

POLITICAL PARTY AND EXPOSURE TO CLAIMS OF DISCRIMINATION

Does Political Party Affiliation Moderate the Effects of Exposure to Claims of Discrimination?

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Abstract

Despite the persistence of massive racial inequities in the United States, Americans—and White Americans in particular—often underestimate these disparities. This dissertation explored interventions to increase White Americans’ perceptions of inequity and support for antiracist policies. Specifically, we examined how White Americans’ political party affiliation may moderate responses to discrimination claims. Although Democrats and Republicans tend to differ substantially in their racial attitudes, political party is not frequently considered in psychological intervention studies. Study 1 sought to replicate and extend Carter and Murphy’s (2017) work, examining whether high versus low exposure to claims of discrimination differentially impacted Democrats’ and Republicans’ perception of racism in society. Study 2 explored whether reading individual versus structural racism claims moderated participants’ responses to claims of discrimination and impacted their support for antiracist policies. Study 3 examined whether the credibility of the source of the claims affected responses. Across three studies, we found little effect of exposure level (high vs low). However, we found some evidence that source credibility and the type of claims (individual vs structural) had a small effect on participants’ conceptualizations of racism and support for antiracist policies. Furthermore, we found large effects of political party. Compared to Republicans, Democrats perceived more racism, conceptualized racism in more structural terms, placed more importance on discussing racism, and were more supportive of antiracist policies. This dissertation highlights the challenges of overcoming partisan beliefs about racial inequity and calls for further research to identify interventions to promote support for racial equity across political lines.

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Does Political Party Affiliation Moderate the Effects of Exposure to Claims of Discrimination?

Does Political Party Affiliation Moderate the Effects of Exposure to Claims of Discrimination?

On May 25th, 2020, a Black man named George Floyd was murdered by a police officer in Minneapolis, MN. George Floyd was unarmed, in handcuffs, face down on the concrete, with a police officer kneeling on his neck. He repeatedly pleaded with the officers, saying “I can’t breathe.” After Floyd had been pinned on the ground for over nine minutes, an ambulance arrived and determined he had no pulse. Floyd’s death sparked nationwide protests, despite existing widespread efforts to stay home to combat the Covid-19 pandemic. For many, it was a tragic reminder of another pandemic that Black communities in America face every day—a racism pandemic. In an effort to raise awareness of ongoing discrimination and in the hopes of leading to real action to dismantle systems of oppression, people shared stories on social media of the many Black individuals who have been killed by law enforcement in America—Breonna Taylor, Eric Garner, Michael Brown—and countless others who experience daily hardships due to racism, both blatant and subtle, on an individual and institutional level. Perhaps exposing people to these stories would increase awareness of discrimination in society today and lead to a more just, equitable society. But should we expect such increased exposure to be effective? Or will those claiming discrimination experience negative consequences? Will those hearing claims of discrimination react differently depending on factors such as their political orientation? Understanding how people react to multiple claims of discrimination is critical to assessing whether these efforts to tackle racism in society today are effective or not.

Racial Differences in Perceptions of Racial Inequity

Racial inequity persists in the United States across a variety of domains. Just to name a few examples: Black men are 2.5 times more likely than White men to be killed by police across

their lifetimes (Edwards et al., 2019); as of March 2nd, 2021, age-adjusted models showed that Black Americans were twice as likely as White Americans to die from Covid-19 (APM Research Lab, 2021); and the median net worth of White families was nearly 10 times that of Black families in 2016 (McIntosh et al., 2020).

Despite clear evidence that Black individuals and communities are systematically disadvantaged, there are significant differences in how much inequity individuals perceive in society depending on their race. For example, Black Americans are significantly more likely than White Americans to say that Black people are treated less fairly in dealing with the police (91% vs. 58%); in hiring, pay, and promotions (87% vs. 43%); and when seeking medical treatment (76% vs. 33%; Horowitz et al., 2020). These differences are also evident when we examine how Black and White individuals evaluate specific behaviors that may be considered discriminatory. For example, in an experimental setting, Black people tend to rate behaviors as more racist than White people, particularly if the behavior is ambiguous (Sommers & Norton, 2006). This tendency is also observed when evaluating real-life events. For example, when thinking about specific police brutality cases, Black people are more likely than White people to say that they raise important issues about race (Pew Research Center, 2014).

In addition to perceiving different levels of inequity in society today, Black and White people contextualize racism differently. For example, whereas White people tend to think about racism relative to historical levels (thinking about how far we have come), Black people tend to think about racism relative to an ideal future (thinking about how far we have to go; Eibach & Ehrlinger, 2006). Furthermore, while White people tend to view racism as a zero-sum game—where decreases in anti-Black discrimination necessarily mean increases in anti-White discrimination—Black people tend not to make this association and instead perceive consistently

low levels of anti-White discrimination across time (Norton & Sommers, 2011). Finally, White people are more likely to see racism as rooted in individuals whereas Black people are more likely to see it as rooted in institutions (see Carter & Murphy, 2015, for review).

Perceptions of racism and inequity are important because there are down-stream consequences of these perceptions. Greater perception of racial inequity is associated with greater support for policies designed to mitigate inequity, such as affirmative action (Tuch & Hughes, 1996). Research has also shown that Black people tend to be more accurate in their perceptions of racism than White people (Nelson et al., 2013). Thus, if we wish to gain support for policies designed to mitigate many of the inequities highlighted above, it is important to consider how we might increase White people's sensitivity to racial inequity.

Reactions to Exposure to Claims of Discrimination

One reason why White people may perceive less inequity than Black people may be that they have less exposure to instances of anti-Black discrimination. Perhaps increasing White people's exposure to examples of discrimination will lead to increased perceptions of racism more broadly. Many anti-racism campaigns attempt to use this tactic. For example, Black Lives Matter emphasizes saying the names of victims of police brutality and aggregates these victims into lists in an effort to demonstrate the severity of the problem (e.g., Crenshaw et al., 2015; McCall, 2020). On an individual level, people have attempted to leverage social media to raise awareness of everyday instances of bias and discrimination—from a White woman calling the police on a Black bird watcher to police questioning a Black man for looking “suspicious” standing on his own lawn (e.g., BBC News, 2020).

However, claims of discrimination are not always met positively. In fact, claimants are often viewed negatively and labeled as “complainers” when they attribute a negative evaluation

in an ambiguous situation to discrimination (Kaiser & Miller, 2001). A follow-up study demonstrated that this negative evaluation occurred even in the context of blatant discrimination (Kaiser & Miller, 2003). In addition, when making broader claims about discrimination within a community, Black communicators are often viewed more negatively than White communicators (Schultz & Maddox, 2013), suggesting the consequences for confronting racial discrimination may be higher for Black versus White individuals.

Thus, increasing exposure to instances of anti-Black discrimination may be one tactic for increasing perceptions of inequity in society; however, there may be negative evaluative consequences to those claiming discrimination. Carter and Murphy (2017) were specifically interested in examining how reading single versus multiple claims of discrimination impacted subsequent evaluations of discrimination claimants as well as broader perceptions of racism among White people. They explored two competing hypotheses—the consensus and consistency hypothesis and the derogation hypothesis.¹ The consensus and consistency hypothesis (based on Kelley’s Covariation Model; Kelley, 1973) predicted that greater exposure to discrimination claims would show consensus between multiple claimants (agreement in their attributions) and consistency (seeing the same stimulus multiple times), thus leading participants to derogate the claimant less and perceive more bias in society. The derogation hypothesis (based on papers such as Kaiser & Miller, 2003), on the other hand, predicted that greater exposure to discrimination claims would backfire, leading participants to derogate the claimant more and perceive less anti-Black (and perhaps more anti-White) discrimination in society. Although results across five studies were not entirely consistent, a meta-analysis demonstrated support for the consensus and

¹ The authors had different hypotheses for White vs Black claimants, but here we only described responses to claims of anti-Black bias relevant to the current studies.

consistency hypothesis: greater exposure led participants to derogate the claimant less and perceive more anti-Black discrimination.

The Potential Moderating Role of Political Orientation

While many psychological studies (including Carter & Murphy, 2017) explore interventions designed to increase perceptions of inequity among White individuals, rarely do these studies consider White participants' political orientation. However, research not only suggests that White people vary enormously in their racial attitudes based on their political orientation, but also that their orientation often has motivational underpinnings that may impact their response to interventions. Two common ways of measuring political orientation are political ideology (on a spectrum from liberal to conservative) and political party affiliation (i.e., Republican vs Democrat). Given that 68% of registered Republican voters identify as conservative (compared to 27% moderate and 4% liberal) and 46% of registered Democratic voters identify as liberal (compared to 37% moderate and 15% conservative; Pew Research Center, 2018), for the purpose of this analysis, trends among Democrats and liberals will be examined together while trends among Republicans and conservatives will be examined together.

Differences in Racial Attitudes Based on Political Orientation

While there are large differences in how Black and White Americans perceive inequity and racism in society today, there is also significant variation in White Americans' perceptions depending on their political orientation. Compared to Democrats, Republicans tend to perceive the U.S. as having made more racial progress and tend to be less aware of White privilege (Hartmann et al., 2009; Horowitz et al., 2019; Horowitz et al., 2020). For example, whereas 79% of Republican-leaning individuals believe that seeing discrimination where it does not exist is a

more significant problem in the U.S. than not seeing discrimination where it really does exist, 86% of Democratic-leaning individuals believe the opposite (Horowitz et al., 2020). This discrepancy is also reflected along ideological lines, as conservatives tend to score higher than liberals on modern racism scales (Branscombe et al., 2007). Beyond perceptions of inequity and attitudes about race, there are also differences in opinions about race-related policies. For example, compared to Democrats, Republicans tend to be less supportive of policies designed to mitigate inequity such as affirmative action (Iyer et al., 2003).

Motivational Underpinnings of Political Orientation

In addition to perceiving less racial inequity compared to liberal individuals, conservatives may be motivated to reinforce this view due to underlying psychological factors. Specifically, Jost, Glaser, et al. (2003) argue in a thorough meta-analytic review that conservatism is a form of motivated social cognition and has two core tenets: resistance to change and support for inequality. These core components are predicted by underlying psychological variables driven by a need to manage threat and uncertainty. These psychological predictors include those related to epistemic motives (e.g., uncertainty avoidance, intolerance of ambiguity), existential motives (e.g., loss prevention, terror management), and ideological motives related to rationalizing existing social systems (e.g., social dominance orientation, system justification).

