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### Gateway groups

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# Gateway Groups

The potential of multiple identities to improve intergroup relations

**PhD thesis**

to obtain the degree of PhD at the  
 University of Groningen  
 on the authority of the  
 Rector Magnificus Prof. E. Sterken  
 and in accordance with  
 the decision by the College of Deans.

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## Chapter 1 - Introduction

<sup>1</sup>This thesis addresses the potential role groups with multiple social identities may play in positively transforming intergroup relations. The aim of the thesis is to provide a conceptual framework that can capture the modern complexity of social boundaries and identity. The main question we<sup>2</sup> seek to answer is whether groups with multiple social identities are indeed able to alleviate tensions between groups in conflict, and if so, under what conditions. As such we introduce the notion of *gateway groups*, defined as groups characterized by unique social categorizations that enables them to be categorized as, and identified with, more than one group within the context of intergroup relations. This research has both scientific and social importance because the studies in this thesis are the first to focus on these intricate intergroup gateways, and this approach can broaden existing conceptualization of multiple identities for a more holistic and accurate understanding of intergroup dynamics.

The notion of gateway groups has a broad applicability, potentially spanning very different group memberships and social categories. For example, race in many countries over the world has typically been treated as a dichotomy (e.g., Black or White), with individuals challenging this racial dichotomy being likely to become socially excluded or even penalized (Davis, 2010; Hickman, 1997; Khanna, 2010; Wagner et al., 2010). However, in recent years a clear shift seems to be taking place toward an increase in both the presence and influence of biracial identity. Indeed, over the past 15 years, the Black and White biracial population in the United States has

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<sup>1</sup> The introduction chapter is based on: Levy, A., Saguy, T., Halperin, E., & van Zomeren, M. (2017). Bridges or Barriers? Conceptualization of the Role of Multiple Identity Gateway Groups in Intergroup Relations. *Frontiers in psychology*, 8, 1097.

<sup>2</sup> As this dissertation is a collaborative effort together with my advisors, I will refer to 'we', and not 'I', in the remainder of the thesis.

tripled in size numbering over 2.5 million (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2015, based on self-report), and the current estimate is that by 2050 one out of five Americans will be of mixed-race (Lee & Bean, 2004). Recent research even suggests the emergence of a new multi-racial identity that is replacing the monolithic race identities in the United States census (Davenport, 2016; Roth, 2005). One of the important questions in this regard is how such identity developments will affect the existing intergroup relations between Blacks and Whites in the United States, and how biracials will be perceived by others now that they are becoming more and more a prevalent in social reality.

Yet this question is not limited solely to the realm of race. Just as biracials are situated between Blacks and Whites on a structural level of analysis (as we will see in Chapter 5), so are for example, the Arab citizens of Israel are situated in the same kind of social overlap between Israel and Palestine (as we will see in Chapter 2). Moreover, multiple identities exist not only in the same dimension (e.g., biracial, dual nationality), but also as a result of cross cutting identities from different dimensions (e.g. nationality and ethnicity). For example, the Bosnian citizens of Serbia share their national identity with Serbia while at the same time share their ethnic identity with Bosnia, and as such may be able to affect the relations between these two conflicting countries as well (as we will see in Chapter 3). In fact, similar social structures can be found in many other contexts and levels of analysis as well (which will be elaborated on below), raising the same question of how the emergence of such a group with a multiple identity will influence intergroup relations.

This question of how multiple social identities affect intergroup relations remains largely unanswered by contemporary social psychology, mainly because research seems to have focused on how individuals who hold these complex forms of categorization feel and behave (Baysu et al., 2011; Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005;

Gocłowska & Crisp 2014; Kunst, Dovidio, & Dotsch, 2018; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2012; Sam & Berry, 2010; Scheepers et al., 2014; Steffens et al., 2016; Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2002; Wolsko et al., 2000), and on the reactions they elicit from members of the dominant group (Bodenhausen, 2010; Gaither, Sommers, & Ambady, 2013; González & Brown 2006; Plaut, 2010; Rodeheffer & Lord, 2012; Sam & Berry, 2010; Scheepers et al., 2014; Young, Sanchez, & Wilton, 2017). This research has found for example, that multiple identification among minority groups (e.g., both German *and* Turkish) typically relates to better well-being (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013; Sam & Berry, 2010), and that for majority group members, endorsing the existence of multiple identities (as reflected in the notion of multiculturalism) promotes more positive attitudes toward dual identity minorities (Scheepers et al., 2014; Wolsko et al., 2000).

However, despite the importance of these findings, they leave several key questions unanswered. Specifically, we seem to know relatively little about the potential of groups equipped with multiple identities to affect the intergroup relations between the groups that represent the respective sources of their multiple identities. Given their shared identity with both groups, groups of people with shared multiple identities can potentially *bridge* the cleft between two (or more) otherwise separate groups.

Of course, this is not just important theoretically, but also for practical reasons. Considering the potential positive influence of groups of people with shared multiple identities, The Bosnian citizens of Serbia for example, may be able to impact the relations between Serbia and Bosnia by virtue of being perceived as identifying with both these entities. Similarly, biracials in the United States might have the ability to bridge relations between Blacks and Whites, and Arab citizens of Israel might

likewise be able to influence the relations between Israel and Palestine. Thus, our approach focuses on the psychological perceptions, experience, and functions of Gateway Groups in the context of intergroup conflict.

In this introduction chapter, we outline the notion of gateway groups amidst intergroup conflict, and situate it in a theoretical framework that is the basis for the empirical research, and describe the specific research questions that will be addressed in each empirical chapter of this thesis.

### **Definition and conceptualization**

As noted, we define gateway groups (GGs) as groups characterized by unique social categorizations that enables them to be categorized as and identified with more than one group within the context of intergroup relations. Importantly, the categorization of a group as a GG can stem from the way others *perceive* this group, or by how the group members *experience* their own group, or both. Due to the nature of social categorization that can be analyzed on several different levels of analysis, there can be many different types of GGs. As mentioned above, GGs can exist on a national level (e.g., Israeli Arabs) and on a racial level (e.g., biracials). Additionally, gateway groups can be found on a larger global cultural level, countries such as Turkey or Albania can mediate between the western world, and the Muslim world which they are both identified with (Keyman, 2007); and on a smaller scale situated in the midst of a specific ethnic group (e.g., between Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews; see Cohen, Vardi-Saliternik & Friedlander, 2004). For instance, in Chapter 2 we focus on Israeli Arabs, whereas in Chapter 4 we focus on Muslims in the U.S., and in chapter 5 we focus on biracials in the US?.



## **Can the existence of gateway groups improve intergroup relations?**

The notion of the GGs mentioned above has so far been based on intuitive logic, however, there is substantial existing literature that can also provide theoretical grounding for this idea. Theory and research on the so-called *social cure* contends that identifying with multiple social groups is directly linked to improved health and well-being (Jetten et al., 2012; Jetten et al., 2014; Steffens et al., 2016). However, since our focus in this research is on the function of multiple identities in the context of intergroup relations, we will focus specifically on the possible outcomes that stem from multiple identities and affect intergroup relations.

Arguably the most relevant line of work for the present purpose is theory and research on *dual identity* (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Dovidio et al., 2009; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2016). Dual identity is a simultaneous identification with a distinct subgroup and a common superordinate group (e.g., the Latino minority in the United States that identifies simultaneously as Latino and as American; Dovidio et al. 2009). The central benefit of dual identification lies in allowing minority group members to feel connected to the dominant majority group, while maintaining their distinctiveness as a separate group simultaneously. In several empirical studies, this dual identification was found to be associated with numerous constructive outcomes including the well-being of the dual identifiers (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013; Sam & Berry, 2010), and inhibition of extremism (Simon & Ruhs, 2008). Such outcomes are typically explained by the notion that they fulfill individuals' need to identify with their original subgroup while still feeling connected to a larger whole (Brewer, 1991).

Additionally, following the logic of the *common ingroup identity model* (Gaertner et al., 1993), dual identities might signal to the respective groups that a

superordinate identity, incorporating both groups, is possible. Such a common identity has been found as a useful tool for the reduction of intergroup prejudice. While a common ingroup identity might also have negative effects on disadvantaged groups, and seems very hard to maintain in the context of intergroup conflict (Saguy et al., 2009), the fleshing out of dual identity aspects can help maintain such a superordinate identity while counteracting the possible negative side effects (Dovidio et al., 2009). Thus, dual identity can induce the positive impact of a common group identity despite the described difficulties. For example, in a study by Hornsey and Hogg (2000), when university students were primed with both their superordinate identity (university students), and their subordinate identity (humanities or math-science students) simultaneously, they displayed lower levels of bias towards their outgroup compared to when they were primed only with their superordinate or their subordinate identities separately. The notion of GGs resonates with this dual identity construct in that the presence of a multiple identity GG can be both a reminder for its counterparts of the similarity between the two separate groups, while at the same time help maintain each group's distinction.

An interesting example of the potential of a dual identity when paired with a common ingroup identity can be found in a few recent studies examining collective action tendencies among disadvantaged-group members in the United States (Blacks and Latinos, see for example Ufkes et al., 2016). These studies have found that increasing only the salience of a common U.S. identity among Blacks and Latinos reduced intergroup bias but also resulted in lower collective action intentions, and thus led to the maintenance of existing social inequality. Increasing salience of dual identity, however, did not decrease collective action intentions towards challenging

the status quo, and was found to both reduce intergroup bias as well as challenge existing social inequality.

Even though, to our knowledge, no prior work has taken the approach we propose here with respect to the potential role of GGs in intergroup conflicts, the work described above on social categorization processes clearly lays the groundwork and intrinsically corresponds with the GG notion. For instance, the presence of a multiple identity GG can be both a reminder for its counterparts of the similarity between the two separate groups, and a signifier of the group's distinction (Saguy et al., 2009). As such, multiple identity GGs can be utilized in order to highlight dual identities and foster common ingroup identities among those who perceive the GG as holding multiple identities.

### **Extending the Existing Research**

Besides the direct links between the GG notion and existing literature described above, in which this notion can be seen as an organic continuation of existing work, the GG notion can theoretically broaden the existing scope of the multiple identity literature as well. First, while dual identity has primarily been linked with *hierarchically-nested* identities in the form of a superordinate (typically majority) and the subgroup identity (typically a minority group; e.g. Turkish immigrants in Germany that are nested in the superordinate German identity while maintaining a separate Turkish identity), GGs also incorporates situations in which identities are not nested. For example, the biracial community in the United States does not necessarily have a clear hierarchically-nested structure between its White and Black identity (i.e. neither racial identity encompasses the other). Thus, all dual identifiers can be seen as members of a GGs but not all GGs can be explained with

the notion of dual identity.

Second, dual identification scenarios usually include three different social agents: two distinct social groups, and the dual-identity group. However, to our knowledge the existing literature only address two of these social agents: one of the two distinct groups, and the dual identifiers. For example, in the case of the Mexican minority in the United States most of the literature addresses either the minority itself, or the White Americans and their interaction with the Mexican minority, but the Mexicans in Mexico are not addressed. The broader notion of a GG enables the incorporation of several different relevant groups for a more inclusive and complex understanding of intergroup dynamics. For example, due to the fact that the GG viewpoint accounts for all three parties in this scenario, it would enable the explication of phenomena such as United States presidential candidates courting Mexican officials during a presidential campaign, as well as a more complete modeling of the intergroup dynamic between Mexicans and Americans inside and outside of the United States.

In sum, the literature described above, which is a culmination of decades of studying multiple identities in intergroup contexts, provides clear indication that when it comes to intergroup relations there are several positive functions multiple identification may have on those who hold it. Whether in facilitating a common superordinate identity, increasing cognitive flexibility, or reducing intergroup prejudice, both the multiple identifiers and their counterparts stand to gain from these groups identifying themselves with more than one social category. Taken together, the existing research on multiple identification can be used to predict that the presence of a GG may lead to positive outgroup orientations among external groups that perceive it as such. Moreover, this may also enable the broadening of the dual identity prospect

as described above, and extend the explanatory scope of the multiple identities literature as well. Accordingly, in the research described in chapter 2 we empirically tested the impact the presence of GGs had on intergroup perceptions, emotions and behavior, and based on the rationale presented above we hypothesized that the GG presence would positively impact the perceptions of the GG and the outgroup, improve group based emotions toward the outgroup, and lead to more positive behavioral tendencies toward the outgroup.

### **Can Gateway Groups also exist across identities from different dimensions?**

In the existing literature described above the multiple identities are comprised from different identities on the same dimension (i.e. racial identities overlapping, or national identities overlapping, e.g. White mother and Black father). However, there are cases in which the multiple identity is comprised from identities on different dimensions (i.e. national and ethnic identities overlapping, e.g. Serbian nationality and Bosnian ethnicity). While based on the theory above we can assume that GGs with multiple identities on the same dimension (e.g. racial or national), will have an impact on intergroup relations, it does not provide basis to assume that the same effect will take place when the different identities are from different dimensions (e.g. an overlap of national and ethnic identities).

To this end, a very rich source of information on the positive implications of individuals and groups perceiving themselves as having multiple identities from different dimensions is the field of social category overlap. The work on *cross-categorization*, for example, addresses the multiple identities an individual holds, and their potential overlap. According to research on cross-categorization, given that individuals are members of several groups simultaneously (e.g., both Black and

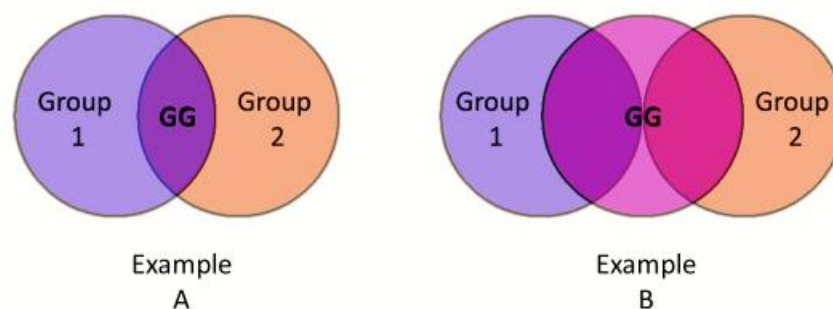
female), members of an outgroup on one dimension may be evaluated more positively if they are also ingroup members on another dimension (e.g., a Black women evaluating a White woman). This crossing of categories was found to reduce intergroup prejudice and discrimination among those holding the multiple identities (Brewer & Campbell, 1976; Crisp & Hewstone, 1999; Deschamps & Doise, 1978; Hutter & Crisp, 2005; Migdal et al. 1998).

Similarly, *social identity complexity* also deals with the overlap between different social identities (specifically the extent of such overlap) and posits that raising awareness to the partiality of overlap between social identities decreases the salience of social categories, and in turn raises tolerance for outgroups in general (Branković et al., 2016; Brewer, 2010; Brewer & Pierce, 2005; Roccas & Brewer, 2002; Sønderlund, et al., 2017). For example, in a study by Vasilijevic and Crisp (2013), participants who were primed with a multiple social categorization mindset, increased cognitive flexibility, displayed lowered prejudice toward a multitude of outgroups, fostered egalitarian values, and enhanced their trust towards outgroups. Here too, the GG notion can be seen as building on this existing construct, as the GGs are inherently characterized by identity overlap. Since the GGs can be seen as social groups in which the ingroup identity overlaps with the outgroup identity, the research on cross-categorization and social identity complexity are both highly relevant. The effects of intergroup prejudice reduction that cross categorization was found to have among group members that perceive their own identities as crisscrossing, may also take place in scenarios involving others that perceive the GGs as holding cross-cutting identities.

Here too, the GG notion that branches out from the existing literature can also provide additional insight that the current theory does not offer. Whereas cross

categorization deals with meshing identities from different dimensions (e.g., race and sex), GGs create an overlap between identities from a single dimension (e.g., the overlap of two different racial groups). Thus, the GG fills an important gap not fully covered by cross categorization, of the identity overlap between identities from the same dimension such as national identities overlapping in immigrant communities, or racial identities overlapping among biracials. Moreover, cross categorization usually requires a positive overlap between two identities in order to take effect (see example A in Figure 1).

However, from an external perspective the existence of a GG might suffice in order to achieve the positive effects of cross categorization in scenarios not deemed eligible in the past, by creating an identity overlap outside of the conflicting parties and inside the GG itself (see example B in Figure 1). Take for instance, the intergroup relations between religious people and gay people. These two communities conceptually do not overlap, and therefore are not a natural candidate for cross-categorization. Nonetheless, the existence of a religious and gay community GG might be able to symbolize the necessary overlap needed to induce the positive cross categorization effect for both of these respective groups.



*Figure .1 Two possible GG scenario depictions. In example A there is a perceived overlap between the two social categories and the GG consists of the group members*

*situated in that overlap. On the other hand, in example B, the perception is not of a social category overlap between the two distinct groups, but of an overlap that both groups have with a shared GG.*

In sum, existing research on social category overlap leads us to believe that GGs may have the same positive influence on intergroup relations also in cases in which they embody a combination of social identities from different dimensions. Accordingly, in the research described in chapter 3 and 4 we empirically explored the impact the presence of GGs had on the perception of the GG, on the assessment of the GG as a potential mediator between the ingroup and the outgroup, on identity complexity, and on sense of closeness between the ingroup and the outgroup in situations where the GG identity is multi-dimensional and more complex. Based on the theory presented above we hypothesized that the GG presence positively transform intergroup relation in these situations as well.

### **Can biracials act as an inter-racial gateway group?**

During the past years, several studies have begun to examine the impact of exposure to racial ambiguity. One line of research in this regard deals with hypodescent, and the perception of racially ambiguous targets as belonging solely to their lower status racial group (Ho et al., 2011; Krosch et al., 2013; Peery & Bodenhausen, 2008). More importantly, another line of research by Sanchez, Wilton, and Young has found that exposure to racial ambiguity has the potential of decreasing perceptions of racial essentialism and enhancing perceptions inter-racial similarity (Sanchez et al., 2015; Wilton et al., 2014; Young et al., 2013). This research lays the groundwork for introducing racial ambiguity and biracials into the GG framework, by suggesting that exposure to racial ambiguity has the potential to impact inter-racial



perceptions. Building on these findings we posit that once racial ambiguity is challenged by explicitly addressing the racial duality of biracials, the exposure to biracials may have the potential to impact not only perceptions, but inter-racial prejudice as well. Accordingly, in chapter 5 we built on the existing methodology of studies that expose participants to racially ambiguous faces and examined the impact of explicitly addressing such racial ambiguity as racial duality.

## **Overview of the Chapters**

Each of the empirical chapters in this dissertation is written as a stand-alone empirical article. As a result, there is some overlap in the theoretical background described in each of the chapters. Below we outline the content of each of the empirical chapters.

**Chapter 2.** In the first empirical chapter of this dissertation we began exploring the impact the presence of a GG can have on intergroup relations, and addressed the question of whether the existence of gateway groups improve intergroup relations. Specifically, we hypothesized that introducing a GG would have a positive impact on perceptions, attitudes and behaviors toward to outgroup. wanted to examine We first conducted a pilot study in order to substantiate our premise that the dual identity group is indeed perceived more positively (or less negatively) than the outgroup. Next we conducted five studies to test our main hypothesis. Studies 1a and 1b were correlational studies meant to test the predicted positive correlation between the perception of a group as having a dual identity and intergroup attitudes and behavior. These studies were performed using two distinct and unrelated dual identity groups in Israel, Arab citizens (who can be identified and thereby perceived as both Israeli and Palestinian), and the Liberal Religious Jewish community (who can be identified as both secular and religious). Studies 2-4 were designed to

experimentally test our hypothesis. In Study 2 we tested the influence of the mere presence of a dual identity group on resource allocation towards the outgroup using artificial groups in an online paradigm. Study 3 employed artificial groups situated in a more intense setting of actual interpersonal interactions. Finally, in Study 4 we returned to the real world context of the Israeli Palestinian conflict, manipulated the perceived dual identity level of the Arab citizens of Israel, and tested the effect of the manipulation on behavior and attitudes toward the Palestinian outgroup. Additionally, Study 4 also examined several possible mediators in order to shed some light on the underlying mechanism at hand. Thus, all the different studies test the same hypothesis in different ways, which corroborates both the internal and external validity of our findings. Across all four studies, we found that the mere presence of a GG indeed improved intergroup perceptions, feelings, and behavior, suggesting support for our approach.

**Chapter 3.** In the third empirical chapter we addressed the question of whether GGs can also exist across identities from different dimensions. To this end we designed and ran two studies in Serbia and Bosnia, each examining a different type of GG. In Study 1 we recruited a Serbian sample in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and examined the impact of exposure to a GG that is ethnically both Serb and Bosniak (i.e. children of mixed marriage) on intergroup dynamics. In Study 2 we recruited a Serbian sample in Serbia, and examined the impact of exposure to a GG that is ethnically Bosniak and nationally Serb (i.e. the Bosniak minority in Serbia) on intergroup orientation. Due to the fact that in both of the studies we aimed to assess how the fleshing out of the dual nature of the GG impacts the way that both the GG and the outgroup are perceived in these studies we focused on the variables that give deal with social perceptions. These variables included the perception of the GG

identity, the perception of the GG as a potential mediator between the ingroup and the outgroup, and the perception of outgroup and outgroup closeness. These studies showed that the positive impact of GGs on intergroup relations also occurs in situations in which the identity of the GG is comprised of two identities from different dimensions, suggesting more support for our approach.

**Chapter 4.** In the final empirical chapter we examined whether GG can also improve intergroup relations in inter racial settings, and introduced the GG notion to an additional context of the inter racial dynamics in the U.S. To this end we utilized a different methodological approach of exposure to racially ambiguous faces, as perceptual manifestations of the presence of a GG. Study 1 aimed to test whether the presence of biracials would indeed decrease prejudice toward Blacks among White participants. Study 2-3 aimed to replicate Study 1 and to explore possible mechanisms for the hypothesized effect. Moreover, in order to generally aggregate our main hypothesized effects and to examine the robustness of our findings, we also conducted an internal meta-analysis, on all three studies combined. In the studies in chapter 4 we examined variables that were specifically relevant to the inter racial context. We examined social dominance orientation which is intrinsically related to racist attitudes, we measured symbolic racism toward Blacks, we measured inter racial threat, and we introduced a new measure of attitudes towards Black victims of current events. We found that the exposure to biracials led to a diminished sense of prejudice, improved the attitudes towards Black victims of current events, and reduced perception inter-racial threat

**Chapter 5.** In the general discussion chapter we discuss how the empirical chapters offer the first studies to examine the potential of the presence of GGs to positively influence intergroup relations. Specifically, we summarize our findings

across the chapters, that show that the presence of GGs has a positive impact on intergroup relations, that this impact also takes place in situations where the social identification is more complex or multidimensional, and that biracials can act as GGs in inter racial relations. This suggests that this potential may indeed be there. We also discuss how the work described in these chapters can lay the ground work for the further investigation of the underlying mechanisms and boundary conditions for the GG effects we observed, and possibly also for the development of interventions for intergroup conflict resolution. As such, we evaluate the potential role groups with multiple social identities may play in positively transforming intergroup relations, and whether the research has met our aim to provide a conceptual framework that can capture the modern complexity of social boundaries and identity.

## Chapter 2 - The impact of the presence of Gateway Groups on intergroup relations

### Abstract

<sup>3</sup>Research on dual identity focuses mainly on how dual identifiers feel and behave, and on the reactions they elicit from others. In this article we test an unexplored aspect of dual identity: the dual identity group's potential to act as a possible gateway between the groups that represent the respective sources of the dual identity (e.g., Israeli Arabs as a gateway between Israelis and Palestinians). We predicted that to the extent that a group is perceived to have a dual identity, intergroup attitudes and behavior of the groups comprising that dual identity will be improved. This idea was tested across four studies. Studies 1a and 1b were real-world correlational studies which revealed positive correlations between the perception of a dual identity and attitudes towards the outgroup. In Study 2 and 3 we demonstrated experimentally that the mere presence of a group with a dual identity leads to improved outgroup orientations. In Study 4 we demonstrated how the manipulation of perceived dual identity can help improve attitudes towards the outgroup, and also provided initial indications regarding the mechanisms underlying the process at hand. We discuss the implications of the findings for the improvement of intergroup relations, and offer an outline for future research.

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<sup>3</sup> This chapter is based on: Levy, A., Saguy, T., van Zomeren, M., & Halperin, E. (2017). Ingroups, outgroups, and the gateway groups between: the potential of dual identities to improve intergroup relations. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 70, 260-271.

The modern era of globalization and increasing rates of immigration have been accompanied by a massive growth in interconnections between groups, and have led to the sharing of multiple identities by individuals. A highly relevant notion in this regard is that of *dual identity*, which reflects the simultaneous identification with a distinct subgroup and a common superordinate group (e.g., the Turkish minority in Germany that identifies simultaneously as Turkish and as German; Simon, Reichert, & Grabow, 2013). Research on dual identity has mainly focused on how individuals who hold these complex forms of categorization feel and behave (Gocłowska & Crisp 2014; see also Baysu, Phalet & Brown 2011), and on the reactions they elicit from members of the dominant group (González & Brown 2006; Rodeheffer & Lord, 2012; Scheepers, Saguy, Dovidio, & Gaertner, 2014). Dual identification is typically found to be positively related with well-being (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2012; Sam & Berry, 2010). Furthermore, among majority group members endorsement of such forms of identification (as reflected in the notion of multiculturalism) have been found to promote more positive attitudes towards minority groups (Plaut, 2010; Scheepers et al., 2014; Wolsko, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2000). Moreover, when minority group members maintain a dual identification, they are still viewed as connected to their original sub-group, which can foster the generalization of positive attitudes towards that original sub-group (Brown & Hewstone, 2005).

