

“You’re One of Us”: Black Americans’ Use of Hypodescent and Its Association With Egalitarianism

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Research on multiracial categorization has focused on majority group social perceivers (i.e., White Americans), demonstrating that they (a) typically categorize Black–White multiracials according to a rule of *hypodescent*, associating them more with their lower status parent group than their higher status parent group, and (b) do so at least in part to preserve the hierarchical status quo. The current work examines whether members of an ethnic minority group, Black Americans, also associate Black–White multiracials more with their minority versus majority parent group and if so, why. The first 2 studies (1A and 1B) directly compared Black and White Americans, and found that although both Blacks and Whites categorized Black–White multiracials as more Black than White, Whites’ use of hypodescent was associated with intergroup *antiegaltarianism*, whereas Blacks’ use of hypodescent was associated with intergroup *egalitarianism*. Studies 2–3 reveal that egalitarian Blacks use hypodescent in part because they perceive that Black–White biracials face discrimination and consequently feel a sense of linked fate with them. This research establishes that the use of hypodescent extends to minority as well as majority perceivers but also shows that the beliefs associated with the use of hypodescent differ as a function of perceiver social status. In doing so, we broaden the social scientific understanding of hypodescent, showing how it can be an inclusionary rather than exclusionary phenomenon.

Keywords: egalitarianism, hypodescent, linked fate, multiracial categorization, social dominance orientation

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“In the 1850s the strong fears of abolition and slave insurrections resulted in growing hostility toward miscegenation, mulattoes, concubinage, passing, manumission, and of the implicit rule granting free mulattoes a special, in-between status in the lower south. . . . Thus, the South came together in strong support of [the rule of hypodescent] in order to defend slavery.”

—Davis, 1991, p. 49

“Whites defined the black population in the United States by establishing the [rule of hypodescent], and apparently the whites’ original reasons for doing that are now irrelevant to most blacks. The whites forced all shades of mulattoes into the black community, where they were accepted, loved, married, and cherished as soul brothers and

sisters. A sense of unity developed among a people with an extremely wide variation in racial characteristics.”

—Davis, 1991, p. 139

Throughout much of United States history, Black–White multiracial individuals were legally defined as Black, a norm that was widely perpetuated by Whites, but seemingly accepted by Blacks (Davis, 1991). Social psychological research examining this categorization bias—called *hypodescent*—has shown that it persists to this day (at least among White social perceivers, which this research has tended to focus on; Ho, Sidanius, Levin, & Banaji, 2011; Peery & Bodenhausen, 2008; Sanchez, Good, & Chavez, 2011). Furthermore, a growing body of research demonstrates that hypodescent is motivated at least in part by White perceivers’ desire to protect their dominant status in the U.S. (Ho, Sidanius, Cuddy, & Banaji, 2013; Krosch & Amodio, 2014; Krosch, Bernsten, Amodio, Jost, & Van Bavel, 2013; Kteily, Cotterill, Sidanius, Sheehy-Skeffington, & Bergh, 2014; Rodeheffer, Hill, & Lord, 2012). As the opening epigraphs suggest, although the rule of hypodescent was developed by Whites for the purposes of social stratification, it may also have been adopted (or at least accepted) by Blacks, albeit for very different reasons. Our scientific understanding of hypodescent to date is still largely limited to the perspective of White Americans, and thus, little is known about Black Americans’ use of hypodescent, or the psychological factors

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this is associated with. In the current studies, we systematically examine whether Blacks categorize Black–White biracials as more Black than White, as Whites do, and if so, why. In doing so, we endeavor to broaden the social psychological understanding of the hypodescent phenomenon.¹

Hypodescent Among White Americans

Previous research has established that Whites use hypodescent (Ho et al., 2011; Peery & Bodenhausen, 2008), and further, that opposition to equality, perceptions of threats to the dominant status of Whites, and even perceptions of economic scarcity can increase Whites' use of hypodescent in categorizing Black–White biracials (Ho et al., 2013; Krosch & Amodio, 2014; Krosch et al., 2013; Kteily et al., 2014; Rodeheffer et al., 2012). For example, Ho et al. (2013) found that antiegalitarian Whites who perceived that Blacks were gaining in social status (and thus posed a threat to Whites' group position) were more likely to categorize a Black–White biracial target as Black. Similarly, Krosch et al. (2013) found that opposition to equality contributed to politically conservative perceivers' propensity to categorize racially ambiguous faces as Black, while Kteily et al. (2014) showed that Whites who were opposed to equality or concerned about protecting dominant cultural norms perceived racially ambiguous targets as less White when they were said to be, respectively, low-status or nonconformist (compared to when they were said to be high-status or conformist). Of relevance to the current work, all three of these papers operationalized opposition to equality as higher levels of *social dominance orientation* (SDO): Indeed, SDO is a widely used measure of preferences for intergroup equality, with higher levels signifying opposition to intergroup equality and support for maintaining hierarchy, and lower levels signifying support for intergroup equality and reducing hierarchy (Ho et al., 2015; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994).

Further highlighting the role of hierarchy-maintenance motives in Whites' use of hypodescent, Rodeheffer et al. (2012) discovered that making resource scarcity salient led Whites to restrict their definition of who "counted" as White, thus categorizing Black–White biracials as Black. Similarly, Krosch and Amodio (2014) found that non-Black (predominantly White) individuals' perceptions of zero-sum competition between Blacks and Whites (i.e., perceiving Black gains as implying equivalent White losses) contributed to perceptions of biracial targets as Black. Thus, Whites' perceptions of resource scarcity and competition trigger behaviors aimed at preserving their dominant status.

Consistent with research documenting that Whites' use of hypodescent relates to their desire to maintain their high status, research on *ingroup overexclusion*, which has also focused mainly on social perceivers from high status groups, demonstrates that individuals have a high threshold for accepting individuals whose identities are ambiguous as fellow group members because of concerns about not 'contaminating' the ingroup (Castano, Yzerbyt, Bourguignon, & Seron, 2002; Leyens & Yzerbyt, 1992; Yzerbyt, Leyens, & Bellour, 1995).

In sum, then, among members of high status groups, threats to the group's advantaged social standing appear to trigger a more exclusive definition of group boundaries, with individuals of ambiguous group membership more likely to be shut out. These research findings align with the increased exclusion of Black–

White biracials by dominant Whites observed during the mid-19th century, when the institution of slavery was threatened in the U.S. (Davis, 1991).

Hypodescent Among Black Americans?

Although there is little empirical research on Blacks' perceptions of Black–White multiracials, American history suggests that Blacks do use the rule of hypodescent. Several prominent Black leaders, for example, were largely regarded as Black by other Blacks despite their part-White ancestry. The noted sociologist and founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), W.E.B. DuBois, had French and Dutch ancestry, in addition to African ancestry. Walter White, president of the NAACP from 1931 to 1955, was estimated to be at most 1/64th African Black (Davis, 1991). Nevertheless, and despite the fact that he and both of his parents could 'pass' as White, he was regarded by most other Blacks as Black (Davis, 1991). More recently, Barack Obama, who is known to have a White mother from Kansas and Black father from Kenya, has widely been regarded as Black by both Blacks and Whites alike.

In addition to historical and recent anecdotal evidence, three existing studies on Black Americans' perception of biracials provide some suggestive evidence that they may engage in hypodescent. One recent study investigated whether Blacks who were threatened with social exclusion (compared to their nonthreatened counterparts) might be more likely to categorize Black–White racially ambiguous faces as Black, and found that this was the case (Gaither, Pauker, Slepian, & Sommers, 2016, Study 2B). Although this study was not focused on the general tendency toward hypodescent, analyzing its descriptive statistics shows that more than 50% of the racially ambiguous faces were categorized as Black by Black participants. Another recent study also revealed patterns consistent with Blacks' use of hypodescent. Whereas individuals often generalize their perceptions of one outgroup member to the whole outgroup, they tend to individuate ingroup members. In one study, Chen and Ratliff (2015, Experiment 3) found that whereas White perceivers generalized their negative perceptions of one Black person to another Black or Black–White person, Black perceivers did not generalize their negative attitudes about one Black person to another Black person or to a Black–White person. These results suggest that Blacks were motivated to individuate both Black and biracial individuals, possibly because biracials are regarded as ingroup members (Chen & Ratliff, 2015, Experiment 3). Perhaps more directly pointing to hypodescent, one recent study demonstrated that college-age Black participants were more

¹ Note that hypodescent is a technical term used in the social sciences to describe the racial categorization rule whereby racial descent is traced to the lower status ancestral parent group (Harris & Kottak, 1963, as cited in Margolis & Kottak, 2003). We use the term hypodescent to signify this pattern of categorization—categorizing a Black–White biracial person as relatively more Black than White. That is, we use hypodescent as a value-neutral term, and empirically test what it relates to among both Black and White perceivers. We further note that in examining the categorization and perception of mixed-race individuals, it is not our intention to reinforce the notion that racial groups have unique "essences" (e.g., a clearly defined genetic profile) that can be mixed (see Richeson & Sommers, 2016, on how research on multiracials can unintentionally essentialize race). Rather, we are exploring how social perceivers think about the group membership of individuals who can identify with multiple social groups.

likely to categorize Black–White biracial targets as Black than as White, though children did not exhibit this bias (Roberts & Gelman, 2015, Study 2). Indeed, when pictures of the biracial targets' parents were presented (thus clearly revealing their racial background), 4- to 6-year-old Black participants actually categorized biracial targets as relatively White (vs. Black). This study focused on the developmental trajectory of hypodescent (i.e., from 4 years old to adulthood), and thus did not have a particularly large college-student sample of Blacks ($n = 48$). Nevertheless, this sample of Black adults does suggest that they may use hypodescent. In the present work, we seek to build on preliminary, suggestive evidence that Blacks use hypodescent, by directly and systematically investigating Blacks' categorization of Black–White multiracials, and by examining possible sociopolitical correlates of hypodescent among Black social perceivers.

