SELF AND IDENTITY
https://doi.org/10.1080/15298868.2019.1659848

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ARTICLE

Looking like vs. acting like your race: Social activism shapes perceptions of multiracial individuals

Maria M. Garay*[a], Chanel Meyers†[a], Jessica D. Remedios[b] and Kristin Pauker[a]

[a]Department of Psychology, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Honolulu, HI, USA; [b]Department of Psychology, Tufts University, Medford, MA, USA

ABSTRACT

Research shows that multiracial individuals' racial identities are often questioned because their appearances are not prototypical of their racial groups. We examined whether social activism performed by a multiracial person may bolster perceptions of that person as a legitimate representative of the racial minority group. In Studies 1 and 2, participants in a voting paradigm voted for a multiracial over a monoracial candidate if the candidate displayed social activism. In addition, Study 3 found that candidates who displayed social activism, rather than a generic racially prototypical behavior, were seen as more electable and representative of the association. Overall, our findings illuminate the power of social activism to alter perceptions of how representative multiracial individuals are of their racial minority groups..

ARTICLE HISTORY
Received 30 November 2018
Accepted 20 August 2019

KEYWORDS
Multiracial; identity; social activism; social perception

In 2016, Collin Kaepernick (who self identifies as biracial Black/White) received backlash from former NFL player Rodney Harrison (who self identifies as Black) for kneeling during the National Anthem, in an effort to raise awareness of racism targeting the Black community in America. Harrison stated that "I'm not saying [Kaepernick] has to be Black … his heart is in the right place, but even with what he's doing, he still doesn't understand the injustices as a black man" (Wilson, 2016). Later on, Harrison apologized on Twitter for questioning Kaepernick's race, stating that he "never even knew he was mixed" (Harrison, 2016). Colin Kaepernick's actions indicated his desire to speak out on behalf of the Black community against racial inequality; however, due to his non-prototypically Black appearance, his actions were called into question. Even so, as someone who voices his concerns about racial inequality on social media, donates to charities that help Black communities, and who started his own charity to help Black youth (https://kaepernick7.com), Colin Kaepernick is often cited as an activist and representative of the Black community (Martin, 2018).

CONTACT Maria M. Garay maria.garay@tufts.edu Department of Psychology, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 2530 Dole Street, Sakamaki, Honolulu, HI 96822, USA

*The author has since moved to Tufts University, Department of Psychology, 490 Boston Avenue, Medford, MA, 02155, USA.

†The author has since moved to York University, Department of Psychology, 4700 Keele Street, Toronto, ON, M3J 1P3, Canada.

The supplemental data for this aarticle can be accessed here.

Credentials in the form of social activism may make it more likely that people perceive Kaepernick as a good representative of the Black community. Examples such as this one highlight that multiracial individuals may initially be met with skepticism or backlash when they choose to act as *representatives* of one of their racial communities, but that social activism may act as a credential that can increase one's acceptance into a community. Thus, social activism may operate as a behavioral cue that can shift how multiracials are perceived, and whether they are viewed as good representatives of their racial minority communities.

In general, a representative for a group is someone who is chosen to speak on behalf of a larger group (Pitkin, 1967; Saward, 2006). Often this representative will be someone who resembles those who are being represented (Pitkin, 1967), meaning that they *look* like and have the *same experiences* as the people whom they represent. For multiracials, who often do not phenotypically resemble the communities they wish to represent, communicating shared experiences with group members may be key to being perceived as legitimate group representatives. However, despite a wealth of research showing that categorization and treatment of multiracial individuals is often shaped by their racially ambiguous appearances (Gaither, Babbitt, & Sommers, 2018; Pauker, Meyers, Sanchez, Gaither, & Young, 2018; Skinner & Nicholas, 2015), little research to date has examined the factors, beyond appearance, that influence whether multiracial people are perceived as representative group members of their minority communities. Therefore, the present studies aimed to examine how engaging in social activism on behalf of a racial minority community may effectively highlight similarities between a multiracial activist's experiences and experiences shared by the broader community. Subsequently, engaging in social activism may increase the likelihood that multiracial activists are perceived as effective representatives of their minority communities.

Multiracial appearance and identity

The multiracial population in the United States has been steadily increasing (Pew Research Center, 2015); as a result, there has been a boom in research to better understand the factors that promote psychological well-being among members of this growing demographic. For example, Sanchez (2010) found that when the multiracial identities of multiracial individuals were acknowledged by others, they reported greater life satisfaction. Multiracial individuals also form positive impressions of others who accurately identify their race, which is important for promoting positive interpersonal relations (Remedios & Chasteen, 2013). However, multiracial individuals are disproportionately likely to be low in *phenotypic prototypicality* – the extent to which a person resembles a prototypical group member – and to be perceived as racially ambiguous (Corneille, Huart, Becquart, & Brédart, 2004; MacLin & Malpass, 2001; Pauker et al., 2009; Willadsen-Jensen & Ito, 2006, 2008), making it unlikely that others will recognize their multiracial identity or accurately identify their race. Monoracial perceivers find it difficult to racially categorize multiracial individuals (Chen & Hamilton, 2012), which may cause them to exclude multiracial individuals from their group (Pauker et al., 2009, 2009).

Multiracials who are racially ambiguous may nevertheless strategically display their loyalty to a racial community in a variety of ways, ranging from more subtle to more

explicit demonstrations of loyalty. For example, multiracial individuals may choose to indicate one preferred racial identity on questionnaires or documents that ask for such information (Albuja, Sanchez, et al., 2018). However, the consequence of such subtle, yet strategic displays of identity may largely be negative; for example, Albuja, Sanchez, et al (2018) found that when a multiracial individual chose to identify with one of their racial identities over the other in order to receive a benefit (in this case, college acceptance), White participants lashed out against the multiracial individual. In contrast, multiracial individuals who engage in social activism may be viewed as doing the critical work of supporting their identity choices with evidence that they have knowledge of, and experience with, the group's plight. In other words, unlike other demonstrations of identity in which an individual may be perceived as doing little to advance the group's interest while still gaining some personal benefit or advantage, we expect a display of social activism to strengthen perceptions of multiracial individuals as effective group representatives.

Identity and social activism

One of main roles of a representative in any organization is to bring together people to take action (Goleman, 2003). Whether this be as simple a responsibility as delegating tasks for a small project, or as large a responsibility as mobilizing for change in nationwide policies, representatives are essential change makers in society. Group members may decide who is suitable as a group representative by examining whether an individual possess characteristics that are prototypical of the group. For example, individuals who are high in group identification are more likely to endorse a representative who is prototypical of their group (Fielding & Hogg, 1997; Hains, Hogg, & Julie, 1997).

However, because multiracial individuals often do not appear phenotypically prototypical of any one monoracial group, perceivers may use factors other than appearance to determine their racial group membership. Beyond physical characteristics, how someone behaves may be used by perceivers to determine whether a multiracial individual feels a greater connection with one racial group over another. For example, research shows that multiracial individuals who confront racial discrimination are more likely than those who do not confront to be perceived as identified with their minority group (Wilton, Rattan, & Sanchez, 2017). Similarly, social activism may be a cue to perceivers that a multiracial individual identifies with a minority group (Cammarota, 2011; Pascarella, Salisbury, Martin, & Blaich, 2012).

Current studies

The current research aimed to examine how social activism may shape perceptions of multiracial individuals. In other words, can social activism convey that multiracial individuals are effective representatives of their minority communities? We predict that multiracial individuals who engage in social activism on behalf of their racial communities will be more readily accepted than those who do not engage in social activism. Displaying social activism may signal a set of shared experiences with monoracial minorities that is often communicated implicitly through their one's prototypical appearance (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Ho, Kteily, & Chen, 2017).

Therefore, studies 1, 2 and 3 aimed to look at a novel factor – social activism – that may bolster the acceptability of a multiracial Asian individual representing their racial minority community (i.e., the Asian community). Study 2 examined perceptions of both Asian and Black multiracial candidates, and Study 3 investigated how perceiver group membership influences perceptions of the representativeness of multiracial targets who display social activism.