Notwithstanding the impressive line of research on dual identity and related concepts (such as integration, Sam & Berry, 2010 and multiculturalism, Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Wolsko et al., 2000), existing research has yet to address an integral aspect of dual identity: its potential to act as a possible gateway between the groups that represent the respective sources of the dual identity. In other words, dual identity groups can potentially serve as a gateway between two, otherwise separate, groups.

For example, Turkish immigrants in Germany can impact the relations between Turks and Germans, by virtue of being perceived as identifying with both these entities. In the same manner, biracials in the United States can bridge relations between Blacks and Whites, and Arab citizens of Israel can bridge relations between Palestinians and Israeli-Jews. This prospect, of dual identity groups as potential gateways, can have far-reaching implications in terms of improving intergroup relations across domains including inter-racial, inter-national, inter-ethnic, and inter-religious relations. Additionally, while dual identity has primarily been linked with hierarchically-nested identities in the form of a superordinate (typically majority group) and the subgroup identity (typically minority group), the perspective offered above broadens the scope, and also incorporates situations in which there is no clear hierarchy between overlapping identities (or when identities are not nested).

The goal of the current research was therefore to investigate the potential role of dual identity groups as a gateway between the two groups they are associated with. Through this new perspective, we seek to complement existing research on dual identity by testing whether the presence of dual identity groups positively influences intergroup relations between the groups that represent the respective sources of the dual identity. We provide a theoretical framework to support our gateway proposition, and report six studies that test the gateway hypothesis, which predicts that the presence of a group which is perceived as having a dual identity will improve intergroup attitudes and behavior between the two groups it is identified with.

Existing theory and research already provide a reasonable basis for considering dual identity groups as possible gateways. According to research on *cross-categorization*, given that individuals are members of several groups simultaneously (e.g., both Black and female), members of an outgroup on one

dimension may be evaluated more positively if they are also ingroup members on another dimension (e.g., a Black women evaluating a White woman). Under the right conditions, this crossing of categories was found to reduce intergroup prejudice and discrimination (Brewer & Campbell, 1976; Crisp & Hewstone, 1999; Deschamps & Doise, 1978; Hutter & Crisp, 2005; Migdal et al. 1998). More importantly, such category combination was found to confront stereotypical and heuristic modes of thinking, and generalize positively to other outgroups as well (Vasilijevic & Crisp, 2013). Since dual identity groups can be seen as social groups in which different identities cross each other, the positive effects of cross-categorization may be expected to resonate in scenarios involving such groups. Similarly, *social identity complexity* theory which deals with the extent of overlap between different social identities, posits that raising awareness to the partiality of overlap between social identities decreases the salience of social categories, and in turn raises tolerance for outgroups in general (Brewer & Pierce, 2005). Having that dual identity groups in a way embody a partial overlap of social categories, their potential to raise such awareness may be substantial.

Additionally, the *extended contact hypothesis* contends that knowledge about cross-group friendships (i.e., knowing that an ingroup member has a positive relationship with an outgroup member) can improve outgroup attitudes (Wright et al. 1997). Usually, in order for extended contact to have a positive effect, the process has to entail an ingroup exemplar having contact with an outgroup exemplar (Wright et al. 1997). Nonetheless, although dual identifiers are not classic ingroup exemplars, the frequency of their unmediated interaction with both counterparts holds the potential for effects similar to the ones observed in the extended contact literature. Along the same lines, following the logic of the *common ingroup identity model* (Gaertner &



Dovidio, 2000), dual identities might signal to the respective communities that a superordinate identity, incorporating both groups, is possible. Again, this suggests that the perception of dual identity, in the eyes of others, can be quite positive and conducive to improving intergroup relations.

Taken together, it seems safe to assume that dual identity groups hold a unique potential when it comes to improving intergroup relations. Furthermore, the fleshing out of such dual identity groups may elicit several different processes that can positively impact intergroup relations. Whether by blurring intergroup categories and creating a more complex perception of group identities, or by inducing a more inclusive and comprehensive social category that combines previously distinct social groups. Additionally, on a more practical level, the interaction with a dual identity group can perhaps be seen as a form of continuous mediated contact with the outgroup if framed correctly, which can be very fruitful and far from trivial in the context of intergroup conflict.

So far we have made the theoretical case for the significant positive potential dual identity groups may have in improving intergroup relations. This of course raises the question as to why the potential of these groups, which are obviously present in many intergroup conflict scenarios worldwide, has not been realized yet. One possible explanation for this is that even though these groups have been present throughout history, they are often overlooked, and simply annexed to one group or the other (Rodeheffer, Hill, & Lord, 2012; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Telles, 2002). Therefore based on the theory we have presented above, in order to realize the said potential, the dual identity attribute needs to be fleshed out and made present. Another possible explanation may be that although the discussion so far has presented the dual identity as being perceived as 'more positive' than the outgroup, in many cases, especially

those of harsh conflict, these groups are actually perceived as 'less negative'. The distinction between 'more positive' and 'less negative' is an important distinction because a decrease of negativity towards the outgroup in the context of conflict may not be as noticeable as an extreme transformation into positive relations. In other words, such dual identity groups may already be partially inhibiting negativity in intergroup relations in cases where their presence is substantial, but this inhibition might be overlooked due to the severity of existing intergroup conflict dynamics.

One final and important reservation to make in this regard is the possible backlash the fleshing out of such a dual identity might have. On the one hand, based on the theories mentioned above, the positive potential of a dual identity in intergroup relations is evident. On the other hand however, it is clear that stressing the connection between a dual identity group and the outgroup can easily become detrimental, especially in the context of severe intergroup conflict. Other than the simple animosity that can arise from association with the outgroup, there has even been some work which has shown that people might react negatively to nonstandard 'hybrids' under certain circumstances (Wagner et al., 2010). Hence, the link between the dual identity group and the ingroup, which has so far been stressed as a positive attribute, might easily backfire and lead to having the dual identity group perceived as a fifth column, or raise issues of threat and betrayal. Accordingly, while we embarked on the studies at hand, it was clear that despite the fact that we were expecting to find a positive influence of the dual identity group, we had to be aware of this possible backlash. These studies would show if indeed such a process of fleshing out the dual identity actually had the accepted positive effect, and did not backfire.

## **Overview of Current Research**

Based on all of the above, we hypothesized that the presence of groups who are perceived to have a dual identity in the eyes of others, will lead to improved intergroup orientations among the groups comprising the dual identity. To test this hypothesis, we first conducted a preliminary study in order to substantiate our premise that the dual identity group is indeed perceived more positively (or less negatively) than the outgroup. Next we conducted five studies to test our main hypothesis. Studies 1a and 1b were correlational studies meant to test the predicted positive correlation between the perception of a group as having a dual identity and intergroup attitudes and behavior. These studies were performed using two distinct and unrelated dual identity groups in Israel, Arab citizens (who can be identified and thereby perceived as both Israeli and Palestinian), and the Liberal Religious Jewish community (who can be identified as both secular and religious). Studies 2 through 4 were designed to experimentally test our hypothesis. In Study 2 we tested the influence of the mere presence of a dual identity group on resource allocation towards the outgroup using artificial groups in an online paradigm. Study 3 employed artificial groups situated in a more intense setting of actual interpersonal interactions. Finally, in Study 4 we returned to the real world context of the Israeli Palestinian conflict, manipulated the perceived dual identity level of the Arab citizens of Israel, and tested the effect of the manipulation on behavior and attitudes toward the Palestinian outgroup. Additionally, Study 4 also examined several possible mediators in order to shed some light on the underlying mechanism at hand. Thus, all the different studies test the same hypothesis in different ways, which should corroborate both the internal and external validity of our findings.

### **Preliminary Study**

The hypothesis described above is partially based on the premise that the dual identity group is perceived more positively than the outgroup. Therefore, before we began the studies examining the effect of the dual identity group on intergroup relations, we wanted to rule out the possibility that the dual identity group members were actually perceived more negatively than the outgroup due to their potential to be treated as part of the outgroup or even as a fifth column. In order to rule out this possibility we ran a correlational survey in the Israeli Palestinian context. From the Jewish Israeli perspective, Arab citizens of Israel are affiliated with both the Israeli Jewish ingroup with whom they share their citizenship as well as with the Palestinian outgroup residing in the West-bank and Gaza, with whom they share their national identity. Based on this identity structure in the preliminary study we compared the ingroup (Israeli Jews) members' attitudes towards the dual identity group (Arab citizens of Israel) on the one hand, to their attitudes towards the outgroup (Palestinians from the west bank) on the other hand.

**Participants.** We recruited 180 Jewish-Israeli participants (81 males;  $M_{age}=48.30$  years,  $SD=15.60$ ) via an internet survey company, to take part in a two-wave study (in each wave we assessed attitudes towards one distinct group). Twenty-four participants dropped out between the first and the second waves which left us with a sample size of 156 that was estimated to be able to detect a medium effect (i.e.  $d=0.30$ ).

**Procedure and measures.** Participants were asked to fill out an extensive questionnaire regarding their emotions, perceptions, and policy preferences towards the dually identified Arab citizens of Israel. Approximately two weeks later, the same participants were contacted with an almost identical questionnaire, only this time all the questions were about the Palestinian outgroup. The questionnaire consisted of the

following items: discrete negative emotions: *Anger, hate, and fear* (Halperin, 2016); negative stereotypes (six items, e.g., "*to what extent do you perceive a typical member of the group to be violent/ignorant/not trustworthy*",  $\alpha=0.93$ , Kimel et al. 2016); perceived similarity with the ingroup (three items, e.g., "*to what extent do you feel that Israelis and Palestinians are similar*",  $\alpha=0.79$ ); contact motivation (three items, e.g., "*To what extent would you like to have a member of the group as friend/neighbor/partner*",  $\alpha=0.85$ , Bogardus, 1933; Owen 1981); and finally, support for aggression towards the group, which included items regarding support for the use of violence against the group and support for deprivation of the groups' rights. All variables mentioned above were measured on a 1 (*not at all*) to 6 (*to a very high extent*) scale.

## Results

As expected the dual identified group was assessed more positively than the outgroup in almost every single parameter: Anger ( $M=4.26$ ,  $SD=1.23$  vs.  $M=4.54$ ,  $SD=1.14$ ),  $t(155)=-3.32$ ,  $p=0.001$ ,  $d=0.24$ ; hate ( $M=2.79$ ,  $SD=1.37$  vs.  $M=3.24$ ,  $SD=1.50$ ),  $t(155)=-6.41$ ,  $p<0.001$ ,  $d=0.31$ ; stereotypes ( $M=4.76$ ,  $SD=1.38$  vs.  $M=5.14$ ,  $SD=1.43$ ),  $t(155)=-4.61$ ,  $p<0.001$ ,  $d=0.27$ ; perceived similarity with the ingroup ( $M=3.62$ ,  $SD=1.00$  vs.  $M=3.51$ ,  $SD=1.06$ ),  $t(155)=2.56$ ,  $p=0.01$ ,  $d=0.11$ ; contact motivation ( $M=3.50$ ,  $SD=1.34$  vs.  $M=3.06$ ,  $SD=1.39$ ),  $t(155)=7.35$ ,  $p<0.001$ ,  $d=0.32$ ; support for aggression against the group ( $M=2.73$ ,  $SD=1.26$  vs.  $M=3.41$ ,  $SD=1.29$ ),  $t(155)=-8.73$ ,  $p<0.001$ ,  $d=0.53$ . The one exception was that there was not a significant difference in fear, ( $M=3.52$ ,  $SD=1.35$  vs.  $M=3.59$ ,  $SD=1.37$ ),  $t(155)=-0.84$ ;  $p=0.4$ ;  $d=0.05$ . These findings verified our initial assumption regarding the positive potential of the dual identity groups. While the dual identity group at hand is not necessarily perceived 'positively', it is regarded as significantly more positive than the

outgroup in almost every variable we examined, and this enabled us to move on to the studies described here on out.

### **Study 1a and 1b**

In Studies 1a and 1b we sought to provide initial evidence for our gateway hypothesis in a correlational design across two distinct cases of dual identity groups. If the perception of a dual identity group would indeed act as a potential gateway between its counterparts, we would expect to see more positive attitudes between the groups that make up the dual identity, to the extent that they indeed view the intermediate group as having a dual identity. We therefore assessed group members' attitudes towards a relevant outgroup (e.g., Jews perceptions towards Palestinians), and examined whether the extent to which a third, intermediate group (Arab-Israeli citizens) is perceived to have a dual identity would be positively associated with those attitudes. Establishing this link across different contexts would then serve as a robust basis on which to design experimental studies (Study 2, 3, and 4).

Two separate intergroup contexts in Israel were selected to test this hypothesis, Liberal Religious Jewish community (Study 1a) and Arab citizens in Israel (Study 1b). The Liberal Religious Jewish community in Israel represents a group that is situated in between two separate, often conflicting, categories: Secular Jews, who are a relatively standard westernized secular society, and Ultra-Orthodox Jews who are a zealous religious society which adamantly separates itself from the non-religious Jewish world in all walks of life. On the one hand, Liberal Religious Jews still abide to Jewish religious law but are, on the other hand, immersed in their local secular cultures as well. This enables them to be identified with both Secular and Orthodox societies, and possibly act as a gateway between them. As mentioned

above, Arab citizens in Israel, which are the case study of Study 1b, are affiliated with both the Israeli Jews with whom they share their citizenship as well as with the Palestinians residing in the West-bank and Gaza with whom they share their national identity. This case study addresses a violent intractable conflict between the Israeli and Palestinian counterparts. Both case studies enabled us to examine our predictions across diverse contexts, which vary in conflict intensity and nature.

### **Study 1a Method**

**Participants.** We recruited 356 Secular Jewish participants (144 males;  $M_{age}=38.25$  years,  $SD=13.40$ ) via an internet survey company in Israel. The participants were randomly selected from a nationwide panel and requested to fill out a 15-minute survey in exchange for monetary compensation. The sample sizes for Study 1a and Study 1b were estimated conservatively to be able to detect a small-to-medium effect (i.e., a correlation of 0.20). Additionally, a post hoc power analysis (using G\*Power, Faul et al., 2009) suggested that the Study 1a sample size ( $N = 356$ ) provided a statistical power of 0.97, and the Study 1b sample size ( $N = 355$ ; see below) a power of 0.96, to identify small-to-medium-sized effects

**Procedure and measures.** Participants were first asked to assess the level of dual identification of the intermediate Liberal Religious community, based on Simon, Reichert and Grabow (2013), on a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 6 (*to a very high extent*) using four items such as: “*I see Religious Liberals as related to both the Secular society and the Ultra-Orthodox society*”, “*Religious Liberals have many similarities with Seculars as well as with the Ultra-Orthodox*”, ( $\alpha=0.85$ ). Following the dual identity measure participants received three "dictator game" (Kahneman, 1986) resource allocation exercises, each addressing a different issue: welfare

stipends (allocation of the child support welfare budget), educational budget (allocation of new classrooms in different schools), and neighborhood infrastructure development (allocation of municipal development in different neighborhoods). In each of these issues participants were asked how they think the resources should be allocated between their secular ingroup and the ultra-orthodox outgroup. Once the resource allocation was completed, we measured contact motivation on a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 6 (*to a very high extent*) using the following items: "To what extent would you like to have an Ultra Orthodox friend/neighbor/partner, ( $\alpha=0.82$ )" (Bogardus, 1933; Owen 1981); and general feelings towards the outgroup using a scale ranging from 0 (very negative feeling), to 100 (very positive feeling; Saguy & Halperin 2014). Participants' political ideology on a 1 (extreme right) to 7(extreme left) scale, and demographics were provided by the survey company.

### **Study 1a Results**

Table 1 presents the bivariate correlations between all variables. We created a single measure out of the three resource allocation assignments ( $\alpha=0.81$ ). As predicted, the more participants viewed the intermediate group as having a dual identity, their resource allocation towards the outgroup was more generous ( $r=0.20$ ,  $p<0.001$ ), and they also reported higher motivation to interact with the outgroup( $r=0.25$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). Importantly, these correlations remained significant also after controlling for political ideology (resource allocation:  $r_{\text{partial}}=0.17$ ,  $p=0.003$ ; contact motivation:  $r_{\text{partial}}=0.20$ ,  $p=0.001$ ). There was no significant correlation with the general feeling measure ( $p=0.71$ ). Thus, the findings from Study 1a provide initial support for the gateway hypothesis.



Table 1

*Simple correlations between Liberal Religious communities' dual identity, resource allocation unified scale, contact motivation, general feelings, and political ideology (1-extreme right, 7-extreme left)*

Item	Mean (SD)	1	2	3	4
1. <b>Dual identity</b>	4.1 (0.8)				
2. <b>Unified Resource allocation scale</b> ( $\alpha=0.81$ )	34.59 (14.8)	.20**			
3. <b>Contact motivation</b>	3.72 (1.4)	.25**	.40**		
4. <b>General feelings</b>	31.39 (17.9)	-.04	.49**	.57**	
5. <b>Political ideology</b>	4.02 (1.4)	-.10	-.10	-.01	.01

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

## Study 1b Method

**Participants.** We recruited 355 Jewish Israeli participants (186 males;  $M_{age}=42.10$  years,  $SD=14.40$ ) via an internet survey company in Israel. The participants were randomly selected from a nationwide panel and requested to fill out a 15-minute survey in exchange for monetary compensation.

**Procedure and measures.** Study 1b was a replication of Study 1a only this time the dual identity group were the Arab citizens of Israel, and the outgroup were Palestinians in the West-bank. The resource allocation assignments were adjusted accordingly and in this study they addressed the issues of humanitarian aid (allocation of a UNICEF budget for child welfare), international science funding (allocation of higher education development grants), and the job market (location of job creating factories), which were more relevant to the new context.

## Study 1b Results

Table 2 presents the bivariate correlations between our key variables. We created a single measure out of the three resource allocation assignments ( $\alpha=0.83$ ). As predicted and replicating Study 1a, the more participants viewed the intermediate group as having a dual identity, their resources allocation towards the outgroup was more generous ( $r=0.49, p<0.001$ ), they had higher contact motivation ( $r=0.43, p<0.001$ ), and their general feelings towards the outgroup were more positive ( $r=0.45, p<0.001$ ). Importantly, these correlations remained significant also after controlling for political ideology (resource allocation:  $r_{\text{partial}}=0.36, p<0.001$ ; contact motivation:  $r_{\text{partial}}=0.32, p<0.001$ ; General feelings:  $r_{\text{partial}}=0.33, p=0.001$ ). This analysis is of particular significance given the strong correlation between political ideology and a range of attitudes towards Palestinians (in our sample, resource allocation:  $r=0.48, p<0.001$ ; contact motivation:  $r=0.46, p<0.001$ ; General feelings:  $r=0.64, p<0.001$ ). Thus, even after partialing out the effect of political ideology, perceptions regarding the intermediate group as having a dual identity still played a significant role in predicting attitudes towards the respective outgroup, once more supporting the gateway hypothesis.

Table 2

*Simple correlations between Arab Israeli citizens' dual identity, resource allocation unified scale, contact motivation, general feelings, and political ideology (1-extreme right, 7-extreme left)*

Item	Mean (SD)	1	2	3	4
1. <b>Dual identity</b>	3.8 (1.16)				
2. <b>Unified Resource allocation scale</b> ( $\alpha=0.83$ )	34.73 (21.2)	.49**			
3. <b>Contact motivation</b>	2.87 (1.3)	.43**	.59**		
4. <b>General feelings</b>	29.44 (21.8)	.45**	.61**	.71**	
5. <b>Political ideology</b>	3.27 (1.3)	.37**	.48**	.46**	.64**

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

## Discussion

Studies 1a and 1b showed that, across different intergroup contexts, the more people perceived intermediate groups to have a dual identity, the more positive were their intergroup attitudes and behavior. Importantly, this association remained significant after controlling for political orientation. Of course, the studies were correlational and for that reason it is possible that other factors, such as general tolerance towards outgroups, might account for the observed effects. To rule out such potential third-variable explanations, we conducted three experimental studies. In these studies, an intermediate group, that shared identity element with both the ingroup and the outgroup, was artificially created (in the artificial group studies) or fleshed out (in the real world study), and we tested whether the presence of such a group would advance more positive (i.e., egalitarian) resource allocation towards the outgroup.

## Study 2

Study 2 aimed to experimentally test whether the presence of a group that clearly encompasses a dual identity, would improve intergroup behavior under highly controlled settings. Participants were first assigned to artificially created groups, based on personal inconsequential preferences (Tajfel, 1978), and the key outcome was the amount of resources they allocated to the outgroup vs. the ingroup. In the control condition, the groups were created in a dichotomous manner, reflecting a more traditional two-group context. In the experimental condition, the groups were created such that there was an ingroup, an outgroup, and an intermediate group that shared attributes with both the ingroup and the outgroup, and was thus perceived as having a dual identity. According to our predictions, and to the findings from Study 1a and 1b, we expected that the perception of a dual identity (i.e., in the experimental condition) would improve intergroup attitudes and behavior, as compared to a control condition.

## **Method**

**Participants.** Eighty-two participants (35 males;  $M_{age}=39.15$  years,  $SD=15.80$ ) were recruited via an internet survey company in Israel. The participants, who were selected from a nationwide panel, were randomly assigned to either the control condition or the experimental (dual identity) condition. Because this manipulation had an unknown effect size and reflected somewhat of a different comparison (presence versus absence of a dual identity group) than the key correlations reported in Studies 1a and 1b (extent to which one perceived the dual identity of another group) that also varied per sample (Study 1a:  $r = 0.20$ , Study 1b:  $r = 0.49$ ), we based our decision to determine sample size on a power analysis (through G\*Power, Faul et al., 2009) that assumed we wanted to be able to achieve a statistical power of 0.80 to detect a medium-sized effect ( $r = 0.30$ , which equals Cohen's  $d = 0.63$ ). This analysis suggested a required sample size of 41 participants per condition.

**Procedure and measures.** In order to divide participants into groups, they were asked to state their preferences regarding issues with no significance to intergroup relations (cats vs. dogs, basketball vs. soccer, ice-cream vs. burgers, etc.). After filling out the preference questionnaire the participants were told that they have been assigned to the “blue” group according to their preference. Additionally, participants were told that other participants that shared their preferences were assigned to the blue group with them, and that participants that shared none of their preferences were assigned to the “red” group (in practice, all participants were assigned to the blue group no matter what their preferences were).

In the experimental condition, participants were further told that others who shared part of their preferences and part of the red group preferences were assigned to the “mixed” group which was labeled with a blue-red gradient, thus serving as an intermediate, dual identity group (Figure 1). To control for the 3-groups structure, participants in the control condition were informed that another group (the green group) exists in the study. No additional information was given regarding the green group. A significant distinction that can be made here is that of perspective. While existing frameworks are mainly rooted in the perspective of the dual or multiple identifier (i.e., focusing on how individuals cope with multiple identities), the GG concept can also refer to the perspective of social groups that view the GG from the outside. For instance, if the biracial community is perceived by the White community and the Black community as biracial, then the biracial GG may have an impact on this intergroup relation even if the biracial individuals do not necessarily subjectively identify with both groups simultaneously (and vice versa)<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> We also had a pilot condition in which the control group was dichotomous (only a red group and blue group). We found the same trends in both control conditions and therefore in Study 2 we used this form of control

The participants were then asked to divide 100 points between their blue ingroup and the red outgroup in a simple dictator game fashion (Kahneman, 1986). The points did not have any real value; although in order to elicit competition the participants were told that the more points the better, and that they must divide all 100 points in a zero sum manner. Both in the control condition, and the experimental condition, the allocation of points in the dictator game was dichotomous, between the blue group and the red group only<sup>5</sup>.

Figure .1

*The participants in the experimental condition in Study 2 were told that the Mixed group shared part of their preferences with the ingroup and part of their preferences with the outgroup.*



Following the allocation exercise, participants filled out a questionnaire with measures regarding their perception and evaluation of the red group. These measures included a three item contact motivation scale (e.g., “*to what extent would you be interested in meeting someone from the red group/make a new friend from the outgroup*” tested on a 1 (*not at all*) to 6 (*to a very high extent*) scale, based on the condition.

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<sup>5</sup>Although Hartstone and Augoustinos (1995) have studied the minimal group paradigm with three groups, our study only includes dichotomous allocations and is therefore inherently different. Moreover, the control condition showed clear signs of ingroup favoritism despite the presence of a third group which also sets this study apart from that of Hartstone and Augoustinos.

Bogardus social distance scale ( $\alpha=0.81$ , Bogardus, 1933; Owen 1981); and a feelings measure towards the outgroup which was more elaborated than in study 1 (measure included: *warmth, positiveness, friendliness, trust, and admiration, on a 1 (not at all) to 6 (to a very high extent)*; Shehori 2006).

## Results

Replicating classic findings in social psychology, participants tended to favor their ingroup over the outgroup, as reflected in the mean of the points allocated to the ingroup and to the outgroup respectively ( $M=75.1$ ,  $SD=18.65$  vs.  $M=24.9$ ,  $SD=18.56$ ),  $t(80)=12.19$ ,  $p<.001$ ,  $d=0.80$ . To test our prediction that participants in the experimental condition would allocate the resources more generously than those in the control condition, we compared the points allocated in each condition. Results showed that participants in the experimental condition allocated more points to the outgroup than those in the control condition ( $M=28.84$ ,  $SD=18.26$  vs.  $M=20.96$ ,  $SD=18.39$ ),  $t(80)=1.95$ ,  $p=.05$ ,  $d=0.43$  (see Figure 3). Thus, replicating the findings in Study 1a and 1b, but this time using a highly controlled experimental setting, the presence of a third group which shares identity elements with both groups led to more generous resource allocation towards the outgroup.