Does (Anti-)Egalitarianism Relate to Hypodescent Among Black Americans?

Because previous research on perceptions of biracials has focused on high status (i.e., White American) social perceivers, it is no surprise that hypodescent is widely regarded as an exclusionary rule used by antiegalitarian members of privileged groups who are interested in maintaining group boundaries (Ho et al., 2013; Krosch et al., 2013; Kteily et al., 2014). In other words, majority-group perceivers are thought to reject multiracials from their high status ingroup to maintain the social hierarchy. In contrast to previous work, the current work focuses on social perceivers from a relatively low power and low status group (i.e., Black Americans; see DeNavas-Walt, Proctor, & Smith, 2011; Kahn, Ho, Sidanius, & Pratto, 2009; Macartney, Bishaw, & Fontenot, 2013 on race-based status differences), and examines how their perceptions of Black–White biracials might relate to antiegalitarianism. In particular, we test the possibility that with Black Americans, a preference for intergroup *equality* (i.e., intergroup egalitarianism rather than antiegalitarianism) might be associated with higher levels of hypodescent (i.e., categorizing Black–White biracials as Black, which, in this case, also means categorizing them as ingroup members). We further test the idea that the proposed link between Blacks' egalitarianism and hypodescent is mediated by Black perceivers' perception that Black–White biracials are discriminated against, and consequently, their feeling that Blacks and Black–White biracials share a common destiny (i.e., linked fate). Below, we expand on each step of the proposed theoretical model, starting from Black Americans' egalitarianism and ending with their use of hypodescent in the categorization of Black–White biracials.

Egalitarianism Predicts Perceptions of Discrimination

We reason that because egalitarian individuals are generally more attuned to discrimination, egalitarian Blacks will be more likely to perceive discrimination both against the ingroup (Blacks) and against Black–White biracials. Several strands of related research support the idea that those who favor intergroup equality are more likely to perceive discrimination. First, individuals lower in social dominance orientation, including Blacks, are more likely to perceive past and present injustices on the basis of race, agreeing with statements such as “generations of discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for [Blacks/Latinos] to

work their way out of the lower class,” or that “[Blacks/Latinos] have gotten less than they deserve” (Ho et al., 2015). Second, ethnic minorities lower in SDO perceive more discrimination against their own group, consistent with the idea that egalitarians are generally sensitive to discrimination (Thomsen et al., 2010). Third, highlighting the association between low SDO and perception of discrimination at a more abstract level, those lower on SDO (including lower SDO Blacks) are more likely than those high on SDO to perceive and recall inequality, even when all participants are presented with the same information about inequality and given financial incentives to report what they truly perceive (Kteily, Sheehy-Skeffington, & Ho, 2017). Thus, past work clearly links low levels of SDO with a readiness to perceive discrimination and inequality, including in the racial domain. In the current work, we directly test whether this extends, as we predict, to perceptions of discrimination against Black–White biracials.

Perceptions of Discrimination Relates to Perceptions of Linked Fate

We hypothesize that egalitarian Blacks' perception of discrimination against biracials, in turn, predicts the perception that Blacks and Black–White biracials share a common destiny, or that their fates are inextricably linked. As we reviewed above, previous work suggests that egalitarian ethnic minority group members are more likely to perceive discrimination against the ingroup (Thomsen et al., 2010) and against other ethnic minority groups (Ho et al., 2015). If, as this previous work suggests will be the case, Blacks' egalitarianism leads them to perceive discrimination against Black–White biracials, egalitarian Blacks should have a strong basis for feeling kinship with Black–White biracials. This theorizing is consistent with work on *stigma-based solidarity* (Craig & Richeson, 2016), which shows that when minority group members perceive that members of another minority group are discriminated against along a similar dimension (e.g., race), they are more likely to feel a sense of solidarity with members of the other group.

The theory of racial linked fate was developed by the political scientist Dawson (1994), who advanced the idea that Black individuals' perceptions of subordination and exploitation of Blacks (i.e., discrimination) underpins a sense that they share a common destiny with other Blacks (i.e., a sense of linked fate). In support of this thesis, Dawson found that Blacks' perception that they are subordinated economically strongly predicted their perception that they share a linked fate with other Blacks. Here, we extend Dawson's work on racial linked fate, and integrate it with work on stigma-based solidarity, testing the idea that egalitarian Blacks' perception of discrimination against Black–White biracials will lead them to perceive a common destiny with Black–White biracials (linked fate).

Linked Fate Relates to Hypodescent

Lastly, the perception that the fate of one's ingroup and that of another discriminated-against group are inextricably linked may inspire a sense that the groups are part of the same coalition (e.g., a coalition of marginalized people). Because Black–White biracials are part Black, this feeling of being in a common coalition could naturally manifest itself in inclusive, ingroup categorization (hypodescent).

This prediction is further supported by research on entitativity, which shows that when social perceivers perceive that a collection of people share a common fate, that tends to augment their perception that the collective constitutes a common group (Lickel et al., 2000; see Hamilton, Chen, & Way, 2011, for a review).

Hypotheses and Overview of the Current Research

Based on the preceding discussion, we derived three major hypotheses: First, based on a historical analysis and suggestive psychological research on Black perceivers, we expected that Blacks, like Whites, would use hypodescent (i.e., categorize Black–White biracials as more Black than White; H1). Second, we hypothesized that Blacks and Whites' (anti-)egalitarianism would differentially relate to hypodescent (H2): Whereas Whites, as in previous studies, should use hypodescent to the extent that they are relatively opposed to equality, Blacks should use hypodescent to the extent they are relatively *supportive* of equality. Third, because intergroup egalitarianism is associated with a heightened sensitivity to discrimination (Ho et al., 2015; Kteily et al., 2017; Thomsen et al., 2010) we further predicted that egalitarian Blacks would be especially sensitive to discrimination faced by Black–White biracials. This sense of discrimination against biracials should consequently lead Blacks to perceive that their fates are linked to the fates of Black–White biracials, helping to account for egalitarian Blacks' use of hypodescent (H3).

We test the hypotheses posed above across four studies (and three supplemental studies), including a nationally representative sample of Blacks and Whites. Studies 1A and 1B represent initial investigations of whether Blacks engage in hypodescent (H1), and if so, whether this is particularly true among Blacks who are relatively low in social dominance orientation (i.e., more egalitarian Blacks). These studies included both Blacks and Whites, allowing us to test whether the perceiver's race interacts with egalitarianism such that among Whites, *higher* SDO (i.e., anti-egalitarianism) would be associated with greater hypodescent whereas with Blacks *lower* SDO (i.e., egalitarianism) would predict hypodescent (H2). Study 2 tests whether perceptions of discrimination against Black–White biracials, and a subsequent feeling of linked fate with them, might mediate lower SDO Blacks' use of hypodescent (H3). Building on Study 2, Study 3 experimentally manipulates the degree of discrimination biracials face to examine whether highlighting discrimination against biracials augments Blacks' sense that their destiny is linked to the destiny of Black–White biracials, thus increasing their use of hypodescent. Study 3 also examines whether, conversely, presenting evidence that biracials are *not* discriminated against suppresses Blacks' perceptions of linked fate, decreasing their tendency to engage in hypodescent.

Studies 1A and 1B: Race Interacts With (Anti-)Egalitarianism to Influence Hypodescent

In Study 1A, we sought to provide the first direct evidence that Blacks use hypodescent, as well as the first examination of hypodescent among a nationally representative sample of either Black or White Americans. Previous research on hypodescent has primarily examined only White respondents and typically relied on college student or other relatively well-educated and politically

liberal samples. Given the potential social and political implications of our research question, we thought that it was important to incorporate more representative samples into this research area (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010; Henry, 2008; Sears, 1986).

Additionally, Study 1A offers an initial test of our prediction that (anti-)egalitarianism would be differentially related to hypodescent among Blacks and Whites. Specifically, we assessed participants' social dominance orientation, to examine whether it would interact with participants' racial group membership such that hypodescent among Whites would be associated with anti-egalitarianism, whereas hypodescent among Blacks would be associated with egalitarianism.

Method

Participants. A stratified random sample of 214 U.S.-born Whites (50% female, $M_{\text{age}} = 51.79$, $SD = 16.47$) and 210 U.S.-born Blacks (54.3% female, $M_{\text{age}} = 47.85$, $SD = 16.09$) were recruited from a nationally representative panel operated by GFK Knowledge Panel (formerly Knowledge Networks). GFK was contracted to collect a sample of 200 Blacks and 200 Whites and was responsible for ending data collection after this total was reached. For all studies in this paper, we did not analyze data prior to the end of data collection, specified sample sizes prior to the beginning of data collection, and asked the survey firms we contracted to end data collection once the preset sample size was obtained. Because the current study involved analyzing a dataset that was collected to address a variety of questions related to intergroup relations and political psychology, we did not conduct a power analysis for this study specifically. However, assuming a small effect size of $f^2 = .02$ for the critical race by SDO interaction term (this is the first test of this interaction effect and thus we would not have had any other basis for estimating effect size), a power analysis would have indicated that $n = 395$ was required to achieve 80% power.² Our sample size was thus adequate.

