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Race, ethnicity, and exclusion in group identity

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by

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Dedication

for Atticus Simon

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Abstract

The current project investigates exclusion in terms of racial/ethnic identity and group behavioral norms. Research concerning the "black sheep effect" evidences the tendency for group members to derogate a fellow in-group member who has violated an important social norm (Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988). Similarly, Oyserman's (2007) model of identity-based motivation argues that any group identity can shape behavior through a process of identity infusion such that group members are motivated to behave in ways that are in-group identity-infused and equally avoid behaviors that are out-group identity-infused. Finally, identity misclassification research provides evidence that individuals feel threatened by the notion that they may have behaved in ways that are congruent with an out-group (e.g., Bosson, Prewitt-Freillino, & Taylor, 2005). Therefore, when a behavior is infused with the identity of an out-group, avoiding such behaviors is seen as an expression of belonging to one's in-group. The current project assesses the consequences of group identity-infusion specifically in the area of academics and racial/ethnic identity. In Study 1, identity-threatened participants who were excluded by an in-group member attributed their exclusion to their out-group identity-infused behavior, but they did not expect exclusion, nor experience heightened negative emotions or anxiety as a result of exclusion. In Study 2, though strongly identified participants were more likely to choose an identity-affirmed partner regardless of task condition, no differences were found for ratings of potential partners. Future research should address

ecological validity issues and attempt to make more naturalistic observations of these behavioral patterns. Additionally, a younger sample should be used in order to assess exclusion for “acting White” among students who are legally required to be in school, rather than those who have chosen to pursue higher education.

Race, ethnicity, and exclusion in group identity

To explain the racial/ethnic achievement gap in the United States, social psychologists have focused on the role of environmental factors, such as recently primed stereotypes (e.g., Inzlicht & Ben-Zeev, 2000; Spencer, Steele, & Quinn, 1999; Steele & Aronson, 1995). The results of this work indicate that subtle manipulations which remind participants either directly or indirectly of stereotypes about their group can affect performance. This effect occurs with both positive and negative stereotypes (Steele & Aronson, 1995; Walton & Cohen, 2003). Recently, however, some have posited a more identity-based explanation for the racial/ethnic achievement gap. For example, Oyserman's (2007) identity-based motivation model, which derives from classic social identity theory (Turner & Oakes, 1989; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), may also explain why racial and ethnic minorities consistently underachieve academically. The current project relies on the identity-based motivation model to examine how members of racial and ethnic minority groups define behaviors that characterize their in-group, and how these definitions deter minority academic success. Drawing on Oyserman's (2007) work, I argue that academics in the United States is a White identity-infused behavior, and as such, some racial and ethnic minorities avoid behaviors associated with academics (e.g., studying hard) because they justifiably fear fellow in-group members' reactions to their enactment of behaviors associated with an out-group.

In the current project I test the assumption that, given a choice between racial/ethnic in-group members who display White (out-group) identity-infused behaviors versus in-group identity-infused behaviors, racial/ethnic minorities prefer the latter. That is, I extend the established preference for in-group similar others to behaviors associated with racial/ethnic identity. Additionally, I test the assumption that when racial and ethnic minorities believe that they have exhibited White identity-infused behaviors, they anticipate social exclusion from in-group members. Specifically, in Study 1 I ask if racial and ethnic minorities recognize that fellow in-group members may exclude them based on information that they have performed similar to White (out-group) students on a survey of academic behaviors. Subsequently, in Study 2, I ask if racial/ethnic minorities actually prefer a fellow in-group member who has performed similarly to racial/ethnic minorities over one who has performed similarly to White participants when making a decision about who to include on a group task.

In what follows, I will review theories of social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), identity-based motivation (Oyserman, 2007) and identity misclassification (Bosson, Prewitt-Freilino, & Taylor, 1995) to lay the foundation for the proposed studies. Next I will connect these literatures to ideas of social exclusion and ostracism (Williams, 1999). Finally, I present previous and pilot research that has shaped the current project, as well as alternative hypotheses that could be generated by stereotype threat theory.

Social Identity Theory

According to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), people possess social identities associated with the social groups to which they belong (e.g., race/ethnicity, gender, political affiliation). Social identities inform the self-concept of individual group

members (e.g., I am a Democrat, I am not masculine). Frequently, hand in hand with feeling positively about one's in-group is a tendency to feel negatively about out-groups (Hinkle & Brown, 1990). Given that one of the major assumptions of social identity theory is that individuals will strive to maintain or enhance self-esteem, we can expect that part of protecting self-esteem involves denigrating out-groups. In fact, research has documented that such striving can have negative effects for out-group members, such as inter-group discrimination and prejudice by those seeking to maintain their own group's superiority (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999).

More importantly for the current project, negative effects can also extend to in-group members, in what Marques, Yzerbyt, and Leyens (1988) termed the "black sheep effect." In the black sheep effect, an in-group member is denigrated for violating an in-group norm because such behavior is seen as a threat to the group and the self. In the current project I will extend the study of norm violations to out-group normative behavior, or out-group identity-infused behavior.

Identification and Self-Esteem

Social identity and self-categorization research has argued and documented that the effects of group identity are moderated by one's strength of identification with the group, or collective self-esteem (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Specifically, the more central a given identity is to one's self-definition (e.g., agreement with items such as "The social groups I belong to are an important reflection of who I am"), the more an individual should be motivated to maintain and enhance this identity. In fact, social identity theory argues that individuals are driven to maintain and enhance collective self-esteem just as they would personal self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In turn, people's valued social

identities are important sources of self-esteem (Crocker & Park, 2004; Crocker & Wolfe, 2001). Luhtanen and Crocker (1992) developed the collective self-esteem scale to measure the extent to which a given social group is an important aspect of the self, and consequently an important source of self-esteem. Importantly for the current project, replacement of the term "social groups" with a specific social group that a researcher wishes to target has not been shown to affect the scale psychometrics (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992).

While theorists argue as to *why* self-esteem is important, most acknowledge that people are motivated to protect it (Leary, 2004; Pyszynski, Greenberg, Solomon, Arndt, & Schimel, 2004). Therefore, because people derive their sense of self-esteem, in part, from valued social identities, social identity theory would argue that they will be motivated to protect valued social identities from perceived threats to group identity (Branscombe et al., 1999; Turner, 1981a). To the extent that a fellow group member violates group norms, those who are highly identified with the group should seek to punish or exclude the black sheep from the group (Marques et al., 1988). Furthermore, those who violate group norms should anticipate punishment as a result. The current project extends past research by investigating a specific type of group norm violation: engaging in behavior that is thought to be normative of a racial/ethnic out-group. Specifically, racial/ethnic minorities who are strongly identified with their racial/ethnic group should be more vulnerable to racial/ethnic identity threats. Furthermore, threats to identity should be seen as potential sources of social exclusion.

Identity-Based Motivation

Drawing on social identity theory, Oyserman (2007) argues that people are motivated to perform behaviors that are congruent with their valued social identities, which she calls *identity-infused behaviors*. Oyserman's model of identity-based motivation is essentially an integration of social identity and self-regulation theories. She argues that social identities, alongside personal identities, serve to motivate and regulate behavior as an expression of identity. Expressing valued social identities is essentially an affirmation of group membership, and as such can promote positive feelings of belonging and inclusion in the group (Oyserman, Fryberg, & Yoder, 2007).

Identity-based motivation can also be negatively framed, in that people are motivated to *avoid* behaviors that are out-group identity-infused. Out-group identity-infused behaviors are those that people associate with a given out-group. For example, if a group associates eating organic foods with an out-group and not their own in-group they will be motivated to avoid eating organic foods because they do not want to be mistaken for an out-group member, or perceived as being overly similar to an out-group member. Given this framework, refraining from behavior that is out-group identity-infused also becomes an expression and reinforcement of one's group membership. As such, performing behaviors that are out-group identity-infused may pose problems for the self because it challenges needs to fit in with valued groups, and maintain self-consistency. This might result in individuals avoiding out-group identity-infused behaviors even when there are potential negative consequences of doing so, if it allows them to maintain the positive feelings associated with group membership. Such a result is particularly important when out-group identity-infused behaviors lead to positive outcomes.

In an initial investigation of these ideas, Oyserman et al. (2007) assessed the association of healthy behaviors with White, middle-class identity, and unhealthy behaviors with minority identity. As a first step they established that racial-ethnic minority students (Mexican American, American Indian, and African Americans) did in fact report lower rates of health promotion behaviors, such as eating healthy, getting proper amounts of sleep, and exercising than did White student participants. Furthermore, racial-ethnic minority students were more likely than White students to agree that these behaviors were mostly "White, middle-class ways of being." Similarly, in a follow-up study racial-ethnic minority students were also less likely than White students to see healthy behaviors as in-group behaviors. In a final study, Oyserman and her colleagues found that making racial identity salient increased health fatalism (e.g., agreement with statements such as "Everyone gets fat over time; there's no point in worrying about it") and decreased the accessibility of health knowledge. Therefore, making one's social identity salient increased the extent to which participants sought to avoid out-group identity-infused behaviors or "ways of being," even though such behaviors would presumably lead to positive outcomes, such as improved physical health. Interestingly, in this line of research, participants' strength of identification with their racial/ethnic group was never assessed. Therefore one of the goals of the current project is to extend on Oyserman's work by including a measure of racial/ethnic identification and hypothesizing about the role of identification in self-regulation regarding identity-infused behaviors.

In the current project I seek to build upon on identity-based motivation research and argue that academic, or "good student," behaviors have become White identity-infused. While data directly supporting an association of "good student" behaviors with

White identity has not been published, there is theoretical and historical precedent for such a claim. For example, Oyserman et al. (2007) argue that majority or "high resource groups" are more able than minority groups to claim valued characteristics, such as academic achievement, as in-group identifying. Given that White Americans in the U.S. are a high resource group relative to racial and ethnic minority groups (Farley & Allen, 1987; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), they have been historically more able to claim valued characteristics as identity defining. Furthermore, since up until about 60 years ago racial and ethnic minorities were denied access to desegregated and equal education (Brown v. Board of Education, 1954), we can predict that education and academic achievement domains have become White identity-infused (see also Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Ogbu, 2004). Consequently for racial/ethnic minorities, academic achievement may be considered an out-group identity-infused domain. The current project builds on this idea and investigates the consequences of White identity-infusion in academics for racial/ethnic minority achievement.

Why Might Behaviors Become Identity-Infused?

