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Dinstinction Between Prejudice And Stereotyping For Negative In-Group Attitudes

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DISTINCTION BETWEEN PREJUDICE AND STEREOTYPING FOR NEGATIVE IN-GROUP ATTITUDES

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ABSTRACT

There are conflicting findings for disadvantaged group members' attitudes towards their group. Some studies suggest that disadvantaged groups have positive in-group attitudes, while other studies suggest they have negative in-group attitudes, or even outgroup favoritism. This may be in part due to the simultaneous measurement of stereotypic and prejudicial attitudes, and I suggest that studying their distinction might better explain the discrepancy found in the literature. Further, research has yet to look at how differences in personal attitudes versus perception of public attitudes is related to the differing results found in disadvantaged group attitudes. In the proposed study, it is hypothesized that Latinos have negative in-group attitudes, and that they hold distinct prejudicial vs. stereotypic attitudes. Further, it is hypothesized that perceptions of public attitudes are related to participants' negative prejudicial in-group attitudes. To test these hypotheses, two identically structured priming tasks that separately measure prejudicial and stereotypic attitudes will be used, along with self-reported measurement of Latinos' perceptions of public regard of their group. I found support that prejudice and stereotyping are distinct measures of in-group attitudes. There was no support for other hypotheses. Implications are discussed.

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INTRODUCTION

The proposed study investigates negative in-group bias, which is alternatively known as negative intragroup bias and/or outgroup favoritism. Negative in-group bias refers to negative attitudes towards one's own social group. Studies show that people from marginalized groups can have negative attitudes towards their own group (e.g., Jost, 2019; March & Graham, 2015; Sniderman & Piazza, 1993; Uhlmann et al., 2002). The broader aim of this project is to expand the research on this understudied area of work. Specifically, we aim to study the distinction between prejudice and stereotyping as well as potential correlates of the constructs, toward in-group members. Prejudice and stereotyping are often discussed as one and the same, however, it has been suggested that they are two distinct constructs (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). Traditionally, prejudice refers to negative affect towards group members (McConahay & Hough, 1976), whereas stereotyping refers to cognitive beliefs held about group members (e.g., traits and characteristics; Hamilton, 1981). Literature has largely failed to look at this difference in an in-group setting, as most of the literature has focused on intergroup relations (Jost et al., 2004). Thus, to truly understand the complex attitudes of negative in-group bias, it is important to understand the potential differences and similarities between prejudicial and stereotyping attitudes in members of disadvantaged groups. Thus, the proposed study aims to address this gap in the literature by testing the distinction between prejudice and stereotyping in an in-group setting, with, specifically, Latinos. Further, we plan to look at how perceptions of private and public regard about one's group correspond with prejudicial vs. stereotypic in-group attitudes.

Negative In-group Bias

While negative attitudes about outgroups have been well studied, negative attitudes about one's in-group have received far less attention, so the underlying causes and effects of those attitudes are not well understood (Jost et al., 2004). Social Identity Theory research shows that people tend to have positive attitudes about their own groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and anything associated with the self (Greenwald, 1980). This has been shown for socially advantaged groups (e.g., Whites and Christians) and, less often, with disadvantaged groups (e.g., Latinos). For example, Levin & Sidanius (1999) found that Latinos in America showed in-group positivity for fellow Latinos at comparable levels to their White counterparts.

However, this is not always the case, as the opposite has also been found, such that in-group favoritism is weaker or even a negative in-group bias is found instead with members of disadvantaged groups (Jost et. al., 2004; Sniderman & Piazza, 1993; Uhlmann et al., 2002). For example, Rudman et al. (2002) found that disadvantaged groups (e.g., those lower in Socio-Economic Status) prefer dominant groups (e.g., rich people). Black Americans have been shown to associate Black people with danger such that both Black and White Americans are more likely to "shoot" armed Black than White men & slower to shoot "not-armed" Black men in a shooter task (Correll, et al., 2002). Some studies show an implicit preference for White people among Latino participants (March & Graham, 2015; Weyant, 2005), although it should be noted that the strength of this preference was weaker than it was for White participants. Last, Latino and Asian individuals preferred to get acquainted in a study with a stranger that was White more than a minority partner (Jost et al., 2002). These patterns suggest that negative in-group attitudes are present for disadvantaged group members and that they perhaps reflect internalization or justification of negative stereotypes or prejudice about one's own group (Davidio et al., 2009; Jost et al. 2004).

One theory that explains such effects is called system justification theory, which states that existing social arrangements (e.g., group value) are internalized and upheld, especially implicitly, even if it is at the expense of personal and group interest (Jost & Banaji, 1994). Jost et al. (2004) suggest that findings of negative in-group attitudes among disadvantaged group members are a result of people wanting to hold favorable attitudes towards an existing social system and that humans have the adaptive capabilities to accommodate and internalize key features of socially constructed environments. These system justifying attitudes may be beneficial in that they decrease cognitive load through the use of stereotypes, even at the expense of self-interest (e.g., holding a positive attitude toward one's group). Interestingly, it has been shown that system justification theory effects are sometimes strongest among those most disadvantaged by social order (Jost et al., 2004), and that those whose group is least valued by society are the most likely to exhibit negative in-group attitudes. For example, women who are committed to the belief that the status quo is legitimate are more likely to perpetuate inequality and are more likely to express sexism against women than women who do not hold system-justifying attitudes (Glick & Fiske, 2001).

Another important and relevant element of system justifying attitudes is the belief in the longevity of the system. For instance, Blanchar & Eidelman (2013) found that those who were made to believe that the caste system in India (i.e., an oppressive system) was longstanding were more supportive of the caste system than those who were made to believe that it was fairly recent in history. In the U.S., there is a longstanding history of injustice towards non-White groups, so it is highly plausible that individuals growing up in the U.S. also hold similar system-justifying attitudes. Finally, it is important to note that within the literature, there is a disagreement with system justification theory such that it is argued that negative in-group attitudes among

disadvantaged group members are merely reflecting a learning process (for example, see Bone, 2004; Ovuamalam, et al., 2018; Spears, et al., 2004). That is, because members of disadvantaged groups exist in the same society, they simply learn, rather than internalize, attitudes about their group from advantaged members of society. However, I am specifically concerned with disadvantaged group members' implicit attitudes. Importantly, no study has directly measured how explicit perceptions of the value placed on one's group is related to implicit attitudes of members of disadvantaged group members. This is an underlying assumption within system justification theory, but it has yet to be measured.

Implicit Measures of Race/Ethnic Bias

Notably, negative in-group attitudes among disadvantaged group members are most readily found at an implicit level (Jost 2019). Implicit measures assess human cognition (e.g., Prejudice or Stereotypes) that occur outside of conscious control (Nosek, 2011). For example, African Americans show in-group favoritism with explicit measures, but a slight outgroup preference on an implicit measure (e.g., Greenwald et al., 1998; Jost et al., 2004; Nosek et al., 2002; Nosek et al., 2007; Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2003). Latino participants showed the same pattern of results, such that they show weak to moderate positive in-group attitudes on explicit measures, but not on implicit measures (Uhlmann et al., 2002). Similar implicit negative in-group bias results have been shown with gay vs. heterosexual participants (Jost et al., 2004), Jewish vs. Christian participants (Rudman et al., 2002), and low-income vs. high-income participants (Rudman et al., 2002). Older participants preferred younger people (Nosek et al., 2007) and participants with more body weight showed a preference for thin people (Schwartz et al., 2006). These patterns of results highlight the importance of studying such attitudes implicitly.

