to create low-status job belonging scores ($\alpha = .87$) and high-status job belonging scores ($\alpha = .84$).

Explicit RSA measure. More deliberate race-status associations were assessed using face-job pairing task (see earlier chapter): Participants read that they would see a series of faces, and that for each face they were to "guess the job or occupation of the person shown." For each target, participants selected one of 14 occupations (seven high-status positions and seven low-status positions, randomly presented) as that person's occupation. A total of 20 separate trials included ten Black and ten White target faces, randomly presented. Participants were allowed to select the same job for more than one target.

Implicit RSA measure. Implicit race-status associations (RSAs) were assessed using a race-status Implicit Association Test. The IAT assesses implicit attitudes by comparing the ease with which participants can match a target concept to a target dimension, as determined by response latency, in order to elicit relatively spontaneous attitudes (Fazio & Olson, 2003; Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998). The IAT developed in this series of studies measured associations of race and social status, using the same stimuli as for the explicit test. For the implicit RSAs, participants classified words and pictures as quickly as possible into one of four categories (White, Black, high-status jobs, low-status jobs).

Participants completed seven IAT blocks in total: (1) a practice block categorizing faces by race only; (2) a practice block categorizing jobs by status only; (3) practice trials categorizing both faces and jobs either by race or status; (4) critical trials categorizing Black/White faces and

high-/low-status jobs (number of trials doubled to reduce order effects; Nosek, Greenwald, & Banaji 2005); (5) a practice block categorizing faces only (race labels “White” and “Black” switched to opposite sides of the screen); (6) face and job practice trials with this reverse labeling; (7) critical trials with this reverse labeling. Three blocks (1, 2, and 5) served as practice blocks, and four blocks (3, 4, 6, and 7) served measurement purposes.

For blocks including critical trials, the status labels associated with jobs combined with race labels, and the participants matched both kinds of stimuli to the pairings. For example, the words “White/Low-Status Job” sometimes appeared in the upper left corner, while the words “Black/High-Status Job” appeared in the upper right corner. The stimuli, presented in the center of the screen, were a randomized assortment of White faces, Black faces, low-status job labels, and high-status job labels. Participants were tasked with classifying all stimuli to their correct categories by pressing a keyboard key associated with the left or right concept labels. This task is scored such that categorizing faces and words more quickly in blocks pairing Black/Low-Status Job and White/High-Status Job and less quickly in blocks pairing Black/High-Status Job and White/Low-Status Job would reflect stronger implicit race-status associations.

Results

Race-status associations. Hypothesis 1 states that Black participants will associate White targets with high-status positions and Black targets with low-status positions.

Explicit RSA. An exact binomial sign test indicated that target race significantly affected assignment of jobs by status. Estimated frequency of assigning a high-status job was significantly higher when the target was White than when the target was Black, $p < .001$. Of these 102 Black participants, 71 (69.6%) more frequently assigned high-status jobs to White targets than to Black targets and more frequently assigned low-status jobs to Black targets than

to White targets. Eleven participants (10.8%) assigned high-status jobs to Whites and to Blacks with equal frequency, and 20 participants (19.6%) more frequently assigned high-status jobs to Blacks than to Whites.

Examining the number of high-status jobs assigned to targets reveals a significant effect of target race; participants assigned more high-status jobs to White targets ($M = 5.55$, $SD = 2.02$) than to Black targets ($M = 3.14$, $SD = 2.18$), $F(1, 101) = 59.52$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .37$.

Implicit RSA. A one-sample t test indicated that participants' IAT D scores were significantly greater than zero ($M = 0.11$, $SD = 0.34$), $t(91) = 3.06$, $p = 0.003$, providing evidence that Black participants implicitly associated White targets with high-status and Black targets with low-status positions. Further analyses revealed no significant effect of block order ($F(1, 100) = 0.50$, $p = .480$, $\eta_p^2 = .005$) or participant gender $F(1, 100) = 0.01$, $p = .946$, $\eta_p^2 < .001$. Correlations between explicit and implicit RSA scores across studies were mild (see Table 3).

Table 3
Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations Between Explicit and Implicit RSAs (Race-Status Associations)

Variable	Study	Implicit RSA	M	SD
Explicit RSA	Study 1	.17†	2.41	3.16
	Study 2	.17*	2.06	2.74
	Study 3	.10	2.54	3.25
Implicit RSA	Study 1	—	0.10	0.34
	Study 2	—	0.12	0.33
	Study 3	—	0.04	0.27

Note. † $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Job preferences. Judd, Kenny, and McClelland's (2001) method of analyzing continuous

moderators in a repeated-measures design tested the effect of either explicit or implicit RSA on participants' job preferences. This method first calculated a difference score representing participants' own overall job preferences by subtracting low-status job appeal from high-status job appeal. Higher scores represented a preference for high-status jobs over low-status jobs. The method then entered the job-appeal difference score, the high-status job appeal score, and the low-status job appeal score as dependent variables in separate linear regressions, including the explicit RSA score (i.e., the difference between the number of high-status jobs assigned to White targets and the number of high-status jobs assigned to Black targets) or the implicit RSA score (i.e., *D* scores) as the predictor variable. Two models (one with explicit RSA as the predictor, another with implicit RSA as the predictor) were tested for each dependent variable.

Job appeal. Black participants found high-status jobs ($M = 4.66$, $SD = 1.39$) more appealing than low-status jobs ($M = 1.64$, $SD = 0.80$), $F(1, 101) = 522.79$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .84$. As shown in Table 4, Blacks' explicit RSA scores did not significantly interact with job status (high-status, low-status) to predict overall preferences for high-status over low-status jobs, $\beta = .06$, $t(99) = 0.60$, $p = .547$. However, Black participants' implicit RSA scores did significantly predict their preference for high-status over low-status jobs, $\beta = .23$, $t(100) = 2.38$, $p = .019$.

Deconstructing this significant interaction tested Hypothesis 2a. Simple-effects tests revealed that, as expected, implicit RSA scores positively though marginally predicted pursuit of high-status jobs, $\beta = .17$, $t(100) = 1.75$, $p = .082$). In contrast, implicit RSA did not predict rejection of low-status jobs, $\beta = -.09$, $t(100) = -0.85$, $p = .396$.⁵

⁵ As in Chapter 1, a second set of analyses was run across studies that controlled for participants' overall objective social class rank. Controlling for social class across studies did not alter the pattern or significance level of any reported results.

Table 4

Summary of Regression Analyses for Implicit or Explicit RSAs (Race-Status Associations) Predicting Job Appeal

	HS – LS Job Appeal			HS Job Appeal			LS Job Appeal		
	β	t	p	β	t	p	β	t	p
Model 1									
Implicit RSA	.23	2.38*	.019	.17	1.75†	.082	–.09	–0.85	.396
Model 2									
Explicit RSA	.10	0.99	.325	.10	0.98	.328	.01	0.06	.948

Note. All continuous variables were standardized.
† $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Perceived belonging. A main effect of job status revealed that Black participants reported higher feelings of belonging in high-status positions ($M = 4.01$, $SD = 1.38$) than in low-status positions ($M = 2.13$, $SD = 1.38$), $F(1, 101) = 134.65$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .57$. However, no interactions approached significance. As shown in Table 5, neither explicit RSA ($\beta = -.01$, $t(100) = -0.10$, $p = .920$) nor implicit RSA ($\beta = .12$, $t(100) = 1.24$, $p = .220$) significantly interacted with job status to predict perceptions of belonging across jobs.

Table 5

Summary of Regression Analyses for Implicit or Explicit RSAs (Race-Status Associations) Predicting Job Belonging

	HS – LS Job Belonging			HS Job Belonging			LS Job Belonging		
	β	t	p	β	t	p	β	t	p
Model 1									
Implicit RSA	.12	1.24	.220	.12	1.18	.241	-.04	-0.35	.730
Model 2									
Explicit RSA	-.01	-0.10	.920	-.03	-0.26	.796	-.02	-0.17	.862

Note. All continuous variables were standardized.

† $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Mediation analysis. Because RSAs did not affect belonging, testing whether it explained the relationship between Blacks' implicit RSA and pursuit of high-status jobs was not appropriate.

Discussion

The results of Study 1 support the first hypothesis: Black participants hold race-status associations, associating White targets with high-status positions and Black targets with low-status positions on the explicit and implicit level.

In considering how race-status associations would predict Blacks' job preferences, two opposing hypotheses were posed. If associating the Black ingroup with low-status and Whites with high-status relates to *muted* status-seeking responses, then implicit or explicit RSA scores should predict reduced preference for high-status jobs (Hypothesis 2, disengagement).

Alternatively, if race-status associations relate to *bolstered* status-seeking responses, then explicit or implicit RSA scores should predict increased preference for high-status jobs (Hypothesis 3, competition). The findings from Study 1 support the latter hypothesis. For Black participants, implicit RSAs predicted a stronger preference for high-status jobs, beyond everyone's baseline preference for those jobs. Nonconsciously linking the ingroup with disadvantage may relate to increased motivation for upward social mobility.

This relationship between Blacks' implicit race-status associations and increased status-seeking behavior was not explained by feelings of belonging in high status. Blacks higher in implicit RSA did not claim a stronger preference for high-status positions because they were more likely to feel they belonged there. Rather, nonconsciously associating the ingroup with low

status (and Whites with high status) appears to predict a status-seeking response, regardless of anticipated belonging within high-status positions. It appears that reduced belonging does not keep high-RSA Blacks from the desire to attain high-status position—thus enabling a status-seeking response.

Study 2: Do RSAs Predict Blacks' Reactions to Other Status-Seekers?

Study 1's findings suggest that Blacks higher in RSAs show increased status-seeking tendencies for themselves. This tendency could reflect ingroup competitiveness. To test this prediction, Study 2 determined whether race-status associations predict Blacks' reactions to stereotypical or counter-stereotypical White and Black job candidates seeking to gain status. Participants reviewed the resume of a high- or low-status White or Black job candidate—applying for a high-status job. Following the introduction of the job scenario and review of the applicant's resume, Black participants reported their perceptions of the applicant's hireability and belonging and completed explicit and implicit measures of race-status associations.

Applicant status was manipulated for exploratory purposes. A growing literature suggests that low-status group members can engage in threatening upward social comparison within their own group, rejecting counter-stereotypical ingroup exemplars (Asgari et al., 2012; Mendes et al., 2001; Parks-Stamm, et al., 2008; Rudman & Phelan, 2010; Swencionis & Fiske, 2015)—including among Blacks (Harris & Khanna, 2010; Johnson & Kaiser, 2012; Lacy, 2004; Neckerman, Carter, & Lee, 1999). Therefore, for Black participants, RSAs may especially predict rejection of high-status (versus low-status) Black job applications.

Method

Participants. One hundred and sixty-one Black participants were recruited via Amazon's Mechanical Turk, using the same two-step procedure as before. Seven participants indicated that

they were of mixed race or did not indicate their ethnicity in the final demographic portion of the full survey, five participants whose implicit responses did not meet Greenwald and colleagues' (2003) recommended screening criteria, and 16 who did not provide the identification code for both explicit and implicit measures, leaving us unable to link explicit RSA scores to implicit RSA scores. These participants were excluded, leaving 133 Black participants (85 women) with complete data on all measures.

Procedure and measures. The study procedure was identical to that found in the previous chapter in all ways but one: Black participants read a job posting for a high-status job only. The low-status job conditions were cut for two reasons. First, the difficulty of recruiting Black participants would make it difficult to run a well-powered study with eight between-subjects conditions. Secondly, the study reported in Chapter 1 found that the race and status of the job applicant interacted to predict responses to those applying to a high-status job only, suggesting that status-seeking or status-keeping responses may be most reactive to such positions (wherein the stakes are higher). Participants reviewed the resume of a White or Black job applicant from a high- or low-status background. Participants then completed the following measures.

Perceived hireability. Black participants responded to seven questions that assessed perceived hireability of the applicant, including “How likely is it that you would recommend interviewing this applicant for the job?”; “How likely is it that this applicant has the skills necessary for the job”; and “What yearly salary (low-status job condition: hourly wage) would you recommend this applicant receive?” ($\alpha = .91$). These items were adapted from previous research that has assessed perceived hireability of job applicants (Moss-Racusin, Dovidio, Brescoll, Graham, & Handelsman, 2012; Rudman & Glick, 2001). All questions appeared in

random order, answered on a 7-point scale.⁶

Perceived belonging. Three questions adapted from Walton and Cohen (2007) assessed perceived belonging of the job candidate, (“If hired, how likely do you think it is that the applicant would feel comfortable in this position?”; “If hired, how well do you think this applicant would fit in with his or her coworkers?”; and “If hired, how similar do you think the applicant would feel to his or her coworkers?”; $\alpha = .88$).

Manipulation checks. As a check of the applicant race and applicant status manipulations, participants responded to two forced choice items asking the applicant’s race (i.e., White, Black, Latino/Hispanic, Asian/Asian-American, Native American, Other) and social class (i.e., lower class, working class, lower-middle class, middle class, middle-upper class, upper class, upper upper class).

Explicit and implicit RSA. Participants responded to the explicit and implicit RSA measures used in the prior study.

Results

Race-status associations. Replicating the effects of Study 1, Black participants should associate White targets with high-status positions and Black targets with low-status positions, both explicitly and implicitly.

Explicit RSA. Target race significantly affected assignment of job by status. An exact binomial sign test found that estimated frequency of assigning a high-status job was significantly

⁶ A number of participants ($n = 27$) were unable to complete one item of the perceived hireability scale (i.e., “What is yearly salary would you recommend this applicant receive?”) due to experimenter error. Rather than dropping these participants for incomplete data on this item, the perceived hireability scale and resulting Cronbach’s alpha were computed using the existing data. Computation of a perceived hireability scale without this item yielded a highly reliable result ($\alpha = .94$) and analysis of this modified scale did not change the pattern of any results.

higher when the target was White than when the target was Black, $p < .001$. Of 133 participants, 92 (69.2%) more frequently assigned high-status jobs to White targets than to Black targets and more frequently assigned low-status jobs to Black targets than to White targets. Seventeen participants (12.8%) assigned high-status jobs to Whites and to Blacks with equal frequency; 24 participants (18.0%) more frequently assigned high-status jobs to Blacks than to Whites. Furthermore, participants assigned significantly more high-status jobs to White targets ($M = 5.65$, $SD = 1.83$) than Black targets ($M = 3.59$, $SD = 2.10$), $F(1, 132) = 60.45$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .31$.

Implicit RSA. Replicating Study 1, a one-sample t-test found that Black participants' D scores ($M = .12$, $SD = .33$) were significantly different from zero, $t(132) = 4.21$, $p < .001$. This effect was not dependent on block order, $F(1, 131) = 0.09$, $p = .763$, $\eta_p^2 = .001$. A marginal effect of gender was found, $F(1, 131) = 3.07$, $p = .082$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. Women's implicit RSA scores ($M = .16$, $SD = .35$) were somewhat higher than men's ($M = .05$, $SD = .26$).

Manipulation checks. To determine the success of applicant race and applicant status manipulations, the following analyses tested the effect of randomly assigned condition on participants' reports.

Perceived target race. Eighty-four percent of participants correctly reported whether the applicant was White or Black. Sixteen percent (7 participants in the White applicant condition, 14 in the Black applicant condition) responded incorrectly. A chi-square test of independence revealed that participants' responses to the applicant race manipulation check item were not due to chance, $\chi^2(4, N = 133) = 74.69$, $p < .001$.

Perceived target status. To examine whether participants correctly reported the applicant's status, responses to the applicant status manipulation check item were dichotomized. For participants in the *low-status applicant* condition, responses that the applicant was middle-

upper class or lower were coded as 1 = *correct*, while responses that the applicant was higher than middle-class were coded as 0 = *incorrect*. For participants in the *high-status applicant* condition, responses that the applicant was middle class or higher were coded as 1 = *correct*, while responses that the applicant was lower than middle class were coded as 0 = *incorrect*. Eighty-seven percent of participants correctly reported whether the applicant was low status or high status. Thirteen percent (16 participants in the low-status applicant condition, 2 in the high-status applicant condition) responded incorrectly. A chi-square test of independence revealed that participants' responses to the applicant status manipulation check item were not due to chance, $\chi^2(6, N = 133) = 52.84, p < .001$. As a more conservative test of the hypotheses, all participants were included in all analyses.

Perceptions of job applicant hireability and belonging. Hypothesis 4a proposed that Black participants' RSA scores should predict competitive reactions to ingroup job applicants seeking a high-status position.

Effect of RSAs on perceptions of job applicants' hireability. Two linear regression models tested whether explicit or implicit RSA interacted with Applicant Race (White applicant = -1; Black applicant = 1) and Applicant Status (High-status applicant = -1; Low-status applicant = 1) to predict perceived hireability of applicants seeking a high-status. The results of all regression analyses are shown in Table 6.

Table 6

Summary of Regression Analyses for Implicit or Explicit Race-Status Associations (RSA) Predicting Blacks' Appraisals of Status-Seeking Job Applicants (i.e., Job Applicants Seeking a High-Status Position) by Applicant Race and Applicant Status

	Perceived Hireability			Perceived Belonging		
	β	t	p	β	t	p
Model 1						
Implicit RSA	-.18	-1.98	.049	-.09	-0.97	.336
Applicant Race	.09	1.00	.321	.15	1.69†	.094
Applicant Status	.11	1.28	.204	.05	0.55	.586
Implicit RSA × Applicant Race	-.14	-1.59	.115	-.07	-0.79	.433
Implicit RSA × Applicant Status	.14	1.53	.128	.15	1.71†	.090
Applicant Race × Applicant Status	.00	0.01	.992	-.02	-0.17	.865
Implicit RSA × Applicant Race × Applicant Status	.05	0.55	.582	-.04	-0.40	.691
Model 2						
Explicit RSA	.02	0.22	.823	.12	1.34	.181
Applicant Race	.12	1.34	.184	.17	1.96†	.052
Applicant Status	.09	0.99	.326	.04	0.45	.656
Explicit RSA × Applicant Race	-.06	-0.66	.512	-.04	-0.49	.627
Explicit RSA × Applicant Status	-.04	-0.38	.702	.02	0.23	.817
Applicant Race × Applicant Status	-.04	-0.40	.692	-.04	-0.49	.629
Explicit RSA × Applicant Race × Applicant Status	.03	0.36	.717	.05	0.54	.591

Note. All continuous variables were standardized. For all effects of and interactions with Applicant Race, White job applicant is coded as -1. For all effects of and interactions with Applicant Status, high-status job applicant is coded as -1.

† $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

A main effect of implicit RSAs was found. Blacks higher in implicit RSAs found any job applicant—White or Black, high-status or low-status—seeking a high-status job to be less hireable, $\beta = -.18$, $t(125) = -1.98$, $p = .049$. This main effect was qualified by an Implicit RSA $\times$ Applicant Race interaction that trended toward significance, $\beta = -.14$, $t(125) = -1.59$, $p = .115$. Although this interaction did not reach conventional levels of significance, this interaction bore breaking down due to the difficulty of recruiting Black participants. As shown in Figure 4, higher levels of implicit RSA predicted rejection of a Black job applicant (regardless of applicant status), $\beta = -.32$, $t(125) = -2.84$, $p = .005$. In contrast, implicit RSA did not predict perceived hireability of a White job applicant seeking a high-status job, $\beta = -.03$, $t(125) = -0.25$, $p = .800$.