Oyserman (2007) argues that certain behaviors have become White identity-infused due to the history of racial inequality in the United States. Given unequal social power, majority groups are more likely to be successful in claiming a given positive domain as in-group defining. Such success is particularly likely in areas that are essential for social power and advancement, such as academic performance. School related behaviors (i.e., ones that increase chances for academic success) potentially fall under this heading, as they allow the given social group to advance in many areas, and secure greater income (National Center for Education Statistics, 2007). While this argument is

provocative, it is difficult to test empirically. Therefore the current studies seek to investigate two end results of the identity infusion process for racial/ethnic minorities: exclusion by in-group members for engaging in White identity-infused behavior, and feelings of ostracism following exclusion based on White identity-infused behavior. Though research has yet to address these issues directly, sociological research has long documented peer pressure in the Black community concerning academic behaviors (e.g., Fordham & Ogbu, 1986).

A number of sociological accounts have investigated the notion that Black peer groups may be less supportive of academic pursuits than other groups (e.g., Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992). Some have even gone so far as to argue that avoidance of behaviors associated with White identity is specific to Black culture (e.g., Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Ogbu, 2004). Fordham and Ogbu (1986) argue that due to the racial history of the United States, Black culture has developed oppositional to White culture. Hence, Blacks who engage in behaviors that are considered White, such as those associated with academics, may appear to be siding with an opposed (or culturally despised) out-group. Consequently, Black youth run the risk of being accused of "acting White" by their peers if they devote themselves to academic achievement. However, the identity-based motivation model argues that any group will avoid out-group identity-infused behaviors as a means of maintaining a positive sense of identification with their own group. Therefore, *any* non-White individual who exerts too much energy on academic pursuits may be subject to accusations of "acting White" if their peer group associates academics with White identity and not with in-group identity.

Identity Misclassification

The idea that any valued identity can be threatened by role-violating behavior is also consistent with identity misclassification research. According to the identity misclassification model (Bosson et al., 2005), when individuals engage in behaviors that are diagnostic of membership in a devalued out-group, they risk becoming "falsely accused deviants" (Becker, 1963). The more value one places on a given identity, in other words, the more strongly identified they are with a given social group, the greater the potential for threats to that identity to threaten essential self needs (e.g., belonging and coherence). Need to belong is defined as a need to form meaningful and enduring social bonds (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Need for coherence is defined as need for predictability in life and in one's self-concept (Swann, Rentfrow, & Guinn, 2003). Research in this area has found that these essential needs are challenged among political partisans who endorse an out-of-party candidate (Prewitt-Freilino, Bosson, Burnaford, & Weaver, in press), and among both Whites and Blacks whose racial identity has been threatened (Burnaford & Bosson, 2012). The latter set of findings form part of the basis of the current studies, and thus warrant further attention.

In previous research I operationalized identity threat using a false feedback manipulation. Specifically, participants were given a Rorschach-like test that supposedly showed racial differences in the past. Following the test, participants were told that they scored either similar to other members of their racial group (identity affirm condition) or similar to members of a different racial group (identity threat condition). Following this manipulation I have found that while both Black and White participants' belonging and coherence needs are threatened by feedback indicating that they have scored similarly to a

racial out-group on a projective personality test, only Black participants withdrew motivation on a subsequent academic task. More specifically, following the racial identity threat/affirm manipulation participants were given a "practice problem" that they were told would help them do well in an upcoming test. On this task, Black, but not White participants, spent less time practicing and made fewer attempts when their racial identity had been previously threatened. Interestingly, no differences were found for accuracy. Given that belongingness threats in the first of these two lab studies refer specifically to how well one fits in and is accepted by one's social group, fears about what one's peers may think may motivate one to refrain from certain behaviors because they are *out-group identity-infused.* In other words, to circumvent a potential for social exclusion or ostracism, individuals may avoid behaviors that they and their peers associate with an out-group.

Group Norm Violations and Ostracism

Ostracism research has documented the negative effects of social exclusion on such important variables as self-esteem, sense of meaningful existence, and mood (Williams, 1999). Researchers have manipulated social exclusion in a variety of different ways. These manipulations can be as subtle as a ball toss paradigm, in which two other ostensible participants toss a ball between one another and not to the actual participant, despite having the option to do so (Williams, Cheung, & Choi, 2000). In a more blatant manipulation, participants are given series of personality tests and are then told that their results either indicate that they will have a lifetime of fulfilling relationships and marry happily (acceptance condition), or that their current relationships will not last and they will ultimately end up alone (rejection condition; Baumeister, Twenge, & Nuss, 2002;

Twenge, Baumeister, Tice, & Stucke, 2001). Ostracism research has evidenced that these manipulations can have negative effects on both physiological and self-reported measures of stress (e.g., Leary, Tambor, Terdal, & Downs, 1995; Stroud, Tanofsky-Kraff, Wilfley, Salovey, 2000), as well as mood and feelings of inclusion (Williams et al., 2000). Ironically, instead of attempting to re-affiliate the self with a group, people who are ostracized have also been shown to react in anti-social ways such as administering noise blasts (e.g., Twenge et al., 2001).

Ostracism may have evolved as a way for social groups to protect group cohesiveness, as well as security for group members who abide by group norms (Gruter & Masters, 1986). Therefore it was evolutionarily adaptive to ostracize disobedient individuals, as well as maintain one's own adherence to group norms. Research on group norm violations has evidenced not only how violators themselves are adversely affected by violating norms (e.g., Bosson, et al., 2005), but also how others perceive those who violate social norms (e.g., Wenegrat, Castillo-Yee, & Abrams, 1996). Additionally, research on group identity has also found that groups will derogate a fellow in-group member who does not adhere to group norms (black sheep effect; Marques et al., 1988). Research on the black sheep effect has evidenced the ways in which the traditional preference for in-group others may be reversed when the respective in-group member has violated an important social norm of the group (Marquez, Abrams, Paez, & Martinez-Taboada, 1998). Such a reversal could potentially lead to ostracism of the deviant group member (Marques, Paez, & Abrams, 1998). Therefore, if group members must be concerned with following group norms in order to maintain social acceptance, it stands to reason not only that individuals will try to avoid out-group norms entirely, but also that

engaging in such behaviors may produce similar concerns to those following ostracism manipulations.

In support of this idea, identity misclassification research has shown that individuals who violate group norms do in fact experience heightened threats to belonging and coherence needs, similar to the effects of ostracism manipulations (Bosson et al., 2005; Williams et al., 2000). In the current project I will be measuring the aversive impact of ostracism that is ostensibly caused by a violation of minority racial/ethnic identity in having performed more similarly to Whites. While past ostracism and role violation research would suggest that participants would react negatively to being ostracized specifically for racial/ethnic role violating feedback, or that group members would actually be excluded for such a violation, research has yet to establish that this is actually the case. Furthermore the current project extends the literatures of group identity and misclassification, as well as ostracism, by investigating how group members are affected and ostracized for violating racial/ethnic group norms.

Avoidance Motivation

Beyond strength of identification with race/ethnicity, another possible moderator of people's reactions to ingroup exclusion is individual differences in avoidance motivation. Avoidance and approach motivation systems are thought to shape behavior in a number of ways (Carver & White, 1994; Higgins, 1997). Specifically, avoidance (or inhibition) motivations are those for which an individual's primary self-regulatory focus is centered around avoiding pain or punishment, whereas approach motivations occur when self-regulatory focus is concentrated on the attainment of goals or rewards. While such self-regulatory foci can be situationally induced (Higgins, 1997), they can also be chronic

orientations (Carver & White, 1994). For example, those chronically high in avoidance motivation might be more sensitive to stimuli that signal pain or punishment. Past research has shown that those with a prevention focus (those high in avoidance motivation) showed greater bias towards out-group members (Shah, Brazy, & Higgins, 2004) and greater anxiety following physical punishment (cold pressor task; Carver & White, 1994).

Because those high in avoidance motivation are more sensitive to anticipated punishment, and experience greater anxiety as a result of pain, it follows that such individuals might be more likely to expect exclusion following identity threatening feedback. That is, individuals with a chronic bias toward anticipating punishing stimuli might be especially inclined to expect that others will reject or exclude them. Moreover, people high in avoidance motivation might be more likely to attribute the exclusion to their identity-threatening feedback, and more upset by the exclusion. Additionally, those high in avoidance motivation may be more likely to exclude in-group members who have engaged in out-group identity infused behaviors as a way of avoiding perceived social sanctions associated with interacting with such persons. However, given the lack of research on the role of avoidance motivation in identity-infused behavior and social exclusion phenomena, this theorizing remains speculative.

Previous Studies and Pilot Data

In my own work I have thus far investigated the extent to which Black students expect to be teased for 'acting White' if they perform behaviors that are typical of a "good student." In a series of studies I investigated the extent to which highly identified Blacks avoid "good student" behaviors because they associate these behaviors with White identity.

I developed a 42-item scale to measure the extent to which students reported engaging in behaviors associated with academics (e.g., When I study, I concentrate very hard on the material; I sit up straight in class, and make eye contact with the professor; In classes, I always pay careful attention to what the professor is saying). Items were assessed on a 7-point Likert scale (1=*Not at all true of me* to 7=*Very true of me*), and those that should lower chances of academic success (e.g., I often fall asleep in class) were reverse coded so that higher scores over all items indicated higher rates of good student behavior. An exploratory principal-axis factor analysis with oblique rotation revealed nine factors. For six of these factors, the items held together reliably. These factors included items that addressed classroom confidence (five items, α =.84), attention and concentration (five items, α =.83), time spent studying (five items, α =.77), use of standard English (four items, α =.85), staying tuned in during class (four items, α =.71), and avoiding distraction by friends (three items, α =.69).

Included in the survey were two items concerning being teased for engaging in academic behaviors (e.g., "If I study too hard, my friends are likely to tease me.") These items also held together reliably (α = .81). Teasing items were included in order to test whether fears of being teased might mediate the predicted effect.

I expected that highly identified Black students would report lower overall rates of good student behaviors as compared to weakly identified Black students, and all White students. Students were recruited and completed all measures through the University of South Florida online participant website. They completed all "good student" behavior and fears of teasing items, as well as a measure of racial identification (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). To test my prediction, I regressed the academic behavior factors separately onto

race (coded as 0, 1), strength of identification with racial group, and the race by strength interaction term. Scores on the academic self-concept scale (ASCS; Lent, Brown, & Gore, 1997) were entered as a covariate, to control for the extent to which academics were central to participants' self-concept.

Since the pattern of results was similar across several factors (attention and concentration, staying tuned in during class, and avoiding distraction by friends), and I wanted to test whether fears of teasing were driving the race by identification interaction effect on good student behaviors, I created a composite of good student behaviors (α = .85) by collapsing across these three factors in order to test for mediation.

