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Status, racial hegemony, and phenotypical inequality: exploring the racial invariance hypothesis

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STATUS, RACIAL HEGEMONY, AND PHENOTYPICAL INEQUALITY:

EXPLORING THE RACIAL INVARIANCE HYPOTHESIS

by

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PH. D. THESIS

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To Rigo Cantu and Bryan Locklear. I wish you were here to see this.

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ABSTRACT

Social psychological theorizing assumes that 1) members of dominant and oppressed racial groups subscribe to the same set of cultural beliefs regarding the racial hierarchy in the United States and 2) that patterns of deference in task groups reflect broader patterns of inequality in society. With the use white and black research participants at two research sites, this thesis examines these assumptions with regards to the proposed tri-racial hierarchy of the Latin Americanization Thesis, which asserts that the racial hierarchy in the U.S. is now primarily determined by phenotype, as opposed to traditional racial and ethnic boundaries.

Do White and Black Americans associate similar perceptions of status with members of the proposed tri-racial hierarchy? In addition, skin tone is associated with socioeconomic status among blacks in the U.S., but do research participants defer to members of the pigmentocracy in a manner consistent with these broader patterns of inequality? These questions are assessed by matching white and black research participants with either a white, light-skinned black, or dark-skinned black partner for the completion of a joint task.

The results of the multi-site experiment suggest that there is racial invariance with the perceived status associated with members of the pigmentocracy. More generally, whites exhibit patterns of active denial and report that most others believe dark-skinned blacks are more competent than light-skinned blacks, who most others believe are more competent than whites. Whites purportedly personally subscribe to this pattern of beliefs. Blacks, however, exhibit a pattern of active resistance to stigmatizing beliefs: while they report that oppressed members of the pigmentocracy are held in lower regard by most others in society, they refuse to personally endorse these stigmatizing beliefs.

These attitudinal reactions had implications for the patterns of deference that emerged when jointly completing the group task. While patterns of influence emergent in group tasks generally reflect broader patterns of stratification in society, this failed to be the case when participants interacted with members of the pigmentocracy most phenotypically distinct from themselves. That is, when racial distinctions were most salient, research participants consciously reacted against the pigmentocracy, obstructing the activation of the status generalization process. The implications of these results for model testing and development, and for identifying racial biases in the current racial climate are discussed.

PUBLIC ABSTRACT

Race scholars assert that the racial hierarchy in the United States is now primarily determined by phenotype, as opposed to traditional racial categories. This thesis assesses this claim by examining the attitudinal and behavioral reactions to individuals who differ by skin tone when jointly completing a group task. White and black research participants at two research sites were paired with either a white, light-skinned black, or a dark-skinned black partner to examine the differential patterns of deference and perceptions of status associated with these phenotypically distinct group members.

White and black participants had distinct attitudinal reactions to these group members. A pattern of active denial emerged among whites, as they report that most others believe dark-skinned blacks are more competent than light-skinned blacks, who are more competent than whites. Whites purportedly personally subscribe to these beliefs. Blacks, however, assert that most others believe whites are more competent than light-skinned blacks, who are believed to be held in higher esteem than dark-skinned blacks. Interestingly, they actively resist these stigmatizing societal beliefs and report that whites are actually less competent than light-skinned and dark-skinned blacks.

These differential attitudinal reactions had implications for the emergent patterns of deference within the task groups. While patterns of influence in group encounters generally reflect broader societal patterns of inequality, this was not the case when participants interacted with group members most unlike them in terms of racial distinctions. The implications of these results for theoretical testing and development are discussed.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Status Beliefs, Racial Hegemony, and the New Racial Hierarchy

A new system of racial domination consisting of three racial strata is operating in the U.S. (Bonilla-Silva 2002; 2004). This tri-racial system is said to be comprised of "Whites" atop the hierarchy, "Collective Blacks" at the bottom, and an intermediary group of "Honorary Whites" in between, with skin tone primarily demarcating one's placement within the racial hierarchy. Assertions of this new racial hierarchy are well-supported with respect to the material outcomes of African Americans: light-skinned African Americans have higher levels of income, occupational prestige, and educational attainment than their dark-complexioned counterparts (e.g., Monk 2014). There is much to be learned, however, about the prevailing racial ideology governing this new system.

All systems of racial domination have an ideological component that serves to perpetuate material inequalities by associating oppressed group members with less beauty, intelligence, and/or worthiness (Bonilla-Silva 1997; Bonilla-Silva 2015). Social psychologists assert that status beliefs, or perceptions of general competency and social esteem, are critical to understanding racial stratification as they organize unequal patterns of influence in interaction, the differential assignment of coveted roles within organizations, and disparities in pay between high and low status racial groups (Berger and Webster 2006; Ridgeway 2014).

In this dissertation, I explore the status beliefs associated with members of the new pigmentogratic scheme. More specifically, I examine if transitive patterns of perceived status are consistent with the pigmentocratic tertiary hierarchy. Furthermore, I consider whether White and Black Americans report similar perceptions of status for members of the new hierarchy, as

assumed by the expectation states tradition (Berger, Norman, Fişek, and Zelditch 1977; Berger and Webster 2006).

Status beliefs are purportedly *widely shared cultural beliefs* that associate groups of people advantaged by culturally valued nominal distinctions with more social esteem and competence than groups of people possessing the disadvantaged social distinction (Berger et al. 1977). That is, high and low status racial group members agree, or at least concede, that high status racial group members are assumed to have more competence by most others in society (Ridgeway, Boyle, Kuipers and Robinson 1998; Ridgeway 2006). However, researchers have yet to empirically assess the assumed cultural universality of this racial ideology (Hunt, Jackson, Powell, and Steelman 2000).

Data collected from social psychological experiments at two research sites show that the association between status beliefs and the pigmentocratic racial order not only depends on whether respondents are asked about the beliefs of most societal members or their own personal beliefs, but also on the race of the respondent. Rather than exhibiting racially invariant status beliefs for members of the pigmentocracy as assumed by social psychologists, the attitudinal reactions and underlying motivations of white and black responses are quite distinct.

Whites attempt to maintain a position of color-blindness and actively deny that oppressed members of the tri-racial strata have less status in the U.S. Blacks exhibit a pattern more consistent with the new system of racial domination and report that group members disadvantaged by racial distinctions in the pigmentocracy are held in lower regard by most members of society. Interestingly, however, they actively resist personally endorsing such deleterious beliefs. These varying patterns of racial esteem are interpreted through the lens of prevailing explanations for racial attitudes.

The Latin Americanization Thesis

The Latin Americanization Thesis claims that the binary racial system that distinguished between whites and non-whites, has been replaced by a system of racial domination with three strata: Whites, Honorary Whites, and Collective Blacks (Bonilla-Silva 2002; 2004). This new racialized social system places a stronger emphasis on phenotype for determining one's placement within the tri-racial arrangement. The White strata is comprised of White Americans, new white immigrants, light-skinned assimilated Latino/as, some multiracials, and a few Asian-origin groups, while Collective Blacks include Black Americans, black immigrants, dark-skinned Asians and Latino/as, and reservation-bound Native Americans. Most multiracials and light-skinned unassimilated Latino/as and Asians make up the Honorary Whites category[1].

Research on the material conditions of light and dark-skinned African Americans is consistent with the Latin Americanization Thesis[2]. The majority of this work, conducted by colorism scholars, was not designed as a direct assessment of the LAT. However, colorism scholars and researchers assessing the LAT generally use the same evidence, the relation between phenotype and a myriad of outcomes, to assess the state of support for their respective perspectives. Dark-skinned blacks tend to be more disadvantaged than their light-skinned counterparts with respect to income, education, and occupational prestige (Allen, Telles, and Hunter 2000, Hughes and Hertel 1990, Keith and Herring 1991, Bonilla-Silva 2001; Hill 2000; Monk 2014). As job applicants, their prospects for employment are worse than their light-skinned compatriots with inferior qualifications (Banerji 2006). They are also considerably more

[1] Gans (1999) and Lee and Bean (2004) have proposed alternative changes to the racial structure in the U.S. This dissertation, however, focuses exclusively on the experiences of blacks and examines if their experiences are consistent with the LAT. The experiences of other racial groups, or the degree of alignment between their experiences and the proposed tri-racial hierarchy relative to that of blacks, is not a focus of this analysis.
[2] Evidence is generally consistent with the hierarchy proposed by the Latin Americanization Thesis for other racial and ethnic groups as well (see *Race and Society* |2002|). This analysis focuses exclusively on the experiences of African Americans.

socially isolated from their white peers: blacks with a more Afrocentric phenotype are more residentially segregated from and less likely to intermarry with whites than their counterparts possessing a more Eurocentric phenotype (Qian 2002).

The material advantages of privileged racial group members in the tertiary racial system have received widespread consideration, however, far less attention has been paid to the ideological advantages afforded to members of the privileged strata. All racialized social systems have an ideological component that favors members of the dominant group. The privileged are often "granted higher social estimation (e.g., is viewed as 'smarter' or 'better looking')" than subordinate racial groups (Bonilla-Silva 1997: 470). Without an accompanying racial ideology to dictate the rules for daily interaction and the appropriation of resources, racial domination would not be possible (Bonilla-Silva 2015).

In the new system of racial domination, whites are expected to draw distinctions between members of the three strata, such that they should hold a more positive outlook of advantaged group members (Bonilla-Silva 2004). In many ways, the racial reasoning of the dominant group shapes the beliefs of the oppressed, but this process is often contested (Bonilla-Silva 2015; Omi and Winant 1994). This dissertation explores the current state of this process with respect to the perceived social worthiness of members of the tri-racial arrangement, or put differently, whether White and Black Americans have a shared understanding for the status designations of members of the pigmentocracy.

Status Beliefs and Racial Inequality

Social psychologists assert that status beliefs are a critical component of society's racial ideology because they contribute to our understanding of how racial domination is enacted across multiple levels of society (Ridgeway 2015). Status beliefs, or societal beliefs that

associate advantaged group members with more social esteem and general competency than disadvantaged group members, exert their influence on macro-level outcomes (e.g. pay differentials), in organizational settings (e.g. assignment of important roles), and at the micro level (e.g. patterns of deference in group encounters). In this manner, racialized social systems are preserved.

Status Characteristics Theory more formally outlines how status beliefs associated with various bases of inequality come to organize interaction such that patterns of behavior occurring at the micro level largely mirror and perpetuate societal patterns of stratification (Berger, Zelditch, and Cohen 1966; Berger, Fişek, Norman, and Zelditch 1977). Axes of inequality are conceptualized as diffuse status characteristics, or nominal characteristics with at least two distinctions that are differentially valued in a given culture and are each associated with status beliefs. For example, in American culture it is generally preferable to be male than female, and most others generally expect men to be more competent than women. Several diffuse status characteristics have been identified by social psychologists, including race (Katz and colleagues 1958; 1960), ethnicity (Cohen and Sharahan 1980), gender (Meeker and Weitzel-O'neill 1977), socioeconomic status (Moore 1968; Strodtbeck, James, and Hawkins 1957) and physical attractiveness (Webster and Driskel 1983).

According to Status Characteristics Theory, a widely shared cultural belief system governs the interaction of individuals differentiated by diffuse status characteristics when collectively working on a group task. It is assumed that individuals socialized within the same culture have internalized society's cultural belief system and have a mutually consensual understanding for who is generally expected to be more competent on most tasks. For example, Ridgeway (2006:302) asserts that:

> "when a status belief forms, both those in the social category favored in the status belief and those in the disfavored category *agree,* as a matter of social reality, that those in the favored group are more respected and assumed to be more competent in society than are those in the disfavored group (Jost and Banaji 1994; Berger, Rosenholtz, and Zelditch 1980). The resulting shared evaluative hierarchy between the categorical groups is the hallmark of status beliefs."

While status beliefs make up the crux of the theory, social psychologists rarely attempt to measure them when observing the effects of diffuse status characteristics in group encounters. Instead, it is assumed that patterns of behavioral inequality observed in social psychological experiments merely reflect the status belief system. There are a few notable exceptions to this trend, however.

Though not necessarily intending to measure status beliefs, to my knowledge, perceptions of status have been measured for gender (Rashotte and Webster 2005), educational attainment (Balkwell, Berger, Webster, Nelson-Kilger, and Cashen 1992; Kalkhoff and Barnum 2000), occupational status (Webster Hysom, and Fullmer 1998), and physical attractiveness (Webster and Driskell 1983). Individuals advantaged by these social distinctions tend to be rated as more competent, capable, and/or knowledgeable than their disadvantaged counterparts. Research on gender disparities is particularly noteworthy as it not only confirms the linkage between the states of diffuse status characteristics and status beliefs, but also demonstrates that, at least when it comes to gender, status beliefs are mutually consensual (Rashotte and Webster 2005).

However, research has yet to explore the status beliefs associated with members of the tri-racial hierarchy, or with racial distinctions at all for that matter. Are Whites generally perceived as having more status than Honorary Whites and Collective Blacks? Furthermore, are perceptions of status associated with members of the tri-racial hierarchy mutually consensual among White and Black Americans, as they are assumed to be by social psychologists?

The Hegemonic Nature of Cultural Beliefs

Social psychologists assume that basic social psychological processes apply equally well across time, settings, and implicitly across racial and ethnic groups, so long as the scope conditions of theories hold (Lucas 2003). Evidence suggests that whites and blacks may equally subscribe to cultural beliefs that value the Eurocentric phenotype possessed by advantaged members of the pigmentocracy. Advantages for light-skinned blacks can be traced to the colonial period of U.S. history, where slaves with a Eurocentric phenotype were often the beneficiaries of opportunities to become free and literate (Horowitz 1973; Hunter 2005). Light-skinned slaves were often granted less strenuous, coveted roles on the plantation (Davis 1991; Samuels 2010) because their dark-complexioned counterparts were believed to be incapable of handling the nuances of such tasks (Russell-Cole, Wilson, and Hall 2013).

In many ways, associations between status and a Eurocentric phenotype were internalized by blacks, a distinction light-skinned blacks sought to maintain after the Emancipation Proclamation (Russell-Cole et al. 2013). Elite multiracials often barred dark-skinned blacks from exclusive clubs, churches, neighborhoods, and educational institutions. Moreover, relations with previously unfree, and often darker-complexioned, blacks were explicitly discouraged. Most importantly, light-skinned blacks wanted to preserve the status quo of an ideology that granted them more social esteem because of their mixed ancestry.

Unfortunately, the proverbial vestiges of skin tone discrimination experienced during this time period persist to this day. For example, research on body images suggests minorities have internalized the value of the phenotype possessed by whites. Blacks suffer from what is referred to as the "bleaching syndrome", or the use of cosmetic surgery and various “beauty” products, to achieve the white aesthetic of value (Hall 1994; 1995; 1997; Hunter 2005; Glenn 2009). This is

far from surprising given that many black celebrities often possess white features (Milkie 1999; Jones 2004). The premium placed on the white phenotype affects other arenas of social life including family dynamics, interpersonal relations, who one marries, who one chooses to adopt, and who is desired as an egg donor for potential offspring, with light-skinned African Americans regarded as more desirable in all of these instances (Russell-Cole et al. 2013; Thompson 2009; Hunter 2005).

Individuals also tend to endorse more positive stereotypes of light-skinned Black Americans than their dark-skinned counterparts (Blair, Judd, Sadler, and Jenkins 2002; Maddox and Gray 2002). Work on implicit attitudes highlights the hegemonic nature of this racial ideology: like whites (e.g., Livingston and Brewer 2002), minorities often associate highly prototypical minority faces (e.g., faces with dark skin tone and wide noses) with negative attributes than less prototypical faces (Uhlmann, Dasgupta, Elgueta, Greenwald, and Swanson 2002). What is rather striking about internalized colorism is how early the socialization process begins. Evidence from the 1930s and 40s suggests that, when given the option between choosing a white or black doll, black *children* nearly always chose the white doll (Clark and Clark 1947). Regrettably, this basic finding has been replicated time and time again (Russell-Cole, Wilson, and Hall 2013; Sky 2008).

The Racial Contestation of Cultural Beliefs

While the oppressed may eventually adopt the ideology of the dominant group, this is far from a seamless process (Omi and Winant 1994; Bonilla-Silva 2015). Unfortunately, the contentiousness of this process remains largely overlooked by status researchers who continue to assume that cultural beliefs are racially invariant (Berger et al. 1977; Ridgeway 2006). In this case, because a Eurocentric phenotype is purportedly a universally valued characteristic in the

U.S, whites and blacks are expected to report identical perceptions of social status for members of the tri-racial hierarchy. The coupling of this color-blind logic of cultural universality with the pain-free access to white research participants at universities across the U.S. often results in the neglect of the perspective of racial minorities.

Critical race scholars denounce this assumption of racial/ethnic similarity. For instance, some scholars question whether we can continue to assume that basic social psychological processes identified among whites apply equally well to other racial and ethnic groups (Hunt et al. 2000). Continuing to assume that knowledge gained from studying predominantly white research participants applies to other racial and ethnic groups only limits our knowledge of minority populations and contributes to racial neglect (Goar 2008). In some cases, these color-blind practices may allow the dominant group to mask the presence of domination (Bonilla-Silva 2015).

Efforts to actively reject the value of the Eurocentric phenotype among African Americans are well-documented by race scholars, however, and suggest that they may not have internalized the colorist ideal. Perhaps the most notable instance of contestation of the white aesthetic was the development of the Black is Beautiful Power Movement, an attempt to actively redefine the ideology concerning the black body. To alter the ideology that the Afrocentric phenotype is ugly, unintelligent, and less than worthy, African Americans sought to redefine the black body as beautiful in popular films, music, and advertising (*PBS* "Black is Beautiful"). The effects of these efforts reverberated across the African American community. In fact, most blacks report that members of the African American community believe that black is beautiful (Anderson and Cromwell 1977).

Instances of racial contestation of the white beauty ideal also occurred prior to the development of the Black is Beautiful Movement (Craig 2009). On several occasions, there was public outrage over the results of African American beauty pageants, which often crowned light-skinned women as the victors (Russell-Cole et al. 2013). One particularly noteworthy example occurred in 1947 during Harlem's Golden Gate Ballroom beauty pageant. The two finalists of the event were on opposite ends of the skin tone continuum. When the judges announced that the light-skinned contestant had won, the crowd erupted in protests. To appease the crowd, the judges attempted to renege on their decision and declare a tie. The crowd would not be denied though, and the dark-skinned contestant was eventually crowned the sole victor.

Racial contestation of the white aesthetic of value persists to this day. Recent attempts by the media to draw on the Eurocentric beauty ideal to increase sales have resulted in sharp criticism from the African American community (Russell-Cole et al. 2013). The most prominent example of this in recent memory occurred in 2008 when L'Oréal published magazine advertisements featuring Beyoncé Knowles. The already-light Beyoncé appears to have been lightened even further, drawing fervent disapproval from the black community.

So, while there is evidence of internalized colorism among blacks, remnants of the Black is Beautiful Power Movement indicate that African Americans may also actively contest the value of the white aesthetic. This implies then that status beliefs associated with members of the tertiary hierarchy may not be hegemonic as assumed by social psychologists. Altogether, this calls expectation theorists' assumption of cultural universality into question and suggests that African Americans may hold Collective Blacks in higher esteem than Honorary Whites and Whites, the members of the tri-racial hierarchy possessing the most Eurocentric phenotypical features.

Assessing the Status of the Tri-Racial Hierarchy: How Useful is the Standardized Experimental Setting?

The standardized experimental setting has proven to be one of the most important sources of data for the testing and development of Status Characteristics Theory, a branch of the expectation states theoretical research program (Berger 2007; Berger et al. 1977; Berger and Webster 2006). Time and time again, the standardized experimental setting has been used to assess status inequality in micro-encounters. Research conducted in this vein has been quite successful at documenting patterns of stratification within task groups: results derived from experiments conducted in this setting show that a multitude of nominal social distinctions, such as socioeconomic status, gender, race and ethnicity are important sources of status differentiation in task-focused groups (see Berger, Rosenholtz, and Zelditch 1980 for a review).

This dissertation utilizes the standardized experimental setting to assess the Latin Americanization Thesis, a newly emergent theory of racial stratification in the U.S. (Bonilla-Silva 2002; 2004). The Latin Americanization Thesis asserts that the racial structure in the U.S. has evolved from a system that differentiated between whites and non-whites, to a tri-racial system with three strata: Whites, Honorary Whites, and Collective Blacks. This new tertiary system of racial stratification is believed to place a stronger emphasis on phenotype to demarcate the racial hierarchy, with racial and/or ethnic groups possessing the most Eurocentric features located atop the hierarchy and those possessing the least at the bottom.

Experimental research shows that blacks and Latino/as have less status in task groups relative to their white counterparts (see Goar, Sell, Manago, Melero, and Reidinger 2013 for a recent review). Racial inequality in group encounters, however, is more nuanced than the traditional white/non-white dichotomy. For example, depending on their phenotype, Latino/as

experience differential levels of status in task groups compared to whites (Biagas and Bianchi forthcoming; Rosenholtz and Cohen 1985). More generally, it appears that the status of racial minorities in society-at-large comes to influence their status in micro-encounters (Webster and Foschi 1988). Group members advantaged by culturally-valued nominal distinctions are assumed to incur status advantages (e.g. more deference) in group encounters because low status group members voluntarily comply with their presumably more competent partners to achieve task success.

To what extent can the standardized experimental setting approximate the status positions of African Americans within the new racial hierarchy, however? Put differently, do light and dark-skinned African Americans experience differential levels of status vis-à-vis whites when completing a group task? The available evidence suggests that, consistent with the Latin Americanization Thesis, dark-skinned African Americans have less socio-economic status than their light-skinned counterparts (e.g., Monk 2014). It remains to be seen, however, if these phenotypical advantages in macro-level outcomes translate to behavioral inequalities in micro-encounters for African Americans as they do Latino/as, and if they do during interaction with whites and blacks alike.

This dissertation investigates these questions by drawing on the results of two experiments conducted in the standardized experimental setting at different sites across the U.S. While other studies suggest that non-conscious biases organize the formation of the power and prestige order in task groups, the results of this dissertation suggest that the activation of conscious motivations when racial distinctions are most salient largely dictate the status white and black participants afford to members of the pigmentocracy.

While it appears that white and black participants react to the pigmentocracy as expected when interacting with members of the tri-racial hierarchy not too phenotypically distinct from themselves, they consciously react against the pigmentocracy when working with members of the tri-racial strata most phenotypically distinct from themselves. These results cast doubt on the utility of the standardized experimental setting for capturing the status generalization process with respect to the newly emergent racial stratification system. Potential improvements to counteract social desirability biases and the implications of these results for capturing modern forms of racism in the standardized setting are discussed.

Status Characteristics Theory and the Standardized Experimental Setting

Decades of research on micro-encounters shows that various societal-level axes of inequality serve as the basis of status differentiation in task-oriented groups. In task groups, individuals with high status in society-at-large tend to incur behavioral advantages when completing group tasks with low status partners, a process known by social psychologists as status generalization (Berger, Norman, Fişek, and Zelditch 1977; Webster and Foschi 1988). For example, males and those with affluent backgrounds tend to be more influential in task groups than their counterparts who are female or who happen to possess lower socioeconomic backgrounds respectively.

Social psychologists conceive of these various bases of stratification in micro-encounters as diffuse status characteristics, defined more formally as culturally valued nominal distinctions that are each associated with expectations for competence on specific tasks at hand, and most tasks in general (Berger et al. 1977). High status group members experience behavioral advantages in task groups, such as more influence over the final decision of the task, action opportunities, performance outputs, and more favorable performance evaluations, because group

members often *non-consciously assume* that they are believed to be more competent by most others, and thereby have the skills and abilities necessary to successfully complete the task at hand. For example, Rashotte and Webster (2005:622) point out the implicit nature of this process:

> "Status generalization usually operates below the level of conscious awareness, affecting performance expectations held by those who are advantaged by their status position, and those who are disadvantaged."

While the effects of diffuse status characteristics are relatively stable across time, participants' "willingness to display discriminatory attitudes or behaviors" to such differentiating nominal social distinctions may be changing (Rashotte and Webster 2005:621). The use of the standardized experimental setting, however, is believed to one way of overcoming these obstructive processes to capture the effects of the non-conscious association between culturally-valued social distinctions and perceived competence.

The standardized experimental setting (hereafter "SES") was designed as a source of data for the testing of the expectation states theoretical program (Berger 2007). The setting has been particularly crucial to the development of Status Characteristics Theory. Over the past 50 years, the SES has undergone modifications to improve both the quality of the data secured from research participants and the facilitation of comparisons of experimental results across research sites. Researchers are now able to more effectively isolate the effects of processes of interest and compare the results of their experiments across research sites, because differences across studies are limited to theoretically relevant variables, not the administration of the experiment, the nature of the tasks involved, or the dependent variables of interest.

Though the setting has evolved from exploring behavioral inequalities between group members working on short decision-making situations over an interaction control machine, to

primarily investigating the inequalities between group members completing the team contrast sensitivity task over a computer interface, the core of the SES remains intact. Individuals are confronted with a team decision-making task, which they are led to believe has a correct answer-- and are told that success depends in part on the mutual cooperation of all group members. Research participants are asked make an initial decision on numerous trials of the decision-making task. During these trials, they are shown the initial choices of their partners, who may or may not actually be present in the situation. They are then asked to make a determination for their final decision, which they are told will not be seen by their partners, after taking their partner's initial decision into account[3].

The final outcome of interest is social influence: the initial decisions of their partners differ from their own on the majority of the trials of the task (usually 3-5 times), and participants are said to be influenced by their partners if they choose a final decision that matches their partners' initial decisions after encountering a disagreement. The advantages in social influence incurred by high status group members are said to be the result of the non-conscious linkage between the discriminating social distinctions and perceptions of competence. Even though group members may not explicitly acknowledge that they believe high status group members are more competent than low status others, their awareness that group members' perceived abilities on the task are being judged on the basis of societal expectations of their competence implicitly affects their behavior in group settings (Ridgway 2006).

For over fifty years, group processes researchers have successfully documented patterns of stratification based on racial and ethnic distinctions both in and outside of the SES. Some of

[3] The initial decisions of participants are also "shown" to their partners so they can ostensibly make a final determination of their own, which purportedly counts towards the success of the group. In reality, this is not usually done when confederates are used in place of actual group members, but participants are always led to believe this is a part of the decision-making task.

the earliest experiments to document the unequal distribution of behaviors on the basis of racial distinctions were conducted in open interaction settings with white and black research participants. For example, Katz and colleagues (1958; 1960) found that blacks made fewer suggestions and more readily accepted the influence of whites when completing a joint task. Similar disparities in task-groups emerged more recently in school settings with adolescents matched on important characteristics (see Cohen 1982 for a review). Despite assertions that we now live in a post-racial society, without explicit interventions, whites continue to incur status advantages over blacks in micro-encounters in the new millennium (Goar and Sell 2005; Goar 2007; Goar et al. 2013).

The Latin Americanization Thesis

Race scholars assert that racial inequality is far more nuanced than the traditional white/non-white dichotomy. According to the Latin Americanization Thesis, the racial structure in the United States has evolved from a system that differentiated between whites and non-whites to a three-tiered racial system demarcated primarily by phenotype (Bonilla-Silva 2002; 2004). This pigmentocracy is said to be composed of three racial strata: Whites, Honorary Whites, and Collective Blacks.

The Whites collectivity is comprised of whites, new white immigrants, assimilated white Latino/as and Native Americans, a few Asian-origin people, and some multiracials. Light-skinned Latino/as, most multiracial and most Asian-origin people make up the Honorary Whites category. Finally, the Collective Black group includes various racial and ethnic group members with an Afrocentric phenotype, including Black Americans and black immigrants, dark-skinned Asians and Latino/as, and reservation-bound Native Americans. It is important to consider the location of African Americans within the new racial strata. While African Americans are largely

concentrated in the Collective Black strata, some may ascend to Honorary White status, should they be perceived as multiracial because of their Eurocentric features.

When considering macro-level patterns, this appears to be the case. The available evidence suggests that skin tone is associated with income, education, and occupational prestige for Black Americans (Monk 2014; Allen et al. 2000, Hughes and Hertel 1990, Keith and Herring 1991, Bonilla-Silva 2001; Hill 2000). Vignette experiments show that light-skinned black applicants are even preferred over their dark-skinned counterparts with superior qualifications (Banerji 2006). More generally then, the evidence suggests that light-skinned African Americans have higher levels of status in society-at-large than their dark-skinned counterparts.

To what extent does this higher social esteem in society-at-large translate to status advantages in task groups? The external status associated with a host of other nominal distinctions largely organizes the observable power and prestige order within task groups, but is this the case for African Americans within the new racial hierarchy? To my knowledge, the only study to directly examine the Latin Americanization Thesis in the standardized experimental setting obtained support for its claims regarding the status designations of Latino/as (Biagas and Bianchi forthcoming). That is, whites were more influenced by their white partners, less so by their light-skinned Latino/a partners, and even less so by dark skinned Latino/as.

While we might expect the standardized experimental setting to also be able to approximate the status positions of African Americans within the new racial hierarchy, scholars have already noted research participants' increasing reluctance to act on social distinctions (Rashotte and Webster 2005). In the U.S., this reluctance may be even greater when examining the black/white divide, which has received far more attention among academics and non-academics alike, and is much more salient in the minds of Americans than relations between

whites and Latino/as. Altogether, this may interfere with researchers' abilities to observe the status generalization process when using the standardized experimental setting to assess the positions of African Americans within the newly proposed racial hierarchy.

Outline of the Dissertation

Chapter 2 describes the pivotal role that social status plays in perpetuating societal patterns of stratification and how social psychologists conceive of social status at the micro level. To do so, the theory of status characteristics is outlined, along with a thorough description of the role that status beliefs play in linking macro-level patterns of stratification to the distribution of status within task and collectively oriented groups. This chapter provides the basis for the social psychological perspective and general approach used in this dissertation to understand contemporary patterns of racial inequality.

Chapter 3 introduces race scholarship outlining the tenets and current state of support for the Latin Americanization Thesis, which asserts that the racial hierarchy in the U.S. is now primarily demarcated by phenotype, rather than traditional racial/ethnic boundaries. In addition, an in-depth description of the cultural beliefs potentially linking phenotype to patterns of social esteem among whites and blacks are discussed. Finally, the hypotheses for the analyses conducted in the subsequent chapter are presented.

Chapter 4 provides a thorough description of the methods utilized in the multi-site experiments conducted for this dissertation. A thorough description of the standardized experimental setting, how the hypotheses presented in the previous chapter are assessed, and the analytical approach utilized in this dissertation are discussed. Finally, the results of the multi-site experiments, and a brief discussion of the implications of the results are also provided.

The difficulty in securing the participation of hard-to-reach populations is presented in Chapter 5. A thorough description of the recruitment strategy of this dissertation and potential explanations for the difficulty in securing the participation of African American males in particular are discussed. Suggestions for more successfully recruiting African Americans for future social psychological research are proposed. Finally, Chapter 6 provides the conclusions, limitations, and future directions of this dissertation.

CHAPTER TWO: SOCIAL STATUS, TASK-GROUP INEQUALITY, AND CULTURAL BELIEF SYSTEMS

Status in Task Groups

Along with class and power, social status has traditionally been a topic of concern among sociologists (Weber 1968). While initially included as one of the primary dimensions of stratification in early sociological theory, sociological scholarship has overwhelmingly focused on class and power differences, in all likelihood because of their easily discernable connections to material inequalities. Because of the ideological foundation of status processes and their elusive ties to material inequalities, they are typically believed to have relatively trivial effects on life outcomes, or worse yet, are viewed merely as endogenous to class and power. Recent social psychological scholarship has revitalized the interest in social status, and explicated the complex linkages between status processes and material inequalities, however. Rather than viewing status as a meager byproduct of class or power differentials, status is an exogenous source of material inequality in its own right that merits further attention (Ridgeway 2014).

Status Characteristics Theory (hereafter "SCT") is a social psychological theory that examines inequalities in social status emergent in task groups (Berger and colleagues 1966; 1972; 1977). Group inequalities in social status are conceptualized as an observable power and prestige order, indicated by a multitude of behaviors while jointly completing a group task with others. Behavioral indicators of social status include attempts and opportunities to contribute to the group task, communicated evaluations of group member contributions, social influence over the final decision on the task, and vocal accommodation. Inequities in the observable power and prestige order between group members often reflect the stratification of group members in

society-at-large, and are a direct function of the cultural beliefs associated with group member attributes.

All else being equal, SCT argues that diffuse status characteristics, or social attributes with at least two states that are differentially valued in a given culture, dictate the formation of the observable power and prestige order within groups. This is because status beliefs, or beliefs in group members' general competency on a broad range of tasks, favor group members possessing the valued states of diffuse characteristics over individuals possessing the devalued state of diffuse characteristics. Examples of known diffuse status characteristics include race (Katz and colleagues 1958; 1960), ethnicity (Cohen and Sharahan 1980), gender (Meeker and Weitzel-O'neill 1977), educational attainment (Moore 1968; Balkwell et al. 1992), academic competence (Gold 1958; Lippitt and Gold 1959), occupation (Strodtbeck et al. 1958; Webster et al. 1998), age (Freese and Cohen 1973), and physical attractiveness (Webster and Driskell 1983). In general, individuals advantaged by these aforementioned social attributes are afforded more status when completing group tasks, and are perceived as more competent and worthy than their counterparts disadvantaged by these social attributes.

When group members are invested in group success and believe they must work collaboratively with other group members to achieve success, SCT explicates how cultural beliefs, often implicitly, come to influence the expected worthiness of group member contributions--and the observable power and prestige order of the group. That is, when individuals differentiated by social distinctions are in a task-focused group encounter, differences in the expectations for their general competency affect their relative levels of status in the situation, such that individuals advantaged by the social distinction have more status relative to their disadvantaged counterparts.

SCT outlines various assumptions for how the relative status of group members is formed. For a given status characteristic to affect the observable power and prestige order of a task group, group members must believe that the status characteristic is related to the task at hand, or group interactants must be differentiated by the social distinction. Unless a specific act or claim proves otherwise, group members are assumed to act as though the status characteristic is related to group member abilities. Should group members enter or leave the situation, expectations adjust to account for new group member attributes. However, expectations formed in previous interactions are retained, albeit less intensely, across subsequent situations and tasks (Pugh and Wahrman 1983; Markovsky, Smith and Berger 1984).