Measures.

SDO. Within the context of an omnibus survey on social and political attitudes, respondents completed a 16 item measure of social dominance orientation (SDO₇; e.g., "Group equality should not be our primary goal;" "We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups (reverse scored);" "Group equality should be our ideal (reverse scored);" 1 = *Strongly oppose* to 7 = *Strongly favor*; $\alpha = .89$; $m = 2.57$; $SD = 1.03$; Ho et al., 2015). The full text of all measures analyzed across studies is available in the online supplemental materials.

Hypodescent. We measured hypodescent using five items. The first hypodescent item began with the stem, "Imagine a child with 2 Black grandparents and 2 White grandparents . . ." followed by the question, "To what extent do you consider this child to be Black or White?" (1 = *Completely Black*, 4 = *Equally Black and White*, 7 = *Completely White*). Items 2–5 began with the stem, "If a Black American and a White American have a kid . . ." and subsequently asked (2) Do you think the kid will look more like a Black person or a White person?; (3) Do you think the kid will act

² Aiken and West (1991) note that the most common measure of effect size for tests of moderation is f^2 , and Cohen (1988) suggests $f^2 = .02$ is a "small" effect). G*Power 3.1 (Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner, & Lang, 2009) was used to compute the sample size needed given a small effect estimate for an interaction term.

more like a Black person or a White person?; (4) Do you think the kid will fit in better with Black people or White people?; and (5) Do you think the kid should be thought of as relatively Black or relatively White? (1 = *Relatively Black*, 4 = *Equally Black and White*, 7 = *Relatively White*; all reverse-coded). The midpoint label for item 4 read, "Equally well with Blacks and Whites" ($\alpha = .73$; Ho et al., 2013).³

Approximately half of the respondents (selected at random) completed the hypodescent measure first and the other half completed the SDO measure first (i.e., these measures were counterbalanced). This allowed us to test whether the order of measuring SDO and hypodescent influences Blacks' and Whites' use of hypodescent, or the relation between SDO and hypodescent. Order of SDO and hypodescent did not affect results and thus we collapsed across conditions (see footnote 4 following main analyses for analysis of order effects).

To correct for deviations from demographic representativeness (based on the March 2013 Current Population Survey) resulting from survey nonresponse, we used statistical weights that were created for this purpose by GFK following data collection (see supplemental materials for details about demographic variables used in weights). To account for the effects of statistical weighting and survey sampling designs used by GFK, Taylor series linearization, implemented in SPSS Complex Samples, was used to calculate variance estimates (Heeringa, West, & Berglund, 2010).

Results

We used one-sample *t* tests to examine the use of hypodescent among Blacks and Whites, testing if the mean for each group differed significantly from the midpoint "4" (which signifies the perception that biracials are "equally Black and White"). This revealed that both Black ($m = 4.42$, $SD = .77$; $t(206) = 6.30$, $p < .001$, Cohen's $d = .55$) and White ($m = 4.25$, $SD = .57$; $t(211) = 5.28$, $p < .001$, Cohen's $d = .43$) respondents used hypodescent, categorizing Black-White biracials as more Black than White, consistent with our first hypothesis. Notably, this is the first direct evidence of hypodescent in a nationally representative sample of either Blacks or Whites.

To examine whether antiegalitarianism is differentially related to hypodescent for Blacks and Whites (H2), we regressed hypodescent on participant race (Black or White), SDO (mean-centered), and the participant Race \times SDO interaction. Race significantly interacted with SDO to predict hypodescent ($B = .17$, $SE B = .07$, $\beta = .28$, $t(415) = 2.30$, $p = .02$; see Figure 1A) such that among Whites, there was a marginally significant positive relationship between SDO and hypodescent (i.e., greater levels of intergroup antiegalitarianism were associated with a greater tendency to categorize Black-White biracials as more Black than White: $B = .09$, $SE B = .05$, $\beta = .15$, $t(415) = 1.77$, $p = .08$) and among Blacks, there was a nonsignificant negative relationship ($B = -.08$, $SE B = .05$, $\beta = -.13$, $t(415) = -1.49$, $p = .14$).⁴ Although the simple slopes were not significant, the significant interaction provides preliminary evidence suggesting that the nature of the relationship between (anti-)egalitarianism and hypodescent is contingent upon the social perceiver's group membership (Black vs. White in this case). Furthermore, this study provides the first evidence from a nationally representative sample of either White or Black Americans showing that both groups categorize [1/2] Black - [1/2] White multiracials as more Black than White.

Study 1B

Although the results in Study 1A were broadly in line with our hypotheses, given that this was the first test of hypodescent among Blacks, and the first test of the Race \times SDO interaction, we examined these questions again in another sample comparing Blacks and Whites.

Method

Participants. We recruited 285 U.S.-born Whites (54% female, $M_{age} = 49.81$, $SD = 15.10$) and 252 U.S.-born Blacks (56% female, $M_{age} = 46.93$, $SD = 17.03$) from Qualtrics Panels. We contracted Qualtrics to recruit 250 Blacks and 250 Whites, and asked them to end data collection after the target was met. Based on the effect size estimate we obtained for the Race \times SDO interaction in Study 1A ($f^2 = .017$), a power analysis suggests that 468 participants are needed to achieve 80% power (234 Blacks and 234 Whites).

Measures. Respondents completed the same measure of social dominance orientation ($\alpha = .89$; $m = 2.50$; $SD = 1.15$; Ho et al., 2015), followed by a 16-item version of the hypodescent measure used in Study 1A. The hypodescent measure used here included items 2-5 in Study 1A along with the same question stem ("If a Black American and a White American have a kid. . ."). To measure the same construct more reliably, we also included additional, similar items, such as "Will the kid's behavior lead those around to categorize him/her as Black or White?" and "Would you consider the kid more Black or more White?" ($\alpha = .94$; $m = 4.35$; $SD = 0.69$; Ho et al., 2013; see supplemental materials).⁵

³ Several other categorization items, examining the categorization of [1/4] Black - [3/4] White biracials, [3/4] Black - [1/4] White biracials, or dichotomous, forced-choice (rather than continuous) categorization were included in the survey for exploratory purposes, and are discussed and analyzed in supplemental materials. Throughout all seven studies in the current work, we focus on the categorization of [1/2] Black - [1/2] White biracials along a continuum where the midpoint indicates the perception of biracials as equally Black and White. The full text of all theoretically relevant measures is included in online supplemental materials. Participants completed measures as follows (including measures not relevant to the current study, but included in this omnibus survey): social dominance orientation, ethnic identity, right wing authoritarianism, purity/sanctity (from Moral Foundations Questionnaire), zero sum competition, symbolic threat, race conceptions scale, essentialism, feeling thermometer, perceptions of racial group status, political conservatism, ethnic activism, disadvantage consciousness, loyalty of Black-White biracials, intergroup contact, hypodescent, opposition to racial passing, punitiveness, old fashioned racism, racial policy support, system justification, Machiavellianism, empathy, stereotyping, bisexual categorization, and perceptions of warmth and competence.

⁴ We also examined whether the order in which participants completed the SDO and hypodescent measures influenced these results. An independent samples *t* test did not show any differences in the use of hypodescent as a function of whether participants completed the SDO measure first or the hypodescent measure first for either Blacks ($t(206) = -1.65$, $p = .10$, Cohen's $d = -.29$) or Whites ($t(211) = -.15$, $p = .88$, Cohen's $d = -.02$). Furthermore, order did not moderate the SDO-hypodescent relationship among either Blacks ($B = .13$, $SE B = .11$, $t(205) = 1.24$, $p = .22$) or Whites ($B = -.12$, $SE B = .10$, $t(210) = -1.27$, $p = .21$).

⁵ Participants completed measures as follows: feeling thermometer, social dominance orientation, distractor personality measure, hypodescent, perceptions of police officers. The full text of theoretically relevant measures is included in online supplemental materials.

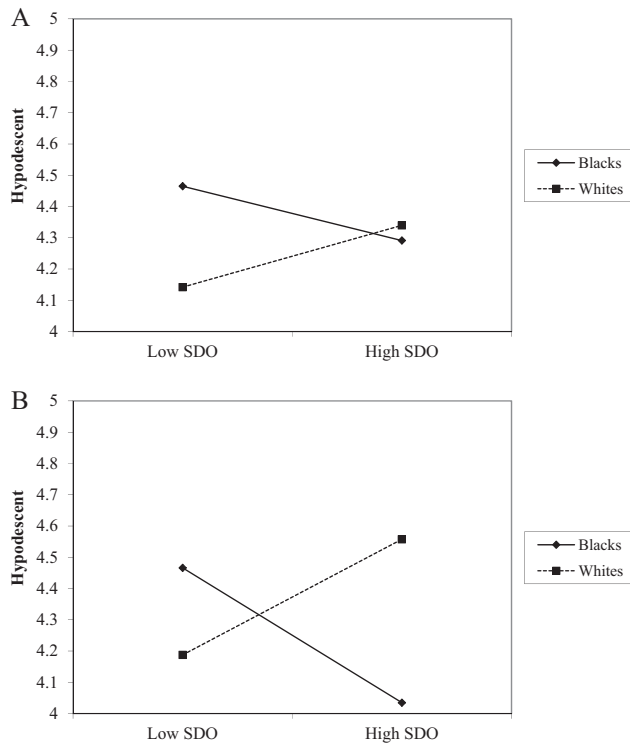


Figure 1. (A) Interaction between participant race and SDO in predicting hypodescent in Study 1A. For both Figures 1A and 1B, low SDO represents participants scoring 1 standard deviation below the mean on SDO and high SDO represents those scoring 1 standard deviation above the mean. (B) Interaction between participant race and SDO in predicting hypodescent in Study 1B.