Interestingly, Jost, Glaser, et al. (2003) argue that both advantaged and disadvantaged groups may be attracted to conservatism, albeit based on different motivations. Advantaged groups (e.g., high-income individuals, White individuals, men) may support conservatism out of self-interest or to cement their position as the traditionally dominant social group in society (hence, resisting change to this traditional dominance structure in society and supporting

inequality that they benefit from would be advantageous; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). In contrast, disadvantaged groups (e.g., low-income individuals, people of color, women) may support conservatism out of a desire to reduce uncertainty, instability, and cognitive dissonance. More specifically, according to System Justification Theory, people generally have a desire to perceive existing systems as stable and legitimate, at times even at the expense of self- or group-interest (Jost & Banaji, 1994). Jost, Pelham, et al. (2003) argue that disadvantaged individuals may experience cognitive dissonance as a result of being treated inequitably within a system but simultaneously being a part of and reinforcing the stability of that very system. To reduce this dissonance, disadvantaged individuals may express support for the existing system, even though it may come at their own expense. This tendency is posited to be particularly strong among societies and individuals that believe in and value meritocracy.

Overview of the Current Studies

Given the large differences in perceptions of inequity and motivations to reinforce inequity associated with people's political orientation, the current studies aimed to replicate and extend Carter and Murphy's (2017) research, exploring how political party affiliation may potentially moderate the effects of exposure to claims of discrimination among White individuals. Specifically, Study 1 examined how exposure to multiple (vs single) discrimination claims affected White Democrats' and White Republicans' evaluations of claimants (e.g., as complainers), perceptions of racial bias in society, and perceived need/willingness to discuss race-related issues in the future. Study 2 examined how responses may differ based on whether the claims related to individual versus structural forms of racism. Finally, Study 3 examined how the source of the claims (i.e., conservative versus liberal media) impacted participants' responses.

Study 1 Introduction

Study 1 built upon Carter and Murphy's (2017) work in which they examined how exposure to discrimination claims impacted participants' evaluations of a discrimination claimant and their perceptions of the prevalence of bias in society. In Study 5, they manipulated the discrimination claimants' race (Black vs White) and level of previous exposure to discrimination claims (low vs high). They were interested in whether perceptions of the claimant as a complainer mediated the relationship between exposure condition and perceptions of bias. In the current study, we sought to partially replicate and extend this work by only examining Black claimants but manipulating exposure condition and exploring how it might interact with participants' political party affiliation.

The current study consisted of a 2 [discrimination exposure: low vs high] x 2 [participant political party: Democrat vs Republican] between-subjects design. We hypothesized that we would see evidence for the consensus and consistency hypothesis among Democrats. That is, Democrats in the high exposure condition would perceive more anti-Black bias and derogate the claimant less than those in the low exposure condition. Conversely, we expected to see evidence for the derogation hypothesis among Republicans. That is, Republicans in the high exposure condition would perceive less anti-Black bias and derogate the claimant more than those in the low exposure condition. We expected these differences because Republicans tend to perceive racism as less pervasive than Democrats and tend to be more motivated to resist change and support inequality. Thus, Republicans may be particularly resistant to claims of discrimination that may serve as evidence against these motivated beliefs. In response to multiple claims of discrimination, Republicans may be especially motivated to discredit the claimant and indicate that anti-Black bias is less prevalent in society. Given that White individuals tend to be

advantaged in society, we expected that conservatism and the predicted downstream effects (e.g., perceiving the claimant as a complainer; rating anti-Black racism as less prevalent in society) would be predicted by social dominance motivations. Finally, we expected that perceiving anti-Black bias as more prevalent in society would be associated with perceiving anti-White bias as less prevalent as well as indicating greater need/willingness to discuss race-related issues in the future.

Study 1 Method

Participants

A power analysis based on Carter and Murphy's (2017) Study 5 effect sizes ($\eta_p^2 = 0.03$) and 80% power revealed an N_{minimum} of 256 participants. Thus, we recruited 268 White participants in the U.S. from Prolific: 134 Democrats and 134 Republicans. Twenty-seven participants were excluded from analyses either because their political party affiliation indicated on Prolific did not match their affiliation indicated in the current study ($n = 19$) or they failed one or more of the attention checks ($n = 8$). The final sample consisted of 241 participants (127 Democrats, 114 Republicans; 61% women, 38% men, 1% other; $M_{\text{age}} = 37.06$, $SD = 12.65$).

Procedure

Participants were told that the experiment was about perceiving others' experiences shared on Facebook, answering questions about one of these experiences, and then answering questions about their general attitudes.

Exposure Manipulation

Participants were shown a series of short passages labeled as Facebook statuses (see Appendix A for full text). Each status included information about the author (i.e., gender, race,

age) and was labeled as having been written by a Black woman.² The statuses either described a subtle discrimination experience or a negative experience that did not involve discrimination (matched for affective valence³). Participants were randomly assigned to either a high or low discrimination exposure condition. Those in the high discrimination exposure condition read a series of five discrimination experience statuses. Together, these statuses communicated high consensus and consistency as all the statuses described subtly biased acts that could be attributed to discrimination. Those in the low discrimination exposure condition read one discrimination experience status and four negative experience statuses. Together, these statuses communicated low consensus and consistency as the experiences described in the statuses varied and only one of them was attributed to bias.

After reading one set of the five Facebook statuses, all participants read the same final status. In this status, the claimant (again a Black woman) described not hearing back from a job she applied to and hearing that some members of the hiring committee had a reputation for being discriminatory. The ambiguous nature of the claim—being unclear whether the claimant failed to receive a response because of bias or some other non-discriminatory reason—made this an example of subtle bias (Crocker & Major, 1989).

Perceptions of the Target Claimant

² Carter and Murphy (2017) used female claimants in their study because research has demonstrated that intergroup bias observed when perceiving men is sometimes attenuated when perceiving women (e.g., Eagly & Kite, 1987). Therefore, using female claimants would serve as a stricter test comparing the derogation versus consensus and consistency hypotheses.

³ As part of a separate study (N = 73), Carter & Murphy (2014) determined that while the discrimination and negative experience passages did not differ significantly on perceived negativity (all $ps > 0.09$), participants attributed the discrimination experiences more to bias than they did the negative experiences (all $ps < .05$).

Participants answered 18 questions (adapted from Kaiser & Miller, 2001) about this final claimant on a 5-point scale (1 = *never* to 5 = *almost always*; see Appendix B for full text of items). In Carter and Murphy's (2017) original study, a principal components analysis revealed that the items loaded onto three factors: six complainer items (e.g., complainer and emotional; explaining 44.66% of the variance; $\alpha = .86$), seven negative trait items (e.g., unkind and rude; explaining 8.06% of the variance; $\alpha = .83$), and five positive trait items (e.g., sociable and has a positive outlook on life; explaining 7.04% of the variance; $\alpha = .80$). Although the primary factor of interest was perceptions of the target as a complainer ($\alpha = .89$ in the current study), other items were retained to obscure the purpose of the experiment to the participants.

Prevalence of Racial Bias

Participants next answered six questions about the prevalence anti-Black and anti-White bias in society (see Appendix C for full text of questions). All questions were on a 6-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 6 = *strongly agree*) and were presented in random order. Four items assessed perceived prevalence of anti-Black bias and consisted of one item from the Modern Racism Scale ("Discrimination against Blacks is no longer a problem in the United States"; reverse-scored; McConahay, 1986) and three items created for Carter and Murphy's (2017) study (e.g., "American society still has a long way to go before Blacks will achieve equal status compared to Whites"). Higher average scores indicated higher perceived prevalence of anti-Black bias in society ($\alpha = .92$). Two items assessed perceived prevalence of anti-White bias. Although participants were originally intended to respond to four items (as presented in Carter & Murphy, 2017⁴), due to experimenter error, participants only saw two of these items (e.g.,

⁴ In Carter and Murphy's (2017) study, four items assessed perceived prevalence of anti-White bias and consisted of two items from previous research (Wilkins & Kaiser, 2014; e.g., "Prejudice and discrimination against Whites are on the rise") and two items created for Carter and

“Reverse racism (acts of racism by Blacks against Whites) is prevalent in today’s society”).

Higher average scores indicated higher perceived prevalence of anti-White bias in society ($\alpha = .82$).

Perceptions of the Importance of Discussing Race and Participants’ Willingness to Discuss Race in the Future

We sought to extend Carter and Murphy’s (2017) work by examining participants’ perceptions of whether or not it was important to discuss race-related issues and their willingness to do so in the future. Participants answered nine items created for the current study (see Appendix D for full text of questions). Four items were assessed on a 6-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 6 = *strongly agree*). Three of these items examined participants’ perceptions of the value of discussing race-related issues (e.g., “It is important to talk about race-related issues (e.g., race relations, racial inequality, racial discrimination) if we want to make society more equal”; “Talking about race does more harm than good,” reverse-coded). Higher average scores indicated higher perceived value of discussing race-related issues in the future ($\alpha = .92$). One item assessed participants’ discomfort when discussing race (“Talking about race makes me feel uncomfortable”), with higher scores indicating greater discomfort. Five items assessed participants’ willingness to discuss race-related issues in the future with different groups—friends, family, co-workers, someone of the same race, and someone of a different race. Responses were assessed on a 5-point scale (1 = *not at all* to 5 = *extremely*). Higher average scores indicated greater willingness to discuss race-related issues in the future ($\alpha = .91$).

Short Social Dominance Orientation (SSDO) scale (Pratto et al., 2013)

Murphy’s study (e.g., “Reverse racism (acts of racism by Blacks against Whites) is prevalent in today’s society”; $\alpha = .73$ in Carter & Murphy, 2017).

Participants completed a 4-item SSDO scale that assessed their support for group hierarchy. Items were measured on a 10-point scale (1 = *extremely oppose* to 10 = *extremely favor*). Sample items included: “In setting priorities, we must consider all groups” and “We should not push for group equality” (reverse-coded; see Appendix E for full text of questions). Higher scores indicated a preference for group dominance over inclusion and equality ($\alpha = .81$).

Demographics

Participants completed a series of demographic questions to indicate their gender, age, race, political party affiliation, and political ideology. Political ideology was measured on a 7-point scale (1 = *extremely conservative*, 4 = *moderate/middle of the road*, 7 = *extremely liberal*).

Attention Checks

Participants completed two attention checks during the study. The first was embedded at the end of the Perceptions of the Target Claimant measure (requiring participants to select “rarely” if they were paying attention) while the second directly followed the SSDO measure (requiring participants to select that their favorite toast topping was “Vegemite”).

Study 1 Results

Primary Analyses

To test the effects of exposure (one vs five discrimination claims) and political party affiliation (Democrat vs Republican), two-way analyses of variance (ANOVA) were conducted on all dependent variables (see Table 1 for condition means and Table 2 for bi-variate correlations between continuous variables).