We further explored specific patterns of allocation behavior. Our premise was that allocating zero points to the outgroup constitutes a clearly discriminatory behavior, while allocating 50 points is a clear-cut egalitarian strategy (Bogaert et al., 2008; Tajfel, 1970). We examined the frequency of these two strategies in each condition. Interestingly, the population proportion test results showed that as opposed to only 14.6% of participants that divided the points equally in the control condition, twice as many participants 26.8%, divided the points equally in the dual identity

condition (marginally significant,  $Z=1.36$ ,  $p=0.08$ ). In terms of blatant discriminations, in the control condition twice as many participants 24.4% blatantly discriminated by giving their ingroup all 100 points leaving the outgroup with nothing at all, as opposed to only 12.2% in the dual identity condition (marginally significant,  $Z=1.42$ ,  $p=0.07$ ; see Figure 4)<sup>6</sup>. These patterns illustrate seemingly different patterns of allocation as a function of the presence of the dual identity group in the context of intergroup competition.

We then analyzed the effects of the presence of the intermediate group on the rest of the outcome measures. As for the feelings measure, participant felt marginally more friendliness emotions towards the outgroup in the dual identity condition than in the control condition ( $M=4.35$ ,  $SD=0.74$  vs.  $M=4.02$ ,  $SD=0.79$ ),  $t(80)=1.90$ ,  $p=0.06$ ,  $d=0.43$ ; we did not find significant effects for the other feelings. Furthermore, the contact motivation towards the outgroup was also significantly higher in the dual identity condition than in the control condition ( $M=4.95$ ,  $SD=0.79$  vs.  $M=4.34$ ,  $SD=1.21$ ),  $t(80)=2.65$ ,  $p=0.01$ ,  $d=0.60$ .

## Discussion

Study 2 provided the first experimental support for our prediction that the presence of a group that encompasses a dual identity, leads to more positive intergroup attitudes and behavior. Participants in the dual identity condition, compared to those in the control condition, allocated more resources to the outgroup, had greater contact motivation, and showed higher tendency (marginally significant)

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<sup>6</sup> In the dual identity condition there was one participant that gave the outgroup 50.5 points (reverse favoritism) and his division is treated as an equal one.



for equal division and a lower tendency for complete discrimination. Our goal in Study 3 was to replicate the findings in a more meaningful and interactive context.

### Study 3

In Study 3 we sought to replicate Study 2 while adding two additional elements: First, in Study 3 the experiment was carried out in groups. Studies have shown that intergroup interactions are generally more competitive than interpersonal interactions (Insko et al., 1992; Wildschut et al., 2003). This suggested to us that allowing individuals to make allocation decisions in groups would put them in a stronger intergroup conflict situation thus enabling us to increase conflict intensity without losing experimental control. Second, Study 2 was performed in the lab rather than on-line so that we would have better control over the participants' environment and thus a better ability to simulate the dual identity condition.

### Method

**Participants.** Eighty-one first year psychology students (16 males;  $M_{age}=22.85$  years,  $SD=1.65$ ) were recruited at an Israeli college. The participants took part in the study as part of their course requirements. They were enrolled in the assignment separately but knew in advance that it was a group interaction study, and assembled in groups that were divided dichotomously or trichotomously depending on the condition. Participants were randomly assigned to either the control or the experimental condition. Compared to Study 2, for Study 3 we expected the effect size to be stronger because the meaning of the presence of the dual identity group should be more pronounced in the more interactive/real-life nature of the study, which led us to maintain the same sample size per condition.

**Procedure and measures.** In order to divide the participants into minimal groups, upon arrival to the laboratory they were asked to perform a dot estimation exercise (Gerard & Hoyt, 1974; Saguy Dovidio, & Pratto, 2008, Study 1). The participants were then told that they would be divided according to their estimation to groups of under-estimators and over-estimators (in practice the participants were randomly assigned to the groups in advance, so that there were three participants in each group<sup>7</sup>). In order to avoid the estimation information from influencing the rest of the experiment, the participants were not told which group was the under/over-estimator group, instead they were assigned to either the red or the blue group and each participant received a shirt in the color of her group which they were asked to wear from thereon out<sup>8</sup>.

In the experimental dual identity condition, participants were further told that those who over-estimated some of the time but under-estimated as well the rest of time, were assigned to a third group (referred to as the mixed group)<sup>9</sup>. Participants in the mixed group received shirts that were half blue and half red and served as the dual identity group (Figure 2).

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<sup>7</sup> In one round there were two groups of 4 participants due to logistic constraints.

<sup>8</sup> One red group was dropped because a member of the group was literally called "light blue" (which is actually not an uncommon name in Hebrew) and as a result she displayed an antagonistic attitude towards her assigned ingroup which affected the other group members as well. It was assumed that this would influence group identification and the data from this group was not integrated into the study.

<sup>9</sup> In order to make sure that these participants were not perceived as a third "accurate" estimator group but a mixed group, we emphasized the point that they too both underestimated and overestimated.

Figure .2

*The participants in the experimental condition in Study 2 were told that the Mixed group over-estimated some of the time and under-estimated as well the rest of the time.*



Next, the Blue group and the Red group were separated from each other and transferred to two separate rooms. In the experimental condition the dual identity group stayed in the original room and was debriefed after the other groups left. Once in separate rooms, the participants in the blue and red groups were asked to play a round of the dictator game as in Study 1, but this time there were two resource allocation tasks. First, participants allocated the points individually and handed in their allocation proposal. Next, the participants were requested to perform the allocation again this time together with the rest of the group, and the decision had to be unanimous. Both in the control condition and in the experimental condition, the groups allocated points dichotomously between the blue and red groups only. Following the resource allocation tasks, participants' contact motivation was tested using the same scale as in Study 2.

## **Results**

The division of participants into small groups of three participants in Study 3 created potential interdependence between individuals' responses. For this reason we performed an *ICC* test using the SSI HLM7 software (Raudenbush et al. 2011), to test for degrees of interdependence. The *ICC* analysis revealed that the between-group

variance accounted for less than 1% of the individual allocation variance ( $\sigma^2 = 313.65$ ;  $\tau=3.04$ ), rendering the HLM analysis unnecessary.

As in Study 2, the pattern of resource allocation indicated that participants in the dual identity condition allocated more points individually to the outgroup than those in the control condition (although not significantly:  $M=32.02$ ,  $SD=17.70$  vs.  $M=26.33$ ,  $SD=17.70$ ),  $t(79)=1.45$ ,  $p=0.15$ ,  $d=0.32$ . We then went on to conduct follow-up tests that separated allocations by strategy. Discriminating and egalitarian allocations were measured as in Study 2 and the population proportion test results showed that as opposed to only 15.4% of participants that divided the points equally in the control condition, twice as many participants 33.3% divided the points equally in the dual identity condition,  $Z=1.87$   $p=0.03$ . In terms of blatant discrimination there was no difference in between conditions,  $p=0.44$  (see Figure 4). Further replicating the results of Study 2, the contact motivation towards the outgroup in the dual identity condition, was also significantly higher ( $M=4.69$ ,  $SD=0.74$  vs.  $M=4.21$ ,  $SD=0.83$ ),  $t(79)=2.77$ ,  $p=0.007$ ,  $d=0.61$ .

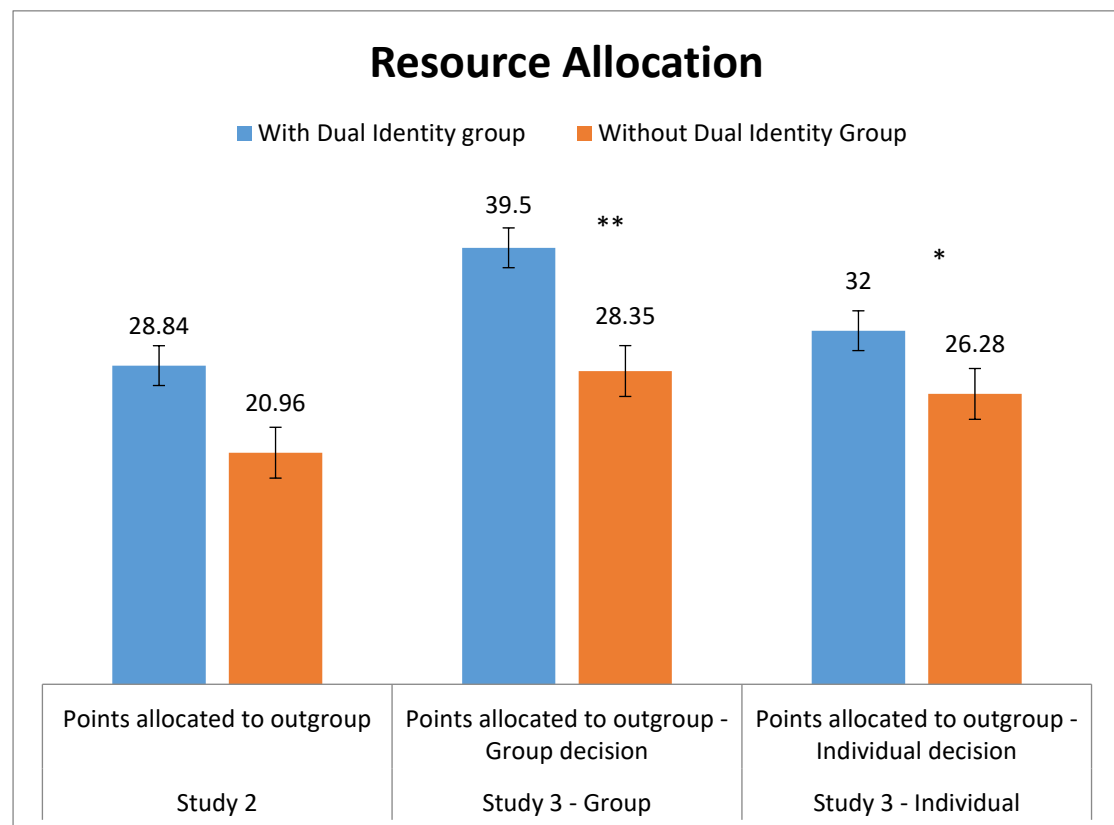
We next examined whether the group decision allocations were also influenced by the presence of a dual identity. Results of the group decision allocation showed that groups in the experimental condition allocated more points to the outgroup than those in the control condition ( $M=39.5$ ,  $SD=11.8$  vs.  $M=28.36$ ,  $SD=14.68$ ),  $t(79)=3.78$ ,  $p<0.001$ ,  $d=0.84$ . Since the group allocation had to be unanimous we analyzed the group allocations as individual allocations made in a group context. However, in order to make sure that the results were not only significant due to the seemingly enlarged number of participants, we performed the same analyses using the groups ( $N=27$ ) and still found significant results ( $M=39.5$ ,  $SD=11.8$  vs.  $M=28.36$ ,  $SD=14.68$ ),  $t(25)=2.13$ ,  $p=0.04$ ,  $d=0.84$ . The population

proportion of discrimination and egalitarian orientation results also showed the expected effects. In the dual identity condition, 42.9% of the participants chose to divide the points equally between the two groups and none of the control condition groups chose an equal division,  $Z=4.99$ ,  $p<0.001$ . In terms of complete outgroup discrimination, in the control condition 15.4% of participants gave their ingroup all 100 points leaving the out group with nothing at all, as opposed to the dual identity condition groups which none of whom displayed blatant discrimination, and gave at least 15 points to the outgroup,  $Z=2.64$ ,  $p=0.004$ . Thus, the group allocation findings in the current group interaction context replicated the individual allocation findings of Study 2 (see Figures 3 and 4).

Figure .3

*Differences in resource allocation between the experimental and the control condition*

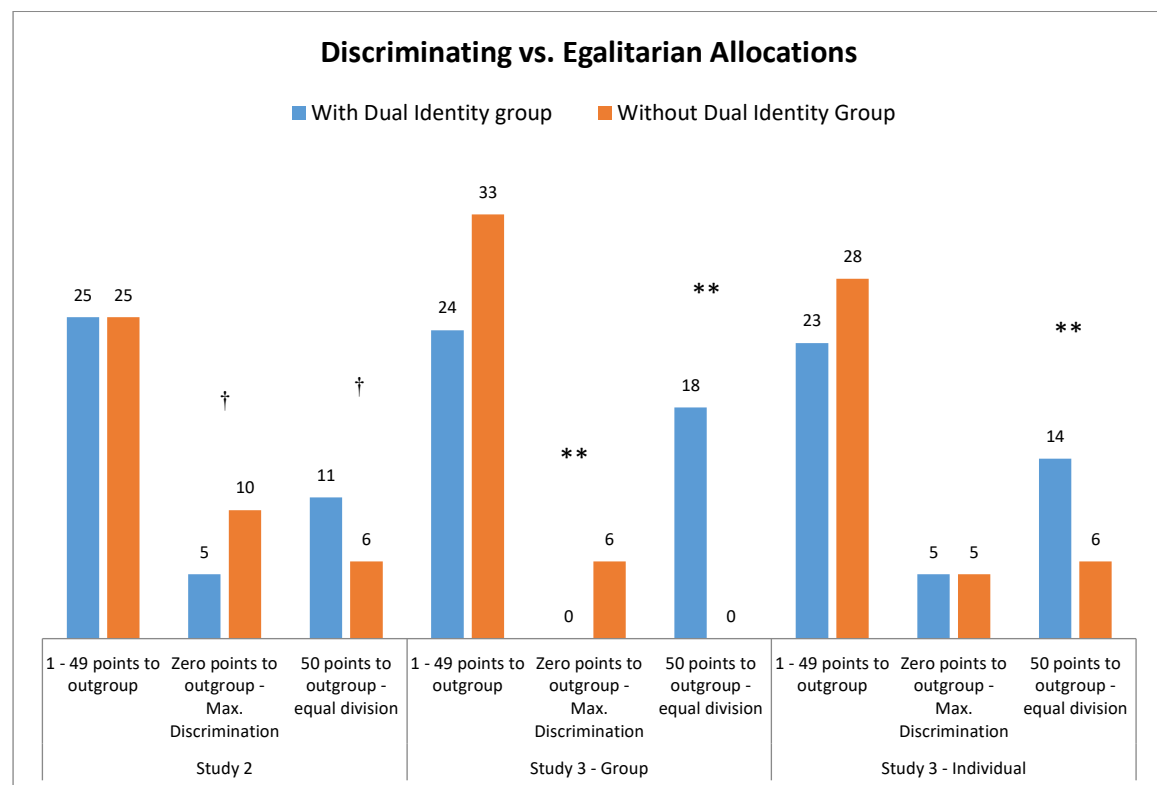
*\* $p<.05$ , \*\* $p<.01$ .*



Additionally, in order to rule out any licensing effects the first individual allocation might have had on the second group allocation (i.e. to make sure participants didn't change their behavioral tendency towards the outgroup as a result of allocating points to the outgroup individually in the first round), we also tested and found that there was a significant correlation between both allocations ( $r=0.47$ ,  $p<0.001$ )<sup>10</sup>.

Figure .4

Population proportion test results comparing equal distribution or discriminatory distribution across conditions. † $p<0.1$ , \* $p<0.05$ , \*\* $p<0.01$ .



<sup>10</sup> We also examined perceived competition with the outgroup as a possible mediator in this study ( $M=3.79$ ,  $SD=0.98$  vs.  $M=3.19$ ,  $SD=1.35$   $t(79)=-2.29$ ,  $p=0.024$ ,  $d=0.51$ ), and found that it did indeed act as a mediator of the described effects. The independent variable was the experimental / control condition variable, the mediator was competition with the outgroup and the dependent variable was group resource allocation. The dual identity presence predicted less competition ( $b=0.6$ ,  $SE=0.26$ ,  $t=2.29$ ,  $p=0.02$ ). In addition, competition was negatively associated with resource allocation ( $b=-3.08$ ,  $SE=1.21$ ,  $t=-2.53$ ,  $p=0.013$ ). Moreover, the effect of the dual identity presence on resource allocation was reduced after competition was entered into the model ( $b=-9.27$ ,  $SE=2.94$ ,  $t=-3.15$ ,  $p=0.002$ ) such that the indirect path through competition was significant ( $a \times b = -1.86$ , 95% confidence interval [CI] = [-5.17, -0.4]).

## Discussion

Study 3 replicated the results of Study 2 in a more meaningful and interactive context by showing that the presence of a dual identity leads to more positive intergroup attitudes and behavior. As in Study 2, which employed artificial groups and individual allocation decisions, in Study 3 participants in the experimental condition collectively allocated more resources to the outgroup, had a higher tendency for equal division, a lower tendency for complete discrimination, and also showed greater contact motivation.

Thus Studies 2 and 3 provided experimental evidence for our gateway hypothesis in a controlled environment. However, since the emulation of dual identity in an artificial group context cannot completely convey the complexity of real world dual identity scenarios, the external validity of the hypothesis still needed to be put to the test. Additionally, all the studies mentioned above have not yet provided any evidence as to *why* the reoccurring effects actually occur. Based on the theory mentioned in the introduction, and in the real world context of the Israeli Palestinian conflict, Study 4 was designed to address both these limitations.

### Study 4

In Study 4 we sought to replicate the findings of the previous studies but with three important additions. First, in Study 4 we went back to the field and tested the hypothesis with an experimental design in the real world context of the Israeli Palestinian conflict. This enabled us to raise the external validity of our findings in a very conservative setting. Second, in Study 4 we attempted to raise the internal validity of the findings as well by manipulating the level of perceived dual identity and examining the effects of such a manipulation on behavior and attitudes toward the

outgroup. Finally, in Study 4 we introduced mediating variables in order to try and shed some light on the underlying mechanism at hand.

According to the theories mentioned in the introduction, there are several possible explanations for the positive effect dual identity groups may have on intergroup relations. As dual identity was found to be a facilitator of common ingroup identity (Dovidio, Gaertner & Saguy, 2009), perhaps the presence of such a group induces a sense of common identity with the outgroup. Additionally, in line with cross categorization theory, the fleshing out of the complex identity which the dual identity group embodies, can foster a more humane perception of the dual identity group (Vasilijevic & Crisp, 2013). Finally, according to social identity complexity theory, the accentuation of social category overlap may lead to both a reduction of stereotypical representation of social groups, and a reduction in the evaluative significance of the group for the self (Brewer & Pierce, 2005). Accordingly, in Study 4 we added the following measures in order to test these possible mechanisms: common ingroup identity with the outgroup, humanization of the dual identity group, negative stereotypes of the dual identity group, and ingroup identification. Additionally, based on the literature that has shown that elements of identity and intergroup interactions are often mediated by emotional processes (Halperin, 2016; Shuman et al., 2016; van Zomeren, Postmes & Spears, 2008), we also added an emotion measure. Given that the current context was of intergroup violent and provocative conflict, we assumed that anger was the most relevant emotion, and therefore we hypothesized that the positive influence of the dual identity group might also be mediated by a decrease in levels of intergroup anger.



## Method

**Participants.** One hundred and seventy-five participants (73 males;  $M_{age}=40.74$  years,  $SD=14.61$ ) were recruited via an internet survey company in Israel. The participants, who were selected from a nationwide panel, were randomly assigned to either the control condition or the experimental (dual identity) condition. Since we found medium size effects throughout the different studies, we based our decision to determine sample size on a power analysis (through G\*Power, Faul et al., 2009) that assumed we wanted to be able to detect a medium-sized effect ( $d= 0.50$ ). This analysis suggested a required sample size of 176 participants to achieve a statistical power of 0.80. Three participants who claimed they did not believe the manipulation article (see below) was real, and two outliers were removed from the sample.

**Procedure and measures.** In order to manipulate the level of perceived dual identity of the Arab citizens of Israel, participants in the experimental condition read an article describing a survey which asked the Arabs in Israel questions about their identity. The results of the survey described in the article showed that the majority of Arabs living in Israel identify both with Palestine and with Israel, and don't necessarily see a contradiction between their two identities. Participants in the control condition read an article about agronomy. After reading the article, participants were asked questions about their ingroup, about the dual identity group, and about the Palestinian outgroup. In order to make sure that the questions addressing the dual identity group did not act as a manipulation themselves in the control condition (by enhancing the presence of the dual identity before reaching the dependent variables regarding the outgroup), half of the participants in the control conditions were asked about the dual identity group in the order presented above, while the other half answered the questions regarding the dual identity group at the very end of the

questionnaire. A post hoc analysis found that indeed there was no significant difference between both control condition designs (all  $t$ 's < 0.77, and all  $p$ 's > 0.44), and therefore all the participants in the control condition were analyzed as one group.

*Manipulation check.* In order to measure the effect our manipulation had on perceived dual identity level, participants were asked to rate the extent to which they perceive the dual identity group as Israeli on a scale of 1 (not all) to 100 (to a very high extent), and then to rate the extent to which they perceive the dual identity group as Palestinian on a similar scale of 1-100. We used the following formula to create a unified score which describes both the overall level of identification with both groups, and the perception of clash between the identities:  $(ID_{ingroup} + ID_{outgroup}) - ABS(ID_{ingroup} - ID_{outgroup})$ . We then divided the results dichotomously at the midpoint in order to have a distinction between participants who perceived the group as having a high level of dual identity and participants who perceived them as having a low level of dual identity. Other than the manipulation check, all variables were measured on a 1 (*not at all*) to 6 (*to a very high extent*) scale.

*Mediators.* As described above, the mediation variables included: Common ingroup identity with the outgroup (three items, e.g., "*I see Israelis and Palestinians as one social group*", "*Israelis and Palestinians are two completely separate and distinct social groups (R)*",  $\alpha=0.75$ , based on Gaertner et al. 2000); humanization (measured by sentence: "*to what extent do you think that having compassion for someone else's suffering is a typical trait of the average Israeli Arab*", Leidner, Castano, & Ginges, 2013); negative stereotypes (six items, e.g., "*to what extent do you perceive a typical member of the group to be violent/ignorant/not trustworthy*",  $\alpha=0.93$ , Kimel et al. 2016); ingroup identification (three items, e.g., "*I identify with other Jewish Israelis*", "*Being a Jewish Israeli is an important part of my identity*",

$\alpha=0.71$ , based on Ellemers, Spears & Doosje, 1997); and anger towards the outgroup ("to what extent do you feel anger towards the Palestinians for their actions", Halperin, 2016).

*Dependent variables.* Besides the resource allocation task which was similar to the task in Study 1b, in Study 4 we also introduced a measure regarding the support for governmental aggressive policies toward to the outgroup. The items of the aggressive policy measure included minimizing the outgroup's freedom of religion, increasing military activities against the outgroup, legitimacy of outgroup civilian casualties, and unwillingness to negotiate with the outgroup ( $\alpha=0.79$ ).

## **Results**

*Manipulation check.* The manipulation had the expected effect, and participants in the experimental condition rated higher on perception of the Arab citizens of Israel as dually identified ( $M=0.21$ ,  $SD=0.41$ ) as opposed to the participants in the control condition ( $M=0.09$ ,  $SD=0.29$ ),  $t(169)=2.13$ ,  $p=0.03$ ,  $d=0.33$ .

Analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to determine whether there was an effect of the manipulation on the prospective mediating variables. As expected, participants in the experimental condition perceived the dual identity group as marginally more human ( $M=3.60$ ,  $SD=1.30$ ) than in the control condition ( $M=3.19$ ,  $SD=1.34$ ),  $F(1, 169)=3.41$ ,  $p=0.06$ ,  $d=0.31$ . Additionally, participants in the experimental condition displayed marginally lower levels of negative stereotyping of the dual identity group ( $M=3.66$ ,  $SD=1.14$ ) compared to the control condition ( $M=4.01$ ,  $SD=1.14$ ),  $F(1, 169)=3.40$ ,  $p=0.06$ ,  $d=0.31$ . Ingroup identification also displayed the anticipated results in which participants in the experimental condition displayed lower levels of ingroup identification ( $M=4.58$ ,  $SD=0.84$ ) than participants

in the control condition ( $M=5.00$ ,  $SD=0.77$ ),  $F(1, 169)=9.60$   $p=0.002$ ,  $d=0.51$ ).

Finally, in regards to anger, participants in the experimental condition displayed a significantly lower level of anger towards the outgroup ( $M=4.69$ ,  $SD=1.06$ ) than in the control condition ( $M=5.15$ ,  $SD=0.87$ ),  $F(1, 169)=8.78$ ,  $p=0.003$ ,  $d=0.47$ . There was no significant difference between conditions in terms of common ingroup identity with the outgroup ( $p=0.58$ ,  $d=0.05$ ).

In regard to the dependent variables, the ANOVA analysis found that Study 4 replicated the results of the previous studies regarding the resource allocation task, and participants in the experimental condition allocated more resources to the outgroup ( $M=41.74$ ,  $SD=20.36$ ) than the participants in the control condition ( $M=34.94$ ,  $SD=18.26$ ),  $F(1, 169)=4.67$ ,  $p=0.03$ ,  $d=0.35$ . Moreover, the same pattern was found in regards to the aggressive policy measure introduced in Study 4 where as expected, participants in the experimental condition displayed less support for aggressive policy against the outgroup ( $M=2.93$ ,  $SD=1.07$ ) than participants in the control condition ( $M=3.30$ ,  $SD=1.10$ ),  $F(1, 169)=4.02$ ,  $p=0.04$   $d=0.33$ .

Following the analyses of the main effects, we examined possible mechanisms which we hypothesized might explain the observed phenomena. We first tested the correlation between the mediation variables and the dependent variables, and found that both dependent variables were highly correlated with all mediating variables. Resource allocation was correlated with humanization ( $r=0.38$ ,  $p<0.001$ ), stereotyping ( $r=0.38$ ,  $p<0.001$ ), identification ( $r=0.31$ ,  $p<0.001$ ), and anger ( $r=0.41$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). Similarly, Support for aggressive policy was correlated with humanization ( $r=0.38$ ,  $p<0.001$ ), stereotyping ( $r=0.47$ ,  $p<0.001$ ), identification ( $r=0.31$ ,  $p<0.001$ ), and anger ( $r=0.44$ ,  $p<0.001$ ).