When interactants who possess multiple status characteristics encounter one another, SCT assumes that all status information is combined by way of the principle of organized subsets (Berger et al. 1977). For each interactant, all positive and negative status information is combined separately then subtracted to derive each interactant's expectations for task success. The status information is weighted by the attenuation principle such that each additional similarly signed status element carries less weight than the one before it. Status information is also weighted according to the augmentation principle, which states that a status element carries more weight against a backdrop of inconsistent status elements than it would if it were present alone. Group members with higher expectation profiles have expectation advantages over their partners. Tests verify that multiple status information is indeed combined in this manner (Berger, Norman, Balkwell and Smith 1992). Finally, the basic expectation assumption states that the observable power and prestige order of the group is a direct function of group member expectation profiles.

Status Cues and Expectations for Performance

So how do group members determine the states of social distinctions possessed by their partners? It's not as though individuals exchange social information sheets outlining their demographics prior to interacting in daily encounters. Early work attempting to refute the claims of SCT (Lee and Ofshe 1981), led social psychologists to the realization that the salience of social distinctions in group encounters operates through status cues, or the status signals present in the situation (Berger and Zelditch 1983). One can conceive of group encounters as an uncertain situation in which actors attempt to determine how to best arrive at task success. To do so, actors assess their abilities relative to other group members. In the absence of objective information regarding each other's abilities, they rely on cultural stereotypes that associate their social distinctions with general competency to regulate the status hierarchy within the group.

First, however, group members must determine the social distinctions possessed by each member of the task group. Group members base these assessments on all of the status cues or signals readily available in the situation. During interaction, individuals consciously or non-consciously exude various cues signaling the states of the social distinctions they possess. One's status claims, speech patterns, accent, eye gaze, attire, and even one's demeanor are examples of signals used to gauge the status of group members (Berger and Zelditch 1983; Ridgeway, Berger, and Smith 1985; Riches and Foddy 1989; Webster, Whitmeyer, and Rashotte 2005).

There are four types of status cues, which vary along two dimensions (Berger, Webster, Ridgeway, and Rosenholtz 1986; Fişek, Berger, and Norman 2005). Status cues can be task or categorical cues. Task cues provide signals about group members' ability on the task at hand, while categorical cues provide signals about individuals' membership in a particular social group (e.g. racial, gender, or social class membership). Status cues also differ in terms of whether they

are indicative or expressive. Indicative cues are direct, explicit ways of signaling one's task or categorical cues. A person claiming to have successfully performed the group task in the past or claiming to be from the Philippines are examples of indicative task and categorical cues. Expressive cues are less direct signals of status, and merely suggest that a group member possesses a given social attribute or the requisite ability to complete the task at hand. Examples of expressive task cues include speech rate and eye gaze, while factors such as ethnic accent or skin tone are expressive categorical cues that signal one's potential minority status. Indicative cues have a stronger impact on the formation of power and prestige orders than expressive cues because they more definitively signal group members' social attributes or abilities to complete the group task.

	Task	Categorical
Indicative	"I've done this right before"	"I'm from the Philippines"
Expressive	Speech Rate or Eye Gaze	Skin Tone or Accent

Figure 2.1 Examples of Status Cues

While status cues can take various forms, this dissertation will focus on categorical cues because my goal is to understand the role that racial distinctions play in organizing social interaction. SCT, in its traditional form, assumes that race has two states: a positive and negative state. Rendered in this form there is no room for exploring the heterogeneity that we know exists in the experience of racial minorities. The status cues formulation is useful because it allows researchers to overcome this limitation and examine the variation in the racialized experience of minorities.

According to the status cues formulation, the disadvantages experienced by racial minorities in task groups are a function of the categorical cues salient in the situation. When all racial cues are consistent, racial minorities are expected to be disadvantaged by the full effect of the diffuse status characteristic of race, and the accompanying cultural beliefs about general competency. However, when individuals possess categorical racial cues that are not entirely consistent, such as when a person claims to be of Latino/a ancestry but has light skin tone and speaks with no ethnic accent, they are less disadvantaged relative to whites. The reason for this is that the inconsistency of the cues signaling minority status produce ambiguity about the perceived racial status of the group member in question. This ambiguity weakens the link between the group member's social attributes, their perceived general competency, and ultimately the expected worthiness of their contributions for the task at hand. I will return to this important point later in this dissertation, but first I'll discuss the role that social structure plays in organizing interaction in task groups.

Status Beliefs: An Elusive Causal Mechanism

Status beliefs, or societal expectations that group members advantaged by a social distinction are generally better and more competent than disadvantaged group members, is the primary mechanism by which social distinctions produce the observable power and prestige order in task groups. These culturally-bound beliefs are the basis for the formation of group members' performance expectations and expected task success for the group task. That is, if a group member is expected to be more competent than others at most tasks, then partners assume that particular group member is probably good at the task at hand, and will probably achieve task success. Thus, individuals are more likely to solicit opinions from group members advantaged by social distinctions, provide them with opportunities to contribute their opinions, evaluate their

contributions more favorably, and ultimately defer to their opinions more frequently. Up to this point, however, most of the social psychological literature has failed to measure these cultural beliefs. Instead, researchers often assume that if a status hierarchy emerges in the group, it must be the result of the activation of (unobserved) status beliefs associated with social distinctions.

Only a handful of studies have attempted to capture status beliefs associated with diffuse status characteristics. Along with measuring general expectations for competence, these studies also tend to assess specific performance expectations, or expectations for ability for a task of limited scope (e.g. flying a plane). Although these are theoretically distinct concepts, I include both in this discussion as they are fundamentally related to one another, and are often measured in tandem.

Status beliefs and/or their accompanying performance expectations have been measured for the following diffuse status characteristics: gender (Rashotte and Webster 2005), education (Balkwell, Berger, Webster, Nelson-Kilger, and Cashen 1992; Kalkhoff and Barnum 2000), occupation and attractiveness (Webster and Driskell 1983; Webster Hysom, and Fullmer 1998), and sexual orientation (Webster et al. 1998). In general, these studies asked subjects to rate targets differentiated by these social distinctions in terms of their competence, capability, knowledge, leadership potential, and their ability to perform specific tasks (e.g. fly a plane). Targets advantaged by the social distinctions were generally rated higher on these dimensions than disadvantaged targets.

For the most part, it is well-established that these social distinctions produce status hierarchies in task groups. However, these studies are crucial to our understanding of how diffuse status characteristics organize interaction because they demonstrate that the states of these social distinctions are indeed associated with expectations for general competency, and

specific ability on tasks limited in scope, as expected. Of particular importance is the Rashotte and Webster (2005) study, which not only confirmed the linkage between diffuse status characteristics, status beliefs, and performance expectations, but also showed that expectations regarding gender are in fact mutually consensual. In other words, women subscribed to these beliefs just as strongly as their male counterparts, despite the fact that these beliefs did not operate in their favor. What remains to be seen is whether this is the case for the social distinction of race and ethnicity, a gap I intend to fill with this dissertation.

Racial and Ethnic Inequality in Task Groups

Social psychologists have explored racial and ethnic inequality using the SCT framework. With a few notable exceptions, most of this work has focused on the inequality experienced by African Americans relative to whites. Early work in Status Characteristics Theory showed that Black American college students display inhibited speech patterns compared to their white counterparts of comparable intelligence (Katz, Benjamin, and Goldston 1958; Katz and Benjamin 1960). Speech was also directed more frequently towards whites by both white and black partners. In addition, white group members also have their performance outputs evaluated more favorably (Cohen and Roper 1972). Similar black/white disparities are found among middle-school aged children (Cohen 1982 for a review). Net of age, socio-economic status, orientation towards school, and intelligence, white students experience considerable advantages in action opportunities and have a higher percentage of successful influence attempts than their black counterparts (Cohen and Roper 1972).

While not examined as extensively as black/white inequality, some research has explored if Latino/a youth experience comparable disadvantages as Black Americans when interacting with whites. Recent evidence indicates that Mexican Americans are less influential in group

settings than their white counterparts (Goar, Sell, Manago, Melero, and Reidinger 2013). Early work suggested, however, that the effects of Hispanicity were contingent on the racial cues salient in the situation (Rosenholtz and Cohen 1985). After matching middle-school youth on key characteristics, analyses indicated that only Mexican American students possessing clearly distinguishable physical characteristics of Latino/as, such as darker skin tone and straight hair, were less active than whites when working on the group task. That is, Mexican American youth were only disadvantaged relative to whites when racial cues consistently signaled their Hispanic ancestry, as the status cues formulation would predict. A more systematic investigation of this phenomenon in a laboratory setting confirms this early finding as whites are afforded higher status than light skinned Latino/as, who are advantaged relative to their dark-skinned counterparts when jointly completing a task with whites (Biagas and Bianchi forthcoming).

Comparative studies of the effects of race and ethnicity in task groups highlight the robustness of SCT. While the value of racial and ethnic distinctions varies between cultures, the process of status generalization appears to operate similarly in task and collectively oriented groups. For example, Indians in British Columbia contribute less frequently to interaction and are less influential than their white partners of Canadian descent (Cook 1974). Interesting ethnic differences also emerge in Israel between Middle Eastern and Non-Middle Eastern Jews, with those of Middle Eastern descent experiencing disadvantages with respect to the power and prestige order compared to Jews of Western descent (Cohen and Sharan 1980). Lastly, evidence in Australia demonstrates that speaking with a minority ethnic accent can produce the status disadvantages that follow from possessing the devalued state of an ethnic social distinction (Riches and Foddy 1989).

Overall, racial and ethnic biases are a powerful source of disadvantage in group interaction that are still pervasive to this day. Recent evidence by Goar and Sell (2005) suggests that white group members still speak more frequently and take a more active role when completing group tasks compared to their black partners. Moreover, black group members appear to have less influence over the final decision on the group task than whites (Goar et al. 2013). Work documenting Latino/a disadvantages, which show non-negligible disadvantages in social influence (e.g., Biagas and Bianchi forthcoming; Goar et al. 2013), was also conducted fairly recently. Despite the claims of many Americans that racism is a relic of the past and that we are now living in a post-racial society, recent scholarship completed in the US context suggests that race continues to affect the formation of power and prestige orders within groups.

Summary and Objectives

So far, I have established that social distinctions differentially valued in broader society can be powerful sources of status differentiation in task groups. More specifically, racial and ethnic groups that are oppressed in a given culture tend to experience status disadvantages when working with others in task groups. Furthermore, status beliefs, or societal beliefs about general competency associated with oppressed and advantaged racial and ethnic groups, are believed to be the source of these status differentials in task groups. While the link between status beliefs and behavioral inequities in task groups has been established for some social attributes (e.g. gender, education, and physical attractiveness), this link remains unobserved for the social distinctions of race and ethnicity.

This dissertation has several goals. Recent scholarship in race and ethnicity asserts that the racial hierarchy in place in the United States has evolved from a bi-racial system to a tri-racial system similar to the one in place in Latin America (Bonilla-Silva 2002; 2004). The binary

system distinguished between whites and non-whites, while the tri-racial system now in place has three racial strata and a stronger emphasis on phenotype for determining one's placement within the racial hierarchy. One goal of this dissertation is to assess the validity of the placement of African Americans within this proposed hierarchy. I do so by examining if light and dark-skinned African Americans experience status disadvantages in task groups as expected by the Latin Americanization Thesis. Secondly, I will assess if light and dark-skinned African Americans are disadvantaged by status beliefs as well.

Lastly, research shows that behavioral inequalities and their accompanying status beliefs are often mutually consensual. Race scholars often assert, however, that the perspective of racial minorities is practically non-existent from social psychological theorizing (Hunt et al. 2000; Goar 2008) and that patterns of racial domination are often concealed by claims of universality (Bonilla-Silva 2015). Thus, a final goal is to assess if patterns of deference in task groups and the status beliefs reported for light and dark-skinned African Americans are consistent across European and African American populations.

CHAPTER THREE: SKIN TONE, RACIAL INVARIANCE, AND THE NEW RACIAL HIERARCHY

The New Pigmentocratic Hierarchy

Aside from race, skin tone is a powerful determinant of one's life chances. The available evidence suggests that skin tone is associated with income, education, and occupational prestige for Black Americans (Monk 2014; Allen et al. 2000, Hughes and Hertel 1990, Keith and Herring 1991, Bonilla-Silva 2001; Hill 2000). Vignette experiments even estimate that light-skinned black applicants are preferred over their dark-skinned counterparts with superior qualifications (Banerji 2006). Similar relationships have been found among the Latino/a population (Arce, Murguía, and Frisbie 1987; Telles and Murguía 1990; Murguía and Telles 1996; Espino and Franz 2002; Bonilla-Silva 2001). In addition, Hispanics with lighter skin tone tend to have fewer mental health problems (Codina and Montalvo 1994).

The importance of skin tone also emerges upon examining indicators of social distance. Light-skinned black women tend to marry spouses with higher educational attainment than their dark-skinned counterparts. Light-skinned Asians and Latino/as are more likely to intermarry with whites than their dark-skinned counterparts (Qian 2002). Lastly, evidence suggests that black Hispanics tend to be more segregated from whites and do not benefit from nativity like white Hispanics (Iceland and Nelson 2008).

However, the effects of skin tone are not monotonous, and the assumed primacy of phenotype relative to race in determining life chances still remains in question. For example, statistical models controlling only for skin tone do not predict important life outcomes better than models simply controlling for race and ethnicity (Herring 2002). Rather than becoming an increasingly important predictor of life outcomes, work on cohort differences suggests that the

effect of skin tone on educational and occupational attainment is attenuated among younger cohorts (Gullickson 2005; although these results have been contradicted by Goldsmith, Hamilton, and Darity 2006).

Some interesting anomalies also seem to emerge among Mexicans. Medium-skinned Mexicans exhibit more negative views of blacks and are less likely to live amongst coethnics than light-skinned Mexicans. Medium-skinned Mexicans are also less proficient in English compared to their dark-skinned counterparts (Murguía and Saenz 2002). Evidence also suggests that the relationship between skin tone and social attitudes may be more relevant for Puerto Ricans, than Cubans and Mexicans (Forman, Goar, and Lewis 2002).

Nevertheless, as a result of the prominent role that skin tone plays in determining the life outcomes of racial minorities, race and ethnicity scholars argue that the racial system in the U.S. is shifting from a system that distinguishes between whites and non-whites, as characterized in Chapter 2 by SCT, to a racialized social system characterized by three strata similar to the system in place in Latin America. This tertiary system is defined by three racial groups: Whites, Honorary Whites, and Collective Blacks (Bonilla-Silva 2002; 2004)[4].

In a Marxian fashion, the Latin Americanization Thesis (hereafter "LAT") argues that Whites have incorporated segments of non-white populations into the Whites category, and created the intermediary Honorary Whites category to serve as a buffer of racial conflict between Whites and Collective Blacks. These changes are said to be the result of changing racial demographics spurred by continuing flows of immigration and increasing rates of exogamy. According to the LAT, phenotype is now the primary determinant of one's placement within the

[4] Gans (1999) and Lee and Bean (2004) have proposed alternative changes to the racial structure in the U.S. This dissertation, however, focuses exclusively on the experiences of blacks and examines if their experiences are consistent with the LAT. The experiences of other racial groups, or the degree of alignment between their experiences and the proposed tri-racial hierarchy relative to that of blacks, is not a focus of this analysis.

newly forming strata. Like all racialized social systems, the newly proposed pigmentocracy should provide political, economic, social, and ideological advantages to members of privileged racial groups (Bonilla-Silva 1997).

According to Bonilla-Silva (2002; 2004) the new racial order consists of three racial strata: the Whites, Honorary Whites, and Collective Black. As showing in Figure 3.1, the Whites collectivity is comprised of whites, new white immigrants, assimilated white Latino/as and Native Americans, a few Asian-origin people, and some multiracials. Light-skinned Latino/as, most multiracial and most Asian-origin people make up the Honorary Whites category. Finally, the Collective Black group consist of various racial and ethnic group members with an Afrocentric phenotype, including Black Americans and black immigrants, dark-skinned Asians and Latino/as, and reservation-bound Native Americans.

For the purposes of this dissertation, it is important to consider the location of African Americans within the new racial strata. While African Americans are largely concentrated in the Collective Black strata, some may be located in the Honorary Whites category. It is possible, that with increasing rates of exogamy, multiracial African Americans with less Afrocentric features may ascend to Honorary White status, given the primacy of phenotype in the newly emergent pigmentocracy. This dissertation is designed with this in mind.

Figure 3.1 Bonilla Silva's Tri-Racial Hierarchy

The material advantages afforded to privileged racial groups in the proposed tertiary racial system have received widespread consideration, but less attention has been paid to the ideological advantages experienced by privileged racial groups. All racialized social systems have an ideological component that favors members of the privileged racial group. The privileged race is often "granted higher social estimation (e.g., is viewed as "smarter" or "better looking")" than subordinate racial groups (Bonilla-Silva 1997:470). SCT is well-suited to investigate the ideological basis of the newly proposed racialized social system because it examines how the cultural value of social attributes become enacted during interaction:

observing the inequality between group interactants with differing social attributes is believed to yield a map of society's cultural belief system.

While the racial ideology of a given culture can range from designating members of privileged racial groups as divine, physically attractive, civilized, and/or hard working, social psychologists argue that understanding status beliefs, or beliefs that associate some groups with general competency more than others, are critical for understanding how racial inequality is perpetuated (Ridgeway 2014; Ridgeway and Smith-Lovin 1999; Ridgeway and Correll 2004). Status beliefs not only shape expectations for competence during interaction, but also support the adoption of formal roles (e.g. leader/follower), which reinforce them. This has obvious implications for the accumulation of resources, and serves to reproduce status beliefs (e.g. "If our leaders are often white, it must be because they are competent and fit to lead."). Furthermore, when members of different racial groups interact, status beliefs activate reward expectations, or beliefs about how resources (e.g. salaries) should be appropriated (Berger, Anderson, and Zelditch 1972), and double standards, stricter criteria for members of subordinate racial groups to demonstrate their competency (Foschi 2000; Foschi, Lai, and Sigerson 1994). Through these interactional mechanisms, racialized social systems are preserved.

Two experiments on group interaction support the tertiary order proposed by the LAT, and suggest that a pigmentocratic ideology may be buttressing the proposed racial hierarchy. Early work among middle-school students conducted by Rosenholtz and Cohen (1985) showed that, despite being matched on key characteristics, Hispanic students with darker skin tone, and other phenotypical characteristics strongly associated with Hispanic ancestry, were less active and influential in task groups compared to their less “ethnic-looking” counterparts. A more systematic examination of these processes compared the experiences of light and dark-skinned

Latino/as of different genders to that of whites in a controlled-laboratory setting. This work found clear and convincing support for the Latin Americanization Thesis: white group members were in fact more influential than light-skinned Latino/as, who had higher rates of influence over whites than dark-skinned Latino/as (Biagas and Bianchi forthcoming).

While these studies did not empirically assess the relationship between status beliefs and group members who differ by skin tone, the observed status hierarchy within the groups supports the claim that status beliefs favoring light-skinned Latino/as over their dark-skinned counterparts are prevalent in society. Nevertheless, support for the LAT, SCT, and the hypothesized role of status beliefs is limited because: 1) the aforementioned studies did not directly observe status beliefs to fully test this causal theory and 2) the studies only considered the experience of Hispanics. To provide stronger support for SCT, and to more comprehensively assess the LAT, this tertiary order and its accompanying cultural belief system must be observed among African Americans. In addition, patterns of behavioral inequality and status beliefs must be mutually consensual among white and black populations, since SCT proposes that status beliefs associated with differentially valued social distinctions are hegemonic in nature and infiltrate the psyche of advantaged and disadvantaged members of society alike.

Skin Tone and Status Beliefs: A Historical Account

So, how do status beliefs form and what processes gave rise to a cultural belief system regarding skin tone? Status Construction Theory, the culmination of a series of experiments investigating the micro-foundations of status beliefs (see Ridgeway 2006 for a review), asserts that micro-encounters, and a specific set of situational factors, foster and ultimately diffuse status beliefs about nominal social distinctions (e.g. skin tone) (Ridgeway 1991, 2006; Ridgeway and Erickson 2000; Webster and Hysom 1998).

Crucial to the theory is the notion of a doubly dissimilar situational encounter, or one in which group members are differentiated by both a nominal social distinction (e.g. skin tone) and a valued resource (e.g. income). The theory argues that when group members differentiated by a previously unvalued nominal distinction and a valued resource encounter one another, status hierarchies are likely to form between them as they do in most groups working collectively on tasks. These status hierarchies form implicitly through subtle actions from members within the group (e.g. eye gaze), that are often outside of the awareness of actors. Group members attribute the differences in the observable power and prestige order to the salient differentiating nominal distinction, because they lack awareness of the small, non-conscious behaviors that produce these status hierarchies.

Over time, these status hierarchies are replicated, thereby repeating the association between the nominal distinction and the perceived competence of group members differentiated by the nominal distinction. Repeatedly associating perceptions of competence with the differentiating social attribute leads group members to form generalized status beliefs about the nominal distinction, which they endorse in subsequent micro-encounters with others who possess the nominal distinction. Treating others who possess the nominal distinction in accordance with the status beliefs regarding the nominal distinction induces others to internalize the status beliefs in a self-fulfilling fashion. They then act deferentially in future micro-encounters because of having internalized these status beliefs, leading to a diffusion of status beliefs regarding the nominal social distinction.

Tests of the theory show that previously unvalued and mundane social distinctions can acquire status value through these interactional mechanisms. When actors who are differentiated by an unvalued nominal social distinction incur one another, the coupling of their disparities in

status and a valued resource, leads to the internalization of status beliefs by interactants about the nominal distinction (Ridgeway and Erickson 2000). Bystanders who witness the association between previously unvalued nominal distinctions, a valued resource, and levels of deference also internalize status beliefs about the nominal distinctions, and go on to treat others who possess the nominal distinction in accord with their newly formed beliefs in subsequent interactions (Ridgeway and Erickson 2000).

Historical accounts of how light skin tone among minorities became valued are consistent with the diffusion process proposed by Status Construction Theory, and suggest that skin tone may be universally valued across racial lines. Associations between skin tone and inferiority date back to the conquest of the Americas (Russell-Cole, Wilson, and Hall 2013; Hunter 2005). During the time period, Africans were enslaved and exploited when white indentured servants and Native Americans could not satisfy the demand for labor in the New World. Conditions in the New World encouraged racial mixing. Estimates suggest that there was one white person for every ten slaves, complicated further by a severe gender imbalance (Russell-Cole et al. 2013). Some sexual relations were consensual, but more often than not they were the product of rape and exploitation (Hunter 2005; Baptist 2001).

In Central and South America, mixed-race individuals often lived free and benefitted from the elevated status of their European ancestry (Degler 1986). In fact, slave owners often made provisions for their offspring to become educated and own land of their own; in extreme cases, some even inherited the wealth of their ancestors. The status of light-skinned multiracials in the U.S. was much more tumultuous. Along with struggling to maintain their basic needs and ward off attacks from Natives, English settlers in the U.S. also had a shortage of marriageable

women. Like in South and Central America, this encouraged racial mixing, often as a result of rape (Evans 1989).

The first Africans to arrive in the new colonies were from Angola, and were Christian and literate (Rein 2006). Initially, this afforded them the status of indentured servants, which was unavailable to Africans arriving in South and Central America. Unfortunately, plantation owners soon realized that profit-margins could be increased by continuing to exploit the servants. Laws allowing plantation owners to enslave dark-skinned indentured servants were passed to appease plantation owners (Hull, Scott, and Smith 1982). The severe gender imbalance often spurred intimate relations between plantation owners and female African slaves. Indentured white servants often worked alongside African slaves, which also led to cross-race relations (Williamson 1980).

This generated a great deal of concern among white elites who wanted to maintain widespread support of slavery (Davis 1991). To do so, they promoted the ideology that slaves and their offspring were less than human, leading to the passage of anti-miscegenation laws that equated slavery with beastiality. Furthermore, the U.S. adopted the one-drop rule, which asserted that children with any minority ancestry were to be defined as minorities—thus, protecting the "purity" and "superiority" of the white race. Along with promoting an ideology to discourage miscegenation, the white elite also spread racist ideologies to justify their sexual exploitation of slaves (Hunter 2005). African women were labeled as sexually promiscuous, and as possessing insatiable sexual desires, so slave owners could justify their raping of them. This practice produced societal stereotypes associating dark-skinned women with sexual promiscuity.

In the American South, a three-tiered color system formed, which was quite different than race relations in the north. Multiracial children of African and European ancestry were often

the children of plantation owners and other well-off families, unlike their counterparts in the north who were typically the offspring of white indentured servants (Domínguez 1986). Multiracials, who often had Eurocentric phenotype, had higher status and were more likely to inherit advantages, such as educational opportunities and opportunities for freedom (Horowitz 1973). In addition, those with lighter skin tone benefitted from an ideology that considered them more capable and intelligent because of their mixed-ancestry (Russell-Cole et al. 2013). They were often granted less strenuous, coveted roles on the plantation, including assignments as artisans, drivers, valets, cooks, and housekeepers (Davis 1991; Samuels 2010). Their darker-skinned counterparts were believed to be incapable of handling the nuances of such tasks, and were often assigned labor-intensive work in the fields.

This came undone after the Civil War, when multiracials experienced a backlash from southern whites after the fall of the confederacy (Russell-Cole et al. 2013). Interestingly, multiracials felt they had more in common with white southerners than dark-skinned African Americans. Fearing that whites would associate them with the newly-freed, darker-complexioned blacks, they quickly worked to distinguish themselves and maintain their privileged position with various exclusionary practices. Elite multiracials, who often had Eurocentric phenotype, came to refer to slaves freed by the Emancipation Proclamation as "sot-free", and to those who were free prior to the Civil War like themselves as "bonafide free" (Russell-Cole et al. 2013).

Light-skinned blacks were able to maintain these status distinctions with various social arrangements and exclusionary practices. Elite multiracials refrained from intimate relations with those possessing an Afrocentric phenotype, and established exclusive clubs, churches, neighborhoods, and educational institutions (see Russell-Cole et al. 2013 for more details). For example, membership in the Bon Ton Society of Washington and Blue Vein Society of Nashville

was a prestigious honor, but membership in these exclusive social clubs was restricted to those with light skin tone, or those believed to possess the finest "blood lines" (Williamson 1980). Churches across the country also restricted membership to individuals with light skin tone. Prospective members were often subjected to a paper bag test, door test, or comb test to gain entry to churches where light-skinned elite predominated.

Light-skinned elite also distinguished themselves from the "sot-free" by living in segregated residential communities (Russell-Cole et al. 2013). Communities where light-skinned African American elites tend to live can be found to this day in major metropolitan areas across the country. Cities such as Philadelphia ("lighty bright" and "banana block"), Harlem ("Sugar Hill" and "Strivers Row"), and Chicago ("Chantham" and "East Hyde Park") still contain areas where light-skinned, upper-class African Americans are known to live.

Lastly, light-skinned multiracials distinguished themselves from the so-called "sot-free" and maintained their privileged position with exclusionary practices at educational institutions (Russell-Cole et al. 2013). The finest educational institutions established by the light-skinned elite regularly denied admission to prospective black applicants on the basis of skin tone. In 1916, an estimated 80% of students at historically black colleges and universities were light-skinned or multiracial (Shannon 1951). Well-regarded institutions like Howard University, Wilberforce University, Fisk University, Atlanta University, Morgan State University, Hampton University, and Spelman College all required applicants to pass skin-color tests to gain admission. This led to the heavy concentration of dark-skinned blacks in menial occupations. To this day, many greek organizations on historically black colleges and universities still have the reputation of only admitting members of a certain skin tone (Russell-Cole et al. 2013).

Interestingly, some of the most prominent leaders within the African American community had Eurocentric phenotype or were of mixed ancestry, a trend that continues to this day (Frazier 1962; Reuter 1969; Gatewood 1990; Russell-Cole et al. 2013). For example, some of the most prominent early leaders within the African American community at the time, including Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. Du Bois, Booker T. Washington, and Ida B. Wells, had Eurocentric phenotype. Furthermore, when W.E.B. Du Bois was tasked with producing a list of leaders to direct the progress of African Americans, all but 1 of 23 members listed were light-skinned or multiracial (Russell-Cole et al. 2013). This trend has persisted throughout history with many of the first African Americans to assume positions of authority in the US, including the first black US Cabinet member (Robert Weaver), Supreme Court Justice (Thurgood Marshall), ambassador (Andrew Young), governor (Douglas Wilder), Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (Colin Powell), Chair of the Democratic National Committee (Rob Brown), Secretary of State (Condoleeza Rice), and President (Barrack Obama) (Russell-Cole et al. 2013).

Dating back to slavery, light-skinned multiracials have possessed resources valued by dark-skinned blacks, whether they were opportunities for freedom and literacy, the ownership of land, positions of leadership, or coveted duties on the plantation. They were the beneficiaries of an ideology that labeled them as generally being more capable and intelligent because of their mixed ancestry, a status they later strived to maintain by restricting the access of dark-skinned blacks to the most prestigious organizations, educational institutions, and neighborhoods. This only reinforced associations between competence and the lighter skin tone of African Americans.

This racist ideology came to be represented in the phenotypic traits of minorities, such as their dark skin, kinky hair, and wide noses, which associated with the social, economic, and educational advantages afforded to light-complexioned blacks throughout history. As proposed

by Status Construction Theory, subsequent interactions between group members likely repeated the associations between phenotype and desired resources, giving rise to and diffusing beliefs that associated the Eurocentric phenotype of light-skinned African Americans with competence, and Afrocentric features of dark-skinned blacks with incompetence. These beliefs, whether based on fact or perception, can be perpetuated through interaction when nominal distinctions are repeatedly paired with desired resources (Ridgeway 2006). In this manner, the phenotype of light-skinned African Americans came to be valued more than the dark skin of their less privileged counterparts.

Deracialization, Racial Neglect, and Racial/Ethnic Invariance

Race scholars criticize social scientists for their implementation, or lack thereof, of race when conducting quantitative analyses. An examination of last century's sociological research publications reveals that the inclusion of race in statistical models increased over time, but far too often is only a control variable. This superficial incorporation of race is a result of developments in technology and social statistics, and the pressure to eliminate as many threats to internal validity as possible. Scholars refer to the frequent inclusion of race as a control variable in statistical models as the *deracializing* of social processes under study, and argue that it precludes a full understanding of the minority experience (Martin and Yeung 2003).

This problem is also a symptom of contemporary social psychological scholarship. Social psychologists - and experimentalists in particular - often neglect the study of race and ethnicity. Analyses of prominent social psychology texts indicate that the incorporation of the minority experience is sparse and lags significantly behind efforts to incorporate the experience of women (Hunt, Jackson, Powell, and Steelman 2000). Experimental social psychologists are particularly guilty of racial neglect as indicated by the meager 3% of published experiments in

recent decades that seriously investigated race or ethnicity, lagging significantly behind the 10% of qualitative work and 18% of survey studies that do so.

The failure to seriously explore the minority experience is rationalized by experimental methodology and abstract theoretical generalization. Through random assignment, researchers contend that the minority experience is neutralized and dispersed equally across experimental conditions. The experimental method thus investigates the "true effect" of an experimental manipulation, net of differential racial experiences. Abstract theoretical generalization (e.g., Zelditch 1969; Lucas 2003), developed in part as a response to critiques of the limited external validity of experiments, contributes to this neglect. Abstract theoretical generalization assumes that social processes understood from studying predominantly white college students applies across settings, time, *and implicitly, across racial groups*, so long as the scope conditions of theories are met (Hunt et al. 2000). Using this rationale, and the limited availability of racial minorities on college campuses, researchers "legitimately" justify their investigations of predominantly white research participants.

Critics also raise serious concerns over how racial differences are interpreted in social statistics (Zuberi 2003). Researchers chastise social statisticians who often interpret racial coefficients as causal effects. Zuberi (2003) calls for the theory of manipulative causation, which posits that race can never be interpreted as a causal effect because it cannot be manipulated across individuals. Instead of reifying race and ethnicity by interpreting racial coefficients as the cause of racial disparities, researchers must develop causal theories to understand the process of race and the formation of racial disparities. Researchers are discouraged from using race as a proxy, and instead should collect data on the racial processes represented by racial coefficients.

Failure to do so promotes primordialist conceptions of race by treating race as the cause of racial differences, when unmeasured social processes are ultimately to blame.

These scholarly critiques should not be ignored by social psychologists. Critique number one calls into question the so-called "benign" neglect of the racial experience through abstract theoretical generalization, which often assumes that social psychological processes operate similarly across racial groups. The second critique calls for social scientists to explicitly specify and capture the underlying social processes producing racial disparities. Drawing on these critiques, this dissertation moves racial theorizing and the minority experience from the periphery to the forefront by exploring skin tone inequality that emerges in task groups, and the proposed causal mechanism said to produce this inequality.

Along with exploring skin tone inequity micro-encounters, this dissertation was designed to intentionally recruit research participants of color. Doing so, allows me to test the assumption of racial invariance with respect to skin tone inequity in task groups, and the accompanying set of cultural beliefs said to produce such inequality. By doing so, this dissertation moves beyond reifying racial categories and interpreting racial differences as causal effects, by directly assessing the causal mechanism believed to produce the phenotypical disparities in task encounters. Rather than treating phenotypical differences as an essentialist process, I examine the underlying social psychological mechanisms buttressing them.

This dissertation is well-positioned to examine skin tone inequality in task groups from the perspective of diverse populations by utilizing Status Characteristics Theory (Berger et al. 1966; 1972; 1977) of the group processes social psychological tradition (Markovsky, Lawler, and Ridgeway 1993). The flexibility of this perspective to the exploration of various axes of inequality allows for the incorporation the minority experience, and also promotes the

development of multi-level causal theorizing to understand why racial disparities in micro-encounters exist. Instead of attributing racial disparities to the racial background or phenotype of those under study, the group processes tradition encourages researchers to explicitly specify the non-recursive linkage between social structural (e.g. cultural belief systems) and interactional processes to understand how racial differences are perpetuated. While social psychology can benefit from the incorporation of racial theorizing and the minority experience, this underutilized social psychological perspective can assess and illuminate race scholarship as well by delineating how status beliefs produce skin tone disparities in influence among African Americans in task groups.