Due to nuances related to social desirability and self-perception in the context of negative in-group biases, implicit measures of bias, such as speeded behavioral tasks, have been proposed as a way to measure quickly occurring automatic responses that are relatively difficult to control (Greenwald et al., 1998; Guglielmi, 1999). Implicit measures allow researchers to measure implicit attitudes without requiring participants to self-report subjective assessment (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). Social psychologists started using implicit measures in the mid-1980s when Fazio and Colleagues (1986) adopted the sequential priming task from cognitive psychology to study implicit attitudes in social psychology. Then, Greenwald & Colleagues (1998) created the implicit association test (IAT), which has inspired much research on implicit attitudes since. However, implicit measures span beyond the IAT, with paradigms like the evaluative priming task (Fazio et al., 1986), the affect misattribution procedure (Payne et al., 2005), semantic priming task (Wittenbrink et al., 1997), go/no-go association task (Nosek & Banaji, 2001), the extrinsic evaluative Simon task (De Houwer, 2003), among many others.

An important consideration when it comes to any implicit measure is that they often have poor psychometrics (Kawakami & Dovidio, 2001) and do not correlate well across tasks (Ito et al., 2015). Some of the reasons for this is due to the population and experience with computer-based tasks (e.g., children and adults) that result in low internal consistency and an inability to replicate experimental effects (Lebel & Paunon, 2011). While low reliability estimates make it difficult to do research for individual diagnoses, the tasks are still satisfactory for correlation research (Gawronski & De Houwer, 2014). Further, Gawronski & De Houwer (2014) suggest that using tasks that are similar in structural features combats some of these issues. Thus, for the purposes of this study, two similarly structured sequential priming tasks will be used to separately measure evaluative and stereotypic associations. In a sequential priming task,

participants are presented with a prime stimulus that triggers a response to a target stimulus (see methods for more details). Another advantage to using this task is it allows researchers to calculate separate priming scores, thus giving researchers more freedom to analyze data and see specific patterns of responses (Wittenbrink, 2007) that, for example, would not be possible with the IAT. For example, if participants are presented with two different race types (e.g., White vs. Latino), a single D score is created with an IAT. However, the sequential priming task allows for scores to be created using any of the pairings of stimuli, which makes the latter better suited for my hypotheses.

Prejudice vs. Stereotyping

Implicit tasks usually measure either evaluative or stereotyping attitudes but have often been used interchangeably. However, there is evidence to suggest this shouldn't always be the case. Whereas prejudice refers to negative affective attitudes (i.e., evaluative associations) one holds about a group, stereotypes refer to cognitive representations (i.e., semantic associations) one holds about a group (e.g., traits and characteristics). Most research that has been conducted on negative attitudes includes either exclusively stereotyping measures (e.g., Lepore & Brown, 1997; Spencer et al., 1998), exclusively evaluative measures (e.g., Fazio et al, 1995; Amodio et al., 2003), or a combination of both (e.g., Kawakami et al., 1998). Although the distinction between prejudice and stereotypes has long been accepted (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995), research often uses measures of prejudicial and stereotypic attitudes interchangeably. Studying the differences between the two constructs, specifically with implicit attitudes, is important to understand their distinct implications for group relations.

Research comparing implicit behavioral tasks (e.g., evaluative priming task, the weapon identification task, the implicit association test, etc.) that measure evaluative (i.e., prejudicial)

and semantic processes (i.e., stereotyping) attitudes separately have largely found that they are not well correlated (e.g., Amodio & Devine, 2006; Volpert-Esmond et. al., 2020; Calanchini et al., 2014). This pattern of results suggests that stereotyping and prejudice are independent constructs: when pulled apart, they measure two separate forms of group-related associations. Only one study has examined how these implicit attitude measures differentially predict behavior. Amodio & Devine (2006) found that results from the stereotyping IAT correlated with stereotypical trait ratings of a Black student and resulted in stereotype-consistent expectations of how well a Black partner would perform on a series of tasks, which suggests that stereotypes correspond primarily with cognitive representations about individuals of a specific group. Meanwhile, the evaluation IAT correlated with predictive beliefs that participants would not get along with student as a friend and resulted in participants sitting farther away from the Black partner, which suggests that prejudice corresponds primarily with one's affect related behaviors toward a group. These results indicate that not only is there a distinction between the two forms of bias, but that they result in different behaviors.

One important difference between prejudicial and stereotypic attitudes is that they are developed through separate systems of learning and memory for evaluative and semantic learning (Amodio, 2014), which depend on unique neural mechanisms. For evaluative learning, the amygdala plays an important role, which is a critical area for vigilance, arousal, and learning through fear conditioning (Amodio, 2008; Park & Judd, 2005). Several studies have been conducted to look at the role of the amygdala in implicit prejudice and find that the amygdala is activated when processing racial outgroup members, which is believed to be due to a threat or salience response to the outgroup (e.g., Amodio, 2008; Kubato et al., 2012; Chekroud et al.,

2014; Freeman, et al, 2010; Forbes, 2012). Such evaluative responses play an integral role in prejudicial attitudes (Lavine et al., 1998), especially negative affect (Guglieli, 1999).

In contrast, stereotypes involve structures and regions that deal with semantic memory and impression formation (Olson et al., 2013; Quadflieg & Macrae, 2011), such as the anterior temporal lobe and prefrontal cortex (PFC) (Amodio, 2008). These areas store conceptual associations that are learned through repeated pairings of related stimuli or concepts, which are later activated via spreading activation of related nodes. These conceptual or semantic associations include social knowledge and stereotypes (e.g., traits and descriptions we associate with people (e.g., Gilbert et al., 2012; Contreras et al., 2012), which have been demonstrated using fMRI to activate areas of the temporal lobe when being recalled. Meanwhile, the prefrontal cortex deals with the goal-oriented selection of concepts into memory and has been shown to be involved in the application of stereotypes to judgements and behavior (Mitchell et al., 2009), and creates the opportunity for the activation of stereotypes to be influenced by higher-order processes of social cognition, self-reflection, and theory of mind (Amodio, 2008).

The distinction between stereotyping and prejudice has long been accepted, and neural research including implicit bias studies clearly indicates they are two different constructs. Notably, this distinction in implicit attitudes has not been focused on for in-group attitudes among members of disadvantaged groups. It has been found that participants can harbor negative in-group bias on one task, while simultaneously harboring positive in-group favoritism on another task (Axt et al., 2018; March 2022). For example, despite only focusing on negative dimensions of prejudice vs. stereotyping attitudes, March (2022) conducted a series of studies that look at the difference between Black Americans' threat associations and general negative associations toward Black men. March (2022) tested the difference between stereotype and

prejudice associations among disadvantaged group members. He finds that Black individuals associate Black men with threat (i.e., stereotypic attitudes), but not general negativity (i.e., prejudice attitudes). This suggests that there is indeed a difference between prejudice and stereotyping in disadvantaged group members' in-group attitudes. The few studies that measure in-group attitudes with more than one measure highlight the complexity and discrepancies seen in negative vs. positive in-group results. Differences in positive and negative in-group attitudes may have been previously shown because researchers potentially only measured one aspect of in-group attitudes, but due to the complexity of such attitudes, researchers need to study them in more nuanced way – such as looking at the difference between prejudice and stereotyping attitudes. The proposed study aims to expand this line of research on negative in-group attitudes with Latinos, with an emphasis on the distinction between negative implicit stereotyping and prejudicial in-group attitudes as a potential reason for only finding negative in-group bias among disadvantaged groups sometimes.