Results

We followed the same analytic procedures as in Study 1A. We once again found support for our first hypothesis such that, on average, both Blacks ($m = 4.30$; $SD = 0.62$; $t(251) = 7.61$, $p < .001$, Cohen's $d = .48$) and Whites ($m = 4.41$, $SD = 0.75$; $t(284) = 9.19$, $p < .001$, Cohen's $d = .54$) were significantly more likely to categorize a Black–White biracial as Black than as White (i.e., they engaged in hypodescent).

Turning to whether Blacks' and Whites' use of hypodescent relates differentially to intergroup (anti-)egalitarianism, we again regressed hypodescent on SDO, race, and the SDO \times race interaction. This revealed once again that the race of the respondent significantly interacted with SDO to predict hypodescent (H2; $B = .35$, $SE B = .05$, $\beta = .29$; $t(533) = 6.77$, $p < .001$; see Figure 1B) such that among Whites, there was positive relationship between SDO and hypodescent ($B = .16$, $SE B = .03$, $\beta = .27$; $t(533) = 4.87$, $p < .001$) and among Blacks, there was a negative relationship ($B = -.19$, $SE B = .04$, $\beta = -.31$; $t(533) = -4.75$, $p < .001$).

Interim Discussion

Taken together, the first two studies provide clear evidence that Blacks and Whites use hypodescent (i.e., categorizing Black–White biracials as more Black than White) and highlight that the

association between (anti-)egalitarianism and hypodescent is different among Blacks and Whites. For Whites, consistent with previous research (e.g., Ho et al., 2013; Krosch et al., 2013) greater opposition to equality was associated with a greater tendency to use the rule of hypodescent. For Blacks, the opposite was true—Blacks who were relatively supportive of equality were more likely to see Black–White multiracials as more Black than White (though we note that for both Blacks and Whites, the SDO-hypodescent relationship was stronger in Study 1B than in Study 1A, an issue we return to in the General Discussion).⁶ Our findings among Whites converge with those of previous research, further confirming relatively well-established patterns. On the other hand, the results concerning Blacks' use of hypodescent (and its association with egalitarianism) are new to the current work. Thus, in five further studies (Studies 2 and 3 and Supplemental Studies 1–3), we sought to replicate these findings with Blacks and additionally, examine mediators underlying the SDO-hypodescent relationship among Blacks.

Study 2: Why Blacks' Egalitarianism Relates to Hypodescent

In Study 2, we began to test our ideas about *why* lower SDO Blacks tend to categorize Black–White biracials as Black. Specifically, as developed in the Introduction, we examined the possibility that relatively egalitarian Blacks would be more likely to perceive discrimination against Black–White biracials and consequently be more likely to believe that Blacks' fates are linked to the fates of Black–White biracials (i.e., “what happens to Black–White biracials has something to do with what happens to Blacks”). We theorized that this, in turn, would predict categorizing biracials as Black (i.e., hypodescent).

Method

Participants. We recruited 500 U.S.-born Blacks through Prodege (<https://www.prodege.com/>). We contracted Prodege to collect data from 500 participants, and they were responsible for ending data collection after this target was met. Of the 500 who participated, 42 were excluded from final analyses because they participated in one of the three supplemental studies. Thus, 458 participants were in the final sample (49.3% female, $M_{\text{age}} = 35.42$, $SD = 12.41$; we note that all results remained statistically significant when we kept the excluded participants in our analyses). A power analysis using $r = -.22$ as the estimate of the SDO-hypodescent correlation among Blacks (derived from averaging the correlations observed among Blacks in Studies 1A and 1B) suggests that 159 participants were needed to achieve 80% power

⁶ Studies 1A and 1B also allowed for a test of differences in hypodescent use among Blacks and Whites. In Study 1A, Blacks' mean use of hypodescent ($M = 4.42$, $SD = .77$) was significantly greater than Whites' mean use of hypodescent ($M = 4.25$, $SD = .57$): $t(417) = 2.15$, $p = .03$. In Study 1B, Whites' mean use of hypodescent ($M = 4.41$, $SD = .75$) was marginally greater than that of Blacks ($M = 4.30$, $SD = .62$): $t(532.48) = -1.89$, $p = .06$. Thus further work is needed to determine if there are significant and consistent differences in the extent to which hypodescent emerges across racial groups and to examine possible moderating factors.

for that association. Because we were also testing a serial mediation model, we collected a larger sample.

Measures.

SDO. SDO was assessed using the same scale described in previous studies (i.e., SDO₇; $\alpha = .88$, $m = 2.22$, $SD = 1.05$; Ho et al., 2015).

Perceptions of discrimination against biracials. This was measured with a five item measure that we developed ($\alpha = .86$, $m = 5.14$, $SD = 1.21$): “In your opinion, how much discrimination do Black–White biracials face in America today?” (1 = *None to 7 = A lot*); “How much does discrimination affect the lives of Black–White biracials?” (1 = *Not at all to 7 = A lot*); “Black–White biracials are frequently the victims of racial discrimination.” (Items 3–5: 1 = *Strongly disagree to 7 = Strongly agree*); “Black–White biracials experience negative treatment because of their race;” and “Black–White biracials rarely face racial discrimination (reverse-scored).”

Linked fate. This was measured with an 8-item measure that we developed ($\alpha = .83$; $m = 5.20$, $SD = 1.08$): “Do you think what happens to Black–White biracial people in this country will have something to do with what happens to Blacks?”; “Do you think what happens to Black–White biracial people in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?”; “Do you think what happens to Black people in this country will have something to do with what happens with Black–White biracials?”; “Blacks and Black–White biracials share a common destiny”; “Issues that affect the Black community also affect Black–White biracials”; “What happens to Black–White biracials does not have anything to do with what will happen to Blacks” (reverse-scored); “Racial progress for Black people also means racial progress for biracial individuals”; “When the way Blacks are treated in the U.S. changes, the way that Black–White biracials are treated will naturally follow.” Items 1–3 used a 1 = *No, not at all to 7 = Yes, a lot* scale and Items 4–7 used a 1 = *Strongly disagree to 7 = Strongly agree* scale.

Hypodescent. Lastly, participants completed a slightly modified 3-item measure of hypodescent ($\alpha = .91$, $m = 4.69$, $SD = 1.24$), which began with the stem, “If a Black American and a White American have a kid. . .,” followed by: “Would you think of the kid as relatively Black or relatively White?” (1 = *Relatively Black to 4 = Equally Black and White to 7 = Relatively White*); “Would you consider the kid more Black or more White?” (1 = *More Black to 4 = Equally Black and White to 7 = More White*); and “How would you categorize this child?” (1 = *Black to 4 = Equally Black and White to 7 = White*; all items reverse scored). Our measure of hypodescent in Studies 1A and 1B included items directly assessing categorization, as well as more indirect questions, tapping perceptions such as the extent to which an individual would act more like or fit in more with one group versus the other (e.g., Do you think [a Black and White kid] will act more like a Black person or a White person?). Although these items were adapted from past research (Ho et al., 2013), here, we wanted to use a measure that focused purely on categorization, to better assess how egalitarianism affects categorization per se via its relation to perceiving discrimination against, and feeling linked fate with, Black–White biracials.

We randomized the order of measurement of SDO, including it either at the beginning or at the end of the study (before or after the hypodescent measure), allowing us to test whether the order of

measuring SDO and hypodescent influences Blacks’ use of hypodescent, or the relation between SDO and hypodescent. Order of SDO and hypodescent did not affect results and thus we collapsed across conditions (see footnote 7 following main analyses). There were no additional measures in this study.

Results and Discussion

Replicating Studies 1A and B, we again found that Blacks categorized Black–White biracials as more Black than White (i.e., engaged in hypodescent; $t(457) = 11.85$, $p < .001$, Cohen’s $d = .55$) and that this was negatively related to SDO ($r = -.30$, $p < .001$; see Table 1).⁷

Next, we tested the proposed serial multiple mediator model (lower SDO \rightarrow perceptions of discrimination against biracials \rightarrow linked fate with biracials \rightarrow hypodescent) using the PROCESS macro for SPSS (Model 6) and found support for each path of the model (see Figure 2; Hayes, 2013): (a) SDO predicted perceptions of discrimination against Black–White biracials: $B_{\text{SDO}} = -.17$, $SE B = .05$, $\beta = -.15$; $t = -3.25$, $p = .001$; (b) perceptions of discrimination predicted linked fate between Black–White biracials and Blacks, controlling for SDO: $B_{\text{perceptions of discrimination}} = .47$, $SE B = .03$, $\beta = .53$; $t = 14.35$, $p < .001$; (c) and linked fate predicted hypodescent, controlling for SDO and perceptions of discrimination: $B_{\text{linked fate}} = .14$, $SE B = .07$, $\beta = .12$, $t = 2.14$, $p = .03$. Furthermore, we observed a significant serial mediation effect (lower SDO \rightarrow perceptions of discrimination \rightarrow linked fate \rightarrow hypodescent): indirect effect with 5,000 bootstrap samples ($a \times b \times c = -.012$, 95% CI = $-.031$ to $-.001$). Study 2 thus provides correlational support for our serial mediator model examining how SDO may come to affect hypodescent.