This dissertation tests the assumption of racial/ethnic invariance with respect to how white and black research participants react to group members' with differing phenotypical characteristics. Status Characteristics Theory largely assumes that individuals socialized in the same culture will afford similar levels of status to other members of their task group who differ in their phenotype. Social psychologists claim that there is racial/ethnic invariance because of a culturally universal ideology that associates individuals advantaged by axes of inequality with competence and those disadvantaged with incompetence. Skin tone disparities are believed to be the result of a culturally universal belief system that places a higher value on "whiteness" by associating individuals with lighter skin tone with competence (Berger et al. 1977; Fişek et al. 2005). Thus, light-skinned minorities are believed to be advantaged regardless of the racial ancestry of those they encounter when working in task groups because whiteness is a universally valued trait in the U.S.

According to Status Characteristics Theory, in the U.S. where a racial ideology favoring those with a white phenotype predominates, white and black research participants are expected to

defer to white, light-skinned African American, and dark-skinned African American partners in a transitive fashion, with white partners receiving the most deference and dark-skinned African Americans receiving the least. Moreover, I explore if status beliefs, or perceptions of competence, knowledge, and respectability believed to be held by "most others" in society (Ridgeway and Correll 2004), of group members who differ by phenotype are equivalent across white and black populations, and correspond to the observed behavioral inequities.

Claims of racial/ethnic similarity remain untested with respect to the Latin Americanization racial order. This is not without fault. As mentioned earlier, scholars cast serious doubt about whether we can continue to assume that social psychological processes apply equally well to various racial and ethnic groups (Hunt et al. 2000). Continuing to assume that these processes can be extrapolated across racial and ethnic groups only limits our knowledge of minority populations (Goar 2008), and in many ways allows the dominant group to hide the presence of domination (Bonilla-Silva 2015).

Contrasting the reactions of African Americans and whites to group members who differ by skin tone will allow us to assess this social psychological assumption of racial/ethnic similarity and the underlying social psychological mechanisms for skin tone disparities in micro-encounters. The assumption of racial/ethnic invariance will fail to be supported should white and black research participants differ in how much deference or perceived social esteem they ascribe to group members with differing skin tones. Differences in these outcomes would suggest that the value of whiteness is not hegemonic as assumed by social psychologists. To assess the underlying causal explanations for phenotypical disparities, I assess the alignment between status beliefs and behavioral inequalities in task groups for both populations. Thus, this study is crucial

to our understanding of the social psychological mechanisms supporting the pigmentocratic racial hierarchy.

Hegemonic Belief Systems: Do African Americans Subscribe to a Colorist Ideology?

To what extent is the cultural belief system privileging the Eurocentric phenotype hegemonic? In other words, what evidence is there that light skin tone and other Eurocentric features are valued by the very groups it may work against? Early work referred to the process by which subordinate racial groups internalize the racist value system of the dominant group as self-hatred (Russell-Cole 2013), but scholars more appropriately have come to label this process as internalized racism or oppression (Pyke 2010; Bivens 2005).

The remnants of the value of whiteness formed long ago still persist today. Aside from the aforementioned economic, educational, residential, and marital advantages afforded to light skinned minorities, research on body images suggests minorities have internalized the value of the phenotype possessed by privileged racial groups. Research identifies a "bleaching syndrome", or the use of cosmetic surgery and various “beauty” products by black, Hispanic, and Asian Americans to secure the white aesthetic of value (e.g. straight hair, narrow noses, light skin, etc.) (Hall 1994; 1995; 1997; Hunter 2005; Glenn 2009). Among blacks specifically, the premium placed on the white phenotype has implications for family dynamics, including interpersonal relations, who one marries, who one chooses to adopt, and the eggs sought from donations clinics, with light-skinned African Americans regarded as more desirable in all of these instances (Russell-Cole et al. 2013; Thompson 2009; Hunter 2005). The value of the white aesthetic is also readily apparent in the media, where Black American celebrities often possess white features and Latino/a actors and actresses often look white (Milkie 1999).

The hegemonic value of whiteness is endorsed by lay people as well. In interviews with African American and Mexican women, the majority of dark-skinned interviewees said they desired to be light-skinned at one point in their lives, while light-skinned women rarely reported ever wishing they were dark-skinned (Hunter 2005). Individuals also endorse more positive stereotypes of light-skinned Black Americans than their dark-skinned counterparts (Blair et al. 2002; Maddox and Gray 2002). For example, light-skinned blacks are perceived as more affluent, less aggressive, and even more intelligent.

Work on implicit attitudes also highlights the hegemonic nature of this racial ideology: like whites (e.g. Livingston and Brewer 2002), minorities associate highly prototypical minority faces (e.g. faces with dark skin tone and wide noses) with negative attributes than less prototypic faces (Uhlmann et al. 2002). Negative implicit attitudes of those with more Afrocentric features have important implications for health disparities and criminal convictions (White-Means et al. 2009; Levinson and Young 2010).

What is rather striking about internalized colorism is that Black Americans are well aware of stereotypes at very young ages. Work conducted in the late 1930's and early 1940's with black children from the north and south demonstrated that, when given the option between choosing a white or black doll, black children nearly always chose the white doll (Clark and Clark 1947). This basic finding has been replicated time and time again, with both white and black samples (Russell-Cole 2013; Sky 2008). Children as young as four and five years old tend to rate light-skinned black cartoon characters as more intelligent and less aggressive than dark-skinned characters (*CNN* 2010). Moreover, black children presented with short stories depicting light and dark-skinned blacks in stereotypic and counter-stereotypic ways are more likely to remember stories that depict dark-skinned blacks in a negative light (e.g. possessing low status

occupations) and light skinned blacks in positive ways (e.g. possessing high status occupations) (Averhart and Bigler 1997).

Recent developments in our understanding of the formation of status beliefs, historical analyses of the value of phenotype, and work on the association between phenotype and stereotypes suggest that light-skinned advantages experienced by minorities when interacting with whites may be mediated by a racial ideology that values the white phenotype and associates it with general competency. The presence of a colorist ideology that associates the white phenotype with goodness, intelligence, and beauty found among African Americans suggests they may have indeed internalized the value of phenotype espoused by the dominant group. It is likely then that those with a Eurocentric phenotype may be advantaged in task groups as predicted by SCT and the LAT, and that behavioral and attitudinal responses to prototypical members of the pigmentocratic racial order will be equivalent across whites and blacks.

However, it is also possible that the value of the white phenotype has not been internalized by African Americans. Omi and Winant (1994) describe racial formation as a socio-historical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, destroyed, or altered altogether. More importantly, racial ideologies, the product of racial projects that aim to define racial categories, are often contested. There is evidence to suggest that the colorist ideology of the white beauty ideal has not been internalized by African Americans, or at the very least that there are efforts to actively contest it. This calls into question whether African Americans will respond similarly to members of the tri-racial order proposed by the LAT.

Perhaps the most notable instance of contestation of the white aesthetic was the development of the Black is Beautiful Power Movement, an attempt to actively redefine the ideology concerning the black body and the Eurocentric beauty ideal. To alter the ideology that

blacks, and, more specifically, the Afrocentric phenotype that represents blackness, is ugly, unintelligent, and less than worthy, African Americans sought to redefine the black body as beautiful in popular films, music, and advertising (*PBS* "Black is Beautiful"). These efforts to redefine the black body were epitomized by the syndication of *Soul Train*, which tried to define black culture, fashion, and, more importantly, the black body as beautiful. The effects of these attempts reverberated across the African American community. Despite associating negative stereotypes with dark-skinned African Americans more often than their light-skinned counterparts, most African Americans report that members of the African American community believe that black is beautiful (Anderson and Cromwell 1977).

Interestingly, racial contestation of the white beauty ideal occurred before the development of the Black is Beautiful Movement (Craig 2009). Prior to the movement, members of the African American community were outraged with the results of numerous African American beauty pageants, which often crowned light-skinned women as the victors. For example, in 1914 a black newspaper solicited photos of women for consideration as one of the top-15 most beautiful black women in America. When only light-skinned women were listed as the winners, there was a public outcry from the black community. Another notable instance of contestation occurred in 1947 during Harlem's Golden Gate Ballroom beauty pageant. The two finalists were on opposite ends of the skin tone spectrum. When the judges announced that the light-skinned contestant had won, the crowd erupted in protests. To appease the crowd, the judges attempted to renege on their decision and declare a tie. However, the crowd eventually got its way and the dark-skinned contestant was awarded the crown. A final notable instance of colorism contestation occurred when Vanessa Williams, a fair-complexioned African American woman with green eyes, won the first Miss Black America beauty pageant in 1968. The decision

to crown someone with Eurocentric features as Miss Black America was heavily scrutinized within the black community.

Racial contestation of the white aesthetic of value persists to this day. Recent attempts by the media to draw on the beauty ideal to increase sales have received sharp criticism from the African American public (Russell-Cole et al. 2013). The most notable instance of this in recent memory occurred when L'Oréal published magazine advertisements featuring megastar Beyoncé Knowles in 2008. The already-light Beyoncé appears to have been lightened even further, drawing sharp criticism from the black community (Russell-Cole et al. 2013). Similar backlash occurred this year with the March issue of *InStyle* magazine featuring Kerry Washington. Critics took to social media to protest the cover photo of Kerry Washington, which they claim has been altered to make her appear more light-skinned—allegations the publisher has vehemently denied (Tempesta 2015).

Sharp criticism has also been directed at celebrities for undergoing cosmetic procedures to attain more Eurocentric features. For example, after undergoing skin bleaching treatment, media outlets went as far as to equate Sammy Sosa's (a black Latino) appearance with that of a vampire (*Fox Sports* 2014). The late Michael Jackson allegedly underwent several cosmetic procedures, and resultantly became the frequent center of punchlines on late night television shows and within the black community. Celebrities who undergo such procedures are often regarded as race traitors for attempting to rid themselves of their racial markers, which isn't surprising given that skin tone is widely regarded as the strongest indicator of ethnic legitimacy (Hunter 2007; Russell-Cole et al. 2013).

So, while there is evidence to suggest that the value of skin tone is hegemonic and has been internalized by blacks, remnants of the Black is Beautiful Power Movement suggest that

African Americans may actively contest the value of the white aesthetic. This implies then that African Americans may react differently to members of the tri-racial hierarchy than whites, since skin tone is the strongest determinant of status within the new racial scheme. Although there is no reason to believe that whites will fail to defer to members of the tri-racial scheme as expected, it is possible that African Americans may actively reject the influence of advantaged members of the pigmentocratic racial order.

Prior work examining skin tone advantages in social influence among minorities only examined the perspective of white research participants and assumed that inequities among minority group members were driven by a mutually-consensual cultural belief system that places a higher value on whiteness. Examining the perspective of minorities, alongside that of whites, provides me with an opportunity to assess the SCT's assumption of cultural universality. To do so, I contrast the behavioral and attitudinal reactions of white and black research participants to prototypical members of the tri-racial scheme. In the next section, I will discuss how to model the claims of the LAT and contrasting assertions about racial and ethnic similarity within the framework of SCT.

Graph-Theoretic Models and Hypotheses

To allow for more precise predictions of behavioral inequality within groups, a graph-theoretic heuristic was developed, which models the cognitive process linking the culturally valued states of status characteristics to status beliefs and their corresponding expectations for the worthiness of group member contributions (Berger et al 1977). Figure 3.2 presents the graphic representation of a dyad with group members (W and CB) who are differentiated by the states of race, a diffuse status characteristic (D_1^+ and D_1^-). These states of the diffuse characteristic are linked to expectations for task success (T^+) and failure (T^-) through paths of

relevance. Shorter paths produce stronger expectations for task outcomes than longer paths, and paths longer than length 6 do not affect expectations (Berger et al. 1977).

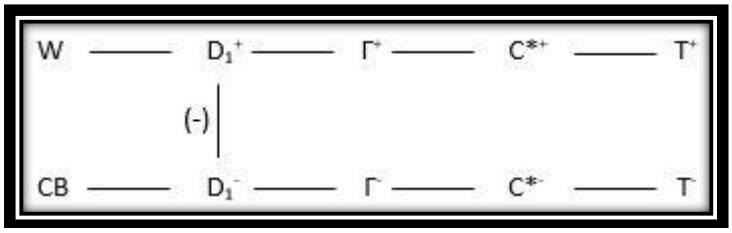

Figure 3.2 Path Model of the Effect of a Single Diffuse Status Characteristic

Diffuse characteristics are linked to expectations for task success through general expectation states (Γ^+ and Γ^-), which associate the states of diffuse characteristics possessed by group members with status beliefs regarding competence, and specific performance expectations (C^{*+} and C^{*-}), or high or low performance expectations for the task at hand. In general, when interactants are differentiated by a diffuse status characteristic, the advantaged group member is tied to expectations for task success with positive paths of length 4 and 5 (e.g. white group member: D_1^+, Γ^+, C^{*+}, and T^+ & D_1^+, D_1^-, Γ^-, C^{*-} and $T^-(-)$), while the disadvantaged group member is tied to task outcomes with negative paths of length 4 and 5 (e.g. Collective Black group member: D_1^-, Γ^-, C^{*-}, and T^- & D_1^-, D_1^+, Γ^+, C^{*+}, and $T^+(-)$)[5]. The valence of paths (+ or -) is determined by the sign of the final expected task outcome. However, should a path cross the point of dimensionality (i.e. (-)) to reach the expected task outcome, the valence of the expected task outcome is multiplied by the dimensionality sign, thereby reversing the valence of the path altogether. For example, the path tying Collective Blacks to T^+ is negative, because the positive

[5] Path lengths for subsequent theoretical models are counted in this manner. A summary of the path lengths for all theoretical models presented in this chapter can be found in Appendix A.

valence of the expected task outcome is multiplied by the negative sign of dimensionality, yielding a negative path of length 5.

Recent work has adapted the SCT graph model to account for the activation of gradations of status characteristics during social interaction, or the fact that status characteristics are not experienced equally by all members of society. More specifically, diffuse status characteristics can have differential impacts on the lived experience of interactants. While some group members may be strongly disadvantaged by a social distinction (e.g. working class) relative to the dominant group (e.g. upper class), others may be differentiated to a lesser extent (e.g. middle class).

This modification, known as the Status Cues Formulation as described in Chapter 2, models the uncertainty in determining group member attributes during interaction. Instead of simply conceptualizing diffuse characteristics as being positively and negatively valued, the adaptation of the graph-theoretic model allows for predictions for groups that may lie at an intermediary position between advantaged and disadvantaged groups (Fişek et al. 2005). This allows for the testing of the LAT because Honorary Whites are believed to fall in a social location between Whites and Collective Blacks in the racial hierarchy, similar to the intermediary status position filled by middle class interactants in the American class structure.

The Status Cues Formulation also provides a social psychological mechanism (i.e. racial ambiguity) for why Honorary Whites are advantaged by status beliefs relative to Collective Blacks during interaction. The Status Cues Formulation asserts that interactants use all of the information available to them during interaction to determine the states of diffuse characteristics possessed by actors. When all of the signals interactants emit are consistent, such as when a person speaks with an ethnic accent and has dark skin tone, a strong cue gestalt is activated and

group members are certain that the actor is a racial minority (or conversely that a partner is a member of the privileged racial group). Thus, the group member is subject to the full impact of status beliefs (as shown in the path diagram in Figure 3.2 above). However, when the cues emitted by group members are inconsistent, such as when a person claims to be a racial minority but has light skin tone, these conflicting racial cues cast doubt on the group member's possession of the positive or negative state of the diffuse characteristic.

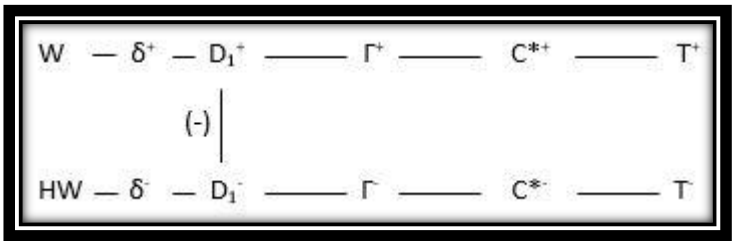

Figure 3.3 Modeling the Intermediary Position of Honorary Whites with the Status Cues Formulation

When this ambiguity, known as a weak cue gestalt, is activated, the group member is only partially advantaged or disadvantaged by status beliefs associated with the diffuse characteristic during interaction. Graphically, this ambiguity is represented by δ^+ or δ^-, which elongate the chains linking the respective state of the diffuse characteristic with expected task outcomes. That is, instead of being linked to expected task outcomes with path lengths of 4 and 5 as in the first status situation above in Figure 3.2, disadvantaged group members are now tied to task success (T^+) and failure (T^-) with path lengths of 5 and 6, as shown in the path model in Figure 3.3 above. By symmetry, the group member possessing the positive state of the social distinction is advantaged by path lengths of 5 and 6. Because longer paths produce weaker performance expectations than shorter paths, a group member (dis)advantaged by a weak cue gestalt is less (dis)advantaged by status beliefs than a group member (dis)advantaged by a strong

cue gestalt. In other words, status beliefs are more weakly attached to states of diffuse characteristics when it is unclear that a group member possesses the state of the diffuse characteristic. This status dynamic is one potential way of depicting the inequality emergent in the pigmentocracy, however alternative models will be introduced in this chapter.

SCT assumes that the status generalization process operates similarly across racial lines. White and black participants should exhibit similar behavioral reactions to members of the tri-racial hierarchy. That is, when blacks interact with Whites, they are believed to be disadvantaged by the full effects of a diffuse status characteristic, as shown in Figure 3.4 below.

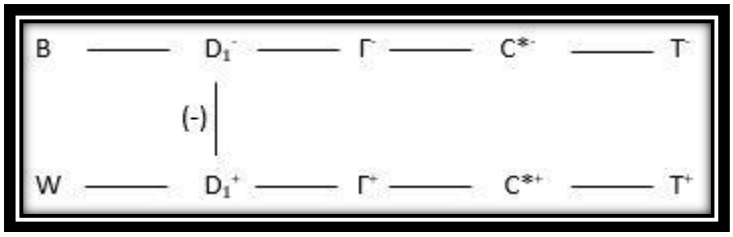

Figure 3.4 Modeling the Effects of a Single Diffuse Characteristic from the Perspective of Blacks

Moreover, blacks are expected to be affected by racial ambiguity in much the same way as whites. When encountering an Honorary White, the disadvantage they experience should be tempered by the activation of a weak cue gestalt. Rather than being disadvantaged by the full effects of race as in Figure 3.4 above, they are expected to only be partially disadvantaged as shown in Figure 3.5 below. As before, the activation of the weak cue gestalts (δ^+ or δ^-), elongate the chains linking group members to expected task outcomes, thereby producing less status differentiation within the group.

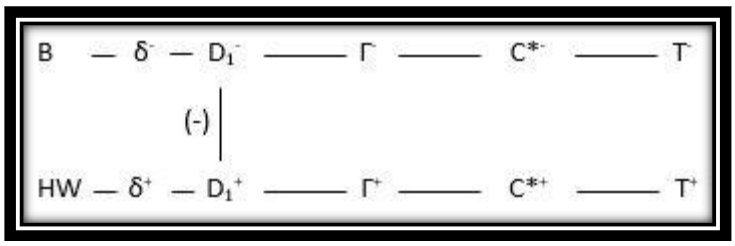

Figure 3.5 Modeling the Intermediary Position of Honorary Whites with the Status Cues Formulation from the Perspective of Blacks

Though not the best fitting model, recent evidence among Latino/as is consistent with the Status Cues Formulation and supports the skin tone hierarchy proposed by the LAT (Biagas and Bianchi forthcoming). Rather than Latino/as being equally disadvantaged when interacting with whites as conceptualized by SCT, experimental results suggest that a pigmentocratic racial order is in full effect, as predicted by the LAT. Whites appear to be atop the racial hierarchy, followed by light, and then dark-skinned Latino/as. Racial ambiguity is a key factor in explaining these results, as proposed by the Status Cues Formulation, given that light-skinned Latino/as were classified as Latino/as less consistently than their dark-skinned counterparts.

Other work also highlights the importance of phenotype for racial identification and classification, as suggested by the Status Cues Formulation. Skin tone is the strongest indicator people draw on to form their racial perceptions of others (Brown et al. 1998; Stepanova and Strube 2009). Not surprisingly then is the fact that skin tone plays a large role in explaining the claims of racial ancestry individuals have validated from others. White immigrants were once considered non-white, but eventually were able to adopt the white racial identity (Hout and Goldstein 1994; Lieberson 1980). A similar phenomenon is occurring with certain segments of the Latino/a population, as more recent immigrants, those of Cuban descent, and those with light skin tone are more likely to identify as white (Frank, Akresh, and Lu 2010; Michael and Timberlake 2008). Unlike the experiences of white immigrants, the identity claims of Caribbean

immigrants are severely constrained by phenotype (Waters 1999). Because of their resemblance to blacks in the US, Caribbean immigrants have a black identity imposed on them, and have their West Indian identity claims rejected.

Multiracial identification is subject to similar phenotypical constraints, highlighting the pervasiveness of phenotype in determining one's racial status (Rockquemore and Arend 2002; Khanna 2004, 2010, 2011; Herman 2004). For example, multiracials make phenotypical comparisons with others in their social networks to inform their racial identification (Khanna 2011). Furthermore, the racial identification of biracial Asians, blacks, and whites is largely based on how others perceive them (Khanna 2004; 2010; Herman 2004). Altogether, this work suggests that the racial ambiguity of those with lighter skin tone provides fewer constrains on their racial identity options, and produces greater variability in how they are classified by others.

The claim that there is racial ambiguity surrounding the classification of light-skinned minorities may seem surprising given the legacy of the one-drop rule in the U.S. (Davis 1991). However, recent work among multiracials suggests that the one-drop rule may be fading. Research indicates that far from simply identifying with the one-drop rule, multiracials have many options and can identify with a singular, border, protean, and transcendent identity (Rockquemore 1999; Rockquemore and Brunsma 2002). Identification also largely varies by context with roughly 88% of individuals identifying consistently across contexts (Harris and Sims 2002). When at home and in public, multiracials subscribe to the one-drop rule more than when at school and responding in private.

SCT assumes that a universal pigmentocratic ideology favoring the white phenotype is pervasive across racial lines. Therefore, it follows that:

H_{SCT1}: Whites will receive the most deference, followed by Honorary Whites, and their Collective Black counterparts.

H_{SCT2}: Whites will be perceived as having the most social esteem, followed by Honorary Whites, and their Collective Black counterparts.

H_{SCT3}: Levels of deference will be positively correlated with status beliefs.

Critical race theorists question the assumed cultural universality of social psychological processes (Hunt et al. 2000). Critics are weary of abstract theoretical generalization, which has long assumed that social psychological processes can be extrapolated across racial groups and was the primary springboard for the theoretical growth of SCT. Theoretical growth based on abstract theoretical generalization restricts our knowledge of racial groups (Goar 2008). Bonilla-Silva (2015) points out that by assuming cultural universality with respect to basic social processes, the dominant group is able to disguise patterns of domination.

Historical analyses by colorism scholars support their criticisms of cultural universality. Evidence suggests that Black Americans have contested the ideology that associates the white phenotype with beauty, intelligence, and superiority. The "Black is Beautiful" Power Movement is a prominent example of this, but other examples include protests of light-skinned beauty queens, and critical responses to digitally-lightened images of African American celebrities in the media and of celebrities who undergo cosmetic procedures to achieve the white beauty ideal (Russell-Cole et al. 2013). This suggests African Americans may not adhere to status beliefs that associate the Afrocentric phenotype with incompetence, or, at the very least, that they may actively try to refute them. This implies then that African Americans will not only differ from whites with respect to how they react to members of the tri-racial hierarchy, but that they will actively reject the influence of advantaged members of the pigmentocracy.

Graphically, I can model these claims with graph-theoretic models as I did above. While the graphs above assume that the value of phenotype is hegemonic and universally-shared by White and Black Americans alike, below I model the claim that African Americans devalue whiteness, and actively reject the influence of advantaged members of the tri-racial hierarchy. I draw on the logic of strong and weak cue gestalts from the Status Cues Formulation to model these claims.

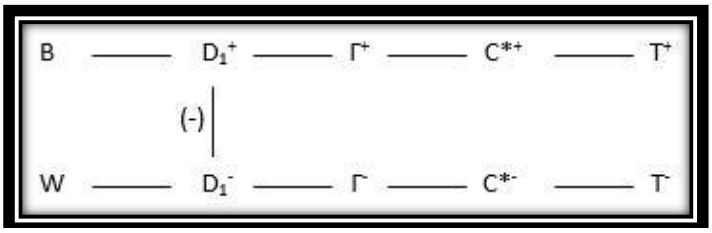

Figure 3.6 Modeling Blacks' Resistance to the White Phenotype using the Status Cues Logic

The status encounter in Figure 3.6 above, models the interaction between African American participants, and a prototypical member of the White strata. In this encounter, the state of the diffuse status characteristic possessed by Whites (D_1^-), is modeled as the disadvantaged social distinction, as assumed by CRT scholars. As before, the salient distinctions in the situation are tied to status beliefs, specific performance expectations, and expectations for task outcomes with paths of lengths 4 and 5. The status encounter in Figure 3.7 below, models the interaction between black research participants and a prototypical member of the Honorary White racial strata. Utilizing the logic of weak cue gestalts, I model the proposed negative effects of the white phenotype possessed by light-skinned African Americans as exhibiting a relatively weaker impact on the formation of the power and prestige order than the phenotype possessed by prototypical members of the White strata. As a result, δ^- and δ^+ are now salient in the encounter, elongating the paths linking the social distinctions possessed by group interactants to

expectations for task success – and, thereby producing weaker expectations for performance and less status differentiation within the group.

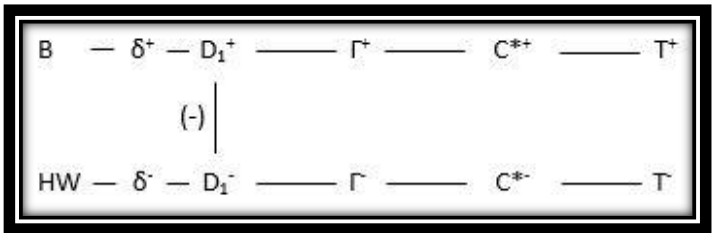

Figure 3.7 Modeling Blacks' Resistance to the Honorary White Phenotype using Status Cues Logic

In line with the claims that the value of phenotype and basic social psychological processes differ by race, it follows that:

> **H_{CRT1a}**: Patterns of deference across conditions will differ by race.
>
> **H_{CRT1b}:** More specifically, Whites will receive the least deference, followed by Honorary Whites, and their Collective Black counterparts, among black research participants.
>
> **H_{CRT2}:** Status beliefs associated with prototypical members of the pigmentocracy will differ by race.
>
> **H_{CRT2b}:** More specifically, Whites will be perceived as having the lowest social esteem followed by Honorary Whites, and their Collective Black counterparts by black research participants.
>
> **H_{CRT3}**: Patterns of deference will be differentially correlated with status beliefs along racial lines.
>
> **H_{CRT3b}**: Patterns of deference will be negatively correlated with status beliefs.

Modeling Alternative Causal Mechanisms

Although racial ambiguity may play a key role in explaining why phenotype leads to differential experiences for Honorary Whites and Collective Blacks at the micro level, the Latin Americanization Thesis and Dual Axes of Inequality Model make different assertions about how

skin tone buttresses the pigmentocracy. Although these theoretical models differ with respect to the proposed roles racial boundaries and phenotype play in organizing interaction, they predict similar transitive levels of influence as the Status Cues Formulation. Therefore, the hypotheses above still obtain.

Below I delineate the claims of the Latin Americanization Thesis and Dual Axes of Inequality Model, which both assert that phenotype and racial distinctions have independent effects—but make divergent claims about the relative force they play in organizing interaction. Generally speaking, the Latin Americanization Thesis asserts that phenotype plays a more prominent role in determining the life outcomes of Americans than traditional racial boundaries. I model this claim using the logic of strong and weak cue gestalts. The Dual Axes of Inequality Model is based on the work of colorism scholars who assert that phenotype has an independent and equally impactful effect on life outcomes than racial boundaries. In the colorism path models below, I accordingly model these bases of inequality as independent stratifiers with equivalent effects. I present graph models for how these processes are believed to operate among white and black participants. Finally, I present models for African Americans that assume phenotype and racial boundaries have the relative effects specified above, but whose effects are actively being resisted by African Americans, as asserted by CRT scholars.

The Latin Americanization Thesis makes distinct claims about the effect skin tone has on life outcomes relative to racial boundaries. Skin tone purportedly has the most salient impact on impressions that ultimately organize behavior; meanings and beliefs about racial boundaries play a secondary role in determining the new racial hierarchy (Bonilla-Silva 2002; 2004). To translate these theoretical notions concerning skin tone and racial boundaries into graphs, I draw on the logic of strong and weak cue gestalts, and accordingly, model skin tone as a diffuse status

characteristic, and racial differentiation as a weak cue gestalt. In so doing, the effect of skin tone is modeled as more strongly organizing group behavior than racial boundaries.

Figure 3.8 depicts the relative impacts of race and phenotype proposed by the Latin Americanization Thesis. In the first encounter, white participants are differentiated from their Collective Black partners by two social distinctions: race (D_1) and phenotype (D_2). Phenotype is modeled as more directly connecting group members to expected task outcomes than race, which is linked to states of T by a weak cue gestalt—thereby producing weaker expectations for behavior. The second encounter models the interaction between black participants and a prototypical member of the pigmentocratic White strata. Blacks are disadvantaged relative their White partners by race and phenotype, which are modeled as having the relative impact on status processes proposed above.

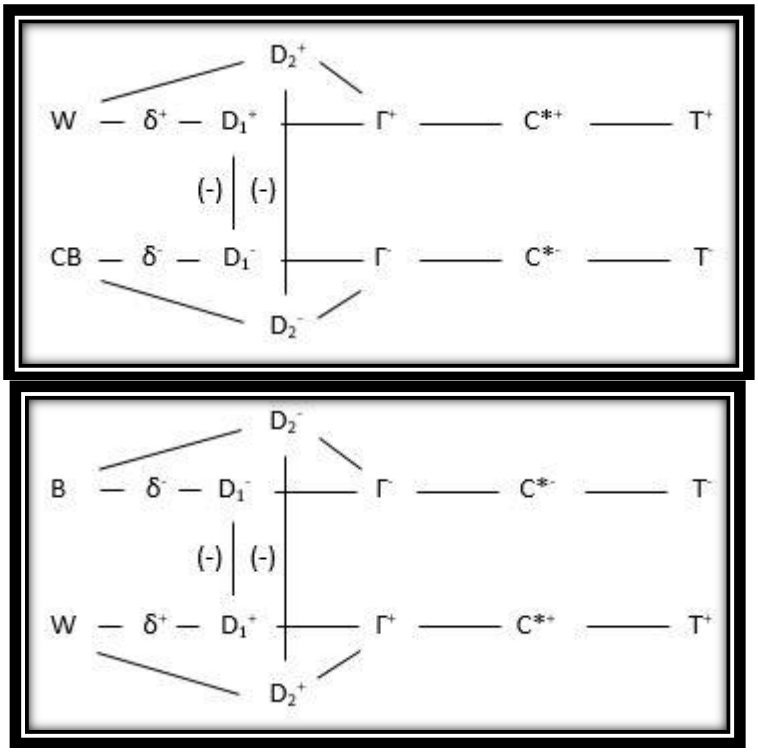

Figure 3.8 Modeling the Effects of Race and Phenotype using the Latin Americanization Logic

Figure 3.9 below depicts the interaction between white and black participants and Honorary White members of the tertiary social arrangement. In the first scenario, white participants are differentiated from Honorary Whites by only one distinction: race (D_1). Again, it is modeled as having the less pronounced effect of a weak cue gestalt. Phenotype is not activated in the scenario because, according to the saliency assumption of SCT, only distinctions that differentiate group members serve as the bases of stratification in group encounters. Honorary White members are not believed to be phenotypically distinct enough from Whites for phenotype to affect expectations for performance. In the second group encounter in Figure 3.9, black participants are disadvantaged relative to Honorary White because of phenotype (D_1), which is modeled as having the full impact of a diffuse status characteristic, but not racial status[6]. That is, Honorary Whites are believed to hold a disadvantaged position relative to Whites because of their racial distinctiveness, and an advantaged position relative to Collective Blacks because of their Eurocentric phenotype.

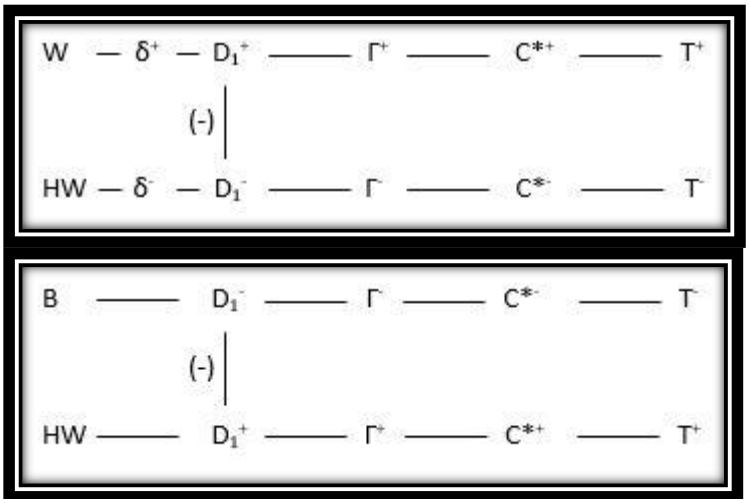

Figure 3.9 Modeling the Relative Position of Honorary Whites using the Latin Americanization Logic

[6] Hyperdescent is believed to operate in this situation. Subsequent research should consider modeling the effect of multiracial status with a weak cue gestalt.

Phenotype and racial boundaries are also believed to serve as independent stratifiers by the Dual Axes of Inequality Model. Race scholars assert that "colorism", or discrimination based on light versus dark skin, has separate effects on social outcomes than race, which has its own distinct effects (Frazier 1962; Myrdal 1944; Hunter 2005; Keith 2009). That is, colorism researchers assert that skin tone and racial boundaries are attached to two distinct belief systems. Unlike the Latin Americanization Thesis, however, skin tone and racial boundaries are believed to have equally impactful effects on group processes.