Perceptions of the Discrimination Claimant as a Complainer

Contrary to hypotheses, there was not a significant interaction between exposure and political party affiliation on perceptions of the final claimant as a complainer, $F(1, 237) = .03, p = .88, \eta_p^2 < .001$. The main effect of exposure was also not significant, $F(1, 237) = .07, p = .79, \eta_p^2 < .001$. However, there was a significant main effect of political party affiliation, $F(1, 237) = 37.11, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .14$. As expected, Democrats ($M = 2.41; SD = .48$) perceived the claimant as significantly less of a complainer than Republicans ($M = 2.91; SD = .76$). Thus, while exposure to discrimination claims did not impact perceptions of the claimant as a complainer, political party affiliation was associated with a large effect.

Prevalence of Racial Bias

Anti-Black Bias. Contrary to hypotheses, there was not a significant interaction between exposure and political party affiliation on perceived prevalence of anti-Black bias, $F(1, 237) = .06, p = .81, \eta_p^2 < .001$. The main effect of exposure was also not significant, $F(1, 237) = .46, p = .50, \eta_p^2 = .002$. However, there was a significant main effect of political party affiliation, $F(1, 237) = 233.44, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .50$. As expected, Democrats ($M = 5.41; SD = .67$) perceived that anti-Black bias was more prevalent than Republicans ($M = 3.46; SD = 1.25$). Thus, while exposure to discrimination claims did not impact perceived prevalence of anti-Black bias, political party affiliation was associated with a large effect.

Anti-White Bias. Contrary to hypotheses, there was not a significant interaction between exposure and political party affiliation on perceived prevalence of anti-White bias, $F(1, 237) = .47, p = .50, \eta_p^2 = .002$. The main effect of exposure was also not significant, $F(1, 237) = .59, p = .44, \eta_p^2 = .002$. However, there was a significant main effect of political party affiliation, $F(1, 237) = 217.61, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .48$. As expected, Democrats ($M = 2.09; SD = 1.01$) perceived that anti-White bias was less prevalent than Republicans ($M = 4.16; SD = 1.16$). Thus, while

exposure to discrimination claims did not impact perceived prevalence of anti-White bias, political party affiliation was associated with a large effect.

Importance of Discussing Race

Contrary to hypotheses, there was not a significant interaction between exposure and political party affiliation on perceived importance of discussing race, $F(1, 237) = .14, p = .71, \eta_p^2 = .001$. There was, however, a marginal main effect of exposure, $F(1, 237) = 3.18, p = .08, \eta_p^2 = .01$. Unexpectedly, participants in the low exposure condition ($M = 4.77; SD = 1.36$) believed that discussing race was more important than those in the high exposure condition ($M = 4.52; SD = 1.43$). Furthermore, there was a significant main effect of political party affiliation, $F(1, 237) = 180.29, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .43$. As expected, Democrats ($M = 5.51; SD = .70$) believed that it was more important to discuss race than Republicans ($M = 3.68; SD = 1.34$). Thus, political party affiliation was associated with a large effect on the perceived importance of discussing race and there was some evidence that increased exposure to claims of racism actually led participants to perceive race as a less important topic to discuss in the future.

Willingness to Discuss Race

Contrary to hypotheses, there was not a significant interaction between exposure and political party affiliation on willingness to discuss race, $F(1, 237) = .88, p = .35, \eta_p^2 = .004$. The main effect of exposure was also not significant, $F(1, 237) = 1.42, p = .24, \eta_p^2 = .006$. However, there was a significant main effect of political party affiliation, $F(1, 237) = 33.58, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .12$. As expected, Democrats ($M = 3.90; SD = .81$) were more willing to discuss race than Republicans ($M = 3.23; SD = 1.00$). Thus, while exposure to discrimination claims did not impact willingness to discuss race, political party affiliation was associated with a medium-sized

effect. There were also no significant interaction or main effects with regard to participants' reported discomfort talking about race (all p 's > .05).

SDO

In line with hypotheses, Republicans ($M = 3.92$; $SD = 2.01$) scored significantly higher on SDO than Democrats ($M = 1.72$; $SD = 1.10$), $t(170.52) = 10.35$, $p < .001$.

Secondary Analyses

SDO Mediation Analysis

A mediation analysis using 10,000 bias-corrected bootstrapped resamples (PROCESS Model 4; Hayes, 2013) examined whether the relationship between political party affiliation (dummy coded; 0 = Democrats, 1 = Republicans) and perceptions of anti-Black bias was mediated by participant SDO. As reported previously, Democrats scored significantly lower on SDO and significantly higher on perceived prevalence of anti-Black bias than Republicans. The mediation analysis confirmed these findings and further demonstrated a significant indirect effect of political party affiliation on perceptions of anti-Black bias through SDO, $ab = -.64$, $SE = .11$, 95% CI [-.87, -.43] (see Figure 1).

Study 1 Discussion

Contrary to hypotheses, in Study 1 we found virtually no effect of high versus low exposure to discrimination claims on the dependent variables. Thus, we did not find support for either the consensus and consistency hypothesis nor the derogation hypothesis. However, we did find large effects of political party affiliation. Compared to Republicans, Democrats were less likely to view the claimant as a complainer, perceived anti-Black bias as more prevalent, perceived anti-White bias as less prevalent, placed greater importance on discussing race, and were more willing to engage in future conversations about race. These findings are in line with

existing research demonstrating that Democrats tend to be more perceptive of racial inequity than Republicans (e.g., Horowitz et al., 2020). The relationship between political party affiliation and perceptions of anti-Black bias was also mediated by SDO, with Republicans tending to score higher on SDO and higher scores on SDO predicting lower perceived prevalence of anti-Black bias in society.

Independent of political party affiliation, the fact that we were unable to replicate Carter and Murphy's (2017) results regarding the effect of exposure to claims of discrimination raises questions about why our results may differ. One possibility is that we observed divergent results because we drew from a different participant population. While Carter and Murphy (2017) recruited participants from the popular crowdworking platform Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk), we recruited participants from Prolific—a platform explicitly focused on hiring workers to participate in research. Prolific has been shown to produce higher quality data and generally includes respondents who are more diverse, more naïve, and less likely to demonstrate dishonest behavior (Peer et al., 2017). Palan and Schitter (2018) also argue that demand effects may be higher with MTurk than other samples.⁵ The lack of naivety, higher likelihood of dishonest behavior, and greater demand effects on MTurk may explain why participants on MTurk (vs Prolific) may have been more likely to rate anti-Black racism as more prevalent in the high exposure condition than in the low exposure condition.

⁵ Palan and Schitter (2018) argue that MTurk is particularly prone to demand characteristics because rejections of submissions (and thus denial of compensation to participants) is at the discretion of the requester (i.e., experimenter, in the case of research). Rejections not only affect payment but may negatively impact participants' reputations and future opportunities on Mturk. In an effort to ensure their submission is accepted, participants may be more likely to try to respond in a way that supports researchers' hypotheses.

Perhaps more importantly, historical events that occurred since Carter and Murphy (2017) collected their data may have muted the impact of multiple exposures to claims of discrimination. Specifically, our data collection in January 2021 immediately followed the summer of 2020 in which racial disparities and racism were brought to the forefront following the police killings of Breonna Taylor, George Floyd, and other Black individuals. In the midst of a global pandemic, images and videos of these killings and the protests that followed by movements such as Black Lives Matter proliferated on social media. Many White Americans who otherwise may not have been as aware of such racial issues were likely exposed to repeated imagery of the struggle for racial justice. For example, in 2016, 64% of White Americans said “only a few” or “none” of the posts they saw on social media were about race (Anderson, 2016). However, by the end of 2020, 60% of White social media users said “some” or “all or most” of their friends and family had expressed opposition to racism or racial inequality on social media in the past three months (Horowitz et al., 2020). Therefore, whereas reading six Facebook posts about discrimination experiences before Carter and Murphy’s (2017) study was published may have impacted participants’ perceptions of inequity, perhaps these effects were muted in the current study because participants had already been exposed to so many examples of racial discrimination in the preceding year. This suggests that there may be limits to how much increasing exposure to claims of discrimination may lead to elevated perceptions of racial inequity among White individuals.

Study 2 Introduction

In Study 1, we examined responses to high versus low exposure to claims of individual-level racism. In Study 2, we were interested in examining whether exposure to structural racism claims may have a different effect than exposure to individual racism claims. Whereas individual

racism relates to the prejudiced attitudes and behaviors of individuals (Allport, 1954), structural racism relates to the systemic, institutional, environmental, or social factors that may perpetuate racial inequity in society (Murphy et al., 2018; Powell, 2007). Additionally, while individual racism generally focuses on disparities in treatment, structural racism focuses on disparities in impact or outcomes (Carter & Murphy, 2015).

Although White people tend to think of racism in more individual terms (70% believe individual racism is a bigger problem than structural racism; Pew Research Center, 2016), research has shown that exposing White people to examples of structural racism may be more effective at increasing perceptions of racism and support for antiracist policies. For example, conceptualizing racism in individual terms can prompt social identity threat among White individuals and engender defensiveness as they attempt to avoid being seen as racist (a common stereotype of White people; Shelton et al., 2006; Trawalter & Richeson, 2008). As a result, White people may be motivated to perceive less racism in society (Carter & Murphy, 2015). In contrast, conceptualizing racism in structural terms may appeal to White people's egalitarian goals without provoking defensiveness (Carter & Murphy, 2015). Indeed, teaching White people about structural (vs individual) racism has been shown to increase their perceptions of racism and support for policies designed to combat inequity (Adams et al., 2008). Although structural racism may still threaten White individuals and inspire collective guilt by highlighting their White privilege, affirming participants has been shown to increase acknowledgment of structural (but not individual) racism (Unzueta & Lowery, 2008). Thus, conceptualizing racism as structural in nature may have more potential for changing White people's perceptions of inequity and support for antiracist policies.

However, these effects may differ based on individuals' political orientations. Conservatism is not only associated with greater perceptions of racism in society but also with greater conceptualization of racism in individual (vs structural) terms (Rucker et al., 2019). In addition, while 77% of White Republicans believe that White people do not benefit "at all" or benefit "not too much" from advantages in society that Black people do not have, 80% of White Democrats believe White people benefit "a fair amount" or "a great deal" (Pew Research Center, 2019), indicating a sharp divide in perceptions of structural racism. Perceiving structural racism may be particularly threatening to the motivational drivers of political conservatism (resistance to change and support for inequality; Jost, Glaser, et al., 2003) as it may suggest that change is needed in order to achieve a meritocratic society.