Study 1

To examine whether multiracials are perceived as effective representatives of monoracial minority communities when they display social activism, we asked participants to vote for a leader of an ostensible race-related association. Participants were asked to select between a monoracial (e.g., phenotypically prototypical) or multiracial (e.g., phenotypically non-prototypical) individual who demonstrated varying levels of social activism on behalf of their racial community. Given that people are likely to support prototypical representatives (Fielding & Hogg, 1997; Hains et al., 1997), we were interested in how social activism may shape participants' decisions to vote for a monoracial vs. multiracial candidate for this position. We hypothesized that when a multiracial candidate displays high social activism for their racial minority community, they will be perceived as being an effective representative for that community.

Method

Participants and procedure

Our sample consisted of 125 undergraduates (63% women; M_{age} = 21.63 SD = 7.95) recruited from The University of Hawai'i's human subjects participant pool and compensated via extra credit for psychology courses (43 multiracial, 30 East Asian, 23 White, 20 Southeast Asian, 5 Pacific Islander, 2 Indigenous, 1 Hispanic, 1 Black). The aim of the study was to recruit at least 120 participants, similar to samples collected in other research studies that utilized a vignette paradigm (for example: Remedios, Chasteen, & Oey, 2012; Wilton et al., 2017).

All participants were shown *one* vignette in which they saw a monoracial Asian candidate and a multiracial Asian candidate accompanied with statements demonstrating the qualifications they held to be president of an ostensible Asian American Association. We chose to examine voting in the context of selecting the president of a race-based association as people may view phenotypic prototypicality as necessary for a person to be a representative of that population (Fielding & Hogg, 1997; Hains et al., 1997). Participants were asked to read the statements that accompanied each candidate to learn more about the individual's qualifications (see Figure 1 for an example).

Participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions: equivalent-high (statements accompanying candidates were equally high in social activism), non-equivalent (the statement accompanying the multiracial candidate was higher in social activism compared to the statement accompanying the monoracial candidate), and equivalent low (statements accompanying the multiracial and monoracial candidates were equally low in social activism). The monoracial candidate always appeared on the left and the multiracial candidate always appeared on the right. The factor that differed

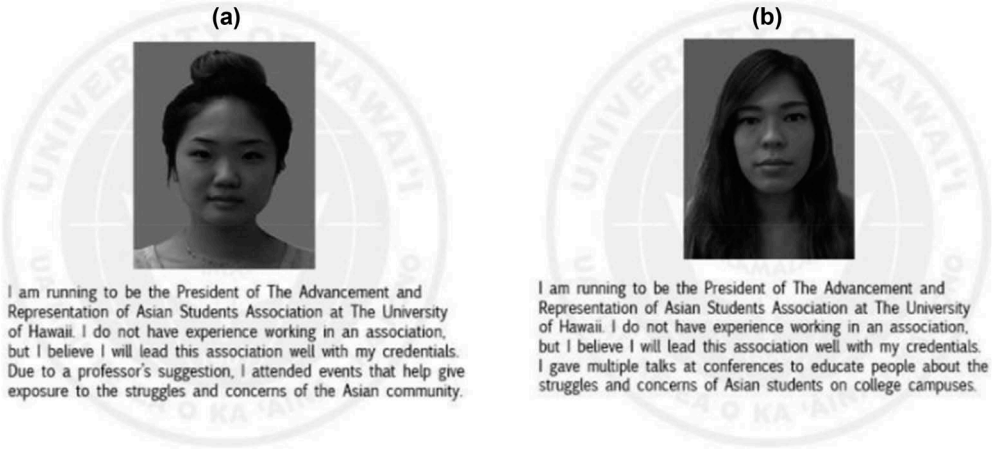

Figure 1. Voting stimuli in the non-equivalent condition between Candidate A (monoracial) vs. Candidate B (multiracial).

between the profiles was the statements paired with the faces, which was based on condition (see Figure 1 for example stimuli and Table 1 for the exact pairings used in each condition). We piloted a condition where the multiracial candidate was lower in social activism than the monoracial candidate, and as predicted, this only exacerbated existing preferences for monoracial candidates, all else being equal. Therefore, we did not include this condition in any of the reported studies. Participants were asked to vote once for who they would select as president of the ostensible association. After they voted, participants were asked to provide an open-ended response describing the rationale for their voting decision.

Materials

Social activism manipulation

Statements were pretested by research assistants (n = 18), who were asked to rate "how strong is this social activism" for each statement on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*extremely weak*) to 5 (*extremely strong*) to ensure the statements selected were high in social activism. Research assistants were also asked to rate "how strongly does this statement relate to Asian American issues" on a 5-point scale 1 (*extremely weak*) to 5 (*extremely strong*) to make sure each statement did align with issues pertaining to the Asian American community (see Table 1 for averages of the pretest). Participants viewed statements by the candidates that differed in their levels of social activism according to the pretest (see Table 1). The statements were originally matched by pairing statements that appeared descriptively similar (equivalent high condition) or not similar (non-equivalent condition) to each other[1]. The statements concluded with the candidate stating they did not have prior experience working in an association, to be sure that participants did not assume that the candidates' participation in activism was evidence of prior experience in an association.

Table 1. Conditions and statements piloted and used in Study 1.

Condition	Prototypicality	Qualification	Statement
Equivalent-high	Monoracial	High activism M_{Act} = 4.37 (.50) M_{Relate} = 4.16 (.83)	*I spoke as a guest at multiple universities as advocate for Asian representation in Hollywood and reducing whitewashing in films*
	Multiracial	High activism M_{Act} = 4.21 (.79) M_{Relate} = 4.21 (.71)	*I developed a program dedicated to having the voices of Asian American students heard, helping them fight against the Model Minority Myth.*
Non-equivalent	Monoracial	Low activism M_{Act} = 3.61 (.98) M_{Relate} = 3.83 (1.04)	*For a course assignment, I attended an event that gave exposure to the stigma and stereotypes that Asian Americans experience.*
	Multiracial	High activism M_{Act} = 4.67 (.77) M_{Relate} = 4.39 (.70)	*I lead multiple protests against colleges that lack diversity in their Ethnic Studies department, specifically within their Asian American studies programs.*
Equivalent low	Monoracial	Low activism	*For a course project, I attended an event that discussed the prejudice and discrimination Asian Americans experience.*
	Multiracial	Low activism	*For a course assignment, I attended an event that gave exposure to the stigma and stereotypes that Asian Americans experience.*

Note. The same "low activism" statement is used twice in the low activism condition, with synonyms for certain words (i.e., "stigma" is changed to "prejudice.")

Stimuli

In order to vary racial prototypicality of each candidate we pretested images of monoracial Asian and multiracial Asian faces that served as the ostensible candidates in the voting paradigm (n = 15). Faces were categorized by race and assessed on prototypicality on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*not at all prototypical*) to 7 (*very prototypical*) by the same sample of pretesters for the statements. Faces were also pretested on attractiveness on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*extremely attractive*) to 7 (*very attractive*). Pretesters were first asked to select what race they believed the face most represented from a list of the following options: White, African American, Pacific Islander, East Asian, Southeast Asian, South Asian, Multiracial, and Hispanic, and then were asked to rate the prototypicality of the race they selected. Only one face out of 10 pretested Asian images was selected to represent the monoracial Asian candidate, as well as one face out of 10 pretested multiracial images was selected to represent the multiracial Asian candidate. This is because participants in the main study were randomly assigned to one condition, in which they saw only one set of candidates.

The photo used to represent the monoracial Asian candidate was prototypically Asian, such that 90% of pretesters categorized the face as East Asian and rated the target high in prototypicality (M_{Proto} = 5.13, SD = 1.19). The photo used to represent the multiracial Asian candidate was categorized as multiracial, such that 90% of pretesters categorized the face as multiracial, and somewhat prototypical of the category "multiracial" (M_{Proto} = 3.94, SD = 1.09)[2]. Faces were matched on attractiveness by selecting candidates for whom attractiveness ratings descriptively appeared highly similar.[3]

Rationale

In addition to asking participants to vote for a candidate, we included an open-ended item asking participants to provide a rationale for their decision. Open-ended responses were coded by two naïve research assistants based on whether the participant cited race or social activism as a rationale for their vote or provided no response. The rationales were coded as (1) race-related, (2) activism-related or (0) idiosyncratic responses ($\kappa s > .70$). An example of a race-related rationale was: "I chose candidate A primarily because she appeared to be more Asian by ethnicity," and an example of an activism-related rationale was: "Candidate B seems to have taken a greater, more active stance in the community of the issue at hand." Idiosyncratic responses included statements such as: "I don't know."