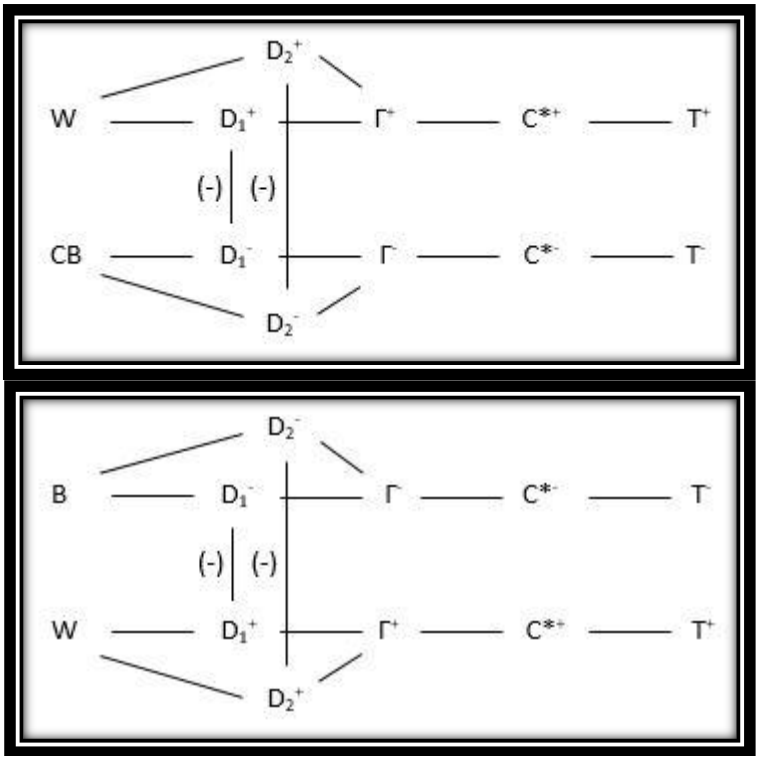

Figure 3.10 Modeling the Effects of Race and Phenotype using the Colorism Logic

For example, for a white who interacts with a Collective Black, two distinct status characteristics are salient, as shown in the first encounter in Figure 3.10 above. Whites are advantaged relative to Collective Blacks by their perceived racial background and phenotype,

which are both modeled as having the full effect of a diffuse status characteristic. The opposite is true of black participants who interact with members of the White strata because they are disadvantaged with respect to these two social distinctions.

Finally, the two scenarios in Figure 3.11 model the intermediary position of Honorary Whites who interact with white and black participants, using the logic of colorism scholars. In the first scenario. Honorary Whites are differentiated from whites because of their racial background, which is modeled as having the full effect of a diffuse status characteristic. The second path in the same Figure depicts the interaction between an Honorary White and a black group member, with phenotype, a full-fledged diffuse status characteristic, being the salient social distinction in the encounter.

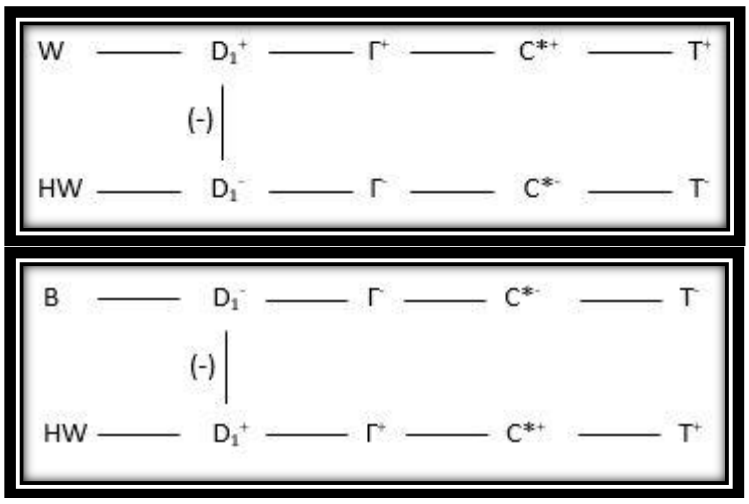

Figure 3.11 Modeling the Relative Position of Honorary Whites using the Colorism Logic

The claims of CRT scholars concerning the active resistance of African Americans to racial oppression can also be incorporated into these path models. I can assume that race and phenotype operate as asserted by the Latin Americanization Thesis and Dual Axes of Inequality Model, but that African Americans will actively resist their effects and attempt to redefine the

states associated with these distinctions. Rather than being disadvantaged by race or phenotype, Figures 3.12 below assume that blacks are advantaged with respect to race and/or phenotype. In the first two scenarios, blacks are advantaged by race and/or phenotype, which are modeled as having differential effects on group outcomes predicted by the Latin Americanization Thesis.

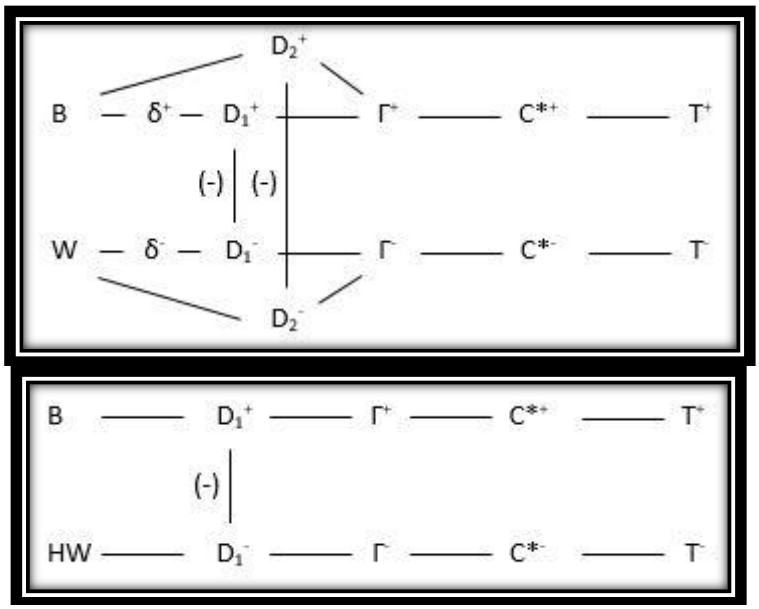

Figure 3.12 Modeling Blacks' Active Resistance to Racial and Phenotypical Hegemony using the Latin Americanization Logic

Finally, the two scenarios below map the active resistance of blacks to racial and phenotypical oppression using the logic of colorism scholars. Accordingly, race and phenotype are modeled as having the full impact of a diffuse status characteristic, but African Americans are expected to be advantaged by their racial background and phenotype as they attempt to recast these distinctions in a positive light. Again, the transitive predictions CRT theorists make about the relative status of members of the tri-racial system still hold for these alternative models.

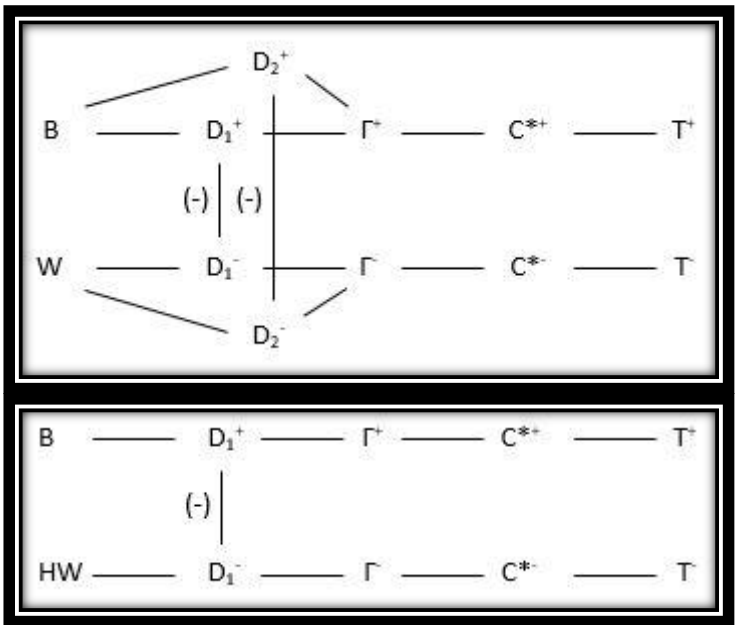

Figure 3.13 Modeling Blacks' Active Resistance to Racial and Phenotypical Hegemony using the Colorism Logic

Why are these graph models important? Graph models are powerful tools because they allow us to visually depict the claims of distinct theoretical perspectives as I have done above. More, importantly, however, the paths connecting group members to expected task outcomes in these path models allow for precise predictions for influence to be derived for each condition of all theoretical models. Tables summarizing the model-based assumptions about the differentiating attributes and the path lengths connecting group members to performance expectations can be found in Appendix A. Predictions derived for these theoretical models can be compared to the actual status differentiation observed in the groups, to determine which social psychological mechanism best accounts for the behavioral inequalities. Therefore, performing this exercise can potentially provide us with more insight into the nuanced role that racial distinctions and phenotype play in the Latin Americanization order. In the next chapter, I discuss how predictions for each theoretical model are derived.

Summary and Objectives

In this chapter, I outlined the Latin Americanization Thesis and studies that have recently assessed the tenets of the thesis. I described the historical basis for status beliefs associated with phenotype. Furthermore, I discussed evidence suggesting that status beliefs may be mutually consensual between White and African Americans, and critiques by Critical Race Theorists suggesting that racial oppression based on phenotype may be actively contested among African Americans. Lastly, I discussed how to model the tenets of the phenotypical inequities using three distinct theoretical models, within the Status Characteristics Theory framework. In addition, I modeled the claims of theorists critical of universal social psychological theorizing. In Chapter 4, I outline my methods for testing these contradictory assertions, the results of the multi-site experiments, and the implications of these results for the LAT and SCT.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODS, RESULTS, AND DISCUSSION

Experimental Design

The study was conducted with eighty-six white students at a large public university in the Midwest (hereafter "Midwest U"), and seventy-five black students at a medium-sized university in the Mid-Atlantic (hereafter "Mid-Atlantic U"). Conducting the study at multiple sites was necessary because of the lack of racial diversity among the students at Midwest U, where only 2.5% of all undergraduate students were African American in the Fall of 2014 (Office of the Registrar 2015). Mid-Atlantic University consistently enrolls about five times as many African American undergraduate students (Center for Student Diversity 2015).

Although organizations can alter the value of status characteristics (Bianchi, Kang, and Stewart 2012), there is no reason to believe that these two public institutions of higher education engage in practices that alter the meaning of skin tone. To control for the effects of other diffuse status characteristics, and allow for stronger tests of theory (Kalkhoff, Djurich, and Burke 2007), all research participants were female undergraduates. Although skin tone is particularly important for conceptions of physical attractiveness among black women (Hill 2002; Hunter 2005), prior work shows no gender differences in the status afforded to minorities who differ by phenotype (Biagas and Bianchi forthcoming).

Research participants at Midwestern U were recruited from various undergraduate sociology courses and received extra credit in exchange for their participation (see Appendix C). Participants at Mid-Atlantic U were recruited through mass-email solicitations, fliers, social media announcements, and personal recruitment visits to various African American-affiliated organizations (see Appendix B for examples of the recruitment materials). Students at Mid-Atlantic U were initially paid $10 for their participation, however, the incentive was increased to

$15 to more effectively recruit research participants of color. Both forms of compensation are frequently used in social science experiments, and there is no evidence to suggest that these incentives attract different types of research participants.

Experimental Procedures

Upon arrival to the laboratories, subjects were greeted by myself or a research assistant and shown to their computer station. For standardization purposes, instructions for the Team Contrast Sensitivity Task (hereafter TCST), the group task to be completed by subjects, and experimental stimuli were administered by a computer program. All subjects were "introduced" to Dr. Gordon, a "research associate" purportedly administering the study from the control room of the laboratories (see Appendix D for the instructions read by Dr. Gordon at each research site). In reality, Dr. Gordon's instructions were pre-recorded and were simply being streamed to subjects by the computer program.

Instructions for the Team Contrast Sensitivity Task were provided by Dr. Gordon. To facilitate comparisons of effect sizes across studies, experiments testing SCT typically utilize a standardized experimental setting (Moore 1968; Troyer 1996; Berger 2007). In this setting, experimentalists provide similar instructions to participants and utilize a similar dependent variable so as to minimize the effects of extraneous factors at different research sites. The P(s) score, the most frequently used dependent variable in the standardized setting, approximates the observable power and prestige order of the group. As an indicator of social status, the P(s) score reflects how influenced participants are by the suggestions of their partners on the group task at hand.

To obtain a P(s) score, participants complete the TCST. During the task, subjects are shown a series of 23 pairs of rectangular slides with black and white blocks within them, and are

asked to determine, as a group, which of the two rectangular slides contains more white area. In reality, these slides are virtually indistinguishable, but group members are led to believe that there is a correct answer (see Figure 4.1 below for an example of two slides).

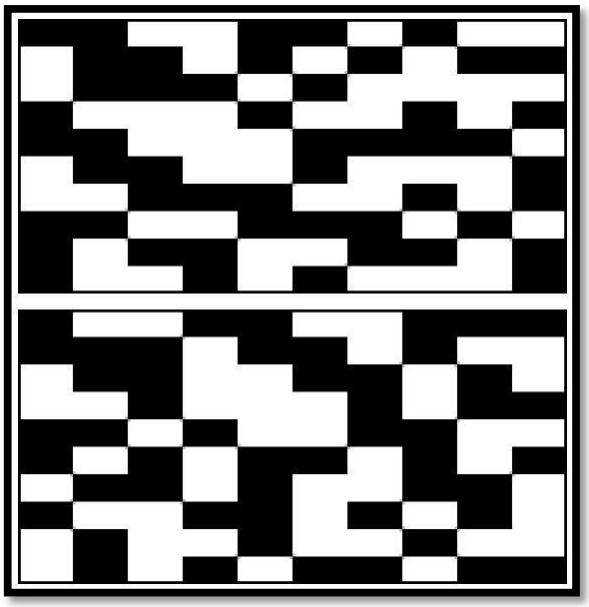

Figure 4.1 Example of Contrast Sensitivity Slides

Participants make an initial guess, are then shown their partner's guess, and are finally asked to render a final decision for each pair of slides. "Partner" suggestions are automatically programmed to differ from subjects' initial decisions on 20 of the 23 trials--the trials of interest. The P(s) score, more formally known as the proportion of stay responses, is calculated by taking the number of times subjects reject the influence of confederates - by choosing a final decision that is identical to their initial decision after receiving partner suggestions that differ from their own initial decisions -- and dividing it by 20. If participants defer to some confederates more than others (i.e. their proportion of stay responses is lower) they are said to have been influenced more by those confederates.

Embedded in Dr. Gordon's instructions for the TCST are three important points: 1) Success on the group task is unrelated to known abilities, 2) there is a correct answer for each trial of the task, and 3) participants should try their best and work as a team to determine the correct answers. These instructions are crucial to ensuring that subjects begin the task with equal expectations for their and their partner's ability, and that they meet the scope conditions of SCT. Despite receiving these instructions, 22 subjects at Midwest U (25.59%) and 9 subjects at Mid-Atlantic U (12%) were excluded from the final analyses.

Decisions to exclude subjects were based on their responses to an interview conducted at the end of the experiment, which was designed to assess the strategies subjects used to complete the task, whether they were task and collectively oriented, and whether or not they were deceived by the experimental stimuli. Subjects were excluded from the analyses for either failing to believe they had a partner or that there was a correct answer for each trial, or for failing to meet the scope conditions of SCT (task and collective orientation). Experiments of this type are conducted on a recurring basis at Midwest U, therefore, it was not surprising to find that a higher proportion of subjects were excluded from the final analyses there. The likelihood of subject pool contamination was much lower at Mid-Atlantic U, given that this was the first experiment conducted at the laboratory.

All participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions. After receiving the instructions for the TCST and completing a practice trial to familiarize themselves with the task, subjects were led to believe they would be completing the TCST with a White, Honorary White, or Collective Black partner. Subjects were given the opportunity to "meet" their partners before beginning the TCST, but in reality this introduction was simply designed to introduce the experimental stimuli.

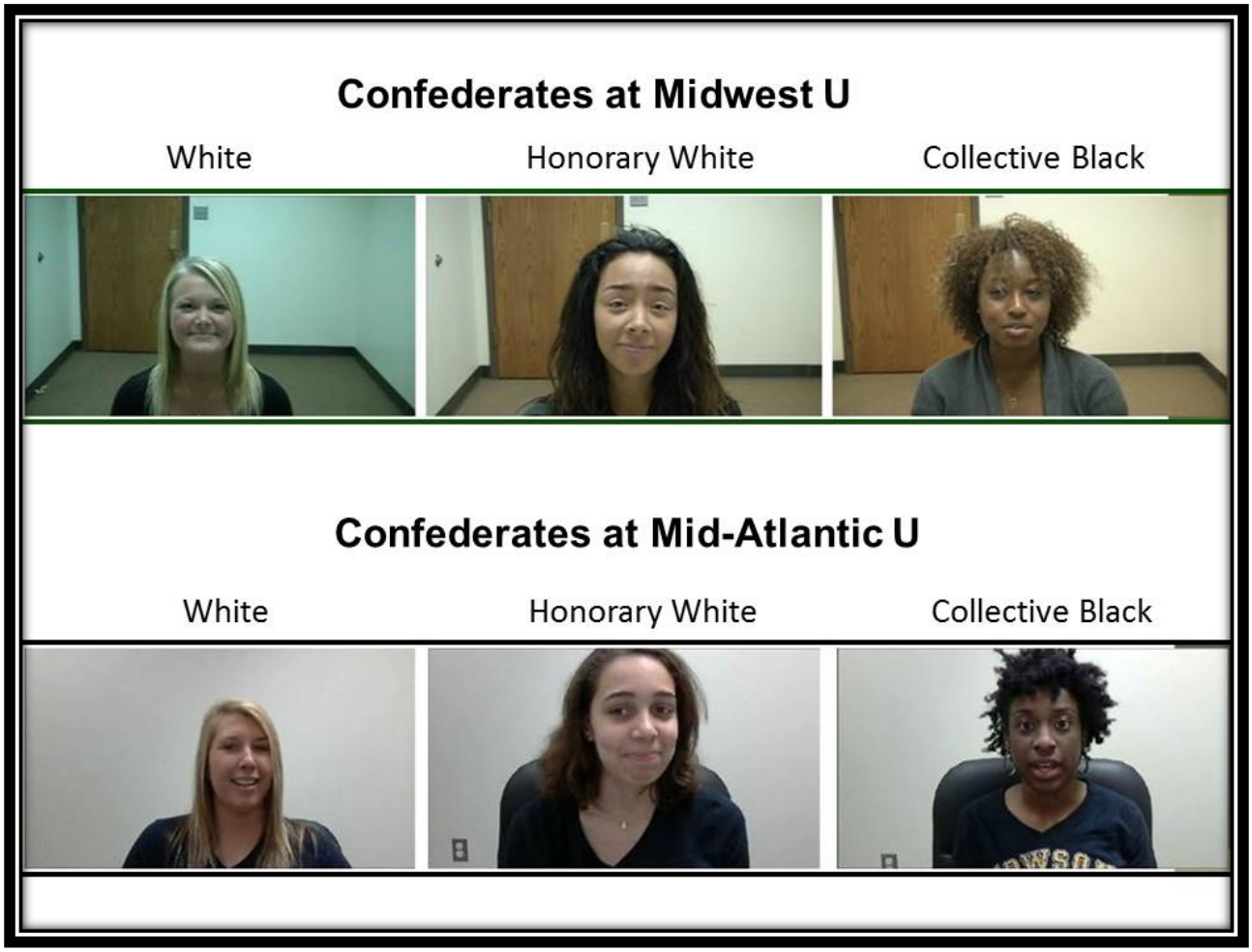

Figure 4.2 Operationalization of the LAT at two Research Sites

Dr. Gordon asked the subject and her "partner" for their names, university affiliation, and hobbies. The partner introductions, which were "streamed" to subjects from an adjacent room, were actually pre-recorded scripted introductions of the confederates. All confederates stated that their name is Monica, that they attend Midwest or Mid-Atlantic U, and that they enjoy regular things like hanging out with friends and watching tv. Figure 4.2 displays images of the confederates used at each research site. Confederates differed in their phenotype, with subjects assigned to the White condition being paired with an average-looking White American, those

assigned to the Honorary White condition matched with a light-skinned Black American, and those in the Collective Black condition meeting a dark-skinned Black American.

Next, subjects completed the twenty-three trials of the TCST. Upon completing the task, subjects were administered a questionnaire asking for their basic demographic information (e.g. race, age, annual family income, etc.). Subsequent questions assessed the perceived racial ancestry, status (e.g. measures of competence, knowledge, and capability endorsed by subjects and believed to be endorsed by most others), similarity, physical attractiveness, and racial authenticity of the confederates. Furthermore, the anger, hostility, and resentment of subjects following the interaction was measured. For good measure, subjects were asked to rate how important it was for them to get the correct answer and take their partner's suggestion into consideration (on a scale of 1-7). A paper version of the post-session survey appears in Appendix E. Upon completion of the survey, subjects completed an exit interview with a member of the research team to assess whether they were deceived by the experimental manipulation and sufficiently task and collectively oriented (see Appendix F for a paper version of the post-session interview). They were subsequently debriefed and thanked for their participation (see Appendix G for a paper version of the debriefing script).

Analytic Strategy

I begin by presenting the levels of influence across conditions for both samples in aggregate form, and proceed to decompose the pooled sample by the race of the research participants, highlighting any noteworthy differences. I present the analyses of most other outcomes of interest in a similar manner, including measures of perceived competence, social desirability indicators, and various manipulation checks and quality control indicators. The analyses consist of a series of parametric tests, including analysis of variance tests, t-tests for

pairwise comparisons between conditions, and χ^2 tests of independence where necessary. In addition, pearson's correlation coefficient is used to assess several bivariate relationships among outcomes of interest, and cronbach's alpha coefficient is used to assess the reliability of all scales used in the analyses.

Jonckheere-Terpstra's Trend Test, a non-parametric test providing more statistical power for ordered hypotheses, is used to test for ordered trends across conditions for all outcomes of interest. The Jonckheere-Terpstra test is appropriate for between-subjects experimental designs with at least 3 conditions. The null hypothesis for the test is that the means across all experimental conditions are equivalent. The alternative hypothesis is that the means of a given outcome either increase or decrease in a predicted sequence across conditions. To apply the Jonckheere-Terpestra test, researchers must specify the ordering of conditions in an a priori fashion; in this case Whites, Honorary Whites, and Collective Blacks.

For large samples, and sample sizes per condition that are not too small, the distribution for the test statistic of the Jonckheere-Terpstra test (J*) is approximately standard normal.

J* is calculated as follows:

$$J* = \frac{U_{xy} - E(U_{xy})}{\sqrt{Var(U_{xy})}} \quad \text{(F1)}$$

If predicting that the means of an outcome increase across conditions, U_{xy} is equal to the number of observations in condition y that are greater than each observation in condition x. If predicting that an outcome is ordered in a descending fashion across conditions, U_{xy} is equal to the number of observations in condition y that are less than each observation in condition x.

E(U_{xy}) is calculated as follows:

$$E(U_{xy}) = \frac{N^2 - \sum_i n_i^2}{4} \quad \text{(F2)}$$

where N equals the total sample size and n_i equals the sample size in a given experimental condition.

Finally, the Var(U_{xy}) is calculated as follows:

$$Var(U_{xy}) = \frac{N^2(2N+3) - \sum i[n_i^2(2n_i+3)]}{72} \quad \text{(F3)}$$

The claims of three distinct theoretical models will also be assessed using various model fit statistics. As discussed in the previous chapter, the Status Cues Formulation, Latin Americanization Thesis, and Dual Axes of Inequality Model all differ with respect to the claims phenotype purportedly plays in relation to race in determining the pigmentocratic hierarchy. In addition, Critical Race theorists assert that African Americans may in fact actively resist racial oppression in group encounters. To assess the validity of these claims, I derive precise predictions from the path diagrams of each theoretical model (described in the previous chapter), and then assess how well they match the patterns of influence observed in the experiments.

How exactly are precise predictions derived for these models? To calculate the predicted levels of social influence afforded to members of the tertiary hierarchy for these three models, we must determine the expectation profiles for all group interactants, mathematical representation of performance expectations for each actor. Expectation state profiles, referred to as e_p for research participants and e_o for the confederates, are derived using the path lengths connecting group members to expected task outcomes. According to SCT, all positive and negative status information are aggregated separately and then combined to determine

expectations for each interactant (Berger et al. 1977). The following formulas are used to calculate e_{p+} and e_{p-}, the positive and negative status information associated with research participants that are salient in the situation, and e_p, the expectation states profile for research participants:

$$e_{p+} = [1 - (1\text{-}f(i))\ldots(1\text{-}f(n))] \quad \text{(F4)}$$

$$e_{p-} = -[1 - (1\text{-}f(i))\ldots(1\text{-}f(n))] \quad \text{(F5)}$$

$$f(i) = 1 - e^{-2.618^{2-i}} \quad \text{(F6)}$$

$$e_p = e_{p+} + e_{p-} \quad \text{(F7)}$$

Using the Status Cues Formulation as an example, I will show how the path lengths connecting white participants to expected task outcomes are used to calculate e_p and e_o for each condition. Essentially, the path lengths connecting group interactants to expected task outcomes are plugged into formulas F4, F5, and F6 above. In the Collective Black condition, whites (P) are differentiated from their partners by the effects of a strong cue gestalt, which connect white group members to expected task outcomes with positive paths of length 4 and 5[7]. Substituting 4 in for i in formula F6 yields .1358 and 5 in for i yields .0542. Therefore, the white group members' positive subset (i.e. e_{p+}) is [1 – (1-.1358)(1-.0542)] = .1826. No negative paths connect the white group members to expected task outcomes, yielding a negative subset (i.e. e_{p-}) of 0. Inserting the values for these two subsets into formula F7 yields an expectation state profile equal to .1826 for whites who interact with Collective Blacks.

[7] See Chapter 3 for a thorough description of how these path lengths are derived.

Table 4.1 Path Lengths and Differentiating Attributes of the SCF for Whites (P)

Status Cues Formulation -- Skin Tone and Racial Markers as Cues		
Condition	Differentiating Attributes	Positive Paths for P
W	None	None
HW	Race Weak Gestalt	5,6
CB	Race Strong Gestalt	4,5

Notes: All path models are symmetrical. An equivalent number of negative paths for O were salient in the situation.

Next, we must calculate the expectation state profile (i.e. e_o) for the Collective Black confederate (O). Through symmetry, Collective Blacks are tied to task outcomes with oppositely-signed paths of equal lengths (i.e. negative paths of lengths 4 and 5), yielding an expectation state profile of -.1826. These expectation state profiles are then used to calculate the *expectation advantage* of research participants relative to the Collective Black partner, or a numerical representation of whites' expected status advantage over Collective Blacks. Subtracting the expectation state profile of Collective Blacks (-.1826) from that of whites (.1826), yields the expectation advantage of whites over Collective Blacks, which is equal to .3652. This process is repeated for each condition until the predicted expectation advantages for all conditions are calculated.

Using the expectation advantage values from each condition ($e_p - e_o$), we can now derive the predicted levels of influence for each member of the pigmentocratic hierarchy using the logic of the Status Cues Formulation. This is accomplished with the use of the linear probability model (Berger et al. 1977; Fox and Moore 1979). P(s) scores for each observation in the experiment are regressed on the predicted expectation advantages associated with their respective experimental conditions (i.e. e_p-e_o for the W, HW, and CB conditions of the Status Cues Formulation). The constant from the regression analysis measures "m", which approximates a populations' baseline

tendency to reject influence attempts, while "q", the slope, captures the idiosyncrasies of an experimental manipulation and other systematic situational effects. These regression parameters, and the expectation advantages for each condition of the Status Cues Formulation, are then used to calculate precise predictions for influence for each condition with the following formula: $P(s) = m + q (e_p - e_o)$. This entire process is repeated for each theoretical model until all predictions are derived.

Upon calculating the predictions for each model, we can assess how well the proposed social psychological mechanisms of these theoretical models fit the behavioral patterns observed in the experiment. This is carried out with the use of the χ^2 goodness of fit statistic and G^2, a proportional reduction in error statistic (Balkwell 1991a; Balkwell 1991b; Fişek, Berger, and Moore 2002). A description of how to calculate both statistics is provided below.

Results of the Multi-Site Experiment

Sixty-four white participants from Midwest U and sixty-six black participants from Mid-Atlantic U were included in the final sample. The average age of the white participants at Midwest U was 18.69 years of age, which was lower than the 20.08 year average of black participants at Mid-Atlantic U (t=-5.77 p<.05). Not surprisingly, the parents of white subjects had higher average incomes of $79,375, compared to the parents of black subjects who had an average family income of $62,727 ($t$=3.64 p<.05). However, the educational attainment of the parents of research participants did not differ by the race of the participants in question. As shown in Table 4.2, 67.19% of the mothers of white research participants at Midwest U attained at least a bachelor's degree, which was comparable to the 56.06% of mothers of black research participants at Mid-Atlantic U who did so (χ^2=4.04; p=ns). The educational profile of the fathers of research participants was also similar across the research sites (χ^2=2.65; p=ns).

Table 4.2 Demographic Characteristics by Race of Participants

Demographic Characteristics	Mean or %	SD	Mean or %	SD	Significance Test
Years of Age	18.69	1.01	20.08	1.65	t=-5.77*
Income (US dollars)	79,375	22,316	62,727	29,276	t=3.64*
Mother's Education					χ^2=4.04
Less than HS	0%		3.03%		
High School Equivalent	7.81%		13.64%		
Technical Training	4.69%		4.55%		
Some College	20.31%		22.73%		
Bachelor's Degree	40.63%		30.30%		
Graduate or Professional	26.56%		25.76%		
Father's Education					χ^2=2.65
Less than HS	4.69%		4.55%		
High School Equivalent	14.06%		21.21%		
Technical Training	1.56%		5.55%		
Some College	18.75%		19.70%		
Bachelor's Degree	39.06%		33.33%		
Graduate or Professional	21.88%		16.67%		
	White[a]		Black[b]		

Notes: [a]n=64; [b]n=66; *p<.05; †p<.10

When drawing comparisons between conditions across different research sites, it is important to examine various quality control indicators to ensure that such comparisons are appropriate. Of particular interest, is that subjects across both research sites meet the scope conditions of SCT, and that confederates representing prototypical members of the tri-racial hierarchy are not perceived differently on key characteristics *within research sites*. Because my interest is in how the experience and perceptions of members of the tri-racial hierarchy differ, what is most important is that subjects equally meet the scope of the theory across conditions within their respective research sites. Furthermore, given the difficulty of finding confederates who differ drastically by phenotype, confederates were allowed to differ in terms of physical attractiveness between research sites, but not within them. White and black samples may differ in

their average levels of task and collective orientation, and confederates may be perceived differently in terms of attractiveness between research sites, but intra-site comparisons are appropriate if these factors are consistent across conditions within the site[8].

As described in the experimental procedures above, a considerable amount of attention was devoted to ensuring that confederates were dressed identically across conditions, that they exhibited similar mannerisms and demeanor, and that they read identical scripts. This effort paid off (see Table 4.3 below). First, it is vital that our exclusion procedures adequately yielded subjects who were equally task and collectively oriented within the samples to make valid intra-site comparisons on key outcomes. Levels of task and collective orientation did not differ significantly between conditions within any of the three samples. Research participants were thus equally task and collectively oriented when interacting with members of the tri-racial hierarchy within research sites.

No statistically significant differences emerged when comparing the perceived attractiveness and femininity of the tri-racial group members for the pooled sample. The same patterns hold when decomposing the pooled sample by the race of the research participants with one exception: The Collective Black confederate (M=6.65) is perceived as more feminine than the Honorary White confederate (M=6.14) among white subjects.

[8] It is difficult to determine if confederates actually differ in terms of physical attractiveness or if they are simply being judged by a different standard between the research sites. Every effort was made to select confederates who were about equal in terms of attractiveness. The same applies to differences in collective orientation. Midwest residents are generally regarded as more agreeable and nicer than residents of the Mid-Atlantic. Accordingly, white subjects may have less pressure to report being non-agreeable than black subjects in my experiment.

Table 4.3 Means of Quality Control Indicators by Condition and Race of Participants

	Pooled Sample			White Sample			Black Sample		
Quality Indicator	W	HW	CB	W	HW	CB	W	HW	CB
Task Orientation	5.02	4.91	4.78	5.15	5.19	4.65	4.90	4.64	4.91
Collective Orientation	5.05	4.53	4.93	5.15	4.48	5.04	4.95	4.59	4.83
Attractiveness	5.46	5.51	5.65	5.80	5.67	5.91	5.14	5.36	5.39
Femininity	6.12	6.00	6.22	6.30	6.14[a]	6.65[a]	5.95	5.86	5.78
	n=41	n=43	n=46	n=20	n=21	n=23	n=21	n=22	n=23

Notes: Means sharing a letter within samples differ from one another at the .05 level; two-tailed test

Designing an experiment that adequately neutralizes these quality control indicators across conditions should not be overlooked. Take physical attractiveness for example. It is well documented that physical attractiveness increases one's status (e.g. Webster and Driskell 1983). Therefore, it was critical that confederates were about equal in their attractiveness across conditions. Comparisons between conditions are drawn on various outcomes of interest within research sites, which are appropriate because the attractiveness of members of the tri-racial hierarchy is held constant across the confederates. That is, because white and black research participants interact with prototypical members of the tri-racial hierarchy who do not differ in attractiveness, I can be more confident that any differential experiences of the tri-racial group members are due to phenotype and not physical attractiveness.

The same is true for other quality control indicators included in Table 4.2, with the exception of femininity. While the femininity of the Collective Black confederate was significantly higher than that of the Honorary White confederate in the experiment at Midwest U, this had a non-negligible impact on my key outcomes of interest. Higher perceived femininity generally decreases the status of women (Bianchi 2012), which, as you shall see, was not the case in this experiment.

Table 4.4 below presents the racial identification of subjects by research site. Given the lack of racial diversity at Midwest U, this dissertation was conducted at multiple sites to recruit Black Americans from a more diverse campus. As expected, the racial identification of research subjects was related to the site in question (χ^2=126.57 p<.001). Ninety-eight percent of subjects at Midwest U identified as White, while ninety-one percent identified as Black at Mid-Atlantic U. The remaining subjects identified as Bi or Multiracial.