I first regressed concerns about being teased onto race, strength of identification, and their interaction. This yielded a significant interaction effect, β = -.829, p =.037, such that highly identified Blacks reported marginally greater concerns about being teased as compared to White students, β = -.557, p =.091. No differences were found among weakly identified students, β = .211, *ns*. Since race and strength of identification significantly predicted the mediator and the dependent variable, I then regressed the composite of good student behaviors onto concerns about being teased, race, strength of identification, and the interaction of race and strength. As expected, concerns about being teased were a significant predictor of good student behaviors, β = -.143, p = .000. While the interaction of race and strength remained a significant predictor of good student behaviors, a Sobel (1982) test indicated that this effect was significantly reduced when concerns about being teased were included in the model. Therefore, concerns about being teased significantly partially mediated the relationship between the race-by-strength interaction and the good student behaviors composite.

Overall, this pattern of results does in fact suggest that when Black students are highly identified with their race, they may avoid behaviors associated with White identity to the extent that they expect their peers to tease them for such behaviors. While this finding was consistent with hypotheses, there are a number of questions that remain to be addressed. This research has not yet addressed the possibility that members of other racial or ethnic minority groups (e.g., Latinos) may also regulate academic behavior because they fear being teased. Moreover, it does not establish explicitly that racial and ethnic minorities associate academic behaviors with White identity. Finally, it does not establish whether all races or ethnicities would respond similarly to identity threat, as the identity misclassification model would suggest.

In a follow-up study I examined both Blacks' and Whites' reactions to a racial identity threat. Specifically, I measured feelings of threat to belonging and coherence following a false feedback manipulation. The false feedback indicated they had either scored similar to other White students or similar to other Black students on a Rorschach-like projective test. Undergraduate students were recruited from the subject pool and brought into the lab. Participants first completed the Collective Self-esteem Scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). This scale measures the extent to which one is identified with a given social group. They then responded to a series of inkblot images that were purportedly part of a personality test that has shown racial/ethnic differences in the past. Following the test, participants received bogus feedback that they either scored similarly (affirm condition) or dissimilarly (threat condition) to their own racial group. After receiving their feedback, participants completed items designed to address threats to belonging (e.g., If other Black (White) people saw how I scored on the inkblot test, they

might form a negative impression of me) and coherence (e.g., Seeing my test results posed a challenge to my personal sense of who I am).

Findings supported the identity misclassification assumption that any identity can be threatened. Specifically, both Black and White participants who were highly identified with their respective racial group and also received identity threatening feedback, reported heightened threats to belonging and coherence as opposed to those who were weakly racially identified, and/or those whose identity was not threatened.

While this finding was promising, the identity based motivation model would take things a step further and argue that while all identities can be threatened, the behavioral implications will vary depending on what behaviors are associated with the relevant out-group. In the case of academics, if in fact academics are associated with White identity then Blacks, but not Whites, will avoid academic behaviors following a threat to racial identity. To address this issue, I pilot tested the extent to which the "good student" behaviors I used in my first study were associated with four racial/ethnic groups: Black, White, Latino, and Asian. Members of each racial/ethnic group read instructions indicating that the study concerned the extent to which certain behaviors are more associated with some groups than others. Participants rate the extent to which the "good student" behaviors (e.g., Spending a lot of time studying) were associated with each of four racial groups (Black, White, Asian, Latino). The findings revealed that both participant race and target race significantly predicted good student behavior ratings, such that all participants thought good student behaviors were significantly more associated with White (M =6.27) and Asian (M =7.11) identity than with Black (M = 4.72) or Latino (M =5.02) identity ($F(1, 93) = 27.26$, $p = .00$). However, students did differ when rating

Whites and Asians. Specifically, Blacks thought the good student behaviors were more associated with White identity (M = 7.05) than did White (M = 6.21, p =.07), Asian (M = 5.95, p = .01), and Latino (M = 6.06, p = .06) students. When rating the association of the behaviors with Asian identity, White, Black and Asian students all rated the association equally (M = 7.24, 7.52, and 7.17, respectively). However, Latinos associated the behaviors significantly less with Asian identity (M = 6.51, p = .02) than did Black students, and marginally less than did Whites. There were no differences between the participant races when students rated the association of the behaviors with Blacks (M = 4.72) or Latinos (M = 5.02) Crucial to the current project, Blacks and Latinos both associated "good student" behaviors more with White identity than with their own group identity.

To test the behavioral implications of these beliefs, I designed a study to measure changes in academic behavior and motivation following a threat to racial identity, and to examine whether these changes were moderated by strength of identification. Black and White participants received false feedback that they scored either similar to students of their own race (identity affirm condition) or similar to the other race (identity threat condition) on the projective task described earlier. Following this manipulation, all participants were asked to do several "practice problems" in preparation for an upcoming test. The practice problems asked participants to find as many ways as they could to combine the numbers 2, 3, 5 and 7 to make 36. This allowed me to measure both time spent on the problem and number of practice attempts. Here I assumed that academic tasks, such as math problems, are White identity-infused behaviors. As such, following a threat to racial identity, Blacks should be motivated to avoid the task by spending less

time and making fewer attempts. Moreover, this should be especially likely among Blacks who value strongly their in-group membership. I found that Blacks whose racial identity had been threatened spent less time practicing and made fewer attempts at the problem than did Blacks whose racial identity had not been threatened. Identity threat did not affect time or attempts for White participants. Interestingly, strength of identification also did not moderate these effects.

These two studies clearly demonstrate that while racial identity can be threatened regardless of race, the behavioral implications of identity threat are moderated by race. Therefore, given the combination of identity-based motivation and identity misclassification models, as well as my previous studies, this is consistent with the notion that racial/ethnic minorities may avoid some "good student" behaviors because such behaviors have become White identity-infused in American culture. Moreover, the tendency to avoid White identity-infused behaviors is heightened following feedback indicating that one is an atypical member of one's racial/ethnic group. That is, when racial/ethnic minority individuals are highly identified with their group, it should be more important to avoid behaviors that are associated with White identity in order to maintain one's sense of belonging and coherence within the group and avoid negative repercussions from other group members.

While it appears that racial/ethnic minorities may adjust behavior to avoid White identity-infused behaviors, this line of research does not establish whether racial and ethnic minorities actually reject a fellow in-group member for engaging in out-group identity-infused behavior. Furthermore, it does not ascertain whether racial and ethnic

minorities anticipate exclusion based on out-group typical behavior or how such exclusion makes them feel.

Stereotype Threat and Alternative Hypotheses

Stereotype threat is the anxiety that members of stigmatized groups feel when they suspect that their behavior might confirm a negative stereotype about their group (Steele, 1997). Research reveals that stereotype threat can impair individual's performance in domains in which there is a negative stereotype about them such as women in math (Spencer, Steele, & Quinn, 1999) or Blacks in academics (Aronson, 1999; Blascovich, Spencer, Quinn, & Steele, 2001; Steele & Aronson, 1995). When a stigmatized group member is confronted with a situation in which they risk confirming a negative stereotype, fear of doing so may degrade performance. Interestingly endorsement of the given stereotype is not a requisite to see such effects occur; mere knowledge of the stereotype is sufficient to see performance decrements as compared to those not reminded of the stereotype (Aronson, Fried, & Good, 2001).

Stereotype threat literature has documented many ways in which negative group stereotypes can be brought to mind, from describing a test as diagnostic of and relevant to ability in a given domain (Steele & Aronson, 1995), to blatant reminders of in-group underperformance compared to a relevant out-group (Aronson, Lustina, Good, Keough, Steele, & Brown, 1999), to a simple manipulation of group proportions in a testing situation (Inzlicht & Ben-Zeev, 2000). While the preponderance of evidence for the effect of negative stereotypes on performance is striking, one thing every manipulation has in common besides a reminder of negative stereotypes is that they all remind participants of in-group/out-group distinctions. Thus, from the perspective of Oyserman's (2007)

identity-based motivation model and social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), stereotype threat manipulations may also serve as reminders of group membership and consequently may motivate adherence to group behavioral norms, and avoidance of out-group identity-infused behaviors. In pilot research that I reviewed above, I found that threats to racial/ethnic identity reduce *motivation* to master out-group identity-infused behaviors, in accordance with the identity-based motivation account, and not *performance* of such behaviors, as the stereotype threat literature might suggest. In the current project I will follow this finding up by testing the assumptions of an identity-based motivation model explanation of the effect.

The purpose of the current project is to address gaps in the literature by assessing exclusion in terms of racial and ethnic identity. Specifically I wish to address two primary questions: Do racial and ethnic minorities anticipate ostracism by their own in-group members after supposedly having performed similar to Whites? And, do racial and ethnic minorities actually exclude in-group members who have supposedly performed similar to Whites?

Study 1

Purpose and hypotheses

The goal of the first study is to explore how those whose racial/ethnic identity is threatened (receive feedback suggesting that they are more similar in terms of academic behaviors to a "typical White person" than they are to a typical member of their racial or ethnic in-group) react when they are subsequently excluded by an in-group member. All participants will be led to believe that the ostensible in-group member who excluded them had knowledge of their feedback (threatening or affirming) on a measure of academic behaviors. This information will be subtly embedded within other personal information about the participant that the ostensible other participant is using to make their inclusion or exclusion decision. All participants will receive exclusion information. Furthermore, the task from which they are being excluded will be described as a study skills task. In this way I can examine the extent to which participants believe they have been ostracized for "acting White," despite the fact that the task they are excluded from is one that requires academic competence.

Hypotheses are as follows:

1. Blacks and Latinos whose racial/ethnic identity has been threatened will be more likely to expect exclusion from a fellow in-group member than those whose racial/ethnic identity has been affirmed. Thus, a main effect of threat condition on expectations of exclusion is predicted.

    a. This will be qualified by a two-way interaction of threat condition and strength of identification such that the predicted effect of threat will occur more strongly for those who are strongly identified relative to those who are weakly identified. This is interaction is expected based on theorizing and research suggesting that those who are highly identified with a given identity will be more vulnerable to identity threats in that domain (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Tajfel & Turner, 1979)

2. Blacks and Latinos whose racial/ethnic identity has been threatened will be more likely to attribute exclusion by a fellow in-group member to their violation of group norms than those whose racial/ethnic identity has been affirmed. Thus, a main effect of threat condition on attributions for exclusion is predicted.
    a. This will be qualified by a two-way interaction of threat condition and strength of identification such that the predicted effect of threat will occur more strongly for those who are strongly identified relative to those who are weakly identified. This hypothesized interaction is expected based on research and theorizing that high identifiers respond to such threats in order to maintain group belonging (e.g., Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Schmitt & Branscombe, 1997), and therefore may be more vigilant to the potential for identity threat.
3. Blacks and Latinos whose racial/ethnic identity has been threatened will be more likely to feel the aversive impact of exclusion (Williams et al., 2000).

That is, threatened individuals should report more negative mood (e.g., sadness, rejection) following exclusion by a fellow in-group member to than those whose racial/ethnic identity has been affirmed. That is, identity affirming feedback should mitigate the aversive impact of the exclusion. Thus, a main effect of threat condition on aversive impact is predicted.

   a. This will be qualified by a two-way interaction of threat condition and strength of identification such that the predicted effect of threat will occur more strongly for those who are strongly identified relative to those who are weakly identified. Again, this interaction is expected based on theorizing and research suggesting that those who are highly identified with a given identity will be more vulnerable to identity threats in that domain.