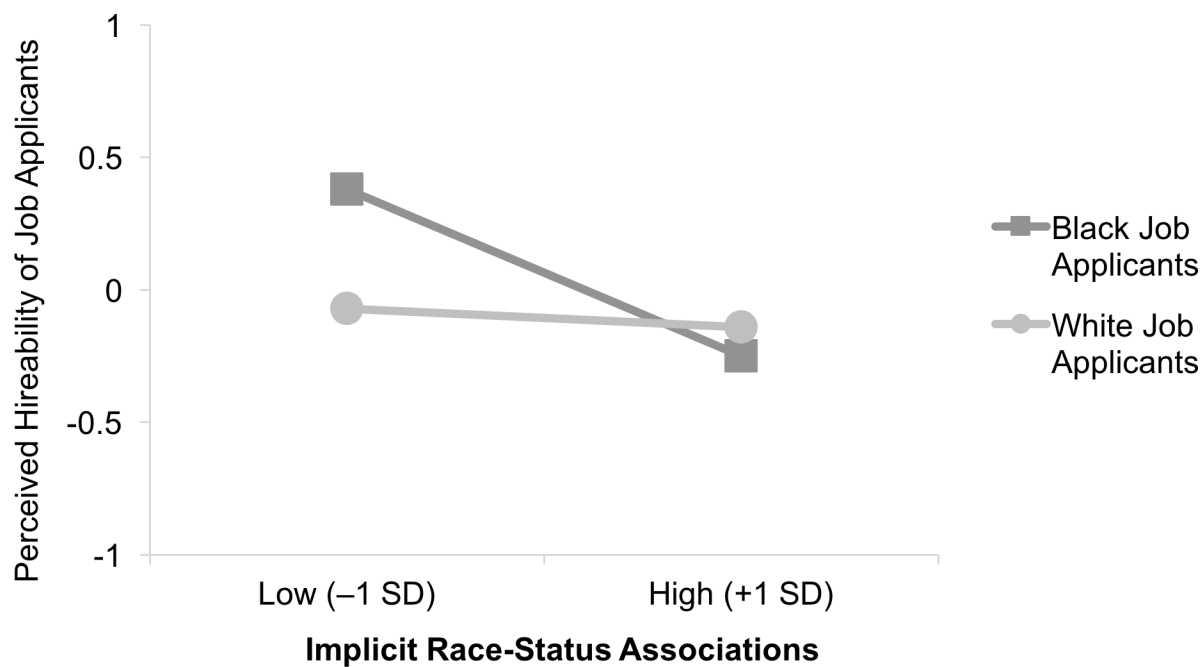


Figure 4. Blacks' perceived hireability (standardized) of job candidates as a function of implicit race-status associations and applicant race.

The main effect of implicit RSA was also qualified by a trending Implicit RSA $\times$ Applicant Status interaction, $\beta = .14$, $t(125) = 1.53$, $p = .128$. Again, though this interaction did not reach conventional levels of significance, this interaction bore breaking down due to difficulty of recruiting Black participants. As shown in Figure 5, higher levels of implicit RSA predicted rejection of a high-status job applicant (regardless of applicant race), $\beta = -.31$, $t(125) = -2.67$, $p = .009$. In contrast, implicit RSA did not predict perceived hireability of a low-status job applicant seeking a high-status job, $\beta = -.04$, $t(125) = -0.30$, $p = .765$. No other main effects or interactions reached significance.

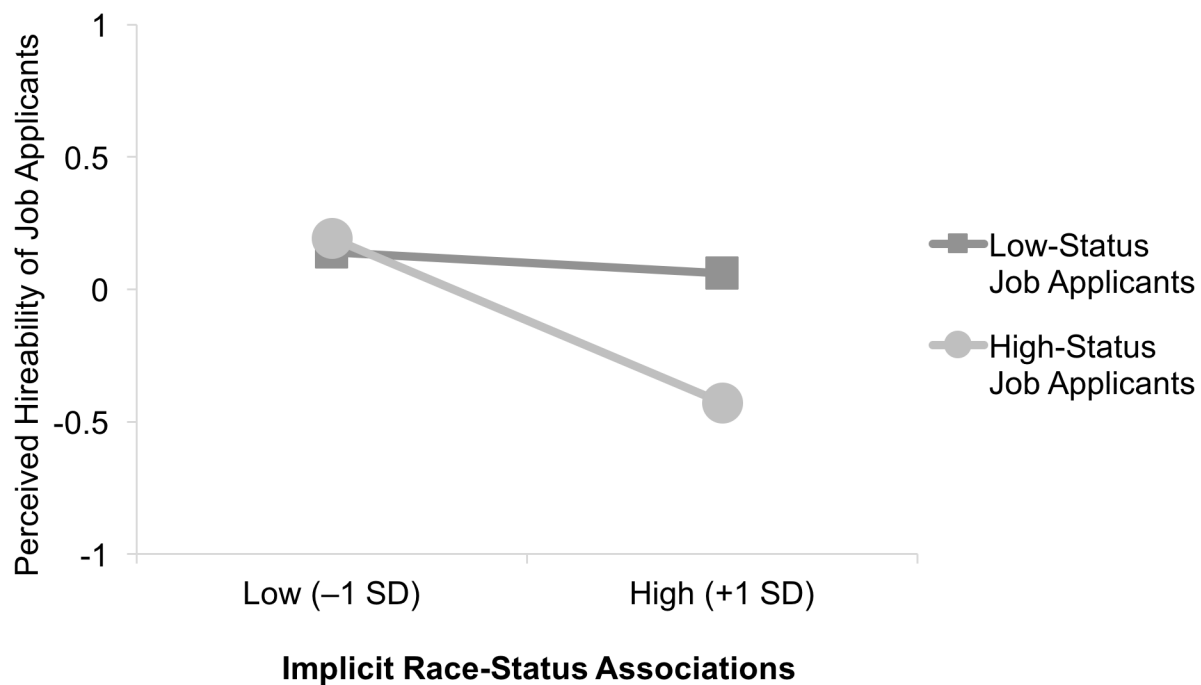


Figure 5. Blacks' perceived hireability (standardized) of job candidates as a function of implicit race-status associations and applicant status.

Effect of RSAs on perceptions of job applicants' belonging. A marginal main effect of applicant race was found. Participants rated Black targets as belonging more in a high-status job than did White targets, (Model 1 (Implicit RSA): $\beta = .15$, $t(125) = 1.69$, $p = .094$; Model 2 (Explicit RSA): $\beta = .17$, $t(125) = 1.96$, $p = .052$). A marginal interaction was also found between implicit RSA and applicant status, $\beta = .15$, $t(125) = 1.71$, $p = .090$. Further probing revealed that higher levels of implicit RSA predicted reduced perceived belonging of a high-status job applicant (regardless of applicant race), $\beta = -.24$, $t(125) = -2.03$, $p = .044$. In contrast, implicit RSA did not predict perceived belonging of a low-status job applicant seeking a high-status job, $\beta = .07$, $t(125) = 0.50$, $p = .621$. No other main effects or interactions reached significance.

Mediation analyses. Although implicit RSA interacted with partner race to predict perceived hireability of a job applicant, because Implicit RSA $\times$ Applicant Race did not significantly predict perceived belonging of a job applicant, mediation was not tested.

Discussion

Study 2 indicates that holding associations between race and status can have negative implications for racial minorities responding to ingroup members or those who have already attained high-status. For Black participants, implicitly associating the ingroup with low status and Whites with high status related to rejection of an ingroup target and rejection of a high-status target. By comparison, RSA scores did not significantly predict increased preferences for a White job applicant or increased preferences for a low-status job applicant. These results provide further evidence that associations between race and status can have counterintuitive consequences for minorities who hold such RSAs, in this case reacting competitively to ingroup members (as was predicted) or high-status others (as was not predicted). Although the interactions of interest just trended toward significance, all simple effects of interest were highly

significant. Because Black participants are difficult to recruit, these effects seem worth reporting.

Furthermore, the relationship between holding implicit RSAs and rejecting high-status job applicants was explained by perceived belonging of high-status applicants. Blacks higher in RSAs may justify rejecting high-status applicants by claiming that they do not belong there. Alternatively, these data do not rule out a reverse-causality story; Blacks higher in RSAs may believe that high-status others do not belong in high-status positions because they are less hireable. This finding merits further examination.

Study 3: RSAs' Divergent and Convergent Validity

Study 3 builds on the previous study by examining whether scores on these measures relate to Blacks' attitudes toward Whites (explicit, implicit), attitudes toward social hierarchy (Social Dominance Orientation), outgroup contact, and ethnic identification. This study is an exploratory one aimed at illuminating some of the underlying psychological constructs that may relate to high-RSA Blacks' status-seeking responses: No specific predictions were made as to whether or how Blacks' RSA scores would relate to the above constructs except to assume some overlap, without complete redundancy.

Method

Participants. One hundred and fifty participants completed this study via Amazon's Mechanical Turk in exchange for a nominal fee. All participants completed a pre-screen survey that included several demographic items; those who self-identified as Black were then invited to complete the full survey. Seventy-two participants did not provide a valid personal identification code for either the implicit prejudice measure or the implicit RSA measure, leaving us unable to link those participants' self-report scores to their implicit scores; these participants had to be excluded. Eight participants' IAT responses did not meet Greenwald and colleagues' (2003)

recommended screening criteria and four participants did not describe themselves as Black in the main study's demographics questionnaire. These participants were also excluded. These a priori screening procedures left 66 participants (38 women) with complete data on all measures.

Measures. Participants completed the following measures in random order.

Explicit RSA. Participants completed the same face-job pairing task as in prior studies.

Implicit RSA. Participants completed the same race-status IAT as before.

Social Dominance Orientation. Participants completed the 16-item SDO Scale (Pratto et al., 1994). Sample items include “We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups” (reverse-scored) and “Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place” ($\alpha = .97$). The Likert scale ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*).

System Justification Scale. System justification was assessed using the 8-item System Justification Scale. As noted, according to Kay and Jost (2003), this scale measures “perceptions of the fairness, legitimacy, and justifiability of the prevailing social system” (p. 828). Participants responded to item such as “Society is set up such that people get what they deserve,” and “American society needs to be radically restructured” (reverse-scored), on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly agree*) to 9 (*strongly disagree*) ($\alpha = .87$).

Explicit prejudice against Whites. To assess participants' explicit attitudes about Whites, participants completed the Interracial Attitudes Subscale of the African-American Attitudes Scale (AAAS; Landrine & Klonoff, 1996). Sample items include: “Deep in their hearts, most White people are racist,” and “I don't trust most White people” ($\alpha = .88$). Participants responded on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*.

Implicit pro-White/anti-Black prejudice. For divergent validity, implicit prejudice was assessed with a traditional Implicit Association Test (IAT; Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz,

1998). This IAT measured the strength of participants' associations between "White/Black" and "Good/Bad." Though this IAT utilized the same set of Black and White stimuli as found in the implicit RSA test, participants responded to a new set of words representing good/bad stimuli. These stimuli included words such as "joy, love, wonderful" (that is, "good" stimuli) and "terrible, horrible, awful" (that is, "bad" stimuli). The *D*-score was calculated using improved scoring algorithms (Greenwald, Nosek, & Banaji, 2003); as such, trials with reaction times shorter than 400 or greater than 10,000 were removed.

Ethnic identification. To assess ethnic identification, participants completed Phinney's (1992) Multi-group Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM). Sample items include: "I have a strong sense of belonging within my own ethnic group"; "I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs"; and "I feel a strong sense of attachment toward my own ethnic group" ($\alpha = .91$). Participants responded on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*.

Outgroup contact. To assess outgroup contact, participants responded to a single question: "How much contact do you experience with Whites or have you experienced in the past?". Responses ranged from 0 (*not at all*) to 10 (*daily contact*).

Results

Race-Status Associations.

Explicit RSA. An exact binomial sign test indicated that target race significantly affected assignment of job status. Estimated frequency of assigning a high-status job was significantly higher when the target was White than when the target was Black, $p < .001$. Out of 66 Black participants, 49 (74.2%) more frequently assigned high-status jobs to Whites than to Blacks (and more frequently assigned low-status jobs to Blacks than to Whites). Six participants (10.0%)

assigned high-status jobs to Whites and to Blacks with equal frequency, and 11 participants (16.7%) more frequently assigned high-status jobs to Blacks than to Whites. The specific number of high-status jobs assigned to targets was then assessed as a function of target race. As in earlier studies, this ANOVA revealed a significant effect of target race; Black participants assigned more high-status jobs to White targets ($M = 6.08$, $SD = 1.98$) than to Black targets ($M = 3.53$, $SD = 2.37$), $F(1, 65) = 40.62$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .39$.

Implicit RSA. Results of a one-sample t-test found that Black participants' D scores were not significantly different from zero ($M = 0.04$, $SD = 0.27$), $t(65) = 1.15$, $p = .255$. However, a significant order effect emerged; participants' implicit RSA scores were higher when they completed the congruent blocks last ($M = .11$, $SD = .24$) than congruent blocks first ($M = -.05$, $SD = .29$), $F(1, 65) = 5.67$, $p = .020$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$. Participant gender did not significantly affect implicit RSA scores, $F(1, 65) = 2.71$, $p = .105$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$.

Correlations. Correlations among explicit RSA, implicit RSA, and the other measures are shown in Table 7.

Table 7

Correlation Matrix of Variables in Study 3, with Scale Means and Standard Deviations

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Explicit RSA	—	.16	.21†	.10	.04	.13	-.01
2. Implicit RSA	.16	—	.04	.08	-.06	.21†	.10
3. Social Dominance Orientation	.21†	.04	—	-.18	-.22†	.09	-.13
4. Multi-Group Ethnic Identity Measure	.10	.08	-.18	—	.38**	-.02	.33**
5. Outgroup Contact	.04	-.06	-.22†	.38**	—	-.02	.11
6. Implicit Prejudice	.13	.21†	.09	-.02	-.02	—	.01
7. African-American Attitudes Scale (Interracial Attitudes subscale)	-.01	.10	-.13	.33**	.11	.01	—
Mean	2.50	0.04	28.14	3.84	8.93	0.17	19.80
SD	3.26	0.27	13.54	0.97	1.58	0.34	6.52

Note. †p<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

Explicit RSA. Black participants' explicit RSA scores marginally related to Social Dominance Orientation, $r(64) = .21, p = .079$. This is the only relationship with explicit RSA that even approached significance. Explicit RSA was unrelated to outgroup contact ($r(64) = .04, p = .773$), explicit anti-White prejudice ($r(64) = -.01, p = .945$), implicit pro-White/anti-Black prejudice ($r(64) = .13, p = .297$), and ethnic identity ($r(64) = .10, p = .418$).

Implicit RSA. Black participants' implicit RSA scores were marginally predictive of implicit pro-White/anti-Black prejudice, $r(64) = .21, p = .087$. This relationship may reflect a shared method or practice, rather than a conceptual, relationship between the two measures. Or it could reflect some slight shared variance for prejudice. Implicit associations between race and status were unrelated to all other included measures ($ps > .409$).

Discussion

Study 3 revealed that Black participants explicitly and sometimes implicitly associated Whites with high-status positions and Blacks with low-status positions. However, in a demonstration of the divergent validity of implicit and explicit RSA scores, neither measure strongly related to attitudes about the status quo, attitudes towards Whites, ethnic identity, or outgroup contact.

Chapter Summary

The prior evidence surrounding the impact of stereotypes on Blacks as the disadvantaged race is mixed. On the one hand, stereotype threat can discourage stigmatized group members from seeking educational or professional opportunities (Cheryan et al., 2009; Davies et al., 2002; Steele et al., 2002). On the other hand, exposure to stereotypes can lead to distancing from group

identity—an individual safety mechanism that may make it easier to pursue high-status positions (Crocker & Major, 1989; Steele, 1992, 1997). Such findings imply that, for Blacks, associating the ingroup with low status may predict either dampened or bolstered motivations to achieve high status.

Consistent with the second possibility, Studies 1 and 2 provided evidence that, for Blacks, associating the ingroup with low status and Whites with high status is related to increased status seeking. In Study 1, higher implicit RSAs predicted own preference for high-status positions. Unlike with Whites (see Chapter 1), this effect was not mediated by perceptions of belonging in such positions. Blacks higher in RSAs expressed stronger motivation to pursue such positions, but not because they thought they belonged there.

Upward social comparison can be threatening for perceivers and harmful for counter-stereotypical minority targets (Asgari et al., 2012; Mendes et al., 2001; Parks-Stamm et al., 2008; Rudman & Phelan, 2010), and Study 2 provided evidence that this is especially the case for Blacks who associate the ingroup with low-status and Whites with high-status. Greater implicit RSA was associated with a competitive reaction to ingroup status-seekers—that is, a Black job applicant seeking to attain a high-status position. This effect held for all ingroup targets, regardless of status. This finding suggests that for disadvantaged group members, own status seeking may have negative consequences for ingroup others.

Furthermore, Study 2 found that higher implicit RSA predicted rejection of high-status others—reducing perceived hireability and perceived belonging of high-status job applicants seeking a high-status job. Testing causality revealed that the effect of RSAs on hireability was explained by belonging; Blacks higher in implicit RSAs were less likely to believe that high-status others belonged in high-status positions, making high-status applicants less hireable in

their eyes. This causal chain could also reflect a competitive reaction to those who have already achieved high-status; perhaps Blacks who more readily associate their group with low-status more readily believe that high-status positions should be made available to those from less advantaged circumstances.

However, status-seeking tendencies for the self and rejection of ingroup status-seekers were not mediated by perceptions of belonging. This begs the question: Why do race-status associations prompt status-seeking behavior among the disadvantaged? Review of the literature exploring the effect of stereotyping on targets' self-concept leaves several possibilities. As mentioned, social psychologists have proposed that enduring stereotype threat can lead minorities to disengage from their ingroup, reducing ingroup belonging. If this is the case, then Blacks higher in RSAs may feel more comfortable or have more experience with outgroup members, making them more willing to seek high-status positions. The results of Study 3 do not support this notion, as neither explicit or implicit RSA measures related to Blacks' self-reported contact with outgroup members. However, future research might nonetheless investigate the possibility that outgroup contact may encourage or discourage the status-seeking responses demonstrated by Black participants who implicitly hold race-status associations.

Alternatively, although these measures of RSA do not assess endorsement or justification of the status quo, holding race-status associations may relate to justifying the existing social order. Granted, some research has suggested that, for the disadvantaged, justifying the status quo predicts increased feelings of belonging and greater short-term well-being (Harding & Sibley, 2013; O'Brien & Major, 2005). If system justification relates to greater well-being and belonging for the disadvantaged, and if greater RSA reflects greater system-justifying tendencies, then Black participants higher in RSA may have felt more comfortable pursuing high-status positions

and rejecting status-seeking Blacks as a function of system justification. Study 3 again provides evidence against this possibility, as Blacks' implicit RSA scores were unrelated to social dominance orientation or system justification scores.

These are only two possible routes leading to the findings for Black participants, and both are undermined by the findings of Study 3, which, in testing discriminant validity for Black participants, found that implicit RSA did not relate to outgroup contact or attitudes toward the status quo. Another possibility is that Blacks with higher RSAs identify with Whites or are more politically conservative. Future research would do well to consider alternate factors to explain the relationship between Blacks' race-status associations and their status-seeking responses.

Finally, future research should consider the differential impact of explicit and implicit race-status associations on Blacks' own preferences and on their responses toward different targets. Implicit RSA scores, but not explicit RSA scores, predicted Blacks' pursuit of high status for the self and their competitive rejection of ingroup job applicants. These findings point to the importance of developing and utilizing both explicit and implicit measures of race-status associations, particularly when studying members of disadvantaged groups. It is possible that, for Blacks, explicitly associating one's ingroup with low-status proves threatening, thus making implicit RSA scores more predictive of one's own preferences.