Table 4.4 Racial Identification of Subjects by Sample

Racial Identification	Midwest[a]	Mid-Atlantic[b]
White	98%	0%
Black	0%	91%
Latino/a	0%	0%
Asian	0%	0%
American Indian or Alaskan Native	0%	0%
Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander	0%	0%
Bi or Multiracial	2%	9%
Other	0%	0%
Total	100%	100%

Note: [a]n=64; [b]n=66; χ^2=126.57 p<.001

Subjects who identified as such were included in the analyses for three reasons. For one, these subjects were classified as white or black by the experimenter conducting the experimental session[9]. Secondly, and most importantly, subjects responded to recruitment messages specifically soliciting the participation of white or black research participants at their respective

[9] Experimenters also rated the skin tone of research participants using a 10-point scale. Not surprisingly, participants at Mid-Atlantic U (M=6.27 SD=1.70) were perceived as having a darker phenotype than participants at Midwest U (M=1.59 SD=0.71). While whites fit squarely into the White strata of the pigmentocracy, the higher variability in phenotype among blacks was a cause of concern as some may be Honorary Whites and others Collective Blacks. Initially, it was believed that this in turn may affect how black participants responded to the pigmentocratic hieriarchy, but the interaction between phenotype and the experimental conditions failed to emerge as significant in supplemental analyses.

research sites. This indicates that these subjects likely conceive of themselves, at least in part, as white or black. Finally, it is not uncommon for whites and blacks to assert a distinct racial identity, despite being treated as white or black (Nagel 1996; Waters 1999).

Table 4.5 Racial Classification of Confederates for the Pooled Sample

Racial Classification	White	Honorary White	Collective Black
White	100%	0%	0%
Black	0%	12%	96%
Latino/a	0%	16%	2%
Asian	0%	0%	0%
American Indian or Alaskan Native	0%	0%	0%
Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander	0%	0%	0%
Bi or Multiracial	0%	72%	2%
Other	0%	0%	0%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Note: 130 white and black female subjects; χ^2=222.95 p<.001

This experiment was designed to assess the reactions of White and Black Americans to prototypical members of the Latin Americanization scheme. More specifically, I wanted to observe individuals' behavioral and attitudinal reactions to African Americans who differ by phenotype, relative to whites possessing a Eurocentric phenotype. According to the heuristic of the tri-racial hierarchy, confederates possessing different phenotypical characteristics in this experiment should be classified as follows: Collective Blacks should be perceived as "Black", Honorary Whites should be perceived as "Bi or Multiracial", and Whites should be classified as "White". Furthermore, Status Cues Theory predicts that there should be varying degrees of consensus regarding the classification of the tri-racial group members. There should be more variability surrounding the racial classification of Honorary Whites who are disadvantaged by the effects of a weak cue gestalt activated by their relatively ambiguous phenotype. Conversely,

there should be considerably more consensus about the racial classification of Whites and Collective Blacks, who possess phenotypical characteristics that more consistently signal their racial status.

Table 4.5 above displays the perceived racial ancestry of members of the tri-racial hierarchy. Confederates in the experiment do in fact represent the pigmentocracy as intended. Whites were classified as White by all participants in the experiment, while Collective Blacks were classified as Black 96% of the time. As expected, Honorary Whites were racially classified as "Bi or Multiracial" the majority of the time (72%), but were also perceived as Latino/a and Black by some research participants..

The degree of consensus in the racial classification across the three conditions for the pooled, white, and black sample is quantified below in Table 4.6. Simpson's Index of Diversity represents the probability that two randomly chosen research participants will racially classify confederates differently. High diversity indices reflect more variation in the racial classification of the confederates. Across the three samples, there is greater variability in the racial classification of Honorary Whites, compared to that of Whites and Collective Blacks. In addition, there is more consensus surrounding the racial classification of Honorary Whites among blacks (.24) than whites (.55), with blacks exhibiting a stronger tendency to classify Honorary Whites as "Bi or Multiracial". Furthermore, blacks always classified Collective Blacks as Black. As a whole, however, White, Honorary White, and Collective Black confederates in this experiment possess the positive state of race or disadvantaged states of weak and strong cue gestalts as intended.

Table 4.6 Racial Classification by Sample

Sample	Simpson's Index of Diversity		
White	0.00	0.00	0.00
Honorary White	0.44	0.55	0.24
Collective Black	0.08	0.16	0.00
	Pooled[a]	White[b]	Black[c]

Notes: [a]n=130; [b]n=64; [c]n=66

Examining Patterns of Deference among Members of the Tri-Racial Hierarchy

I'll now present the results of the experiments that test the hypotheses testing the assertions of Status Characteristics and Critical Race theorists. I begin by presenting the results of the influence afforded to members of the tri-racial hierarchy, which are displayed graphically in Figure 4.3.

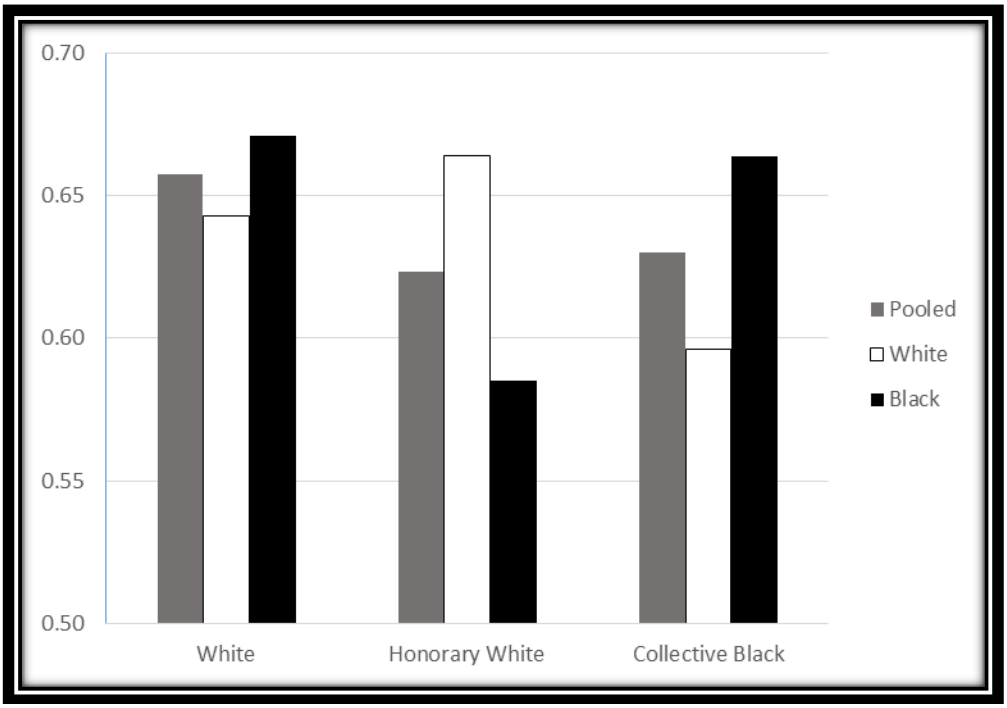

Figure 4.3 Mean P(s) by Condition and Race of Participants

Table 4.7 Mean P(s) Score by Condition for Pooled Sample and by Race of Participants

	Whites			Honorary Whites			Collective Blacks			[#]Trend Statistics	
Condition	Mean P(s)	SD	N	Mean P(s)	SD	N	Mean P(s)	SD	N	$J^*_{W>HW>CB}$	$J^*_{CB>HW>W}$
Pooled Sample	0.657	0.129	41	0.624	0.166	43	0.630	0.163	46	0.77	-0.77
White Sample	0.643	0.090	20	0.664	0.162	21	0.596	0.171	23	0.80	-0.80
Black Sample	0.671	0.158	21	0.585[a]	0.163	22	0.664[a]	0.149	23	0.18	-0.18

Notes: Means sharing a letter within samples are significantly different at the .05 level; one-tailed test

[#]*p<.05; †p<.10

For the pooled sample (gray bars), levels of influence appear to be highest for the Honorary White partner, followed by the Collective Black, and then the White partner. On first glance, this pattern appears to differ by the race of the research participants. Among whites (white bars), Honorary Whites receive the least deference, followed by Whites, and Collective Blacks. Among blacks, Whites received the least deference, followed by Collective Blacks, and then Honorary Whites.

Table 4.7 presents the means and standard deviations of the P(s) scores for the three samples. As I alluded to above, the average proportion of stay responses is highest for White partner at .657, followed by the Collective Black partner at .630, and the Honorary White partner at .624 among the pooled sample. A similar transitive pattern emerged among the black sample, with subjects deferring most to their Honorary White partner (M=.585) and least to their White partner (M=.671). Interestingly, white participants exhibited a different pattern of deference by affording their Collective Black partner the most influence (M=.596), and their Honorary White partner the least (M=.664). However, ANOVAs conducted on each of the three samples detected only a marginally significant effect for the black sample[10].

The proposed hypotheses of this experiment allow for directional, one-tailed hypotheses. More specifically, H_{SCT1} predicts that P(s) scores should be highest for Collective Blacks, followed by Honorary Whites, and then Whites. In other words, SCT theorists predict that Collective Blacks should have their influence attempts rejected at the highest rates, while Whites should have their attempts to be influential rejected at the lowest rates. A series of one-tailed t-tests indicated that only one of these predicted patterns

[10] F statistics are 0.57, 1.23, and 2.05 for the pooled, white, and black sample, respectively.

was supported: Honorary Whites are the beneficiaries of a light-skinned status advantage relative to their Collective Black partners, but only when interacting with black partners (t=-1.69 p<.05). Therefore, only minimal support is found for H_{SCT1}.

As stated in H_{CRT1a}, CRT theorists assert that basic social psychological processes may not apply equally well across racial groups (Hunt et al. 2000). Since the light-skinned African American advantage emerged only when interacting with black group members, status generalization with regards to the pigmentocratic racial order may in fact operate differently among White and Black Americans. This light-skinned advantage is masked when examining the data in its aggregate form, and failing to consider the potential racial heterogeneity of behavioral reactions to members of the tri-racial hierarchy. In addition, blacks actively resisted the influence of Whites, as predicted by CRT. This is reflected by their unusually high .671 P(s) score, which was the highest among members of the pigmentocratic racial order who interacted with black group members, and the opposite of what SCT predicts. While blacks have not fully redefined black as competent, there is some evidence that they are consciously refuting the influence of Whites.

Jonckheere-Terpstra's Trend statistic is used to more directly evaluate the ordering proposed by H_{SCT1}, H_{CRT1}, and H_{CRT1b}, which predict that members of the tri-racial hierarchy will be afforded varying levels of influence depending on the race of their partner. H_{SCT1} is assessed with $J^*_{CB>HW>W}$, which predicts that Collective Black group members will receive the least deference, and Whites the most, for the pooled sample and both subsamples. The predicted ordering of SCT failed to reach statistical significance among whites ($J^*_{CB>HW>W}$ =-.803). The pattern of status allotted to Whites and Honorary Whites is consistent with SCT, but, surprisingly, Collective Blacks have their influence attempts accepted at higher rates by whites than expected. The predicted pattern is also

consistent with the deference levels blacks afford to Honorary Whites and Collective Blacks, but Whites appear to have their influence rejected at an unusually high rate ($J^*_{CB>HW>W}$ =-.177). H_{CRT1b} is assessed with $J^*_{W>HW>CB}$, which predicts that Whites will incur the most resistance and Collective Blacks the least, but only when interacting with Blacks. The trend predicted by CRT theorists also failed to achieve statistical significance ($J^*_{W>HW>CB}$=.177). While blacks exhibit unusually high rates of resistance to Whites as expected, they reject the influence of Collective Blacks at a similar rate.

Therefore, only partial support is found for the hypothesized divergent patterns of status incurred by members of the tri-racial hierarchy. African Americans do experience a light-skinned advantage as predicted by SCT, but this advantage is contingent upon the race of their partners, as predicted by CRT. While the full patterns predicted by SCT and CRT theorists are not supported in the data, there is some evidence that blacks are actively refuting the status of Whites as CRT theorists assert. Interestingly, whites seem to be deferring to their Collective Black partners at much higher rates than expected. Next, I examine the status beliefs associated with members of the pigmentocratic racial order, whether these status beliefs differ between White and Black Americans, and whether these beliefs can help account for the behavioral reactions observed in group encounters.

Examining the Cultural Universality of Status Beliefs

Status beliefs are cultural beliefs presumed to be held my most others in society that associate status and competency more with some groups of people than others (Ridgeway 2006). Status beliefs operate at multiple levels (i.e. macro to the micro) and are particularly important because they are believed to not only drive but also legitimate behavioral inequities observed in groups. Status beliefs operate at three levels: a third, second, and first level of consciousness.

Individuals can hold third order beliefs, which most closely approximate a person's perception of the cultural belief system of a society. These beliefs reflect what individuals believe "most others" think about the competency of a given social group. Second order beliefs reflect how competent an individual believes their partner thinks they are in a given situation. These beliefs reflect the "what I think you think" about my competency in a given situation. Because confederates representing members of the tri-racial hierarchy were used to carry out this study, I could not measure the attitudes held by members of the pigmentocracy. Therefore, I was unable to assess second order beliefs, or how competent members of the tri-racial arrangement believe others think they are. Finally, first order beliefs reflect what individuals "personally" believe about the competence of a given social group.

I measured the third and first order beliefs of research participants, to assess whether White and Black Americans exhibit varying perceptions of members of the pigmentocracy. Comparing third and first order status beliefs, or perceptions of societal and personally endorsed beliefs, is important because it not only gives us a sense of the perceived prevailing cultural belief system, but also the extent to which this belief system is hegemonic and internalized by advantaged and disadvantaged group members alike. Therefore, analyzing first order beliefs alongside third order beliefs is crucial because it allows me to assess the extent to which cultural belief systems are perceived as legitimate among White and Black Americans.

I begin by presenting the third order beliefs associated with members of the tri-racial hierarchy for the pooled sample, and then proceed to decompose the results by the race of the participants, noting any key differences that emerged between the samples. SCT researchers predict that respondents will perceive Whites as more competent than

Honorary Whites, who should be perceived as more competent than Collective Blacks. I begin to assess this hypothesis (H_{SCT2}) by comparing the status beliefs reported for prototypical members of the tri-racial hierarchy among the pooled sample.

Table 4.8 displays the means, standard deviations, and statistical tests for the third order beliefs reported for Whites, Honorary Whites, and Collective Blacks among the pooled sample. Examinations of the seven items reflecting status beliefs indicate that support for H_{SCT2} emerges for three items. Participants report that "most others" believe Whites are more capable, respected, and have higher status than Collective Blacks. However, the full pattern proposed by SCT researchers is assessed with $J^*_{W>HW>CB}$, which only confirms the SCT ordering for one indicator of status beliefs: the perceived status of the tri-racial group members ($J^*_{W>HW>CB}=2.62$; $p<.05$).

Table 4.8 Average Ratings of Most Others' Beliefs by Condition for the Pooled Sample

	[a]Whites		[b]Honorary Whites		[c]Collective Blacks		[#]Trend Statistics	
Item	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	$J^*_{W>HW>CB}$	$J^*_{CB>HW>W}$
In general, most others believe that my partner is…								
Competent	5.93	0.96	5.51	1.30	5.74	1.16	0.61	-0.61
Knowledgeable	5.76	0.99	5.86	0.77	5.83	1.12	-0.53	0.53
Capable	6.15[a]	0.76	5.95	0.82	5.80[a]	1.24	1.05	-.05
Respected	6.02[a]	0.79	5.70	1.10	5.72[a]	1.19	0.98	-0.98
High Status	5.68[ab]	0.93	5.07[a]	1.20	4.98[b]	1.31	2.62*	-2.62
Good Leader	5.22	1.08	5.30	1.19	5.20	1.28	-0.02	0.02
Powerful	4.73	1.29	4.67	1.38	5.02	1.44	-1.14	1.14

Notes: Means sharing a letter are significantly different at the .05 level; one-tailed test
[#]*p<.05; †p<.10; [a]n=41; [b]n=43; [c]n=46

Support among the pooled sample for the assertions of SCT dissipates when I examine the first order beliefs associated with members of the pigmentocracy, or the

beliefs personally endorsed by the subjects. In fact, a pattern fully contradicting the H_{SCT2} emerges upon examination of the first order beliefs reported among the pooled sample, as reflected in the $J^*_{CB>HW>W}$ column in Table 4.9 below. For each and every indicator of status beliefs, respondents report that they personally believe that Collective Blacks have more status than Honorary Whites, who in turn have more status than Whites.

Table 4.9 Average Ratings of Personal Beliefs by Condition for the Pooled Sample

	[a]Whites		[b]Honorary Whites		[c]Collective Blacks		[#]Trend Statistics	
Item	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	$J^*_{W>HW>CB}$	$J^*_{CB>HW>W}$
In general, most others believe that my partner is…								
Competent	5.68^{ab}	1.11	6.30^{a}	0.86	6.26^{b}	0.93	-2.75	2.75*
Knowledgeable	5.71^{ab}	1.01	6.23^{a}	0.78	6.30^{b}	0.94	-3.23	3.23*
Capable	6.02^{ab}	0.99	6.35^{a}	0.65	6.39^{b}	0.80	-2.11	2.11*
Respected	5.54^{ab}	1.38	6.07^{a}	0.80	6.00^{b}	1.14	-1.76	1.76*
High Status	2.02^{a}	1.41	5.21^{a}	1.32	6.78^{a}	1.11	-2.59	2.59*
Good Leader	4.85^{a}	1.33	5.37^{a}	1.20	5.91^{a}	1.01	-3.81	2.81*
Powerful	4.46^{a}	1.43	5.16^{a}	1.23	5.74^{a}	1.16	-4.23	4.23*

Notes: Means sharing a letter are significantly different at the .05 level; one-tailed test
[#]*p<.05; †p<.10; [a]n=41; [b]n=43; [c]n=46

I next decompose the pooled sample by the race of the research participants to more thoroughly assess $H_{SCT2.}$ Table 4.10 presents the societal perceptions associated with members of the pigmentocracy reported by whites. In contrast to the third order reactions emergent during analyses of the sample in aggregate form, whites actively deny the existence of negative stereotypes about subordinate members of the tri-racial hierarchy. Instead of reporting status beliefs associating Whites with more status than Honorary Whites and Collective Blacks as predicted by H_{SCT2}, whites report that most others hold Collective Blacks in higher esteem than Honorary Whites, who are purportedly held in

higher esteem than Whites on 4 of the 7 items measuring third order status beliefs (see Table 4.10 below). Jonckheere-Terpstra's trend statistic indicates that this transitive pattern of active denial emerges for the perceived competence, knowledge, capability, and power of members of the tri-racial hierarchy.

Table 4.10 Average Ratings of Most Others' Beliefs by Condition for the White Sample

	[a]Whites		[b]Honorary Whites		[c]Collective Blacks		[#]Trend Statistics	
Item	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	$J^*_{W>HW>CB}$	$J^*_{CB>HW>W}$
In general, most others believe that my partner is…								
Competent	5.55[a]	1.05	5.62	1.24	6.17a	1.03	-2.25	2.25*
Knowledgeable	5.40[a]	1.10	5.81	0.81	6.22[a]	0.95	-2.80	2.80*
Capable	5.85a	0.81	5.95	0.86	6.30[a]	0.88	-1.94	1.94*
Respected	5.80	0.83	5.62[a]	1.20	6.22[a]	0.85	-1.59	1.59†
High Status	5.80[a]	0.77	4.86[ab]	1.15	5.52[b]	1.12	0.71	-0.71
Good Leader	5.10	1.25	5.38	1.24	5.52	1.08	-1.06	1.06
Powerful	4.45[a]	1.23	4.76[b]	1.37	5.52[ab]	1.20	-2.66	2.66*

Notes: Means sharing a letter are significantly different at the .05 level; one-tailed test
[#]*p<.05; †p<.10; [a]n=20; [b]n=21; [c]n=23

When asked to report the status beliefs they personally endorse, the active denial of negative stereotypes is even more pervasive among whites. As Table 4.11 below shows, whites report that they personally believe Collective Blacks possess more social esteem than Honorary Whites and Whites on all but 1 of the 7 indicators measuring first order status beliefs. Thus, contrary to H_{SCT2}, whites actually report more negative stereotypes of racial group members advantaged by a diffuse status characteristic, relative to those disadvantaged by a weak cue gestalt and the full impact of the negative state of a diffuse status characteristic.

Table 4.11 Average Ratings of Personal Beliefs by Condition for the White Sample

	[a]Whites		[b]Honorary Whites		[c]Collective Blacks		[#]Trend Statistics	
Item	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	$J^*_{W>HW>CB}$	$J^*_{CB>HW>W}$
In general, most others believe that my partner is…								
Competent	5.45^{ab}	0.94	6.33^{a}	0.91	6.52^{b}	0.67	-3.55	3.55*
Knowledgeable	5.60^{ab}	0.94	6.24^{a}	0.94	6.57^{b}	0.66	-3.46	3.46*
Capable	6.05^{ab}	0.83	6.48^{a}	0.68	6.57^{b}	0.66	-2.25	2.25*
Respected	5.85	1.14	6.14	0.96	6.26	1.01	-1.43	1.43†
High Status	5.55	0.89	5.57	1.25	6.04	1.07	-1.79	1.79*
Good Leader	5.10^{a}	1.07	5.52	1.33	6.04^{a}	0.88	-2.62	2.62*
Powerful	4.50^{ab}	1.36	5.43^{a}	1.21	5.91^{b}	1.24	-3.35	3.35*

Notes: Means sharing a letter are significantly different at the .05 level; one-tailed test
[#]*p<.05; †p<.10; [a]n=20; [b]n=21; [c]n=23

Next, I present the attitudinal reactions reported by blacks to more thoroughly assess H_{SCT2}, and evaluate H_{CRT2} and H_{CRT2b}, which propose that attitudinal reactions to members of the tri-racial hierarchy differ based on the race of the research participants in question. The third order reactions reported by black respondents are reported in Table 4.12. Unlike the active denial of negative stereotypes reported among whites, blacks acknowledge the pervasiveness of negative societal attitudes that denigrate subordinate racial group members of the pigmentocracy. More specifically, blacks report that most others believe Collective Blacks are less competent, knowledgeable, capable, respected, and believed to have less leadership ability than Honorary Whites and Whites. This pattern of attitudinal reactions supports H_{CRT2} as it diverges from the pattern of active denial espoused by whites.

Table 4.12 Average Ratings of Most Others' Beliefs by Condition for the Black Sample

	[a]Whites		[b]Honorary Whites		[c]Collective Blacks		[#]Trend Statistics	
Item	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	$J^*_{W>HW>CB}$	$J^*_{CB>HW>W}$
In general, most others believe that my partner is…								
Competent	6.29[ab]	0.72	5.41[a]	1.37	5.30[b]	1.15	3.05*	-3.05
Knowledgeable	6.10[a]	0.77	5.91	0.75	5.43[a]	1.16	2.10*	-2.10
Capable	6.43[a]	0.60	5.95[a]	0.79	5.30[a]	1.36	3.32*	-3.32
Respected	6.24[ab]	0.70	5.77[a]	1.02	5.22[b]	1.28	3.06*	-3.06
High Status	5.57[a]	1.08	5.27[b]	1.24	4.43[ab]	1.27	2.90*	-2.90
Good Leader	5.33	0.91	5.23	1.15	4.87	1.39	1.11	-1.11
Powerful	5.00	1.30	4.59	1.40	4.52	1.50	1.08	-1.08

Notes: Means sharing a letter are significantly different at the .05 level; one-tailed test
[#]*p<.05; †p<.10; [a]n=21; [b]n=22; [c]n=23

The third order reactions reported by black respondents do not support H_{CRT2b}, however, which asserts that blacks have redefined blackness as competent and have not passively internalized negative stereotypes associated with the black phenotype. Interestingly, however, the first order beliefs reported by blacks show a pattern of active resistance to these negative cultural stereotypes that sharply diverges from the active denial reported among whites. As shown in Table 4.13, blacks largely resist societal attitudes believed to be held by most others that denigrate disadvantaged, Afrocentric members of the tri-racial hierarchy. Blacks instead report that they personally believe that Collective Blacks have more status, power, and leadership ability than Honorary Whites and Whites, a transitive pattern consistent with H_{CRT2b}. Thus, rather than simply succumbing to the influence of societal beliefs, blacks resist internalizing such stigmatizing beliefs and are actively attempting to refute them.

Table 4.13 Average Ratings of Personal Beliefs by Condition for the Black Sample

	[a]Whites		[b]Honorary Whites		[c]Collective Blacks		[#]Trend Statistics	
Item	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	$J^*_{W>HW>CB}$	$J^*_{CB>HW>W}$
In general, most others believe that my partner is…								
Competent	5.90	1.22	6.27	0.83	6.00	1.09	-0.25	0.25
Knowledgeable	5.81	1.08	6.23	0.61	6.04	1.11	-0.94	0.94
Capable	6.00	1.14	6.23	0.61	6.22	0.90	-0.64	0.64
Respected	5.24[a]	1.55	6.00[a]	0.62	5.74	1.21	-1.04	1.04
High Status	4.52[a]	1.63	4.86[b]	1.32	5.52[ab]	1.12	-2.15	2.15*
Good Leader	4.62[a]	1.53	5.23[b]	1.07	5.78[ab]	1.13	-2.74	2.74*
Powerful	4.43[a]	1.54	4.91[b]	1.23	5.57[ab]	1.08	-2.71	2.71*

Notes: Means sharing a letter are significantly different at the .05 level; one-tailed test
[#]*p<.05; †p<.10; [a]n=21; [b]n=22; [c]n=23

I assessed the correlations between items measuring first and third order status beliefs. Statistically significant bivariate correlations between these items emerged for almost all items across both subsamples and the pooled data (see Appendix H). Furthermore, I assessed the reliability of these items using cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient. Reliability coefficients ranged from .88-.92, confirming that the items had a high degree of interrelation. These results, shown in Table 4.14, indicated that it was appropriate to construct status scales assessing perceptions of "Most Others" beliefs and those "Personally Endorsed" by research participants for each of the three samples.

Table 4.14 Alpha Reliability Coefficients of Status Belief Scales by Sample

	Pooled Sample		White Sample		Black Sample	
Status Scale	A	N	A	N	α	N
"Most Others" Beliefs	0.89	130	0.91	64	0.88	66
"Personal" Beliefs	0.92	130	0.92	64	0.92	66

Source: 130 White and Black undergraduate female students

Using the newly constructed scales, I assessed the robustness of the trends in the attitudinal reactions emergent among the pooled, white, and black sample. Not surprisingly, the results largely confirmed the analyses of individual items reflecting first and third order status beliefs. Among the pooled sample, no statistically significant trend emerged among the perceptions of status beliefs believed to be held by most others. However, the trend among the aggregated sample suggests that respondents personally hold Collective Blacks in higher esteem than Honorary Whites, and Whites ($J^*_{CB>HW>W}=3.65$, $p<.05$). These patterns are inconsistent with H_{SCT2}, which predicts that advantaged members of the tri-racial arrangement who possess a more Eurocentric phenotype should be held in higher esteem than subordinate racial group members with an Afrocentric phenotype.

Table 4.15 Average Ratings of Status Scales by Condition for the Pooled Sample

	[a]Whites		[b]Honorary Whites		[c]Collective Blacks		[#]Trend Statistics	
Status Scale	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	$J^*_{W>HW>CB}$	$J^*_{CB>HW>W}$
"Most Others" Beliefs	5.64	0.67	5.44	0.88	5.47	1.06	0.65	-0.651
"Personal" Beliefs	5.33[ab]	1.02	5.81[a]	0.77	6.06[b]	0.87	-3.65	3.65*

Notes: Means sharing a letter are significantly different at the .05 level; one-tailed test
[#]*p<.05; †p<.10; [a]n=41; [b]n=43; [c]n=46

Assuming cultural universality as proposed by SCT researchers masks the racial heterogeneity that emerges between White and Black Americans. Among whites, a pattern of active denial persists with regards to the negative stereotypes associated with Afrocentric members of the pigmentocracy. While no statistically significant trend emerged for third order beliefs among the pooled sample, whites report that Collective Blacks are advantaged with respect to social esteem relative to Honorary Whites and

Whites by members of society-at-large ($J^*_{CB>HW>W}$=1.91; p<.05), a trend they purportedly endorse at the individual level ($J^*_{CB>HW>W}$=3.17; p<.05). Their attempts to appear color blind are perhaps the very reason why they accepted the influence of the most oppressed members of the pigmentocracy at such high rates when completing the group task.

Table 4.16 Average Ratings of Status Scales by Condition for the White Sample

	[a]Whites		[b]Honorary Whites		[c]Collective Blacks		[#]Trend Statistics	
Status Scale	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	$J^*_{W>HW>CB}$	$J^*_{CB>HW>W}$
"Most Others" Beliefs	5.42[a]	0.74	5.43[b]	0.95	5.93[ab]	0.85	-1.91	1.91*
"Personal" Beliefs	5.44[ab]	0.77	5.96[a]	0.9	6.27[b]	0.76	-3.17	3.17*

Notes: Means sharing a letter are significantly different at the .05 level; one-tailed test
[#]*p<.05; †p<.10; [a]n=20; [b]n=21; [c]n=23

Consistent with H_{CRT2} and H_{CRT2b}, however, Black Americans exhibit a pattern of active resistance to stigmatizing societal beliefs denigrating members of the tri-racial hierarchy possessing an Afrocentric phenotype. Unlike whites, African Americans report that society generally looks down upon disadvantaged members of the tri-racial hierarchy, a trend that would be overlooked by assuming universality with respect to the American cultural belief system as proposed by SCT theorizing. Interestingly, blacks attempt to assert their agency and actively refute these negative societal beliefs as proposed by H_{CRT2b} ($J^*_{CB>HW>W}$=2.02; p<.05). Rather than simply falling prey to these purportedly hegemonic beliefs, blacks actively resist these insidious stereotypes, perhaps shedding light on why they rejected the influence attempts of Whites at unusually high rates during interaction.

Table 4.17 Average Ratings of Status Scales by Condition for the Black Sample

	[a]Whites		[b]Honorary Whites		[c]Collective Blacks		[#]Trend Statistics	
Status Scale	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	$J^*_{W>HW>CB}$	$J^*_{CB>HW>W}$
"Most Others" Beliefs	5.85[ab]	0.52	5.45[a]	0.82	5.01[b]	1.06	2.99*	-2.99
"Personal" Beliefs	5.22[a]	1.22	5.68	0.60	5.84[a]	0.94	-2.02	2.02*

Notes: Means sharing a letter are significantly different at the .05 level; one-tailed test
[#]*p<.05; †p<.10; [a]n=21; [b]n=22; [c]n=23

As a whole, analyses of first and third order status beliefs provide very little support for the assertions of SCT researchers. Attitudinal reactions to the pigmentocracy among whites are largely inconsistent with the assertion that Whites are held in higher esteem than Honorary Whites and Collect Blacks at both the societal and individual level. While there is very modest support for SCT among individual items reflecting perceptions of societal beliefs among the pooled sample, this pattern is not robust to subsequent analyses of the third order status scale. The attitudinal reactions of whites also contradict the assertions of SCT researchers, and suggest instead that disadvantaged members of the tri-racial hierarchy are actually held in higher esteem than Whites—or that colorism is not a contemporary problem in America today.

Assuming racial invariance as proponents of abstract theoretical generalization propose, masks considerable variability between the attitudinal reactions of White and Black Americans. While whites actively deny the presence of a negative cultural belief system associating Afrocentric members of society with lower esteem than their Eurocentric counterparts, blacks report that such beliefs are pervasive among "most others" in society. Rather than internalizing such beliefs as SCT would suggest, however, blacks actively resist such assertions, perhaps in an attempt to redefine blackness as competent.

While reports of negative third order beliefs among blacks seem to support the claim that blacks have internalized the colorist ideology, I would argue that the acknowledgment of such beliefs is not an indication that these beliefs are hegemonic, and instead reflect blacks' acknowledgement that racial biases are still pervasive in America. Acknowledging the existence of racial biases should not be interpreted as an internalization of them, however (Devine and Elliot 1995). In fact, the patterns of attitudinal reactions among blacks suggest that they believe such colorist tendencies are illegitimate, especially considering that they fail to personally endorse such beliefs--and actively assert that disadvantaged members of the tri-racial arrangement are actually more competent than their White counterparts.

Some might argue that my interpretations of the brown-loving attitudinal reactions of whites as mere attempts to seem non-racist is rather convenient. How can I be so sure that these attitudes are simply attempts to appear color blind? After all, isn't it possible that the attitudes reported by whites actually reflect their true beliefs and real changes to the cultural belief system of America? To provide support for my interpretation of whites' responses, I explore several other post-survey questions for evidence of social desirability. Since I am interpreting whites' responses as disingenuous and blacks' as accurate reflections of their attitudes, it is only fair to assess the patterns of both of their responses for evidence of social desirability.

After completing the TCST, subjects were asked to report their perceptions of "how white" their partner acted, and how similar to oneself and how likeable their partner seemed. Subjects also completed a modified version of the Social Distance Scale

(Bogardus 1933)[11], a prejudice scale that has proven to be increasingly incapable of capturing racial prejudice in the U.S. over time (Parrillo and Donoghue 2005). Initially, these survey items were designed to provide more insight into the differential experiences of members of the pigmentocracy. Upon examination, however, differential patterns of social desirability along racial lines emerged among these data.

Table 4.18 Average Ratings of Social Desirability Indicators by Condition for the White Sample

	[a]Whites		[b]Honorary Whites		[c]Collective Blacks		[#]Trend Statistics	
Indicator	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	$J^*_{W>HW>CB}$	$J^*_{CB>HW>W}$
Acts White	5.60^{ab}	1.19	4.52^{a}	1.21	4.22^{b}	1.65	2.93*	-2.93
Similar	5.10^{a}	1.12	4.76^{b}	1.70	5.74^{ab}	1.05	-1.57	1.57*
Likeable	6.05^{a}	0.94	6.24^{b}	0.89	6.65^{ab}	0.57	-2.31	2.31*
Social Distance Scale	3.55^{ab}	0.73	3.06^{a}	0.79	2.87^{b}	0.64	2.75*	-2.75

Notes: Mean Ratings sharing a letter are significantly different at the .05 level; one-tailed test
[#]*p<.05; †p<.10; [a]n=20; [b]n=21; [c]n=23

Table 4.18 displays whites' responses to various social desirability indicators. Not surprisingly, whites reported that their White group members "acted whiter" than Honorary Whites and Collective Blacks ($J^*_{W>HW>CB}$=2.93; p<.05). Despite rating Whites as "acting the whitest", White purportedly believe that Collective Blacks are more similar to themselves than Honorary Whites and Whites ($J^*_{CB>HW>W}$=1.57; p<.05)--the very members of the pigmentocracy they rated as "acting the least white". Either white respondents who attend a predominantly white institution in the Midwest do not believe they "act white", or ratings of their partners are subject to social desirability processes, the

[11] Cronbach alpha reliability scores for the pooled, white, and black sample were .79, .78, and .80, respectively.

latter being the more likely of the two scenarios. There is also evidence of attempts by whites to appear color blind with respect to their ratings of likeability and desired social distance. More specifically, whites attempt to overcompensate for their biases by rating disadvantaged group members of the tri-racial hierarchy as more likeable ($J^*_{CB>HW>W}=2.31$; $p<.05$), and by reporting that they prefer more contact with them ($J^*_{W>HW>CB}=2.75$; $p<.05$).