To determine if the effect of our manipulation on the dependent variables could be explained by humanization, stereotyping, identification, or anger (or all four), we employed Baron and Kenny's (1986) procedure for testing mediation. Because we knew from the ANOVAs that the dual identity level manipulation (coded as 1 = dual identity, 2 = control) predicted humanization, stereotyping, identification, anger, resource allocation, and support for aggressive policy, we proceeded to test the full mediation model using Preacher and Hayes' (2012) PROCESS macro Model 4. When all five predictors were entered simultaneously, the regression equation accounted for substantial variance in resource allocation,  $R^2 = 0.03$ ,  $F(5, 164) = 4.67$ ,  $p = 0.03$ . With all four mediators in the model, as shown in Figure 5, all of the coefficients associated with stereotyping ( $b = -3.44$ ,  $SE = 1.37$ ,  $t = -2.51$ ,  $p = 0.01$ ), identification ( $b = -3.42$ ,  $SE = 1.74$ ,  $t = -1.97$ ,  $p = 0.05$ ), and anger ( $b = -4.81$ ,  $SE = 1.52$ ,  $t = -3.17$ ,  $p = 0.002$ ) remained significant, and neither the dual identity manipulation ( $b = -1.24$ ,  $SE = 2.88$ ,  $t = -0.43$ ,  $p = 0.67$ ), nor humanization ( $b = -1.81$ ,  $SE = 1.21$ ,  $t = 1.50$ ,  $p = 0.13$ ), significantly predicted resource allocation. The same pattern was found with support for aggressive policy and when all five predictors were entered simultaneously, the regression equation accounted for substantial variance in support for aggressive policy,  $R^2 = 0.02$ ,  $F(5, 164) = 4.02$ ,  $p = 0.04$ . With all four mediators in the model, as shown in Figure 6, all of the coefficients associated with stereotyping ( $b = 0.30$ ,  $SE = 0.08$ ,  $t = 4.03$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), identification ( $b = 0.18$ ,  $SE = 0.10$ ,  $t = 1.85$ ,  $p = 0.06$ ), and anger ( $b = 0.31$ ,  $SE = 0.08$ ,  $t = 3.64$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) remained significant, and neither the dual identity manipulation ( $b = 0.02$ ,  $SE = 0.16$ ,  $t = 0.11$ ,  $p = 0.91$ ), nor humanization ( $b = -0.07$ ,  $SE = 0.07$ ,  $t = -1.01$ ,  $p = 0.31$ ), significantly predicted support for aggressive policy. We then used the bootstrapping technique (with 5,000 iterations) to determine whether the indirect effect of the dual identity manipulation on resource allocation

was due to reduced stereotyping, identification, or anger. The indirect effect was estimated to lie between -3.58 and -0.06 (stereotyping), -3.73 and -0.010 (identification), -4.67 and -0.74 (anger) with 95% confidence. Additionally, the indirect effect on support for aggressive policy was similarly estimated to lie between 0.01 and 0.29 (stereotyping), 0.01 and 0.20 (identification), 0.04 and 0.31 (anger) with 95% confidence. Because zero is not in any of the 95% confidence intervals, the indirect effect is indeed significantly different from zero at  $p=0.05$  (two tailed). In sum, the effect of dual identity perception on resource allocation and support for aggressive policy was mediated through stereotyping, identification, and anger.

Figure .5

*Mediation model with the dual identity manipulation as the independent variable, outgroup anger, ingroup identification, dual identity group stereotyping, and dual identity group humanization as the mediators, and resource allocation as the dependent variable: Study 4. The coefficients shown in parentheses reflect the inclusion of the mediators in the equation. † $p<0.1$ , \* $p<.05$ , \*\* $p <.01$ , \*\*\* $p <.001$ .*

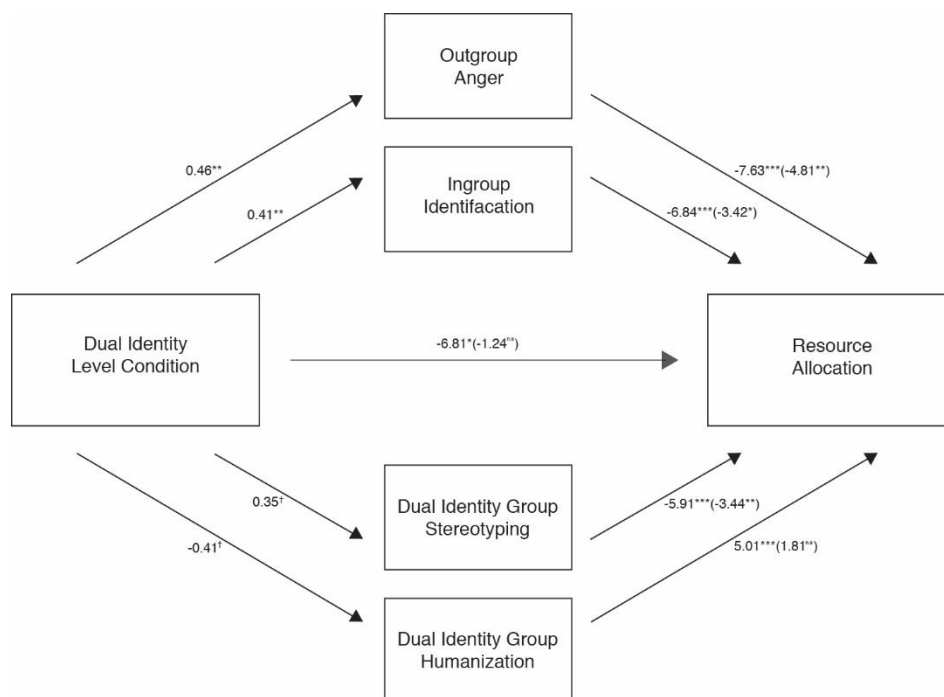
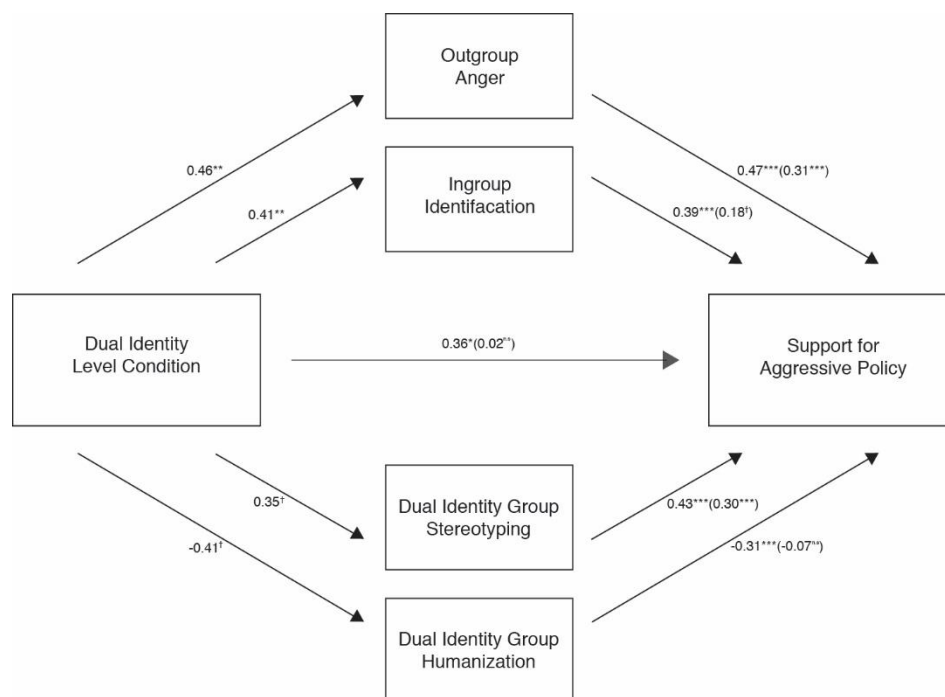


Figure .6

Mediation model with the dual identity manipulation as the independent variable, outgroup anger, ingroup identification, dual identity group stereotyping, and dual identity group humanization as the mediators, and support for aggressive policy as the dependent variable: Study 4. The coefficients shown in parentheses reflect the inclusion of the mediators in the equation.  $\dagger p < 0.1$ ,  $*p < .05$ ,  $**p < .01$ ,  $***p < .001$ .



## Discussion

Study 4 replicated the results of Study 2 and 3 by showing that the perception of a dual identity leads to more positive intergroup attitudes and behavior, and this time in a real world context. As in the previous studies, participants in the experimental condition allocated more resources to the outgroup, and in Study 4 they also displayed decreased support for aggressive policies toward the outgroup. Study 4 also suggests initial evidence for why this may be the case, as the presence of a dual

identity led to reduced negative stereotyping of the dual identity group, reduced ingroup identification, and reduced intergroup anger. These mediations are in line with our gateway hypothesis, which suggests that perceiving an intermediary group as dually identified with both the ingroup and the outgroup should have positive effects on intergroup attitudes and behavior.

### **General Discussion**

In the era of globalization, clear-cut and distinct social categorization is becoming a thing of the past. The modern complexity of social boundaries and social identity calls for the development of innovative theory in the realm of social psychology. Dual identity and cross-categorization processes offer such innovative approaches to complex social identities (Brewer & Pierce, 2005; Crisp & Hewstone, 1999; Migdal et al., 1998; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2012; Sam & Berry, 2010) and their development and elaboration will enable a more complex and accurate theorization of reality. In the current article, we fleshed out both the theoretical and application potential of the dual identity group as a gateway for improving intergroup relations. This gateway hypothesis predicts that perceiving a group as having a dual identity will improve intergroup attitudes and behavior, which is indeed what we found in terms of correlations (Study 1a and 1b), and in terms of experimental findings (Study 2,3, and 4).

### **Implications**

The studies reported in this article are the first to focus on this new perspective on dual identity. By suggesting that perceiving a dual identity in others will improve intergroup attitudes and behavior, our findings broaden the theoretical scope of the notion of dual identity, including issues that are not addressed by existing theory and



research. Another novel aspect of the studies above is the explication of the potential of dual identity to be perceived and thus act as a gateway in intergroup relations. Specifically, we added value to the literature by carrying out a set of correlational and experimental studies with artificial and real-life groups, which lends support for both the internal and external validity of our findings. As expected, the perception of an intermediate group as having a dual identity was significantly correlated with positive behavior and attitudes towards the outgroup, and the presence of a dual identity in three experiments led to a more positive allocation behavior, and more positive intergroup attitudes, all supporting the gateway hypothesis.

Although theory and research on dual identity has documented many positive implications of a dual identity (Brewer & Pierce, 2005; Brown & Hewstone, 2004; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2012; Plaut, 2010; Scheepers et al., 2014; Sam & Berry, 2010; Simon & Ruhs, 2008; Wolsko, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2000), our findings clearly point to another type of implication, namely that perceiving a group as having a dual identity may help to reduce intergroup conflict. The current set of studies also begin to unravel the underlying mechanism. Three possible routes for mediation were discovered in Study 4, through ingroup identification, through a complex perception of the dual identity group, and through decreased negative emotions toward the outgroup.

Furthermore, it may be possible to conceive of "gateway groups" (Levy et al., 2016) as dual identity groups that move beyond the traditional focus of hierarchically nested identities. For instance, biracials may be a good example of such a gateway group. Indeed, Levy et al. (2016) found that presenting participants most likely to have racist attitudes with pictures of biracials decreased their experience of intergroup threat. To us, this suggests that thinking more and more deeply about how dual

identities are perceived by others may be very fruitful in coming up with new and effective ways to improve intergroup relations.

### **Limitations**

Although the studies above have all found that the presence of a dual identity group holds a potential for positively effecting intergroup relations, when examining real world case studies which include such groups, this potential may seem to be absent. As mentioned in the introduction, this absence might be a result of the marginalization of such groups, and future research should look into possible ways to flesh out these groups and their unique attributes.

As for the risk of backlash we feared might be triggered by the dual identity group, all the studies above have consistently found only positive outcomes as a result of exposure to these groups. Nonetheless, the process of framing dual identity groups as linked to the outgroup can still theoretically also have detrimental effects especially in the context of violent conflict. Stressing the connection of the dual identity group to the 'enemy' outgroup may raise a sense of betrayal or frame the dual identity group as a fifth column. This concern becomes even graver when considering that all the studies so far have examined the effects of the passive presence of the dual identity groups, and if such groups were to take a more active role this threat may even increase. Future studies should address this point, and thoroughly analyze the distinction between when dual identity groups elicit the positive effects we have found in our studies, and when they might they evoke a negative backlash of threat or betrayal.

In regard to the underlying mechanism, given that these are the first studies to test the gateway hypothesis, the studies above only offer an initial analysis of possible

mediation routes of the underlying process. Since these routes seem to coexist, future research should systematically test how these mediators operate both separately and together, while devising a more accurate and complex model to account for the underlying process at hand.

As for external validity and real-world applicability of the current findings, we studied different intergroup relations in the studies, and this affords at least some generalizability. Nevertheless, future research should seek to replicate the reported effects in different contexts in order to get a better sense of their generalizability. In this respect, we note that our notion of dual identities as gateways should apply to many different groups and contexts, including ethnic, national, racial and cultural groups.

## **Conclusion**

In conclusion, the current set of studies provided the first evidence that dual identities may have a positive role to play in reducing intergroup conflict. As such, we hope our work will stimulate future research to replicate our findings in other contexts, with the next steps being to tackle the underlying mechanism(s), and to develop a more integrative and comprehensive framework for how dual identities, perceived or experienced, can improve intergroup relations.

## Chapter 3 - Gateway Groups in the context of complex and multidimensional social identities

### Abstract

<sup>11</sup>Gateway Groups are characterized by a unique social categorization which enables them to be identified with two or more groups within the context of intergroup relations. Due to their simultaneous identification with two (or more) separate groups, Gateway Groups have been found to have the potential to improve the relations between their distinct social counterparts. Existing research regarding Gateway Groups has so far examined contexts with clear ingroup-outgroup categorizations, and focused on groups holding multiple identities on the same dimension (e.g. an overlap of two national identities). In this paper we extend the Gateway Group line of research and examine the Western Balkan context, where there is a high degree of social category overlap. Moreover, we also examine Gateway Groups that represent a mixture of two identities from different dimensions (i.e. an overlap of an ethnic and national identity). Replicating previous studies, we found that the exposure to a dually identified Gateway Group leads to a more complex perception of the Gateway Group itself, a higher belief in the potential of the Gateway Group to bridge the relations between the ingroup and the outgroup, and a greater sense of closeness between the ingroup and the outgroup.

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<sup>11</sup> This chapter is based on: Levy, A., Zezelj, I., Brankovic, M., van Zomeren, M., Saguy, T., & Halperin, E. (Under review). Complex Social Identities and Intergroup Relations: Gateway Groups in the Western Balkans.

In recent years, researchers studying social identity have advanced towards a more complex understanding of identity that moves beyond mere ingroup-outgroup distinctions. In some cases, such research focuses on several parallel social identities from different dimensions (e.g. *cross-categorization*, Crisp et al., 2006; or *social identity complexity*, Roccas & Brewer, 2002), and in others its focus is on multiple social identities on the same dimension (e.g. *dual identity*, Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009; or *multiculturalism*, Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). These different approaches enable a better understanding of social processes, particularly in social contexts in which matters of identity are clearly complex, such as in contexts historically ridden with intergroup conflicts between different groups and subgroups (Kang & Bodenhausen, 2015).

One of the most recent developments in the realm of complex social identity is that of the Gateway Group notion. This new conceptual framework addresses the potential of groups with complex social identities to play a role in the facilitation of the intergroup relations between their distinct social counterparts, and act as a gateway of sorts across social borderlines. Hence the term Gateway Groups (GG, Levy et al., 2017). Given their shared identity with different social circles, groups of people with multiple identities can potentially bridge the cleft between the two (or more) otherwise separate groups they are affiliated with. In this line of research, we focus on these multiple-identity groups, and examine the potential of their presence to improve intergroup relations in a context that is abundant with complex social identities, and subject to intergroup conflict: The Western Balkans.

When examining the psychology of intergroup relations, international sporting events can be very interesting sources of inspiration. Take for example two Serbian Olympic athletes that have been competing on behalf of Serbia in recent years. Emir

Bekrić, who holds the Serbian national record for the 400 meters hurdles, was born to a Serbian mother but to a Bosniak father, and Asmir Kolašinac an Olympic shot putter, who is part of the ethnic Bosnian minority in a country that is mostly Serbian. Both these athletes have been dealing with their complex social identification quite differently. While Bekrić has been known to emphasize his Serbian patriotism while toning down his half-Bosniak origins (e.g. he has tattooed Serbia on his arm), Kolašinac has been known to have even openly criticized Serbian anthem, and displayed the Sandžak flag (a region of Serbia inhabited predominantly by Bosniaks) after winning a competition. How these athletes deal with their own complex social identity is interesting, but perhaps even more interesting is how does the Serbian sports fan population respond to this socially complex scenario, and how does it impact their attitudes toward the respective outgroup at hand? When learning that the Serbian athlete that is representing them in the Olympics is also Bosnian, would the Serbian fans support him less, or in line with the Gateway Group notion, would they perhaps end up supporting Bosnia more?

The relevance of gateway groups is of course much broader, because such complex social identities are the result of the modern era of globalization, which is accompanied by a massive growth in social interconnections that will most likely become more prevalent with time (Kang & Bodenhausen, 2015; Ramarajan, 2014). However, we still seem to know relatively little about the potential of groups equipped with multiple identities to affect the intergroup relations between the groups that represent the respective sources of their multiple identities. So far, research has focused mainly on how the dominant group (e.g., Whites, or Serbs) reacts to individuals who hold such complex forms of identity (e.g., Biracials, or half Serbian half Bosnian; Bodenhausen, 2010; Brankovic et al., 2017; Gaither, Sommers, &

Ambady, 2013; González & Brown 2006; Plaut, 2010; Rodeheffer & Lord, 2012; Sam & Berry, 2010; Scheepers et al., 2014; Urbiola et al., 2017; Young, Sanchez, & Wilton, 2017; Zezelj & Pratto, 2017), and on how such individuals with complex identities feel and behave (Baysu et al., 2011; Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Gocłowska & Crisp 2014; Kunst, Dovidio, & Dotsch, 2018; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2012; Sam & Berry, 2010; Scheepers et al., 2014; Steffens et al., 2016; Wolsko et al., 2000). Notwithstanding the breadth and relevance of this research, almost none of it has examined the potential that such multiple-identity groups may have for improving the relations between the groups that represent the respective sources of their multiple identities.

Emerging research offers some pointers toward realizing this potential. For example, Levy et al. have begun to examine this possible multiple-identity GG potential (Levy, Saguy, Van Zomeren, & Halperin, 2017; Levy, Van Zomeren, Saguy, & Halperin, 2017). The findings of these studies promisingly suggest the beneficial impact of such groups on intergroup relations. In this research the GG members were made present to participants from the respective relevant social groups, and then assessed outgroup orientations. The research was conducted among groups in the racial context of Blacks and Whites in the U.S., in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict context, and in the secular-religious context in Israel. Additionally, some of this research was also performed in an artificial group context where groups were created in the lab based on the minimal group paradigm (introducing a third, mixed group which shared attributes of both the artificial ingroup as well as the artificial outgroup (Levy et al., 2017; Levy, Halperin, Van Zomeren, & Saguy, under review). Across these varied contexts, the results indicated that the mere presence of GGs can improve the perceptions and behavioral tendencies between the groups comprising the identity

of the GG. For example, highlighting the presence of biracials in the inter-racial context in the U.S. led Whites to exhibit lower levels of symbolic racism towards Blacks, and to express higher levels of empathy towards Black violence victims (Levy et al., under review). In the Israeli-Palestinian context, the presence of the Arab-Israeli GG led Israelis to have greater motivation for contact with Palestinians, more generous resource allocation toward Palestinians, and diminished support for aggressive policies against Palestinians (Levy et al., 2017). While these findings are initial, they point to the promising potential of such GGs with multiple identities, particularly with an eye to conflict reconciliation endeavors.

However, all these studies have examined the impact of the GG in contexts where the original distinction between the ingroup and the outgroup is very clear-cut, and thus shows the potential benefits of the perceived presence of gateway groups in contexts with clear ingroup-outgroup categorizations. For instance, in the Israeli-Palestinian context, members of the national outgroup are often also an outgroup in terms of their ethnicity, religion, and more. Similarly, in the artificial minimal group context, there is only one dimension on which the groups can differ, and the outgroup thus clearly differs from the ingroup on that dimension. Nonetheless, in the interconnected global reality that we have been describing, there are several cases in which an intergroup dynamic, even one that has group based animosity, can actually be multifaceted and involve complex forms of social identification.

For instance, members of the national ingroup can simultaneously be members of the religious outgroup (e.g. Serbian citizens that are Muslim), or an ethnic outgroup (e.g. Serbian citizens that are ethnically Bosniak). On the one hand, these situations in which there is substantial overlap between different social categories in the context of intergroup conflict can exacerbate intergroup tension and hostility as a result of the



need for clear intergroup separation and hierarchy (Halperin & Levy, 2017; Levy et al., 2017b; Tajfel, 1978). On the other hand, in such complex situation where different social identities coincide, GGs are bound to be more prevalent, and their impact on intergroup relations can be even more substantial. Moreover, in some cases, a multiple identity of the GG is comprised from different identities on the same dimension (i.e. racial identities overlapping, or national identities overlapping, e.g. White mother and Black father). In others, the multiple identity is comprised from identities on different dimensions (i.e. national and ethnic identities overlapping, e.g. Irish nationality and Protestant religion). While the existing research has focused on GGs with multiple identities on the same dimension (e.g. racial or national), it is still not clear that the same effect will take place when the different identities are from different dimensions (e.g. an overlap of national and ethnic identities). Accordingly, we sought to replicate the GG impact findings in a context where there is substantial overlap between different social categories in the context of intergroup conflict, and where there are multiple social identity dimensions at play in which the GG can be seen as sharing different types of social identity from different dimensions.

To this end we selected a context in which both national and ethnic identities are deeply embedded in one another and are both a significant factor in an ongoing intergroup conflict. The intergroup relations in the Western Balkans proved to be an optimal context for this, and that is where we conducted the following studies.

### **The Western Balkans context**

The inter-ethnic relations between Serbs and Bosniaks have come into focus during the Yugoslav wars in the 90s. Today, these groups each make a majority in Serbia and Bosnia, respectively (the names of the countries correspond to the ethnic majority that lives within them). In Serbia, the Bosniak population is mostly situated in a south-

western area named Sandžak. Bosnia and Herzegovina has been divided along the ethnic lines into three constituencies after the Yugoslav wars: The Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with a predominant Bosniak and Croat population, and Republika Srpska, with a predominant Serb population, as well the ethnically mixed Brčko district.

In terms of intergroup perceptions, as can be expected, both Serbs and Bosniaks perceive their ethnic ingroup positively, and their outgroup negatively (interestingly using the same mirror image content, Petrović, 2003; Puhalo, 2009; Skoko, 2011; Turjačanin, 2004; Turjačanin & Majstorović, 2013). Indeed, research has found that there are comparable mutual stereotypes, attitudes, and distances between the ethnic groups in both countries. The level of social distance is relatively high in both countries, even among the generations born and raised after the conflicts (Kalaba, 2013; Puhalo, 2009, 2012; Skoko, 2011; Turjačanin, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2011; Žiga et al., 2015).

These two countries thus make a unique, and highly relevant case-study: we are looking at the *same* ethnic groups in two *different* countries. Ethnic identity is the most prominent social identity in both countries and for both groups. For instance, both Bosniaks living in Serbia and Serbs living in Bosnia report warmer feeling for the country in which their ethnic group is a majority than the country they live in (Pratto et al., 2017). It seems that people from both groups perceive ethnicity as an essentialized identity, deeply ingrained within the historical tradition of the group, which, through attributional processes easily becomes equated with genetic predisposition (Branković et al., 2017). This leads to the perception of ethnic identity as an unchangeable form of identity and the inter-group boundaries as impermeable (Turjačanin, Lakić, & Dušanić, 2017).

Nonetheless, despite this perception of monolithic identities, in reality the growth in social interconnections, has led to the sharing of multiple social identities by individuals and groups (Branković, Turjačanin, & Maloku, 2017). These interconnections have played out in two main ways: First, today there is a growing number of people that identify to some extent with their national identity even if it does not coincide with their ethnic one (i.e. Bosniak citizens of Serbia that also identify with their Serb national identity; Turjačanin et al, 2017). Second, intermarriage between ethnic Serbs and Bosniaks has led to a community of people who are ethnically both Serbian and Bosniak. These ethnically mixed communities are now contesting their status as they are deprived of constitutional rights that are reserved for the monolithic ethnic groups (Bieber, 2003, 2015). The rise of these complex forms of social identity calls for a new examination of the local forms of social identity, as well as identity based social conduct. Furthermore, the unique overlap between ethnic and national identity in the Western Balkan context may either inhibit or induce the potential impact of GGs on the intergroup dynamic, and this too is cause for further examination.

### **Current research**

We test whether the positive impact the GGs were found to have in the other contexts can also be found in the Western Balkan context, where there is a high degree of social category overlap and thus social identity is likely to be more complex. Moreover, we also wanted to examine if this effect would be similar for GGs that represent a mixture of two identities on the same dimension (i.e. an overlap of two ethnic identities), and for GGs that represent a mixture of two identities from different dimensions (i.e. an overlap of an ethnic and national identities). To this end we designed and ran two studies in Serbia and Bosnia, each examining a different

type of GG. In Study 1 we recruited a Serbian sample in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and examined the impact of exposure to a GG that is ethnically both Serb and Bosniak (i.e. children of mixed marriage) on intergroup dynamics. In Study 2 we recruited a Serbian sample in Serbia, and examined the impact of exposure to a GG that is ethnically Bosniak and nationally Serb (i.e. the Bosniak minority in Serbia) on intergroup orientation. In both studies we assessed how the fleshing out of the dual nature of the GG impacts the way that both the GG and the outgroup are perceived. Based on previous studies we hypothesized that the exposure to an explicitly dually identified GG would lead participants to identify the GG with both the ingroup and the outgroup to a greater extent, and to see the GG as having greater potential for facilitating the relations between the ingroup and the outgroup. We further hypothesized that this perception of the GG would in turn lead to a greater sense of closeness between the ingroup and the outgroup, and to greater motivation for contact with the outgroup.