4. Blacks and Latinos whose racial/ethnic identity has been threatened will report higher levels of anxiety after exclusion than those whose racial/ethnic identity has been affirmed. Thus, I predict a main effect of threat condition on anxiety.

   a. This effect should be moderated by the strength of participants' racial/ethnic identity, leading to a two-way interaction of threat condition and strength of identification. This interaction will be such that the predicted effect of threat will emerge primarily among those who are strongly identified. This is expected based on theorizing and research suggesting that those who are highly identified will be more vulnerable to identity threats in that domain.

In addition to these hypotheses, I will also test the following research question:

1. Are the associations between identity feedback and the dependent measures (expectations of exclusion, attributions for exclusion, aversive impact, and anxiety) moderated by participants' chronic levels of avoidance motivation?

Method

Participants and Design. One hundred and twenty-six undergraduates (68 Black and 58 Latino, and approximately 82% female) with an average age of 20.13 years at the University of South Florida were recruited to participate in a study ostensibly concerning personality in groups. Twenty participants were excluded for heightened suspicion (experimenter rating of 5 on a scale of 1-not at all suspicious to 5-extremely suspicious) and experimenter error, leaving a total of 106 participants for the final analyses. Participants were excluded for reporting to the experimenter that they did not believe there were other participants, or that they did not believe the feedback scores. All participants were recruited through the psychology department participant pool website. Only those who self-identified as Black or Latino on a prescreen measure were eligible to participate. Participants were compensated with psychology course credit either as part of course completion, or for extra credit. Participants were randomly assigned to threat condition (threat vs. affirm) and strength of identification and avoidance motivation were treated as continuous moderators.

Procedure

When participants arrived in the lab they were greeted by a White female experimenter who led them into a small room with a single computer. After signing informed consent forms, the experimenter left the room ad participants responded to a

survey assessing their strength of identification with their own racial/ethnic group (see Appendix A), and avoidance motivation (see Appendix L), along with demographic information and filler questions as part of the cover story later (e.g., major, favorite food, race). After completing these surveys, participants alerted the experimenter. The experimenter returned to the room and described the "good student" behaviors survey as a survey of habits related to school, and said that the computer would automatically score their responses and give them feedback. The experimenter then directed participants' attention to the computer screen and left the room. Participants then completed the survey of "good student" behaviors (see Appendix B) that served as the means of delivering the threat/affirm manipulation. Following the survey, the computer ostensibly scored participants' responses. All students first received feedback that they scored similar to others of their gender, in order to increase the believability of the racial/ethnic identity threatening or affirming feedback that followed. Subsequently, half of the students received false feedback that they scored similar on the measure to students in their own racial/ethnic group (Black/Latino) and half received feedback that they scored similar to White students (see Appendix C).

When participants were done viewing their feedback, the experimenter returned and said that the next part of the study involved a comparison of group studying with solo studying for an upcoming test. The experimenter explained that they must select slips from a cup to determine whether they were assigned to a "Leader" or "Member" role. The experimenter also explained that whoever picked the "Leader" role would have the power to choose another of the participants to work with. This would result in two people working together, and one person who had to work alone. The experimenter further

explained that the "Leader" would choose one of the "Members" to work with them during the study skills session, whereas the unchosen "Member" would do the study task alone. In actuality, there were no other participants, and all slips said "Member." This was done so that the participant would believe that another person was chosen instead of them for the subsequent study skills task. After participants picked their slip the experimenter left the room to ostensibly print out all information that all three participants had provided.

After printing the participant's demographic question answers and test feedback on a page along with the feedback of the two other ostensible participants (see Appendix D), the experimenter returned and gave the page to the participant. The experimenter explained that the sheet compiles this information to help the leader make a decision. Note that the information about the other two participants described them both as the same race/ethnicity as the participant, and as both having received scores on the student behavior scale that were typical of their race/ethnic in-group. This was done so that the participant would know that s/he was competing against someone who scored low on White identity-infused behaviors, even if that means avoiding "good student" behaviors. Additionally, since the task from which the participant was excluded was described as a "study skills task," this made the threatened participant the more logical choice for the task based on the stereotype that good student behaviors are associated with being White. In this way, I can tease apart expectations of exclusion based on task fit versus role violation.

The experimenter then directed the participant's attention back to the computer where they saw a screen explaining that while the leader made his/her choice, they would answer a few questions. The instructions further explained that when they clicked to

proceed, they would be asked a series of questions concerning their expectations of the choice (see Appendix E). The experimenter then left the room so that the participant could answer the questions alone. When the participant completed these items, they were told that the leader did not choose them, and therefore they would be working alone (see Appendix F).

Following this, the participant then completed the Aversive Impact Index (Williams et al., 2000) which measures their feelings of ostracism and mood due to the exclusion (see Appendix G). Next participants reported the extent to which they attributed their exclusion to their identity feedback. That is, did they think the Leader's knowledge of their feedback influenced his/her choice (see Appendix H). Finally participants filled out a word completion task assessing anxiety (Bosson et al., 2009; see Appendix I). After the measures were completed, participants alerted the experimenter who explained that the study was over at that point, and debriefed the participant.

Materials

Racial/ethnic identification was measured using a modified version of 12 items of Luhtanen and Crocker's (1992) collective self-esteem scale (see Appendix A) that measures one's own feelings of identification with one's racial/ethnic group, including items such as "Being Black (Latino) is an important reflection of who I am." Items are assessed on a 5-point Likert scale (1= *Strongly Disagree* to 5 = *Strongly Agree*), and responses were averaged to create a score. The scale demonstrated good item reliability (α = .79), and had similar mean and variance across the two racial groups sampled (Blacks M = 4.15, SD = .59, Latinos M = 4.05, SD =.60).

Avoidance motivation was assessed with a 7-item measure that assessed the extent to which participants desired to avoid punishment (Carver & White, 1994; see Appendix L). Items 5 and 7 were reverse coded so that higher scores on the scale would reflect higher levels of avoidance motivation. The scale demonstrated good item reliability (α = .71).

Expectations of exclusion were assessed using several items that addressed the extent to which participants expected that the leader would choose them (see Appendix E). Item responses were averaged to create a score. The scale demonstrated acceptable item reliability (α = .63).

Aversive impact of ostracism was assessed using a modified version of the Aversive Impact Index, which measures participant mood and feelings of rejection (see Appendix G). Responses were averaged to create a score. The scale demonstrated good item reliability (α = .87).

Attributions for exclusion were assessed using four items that address the extent to which participants believed that the leader's choice was based on their violation of group norms (see Appendix H). To obscure my focus on violations of group norms, I embedded these items within a list of items assessing other types of attributions for the leader's choice (e.g., gender, academic ability). Items were averaged to create a score. The four items demonstrated acceptable overall item reliability (α = .71).

Anxiety was measured using a word completion task that measures implicit anxiety related cognitions (Bosson, Vandello, Burnaford, Weaver, & Wasti, 2009) in which some stems can be completed with anxiety related words (see Appendix I). The total number of

items was tallied to create an index of anxiety (0 = no anxious words, 7 = all anxious words completed).

Study 1 Results

Table 1 presents the means and standard deviations for all dependent measures split by threat condition. Intercorrelations among the dependent variables can be found in Table 2.

Table 1:

Study 1 Means and Standard deviations for Expectations of exclusion, Attributions to discrimination, Aversive impact, and Anxious word completions split by threat condition.

Measure	Threat condition		Affirm condition	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Racial/Ethnic identification	4.01	0.66	4.20	0.51
Expectations of exclusion	3.42	0.83	3.39	1.01
Attributions to discrimination	5.27	2.05	4.15	1.69
Aversive impact	4.68	1.09	4.90	1.00
Anxious word completions	2.08	1.27	2.17	1.36

Table 2:

Study 1 Intercorrelations between Expectations of exclusion, Attributions to discrimination, Aversive impact, and Anxious word completions.

Measure	Attributions to discrimination	Aversive impact	Anxious words completions
Expectations of exclusion	-.07	.08	.01
Attributions to discrimination		-.05	-.08
Aversive impact			-.18

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

Expectations of Exclusion

I predicted that Blacks and Latinos whose racial/ethnic identity was threatened would expect more exclusion from a fellow in-group member than those whose

racial/ethnic identity was affirmed. I further predicted that this would be qualified by an interaction of threat condition and strength of racial/ethnic identification such that the predicted effect of threat should occur more strongly for those who are strongly identified relative to those who are weakly identified. To test this prediction, I regressed expectations of exclusion (average response to 3 questions, higher ratings indicating greater expectation of exclusion) onto threat (coded as 0, 1), strength of identification with racial/ethnic group (centered), and the interaction term. Hypotheses were not supported. There was no main effect of threat on expectations (β = .00, $t(104) = .00$, *ns*) and no interaction with strength of identification (β = .06, $t(104) = .35$, *ns*).

To test the research question – whether the associations between identity feedback and expectations of exclusion were moderated by participants' chronic levels of avoidance motivation – I regressed expectations of exclusion onto threat (coded as 0, 1), avoidance motivation scores (centered), and the interaction term. There was a main effect of avoidance motivation (β = -.44, $t(104) = -3.4$, $p = .00$) on expectations of exclusion, such that people higher in avoidance motivation tended to report *lower* expectations of exclusion. This was qualified by an interaction of the avoidance motivation scale with threat condition (β = .33, $t(104) = 2.51$, $p = .01$). Simple slope tests indicated that the slope of the avoidance motivation regression line was significant for those in the affirm condition (β = -.40, $t(51) = 3.07$, $p = .00$) but not for those in the threat condition (β = .02, $t(51) = .11$, *ns*; see Figure 1). While neither pairwise comparison was significant, they both trended towards significance, indicating that at high levels of avoidance motivation, those in the threat condition expressed slightly higher expectations of exclusion than those in the affirm condition (β = -.21, $t(51) = -1.60$, $p = .11$) whereas at low levels of avoidance

motivation those in the threat condition expressed slightly lower expectations of exclusion than those in the affirm condition (β = .22, $t(51) = 1.64$, $p = .10$).