Table 4.19 Average Ratings of Social Desirability Indicators by Condition for the Black Sample

	[a]Whites		[b]Honorary Whites		[c]Collective Blacks		[#]Trend Statistics	
Indicator	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	$J^*_{W>HW>CB}$	$J^*_{CB>HW>W}$
Acts White	3.71[ab]	1.59	2.77[a]	1.51	2.22[b]	1.31	3.11*	-3.11
Similar	4.67[a]	1.28	5.09	1.19	5.43[a]	1.16	-1.99	1.99*
Likeable	5.90	1.04	6.18	0.91	6.13	0.97	-0.73	0.73
Social Distance Scale	3.28	0.64	3.45	0.63	3.37	0.88	0.16	-0.16

Notes: Means sharing a letter are significantly different at the .05 level; one-tailed test
[#]*p<.05; †p<.10; [a]n=21; [b]n=22; [c]n=23

Similar to whites, blacks reported that Whites "act whiter" than Honorary Whites and Collective Blacks ($J^*_{W>HW>CB}=3.11$; $p<.05$). Unlike whites, however, their ratings of perceived similarity are consistent with their reports of who they believe "acts white", with Collective Blacks rated as the most similar to themselves and Whites the least ($J^*_{CB>HW>W}=1.99$; $p<.05$). The consistency between who blacks rate as "acting the whitest" and who they believe is most similar to themselves suggests that their attitudinal reactions are more genuine than those of white respondents. Additionally, unlike whites, blacks do not attempt to appear color blind by overcorrecting for their reports of likeability or desired social distance. Altogether analyses of social desirability indicators suggest that the reports

of whites reflect attempts to appear color blind, whereas the attitudinal reactions of blacks better reflect their true ideals.

Assessing the Predictive Role of Status Beliefs

Another goal of this dissertation is to assess the potential mediating role of status beliefs on behavioral inequities. Because such few differences in the deference received by members of the pigmentocracy emerged during interaction, only bivariate correlations between status beliefs and deferential behavior are examined. SCT researchers assert that status beliefs are a powerful source of stratification within task groups. SCT predicts that deference levels are positively correlated with status beliefs, such that individuals held in higher social esteem should be more influential in groups (H_{SCT3}). CRT theorists assert that basic social psychological processes, such as status generalization, may not operate similarly across racial groups (H_{CRT3}). Therefore, levels of influence should be negatively associated with status beliefs, such that those held in higher esteem can be expected to receive less deference during interaction (H_{CRT3b}).

Table 4.20 Third Order Beliefs and P(s) Correlations

Most Others' Beliefs	Proportion of Stay Score		
Competent	0.03	0.00	0.06
Knowledgeable	0.04	0.03	0.05
Capable	0.06	0.03	0.08
Respected	0.03	0.03	0.03
High Status	0.01	-0.07	0.07
Good Leader	0.03	-0.05	0.10
Powerful	0.07	-0.03	0.17
Third Order Scale	0.05	-0.01	0.11
	Pooled[a]	White[b]	Black[c]

Notes: [a]n=130; [b]n=64; [c]n=66; *p<.05; †p<.10

Table 4.20 above displays the bivariate correlations between third order beliefs and levels of deference for all three samples. The analyses indicate that there were no significant relations between the perceived attitudes of "most others" and individual-level patterns of deference, regardless of the makeup of the sample. Moreover, the relationship between personally endorsed status beliefs and deferential patterns was also examined. Table 4.21 below displays the bivariate correlations between first order beliefs and deferential behaviors. Again, the results indicated that no significant correlations emerged between deferential behaviors and the status beliefs personally endorsed by any of the samples.

Table 4.21 First Order Beliefs and P(s) Correlations

Personal Beliefs	Proportion of Stay Score		
Competent	0.14	0.04	0.22†
Knowledgeable	0.03	-0.07	0.12
Capable	0.15†	0.03	0.25†
Respected	-0.03	-0.01	-0.04
High Status	0.06	-0.03	0.14
Good Leader	0.00	-0.01	0.01
Powerful	0.08	0.03	0.12
First Order Scale	0.07	0.00	0.13
	Pooled[a]	White[b]	Black[c]

Notes: [a]n=130; [b]n=64; [c]n=66; *p<.05; †p<.10

No support was found for the hypothesized relationships between status beliefs and deference levels predicted by SCT or CRT researchers. Analyses of perceptions of societal beliefs and personally endorsed beliefs produced similar results, as did analyses by subsample. As a whole, status beliefs associated with members of the pigmentocracy do not inform how influential members of the tri-racial hierarchy are in groups.

Assessing the Claims of Three Models of Phenotypical Inequality and of Critical Race Scholars

A final goal of this dissertation is to assess the claims of three theoretical models, each asserting that phenotype plays a different role relative to racial boundaries in buttressing the Latin Americanization order. Scholars assess the fit of theoretical models by comparing the predicted levels of influence for each condition of these models, to the actual levels of influence afforded to group members. Support for the claims of theoretical models is found if the predictions of a given model match the observed status differentiation within the groups. Social psychologists assess the mismatch between theoretical models and the behavioral patterns in experimental groups with the use of the χ^2 goodness of fit statistic and the G^2 statistic (Balkwell 1991a; Balkwell 1991b; Fişek, Berger, and Moore 2002).

After deriving predictions for influence for all conditions of each theoretical model using the procedure outlined in the "Analytic Strategy" section, a χ^2 goodness of fit test is performed by comparing the predicted levels of influence of a given model to the observed deference levels afforded to partners in each condition. The χ^2 statistic is calculated using the following formula:

(F8)

$$\chi^2 = \mathrm{t}\sum_{i=1}^{c} n_i \left[\frac{(p_i - \pi_i)^2}{\pi_i(1-\pi_i)}\right]$$

where:
t = number of critical trials (i.e. 20 in the standardized experimental setting)
i = experimental condition
c = summation over experimental conditions
n_i = number of subjects in condition

p_i = observed P(s) value
π_i = predicted P(s) value

A significant χ^2 statistic indicates that the predictions of a given theoretical model significantly depart from the patterns of deference in the experiment. In other words, significant χ^2 statistics indicate that there is a lack of fit between the claims made by a theoretical model and the patterns of behavioral inequality observed in the experiment.

Social psychologists also assess the adequacy of theoretical models with the G^2 statistic, which represents the proportional reduction of error a theoretical model. G^2 values range from 0 to 1, with values closer to 1 indicating better fit. Essentially, the G^2 statistic tells us how much of the error is reduced by using a given theoretical model, as opposed to a naïve model that predicts influence using only the grand mean of the observed P(s) values from our experiment. G^2 values for a given theoretical model are calculated using the χ^2 value of a naïve mean model and the χ^2 value derived for a theoretical model of interest, using the following formula:

(F9)

$$G2 = \frac{\chi^2 of \text{ naïve } model - \chi^2 of \ theoretical \ model}{\chi^2 of \text{ naïve } model}$$

If a theoretical model fits the experimental data relatively well, the χ^2 statistic for that model will approach 0, thereby yielding a ratio in formula F9 that approaches 1. However, if a theoretical model does not fit the data well, the χ^2 value derived for that model will be large, producing a G^2 value that approaches 0.

Table 4.22 presents the mean P(s) scores, predicted P(s) values, expectation advantages, and model fit statistics for the Status Cues Formulation, Latin Americanization Thesis, and Dual Axes of Inequality Model for whites. At first glance, predictions derived from the Status Cues Formulation *appear* to fit the data well. Model fit statistics suggest that the predicted patterns of influence do not significantly depart from the observed inequalities ($\chi^2 = 2.24$, p=.13), and account for 49.94% of the variation in the observed behavioral patterns. It is interesting to note, however, that predictions derived from this model are nonsensical.

Table 4.22 Fit of the Phenotypyical Models to the Data of White Respondents

Status Cues Formulation -- Skin Tone and Racial Markers as Cues				
Condition	e_p - e_o	Predicted P(s)	Observed P(s)	Difference
White	0	0.6563	0.6379	-0.018
Honorary White	0.1483	0.6361	0.6641	0.028
Collective Black	0.3653	0.6065	0.5961	-0.010
P(s)=0.6563-0.1363e; χ^2=2.24; p=.13; g^2=.4994				
Latin Americanization Thesis -- Skin Tone as a "Master Status"				
Condition	e_p - e_o	Predicted P(s)	Observed P(s)	Difference
White	0	0.6564	0.6379	-0.018
Honorary White	0.1483	0.6400	0.6641	0.024
Collective Black	0.4865	0.6028	0.5961	-0.007
P(s)=0.6564-0.1101e; χ^2=1.75; p=.19; g^2=.6084				
Dual Axes of Inequality -- Skin Tone and Race as Separate Axes of Inequality				
Condition	e_p - e_o	Predicted P(s)	Observed P(s)	Difference
White	0	0.6542	0.6379	-0.016
Honorary White	0.3653	0.6313	0.6641	0.033
Collective Black	0.6638	0.6126	0.5961	-0.016
P(s)=0.6542-0.0627e; χ^2=2.94; p=.08; g^2=.3417				

Source: 64 white female subjects

Using regression analyses to estimate the m and q parameters for the Status Cues Formulation, yields a q value that is out of range (i.e. has a negative valence). Using the linear probability model and these nonsensical q values to generate predictions, yields predicted influence levels that are diametrically opposed to the expectation advantages associated with their respective experimental conditions. Therefore, the predicted P(s) values for the Status Cues Formulation are inconsistent with the Latin Americanization racial order.

Table 4.23 Fit of the Phenotypyical Models to the Data of Black Respondents

Status Cues Formulation -- Skin Tone and Racial Markers as Cues				
Condition	e_p - e_o	Predicted P(s)	Observed P(s)	Difference
White	-0.3653	0.6482	0.6641	0.016
Honorary White	-0.1483	0.6393	0.5849	-0.054
Collective Black	0	0.6332	0.6714	0.038
P(s)=0.6332-0.0412e; χ^2=9.01; p=.00; g^2=-.0196				
Latin Americanization Thesis -- Skin Tone as a "Master Status"				
Condition	e_p - e_o	Predicted P(s)	Observed P(s)	Difference
White	-0.4865	0.6310	0.6641	0.033
Honorary White	-0.3653	0.6362	0.5849	-0.051
Collective Black	0	0.6519	0.6714	0.020
P(s)=0.6519+0.0429e; χ^2=7.76; p=.00; g^2=.1216				
Dual Axes of Inequality -- Skin Tone and Race as Separate Axes of Inequality				
Condition	e_p - e_o	Predicted P(s)	Observed P(s)	Difference
White	-0.6638	0.6396	0.6641	0.024
Honorary White	-0.3653	0.6400	0.5849	-0.055
Collective Black	0	0.6404	0.6714	0.031
P(s)=0.6404+0.0012e; χ^2=8.81; p=.00; g^2=.0028				

Source: 66 black female subjects

For example, whites should incur the largest status advantage when interacting with Collective Blacks, and accept the influence of Whites the most, but the linear probability

model predicts that they will accept the influence of Collective Blacks at the highest rate (Predicted P(s) = 0.6065) and the influence of Whites at the lowest rate (Predicted P(s) = .6563). It appears then that the Status Cues Formulation fits the data purely by coincidence.

A similar problem emerges when attempting to assess the fit of the Latin Americanization Thesis and Dual Axes of Inequality Models. Despite adequately *appearing* to fit the behavioral patterns observed in the groups (LAT: $\chi^2 = 1.75$, p=.19 & DAI: $\chi^2 = 2.94$, p=.08), the predictions derived for these models are not consistent with the racial hierarchy proposed by the Latin Americanization Thesis. Using regression analyses to estimate m and q, produces q values for both models that are out of range (-.1101 for the LAT and -.0627 for the DAI). Therefore, the linear probability model yields correspondingly nonsensical predictions for both of these models. Antithetical to their corresponding expectation advantages, these models predict that in task groups whites will afford Collective Blacks the most deference, and Whites the least. As a result, these statistics should not be interpreted as valid indicators of model fit.

I encounter a similar problem when attempting to assess the fit of the Status Cues Formulation among the black sample. As shown in Table 4.23 above, data from black respondents not only led to an invalid estimate of q, but also a nonsensical G^2 value, which should range between 0 and 1. In other words, the predictions based on the theoretical model actually fit the data worse than predictions derived from the naïve mean model! Again, the predicted P(s) scores for this model are inconsistent with the expectation advantages associated with members of the tri-racial order and I advise against interpreting these statistics as valid estimates of model fit.

Estimates of the m and q parameters for the Latin Americanization Thesis and Dual Axes of Inequality Model for blacks fall within the valid range (i.e. positive), as do all of

the G^2 values (i.e. 0-1). Expectation advantages are also consistent with the predicted P(s) scores produced for these models, as black respondents are expected to exhibit higher levels of deference as their status disadvantage relative to their partner increases. Therefore, I proceed to interpret these model fit estimates as valid. The analyses indicate that predictions derived from the Latin Americanization Thesis are inconsistent with the levels of influence accepted from members of the tri-racial hierarchy ($\chi^2 = 7.76$, p=<.05). Furthermore, treating race as having a less prominent effect on social status than phenotype only accounts for about 12% of the variation in P(s) scores. Treating these stratifiers as having an independent but equal effect on status, as proposed by the Dual Axes of Inequality Model, seems to fit the data even worse as this modeling approach accounts for less than 1% of the variation in patterns of deference ($\chi^2 = 8.81$, p=<.05).

So, why is the SCT framework proving to be incapable of assessing theoretical models associated with the newly emergent racial order when it has been so successful at assessing other axes of inequality over the past 40 years? One possibility is that observed patterns of influence departed so far from their predicted expectation advantages that regression analyses were unable to generate valid estimates of m and q. The linear probability model assumes that the relation between P(s) scores and expectation advantages is positive[12]. In other words, as the expectation advantage of group members relative to their partners increase, they should reject their influence at higher rates, and vice versa. This was not the case in this experiment as whites failed to reject the influence of Collective Blacks, and blacks failed to accept the influence of Whites, as predicted by SCT.

[12] Correlations between P(s) scores and expectation advantages were -.15 for the SCF, -.16 for the LAT, and -.13 for the DAI among whites, and -.04 for the SCF, .06 for the LAT, and .00 for the DAI among blacks.

As mentioned earlier when describing the general patterns of influence, among whites, the pigmentocratic racial order appears to be consistent with the P(s) scores observed among White and Honorary White confederates. Among blacks, the influence afforded to Collective Blacks and Honorary Whites seems consistent with the tri-racial order. It is possible that, unlike other social distinctions, the standardized experimental setting cannot adequately capture biases when distinctions based on race are most pronounced.

Table 4.24 Fit of the Phenotypyical Models to the Data of White Respondents

Status Cues Formulation -- Skin Tone and Racial Markers as Cues				
Condition	$e_p - e_o$	Predicted P(s)	Observed P(s)	Difference
White	0	0.6379	0.6379	0.005
Honorary White	0.1483	0.6641	0.6641	0.000
Collective Black	-	-	-	-
$P(s)=0.6379+0.1769e$; $\chi^2=0.04$; $p=.84$; $g^2=.9317$				
Latin Americanization Thesis -- Skin Tone as a "Master Status"				
Condition	$e_p - e_o$	Predicted P(s)	Observed P(s)	Difference
White	0	0.6379	0.6379	0.005
Honorary White	0.1483	0.6641	0.6641	0.000
Collective Black	-	-	-	-
$P(s)=0.6379+0.1769e$; $\chi^2=0.04$; $p=.84$; $g^2=.9317$				
Dual Axes of Inequality -- Skin Tone and Race as Separate Axes of Inequality				
Condition	$e_p - e_o$	Predicted P(s)	Observed P(s)	Difference
White	0	0.6379	0.6379	0.005
Honorary White	0.3653	0.6641	0.6641	0.000
Collective Black	-	-	-	-
$P(s)=0.6379+0.0718e$; $\chi^2=0.04$; $p=.84$; $g^2=.9317$				

Source: 41 white female subjects

Perhaps, the active denial of negative stereotypes by whites and the active resistance of blacks to these negative stereotypes interfered with the status generalization

process. When racial differences are most pronounced, it is possible that these motives become more salient and obstruct the status generalization process. This would be an interesting finding given that this is generally not the case with other status characteristics, such as gender or socioeconomic status.

I assessed this emergent hypothesis by recalculating model fit estimates for these theoretical models for both the white and black samples, but I omit experimental conditions in which the racial distinctions between research participants and members of the tri-racial social arrangement are most pronounced. In other words, I exclude the Collective Black condition for analyses of the white sample because they are believed to be responding in a socially desirable manner by actively denying the presence of racial oppression, and exclude the White condition for analyses of the black sample as they are believed to be consciously resisting cultural beliefs that generally associate them with less social esteem than their White counterparts. Doing so will give me a general sense if the status framework is able to assess these theoretical models when racial distinctions between group members are less pronounced, and the interference of obstructive motivational processes is suppressed.

The results of the model fit analyses of the three distinct phenotypical models among whites are presented in Table 4.24 above. Prior to interpreting the model fit statistics I'll inspect whether the linear probability model generates valid estimates of q and predicted levels of influence. All q values associated with the theoretical models in Table 4.24 fall within the valid range (i.e. positive valence). And, because all q values are positive, the predictions derived for these models are consistent with the tri-partite racial hierarchy. Collective Blacks are indeed expected to receive the least deference, while Whites are expected to receive the most. Furthermore, none of the G^2 values reported fall

outside of the valid range (i.e. are positive and fall between 0 and 1). Findings suggest then, that when racial distinctions are most salient between group members, whites' active denial of negative stereotypes associating disadvantaged members of the tri-racial hierarchy with less social esteem interferes with the status generalization process, precluding our ability to assess the social psychological underpinnings of stratification processes based on racial distinctions in micro-encounters.

I attempt to assess which theoretical model of phenotypical inequality best accounts for the patterns of deference observed among the remaining members of the tri-racial hierarchy. The Status Cues Formulation and Latin Americanization Thesis predict equal expectation advantages for the White and Honorary White conditions, and correspondingly identical predictions for influence for both conditions. As a consequence, predictions derived from both models fit the patterns of influence observed among Whites and Honorary Whites equally well ($\chi^2 = 0.04$, p=0.84). Furthermore, both models account for about 93% of the variation in deference levels afforded to White and Honorary White members of the tri-racial hierarchy.

The Dual Axes of Inequality Model yields distinct estimates of q from the other theoretical models. Moreover, the expectation advantage of Whites relative to Honorary Whites is more pronounced, but the model also accounts for about 93% of the variation in influence. In addition, modeling race and phenotype as independent stratifiers with equal effects on status is also consistent with the influence afforded to Whites and Honorary Whites ($\chi^2 = 0.04$, p=0.84). The identical model fit statistics result from the regression analyses used to estimate m and q: the resultant q value produced exactly the same predicted levels of influence for the White and Honorary White conditions.

By omitting the condition where the racial distinction between participants and their partner is most pronounced, the status framework is able to assess these three theoretical models. However, without the condition where the racial distinctiveness of research participants diverges the most from their partner, and where the corresponding expectation advantages and predictions for influence really differentiate these theoretical models, this approach is unable to delineate the social psychological underpinnings of the status afforded to members of the pigmentocracy.

Table 4.25 Fit of the Phenotypyical Models to the Data of Black Respondents

Status Cues Formulation -- Skin Tone and Racial Markers as Cues				
Condition	$e_p - e_o$	Predicted P(s)	Observed P(s)	Difference
White	-	-	-	-
Honorary White	-0.1483	0.5849	0.5849	0.000
Collective Black	0	0.6641	0.6714	0.007
P(s)=0.6641+0.5344e; χ^2=0.11; p=.74; g^2=.9849				
Latin Americanization Thesis -- Skin Tone as a "Master Status"				
Condition	$e_p - e_o$	Predicted P(s)	Observed P(s)	Difference
White	-	-	-	-
Honorary White	-0.3653	0.5849	0.5849	0.000
Collective Black	0	0.6641	0.6714	0.007
P(s)=0.6641+0.2170e; χ^2=0.11; p=.74; g^2=.9849				
Dual Axes of Inequality -- Skin Tone and Race as Separate Axes of Inequality				
Condition	$e_p - e_o$	Predicted P(s)	Observed P(s)	Difference
White	-	-	-	-
Honorary White	-0.3653	0.5849	0.5849	0.000
Collective Black	0	0.6641	0.6714	0.007
P(s)=0.6641+0.2170e; χ^2=0.11; p=.74; g^2=.9849				

Source: 45 black female subjects

Omitting the Whites condition from the model fit analyses of the black sample also suggests that auxiliary motivational processes are interfering with the status generalization

process. Among blacks, however, it is the active resistance of negative stereotypes denigrating oppressed members of the pigmentocracy that disrupts the status generalization process. As you can see in Table 4.25, estimating the model fit statistics for the theoretical models while omitting the White condition produces valid model fit parameters (i.e. m, q, χ^2, and G^2 values) for all theoretical models--and predictions for influence that are consistent with the expectation advantages associated with the tri-racial hierarchy. Once again, all three models appear to fit the data equally well ($\chi^2 = 0.11$, p=0.74), and account for about 98% of the variation in the deference blacks give their Honorary White and Collective Black counterparts.

I have identified a condition under which the status framework fails to assess the social psychological mechanisms producing inequality in micro-encounters. When group members are extremely differentiated by a racial distinction the SCT framework is unable to elicit the status generalization process, which has implications for theoretical testing and development. Without the experimental condition in which racial distinctions are most pronounced, predicted levels of influence for all models are identical, and I am unable to identify the social psychological mechanism that best explains the inequality associated with members of the tri-racial hierarchy. We do know, however, that all three models are consistent with the tri-partite social arrangement.

How well do the theoretical models based on the assertions of Critical Race scholars stack up against the data? Table 4.26 below presents the model fit statistics for three theoretical models, each assuming that race and phenotype have the relative strengths proposed by the Status Cues Formulation, Latin Americanization Thesis, and Dual Axes of Inequality Model. However, consistent with the assertions of Critical Race scholarship, these models assume that blacks are actively attempting to refute racial and phenotypical

hegemony. Rather than being disadvantaged by their black ancestry and their Afrocentric phenotype, these models assume that blacks are advantaged with respect to these characteristics.

Table 4.26 Fit of the Resistance Models to the Data of Black Respondents

Condition	$e_p - e_o$	Predicted P(s)	Observed P(s)	Difference
Status Cues Formulation -- Skin Tone and Racial Markers as Cues				
White	0.3653	0.6482	0.6641	0.016
Honorary White	0.1483	0.6393	0.5849	-0.054
Collective Black	0	0.6332	0.6714	0.038
$P(s)=0.6332+0.0412e$; $\chi^2=9.01$; $p=.00$; $g^2=-.0196$				
Latin Americanization Thesis -- Skin Tone as a "Master Status"				
White	0.4865	0.6310	0.6641	0.033
Honorary White	0.3653	0.6362	0.5849	-0.051
Collective Black	0	0.6519	0.6714	0.020
$P(s)=0.6519-0.0429e$; $\chi^2=7.76$; $p=.00$; $g^2=.1216$				
Dual Axes of Inequality -- Skin Tone and Race as Separate Axes of Inequality				
White	0.6638	0.6396	0.6641	0.024
Honorary White	0.3653	0.6400	0.5849	-0.055
Collective Black	0	0.6404	0.6714	0.031
$P(s)=0.6404-0.0012e$; $\chi^2=8.81$; $p=.00$; $g^2=.0028$				

Source: 66 Black female subjects

This Afrocentric advantage is reflected in the expectation advantages that blacks are expected to incur when interacting with their White partners, for example. In hegemonic models of racial and phenotypical inequality, blacks were expected to experience the greatest status disadvantage when interacting with their White partners. Resistance models assume, however, that blacks will instead be most advantaged when interacting with Whites, compared to other members of the tri-racial hierarchy, as they

attempt to recast their oppressed characteristics in a positive light by actively refuting the influence of Whites. The strength of this expectation advantage is expected to be the weakest by the Status Cues Formulation ($e_p - e_o = .3653$), followed by the Latin Americanization Thesis ($e_p - e_o = .4865$). The Dual Axes of Inequality Model predicts the greatest expectation advantage for blacks relative to their White partners at .6638. Blacks are also advantaged relative to their Honorary White partners by varying degrees according to the proposed social psychological mechanisms of these three models.

Upon inspection of the parameters generated from regressing P(s) scores on the predicted expectation advantages for their respective experimental conditions, it is apparent that the status framework cannot adequately assess these models. The Status Cues Formulation, for example, generates a valid q value and predicted P(s) scores consistent with the tri-racial hierarchy, but an invalid G^2 value. The Latin Americanization Thesis and Dual Axes of Inequality models produce invalid q values, and correspondingly inconsistent predictions for influence across conditions, as the expected status advantage is reversed by the negative valence of the q value ($(P(s)= m + q (e_p - e_o))$.

While expectation advantages of the resistance models assume White members of the tri-racial hierarchy should be at the greatest status disadvantage, the invalid q estimates of the Latin Americanization Thesis and Dual Axes of Inequality models produce predicted P(s) scores that advantage Whites the most relative other members of the tri-racial hierarchy. Like before, the relationship between observed P(s) scores and expectation advantages for these theoretical model likely deviated so far from linearity, that the status framework commonly used to assess the social psychological underpinnings of other axes of inequality (e.g. gender and socioeconomic status) is unable to assess the proposed social psychological mechanisms driving inequality based on racial distinctions.

Overview and Discussion

This chapter outlined the research design and results of two experiments examining the differential reactions of white and black participants to members of the tri-racial hierarchy. Extant research on the socioeconomic, marital, and ideological patterns support the proposed pigmentocracy, with dark-skinned African Americans experiencing disadvantages in each of these macro-level outcomes relative to both their white and multiracial counterparts possessing a less Afrocentric phenotype. The goal of this dissertation was to assess whether whites and blacks exhibit differential behavioral and attitudinal reactions to group members who differ by phenotype at the micro-level, a relatively uncharted topic within the sociological literature.

SCT predicts uniformity in the behavioral and attitudinal reactions of whites and blacks to individuals differentiated by a racial distinction. Accordingly, there should be racial invariance in how much deference prototypical members of the tri-racial strata receive from White and Black Americans when jointly completing a group task. This is purportedly the case because group interactants are thought to be operating under the same set of cultural beliefs about which members of the tri-racial arrangement possess the most competence. CRT theorists assert, however, that assuming racial invariance with respect to basic social psychological processes is illogical, and that neglecting the minority perspective serves to mask patterns of domination. CRT theorists also advise against generalizing the social psychological processes observed among whites to racial minorities because doing so silences the voices of racial minorities. There is evidence, for instance, that rather than simply internalizing colorist ideologies as predicted by the abstract theoretical generalization employed among SCT theorists, African Americans have openly

rejected negative cultural beliefs associating Afrocentric features with negativity, and have instead actively asserted that "black is beautiful".

From these assertions three sets of hypotheses were derived. The first two sets of hypotheses dealt with the differential patterns of deference and attitudinal reactions proposed by these two theoretical perspectives. SCT predicted, that consistent with the broader macro-level patterns of inequality, Whites should incur social advantages in deference and perceived social esteem compared to their Honorary White and Collective Black counterparts. CRT predicted that the emergent patterns of deference and perceived status among tri-racial group members should differ between whites and blacks. More specifically, CRT predicts that blacks will actively attempt to redefine the Afrocentric phenotype as competent, by resisting Whites' attempts to be influential in group encounters to a greater extent than the attempts made by Honorary Whites and Collective Blacks. Furthermore, blacks should openly reject negative ideals associating the black phenotype with lower social esteem than the Eurocentric phenotype.

Analyses of the behavioral reactions to members of the pigmentocracy uncovered a phenotypical advantage for Honorary Whites when compared to their Collective Black counterparts, but only among black participants. Contrary to the assumed racial invariance of social psychological theorizing, this advantage did not emerge among whites, supporting CRT theorists' claims that social psychological processing varies along racial lines. Moreover, despite exhibiting patterns of deference consistent with claims that they have internalized colorist ideals when interacting with Honorary Whites and Collective Blacks,

African Americans rejected the influence of Whites at a surprisingly high rate[13]. That is, rather than simply internalizing racial oppression as assumed by abstract theoretical generalization, there is some evidence that African Americans attempt to refute the positive associations between competence and the Eurocentric phenotype. Surprisingly, Whites were overly deferential to their Collective Black group members[14], despite deferring to their White and Honorary White counterparts in a manner that was consistent with SCT.

I turned to the status beliefs associated with members of the tri-racial arrangement to help explain these behavioral patterns. In direct opposition to the assumptions made about the cultural universality of status beliefs, the perceived social esteem of members of the tri-racial arrangement varied considerably along racial lines as proposed by CRT theorists. Whites' racial perceptions were primarily motivated by an underlying desire to appear color blind, and actively deny associations between the Afrocentric phenotype of oppressed members of the pigmentocracy and low social regard. More specifically, Whites report that "most others" believe Collective Blacks are held in higher social esteem than Honorary Whites, who have more social esteem than Whites—beliefs they purportedly personally endorse. This motive to appear color blind potentially explains why they accepted the influence of Collective Blacks at such unusually high rates.

Blacks exhibited quite a different pattern than whites: while they report perceptions of societal beliefs consistent with SCT, they refuse to personally endorse these insidious ideals believed to be held my "most others". More specifically, blacks report that most

[13] I'm referring to the general patterns of deference observed among the members of the tri-racial hierarchy—I should note that this difference was not statistically different from the P(s) scores observed among the Honorary White and Collective Black confederates.

[14] I'm referring to the general patterns of deference observed among the members of the tri-racial hierarchy—I should note that this difference was not statistically different from the P(s) scores observed among the White and Honorary White confederates, however.

others hold members of the pigmentocracy with a more Afrocentric phenotype in lower regard, but fail to internalize such beliefs. Instead, they claim to personally believe oppressed members of the tri-racial hierarchy are actually more competent than their Eurocentric counterparts. This motive to actively resist these stigmatizing racist beliefs perhaps explains why they rejected the influence of Whites at an alarmingly high rate, though they failed to recognize that they treat their Collective Black counterparts in a discriminatory manner relative to Honorary Whites.

Given the patterns of behavioral and attitudinal reactions, I suspected that when the racial divide between group members is most pronounced, these auxiliary motivations become more salient and interfere with the status generalization process. It seemed that these attitudinal patterns were borne out when the racial distinctions between group members were most pronounced. In particular, attempts by whites to actively deny racial oppression, and by blacks to actively resist said oppression, appeared to affect how they react to members of the tertiary hierarchy most distant from them on the racial continuum. This is problematic as these auxiliary processes essentially render the standardized experimental setting ineffective at assessing true racial biases by distorting the emergence of status hierarchies within groups.

I tested this claim by assessing the fit of three theoretical models of phenotypical inequality, each proposing different mechanisms for the emergence of the pigmentocracy. The fit of the theoretical models was assessed with and without the conditions in which the race of the participants diverged the most from members of the three-tiered racial hierarchy—in other words, with and without the conditions in which these motivational biases should interfere with the status process. The results of the model fit analyses on all of the conditions suggested either that the models were inconsistent with the observed

patterns of influence afforded to members of the tri-racial hierarchy, or that the process for assessing the fit of the distinct social psychological models was unable to model the observed patterns of inequality among members of the pigmentocracy. Excluding conditions with partners who differed most from participants in terms of phenotype (i.e. the Collective Black condition from the data of white participants and the White condition from the data of black participants) yielded valid parameters for all three theoretical models, confirming my suspicion about when these auxiliary motivations interfere with the status generalization process. Model fit analyses on the truncated data indicated that all three theoretical models were consistent with the data, but were unable to adjudicate between the competing social psychological mechanisms.

Thus, whites' motivation to actively deny the colorist ideology and blacks' motivation to actively resist colorist tendencies, appeared to affect their behavior when racial distinctions were most salient. That is, these motives interfered with the status generalization process when the racial differentiation between group members was most pronounced. Otherwise, the external status of group members influenced their status within groups as predicted by SCT. The influence whites accepted of their White and Honorary White counterparts was consistent with the LAT hierarchy, as was the amount of deference blacks gave to Honorary Whites and Collective Blacks – members of the racial strata less racially distinct from the respondents in question.

The standardized experimental setting is designed to capture a non-conscious status process, and is one way that we can understand how racial distinctions affect the lived experiences of racial minorities. However, it appears that when racial distinctions are most salient, auxiliary motivations are activated, and behavioral patterns are dictated by a conscious process instead. The standardized experimental setting's inability to capture

these racial biases has implications for theoretical development and model testing. Without the conditions where racial distinctions were most salient, model fit analyses were unable to assess which of the proposed social psychological mechanism buttresses the tri-racial stratification system. All three models predicted identical patterns of influence for members of the racial strata less distinct from the research participants. It is in the condition where race is most salient that vastly different predictions for influence are made, thereby allowing the model fit analyses to adjudicate between these competing explanations. So, while we now know that the patterns of deference allotted to members of the tri-racial hierarchy less distinct from research participants are consistent with members of the pigmentocracy, we do not fully understand why this is the case.

Finally, given the primacy of status beliefs to SCT, the third set of hypotheses dealt with the role perceived social esteem plays in guiding deferential behavior. The SCT perspective predicts that perceptions of social esteem should be positively associated with levels of deference in groups. Since CRT theorists assert that basic social psychological processes may not apply equally well across racial lines, it was hypothesized that the perceived social esteem of members of the pigmentocracy would be negatively related to the deference they receive during group interaction. Analyses of perceptions of societal beliefs and the status beliefs personally endorsed by whites and blacks provided no support for either of these perspectives: first and third order beliefs were unrelated to deferential behavior in groups.