Results

Votes by condition

In order to examine whether participants' votes differed by condition we conducted a Kruskal-Wallis one-way ANOVA on vote choice (dummy coded: 1 = vote for multiracial candidate, 0 = vote for monoracial candidate). Votes significantly differed across conditions, $X^2(2) = 14.90$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .12$. Dwass-Steel-Critchlow-Fligner pairwise comparisons showed that vote choice significantly differed between the equivalent-low condition (34.88% of votes were for the multiracial candidate) and the equivalent-high (71.05% votes were for the multiracial candidate) and non-equivalent conditions (70.21% votes were for the multiracial candidate), $ps < .004$. There was no difference in vote choice between the equivalent-high and non-equivalent conditions, $p = .996$ (see Figure 2).

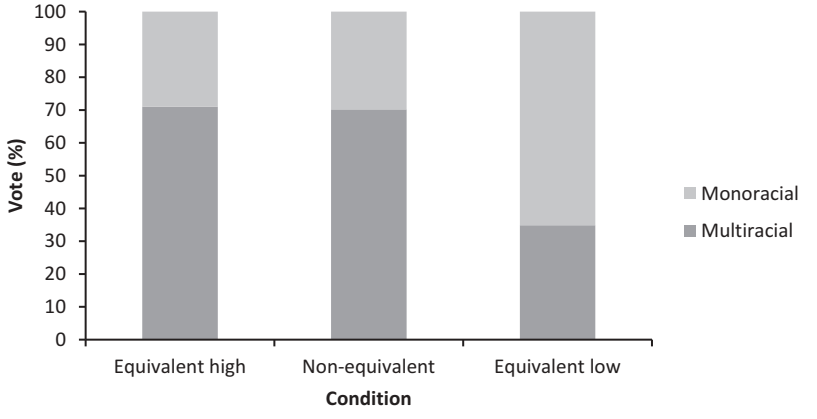

Figure 2. Total vote percentage across conditions for multiracial and monoracial candidates.

Rationale by condition

We examined participants' rationales for their voting decision across conditions. We ran a Kruskal-Wallis one-way ANOVA on rationale. Rationales significantly differed across conditions, $X^2(2) = 19.90$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .16$. Dwass-Steel-Critchlow-Fligner pairwise comparisons showed that rationales significantly differed between the equivalent-low (51.16% of rationales were activism-related) condition and the equivalent-high (86.84% rationales were activism-related) and non-equivalent (87.23% rationales were activism-related) conditions, $ps < .002$. There was no difference in rationales between the equivalent-high and non-equivalent conditions, $p = .998$ (see Figure 3).

Discussion

Study 1 results showed that, indeed, multiracial individuals are not readily perceived as legitimate representatives of their racial minority group when they do not demonstrate

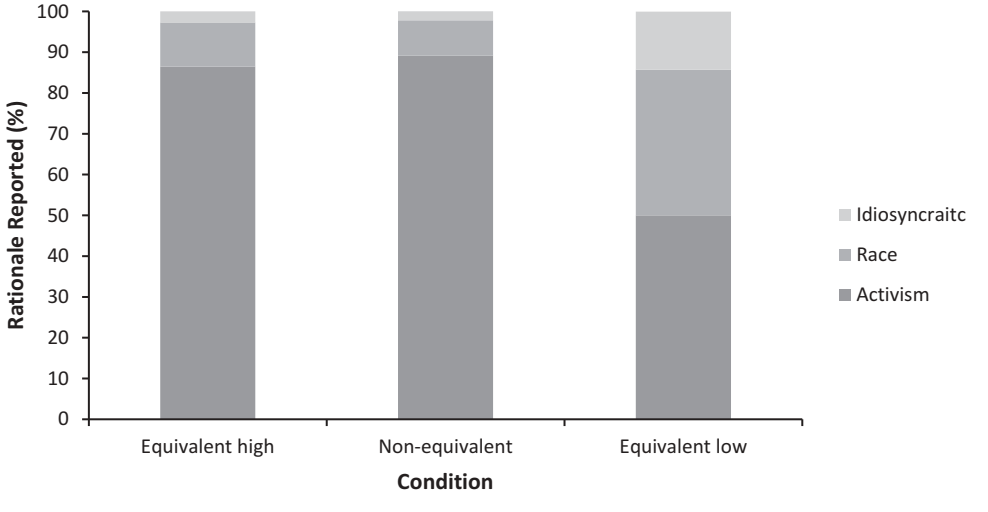

Figure 3. Total percentage of rationales (activism or race-based rationales) used as rationale for vote reported across conditions.

social activism. However, when the multiracial candidate engaged in high social activism (in the equivalent-high and non-equivalent conditions), participants were more likely to select the multiracial candidate than the monoracial candidate to represent a race-based association. Overall, participants credited social activism more than race as the rationale for their voting decisions. However, in the equivalent-low condition, where activism was absent for both candidates, race was used more often as a rationale for voting decisions for the chosen candidate. In the absence of social activism credentials, participants were more likely to use physical appearance cues (i.e., race) in order to justify their decision of who should serve as a leader of their group. While our results did show some support for our predictions, it was unclear why participants voted for the multiracial candidate more often than the monoracial candidate in the equivalent-high condition. Therefore, we conducted Study 2 to examine whether the findings would replicate in a new sample and to investigate potential factors that might have influenced our results, such as candidate race (Asian).

Study 2

Given partial support for our hypotheses in Study 1, in Study 2 we aimed to replicate our results and to address some of the limitations of Study 1. First, participants were mostly multiracial and Asian in Study 1 and, therefore, they were voting for members of their own ingroup, which may have been one reason for participants' willingness to vote for the multiracial Asian candidate. Therefore, in Study 2 we included candidates from a multiracial group that this sample of participants were less likely to have exposure to in their environment: multiracial Black individuals.

Furthermore, in Study 1, participants only voted for a candidate in one trial. This design limited the potential variability in participants' responses; therefore, in Study 2 we included eight trials: four trials with monoracial Asian vs. multiracial Asian candidates and four trials with monoracial Black vs. multiracial Black candidates. Lastly, because we found expected results in the equivalent low condition (i.e., the absence of demonstrated social activism led participants to vote for the monoracial candidate) in Study 1, we included only the equivalent-high and non-equivalent conditions in Study 2. In Study 1 we also did not directly measure how representative participants believed the candidate was of the association, so in addition to participants' votes, we also asked participants how representative they believed their selected candidate to be of the association, in order to further examine what factors influenced participants' decisions.

This study was pre-registered (https://aspredicted.org/3ax3f.pdf) with two main hypotheses: H1) multiracial individuals who demonstrate high social activism in comparison to monoracial individuals who demonstrate low social activism (in the non-equivalent condition) will receive more votes, and H2) this condition difference will be qualified by an interaction with candidate race, such that multiracial Asian candidates will receive more votes than monoracial Asian candidates in the non-equivalent condition (i.e., multiracial Asian candidate shows greater social activism in comparison to the monoracial Asian candidate); however, this will not be the case for votes for the multiracial Black versus monoracial Black candidates.

Methods

Participants and procedure

Our sample consisted of 137 undergraduates. Per our pre-registered exclusion criteria, we excluded 7 participants who did not fully complete the study, and 5 participants who took longer than 2 standard deviations above the average time to complete the study. Our final sample included 125 participants (70% female; M_{age} = 20.14, SD = 3.29). A sensitivity power analysis indicated that at α = .05, with 80% power, we would be able to detect an effect of f = .20. Our sample consisted of 40 multiracial, 29 East Asian, 18 Southeast Asian, 1 South Asian, 28 White, 2 Pacific Islander, 4 Hispanic, and 3 Black participants. Participants were randomly assigned to the equivalent-high condition or non-equivalent condition (identical to Study 1) and participants saw both Asian and Black candidates (randomized across trials).