In Study 2, we extended Study 1 by examining how participants responded to claims of individual versus structural racism. The same design was used with the addition of manipulating whether the statuses participants read related to individual versus structural claims: 2 [discrimination exposure: low vs high] x 2 [type of claim: individual vs structural] x 2 [participant political party: Democrat vs Republican]. Dependent variables were the same with the addition of a measure of whether participants conceptualize racism as more individual versus structural in nature (Unzueta & Lowery, 2008).

Given that Democrats tend to be more perceptive structural racism while conservatives (and therefore likely Republicans) may be more likely to resist conceptualizing racism as structural in nature given their underlying motivations outlined above, we hypothesized that the response to multiple (vs single) claims of structural racism would be stronger than the response to multiple (vs single) claims of individual racism. Thus, reading about structural racism was predicted to result in exacerbated derogation and lesser perception of anti-Black bias among

Republicans. In contrast, reading about structural racism was predicted to result in less derogation and greater perception of anti-Black bias among Democrats. Similar to Study 1, we expected that perceiving anti-Black bias as more prevalent in society would be associated with perceiving anti-White bias as less prevalent as well as indicating greater need/willingness to discuss race-related issues in the future. Regardless of exposure level, we expected that participants who read structural-level racism claims would conceptualize racism in more structural terms than those that read individual-level racism claims (whereas individual conceptions of racism would not differ based on the type of claims participants read).

Study 2 Method

Participants

A power analysis based on Carter and Murphy's (2017) Study 5 effect sizes ($\eta_p^2 = 0.03$) and 80% power revealed an N_{minimum} of 423 participants. Thus, we recruited 447 White participants in the U.S. from Prolific: 224 Democrats and 223 Republicans. Forty-eight participants were excluded from analyses either because they identified with a race other than White at the end of the survey (or did not indicate a racial identity; $n = 9$), their political party affiliation indicated on Prolific did not match their affiliation indicated in the current study ($n = 37$), or they failed one or more of the attention checks ($n = 2$). The final sample consisted of 399 participants (203 Democrats, 196 Republicans; 58% women, 41% men, 1% other; $M_{\text{age}} = 37.99$, $SD = 13.88$).

Procedure

Participants were told that the experiment was about perceiving others' experiences shared on Facebook, answering questions about one of these experiences, and then answering questions about their general attitudes.

Exposure Manipulation

Participants were shown a series of short passages labeled as Facebook statuses (as in Study 1, all statuses were labeled as authored by Black women). The statuses either described a discrimination experience or a negative experience that did not involve discrimination. As in Study 1, participants were randomly assigned to either a high or low discrimination exposure condition. Those in the high discrimination exposure condition read a series of five discrimination experience statuses. Together, these statuses communicated high consensus and consistency. Those in the low discrimination exposure condition read one discrimination experience status and four negative experience statuses. Together, these statuses communicated low consensus and consistency. New to Study 2, within these high and low exposure conditions, participants were randomly assigned to either read statuses that described scenarios concerning individual-level or structural-level claims (see Appendix F for new vignettes).⁶

⁶ Forty new vignettes were written by experimenters and pre-tested among an independent sample of White Prolific users ($N = 199$; 44% Democrats, 43% Republicans, 13% other; 55% women, 44% men, 1% other; $M_{age} = 36.08$, $SD = 14.28$). These 40 vignettes addressed 10 different topics, each framed in four different ways—individual racism and individual negative posts (as in Study 1) as well as structural racism and structural negative posts. Each participant was randomly assigned to rate 10 posts, each from different topics but ranging across the four framings. Five topics—those that most successfully distinguished between the four framings—were ultimately selected for use in Study 2, resulting in 20 total vignettes. The individual racism posts were all significantly more likely to be attributed to prejudice than the individual negative posts ($ps < .05$). The structural racism posts were all significantly more likely to be attributed to prejudice than the structural negative posts ($ps < .05$). The structural racism posts were significantly more likely to be attributed to systemic issues (vs actions of individuals) than individual racism posts ($ps < .05$ for four topics, $p = .41$ for one topic). The structural negative posts were significantly more likely to be attributed to systemic issues (vs actions of individuals) than the individual negative posts ($ps < .05$). The goal was for all vignette framings within a topic to be rated as equally negative. Although this was largely true (most $ps > .05$), there were one topic in which the structural discrimination post was rated as significantly more negative than the structural negative post and one topic in which the structural discrimination and individual discrimination posts were rated as significantly more negative than the structural negative and individual negative posts (however, all mean differences < 1.20).

After reading one set of the five Facebook statuses, all participants read the same final status. This status was a discrimination experience rated at roughly the midpoint on the scale of individual-level to structural-level racism in pre-testing. In this status, the claimant described trying to apply for a loan to purchase a home. Although her application is initially looking good, when she goes in person to the bank, the teller is suddenly hesitant and says she needs special approval from her supervisor. The claimant attributes this discrepancy to her White-sounding name, suggesting that the bank initially was leaning towards giving her the loan but second-guessed their decision when they saw she was not White. The ambiguous nature of the claim—being unclear whether the claimant actually required extra approval because of bias or some other non-discriminatory reason—makes this an example of subtle bias (Crocker & Major, 1989).

Perceptions of the Target Claimant

As in Study 1, participants answered 18 questions (adapted from Kaiser & Miller, 2001) about the final claimant on a 5-point scale (1 = *never* to 5 = *almost always*; see Appendix B for full text of items). These items contained six complainer items, seven negative trait items, and five positive trait items. Although the primary items of interest were perceptions of the target as a complainer ($\alpha = .88$ in the current study), other items were retained to obscure the purpose of the experiment to the participants.

Prevalence of Racial Bias

As in Study 1, participants next answered six questions about the prevalence anti-Black and anti-White bias in society (see Appendix C for full text of questions). All questions were on a 6-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 6 = *strongly agree*) and were presented in random order. Four items assessed perceived prevalence of anti-Black bias, with higher average scores

indicating higher perceived prevalence of anti-Black bias in society ($\alpha = .91$). Four items assessed perceived prevalence of anti-White bias, with higher average scores indicating higher perceived prevalence of anti-White bias in society ($\alpha = .92$).

Perceptions of the Importance of Discussing Race and Participants' Willingness to Discuss Race in the Future

As in Study 1, participants answered nine items regarding their perceptions of whether or not it was important to discuss race-related issues and their willingness to do so in the future (see Appendix D for full text of questions). Four items were assessed on a 6-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 6 = *strongly agree*). Three of these items examined participants' perceptions of the value of discussing race-related issues, with higher average scores indicating higher perceived value of discussing race-related issues in the future ($\alpha = .93$). One item assessed participants' discomfort when discussing race, with higher scores indicating greater discomfort. Five items assessed participants' willingness to discuss race-related issues in the future with different groups—friends, family, co-workers, someone of the same race, and someone of a different race. Responses were assessed on a 5-point scale (1 = *not at all* to 5 = *extremely*). Higher average scores indicated greater willingness to discuss race-related issues in the future ($\alpha = .92$).

Short Social Dominance Orientation (SSDO) scale (Pratto et al., 2013)

As in Study 1, participants completed a 4-item SSDO scale that assessed their support for group hierarchy (see Appendix E for full text of questions). Items were measured on a 10-point scale (1 = *extremely oppose* to 10 = *extremely favor*), with higher average scores indicating a preference for group dominance over inclusion and equality ($\alpha = .85$).

Conception of Racism as Individual versus Structural (Unzueta & Lowery, 2008)

Participants completed a 6-item scale to measure the extent to which they conceptualized racism as being attributed to individual versus structural factors (see Appendix G for full list of items; Unzueta & Lowery, 2008). Participants indicated the extent to which they considered various racially disparate outcomes as indicative of racism on a 7-point scale (1 = *definitely not an example of racism*, 4 = *may be an example of racism*, 7 = *definitely an example of racism*). Three of the items measured individual conceptions of racism (e.g., “A taxi driver refuses to pick up African Americans who hail his cab”; $\alpha = .80$), with higher average scores indicating greater attribution of individual-level examples as racist. The other three items measured structural conceptions of racism (e.g., “A city adopts zoning ordinances that prohibit low-income and multifamily households in predominantly White communities”; $\alpha = .83$), with higher average scores indicating greater attribution of structural-level examples as racist.

Demographics

Participants completed a series of demographic questions to indicate their gender, age, race, political party affiliation, and political ideology. Political ideology was measured on a 7-point scale (1 = *extremely conservative*, 4 = *moderate/middle of the road*, 7 = *extremely liberal*).

Attention Checks

Participants completed two attention checks during the study. The first was embedded at the end of the Perceptions of the Target Claimant measure (requiring participants to select “rarely” if they were paying attention) while the second directly followed the SSDO measure (requiring participants to select that their favorite toast topping was “Vegemite”).

Study 2 Results

Primary Analyses

To test the effects of exposure (one vs five discrimination claims), type of claim (individual vs structural), and political party affiliation (Democrat vs Republican), three-way analyses of variance (ANOVA) were conducted on all dependent variables (see Table 3 for condition means and Table 4 for bi-variate correlations between continuous variables).

Perceptions of the Discrimination Claimant as a Complainer

Contrary to hypotheses, there was not a significant interaction between exposure, type of claim, and political party affiliation on perceptions of the final claimant as a complainer, $F(1, 391) = .06, p = .81, \eta_p^2 < .001$. There were also no significant two-way interactions between these variables nor significant main effects of exposure or type of claim (all p 's $> .05$). However, there was a significant main effect of political party affiliation, $F(1, 391) = 46.23, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .11$. As expected, Democrats ($M = 2.42; SD = .53$) perceived the claimant as significantly less of a complainer than Republicans ($M = 2.87; SD = .79$). Thus, while exposure to discrimination claims and the type of claim did not impact perceptions of the claimant as a complainer, political party affiliation was associated with a medium-sized effect.

Prevalence of Racial Bias

Anti-Black Bias. Contrary to hypotheses, there was not a significant interaction between exposure, type of claim, and political party affiliation on perceived prevalence of anti-Black bias, $F(1, 391) = .07, p = .79, \eta_p^2 < .001$. There were also no significant two-way interactions between these variables nor a significant main effect of the type of claim (all p 's $> .05$). The main effect of exposure was marginally significant, $F(1, 391) = 3.63, p = .06, \eta_p^2 = .009$, with participants in the high exposure condition ($M = 4.50; SD = 1.23$) perceiving anti-Black racism as more prevalent than those in the low exposure condition ($M = 4.38; SD = 1.36$). This is directionally in line with hypotheses. Additionally, there was a significant main effect of political party

affiliation, $F(1, 391) = 424.79, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .52$. As expected, Democrats ($M = 5.35; SD = .71$) perceived that anti-Black bias was more prevalent than Republicans ($M = 3.50; SD = 1.06$).