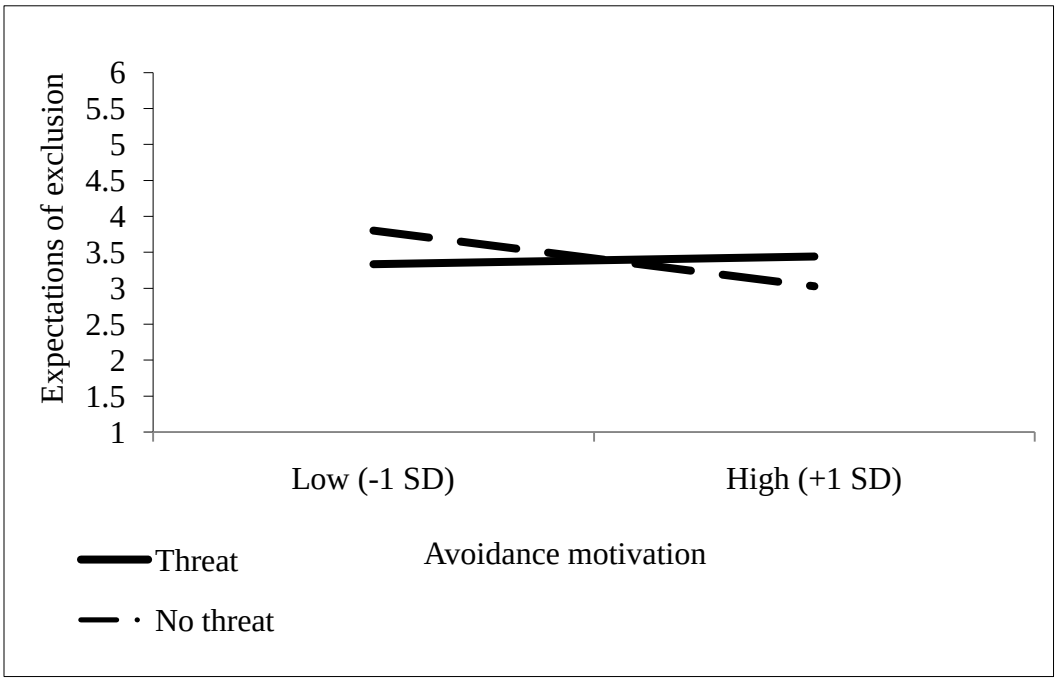

Figure 1 : *Expectations of exclusion as a function of threat and avoidance motivation*

Attributions to Discrimination

I predicted that Blacks and Latinos whose racial/ethnic identity was threatened would be more likely to attribute exclusion by a fellow in-group member to their violation of group norms than those whose racial/ethnic identity was affirmed. I further predicted that this would be qualified by an interaction of threat condition and strength of racial/ethnic identification such that the predicted effect of threat should occur more strongly for those who are strongly identified relative to those who are weakly identified. To test this prediction, I regressed attributions to discrimination (average response to 4 questions, higher ratings indicating a greater attribution of the exclusion to their feedback) onto threat (coded as 0, 1), strength of identification with racial/ethnic group (centered),

and the interaction term. Hypotheses were partially supported. A main effect of threat was found (β = .33, $t(104) = 3.53$, $p = .00$) such that those whose racial/ethnic identity was threatened were more likely to attribute the exclusion to their score ($M = 5.39$) than those whose identity was affirmed ($M = 4.12$). However, this was not qualified by the predicted interaction (β = -.15, $t(104) = -.96$, *ns*).

Additionally, to test whether associations between identity feedback and attributions to discrimination were moderated by participants' avoidance motivation, I regressed attributions to discrimination onto threat (coded as 0, 1), avoidance motivation scores (centered), and the interaction term. There was no main effect of avoidance motivation on attributions to discrimination (β = .07, $t(104) = .55$, *ns*), nor was there an interaction of avoidance motivation and threat condition (β = -.10, $t(104) = -.79$, *ns*).

Aversive Impact

I predicted that Blacks and Latinos whose racial/ethnic identity was threatened would be more likely to attribute exclusion by a fellow in-group member to their violation of group norms than those whose racial/ethnic identity was affirmed. I further predicted that this would be qualified by an interaction of threat condition and strength of racial/ethnic identification such that the predicted effect of threat should occur more strongly for those who are strongly identified relative to those who are weakly identified. To test this prediction, I regressed aversive impact of ostracism (average response to 12 questions, some items reverse coded so that higher ratings indicating greater aversive impact) onto threat (coded as 0, 1), strength of identification with racial/ethnic group (centered), and the interaction term. Hypotheses were not supported. There was no main

effect of threat on aversive impact (β = -.11, *t*(104) = -1.08, *ns*), and no interaction with strength of identification was found (β = .00, *t*(104) = -.01, *ns*).

Additionally, to test whether associations between identity feedback and aversive impact were moderated by participants' avoidance motivation, I regressed aversive impact of ostracism onto threat (coded as 0, 1), avoidance motivation (centered), and the interaction term. There was no main effect of avoidance motivation on aversive impact (β = -.05, *t*(104) = -.37, *ns*), nor was there an interaction of avoidance motivation and threat condition (β = -.12, *t*(104) = -.91, *ns*).

Anxiety

I predicted that Blacks and Latinos whose racial/ethnic identity was threatened would report higher levels of anxiety after exclusion than those whose racial/ethnic identity was affirmed. I further predicted that this would be qualified by an interaction of threat condition and strength of racial/ethnic identification such that the predicted effect of threat should occur more strongly for those who are strongly identified relative to those who are weakly identified. To test this prediction, I regressed total anxious words completed (stress, threat, shame, loser, bother, weak, upset) onto threat (coded as 0, 1), strength of identification with racial/ethnic group (centered), and the interaction term. Hypotheses were not supported. There was no main effect of threat on anxious word completions (β = .01, *t*(104) = .05, *ns*), and no interaction with strength of identification was found (β = .07, *t*(104) = .41, *ns*).

Additionally, to test whether associations between identity feedback and anxiety following exclusion were moderated by participants' avoidance motivation, I regressed total anxious words completed onto threat (coded as 0, 1), avoidance motivation

(centered), and the interaction term. There was no main effect of avoidance motivation on anxiety (β = -.07, $t(104)$ = -.48, *ns*), and the interaction of avoidance motivation and threat condition was not significant (β = .08, $t(104)$ = .51, *ns*).

Summary Study 1

The pattern of results for Study 1 did not confirm most hypotheses. Nevertheless, some support was found for the effectiveness of the false feedback manipulation. Specifically, participants who received identity threatening feedback were more likely to attribute their subsequent exclusion to the feedback score than were participants who received identity affirming feedback. That is, participants who were told that they had "acted White" believed that their subsequent exclusion was due to this feedback. However, these participants did not report any greater negative emotions or aversive impact as a result of the exclusion than did participants whose identity was affirmed, despite attributing that exclusion to their false feedback in particular. This could imply that while minority students are aware of exclusion for engaging in out-group identity-infused behaviors, they are no more bothered by exclusion based on this reason than they are by exclusion based on other factors. Perhaps, if academically-inclined ethnic and racial minority students are accustomed to exclusion from in-group members for "acting White," they have developed coping strategies for dealing emotionally with this sort of exclusion.

Interestingly, there was an interaction of avoidance motivation with threat such that those in the identity affirm condition expressed fewer expectations of exclusion when their avoidance motivation was high as compared to when it was low. Additionally, pairwise (non-significant) trends were found such that when avoidance was high, participants expressed fewer expectations of exclusion when identity was affirmed than

when it was threatened. Conversely, when avoidance motivation was low, those in the affirm condition expressed more expectations of exclusion than those in the threat condition. This pattern of results suggests that perhaps those who are high in avoidance motivation feel relief at identity affirming feedback, since they are chronically fearful of negative outcomes, and this relief leads them not to expect exclusion. However, this analysis was exploratory in nature, and interpretations are therefore speculative.

It is also interesting to note that no effects were found for strength of identification. While my own previous research has shown mixed support for the effects of strength of identification (Burnaford & Bosson, 2012), it is puzzling why those who report higher levels of identification would not be more adversely affected by ostracism by a fellow group member. Further discussion of these patterns, or lack thereof, will be addressed in the General Discussion.

Study 2

Purpose and hypotheses

The goal of my second study is to explore the flip side of the "acting White" coin, that is are people's fears of ostracism for "acting White" justified? Specifically, will racial/ethnic minorities be more likely to choose identity affirmed versus identity threatened partners? That is, will the black sheep effect (Marques et al., 1988) extend to violations of racial/ethnic behavioral norms such as engaging in behaviors infused with out-group (White) identity? Given information about two potential task partners, one who is described as having more psychological similarity to White students than to their own in-group (identity threatened), and one who is described as having more psychological similarity to other Black (Latino) students than Whites (identity affirmed; see Appendix J), who are participants likely to pick for two types of tasks and how do they rate each partner? Furthermore, does the participant's own strength of racial/ethnic group identification moderate their choice and ratings of potential task partners? Previous research and theorizing on identity threats would predict that exclusion for "acting White" should occur primarily among those who are highly identified because threats to group identity should be more important to them (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1999; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992).

Furthermore, in this study I manipulated the task in order to compare exclusion from a task that is associated with White identity, versus a task that is equally associated

with Black, White, and Latino identities. Embedded in my pilot survey with the good student items were items relating to other behaviors in an attempt to find a control behavior that is not highly associated with any race/ethnic identity. One behavior that met this condition was "partying." Participants associated partying behavior equally strongly with Whites (M = 7.97), Blacks (M = 7.63), and Latinos (M = 7.76; p = .65). Therefore, a party related task is an appropriate control for comparison to a study related task. My hypotheses were as follows:

1. Strength of identification will interact with task goal to predict choice of partner. The interaction will be such that those who are strongly identified will be more likely to select an identity affirmed partner for both tasks. Conversely, among those who are weakly identified, their choice pattern will reflect societal stereotypes. Specifically, they will be more likely to select an identity threatened partner (who is described as similar to a White person) for the study strategies task, whereas they will be equally likely to select the identity affirmed partner (who is described as similar to their racial/ethnic in-group) and the identity threatened partner for the party planning task condition task.
2. Strength of identification will interact with task goal to predict ratings of potential partners. The interaction will be such that those who are strongly identified will be more likely to rate the identity affirmed partner as more suitable for both tasks. Conversely, among those who are weakly identified, their rating pattern will reflect societal stereotypes. Specifically, they will rate the identity threatened partner (who is described as similar a White person) as more suitable for the study strategies group than the identity affirmed partner

(who is described as similar to their racial/ethnic in-group), whereas they will rate the identity affirmed partner and the identity threatened partner as equally suitable for the party planning task condition task.

In addition to these hypotheses, I will also test the following research question:

1. Do participants' chronic levels of avoidance motivation interact with task goal to predict choice of partner and ratings of the potential partners?