Although social psychologists have long examined racial evaluations—and more recently begun to examine social status—these two bodies of work have evolved largely separate from each other. The current findings reveal that perceptions of race and status are intertwined. As such, we as a field must bridge the gap between race and status in future work to further our understanding of both race- and status-based differences. Examining associations between race and status, rather than perception of merely race *or* status, can prove of empirical,

theoretical, and practical importance. Although this research reveals the value of examining race and status in considering Blacks' and Whites' responses in the occupational realm, these findings could extend to the realm of education, such that RSAs predict White students' or teachers' preferences. Furthermore, these findings could also extend to more interpersonal scenarios, such that RSAs predict Whites' friendship preferences. The next chapter reports an investigation of how stereotypes such as RSAs can impact Whites' interpersonal responses, influencing self-presentation in same- versus other-group settings.

Chapter 3: Social Liberalism Ironically Predicts Patronizing Interracial Self-Presentation: The Competence Downshift by Liberals

Chapter 3 Summary

Race-status associations persist for both Whites and Blacks. Nevertheless, most Whites now endorse racial equality, particularly those low in measures of socio-political conservatism. Employing both archival and experimental analyses, this chapter reveals a subtle but reliable ironic consequence: White liberals self-presenting less competence to minorities than to other Whites, that is, patronizing minorities stereotyped as lower status and therefore less competent. White participants responded to a Black or White hypothetical (Study 1, 2) or ostensibly real (Study 3) interaction partner. Participants' word selection (Studies 1, 2) and open-ended text (Study 3) revealed that Whites low in Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA), a measure of values-based conservatism, self-presented less competence (Study 1), self-described as less competent (Study 2), and used less competent language (Study 3) to Black partners than to Whites. This apparently unintentional but patronizing competence-downshift suggests that well-intentioned Whites draw on low-status/competence stereotypes to affiliate with minorities.

Finally, Study 4 revealed the ecological validity of the competence downshift by examining the content of White Republican and Democratic campaign speeches. Although Republican presidential candidates did not shift competence based on audience racial composition, Democratic candidates presented less competence to minority audiences than to White audiences.

America is becoming a more egalitarian nation. Whites show increased support for minority political candidates (Garcia & Tate, 2013; Tesler & Sears, 2010), indicate more positive

sentiments toward social policies that benefit minorities, and express less explicit prejudice against many outgroups (Bobo, 2001). However, only scarce recent research examines the more interpersonal level of self-presentation across racial lines. Despite the progress toward egalitarian goals, indirect indicators of bias remain, along with negative stereotypes that characterize minorities as lower status and less competent than Whites. Although the nation as a whole has shown progress, individual variability remains in people holding egalitarian socio-political attitudes. Ironically, those who are less explicitly antagonistic toward minorities may be more likely to display such indirect forms of bias by drawing on low status/competence stereotypes to affiliate with Blacks.

Introduction

In a popular statement from his keynote address at the 2004 Democratic National Convention, then-Senator Barack Obama proclaimed, “There’s not a Black America and White America and Latino America and Asian America: there’s a United States of America.” With this, the Black Senator foreshadowed a campaign centered on racial unity and hope, one that would ultimately win him a two-term presidency. As Blacks ascend to prominent leadership positions around the country, journalists, politicians, and laypeople alike have lauded the arrival of a post-racial America (Tesler & Sears, 2010). For many, Obama’s successful, decidedly race-neutral presidential campaign signaled the beginning of a new egalitarian era—much like the one Dr. Martin Luther King referenced years ago—in which minorities can truly be judged “not by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character” (Smith, 2009).

Post-racial sentiments are not entirely without merit. The nation continues to bear witness to the success of people such as Barack Obama, Ursula Burns (the first Black female CEO of a Fortune 500 company), and Sonia Sotomayor (the first Latina Supreme Court justice). The number of Black elected officials has skyrocketed, increasing from an estimated 1,500 in 1970 to over 10,500 in 2011 (Garcia & Tate, 2013). Not only do Whites show more support for minority leaders, but they also more strongly support social policies directed at leveling the playing field for minorities (Bobo, 2001). At the interpersonal level, recent decades have seen a significant reduction in the expression of explicit prejudice and racial discrimination (Bergsieker, Leslie, Constantine, & Fiske, 2012; Devine & Elliot, 1995; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; Fiske, 2002).

Admittedly, these changes in explicit prejudice may to some extent reflect societal norms that reject outward displays of prejudice, possibly prompting Whites regardless of prejudice merely to act egalitarian to avoid rejection (Croft & Schmader, 2012; Mendes & Koslov, 2013).

In support of this possibility, subtler forms of prejudice continue to plague modern Americans (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998). Despite White Americans' more overt support for Blacks, their interactions with minorities thus may still differ from those with ingroup members. Despite an increasingly post-racial climate, interpersonal interactions do not change overnight. Whites still show bias in indirect indicators (Banaji & Heiphetz, 2010; Fazio & Olson, 2003) and in their nonverbal behavior toward Blacks (Dovidio, Kawakami & Gaertner, 2002). Such indirect indicators of bias may affect even liberal Whites—those who explicitly value egalitarian ideals by rejecting social exclusion and ingroup favoritism.

Among indirect forms of prejudice are stereotypes surrounding minority groups. Stereotypes depicting racial minorities as lower in competence than Whites have endured over the past century (Bergsieker et al., 2012; Krueger, 1996). Nearly a century ago, Katz and Braly (1933) found that Blacks were most commonly stereotyped as “lazy,” “ignorant,” and “stupid.” Even now Blacks and Latinos are characterized as “low in intelligence” and “ignorant” (Devine & Elliot, 1995; Krueger, 1996; Weaver, 2007). These incompetence stereotypes follow from race-status associations that link minorities with unskilled jobs.

This chapter examines Whites', especially White liberals', verbal behavior in interracial interactions. White liberals may indirectly express a patronizing form of bias in their responses to outgroup members by drawing on negative status/competence stereotypes about Blacks. That is, with the best of intentions—seeking to affiliate with a Black interaction partner—White liberals may unwittingly draw on negative stereotypes in the process, dumbing themselves down in a well-meaning, but ultimately patronizing, attempt to connect with the outgroup. This downshift should be specific to competence. White liberals should not present less warmth to a Black interaction partner than they do to a White one, because 1) race-status associations

specifically imply less competence, 2) Blacks are not stereotyped as less warm than Whites, so matching is not relevant and 3) White liberals are theoretically more egalitarian, so they should not treat Blacks as less worthy of affiliation (less warm) than Whites. White conservatives should be less motivated to affiliate interracially, so they would not bother to match themselves to their stereotypic expectancies about their outgroup partners in an attempt to get along.

Interpersonal interactions: The drive to belong. The fundamental motive to belong (Baumeister & Leary, 1995) drives us to make good impressions on others (Jones & Pittman, 1982). This examination of Whites' self-presentation to ingroup or outgroup partners begins with two central dimensions of social perception: warmth and competence. In daily social interaction, people strive to come across as both trustworthy (warm) and respect-worthy (competent). The two dimensions of warmth and competence dictate how people present themselves and how they evaluate others (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007; Leary, 1995; Nezlek, Schutz, & Sellin, 2007; Wojciszke, 2005). The warmth dimension reflects other-profitable intent, such as friendliness, trustworthiness, sincerity, morality, and helpfulness. Warmth follows from cooperative interdependence. In contrast, the competence dimension reflects self-profitable ability traits, such as capability, skill, efficacy, and creativity (Peeters, 2001). Competence follows from perceived status. These related but independent dimensions refer to the two fundamental questions that people ask when encountering other social agents: "Are your intentions toward me good or bad?" (perceived warmth), and "Are you able to carry out your intentions?" (perceived competence). These two dimensions consistently underlie person perception at the individual and group level (Abele & Wojciszke, 2007; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick & Xu, 2002; Russell & Fiske, 2008; Wojciszke, 1994; Wojciszke, Bazinska, & Jaworski, 1998).

People intuitively know how important warmth and competence judgments are in

forming impressions of others. Armed with this knowledge, they tend to present themselves as worthy of both liking and respect when interacting with others, but they may at times prioritize one or the other. People aim to appear warm or competent by displaying certain behaviors that they believe will elicit these attributions from others (Jones & Pittman, 1982). They smile and laugh parties to gain liking; they subtly mention accomplishments during interviews in hopes of garnering respect. Engaging in such self-presentation with the goal of eliciting certain attributions from others constitutes impression management (Goffman, 1959; Jones & Pittman, 1982; Leary, 1995; Schlenker & Pontari, 1973).

Another principle of impression management is expressing similarity: reciprocal warmth, shared opinions, and comparable accomplishments (Lydon, Jamieson, & Zanna, 1988; Rosenfeld, Giacalone, & Riordan, 1995; Wayne & Ferris, 1990). People try to match their expectations about their partners, going along with their initial impressions to get along (Sinclair, Lowery, Hardin, & Colangelo, 2005; Swencionis & Fiske, 2016). Among the expectancies are stereotypes. Well-intentioned impression managers may try to match even their negative stereotype of an outgroup member, in efforts to “get on their level.” Getting along with a lower-status group might entail presenting less competence.

Among intergroup self-presentation goals are also avoiding meta-stereotypes. That is, people are aware of the stereotypes applied to their own groups. This has implications for impression management in intergroup interactions. For example, perceptions of Blacks and Latinos as unintelligent (Krueger, 1996; Shelton & Richeson, 2006) and Whites as intolerant (Krueger, 1996; Vorauer, Main, & O’Connell, 1998) can lead to divergent impression management goals in interracial contexts. When considering the impression management goals of Whites and minorities in an interracial context, Bergsieker and colleagues (2010) predicted

and found that Whites' and minorities' goals diverged. In interracial contexts, Whites sought to be seen as likeable and nonracist (moral, warm), so they engaged in ingratiation more than minorities did. In contrast, minorities sought to be seen as respect-worthy (competent), so they engaged in self-promotion more than Whites did (Bergsieker, Shelton, & Richeson, 2010). These findings contribute to a growing line of research indicating that Whites and racial minorities have divergent perspectives in interracial interactions, undermining expectations and experiences (Bergsieker et al., 2010; Richeson & Shelton, 2007; Shelton & Richeson, 2006).

Interracial interactions: Socio-political attitudes predict positive intentions. High-status group members are aware that their group can be seen as racist by low-status groups (Vorauer, Hunter, Main, & O'Connell, 2000; Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, 1998)—or could more generally; this may be why, when interacting with minorities, Whites wish to appear likeable (Bergsieker, Shelton, & Richeson, 2012).

However, not all Whites may feel concerned about how they appear in the eyes of minorities. Ironically, Whites with the most egalitarian attitudes might be simultaneously those most attuned to the changing racial climate—and those who most desire to connect with minorities—but still lack the skills to act on their well-intentioned beliefs. Whites who do have concerns about appearing nonprejudiced also tend to feel more anxiety and less enjoyment in interracial contexts (Shelton, 2003; Shelton, West, & Trail, 2010; Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, 1998). Individual differences such as socio-political attitudes of course relate to Whites' intergroup prejudice and discrimination (Ho, Sidanius, Cuddy, & Banaji, 2013; Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004; Knowles, Lowery, Hogan & Chow, 2009; Kteily, Cotterill, Sidanius, Sheehy-Skeffington, & Bergh, 2014; Thompsen, Green, & Sidanius, 2008). As such, those who describe themselves as the most liberal may be most likely to change their responses in outgroup (versus

ingroup) settings.

These socio-political attitudes doubtless affect the dynamics of intergroup interactions, but to current knowledge, no research has investigated how such attitudes affect self-presentation in interracial settings. This chapter examines two individual-difference variables that relate to a variety of socio-political attitudes and behaviors: Right Wing Authoritarianism (RWA; Altemeyer, 1981, 1988) and Social Dominance Orientation (SDO; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). Past research has shown that these well-validated measures tend to correlate significantly with self-ratings of liberalism; therefore, we refer to those who are low in these measures as “liberal” and those who are high in these measures as “conservative”. However, as described by the Dual Process Model (DPM) perspective (Duckitt, 2001), although both can predict the expression of prejudice toward different groups, RWA and SDO operate independently of each other, for each reflects a unique set of attitudes and beliefs about socio-political issues, respectively values-based and hierarchy-based conservatism (Duckitt, 2001).

Right-Wing Authoritarianism: Values-based conservatism. RWA, a measure of values-based conservatism, expresses a motivation to protect the ingroup against value threats (Asbrock, Christ, Duckitt, & Sibley, 2012). Over a half-century’s worth of research has solidified RWA as a basic dimension that reflects individuals’ social and political attitudes (Authoritarianism: Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950; RWA: Altemeyer, 1981, 1996). Though this measure has traditionally been treated as a unidimensional construct, it was originally conceptualized as involving three separate but related components: 1) authoritarian submission—deference to those considered to be legitimate authority figures; 2) authoritarianism aggression—sanctioned punitive responses toward wrongdoers and deviants; and 3) conventionalism—adherence to the norms and values established by authority and tradition

(Altemeyer, 1988, 1996, 1998). Those higher in RWA tend to value traditionalism, aggress against those who violate ingroup norms, and submit to existing authorities, seeking collective security and social cohesion within the ingroup. In contrast, those lower in RWA value independence and autonomy from the ingroup, rejecting older norms and hostility to outsiders. Therefore, Whites lowest in RWA (i.e., values-based liberals) should be most amenable to interacting with minorities, while those highest in RWA (i.e., values-based conservatives) most avoid outgroup contact.

Social Dominance Orientation: Hierarchy-based conservatism. SDO, a measure of hierarchy-based conservatism, expresses a motivation to achieve group-based dominance or superiority over outgroups (Ho et al., 2015; Pratto et al., 1994). Those higher in SDO value the maintenance of group-based hierarchies, such that higher-status groups can remain on top, and lower-status groups can remain on the bottom. In contrast, those lower in SDO express more altruistic social concern around outgroups, favoring a less hierarchical and more egalitarian society. Therefore, hierarchy-based conservatives avoid various outgroup members. In contrast, hierarchy-based liberals should be less threatened by outgroup members, possibly prompting strategies aimed at affiliation with minorities.

Despite these well-documented differences in the motivational theories that underlie RWA and SDO—and the personality constructs that relate to each socio-political attitude—the current work represents the first to examine whether and how SDO and RWA relate to Whites’ verbal behaviors inter- versus intra-group settings.

Overview of experiments. Building on two central dimensions of social perception, several studies use experimental and archival analyses to explore Whites’ self-presentation to a Black (versus White) interaction partner. In seeking to affiliate with Blacks, White liberals will

draw on minority-incompetence stereotypes to do so, presenting less competence to a Black interaction partner than to a White one. As noted, competence is only one of the two fundamental dimensions of person and group perception—as such, the studies also measure Whites’ self-presentation of warmth. However, White liberals should present less warmth to a Black partner than a White partner. The current work makes no such predictions for self-presentation of warmth for two reasons. First, Blacks are not stereotyped as colder than Whites. (Blacks may even be seen as more warm than competent, due to the ambivalent nature of many outgroup stereotypes; Fiske et al., 2002.) Second, White liberals explicitly endorse interracial contact more than White conservatives do. Therefore, White liberals should be equally affiliative (warm)—if not more so—to outgroup versus ingroup partners.

Five studies used experimental and archival analyses to explore Whites’ self-presentation of warmth and competence with an ingroup versus an outgroup interaction partner. After an initial investigation of the hypotheses with hypothetical vignettes that measure self-presentation through word selection (Studies 1–2), the chapter then moves to a more ecologically valid test in which White participants introduced themselves to ostensibly real interaction partners, measuring self-presentation through text-based analysis of participants’ open-ended responses (Study 3). Finally, archival data demonstrated that Democratic—versus Republican—White presidential candidates display the competence downshift over recent decades, presenting less competence to audiences composed mostly of minorities than they did to mostly-White audiences (Study 4).

Study 1: A Book Review

As noted, the current research considers two individual difference variables that relate to a variety of socio-political attitudes and behaviors: Right Wing Authoritarianism (RWA;

Altemeyer, 1981, 1988) and Social Dominance Orientation (SDO; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). A hypothetical social scenario tests whether these White liberals (participants who are low in RWA or SDO) will present less competence to a Black interaction partner than they do to a White one.

Method. Participants who self-identified as White ($N = 431$) were recruited online via Amazon.com's Mechanical Turk in exchange for a nominal fee. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two cells of a 2 (Partner race: White, Black) x 2 (Self-presentation: warmth, competence) mixed design with repeated measures on the second factor.

Following Holoien and Fiske's (2013) online procedure, participants began the survey by reading the following scenario:

Imagine that you have recently joined a book club. Lately you have wanted to do more reading, and a book club seems like a good way to meet new people and discover new books. Before each meeting, one person writes a brief email to the club secretary, Emily (Lakisha), describing his or her thoughts about the book. Emily (Lakisha) will then distribute the review to the group. This month, you have been assigned to e-mail Emily (Lakisha) with a review of this month's book.

The name of the club secretary varied dependent on the condition to which the participant was randomly assigned: White or Black interaction partner, respectively Emily (a stereotypically White name) or Lakisha (a stereotypically Black name).

After reading this hypothetical scenario, all participants completed an instructional check to ensure that they read it. This check consisted of three questions regarding the book club scenario. If any question was answered incorrectly, then the scenario was displayed once again, and participants were instructed to read the instructions carefully to ensure that they understood.

Upon passing the instructional check, participants saw a list of 24 words to use in their hypothetical e-mail to the book club secretary. These words were pretested to indicate the user's warmth or competence (Holoien & Fiske, 2013). Each word had a warmth or competence rating, based on responses from a separate sample of 60 participants recruited on Amazon's Mechanical Turk. These pretesters scored each word on how warm and competent a person using these words in an e-mail would appear (rather than the warmth and competence conveyed by the definition of each word). Warmth was conveyed by positivity, and competence was conveyed by vocabulary sophistication. The final list consisted of six words in each of four categories: high warmth/high competence (e.g., *euphoric*), high warmth/low competence (e.g., *happy*), low warmth/high competence (e.g., *melancholy*), and low warmth/low competence (e.g., *sad*). Participants viewed this list of 24 pretested words and selected 12 to include in their e-mail to the book club secretary.

A warmth self-presentation score and a competence self-presentation score for each participant came from their word selections, weighing each selected word by the warmth and competence ratings that it received in the initial pretest (see Appendix C for ratings). For example, each time a participant selected the word "great," that selection received a warmth rating of 5.72 and a competence rating of 3.97. The averaged warmth and competence ratings of all 12 words selected by each participant served as the primary measure.

Finally, participants completed measures of RWA and SDO. RWA was assessed using the 20-item RWA Scale as developed by Altemeyer (2006). Sample items include "Some of the best people in our country are those who are challenging our government, criticizing religion, and ignoring the 'normal way things are meant to be done'" (reverse-scored) and "The 'old-fashioned ways' and 'old-fashioned values' still show the best way to live" ($\alpha = .97$). SDO was

measured using the 16-item SDO Scale developed by Pratto and colleagues (1994). Sample items include “We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups” (reverse-scored) and “Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place” ($\alpha = .96$).⁷

Results

This study tested the main predictions: As an impression management strategy, White liberals (participants who are low in either RWA or SDO) should present less competence to a Black interaction partner than they do to a White interaction partner, drawing on stereotypes that depict Blacks as unintelligent. The study made no prediction as to whether values-based liberals (i.e., low-RWA Whites) or hierarchy-based liberals (i.e., low-SDO Whites) would show this effect. Finally, White liberals should show no downshift in warmth when responding to a Black (versus White) interaction partner. Blacks are not widely stereotyped as more or less warm than Whites, and White liberals who report egalitarian values should be equally (or more so) motivated to affiliate with a Black (versus White) interaction partner.

To test these predictions, participants’ self-presentation scores were submitted to multiple regression models with the following predictors: Partner race (-1 = White partner, 1 = Black partner), conservatism measure (standardized) and the interaction term. One multiple regression analyzed each measure of conservatism: hierarchy-based conservatism (i.e., SDO) and values-based conservatism (i.e., RWA).