Supplemental Studies 1 and 2 were complementary to the current study in that they also show that perceived discrimination mediates the link between SDO and perceptions of linked fate, but do not assess perceived discrimination against biracials directly. Rather, they assess perceived discrimination against disadvantaged groups in general (Supplemental Study 1) and against Blacks (Supplemental Study 2), showing that these perceptions predict a sense of linked fate with multiracials and, thus, hypodescent. These studies are thus consistent with the idea that a broad sensitivity to discrimination is an important basis for Blacks’ linked fate with Black–White biracials (in line with our theorizing), but provide less direct evidence than Study 2 for the specific role of perception of discrimination against Black–White biracials (the central target group).

In Study 3 (and Supplemental Study 3), we experimentally manipulate perceptions of discrimination against biracials to assess its causal impact on linked fate, and thus hypodescent. We also directly replicate the results of Study 2 in Study 3’s no-prime control condition.

⁷ We also tested the possibility that the order of completing the SDO and hypodescent measures could influence our results, but found that overall levels of hypodescent did not vary by order ($t(456) = -1.33$, $p = .18$, Cohen’s $d = .12$). Furthermore, the SDO-hypodescent relationship was not moderated by the order in which SDO appeared (at the beginning of the survey, or at the end, after hypodescent; $B_{\text{SDO} \times \text{Order}} = -.01$, $SE B = .11$, $\beta = -.003$; $t = -.07$, $p = .95$).

Table 1
Correlations Between Variables in Studies 2 and 3

Study	1	2	3	4
Study 2				
1. SDO	—	-.15**	-.36***	-.30***
2. Perceptions of biracial discrimination	—	—	.57***	.03
3. Linked fate	—	—	—	.17***
4. Hypodescent	—	—	—	—
Study 3: Control condition ($N = 488$)				
1. SDO	—	-.17***	-.35***	-.23***
2. Perceptions of biracial discrimination	—	—	.57***	.06
3. Linked fate	—	—	—	.18***
4. Hypodescent	—	—	—	—
Study 3: High discrimination condition ($N = 448$)				
1. SDO	—	-.38***	-.46***	-.26***
2. Perceptions of biracial discrimination	—	—	.56***	.21***
3. Linked fate	—	—	—	.24***
4. Hypodescent	—	—	—	—
Study 3: Low discrimination condition ($N = 376$)				
1. SDO	—	.01	-.14**	-.24***
2. Perceptions of biracial discrimination	—	—	.62***	.02
3. Linked fate	—	—	—	.15**
4. Hypodescent	—	—	—	—

Note. SDO = social dominance orientation.

** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Study 3: The Causal Effect of Perceived Discrimination Against Black–White Biracials

In Study 3 (and Supplemental Study 3), we manipulated information about discrimination against biracials to provide causal evidence that the perception of discrimination against biracials increases Blacks' tendency to perceive linked fate with biracials, with implications for hypodescent. In the high discrimination condition, Blacks were told that Black–White biracials face a great deal of discrimination; in the low discrimination condition, Blacks were told that Black–White biracials face little discrimination. Both of these conditions were contrasted to a control condition, in which Blacks were not provided any explicit information about the degree of discrimination Black–White biracials face (which also allows for a direct replication of Study 2). We were centrally interested in comparing the low versus high discrimination conditions, but the inclusion of a control condition allowed us to examine how low and high discrimination conditions deviate from a baseline.

Study 2 showed that Blacks generally perceive that Black–White biracials are discriminated against (i.e., $m = 5.14$ on a 7-point scale where 7 indicated strong agreement with the idea that biracials are discriminated against). Thus, we additionally reasoned that we would see larger differences between the low discrimination condition and control condition than between the high discrimination and control conditions: It is specifically when Blacks perceive that Black–White biracials are *not* discriminated against that we would expect the basis for feeling linked fate with them to be diminished. Thus, we predicted larger differences

between the control and low (vs. between control and high) discrimination conditions—and possibly no differences between the control and high discrimination conditions—a prediction that we preregistered on AsPredicted.org: <https://aspredicted.org/5t88i.pdf>. Nevertheless, it is possible (and consistent with our theorizing) that further increasing Blacks' typical sense that Black–White biracials are discriminated against would accentuate their feelings of linked fate (and use of hypodescent), a possibility we considered here, too. In sum, since Study 2 provided correlational evidence that lower SDO \rightarrow perceptions of discrimination against biracials \rightarrow linked fate \rightarrow hypodescent, here we manipulate discrimination against biracials, the first mediator, and expected linked fate to follow, with implications for hypodescent.

Method

Participants. We recruited 1,535 U.S.-born Blacks via Prodege. We contracted Prodege to collect data from 1,500 respondents, and they were responsible for ending data collection after this goal was reached. We preregistered this study on AsPredicted.org before beginning data collection. We aimed to collect a large sample with 500 participants in each of the three conditions because we wanted to replicate the serial mediation model we found in Study 2 (which had $N = 500$) in the current study's control condition, and wanted to have an equal number of participants in each of the low and high discrimination conditions as well. Additionally, this large sample gave us ample power to test the central mediation model of interest in the current study (discrimination condition \rightarrow linked fate \rightarrow hypodescent) — Fritz and MacKinnon (2007) suggest that to achieve 80% power given small effects for each of the a and b paths in a mediation model, 462 participants are needed.

Forty-one participants were excluded for participating in the current study more than once ($n = 15$), for indicating they were multiracial in an open response ($n = 15$; a multiracial option was prominently displayed first in the demographic section), because they could not read the experimental manipulation vignette because of a technical error ($n = 10$), or because they guessed the main hypothesis ($n = 1$). Fifty-eight additional respondents were excluded because they participated in Study 1B, Supplemental Study 1, 2, or 3, or another study we conducted concerning racial categorization. Lastly 113 respondents were excluded from analyses because they indicated in an open response that they did not believe the article we used to manipulate perceptions of biracial

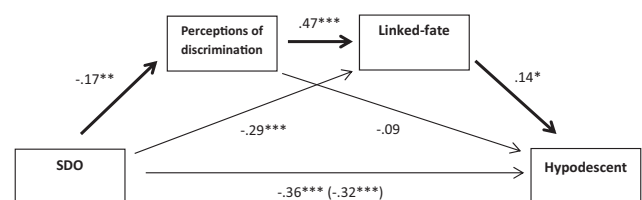


Figure 2. Serial mediator model in Study 2. Bolded paths depict the central indirect effect of interest. Coefficients are unstandardized regression coefficients. The unstandardized regression coefficient representing the relationship between social dominance orientation (SDO) and hypodescent, controlling for perceptions of discrimination and linked-fate, is in parentheses. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

discrimination ($n = 83$), typed random letters or words when asked about their thoughts concerning this article or about the purpose of the study ($n = 24$), expressed disdain for the study ($n = 15$), or reported not paying attention ($n = 2$). The final sample thus included 1312 respondents (51.5% female, $M_{\text{age}} = 39.21$, $SD_{\text{age}} = 14.63$). Notably, even with these participants included (and with all participants included except for the 41 noted at the beginning of the paragraph who did not meet the most basic inclusion criteria; total $N = 1494$) all of the central results remained statistically significant. The only exception concerned the direct effect of the biracial discrimination manipulation on hypodescent as noted below, though the critical indirect effect of biracial discrimination on hypodescent via linked fate remained significant.⁸

Procedure. After completing the same 16-item social dominance orientation measure used in previous studies ($\alpha = .87$, $m = 2.32$, $SD = 1.05$), participants were randomly assigned to one of three experimental conditions. In the “high discrimination” condition, participants read an article titled “Black–White biracials frequently experience discrimination, recent studies show.” The content of this article was created for the purposes of this manipulation. The article provided statistics indicating that biracials face discrimination in employment and home loan applications, and quotes from 2 biracial interviewees agreeing with the statistics (see Appendix). In the “low discrimination condition,” participants read an article titled “Black–White biracials not affected by discrimination, recent studies show,” which included statistics indicating that biracials do not experience much discrimination in employment and in the home loan application process. Again, 2 biracial interviewees were quoted as agreeing with the statistics. A no prime control condition, in which participants directly proceeded to the measures discussed below without reading any article, was included for comparison with the low and high discrimination conditions. As previously noted, we predicted that there would be larger differences between the low discrimination and control conditions than between the high discrimination and control conditions (and possibly no differences between the latter).

Participants then completed the same 5-item biracial discrimination measure used in Study 2, which served as a manipulation check for the high and low discrimination manipulations, and as a mediator in the no-prime control condition ($\alpha = .89$, $M = 5.04$, $SD = 1.40$). Following that came the 8-item linked fate measure used in Study 2 ($\alpha = .86$, $M = 5.24$, $SD = 1.22$). Lastly, we administered the 3-item measure of hypodescent as in Study 2 ($\alpha = .92$, $M = 4.61$, $SD = 1.18$). There were no additional measures in this study.