Public Regard & Private Regard

In addition to characterizing Latinos' implicit attitudes about their own group, it is important to understand influences that are related to these attitudes. One influencing factor may be the difference between how one privately feels about their group and the value placed on their group. System justification theory argues that implicit attitudes are at least partly shaped by cultural values placed on certain groups, and that people work to preserve the status quo, even when one's group is less valued than another group (Jost & Banaji, 1994). In line with this theory, Jost & Colleagues (2002) suggest that findings of negative in-group attitudes for disadvantaged groups is evidence that attitude is partly shaped by cultural information that participants receive and therefore, people from disadvantaged groups may implicitly retain

negative public attitudes about their group. Further, Blodorn et al., (2016) argue that both cultural value (e.g., public attitude) and group identity are important for advantaged (e.g., White) and disadvantaged (e.g., Latino) groups, but with differing results. Jost et al. (2001) argue that unlike members of advantaged groups, members of disadvantaged groups are faced with conflicts about how they feel about their group in contrast to the value given to their group in society. For disadvantaged groups, group identity supports one's group, while the value (e.g., public attitude) placed on their group does not. This could explain why we sometimes see negative in-group attitudes, while not other times in the implicit in-group bias literature – personal attitudes vs. public attitudes are not aligned. For members of disadvantaged groups, explicit personal attitudes toward the group, referred to as private regard, may be positively related to in-group implicit attitudes whereas how they perceive the public to value their group, which is referred to as public regard, may be negatively related to in-group attitudes. However, to my knowledge, no experimental work has been conducted to look at the differential predictions made by one's explicit personal attitudes toward the group and how they perceive the public to value their group for implicit in-group attitudes. Therefore, the proposed study looks at two explicit measures of private regard and perception of public attitude toward one's group (i.e., public regard), to potentially explain how they may be related to implicit attitudes of disadvantaged group members.

Public regard assesses perceptions of outgroup views of one's ethnic/racial group, meaning how an individual believes their group is perceived by those outside the group, whereas private regard assesses personal positive or negative affect about one's group as well as their membership in that ethnic/racial group, meaning how one privately feels about their group in general (Sellers et al., 1998). The specific scale used in this study considers public and private

regard as dimensions of racial and ethnic identity. It may be important for individuals to maintain a high level of private regard (a positive affect toward one's group) as well as a high level of public regard (perception that public attitude is positive about their group). However, public attitudes and rhetoric about disadvantaged groups (e.g., Latinos) is overwhelmingly negative (Markert, 2010). Therefore, the question of how perceptions of public attitudes influence people for disadvantaged groups' attitudes toward their group has largely been unanswered.

Research shows that disadvantaged groups (e.g., Black people) are aware that their group is perceived negatively (e.g., Devine, 1989), but that this perception varies across individuals (Sellers & Shelton, 2003; Sellers et al., 2006). That is, those who perceived others to hold positive attitudes towards Black people reported higher levels of perceived discrimination and were more bothered by it. This is because people are aware that their group is perceived negatively, so they may become more susceptible to negative consequences of the discrimination that their group faces when they want to believe their group is highly regarded. These findings suggest that for members of disadvantaged groups, holding a positive public regard may be more harmful than not. It has been argued that this may be the case because those who perceive the public to have a less positive attitude toward their group have a more consistent worldview and have developed strategies to cope with discrimination (Sellers et al., 2006). On the other hand, a higher private regard is associated with greater commitment and exploration of one's ethnic identity (Yip et al., 2006). This suggests that having a positive attitude about one's own group serves as a protective factor for some negative consequences of experiencing discrimination.

These findings suggest that ethnic or racial identity alone does not protect disadvantaged group members from negative effects of discrimination – specific components of that identity can have a positive or negative impact. The link between these dimensions of ethnic identity and

implicit in-group attitudes has yet to be made in the literature. Therefore, I argue that because of the differing consequences of private and public regard on, for example, experiences of discrimination, then these dimensions of identity may also be related to implicit in-group attitudes. Further, they may also lead to differing results of in-group attitudes, such that private regard may predict differing attitudes towards one's group from public regard. Considering Jost & Colleagues' (2002) suggestion that negative in-group attitudes are at least partly shaped by public perception of disadvantaged groups, the proposed study suggests that it is specific dimensions of identity that deal with private vs. public attitudes that will result in specific directions of in-group attitudes.

The Current Study

In this proposed study, the goal is to measure negative in-group attitudes toward Latinos, as well as how private and public regard correlate with Latinos' implicit attitudes about their group. It is hypothesized:

Hypothesis 1: Latinos have negative in-group attitudes towards Latinos (vs. Whites), as measured by the evaluative priming task.

Hypothesis 2: Participants will show distinct in-group stereotyping vs. prejudice attitudes.

Hypothesis 3a: Public regard will be positively related to attitudes on the evaluative priming task, such that more positive perceptions of public regard will predict more prejudiced attitudes. To this effect, we expect private regard to not be related.

Hypothesis 3b: Private regard will not be related to attitudes, such that higher private regard will not be related to stereotypic nor prejudice attitudes.

These hypotheses will be tested using two sequential priming tasks: one that is evaluative based, to measure prejudice, and one that is semantic based, to measure stereotyping.

Participants will also receive a variety of ethnic and racial identity scales, including scales measuring public and private regard adapted for a Latino sample.

METHOD

Pilot Study

The purpose of the pilot study was to pilot materials for the current study. There are several scales that were administered to participants, two of which, private and public regard, hypotheses are based on but needed to be validated in a Latino sample. Another goal for the pilot study was to pretest stimuli traits that were then used for the implicit measure tasks of the current study.

Participants & Procedure

A total of 93 participants were collected through Prolific. Participants were screened on Prolific to ensure that they were 18 years and older, identified as Latino, and lived in a state that bordered Mexico (e.g., Texas, California, New Mexico, and Arizona). This was included to ensure that the sample mirrored the behavioral data collection participant pool that would take place in El Paso, TX for the current study. Participants responded to the survey, which took about 10-15 minutes, then were compensated $2.50 USD for their time. It was ensured that participants passed 2 out of the 3 attention checks and responded to reverse coded items as expected. No data was excluded. From the 93 participants, 4 identified as non-binary/third gender (4.2%), 46 as women (52.6%), 43 as men (46.2%). The mean age was 30.23 years old.

Measures and Materials

Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992). The MEIM consists of 12 items that measure ethnic identity and has been validated for use within Latinos (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). Participants responded using a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from Strongly Disagree (1) to Strongly Agree (4). Higher scores reflect a higher (i.e., stronger) ethnic identity. The measure can be separated into two subscales: exploration and commitment.

Exploration measures interest in increasing knowledge of culture (e.g., "I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs"), whereas commitment measures sense of belonging and an investment to the group (e.g., "I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to"). Although the scale can be separated into separate subscales, I used a composite score of all 12 times. Internal reliability in the sample was high (α = .93).

Modified Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Sellers et al., 1998). I used a modified version of the MIBI to assess racial identity and tailored it to be specific to Latino identity (see Appendix A for modified items). Four subscales were used: private regard, public regard, centrality, and assimilation. The private regard subscale consists of 8 items that measures the extent to which participants feel positively about Latinos (e.g., "I believe that because I am Latino/Hispanic, I have many strengths," α = .90). The public regard subscale consists of 6 items that measure the extent to which participants feel that other groups have positive attitudes about Latinos (e.g., "In general, other groups view Latinos/Hispanics in a positive manner," α = .87). The centrality subscale consists of 8 items that measure the extent to which being Latino is central to the participants' definition of themselves (e.g., "In general, being Latino/Hispanic is an important part of my self-image," α = .78). The assimilation subscale consists of 8 items that measure the extent to which participants emphasize the relationship between Latinos and mainstream culture in America (e.g., "Latinos/Hispanics should view themselves as being Americans first and foremost," α = .61).