⁷ The study also measured participants’ explicit interaction goals. Following the self-presentation tasks, participants rated on a 100-point scale (1 = *not at all*, 100 = *very much*) or on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *not at all*, 7 = *very much*) their interaction goals when responding to the interaction partner. Specifically, they rated the extent to which they wanted to appear: kind, fair, intelligent, likeable, competent, and open-minded. Across studies, results did not reveal consistent effects of partner race or socio-political attitudes on participants’ explicit interaction goals. The lack of effects found for explicit goals suggest that shifts in Whites’ self-presentation across group settings may occur inadvertently, representing an indirect expression of bias.

Although RWA and SDO are typically moderately correlated, they have different motivational sources (Duckitt, 2001; Duckitt, Wagner, du Plessis, & Birum, 2002) and can contribute to the expression of prejudice and intergroup discrimination in different manners (Crawford, Jussim, Cain, & Cohen, 2013; Kteily et al., 2014; Thomsen, Green, & Sidanius, 2008). Therefore, to determine whether endorsement of group equality (i.e., hierarchical liberalism) or a modern amenability to deviance or social disorder (i.e., values-based liberalism) more strongly predicts a competence downshift, additional multiple regression models included SDO, RWA, and their interactions with Partner Race. These models examined the effects of 1) RWA, taking into account any effects of SDO, and 2) SDO, taking into account any effects of RWA. This resulted in a total of six multiple regression models—three examining self-presentation of competence and three examining self-presentation of warmth.⁸

Preliminary analyses revealed no significant main effects or interactions as a function of participant gender. Therefore, all the following analyses collapsed across participant gender. As expected, hierarchy-based and values-based conservatism (SDO and RWA, respectively) were moderately correlated ($r = .58, p < .001$). Warmth and competence ratings were also slightly correlated ($r = .23, p < .001$), mirroring the halo effect found by Holoien and Fiske (2013). See Table 8 for descriptive statistics and correlations for all variables of interest across studies.

⁸ There was no significant effect of partner race on RWA or SDO scores across studies ($ps > .254$).

Table 8

Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations Between Variables in Studies 1 – 5

Variable	Study	SDO	Warmth/ Morality/ Communality	Competence/ Agency	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range
Right-wing authoritarianism (RWA)	Study 1	.57***	.07	-.14**	63.60	35.84	20 – 168
	Study 2	.52***	.17**	-.12*	57.35	34.18	20 – 164
	Study 3	.51***	.03	-.03	63.18	35.80	20 – 172
	Study 4	.48***	.04	.07	61.55	35.89	20 – 166
	Study 5	--	--	--	--	--	--
Social dominance orientation (SDO)	Study 1		-.03	-.14**	39.28	21.12	16 – 108
	Study 2		.08	.03	36.92	19.20	16 – 104
	Study 3		-.03	-.04	36.03	21.22	16 – 112
	Study 4		-.04	.09	26.72	13.77	16 – 86
	Study 5		--	--	--	--	--
Warmth/Morality/Communality	Study 1			.23***	4.66	0.57	2.71 – 5.54
	Study 2			-.43***	5.15	0.49	3.80 – 6.42
	Study 3			.08*	0.52	1.05	0 – 8.33
	Study 4			-.08	0.58	0.94	0 – 3.19
	Study 5			-.29*	0.75	0.34	0.17 – 1.74
Competence/Agency	Study 1				4.75	0.30	3.75 – 5.51
	Study 2				6.39	0.58	4.81 – 7.84
	Study 3				0.10	0.42	0 – 4.76
	Study 4				0.25	0.70	0 – 4.55
	Study 5				0.53	0.27	0.08 – 1.59

Note. † $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Self-presentation of competence. As shown in Table 9, main effects of SDO and RWA emerged on Whites' self-presentation of competence: Whites higher in these conservatism measures presented less competence overall (SDO (without controlling for RWA): $\beta = -.14$, $t(427) = -2.85$, $p = .005$; RWA (without controlling for SDO): $\beta = -.15$, $t(427) = -3.14$, $p = .002$; RWA (controlling for SDO): $\beta = -.11$, $t(427) = -1.84$, $p = .066$). There were no significant main effects of Partner Race ($ps > .662$).

Table 9

Summary of Regression Analyses for Interaction Partner Race, Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), and Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) Predicting Word Selection

	Competence of Words Selected			Warmth of Words Selected		
	β	t	p	β	t	p
Model 1						
SDO	-.14	-2.85**	.005	-.02	0.44	.664
Partner Race	-.02	-0.48	.629	.01	0.27	.784
SDO $\times$ Partner Race	.03	0.62	.533	-.06	-1.32	.189
Model 2						
RWA	-.15	-3.14**	.002	.07	1.49	.138
Partner Race	-.03	-0.38	.705	.01	0.18	.857
RWA $\times$ Partner Race	.11	2.38*	.018	-.03	-0.60	.550
Model 3						
SDO	-.08	-1.34	.180	-.09	-1.55	.122
RWA	-.11	-1.84†	.067	.12	2.09*	.037
Partner Race	-.02	-0.39	.700	.01	0.17	.863
SDO $\times$ Partner Race	-.05	-0.84	.399	-.07	-1.21	.228
RWA $\times$ Partner Race	.14	2.43*	.016	.01	0.17	.861

Note. All continuous variables were standardized. For all effects of Partner Race and interactions with Partner Race, White partner is coded as -1.

† $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

RWA significantly interacted with Partner Race to predict Whites' self-presentation of competence (RWA $\times$ Partner Race (without controlling for SDO): $\beta = .11$, $t(427) = 2.38$, $p = .018$; RWA $\times$ Partner Race (controlling for SDO): $\beta = .14$, $t(425) = 2.43$, $p = .016$). Simple slopes analyses revealed that Whites at 1 *SD* below the means demonstrated a competence downshift, presenting less competence to a Black partner than they did to a White one (low-RWA Whites (without controlling for SDO): $\beta = -.13$, $t(427) = -1.97$, $p = .050$; low-RWA Whites (controlling for SDO): $\beta = -.16$, $t(425) = -2.14$, $p = .033$). In contrast, Partner Race did not significantly alter self-presentation of competence among participants high (+1 *SD*) in RWA (Without controlling for SDO: $\beta = .10$, $t(427) = 1.41$, $p = .159$; controlling for SDO: $\beta = .12$, $t(425) = 1.63$, $p = .105$.) These slopes, though nonsignificant, trended in the opposite direction. See Figure 6 for simple slopes. No other main effects or interactions reached significance.

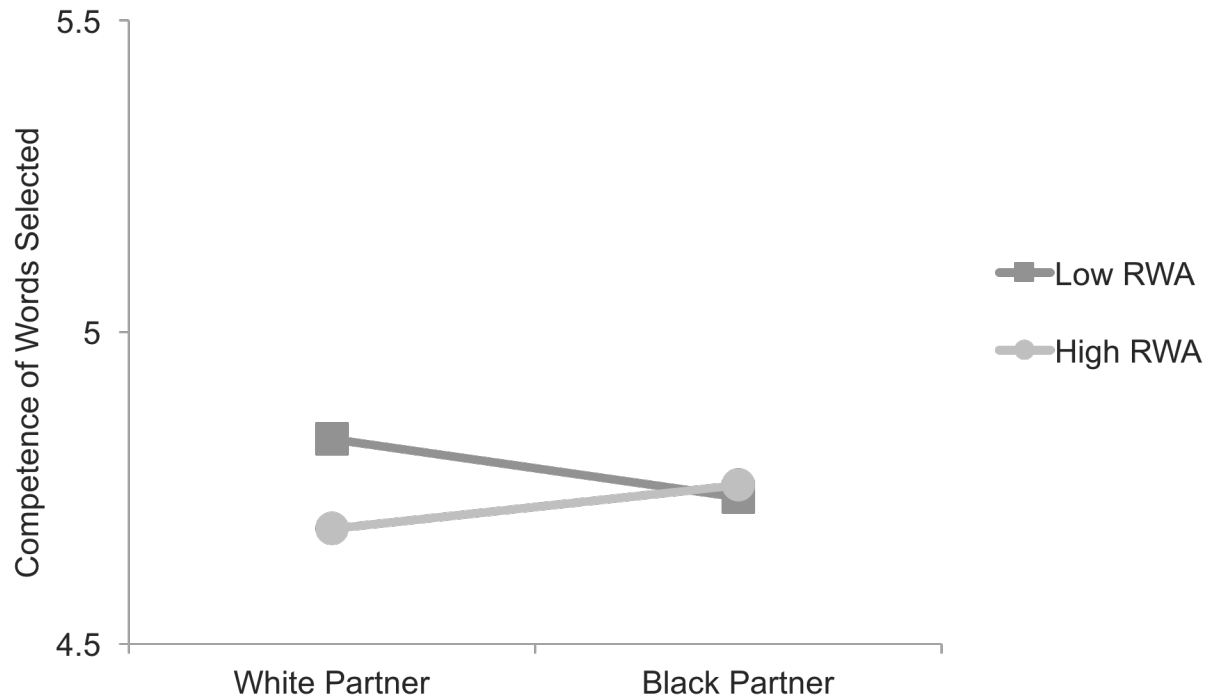


Figure 6. Competence of words selected as a function of partner race and RWA (controlling for Social Dominance Orientation). RWA = Right-Wing Authoritarianism.

Self-presentation of warmth. A main effect of RWA emerged: Whites higher in RWA (controlling for SDO) presented more warmth overall, $\beta = .12$, $t(425) = 2.09$, $p = .037$. No other main effects or interactions reached significance ($ps > .138$).

Discussion

Study 1 supports the main hypothesis as operationalized by RWA. White liberals, but not White conservatives, presented less competence to a Black interaction partner than they did to a White interaction partner. This effect held for values-based liberals—those low in RWA, and

less concerned with traditions and conventions—rather than hierarchy-based liberals—those low in SDO, and therefore less concerned with group-based dominance. Moreover, low-RWA Whites did not show differences in warmth presented to a White or Black interaction partner. This suggests that, while values-based liberals may seek to affiliate with Blacks as much as they do with Whites, they may find themselves engaging in an ultimately patronizing impression management strategy to do so, unconsciously dumbing themselves down in the process. The following study aims to replicate this effect and extend it with the use of a less “competence-focused” paradigm.

Study 2: An Introduction (Trait Selection)

This study utilizes a modified self-presentation paradigm to further examine the competence downshift displayed by White liberals in Study 1. White participants in this study were asked to select self-descriptive personality traits to include in an introduction to a Black or White interaction partner. Thus, participants had the opportunity to present themselves as a person who is competent or warm. With this, Study 2 explores the use of the competence downshift in a context that could prioritize overall self-presentation of warmth (e.g., a written introduction) rather than a context that could prioritize self-presentation of competence (e.g., a book review).

Method

Three-hundred and thirty-two Mechanical Turk users who self-identified as White participated in exchange for a nominal fee. Participants were randomly assigned to either a White or a Black interaction partner in this between-subjects design.

Participants first read a hypothetical scenario similar to that used in Study 1. They were asked to imagine that they have recently joined a book club and must e-mail the book club

secretary. For this study, the purpose of the e-mail was not to send an obligatory book review, but to send an introduction before the first meeting. The overall task, therefore, was less competence-related, inviting more movement along the dimension of warmth. The secretary was again given a stereotypically Black name or White name. After reading the scenario and completing the self-presentation measure, participants rated their explicit goals, completed the 20-item RWA and 16-item SDO scales, and answered demographic questions.

Participants selected 8 of 16 self-descriptive traits (e.g., ambitious, forgiving) to include in their introduction to a Black or White interaction partner. These traits were originally compiled by Rokeach (1973) to constitute instrumental values, which have been previously rated for morality- and competence-relatedness (Wojciszke, 1997; see Appendix D for ratings).⁹ These ratings were used to derive warmth and competence scores for each participant based on the traits selected for the introduction. As in the previous study, the analysis weighted participants' trait selections by each trait's morality rating and competence rating, as found by Wojciszke (1997). To create warmth and competence self-presentation scores for all participants, the morality and competence ratings of the trait selections were averaged separately. Finally, Altemeyer's (2006) 20-item RWA Scale ($\alpha = .96$) assessed values-based conservatism, and Pratto and colleagues' (1994) 16-item SDO Scale ($\alpha = .95$) assessed hierarchy-based conservatism.

Results

Preliminary analyses revealed no significant main effects or interactions as a function of

⁹ Several researchers have characterized morality as falling into one component of warmth, making it orthogonal to competence: Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007; Kervyn, Fiske, & Yzerbyt, 2015; Leach, Ellemers, & Barreto, 2007. Morality is just one component of warmth, including sincerity and trustworthiness, whereas friendliness and sociability are another correlated warmth component (Kervyn, Fiske, & Yzerbyt, 2014).

participant gender, so subsequent analyses collapsed across gender. The study tested the prediction that Whites lower in conservatism—as measured via SDO or RWA—would show a competence downshift, presenting less competence to a Black partner than to a White partner. To test this hypothesis, three multiple regression analyzed self-presentation of competence and three analyzed warmth. Models 1 and 2 separately analyzed the effects of SDO from RWA, and vice versa. Model 3 included both RWA and SDO in the same model, testing the effects of RWA, controlling for SDO, and vice versa. See Table 10 for the results of all regression analyses.

Table 10

Summary of Regression Analyses for Interaction Partner Race, Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), and Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) Predicting Trait Selection

	Competence of Traits Selected			Warmth of Traits Selected		
	β	t	p	β	t	p
Model 1						
SDO	.03	0.49	.628	.09	1.59	.114
Partner Race	-.00	-0.03	.980	-.08	-1.48	.141
SDO $\times$ Partner Race	.00	0.02	.982	.03	0.61	.544
Model 2						
RWA	-.11	-2.01*	.046	.16	2.93**	.004
Partner Race	-.01	-0.10	.920	-.07	-1.35	.179
RWA $\times$ Partner Race	.11	1.92†	.055	-.08	-1.39	.165
Model 3						
SDO	.12	1.91†	.057	.00	-.00	.998
RWA	-.17	-2.73**	.007	.16	2.53*	.012
Partner Race	-.01	-0.19	.854	-.07	-1.35	.179
SDO $\times$ Partner Race	-.08	-1.27	.205	.11	1.67†	.096
RWA $\times$ Partner Race	.15	2.33*	.020	-.13	-2.06*	.040

Note: All continuous variables were standardized. For all effects of Partner Race and interactions with Partner Race, White partner is coded as -1.

† $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Self-presentation of competence. A significant main effect of RWA found that Whites higher in values-based conservatism (RWA) presented less competence overall (without controlling for SDO: $\beta = -.11$, $t(328) = -2.01$, $p = .046$; controlling for SDO: $\beta = -.17$, $t(326) = -2.73$, $p = .007$). A marginally significant main effect of SDO (controlling for RWA) also found that Whites higher in hierarchy-based conservatism presented more competence overall ($\beta = .12$, $t(326) = 1.90$, $p = .057$).

The main effect of RWA was qualified by an interaction with Partner Race (without controlling for SDO: $\beta = .11$, $t(328) = 1.92$, $p = .055$; controlling for SDO: $\beta = .15$, $t(326) = 2.33$, $p = .020$). Simple slopes analyses provided suggestive evidence of a competence downshift, a weaker one than in the previous study. Values-based liberals (-1 *SD*) utilized marginally less competent traits with a Black partner than they did with a White one (controlling for SDO: $\beta = -.16$, $t(326) = -1.90$, $p = .059$; without controlling for SDO, the effect is only a weak trend: $\beta = -.11$, $t(328) = -1.44$, $p = .152$). As in Study 1, values-based conservatives ($+1$ *SD*) showed no such competence downshift (without controlling for SDO: $\beta = .10$, $t(328) = 1.29$, $p = .198$; controlling for SDO: $\beta = .14$, $t(326) = 1.65$, $p = .100$). See Figure 7 for simple slopes. No other main effects or interactions reached significance.

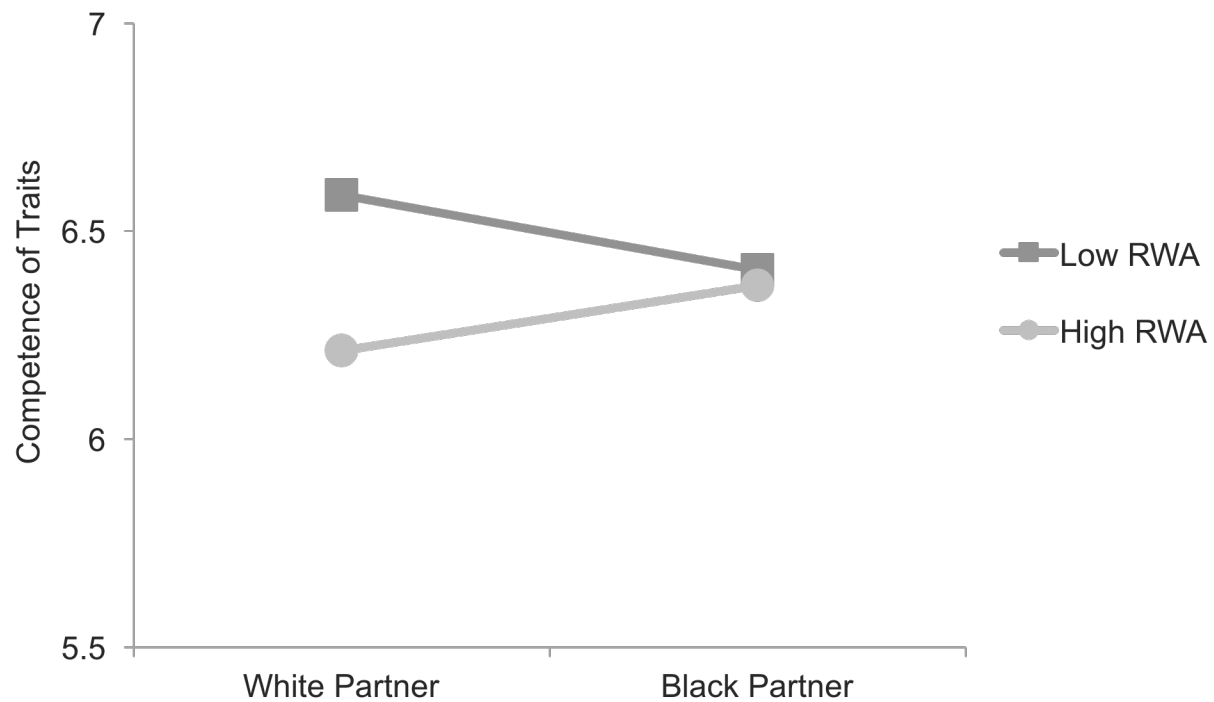


Figure 7. Competence of traits selected as a function of partner race and RWA (controlling for Social Dominance Orientation). RWA = Right-Wing Authoritarianism.

Self-presentation of warmth. A main effect of RWA predicted the warmth of traits selected: Whites higher in values-based conservatism presented more warmth overall (without controlling for SDO: $\beta = .16$, $t(328) = 2.93$, $p = .004$; controlling for SDO: $\beta = .16$, $t(326) = 2.53$, $p = .012$).

A significant $RWA \times Partner\ Race$ interaction (controlling for SDO) emerged, $\beta = -.13$, $t(326) = -2.06$, $p = .040$. Simple slopes analysis revealed that values-based conservatives ($+1\ SD$) utilized fewer warmth traits with a Black partner than they did with a White one, $\beta = -.20$, $t(326) = -2.44$, $p = .015$. In addition, a marginally significant $SDO \times Partner\ Race$ (controlling for RWA) was found, $\beta = .11$, $t(326) = 1.67$, $p = .096$. Simple slopes show that, surprisingly,

hierarchy-based liberals ($-1\ SD$) utilized fewer warmth traits with a Black partner than they did with a White one, $\beta = -.18$, $t(326) = -2.14$, $p = .033$. No other main effects or interactions reached significance.