Results

We began by conducting one-way ANOVAs to examine the effect of experimental condition on each of perceptions of discrimination against biracials, perceptions of linked fate with biracials, and hypodescent. Analyses revealed that the biracial discrimination manipulation did in fact influence perceptions of discrimination, $F(2, 1309) = 114.52$, $p < .001$. Moreover, planned contrasts revealed that as expected, the difference between the low ($M = 4.20$, $SD = 1.47$) and high ($M = 5.48$, $SD = 1.16$) discrimination condition was significant, $t(1,309) = 14.20$, $p < .001$, Cohen’s $d = .97$, as was the difference between the low and control ($M = 5.28$, $SD = 1.25$) conditions, $t(1,309) = 12.22$, $p < .001$, Cohen’s

$d = .79$. That is, those in the high discrimination condition perceived more discrimination against biracials than those in the control or low discrimination conditions. Of note, and as expected, although the difference between the high discrimination and no prime control condition was significant, $t(1309) = -2.36$, $p = .02$, Cohen’s $d = .17$, the difference was small compared to the difference between the low discrimination and control conditions (i.e., Cohen’s $d = .79$ v. $.17$), consistent with the idea that, at baseline, Black perceivers expect that Black–White biracials face discrimination.

Discrimination condition also had an effect on perceptions of linked fate, $F(2, 1309) = 45.12$, $p < .001$. Planned contrasts revealed that the difference in linked fate in the low ($M = 4.77$, $SD = 1.30$) versus high ($M = 5.54$, $SD = 1.13$) discrimination conditions was significant, $t(1,309) = 9.31$, $p < .001$, Cohen’s $d = .63$, as was the difference between the low discrimination versus control ($M = 5.32$, $SD = 1.14$) conditions, $t(1,309) = 6.75$, $p < .001$, Cohen’s $d = .45$. Thus, participants in the high discrimination condition felt more linked fate with Black–White biracials than did participants in the low discrimination condition, and participants in the low discrimination condition felt *less* linked fate with biracials than did those in the control condition. Again, although the difference between the high discrimination and control conditions was significant, $t(1,309) = -2.87$, $p = .004$, Cohen’s $d = .20$, it was relatively weak.

Likewise, condition had an effect on hypodescent, $F(2, 1309) = 3.02$, $p = .049$. Planned contrasts revealed that those in the low discrimination condition ($M = 4.48$, $SD = 1.12$) were less likely to engage in hypodescent than those in the high discrimination condition ($M = 4.65$, $SD = 1.18$; $t(1,309) = 2.09$, $p = .04$, Cohen’s $d = .15$) or those in the control condition ($M = 4.66$, $SD = 1.21$; $t(1,309) = 2.23$, $p = .03$, Cohen’s $d = .16$). We observed no significant differences between the likelihood of using hypodescent between those in the high discrimination and control conditions, $t(1,309) = .11$, $p = .91$, Cohen’s $d = .01$.⁹

A one sample t test from the midpoint of 4 showed that although Blacks used hypodescent in both high and low discrimination conditions, they did so to a lesser extent in the low discrimination condition, $t(375) = 8.32$, $p < .001$, Cohen’s $d = 0.43$ than the high discrimination condition, $t(447) = 11.77$, $p < .001$, Cohen’s $d =$

⁸ Interestingly, and consistent with the fact that Blacks on average tend to believe that Black–White biracials are discriminated against (in the current study’s no-prime control condition, $m = 5.28/7$), 77 of the 83 participants who did not believe the experimental vignette were in the low discrimination condition. We solicited participant responses regarding the manipulation and the study to determine whether any participants needed to be disqualified based on criteria such as not believing the manipulation, but due to an oversight, did not include this specific plan under question 7 in the pre-registration form (“Anything else you would like to pre-register?”). We note again that including these participants did not change the results of our predicted mediation.

⁹ When we used less restrictive exclusion criteria described above, including people who did not believe the manipulation, the low versus high discrimination condition difference in hypodescent is no longer significant ($t(969) = -.06$, $p = .96$; low versus control: $t(999) = -.36$, $p = .72$; control versus high: $t(1,014) = .31$, $p = .76$). Importantly, however, the indirect effect of high (vs. low) discrimination on hypodescent via perceptions of linked-fate, central to our predictions, remains significant: $a \times b = .13$, 95% CI = $.09$ to $.18$; PROCESS Macro Model 4 with 5,000 bootstrap samples (Hayes, 2013).

0.56. We also observed hypodescent in the no-prime control condition, $t(487) = 12.05, p < .001$, Cohen's $d = 0.55$.

We then examined the central effect of interest in the current study — whether perceptions of linked fate mediated the effect of discrimination condition (low v. high) on hypodescent using the PROCESS macro for SPSS (Model 4; Hayes, 2013; see Figure 3). The results showed that (a) the biracial discrimination experimental manipulation (low v. high discrimination) influenced perceptions of linked fate ($B_{\text{condition}} = .77, SE B = .08, \beta = .30; t = 9.10, p < .001$) and (b) linked fate in turn was related to hypodescent ($B_{\text{linked fate}} = .19, SE B = .03, \beta = .21; t = 5.75, p < .001$). The indirect effect of the discrimination condition on hypodescent through linked fate, based on 5000 bootstrap samples, was also significant ($a \times b = .14, SE = .03, 95\% CI = .09 \text{ to } .21$).

As predicted, when we conducted the same mediation analysis comparing only the low discrimination condition to a no-prime control condition, the results were similar: (a) condition (low v. control) influenced perceptions of linked fate ($B_{\text{condition}} = .55, SE B = .08, \beta = .22; t = 6.59, p < .001$) and (b) linked fate in turn was related to hypodescent ($B_{\text{linked fate}} = .16, SE B = .03, \beta = .17; t = 4.88, p < .001$). The indirect effect of the discrimination condition on hypodescent through linked fate, based on 5,000 bootstrap samples, was also significant ($a \times b = .09, SE = .02, 95\% CI = .05 \text{ to } .14$). Comparing the control condition to the high discrimination condition, the mediation was also significant, though (as predicted) weaker: (a) the biracial discrimination experimental manipulation (control v. high discrimination) influenced perceptions of linked fate ($B_{\text{condition}} = .22, SE B = .07, \beta = .10; t = 3.00, p < .01$) and (b) linked fate in turn was related to hypodescent ($B_{\text{linked fate}} = .22, SE B = .03, \beta = .21; t = 6.40, p < .001$). The indirect effect of the discrimination condition on hypodescent through linked fate, based on 5000 bootstrap samples, was also significant ($a \times b = .05, SE = .02, 95\% CI = .02 \text{ to } .09$).

We further theorized (and preregistered) that SDO would moderate the discrimination condition \rightarrow linked fate relationship, with consequences for hypodescent. A feeling of linked fate with biracials when they are discriminated against depends on feeling that one's own group is also discriminated against. Because high (vs. low) SDO Blacks are less likely to perceive discrimination against Blacks to begin with (e.g., Thomsen et al., 2010; also see Supplemental Study 2), telling them that Black–White biracials face discrimination might be less likely to generate a sense of linked

fate among high (compared to low) SDO Blacks. Thus in addition to the central discrimination \rightarrow linked fate \rightarrow hypodescent effect documented above we also examined, as a secondary analysis, whether this effect would be particularly pronounced among low (vs. high) SDO Blacks.

To test this, we conducted a test of moderated mediation, in which we predicted that SDO would interact with the discrimination manipulation (low vs. high discrimination) to influence perceptions of linked fate, which would in turn relate to hypodescent (PROCESS Model 7, Hayes, 2013). The results of this test supported our prediction (index of moderated mediation = $-.06, 95\% CI = -.10 \text{ to } -.03$): although perceptions of linked fate mediated the effects of our discrimination manipulation at all levels of SDO, this indirect effect was most pronounced among participants who were 1 *SD* below the mean on SDO ($B = .20, SE B = .04, \beta = .09, 95\% CI = .13 \text{ to } .28$). At the mean of SDO, the indirect effect was $B = .14, SE B = .03, \beta = .06, 95\% CI = .09 \text{ to } .19$, and at 1 *SD* above the mean, it was $B = .07, SE B = .02, \beta = .03, 95\% CI = .03 \text{ to } .12$.¹⁰

The inclusion of a control condition also permitted us to replicate the serial mediation model examined in Study 2 using the PROCESS macro for SPSS (Model 6; Hayes, 2013; Figure 4; see Table 1 for bivariate correlations between variables). Among participants in the control condition, and consistent with Study 2, we found that (a) higher levels of SDO were associated with lower levels of perceived discrimination against biracials ($B = -.20, SE B = .05, \beta = -.17; t = -3.82, p < .001$); (b) perceptions of biracial discrimination were positively related to perceptions of linked fate, controlling for SDO ($B = .48, SE B = .03, \beta = .52; t = 14.48, p < .001$); and (c) linked fate in turn was related to hypodescent, controlling for SDO and perceptions of discrimination ($B = .15, SE B = .06, \beta = .14; t = 2.49, p = .01$). Importantly, when we examined the serial mediation effect with 5,000 bootstrap samples (i.e., path $a \times b \times c$), we observed that it was significant: $a \times b \times c = -.01, 95\% CI = -.032 \text{ to } -.003$. Finally, consistent with previous studies, the correlation between

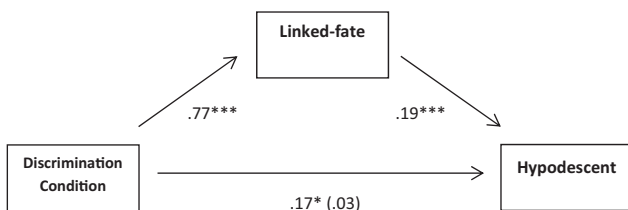


Figure 3. Mediation model with the first mediator from the serial mediation model presented in previous study (biracial discrimination) manipulated (Study 3 low v. high discrimination conditions, $N = 824$). Coefficients are unstandardized regression coefficients. The unstandardized regression coefficient representing the relationship between condition and hypodescent, controlling for linked-fate, is in parentheses. * $p < .05$. *** $p < .001$.