## Study 1

### Method

**Participants.** Two hundred and seven participants (102 males;  $M_{age}=19.74$  years,  $SD=2.61$ ) were recruited in the University of Banja Luka, in Republika Srpska, Bosnia and Herzegovina. The participants were randomly assigned to either the control condition or the experimental (GG) condition. Since we found small-medium size effects in previous studies examining the GG effect (Levy et al., 2017; Levy et al., 2017b), we based our decision to determine sample size on a power analysis (through G\*Power, Faul et al., 2009) that assumed we wanted to be able to detect a

small-medium sized effect ( $d= 0.4$ ). This analysis suggested a required sample size of 156 participants to achieve a statistical power of 0.80.

**Procedure and measures.** Based on the design from the Levy et al., study participants in the experimental condition read an article describing a survey that asked the GG from mixed Serb and Bosniak families questions about their identity. The results of the survey described in the article showed that the majority of children that had both Serb and Bosniak parents identify both as Serbian and as Bosniak, and do not necessarily see a contradiction between their two identities. Participants in the control condition did not read an article. Next, participants were asked questions about their social perception of the GG, and the outgroup using four different measure: Dual identification of the GG, intergroup facilitation potential of the GG, perception of closeness between the ingroup and the outgroup, and contact motivation with members of the outgroup.

*Dual Identification.* In order to measure the effect our manipulation had on perceived dual identity of the GG, participants were asked to assess the level of dual identification of the GG, based on Simon, Reichert, and Grabow (2013), on a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 6 (*to a very high extent*) using four items such as: “*I see children of mixed Serb-Bosniak marriages as related to both the Serbs and the Bosniaks*”, “*children of mixed Serb-Bosniak marriages have many similarities to Serbs as well as to Bosniaks*”, ( $\alpha=0.76$ ). This measure enables both to check the manipulation and to assess the manner in which the participants perceived the GG's dual identity.

*Potential bridge.* Other than just examining the way participants perceived the identity of the GG, we also wanted to examine if in fact participants explicitly

perceived the GG as having the potential to play a role in facilitating the relations between the ingroup and the outgroup. To this end, following the identity questions participants were explicitly asked to what extent they felt the GG has the potential of acting as a bridge between the ingroup and the outgroup.

*Perception of the ingroup and outgroup closeness.* To assess whether the exposure to the GG had an impact on the perception of intergroup relations, participants were asked to describe the closeness in the relations between the ingroup and the outgroup using a pictorial diagram representing both groups (Schubert & Otten, 2002). We chose to use this pictorial measure because it is simple and straightforward, has been validated, and seems less affected by social desirability than other intergroup assessment scales (Schubert & Otten, 2002). Participants were asked to “*Observe the graphic depictions below with two circles. One circle represents your ingroup, and the other represents the outgroup. Please choose the depiction that best represents your view of the relationship between the two groups*”. Participants then chose from 7 different diagrams ranging from two circles completely separate from one another two completely overlapping circles.

*Social identity complexity.* As described above, one of the main reasons we chose the Balkan context is because of the substantial overlap between different social identities (e.g. national, ethnic, religious, etc.). We measured social identity complexity to assess whether the exposure to the GG had an impact on the perception of overlap between these different groups. Participants were asked to rate the degree of overlap between their three main ingroups: national, ethnic, and religious (“*On a scale of 1 to 10, when you think about people who are [Citizens of Serbia\Serbs\Orthodox], how many are [Citizens of Serbia\Serbs\Orthodox]?*” i.e. a higher grade indicates lower social identity complexity,  $\alpha=0.81$ ).

*Contact motivation with outgroup members.* Finally, we wanted to add a measure that would have more of a behavioral nature to it. To this end we added a contact motivation measure that was used in the original GG experiments (Levy et al., 2017), and based on the classic Bogardus social distance scale (1925). On a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 6 (*to a very high extent*) participants were asked to what extent they would like to have an outgroup member as an acquaintance, friend, neighbor, etc. ( $\alpha=0.78$ ).

## **Results**

*Dual Identification.* The manipulation had the expected effect, and participants in the experimental condition rated higher on perception of the GG as dually identified ( $M=3.66$ ,  $SD=0.81$ ) as opposed to the participants in the control condition ( $M=3.38$ ,  $SD=0.78$ ,  $t(205)=2.60$ ,  $p=0.01$ ,  $d=0.35$ ).

*Potential bridge.* As expected, participants in the experimental condition also perceived the GG as having a greater potential for bridging the gap between the ingroup and the outgroup ( $M=3.60$ ,  $SD=1.11$ ) compared to the control condition ( $M=3.25$ ,  $SD=1.14$ ,  $t(205)=2.28$ ,  $p=0.02$ ,  $d=0.31$ ).

*Social identity complexity.* When we examined the impact the exposure to the GG had on social identity complexity we found that participants in the experimental condition displayed higher levels of social identity complexity (i.e. less overlap between ingroups  $M=6.27$ ,  $SD=1.71$ ) than participants in the control condition ( $M=6.73$ ,  $SD=1.68$ ,  $t(205)=1.95$ ,  $p=0.05$ ,  $d=0.27$ ).

*Perception of the ingroup and outgroup closeness.* We examined the impact the exposure to the GG had on the perception of the intergroup relations and found that indeed the participants in the experimental condition displayed a marginally closer relationship between the ingroup and outgroup ( $M=3.49$ ,  $SD=1.50$ ) than

participants in the control condition ( $M=3.14$ ,  $SD=1.46$ ,  $t(205)=1.74$ ,  $p=0.08$ ,  $d=0.18$ , see Figure 2).

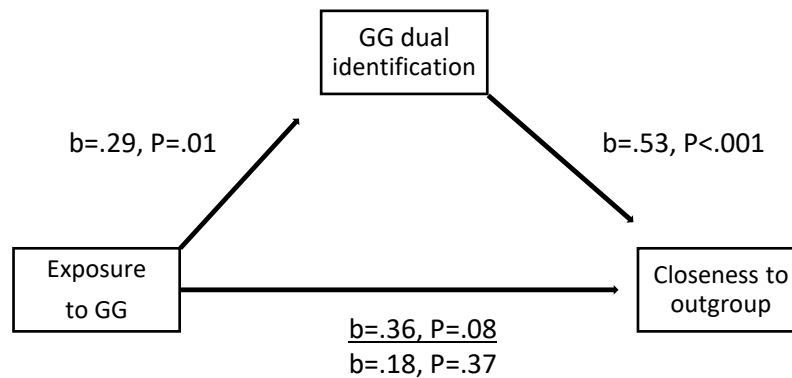
*Contact motivation with outgroup members.* We examined the impact the exposure to the GG had on contact motivation with outgroup members but we did not find any difference between the experimental ( $M=3.18$ ,  $SD=1.80$ ) and the control condition ( $M=2.94$ ,  $SD=1.66$ ,  $t(205)=0.91$ ,  $p=0.36$ ).

*Mediation.* To determine if the effect of our manipulation on the closeness of the ingroup and outgroup relations could be explained by the perception of the GG or its potential role as an intergroup bridge, we proceeded to test a mediation model using Hayes' (2012) PROCESS macro Model 6. We first examined and found that the exposure to the GG significantly predicted a perception of them having a dual identity,  $b=0.29$ ,  $SE=0.11$ ,  $t=2.61$ ,  $p=0.01$ . Furthermore, we found that the perception of dual identity among the GG significantly predicted perceiving them as a potential bridge,  $b=0.25$   $SE=0.09$ ,  $t=2.63$ ,  $p=0.01$ , as well as a perception of a closer relationship between the ingroup and outgroup  $b=0.53$   $SE=0.13$ ,  $t=4.12$ ,  $p<0.001$ . After considering the effect of the mediators in the model, the interaction term became non-significant,  $p=0.37$  (see Figure 1). In addition, the indirect effect of the GG presence on perception of the outgroup via the mediator was significant,  $axb=.17$ ;  $CI\ 95\%: 0.05, 0.35$ .



Figure 1.

*Participants perceptions of GG's dual identity mediated the effect of the GG presence manipulation on their perception of closeness to the outgroup.*



## Discussion

Study 1 replicated the findings of previous GG studies in a different context. We found that exposure to the complexity of the GG identity made participants see them as having more of a dual identity, more of a potential intergroup bridge, sense a higher level of social identity complexity, and in turn also perceive the ingroup and outgroup as socially closer to one another. This is especially important because it took place in a setting where several social identities crisscross and overlap.

As for contact motivation with outgroup members, we did not find any difference between conditions. The lack of effect for this measure might be a result of the unique setting in Republika Srpska, where the Serbians are an ethnic minority on the national level but a majority in the region and might therefore be extremely sensitive to the rise of Bosnian presence in their work place and neighborhoods. Accordingly, we intended to examine this variable again in Study 2 where the Serbian group has a vast majority. Additionally, as in previous GG studies, Study 1 examined

the GG effect in a context in which both social identities crossed by the GG were from the same dimension, in Study 2 we intended to examine a case where the social identities were from different dimensions.

## Study 2

In Study 2, we continued to examine the GG potential to impact intergroup perceptions, but this time with a GG that combined social identities from two different dimensions, i.e. the crossing of national and ethnic identities in the context of the Bosniak minority in Serbia. In this context the GG shares its national identity with the Serbian ingroup but at the same time shares its ethnic identity with Bosniaks, who predominantly live in Bosnia. This format of shared social identity simultaneously both with the ingroup and the outgroup should theoretically fall in line with the GG hypothesis, however it had not yet been put to the test.

### Method

**Participants.** One hundred and seventy four participants (56 males;  $M_{age}=22.76$  years,  $SD=4.12$ ) were recruited in the University of Belgrade, Serbia. The participants were randomly assigned to either the control condition or the experimental (GG) condition. Since the effect size in Study 1 varied across the different variables, we maintained a similar sample size based on previous studies. We thus conducted a power analysis (through G\*Power, Faul et al., 2009) that assumed we wanted to be able to detect a small-medium sized effect ( $d= 0.4$ ). This analysis suggested a required sample size of 156 participants to achieve a statistical power of 0.80.

**Procedure and measures.** Study 2 was a replication of Study 1. Participants in the experimental condition read an article describing a survey which asked the GG

questions about their identity. The results of the survey described in the article showed that the majority of ethnic Bosniaks that live in Serbia identify both with their Serbian national identity and their Bosniak ethnic identity, and don't necessarily see a contradiction between their two identities. Participants in the control condition did not read an article. Next, participants were asked questions about their social perception of the ingroup, about the GG, and the outgroup using the same questionnaires as in Study 1 (Scale alphas: *Dual identification*  $\alpha=0.69$ ; *Social identity complexity*  $\alpha=0.70$ ; *Contact motivation*  $\alpha=0.89$ ) with two small additions.

First, in order to provide a more substantial examination of the manipulations impact on the perception of the GG's dual identity we added the dual identity formula from the Levy et al. paper (2017). Participants were asked to rate the extent to which they perceive the GG as ingroup on a scale of 1 (not all) to 100 (to a very high extent), and then to rate the extent to which they perceive the GG as outgroup on a similar scale of 1–100. We used the following formula to create a unified score which describes both the overall level of identification with both groups, and the perception of clash between the identities:  $(ID_{ingroup} + ID_{outgroup}) - ABS (ID_{ingroup} - ID_{outgroup})$ . A higher grade on this measure indicates both high identification with both ingroup and outgroup as well as a small difference between the level of identification with both group, thus providing a very robust indication of the dual identification. Second, since we were dealing with a context within which there is a substantial overlap between the interethnic relations and the international relations, when we asked the participants about the potential of the GG to facilitate intergroup relations, we asked two separate questions, one addressing the potential to bridge interethnic relations within the country, and the other addressing international relations, between Serbia and Bosnia ( $\alpha=0.82$ ).

## Results

*Dual Identification.* The manipulation had the expected effect, and participants in the experimental condition rated higher on perception of the GG as dually identified ( $M=4.52$ ,  $SD=0.70$ ) as opposed to the participants in the control condition ( $M=4.12$ ,  $SD=0.83$ ),  $t(172)=3.20$ ,  $p=0.002$ ,  $d=0.52$ . Additionally, using the dual identity formula we found the same effect in which participants in the experimental condition rated the GG with a higher dual identity grade ( $M=71.35$ ,  $SD=19.89$ ) as opposed to the participants in the control condition ( $M=56.79$ ,  $SD=26.36$ ),  $t(172)=3.79$ ,  $p<0.001$ ,  $d=0.62$ .

*Potential bridge.* As expected, participants in the experimental condition also perceived the GG as having a greater potential for bridging the gap between the ingroup and the outgroup ( $M=4.05$ ,  $SD=1.00$ ) compared to the control condition ( $M=3.36$ ,  $SD=1.06$ ),  $t(172)=4.19$ ,  $p<0.001$ ,  $d=0.67$ . This effect was found both for the interethnic relations  $t(172)=4.60$ ,  $p<0.001$ , and for the international relations  $t(172)=2.95$ ,  $p=0.004$ .

*Social identity complexity.* We examined the impact the exposure to the GG had on social identity complexity but we did not find any difference between the experimental ( $M=7.25$ ,  $SD=1.26$ ) and the control condition ( $M=7.31$ ,  $SD=1.35$ ),  $t(172)=0.30$ ,  $p=0.77$ .

*Perception of the ingroup and outgroup closeness.* We examined the impact the exposure to the GG had on the perception of the intergroup relations and found that indeed the participants in the experimental condition displayed a closer relationship between the ingroup and outgroup ( $M=4.16$ ,  $SD=1.19$ ) than participants in the control condition ( $M=3.74$ ,  $SD=1.15$ ),  $t(172)=2.28$ ,  $p=0.02$ ,  $d=0.36$ , see Figure 2).

*Contact motivation with outgroup members.* Compared to the participants in Study 1 ( $M=3.07$ ,  $SD=0.73$ ) there was a significantly higher motivation overall for contact with the outgroup in Study 2 ( $M=4.81$ ,  $SD=0.60$ ,  $t(373)=12.66$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). More importantly, when we examined the impact the exposure to the GG had on contact motivation with the outgroup we found that participants in the experimental condition displayed higher levels of contact motivation ( $M=4.91$ ,  $SD=0.21$ ) than participants in the control condition ( $M=4.74$ ,  $SD=0.60$ ,  $t(172)=2.17$ ,  $p=0.03$ ,  $d=0.38$ , see Figure 2).

*Mediation.* To determine if the effect of our manipulation on the perceptions of the ingroup and outgroup relations could be explained by the perception of the GG or its potential role as an intergroup bridge, we proceeded to test a mediation model using Preacher and Hayes' (2012) PROCESS macro Model 6. We first examined and found that the exposure to the GG significantly predicted a perception of them having a dual identity  $b=0.40$ ,  $SE=0.12$ ,  $t=3.20$ ,  $p=0.002$ . Furthermore, we found that the perception of dual identity among the GG significantly predicted perceiving them as a potential bridge,  $b=0.56$   $SE=0.09$ ,  $t=6.14$ ,  $p<0.001$ , as well as a perception of a closer relationship between the ingroup and outgroup  $b=0.32$   $SE=0.12$ ,  $t=2.65$ ,  $p=0.009$ . After considering the effect of the mediators in the model, the interaction term became non-significant,  $p=0.22$  (see Figure 3). In addition, the indirect effect of the GG presence on perception of the outgroup via the mediator was significant,  $axb=.19$ ; CI 95%: 0.05, 0.38.

Figure 2.

Across all variables the exposure to the GG manipulation had a positive impact on intergroup dynamics (note that the social identity complexity results are reverse-coded for the sake of presentation, i.e. a higher score means higher complexity).

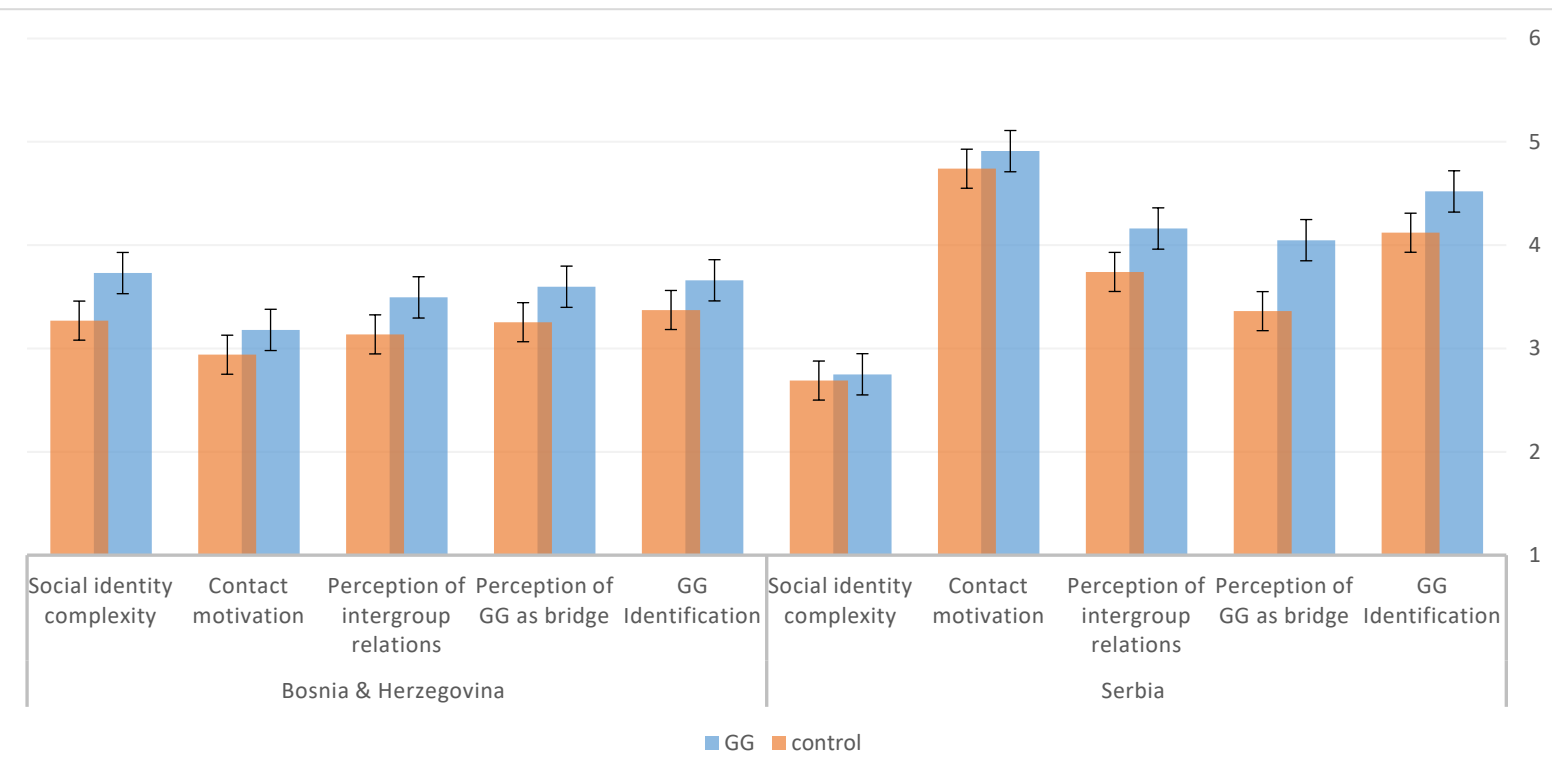
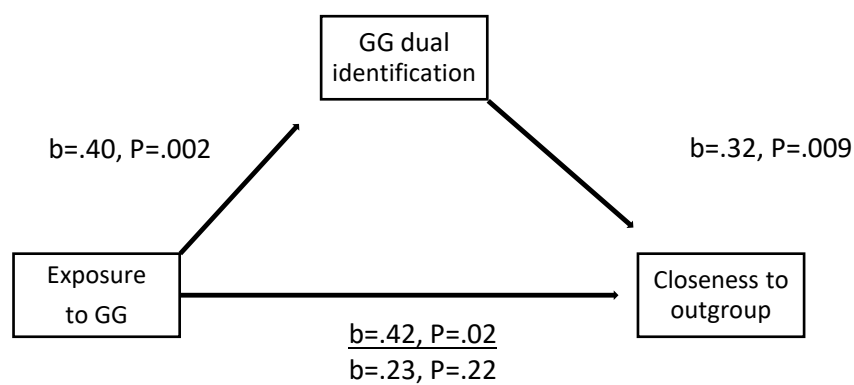


Figure 3.

Participants perceptions of GG's dual identity mediated the effect of the GG presence on perception of closeness to the outgroup.



## **Discussion**

Despite the different context, Study 2 replicated the findings of Study 1. We found that exposure to the complexity of the GG identity made participants see them as having more of a dual identity, more of a potential intergroup bridge, and in turn also perceive the ingroup and outgroup as socially closer to one another and have greater motivation for contact with the outgroup. As for social identity complexity, as opposed to Study 1 we did not find any difference between conditions. This might point to a substantial difference in the potential impact of different kinds of GGs and that different types of GGs have different impacts on intergroup relations as we will elaborate below.

### **General Discussion**

The prevalence of complex social identities that accompanies the modern era creates challenges and opportunities in terms of intergroup relations (Kang & Bodenhausen, 2015). One such opportunity is the potential of "Gateway Groups" with multiple identities to facilitate the relations between the different groups they are affiliated with (Levy et al., 2017). In this paper we attempted to extend the scope of the GG notion, and examine this potential in a context in which there is a high degree of overlap between social identities on similar and different dimensions. To this end we ran two studies in the Western Balkans, and focused on the GGs that are situated in the overlap between the ethnic and national social categories.

Replicating the existing GG findings, in the studies described above we found that the exposure to a dually identified GG lead to a more complex perception of the GG itself, a higher belief in the potential of the GG to bridge the relations between the ingroup and the outgroup, and a greater sense of closeness between the ingroup and

the outgroup. These findings replicated both in the Bosnia and Herzegovina sample in which the GG represented an overlap of two identities on the same dimension (ethnic), and in the Serbia sample in which the GG represented an overlap of two identities on different dimensions (ethnic and national). Moreover, we also found that the exposure to the GG increased the sense of social identity complexity in the Bosnia sample, and the motivation for contact with the outgroup in the Serbia sample.

While the studies above did corroborate our GG hypothesis, we did have null effects in terms of social identity complexity in the Serbia sample and contact motivation in the Bosnia sample. It is plausible that the lack of influence on contact motivation in the Bosnia sample is simply a result of a sensitive status quo in terms of demographics in Republika Srpska as we mentioned above (Branković et al., 2017; Turjačanin, Lakić, & Dušanić, 2017). However, the lack of GG impact on social identity complexity in the Serbia sample, where the GG embodied an overlap between social identities on different dimensions, might actually point to a substantial difference in the potential impact of different kinds of GGs.

This possible typology of GGs calls for further theoretical development of the different types of GGs, as well as the potential differences in the impact of each type of GG on intergroup relations. Additionally, the potential differences of GGs in different contexts also calls for further empirical analysis of GG impact across intergroup contexts. Psychological, cultural, and geopolitical factors can all potentially influence the impact of a GG on intergroup relations, and future research should examine these elements in depth in order to help develop an accurate framework in which the GG influence can be assessed.



It is likely that in the context of intergroup conflict GG members will be expected to "choose sides" by either of their social counterparts, and the GG's interaction with the outgroup might be perceived as an act of betrayal. Moreover, affiliation of the GG with the outgroup coupled with mistrust are likely to have a negative overall intergroup impact as well. Accordingly, future research should examine expectation of GG loyalty, as well as elements of trust and threat, in order to account for possible GG backlash effects. An additional aspect that may play a significant part in the integration of multiple identities into the intergroup relations framework is the GG motivation to take on the responsibility of facilitating the intergroup relations among its different counterparts. It is likely to assume that GGs might have varying levels of motivation to take on, or shy away from, the role of intergroup facilitation. The underpinnings of these motivations should be explored and mapped out in order to enhance the ability to predict GG action.

In sum, the presence of groups with complex multiple identities was found to have a positive impact on their social counterparts, thus enforcing the premise that Gateway Groups can play an important role in improving intergroup relations.

## Chapter 4 - Biracials as Gateway Groups in inter racial relations

### Abstract

<sup>12</sup>We test the notion that the presence of a Gateway Group, which partially shares both the ingroup and a relevant outgroup identity, can decrease intergroup prejudice. Previous research has demonstrated that such Gateway Groups can act as a possible mediator between the groups that represent the respective sources of the dual identity. The current research applies this notion to the inter-racial context in the United States, focusing on the case of biracials as having dual identities, and thus as potential gateways between Blacks and Whites. Specifically, we tested the prediction that exposure of Whites to biracials would decrease intergroup threat which in turn would decrease prejudice towards Blacks. Findings from three studies supported this prediction and showed that the presence of biracials reduced intergroup threat and prejudice among those most likely to harbor them (specifically, those high on social dominance orientation). We discuss the implications of our findings in terms of how this effect corresponds with current theoretical developments on dual identity, and possible practical social implications.

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<sup>12</sup> This chapter is based on: Levy, A., Halperin, E., Van Zomeren, M., & Saguy, T. (Under review) Inter racial gateways: The potential of biracials to reduce threat and prejudice in inter racial dynamics.