Discussion

The results of this study provide further evidence of a competence downshift displayed by White liberals when responding to a Black (versus White) interaction partner. The competence downshift displayed by values-based liberals indicates that well-meaning Whites may draw on stereotypes to connect with racial minorities. However, while Study 2's book club paradigm did include a less competence-focused measure of self-presentation (i.e., selecting traits for an introduction), it was still a book club (competence-related), and a hypothetical vignette only goes so far to approximate real-world scenarios of self-presentation. Furthermore, Studies 1 and 2 both measured self-presentation through word selection, rather than open-ended responses, a more natural form of verbal behavior. Finally, both studies signaled interaction partner race exclusively through the use of a stereotypically Black or White name. Although the field has used this method extensively, stereotypical names may introduce the confounding variable of status. Often the stereotypically Black names imply lower status than do the stereotypically White names used in intergroup research (Fryer & Levitt, 2004). Although this research program entails race-status associations, it posits that race alone will elicit these effects without status cues. The use of visual images, rather than names, would improve this issue.

In light of these limitations, the next study tackled the task of replicating the competence downshift with an open-ended self-presentation task, in which participants would present themselves to a presumably real White or Black interaction partner, as signaled by avatars with brown or white skin and less stereotypical first names.

Study 3: An Introduction (Open-Ended)

Method

Seven hundred and forty-three Mechanical Turk users who self-identified as White participated in exchange for a nominal fee. Any participants who failed the manipulation check, incorrectly identifying the avatar of their online partner ($n = 33$), or who failed either of two attention-check items ($n = 58$) were excluded. The resulting sample size was 652. As in Studies 1 and 2, this study featured a two-cell between-subjects design (Partner race: White, Black).

Participants signed up to complete a study that ostensibly examined online communication. During this study, participants created an online profile as a means of introducing themselves to another participant (i.e., their online partner). This online partner was described as another Mechanical Turk user who previously completed a similar study, which required this person to complete his or her own online profile. Participants were told that this partner would view participants' own online profile in a follow-up study. (In reality, there were no online partners.) Before completing their own online profile, participants reviewed information about their partner.

Participants viewed the first name of the partner, as well as an avatar that their partner ostensibly chose to represent himself or herself. Participants randomly assigned to the White interaction-partner condition viewed an avatar with light skin, blond hair, and blue eyes, which was given a stereotypically White name (Emily or Jake), both pretested to fall on the midpoint of stereotypicality (1 = *Not at all*, 7 = *Very much*). Participant randomly paired with a Black partner viewed an avatar with medium-brown skin, brown hair, and brown eyes, paired with a stereotypically Black name (Tamara or Darnell), both pretested to fall on the midpoint of stereotypicality. Each online partner was matched to participant gender.

After viewing details about their online partner, participants provided their own first name and selected an avatar to represent them. To ensure that partner race remained salient, the following screen first included the first name and avatar that they selected (“You provided the following name and avatar”), followed by the first name and avatar of their interaction partner (“Your online partner provided the following name and avatar”).

Participants then introduced themselves to their partner. The following screen, labeled “Introduce yourself!” included an essay box in which participants could write their introduction. This screen included the following instructions, adapted from a similar paradigm used by Scopelliti, Loewenstein, and Vosgerau (2015):

We would like for you to introduce yourself to your online partner by creating a personal profile. Please use full sentences and write as much as you can to make sure that your online partner gets a good sense of who you are. (Include at least 5 sentences). For example, you could write about your favorite sports or hobbies, your work or education, your social life, your appearance or personality, your family.

After completing their introduction, participants completed the 20-item RWA and 16-item SDO scales, and answered demographic questions.

Quantitative content-analysis of texts has long been considered the most objective approach to linguistic data (Silverman, 1993). Linguistic Inquiry and Word Content Software (LIWC; Pennebaker, Booth, & Francis, 2007) analyzed the content of the introductions provided by participants, determining the frequencies with which words related to competence and words related to warmth appeared in each introduction.

To measure self-presentation, warmth and competence self-presentation dictionaries were derived from published lists of communal words (e.g., *supportive*, *committed*) and agentic words

(e.g., *assertive*, *competitive*), respectively (Gaucher, Friessen, & Kay, 2011; Rudman & Killianski, 2000; see Appendix E for a complete list of words that were coded).¹⁰ Using LIWC, each text was then given a warmth self-presentation score and a competence self-presentation score based on the percentage of times words from the corresponding dictionaries occurred within the text.

Following completion of the online profile, participants were asked to identify the avatar that their online partner selected. Participants who did not correctly identify the avatar of their Black or White partner failed this manipulation check and were excluded. Values-based conservatism was again assessed using the 20-item RWA Scale (Altemeyer, 2006) ($\alpha = .96$) and hierarchy-based conservatism was assessed using the 16-item SDO Scale (Pratto et al., 1994) ($\alpha = .96$). Finally, for this study, two attention-check items were embedded within the RWA and SDO questionnaires: sentences such as “When counting up, the number nine comes after the number ten.”

Results

Participants’ overall word usage across conditions. Participants were asked to write at least 5 sentences for their introduction to their online partner. On average, participants wrote 66.89 words ($SD = 30.09$), with an average of 11.92 words per sentence ($SD = 5.50$). Examination of the self-presentation data revealed that the dependent variables of interest — percentage of communal ($M = 0.52$, $SD = .042$) and agentic ($M = 0.10$, $SD = 1.05$) words used by each participant—were not normally distributed. (Percentage communal words used yielded a

¹⁰ Communality is commonly regarded as corresponding to the warmth dimension, while agency corresponds to the competence dimension (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007). The primary distinction between communality and agency is that the former concerns profitability to others, while the latter concerns profitability to self (Abele & Wojciszke, 2007).

Kolmogorov-Smirnov $D(652) = .43, p < .001$; percentage agentic words used yielded a Kolmogorov-Smirnov $D(652) = .53, p < .001$.)

Gender. As with prior studies, preliminary analyses tested whether participant gender interacted with partner race, SDO, or RWA to predict the dependent variables of interest. Contrary to Studies 1 and 2, these analyses revealed significant gender effects. Specifically, moderating effects of gender emerged when predicting self-presentation of competence. Although gender did not moderate self-presentation in prior studies, post-hoc reasoning suggests why male and female liberals may differ in displaying the competence downshift in this study. One strength of this particular study is that participants believed that their interaction partner was real; they did not respond to a hypothetical vignette. This ostensibly real interaction partner may induce the gender effects typically found in literature surrounding men's and women's social relationships. Women are socialized to show more self-regulation and concern about relationships (Leadbeater, Kuperminc, Blatt, & Hertzog, 1999). Indeed, women tend to be more interpersonally orientated than men (Tannen, 1990), responding with more closeness, acting more similarly toward others, and sharing more (Clark & Ayers, 1992; Kuttler, LaGreca, & Prinstein, 1999; McNelles & Connolly, 1999; Parker & de Vries, 1993; Sheets & Lugar, 2005; Verkuyten & Masson, 1996). Prior work has also shown that, in a racialized context, majority-group women may be more affiliative than majority-group men (Sinclair, Lowery, Hardin, & Colangelo, 2005). These and other findings suggest that women may experience more concern than men do about the impression they will make on others, possibly making female liberals more susceptible to the competence downshift than male liberals. To test whether partner race and RWA interact to predict self-presentation of competence differently for men and women, multiple regressions analyzed Participant Gender (Male = -1, Female = 1), Partner Race (White

partner = -1, Black partner = 1), SDO, RWA and all interactions with Participant Gender or Partner Race.

Self-presentation: Content of introductions. Analyses treated communality (warmth) and agency (competence) scores separately. As in prior studies, three multiple regression models were tested for each DV: two models to test the effects of SDO (not controlling for RWA) and RWA (not controlling for SDO), and one model to test the effects of RWA and SDO (controlling for any effects of the opposing socio-political attitude). See Table 11 for results of all regression analyses.

Table 11

Summary of Regression Analyses for Interaction Partner Race, Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), and Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) Predicting Content of White Participants' Introductions

	Agentic Words			Communal Words		
	β	t	p	β	t	p
Model 1						
Gender	-.02	-0.56	.572	.10	2.52*	.012
SDO	-.02	-0.61	.543	.03	0.79	.432
Partner Race	.01	0.16	.870	.02	0.46	.645
Gender $\times$ SDO	-.03	-0.82	.408	.04	1.12	.262
Gender $\times$ Partner Race	.02	0.58	.563	.04	1.07	.286
SDO $\times$ Partner Race	-.00	-0.07	.948	-.01	-0.02	.751
Gender $\times$ SDO $\times$ Partner Race	.00	0.04	.972	-.03	-0.71	.478
Model 2						
Gender	-.02	-0.43	.665	.09	2.41*	.016
RWA	-.02	-0.38	.706	.03	0.61	.538
Partner Race	.01	0.21	.835	.03	0.66	.507
Gender $\times$ RWA	-.01	-0.33	.739	.05	1.29	.197
Gender $\times$ Partner Race	.02	0.61	.545	.04	1.12	.264
RWA $\times$ Partner Race	.02	0.43	.666	-.06	-1.47	.141
Gender $\times$ RWA $\times$ Partner Race	.09	2.17*	.030	.03	0.65	.513

Note. All continuous variables were standardized. For all effects of Gender, Male is coded as -1. For all effects of Partner Race and interactions with Partner Race, White partner is coded as -1.

† $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 11 Continued

	Agentic Words			Communal Words		
	β	t	p	β	t	p
Model 3						
Gender	-.02	-0.48	.632	.10	2.44*	.015
SDO	-.02	-0.37	.713	.03	0.53	.596
RWA	-.01	-0.17	.863	.01	0.28	.776
Partner Race	-.00	-0.06	.954	.02	0.39	.698
Gender $\times$ SDO	-.04	-0.78	.436	.02	0.37	.711
Gender $\times$ RWA	.01	0.12	.907	.05	0.96	.337
Gender $\times$ Partner Race	.02	0.54	.588	.05	1.25	.212
SDO $\times$ Partner Race	-.02	-0.44	.663	.03	0.57	.565
RWA $\times$ Partner Race	.02	0.50	.620	-.08	-1.66†	.097
Gender $\times$ SDO $\times$ Partner Race	-.06	-1.34	.181	-.05	-1.16	.245
Gender $\times$ RWA $\times$ Partner Race	.12	2.52*	.012	.06	1.20	.232

Note. All continuous variables were standardized. For all effects of Gender, Male is coded as -1. For all effects of Partner Race and interactions with Partner Race, White partner is coded as -1.

† $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Usage of agentic words. The multiple linear regressions predicting probability of using an agentic word revealed significant 3-way interactions between participant gender, partner race, and RWA (without controlling for SDO: $\beta = .09$, $t(640) = 2.17$, $p = .030$; controlling for SDO: $\beta = .12$, $t(640) = 2.52$, $p = .012$). Further probing revealed that the Partner Race $\times$ RWA interaction reached significance among women (without controlling for SDO: $\beta = .11$, $t(640) = 2.07$, $p = .039$; without controlling for SDO: $\beta = .14$, $t(640) = 2.44$, $p = .015$), but not among men (without controlling for SDO: $\beta = -.07$, $t(640) = -1.12$, $p = .263$; controlling for SDO: $\beta = -.10$, $t(640) = -1.28$, $p = .198$). Simple effects tests found that low-RWA women presented less competence to a Black partner than to a White one, though this effect did not reach conventional significance (without controlling for SDO: $\beta = -.07$, $t(640) = -1.02$, $p = .309$; controlling for SDO: $\beta = -.12$, $t(640) = -1.51$, $p = .131$). In contrast, female values-based conservatives RWA presented *more* competence to a Black partner than to a White one (controlling for SDO (significant): $\beta = .16$, $t(640) = 2.15$, $p = .032$; without controlling for SDO (marginal): $\beta = .14$, $t(640) = 1.88$, $p = .061$). See Figure 8 for simple slopes. No other main effects or interactions reached significance.

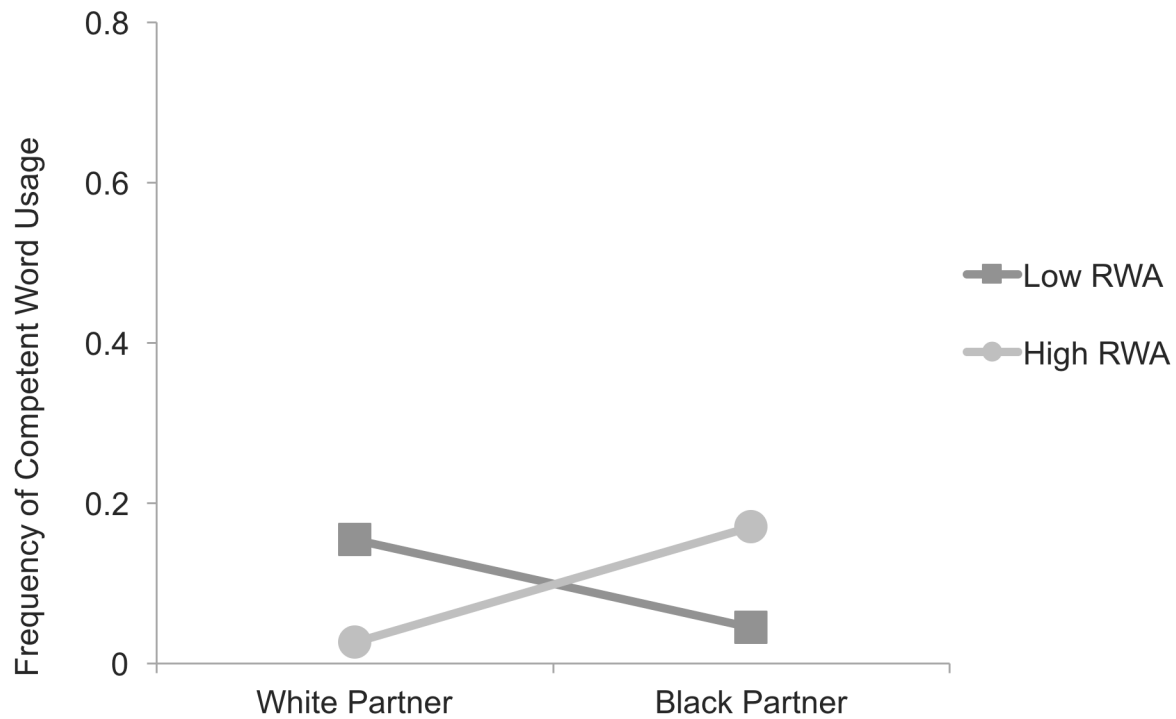


Figure 8. Percentage of competent (i.e., agentic) words used in White female participants' introductions as a function of partner race and RWA (controlling for Social Dominance Orientation). RWA = Right-Wing Authoritarianism.

Usage of communal words. The multiple regression analysis predicting probability of using a communal word from participant gender, partner race, and socio-political attitudes found a significant main effect of gender; women generally used more communal words than did men, (RWA (without controlling for SDO): $\beta = .10$, $t(639) = 2.52$, $p = .012$; SDO (without controlling for RWA) $\beta = .09$, $t(639) = 2.41$, $p = .016$; RWA (controlling for SDO) $\beta = .10$, $t(639) = 2.44$, $p = .015$).

Furthermore, a marginal two-way interaction between partner race and RWA (controlling for SDO) emerged, $\beta = -.08$, $t(639) = -1.66$, $p = .097$. Simple effects tests revealed that values-

based liberals used more communal words with a Black partner than a White one, $\beta = .09$, $t(639) = 1.54$, $p = .125$, though this effect did not reach significance. Values-based conservatives showed no change in communality based on partner race, $\beta = -.06$, $t(639) = -1.00$, $p = .322$. No other interactions or main effects approached significance, $ps > .225$.

Impression formation: Blacks' perceptions of white females' introductions. Next, analyses tested the effect of the competence downshift displayed by White female liberals on perceptions of competence and warmth. Black judges from Amazon's Mechanical Turk ($N=105$) assessed competence and warmth of White targets based on their introductions. All judges who self-identified as Black in a prior screening survey were forwarded to the full survey. Excluding 11 judges who indicated in the final demographics section of the survey that they were not Black, 94 Black judges remained (64 women). Each judge reviewed 20 introductions, each accompanied with a White avatar. Each introduction was rated by two to seven randomly-assigned judges.

Judges rated the extent to which they believed each target was competent and warm. After reviewing each profile (including an avatar and introduction), judges read the following: "Based on this person's profile, to what extent do you find this person...". Judges then responded to three items assessing perceived warmth (kind, likeable, open, fair) and two items assessing perceived competence (competent, intelligent) on a 7-point Likert scale. Judges also responded to an item assessing perceived hireability ("If you had to hire someone for a job that requires a capable individual, how likely is it that you would hire this person?") and an item assessing interest in maintaining contact ("How interested are you in maintaining contact with this person?").

For each introduction, all its judges' responses to each item were first averaged to create

scores for each individual item: kind, likeable, open, fair, competent, and intelligent. The scores for warmth-related items (kind, likeable, open, fair) were then averaged to create a perceived warmth score for each introduction. The scores for each competence-related item (intelligent, competent) were also averaged to create a perceived competence score for each introduction.

The analyses focused on the interactive effect of White female actors' interaction partner race and conservatism to predict how competent or warm Black judges found these actors. As previously, the analyses tested three multiple regression models, including main and interactive effects of SDO and RWA. See Table 12 for the results of all regression analyses.

Table 12

Summary of Regression Analyses for White Participants' Interaction Partner Race, Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), and Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) Predicting Black Judges' Perceptions of White Participants' Introductions

	Perceived Competence			Perceived Warmth		
	β	t	p	β	t	p
Model 1						
SDO	-.04	-0.85	.396	.01	0.18	.857
Partner Race	-.01	-.010	.920	-.01	-0.09	.929
SDO $\times$ Partner Race	.02	0.36	.721	-.02	-0.29	.775
Model 2						
RWA	-.06	-1.20	.233	-.03	-0.53	.592
Partner Race	-.01	-0.15	.879	-.01	-0.13	.894
RWA $\times$ Partner Race	-.05	-0.88	.379	-.06	-1.10	.271
Model 3						
SDO	-.02	-0.29	.771	.03	0.50	.616
RWA	-.06	-0.91	.361	-.04	-0.72	.473
Partner Race	-.01	-0.16	.877	-.01	-0.13	.894
SDO $\times$ Partner Race	.05	0.90	.367	.02	0.31	.760
RWA $\times$ Partner Race	-.07	-1.20	.230	-.07	-1.12	.264

Note. All continuous variables were standardized. For all effects of Partner Race and interactions with Partner Race, White partner is coded as -1.

$\dagger p < .10$. $*p < .05$. $**p < .01$. $***p < .001$.

Perceived competence. When predicting Black judges' perceptions of White female targets' competence, no main effects or interactions reached significance ($ps > .264$).

Perceived warmth. When predicting Black judges' perceptions of White females' warmth, no main effects or interactions reached significance ($ps > .230$).

Discussion

Thus far, three studies have provided initial evidence that White liberals present less competence to a Black (versus White) interaction partner. In this study, White females low in values-based conservatism—that is, those who outwardly reject ingroup favoritism, failing to prioritize adherence to ingroup values and norms—demonstrated a competence downshift: using less agentic words with a Black interaction partner than a White one. However, this effect only held when hierarchy-based conservatism was controlled for. Ratings derived from Black judges provides initial evidence to suggest that White female liberals are not helped or penalized for engaging in this strategy, as there was no effect of interaction partner race or conservatism on Black judges' evaluations of female liberals' competence or warmth.

In contrast, the most conservative White females—those who prioritize ingroup values, obey authority figures, and embrace traditions—showed an unexpected competence upshift effect: using more agentic words to describe themselves when introducing themselves to a Black partner than a White partner. However, conservatives receive no social benefit or punishment for utilizing this strategy; Black judges did not rate female conservatives who responded to a Black target as more or less competent or warm than those who responded to a White partner.