Method

Participants and Design. One hundred twelve undergraduates (55 Black and 57 Latino, 85% female) with an average age of 20.12 years at the University of South Florida were recruited to participate in a study ostensibly concerning personality in groups. Ten participants were excluded for heightened suspicion (experimenter rating of 5 on a scale of 1-not at all suspicious to 5-extremely suspicious), leaving a total of 102 participants for the final analyses. Participants were excluded for reporting to the experimenter that they did not believe there were other participants, or that they did not believe the feedback scores. All participants were recruited through the psychology department participant pool website. Only those who self-identified as Black or Latino on a prescreen measure were eligible to sign up on the website. Participants were compensated with psychology course credit either as part of course completion, or for extra credit. Participants were randomly assigned to task goal condition in a 2 (task goal: study skills vs. party planning) x 2 (feedback type: threatened partner vs. affirmed partner) design, with repeated measures on the second factor, and strength of identification was treated as a continuous moderator.

Procedure

When participants arrived in the lab they were greeted by a White female experimenter who led them into a small room with a computer. All measures were completed on the computer. After signing consent, the experimenter directed participants' attention to the computer, where they completed a questionnaire assessing strength of identification with their racial/ethnic group, the avoidance motivation scale (see Appendix L), as well as some filler measures, which included a mood scale (PANAS; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988), as well as a self-esteem scale (RSES; Rosenberg, 1965). This was done to support the cover story that the other two participants were ostensibly in rooms down the hall filling out information about themselves and taking a projective psychological test. When the participant finished the measures, the experimenter returned to the room and explained that there were two other participants who were being run in different rooms. The participant's goal was to select which one they thought would make the best partner for them in a task (study group or party planning) that they would do together later in the experiment. In the *study group condition*, the participant was told that the purpose of the study involved investigating effective study strategies. The participant had to select the partner that they thought would be most effective for a study strategies group from descriptions of the two ostensible participants. Specifically, the experimenter explained that:

"The goal of the group is to learn a set of information that you will later be tested on. When used in past studies, this test has been predictive of future career achievement. Make sure you select the person that you think will be the best suited to help you with an academic task."

In the *party planning condition*, the participant was told that the study involved investigating effective social planning. In a pilot study, participants of varying races/ethnicities associated partying equally with Whites, Blacks and Latinos. Therefore party planning was expected to be an appropriate comparison condition. In this portion of the experiment, the participant needed to select a partner they thought would be most effective in helping plan a party from descriptions of the two ostensible participants. The experimenter explained that:

"The goal of the group is to plan a social event that will later be judged for creativity and entertainment value. When used in past studies, this test has been predictive of social skills and planning. Make sure you select the person that you think will be the best suited to help you with a social task."

In both conditions, the experimenter then said:

"While you were filling out the first few measures, the other participants were asked questions about themselves, such as their name and major. They also completed a projective personality test. This is like a Rorschach test and has been shown in previous studies to show racial and ethnic differences. This means that people from different races and ethnicities tend to have different response patterns. The information that we're able to provide you identifies which racial or ethnic group these participants are most psychologically similar to."

Once the premise was explained, the experimenter then directed the participant's attention back to the computer, which displayed descriptions of the two ostensible participants (see Appendix J). Along with filler information, the descriptions included feedback from a bogus personality test that either listed the target as psychologically in-

group similar (identity affirmed), or psychologically out-group similar (identity threatened). After the participant read both descriptions and made their choice, the experimenter explained that before they could interact with their chosen partner, they would both individually fill out a few preliminary pre-task measures. These measures were actually ratings of both the chosen and un-chosen partners (see Appendix K). When the participant was finished with these measures, the experimenter explained that the experiment was over, and debriefed the participant.

Materials

Racial/ethnic identification was measured using the same scale described in Study 1. The scale demonstrated good item reliability ($\alpha = .81$), and had similar mean and variance across the two racial groups sampled (Blacks $M = 3.96$, $SD = .70$, Latinos $M = 4.17$, $SD = .52$).

Avoidance motivation was assessed with a 7-item measure that assessed the extent to which participants desired to avoid punishment (Carver & White, 1994; see Appendix L). Item responses were averaged to create a score. The scale demonstrated good item reliability ($\alpha = .73$).

Target descriptions included race (always the same as the participant's), filler information such as favorite food and major, and their supposed feedback on a projective personality test. The projective personality test was described as a Rorschach like test that has been previously shown to reveal racial differences in response patterns. Therefore the target's results were ostensibly compared to the typical response patterns of two racial/ethnic groups, White and Black (Latino). Specifically, the feedback was described as assessing the target as being more psychologically similar to other Black/Latino

students (racial/ethnic identity affirmed) or more psychologically similar to other White students (racial/ethnic identity threatened). Participants were only presented with one of each type of target (see Appendix J).

Target ratings of both targets were assessed using two items assessing choice and confidence in choice of partner, as well as three additional items per partner asking participants to indicate the extent to which they might like working with each target, how suitable each target is for the task, and how successful they thought they would be if they worked with that person (see Appendix K). Item responses were averaged to create a score. The scales demonstrated good item reliability for both the chosen ($\alpha = .89$) and non-chosen partner ($\alpha = .88$).

Study 2 Results

Table 3 presents the means and standard deviations for all dependent measures split by task condition. Intercorrelations among the dependent variables can be found in Table 4.

Table 3:

Study 2 Means and Standard deviations for Partner choice, affirmed partner ratings, and threatened partner ratings.

Measure	Party planning condition		Study Skills condition	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Racial/ethnic identification	4.07	0.66	4.05	0.59
Partner choice	1.34	0.48	1.50	0.51
Affirmed partner rating	5.99	0.96	6.00	1.36
Threatened partner rating	6.20	1.02	5.94	1.10

Table 4:

Study 2 Intercorrelations between Partner choice (1 = Threatened partner, 2= Affirmed partner), Affirmed partner rating, and threatened partner rating.

Measure	Affirmed partner rating	Threatened partner rating
Partner choice	.36**	-.23*
Affirmed partner rating		.46**

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

Partner choice

I hypothesized that strength of identification would interact with task goal to predict choice of partner such that those who are strongly identified should be more likely to select an identity affirmed partner for both tasks. Conversely, among those who are weakly identified, choice patterns should reflect societal stereotypes. To test this prediction, I conducted a logistic regression analysis predicting partner choice (coded as 1, 2) from task condition (coded as 0, 1), strength of identification with racial/ethnic group (centered), and the interaction term. Hypotheses were not supported. There was no interaction of task condition with strength of identification (β = -.74, *ns*). However, two unpredicted main effects were found. A marginal main effect was found for task condition (β = .825, χ^2 (1, N = 102) = .90, OR = .51, p = .06) such that those in the party planning condition were more likely to choose the identity threatened partner (N = 37) than the identity affirmed partner (N = 19), whereas those in the study task condition were equally likely to choose either partner (N = 23 for both). A main effect was also found for strength of racial ethnic identification (β = 1.39, χ^2 (1, N = 102) = .90, OR = .51, p = .02) such that those who scored higher in strength of identification tended to choose the affirmed partner.

Additionally, to test whether partner choice was predicted by participants' avoidance motivation or the avoidance motivation-by-task goal interaction, I conducted a logistic regression predicting partner choice from task condition (coded as 0, 1), avoidance motivation, and the interaction term. There was no main effect of avoidance motivation on partner choice (β = -.26, *ns*), or threat condition (β = .74, *ns*), nor was there an interaction of avoidance motivation and task condition (β = 1.89, *ns*).

Partner ratings

I also predicted that strength of identification would interact with task goal to predict ratings of potential partners. Specifically, I expected those who are more strongly identified to rate the identity affirmed partner as more suitable for both tasks. Conversely, among those who are weakly identified, their rating pattern should reflect societal stereotypes. To test this prediction I first averaged responses to the partner rating questions (see Appendix K) and then created two variables, one reflecting average rating of the identity affirmed partner and the other reflecting average rating of the identity threatened partner. Next, I created a difference score by subtracting threatened partner ratings from affirmed partner ratings such that higher values reflect higher ratings of the affirmed partner relative to the threatened partner. Finally, I regressed this difference score onto task condition (coded 0, 1) and strength of identification (centered). My hypothesis was not supported: Task condition did not interact with strength of identification (β = .05, $t(101)$ = .43, *ns*). Furthermore, the neither the main effect of task condition (β = .12, $t(101)$ = 1.21, *ns*) nor the main effect of strength of identification (β = .18, $t(101)$ = 1.41, *ns*) were significant.

Additionally, to test whether partner choice was predicted by participants' avoidance motivation or the interaction of avoidance motivation and task goal, I regressed partner ratings onto task condition (coded as 0, 1), avoidance motivation (centered), and the interaction term. There was no main effect of avoidance motivation on partner ratings (β = -.10, $t(101)$ = -.65, *ns*), or task condition (β = .11, $t(101)$ = 1.12, *ns*), nor was there an interaction of avoidance motivation and task condition (β = .22, $t(101)$ = 1.41, *ns*).

Summary Study 2

Results did not support my hypotheses. No interactions were found for strength of identification with racial/ethnic group and task condition on either partner choice or ratings of potential partners. However, a main effect was found for partner choice such that those in the party planning condition were more likely to choose the identity threatened partner. Despite being a marginal effect, this finding is opposite of the predicted direction. Additionally an unpredicted main effect of strength of identification was found such that those higher in strength of identification with their racial/ethnic group showed a preference for the identity affirmed partner, regardless of the type of task they had to accomplish. This suggests that minority participants who are more strongly identified are also more likely to exclude in-group members who have "acted White," regardless of the nature of the task for which they are selecting a partner. Perhaps, for those who are strongly identified, the motivation to exclude someone who has "acted White" (or to connect with someone who displays identity-infused behaviors) is stronger than the motivation to do well on the task at hand. Implications of such exclusion for racial/ethnic minority social functioning will be discussed below.

Finally, avoidance motivation did not predict exclusion of the identity threatened partner, nor did it interact with task condition to predict exclusion. This suggests that chronic motivation to avoid negative outcomes does not prompt participants to avoid those who have engaged in out-group identity-infused behaviors.

General Discussion

The purpose of the current studies was to investigate whether engaging in out-group identity-infused behavior could lead to exclusion from one's in-group, and if so, what effects that would have. Specifically, I tested whether racial/ethnic minorities were not only sensitive to the possibility of exclusion based on feedback that they had "acted White," but also whether they would exclude fellow in-group members based on such information.

Across both studies hypotheses met with minimal if any support. In Study 1, participants whose racial/ethnic identity was threatened were more likely to attribute the subsequent exclusion to their identity threatening feedback than those whose identity was affirmed. This finding supports the idea that racial/ethnic minorities do recognize exclusion for "acting White." However, threat condition did not interact with strength of identification to predict attributions. Therefore, contrary to predictions, those who were highly identified were *not* more likely to attribute the exclusion to their "acting White" feedback. Essentially, this indicates that racial/ethnic minorities do not have to see their race/ethnicity as important to their self-concept in order to recognize discrimination for out-group identity-infused behaviors. However, in the current study, the use of a false feedback manipulation made the out-group identity-infused behavior blatant, and thus perhaps a more obvious cause of the subsequent exclusion than it would be in a more realistic setting. Future research should attempt to more subtly manipulate how clear it is

to participants that they have engaged in out-group identity-infused behaviors. Perhaps when the out-group identity infused behavior is more subtle, only those who are highly identified with their racial/ethnic group will attribute subsequent exclusion to that behavior.