Participants saw the same voting task and survey items as described in Study 1, with the only difference that participants voted in four trials between a monoracial Asian candidate and a multiracial Asian candidate, and four trials between a monoracial Black candidate and a multiracial Black candidate. Similar to Study 1, the monoracial candidate always appeared on the left of the screen, while the multiracial candidate appeared on the right of the screen. The only factor that differed between the profiles was the statement that was paired with the face, which was determined by the condition to which the participant was assigned. In addition to this, the voting vignettes were relevant to the association the candidates were running for, such that Asian candidates were running for an Asian-related association, while Black candidates were running for a Black-related association.

After all 8 trials were completed, participants completed the following randomized measures about Asian, Black, and multiracial groups: rationale for votes, feeling thermometers, closeness, exposure, and perceived experiences of discrimination. Per our pre-registration, these individual difference variables were collected for exploratory purposes; however, as we did not pre-register hypotheses or data analysis plans regarding these measures they will not be discussed further.[4]

Materials

Social activism manipulation

Pretesters viewed similar statements to Study 1 (refer to Table 1 for examples). However, due to the increase in the number of trials in the current study, we created and pretested additional statements for the strength of activism the statements conveyed. All statements were pretested by research assistants (n = 8) for strength of activism to ensure each statement used for the equivalent-high condition were matched, and that statements used for the non-equivalent condition were distinct. In pretesting for Study 2, research assistants rated "how much experience do you think this person has with acts of social activism?" to directly assess perceived experiences with social activism. Our pretesting descriptively showed that high social activism statements conveyed that the candidate had more experience with social activism (M = 4.34, SD = .75) compared to low social activism statements (M = 2.33, SD = .89).[5]

Stimuli

Similar to Study 1, all faces were rated by research assistants ($n_{AsianStim} = 7$, $n_{BlackStim} = 12$) on their attractiveness on a 10-point scale ranging from 1 (*low attractiveness*) to 10 (*high attractiveness*). Racial prototypicality was also pretested by first asking raters to categorize the face among the following categories: White, African American, Pacific Islander, Southeast Asian, South Asian, multiracial, and Hispanic, and then asking them to rate how prototypical the face was of the selected racial category on a 10-point scale ranging from 1 (*not at all prototypical*) to 10 (*extremely prototypical*). Candidates were matched in attractiveness by pairing faces together that, descriptively, were similar in attractiveness ratings[6] (see Table 2).

Representativeness

After completing the voting task, participants rated whether they thought "Candidate A/B is a good representative of The [mock club]" on a scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). This measure was added to directly assess representativeness of all candidates regardless of the participants' ultimate voting decision. In addition to this, participants also rated how knowledgeable they thought each candidate was of race-related issues using the same scale; however, our focus was on perceptions of representativeness, so we report results regarding knowledgeable ratings in the supplementary materials.

Results

Votes for the multiracial candidate by condition and race

A 2 (condition: non-equivalent vs. equivalent-high) X 2 (candidate race: Asian vs. Black) mixed model ANOVA with repeated measures on the last factor was conducted on the percentage of votes for the multiracial candidate to test our hypotheses[7]. Total voting scores were calculated by taking the percentages of votes for the multiracial candidate across all eight trials. There was no main effect of candidate race, $F(1, 123) = .05$, $p = .82$, such that participants voted for the multiracial Asian candidate [65.60% ($SD = .30$) of the time] at the same rate that they voted for the multiracial Black candidate [65.20% ($SD = .30$) of the time].

However, there was a main effect of condition, $F(1, 123) = 104.98$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .41$. Participants voted for the multiracial candidate 84.59% ($SD = .24$) of the time in the non-equivalent condition, whereas participants voted for the multiracial candidate only 45.30% ($SD = .18$) of the time in the equivalent-high condition (see Figure 4). There was no significant interaction between candidate race and condition, $F(1, 123) = .05$, $p = .82$. Thus, our hypothesis that the multiracial candidate demonstrating high social

Table 2. Stimuli pretest averages and standard deviations.

Race	Prototypicality	Attractiveness	Racial Prototypicality
Asian	Monoracial	6.04 (1.94)	8.10 (1.78)
	Multiracial	7.06 (1.69)	7.49 (1.75)
Black	Monoracial	5.77 (2.04)	8.37 (1.74)
	Multiracial	5.28 (1.87)	7.44 (1.84)

Note. Standard deviations are in parentheses.

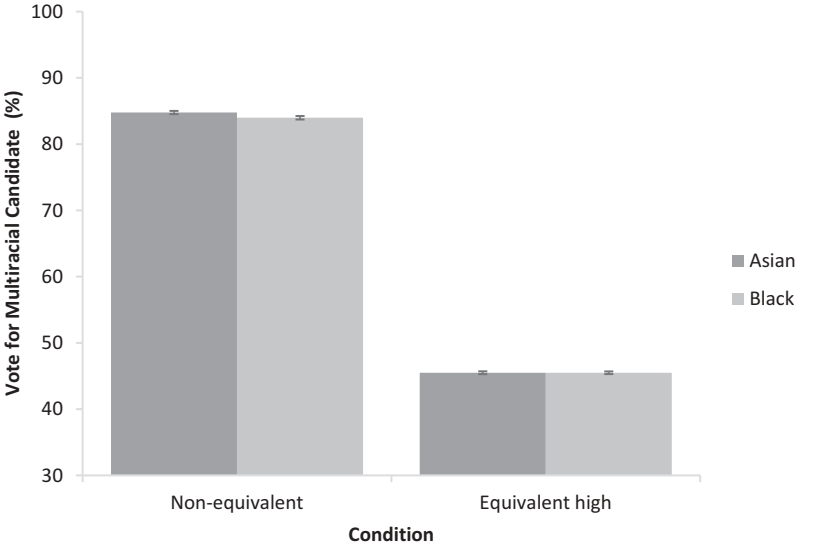

Figure 4. Percentage of participants that voted for the multiracial candidate (Asian and Black) across condition. Bars represent standard deviation.

activism will be perceived as an effective representative when compared to a monoracial candidate demonstrating low activism was supported. Unexpectedly, votes did not differ across candidate race, such that participants' votes for the multiracial Black candidate were at a similar rate to votes for the multiracial Asian candidate (see Figure 4).

Exploratory analyses: Representativeness

To examine differences in average ratings of representativeness, we conducted 2 (condition: non-equivalent vs. equivalent-high) X 2 (prototypicality: multiracial vs. monoracial) X 2 (candidate race: Asian vs. Black) mixed ANOVA on ratings of representativeness with repeated measures on the last two factors. There was no significant main effect of condition, $F(1, 123) = 2.77$, $p = .10$. Participants did not rate candidates as more representative in the equivalent-high vs. non-equivalent conditions. Similarly, there was no significant main effect of candidate race, $F(1, 123) = .90$, $p = .35$. Black candidates were not rated as more or less representative than Asian candidates.

However, there was a main effect of prototypicality, $F(1, 123) = 14.01$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .03$, such that multiracial candidates were rated as more representative than their monoracial counterparts. This is effect was qualified by a significant interaction between prototypicality and condition, $F(1, 123) = 41.96$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .09$. Post-hoc comparisons using Tukey's correction found that in the non-equivalent condition, multiracial candidates were rated as more representative than monoracial candidates, $p < .001$. Conversely, monoracial candidates were rated as more representative than multiracial candidates in the equivalent-high condition, $p = .003$[8]. Additionally, monoracial candidates were seen as more representative in the equivalent-high condition than in the non-equivalent condition, $p < .001$ (see Table 3).

Table 3. Average representativeness ratings between monoracial and multiracial candidates across race and condition.

Candidate		Non-equivalent	Equivalent-high
Monoracial Asian	Representativeness	3.52 (.94)	4.15 (.64)
Multiracial Asian	Representativeness	4.30 (.72)	3.99 (.65)
Monoracial Black	Representativeness	3.54 (.95)	4.26 (.66)
Multiracial Black	Representativeness	4.29 (.76)	4.00 (.85)

Note. Standard deviations are in parentheses.