Stereotypical trait ratings. A list of positive (e.g., hardworking, proud) and negative (e.g., lazy, criminal) traits were pretested that will be used as experimental stimuli in the current study. Traits were chosen for pre-testing from lists of traits used in previous research as well as

novel traits. Participants were presented with a list of words and were instructed to rate them on a Likert scale from 1(Extremely describes Latinos) to 5 (extremely describes Whites).

Results

First, correlation between the private and public regard subscales of the modified MIBI were tested because of their theoretical importance in the hypotheses. The two scales were not correlated, $t(91) = 1.15$, $p = .253$, $r = .12$ (see Figure 1). The correlation between private regard and the MEIM was also tested and found to be significant, $t(91) = 11.48$, $p < .001$, $r = .77$ (see Figure 2), suggesting a significant positive relationship between the established identity scale, MEIM, and modified private regard subscale. As for the relationship between public regard and MEIM, results suggest they are not correlated, $t(91) = 1.24$, $p = .219$, $r = .13$ (see Figure 3), indicating there is no significant relationship between the established identity scale MEIM and modified public regard subscale. In summary, the private and public regard scales are not correlated, indicating they measure different dimensions of ethnic identity in the sample. Along with this, they have different relationships with other ethnic identity measures well established in Latino samples, such that private regard correlates well with MEIM, while public regard does not – further suggesting they measure separate dimensions of ethnic identity.

As for pretesting trait stimuli, no formal statistical tests were conducted. The mean of each trait was calculated using R studio 4.0.2 (2022) and found that most of the "extremely" rated traits were rated to belong exclusively or mostly to Latinos. Therefore, for Latino stereotypic traits, traits that had a mean of 2.5 or lower were chosen, and for White traits, traits that had a mean of 3 or higher were chosen (see Figure 4). Judgements of any given stimuli are dependent on the context in which they appear **(**Volkmann, 1951). Therefore, if participants are strongly judging one set of traits as being associated with Latinos, then any stimuli related to

Latinos will be assigned to Latinos, while any other stimuli will be assigned with something else, which would be Whites in this case (see Scherer & Lambert, 2009 for more details on contrast effects).

Pilot Study Discussion

The purpose of the pilot study was to pre-test materials to be used in the experimental study. My measures of interest showed reliability in a comparable Latino sample to the one in the location data was collected. Further, we also obtained ratings for words that are used as stimuli in the Evaluative and stereotyping task for the experimental study. The results from this study ensure that the materials and stimuli used in the experimental study are appropriate.

Current Study

Participants

An a priori G*power analysis with an $f^2 = .15$, $\alpha = .05$, 80% power suggested that a sample of N = 109 is needed for a 2 x 2 x 2 ANOVA, the model with the most predictors out of all my analyses. Data collection for this study took place during Fall 2022 and spring 2023 semester, but only Spring 2023 data was used. During the Fall 2022 semester, an issue was discovered with the data such that participants had very high no response rates on more than 60% of the trials. Upon further investigation, it was discovered that participants did not have enough time to respond as they were only given 500 ms. Response windows were extended, and the study was run again in spring 2023 using methods described below. For the current study, only spring 2023 data is discussed.

Data from a total of 151 participants were collected, and only one participant was excluded for getting very high error rates (>80%), resulting in a total sample of 150. Participants were recruited through the SONA system during the Spring 2023 semester, with the requirement

that they identify as Latino and be 18 years or older before participating in the study. All participants identified as Latino, 38 (25.3%) of whom identified as men, 110 (73.3%) as women, and 2 (1.3%) as other. The average age was 20.90, and most were bilingual (87%). Data collection took place in one of the spaces that are available to collect behavioral data from 4 participants at a time.

Procedure

Participants arrived at the lab and were seated at one of four computer stations. After obtaining consent, participants completed a demographic questionnaire followed by the evaluative priming task then the stereotyping priming task on E-prime. Participants were prompted to take a break between the tasks and questionnaires. This was followed by the MEIM and the modified MIBI questionnaires, as well as other measures not discussed, which were administered on Qualtrics. After they are finished, participants are given a debriefing form, thanked for their time, and compensated 1 course credit. The sessions took 45 minutes on average.

Measures and Materials

Evaluative Priming Task. The evaluative priming task (PT) measures implicit evaluative associations with White and Latino faces and serves as the measure of prejudicial group-based attitudes. On each trial, participants are primed with a face stimulus followed by a target word, which they must categorize as positive or negative. During each trial, a fixation cross is shown for 1000 ms followed by a prime (either a White or Latino face) for 1000 ms, followed by a target word for 1000 ms. Participants are instructed to classify the words as positive or negative as quickly and accurately as possible by pressing one of two different buttons on a keyboard. If participants respond after the 1000 ms deadline, they receive a "too

slow!" message. The intertrial interval is randomly jittered across trials (500, 650, 800 ms). Prime stimuli consist of 24 White and Latino faces (6 White women, 6 White men, 6 Latino women, and 6 Latino men). Neutral faces were obtained from the Chicago database (Ma, Correll, & Wittenbrink, 2015), are frontal facing and exclude identifying features (i.e., glasses, accessories). The photos are taken from the shoulders and up, include a person with a neutral expression, wearing a grey shirt with a White background. Target stimuli consist of 8 positive words (e.g., joy, success, smile, peace, honor, lucky, freedom) and negative words (e.g., evil, garbage, poison, rotten, despair, disgust, disaster, sickness). Participants complete 16 practice trials followed by 96 experimental trials presented in randomized order and broken into two blocks. Participants have the option to take a break between blocks. There are 48 trials of each prime-target pairing (i.e., White-positive, White-negative, Latino-positive, Latino-negative). Congruency is labeled as a function of race and valence (see proposed analyses for scoring details). This task took approximately 5 minutes to complete.

Stereotyping Priming Task. A new priming task was designed that consists of two classes of characteristic words uniquely associated with Latinos and uniquely associated with Whites. The task follows a similar structure and timing as the Evaluative PT. The task uses the same set of photos as the prime stimuli, and target words are obtained from the above-mentioned stereotypical trait ratings pretest. Those uniquely associated with Latinos are four positive (familial, hardworking, resourceful, welcoming) and four negative words (poor, loud, uneducated, criminal), while those associated with Whites are four positive (patriotic, lucky, leader, wealthy) and four negative words (selfish, obnoxious, bossy, picky). The trials are presented in randomized order. There are 24 trials for each of the prime-target pairings (i.e., White congruent positive, White incongruent positive, White congruent negative, White

incongruent negative, Latino congruent positive, Latino incongruent positive, Latino congruent negative, Latino incongruent negative), for a total of 96 trials. Congruency is labeled as a function of pretested stereo-typicality (see proposed analyses for more scoring details). This test took approximately 5 minutes to complete.

Modified Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Sellers et al., 1998). Described above in pilot study. Again, the private and public regard subscales were used.

Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992). Described above in pilot study. This scale was added for exploratory purposes, but did not significantly predict attitudes, and thus will not be discussed further.

Social Dominance Orientation (SDO; Pratto et al., 1994). SDO consists of 7 items that measure the extent to which individuals support inequality among social groups. We used 4 of those items to account for time constraints. Participants are instructed to respond to the question "which of the following objects or statements do you have a positive or negative feeling towards?" using a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from very negative (1) to very positive (7). A sample item includes "inferior groups should stay in their place". Higher scores reflect more support for social inequality. This scale was added for exploratory purposes, but did not significantly predict attitudes, and thus will not be discussed further.

Political Ideology. Participants were asked two questions in order to measure their political affiliations. Participants were asked "Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent, or what?" and responded using a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from strong democrat (1) to strong republican (7). A second question asked "When it comes to politics, would you describe yourself as…" and participants responded using a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from very liberal (1) to very conservative (7). This

scale was added for exploratory purposes, but did not significantly predict attitudes, and thus will not be discussed further.