Unfortunately, no predicted effects emerged for threat condition, strength of identification, or their interaction on expectations of exclusion, aversive impact, or anxiety. This suggests that although racial/ethnic minorities may recognize exclusion based on out-group identity-infused behavior when it occurs, they neither expect it in advance, nor report heightened negative emotions as a result of this type of exclusion. Given that my participants were all college students, and therefore presumably at least somewhat identified with academic success, it is possible they did not expect exclusion for "acting White" to come from fellow college students, who also presumably identify with academic success. Therefore, they may not be as hurt by the subsequent exclusion if they subtype those who *do* exclude on the basis of such information as part of a separate out-group of racial/ethnic minorities who do *not* identify with academics. Future research should compare these processes among high school and even younger students in order to assess whether the ability to recognize exclusion based on threatening feedback is due to experiences with exclusion in more formative years.

In Study 2, hypotheses were again only partially supported. While strongly identified racial/ethnic minority participants were more likely to choose the affirmed partner regardless of task condition, those who were weakly identified were more likely to choose the threatened partner, regardless of task condition. Moreover, no such difference was found for partner ratings. That is, while those who were strongly identified were more

likely to choose the identity affirmed partner, they did not rate them any differently from the threatened partner in terms of likability, suitability to the task, or predicted success.

These findings lend some support to the idea that those who are strongly identified with their racial/ethnic group will exclude fellow racial/ethnic minorities for engaging in out-group identity infused behavior, regardless of the task. Though the predicted interaction did not occur, because those who were weakly identified did not choose along stereotypical lines, the exclusion by those who are strongly identified is of greater importance. Such a finding indicates that racial/ethnic minorities do have cause to attribute exclusion to engaging in out-group identity-infused behaviors. This suggests that among racial/ethnic minority groups, in order to be included by strongly identified peers, group members must adhere to behavioral expectancies. This implies that in order to remain a part of their in-group, racial-ethnic minorities may avoid out-group identity infused behaviors, such as academic achievement. Future research should assess if racial/ethnic minorities will actively avoid such behavior when they know they are being evaluated by a strongly identified fellow racial/ethnic group member.

Additionally an unpredicted main effect of task condition was found, such that those in the party planning condition were more likely to choose the identity threatened ("acting White") partner whereas those in the study skills condition were not. Not only was this finding unpredicted, it also goes against stereotype expectancies. According to societal stereotypes, one would expect those in the study skills condition to choose the partner who had "acted White" (identity threatened). This finding is puzzling and requires replication. Perhaps in this sample, participants *did* associate party planning with White identity, unlike those in my pilot data. Another possibility is that participants may have

held egalitarian values that compelled them to seek racial/ethnic diversity when planning a social event such as a party. Such egalitarian values would be less likely to dictate choice of partner for a primarily academic and non-social activity such as studying. Of course, given the unexpected nature of this finding, all interpretations remain purely speculative.

Finally, exploratory analyses examining the role of avoidance motivation yielded some interesting results. A main effect was found for expectations of exclusion such that those higher in avoidance motivation reported fewer expectations of exclusion. This was qualified by an interaction such that when racial/ethnic identity was affirmed, those high in avoidance motivation reported fewer expectations of exclusion than those who low in avoidance motivation, whereas no difference was found for avoidance motivation among those whose identity was threatened. This pattern of findings indicates those high in avoidance motivation may feel a sense of relief when they receive identity affirming feedback, and that unexpected positive feeling may subsequently reduce expectations of a future negative event (the exclusion). However, these conclusions are speculative and warrant further exploration. For example, future research could investigate the extent to which positive experiences provide a temporary buffer against chronic expectations of punishment that characterize avoidance motivations.

Future research should also address some methodological weaknesses present in the current study. The identity threat induction used in Study 1, while providing experimental control, may have produced a situation low in ecological validity. Certainly, suspicion ran higher in the current studies than in my past research (Burnaford, & Bosson, 2012); however the suspicion voiced was most often about the veridicality of the supposed other participants, and not the identity feedback. Regardless, future research should test

these behavioral processes with more naturalistic methodologies. For example, researchers could instruct racial/ethnic minority students to keep a diary over the course of a month in which they frequently tell others that they are going to engage in various academic behaviors and watch people's reactions. Or, two racial/ethnic minority confederates could be asked to participate in a class over the course of a semester in which one publicly engages in good student behaviors and the other does not. At the end of the semester, fellow student ratings could be made of the confederates to assess differences in reactions to the two sets of behavioral patterns.

Additionally, although pilot data suggested that neither Latinos nor Blacks had a greater association with academics, there are obvious historical differences in these groups' access to academics, and in the treatment of Blacks as compared to Latinos within academics. Therefore, it is not necessarily appropriate to combine across these two specific racial/ethnic groups when examining the mechanisms that drive academic underachievement (although see Oyserman et al., 2007). Unfortunately, my sample sizes are not sufficiently large to include racial/ethnic group as an additional predictor in analyses. Future research should endeavor to recruit samples large enough to make such comparisons.

Another aspect to consider is that because my samples consisted entirely of college students, there may be range restrictions in the extent to which participants value academic achievement. That is, given that all of my participants were in the process of seeking a college degree, they may represent only the upper end of the distribution on tendency to associate academic achievement with the self. As such, the sample may not be truly representative of Black and Latino youths in the United States. My analyses may

thus have produced null findings because I lacked the variance in academic orientation that would be afforded by a more representative sample of Blacks and Latinos. As suggested previously this range restriction may also detract from the believability and influence of parts of the methodology. Specifically, in Study 1, participants may not have been affected by exclusion for out-group identity-infused behaviors because they valued academics and expected that other college students would do the same. As a result, when they attributed the exclusion to their identity threatening feedback, they may not have felt as bothered because they considered the person who excluded them to be an atypical college student.

Future research should also address the effects of exclusion from different task types than the ones I investigated here. Specifically, in Study 1 I only used a study skills task, and all participants were excluded from it. It is possible that participants might have been more affected by exclusion from an ethnic/racial pride activity, or another task that was social in nature, such as the party planning condition in Study 2. It would be interesting to see if the type of exclusion participants care more about is not work/school related but social. Certainly past ostracism research would suggest that both could have negative effects on emotions and social functioning; however I would argue that exclusion in the social arena, where we make and form the friendships that provide essential social support, might be more detrimental to many people's emotions.

Additionally, future research should also address the extent to which these processes may occur with other types of out-group identity-infused behaviors. For example, when and how might Whites be excluded or derogated for "acting Black"? Also, given that past research has shown an association of health behaviors with White identity

(Oyserman et al., 2007), are racial/ethnic minorities disparaged or excluded for engaging in health conscious behaviors?

Conclusion

The purpose of the current studies was to assess whether engaging in out-group identity-infused behaviors would not only lead racial/ethnic minorities to be excluded, but also whether racial/ethnic minorities would recognize such exclusion as being due to their out-group behaviors and experience negative emotional outcomes as a result. Though many of the hypotheses were unsupported, a number of interesting effects may start to shed light on these processes. For example, racial/ethnic minorities do seem to recognize exclusion for out-group identity-infused behaviors, and racial/ethnic minorities who are strongly identified prefer a task partner who has not "acted White." Such effects have potentially important implications for racial/ethnic minority academic achievement, and follow-up research is needed to address the questions raised in the current research.

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Appendices

Appendix A – Racial/Ethnic Identification Scale

Please rate the following statements on the scale below:

1---------2---------3---------4---------5
Strongly disagree Strongly agree

_____1. Overall, being Black(Latino) has very little to do with how I feel about myself.

_____2. Being Black(Latino) is an important reflection of who I am.

_____3. Being Black(Latino) is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am.

_____4. In general, being Black(Latino) is an important part of my self-image.

_____5. I am a worthy member of the Black(Latino) race(ethnicity).

_____6. I feel I don't have much to offer to the Black(Latino) race(ethnicity).

_____7. I am a cooperative participant in the Black(Latino) race(ethnicity).

_____8. I often feel I'm a useless member of the Black(Latino) race(ethnicity).

_____9. I often regret that I belong to the Black(Latino) race(ethnicity).

_____10. In general, I'm glad to be a member of the Black(Latino) race(ethnicity).

_____11. Overall, I often feel that the Black(Latino) race(ethnicity) of which I am a member is worthwhile.

_____12. I feel good about the Black(Latino) race(ethnicity) that I belong to.

Appendix B – Good Student Behavior Items

Using the scale below, please respond to the following statements based on how true you believe they are of you:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Not at all true of me Very true of me

_____ I spend at least some time studying and/or doing homework every day.

_____ I spend a lot of time studying.

_____ I spend a lot of time reading.

_____ I spend a lot of time in the library.

_____ In classes, I often answer questions that the professor asks the class.

_____ In classes, if there is a discussion I always participate in it.

_____ I often approach my professors after class to ask questions.

_____ In classes, I always pay careful attention to what the professor is saying.

_____ In classes, I take careful notes on what the professor is saying.

_____ In classes, if I miss something that the professor says, I raise my hand and ask him/her to repeat it.

_____ If I have friends in class, I often talk (whisper) to them during class.

_____ If I have friends in class, I often feel distracted by them.

_____ If I have friends in class, I often pass notes to them.

_____ I usually arrive to my classes on time.

_____ When I study, I concentrate very hard on the material.

_____ I sit up straight in class, and make eye contact with the professor.

_____ When I study, I take notes on the material.

_____ I take Honors-level or advanced placement college courses whenever possible.

_____ If a class has a reputation for being difficult, I probably will not take that class.

_____ I take science and math classes on a regular basis.

_____ I only miss classes in the case of extreme emergencies.

_____ I often miss class to hang out with friends.

_____ I sometimes fall asleep when I am in class.

_____ Often during classes, I tune out what the professor is saying and daydream.

_____ Often during classes, I tune out what the professor is saying and doodle on a piece of paper.

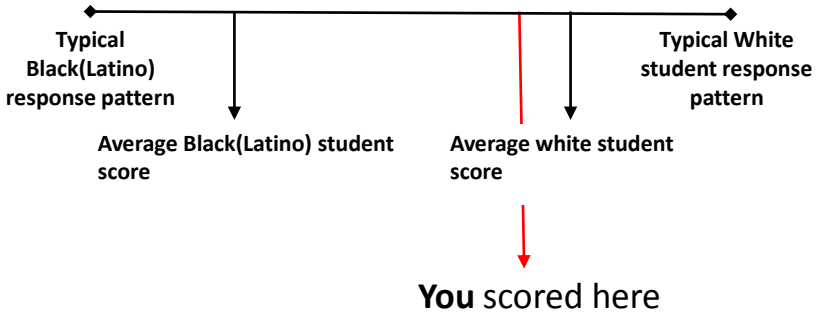
_____ If we break up into groups in a class, I will often take charge and be the leader of my group.