Discussion

The results of Study 2 provide support for our hypothesis: When the multiracial candidate engaged in high social activism and was compared with a monoracial candidate who showed low social activism (non-equivalent condition), participants were more likely to vote for the multiracial candidate, indicating that activism may outweigh the importance of a prototypical appearance for judgments of whether a target is a good representative of a minority-serving organization. We also predicted there would be differences in votes for multiracial Asian and multiracial Black candidates, however, our results showed no differences as a function of candidate race. Thus, the results did not support our second hypothesis, in which we expected that multiracial Black candidates would be voted for less frequently than multiracial Asian candidates.

In addition, we conducted exploratory analyses on how participants would view the multiracial candidates' representativeness, which support our hypothesis that a multiracial individual who displays high social activism for their racial community is perceived as being a good representative of the ostensible association they are choosing to represent.

Study 3

In Study 3, we aimed to replicate the results of Studies 1 and 2 and to address the limitations of the earlier studies. While we did not find differences in participants' voting decisions across candidate race in Study 2, we wanted to directly test whether participant race would impact voting decisions for ingroup vs. outgroup candidates. Specifically, we expected Asian participants to be more likely than Black participants to vote for the multiracial Asian candidate. Similarly, we expected Black participants to be more likely than Asian participants to vote for the multiracial Black candidate.

Additionally, it was unclear whether social activism shaped participants' perceptions of multiracial candidates because activism is one of many behaviors that may be considered prototypical of a racial group, or because activism uniquely shapes perceptions of group representativeness. To determine whether social activism, when compared to more generic, but still racially-prototypical behaviors, differentially affected impressions formed of the candidates, we varied candidates' qualifications for the position – that is, whether the candidate reported engaging in social activism or racially prototypical behavior (e.g., an Asian individual who experienced living with and being raised by immigrant parents).

This study was pre-registered (https://aspredicted.org/hk7jt.pdf) with two main hypotheses: H1) multiracial candidates who display social activism will receive more votes than multiracial candidates who display racially prototypical behaviors, and H2) multiracial

candidates will receive more votes if they share a common ingroup with the participant (i.e., Asian participants will vote for multiracial Asian candidates more so than Black participants). Therefore, Study 3 used the same voting vignettes as in Studies 1 and 2, with some modifications to the survey design and measures.

Methods

Participants and procedure

An a priori power analysis was conducted in G*Power (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Bunchnew, 2007) to determine that to detect an effect size of $f = .20$ with 80% power, and $\alpha = .05$, we would require $n = 104$. Our sample consisted of 125 participants collected from TurkPrime, an online platform that prescreens participants from nationally representative panels on specific demographic characteristics (e.g., race). Per our exclusion criteria we excluded 2 participants who failed to complete the main dependent variables listed in the pre-registration. Per IRB recommendations, we included a measure that allowed participants to indicate at the end of the study whether they wished to omit their data from analysis. Seventeen participants who later requested their data not be used for analyses were also excluded from the sample. Our final sample included 113 participants (55.75% female; $M_{age} = 44.65$; $SD = 15.76$). The sample consisted of 63 East Asian and 50 Black participants. All experimental manipulations were within subjects, with participant race as the only between subjects factor.

The study design was slightly different from Studies 1 and 2. On each trial, participants voted between four candidates: two monoracials (one displaying activism and the other displaying a racially prototypical behavior) and two multiracials (one displaying activism and the other displaying a racially prototypical behavior). Each face was always paired with the same statement. However, the order in which the four candidates were presented to participants was randomized. Within a single trial, candidate race was held constant such that participants saw only Asian monoracial candidates and Asian multiracial candidates. Participants completed two trials across each candidate race (Asian vs. Black), completing four trials total. After participants read each candidates' qualification, they were asked to rate how electable each candidate was and to vote for one candidate out of four. Additionally, they completed measures of representativeness and knowledge for each candidate as in Study 2. Similar to Study 2, knowledge ratings are reported in supplementary materials.

Materials

Qualification manipulation

Pretesters viewed statements one-by-one that were either high in social activism (18 statements) *or* high in racially prototypical behavior (20 statements; 10 for Asian and 10 for Black behaviors). The statements were pretested by individuals registered with a database of participants who complete studies at Tufts University for pay. Pretest participants were entered into a raffle for one of two $25 Amazon gift cards. We limited recruitment to Black ($n = 5$) and East Asian ($n_{pair1} = 8$, $n_{pair2} = 9$, $n_{pair3} = 10$, $n_{pair4} = 9$)[9] pretesters. Each pre-tester rated all statements being considered for inclusion in the main study for activism and prototypicality of their own racial group (e.g., Black pre-testers rated statements about Black candidates).

We selected 8 social activism statements to be used in the main study that pretested as high in activism on a scale ranging from 1 (*does not represent social activist behavior at all*) to 10 (*extremely represented social activist behavior*). Activism statements were also pretested in their racial prototypicality for someone who is Black/Asian[10], on a scale ranging from 1 (*not prototypical*) to 10 (*extremely prototypical*). Thus, the final 8 activist statements were high in activism but relatively low in racial prototypicality. We also selected 8 racially prototypical statements using the same scales (4 for Asian behaviors and 4 for Black behaviors) to be used in the main study, which pretested as high in racial prototypicality for someone who is Black/Asian and low in social activism (see Table 4 for pretest averages of the statements and Table 5 for examples).[11,12]

Stimuli

The same set of faces used in Study 2 were pretested again but using only East Asian ($n = 11$) and Black ($n = 11$) pretesters[13]. Each pretester rated all faces being considered for inclusion in the main study of their own racial group (e.g., Black participants rated faces for Black candidates). Similar to Study 2, faces were matched by descriptively considering their rated prototypicality and attractiveness (see Table 6 for averages and standard deviations)[14].

Representativeness

The same items from Study 2 were also used in Study 3 but on a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all representative*) to 10 (*extremely representative*).

Table 4. Pretest averages and standard deviations for statements.

Behavior	Race	Activism	Prototypicality
Activism	Asian	8.21 (2.14)	5.78 (2.53)
	Black	7.72 (2.33)	5.32 (2.25)
Racially Prototypical	Asian	3.67 (2.74)	6.62 (2.34)
	Black	3.57 (2.11)	6.20 (2.12)

Note. Standard deviations are in parentheses.

Table 5. Example of statements across qualifications and candidates' race.

Qualification	Candidate Race	Example
Activism	Asian	*I gave multiple talks at national diversity conferences to educate people about he struggles of Asian American college students; specifically, how their home environment may cause additional stress due to many of them having first-generation immigrant parents.*
	Black	*I work with multiple activist communities to organize events that are relevant to their cause. My main work is helping African American communities write permits for their pretests to prevent their gatherings from being disbanded.*
Racially Prototypical Behavior	Asian	*My parents always stressed the importance of college. Being that we are all first-generation immigrants, we could not afford a college tuition. I worked hard to get a full academic scholarship to attend a university, which made my parents very proud.*
	Black	*I grew up in a predominately Black neighborhood and my family was on welfare. This, however, made me work even harder in achieving my goals and aspirations. I am now a college student at a university studying political science, which makes my parents proud.*

Table 6. Stimuli pretest averages and standard deviations.

Race	Prototypicality	Attractiveness	Racial Prototypicality
Asian	Monoracial	5.29 (.83)	7.21 (.15)
	Multiracial	4.69 (.37)	6.50 (1.06)
Black	Monoracial	5.58 (.44)	7.29 (.53)
	Multiracial	5.71 (.39)	6.22 (.46)

Note. Standard deviations are in parentheses. Reiterating from Study 1, we expected that faces categorized as multiracial would not necessarily receive high prototypicality ratings like monoracial faces, as there is likely to be more phenotypic variability.

Electability

A new measure was added for Study 3 to capture more variability in participants' perceptions of the candidates, since participants were forced to choose only one candidate for the voting paradigm. This measure of electability asked participants to rate how electable each candidate was given their qualifications on a scale ranging from 1 (*not electable at all*) to 10 (*extremely electable*).