Dual identity, which reflects the simultaneous identification with a distinct subgroup and a common superordinate group, has become more and more prevalent during recent generations as a result of globalization. Over the past years research on dual identity (e.g. the Turkish minority in Germany that identifies simultaneously as Turkish and as German; Simon, Reichert, & Grabow, 2013) has focused mainly on individuals' experience of their dual identity, (e.g. Baysu, Phalet, & Brown, 2011; Fleischmann & Phalet, 2012; Gocłowska & Crisp 2014; Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2002), and on the reactions they elicit from members of the dominant group (e.g. González & Brown 2006; Rodeheffer & Lord, 2012; Scheepers, Saguy, Dovidio, & Gaertner, 2014). However, little is known about how the presence of a dually identified group affects the overarching intergroup relations. Indeed, notwithstanding the impressive line of research on dual identity and related concepts (such as integration, Sam & Berry, 2010, and multiculturalism, Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Urbiola et al, 2017; Wolsko et al., 2000), existing research has yet to address an integral aspect of dual identity, which is its potential to act as a possible *gateway* between the groups that represent the respective sources of the dual identity. In other words, dual identity groups can potentially serve as a gateway between two, otherwise separate groups. For example, Turkish immigrants in Germany can impact the relations between Turks and Germans in general, by virtue of being perceived as and identified with both these entities.

In this article, we apply this notion of Gateway Groups to the context of biracials in the United States, which can be perceived as having a dual identity that can potentially bridge relations between Blacks and Whites. Levy et al. (2017) recently showed that the presence of a Gateway Group with a dual identity in the context of intergroup tensions led to improved intergroup relations in the form of

more generous resource allocations and greater contact motivation towards the outgroup. As opposed to the aforementioned study which mainly examined the Israeli Palestinian context and artificially created groups, we seek to extend that work by focusing on the highly sensitive and relevant context of racism in the United States, and examine the potential conflict-reducing effects of exposure to a group with a dual identity.

Race, at least in the United States, has typically been treated as a dichotomy (e.g., Black or White), with individuals who challenge this racial dichotomy likely to become socially excluded or even penalized (Davis, 2010; Hickman, 1997; Khanna, 2010; Wagner et. al, 2010). However, in recent years a dramatic shift is taking place and its outcome is an increase both in the presence, and in the influence of biracial identity. Over the past 15 years the Black and White biracial population in the United States has tripled in size numbering over 2.5 million (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2015), and the current estimate is that by 2050 1-in-5 Americans will be of mixed-race (Lee & Bean, 2004). The past generation has seen biracial individuals rise to prominence in the cultural, economic, and political arena, and recent research even suggests the rise of a new multi-racial identity that is replacing the monolithic race identities in the United States census etc. (Davenport, 2016; Roth, 2005).

Although the experience of having a dual identity may have both positive and negative psychological consequences (e.g. Gaither et al., 2015; Brewer 1991; Brown & Hewstone, 2004; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2012; Plaut, 2010; Scheepers et al., 2014; Saguy, Tausch, Dovidio & Pratto, 2009; Sam & Berry, 2010; Simon & Ruhs, 2008; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Wolsko, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2000), in the current work we are interested in a unique aspect of biracials, which to our knowledge has yet to be examined: their role as potential gateways between Whites and Blacks.

Levy et al. (2017) revealed some initial indications for this social-psychological process in the context of artificially created groups and in the inter-national context but did not address inter-racial dynamics. The main reason for focusing on the context of race in the United States is that this is a clear real-life context in which prejudice has been clearly linked to intergroup threat. Thus, it follows that in this context, perceiving biracials as a gateway between Blacks and Whites in the United States should reduce prejudice through the reduction of intergroup threat.

This racial Gateway Group notion fits smoothly within the existing literature on multiple identities such as dual identity and cross categorization (Crisp & Hewstone, 1999; Levy et al., 2017; Saguy et al., 2009), although a significant distinction that can be made here is that of perspective. While existing frameworks are mainly rooted in the perspective of the dual or multiple identifier (i.e., focusing on how individuals cope with multiple identities), the Gateway Group concept can also refer to the perspective of racial groups that view the biracial from the outside. For instance, if the biracial community is perceived by the White community and the Black community as biracial, then the biracials may have an impact on this inter-racial relation even if the biracial individuals do not necessarily subjectively identify with both groups simultaneously (and vice versa). This conceptualization enables us to study both perspectives systematically.

Recently, several studies have begun to examine the impact of exposure to biracials in the form of racial ambiguity studies. One line of research in this regard deals with hypodescent, and the perception of racially ambiguous targets as belonging solely to their lower status racial group (Ho et al., 2011; Krosch et al., 2013; Peery & Bodenhausen, 2008). More importantly, another line of research by Sanchez, Wilton, and Young has found that exposure to racial ambiguity has the potential of decreasing

perceptions of racial essentialism and enhancing perceptions inter-racial similarity (Sanchez et al., 2015; Wilton et al., 2014; Young et al., 2013). This research lays the groundwork for the biracial gateway hypothesis presented above, by suggesting that simple exposure to racial ambiguity has the potential to impact inter-racial perceptions. Building on these findings we posit that once ambiguity is removed from the equation, by explicitly addressing the racial duality of biracials, the exposure to biracials may have the potential to impact not only perceptions, but inter-racial prejudice as well. Indeed, in one of the studies from the research mentioned above (Young et al., 2013), the coupling of racially ambiguous faces with explicit biracial labels, increased the impact on racial essentialism reduction.

In the context of inter-racial relations and racism, we expected that pre-existing differences between individuals and their perception of racial issues would be important to take into account. Perhaps one of the most relevant factors in this regard is *social dominance orientation*. Social dominance orientation (SDO; Pratto et al. 1994; see also Hiel & Mervielde, 2005) reflects individual differences in the tendency to favor hierarchy and oppression. SDO predicts, among other variables, legitimization of inequality, support for egalitarian policy, and political values (Knowles et al. 2009; Pratto et al., 1994; Sidanius et al., 1996). Thus, individuals low in SDO would be expected to express low levels of prejudice, whereas those high in SDO should express stronger prejudice towards the outgroup. Accordingly, we predict that while there is not much leeway when it comes to reducing prejudice among participants low in SDO, the presence of biracials could be more effective in reducing prejudice for participants high in SDO. This prediction is also in line with findings that show that dovish individuals are less pertinent to bias reducing interventions (Nasie et al., 2014), and that individuals high in SDO are more susceptible to racial

and intergroup manipulations than low SDO individuals (Hodson, 2011; Knowles et al. 2009). However, we acknowledge that it is also possible to assume that, alternatively, participants high in SDO would perceive biracials as more of a threat to social boundaries and racial distinctiveness than participants low in SDO. We therefore also measured these variables as well in the later studies in order to rule this option out.

### **The current studies**

We report three studies that all tested the biracial gateway hypothesis. Study 1 aimed to test whether the presence of biracials would indeed decrease prejudice among those high in SDO. Study 2 aimed to replicate Study 1, to add a more contextualized dependent variable, and to explore possible mechanisms for the hypothesized effect. Study 3 aimed to provide yet another replication of the findings, and to shed more light on the underlying mechanism (i.e., perceived threat) identified in Study 2. Moreover, in order to generally aggregate our main hypothesized effects and to examine the robustness of our findings, we also conducted an internal meta-analysis, or a mini meta-analysis, on all three studies combined.

### **Study 1**

In Study 1, participants were primed with images of faces of Black and White individuals in the control condition, and Black, White, and biracial individuals in the experimental biracial condition (see Fazio et al. 1995; Young et al., 2013). This design enabled us to test our initial hypothesis and only prime the mere presence of biracials. According to our hypothesis we expected White participants primed with the biracial images to display a more positive attitude towards Blacks. This effect was expected to be moderated by individual's SDO. Symbolic racism, that can be seen as

the embodiment of intergroup relations across racial lines, was selected as the DV for this study.

## Method

**Participants and design.** Eighty four White American participants (45 Male;  $M_{age}=34.7$  years,  $SD=12.1$ ) were recruited via Mturk. Participants were randomly assigned to either the control condition or the biracial condition. The participants provided demographic information, performed a portrait memory task, and filled out a questionnaire, all on the Qualtrics platform. The sample size for Study 1 was estimated to be able to detect a medium-sized effect (i.e.,  $f^2$  of 0.2). Additionally, a post hoc power analysis (using G\*Power, Faul et al., 2009) suggested that the Study 1 sample size ( $N = 84$ ) provided a statistical power of .91 to identify medium-sized effects.

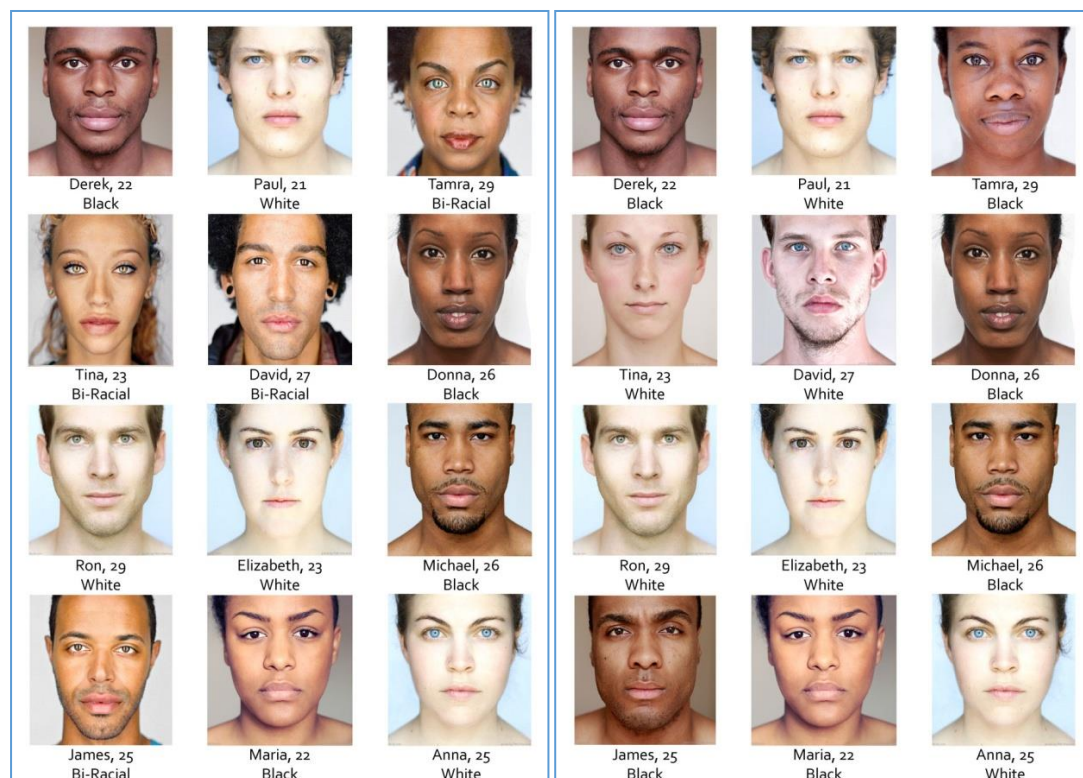
**Procedure.** Initial demographic information and the four item SDO moderation scale (e.g., “*Superior groups should dominate inferior groups.*”; “*Group equality should be our ideal*”(R)  $\alpha=.87$ , tested on a 1 (*not at all*) to 6 (*to a very high extent*); Pratto et al., 2013) were filled out by participants prior to the manipulation. In the next stage the participants were exposed to a collection of twelve headshots of random individuals. Each image was accompanied by the name, age and race of the individual (see Figure 1). In the control condition half of the images were of Black people and half were of White people. In the biracial condition a third of the images were of Black people, a third were of White people, and a third were of biracial people. In order to prevent hypodescent (Ho et al., 2011; Krosch et al., 2013), and based on existing racial ambiguity studies mentioned above (Young et al., 2013) we clearly stated what the race of the individuals in the pictures was, including “Biracial”



labels in the experimental condition. The participants were told that the images will disappear after 45 seconds and that they should try and remember as much information as they can about the people in the pictures such as their eye color, age, race, etc. After the images disappeared, participants were asked ten memory questions regarding the images including how many people from each race appeared in the pictures. Following the memory exercise, participants filled out a questionnaire regarding their symbolic racism (e.g., “Blacks are getting too demanding in their push for civil rights.”; “Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for Blacks to work their way out of the lower class” (R)  $\alpha=.89$ , 6 items, tested on a 1 (*not at all*) to 6 (*to a very high extent*) scale; Henry & Sears 2002; Rabinowitz et al. 2009).

Figure 1.

Participants were either shown Black and white faces in the control condition (Right), or Black, white, and Biracial faces in the experimental condition (Left).



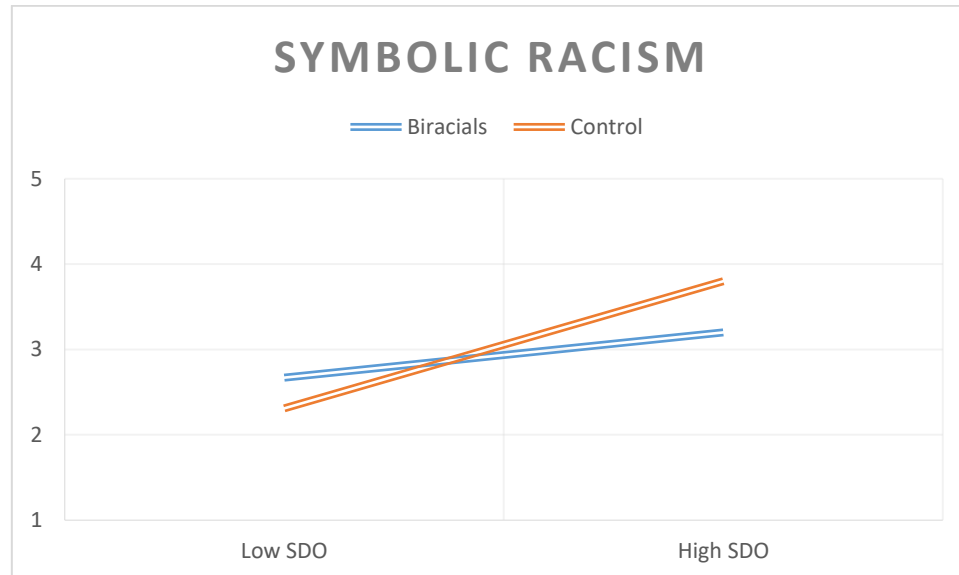
## Results and Discussion

To examine our hypothesis that the mere presence of biracials would undermine racism among participants high in SDO, we ran a moderation analysis (using Preacher and Hayes' PROCESS macro, model 1) on racism, considering participants' condition (with/without biracials), and SDO levels as independent variables. The analysis yielded a significant two-way interaction between dual identity presence and SDO,  $b=0.43$ ,  $SE=0.21$ ,  $t=1.99$ ,  $p=0.05$ . As indicated in Figure 2, among participants who were relatively low in SDO (one standard deviation below the SDO mean), symbolic racism levels were generally low, and did not differ as a function of whether biracials were present ( $M=2.67$ ) or not ( $M=2.31$ ),  $p=-0.27$ , ns. However, consistent with our predictions, participants who were relatively high in SDO (one standard deviation above the SDO mean) had somewhat lower levels of symbolic racism in the presence of the biracials ( $M=3.19$ ) than participants in the control condition without the biracials ( $M=3.76$ ),  $b=0.57$ ,  $SE=0.32$ ,  $t=1.76$ ,  $p=0.08$ . Thus, the presence of biracials reduced symbolic racism among those most prone to express racism.

As expected, individual differences in terms of SDO led to a different reaction to the racial outgroup as a function of biracial presence. The results of Study 1 show that for individuals with high SDO, the presence of biracials indeed seemed to marginally decrease their racism. However, despite these first encouraging findings, Study 1 was of relatively abstract context and did not provide information regarding the mechanism at hand. Accordingly, the goals of Study 2 were to determine if the predicted pattern replicated, to explore the underlying mechanism, and to further examine whether the effects obtained in Study 1 would hold when racial tension is on the rise in a more specified real-life event context.

Figure 2.

*Participants who were relatively high in SDO (one standard deviation above the SDO mean) displayed lower levels of symbolic racism in the presence of biracial than participants in the control condition without the presence of biracials.*



## Study 2

Study 2 was run in late 2014, adjacent to the decision of the United States grand juries not to indict the White police officers that caused the deaths of Michael Brown and Eric Garner, two unarmed Black men involved in misdemeanors. These decisions by the grand juries led to great inter-racial tension in the U.S. and especially in the city of Ferguson. Therefore, besides the replication of Study 1 and additional mediation measures, Study 2 incorporated the “Ferguson” issue as well. As for the underlying mechanism, we explored three possible mediators that we expected might play a role in the impact of biracials on inter-racial relations. The exposure to the identity overlap that is embodied by the biracial gateway group has been found to potentially reduce prejudice towards the outgroup (Roccas & Brewer, 2002; Crisp & Hewstone, 1999). We therefore examined the perception of social category overlap as

our first possible mediator. Next, since the presence of a dual racial identity has the potential to signal the existence of a superordinate common identity (Dovidio et al., 2009), we examined common ingroup identity as the second potential mediator. Finally, exposure to ingroup members that have significant ties with the outgroup has the potential to increase familiarity and reduce threat perception in intergroup relations (Levy et al., 2017; Wright et al. 1997). Accordingly, inter-racial threat was selected as the final possible mediator between biracial presence and outgroup prejudice.

## **Method**

**Participants and design.** Sixty eight White American participants (39 *Male*;  $M_{age}=38.5years$ ,  $SD=11.9$ ) were recruited via Mturk. The participants provided demographic information, performed the same portrait memory task as in Study 1, and filled out a questionnaire, all on the Qualtrics platform. Participants were randomly assigned to either the control condition or the biracial condition. A power analysis (through G\*Power, Faul et al., 2009) of Study 1 found that in order to replicate the effect size ( $R^2 = 0.28$ ,  $F^2 = 0.39$ ) with an additional predictor, we only needed a sample of 49 participants, and therefore the sample size in Study 2 was smaller than in Study 1.

**Procedure.** Study 2 was a replication of Study 1 with two additional elements. First, an additional dependent variable regarding the Ferguson events was devised. The "Ferguson" scale addressed the subjects attitude towards the current events, namely: empathy towards the victims and criticism towards the system, and was composed of four items ("*The use of lethal force by the police against unarmed Black people is a problem that needs to be addressed*"; "*The Jury's decision is just and any*

*protests following this incident should be severally punished*” (R); *”I can relate to the anger and discontent of the black community in the U.S. as a result of the Jury’s decision”*; *”I feel empathy towards Michael Brown and Eric Garner’s families”*.  $\alpha=.86$ ). Second, Study 2 incorporated possible mediation measures that were expected to possibly explain the effects of the biracials presence on intergroup prejudice reduction. The perception of social category overlap was tested using the Inclusion of Other in Self graphic scale (Aron et al., 1992). The perception of a common identity was measured by the Common Ingroup Identity scale (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2014). The perception of race based threat (*”How threatened do you feel by the Black community in the United States?”*) was tested on a 1 (*not threatened at all*) to 6 (*extremely threatened*) scale.

## **Results and Discussion**

A moderation analysis (using Preacher and Hayes’ PROCESS macro, model 1) on each of the outcome variables, considering participants condition (with/without biracials), and SDO levels as independent variables was performed. The analysis on symbolic racism yielded a significant two-way interaction of biracial presence and participants SDO levels,  $b=0.43$ ,  $SE=0.19$ ,  $t=2.34$ ,  $p=0.02$ . Replicating Study 1, participants who were relatively low in SDO (one standard deviation below the SDO mean) did not differ in their symbolic racism levels with and without the presence of the biracials ( $M=2.21$  vs.  $2.63$  respectively),  $b=-0.17$ , ns. However, among participants who were relatively high in SDO (one standard deviation above the SDO mean), levels of symbolic racism were lower in the presence of the biracials ( $M=3.81$ ) than when no biracials were present ( $M=4.41$ ),  $b=0.61$ ,  $SE=0.31$ ,  $t=1.96$ ,  $p=0.05$ . Thus, as in Study 1, the presence of biracials reduced symbolic racism among those most prone to express racism.

Corroborating this pattern of findings, the same analysis on the Ferguson scale showed a significant biracial X SDO interaction ( $b = -0.68$ ;  $SE = 0.24$ ;  $t = -2.86$ ;  $p = 0.01$ ). Participants low in SDO did not differ in their critical point of view of the police violence or levels of their empathy towards the victims, in the presence of the biracials  $p = 0.19$ , ns. However, among those higher in SDO, participants were significantly more critical towards police violence against Blacks, and more empathetic towards the victims in the presence of the biracials  $b = -1.1$ ,  $SE = 0.39$ ,  $t = -2.79$ ;  $p = 0.01$ . Here too the presence of a dual identity reduced the level of racist tendencies, among those most likely to harbor racism.

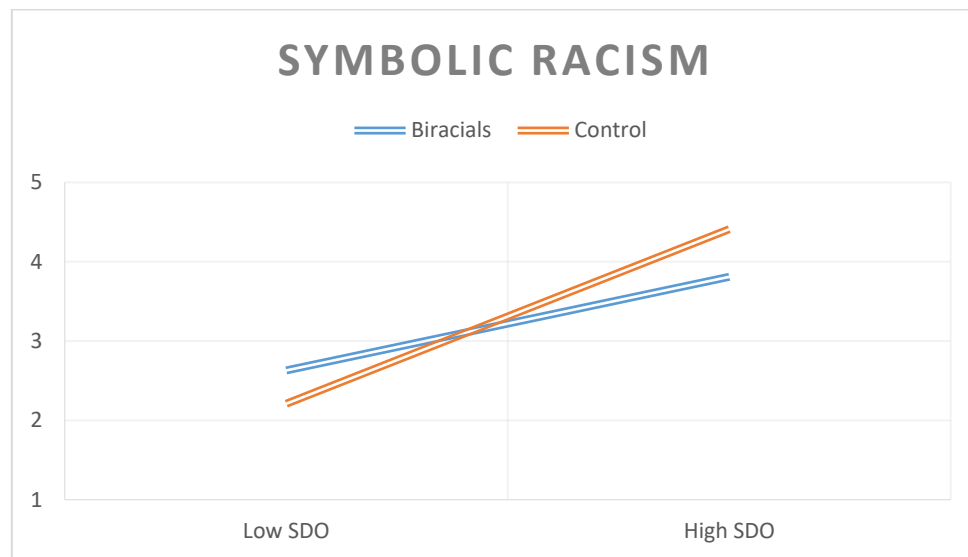
To test our prediction regarding the mechanism at hand, we examined whether the effect of biracials on symbolic racism among people high in SDO would be mediated by different mediating variables. To that end we first examined and found that the SDO X biracials interaction significantly predicted threat (the mediator)  $b = 0.64$ ,  $SE = 0.24$ ,  $t = 2.7$ ,  $p = 0.01$ , and threat significantly predicted symbolic racism,  $b = 0.31$   $SE = 0.09$ ,  $t = 3.47$ ,  $p < .001$  (See Figure 3).

Then we conducted a mediated moderation analysis (using Preacher and Hayes' PROCESS macro, model 8) using condition and participants' SDO levels as independent variables, symbolic racism as an outcome and participants' perceptions of threat from the outgroup as a mediator. As indicated earlier, the interaction of SDO X biracials presence on symbolic racism was significant,  $b = 0.43$ ,  $SE = 0.19$ ,  $t = 2.34$ ,  $p = 0.02$ . After considering the effect of the mediator in the model, the interaction term became non-significant,  $p = 0.20$ . In addition, the indirect effect of SDO X biracials presence on symbolic racism via the mediator was significant,  $axb = .20$ ; CI 95%: 0.01, 0.46 (see Figure 4). Analysis of the simple effects further revealed that only for participants high in SDO the effect of biracials on symbolic racism was mediated by

threat,  $axb=0.30$ , CI 95%: 0.01, 0.75, but not for participants low in SDO,  $axb=-0.17$ , CI 95%: -0.59, 0.04.

Figure 3.

*Participants who were relatively high in SDO (one standard deviation above the SDO mean) displayed lower levels of symbolic racism in the presence of biracials than participants in the control condition without the presence of biracials.*



Finally, we tested threat as a mediator for the Ferguson attitude measure as well. Threat (the mediator), significantly predicted the Ferguson measure,  $b=-0.42$   $SE=0.11$ ,  $t=-3.71$ ,  $p<.001$ , and after considering the effect of the mediator in the model, the interaction significance diminished,  $p=0.08$ . Additionally, the indirect effect of SDO X biracials presence on the Ferguson measure via the mediator was significant,  $axb=-.27$ ; CI 95%: -0.6, -0.03 (see Figure 5). Inclusion of Other in Self and the Common Ingroup Identity scales did not significantly mediate either of the dependent variables ( $axb=.11$ , CI 95%: -0.01, 0.38;  $axb=.04$ , CI 95%: -0.27, 0.32).

Figure 4.

*Mediated moderation analysis revealed that participants perceptions of threat from the outgroup mediated the effect of biracial presence on symbolic racism among people high in SDO.*

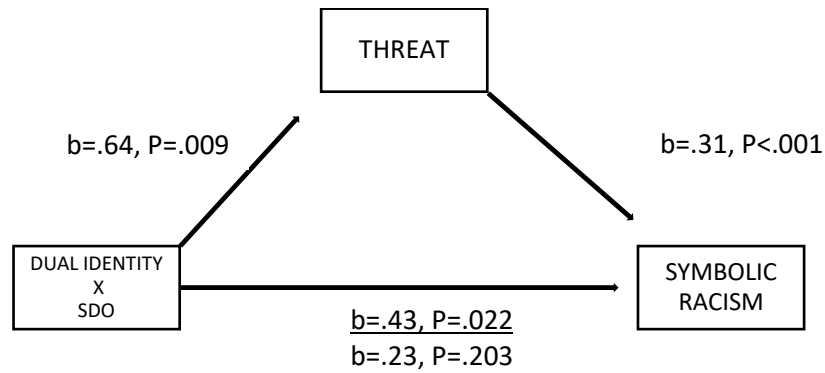
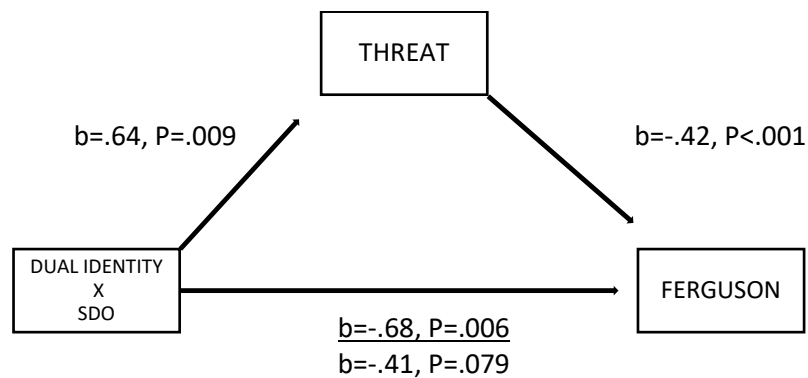


Figure 5.