CHAPTER FIVE: SECURING THE PARTICIPATION OF HARD-TO-REACH RACIAL GROUPS

Sociological social psychology has been developed with testing and validation among predominantly white samples. How is it possible for an entire body of knowledge to remain relatively untested with minority samples in the United States? With the use of abstract theoretical generalization, researchers assume that basic social psychological processes apply across time, settings, and even across racial or ethnic groups, if the scope conditions of a given theory are satisfied (Zelditch 1969; Lucas 2003). If the conditions in which a theory is said to apply are met, the basic social psychological processes guiding behavior are assumed to operate similarly across individuals of different racial and/or ethnic backgrounds.

Nowhere is this more apparent than in Status Characteristics Theory (Berger et al. 1977). According to Status Characteristics Theory, the external status of individuals comes to determine how much status they have when completing a joint task with others in a group setting. This is purportedly the case because of a mutually consensual cultural belief system that associates group members with high status in society-at-large with more competence on a broad range of tasks than individuals with relatively less status in society (Ridgeway 2006). This implies that racial minorities should not only afford whites more status than their co-ethnics when completing a joint task, but that they should also report

that whites have more social esteem, as minorities are said to have internalized the deleterious cultural belief system.

Why exactly is abstract theoretical generalization a problem? Well, the generalizability of basic social psychological processes across racial groups should be an empirical question, not a theoretical one. Critical race scholars take issue with the extrapolation of basic social psychological processes across racial groups for several reasons. For one, they assert that the presumption of racial/ethnic similarity provides social psychologists with a justification for continuing to neglect the perspective of non-whites. If processes operate similarly across racial groups, then there is no reason to examine the perspective of minorities, who are often more difficult to recruit for social psychological studies. These practices unintentionally silence the perspective of minorities and are particularly problematic for the development of social psychological theory, since social psychologists rarely confirm that these social psychological processes operate similarly among non-whites (Goar 2008; Hunt et al. 2000). Critical race scholars have even gone as far as to argue that such color-blind theorizing only serves to disguise patterns of domination (Bonilla-Silva 2015).

The results from this dissertation highlight the importance of not abiding by a presumption of racial/ethnic invariance. Results from the multi-site experiment contradict the assumption of racial/ethnic similarity inherent in SCT and show that there is heterogeneity in the attitudinal reactions of white and black participants to individuals with differing phenotypes. These patterns are masked, however, when assuming that there is racial/ethnic invariance as social psychologists often do. Moreover, these differing patterns of attitudinal reactions have important implications for the behavioral inequities observed in groups. The underlying motivations for these distinctive patterns present themselves

when racial distinctions are most pronounced, and distort the status generalization process--thereby interfering with our ability to assess the underlying social psychological mechanisms for phenotypical inequality in task groups.

The results from this dissertation suggest that we should avoid generalizing the results from one population to another whenever possible. Rather than assuming that basic social psychological processes observed among white populations operate similarly among other racial and/or ethnic groups, it is best to verify that this is indeed the case. But, how can we avoid racial/ethnic similarity trap when populations of interest are often hard to reach? In this chapter, I describe my targeted recruitment efforts for black male and female undergraduate students, explanations for why these efforts proved to be ineffective for black males, and some future directions for the recruitment of hard-to-reach populations.

Recruiting African-American Participants

In the spring and summer of 2013, I planned to conduct two experiments at Mid-Atlantic U. African American males were to participate in one study, while their female counterparts were to participate in the other. Several recruitment strategies were employed to recruit African American participants at Mid-Atlantic U; the research team believed that a multifaceted recruitment strategy was necessary for effectively targeting research participants of color, as opposed to the simple recruitment strategy used at the predominantly white university in which the research team was familiar. Recruitment strategies took multiple forms, including a changing incentive structure, online and paper solicitations, and outreach to various minority-affiliated organizations on campus. Unfortunately, these efforts proved to only be effective for recruiting black females. Below I discuss each recruitment tactic in detail and the potential reasons for why this complex

recruitment strategy failed to deliver a sufficient number of African American male participants.

The most effective strategy used to recruit participants of color was a changing monetary incentive. As part of the description of the experiments, students were informed that they would be compensated monetarily in exchange for their participation in the research. Monetary incentives are a commonly used recruitment tactic at Midwest U, and has been used in the past to effectively recruit a sufficient number of white research participants. Research suggests that monetary incentives are an effective method for recruiting research participants (Edwards, Roberts, Clarke, DiGuiseppi, Pratap, Wentz, and Kwan 2002). The standard rate for participation at Midwest U is $10, however, it became readily apparent that this would not be enough to incentivize research participation at Mid-Atlantic U. After only two and a half weeks, the monetary incentive was increased from $10 to $15. This led to an increase in the participation of African American females, but African American male participation was still insufficient. Thus, the incentive for African American males was increased from $15 to $20 at the start of the summer session. Unfortunately, the increasing monetary incentive was not enough to successfully spur their participation.

Potential participants were recruited for the ongoing studies in one of three ways: with online, paper, or in-person solicitations. Online solicitations was the primary way research participants were informed about the ongoing experiments. Online solicitations were made with the use of the university's daily message system. From time to time, members of the research team requested that a recruitment message and flier about the two experiments be included in the daily e-mail sent to students (see Appendix B). The interval between these message requests ranged from 5 to 35 days, and they were usually requested

when the number of students signed up to participate in one of the studies was low. The message described how much compensation would be provided, the time required to complete the studies, the names of the experiments along with a vague description of each study, and instructions for how to sign up to participate. On four of eleven occasions, a statement "especially encouraging" African American students to participate was included as part of the recruitment message. This was included on these four occasions because the recruitment message was designed to recruit all undergraduate students, as opposed to only targeting students of color like the previous seven messages[15]. I would surmise that this was the most effective recruitment strategy as the signups usually increased dramatically following the delivery of the recruitment message.

Paper solicitations were also used to inform the student body of the ongoing studies. The studies were conducted in the College of Liberal Arts Building at Mid-Atlantic U. Fliers were placed on bulletin boards on all four floors of the building, and were replaced on a weekly basis as needed (see Appendix B). Fliers placed on bulletin boards outside of restrooms were replaced more frequently than all others. These fliers were also placed in common areas across campus, including the library, student union, education and health sciences buildings, and various dormitories.

Participants of color were also recruited in person. Members of the research team were tasked with passing out small fliers in "high-traffic" areas across campus when they were scheduled to run an experiment, but had no participants signed up for the session (see

[15] On seven occasions, the recruitment message title read "African American students are invited to participate in research on Teamwork and Decision-Making." On four occasions, participants were also being recruited for a study involving white students. Therefore, the title of the recruitment message read "Undergraduate students are invited to participate in research on Teamwork and Decision-Making." Thus, the body of the message included a statement expressing that "African American students are particularly encouraged to participate."

Appendix B). We passed out fliers in different parts of campus, including the student union, library, and near dormitories and campus shuttle stops.

Outreach to various campus organizations was the final tactic used to recruit participants. Reaching out to minority-affiliated organizations involved online, paper, and in-person solicitations, combining all three methods of informing students about the ongoing studies. Online solicitations were made to various campus organizations with the use of social media. More specifically, I used my personal facebook and twitter accounts to distribute the recruitment message and flier to various campus organizations. I solicited various campus organizations in this manner, including the Center for Diversity, Black Student Union, African Diaspora Club, Caribbean Students Association, and numerous traditionally-black fraternities and sororities.

Fliers were also frequently used to reach out to campus organizations. Fliers were placed on the bulletin boards of the Black Student Union and various historically-black fraternities and sororities on campus, which I replaced on a weekly basis. A stack of smaller fliers were left at the Center for Diversity, where a representative from the center contacted the research team to inquire about the purpose of the study. After discussing our intent, the representative enthusiastically agreed to inform students in the center about our research to help recruit participants of color.

Outreach to campus organizations were also made in person. Representatives of the Black Student Union and Caribbean Students Association graciously agreed to allow me to come to a meeting to recruit research participants. While there, I informed students of the

eligibility criteria, compensation provided[16], and a vague description of the research. Organization members were also given an opportunity to ask questions at this time. Finally, an in-person solicitation was also made at a PanHellenic-sponsored barbecue that was designed to recruit new members for fraternities and sororities of color. I was present at this well-attended event from start to finish, and passed out fliers with other members of the research team.

Explaining the Lack of Participation of African American Males

Despite this complex recruitment strategy, African American males failed to participate in the experiment at a sufficient rate. While seventy-six black females were enrolled in an experiment, only eleven males participated during the same time frame. Below I describe several potential explanations for their lack of participation, which include a scarcity of eligible African American males, a potential distrust in the institution of education and of researchers more generally, a failure to fully incentivize research participation, and hyper-masculinity.

One potential reason that the recruitment of African American males proved to be ineffective is scarcity, or the relative unavailability of black undergraduate males. While Mid-Atlantic U was chosen as a research site because it enrolls significantly more black students than Midwest U, it is possible that there were relatively few black males enrolled in classes. The increasing imbalance of female to male enrollees at colleges and universities across the country over the last few decades is an interesting trend in higher education (Lopez and Gonzalez-Barrera 2014). This pattern may be even more pronounced

[16] It was during one of these visits that I decided to increase the compensation provided. The non-verbal reactions of organization members (e.g. eye rolls and snickering), led me to believe that $10 was not enough to garner their participation.

among African American students, as young black males face higher rates of incarceration (Western 2006), homicide (American Sociological Association 2007), and high school drop-out (Kao and Thompson 2003) compared to their white counterparts. While there is no available data on only black students at Mid-Atlantic U, sixty percent of all students are female (Towson Center for Student Diversity 2014), suggesting that this may indeed be a potential contributor to the underrepresentation of male students in the experiment.

A second contributor to the lack of participation among black males is their potential distrust in the institution of education. African Americans are subjected to various stigmatizing processes within schools, which may have increased their reluctance to participate in the experiment. For example, black youth are labeled and treated as less intelligent (Boser, Wilhelm, and Hanna 2014), and tracked into less rigorous coursework than their white counterparts (Oakes 2005). Black youth are also exposed to harsher sanctions for otherwise similar behavior, an injustice that is more pronounced among black males than females (*Lewin* 2012). Black youth may even associate cooperation with the educational system as a betrayal of one's racial group as a result of injustices experienced at the elementary and secondary levels (Ogbu 1978; Fordham and Ogbu 1986), a process that, again, may be more salient among males who have also come to define academic prowess and cooperation as effeminate (Carter 2006). The cumulative effects of these experiences may make it more difficult for social psychologists to recruit black participants, especially if they are male.

There may also be a generalized distrust in the research enterprise among the African American population because of past injustices resulting from unethical medical research practices (Washington 2006). A well-documented example is that of Henrietta Lacks who sought treatment for pain in her lower stomach at Johns Hopkins hospital.

Doctors there extracted cells from tissue removed from her body without her consent, while they treated what we now know was cervical cancer. These cells were used to grow the first immortal cells, labeled "HeLa", which have generated an estimated millions of dollars in sales for cancer-related research--none of which has been redirected to descendants of Henrietta Lacks.

A more notorious example of unethical research practices is that of the well-known Tuskegee study conducted by the U.S. Public Health Service with African American men in Alabama (Katz, Kegeles, Kressin, Green, Wang, James, Russell, and Claudio 2006). From the 1930s to the 1970s, black sharecroppers were recruited for participation in a medical study in exchange for free healthcare from the U.S. government. About two-thirds of the six hundred participants had contracted syphilis prior to enrolling in the study, but were never informed that they were carriers of the disease or treated for it, despite a treatment becoming available in the late-1940s. These unethical practices immensely impacted the participants and their families: many of the offspring of participants were born with syphilis, dozens of wives contracted the disease, and numerous participants died from medical complications directly linked to syphilis throughout the course of the study.

A fourth reason black males may have been more reluctant to participate than their female counterparts is that their participation may not have been fully incentivized. Current recruitment practices assume that incentives are equally effective for different populations. While monetary incentives were effective for recruiting black females, they did not attract a sufficient number of their black counterparts. This was not due to the amount offered either, as the 33% increase in the monetary incentive did not increase the participation of black males. Incentives that may be more appealing to black males should be offered in the

future, including course credit, gift cards to various department stores, or tickets to social events (e.g. sporting events or concerts).

The final reason black females may have participated at much higher rates than their male counterparts is that they may be not be as subjected to the pressures of hyper-masculinity. As mentioned before, black males have come to define cooperation with educational institutions as effeminate (Carter 2006). Despite not intending to be hard or to engage in gangster-like activities, the pressure to appear masculine transcends educational settings and is practically ubiquitous for many black males raised in urban settings such as Mid-Atlantic U (Dance 2002). Many black men raised in urban settings experience pressure to enact a masculine persona to avoid being perceived as weak, which may make them vulnerable to verbal and physical assaults "on the streets". Such demeaning experiences result in a drastic loss of respect for young black men, which is particularly detrimental as they may not possess other resources that typically confer status. Therefore, participating in research studies may not only make black males susceptible to bullying for engaging in acts defined as effeminate, but may also lower their status in the eyes of their peers. The social costs of participating in research may be higher for black males than females, a risk they may not have been willing to take in exchange for a single monetary payment.

Recruiting African-American Participants and Other Hard-To-Reach Populations

How can we more effectively recruit African American males and other hard-to-reach populations? One obvious potential solution, which I have already discussed, is to alter the incentive based on the population of interest. For example, if you're interested in surveying the homeless, monetary incentives are probably most effective for securing their cooperation. However, identifying what incentive is most appealing to sub-populations of

interest is not always straightforward (Groves, Singer, and Corning 2000). For example, how do you fully incentivize participation for middle-class black males in an urban setting? Altering the incentive may not necessarily help address some of the other potential sources of black males' reluctance to participate, which I suspect may be the case for other hard-to-reach populations. Below I offer some other potential solutions to help recruit African American males and other hard-to-reach populations.

One potential solution to improving the trust between researchers and African American males is to use a gatekeeper to recruit research participants. A gatekeeper is a person who stands between researchers and the potential research participants (Keesling 2008). Gatekeepers often control access to populations of interest, and are particularly useful for our purposes because they may be immersed in the personal networks of hard-to-reach populations. As such, they may play a key role in helping researchers establish credibility with the population of interest, either by personally introducing researchers to potential participants or by vouching for the intentions of the research team.

A second potential solution, albeit seemingly far-fetched, is to launch a public relations campaign in the local community in which African American males are being recruited to alter how cooperation with researchers is being defined (see Evans, Datta, and Yan 2014 and Olson, Vargas, and Williams 2014 for applications with the US Census). Several approaches could be used to accomplish this including the organization of public speaking events, the distribution of fliers and announcements, and the creation of an online space to discuss the effects of research and the concerns of the African American community. While cultural schemas are relatively durable (Sewell 1992; Ridgeway 2006; Heise 2007), a small marketing campaign might help researchers temporarily redefine these cultural associations. Priming potential participants to perceive research participation

differently might allow us to accomplish our goals, even if the effects do not stand the test of time.

Researchers cannot realize the effects of having a gatekeeper or altering how cooperating with researchers is perceived if no individuals from the population of interest can be found in the subject pool in the first place. That is, if scarcity is the primary reason for the insufficient participation among black males, other techniques must be used to secure their participation. Three strategies seem particularly fruitful if this is the case: conducting online experiments, establishing partnerships with other universities, and conducting experiments in natural settings.

Online experiments are now being conducted on a more frequent basis and are one way to secure the participation of hard-to-reach populations. Various services can assist researchers with conducting online experiments, including Qualtrics, Survey Monkey, and Time-Sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences (TESS). The cost of conducting an online experiment with one of these services is relatively inexpensive, or may even be free as is the case with TESS. Conducting an experiment online is also advantageous because researchers may be able to secure a sample that is more representative of the population of interest. Moreover, the execution of online experiments is less cumbersome as the recruitment of the target population is often conducted by a third party.

A second option for securing the participation of hard-to-reach populations that are unavailable in your subject pool is to establish partnerships with other universities with a high enrollment of students from the hard-to-reach population of interest. For example, establishing a partnership with a historically black college and university would be really beneficial for the recruitment of African American male participants. Although establishing such a partnership requires considerable more work than enlisting a third party

to recruit participants and administer your experiment, partnerships with faculty at other institutions are not impossible to create. Furthermore, conducting experiments in person often gives researchers the added advantage of observing actual behavioral responses as opposed to just attitudinal reactions.

The final, and most cumbersome, strategy that could be implemented when researchers do not have access to a hard-to-reach populations is to conduct research with community samples in natural settings. This is by far the most difficult of the three strategies to implement because of ethical concerns. Will you be sampling black children in schools, HIV patients in medical clinics, or homeless individuals from a local shelter? Attempting to secure the participation of each of these populations in their natural settings may create ethical hurdles that must be crossed before the research can be conducted. However, recruiting hard-to-reach populations in their natural settings allows researchers to observe the behavior of hard-to-reach populations in a non-artificial laboratory setting.

Overview and Discussion

In this chapter, I discussed the recruitment strategies employed to attempt to secure the participation of African American male and female students at Mid-Atlantic U, a mid-sized public institution located in an urban setting. The research team adopted a complex recruitment strategy that included the use of e-mail and other online solicitations, the distribution of fliers around campus, and outreach to various minority organizations around campus. In addition, the researchers increased the rate of compensation across the course of the study to better secure the participation of this hard-to-reach population. While the recruitment strategies led to the successful enrollment of African American female students, their male counterparts did not participate in an experiment at a sufficient rate.

I offered various explanations for why black males failed to participate in the experiments, relative to their female counterparts. The potential explanations of black males' reluctance to participate in research include a failure of the research team to fully incentivize participation, a generalized distrust in the institution of education and of researchers more generally, a pressure to appear hyper-masculine, and their relative unavailability within the subject pool. In addition, potential solutions were offered to specifically target the enrollment of black males, which may provide insight into recruiting other hard-to-reach populations. Solutions to this dilemma include the use of a gatekeeper to improve the distrust of academics among black males, and a marketing strategy to alter how cooperation with researchers is perceived. When hard-to-reach populations are not readily available in a researcher's subject pool, researchers should consider the 1) use of a third party to conduct online experiments, 2) collaboration with other institutions of higher education, or 3) use of community samples in natural settings to better secure their participation.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS, AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Status Beliefs and the Latin Americanization Thesis

Patterns of status beliefs associated with members of the Latin American racial order differ by race. The results indicate that assuming racial invariance with regards to society's racial ideology masks the racial heterogeneity emergent between White and Black Americans. While whites actively deny that disadvantaged members of the tri-partite social arrangement are subjected to a prejudicial belief system, blacks assert that disadvantaged members of the pigmentocracy have less social esteem in society--but refuse to personally endorse such beliefs (e.g. Devine and Elliot 1995).

In many ways, critiques of the assumption of racial and ethnic similarity inherent in social psychological theorizing are validated. Assuming that the beliefs espoused by whites can be extrapolated to other groups would in fact limit our knowledge of minority populations. Applying abstract theoretical generalization to the cultural beliefs associated with the Latin American racial order would not only lead me to erroneously conclude that the oppressed strata of the pigmentocracy are advantaged by the status belief system in the U.S., but that these beliefs are mutually endorsed by blacks. Most importantly, had racial

invariance been assumed, as it often is by social psychologists, patterns of racial domination would be masked.

The active denial of negative societal stereotypes reported by whites about the prevailing racial hierarchy is not all that surprising given recent trends in whites' reporting of racial attitudes over the latter half of the twentieth century (Schuman, Steeh, Bobo, and Krysan 1997). The pattern of status beliefs exhibited by whites is interesting nonetheless, especially when juxtaposed against the pattern elicited from blacks. The differential patterns of status beliefs reported in this study seem to be the product of their sense of group position in the U.S. (Blumer 1958; Bobo and Hutchings 1996), which reflects the struggle for social esteem along racial lines in America. Whites hope to retain their privileged position in society by denying the presence of colorism. Masking their biases gives others the impression that they are color blind, and that we live in an egalitarian society. The reports of blacks also reflect their position within the racial hierarchy. The illegitimacy of status beliefs associated with racial distinctions is evident in the trends exhibited by blacks. They believe their disadvantaged position is at least partly the result of negative stereotypes associating them with incompetence, attitudes they believe are unfounded. Their status beliefs represent their efforts to make others aware of their oppressed status, a status they hope to overcome.

Given their relative positions of privilege in society, it comes as no surprise that White and Black Americans perceive two very different social realities. Whites would like to believe that their privileged position in society is the result of their own efforts, as opposed to broader structural constraints. Alternatively, blacks turn to structural explanations for their disadvantaged position in society (Bobo and Hutchings 1996; Hunt 2007; Pettigrew 1979). Interestingly, whites have even come to believe that they are now

greater victims of discrimination than blacks, a pattern blacks fail to endorse (Norton and Sommers 2011). Disproportionate support for structural explanations and patterns of reverse discrimination are consistent with the status beliefs reported in this study.

The inability to capture the status beliefs whites associate with racial distinctions, represents a significant departure from prior work that assessed such beliefs for other social distinctions, such as gender, physical attractiveness, educational attainment, and newly constructed nominal distinctions. Capturing the racial ideology of whites using explicit measures of attitudes has become quite the challenge in the social sciences. Researchers studying status processes should keep this in mind in the future, if concerned with racial dynamics. While explicit measures of attitudes seem to capture the status beliefs racial minorities associate with members of the pigmentocracy, they proved to be inadequate for capturing whites' beliefs as they effortlessly disguised their prejudices. Future studies should attempt to capture status beliefs associated with racial distinctions using implicit measures of attitudes.

The current study contributes to our knowledge of the racial ideology associated with members of the tri-racial hierarchy proposed by the Latin Americanization Thesis. A rather nuanced understanding of this ideology is unearthed by contrasting the reactions of whites and blacks, who perceive distinct ideological realities within the new racialized social system. As a whole, patterns of status beliefs suggest that whites actively deny the oppression faced by members of the pigmentocracy, much like they do for traditional racial boundaries, while blacks attempt to counteract them. The results have important theoretical and methodological implications as well. Future work should avoid generalizing from the perspective of dominant group members to the oppressed, and should look to novel

approaches of attitudinal measurement and assessment to better capture the prevailing racial ideology.

While I critique social psychologists for failing to incorporate research participants of color and over-relying on homogenous white samples, that is not to say that recruiting minority participants can be done with ease. Doing so takes a well-designed, targeted plan of action to effectively diversity one's pool of research participants. I document a failed attempt at doing so in hopes that scholars can begin to understand the recruitment strategies that are most effective for attracting a diverse set of research participants. As a long-term goal, I hope describing the research strategies employed in social psychological research can help the academic community develop a systematic plan of action to more effectively recruit African American male participants, and other hard-to-reach populations.

The Standardized Experimental Setting, Patterns of Deference, and Obstructive Processes

This dissertation utilized the standardized experimental setting to assess the position of African Americans within the newly proposed racial hierarchy of the Latin Americanization Thesis. For over fifty years, the standardized experimental setting has proven to be quite successful at documenting patterns of stratification for a host of nominal social distinctions in group encounters (see Berger et al. 1980 for a review). Attempts to assess the Latin Americanization Thesis with respect to the position of African Americans, however, proved to be surprisingly unsuccessful.

Analyses of behavioral reactions to members of the pigmentocracy uncovered issues with documenting the status generalization process when racial distinctions were most salient, for both white and black participants. While patterns of deference are generally the product of the non-conscious association between nominal social distinctions

and perceptions of competence, the activation of conscious motivations among both white and black participants interfered with the status generalization process. Under these conditions, the external status of group members failed to organize the observable power and prestige order within task groups as expected.

Among whites, a pattern of active denial of the status beliefs associated with oppressed members of the tri-racial hierarchy emerged, which explains why they accepted the influence of Collective Blacks at surprisingly high rates. This is consistent with what is known about how whites, and white women in particular, self-monitor their behavior in the presence of minorities in public settings (Picca and Feagin 2007). Conversely, black group members rejected the influence of Whites at unexpectedly high rates, likely because of their active resistance to the disparaging cultural belief system. The tensions between blacks and whites in the Mid-Atlantic are far from a relic of the past, as demonstrated by the recent racially motivated riots in Baltimore, and likely explain the active resistance exhibited by blacks in this dissertation. Rather than being culturally universal, status beliefs and the status generalization process more generally may be altered by local or regional contexts. Model fit analyses and examinations of social desirability indications support this interpretation of the data.

The activation of these conscious behavioral patterns have important implications for theory testing and model development. Not only did these obstructive motivational processes prevent the standardized experimental setting from eliciting the status generalization process with respect to the tri-partite social arrangement, they also inhibited assessments of the proposed underlying social psychological mechanisms of three theoretical models of phenotypical inequality.

The fit of three theoretical models was assessed with and without the conditions believed to be a nuisance because of the salient motivational processes. The results of the model fit analyses on all of the experimental conditions suggested that the process for assessing the fit of the theoretical models to the data was unsuccessful. Excluding conditions in which partners were most phenotypically distinct from participants, however, produced valid and interpretable parameters for the model fit analyses of all three theoretical models. Nevertheless, the analyses could not adjudicate between the competing social psychological mechanisms without valid data for the nuisance conditions, in which the hypotheses of the three theoretical models diverged the most.

By omitting the condition where the racial differentiation between participants and their partner is most pronounced, the status framework was able to assess the fit of the three theoretical models. However, without the condition where the racial distinctiveness of research participants diverged the most from their partner, and where the corresponding expectation advantages and predictions for influence really differentiated these theoretical models, the approach was unable to delineate the social psychological underpinnings of the status afforded to members of the pigmentocracy.

So, why did these conscious motivations emerge in these experiments when racial distinctions were most salient? One potential explanation may be the subtle differences in the standardized experimental setting across studies, including the type of task completed, the use of real-life group members as opposed to confederates, and the implementation of group incentives for task success.

Earlier work exploring racial inequities in task groups were either conducted in open-interaction settings or did not ask participants to complete the team contrast sensitivity task (see Goar et al. 2013 and Cohen 1982 for reviews). Rather than exchanging

responses over a computer network, the groups observed in earlier studies completed their assigned tasks face-to-face. Perhaps, completing the task with other group members in person allays suspicion of the setting, the task, and/or of their partner. Furthermore, it might be easier to monitor one's behavioral responses when completing the contrast sensitivity task, a task that may be perceived as meaningless. That is exactly why increasing group incentives for performance is critical. Sell and Goar (2005), for example, increased the incentives for group success by offering higher monetary incentives for successfully completing the task, which potentially shifted participants' attention from self-monitoring their behavior to evaluating their abilities relative to their partners for the task at hand.

While subtle differences across these group studies may potentially explain why status generalization failed to materialize when racial distinctions were most salient in the current experiments, recent evidence suggests that this may not be the case. Recent experimental work obtaining support for the claims of the Latin Americanization Thesis with respect to the position of Latino/as was conducted with the use of confederates who completed the contrast sensitivity task with participants over a computer network (Biagas and Bianchi forthcoming). It is possible then that other factors at play might better account for why status generalization was not observed under certain conditions in the standardized experimental setting.

One cannot ignore the socio-historical context under which these processes are studied. For example, near the site of the experiment conducted in the Mid-Atlantic, racially-motivated protests recently occurred in Baltimore. Though the experiment was carried out prior to the highly publicized protests, they symbolize the heightened awareness of the continuing struggle for racial equality among blacks in that region of the country.

But why did whites in the Midwest also react against the pigmentocracy when racial distinctions were most salient? Although whites in the Midwest may not come into contact with blacks often, they are influenced by media reports, which focus more heavily on the plight of African Americans compared to other racial/ethnic groups. This may unintentionally increase whites' motivation to deny the privileges they incur in society.

Regardless of the explanation, what is clear is that in this color blind era, it is the prerogative of whites to deny the persistence of continuing racial discrimination, and of blacks to combat it. These motivational processes activate social desirability processes and resistance to contemporary forms of racial discrimination, among whites and blacks respectively, thereby reducing the effectiveness of the standardized experimental setting for assessing new forms of racial discrimination. Interestingly, the active denial of racial oppression among whites, despite the attempts of the oppressed to speak out against said oppression, may be one way the pigmentocracy is maintained.

While the standardized experimental setting is useful for examining the effects of other bases of stratification in micro-encounters, modifications must be made for it to more adequately capture new and evolving forms of racism. The tri-racial hierarchy is accompanied by a color-blind ideology in which whites deny the persistence of contemporary racial inequality (Bonilla-Silva 2002). As racism evolves, so must our methods for capturing it. Implementing incentives for task success and examining group behavior in open-interaction settings are potential starting points to being to overcome the limitations of this setting for examining the status of African Americans, and other racial groups, within the proposed racial hierarchy. Hopefully, this is just the beginning of a fruitful research program.

APPENDIX A. PATH LENGTHS AND DIFFERENTIATING ATTRIBUTES, BY RACE AND THEORETICAL MODEL

Table A1. Path Lengths and Differentiating Attributes by Theoretical Model for Whites (P)

Model 1. Status Cues Formulation -- Skin Tone and Racial Markers as Cues		
Condition	Differentiating Attributes	Positive Paths for P
W	None	None
HW	Race Weak Gestalt	5,6
CB	Race Strong Gestalt	4, 5
Model 2. Latin Americanization Thesis -- Skin Tone as a "Master Status"		
Condition	Differentiating Attributes	Positive Paths for P
W	None	None
HW	Race Weak Gestalt	5,6
CB	Skin Tone Strong Gestalt, Race Weak Gestalt	4,5,5,6
Model 3. Separate Axes of Inequality --Race and Skin Tone as Independent Stratifiers		
Condition	Differentiating Attributes	Positive Paths for P
W	None	None
HW	Race Strong Gestalt	4,5
CB	Skin Tone Strong Gestalt, Race Strong Gestalt	4,5,4,5

Notes: All path models are symmetrical. An equivalent number of negative paths for O were salient in the situation in each theoretical model.

Table A2. Path Lengths and Differentiating Attributes by Theoretical Model for Blacks (P)

Model 1. Status Cues Formulation -- Skin Tone and Racial Markers as Cues		
Condition	Differentiating Attributes	Negative Paths for P
W	Race Strong Gestalt	4,5
HW	Race Weak Gestalt	5,6
CB	None	None
Model 2. Latin Americanization Thesis -- Skin Tone as a "Master Status"		
Condition	Differentiating Attributes	Negative Paths for P
W	Skin Tone Strong Gestalt, Race Weak Gestalt	4,5,5,6
HW	Skin Tone Strong Gestalt	4,5
CB	None	None
Model 3. Separate Axes of Inequality --Race and Skin Tone as Independent Stratifiers		
Condition	Differentiating Attributes	Negative Paths for P
W	Skin Tone Strong Gestalt, Race Strong Gestalt	4,5,4,5
HW	Skin Tone Strong Gestalt	4,5
CB	None	None

Notes: All path models are symmetrical. An equivalent number of negative paths for O were salient in the situation in each theoretical model.

Table A3. Path Lengths for Each Theoretical Model Assuming Active Resistance

Model 1. Status Cues Formulation -- Skin Tone and Racial Markers as Cues		
Condition	Differentiating Attributes	Positive Paths for P
W	Race Strong Gestalt	4, 5
HW	Race Weak Gestalt	5,6
CB	None	None
Model 2. Latin Americanization Thesis -- Skin Tone as a "Master Status"		
Condition	Differentiating Attributes	Positive Paths for P
W	Skin Tone Strong Gestalt, Race Weak Gestalt	4,5,5,6
HW	Skin Tone Strong Gestalt	4,5
CB	None	None
Model 3. Separate Axes of Inequality --Race and Skin Tone as Independent Stratifiers		
Condition	Differentiating Attributes	Positive Paths for P
W	Skin Tone Strong Gestalt, Race Strong Gestalt	4,5,4,5
HW	Skin Tone Strong Gestalt	4,5
CB	None	None

Notes: All path models are symmetrical. An equivalent number of negative paths for O were salient in the situation in each theoretical model.

APPENDIX B. RECRUITMENT MATERIALS FOR MID-ATLANTIC U

Figure B1 Recruitment Flier 1

THIS PROJECT HAS BEEN REVIEWED BY THE INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD FOR THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN PARTICIPANTS AT TOWSON UNIVERSITY (410-704-2236).

Research Opportunity!

The Department of Sociology, Anthropology, and Criminal Justice at Towson University invites **African American female** undergraduate students to take part in a research study investigating group dynamics and team decision making! The study is being conducted with researchers at the University of Iowa, and provides research participants with **monetary compensation ($15/hr)**. If interested, please visit http://uiowa-soc.sona-systems.com/ and sign up for an available time slot for the **"Two-Person Workgroups: Examining Collaborative Interaction"** study.

If interested, please visit http://uiowa-soc.sona-systems.com/ and sign up the " **Two-Person Workgroups: Examining Collaborative Interaction"** study! Compensation provided! Contact dbiagas@towson.edu

If interested, please visit http://uiowa-soc.sona-systems.com/ and sign up the " **Two-Person Workgroups: Examining Collaborative Interaction"** study! Compensation provided! Contact dbiagas@towson.edu

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Figure B2 Recruitment Flier 2

Figure B3 Recruitment Flier 3

THIS PROJECT HAS BEEN REVIEWED BY THE INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD FOR THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN PARTICIPANTS AT TOWSON UNIVERSITY (410-704-2236).

Research Opportunity!

The Department of Sociology, Anthropology, and Criminal Justice at Towson University invites all **African American and European American female** undergraduate students to take part in a research study investigating group dynamics and team decision making! The study is being conducted in conjunction with researchers at the University of Iowa, and provides research participants with **monetary compensation ($15/hr)**. If interested please visit http://uiowa-soc.sona-systems.com/, create an account, and sign up for an available time slot for the "**Teamwork in Dyads**" study.

If interested, please visit http://uiowa-soc.sona-systems.com/ and sign up the " **Teamwork in Dyads"** study! Compensation provided! Contact dbiagas@towson.edu with questions.

If interested, please visit http://uiowa-soc.sona-systems.com/ and sign up the " **Teamwork in Dyads"** study! Compensation provided! Contact dbiagas@towson.edu with questions.