¹⁰ As one would expect based on our predictions, and based on results above, this analysis was similar when we compared the low discrimination and control conditions. That is, the index of moderated mediation = $-.03, 95\% CI = -.07 \text{ to } -.01$): although perceptions of linked fate mediated the effects of our discrimination manipulation at all levels of SDO, this indirect effect was most pronounced among participants who were 1 *SD* below the mean on SDO ($B = .12, SE B = .03, \beta = .05, 95\% CI = .07 \text{ to } .19$). At the mean of SDO, the indirect effect was $B = .09, SE B = .02, \beta = .04, 95\% CI = .05 \text{ to } .14$, and at 1 *SD* above the mean, it was $B = .05, SE B = .02, \beta = .02, 95\% CI = .02 \text{ to } .10$. Likewise, when we compared the high discrimination and control conditions, the index of moderated mediation = $-.03, 95\% CI = -.0567 \text{ to } -.0004$): although perceptions of linked fate mediated the effects of our discrimination manipulation at low and mean levels of SDO, this indirect effect was most pronounced among participants who were 1 *SD* below the mean on SDO ($B = .07, SE B = .02, \beta = .03, 95\% CI = .03 \text{ to } .11$). At the mean of SDO, the indirect effect was $B = .04, SE B = .02, \beta = .02, 95\% CI = .01 \text{ to } .07$, and at 1 *SD* above the mean, it was not significant ($B = .01, SE B = .02, \beta = .004, 95\% CI = -.03 \text{ to } .05$). When we used less restrictive exclusion criteria described above, including people who did not believe the manipulation, the indices of moderated mediation for the analyses looking at the high discrimination condition on the one hand, and the low or control conditions on the other, remain significant. The index of moderated mediation in the analysis comparing the low discrimination and control conditions becomes marginally significant (index = $-.02, 90\% CI = -.045 \text{ to } -.002$).

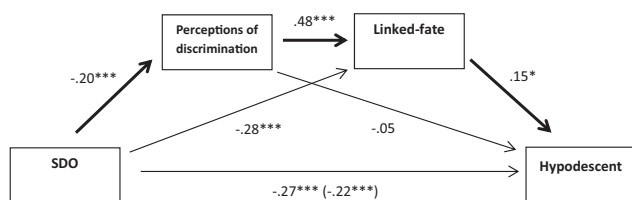


Figure 4. Serial mediator model in Study 3 control condition ($n = 488$). Bolded paths depict the central indirect effect of interest. Coefficients are unstandardized regression coefficients. The unstandardized regression coefficient representing the relationship between SDO and hypodescent, controlling for perceptions of discrimination and linked-fate, is in parentheses. * $p < .05$. *** $p < .001$.

SDO and hypodescent in the control condition was negative and significant, $r = -.23$, $p < .001$.

Internal Meta-Analysis

To provide an overall estimate of the robustness of the SDO \times race interaction from Studies 1A and 1B, in line with recent calls to conduct internal meta-analyses in multistudy reports (Maner, 2014), we used Stouffer's method (Mosteller & Bush, 1954; see also Rosenthal & Rosnow, 1991, p. 504) and found that this effect, significant in both studies, is robust (weighted $z = -6.16$, $p < .001$).

Furthermore, we tested the robustness of (a) Blacks' use of hypodescent and (b) the relationship between low SDO and hypodescent (i.e., negative correlation), by meta-analyzing our findings across Studies 1 (A and B) to 3 and Supplemental Studies 1 and 2, examining those participants ($n = 2128$) who were not exposed to a low or high discrimination manipulation (i.e., including only the no prime control condition in Study 3 and not including Supplemental Study 3). This analysis revealed both that the use of hypodescent (weighted $z = -13.96$, $p < .001$) and its negative relationship with SDO (weighted $z = -10.64$, $p < .001$) among Black perceivers are quite robust.¹¹

General Discussion

Across seven studies, we find clear and consistent evidence that both Blacks and Whites use hypodescent in judging Black–White biracials, categorizing them as more Black than White. Importantly, however, their use of hypodescent correlates differently with (anti-)egalitarianism. In Studies 1A–1B, participant race significantly interacted with social dominance orientation such that among Whites, antiegalitarianism (higher levels of SDO) was associated with hypodescent whereas among Blacks, *egalitarianism* (lower levels of SDO) was associated with hypodescent. Studies 2 and 3 (and Supplemental Studies 1–3) replicated Blacks' use of hypodescent and showed again that SDO was negatively associated with hypodescent among Blacks. Moreover, these studies demonstrated that Blacks' tendency to use hypodescent is mediated by perceptions of discrimination against Black–White biracials and a subsequent sense that Blacks and Black–White biracials share a linked fate. The conclusions of the current studies thus stand in stark contrast to previous studies outlining Whites' motivations for hypodescent, demonstrating that whereas both

Whites and Blacks may 'arrive' at hypodescent in their categorization of biracial targets, the routes underlying these categorizations are not only different, but opposite in spirit. Thus, when one takes the perspective of minority group social perceivers, it is clear hypodescent can be understood as an inclusionary phenomenon, a finding that resonates with the historical inclusion of Black–White biracials by Blacks (Davis, 1991).

Our findings also inform research on "ingroup overexclusion," which has primarily been investigated from the perspective of dominant group members. Extending our understanding of the boundaries of this phenomenon, we show that there are certain contexts where individuals apply more *inclusive* rather than *exclusive* group boundaries and thus more liberally allow ambiguous targets to 'enter.' Our finding that the phenomenon of ingroup overexclusion may operate differently among disadvantaged group members is consistent with unpublished data (Capozza, Voci, & Toaldo, 1998; as cited in Yzerbyt, Castano, Leyens, & Paladino, 2000) showing that overexclusion did not hold among southern Italians (lower in status compared to their northern Italian counterparts). Our results build on these preliminary results, and demonstrate that a tendency toward ingroup overexclusion may indeed be moderated by the status of one's group, an idea that warrants future research.

The current research also represents a relatively rare exploration of how intergroup egalitarianism (i.e., lower levels of SDO) relates to consequential intergroup phenomena in society. Most research in social and political psychology has focused on *anti-egalitarianism* or prejudice among members of high status groups, examining how such individual differences operate to maintain systems of social inequality (e.g., Chow, Lowery, & Hogan, 2013; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Ho et al., 2012; Knowles et al., 2009; Pratto et al., 1994; Sears & Henry, 2005; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; but see Chen, Moons, Gaither, Hamilton, & Sherman, 2014; Levin, Kteily, Pratto, Sidanius, & Matthews, 2016; Levin, Pratto, Matthews, Sidanius, & Kteily, 2013; Pratto et al., 2014; van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008). By focusing on the egalitarian beliefs of a minority group, our work sheds light not only on the phenomenon of hypodescent, but extends intergroup relations research on minority political consciousness (also see Craig & Richeson, 2016).

Notably, our work is compatible with current theoretical accounts on intraminority intergroup relations, in particular, the stigma-based solidarity model (Craig & Richeson, 2012, 2016). According to this model, minority groups that feel stigmatized along the same dimension (e.g., race) as another group come to feel more of a coalition with that group. The current work demonstrates that Blacks' tendency to categorize Black–White biracials as part of their ingroup reflects a sense of linked fate with biracials in line with the stigma-based solidarity model. This model also theorizes that person-based factors (such as individual differences in sociopolitical attitudes) may amplify the tendency to perceive discrimination and subsequently activate a common stigmatized-identity, consistent with our finding that lower SDO Blacks are more likely to perceive discrimination against Black–

¹¹ When we include participants that were exposed to a low or high discrimination prime (i.e., including data across all 7 studies, from 3,447 Black participants), the use of hypodescent (weighted $z = -18.12$, $p < .001$) as well as its negative relation to SDO is similarly robust (weighted $z = -13.11$, $p < .001$).

White biracials, promoting Black perceivers' sense of linked fate with and tendency to include Black–White biracials in the ingroup. Thus, our findings extend the examination of stigma-based solidarity to encompass the group categorization of ambiguous targets and highlight a novel person-based factor that may contribute to the activation of a common stigmatized-identity.