Thus, while the type of claim did not impact perceived prevalence of anti-Black bias, exposure to claims had a marginal effect and political party affiliation was associated with a large effect.

Anti-White Bias. Contrary to hypotheses, there was not a significant interaction between exposure, type of claim, and political party affiliation on perceived prevalence of anti-White bias, $F(1, 391) = 2.26, p = .13, \eta_p^2 = .006$. There were also no significant two-way interactions between these variables nor significant main effects of exposure or type of claim (all p 's $> .05$). However, there was a significant main effect of political party affiliation, $F(1, 391) = 361.44, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .48$. As expected, Democrats ($M = 2.33; SD = 1.06$) perceived that anti-White bias was less prevalent than Republicans ($M = 4.33; SD = 1.04$). Thus, while exposure to discrimination claims and the type of claim did not impact perceived prevalence of anti-White bias, political party affiliation was associated with a large effect.

Importance of Discussing Race

Contrary to hypotheses, there was not a significant interaction between exposure, type of claim, and political party affiliation on perceived importance of discussing race, $F(1, 391) = 1.04, p = .31, \eta_p^2 = .003$. There were also no significant two-way interactions between these variables nor significant main effects of exposure or type of claim (all p 's $> .05$). However, there was a significant main effect of political party affiliation, $F(1, 391) = 266.54, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .41$. As expected, Democrats ($M = 5.42; SD = .83$) believed that it was more important to discuss race than Republicans ($M = 3.56; SD = 1.37$). Thus, while exposure to discrimination claims and the type of claim did not impact perceived importance of discussing race, political party affiliation was associated with a large effect.

Willingness to Discuss Race

Contrary to hypotheses, there was not a significant interaction between exposure, type of claim, and political party affiliation on willingness to discuss race, $F(1, 391) = .07, p = .80, \eta_p^2 < .001$. There were also no significant two-way interactions between these variables nor significant main effects of exposure or type of claim (all p 's $> .05$). However, there was a significant main effect of political party affiliation, $F(1, 391) = 53.05, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .12$. As expected, Democrats ($M = 3.74; SD = .84$) were more willing to discuss race than Republicans ($M = 3.03; SD = 1.08$). Thus, while exposure to discrimination claims and type of claim did not impact willingness to discuss race, political party was associated with a medium-sized effect. There were also no significant interaction or main effects with regard to participants' reported discomfort talking about race (all p 's $> .05$).

Conception of Racism as Individual versus Structural

Individual Conception of Racism. In line with hypotheses, there was not a significant interaction between exposure, type of claim, and political party affiliation on conceptions of individual-level racism as racist, $F(1, 391) = 1.72, p = .19, \eta_p^2 = .004$. There were also no significant two-way interactions between these variables nor significant main effects of exposure or type of claim (all p 's $> .05$). However, there was a significant main effect of political party affiliation, $F(1, 391) = 63.50, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .14$. As expected, Democrats ($M = 6.82; SD = .50$) perceived examples of individual-level racism as significantly more racist than Republicans ($M = 6.17; SD = 1.04$). Thus, while exposure to discrimination claims and type of claim did not impact perceptions of individual-level racism as racist, political party was associated with a large effect.

Structural Conception of Racism. In line with hypotheses, there was not a significant interaction between exposure, type of claim, and political party affiliation on conceptions of

structural-level racism as racist, $F(1, 391) = 2.26, p = .13, \eta_p^2 = .006$. There were also no significant two-way interactions between these variables nor a significant main effect of exposure (all p 's $> .05$). However, there was a significant main effect of type of claim, $F(1, 391) = 4.43, p = .04, \eta_p^2 = .01$. As expected, participants who read Facebook posts that made structural claims ($M = 5.82; SD = 1.53$) perceived examples of structural-level racism as significantly more racist than those who read posts that made individual-level claims ($M = 5.47; SD = 1.73$). In addition, there was a significant main effect of political party affiliation, $F(1, 391) = 180.07, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .32$. As expected, Democrats ($M = 6.54; SD = 1.21$) perceived examples of structural-level racism as significantly more racist than Republicans ($M = 4.71; SD = 1.51$). Thus, while exposure to discrimination claims did not impact perceptions of structural-level racism as racist, the type of claim participants read about had a small effect and their political party was associated with a large effect.

Individual versus Structural Conceptions of Racism. As an exploratory analysis, we examined whether Democrats and Republicans differed in their perceptions of individual versus structural racism, regardless of condition. A two-way mixed-model ANOVA was conducted to examine whether Democrats' and Republicans' relative perceptions of individual racism as racist differed from their relative perceptions of structural racism as racist. Overall participants perceived individual racism examples as more racist ($M = 6.50; SD = .87$) than structural racism ($M = 4.64; SD = 1.64$), $F(1, 397) = 683.34, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .63$. Critically, there was a significant two-way interaction between political party affiliation and conceptions of individual versus structural racism, $F(1, 397) = 67.86, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .15$. Although Democrats perceived both individual and structural racism examples as more racist than Republicans, this difference was

larger for structural racism examples ($M_{\text{difference}} = 1.83$; 95% CI [1.56, 2.10]) than for individual racism examples ($M_{\text{difference}} = .65$; 95% CI [.49, .81]; see Figure 2).

SDO

In line with hypotheses, Republicans ($M = 3.99$; $SD = 2.10$) scored significantly higher on SDO than Democrats ($M = 1.70$; $SD = 1.06$), $t(286.16) = 13.61$, $p < .001$.

Secondary Analyses

SDO Mediation Analysis (Perceptions of Anti-Black Bias)

A mediation analysis using 10,000 bias-corrected bootstrapped resamples (PROCESS Model 4; Hayes, 2013) examined whether the relationship between political party affiliation (dummy coded; 0 = Democrats, 1 = Republicans) and perceptions of anti-Black bias was mediated by participant SDO. As reported previously, Democrats scored significantly lower on SDO and significantly higher on perceived prevalence of anti-Black bias than Republicans. The mediation analysis confirmed these findings and further demonstrated a significant indirect effect of political party affiliation on perceptions of anti-Black bias through SDO, $ab = -.56$, $SE = .08$, 95% CI [-.72, -.41] (see Figure 3).

Study 2 Discussion

Similar to Study 1, we found virtually no effect of high versus low exposure to discrimination claims on the dependent variables. There was, however, a marginal effect of exposure on perceptions of anti-Black bias in the predicted direction, such that participants in the high exposure condition perceived anti-Black racism as more prevalent than those in the low exposure condition (consistent with Carter & Murphy, 2017). Consistent with Study 1, compared to Republicans, Democrats were less likely to view the claimant as a complainer, perceived anti-Black bias as more prevalent, perceived anti-White bias as less prevalent, placed greater

importance on discussing race, and were more willing to engage in future conversations about race. The relationship between political party affiliation and perceptions of anti-Black bias was also mediated by SDO, with Republicans tending to score higher on SDO and higher scores on SDO predicting lower perceived prevalence of anti-Black bias in society.

Although we found no effect of the type of claims participants read (individual vs structural) on the replication variables from Study 1, individuals who read posts that made structural claims did conceptualize racism as significantly more structural in nature than those who read posts of individual-level claims (there was no difference in individual conceptualizations of racism). Additionally, while Democrats perceived both individual and structural racism examples as significantly more racist than did Republicans, this difference was particularly stark when evaluating structural racism examples. Thus, relatively speaking, Democrats rated structural (vs individual) racism examples as more racist than Republicans but reading posts that made structural claims led participants of both parties to conceptualize racism in more structural terms.

Study 2 largely replicated the results found in Study 1, showing large effects of political party affiliation but almost no effects of exposure level. The additional independent variable of type of claims revealed some interesting findings. While it had no effect on the perceived prevalence of anti-Black bias, reading about structural claims did lead to significantly greater perceptions of structural racism examples as racist. Perhaps this was related to the wording of the perceived anti-Black bias scale items. Given that participants tended to conceptualize racism in more individual terms, it is possible that some items such as “Discrimination against Blacks is no longer a problem in the United States” and “Blacks are no longer the targets of racism in the United States today” may have been interpreted as referencing individual racism. As a result,

being exposed to structural claims may not have had an impact on participants' perceptions of the prevalence of such racism. However, it is promising that reading structural claims did lead to greater perceptions of structural racism examples as racist.

Study 3 Introduction

As we think about the goal of increasing White people's perceptions of racial inequity and their support for inequity-mitigating policies, we may draw upon a persuasion framework to better understand how we might achieve such attitude change. Researchers have conceptualized persuasion as having three core components: the communicator, the message, and the audience (see Albarracin et al., 2014, for review). In Studies 1 and 2 we manipulated the message (high vs low exposure to discrimination; individual- vs structural-level claims) and examined how this might impact responses from two different audiences (Democrats vs Republicans). In Study 3, we explored how the communicator may interact with both message and audience variables.

Previous research has examined how characteristics of the communicator may influence people's attitudes. For example, high credibility sources (i.e., those high in expertise and trustworthiness) are generally more convincing than low credibility sources (see Pornpitakpan, 2004, for review). The expertise of the source is particularly influential when the topic is less personally relevant to participants (whereas the quality of the arguments is more influential when the topic is of high personal relevance; Petty et al., 1981). Furthermore, people tend to process content more fully when the message comes from an ingroup member and are more convinced by their message, particularly if their argument is strong (vs weak; Mackie et al., 1990). When applying the persuasion framework directly to attempts to confront racial bias, researchers have found that Black individuals tend to experience more backlash for confronting racism than do

White individuals, although no effects of communicator race on persuasiveness were observed (Schultz & Maddox, 2013).