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Figure B4 Recruitment Flier 4

Figure B5 Recruitment E-Mail 1

T³ – Towson Tigers Today

TU home | T3 | Earn $15: African American students are invited to Participate in Research on Teamwork and Decision-Making

Earn $15: African American students are invited to Participate in Research on Teamwork and Decision-Making

by **Gail Lukens** on April 11, 2013 in **Students**

The Department of Sociology, Anthropology, and Criminal Justice at Towson University invites African American students to take part in research investigating group dynamics and team decision making! The research is being conducted in conjunction with researchers at the University of Iowa, and provides research participants with monetary compensation ($15 for an hour of their time). If interested please visit http://uiowa-soc.sona-systems.com/, create an account, and sign up for an available time slot. Male students are eligible for the "Dyadic Interaction: Examining Teamwork in Groups" study, while female students can sign up for the "Two-Person Groups: Examining Collaborative Interaction Study." Please contact David Biagas at dbiagas@towson.edu with questions. Principal Investigator: Paul Munroe, PhD.

THIS PROJECT HAS BEEN REVIEWED BY THE INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD FOR THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN PARTICIPANTS AT TOWSON UNIVERSITY (410-704-2236).

Figure B6 Recruitment E-Mail 2

T³ – Towson Tigers Today

TU home | T3 | Earn $15-$20: Undergraduate students are invited to Participate in Research on Teamwork and Decision-Making

Earn $15-$20: Undergraduate students are invited to Participate in Research on Teamwork and Decision-Making

by **Gail Lukens** on June 17, 2013 in **Students**

The Department of Sociology, Anthropology, and Criminal Justice at Towson University invites African American male and female students and European American female students to take part in research investigating group dynamics and team decision making! The studies are being conducted with researchers at the University of Iowa, and provide research participants with monetary compensation ($15-20 per hr). If interested please visit http://uiowa-soc.sona-systems.com/, create an account, and sign up for an available time slot for a research study. African American men are eligible for the "Dyadic Interaction" study. African American women can participate in either the "Two-Person Workgroups" or "Teamwork in Dyads" study. Lastly, European American women can sign up for the "Teamwork in Dyads" study. All studies take approximately one hour to complete. Please contact David Biagas at dbiagas@towson.edu with questions. Principal Investigator: Paul Munroe, PhD.

THIS PROJECT HAS BEEN REVIEWED BY THE INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD FOR THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN PARTICIPANTS AT TOWSON UNIVERSITY (410-704-2236).

Figure B7 Recruitment E-Mail 3

APPENDIX C: RECRUITMENT MATERIALS FOR MIDWEST U

Hi, my name is Dr. Bianchi, the Director of the Center for the Study of Group Processes in the Sociology department here at the University of Iowa located in the basement of Seashore Hall.

– OR, if Ph. D. Candidate –

Hi, my name is David Biagas, a doctoral candidate in the Department of Sociology and conducting research in the Center for the Study of Group Processes, located in the basement of Seashore Hall.

I am here today to offer you all an opportunity to participate in research at the Center for extra credit for this Sociology course.

Participation is completely voluntary. Participating or not participating has no effect on your grade in this course, or other evaluations for this course.

We at The Center feel strongly that direct exposure to laboratory research is invaluable to students. However, since we understand that research participation may not be for everyone, an alternate means for learning about research methods in sociology is also available in the form of a short paper that summarizes research methods in Sociology. Also, if you are under the age of 18, you cannot participate in The Center's studies without special permissions, so we would also like to offer the alternative means for extra credit to you. Detailed procedures are located in your course syllabus.

If you are interesting in participating in research at the Center, the first step is create an account with our Wed-based scheduler, Sona Systems. This information is also on your syllabus.

Go to the website: http://uiowa-soc.sona-systems.com/

Click the link in the left hand corner for "New Participant" " – you will be asked for your name and uiowa.edu e-mail address.

Sona Systems will then send you an e-mail message with your User ID and Password to your uiowa.edu e-mail account.

Next, go back to the Sona Systems link and sign into the system (at this point, if your User ID and Password are not working, please e-mail the Director for The

Center for the Study of Group Processes, Dr. Alison J. Bianchi at alison-bianchi@uiowa.edu. She will fix any issue that you are having with the system).

Please note that you must do this procedure first – you cannot use your HawkID and password to enter Sona System.

Once into the system, a list of studies with open times and dates will appear on the screen.

Please follow the directions for signing up for a study that looks interesting to you.

Note that some studies call for restrictions about who can participate such as women only or men only.

You may participate in XX eligible studies per semester. Each time you participate, you will receive 1 research credit. In your class, 1 research credit is worth XX points, or XX percent of your final raw grade score. A typical study at The Center for the Study of Group Processes lasts for one hour. However, some studies might be shorter or longer. We award research credit based on 1 participation and not length of study. In each study's description, a length of time will be reported, so that you may be aware of the length of time.

Once you have signed up for a study, Sona Systems will send you several e-mail reminders for your study session.

Again, The Center is located in the basement of Seashore Hall West, which has doors located on both Iowa Avenue and Jefferson Avenue.

When you sign up for a study, please beware that The Center will be planning for your arrival. If you fail to arrive, this could slow progress on research and waste the time of laboratory personnel. If you have decided not to participate, please make every attempt to cancel your sign-up at least 24 hours prior to the session. You always have the right to cancel without penalty (even with no advance notice), but we simply ask that you always make a sincere effort to keep appointments unless there are special circumstances or you decided to not participate in a session for a personally compelling reason.

Does anyone have any questions? *[answer all questions]*

Well, feel free to email me, if you think of questions. Thank you for your time and we hope to see you in the Center!

APPENDIX D: EXPERIMENTER SCRIPT

Dr. Gordon: Welcome to the Center for the Study of Group Processes. Thank you for participating in the study today. We think you'll find this to be an interesting as well as a rewarding experience. Please make yourselves comfortable. In today's group there will be two participants. Both of you are students here at The University of Iowa. You will introduce yourselves to each other after I read the instructions for your team task. [PAUSE]

I am Dr. Phillip Gordon and I'm speaking to you by short-circuit television from the control room in the Center. I will be your host for today's study.

I'm going to read the instructions for this study to be certain no details are omitted and that every participant has the same instructions. Please note that you have a red "Attention Research Assistant" card. When we have completed the short-circuit television presentation, you will be asked to slip this card under the study door to alert your research assistant that you have completed this part of the study.

We are members of a research team of social scientists studying differences in a certain kind of skill. The skill that we are studying is generally unlike any of the usual types of skills and aptitudes, such as personality traits or academic tasks. This makes it interesting because it is difficult to predict beforehand how people compare at them. Today we will be studying how people use this skill to solve problems.

Let us begin with detailed instructions about your team task. We are going to ask the two of you to work together to solve a set of problems. The problems are unlike any of the usual sorts of problems in school, such as mathematical problems or artistic projects. The problems you will be working on are from a newly discovered ability called Contrast

Sensitivity. Let me explain what that is.

Within the past few years, social scientists have found in their studies that individuals differ in their ability to perceive contrasts between figures or objects. More simply, it has been found that when some individuals are presented with a set of figures or objects they are able to make accurate judgments about contrasts, such as black and white differences, in them. Other people do not seem to have this ability to the same extent. This ability to make accurate judgments about contrasts, social scientists call Contrast Sensitivity. At this time we do not know all the answers as to why some people have this ability more than others. We have found, however, that this ability is not related to a person's mathematical abilities or artistic talent.

Now let me explain how to work on Contrast Sensitivity problems.

Today we are studying how group members use Contrast Sensitivity to solve problems. Therefore, the two of you will be working together as a team on set of Contrast Sensitivity problems. For many types of problems, results have shown that individuals working as teams perform more effectively than do individuals working alone.

The task you will be asked to work on consists of a series of 23 Contrast Sensitivity slides like the one now being presented on the computer monitor.

[DR GORDON: Turn to your laptop and make a motion as if to cue the CST DEMO slide.]
[Computer Protocol Presents DEMO SLIDE #1]

Each slide will contain two patterns, one above the other, as in this sample. One of these two patterns, either the top one or the bottom one, contains more small white

rectangles than the other pattern. That is, one of these patterns contains more white area than the other pattern. Your task is to determine, in each case, which of the two patterns, the top one or the bottom one, contains the greater amount of white area.

You may find that some of these slides will seem difficult to judge, as the differences between the patterns are sometimes small. However, there is a right answer to each and every slide, and we have found that individuals with high Contrast Sensitivity consistently choose more correct answers than those with low Contrast Sensitivity.

We have also found that people with high Contrast Sensitivity may not be completely aware of how it is they choose the correct answer. They seem to be operating on the basis of very slight, almost intuitive cues and feelings. However, be careful. Guesses based on first impressions may often be incorrect.

[Computer Protocol Removes DEMO SLIDE #1]

As I mentioned, we are interested in how individuals and groups use their Contrast Sensitivity to solve problems. Exchanging information with others can often lead to more correct decisions than a single individual could make alone. We have observed that in many situations, such as when a doctor diagnoses an illness, individuals are called upon to make decisions that must be correct. In these situations, where the person is concerned only with the correctness of the decision, that person will often gather all of the advice and information from others that he or she can get.

In this phase we are interested in studying these kinds of situations. Therefore, we are going to allow you to make an initial choice between top and bottom, and to exchange information with each other. Then, after a short period, you will be asked to make a final

decision between top and bottom. Since we are only interested in your making the correct final decision, you should not hesitate to change your initial choice to make a correct final decision.

This is how it will work. First, I will present a slide on the screen. After you have studied the slide for 8 seconds, I will ask each of you to make an initial choice as to which pattern contains the greater area of white, top or bottom. That is to say, each of you will first make a preliminary choice between top and bottom. This is for the purpose of letting the other person know what you think is the correct choice. You will indicate this choice by using the mouse to position the cursor over the pattern you think contains a greater area of white, and clicking the left mouse button. When you make your initial choice, a green arrow will appear on the screen, pointing to the answer you chose.

When you make your initial choice, this choice will be communicated to your partner, and you will be able to see your partner's initial choice on your computer monitor. That is, a blue arrow will appear pointing to your partner's initial choice. However, you will not receive information on the other person's initial choice until after you have made your own initial choice.

[PAUSE]

Now please look at your computer monitors and let's try this out.

[DR GORDON: Turn to your laptop and make a motion as if to cue the CST DEMO slide.]

[Computer Protocol Presents DEMO SLIDE #2]

Person number two, will you select the top pattern by using the mouse to position the cursor over that answer and clicking the left mouse button?

[ALLOW TIME TO MAKE THE SELECTION]

Person number one, you will not see number two's choice until after you have made your own initial choice. Person number two, since you have already made your choice, you will see number one's choice as soon as it is made. So regardless of who makes an initial choice first, you can only find out the other person's choice after you have made your own initial choice.

Person number one, will you select the bottom pattern; that is, use the mouse to click on the bottom pattern.

[ALLOW TIME TO DO SO.]

Now you can see on your computer monitors, number one chose bottom and number two chose top. Do you see that, number one? Number two?

[WAIT WHILE SHE NODS.]

After both of you have made your initial choices and exchanged information, we will give you 8 seconds more before we ask you to make your final decision as to which pattern contains the greater area of white. At the end of that time, we will call for your final

decision for the slide. When you make your final decision, a green border will appear around the answer you chose for your final decision. You will not see your partner's final decision on any of these slides.

Please note that if you do not make your final decision within a few seconds after we have called for you to do so, the computer will not record your choice for that slide. That means your final decision for that slide will not contribute to the team score. If you answer too late, you will see a message in red telling you that your decision was not recorded. Please be sure to make your final decision promptly after we ask you to.

Just for practice, I now want both of you to make a final decision by clicking on either the top pattern or the bottom pattern.

[ALLOW TIME FOR THEM TO DO SO.]

After both of you have made your final decisions, we will present the next slide. The procedure for all of them will be as we have just demonstrated.

[Computer Protocol Removes DEMO SLIDE #2]

This is important: The only answer that counts on your team's Contrast Sensitivity Score is your final decision. Initial choices are only for the purpose of exchanging opinions on the correct answer before you make your final decision. Try to make as many correct final decisions as you can, and do not worry whether your initial choice and final decisions are the same. Let me caution you, however, to make your initial choice with care,

so as to provide your partner with the best information you can.

Before we begin, I would like you two to introduce yourselves to each other. Let's begin with Participant number two. Participant number two, please look into the Web camera at the top of the computer, so that your partner can see you and hear your answers.

[ALLOW TIME FOR REPLY AFTER EACH QUESTION]

[SHOW OTHER TO PARTICIPANT]

Latin Americanization

Dr. Gordon: Participant number two, what is your name?

Person #2: "Oh … hi … um, I'm Monica."

Dr. Gordon: What school are you attending?

Person #2: "Um … I'm a student here at Iowa/Towson."

Dr. Gordon: What are your hobbies?

Person #2: "Well I'm into regular things like hanging out with friends and watching tv."

[SHOW SELF TO PARTICIPANT]

Now, Participant number one. Please look into the Web camera at the top of the computer, so that your partner can see you and hear your answers.

Dr. Gordon: Participant number 1, what is your name?

Participant: [SUBJECT RESPONSE INTO CAMERA.]

Dr. Gordon: What school are you attending?

Participant: [SUBJECT RESPONSE INTO CAMERA.]

Dr. Gordon: What are your hobbies?

Participant: [SUBJECT RESPONSE INTO CAMERA.]

Thank you.

Now we are ready to begin the team work on Contrast Sensitivity. Let me summarize several important points before we begin:

- You two are about to work on a set of 23 Team Contrast Sensitivity problems.
- Before you make your final decision, you will be able to see your partner's initial choice for that slide. You will not see your partner's final decision. At the end of this phase, we will report your team score to both of you.
- Each time a person makes the correct final decision, the team will receive one point. If an individual makes the incorrect final decision, then that final decision adds nothing to the team score for that trial. This means that both of you will have an equal opportunity to contribute to the team score, and both of you have equal responsibility for that score.

Is everything clear?

[DR GORDON: Turn to your laptop and make a motion as if to cue the first CST TEAM TASK slide.]

[SHOW THE 23 SLIDES]

This completes the series of slides. Now we would like you to fill out a questionnaire. In a minute, questions will appear on the computer monitor regarding your

perceptions and experiences about the team Contrast Sensitivity task. When a question appears, read it carefully. There is no time limit for these questions. Please take your time and think about your answers before making your choices.

Your answers are completely confidential – your partner will not see your responses. The only persons who will see your responses are members of the research team, and even they will not know who made these responses, as your name will not be associated with them.

[DR GORDON: Turn to your laptop and make a motion as if to cue the questionnaire.]

[Computer Protocol Presents QUESTIONNAIRE]

Thank you for completing the questionnaire. We would now like to discuss your scores from the Team Contrast Sensitivity task with you, and to talk with each of you individually to get a further elaboration of your feelings and opinions about the study. In a minute your research assistant will come into the room and speak with each of you. Please slip the red "Attention Research Assistant" card under your study room's door.

[STOP Computer Protocol]

END [Start Post-Session Questionnaire and Then Debriefing]

APPENDIX E: POST-SESSION QUESTIONNAIRE

Choose the race or ethnicity that best represents you?
_____ White
_____ Black
_____ Latino/a
_____ Asian
_____ American Indian or Alaskan Native
_____ Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
_____ Bi or Multiracial
_____ Other

Please enter your age below (# of years, e.g. 20).
_____

What is your overall cumulative gpa?
_____

What is your major?
_____

_____ Less than a High School Education
_____ High School Graduate or GED
_____ Technical Training
_____ Some College
_____ Bachelor's Degree
_____ Graduate or Professional Degree

What is the highest level of education your **father** attained?
_____ Less than a High School Education
_____ High School Graduate or GED
_____ Technical Training
_____ Some College
_____ Bachelor's Degree
_____ Graduate or Professional Degree

What is the highest level of education your **mother** attained?
_____ Less than a High School Education
_____ High School Graduate or GED
_____ Technical Training
_____ Some College
_____ Bachelor's Degree
_____ Graduate or Professional Degree

What is your total family income (in U.S. dollars)?

_____ <20K
_____ 20K-39K
_____ 40K-59K
_____ 60K-79K
_____ 80K-100K
_____ >100K

Were you born in the United States?
_____ Yes
_____ No

Have you ever traveled to Latin America?
_____ Yes
_____ No

How important was it for you to **achieve correct answers** on the team contrast sensitivity test?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all important						Extremely important

How important was it for you to **consider your partner's initial choices** on the team contrast sensitivity test?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all important						Extremely important

The following questions will assess your impressions of your partner. Your partner will not see these responses so please feel free to be as honest as possible. Please give your *initial reactions* and respond as quickly as possible. Indicate your level of agreement with the following questions/statement.

Choose the race or ethnicity that best represents your partner:
_____ White
_____ Black
_____ Latino/a
_____ Asian
_____ American Indian or Alaskan Native
_____ Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
_____ Bi or Multiracial
_____ Other

Status Beliefs Scales

In general, "most others" believe my partner is competent.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Disagree						Extremely Agree

In general, "most others" believe my partner is knowledgeable.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Disagree						Extremely Agree

In general, "most others" believe my partner is capable.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Disagree						Extremely Agree

In general, "most others" believe my partner is well-respected.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Disagree						Extremely Agree

In general, "most others" believe my partner has high status.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Disagree						Extremely Agree

In general, "most others" believe my partner is a good leader.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Disagree						Extremely Agree

In general, "most others" believe my partner is powerful.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Disagree						Extremely Agree

In general, "most others" believe my partner is physically attractive.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Disagree						Extremely Agree

In general, members of my racial/ethnic group experience racial discrimination.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Disagree						Extremely Agree

I believe my partner is competent.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Disagree						Extremely Agree

I believe my partner is knowledgeable.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Disagree						Extremely Agree

I believe my partner is capable.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Disagree						Extremely Agree

I believe my partner is well-respected.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Disagree						Extremely Agree

I believe my partner has high status.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Disagree						Extremely Agree

I believe my partner is a good leader.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Disagree						Extremely Agree

I believe my partner is powerful.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Disagree						Extremely Agree

I believe my partner acts white.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Disagree						Extremely Agree

I believe my partner is likeable.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Disagree						Extremely Agree

I believe my partner is similar to me as a person.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Extremely Disagree — Extremely Agree

I believe my partner acts white.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Extremely Disagree — Extremely Agree

I believe my partner is feminine.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Extremely Disagree — Extremely Agree

I believe my partner is cocky.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Extremely Disagree — Extremely Agree

When interacting with my partner, I felt angry.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Extremely Disagree — Extremely Agree

When interacting with my partner, I felt resentful.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Extremely Disagree — Extremely Agree

When interacting with my partner, I felt hostile.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Extremely Disagree — Extremely Agree

Collective Self-Esteem Scale for Subjects

We are all members of different social groups or social categories. We would like you to consider your membership in your particular **racial/ethnic group** or category, and respond to the following statements on the basis of how you feel about your group and membership in it. There are no right or wrong answers to any of these statements; we are interested in your honest reactions and opinions. Please read each statement carefully, think about your membership in your **racial/ethnic group**, and respond to the following statements:

I am a worthy member of the racial/ethnic group I belong to

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Extremely — Extremely

Disagree Agree

I often regret that I belong to the racial/ethnic group I do.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Extremely Extremely
Disagree Agree

Overall, my racial/ethnic group is considered good by others.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Extremely Extremely
Disagree Agree

Overall, my racial/ethnic group has very little to do with how I feel about myself.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Extremely Extremely
Disagree Agree

I feel I don't have much to offer to the racial/ethnic group I belong to.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Extremely Extremely
Disagree Agree

In general, I'm glad to be a member of the racial/ethnic group I belong to.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Extremely Extremely
Disagree Agree

Most people consider my racial/ethnic group, on the average, to be more ineffective than other racial/ethnic groups.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Extremely Extremely
Disagree Agree

The racial/ethnic group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Extremely Extremely
Disagree Agree

I am a cooperative participant in the racial/ethnic group I belong to.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Extremely Extremely
Disagree Agree

Overall, I often feel that the racial/ethnic group of which I am a member is not worthwhile.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Extremely Extremely
Disagree Agree

In general, others respect the racial/ethnic group that I am a member of.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Disagree						Extremely Agree

The racial/ethnic group I belong to is unimportant to my sense of what kind of a person I am.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Disagree						Extremely Agree

I often feel I'm a useless member of my racial/ethnic group.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Disagree						Extremely Agree

I feel good about the racial/ethnic group I belong to.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Disagree						Extremely Agree

In general, others think that the racial/ethnic group I am a member of is unworthy.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Disagree						Extremely Agree

Collective Self-Esteem Scale for Confederates

We would like to know how people imagine what their partners are feeling. Please indicate your level of agreement with the following questions.

My partner believes that she is a worthy member of the racial/ethnic group she belongs to.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Disagree						Extremely Agree

My partner often regrets that he belongs to the racial/ethnic group she does.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Disagree						Extremely Agree

Overall, my partner believes her racial/ethnic group is considered good by others.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Disagree						Extremely Agree

Overall, my partner's racial/ethnic group has very little to do with how she feels about himself.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Disagree						Extremely Agree

My partner feels she doesn't have much to offer to the racial/ethnic group she belongs to.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Disagree						Extremely Agree

In general, my partner is glad to be a member of the racial/ethnic group she belongs to.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Disagree						Extremely Agree

My partner believes that most people consider her racial/ethnic group, on the average, to be more ineffective than other racial/ethnic groups.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Disagree						Extremely Agree

The racial/ethnic group my partner belongs to is an important reflection of who she is.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Disagree						Extremely Agree

My partner is a cooperative participant in the racial/ethnic group she belongs to.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Disagree						Extremely Agree

Overall, my partner often feels that the racial/ethnic group of which she is a member is not worthwhile.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Disagree						Extremely Agree

In general, my partner believes that others respect the racial/ethnic group that she is a member of.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Disagree						Extremely Agree

The racial/ethnic group my partner belongs to is unimportant to her sense of what kind of a person she is.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Extremely Disagree — Extremely Agree

My partner often feels she's a useless member of her racial/ethnic group.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Extremely Disagree — Extremely Agree

My partner feels good about the racial/ethnic group she belongs to.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Extremely Disagree — Extremely Agree

My partner believes that in general, others think that the racial/ethnic group she is a member of is unworthy.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Extremely Disagree — Extremely Agree

Social Distance Scale

I would be willing to have my partner as a close friend.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Extremely Disagree — Extremely Agree

I would be willing to have my partner as a neighbor.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Extremely Disagree — Extremely Agree

I would be willing to have my partner as a co-worker.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Extremely Disagree — Extremely Agree

I would be willing to have my partner as a casual acquaintance.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Extremely Disagree — Extremely Agree

I would be willing to have my partner disbarred from my country.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Extremely Disagree — Extremely Agree

If my partner were the gender I prefer, I would be willing to enter into marriage with my partner.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Disagree						Extremely Agree

Stigma Scale

The Department of Sociology encourages its researchers to give study participants who work in teams the opportunity to meet one another after the study is over. Therefore, if you have time, we want to give you the opportunity to meet your partner. The meeting will take about 5 minutes beyond the scheduled time for the experiment.

Would you like to stay after for 5 minutes to meet your partner?
_____ Yes
_____ No

Would you like to give your partner your name and email address?
_____ Yes
_____ No

In addition to giving you the opportunity to meet your partner after the study, we also want to give you the opportunity to set up a future meeting with your partner.

Would you like us to tell your partner that you would like to get to know him or her socially outside of this study?
_____ Yes
_____ No

APPENDIX F: POST-SESSION INTERVIEW

(1) Well, _____ what did you think of the study?

(A) Have you ever done anything like this before?

(B) Have any of your friends participated in these studies?
(a) Did they tell you anything about it?
(b) What did they tell you about it?

(C) Before you came here, did you wonder what the study would be like?
(a) Did you come to any conclusions about the study before you came here?
(b) Did you think it might be like anything you had done before?

(2) Do you have any idea who your partner was today?

(IF YES)
(A) How certain are you that it was someone that you knew?
(B) Why? What made you think that it might be she?
(C) Does she usually do well at tests (in coursework), or not?
(D) Did you think that his ability at other tests might affect how well she would do here?
(E) Did knowing who it was make any difference in how you answered the Contrast Sensitivity panels?

(3) How would you describe your partner? Did she seem likeable?

(4) How satisfied were you with your performance on the Team Contrast Sensitivity Test?

(A) How satisfied were you with your partner's performance on the team test?
(B) Overall, how satisfied were you with you and your partners' performance as a team on the two pattern test?

(5) Now, let's turn to the set of Contrast Sensitivity panels.

(A) Can you tell me, in as much detail as you remember, how you got your initial choices to those panels?

(B) Did you change the method you used during the series of panels?

(C) Did the panels seem to get easier or harder as you went through the series?

(6) Can you tell me, in as much detail as you can remember, how you got your final choices to the panels?

(A) After you made your initial choice, then what did you do?

(a) Did you look at your partner's choice?
(b) Did you restudy the slide?
(c) Did you try to see how she got his answer?
(d) Did you find that it helped you to see your partner's choice?
(e) Do you think you would have done better at the panels if you had worked at them alone? Why?

(B) Was there ever a time when you made an initial choice ... and she disagreed with it ... and you thought that she was probably right ... but you kept the same final choice as your initial choice?

(a) How many times did you do that?
(b) Why did you do that?

(7) I noticed that the two of you seemed to disagree quite a bit in your initial choices ... do you have any idea why that happened?

(A) How many times did you disagree on the 23 slides?
(B) What did you do when you found your partner disagreeing with you so much?
(C) Did you come to think that one or the other of you was more likely to be right?
(D) Which one? Why? When did you begin to feel that way?
(E) Was that something that you thought of while you were actually working on the slides, or something you thought of after you finished?
(F) Can you remember as precisely as possible, just when you thought of this?
(G) Do you think that affected the way you got your final decisions to the slides? How? Why?

(8) How many correct final decisions would you estimate you made?

(A) Suppose you had to pick a number: what would it be?
(B) And suppose you had to estimate how many correct final choices the other person made? What would it be?
(C) So you think you probably did a bit (better/worse) than the other person?

APPENDIX G: DEBRIEFING SCRIPT

Once again I'd like to thank you for participating in this study.

Well _____, I've been asking you a lot of questions. Do you have any that you would like to ask me at this point?

[PAUSE. TO GENERAL QUESTIONS ABOUT THE EXPERIMENT, REPLY THAT YOU THINK IT WILL BE COVERED IN WHAT FOLLOWS, BUT IF IT ISN'T, SHE SHOULD FELL FREE TO ASK IT AGAIN.]

I'd like to explain our study more fully to you. As I go along, if there's anything that I don't make clear, I want you to interrupt and ask me about it. If you have any questions in the end, I want you to ask them, because I want you to be in full understanding of our study. First, our study is about how people get together to solve disagreements. We're interested in finding out, when people disagree, who's likely to be right, who's likely to be listened to, whether the right person is likely to be listened to, what factors affect that, and how they affect it. We are also interested in how masculinity and femininity inform people's perceptions about others, and how these perceptions affect group interaction.

Second, why is it that we use a laboratory to do this research? The reason we need to study this type of problem in a sociological laboratory is because it is practically impossible to study a single social science problem in a natural setting due to the complexity of human interaction. In a natural setting, it is very difficult to isolate the phenomenon of interest. For example, it would be difficult to study the resolution of disagreements on a street corner. We might have to wait for hours to find two people in disagreement. And, it might be very hard for us to determine exactly how the disagreement was resolved and what factors influenced the way in which the final decision was made. Furthermore, each situation we observed might be completely different.

To solve these problems, we conduct our studies in a laboratory, where every group works under the same set of conditions. We can draw valid conclusions about our studies only if the groups we are studying are comparable. Using the laboratory helps us to make our groups comparable by putting each participant in a similar situation.

Third, since the resolution of disagreements is our primary focus, the measuring of Contrast Sensitivity is not very important to our study. In fact, there's no such thing as Contrast Sensitivity!! The panels of the test are there for a reason -- to provide people something to make judgments and resolve disagreements about. There is no right or wrong answer to any of these panels. All the patterns in every panel you viewed were exactly half white and half black. Since deciding which of the colors was dominant in each slide was impossible, we set up a situation where the outcome of the test was not important, but how you resolved the answers with you partner was. In other words, what we are interested in is solely the resolution of the disagreement, not the answer to the question "is this panel more black or more white?"

We use this test, for two reasons: (a) it's something that you've probably never seen before and (b) we set up a task that has nothing to do with your prior expectations of your ability. If we set up a test with math problems, for example, you would probably judge how you would fare on this test based on your past experiences with mathematics. However, if you have never heard of Contrast Sensitivity, you have never had to assess your ability at such a task, and come at it with fresh expectations.

Finally, your partner in the Team Contrast Sensitivity Tests was actually a computer generated person!! In other words, you were making decisions based on the random outputs of a computer program that told you that you were interfacing with a person. It is obvious that if we told you this before the experiment, you would have answered the questions in a different manner -- perhaps like you were playing a video game and not interacting with a person!!

What is important for you to know about these deceptions is that anyone exposed to them would respond the same way -- including me! You are not gullible for thinking a partner existed in the study, for example. This study was designed to manipulate your perceptions in order to study group tasks -- please do not feel badly for participating so effectively as you have!

I think that you can see the reason we wouldn't tell you all of these things before you judged the panels. Obviously, if you had known that there were no correct answers to the panels you may not have paid much attention to these tests or tried to get the right answers. Then the disagreements would not have meant anything to you, and you wouldn't have bothered with resolving them. But as I've said before, that is what the whole study is about -- how people get together and resolve their disagreements based on the information given to them -- so it is important for the study that the people involved will take the task seriously, and really try to resolve the disagreements presented, just as you did today.

You have helped us a great deal in participating with this study, so we wanted to clear up any misconceptions about the study as soon as possible.

Now that you have seen the nature of the study, you can see how really important it is that people coming into the study NOT know anything about it. If the next subject knew about the ambiguity of the Contrast Sensitivity Test, they may not be that interested in trying as much as you did. This is why it is important that you keep the procedures and outcomes as CONFIDENTIAL as we plan to keep your results!! There is no big secret about the study -- as you know, when it is completed we fully reveal what it is that we do -- it's just that if others were told about the study, then our data would be spoiled and so would the other person's experience.
Therefore, we would be very grateful if you did not share the nature and details of this study with others.

Good! Thank you so much for helping us out! I want to once again emphasize the importance of not telling anyone about the experiment -- you never know who may be the next subject, so your confidentiality is very much appreciated.

Now, I'd like to ask you once more if you have any questions about this study?

[ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS HERE.]

I'd also like to offer you this last chance to withdraw your participation in the study if you feel in anyway uncomfortable in how it was conducted. You will be paid either way.

[Give post-session release form, money, receipts, etc.] Here is the form that I will need you to fill out for compensation. Please fill this out – it will be given to the administrative assistant in the Sociology Department office. As soon as your check is mailed, it will be destroyed, so we have no permanent record of this information.

APPENDIX H: STATUS BELIEFS CORRELATIONS BY SUBSAMPLE

Table H1 Third Order Correlation Matrix for Pooled Sample

	3rd Competent	3rd Knowledgeable	3rd Capable	3rd Respected	3rd High Status	3rd Leader	3rd Powerful
3rd Competent	1						
3rd Knowledgeable	0.67*	1					
3rd Capable	0.60*	0.77*	1				
3rd Respected	0.56*	0.71*	0.83*	1			
3rd High Status	0.39*	0.42*	0.52*	0.64*	1		
3rd Leader	0.42*	0.61*	0.63*	0.69*	0.58*	1	
3rd Powerful	0.26*	0.42*	0.44*	0.54*	0.41*	0.72*	1

Note: *p-value<.05

Table H2 First Order Correlation Matrix for Pooled Sample

	1st Competent	1st Knowledgeable	1st Capable	1st Respected	1st High Status	1st Leader	1st Powerful
1st Competent	1						
1st Knowledgeable	0.84*	1					
1st Capable	0.83*	0.78*	1				
1st Respected	0.57*	0.67*	0.66*	1			
1st High Status	0.50*	0.53*	0.56*	0.76*	1		
1st Leader	0.47*	0.59*	0.53*	0.76*	0.78*	1	
1st Powerful	0.47*	0.52*	0.52*	0.61*	0.67*	0.81*	1

Note: *p-value<.05

Table H3 Third Order Correlation Matrix for White Sample

	3rd Competent	3rd Knowledgeable	3rd Capable	3rd Respected	3rd High Status	3rd Leader	3rd Powerful
3rd Competent	1						
3rd Knowledgeable	0.72*	1					
3rd Capable	0.58*	0.72*	1				
3rd Respected	0.54*	0.65*	0.82*	1			
3rd High Status	0.40*	0.42*	0.54*	0.64*	1		
3rd Leader	0.41*	0.49*	0.61*	0.74*	0.63*	1	
3rd Powerful	0.18	0.21	0.31*	0.49*	0.36*	0.69*	1

Note: *p-value<.05

Table H4 First Order Correlation Matrix for White Sample

	1st Competent	1st Knowledgeable	1st Capable	1st Respected	1st High Status	1st Leader	1st Powerful
1st Competent	1						
1st Knowledgeable	0.81*	1					
1st Capable	0.89*	0.81*	1				
1st Respected	0.61*	0.70*	0.67*	1			
1st High Status	0.54*	0.50*	0.56*	0.74*	1		
1st Leader	0.41*	0.53*	0.51*	0.77*	0.77*	1	
1st Powerful	0.33*	0.41*	0.48*	0.63*	0.70*	0.86*	1

Note: *p-value<.05

Table H5 Third Order Correlation Matrix for Black Sample

	3rd Competent	3rd Knowledgeable	3rd Capable	3rd Respected	3rd High Status	3rd Leader	3rd Powerful
3rd Competent	1						
3rd Knowledgeable	0.61*	1					
3rd Capable	0.61*	0.86*	1				
3rd Respected	0.57*	0.78*	0.84*	1			
3rd High Status	0.36*	0.44*	0.47*	0.64*	1		
3rd Leader	0.43*	0.73*	0.67*	0.64*	0.52*	1	
3rd Powerful	0.35*	0.65*	0.61*	0.59*	0.48*	0.75*	1

Note: *p-value<.05

Table H6 First Order Correlation Matrix for Black Sample

	1st Competent	1st Knowledgeable	1st Capable	1st Respected	1st High Status	1st Leader	1st Powerful
1st Competent	1						
1st Knowledgeable	0.88*	1					
1st Capable	0.76*	0.74*	1				
1st Respected	0.52*	0.63*	0.61*	1			
1st High Status	0.46*	0.59*	0.54*	0.77*	1		
1st Leader	0.56*	0.67*	0.54*	0.74*	0.80*	1	
1st Powerful	0.62*	0.62*	0.55*	0.57*	0.65*	0.74*	1

Note: *p-value<.05

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