Some of these effects were marginal or only trended toward significance; therefore, readers must take them with a grain of salt. They do, however, provide initial evidence that the

competence downshift can be found in affiliative liberals' open-ended speech—particularly in liberal females' speech, in this case—and that such speakers are not penalized by Black judges for utilizing this strategy.

MTurk samples are significantly more diverse than college student samples (Buhrmeister, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011). However, one could question the generalizability of the competence downshift, tested with social scenarios that featured hypothetical Black or White interaction partners (Studies 1 & 2) and an ostensibly real but only on-line interaction partner (Study 3). Providing evidence of the competence downshift in real-world speech would show evidence that the competence downshift is not unique to the lab. Study 4 aimed to provide a more naturalistic, ecologically valid test of White liberals' competence downshift through text analysis of real-world speech.

Study 4: Archival Analysis of Presidential Campaign Speeches

Both within and outside the realm of psychology, “words do the work of politics” (Graham, Haidt, & Nosek, 2009). Testing the competence downshift in a real-world setting looked to the political realm. Democrats constitute the liberals, whereas Republicans constitute the conservatives. This provided an opportunity to directly compare self-presentation from group members who are more conservative (i.e., probably high in values-based conservatism) to those who are more liberal (i.e., probably low in values-based conservatism). Manipulating audience race entailed examining presidential campaign speeches that were addressed to mostly-White or mostly-minority audiences. Democratic candidates should replicate the competence downshift found among values-based liberals. If so, Democratic candidates' campaign speeches given to minority audiences should be less competence-focused than comparable speeches directed to mostly White audiences. Relatedly, Republican candidates should replicate the non-effects found

for high-RWA participants: That is, the competence presented would not vary dependent on the racial composition of the audience.

Method

These hypotheses were tested through content analysis of 74 speeches delivered by the main White Republican and Democratic presidential candidates over the course of four separate presidential campaigns. Half of these speeches were delivered to an audience composed primarily of minorities; each of these mostly-minority audience speeches was matched with a comparable speech given to a mostly-White audience. Text analysis determined differences in competence presented to White or minority audiences for each candidate. Thus this study involved a comparative analysis of the speeches delivered to White versus minority audiences, by Republican versus Democratic presidential candidates, across four separate presidential campaigns over the past 25 years.

Presidential campaign speeches were obtained from a number of online archives that included speeches dating back to the 1992 presidential campaign. Analyses examined speeches delivered only by nominees who won their party's primary election and moved on to run against the other party's nominee for the presidency. Because the study seeks to replicate the competence downshift demonstrated by White liberals, it did not include speeches delivered by a Black candidate (i.e., Barack Obama). It also avoided candidacy speeches by sitting presidents who ran for re-election. Such candidates could view themselves as higher in status than those candidates who were not or never had been commander-in-chief. To avoid this potential confound, analyses did not include any speeches by candidates who were sitting presidents at the time of candidacy.

The number of speeches delivered to majority-minority audiences were much fewer than

those delivered to majority-White audiences. As such, the sample size was determined by the number of speeches to a minority audience that were available in online archives. Multiple methods were used to determine whether a speech could be categorized as minority-audience. First, searches looked to the nature of the conference or organization receiving the presidential candidate. Speeches delivered to organizations that involve a particular minority group (e.g., the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Republican National Hispanic Assembly) or directly address issues of diversity (e.g., National Urban League, Rainbow Coalition) were categorized as minority-audience speeches. Secondly, searches turned to the context of the speeches to determine the likely racial composition of the audiences on the receiving end. Speeches were placed into minority-audience category if they were delivered at events that commemorated a landmark occasion for a minority group (e.g., 40th anniversary of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s death, Cuban Independence Day). Lastly, searches looked to the location at which the speeches were delivered. They were minority classified if speeches were delivered to a historically Black college or university (HBCU), at a school comprising primarily minority students, or in a town with a majority-minority population. Searches also categorized an audience as minority if a speech was delivered at a mostly-minority Baptist event (e.g., National Baptist Convention) or at a historically Black Baptist church, as over 90% of all members of the historically Black Protestant church (of which Baptist is the largest denomination) are Black (Pew Research Center, 2014). These criteria admittedly combine Black and Latino audiences, but this compromise assumes that White stereotypes of Black and Latino competence are similar (Fiske et al., 2002), and it affords more statistical power. This process resulted in the collection of 23 speeches delivered to minority audiences by Democratic candidates and 14 delivered to minority audiences by Republican candidates.

After collecting all available speeches delivered by eligible presidential candidates to mostly-minority audiences, each was then paired with a comparable speech to a majority-White audience. For each minority-audience speech, a White audience speech was found that closely resembled the context of its match in several different ways. Speeches were matched on topic of discussion (e.g., a speech on a civic anniversary, *Brown versus Board of Education*, was matched with a speech on a cause-based civic holiday, Earth Day), focus of organization (e.g., speech given at a Hispanic Small Business Roundtable discussion was matched with a speech at a Small Business Roundtable discussion), size of the audience (e.g., a speech given at an HBCU was matched with a speech given at a mostly-White college of similar size), and approximate timing in the campaign. This pairing process resulted in a total of 74 speeches delivered to majority-White or mostly-minority audiences by Republican or Democratic candidates over the course of four separate campaigns (see Appendix F for a complete list of paired speeches.)

Having identified Republican and Democratic candidates and obtained transcribed speeches delivered to predominantly White or minority audiences, analyses then examined candidates' self-presentation of warmth and competence. Linguistic Inquiry and Word Content Software (LIWC; Pennebaker et al., 2007) was used to determine the word counts related to the dimensions of competence or warmth in each speech.

As in the prior study, warmth self-presentation and competence self-presentation dictionaries were derived from published lists of communal words (e.g., *supportive, committed*) and agentic words (e.g., *assertive, competitive*), respectively (Gaucher et al., 2011; Rudman & Killianski, 2000; see Appendix E for a complete list of words that were coded). Using LIWC, each speech was then given a warmth self-presentation score and a competence self-presentation score based on the percentage of times words from the corresponding dictionaries occurred

within the speech.

Results

Presidential candidates' overall word usage across conditions. On average, presidential candidates' speeches included 2670.62 words ($SD = 1048.91$), with an average of 18.44 words per sentence ($SD = 2.42$). Examination of the self-presentation data revealed that the distributions of the dependent variables of interest—percentage of communal ($M = 0.75$, $SD = .034$) and agentic ($M = 0.53$, $SD = 0.27$) words used in speeches—were relatively normal (percentage communal words used—Kolmogorov-Smirnov: $D(74) = .10$, $p = .059$; percentage agentic words used—Kolmogorov-Smirnov: $D(74) = .11$, $p = .036$). Because all speeches were delivered by male presidential candidates, preliminary analyses did not include tests for gender effects.

Recall that the main prediction suggests that Democrats should present less competence to minority audiences than to White audiences. No such downshift in Democrats' self-presentation of warmth should vary based on the race of the audience. Finally, Republican self-presentation scores should not change based on race of audience because they should be less motivated to match stereotypic expectations of minority audience in attempts to affiliate.

Republicans' and Democrats' agency and communality self-presentation scores were submitted to a 2 (Speaker party: Republican, Democrat) x 2 (Audience race: White, minority) x 2 (Self-presentation: warmth, competence) mixed factorial ANOVA with repeated measures on the last factor. This three-way interaction did not reach conventional levels of significance, $F(1,70) = 1.84$, $p = .179$, $\eta_p^2 = .026$. The sample size was limited to the number of transcribed speeches delivered to mostly-White or mostly-minority audiences by Democratic or Republican presidential candidates. The inability to increase sample sizes makes it difficult to reliably

interpret a three-way interaction. As such, analysis moved forward with simple effects tests, analyzing the effect of audience race on Republicans' and Democrats' self-presentation.

Democrats' self-presentation. Democrats' agency and communality self-presentation scores were submitted to a 2 (Audience race: White, minority) $\times$ 2 (Self-presentation: warmth, competence) mixed factorial ANOVA with repeated measures on the latter factor. The predicted Audience Race $\times$ Self-Presentation interaction was significant, $F(1,44) = 11.65, p = .001, \eta_p^2 = .209$. As shown in Figure 9, Democrats' speeches addressed to majority-minority audiences contained significantly fewer agentic words ($M = 0.34\%, SD = 0.17\%$) than those addressed to majority-White audiences ($M = 0.57\%, SD = 0.21\%$), $t(44) = 3.92, p < .001, d = 1.17$. Further examination of communality self-presentation scores reveals that Democratic candidates addressed minority audiences with marginally more communality ($M = 0.89\%, SD = 0.34\%$) than they did White audiences ($M = 0.68\%, SD = 0.38\%$), $t(44) = -2.00, p = .052, d = -.60$.

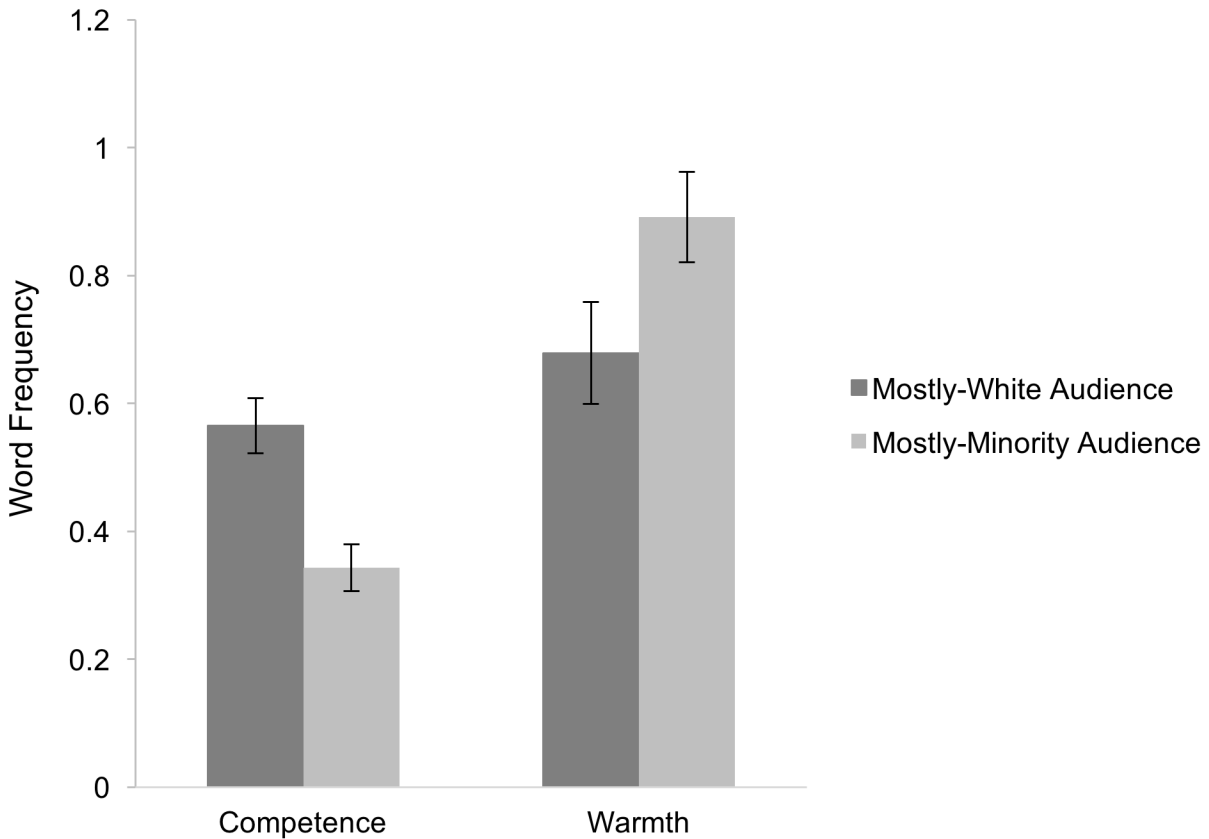


Figure 9. Percentage of competent (i.e., agentic) and warm (i.e., communal) words used in Democratic presidential candidates' speeches as a function of audience race. Error bars indicate standard error.

Republicans' self-presentation. Republicans' agency and communality self-presentation scores were submitted to a 2 (Audience race: White, minority) $\times$ 2 (Self-presentation: warmth, competence) mixed factorial ANOVA with repeated measures on the latter factor. No significant interaction emerged, suggesting that Republican self-presentation does not vary based on race of the audience, $F(1,26) = .69, p = .414, \eta_p^2 = .026$. As shown in Figure 10, Republicans' speeches delivered to mostly-minority audiences contained as many agentic words ($M = 0.60\%$, $SD = 0.34\%$) as those delivered to mostly-White audiences ($M = 0.70\%$, $SD = 0.24\%$). Similarly,

Republicans' speeches delivered to mostly-minority audiences were equally communal ($M = 0.70\%$, $SD = 0.28\%$) as those delivered to mostly-White audiences ($M = 0.66\%$, $SD = 0.30\%$).

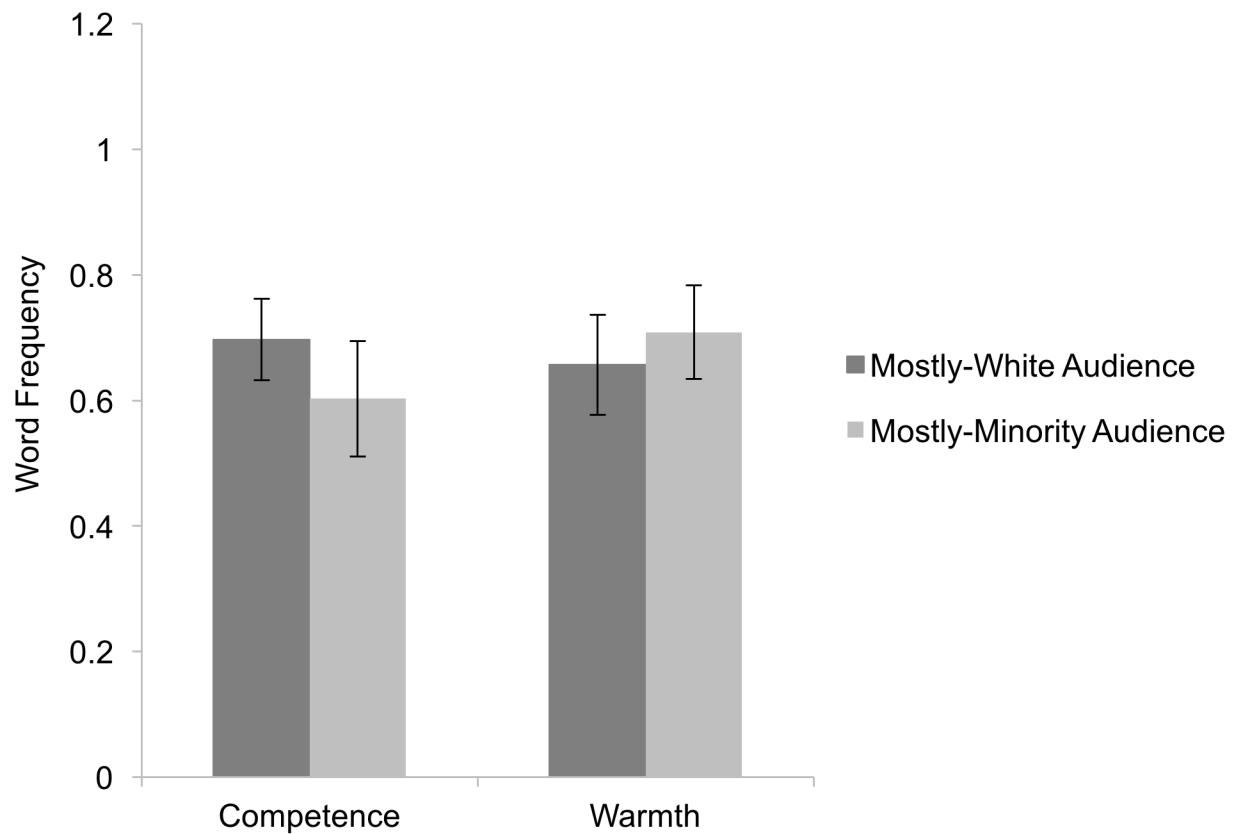


Figure 10. Percentage of competent (i.e., agentic) and warm (i.e., communal) words used in Republican presidential candidates' speeches as a function of audience race. Error bars indicate standard error.

Discussion

Using a comparative analysis of political speeches delivered to mostly White versus mostly minority audiences by both Democrats and Republicans, Study 4 provides evidence of the competence downshift in a real-world setting. Presidential candidates who stand for the liberal

political party expressed less competence toward a minority audience than a White audience. Despite this somewhat patronizing behavior, these very candidates may hold more goodwill toward minorities. Democrats presented more warmth to minority audiences than White ones, and they showed up more than did Republicans to address the Black and Latino communities. However, the reduction in competence shown to minority audiences provides ecologically valid evidence that the probably unintentionally patronizing behavior enacted by egalitarian Whites toward minorities is not only a product of online studies. Indeed, this behavior has been occurring for at least 20 years in the political realm.

Chapter 3 Discussion

Four studies found evidence that liberal Whites' self-presentation of competence shifts based on the race of an interaction partner. These studies examined the main hypotheses, asking whether White liberals would show less competence when responding to a Black (versus White) partner. White liberals, specifically, those low in values-based conservatism, downshifted their competence when presenting to a Black (but not White) interaction partner. Specifically, White liberals presented less competence (Study 1), described themselves as less competent (Study 2), and used less agentic words (women in Study 3) when responding with a Black interaction partner than with a White one. White conservatives did not show this effect. Finally, White liberals did not show changes in warmth based on the race of an interaction partner, suggesting that the competence-based stereotypes applied to Blacks drive these changes in liberals' self-presentation.

Finally, Study 4 addressed the generalizability of the competence downshift by examining political campaign speeches from White Democratic or Republican presidential candidates that were addressed to mostly-White versus mostly-minority audiences. As predicted,

Democratic candidates replicated the competence downshift. Although Democratic candidates tended to speak to minority audiences more often than did Republicans, at least according to this search for such speeches, Democratic candidates but not Republicans presented less competence to mainly-minority audiences than to mainly-White audiences. Collectively, these studies demonstrate that, for those who are more affiliative toward minorities—that is, liberals—stereotypes may play a role in impression management strategies utilized when attempting to affiliate, relating to a well-intentioned, but ultimately patronizing competence downshift.

In these studies, anti-hierarchy liberal (i.e., low-SDO) Whites addressed a Black interaction partner or a White interaction partner using relatively equal footing. In contrast, values-based liberal (i.e., low-RWA) Whites repeatedly showed the competence downshift when responding to a Black versus a White interaction partner. Because low-RWA Whites are more autonomous and less tied to their ingroup (Asbrock et al., 2012)—as well as disagreeing with punitive, anti-deviant values—these values-based liberals may be more driven to interact successfully with an outgroup partner than values-based conservatives are. Ironically, low-RWA Whites may turn to stereotypes to make that connection, drawing on notions that minorities are less competent than Whites in their communication efforts.

Low-SDO Whites might a priori also seem more open to interacting with minorities than their high-SDO counterparts. But low SDO implies the absence of competition with the outgroup, not cooperation or affiliation. SDO is not values-driven but hierarchy- (or dominance-) driven, so it is less about values (affiliation) and more about resources (irrelevant here). Thus, RWA, rather than SDO, predicts the affiliative competence downshift. This finding is keeping with recent findings suggesting that the social (i.e., values-based) ideology dimension can motivate more political conflict—or, in this case, cooperation—than the economic (i.e., hierarchical) dimension

(Crawford, Brandt, Inbar, Chambers, Motyl, 2017). In sum, the motivational theory behind RWA, as a values-based socio-political attitude, suggests that socially egalitarian Whites—rather than hierarchically egalitarian Whites—may be more likely to strategize based on the benevolent intention to communicate effectively with minorities.