Results

Voting decisions

We conducted a 2 (participant race: Asian vs. Black) X 2 (candidate race: Asian vs. Black) X 2 (qualification: activist vs. prototypical) mixed model ANOVA with repeated measures on the last two factors on the percentage of votes for the multiracial candidate.

As we predicted, there was a significant main effect of qualification, $F(1, 111) = 8.94$, $p = .003$, $\eta^2 = .03$. Participants were more likely to vote for the multiracial candidate when they displayed activism (28.32%, $SD = .25$) versus a racially prototypical behavior (17.92%, $SD = .18$), $p = .003$. Contrary to our second hypothesis, there was no significant main effect of either participant race or candidate race, $ps > .40$. Moreover, there was no significant interaction between participant race and candidate race, $F(1, 111) = .04$, $p = .85$. This was not qualified by a three-way interaction, such that there was no significant three-way interaction between participant race, candidate race, and qualifications, $F(1, 111) = 1.19$, $p = .28$ (see Figure 5).

Exploratory analysis: Voting decisions x prototypicality

Our preregistration only listed proportion of multiracial votes as a dependent variable, though readers may be interested in other comparisons (i.e., number of votes for monoracial compared to multiracial candidates in particular conditions). Thus, we conducted a 2 (participant race: Asian vs. Black) X 2 (candidate race: Asian vs. Black) X 2 (qualification: activist vs. prototypical) X 2 (prototypicality: monoracial vs. multiracial) mixed model ANOVA with repeated measures on the last three factors on vote. There was a main effect of qualifications, $F(1, 111) = 31.32$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .22$, such that candidates who demonstrated activism were rated as more electable than those who demonstrated a racially prototypical behavior. In addition to this, there was a significant Qualification × Prototypicality interaction, $F(1, 111)$ 4.05, $p = .047$, $\eta^2 = .04$. These effects were qualified by a 3-way interaction between qualification, candidate race, and prototypicality, $F(1, 111) = 4.07$, $p = .046$, $\eta^2 = .04$.

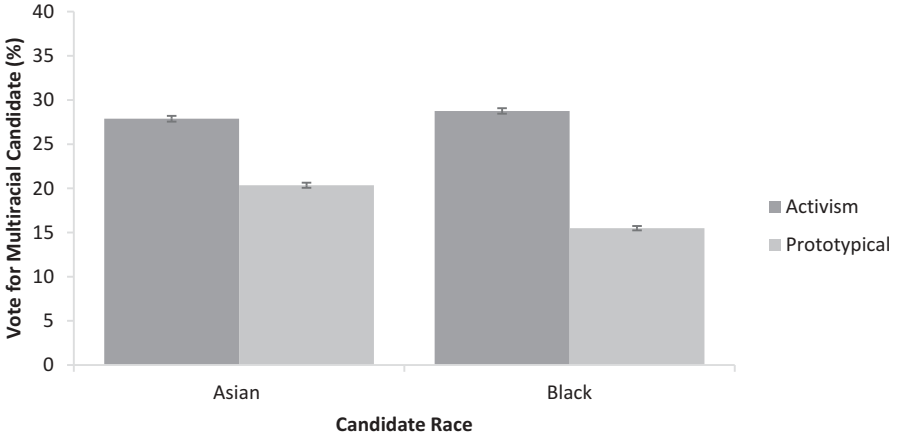

Figure 5. Total vote percentage for multiracial candidates between candidate race (Asian vs. Black) and qualifications (activism vs. prototypical). Bars represent standard deviation.

Simple effects analyses showed that for Asian candidates who display social activism, participants were more likely to vote for the monoracial candidate versus the multiracial candidate, $p = .048$ (see Table 7 for average vote percentages). There were no significant differences in voting for monoracial versus multiracial Asian candidates who displayed racially prototypical behavior ($p = .053$), or in voting for monoracial versus multiracial Black candidates for either type of qualification ($ps > .20$).

There was also a significant Qualification × Participant Race interaction, $F(1, 111) = 6.77$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2 = .06$. Simple effects analyses showed that Asian participants were more likely to vote for a candidate displaying activism ($M_{act} = 35.52\%$, $SD = .14$; $M_{proto} = 4.29\%$, $SD = .13$), $p = .008$. Black participants were also more likely to vote for a candidate displaying activism compared to racially prototypical behavior, but this difference was smaller than that observed for Asian participants ($M_{act} = 28.50\%$, $SD = .14$; $M_{proto} = 20.75\%$, $SD = .14$), $p = .014$. This was not qualified by a three-way interaction, $p = .60$. All other main effects and interactions were not significant, $ps > .10$.

Electability

In addition to voting decisions, we examined each candidates' electability in order to better understand participants' judgments of the candidates. We submitted electability

Table 7. Averages for vote percentages across prototypicality, qualifications, and candidate race.

Prototypicality	Qualification	Candidate Race	Mean %
Monoracial	Activism	Asian	39% (.35)
		Black	34% (.33)
	Race	Asian	13% (.25)
		Black	20% (.30)
Multiracial	Activism	Asian	28% (.33)
		Black	29% (.31)
	Race	Asian	20% (.29)
		Black	15% (.25)

Note. Standard deviations are in parentheses.

ratings to a 2 (participant race: Asian vs. Black) X 2 (candidate race: Asian vs. Black) X 2 (qualification: activist vs. prototypical) X 2 (prototypicality: monoracial vs. multiracial) mixed model ANOVA with repeated measures on the last three factors. There was a main effect of qualifications, $F(1, 111) = 36.70$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .04$, such that candidates who demonstrated activism were rated as more electable than those who demonstrated a racially prototypical behavior. There was also a significant Qualification × Participant Race interaction, $F(1, 111) = 5.84$, $p = .02$, $\eta^2 = .006$. These effects were qualified by a 3-way interaction between qualification, participant race, and candidate race, $F(1, 111) = 5.82$, $p = .02$, $\eta^2 = .002$. Simple effects analyses showed that for Asian participants, regardless of candidate race, and for Black participants evaluating Black candidates, participants perceived candidates who demonstrated social activism as more electable than those who demonstrated racially prototypical behavior $ps < .002$ (see Figure 6). However, when evaluating Asian candidates, Black participants did not differ significantly in their perceptions of electability across qualification type, $p = .27$.

There was not a significant main effect of candidate race on perceptions of electability, $p = .53$, but there was an interaction between candidate race and prototypicality, $F(1, 111) = 7.15$, $p = .009$, $\eta^2 = .002$. This was further qualified by a three-way interaction between candidate race, prototypicality, and participant race, $F(1, 111) = 5.96$, $p = .02$, $\eta^2 = .002$. Simple effects analyses showed that Asian participants did not significantly differ in their ratings of electability for candidates across candidate race and prototypicality, $ps > .50$. However, Black participants did differ significantly in their perceptions of electability for Asian candidates, such that they rated the multiracial Asian candidate as more electable than the monoracial Asian candidate, $p = .006$. In addition to this, Black participants, when evaluating Black candidates, did not significantly differ, $p = .39$ (see Figure 6).