Ironically, although Blacks' use of hypodescent may derive from their egalitarian beliefs and an associated sense of common fate with multiracials, the categorization of multiracials as Black may have some less desirable consequences. For one, categorizing multiracials as Black (rather than multiracial) may contribute to the reification of entrenched (and socially constructed) color lines (Chen & Hamilton, 2012; Richeson & Sommers, 2016). Furthermore, categorizing multiracials as Black may stand in opposition to the preferences and social identification of multiracials themselves, reducing their sense of self-determination and personal autonomy (Gaither, 2015; Remedios & Chasteen, 2013; Townsend, Fryberg, Wilkins, & Markus, 2012; Townsend, Markus, & Bergsieker, 2009). Indeed, multiracial advocacy was critical to changing the U.S. Census to allow individuals to select more than one race (Hickman, 1997; Lucas, 2014; Prewitt, 2013) and thus opposition to such changes by minority groups (e.g., the NAACP's opposition to the change in the 2000 U.S. Census; Prewitt, 2013) and their use of hypodescent may place greater pressure and more constraints on multiracial individuals' identity options (Harris & Sim, 2002; Rockquemore & Brunnsma, 2002). The denial of identity options may have other downstream consequences for multiracials' self-esteem and achievement motivation (Townsend et al., 2009). Thus, the use of hypodescent, even if it relates to egalitarianism, may need to be reconciled with multiracials' rights and desires to define their own social identities.

Furthermore, although the present work demonstrates that multiracials are categorized as more Black than White, social perceivers may nevertheless treat monoracial and multiracial Black individuals differently on some dimensions. For example, some research has shown that darker skinned Blacks face greater discrimination than lighter skinned Blacks, a phenomenon known as colorism or skin tone bias (Eberhardt, Davies, Purdie-Vaughns, & Johnson, 2006; Maddox, 2004; Maddox & Gray, 2002). Perhaps in part because of these differences in treatment, differences in skin tone have also sometimes been the source of tension within Black communities (e.g., Dyson, 2016; see Harvey, LaBeach, Pridgen, & Gocial, 2005, on how this may be moderated by context). Thus, despite their general categorization in the ingroup, a similar divide could separate multiracial from monoracial Black individuals, perhaps especially to the extent that a multiracial person is also less phenotypically Black. Thus, it cannot be assumed that a propensity toward categorizing Black–White individuals as Black automatically results in full acceptance of Black–White biracial individuals. Indeed, although 58% of Black–White biracials report feeling “very” well accepted by Blacks, 35% of biracials report feeling only “somewhat” well accepted by Blacks, and 7% report feeling “not too” or “not at all” accepted by Blacks (Pew Research Center, 2015).

The present work documents one avenue through which egalitarian beliefs among Black Americans relates to their ingroup categorization of Black–White multiracials. However, just as research with Whites has found that the use of hypodescent is multiply determined by a variety of social and cognitive under-

pinnings (Ho, Roberts, & Gelman, 2015), other social and cognitive factors likely underpin the use of hypodescent among Blacks as well, including both factors that are independent of egalitarianism, as well as additional mediators of the egalitarianism-hypodescent link. In particular, it may be interesting for future research to explore whether a desire for collective action additionally explains why egalitarianism is related to hypodescent among Blacks. For example, Blacks who desire to bring about intergroup equality and reduce social hierarchy might want to include more individuals in their ingroup as a means of gaining “strength in numbers” in a collective effort to achieve social change. Indeed, as we note above, Black (and other ethnic minority) leaders opposed giving multiracials the option to identify as “multi-racial” prior to the change to the U.S. Census in 2000, because they were concerned that they would lose political power if multiracials started identifying with a group outside their ethnic minority group.

In addition, egalitarians have also been found to be more inclusive (Pratto et al., 2014; Unzueta, Knowles, & Ho, 2012)—generally more likely to include others around them as part of their sphere of concern—and thus it may also be interesting for future research to examine whether an overall tendency to be inclusive mediates egalitarian Blacks' tendency toward categorizing Black–White multiracials as Black (i.e., hypodescent). Likewise, seen from another perspective, egalitarian Whites' *avoidance* of hypodescent could be interpreted as a form of inclusive categorization (i.e., a propensity to include biracials as part of the ingroup). Thus, on the one hand, the fact that the use of hypodescent is associated with more egalitarianism among Blacks and *less* egalitarianism among Whites highlights how different beliefs relate to applying the rule of hypodescent (the central research question we focus on here). But on the other hand, egalitarian Blacks *and* egalitarian Whites both include biracials in the ingroup more, highlighting how the same belief can relate to ingroup categorization. Thus, future work should examine inclusiveness rooted in egalitarianism as a mediator of multiracial categorization for *both* Whites and Blacks.

Future work could also aim to explore these phenomena in another nationally representative probability sample. Although the findings from Study 1A, the general population sample, were mostly consistent with Study 1B (a direct replication), revealing hypodescent among Blacks and Whites and a SDO \times Race interaction in predicting hypodescent, the SDO-hypodescent relationship among both Blacks and Whites was weaker in this sample compared to other samples in this paper. Additional studies with representative samples would help determine whether this is the result of natural variation in effects across studies (irrespective of the population sampled) or whether there is some other characteristic of representative samples that would make this effect weaker.

Lastly, it would be worthwhile to examine these processes with other ethnic groups. The present research focuses on Blacks and Whites, because they are the lowest and highest status ethnic groups in the U.S., respectively, and because Black–White multiracials historically have been the largest and most visible multiracial group and remains the single largest multiracial group (Davis, 1991; Jones & Bullock, 2012; Kahn et al., 2009). However, research in political psychology suggests that Blacks may be “exceptional” among racial minority groups in having a heightened sense of racial and political consciousness (Sears, Fu, Henry, & Bui, 2003; Sears & Savalei, 2006). Therefore, future work should examine the political motives of social perceivers belonging to

other ethnic minority groups, as they pertain to how multiracials, Black–White biracials and others, are categorized. Studying these psychological phenomena among other minority groups would provide a more comprehensive understanding of how factors such as group status and political consciousness underpin perceptions of biracial individuals. For example, it would be interesting to examine how Asian Americans, who occupy an intermediate status position in the U.S. (Kahn et al., 2009), and who have a lower political consciousness relative to Blacks (Sears et al., 2003) would categorize Asian-White biracials.

Although much remains to be understood, our research begins to uncover how multiracial individuals are categorized as a function of perceivers' sociopolitical beliefs and importantly, as a function of their membership in minority versus majority social groups. With levels of interracial marriage and mixed race increasing rapidly in the U.S. (Jones & Bullock, 2012), understanding how those with mixed race background are categorized and subsequently treated will be increasingly important to understanding the nature of intergroup dynamics in the 21st century.

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(Appendix follows)

Appendix

High and Low Discrimination Condition Vignettes in Study 3

High Discrimination Against Biracials Condition

Black–White Biracials Frequently Experience Discrimination, Recent Studies Show

Social scientists examining the experience of Black–White biracial individuals in the 21st century have found that Black–White biracial individuals frequently experience discrimination. In one recent National Survey, released in June by the Pew Research Center, Black–White biracial people were found to face discrimination in the labor market. Specifically, 5.7% of Black–White biracial job seekers reported that they had been granted an interview after submitting an application, compared to 13.5% of job seekers nationally. And among Black–White biracial respondents who interviewed for at least one job in the last year, 22.1% were selected for the job, compared with 39.1% nationally. These findings follow findings released earlier in the year by researchers at Princeton University showing that Black–White biracials are denied home loans at significantly higher rates compared to the nationwide average—in 2015, 23.2% of Black–White biracial home loan applicants were rejected, compared with a 6.2% rejection rate nationally.

Interviewed about these reports, Joshua Davis, a 27-year-old Black–White biracial man who works as an accountant in Illinois, said, “Yes, those statistics don’t surprise me at all. We experience a lot of discrimination on an everyday basis.”

Similarly, when asked for her thoughts about these findings, Stephanie Rogers, 24, who is also Black–White biracial, simply stated, “Tell me something I don’t know. Discrimination against biracials is a real problem.”

Low Discrimination Against Biracials Condition

Black–White Biracials Not Affected by Discrimination, Recent Studies Show

Social scientists examining the experience of Black–White biracial individuals in the 21st century have found that Black–White biracial individuals rarely experience discrimination. In one recent National Survey, released in June by the Pew Research Center, there was no evidence of Black–White biracial people experiencing discrimination in the labor market. Specifically, 13.6% of Black–White biracial job seekers reported that they had been granted an interview after submitting an application, compared to 13.5% of job seekers nationally. And among Black–White biracial respondents who interviewed for at least one job in the last year, 39.4% were selected for the job, compared to 39.1% nationally. These findings follow findings released earlier in the year by researchers at Princeton University showing that Black–White biracials are granted home loans at similar rates compared to the nationwide average—in 2015, 5.4% of Black–White biracial home loan applicants were rejected, compared to a 6.2% rejection rate nationally.

Interviewed about these reports, Joshua Davis, a 27-year-old Black–White biracial man who works as an accountant in Illinois, said, “Yes, those statistics don’t surprise me at all. I don’t think we really experience much discrimination.”

Similarly, when asked for her thoughts about these findings, Stephanie Rogers, 24, who is also Black–White biracial, simply stated, “These findings sound right to me. My racial background hasn’t felt like a big factor to me.”

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Correction to Finkel et al. (2017)

In the commentary, “Replicability and Other Features of a High-Quality Science: Toward a Balanced and Empirical Approach” by Eli J. Finkel, Paul W. Eastwick, and Harry T. Reis (*Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 2017, Vol. 113, No. 2, pp. 244–253. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000075>), there was an error in the References list. The publishing year for the 18th article was cited incorrectly as 2016. The in-text acronym associated with this citation should read instead as LCL2017. The correct References list citation should read as follows:

LeBel, E. P., Campbell, L., & Loving, T. J. (2017). Benefits of open and high-powered research outweigh costs. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 113, 230–243. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000049>.

The online version of this article has been corrected.

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