In Study 3 we aimed to apply this persuasion framework to examine how Democrats and Republicans responded to a more- versus less-credible communicator of racial discrimination claims. Considering that research has demonstrated large gaps in trust and use of specific news sources across Democrats and Republicans (Grieco, 2020), we manipulated the credibility of the communicator by indicating that the discrimination claims were presented either by Fox News (low credibility for Democrats, high credibility for Republicans) or by CNN (high credibility for Democrats, low credibility for Republicans). Given that we found minimal effects of high versus low exposure to discrimination claims in Studies 1 and 2, in Study 3 we only employed the high exposure condition. Thus, we used a 2 [source of claim: Fox News vs CNN] x 2 [type of claim: individual vs structural] x 2 [participant political party: Democrat vs Republican] between-subjects design and examined participants' conceptualizations of racism (as individual vs structural in nature), perceptions of racism in society, and perceived importance/willingness to discuss race. We also measured participants' support for antiracist policies to gain a better understanding of whether or not changes in perceptions of racism and racial attitudes may translate into changes in policy support.⁷

We hypothesized that for Democrats, reading about structural racism would lead to greater conceptualization of structural (but not individual) racism examples as racist, regardless

⁷ We no longer measured perceptions of the claimant as a complainer as the claims were now being made on behalf of Black women but presented by either Fox News or CNN. Therefore, complainer measures may have confounded participants' evaluations of the claimant with their evaluations of the news organization. In addition, removing the 18 items measuring perceptions of the claimant allowed us to add other items examining support for antiracist policies while keeping the survey at a manageable length for participants.

of which news organization presented the claims. This is because Democrats already perceive racism as a problem and therefore the credibility of the source is likely less relevant to their evaluation of the claims. In contrast, we hypothesized that that for Republicans, reading structural racism claims specifically presented by Fox News (but not by CNN) would lead to the greatest conceptualization of structural (but not individual) racism examples as racist. This is because Republicans likely perceive Fox News as more of an ingroup organization than CNN, and therefore would likely be more persuaded by claims of racism presented by Fox News. The higher perceived credibility of Fox News for White Republicans may be particularly influential as claims of anti-Black racism may be perceived as less personally relevant for Republicans.

In addition, we hypothesized that there would be downstream effects of conceptualizing racism in structural terms. We expected that participants who conceptualize racism in structural terms would indicate greater support for antiracist policies, as these are focused on addressing structural problems. Although in the previous studies we did not find significant effects of the type of claims on perceptions of racism in society, we again included these items to see if we might observe effects when pairing structural racism claims with a more credible source. We hypothesized that we may observe a pattern in which greater conceptualization of racism in structural terms leads to greater perception of anti-Black racism in society, which in turn may lead to greater support for antiracist policies. Finally, we expected that perceiving anti-Black bias as more prevalent in society would be associated with perceiving anti-White bias as less prevalent as well as indicating greater need/willingness to discuss race-related issues in the future.

Study 3 Method

Participants

A power analysis based on Carter and Murphy's (2017) Study 5 effect sizes ($\eta_p^2 = 0.03$) and 80% power revealed an N_{minimum} of 423 participants. In Study 2, 48 participants were excluded from analyses due to inconsistent demographic information or failed attention checks. Therefore, in Study 3 we recruited 468 White participants from Prolific: 235 Democrats and 233 Republicans. One-hundred-six participants were excluded from analyses either because they identified with a race other than White at the end of the survey (or did not indicate a racial identity; $n = 8$), their political party affiliation indicated on Prolific did not match their affiliation indicated in the current study ($n = 25$), or they failed one or more of the attention/manipulation checks ($n = 75^8$; total adds up to more than 106 as some participants met multiple exclusion criteria). The final sample consisted of 366 participants (193 Democrats, 173 Republicans; 51% men, 48% women, 1% other; $M_{\text{age}} = 40.83$, $SD = 13.73$).

Procedure

Participants were told that the experiment was about perceiving others' experiences, answering questions about these experiences, and then answering questions about their general attitudes.

Source Manipulation

In contrast to Studies 1 and 2 (where the discrimination or negative experience vignettes were described as Facebook statuses), participants were randomly assigned to be introduced to the material as originating either from Fox News or CNN⁹ using the following description:

⁸ Failed attention/manipulation checks were higher in Study 3 than in previous studies as we asked participants towards the end of the survey to identify which news source had presented the vignettes at the beginning of the survey. Thus, this manipulation check relied on participants not only paying attention in the moment, but also remembering information from earlier in the study.

⁹ Thirteen news sources were pre-tested among an independent sample of White Prolific users (the same sample used for pre-testing for Study 2 but only data from Democrats and Republicans was analyzed; $N = 173$; 50% Democrats, 50% Republicans; 55% women, 44% men, 1% other;

As part of Black History Month in February, [Fox News/CNN] highlighted the experiences of Black Americans by broadcasting interviews with Black individuals across the country. Next, you will read excerpts from five of these interviews that [Fox News/CNN] found most compelling. All uniquely identifying information has been removed from the excerpts, but general demographics (gender, race, age, hometown) are included to provide some information about the speaker.

The goal of this introduction was to communicate not only that the news organization aired these excerpts, but that they endorsed the stories, at least to some extent (hence, the emphasis on the news organizations “highlighting” these experiences and finding them “compelling”).

Exposure Manipulation

$M_{age} = 37.90$, $SD = 13.63$). These news sources included all news sources that at least 2% of people in a nationally representative survey listed as their most common source of political and election news (Fox News, CNN, NPR, NBC News ABC News, MSNBC, CBS News, New York Times; Grieco, 2020). Given that Republicans tend to be much more consolidated in their news viewership—with many identifying Fox News as their main source of news—there were fewer conservative-leaning sources that made this 2% threshold. Therefore, in an effort to include a more balanced number of liberal- and conservative-leaning sources, we also included additional conservative news sources that did not make this 2% threshold (Sean Hannity Show, Rush Limbaugh Show, The Wall Street Journal; Gramlich, 2020) as well as more recent right-wing news sources that were not included in this original survey (OAN, Newsmax). For each news source, we asked participants how often they used it to learn about current events (1 = *Never* to 5 = *Almost always*) and how much they trusted it (1 = *Don't trust at all* to 7 = *Completely trust*; included an option to indicate that they were not familiar with the source).

The goal was to identify two sources—one with high credibility (i.e., trusted, used often) among Democrats and low credibility (i.e., untrusted) among Republicans, and one with high credibility among Republicans and low credibility among Democrats. Of the 13 sources, CNN was the least trusted by Republicans ($M = 2.75$; $SD = 1.72$) and the third-most trusted by Democrats ($M = 5.07$; $SD = 1.27$). It was also the most used source by Democrats ($M = 3.24$; $SD = 1.10$). Fox News, on the other hand, was the fourth-least trusted source by Democrats ($M = 1.67$; $SD = 1.52$) and the second-most trusted source by Republicans ($M = 3.51$; $SD = 1.65$). It was also the most used source by Republicans ($M = 2.62$; $SD = 1.19$).

Next, participants were randomly assigned to either read five individual racism claims or five structural racism claims (the same sets of high exposure claims used for Study 2; see Appendix F for full wording).

Conception of Racism as Individual versus Structural (Unzueta & Lowery, 2008)

As in Study 2, Participants completed a 6-item scale to measure the extent to which they conceptualized racism as being attributed to individual versus structural factors (see Appendix G for full text of questions). Participants indicated the extent to which they considered various racially disparate outcomes as indicative of racism on a 7-point scale (1 = *definitely not an example of racism*, 4 = *may be an example of racism*, 7 = *definitely an example of racism*). Three of the items measured individual conceptions of racism ($\alpha = .72$), with higher average scores indicating greater attribution of individual-level examples as racist. The other three items measured structural conceptions of racism ($\alpha = .85$), with higher average scores indicating greater attribution of structural-level examples as racist.

Prevalence of Racial Bias

Next, participants answered six questions about the prevalence anti-Black and anti-White bias in society (see Appendix C for full text of questions). All questions were on a 6-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 6 = *strongly agree*) and were presented in random order. Four items assessed perceived prevalence of anti-Black bias, with higher average scores indicating higher perceived prevalence of anti-Black bias in society ($\alpha = .92$). Four items assessed perceived prevalence of anti-White bias, with higher average scores indicating higher perceived prevalence of anti-White bias in society ($\alpha = .92$).

Support for Antiracist Policies (adapted from Adams et al., 2008)

Participants completed a 10-item scale to measure the extent to which they supported policies designed to reduce racial inequity in society (see Appendix H for full text of questions). Participants indicated the extent to which they agreed with each general policy on a 7-point scale (1 = *Strongly disagree*, 4 = *Neutral*, 7 = *Strongly agree*). Higher average scores indicated greater support for antiracist policies ($\alpha = .95$). Two of the items were drawn directly from Adams et al. (2008) while the other eight items were created by the experimenters. These new items used a similar structure to Adams et al. (2008) but covered additional race-related topics. Five of the items related directly to topics covered in the racism claims that participants read earlier in the study (e.g., “States should work to redistribute funds across districts to ensure that schools in predominantly Black communities receive equal funding to those in predominantly White communities”) while five of the items focused on other race-related topics (e.g., “Black Americans deserve some sort of reparations for the years of oppression within this country”).

Perceptions of the Importance of Discussing Race and Participants’ Willingness to Discuss Race in the Future

As in Studies 1 and 2, participants answered nine items regarding their perceptions of whether or not it was important to discuss race-related issues and their willingness to do so in the future (see Appendix D for full text of questions). Four items were assessed on a 6-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 6 = *strongly agree*). Three of these items examined participants’ perceptions of the value of discussing race-related issues, with higher average scores indicating higher perceived value of discussing race-related issues in the future ($\alpha = .91$). One item assessed participants’ discomfort when discussing race, with higher scores indicating greater discomfort. Five items assessed participants’ willingness to discuss race-related issues in the future with different groups—friends, family, co-workers, someone of the same race, and

someone of a different race. Responses were assessed on a 5-point scale (1 = *not at all* to 5 = *extremely*). Higher average scores indicated greater willingness to discuss race-related issues in the future ($\alpha = .91$).

Short Social Dominance Orientation (SSDO) scale (Pratto et al., 2013)

As in Studies 1 and 2, participants completed a 4-item SSDO scale that assessed their support for group hierarchy (see Appendix E for full text of questions). Items were measured on a 10-point scale (1 = *extremely oppose* to 10 = *extremely favor*), with higher average scores indicating a preference for group dominance over inclusion and equality ($\alpha = .84$).

Use and Trust in News Sources

Participants answered two sets of questions indicating their use of and trust in various news organizations (including Fox News, The Wall Street Journal, CBS News, CNN, and New York Times¹⁰). First, they indicated how often they used each news source to learn about current events on a 5-point scale (1 = *Never* to 5 = *Almost always*). Next, they indicated how much they trusted each news source on a 7-point scale (1 = *Don't trust at all* to 7 = *Completely trust*), with an option to indicate that they were not familiar with the source. The question served as a manipulation check to confirm that Republicans indeed trusted Fox News more than CNN while Democrats trusted CNN more than Fox News.

Demographics

¹⁰ These specific news sources were selected to create an abbreviated version of the use and trust in news sources pre-testing we had conducted. Two sources that were rated highly trusted by Democrats (CNN, New York Times), two that were highly rated by Republicans (Fox News, The Wall Street Journal), and one rated around the midrange for both (CBS News) were selected.