Lastly, there was an interaction between qualification, candidate race, and prototypicality, $F(1, 111) = 6.83$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2 = .003$. Simple effects analyses showed that monoracial Asian candidates who demonstrated racially prototypical behavior were seen as less

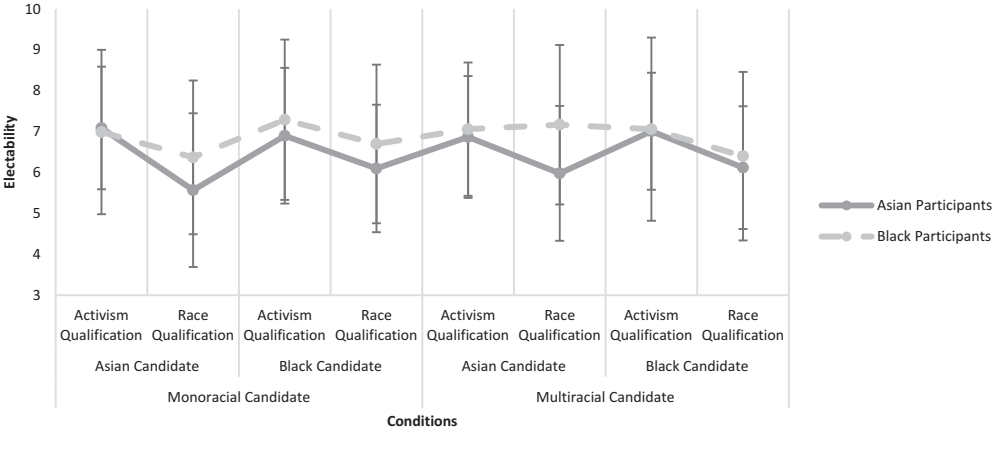

Figure 6. Electability across participants' race, candidates' race, prototypicality, and qualifications. Bars represent standard deviation. Please note that the y-axis is stretch passed the scale range to show standard deviation bars.

electable than multiracial Asian candidates who demonstrated racially prototypical behavior, $p < .001$, (see Figure 6).

Exploratory analysis: Representativeness

We conducted a 2 (participant race: Asian vs. Black) X 2 (candidate race: Asian vs. Black) X 2 (qualification: activist vs. prototypical) X 2 (prototypicality: monoracial vs. multiracial) mixed model ANOVA with repeated measures on the last 3 factors on ratings of representativeness. All significant main effects[15] and two-way interactions[16] were qualified by the following three-way interactions.

There was an interaction between qualification, participant race, and candidate race, $F(1, 110) = 4.64$, $p = .03$, $\eta^2 = .002$. A simple effects analyses found that for Asian participants evaluating both Asian and Black candidates and Black participants evaluating Black candidates, participants evaluated the candidate with social activism qualifications as more representative than candidates with racially prototypical qualifications, $ps < .04$. However, for Black participants evaluating Asian candidates, there was no difference in perceived representativeness across qualifications, $p = .34$.

There was also an interaction between qualification, candidate race, and prototypicality, $F(1, 110) = 8.90$, $p = .004$, $\eta^2 = .003$. A simple effects analysis found that regardless of candidate race and prototypicality, social activism boosted a candidate's representativeness, $ps < .02$. The only exception was for multiracial Asian candidates, for whom representativeness did not differ across qualification, $p = .41$ (see Table 7 for means and standard deviations).

Discussion

The results of Study 3 support pre-registered H1: when multiracials demonstrate social activism in support of a racial group, group members are more likely to vote for them to be group representatives than they are to vote for multiracials who simply behave like prototypical exemplars. In addition to this, in the exploratory analysis that included prototypicality, results suggested that participants voted for monoracial and multiracial candidates relatively equally, with the possible exception of Asian candidates who displayed activism. Specifically, when probing the interaction between qualification, candidate race, and prototypicality, we found that participants voted for monoracial Asian candidates who displayed activism more than multiracial candidates who displayed activism. Additionally, both Asian and Black participants were more likely to vote for a candidate displaying activism. Contrary to pre-registered H2, the results did not

Table 8. Average representativeness ratings between monoracial and multiracial candidates across candidates' race and qualifications.

Candidate	Characteristic	Activism	Racially Prototypical
Monoracial Asian	Representativeness	5.49 (.97)	4.82 (1.22)
Multiracial Asian	Representativeness	5.13 (1.01)	5.03 (1.05)
Monoracial Black	Representativeness	5.45 (1.18)	5.12 (1.10)
Multiracial Black	Representativeness	5.19 (1.19)	4.93 (1.11)

Note. Standard Deviations are in parentheses

show that participant race and candidate race affected votes for the multiracial candidates. Although we expected participants to be more likely to vote for a candidate with whom they shared a racial identity, we did not find evidence to support this hypothesis.

With regard to electability, in general, social activism, more so than racially prototypical behavior, made candidates appear more electable. In addition to this, we found that evidence to suggest Black participants might use different standards to determine electability for a potential ingroup (Black, Multiracial Black) compared to an outgroup (Asian, Multiracial Asian) candidate. For Black participants, qualifications held by Asian candidates (both multiracial and monoracial) were less important than they were for Black candidates in how electable a candidate appeared. For Asian participants, ingroup or outgroup membership was less important than qualifications, such that they viewed those who displayed activism as more electable than those displaying a racially prototypical behavior.

Lastly, representativeness was also influenced by the qualifications that the candidate had, such that those with activism, overall, were seen as more representative than those who displayed a racially prototypical behavior. Similar to voting preferences, Black participants evaluated representativeness differently depending on ingroup or outgroup membership, such that when evaluating Black candidates, they viewed candidates displaying activism as more representative than candidates displaying a racially prototypical behavior. However, when viewing Asian candidates, they did not rate candidates as differing in representativeness across qualifications. For Asian participants, similar to their voting preferences, ingroup or outgroup membership was less important than candidates' qualifications, such that they viewed candidates who displayed activism as more representative than those who displayed a racially prototypical behavior.

Nonetheless, the results of Study 3 provide more support for the argument that multiracials are not readily perceived as representatives of their racial minority communities unless they demonstrate active involvement (i.e., social activism) within those racial minority communities.

General discussion

A representative is someone who looks like, and shares experiences with, the community they are representing (Allport, 1954; Pitkin, 1967). The present studies aimed to examine how social activism may be one behavior that influences whether multiracials are perceived as representative members of their racial minority communities. The studies offered support for the notion that when multiracial individuals engaged in social activism, it increased the likelihood that they were viewed as effective representatives of that community. Indeed, the findings suggest that multiracials who demonstrated high social activism for their minority communities were more likely than other multiracial candidates to be perceived as good representatives of that racial minority community.

There were some inconsistencies in our results, such that in Study 1, participants voted for the multiracial candidate more than the monoracial candidate when both presented high social activism (equivalent-high condition), but these results did not replicate in Study 2. The results from Study 2 indicate that participants did vote for the monoracial candidate more often than the multiracial candidate when the candidates

were equal in activism (equivalent-high condition), suggesting that multiracials, in comparison to monoracials, are not immediately viewed as representative members of their racial community when all else but appearance was equal. However, when the multiracial candidate demonstrated higher social activism than their monoracial opponent, we found that participants were more likely to vote for the multiracial candidate, and this effect replicated across both studies. Contrary to our predictions there was not a significant effect of candidate race on voting percentages as in Study 2. This result may indicate that, although participants lived in Hawai'i and, thus, were exposed to large Asian and multiracial populations (United States Census Bureau, 2017), we did not find evidence that they perceived Asian monoracial and multiracial candidates differently from Black monoracial and multiracial candidates.

Study 3 aimed to examine whether participant race impacted voting decisions, and also tested whether social activism boosted votes for the multiracial candidate to the same extent as demonstrating any racially prototypical behavior. All candidates (monoracial and multiracial) were paired with behaviors that may be considered novel for a multiracial individual (i.e., activism vs. racially prototypical behavior). Results from Study 3 suggest that, overall, displaying social activism increased the likelihood of a candidate being selected as a representative more so than displaying a racially prototypical behavior for both monoracial and multiracial targets. Also contrary to our predictions, there was not a significant interaction between candidate race and participant race on voting percentages in Study 3, such that Asian participants did not vote for multiracial Asian candidates more than Black participants, nor did Black participants vote for multiracial Black candidates more than Asian participants.

It is also worthwhile to note that the multiracial candidate's display of high activism influenced whether they were viewed as a good representative of the association. Mirroring our findings with voting decisions, multiracial candidates who demonstrated higher social activism than their monoracial opponent were rated as more representative of the racial community. However, as we found in Study 3, this effect can vary depending on perceivers' racial group membership. For example, Study 3 found that Black participants viewed Black candidates as more electable and more representative if they displayed activism, but Asian participants viewed any candidate displaying activism as more electable and representative. This suggests that engaging in social activism may convey that multiracial individuals share experiences with members of their monoracial minority community and are perceived to be effective representatives of their minority racial community (Allport, 1954; Pitkin 1967). However, Study 3 data suggests that this can vary depending on the perceiver's group membership, such that Black participants differed in their evaluations of Black candidates compared to Asian candidates, while Asian participants did not differ in their evaluations.