Chapter 4: Self-Presentation in Group Settings: The Competence Upshift by Black Conservatives

Chapter 4 Summary

The competence downshift findings reported in Chapter 3 suggest that stereotypes are utilized strategically—as a tool to encourage affiliation in potentially uncomfortable, intergroup settings. If well-intentioned Whites use these negative stereotypes to affiliate in intergroup contexts, well-intentioned Blacks should do the same. The study reported in Chapter 4 found that Black conservatives—those minorities who tend to be most amenable to maintaining the status quo and appealing to Whites (Eastwick, Richeson, Son, & Finkel, 2009; Jost & Thomson, 2000)—engage in the opposite strategy with an outgroup partner, countering the meta-stereotype by presenting more competence to a White partner (versus a Black one). Furthermore, White judges who evaluated Blacks' open-ended responses rated conservative Black targets as more competent based on these targets' responses to a White (versus Black) partner.

Introduction

Previous work has found that in interracial contexts, Whites seek to garner liking from their outgroup partner, while minorities wish to garner respect (Bergsieker et al., 2010). Chapter 3 extends this work by examining affiliative Whites' self-presentation, suggesting that White liberals engage in the competence downshift to appear likeable by matching the outgroup stereotype. In this sense, the competence downshift is grounded in a) the desire to affiliate with the outgroup, and b) usage of the stereotypes that depict Blacks as less competent than Whites.

Chapter 4 reports a study that seeks to reverse the competence downshift with a new sample: Black participants. Blacks who desire to affiliate with the White outgroup should also use stereotypes to do so. In this case, Blacks should engage in a competence upshift to appear "respectable" by countering the stereotype applied to their own group. Which Blacks should care the most?

Minorities who identify as conservative tend to care more about adhering to the social hierarchy and appealing to those at the top (Eastwick, Richeson, Son, & Finkel, 2009; Jost & Thompson, 2000). As such, Black conservatives should be most likely to engage in a competence upshift when responding to a White versus Black interaction partner.

Method

Participants who self-identified as Black ($N = 145$) were recruited online via Amazon.com's Mechanical Turk in exchange for a nominal fee. Any participants who failed the manipulation check, incorrectly identifying the avatar of their online partner ($n = 16$) were excluded, along with those who failed either of the two attention-check items ($n = 29$). These exclusions dropped the sample size to 100 Black participants (White partner: $n = 52$, Black partner: $n = 48$). However, including all participants did not alter the pattern of results described

below. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions (White partner, Black partner), creating a two-cell between-subjects design.

Procedures were identical to those found in Chapter 3, Study 3. Participants were recruited to complete a study examining online communication. Participants first met their online partner, who ostensibly chose a Black or White avatar to represent him or herself. This avatar was accompanied by a stereotypically White or stereotypically Black first name, also ostensibly provided by their online partner during an earlier study. As in Study 3, online partners were gender matched to participants. Participants then completed their own online profile by providing their first name, selecting an avatar to represent themselves, and writing a brief essay (at least five sentences) to introduce themselves to their online partner. All participants completed a manipulation check, selecting the avatar that represented their online partner. Participants' socio-political attitudes were assessed with the 20-item RWA scale ($\alpha = .96$) and the 16-item SDO scale ($\alpha = .94$). An attention check item was embedded within each scale. Finally, participants completed a demographic form.

Results

Self-presentation: Content of introductions. As before, analyses addressed competence and warmth separately. See Table 13 for results of all regression analyses.

Table 13

Summary of Regression Analyses for Interaction Partner Race, Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), and Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) Predicting Content of Black Participants' Introductions

	Agentic Words			Communal Words		
	β	t	p	β	t	p
Model 1						
SDO	.14	1.38	.172	-.06	-0.58	.810
Partner Race	-.07	-0.74	.463	.01	0.09	.456
SDO $\times$ Partner Race	-.20	-1.97 [†]	.052	.08	0.08	.592
Model 2						
RWA	.07	0.66	.513	.03	0.35	.727
Partner Race	-.06	-0.61	.546	.01	0.07	.941
RWA $\times$ Partner Race	-.22	-2.20*	.030	.02	0.23	.831
Model 3						
SDO	.15	1.25	.215	-.09	-0.77	.443
RWA	.01	0.11	.916	.07	0.57	.569
Partner Race	-.07	-0.74	.462	.02	0.16	.876
SDO $\times$ Partner Race	-.11	-0.96	.340	.08	0.66	.508
RWA $\times$ Partner Race	-.19	-1.63	.107	-.00	-0.01	.993

Note. All continuous variables were standardized. For all effects of Partner Race and interactions with Partner Race, White partner is coded as -1.

[†] $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Usage of agentic words. RWA (not controlling for SDO) significantly interacted with Partner Race to predict Blacks' usage of agentic words, $\beta = -.22$, $t(96) = -2.20$, $p = .030$. The SDO $\times$ Partner Race interaction (not controlling for RWA) reached marginal significance, $\beta = -.20$, $t(96) = -1.97$, $p = .052$. Simple slopes revealed that Blacks who were high in RWA (+1 *SD*), and those who were high in SDO (+1 *SD*) engaged in a competence upshift, utilizing more agentic words with a White partner than they did with a Black one (high RWA: $\beta = -.28$, $t(96) = -1.98$, $p = .050$; high SDO: $\beta = -.27$, $t(96) = -1.91$, $p = .059$). There were no differences by Partner Race among participants low (–1 *SD*) in RWA ($\beta = .16$, $t(96) = 1.13$, $p = .260$) or SDO ($\beta = .07$, $t(96) = 0.66$, $p = .514$). See Figure 11 for simple slopes. No other main effects or interactions reached significance.

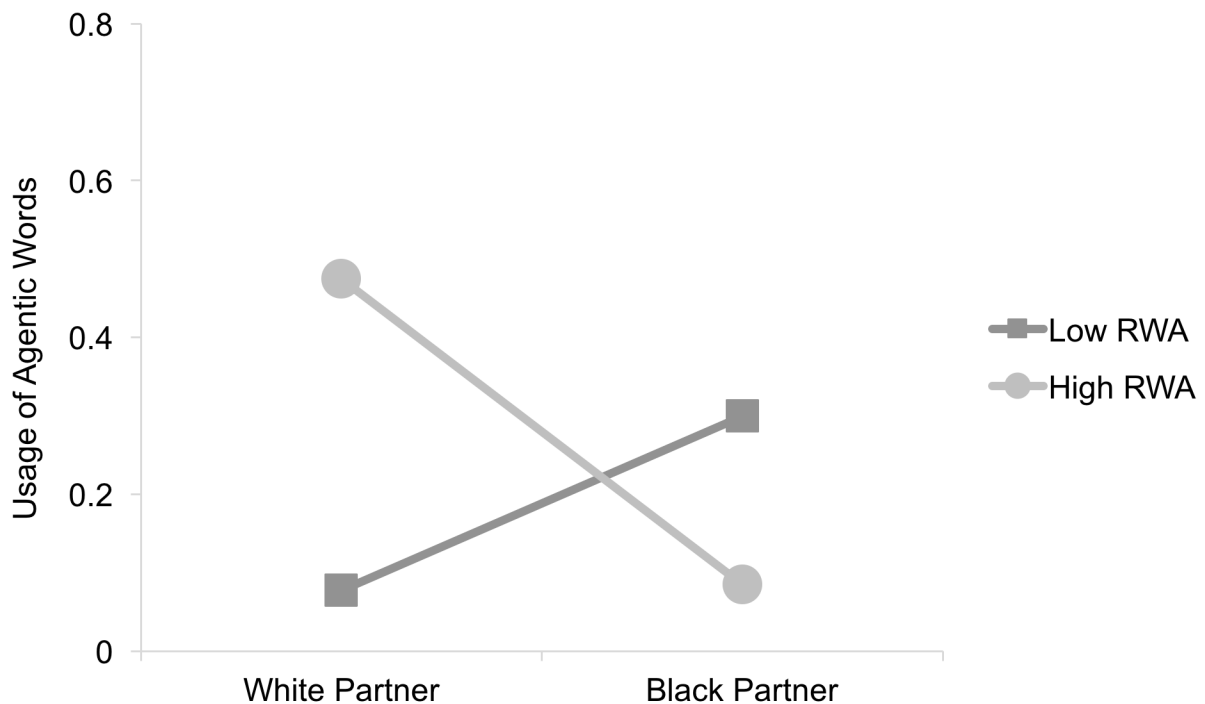


Figure 11. Percentage of competent (i.e., agentic) words used in Black participants' introductions as a function of partner race and participant RWA (without controlling for Social Dominance Orientation). RWA = Right-Wing Authoritarianism.

Usage of communal words. There were no significant main effects or interactions to predict Blacks' usage of communal words ($ps > .426$).

Impression formation: Whites' perceptions of Blacks' introductions. Analyses next tested the effect of the competence upshift displayed by Black conservatives on Whites' perceptions of competence and warmth by recruiting 245 White judges (113 women) from Amazon's Mechanical Turk to assess competence and warmth of Black targets based on their introductions. To preserve believability regarding race, each judge reviewed only 2 introductions, each accompanied with a Black avatar that was presumably chosen by a previous participant. Each introduction was rated by two to six judges. Using the same items as found in Study 3, judges rated perceived competence, warmth, and hireability of targets. Judges also rated interest in maintaining contact with each target.

As in the prior study, raters' responses to each item were averaged to create scores for each individual item. The scores for warmth-related items (kind, likeable, open, fair) were then averaged to create a perceived warmth score for each introduction. The scores for each competence-related item (intelligent, competent) were also averaged to create a perceived competence score for each introduction. The analyses focused on the interactive effect of Black actors' interaction partner race and conservatism to predict how warm or competent White judges found these actors. As in previous analyses, three multiple regression models included main and interactive effects of self-identified conservatism, SDO, and RWA.

Table 14

Summary of Regression Analyses for Black Participants' Interaction Partner Race, Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), and Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) Predicting Whites Judges' Perceptions of Black Participants' Introductions

	Perceived Competence			Perceived Warmth		
	β	t	p	β	t	p
Model 1						
SDO	-.00	-0.03	.975	-.02	-1.19	.850
Partner Race	.05	0.58	.566	.10	0.97	.332
SDO $\times$ Partner Race	-.13	-1.23	.221	-.11	-1.13	.261
Model 2						
RWA	-.04	-0.46	.649	-.03	-0.39	.768
Partner Race	.05	0.56	.580	.09	0.96	.338
RWA $\times$ Partner Race	-.30	-3.09**	.003	-.28	-2.85**	.005
Model 3						
SDO	.05	0.45	.656	.02	0.15	.882
RWA	-.08	-0.66	.514	-.04	-0.36	.717
Partner Race	.05	0.49	.628	.09	0.92	.358
SDO $\times$ Partner Race	.03	0.28	.780	.03	0.23	.823
RWA $\times$ Partner Race	-.32	-2.85**	.005	-.29	-2.56*	.012

Note: All continuous variables were standardized. For all effects of Partner Race and interactions with Partner Race, White partner is coded as -1.

† $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Judges perceiving competence. As shown in Table 14, Black introducers' RWA significantly interacted with Partner Race to predict perceived competence ($RWA \times Partner\ Race$ (without controlling for SDO): $\beta = -.30, t(96) = -3.09, p = .003$; $RWA \times Partner\ Race$ (controlling for SDO): $\beta = -.32, t(96) = -2.85, p = .005$). Simple slopes analyses revealed that White judges found Black conservatives who responded to a White partner to be marginally more competent than those who responded to a Black partner (high RWA (without controlling for SDO): $\beta = -.25, t(96) = -1.80, p = .073$; high RWA (controlling for SDO): $\beta = -.28, t(96) = -1.82, p = .073$). In contrast, White judges rated Black liberals who responded to a White partner as significantly less competent than those who responded to a Black partner (low RWA (without controlling for SDO): $\beta = .35, t(96) = 2.59, p = .011$; low RWA (controlling for SDO): $\beta = .37, t(96) = 2.51, p = .014$). No other main effects or interactions reached significance. See Figure 12 for simple slopes.

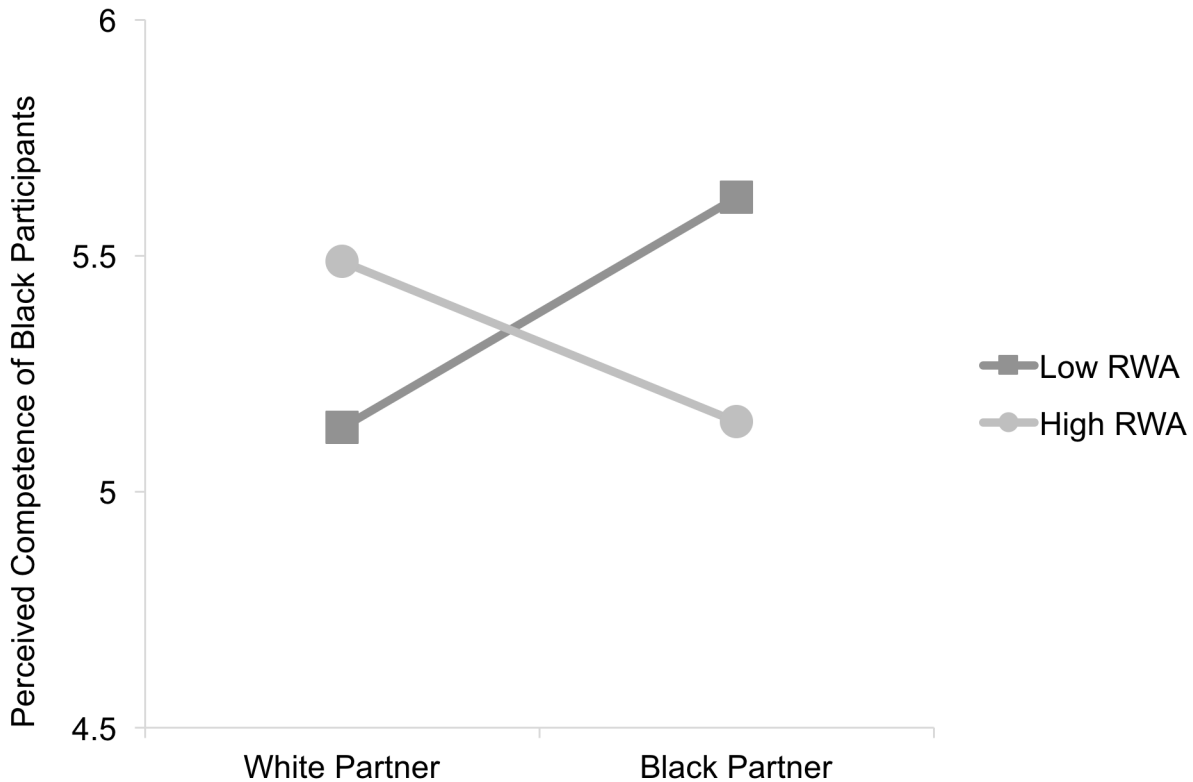


Figure 12. White judges' ratings of Black participants' competence of as a function of Black participants' interaction partner race and participant RWA (without controlling for Social Dominance Orientation). RWA = Right-Wing Authoritarianism.

Judges perceiving warmth. RWA interacted with Partner Race to predict perceived warmth (RWA $\times$ Partner Race (without controlling for SDO): $\beta = -.28$, $t(96) = -2.85$, $p = .005$; RWA $\times$ Partner Race (controlling for SDO): $\beta = -.29$, $t(96) = -2.56$, $p = .012$). Simple slopes analyses revealed that White judges did not find Black conservatives who responded to a White partner to be warmer than those who responded to a Black partner (high RWA (without controlling for SDO): $\beta = -.18$, $t(96) = -1.34$, $p = .184$; high RWA (controlling for SDO): $\beta = -.20$, $t(96) = -1.32$, $p = .190$). However, White judges did rate Black liberals who responded to a White partner as less warm than those who responded to a Black partner (low RWA (without

controlling for SDO): $\beta = .37$, $t(96) = 2.70$, $p = .008$; low RWA (controlling for SDO): $\beta = .39$, $t(96) = 2.58$, $p = .012$). See Figure 13 for simple slopes. No other main effects or interactions reached significance.

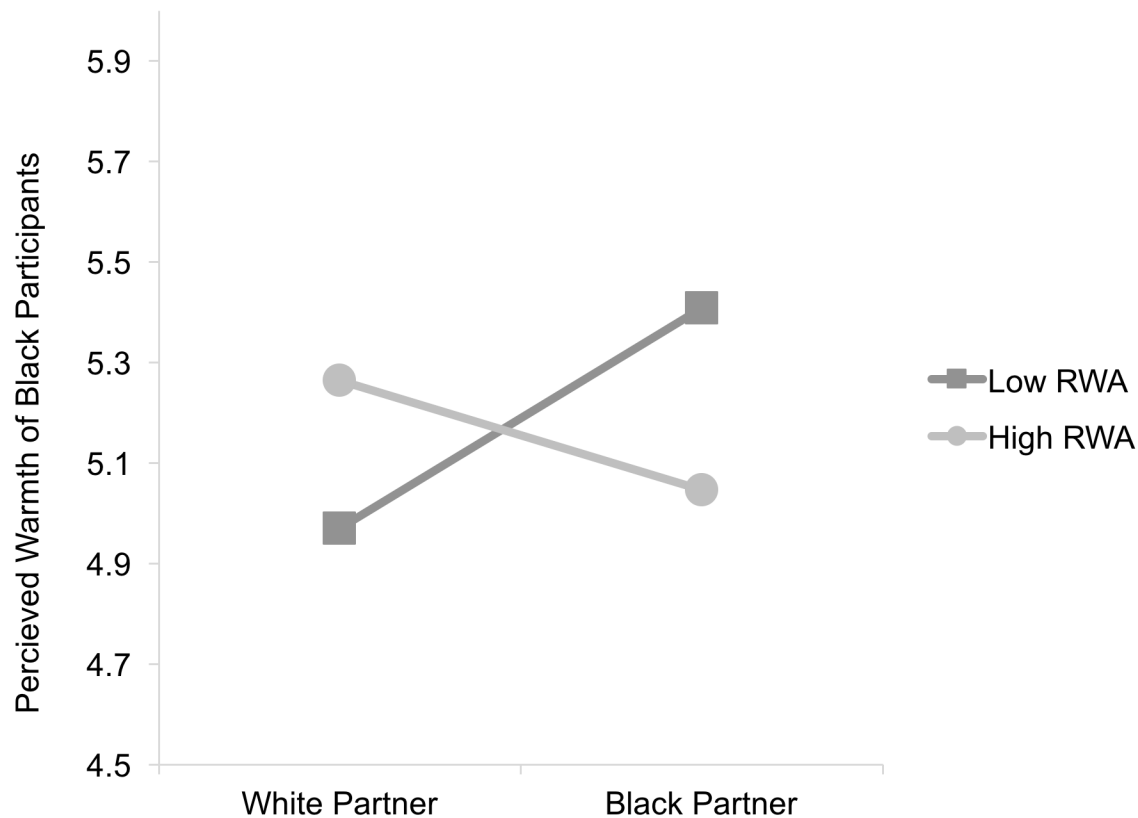


Figure 13. White judges' ratings of Black participants' warmth of as a function of Black participants' interaction partner race and participant RWA (without controlling for Social Dominance Orientation). RWA = Right-Wing Authoritarianism.