Participants completed a series of demographic questions to indicate their gender, age, race, political party affiliation, and political ideology. Political ideology was measured on a 7-point scale (1 = *extremely conservative*, 4 = *moderate/middle of the road*, 7 = *extremely liberal*).

Attention and Manipulation Checks

Participants completed one attention check and one manipulation check during the study. The attention check was embedded at the end of the Support for Antiracist Policies measure (requiring participants to select “3” if they were paying attention). The manipulation check followed the Use and Trust in News Sources questions and asked participants to indicate which news organization presented stories from Black History Month at the beginning of the survey (to which participants should have responded either “Fox News” or “CNN” depending on which condition they were assigned).

Study 3 Results

Source Credibility Manipulation Check

To test whether the credibility of the source of the claims was effectively manipulated, we conducted two-way mixed-model analyses of variance (ANOVA) on participants’ ratings of their trust in and use of news sources with political party affiliation (Democrat vs Republican) as a between-subjects predictor and source evaluated (Fox News vs CNN) as a within-subjects predictor. As expected, there was a significant interaction between political party affiliation and news source for ratings of trust, $F(1, 359) = 426.82, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .54$. Republicans trusted Fox News ($M = 4.04; SD = 1.93$) significantly more than CNN ($M = 2.55; SD = 1.98$), $F(1, 359) = 73.83, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .17$, while Democrats trusted CNN ($M = 5.10; SD = 1.32$) significantly more than Fox News ($M = 1.69; SD = 1.41$), $F(1, 359) = 442.54, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .55$. Similarly, there was a significant interaction between political party affiliation and news source for

frequency of use, $F(1, 363) = 257.85, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .22$. Republicans reported using Fox News ($M = 2.99; SD = 1.29$) significantly more often than CNN ($M = 2.04; SD = 2.08$), $F(1, 363) = 66.01, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .15$, while Democrats reported using CNN ($M = 3.09; SD = 1.12$) significantly more often than Fox News ($M = 1.45; SD = .90$), $F(1, 363) = 218.02, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .38$.

Primary Analyses

To test the effects of the source of the claim (Fox News vs CNN), type of claim (individual vs structural), and political party affiliation (Democrat vs Republican), three-way analyses of variance (ANOVA) were conducted on all dependent variables (see Table 5 for condition means and Table 6 for bi-variate correlations between continuous variables).

Conception of Racism as Individual versus Structural

Individual Conception of Racism. Contrary to hypotheses, there was a significant interaction between source, type of claim, and political party affiliation on conceptions of individual-level racism as racist, $F(1, 358) = 4.44, p = .04, \eta_p^2 = .01$. Republicans who read about individual racism from Fox News ($M = 6.38; SD = .78$) rated individual racism examples as significantly more racist than Republicans who read about individual racism from CNN ($M = 5.87; SD = 1.17$). However, none of the other three-way combinations differed significantly from each other. There was also a significant main effect of source such that participants who read vignettes from Fox News ($M = 6.55; SD = .78$) rated individual racism examples as significantly more racist than those who read vignettes from CNN ($M = 6.33; SD = .98$), $F(1, 358) = 5.72, p = .02, \eta_p^2 = .02$. Finally, as expected, there was a significant main effect of political party affiliation such that Democrats ($M = 6.77; SD = .50$) rated individual racism examples as significantly more racist than did Republicans ($M = 6.07; SD = 1.08$), $F(1, 358) = 41.83, p <$

.001, $\eta_p^2 = .15$. Thus, while the three-way interaction between the independent variables and the main effect of the source of the claims were associated with small effects on perceptions of individual-level racism as racist, political party was associated with a large effect.

Structural Conception of Racism. Contrary to hypotheses, there was not a significant interaction between source, type of claim, and political party affiliation on conceptions of structural-level racism as racist, $F(1, 358) = 1.03, p = .31, \eta_p^2 = .003$. There were also no significant two-way interactions between these variables nor significant main effects of source or type of racism (all p 's > .05). However, there was a significant main effect of political party, $F(1, 358) = 119.02, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .25$. As expected, Democrats ($M = 5.41; SD = 1.22$) perceived examples of structural-level racism as significantly more racist than Republicans ($M = 3.67; SD = 1.76$). Thus, while source of discrimination claims and the type of claims participants read about did not impact perceptions of structural-level racism as racist, political party was associated with a large effect.

Individual versus Structural Conceptions of Racism. Similar to Study 2, we explored whether Democrats and Republicans differed in their perceptions of individual versus structural racism, regardless of condition. A two-way mixed-model ANOVA was conducted to examine whether Democrats' and Republicans' relative perceptions of individual racism as racist differed from their relative perceptions of structural racism as racist. Overall participants perceived individual racism examples as more racist ($M = 6.44; SD = .89$) than structural racism examples ($M = 4.59; SD = 1.73$), $F(1, 364) = 680.35, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .65$. Critically, there was a significant two-way interaction between political party affiliation and conceptions of individual versus structural racism, $F(1, 364) = 52.87, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .13$. Although Democrats perceived both individual and structural racism examples as more racist than Republicans, this difference was

larger for structural racism examples ($M_{\text{difference}} = 1.74$; 95% CI [1.43, 2.05]) than for individual racism examples ($M_{\text{difference}} = .70$; 95% CI [.53, .87]; see Figure 4).

Prevalence of Racial Bias

Anti-Black Bias. Contrary to hypotheses, there was not a significant interaction between source, type of claim, and political party affiliation on perceived prevalence of anti-Black bias, $F(1, 358) = .02, p = .90, \eta_p^2 < .001$. There were also no significant two-way interactions between these variables nor significant main effects of the source or type of claim (all p 's $> .05$).

However, there was a significant main effect of political party affiliation, $F(1, 358) = 299.10, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .46$. As expected, Democrats ($M = 5.29$; $SD = .77$) perceived that anti-Black bias was more prevalent than Republicans ($M = 3.42$; $SD = 1.25$). Thus, while the source and type of claim did not impact perceived prevalence of anti-Black bias, political party affiliation was associated with a large effect.

Anti-White Bias. Contrary to hypotheses, there was not a significant interaction between source, type of claim, and political party affiliation on perceived prevalence of anti-White bias, $F(1, 358) = .06, p = .82, \eta_p^2 < .001$. There were also no significant two-way interactions between these variables nor a significant main effect of source or type of claim (all p 's $> .05$). However, there was a significant main effect of political party affiliation, $F(1, 358) = 301.30, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .46$. As expected, Democrats ($M = 2.52$; $SD = 1.13$) perceived that anti-White bias was less prevalent than Republicans ($M = 4.53$; $SD = 1.06$). Thus, while the source of discrimination claims and the type of claim did not impact perceived prevalence of anti-White bias, political party affiliation was associated with a large effect.

Support for Antiracist Policies

Contrary to hypotheses, there was not a significant interaction between source, type of claim, and political party affiliation on support for antiracist policies, $F(1, 358) = 3.54, p = .06, \eta_p^2 = .01$. There was also no significant interaction between type of racism and political party, nor significant main effects of source or type of racism (all p 's $> .05$). However, there was a significant interaction between source and type of racism, $F(1, 358) = 5.47, p = .02, \eta_p^2 = .02$ (see Figure 5). Participants who read about structural racism presented by CNN were significantly more supportive of antiracist policies than those who read about structural racism presented by Fox News, $F(1, 358) = 4.31, p = .04, \eta_p^2 = .01$. In contrast, there was no significant difference in policy support based on the source of the material for participants who read about individual racism, $F(1, 358) = 1.57, p = .21, \eta_p^2 = .004$. Additionally, there was a significant main effect of political party affiliation, $F(1, 358) = 246.54, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .41$. As expected, Democrats ($M = 5.93; SD = .98$) were more supportive of antiracist policies than Republicans ($M = 3.92; SD = 1.45$). Thus, the source of structural (but not individual) racism claims had a small effect on participants' support for antiracist policies and political party affiliation was associated with a large effect.

Of note, support for antiracist policies was more highly correlated with structural conceptualizations of racism, $r(364) = .78, p < .001$, than with individual conceptualizations of racism, $r(364) = .54, p < .001$.

Importance of Discussing Race

Contrary to hypotheses, there was not a significant interaction between source, type of claim, and political party affiliation on perceived importance of discussing race, $F(1, 358) = .34, p = .56, \eta_p^2 = .001$. There were also no significant two-way interactions between these variables nor significant main effects of source or type of claim (all p 's $> .05$). However, there was a

significant main effect of political party affiliation, $F(1, 358) = 284.82, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .44$. As expected, Democrats ($M = 5.31; SD = .86$) believed that it was more important to discuss race than Republicans ($M = 3.40; SD = 1.26$). Thus, while source of discrimination claims and the type of claim did not impact perceived importance of discussing race, political party affiliation was associated with a large effect.

Willingness to Discuss Race

Contrary to hypotheses, there was not a significant interaction between source, type of claim, and political party affiliation on willingness to discuss race, $F(1, 358) = .23, p = .64, \eta_p^2 = .001$. There were also no significant two-way interactions between these variables nor significant main effects of source or type of claim (all p 's $> .05$). However, there was a significant main effect of political party affiliation, $F(1, 391) = 24.55, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .06$. As expected, Democrats ($M = 3.66; SD = .92$) were more willing to discuss race than Republicans ($M = 3.14; SD = 1.06$). Thus, while source of discrimination claims and type of claim did not impact willingness to discuss race, political party was associated with a medium-sized effect. There were also no significant interaction or main effects with regard to participants' reported discomfort talking about race (all p 's $> .05$).

SDO

In line with hypotheses, Republicans ($M = 4.24; SD = 2.01$) scored significantly higher on SDO than Democrats ($M = 1.81; SD = 1.21$), $t(276.34) = 13.82, p < .001$.

Secondary Analyses

SDO Mediation Analysis (Perceptions of Anti-Black Bias)

A mediation analysis using 10,000 bias-corrected bootstrapped resamples (PROCESS Model 4; Hayes, 2013) examined whether the relationship between political party affiliation

(dummy coded; 0 = Democrats, 1 = Republicans) and perceptions of anti-Black bias was mediated by participant SDO. As reported previously, Democrats scored significantly lower on SDO and significantly higher on perceived prevalence of anti-Black bias than Republicans. The mediation analysis confirmed these findings and further demonstrated a significant indirect effect of political party affiliation on perceptions of anti-Black bias through SDO, $ab = -.68$, $SE = .09$, 95% CI [-.86, -.50] (see Figure 6).