An alternative explanation for the pattern of results we observed is that participants may have favored a racially non-prototypical individual who displays activism because it is counter to what they expect from that individual. This type of *expectancy violation*, in which individuals show more favor toward a target who displays a characteristic that is not expected of them than a characteristic that is expected of them (e.g., a woman who is a skilled athlete; Bettencourt, Dill, Greathouse, Charlton, & Mulholland, 1997) may explain why participants in Studies 1 and 2 strongly favored the multiracial candidate. That is, participants may have favored the multiracial candidate who displayed social

activism because they did not expect a multiracial individual to display activism. Study 3 may help to test the merits of this alternative explanation: we found that, although neither social activism nor racially prototypical behaviors more broadly may be expected of multiracial individuals, social activism uniquely predicted perceptions of the multiracial candidate as representative of the group. Future research is needed to test this possibility more directly.

Moreover, additional future research may address some additional limitations of the current studies. For instance, research can examine whether or not a history of social activism is indeed a signal of shared experiences. The studies above imply only that social activism is a cue that can shift perceptions of Asian and Black multiracial targets, and it remains unclear why this is the case. Indeed, social activism may be a sign of knowledge, and/or empathy toward a group. Moreover, given that social activism is a way to bring together those who face oppressive treatment, causing similarly oppressed individuals and allies to fight for social change (Singh, Hays, & Watson, 2011), it will be important for future research to account for whether perceivers actually believe that multiracial and monoracial minority individuals are similarly oppressed.

It is also important to note that the facial stimuli used in the present studies were of minority/White individuals, which may have signaled to the participants that the multiracial candidate is an ally, rather than an actual member of the racial minority community. If multiracial individuals are perceived as White-passing, their activism may be perceived as due to their ally-ship and not due to their experiences or group membership. Research suggests that White allies are perceived to affirm the struggles an oppressed community, but rarely take action on behalf of these communities (Brown & Ostrove, 2013). While our measure captured participants' voting decisions and perceptions of the candidates' representativeness, we do not directly examine whether the multiracial candidates are seen as ingroup members of their racial minority communities vs. allies of their racial minority communities. Therefore, research could examine whether part-White multiracials are perceived similarly to White allies and whether–when they demonstrate social activism–they are applauded more than are allies of color for doing work that is unexpected of them (Brown & Ostrove, 2013).

Conclusion

The present studies illustrate that that behavioral engagement through activism is a way in which multiracial individuals may be perceived as representative of their racial minority community. Conversely, monoracial individuals may be seen as representative of the group simply due to their prototypical appearance. These findings map onto previous work showing that when multiracial Black individuals confront discrimination, they are perceived as identifying more with their Black community as compared to those who do not confront (Wilton et al., 2017). Colin Kaepernick highlights the same phenomenon, in that when his history of activism for the Black community is discussed, he is often perceived as being Black, instead of multiracial.

Therefore, behavioral factors such as social activism function as a way to shift how multiracials are perceived, potentially indicating to perceivers that a multiracial individual is more representative of their racial minority communities than those who do not

display activism. While multiracials continue to face challenges (e.g., feeling excluded from their racial ingroups) due to their non-prototypical and racially ambiguous appearance (AhnAllen, Suyemoto, & Carter, 2006; Kellogg & Liddell, 2012; Townsend, Markus, & Bergsieker, 2009), participating in social activism may be a unique behavioral cue that can shift perceptions of multiracial individuals, to be seen as a part of their racial community. These findings contribute to our understanding of how behavioral cues, such as social activism, contribute to person perception and intergroup processes, particularly when to comes to the burgeoning population of multiracial individuals.

Notes

1. Based on the recommendation of an anonymous reviewer, this was later confirmed through a paired samples t-test, which showed there was a significant difference between the high activism statement that was paired with the low activism statement in terms of activism, $t(17) = 3.85$, $p = .001$. Additionally there was no significant difference between the high activism statements in terms of activism, $t(17) = -1.29$ $p = .22$.
2. We expected that faces categorized as multiracial would not necessarily receive high prototypicality ratings, as there is likely to be more phenotypic variability within the multiracial category than there is within monoracial categories.
3. Based on the recommendation of an anonymous reviewer, this was later tested through a paired samples t-test, which showed that there was a significant difference between the ratings of attractiveness between the candidates, $t(14) = 2.25$, $p = .04$.
4. A goal of this study was to investigate whether participants respond similarly to candidates with whom they are likely to have had high (e.g., Asian) versus low (e.g., Black) exposure by manipulating candidate race. However, we acknowledge that examining individual differences in exposure to diversity is an alternative way to examine this question and conducted exploratory analyses to examine this possibility. The results did not reveal significant effects of exposure on participants' responses; therefore, and given that we did not pre-register hypotheses regarding this variable, we report the results of this exploratory analyses in the Supplement.
5. Based on the recommendation of an anonymous reviewer, a four-paired samples t-test was later conducted to confirm that high activism statements pared with high activism statements did not significantly differ in terms of social activism ($|ts|(7) < 2.05$, $ps > .07$), while high activism statements paired with low activism statements significantly differed in activism, $|ts|(7) > 3.55$, $ps < .01$. Both tests use a corrected alpha criterion for multiple comparisons: .05/4 = .0125.
6. A four-paired samples t-test was later conducted to confirm that there was no significant difference in attractiveness between monoracial and multiracial faces for Black candidates, $|ts|(11) < 2.53$, $ps > .027$, and for Asian candidates, $|ts|(6) < 2.47$, $ps > .048$. Both tests use a corrected alpha criterion for multiple comparisons: .05/4 = .0125.
7. Prototypicality (i.e., whether the candidate was multiracial or monoracial) was not included as a factor in the analysis given that we specified "votes for multiracial candidate" as the pre-registered dependent variable.
8. All other comparisons were non-significant, $ps > .11$. Furthermore, all other two-way interactions and three-way interaction were non-significant, $ps > .28$.
9. Some participants did not complete ratings for all pairs; thus, the sample sizes are different.
10. Racially prototypical statements for Black (Asian) candidates were high in prototypicality for Black (Asian) community members.
11. Based on recommendations from an anonymous reviewer, a four-paired samples t-test was later conducted to determine if activism and prototypical statements differed in activism. The results showed that for Asian statements, most pairs were significantly different in activism, $ts > 3.40$, $ps < .005$, but one was not, ($t(8) = 2.87$, $p = .021$). For Black statements,

one pair was statistically different in activism ($t(4) = 12.55$, $p < .001$), while all other pairs were not statistically different in activism, $ts(4) < 4.05$, $ps > .015$. Both tests use a corrected alpha criterion for multiple comparisons: .05/4 = .0125.

12. A similar four-paired samples t-test was conducted for racial prototypicality. The results showed that none of the Asian or Black statements were significantly different in prototypicality, $ts < 1.90$, $ps > .09$. Both tests use a corrected alpha criterion for multiple comparisons: .05/4 = .0125. While this is not ideal, we do not believe it affected the results of the study, such that Black and Asian participants still preferred candidates that displayed activism over racially prototypical behaviors.
13. Some pretesters were the same individuals from the statement pretesting.
14. Based on recommendations from an anonymous reviewer, a four paired samples t-test was run to determine whether there were attractiveness rating differences for the pretest stimuli. For Black candidates, there was no significant difference in attractiveness ratings between monoracial and multiracial faces selected, $|ts|(10) < 2.36$, $ps > .03$. For Asian candidates, there was also no significant difference in attractiveness ratings between monoracial and multiracial faces selected, $|ts|(10) < 2.55$, $ps > .028$. These tests use a corrected alpha criterion for multiple comparisons: .05/4 = .0125.
15. Significant main effects: qualification ($F(1, 110) = 24.45$, $p < .001$) and prototypicality ($F(1, 110) = 7.32$, $p = .008$).
16. Significant two-way interactions: Qualification x Participant race ($F(1, 110) = 5.05$, $p = .03$) and Qualification x prototypicality ($F(1, 110) = 12.90$, $p < .001$).

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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