Teenage experiences of Racial Socialization (TERS; Stevenson et al., 1997). The racial/ethnic socialization scale consists of 30 items that measures the strategies and ways in which individuals were socialized to think about race or ethnicity by guardians. Participants were given the instruction "Do your parents, or any of your caregivers say to you any of the following statements now or when you were younger? Choose the number depending on how often you remember hearing any of these messages" and responded to using a 3-point Likert-type scale ranging from never (1) to lots of times (3). A sample item includes "Never be ashamed of your color". This scale was added for exploratory purposes, but did not significantly predict attitudes, and thus will not be discussed further.

The Rosenberg Self Esteem (Rosenberg, 1965). The self-esteem scale is a 10-item measure of positive and negative aspects of self-worth. Participants are instructed to indicate how strongly they agree with statement on a 5-point Likert type scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). A sample item includes "on the whole, I am satisfied with myself". This scale was added for exploratory purposes, but did not significantly predict attitudes, and thus will not be discussed further.

Analytic Approach

For the evaluative priming task, which is a 2 (Prime face: Latino vs. White) x 2 (Target valence: Positive vs. Negative) design, prime-target pairings that are consistent with a positive bias towards the White racial group are considered congruent (i.e., White-positive and Latino-negative trials), whereas prime-target pairings that are consistent with a positive bias towards the Latino racial group will be considered incongruent (i.e., Latino-positive and White-negative

trials). Because congruency is defined in this way, outgroup favoritism is represented by higher accuracy on congruent trials than incongruent trials. For the stereotyping priming task, which is a 2 (Prime face: Latino vs. White) x 2 (Target valence: positive vs. negative) x 2 (Target stereotypicality: Latino vs. White) design, prime-target pairings where the trait stereotypically matches the prime are considered congruent (i.e., White prime-White trait trials and Latino prime-Latino trait trials), whereas prime-target pairings where the trait does not stereotypically match the prime will be considered incongruent (i.e., White prime-Latino trait trials and Latino prime-White trait trials). Because congruency is defined in this way, stronger stereotypic associations (with both White and Latino groups) is represented by higher accuracy on congruent trials than incongruent trials. Valence of the target trait will not be included in primary analyses but is specifically included in the experimental design to eliminate evaluative associations as a contributor in the stereotyping priming task.

Hypotheses are tested by examining error rates in congruent and incongruent trials in each task, as well as using response accuracy bias scores. Response accuracy bias scores for each person will be created by subtracting the error rate in congruent trials from the error rate in incongruent trials, separately for each task. This creates a single continuous score where more positive scores represent more positive associations with the White outgroup and less positive associations with the Latino in-group (i.e., more errors on incongruent trials than congruent trials) and negative scores represent fewer positive associations with the White outgroup and more positive associations with the Latino in-group (i.e., more errors on congruent trials relative to incongruent trials) in the evaluative priming task. Positive scores represent stronger stereotypical associations for both groups (i.e., more errors on incongruent trials than congruent

trials) and negative scores represent weaker stereotypical associations for both groups (i.e., more errors on congruent trials than incongruent trials) in the stereotyping priming task.

Hypotheses 1-3 will be tested in the following ways:

Hypothesis 1: Latinos have negative in-group attitudes towards Latinos (vs. Whites), as measured by the evaluative priming task.

Approach 1: For the evaluative priming task, I will examine error rates in each type of trial separately using a 2 (Prime race: Latino vs. White) x 2 (Target valence: Positive vs. Negative) repeated measures ANOVA. The expected pattern of outgroup favoritism will be represented by a Prime race x Target valence interaction, such that error rates are higher on incongruent trials than congruent trials.

Approach 2: I will examine response accuracy scores, where the expected pattern of outgroup favoritism will be represented by a positive mean response accuracy bias score across the sample. I will run a t-test to determine whether the sample mean of the response accuracy bias score in the evaluative priming task is different from 0.

Hypothesis 2: Participants will show distinct negative in-group stereotyping vs. prejudice attitudes.

Approach 1: I will examine error rates in congruent and incongruent trials across tasks with a 2 (Prime race: Latino vs. White) x 2 (Congruency: Congruent vs. Incongruent) x 2 (Priming tasks: Evaluative priming vs. Stereotypic priming) repeated measures ANOVA. I expect a three-way interaction between all three predictors, where Prime race x Congruency interaction for one task differs from the other task.

Approach 2: I will examine response accuracy bias scores. Hypothesis 2 will be confirmed by a low correlation between response bias accuracy scores across the two tasks.

Hypothesis 3a: Public regard will be positively related to attitudes on the evaluative priming task, such that more positive perceptions of public regard will predict more prejudiced attitudes. To this effect, we expect private regard to not be related.

Hypothesis 3b: Private regard will not be related to the stereotyping task, such that more private regard will not predict more stereotypic associations.

Approach: Using response accuracy bias scores, I plan to run a series of correlations and/or multiple regressions looking at how responses on the private and public regard scales correlate with response accuracy score on the evaluative priming task and the stereotyping priming task. We may also run multiple regressions. We expect a strong correlation between public regard and the evaluative priming task.

RESULTS

Hypothesis 1: Testing for presence of negative in-group attitudes

A 2 (Prime race: Latino vs. White) x 2 (Target valence: Positive vs. Negative) repeated measures ANOVA was conducted using R Studio, with error rates as the dependent variable, to test for the presence of negative Latino attitudes and positive White attitudes. The two-way ANOVA showed no significant interaction of prime race and target valence on error rates, $F(1,149) = 35.45$, $p = .137$ (see Figure 5). This indicates that there was no difference between in-group and out-group prejudice attitudes. Also, a one-sample t-test was conducted to examine whether the mean evaluation response accuracy bias score significantly differed from zero. The mean response accuracy bias score was 0.5, the t-test revealed a non-significant difference from zero, $t(149) = 1.49$, $p = .137$. This further indicates that there was no difference between in-group and out-group prejudice attitudes in the evaluative priming task.

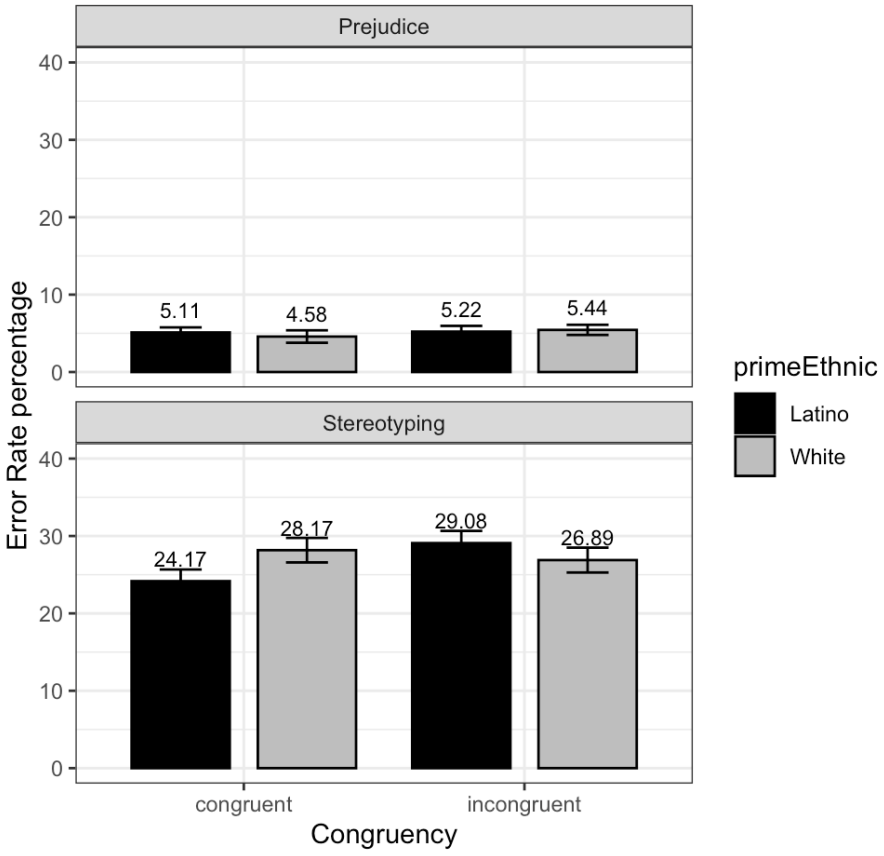
Hypothesis 2: Testing for differences in attitudes across the two tasks