*Mediated moderation analysis revealed that participants perceptions of threat from the outgroup mediated the effect of biracial presence on the Ferguson measure among people high in SDO.*



In sum, Study 2 replicated the results of Study 1, showing again that the presence of biracials reduces racist tendencies among high SDO individuals. Furthermore, the results of Study 2 also showed the effect of the exposure to biracials on attitudes towards specific current events such as the Ferguson case in addition to



the more general symbolic racism. Finally, Study 2 shed some light on the underlying mechanism, and found that inter-racial threat mediates the influence of biracials presence when moderated by SDO.

While this study provides a more robust portrayal of the influence of biracial presence on inter-racial attitudes, it also raises some new questions. Threat, that has been found to mediate the impact of biracial presence, is a multifaceted construct. While Study 2 only measured a general threat perception, there are several types of threat that can impact intergroup relations. Previous research has shown that alternate forms of threat, such as realistic threat or symbolic threat, may have different impacts on social behavior (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Additionally, while Study 2 generally addressed threat from the outgroup, it is possible that participants also perceived the biracials as an outgroup, and this is a distinction that requires further examination. Accordingly, we designed a final study in order to provide a more detailed understanding of the threat-based mechanism identified in Study 2.

### **Study 3**

The main purpose of Study 3 was to provide a more detailed examination of the threat-based mechanism that was found in Study 2. Furthermore, in Study 3 we added an additional possible moderator, as recent research has found that racial identification moderated inter-racial similarity perceptions after exposure to biracials (Wilton et al., 2014; Young et al., 2013). Therefore, we wanted to compare racial identification to SDO as an alternative moderator of the effects observed in Study 1 and 2. Lastly, Study 3 was conducted more than two years after Study 2. During this time the issue of expressing racist opinions was very prominent in the public sphere and in social media (the 2016 elections, the Black lives matter campaign etc.). More specifically, at the time of Study 3 there was controversy in the U.S. following the

President's lack of proper criticism towards displays of white supremacy and racism in Charlottesville (Cillizza, 2017). Due to the fact that these issues could lead to a demand characteristics effect on our main dependent variable of symbolic racism (i.e. voicing your opinion on general race related issues), we wanted to add a dependent variable that would be less related to elements of opinion and criticism, and more related to basic behavioral tendencies. To that end in Study 3 we added contact motivation with the racial outgroup as an additional dependent variable.

## **Method**

**Participants and design.** Eighty eight White American participants (54 *Male*;  $M_{age}=35.4$  years,  $SD=13.7$ ) were recruited via Mturk. The participants provided demographic information, performed the same portrait memory task as in Study 1, and filled out a questionnaire, all on the Qualtrics platform. Participants were randomly assigned to either the control condition or the biracial condition. Due to the addition of the new moderating variable we returned to that original sample size as in Study 1. The sample size for Study 3 was estimated to be able to detect a medium-sized effect (i.e.,  $f^2$  of 0.2). Additionally, a post hoc power analysis (using G\*Power, Faul et al., 2009) suggested that the Study 1 sample size ( $N = 88$ ) provided a statistical power of .99 to identify medium-sized effects.

**Procedure.** Study 3 was a replication of Study 2 with a number of additional elements. First, Study 3 elaborated the examination of the threat mechanism that was found to mediate the biracials presence impact on inter-racial prejudice. Based on Stephan and Stephan (2000), in Study 3 we provided a more elaborate threat measure that included realistic threat (e.g. "*Blacks are increasing the amount of crime in the U.S.*"; "*The welfare services offered to Blacks are increasing the tax burden on*

*Whites*", three items,  $\alpha=.92$ ), and symbolic threat (e.g. "*The Black community is ruining the American culture*"; "*The moral values of Blacks and Whites are fundamentally different*". Two items,  $\alpha=.77$ , Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Additionally, in order to find out if the relevant inter-racial threat originates from the Black outgroup or from the biracial group, participants filled out these threat items both regarding the Blacks and the biracials. Furthermore, based on the work done by Wilton et al. (2014) that suggests that racial ambiguity can induce distinctiveness threat, we also added a distinctiveness threat (e.g. "*It annoys me when others don't see the important differences between Whites and Blacks*"; "*It is not right that Whites and Blacks are treated as if they were the same*". Three items,  $\alpha=.81$ , Schmidt et al., 2009). Research has found that racial identification moderated the impact of exposure to racial ambiguity (Wilton, Sanchez, & Giamo, 2014; Young et al., 2013). Accordingly, we added racial identification as an additional moderating variable (e.g. "*The racial group I belong to is an important part of who I am*"; "*My race has very little to do with how I feel about myself*". Four items,  $\alpha=.71$ , Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). As for the dependent variables, we added a new variable of contact motivation with the racial outgroup (e.g. "to what extent would you like to have a Black coworker / neighbor / friend". Five items,  $\alpha=.96$ , based on Bogardus, 1933). Additionally, due to the time that past between Study 2 and 3, we updated the Ferguson scale with a more recent current event, and described the shooting of Philando Castile from late 2016, while the items that followed remained the same.

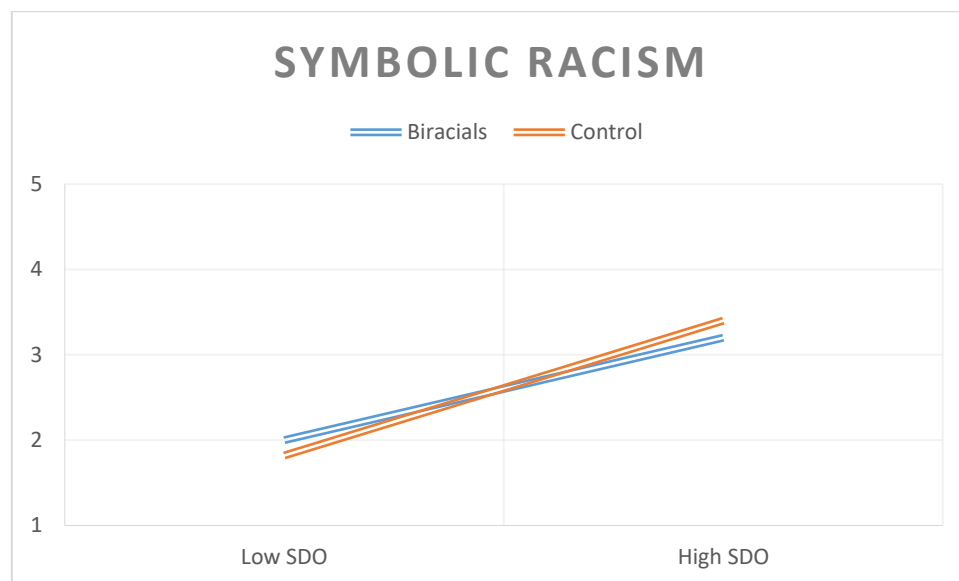
## **Results and Discussion**

A moderation analysis (using Preacher and Hayes' PROCESS macro, model 1) on each of the outcome variables, considering experimental condition (with/without biracials), and SDO levels as independent variables was performed. The

analysis on symbolic racism found a similar trend to Studies 1 and 2 in which participants high on SDO displayed a slight decrease in symbolic racism (see Figure 6); however, this interaction was not significant ( $t=0.74$ ,  $p=0.46$ ). This weaker effect may be due to the anti-racism discourse in the media at the time. Nevertheless, the pattern was similar to the previous studies and also discernible on the Ferguson scale: As in Study 2, the same analysis on the Ferguson scale showed a marginally significant biracial X SDO interaction ( $b= -0.34$ ;  $SE=0.19$ ;  $t=-1.73$ ;  $p=0.08$ , see Figure 7).

Figure 6.

*Participants who were relatively high in SDO (one standard deviation above the SDO mean) displayed lower levels of symbolic racism in the presence of biracials than participants in the control condition without the presence of biracials.*



Finally, the same pattern emerged on the newly added variable of contact motivation with the outgroup, which yielded the same significant interaction of SDO X biracial presence ( $b= -0.38$ ;  $SE=0.17$ ;  $t=-2.16$ ;  $p=0.03$ ). Participants high in SDO displayed a pattern of greater contact motivation with the outgroup after being

exposed to biracials ( $b=-0.39$ ,  $SE=0.26$ ,  $t=-1.52$ ;  $p=0.13$ ). Surprisingly, participants low in SDO actually displayed the opposite trend regarding contact motivation in the biracial condition ( $b=0.38$ ,  $SE=0.25$ ,  $t=1.50$ ;  $p=0.14$ ); nevertheless, in line with expectations their contact motivation was still higher than the contact motivation of those high in SDO in the biracial condition ( $M=5.71$ ,  $SD=0.71$ , VS.  $M=4.81$ ,  $SD=0.98$ ,  $p=0.001$ , see Figure 8).

Figure 7.

*Participants who were relatively high in SDO (one standard deviation above the SDO mean) were more critical toward the police and more empathetic toward the victims in the presence of biracials than participants in the control condition without the presence of biracials.*

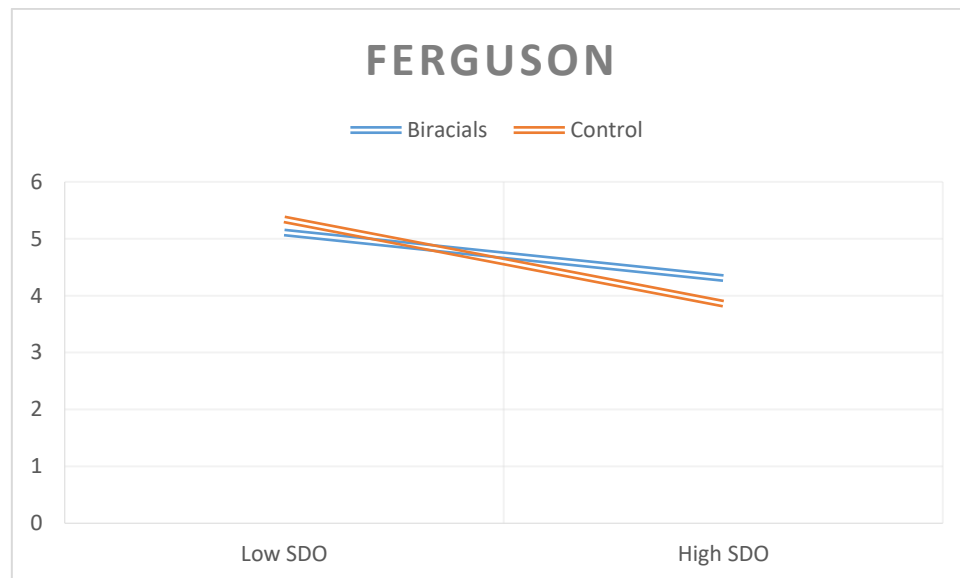
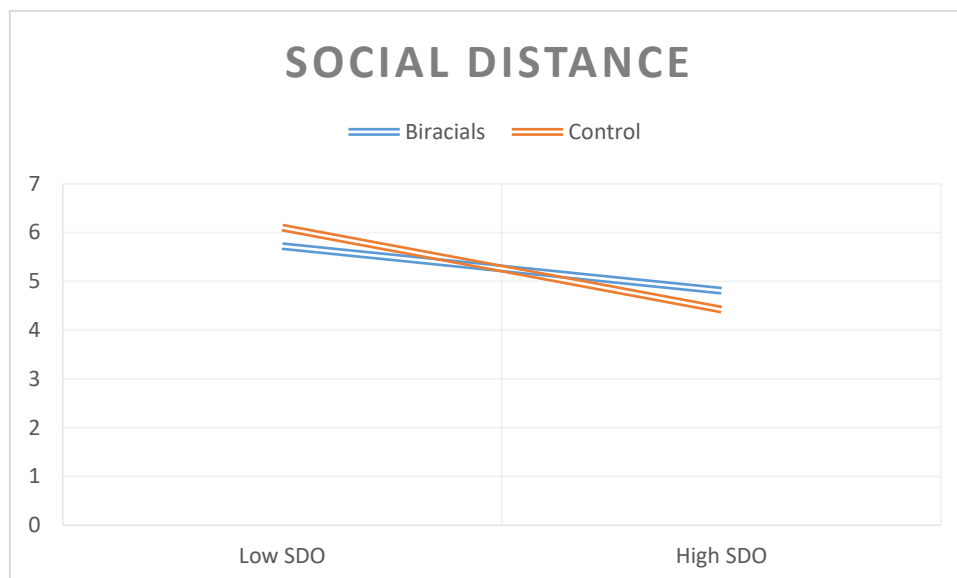


Figure 8.

Participants who were relatively high in SDO (one standard deviation above the SDO mean) displayed lower levels of social distance in the presence of biracials than participants in the control condition without the presence of biracials.



Importantly, Study 3 also suggested that these effects are specific to SDO. Racial identification did not act as a moderator for any of the dependent variables (symbolic racism:  $t=-0.03$   $p=0.97$ ; Ferguson:  $t=-0.14$   $p=0.89$ ; contact motivation:  $t=0.55$   $p=0.58$ ). This suggests that the pattern of effects we observed in Study 3, which are in line with those found in Study 1 and 2, pertain specifically to those high in SDO, rather than to those high in racial group identification.

As for the threat mechanism, we examined which of the five types of threat (and also which target of threat) we measured in Study 3 mediated the effect of biracial presence on inter-racial prejudice among people high in SDO. As can be seen in table 1, the only type of threat that significantly mediated the impact of the SDO X biracial presence interaction on inter-racial prejudice for both the Ferguson and contact motivation variables was *symbolic threat from the biracials* (see Table 1). A SDO X biracial presence interaction significantly predicted symbolic threat from

biracials  $b=0.45$   $SE=0.16$ ,  $t=2.91$ ,  $p=0.005$ , and symbolic threat from biracials significantly predicated the Ferguson measure,  $b=-0.29$   $SE=0.13$ ,  $t=-2.20$ ,  $p=0.03$ , and contact motivation  $b=-0.47$   $SE=0.11$ ,  $t=-4.19$ ,  $p<0.001$ . After considering the effect of the mediator in the model, the interaction term turned non-significant for both the Ferguson scale:  $p=0.31$ , and contact motivation:  $p=0.33$ . Additionally, the indirect effect of SDO X biracials presence was significant via the mediator, for the Ferguson scale:  $axb=-.13$ ; CI 95%:  $-0.41, -0.01$ , as well as for contact motivation:  $axb=-.22$ ; CI 95%:  $-0.59, -0.02$  (see Figure 9).

Figure 9.

*Mediated moderation analysis revealed that participants perceptions of threat from the outgroup mediated the effect of biracial presence on the Ferguson measure among people high in SDO.*

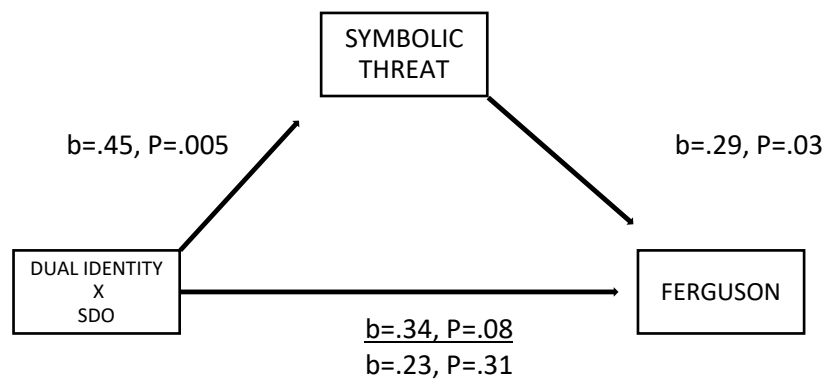


Table 1.

*Analysis of five types of threat as possible mediators for the impact of biracial presence on participants high in SDO for both the Ferguson scale and contact motivation.*

<i>Mediator</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>LLCI</i>	<i>ULCI</i>
<i>Realistic threat from Blacks – Ferguson</i>	-.05	.06	-.22	.03
<i>Symbolic threat from Blacks – Ferguson</i>	-.05	.07	-.25	.04
<i>Realistic threat from Biracials – Ferguson</i>	-.15	.10	-.39	.01
<i>Symbolic threat from Biracials – Ferguson</i>	-.13	.09	-.41	-.01
<i>Distinctiveness threat – Ferguson</i>	-.05	.06	-.27	.01
<i>Realistic threat from Blacks - Contact motivation</i>	-.06	.06	-.21	.03
<i>Symbolic threat from Blacks - Contact motivation</i>	-.08	.10	-.30	.10
<i>Realistic threat from Biracials - Contact motivation</i>	-.12	.09	-.40	.01
<i>Symbolic threat from Biracials - Contact motivation</i>	-.22	.14	-.59	-.02
<i>Distinctiveness threat - Contact motivation</i>	-.09	.07	-.27	.01

In sum, Study 3 replicated the pattern of results of Study 1 and 2, showing once again, and several years apart, that the presence of biracials reduces prejudice among participants high in SDO. Furthermore, the results of Study 3 provided more insight into the precise underlying mechanism by pinpointing reduction of symbolic threat from the biracials as the mediator of the biracial presence impact on prejudice reduction among participants high in SDO. Taken together with the findings of Study 1 and 2, we conclude that the biracial gateway hypothesis was substantiated for those high in SDO across the three studies.



### **Internal Meta-Analysis**

While we were able to find the same pattern throughout all three studies, the statistical significance of the results differed across studies and the sample sizes can be considered relatively small. To address these limitations and to examine the robustness of our hypothesized effects, we conducted an internal meta-analysis, or a mini meta-analysis, on the studies presented here. In a recent paper, Goh, Hall, and Rosenthal (2016) outline the many benefits of conducting such a mini meta-analysis and outline a detailed method for doing so. In our mini-meta analysis our main aim was to generally aggregate our main hypothesized effects, and show that the exposure to biracials reduced symbolic racism and increased empathy toward Blacks (Ferguson scale) among participants high in SDO. We meta-analyzed symbolic racism in all three studies, and the Ferguson scale in the two studies that included the relevant variables (Studies 2-3), using fixed effects in which the key effect size was weighted by sample size. In this case, the key effect size was the difference between the biracial condition and control condition on symbolic racism, and the Ferguson scale for high SDO participants. In statistical terms, the coefficient of the simple effect of condition at one SD above the mean of identification. Since this simple effect essentially represents a difference between conditions, it can also be expressed in terms of Pearson's  $r$  (Shuman et al., 2018). We first converted these simple effect coefficients into Pearson's  $r$  for ease of analysis, and proceeded according to the methods outlined in Goh et al. (2016). All correlations were then Fisher's  $z$  transformed for analyses and converted back to Pearson correlations for presentation of general effect sizes. Overall among high SDO, the exposure to biracials significantly decreased symbolic racism ( $M r=0.17$ ,  $Z=2.68$ ,  $p=0.007$ , two-tailed), and increased criticism towards police violence and empathy towards Black victims ( $M r=0.29$ ,  $Z=3.72$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ,

two-tailed) compared to the control condition. This supports our hypotheses that exposure to biracials has the potential to improve inter-racial attitudes among those high in SDO.

## **General Discussion**

Dually identified groups are becoming more and more prevalent as a result of socio-demographic shifts, and social processes worldwide. These social changes are bound to affect existing intergroup dynamics in general, and mostly those that have previously been perceived in a binary and dichotomous manner. One theoretical approach that can be used in order to better explain some of the results of said global changes is that of the dual identity corpus. The work done so far in the realm of dual identity offers insights on several aspects of intergroup relations (Brewer 1991; Brown & Hewstone, 2004; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2012; Plaut, 2010; Scheepers et al., 2014; Saguy, Tausch, Dovidio & Pratto, 2009; Sam & Berry, 2010; Simon & Ruhs, 2008; Wolsko, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2000). Most recently, this research has also begun to shed light on the potential of dually identified individuals and groups to positively affect intergroup relations between the groups that represent the respective sources of their dual identity by acting as Gateway Groups (Levy et al., 2017).

In the studies described in this paper we sought out to continue this line of thought, and test whether this potential would be present in the inter-racial context in the United States as well. Indeed, in the three studies presented above we found that the exposure to biracials led to a diminished sense of prejudice among individuals high in SDO who are usually prone to higher levels of racism. Additionally, in Study 2 and 3 we also found that the said exposure to biracials also improved the attitudes towards Black victims of current events among the same high SDO participants, and

found strong pointers toward the reduction of perceived inter-racial threat as the mediator. In Study 2 the presence of biracials reduced a general sense of inter-racial threat which in turn led to diminished symbolic racism. In Study 3 the presence of biracials reduced the sense of symbolic threat from the biracials themselves which in turn led to reduced social distance between Whites and Blacks. This variance in the mediating and outcome variables should be taken into account when considering the implications of the findings. Nonetheless, the fact that we were able to find the same patterns (i.e. improved inter-racial attitudes as a result of biracial presence) across three different studies that spanned over three years, strongly signals that there is a phenomenon here that both identity and intergroup relations researchers should be aware of. This was also corroborated by the mini meta-analysis that analyzed all the findings across the three studies. Moreover, the emergence and persistence of these patterns despite the subtlety of the experimental manipulation also speak to the robustness of the findings despite the slight inconsistencies. Below we offer several possible future directions that can build on these findings, and help shed more light on the mechanisms at hand.

The studies presented in this paper tested the alleged potential of dual identity groups to act as a possible Gateway Group, and improve intergroup relations in the inter-racial context. While the findings of these studies offer initial support for this hypothesis, this line of research clearly requires further elaboration and specification. The racial context is but one more possible venue for this new intergroup dynamic, and additional contexts such as ethnic, religious, and other intergroup contexts should be put to the test. While theoretically, the same intergroup gateway structure can be applied also in other similar scenarios, research in the field of multiple identity has found context dependent phenomena (Young, Sanchez, & Wilton, 2017) and therefore

this should be examined for the sake of generalization. Moreover, symbolic inter-racial threat which was found to act as the mediator in the current paper should be further examined, and additional mediating and moderating factors should be explored in order to develop a well based theoretical model. For instance, group based emotions that may be linked to threat, such as anxiety and fear (Stephan & Stephan, 2000), might also take part in the mediation process. Such emotions have been found to have significant impact on intergroup relations (Halperin, 2016; Levy et al., 2017) and should be examined accordingly. Additionally, other moderating factors such as the perceived identification of the biracials might also affect the impact they have on intergroup relations (Jugert, Leszczensky, & Pink, 2017). While the link between the perceived and experienced identity of dual identifiers seems natural, this link is still very understudied and calls for further examination (Kang & Bodenhausen, 2015; Levy et al., 2017; Young, Sanchez, & Wilton, 2013).

Furthermore, while the studies in this paper solely examined the effects of the passive presence of Gateway Groups in the midst of an intergroup dynamic, Gateway Groups with dual identities such as the biracial community rarely remain completely passive. For example, such a group can choose to support one of its counterparts in a struggle against the other, or try and actively promote conflict resolution endeavors as a mediator (Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009). Accordingly, future studies should test the effects of active dually identified agents in order to provide a more significant, and perhaps more representative depiction of real world intergroup relations. Finally, the manipulation in the studies above was very subtle, and very short (which is in line with the size of the effects). Once a better understanding of the mechanism at hand is developed, it will enable the development of stronger, and hopefully long-lasting

intervention for the reduction of inter-racial threat and prejudice among people high in SDO (Walton, 2014).

Notwithstanding the limitations listed above which call for additional research, we believe that the studies presented in this paper offer both a theoretical and applicable contribution in the realm of intergroup conflict resolution. From a theoretical perspective, the approach presented above moves beyond the traditional dichotomous view of "us" versus "them", and offers a wider and more complex structure of intergroup dynamics. From a practical perspective, coupled with the previous research on the conflict reducing potential of dually identified Gateway Groups (Levy et al., 2017), a new and promising venue for conflict alleviation is starting to take shape. The fleshing out of previously marginalized dually identified groups may point to new and promising methods of intergroup prejudice reduction.

In conclusion, dually identified Gateway Groups that can be found in the midst of almost every intergroup conflict situation, and are likely to become even more prevalent in the future, may have a very significant role to play in intergroup conflict resolution if integrated correctly. The studies above provide a very partial yet very optimistic picture of the suggested potential, and future research will attempt to provide a more comprehensive and developed framework for these new found Gateway Groups.

## Chapter 5 - General discussion

This thesis addressed the potential role groups with multiple social identities may play in positively transforming intergroup relations. The main aim of the thesis was to provide a new conceptual framework that can capture the modern complexity of social boundaries and identity. The main question we attempted to answer is whether groups with multiple social identities are able to positively transform intergroup relation and act as Gateway Groups. To this end we designed and conducted several studies across multiple social and cultural context and implemented several different experimental methodologies.