Appendix C – False feedback Study 1

Identity threatening feedback

This chart shows your **academic behaviors response score**, as determined by your test score.

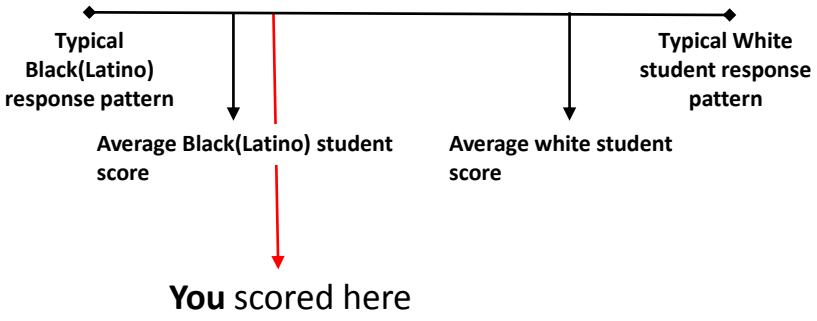
This pattern indicates that you are more similar in terms of academic behaviors to the average White student behaviors.



Identity affirming feedback

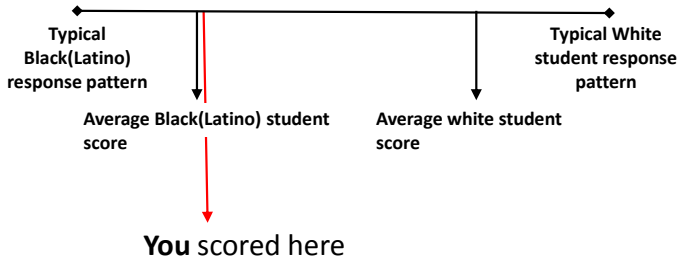
This chart shows your **<u>academic behaviors response score</u>**, as determined by your test score.

This pattern indicates that you are more similar in terms of academic behaviors to the average Black(Latino) student behaviors.



Appendix D – Potential partner info

Instructions – Below is a random selection of items from all of the information that was provided by the three participants in this session. If you have selected the "Leader" role, please use this information to make your selection of partner. Whoever you do *not* choose will have to work alone.

Initials:	Major:	Favorite	Race/Ethnicity:	
A.B.	Psychology	food: Pizza	Black(Latino) (this will be matched to participant race)	This chart shows your **academic behaviors response score**, as determined by your test score. This pattern indicates that you are more similar in terms of academic behaviors to the average Black(Latino) student behaviors. 

<table>
<tr>
<td>Initials:

L.E.</td>
<td>Major:

Business</td>
<td>Favorite
food:

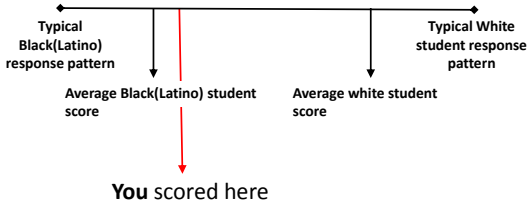
Burgers</td>
<td>Race/Ethnicity:

Black(Latino)

(this will be matched

to participant race)</td>
<td>This chart shows your <u>academic behaviors response score</u>, as determined by your test score.

This pattern indicates that you are more similar in terms of academic behaviors to the average Black(Latino) student behaviors.

 
</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initials:

provided

by

participant</td>
<td>Major:

provided

by

participant</td>
<td>Favorite
food:

provided by

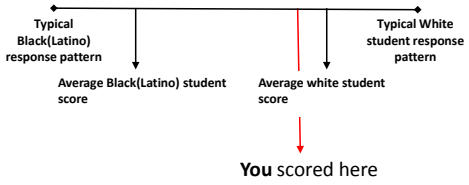
participant</td>
<td>Race/Ethnicity:

provided by

participant</td>
<td>Type of feedback shown here will depend on participant (affirm vs. threat) condition. Feedback shown here indicates threat condition.

This chart shows your <u>academic behaviors response score</u>, as determined by your test score.

This pattern indicates that you are more similar in terms of academic behaviors to the average White student behaviors.

 
</td>
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</table>

Appendix E – Expectations of exclusion

Before you continue, we'd like you to take a few moments to answer a few questions about what you expect the Leader to do.

1. Who do you think the Leader will choose (circle one)? You L.E.

2. How confident are you in your answer above?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Not at all Very much so

3. How likely is it that the Leader will choose you?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Not at all likely Very likely

4. How likely is it that the Leader will choose L.E.?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Not at all likely Very likely

Appendix F – Exclusion notice screen

Partner selection:

Sorry, leader A.B. has chosen member L.E. for the upcoming study task.

Please let the experimenter know that you must complete the task alone!

Appendix G – Aversive Impact of exclusion

Please respond to the following items as to how you feel RIGHT NOW.

Circle the NUMBER that corresponds to where you think you are on the scale.

Bad	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Good
Sad	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Happy
Tense	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Relaxed
Rejected	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Accepted
Excluded	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Included
Depressed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Excited
Tired	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Alert
Frustrated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Carefree

Please respond to the following questions on the scale below:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Not at all Very much so

1. _____To what extent did you feel that you were ignored or excluded by the Leader?
2. _____To what extent did you feel that you were noticed or included by the Leader?
3. _____How much did you think you would like the other participants (Leader and other Member)?
4. _____How much did you think that the other participants would like you?

Appendix H – Attributions to exclusion

At this time, you should have learned whether or not the leader chose you for the group task. We are interested in your beliefs about why the leader made the choice that s/he made. Keep in mind that there may have been multiple reasons behind the leader's choice.

Please use the scale provided to indicate to what extent you think that the leader made his/her decision based on:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Not at all Very much so

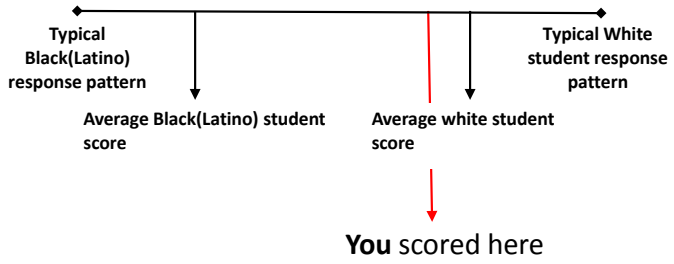
1. _____ My similarity to him/her.
2. _____My academic ability.
3. _____My score on the Student Behaviors test.
4. _____ My score in relation to other members of my race/ethnicity.
5. _____ My score in relation to other members of my gender group.
6. _____My race.
7. _____My gender.
8. _____My similarity to other members of my race/ethnicity.
9. _____My similarity to members of other races/ethnicities.
10. _____The leader's unfairness toward me.
11. _____The leader's prejudice against me.
12. _____The leader's general unfairness.
13. _____ Random chance.

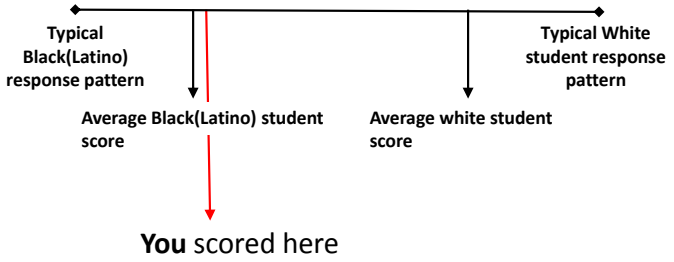
Appendix I – Word Completion task

Please complete the following by filling letters in the blanks to create words. Write down the first word that comes to your mind. Fill in one letter per blank. Some words may be plural.

1. M __ __ N
2. __ O O K
3. W A T __ __
4. S T R E __ __
5. B __ __ K
6. P __ __ T U R E
7. B A R __
8. __ __ D E
9. T H R E A __
10. T R __ __
11. C L __ __ K
12. S H A __ E
13. C H A __ __
14. L O __ E R
15. F O __ __
16. K __ __ G S
17. D __ G
18. __ O T H E R
19. C H __ __
20. __ E A K
21. __ __ __ __ B A L L
22. __ __ S E T
23. C O __ __ S
24. H O __ __ E

Appendix J – Target descriptions – Study 2

Initials:	Major:	Favorite	Race/Ethnicity:	
A.B.	Psychology	food: Pizza	Black(Latino) (this will be matched to participant race)	This chart shows your **projective personality test score**, as determined by your responses to the images. This pattern indicates that you are psychologically more similar to the average White student. 

Initials: L.E.	Major: Business	Favorite food: Burgers	Race/Ethnicity: Black(Latino) (this will be matched to participant race)	This chart shows your **projective personality test score**, as determined by your responses to the images. This pattern indicates that you are psychologically more similar to the average Black(Latino) student. 

Appendix K – Target ratings

Please respond to the following questions regarding the information about your potential partners that the experimenter has provided for you

1. Which partner would you like to work with (pick their initials)?

   A.B. L.E.

2. How confident are you that the person you chose was correct choice?

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Not at all Very much so

3. How much do you think you would like working with the person that you chose?

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Not at all Very much so

4. How suitable do you think the person you chose is for the upcoming task?

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Not at all Very much so

5. How well do you think the person you chose will perform in the upcoming task?

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Not at all Very much so

6. How successful do you think you will be at the task when you work with the person you chose?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Not at all Very much so

Now please answer the next series of questions in regards to the person you did ***not*** choose.

1. How confident are you that you were correct in ***not*** choosing the other potential partner?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Not at all Very much so

2. How much do you think you would like working with the person that you did ***not*** choose?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Not at all Very much so

3. How suitable do you think the person you did ***not*** choose would have been for the upcoming task?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Not at all Very much so

4. How well do you think the person you did ***not*** choose would perform on the upcoming task?

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

   Not at all Very much so

5. How successful do you think you would have be at the task if you were to work with the person you did ***not*** choose?

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

   Not at all Very much so

Appendix L – Avoidance Motivation Scale

Please rate the following statements on the scale below:

1---------2---------3---------4
Strongly disagree Strongly agree

_____1. If I think something unpleasant is going to happen I usually get pretty "worked up."

_____2. I worry about making mistakes.

_____3. Criticism or scolding hurts me quite a bit.

_____4. I feel pretty worried or upset when I think or know somebody is angry at me.

_____5. Even if something bad is about to happen to me, I rarely experience fear or nervousness.

_____6. I feel worried when I think I have done poorly at something.

_____7. I have very few fears compared to my friends.