A 2 (Prime Race: Latino vs. White) x 2 (Congruency: Congruent vs. Incongruent) x 2 (Priming tasks: Evaluative priming vs. Stereotypic priming) repeated measures ANOVA was conducted. There was a significant three-way interaction between prime race, congruency, and priming task, $F(1,149) = 3.994$, $p = .049$ (see Figure *5*). I separated this analysis into two ANOVAs, separated by priming task, with error rates as the dependent variable. I ran a 2 (Prime Race: Latino vs. White) x 2 (Congruency: Congruent vs. Incongruent) in the evaluative priming task, and results are reported under hypothesis 1. I also ran a 2 (Prime Race: Latino vs. White) x 2 (Congruency: Congruent vs. Incongruent) in the stereotyping task. There was a main effect of congruency, $F(1,149) = 5.801$, $p = .017$, such that there was less error on congruent ($M = 26.2$) than incongruent trials ($M = 28.0$), meaning people were more accurate on congruent than

incongruent trials. There was no main effect of prime race, $F(1,149) = 2.29$, $p = .132$. However, there was an interaction between prime race and congruency, $F(1,149) = 3.563$, $p = .016$. That is, people were more accurate at identifying target words as stereotypical following Latino primes ($M = 24.2$) relative to White primes ($M = 28.2$) when they were congruent with prime. Particularly, there was a significant difference between congruent Latino words vs. White words, $t(149) = -4.0$, $p = .002$, such that there were lower error rates for Latino-congruent ($M = 24.2$) than White-congruent trials ($M = 28.2$). That is, participants were more accurate at identifying targets words as stereotypical for Latino primes paired with Latino stereotypes than white primes paired with white stereotypes, suggesting a stronger stereotypic association for Latino targets than white targets. Also, there was no significant difference between Latino and White primes for incongruent trials, $t(1,149) = 1.257$, $p = .210$, suggesting that when the prime race and target word stereo-typicality did not match, there was no significant difference in error rates. However, there was a significant difference for Latino-congruent relative to incongruent trials, $t(149) = -4.917$, $p = .007$, such that participants were more accurate at identifying target words for Latino primes paired with Latino stereotypic target words relative to Latino primes paired with White stereotypic target words. This indicates that participants were more accurate at identifying stereotypic words as stereotypical for Latino primes paired with Latinos stereotypes than Latino primes paired with white stereotypes.

Figure 5.

Comparison between the two priming tasks.



Note. Bar graphs showing percentage of error rates for each task, broken down by prime Ethnicity and congruency on each task.

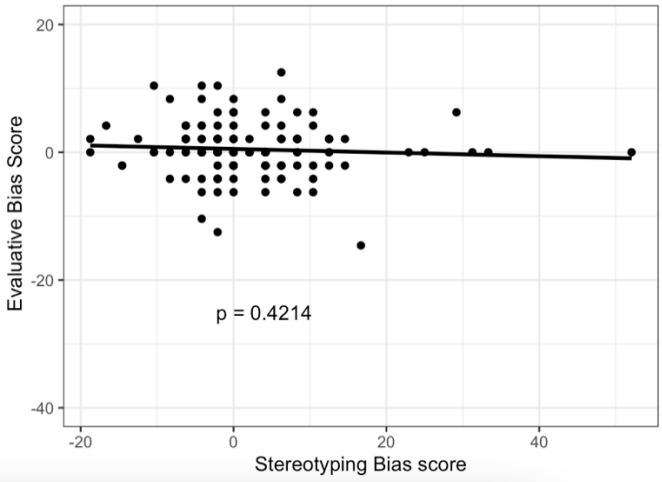
Since the previous analysis did not account for the valence of stereotypes, and although not hypothesized, further analyses were conducted to break down the stereotyping task by word valence. A 2 (Prime Race: Latino vs. White) x 2 (Target-word race: Latino vs. White) x 2 (Target-word Valence: Positive vs. Negative) ANOVA was conducted for the stereotyping task. There was no significant 3-way interaction found, $F(1,149) = 0.055$, $p = .815$, which indicates that there is no interaction between prime race, target-word race, and target-word valence for error rates.

Finally, I tested the correlation between the two tasks using response accuracy bias scores. As expected, there was no significant correlation between the two tasks, $r(148) = -.066$, p

= .421 (see Figure 6). This suggests that there is no correlation between response accuracy bias scores in the evaluative priming task and stereotyping task and that the two tasks measure separate constructs.

Figure 6

Correlation between Stereotyping and Evaluative task



Note. Scatterplot showing that there is no correlation between Evaluative priming task bias score and stereotyping task bias score.

Hypothesis 3: Testing for correlation between tasks with private and public regard

Using response accuracy bias scores, I ran a series of correlations looking at how responses on the private and public regard scales correlate with response accuracy bias scores on the evaluative priming and stereotyping priming tasks. First, I ran a t-test to look at the relationship between the response accuracy bias score in the evaluative task with public and private regard. Results indicate that there is no significant relationship between public regard and the evaluative task, $r(148) = 0.048$, $p = .560$. I tested the correlation between private regard and the evaluative task next, and results indicate that there is no significant correlation between the two, $r(148) = -.082$, $p = .319$. Together, these results indicate that neither public regard nor

private regard are significantly related to the response accuracy bias score in the evaluative task. Next, I tested the correlation between the stereotyping task with the public and private regard scales. Results indicate that there is no relationship between public regard and the stereotyping task, $r(148) = 0.015$, $p = .175$. Results indicate that there is also no correlation between private regard and the stereotyping task, $r(148) = -0.018$, $p = .828$. Together, these results indicate that neither public regard nor private regard are significantly related to the response accuracy bias score in the stereotyping task.

DISCUSSION

There are mixed findings in literature which show that sometimes, unlike their advantaged group counterparts, disadvantaged group members (e.g., Latinos) sometimes show implicit out-group favoritism and/or reduced in-group favoritism (Jost et. al., 2004; Sniderman & Piazza, 1993; Uhlmann et al., 2002). The purpose of this study was to further investigate these mixed results and to find potential underlying reasons for the mix in results by having participants complete two implicit tasks that measure prejudice and stereotyping. I hypothesized that, as seen in previous research, there is an implicit negative in-group bias in Latinos, and that such attitudes are due to difference in implicit stereotyping and prejudice attitudes. Further, I also hypothesized that private and public regard are related to implicit in-group attitudes.

The first take away from the current study is that there is no evidence of out-group favoritism nor in-group favoritism. Results from the evaluative priming task, which measures prejudice, show that, contrary to my hypotheses, there is no difference in prejudice attitudes between in-group (i.e., Latinos) attitudes and out-group (i.e., Whites) attitudes. Specifically, there was no difference between positive and negative attitudes toward either in-group or out-group, which indicates participants do not hold negative attitudes towards either group. Also equally important is that there was no finding of positive in-group attitudes. This pattern of results may seem to contradict previous research as there is no negative in-group bias found; it finds the same results previously found. Previous research has found that in absence of out-group favoritism and lack of in-group positive attitudes, this is representative of reduced in-group attitudes (Jost et al., 2019). The current study supports this line of research, such that I do not find positive in-group attitudes.