In the first set of studies described in chapter 2 we found that the Gateway Group was indeed perceived as separate from the outgroup and regarded as significantly more positive than the outgroup in across all socially relevant parameters we examined such as emotions, perceptions, and policy preferences. We found that both in the secular-religious and in the Israeli-Palestinian contexts, the more people perceived intermediate groups to have a dual identity, the more positive were their intergroup attitudes and behavior, and that this association remained significant after controlling for political orientation. We found that in the context of inter group dynamics in a minimal group setting participants that were exposed to a Gateway Group, compared to those in the control condition, allocated more resources to the outgroup, had greater contact motivation, and showed higher tendency for equal division and a lower tendency for complete discrimination. These finding were found both in an online study and in a more meaningful and interactive context of actual group interactions in the lab. Finally, we also found that participants that were

exposed to a Gateway Group in the context of the Israeli Palestinian conflict displayed reduced negative stereotyping of the dual identity group, and reduced ingroup identification. They allocated more resources to the outgroup, displayed reduced intergroup anger, and decreased support for aggressive policies toward the outgroup. These studies were the first to focus on this new perspective on dual identity. By suggesting that perceiving a dual identity in others will improve intergroup attitudes and behavior, our findings broadened the theoretical scope of the notion of dual identity, including issues that were not addressed by existing theory and research. Another novel aspect of the studies above is the explication of the potential of dual identity to be perceived and thus act as a gateway in intergroup relations. By carrying out a set of correlational and experimental studies with artificial and real-life groups, we were able to support both the internal and external validity of our findings. As expected, all the findings led support to the Gateway Group hypothesis.

The studies described in chapter 2 examined contexts with clear ingroup-outgroup categorizations, and focused on groups holding multiple identities on the same dimension (e.g. an overlap of two national identities). In the studies described in chapter 3 we extend the Gateway Group line of research and examined the Western Balkan context, where there is a high degree of social category overlap. Moreover, we also examined Gateway Groups that represent a mixture of two identities from different dimensions (i.e. an overlap of an ethnic and national identity). These studies enabled us to extend the Gateway Group notion also to social contexts that are more complex and have a multidimensional nature. Replicating the Gateway Group studies described in chapter 2, in this set of studies we found that exposure to the complexity of the Gateway Group made participants see them as having more of a dual identity,

more of a potential intergroup bridge, sense a higher level of social identity complexity, and in turn also perceive the ingroup and outgroup as socially closer to one another. This was especially significant because it took place in a setting where several social identities crisscross and overlap. Moreover, we found these results both in situations where the Gateway Group represented an overlap between separate identities on the same dimension (two national identities), and in situations where the Gateway Group represented an overlap between identities on different dimensions (national and ethnic identities).

Finally, in the studies described in chapter 4 we sought to continue the Gateway Group line of thought, and test whether this potential would be present in the inter-racial context in the United States as well. In chapter 4 we also introduced an additional methodology in which the exposure to the Gateway Group was conducted by simply exposing participants to photos of biracial faces based on the existing common methodology exposure to phenotypically racial faces. Indeed, in the three studies presented above we found that the exposure to biracials led to a diminished sense of prejudice among individuals high in SDO who are usually prone to higher levels of racism. Additionally, we also found that the said exposure to biracials improved the attitudes towards Black victims of current events among the same participants, and found strong pointers toward the reduction of perceived inter-racial threat as the mediator. The presence of biracials reduced a general sense of inter-racial threat which in turn led to diminished symbolic racism. Additionally, the presence of biracials reduced the sense of symbolic threat from the biracials themselves which in turn led to reduced social distance between Whites and Blacks. This was also corroborated by a mini meta-analysis that analyzed all the findings across the three studies. These findings once again corroborated the Gateway Group hypothesis and



this time in the inter racial setting and while using a different and more subtle methodological procedure.

## **Implications**

**A more accurate depiction of reality.** In the era of globalization, clear-cut and distinct social categorization is becoming less realistic. The modern complexity of social boundaries and social identity calls for the development of innovative theory that can capture such complexity. In the current research project, we aimed to provide such an innovative framework by developing the Gateway Group hypothesis. This conception predicts that groups that hold multiple identities have the potential to improve intergroup attitudes and behavior among their social counterparts that constitute their hybrid identity. Thus, our approach moves beyond the common dichotomous view of "us" versus "them", to offer a broader, more complex, and more accurate model of intergroup dynamics. The studies designed for this thesis were among the first to focus on this new perspective on multiple identities, and to explore the mechanism and boundary conditions necessary to realize the Gateway Groups' potential.

**Extending the existing research.** While our predictions were rooted in the existing literature on categorization described above, the Gateway Group notion can conceptually broaden the existing scope of the multiple identity literature. First, while the concept of dual identity has primarily been linked with hierarchically nested identities in the form of a superordinate (typically majority) and the subgroup identity (typically minority group, e.g., Turkish immigrants in Germany that are nested in the superordinate German identity while maintaining a separate Turkish identity),

Gateway Groups also incorporate situations in which identities are not nested. For example, the biracial community in the United States does not necessarily have a clear hierarchically nested structure between its White and Black identity (i.e., neither racial identity encompasses the other). Thus, all dual identifiers can be seen as members of a Gateway Group, but not all Gateway Groups can be explained with the notion of dual identity. Second, dual identification scenarios usually include three different social agents: two distinct social groups and the dual identity group. However, to our knowledge the existing literature only address two of these social agents: one of the two distinct groups, and the dual identifiers. For example, in the case of the Muslim minority in the United States. Most of the literature addresses either the minority itself, or the non-Muslim Americans and their interaction with the Muslim minority, but the Muslim community outside the United States is not addressed. The broader notion of a Gateway Group enables the incorporation of several different relevant groups for a more holistic, realistic, and complex understanding of intergroup dynamics.

**Laying the groundwork for the development of new conflict resolution interventions.** Another novel aspect of the studies above is the explication of the potential of dual identity to be perceived, and thus act as, a gateway in intergroup relations. By suggesting that perceiving a complex identity in others will improve intergroup attitudes and behavior, our studies can broaden the theoretical and practical scope of the notion of multiple identities. Although existing theory and research have documented several positive implications of multiple identities, our research points to another type of implication, namely that perceiving a group as having multiple identities may help to reduce intergroup conflict. We suggest that if the presence of a Gateway Group in the midst of groups in conflict can reduce intergroup conflict, then

this may point to new methods of prejudice reduction that have not been implemented in the past that can help develop novel psychological interventions for conflict resolution.

Finally, the proposed work holds the potential of rebranding groups with dual or multiple identity as harbingers of conflict resolution. So far, such groups have been marginalized in the context of intergroup relations, and have been subjugated by physical conflict from without, and identity conflict from within (Berdahl and Moore, 2006; Derks et al., 2015, 2016; Gaither et al., 2013; Kulich et al., 2015; Lowrance, 2006; Pinson, 2008; Verkuyten and Reijerse, 2008). Labeling these groups as potential facilitators of conflict resolution can help in empowering such groups, in fleshing out their unique capabilities, and in increasing their overall wellbeing.

### **Limitations and Future Directions**

So far, we have discussed the possible impact GGs might have on intergroup relations. However, we have not addressed the issue of *why* they have such impact. Several studies offer some insight into possible mechanisms. For example, Gocłowska and Crisp (2014) have examined three necessary conditions needed for dual identity to be able to help foster creativity among those who hold such an identity: (1) The dual identifiers need to develop a deep relationship with the two (or more) groups that they belong to, (2) the dual identifiers need to undergo the process of adaptation to living and functioning in a new group, but at the same time remain identified with their original culture, and (3) the dual identifiers need to experience some distance and dissonance between their host and home cultures. While this research focused on

creativity which is not necessarily directly linked to intergroup relations, such variables may play a role in the intergroup context as well.

For instance, in terms of relationships with and adaptation to the different groups (condition 1&2 above), Hornsey and Hogg (2000) found that the salience of the different groups representing the multiple identities can affect intergroup bias, and that members of groups with shared multiple identities for whom both categories are salient exhibit lower levels of intergroup bias compared to those for whom only one of the groups is salient. In terms of distance and dissonance between identities (condition 3 above), research by Simon et al. (2013) has examined the aspect of dissonance between identities, or more specifically incompatibility of identities, and has found that incompatible identities among dual identifying immigrants in Germany led to elevated sympathy for political radical action. On the other hand, research by Chayinska et al. (2017) found that compatibility between multiple identities encourages and legitimizes collective action. Another element related to the dissonance between identities that may have intergroup implications, is the level of projection of a single identity on the superordinate inclusive identity which the GG are associated with. Based on the work done on the projection model (Kessler et al., 2010; Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999) the more the multiple identity GG resembles the identity projected on the superordinate identity, the better its chances of evading prejudice and negative emotions.

In the studies described in chapters 2 and 3 that explicitly addressed the Gateway Group identification, the Gateway Group members were described as dually identified with the ingroup and outgroup simultaneously. In reality however, Gateway Group members do not necessarily endorse all their identities to the same degree (or even at all), or express such endorsement. For example, Arab citizens of Israel might

identify as Palestinian, as Israeli, or as Arab-Israeli (with both groups). Such different forms of identification, as expressed by gateway group members, are likely to affect the potential of the Gateway Groups to have a constructive impact on intergroup relations (Kaiser & Spalding, 2013). Indeed, it is possible that such a positive influence is only likely insofar as the Gateway Group is seen as sharing identity elements with *both* the ingroup and the outgroup (and thus is a “true” gateway group). Hence, the Gateway Group members’ identification, and expression of this, is critical for realizing its potential. Accordingly, future research should examine the effect of the Gateway Group’s identification on intergroup relations, and assess if and how identification patterns influence the Gateway Groups’ impact.

Additional aspects that have been found to influence the impact of multiple identification in the intergroup context are group status, size, and threat. Some of the positive effects associated with multiple identity in the intergroup context, such as intergroup bias reduction, have been found to only take place among minority groups (González & Brown, 2006), and in contrast, research in a different context has shown that dual identification was most efficient in reducing intergroup bias among high status dual identifying groups (Dovidio et al., 2009). Finally, research by Baysu et al. (2011) has found that in the presence of identity threat, dual identity can be detrimental, but in the absence of such threat dual identity is preferable to any other form of minority identification such as assimilation or separation.

In terms of the impact that multiple identity might have on external groups that perceive a GG as having multiple identities, the empirical studies mentioned above have begun to shed some light on the possible mechanism at hand. For instance, in the studies in chapter 2 we have found that the presence of a Gateway Group led to reduced negative stereotyping of the Gateway Group, as well as reduced

ingroup identification. Based on these findings, it seems that the impact of the presence of multiple identity GGs on groups that perceive them as such, may be mediated by fostering a more complex perception of social categorization in general.

It seems that several different mechanisms can explain the potential impact of GGs on intergroup relations. These mechanisms include variables such as: Compatibility or similarity between the multiple identities held by the GG; the status and size of the GG compared to its counterparts; the levels of threat felt by and from the GG; the social identification of both the GG and its counterparts; and the manner in which the GG is perceived by the groups it interacts with. While the existing research refers to most of these variables, the literature still lacks a clear model that factors in these elements, and enables a clear prediction of a GG's impact in different scenarios. Below we will offer a few options of future research and a potential formulation of such a model.

### **Questions for Future Research**

Based on the framework described above, it is evident that research has found positive impacts of multiple identity GGs in the context of intergroup relations. However, it is mostly unclear *when* one might expect GGs to have this impact on intergroup relations and what are the boundary conditions to this end. The explanatory mechanisms mentioned in the previous section provide initial explanations as to how GGs might affect intergroup relations, but do not provide a substantial way of predicting when the presence of a GG will be beneficial. For us, this question is one of the most important ones that future research should address.

So far, the literature offers mixed results, such as in the case of the projection model (Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999) and subgroups model (Hornsey and Hogg,

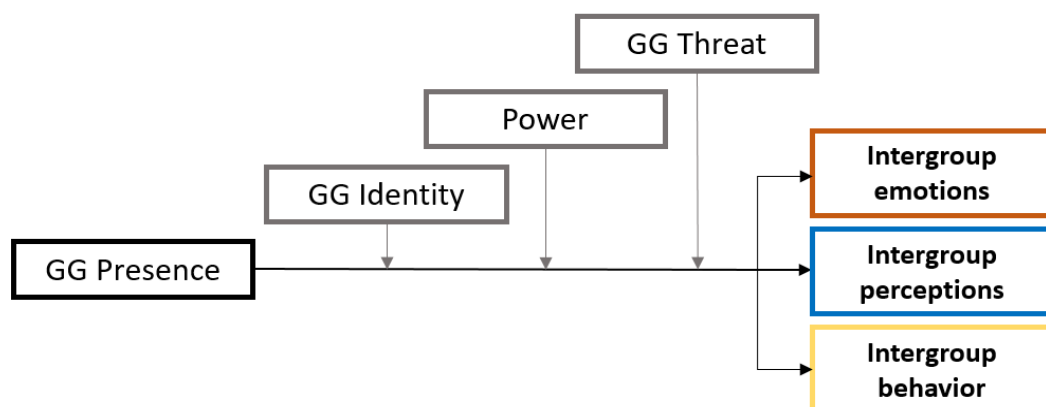
2000). Following these two lines of thought, when one of the identities at hand significantly differs from the superordinate identity, and both identities are made salient, the work done by Hornsey and Hogg would probably predict lower levels of prejudice, while the projection model (Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999) would predict the contrary. Similar contradictory findings appear in the research on the effects of dual identity's interaction with group size and status mentioned above. While González & Brown (2006), found their effect mainly among dual identifying minority groups, Dovidio et al. (2009) found similar effects mainly among high status dual identifying groups. This suggests that there might be a more significant predictor of the type of impact GG have on intergroup relations, or alternatively, that a combination of several variables add up to affect the impact of GGs either positively or negatively.

Accordingly, future research should explore the elements that have been found as influential in affecting the type of impact GGs have on intergroup relations. For instance, status and size of the GG has been found to interact with the GG's influence on intergroup bias reduction, but the manner in which these variables interact is still unclear (Dovidio et al. 2009; González & Brown, 2006). Therefore, future research should focus on GG status and size as possible moderators and examine what conditions are necessary in this regard for intergroup bias reduction. Additionally, based on the conceptual work described above it is likely that sense of threat from the GG might inhibit the GG's ability to facilitate conflict resolution. Future research dealing with multiple identities and GGs should test for threat as a possible mediator, and check if being threatened by the GG diminishes its positive impact on intergroup relations. Research examining variation in such variables should enable the construction of a detailed model describing the conditions for the different possible

outcomes, and would greatly improve the ability to predict the optimal way to manage such identities in the context of intergroup dynamics. Moreover, such a model would also enable the development of practical implementations of the GG potential<sup>13</sup>. The model we propose to test (Figure 1), specifies psychological mechanisms for the effect of Gateway Groups on intergroup relations. The model's components would be based on the variables described above as underlining the impact of exposure to Gateway Groups on intergroup relations, and can help predict whether the Gateway Groups will have a constructive intergroup impact.

Figure 1.

*Potential model for the impact of Gateway Groups on intergroup relations*



Besides the specific variables described above there are also broader questions related to the GG prospect that call for additional research. As we have proposed, at this point in time it seems best to approach the issue of GGs while maintaining the

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<sup>13</sup>For example, *Extended contact* might be further developed as a conflict resolution tool based on the findings of this research. The extended contact hypothesis contends that knowledge about cross-group friendships (i.e., knowing that an ingroup member has a positive relationship with an outgroup member) can improve outgroup attitudes and thus advocates the advantages of intergroup contact by proxy (Christ et al., 2014; Wright et al. 1997). Usually, in order for extended contact to have a positive effect, the process has to entail an ingroup exemplar having contact with an outgroup exemplar (Wright et al. 1997). Nonetheless, although dual identifiers are not classic ingroup exemplars, the frequency of their unmediated interaction with both counterparts holds the potential for effects similar to the ones observed in the extended contact literature.



distinction between how such groups identify themselves, and how these groups are perceived by others (Kang & Bodenhausen, 2015). While the work done in the realm of how these multiple identities affect the GG themselves is more substantial, research on how GG that hold multiple identities affect the other groups involved has only just began scratching the surface. Moreover, as a result of the distinction between how individuals in GGs experience their identity, and how these groups are perceived by others, there is the possibility that these two perspectives might not always be aligned. It is likely that when both the GG itself and its counterparts all perceive the GG as holding multiple identities, then the presence of the GG will impact intergroup relations as described above. However, it is not clear what would happen in cases in which the GG is perceived as holding multiple identities, but the GG itself only identifies with one group. Accordingly, future research should examine the outcomes of such dissonance, both on the GGs and on their counterparts as well.

An additional aspect that may play a significant part in the integration of multiple identities into the intergroup relations framework is the GG motivation to take on the responsibility of facilitating the intergroup relations among its different counterparts. It is likely to assume that GGs might have varying levels of motivation to take on, or shy away from, the role of intergroup facilitation. The underpinnings of these motivations should be explored and mapped out in order to enhance the ability to predict GG action. Another noteworthy research topic that has yet to be addressed is the development of novel identities among groups holding multiple identities. So far, the literature in the field has addressed groups of people with shared multiple identities as maintaining different existing identities coupled together. However, it is possible that for individuals and groups that maintain a state of multiple identities over time, the multiple identities morph into a new single identity that is distinct and

independent from its identities of origin (Rockquemore, 1998; Simon & Ruhs, 2008). This notion may account for some of the variation in the existing literature regarding multiple identities. Indeed, in some instances individuals who hold multiple identities, may in reality be holding a new fused single identity. Moreover, the presence of multiple identities (e.g. as reflected in the GG empirical studies) might play a role in affecting intergroup relations simply as a result of exposure to complex identity structures. This would mean that exposure to any group with multiple identities would have the same effect on intergroup relations regardless of its connections to the conflicting groups at hand. Both these options contend with the notion presented in this paper by either eliminating the uniqueness of GGs, or by extending that uniqueness to any multiple identity group regardless of its affiliation, and require further research.

One last limitation that is important to mention, is that of a potential backlash in the form of a negative reaction to the presence of a GG. Despite the promising potential of GGs, there is a possibility that the exposure to a GG can also have a negative impact in the context of intergroup relations. In terms of individuals perceiving themselves as having multiple identities, a negative side effect that can possibly result from stressing the multiple identification of a group, can be the decreased well-being amongst the GG members themselves (Gaither et al., 2013). Some of the research in the field of dual and multiple identities have found that there can be a downside to holding multiple identities, especially in the context of intergroup conflict. For example, in cases where intergroup relations are tense, multiple identifiers are sometimes forced to distance themselves from one of their ingroups, and even partake in ingroup derogation in the attempt to overcome disadvantage in cases of social inequality (Derks et al., 2015; Derks et al., 2016;

Kulich et al., 2015; Verkuyten & Reijerse, 2008). Moreover, under some conditions, biracial individuals may feel anxiety that stems from interracial encounters while encountering both Blacks and Whites (Gaither et al., 2013).

Furthermore, when the identities multiple identifiers hold are perceived as incompatible, it may foster controversial or even destructive forms of political radicalism (Simon et al., 2013). Finally, research on dual identifiers in the context of intergroup conflict has shown, that the tension between the conflicting sources of the dual identity causes the dual identifiers to be marginalized by both counterparts. This double marginality may lead to the general exclusion of these groups of people with shared multiple identities, weaken their collective infrastructure, and at times even bring about collective identity crisis (Al-Haj, 2000; Berdahl & Moore, 2006; Lowrance, 2006; Pinson, 2008). Another relevant notion in this regard is that of *intersectionality*, which claims that individuals' identification with more than one discriminated group in an intergroup context may lead to marginalization of wrongdoings towards such a group, even compared to other discriminated groups that do not have multiple identities (Crenshaw, 1991). Although this is not a direct negative outcome of holding multiple identities, it only applies to those who hold more than one discriminated social identity. In sum, despite the positive potential of GGs holding multiple identities in the context of intergroup relations, this element also has the potential of putting such GGs between the proverbial identity rock and hard place.

Stressing the connection between a GG and the outgroup can theoretically become detrimental also in terms of the perceivers, especially in the context of severe intergroup conflict. Other than the simple animosity that can arise from association with a negatively perceived outgroup, the link between the multiple identity GG and

the proximal ingroup, which has so far been stressed as a positive attribute, might sometimes backfire and result in the multiple identity GG posing barriers to conflict resolution. Nonetheless, despite the intuitiveness of this possible backlash, to our knowledge there is no empirical work to date that has examined this negative aspect of groups being perceived as having multiple identities. We therefore extend our line of thought here to suggest two possible ways in which GGs can be perceived as barriers rather than bridges. First, this is likely the case where those who perceive GG members to have a multiple identity expect them to side with the ingroup. Although this may seem possible at first sight, it implies that any perceived violation of that expectation of ingroup support may lead external groups to treat GG members with strong suspicion, and as potential traitors. Furthermore, while an outgroup member acting on behalf of the outgroup is predictable, for an ingroup member to act on behalf of the outgroup in the context of intergroup conflict is considered treason, and is perhaps one of the most socially deplorable acts possible. This notion corresponds with the literature on the ‘black sheep effect’ (Pinto, Marques, Levine, & Abrams, 2010; Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988) in which attempts by ingroup members that are perceived as a deviation from group norms are judged and punished even more harshly than similar actions originating from outgroup members.

Second, in cases where those who perceive GG members to have multiple identities and expect them to side with the outgroup, such perceivers are likely to associate all the negative attributes linked to the outgroup with the GG as well. This perception is bound to frame the GG as a threat and simply amplify the existing conflict tension and animosity. In sum, while there is no existing empirical evidence regarding the possible back-lash of GGs being perceived as holding multiple

identities, it is likely to assume that such an outcome is possible under certain conditions, and depending on different possible affiliations of the GG.

Due to the lack of empirical research on the possible negative outcomes in the context of GGs being perceived as having multiple identities by others, future research should start studying this gap in the literature. As described above, the expectation of GG members to side solely with the ingroup, might perceive the GG's interaction with the outgroup as an act of betrayal. Moreover, affiliation of the GG with the outgroup coupled with mistrust are likely to have a negative intergroup impact as well. Accordingly, future research should examine expectation of GG loyalty, as well as elements of trust and threat, in order to account for possible GG backlash effects.

Finally, while almost all the research described in this paper is from the realm of the social psychology of intergroup relations, there are several disciplines that have a vested interest in multiple identity GGs as well. For example, researchers in the field of social cognition have developed an approach in which social categories are perceived in a continuous manner (Eberhardt et al., 2006; Maddox, 2004). Based on the racial GG studies presented above, it seems likely that the perception of racial categories as continuous may have the potential to alleviate racist behavior, and that the presence of racial GGs have the potential of emphasizing this continuum. Future research should examine both these assumptions that may lead to new and innovative ways to combat racism. Another possible interdisciplinary connection is with the work on social networks, from the fields of sociology and communications. This work has great potential to enrich our understanding of the role GGs have to play in intergroup relations. Research in these fields has found that strategically situated groups such as the GG can be expected to facilitate the dissemination of information

between conflicting social groups, to create interpersonal connections across social fault lines, and to induce efficient communication between groups in conflict (Centola, 2015; Granovetter, 1983; Long et al., 2013; Repke & Benet-Martínez, 2017). Accordingly, an interdisciplinary approach might prove very useful in this regard.

## **Conclusion**

Globalization and unprecedented shifts in the ethnic and racial make-up of countries and communities have produced a massive growth in the range of people with whom we interact. These changes have led to a new and more complex social landscape, as well as to more encounters with people who have multiple social identities, including different combinations of racial, ethnic, or national identities. The current research proposes that, although people are often threatened by difference, perceiving others as different in some ways but similar in other ways holds the potential for positive social change and greater harmony among members of various social groups. Specifically, in the research described above we focused on the unique role of people who are recognized as having multiple identities that represent groups that are traditionally regarded as fundamentally different, and reframed these people as Gateway Groups.

When it comes to social-psychological theories regarding such groups of people with shared multiple identities in intergroup relations, it seems that different theories only address specific facets of the potential role these groups can play in intergroup dynamics. Our GG framework builds on several of the existing theories and extends them by outlining *the positive intergroup* function multiple identity GGs

may serve. As such, it also provides a research agenda along those lines, as well as additional important questions such as *why* and *when* GGs can be expected to serve as facilitators of intergroup relations.

Importantly, our studies suggest that GGs hold a unique potential when it comes to improving intergroup relations. GGs which can potentially be situated interchangeably in regard to a given social border, can act as catalysts for the attempts to shift or redefine the borders between social categories, and the mere presence of a GG in situations of intergroup conflict can be expected help partially dismantle social categories that otherwise facilitate intergroup strife. GGs multiple affiliation might signal to their respective groups that a superordinate identity, incorporating both groups, is possible. Additionally, the manner in which GGs cross social categories can help confront stereotypical and heuristic modes of thinking, and raise tolerance for outgroups in general. These positive effects multiple identity GGs may have on intergroup relations originate both from such groups perceiving themselves as having multiple identities, and from such groups being perceived as having multiple identities by their social counterparts. We believe that the studies presented in this paper offer both a theoretical and applicable contribution in the realm of intergroup conflict resolution. From a theoretical perspective, the approach presented above moves beyond the traditional dichotomous view of "us" versus "them", and offers a wider and more complex structure of intergroup dynamics. From a practical perspective, a new and promising venue for conflict alleviation is starting to take shape. The fleshing out of previously marginalized dually identified groups may point to new and promising methods of intergroup prejudice reduction.

In conclusion, the current set of studies provided the first evidence that GGs may have a positive role to play in reducing intergroup conflict. Dually identified

Gateway Groups that can be found in the midst of almost every intergroup conflict situation, and are likely to become even more prevalent in the future, may have a very significant role to play in intergroup conflict resolution if integrated correctly. As such, we hope our work will stimulate future research to replicate our findings in other contexts, with the next steps being to tackle the underlying mechanisms, and to develop a more integrative and comprehensive framework for how dual identities, perceived or experienced, can improve intergroup relations.



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