Discussion

The study reported in this chapter reversed the outgroup-focused competence downshift found among White liberals in Chapter 3. Black conservatives—those most likely to wish to

affiliate with Whites—appear to adopt the opposite strategy when responding to an outgroup partner, using more agentic words to an outgroup (i.e., White) partner than they do to an ingroup (i.e., Black) one. This result supports previous work showing that, in interracial contexts, minorities care about being respected, while Whites care about being liked (Bergsieker et al., 2010). This finding suggests that, among minorities, Black conservatives may care more about appealing to White outgroup members than do Black liberals. In upshifting their competence with a White partner, Black conservatives may be attempting to reverse the negative stereotype applied to their group.

Conclusions and Implications

Race-Status Associations

This dissertation's first aim was to evaluate the interplay of status and race in social perception. Black and White participants responded to measures of race-status associations via an explicit face-job guessing. White participants were predicted to favor stereotype-congruent race-status pairings (i.e., Whites in high-status occupations and Blacks in low-status occupations). The present findings support this hypothesis. Whites had difficulty associating Blacks with high-status occupations or associating Whites with low-status occupations. These findings reveal that perceptions of race and status are intertwined, suggesting that social psychologists must make stronger attempts to bridge the gap between race and status in future work to further our understanding of both race- and status-based differences. Examining associations between race and status, rather than perception of merely race *or* status, can prove of empirical, theoretical, and practical importance.

The RSA work also contributes to inter- and intra-group literature in several ways. First, these findings suggest that, for the advantaged racial group, explicit race-status associations can more strongly predict displays of ingroup favoritism (i.e., acceptance of White status-seekers) than displays of outgroup derogation (i.e., rejection of Black status-seekers). In Chapter 1, explicit RSA predicted Whites' acceptance of a White ingroup status-seeker. In this case, recognition of the ingroup's advantaged status may prompt Whites to extend a helping hand to status-seekers—as long as those seeking to attain high-status are part of one's ingroup. Secondly, this work furthers our understanding of the conditions under which minority group members reject or accept ingroup others. Chapter 2 revealed that Black participants who were more likely to associate the Black ingroup with low-status and Whites with high-status were also more likely

to reject a Black job applicant. In this case, recognition of the ingroup's disadvantaged status may relate to Blacks' perception of high status as a zero-sum game, prompting competitive responses to those ingroup members who seek to attain high status.

Limitations and future RSA research. This work constitutes an initial investigation of Whites' and Blacks' race-status associations—and the status-relevant preferences that they can predict. Chapter 1 provides evidence that perceived belonging can explain the relationship between race-status associations and Whites' status-seeking responses. However, future research would do well to further investigate the link between race-status associations and system justification motives and prejudice against Blacks. Although Whites' RSA scores were moderately correlated with Social Dominance Orientation and explicit prejudice, this study does not yet explain whether RSAs predict status-seeking responses above and beyond these existing measures or whether RSA effects are explained by these constructs. Replicating the existing effects with studies that include related measures could more strongly determine divergent validity and allow for mediation analyses. Furthermore, Chapter 2 revealed that Blacks' implicit RSA scores did not relate to prejudice, outgroup contact, or system justification; future work must prioritize investigating some of the potential mechanisms proposed in Chapter 2's discussion.

Although this research reveals the value of examining race and status in considering Blacks' and Whites' responses in the occupational realm, future research endeavors include examining the impact of RSAs in the realm of education. Such efforts can further our understanding of the development of RSAs in childhood and adolescence, as well as determining whether RSAs can predict Black or White students' or teachers' preferences and behaviors.

RSA conclusion. The state of interracial relations in America remains a work in

progress. While Whites' explicit attitudes toward Blacks may have improved, and likely will continue to improve in the future, other research and current events suggest otherwise, alluding to persistent, underlying interracial tension (Bergsieker, Shelton, & Richeson, 2010; Devine & Elliot, 1995; Fiske et al., 2009; Holoien, Bergsieker, Shelton, & Alegre, 2015; Katz & Braly, 1933; Schuman et al., 1985). Certain Blacks are negatively stereotyped in the media (Gilens, 1996), yet the public still views Black professionals in a positive light, suggesting that social status may have more influence on our attitudes toward others than race alone.

Psychologists have speculated as to whether having Barack Obama as President or other Black people in high-status societal positions may potentially facilitate the association of Blacks with higher competence (and thus higher social status) while concurrently dissociating Blacks from the stereotypic characteristics of unintelligence, low competence, hostility, criminality, and indeed, low status. This may, however, be a moot point, for not enough Blacks occupy positions of power in American society to change the stereotype or to encourage people to individuate minority targets. Meanwhile, Blacks still encounter difficulty with upward mobility—social, economic, and political—with little acknowledgement by the majority of American society.

Blacks face the possibility of being ensnared in a vicious cycle in which Whites associate them with negative stereotypical traits and low status, making it more difficult for Blacks to attain jobs and opportunities that can elevate their perceived status. Although Whites are making more positive explicit evaluations of Blacks than in the past, negative explicit stereotypes persevere, especially those that equate Blacks with low social status. These stereotypes may hinder social mobility for members of this disadvantaged racial group, thus reinforcing the race-status associations that label Blacks as low status. Put simply, because Blacks are viewed as low status, they remain low status, and thus, Whites continue to have difficulty in seeing them as

anything but low status. With this, Blacks remain marginalized. By increasing awareness of the links between race and status—along with the role they may play on the advancement of Blacks in American society—we all may, one day, more readily see Blacks with an enduring place at the table.

Self-Presentation in Group Settings

The second goal of this dissertation was to examine the potential impact of stereotypes on well-intentioned Whites' outgroup (versus ingroup) responses. Across six studies employing both experimental and archival analyses, Chapter 3 examined White liberals' self-presentation of warmth and competence to same- versus other-race interaction partners. A competence downshift emerged among those lowest in right-wing authoritarianism, a measure of social conservatism. These liberal Whites presented less competence to a Black interaction partner than they did to a White interaction partner (all liberals in Studies 1 and 2, female liberals in Study 3). The competence downshift has real-world effects: Liberal White politicians have presented less competence to minority audiences than to White audiences over the course of decades (Study 4).

Black participants also utilized stereotypes as a part of an outgroup-focused affiliation strategy. Chapter 4 revealed that Black conservatives—those who tend to prefer maintaining the status quo and affiliating with Whites (Eastwick et al., 2009; Jost & Thomson, 2000)—reversed the stereotype applied to their group with outgroup partners, using more agentic words with a White partner than they did with a Black one. This strategy may have the intended effect, for White judges rated Black conservatives as more competent based on their responses to a White (versus Black) interaction partner.

Little prior research has examined self-presentation across racial lines, and this research constitutes the first investigation of moderating role that individual differences in socio-political

beliefs may play in impression management. These studies provide a first step by illuminating impression management tendencies in Whites who vary in the two most well-researched measures of socio-political conservatism, when responding across racial lines. However, further work needs to delve deeper into the proposed mechanisms that drive the competence downshift as expressed by social liberals. Because stereotypes differentiating Blacks from Whites fall in the dimension of competence, it is social liberals' self-presentation of competence, rather than warmth, that depends on partner race. Are they aware that they draw on stereotypes when responding to Blacks? If social liberals are not aware that they engage in the competence downshift, this would further support the contention that this effect is a well-meaning, but patronizing strategy aimed at affiliation.

Future competence-downshift research. Further research could aim to detangle these two proposed mechanisms: the desire to affiliate, and the use of stereotypes to do so. Previous research indicates that Whites are aware that Blacks and Latinos are characterized as less intelligent than higher status groups (Devine & Elliot, 1995; Fiske et al., 2002; Krueger, 1996; Weaver, 2007). Additionally, Whites tend to believe that they are considered racist by minorities (Bergsieker et al., 2010; Vorauer et al., 1998), which can give them the goal of appearing warm during interpersonal interactions. The current studies provide evidence that both factors may influence the patronizing shift in verbal behavior as demonstrated by socially liberal Whites across studies.

While the current explanation for the competence downshift may hold theoretical and empirical merit, the causal mechanisms that drive the competence downshift as shown by liberal Whites across studies are worth future investigation. To what extent does each factor—the desire to effectively communicate with minorities and the use of stereotypical knowledge to do so—

influence the competence downshift? What additional factors may be involved in this well-meaning but patronizing behavior?

Another future direction for this research would be further examination of boundary conditions. For example, familiarity with a minority partner may attenuate or reverse the competence downshift for socially liberal Whites, as they rely less on stereotypes. Given that social liberals are more open to relationships with Blacks (Eastwick, Richeson, Son, & Finkel, 2009; Yancey, 2007), familiarity with a Black partner may reduce the patronizing behavior shown in these studies by increasing low RWA Whites' self-presentation of competence with a familiar minority.

Finally, Whites' self-presentation toward other ethnic outgroup members may reveal an additional boundary condition. Do social liberals present less competence to outgroups that are not stereotyped as less competent than Whites (e.g., Asian-Americans)? Following up on this example, researchers may find that White liberals may present less warmth to this particular outgroup, as Asians are often stereotyped as being colder (though no less intelligent) than Whites (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Lin, Kwan, Cheung, & Fiske, 2005). Such a finding would provide further support for a stereotyping explanation.

Competence-downshift research limitations. These studies are not without limitations. One such limitation is the lack of a baseline measure of self-presentation. Future tests of the competence downshift should include a baseline condition, wherein no name is given for the partner at all. These self-presentation results can then be compared to those in the racial ingroup or outgroup conditions, shedding more light on how the presence of an ingroup or outgroup member can affect self-presentation of warmth or competence.

Additionally, because race is often confounded with status, the use of stereotypically

White or stereotypically Black names may bolster this confound, as noted. Study 3 began to address this issue using White or Black avatars in addition to less obviously stereotypical names. Furthermore, Study 4 provided evidence of the competence downshift without the use of stereotypically Black names. However, future studies attempting to replicate the competence downshift may consider using visual images exclusively to reduce the potential confound of status.

Competence-downshift conclusion. America is becoming a more egalitarian nation. Whites increased support for minority political candidates (Garcia & Tate, 2013; Tesler & Sears, 2010), indicate more positive sentiments toward social policies that benefit minorities, and express less explicit prejudice against outgroups. However, only scarce recent research examines the more interpersonal level of self-presentation across racial lines. Despite the progress toward egalitarian goals, indirect indicators of bias remain, along with negative stereotypes that characterize minorities as less intelligent than Whites, perhaps based on race-status associations. Although the nation as a whole has shown progress, individual variability remains in people holding egalitarian socio-political attitudes. Ironically, those who are less explicitly antagonistic toward minorities may be more likely to display such indirect forms of bias by drawing on negative stereotypes to affiliate with Blacks.

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Appendices

Appendix A

List of high-status and low-status occupations used in Chapters 1 and 2. Occupations derived from Fiske and Dupree (2014).

High-status occupations	Low-status occupations
Doctor	Dishwasher
Engineer	Garbage Collector
Scientist	Taxi Driver
Lawyer	Cashier
CEO	Maid
Professor	Janitor
Nurse	Prostitute

Appendix B

Sample resume of applicant seeking high-status job.

Jake Miller

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OBJECTIVE

To obtain a position in a pediatric department of a well-established medical organization where I can have the opportunity to be part of providing quality health care to patients.

HIGHLIGHTS

I am experienced and knowledgeable, with training in medical principles, policies, procedures and methods.

I am goal-oriented and professional, with a demonstrated track record of quality patient care.

I am dedicated and driven. My father was a lawyer for 30 years, so I know the meaning of hard work.

EDUCATION

Pittsburgh School of Medicine

2012

Doctor of Medicine

Pennsylvania State University

2008

Bachelor of Science in Biology

INTERNSHIP AND RESIDENCY

Children's Hospital of Pittsburgh

2012 to Present

Pediatric Resident

- Supervise medical students and interns in the pediatric intensive care unit.
- Make tentative diagnoses and decisions about management and treatment of patients.
- Performed therapeutic procedures, such as injections, immunizations, suturing and wound care, and infection management.
- Educate patients on prevention and detection of illness by providing resources and materials.

MEDICAL VOLUNTEER EXPERIENCE

Children's Hospital of Philadelphia

2004 to 2006

Emergency Department Volunteer

- Acted as liaison to parents; entertained and escorted patient families.
- Stocked emergency room cabinets with necessary supplies.
- Ran errands for emergency department staff.

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

American Medical Association, member since 2012

American Academy of Pediatrics, member since 2012

Appendix C

Ratings of Warmth and Competence Words by Category in Pretest.

Category word	Competence ratings	Warmth ratings
	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>
High competence/High warmth	5.69 (0.23)	5.84 (0.43)
Euphoric	5.48 (0.81)	6.15 (0.84)
Prodigious	6.08 (0.74)	5.47 (1.08)
Unprecedented	5.75 (0.97)	5.17 (1.22)
Exemplary	5.68 (0.77)	6.15 (0.73)
Commendable	5.43 (0.81)	5.88 (0.92)
Exquisite	5.73 (0.76)	6.22 (1.06)
High competence/Low warmth	5.34 (0.27)	2.90 (0.38)
Melancholy	5.32 (0.70)	3.32 (1.48)
Inept	5.22 (0.87)	2.57 (1.66)
Trite	5.48 (1.03)	3.00 (1.40)
Mediocre	5.05 (0.85)	3.30 (1.39)
Deficient	5.15 (1.09)	2.83 (1.53)
Repugnant	5.80 (0.92)	2.37 (1.93)
Low competence/Low warmth	3.54 (0.27)	2.52 (0.49)
Sad	3.85 (0.69)	2.70 (1.09)
Stupid	3.12 (1.17)	2.00 (1.04)
Old	3.72 (0.80)	3.33 (0.90)
Lousy	3.37 (0.90)	2.25 (1.10)

Weak	3.70 (0.81)	2.70 (1.15)
Nasty	3.45 (0.85)	2.12 (1.12)
Low competence/High warmth	3.78 (0.36)	5.23 (0.42)
Happy	4.02 (0.73)	5.68 (0.98)
Brainy	3.77 (1.21)	5.08 (1.05)
New	3.95 (0.57)	4.83 (0.87)
Fab	3.07 (0.95)	4.75 (1.43)
Great	3.97 (0.71)	5.72 (1.12)
Pretty	3.90 (0.73)	5.33 (0.93)

Appendix D

Competence and Morality-relatedness of Values Tested by Wojciszke (1997).

Value	Competence	Morality
Ambitious	8.44	4.82
Capable	7.61	2.23
Cheerful	3.78	1.59
Courageous	7.17	4.24
Forgiving	2.72	7.47
Helpful	3.61	6.88
Honest	5.11	9.59
Imaginative	7.78	3.94
Independent	7.89	4.71
Intellectual	9.39	4.59
Logical	7.94	3.24
Loving	3.28	5.71
Obedient	6.67	4.94
Polite	4.44	6.76
Responsible	8.56	6.18
Self-controlled	4.27	3.94

Appendix E

Agency and Communality Dictionaries.

Agentic words	Communal words
Active	Affectionate
Adventurous	Agreeable
Aggress*	Caring
Ambitio*	Child*
Analy*	Cheer*
Assert*	Commit*
Autonom*	Communal
Boast	Compassion
Challeng*	Connect*
Compet*	Considerate
Confident	Cooperat*
Daring	Depend*
Decide	Emotiona*
Decisive	Empath*
Decision*	Feminine
Determin*	Flatter*
Dominant	Gentle
Domina*	Helpful
Force*	Honest
Greedy	Interdependen*

Headstrong	Interperson*
Hierarch*	Kind
Hostil*	Kinship
Impulsive	Loyal*
Independen*	Modesty
Individual*	Nag
Intellect*	Nurtur*
Lead*	Pleasant*
Logic	Polite
Objective	Quiet*
Opinion*	Respon*
Outspoken	Sensitiv*
Persist	Submissive
Principle*	Support*
Reckless	Sympath*
Stubborn	Tactful
Superior	Tender*
Self-confiden*	Together*
Self-sufficien*	Trust*
Self-relian*	Understand*
	Warm*
	Whin*
	Yield*

Appendix F

37 Paired Speeches Delivered by Democratic or Republican Presidential Candidates to Predominately Minority or Predominately White Audiences.

Political party	Candidate	Minority audience	White audience
Republican	John McCain	2007 Hispanic Business Expo	NFIB and eBay 2008 National Small Business Summit
Republican	John McCain	Hispanic Small Business Roundtable in Santa Ana, California	Small Business Roundtable in Brooklyn, New York
Republican	John McCain	Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Atlanta, Georgia	Mackinac Republican Leadership Conference
Republican	John McCain	Remarks on Cuban Independence Day	Remarks on Memorial Day
Republican	John McCain	National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials in Washington, DC	National Sheriffs' Association's 68th Annual Conference in Indianapolis
Republican	John McCain	79th Annual League	Town Hall Meeting

		of United Latin American Citizens Convention	in Portsmouth, Ohio
Republican	John McCain	2008 National Council of La Raza Annual Meeting	Americans for Prosperity Michigan Summit
Republican	John McCain	99th Annual Convention of the NAACP	Values Voter Summit
Republican	John McCain	2008 National Urban League Annual Conference	90th Annual American Legion National Convention
Republican	Mitt Romney	Republican National Hispanic Assembly	Conservative Political Action Conference
Republican	Mitt Romney	Latino Coalition's Annual Economic Summit	Remarks in Appleton, Wisconsin
Republican	Mitt Romney	National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials	Newspaper Association of America

Republican	Mitt Romney	NAACP Convention	Values Voter Summit in Washington, D.C.
Republican	Mitt Romney	U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce 33rd Annual Convention	National Rifle Association National Convention
Democrat	Bill Clinton	National Urban League	Remarks in Houston, TX
Democrat	Bill Clinton	League of United Latin American Citizens	Remarks in San Diego, CA
Democrat	Bill Clinton	Rainbow Coalition National Convention	Remarks in Houston, TX
Democrat	Bill Clinton	East Los Angeles College	Remarks in Rockville, MD
Democrat	Bill Clinton	Speech regarding LA Riots	Remarks in New York City, NY
Democrat	Bill Clinton	Eastside High School	Remarks in Washington DC
Democrat	Bill Clinton	Speech in Jonesboro, GA	Remarks in Madison, WI

Democrat	John Kerry	Greater Bethlehem Temple Church in Jackson, Mississippi	Remarks in Des Moines, Iowa
Democrat	John Kerry	New Northside Baptist Church in St. Louis, Missouri	Remarks in Wheeling, West Virginia
Democrat	John Kerry	National Conference of Black Mayors	American Federation of Teachers
Democrat	John Kerry	Commencement Address at Southern University at New Orleans	Commencement Address at Bedford High School in Toledo, Ohio
Democrat	John Kerry	Remarks on the Anniversary of Brown v. Board of Education	Remarks on Earth Day 2004
Democrat	John Kerry	National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials	Remarks in Denver, Colorado
Democrat	John Kerry	33rd Annual Rainbow / PUSH	International Brotherhood of

		Coalition and Citizenship Education Fund Conference	Teamsters Annual Unity Conference in Las Vegas
Democrat	John Kerry	National Council of La Raza's 37th Annual Conference	Veterans of Foreign Wars 105th Annual Convention
Democrat	John Kerry	AME Convention	Remarks in Racine, West Virginia
Democrat	John Kerry	95th Annual NAACP Convention	Democratic Leadership Council
Democrat	John Kerry	2004 National Urban League Conference	Remarks in Cincinnati, Ohio
Democrat	John Kerry	UNITY 2004 Conference	Remarks in Carson, California
Democrat	John Kerry	124th Annual Session of the National Baptist Convention	Remarks in Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Democrat	John Kerry	Congressional Black Caucus Foundation's 34th Annual	126th National Guard Association of the United States

		Legislative Conference	General Conference
Democrat	John Kerry	Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute's 27th Annual Gala	Detroit Economic Club
Democrat	John Kerry	East Mt. Zion Baptist Church	Broward Center for the Performing Arts