Considering research showing that White individuals have positive in-group attitudes on prejudice tasks (Tajfel et al., 1971; Tajfel, 1981; Yamagishi et al., 1999), my not finding similar results can be interpreted as reduced in-group favoritism in my Latino sample as has been found in previous studies (Jost et. al., 2004; Sniderman & Piazza, 1993; Uhlmann et al., 2002; March & Graham, 2015). A reduction in in-group favoritism for Latinos may indicate a greater willingness to uphold the status quo. System justification theory proposes that people have a motivation to legitimize the system in which they live, and that this motivation leads to implicit upholding existing social hierarchy (Jost & Banaji, 1994). Due to the lack of positive attitudes towards Latinos in the U.S., my results suggest that this is indeed taking place, despite Latinos not having negative attitudes. Further, a lack of positive in-group attitudes may also have negative effects on intergroup relations and social inequality. Having a sense of belonging to a group is linked to positive ingroup attitudes (Jetten et al., 2014), so a lack of positive in-group attitudes could lead to a sense of a weaker sense of belonging in a group. Further, positive in-group attitudes within a group can lead to positive behaviors toward one's in-group (Brewer, 2000), so without positive in-group attitudes, Latinos may be less likely to engage in things that support one's group (e.g., political action) and to advocate for their group's interests.

The second take away from the current study is that prejudice and stereotyping attitudes do indeed differ for in-group attitudes. Differences between prejudice and stereotyping for out-groups had been researched and have long been accepted in the literature (e.g., Amodio & Devine, 2006; Volpert-Esmond et. al., 2020; Calanchini et al., 2014). However, little research has been conducted to look at whether this difference in constructs also extends to in-group attitudes. The results of the current study indicate that Latinos show no difference between in-group and out-group attitudes in the prejudice task but do show stereotypic in-group attitudes in

the stereotyping task, suggesting that the distinction extends to in-group attitudes. These findings parallel previous research with Black individuals that suggests they hold stereotypic attitudes, but not prejudice attitudes (e.g., March 2022), although my results indicate that this is not exclusive to negative stereotypes. It is important to note that participants in this study showed general stereotypic attitudes for both positive and negative Latino stereotypes. Although system justification theory suggests that members of disadvantaged groups are likely to endorse negative stereotypes about their group (Jost & Banaji, 1994), the findings suggest that perhaps attitudes are not exclusive to negative stereotypes. The results indicate that people have general implicit stereotypic attitudes. This could indicate that rather than trying to uphold an oppressive system, my finding of a greater association for Latino stereotypes is indicative of a learning process by which Latinos implicitly learn stereotypes about their group and not necessarily focus on the negative aspects.

Then the third take away is that there was no relationship between implicit attitudes and public/private regard. Participants' response accuracy bias scores on both tasks did not have a relationship with private or public regard, which may indicate that there is no relationship between the two. However, the absence of this relationship may be due to some measurement error. Since error rates are so low, and therefore accuracy is very high, there may be a ceiling effect and very little variance in responses. This may indicate that I am not measuring implicit attitudes as intended, but rather a relatively controlled response from participants. To combat this issue, I will test my hypotheses again using reaction time, another dependent variable that I collected data for.

On the one hand, researchers should consider that using accuracy as an estimate of implicit bias may be appropriate for some studies as participants are less prone to responses

being due to factors outside of bias like practice effects when participants become familiar with the stimuli, especially when measuring a large number of trials (Dosher & Rosedale, 1991). However, accuracy may have some control influences for processing such that it may be influenced by conscious control strategies participants may use (Nosek et al., 2005). According to Wickelgren (1977), participants become more accurate when responding more slowly. That is, the longer participants have to respond, the more likely it is that they will use controlled techniques to respond, which result in higher accuracy. Following this view, researchers need shorter response windows to test implicit measures as allowing for a longer response time will results in high accuracy. Since we gave participants much longer than usually used in the literature, it appears that accuracy may not be the best predictor of implicit bias for our dataset.

On the other hand, having a longer response window is an advantage in other instances. A longer response window allows researchers to measure the speed at which participants respond to stimuli, often preceded by a prime (Ratliff, 1981), which is referred to as reaction time. Analyzing reaction time to look at how fast or slow it takes participants to categorize stimuli has long been used to illustrate that the speed at which individuals respond indicates the strength of association for stimuli (Greenwald et al., 1998). For example, if participants are presented with Latino faces followed by positive or negative words, and they were to respond to negative words faster than positive words, this would indicate that they are taking less time to make the connection between Latino and negative word (i.e., this is a more practiced cognitive connection), and thus hold stronger associations for negativity and Latinos. When it comes to measuring implicit bias, it's been argued that reaction time tends to be a more sensitive and reliable measure than accuracy as it is thought to capture automatic processing that occurs prior to conscious awareness (Greenwald et al., 1998). Further, Draine & Greenwald (1998) showed

that priming effects were present in reaction time when participants were given longer response windows than when they were not. In other words, longer response windows are needed for the association between the prime and target words to appear implicitly. Considering participants were given such a long period of time, reaction time may be the better predictor for testing my hypotheses.

To summarize the findings of this study, results suggest that the attitudes that people from disadvantaged groups hold more complex than those of advantaged group members and such attitudes need to be further studied. There may be more subtle forms of prejudice that I did not account for due to their complex nature. It's important that we understand in-group attitudes of disadvantaged group members in order to create a more equitable intergroup relations. Finally, it is important to note that demographics of the current sample are not reflective of the larger Latino population in the United States as data were collected in a city bordering Mexico, with an 82.9% Latino population (U.S. Census Bureau, nd). For the sample of this study, their exposure to direct forms of discrimination does not occur as much as in other cities in the U.S, which may have influenced the results. That is, since they are not exposed to direct forms of discrimination, they are likely not as influenced by the negative attitudes placed on the group and may not internalize them to the same degree that those who are faced with direct discrimination might. To address the question of whether directly experiencing discrimination impacts in-group attitudes, future research should look at how direct vs. indirect (i.e., vicarious) discrimination may influence the impact it has on implicit bias towards one's group. Along with this, it should also be determined whether attitudes about one's group relates to behaviors, like whether one's implicit bias may be related to whether they engage in activities that supports one's group.

APPENDIX A

Modified Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity private regard subscale

1. I feel good about Latino/Hispanic people.
2. I am happy that I am Latino/Hispanic.
3. I feel that Latinos/Hispanics have made major accomplishments and advancements
4. I believe that because I am Latino/Hispanic, I have many strengths.
5. I often regret that I am Latino/Hispanic (R).
6. I feel that the Latino/Hispanic community has made valuable contributions to this society
7. I often feel that Latinos/Hispanics are not worthwhile (R).
8. I am proud to be Latino/Hispanic

Modified Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity public regard subscale

1. Overall, Latinos/Hispanics are considered good by others.
2. In general, others respect Latino/Hispanic people
3. Most people consider Latinos/Hispanics, on the average, to be more ineffective than other racial groups (R).
4. Latinos/Hispanics are not respected by the broader society (R).
5. In general, other groups view Latinos/Hispanics in a positive manner.
6. Society views Latinos/Hispanics people as an asset.

Modified Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity centrality subscale

1. Overall, being Latino/Hispanic has very little to do with how I feel about myself. (R)

2. In general, being Latino/Hispanic is an important part of my self-image
3. My destiny is tied to the destiny of other Latino/Hispanic people
4. Being Latino/Hispanic is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am (R).
5. I have a strong sense of belonging to Latino/Hispanic people
6. I have a strong attachment to other Latino/Hispanic people
7. Being Latino/Hispanic is an important reflection of who I am.
8. Being Latino/Hispanic is not a major factor in my social relationships

Modified Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity assimilation subscale

1. Latinos/Hispanics who espouse separatism are as racist as White people who also espouse separatism
2. A sign of progress is that Latinos/Hispanics are in the mainstream of America more than ever before
3. Because America is predominantly White, it is important that Latinos/Hispanics go to White schools so that they can gain experience interacting with Whites
4. Latinos/Hispanics should strive to be full members of the American political system
5. Latinos/Hispanics should try to work within the system to achieve their political and economic goals
6. Latinos/Hispanics should feel free to interact socially with White people
7. Latinos/Hispanics should view themselves as being Americans first and foremost

8. The plight of Latinos/Hispanics in America will improve only when Latinos/Hispanics are in important positions within the system

FIGURES

Figure 1

Correlation between private regard and public regard.

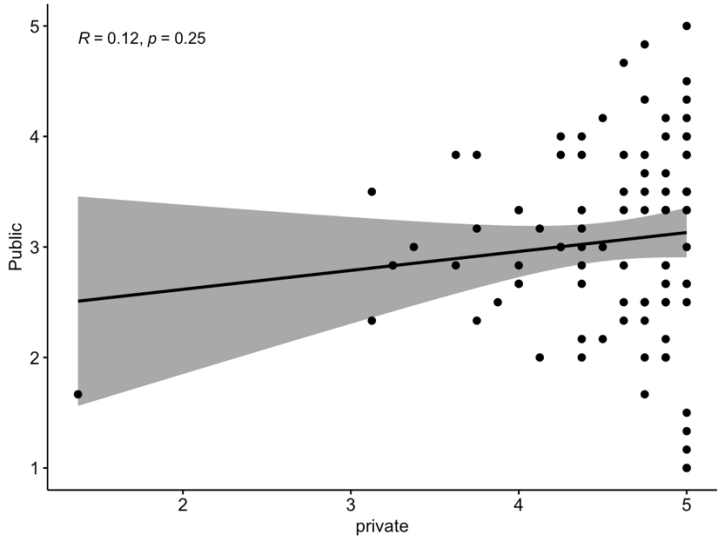


Figure 2

Correlation between public regard and MEIM ratings.

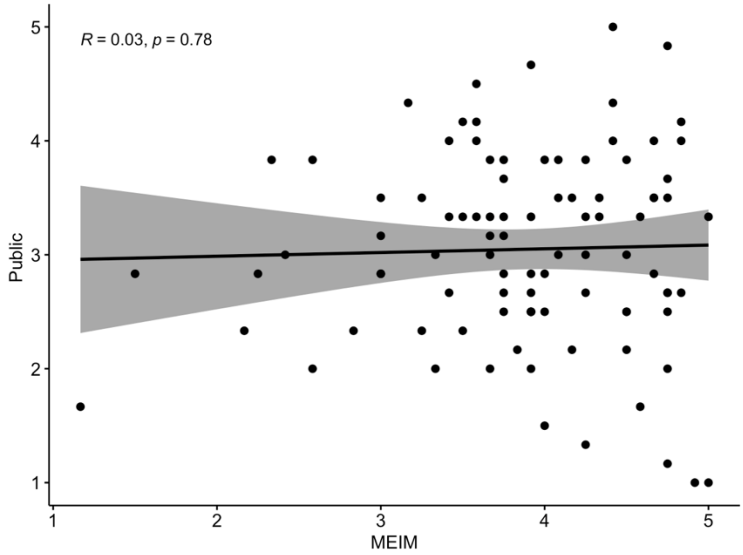


Figure 3

Correlation between Private regard and MEIM ratings.

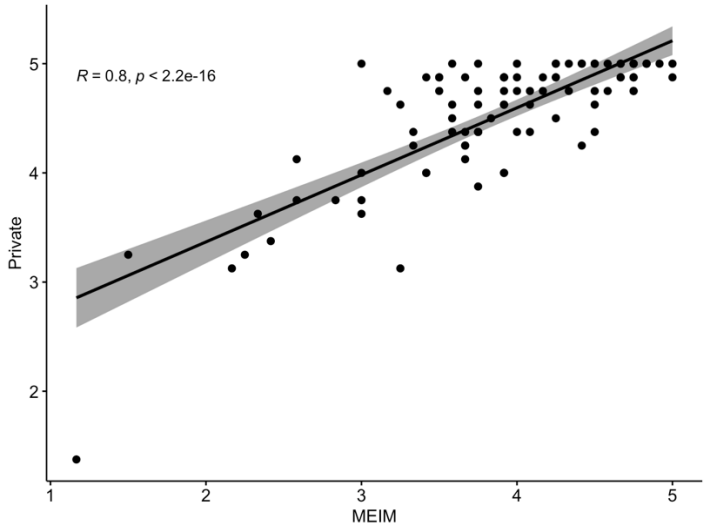
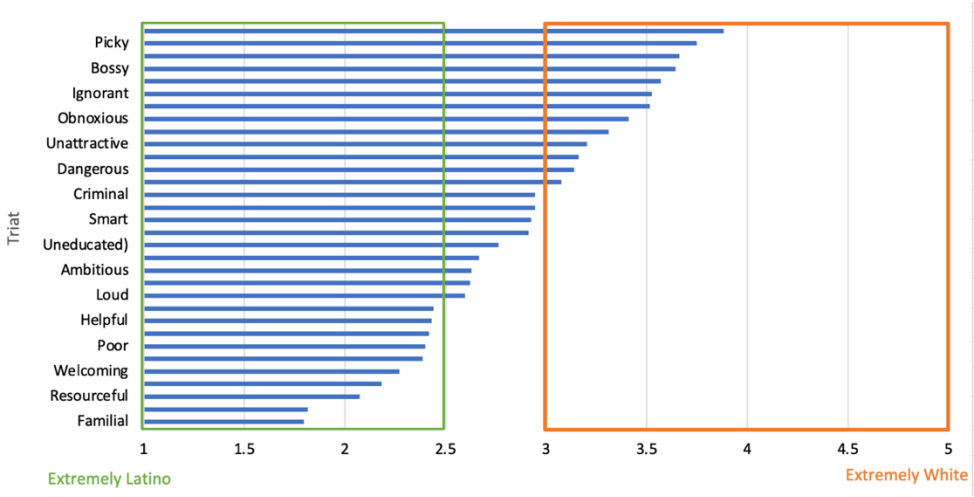


Figure 4

Pilot test trait ratings.



Note. Pretested trait ratings. Participants were asked to rate how much each trait describes: 1 (Extremely Latino) to 5 (Extremely White). Traits that were rated 2.5 or below were chosen to be

used as Latino trait stimuli for the priming task, while traits that were rated 3 or higher were chosen as White trait stimuli.

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CURRICULUM VITA

Manal Aboargob is a Doctoral Student in the Social-Cultural Psychology program at the University of Texas at El Paso with Dr. Hannah Volpert-Esmond. She is currently studying the consequences of experiencing discrimination for members of minority groups, particularly the influence of experiencing discrimination has on attitudes towards one's group and the self, as well as behavior. During her graduate career, she has received several fellowships and scholarships. She currently has a manuscript currently under revision titled "Direct and vicarious experiences of discrimination and rumination among Latinos through the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic", as well as several manuscripts in prep. Manal looks forward to gaining a Ph.D. and working in Academia while continuing research investigating the consequences of experiencing discrimination as well as the neurocognitive underpinnings of racial categorization.