Study 3 Discussion

In Study 3 we were interested in whether the source of information and the type of racism (individual vs structural) that Democrats and Republicans read about would impact their conceptualization of racism, perceived prevalence of racism, support for antiracist policies, and attitudes toward race-related discussions. We successfully manipulated source credibility such that Republicans were more trustworthy of Fox News while Democrats were more trustworthy of CNN. Contrary to expectations, the source and type of racism had little effect on most dependent variables, with two exceptions. First, Republicans who read individual racism vignettes from Fox News were more likely to rate individual-level racism examples as racist than those who read individual racism vignettes from CNN (there was also a main effect of source in the same direction). Second, participants who read structural racism vignettes from CNN were more supportive of antiracist policies than those who read structural racism vignettes from Fox News.

Consistent with Studies 1 and 2, we found large effects of political party affiliation on almost all dependent variables. Compared to Republicans, Democrats rated both individual and (in particular) structural examples of racism as more racist. Democrats also perceived anti-Black bias as more prevalent, perceived anti-White bias as less prevalent, indicated stronger support for antiracist policies, placed greater importance on discussing race, and were more willing to

engage in future conversations about race. The relationship between political party affiliation and perceptions of anti-Black bias was also mediated by SDO, with Republicans tending to score higher on SDO and higher scores on SDO predicting lower perceived prevalence of anti-Black bias in society.

We were surprised not to find stronger effects of the news source on participants' racial attitudes. In particular, we expected that Republicans would be sensitive to the credibility of the source given that the information being presented to participants related to racism, a concept that Republicans may be more motivated to minimize or reject. One potential explanation for the lack of source effects for Republicans may be that, although Republicans indicated that they trusted Fox News significantly more than CNN, their overall trust ratings for Fox News were still quite low (4.04 on a 7-point scale). Despite Fox News tending to be Republicans' most trusted news source, this is likely further indication of Republicans' overall lack of trust in news organizations (Jurkowitz et al., 2020). Perhaps the source of the information may have had a larger impact if the credible source had been very highly trusted among Republicans.

We were also surprised that we did not find stronger effects of the type of racism that participants read about. In Study 2, we found that reading structural-level (vs individual-level) claims led participants to conceptualize racism in more structural terms. We did not replicate this effect in Study 3. However, we did find that participants who read about structural (but not individual) racism from CNN indicated greater support for antiracist policies than those who read about structural racism from Fox News. Thus, perhaps reading about structural racism from a source more likely to legitimize the issue (CNN) led participants to be more supportive of policies designed to mitigate structural inequities in society even if it did not directly impact conceptualizations of racism or the perceived prevalence of anti-Black bias in society.

General Discussion

The overarching goal of the current studies was to examine how White people's racial attitudes are impacted by exposure to claims of anti-Black discrimination and whether these relationships are moderated by their political party affiliation. In Study 1 we sought to replicate and extend Carter and Murphy's (2017) work to examine whether the consensus and consistency hypothesis may apply to Democrats while the derogation hypothesis may apply to Republicans. In Study 2 we examined whether the type of claims participants read (individual vs structural) may moderate their responses. In Study 3 we examined whether the credibility of the source of the claims may impact participants' receptiveness to the claims.

Across the current studies we found little effect of exposure level (high vs low) on participants' attitudes and therefore did not find support either for the consensus and consistency hypothesis nor the derogation hypothesis. Although we found some evidence that the source (Fox News vs CNN) and type of claims (individual vs structural) impacted participants' attitudes, effects were only observed in one study each. For example, in Study 2 we found that individuals who read structural-level claims conceptualized racism as significantly more structural in nature than those who read individual-level claims, but this was not replicated in Study 3. In Study 3, we found that Republicans who read individual racism vignettes from Fox News were more likely to rate individual-level racism examples as racist than those who read individual racism vignettes from CNN and that participants who read structural racism vignettes from CNN were more supportive of antiracist policies than those who read structural racism vignettes from Fox News. Further research is needed to determine the replicability of such effects.

Despite null or inconsistent findings across our manipulated variables, three main findings were consistent across our studies. First, we found very large main effects of political party affiliation on virtually all dependent variables (except discomfort discussing race). Compared to Republicans, Democrats derogated the final discrimination claimant less, perceived anti-Black bias as more prevalent, perceived anti-White bias as less prevalent, indicated stronger support for antiracist policies, placed greater importance on discussing race, and were more willing to engage in future conversations about race. Second, Democrats and Republicans tended to conceptualize racism differently. While Democrats rated both individual and structural examples of racism as significantly more racist than did Republicans, this gap was particularly large when rating examples of structural racism. Third, we found that differences in perceptions of anti-Black bias based on political party affiliation could be partially explained by SDO. Republicans tended to score higher on SDO and higher scores on SDO predicted lower perceived prevalence of anti-Black bias in society.

Potential Limits of Exposure to Discrimination

The results of the current studies highlight the strong partisan divide in racial attitudes that exists in the United States and call into question the efficacy of changing these attitudes through exposure to claims of discrimination. Although Carter and Murphy (2017) originally found that greater exposure to claims of anti-Black discrimination led White participants to perceive racism as more prevalent in society, we were unable to replicate this effect. Given the heightened media attention focused on racial inequities in the summer of 2020 and the cultural awareness that may have followed in the time since Carter and Murphy's (2017) study, perhaps these null findings indicate that the benefits of exposure have a ceiling. In other words, increasing people's awareness of racist incidents through the presentation of stories that show

consensus and consistency may lead to greater perceived prevalence of racism in society, but such exposure may have diminishing returns.

The potentially diminishing returns of exposure to claims of discrimination has implications for activists and social media users advocating for racial justice. Although many users share posts about people's experiences with racism in an effort to raise awareness and garner support for antiracism campaigns, the current research suggests that there may be limits to how effective this strategy may be. Given that 80% of U.S. adults believe social media is either "very" or "somewhat" effective as a way to "raise public awareness about political, social issues" and 58% of believe it is effective as a way to "change people's minds about political, social issues" (Auxier & McClain, 2020), it is important that users consider how they can most effectively utilize these resources. For example, while 62% of social media users reported that "some" or "all or most" of their friends or family had expressed opposition to racism or racial inequality on social media in the past three months (Horowitz et al., 2020), the current research suggests that simply increasing exposure to instances of discrimination may no longer be effective. Further research is needed to gain a more nuanced understanding of the types of social media activity that may be most effective at promoting racial justice.

Partisan Differences in Conceptualization of Racism

The current studies demonstrated a clear partisan divide in conceptualizations of racism. Whereas Democrats tended to think of both individual and structural discrimination examples as racist, Republicans were less likely to think of structural inequities as examples of racism. While previous research suggested that conceptualizing racism in structural terms may appeal to White people's egalitarian motives and be less threatening than conceptualizing racism in individual terms (Carter & Murphy, 2015), the current research calls into question whether or not this is

equally true across the political spectrum. Indeed, the current results are in line with previous research demonstrating that White Democrats are far more likely than White Republicans to say that White people benefit from advantages in society that Black people do not have (Pew Research Center, 2019).

While both individual and structural racism continue to pervade society, there appears to be greater variability in the recognition of structural racism and therefore perhaps more opportunity for attitude change in this domain. For example, in Study 2 we found that reading structural-level claims led participants to conceptualize racism in more structural terms while individual conceptualizations were unaffected by the type of claims participants read. Furthermore, we found some evidence that recognizing structural inequities specifically may be an important indicator of support for concrete policy changes. In Study 3 we found that participants who read structural racism vignettes from CNN were more supportive of antiracist policies than those who read structural racism vignettes from Fox News (whereas there were no differences when participants read individual racism vignettes). We also found that support for antiracist policies was more highly correlated with structural versus individual conceptualizations of racism. This makes sense given that antiracist policies are generally aimed at addressing structural inequities rather than individual acts of racism. Although we cannot infer causation, these results suggest that structural conceptualizations of racism may be particularly relevant when individuals consider public policies aimed at redressing racial inequities in society. Thus, advocates for antiracist policies may benefit from exploring ways to highlight structural forms of racism in particular.

Challenges of Overcoming Partisan Beliefs about Racial Inequity

One key concept that the current research highlights is the challenge of modifying seemingly deeply ingrained partisan beliefs about racial inequity in society. Despite increasing participants' exposure to claims of discrimination, exploring their responses to both individual and structural racism claims, and presenting the information from a credible source, participants' perceptions of racism and support for antiracist policies were largely unaffected. The inability to change Democrats' racial attitudes was surprising as we originally hypothesized that Democrats would be more receptive to claims of discrimination than Republicans. Given that Democrats tended to be highly perceptive of racial inequity regardless of condition, it is possible that the various exposure manipulations had little impact due to ceiling effects. However, it is also possible that Democrats are equally as entrenched in their biases as are Republicans, even if Democrats' baseline perceptions of inequity are higher. Given that there is still work that needs to be done across both parties to address racial disparities in society, it is important to consider how we can continue to encourage positive racial attitudes and increase support for racial equity within the Democratic party.

Although the stagnancy of Democrats' attitudes was surprising, the inability to increase Republicans' perceptions of racism was perhaps more concerning as Republicans tend to be less sensitive to racial inequity and less likely to identify race as an important topic requiring further focus and discussion. The fact that White Republicans scored significantly higher on SDO and that SDO mediated the relationship between political party affiliation and perceptions of anti-Black bias is consistent with the theory that conservatism is a form of motivated social cognition (Jost, Glaser, et al., 2003). Overcoming beliefs that may be based in this type of motivated social cognition may be particularly challenging. Although Jost, Glaser, et al. (2003) emphasize that the cognitive-motivational understanding of conservatism provides promising opportunities for

exploring the situational determinants of conservatism, further research is needed to understand how situational factors may be effectively manipulated to encourage greater sensitivity to racial inequity.

Limitations and Future Directions

Although the current research explored various ways in which claims of discrimination could be presented to participants to potentially influence their racial attitudes, there were several limitations that could be addressed in future research. One drawback of the current research was that participants were only exposed to very brief descriptions of individuals' experiences with discrimination. Given how much information people are inundated with daily, perhaps this brief exposure was not sufficient to influence strongly held beliefs about racial inequity. In particular, given the partisan consumption of many traditional news media (Grieco, 2020) combined with the increasingly segregated flow of information created within social media echo chambers (e.g., Bakshy et al., 2015; Garimella et al., 2018; Garrett, 2009), limited exposure to experiences that may challenge existing beliefs may not be effective. Future studies should explore whether more substantial or consistent exposure to claims of discrimination may influence White Americans' racial attitudes. For example, creating more in-depth tutorials about racism (e.g., Adams et al., 2008) or exploring how longer-term daily exposure to the types of posts used in the current study affect people's racial attitudes overtime may be interesting.

Another limitation of the current research is that we did not have a clear understanding of how participants interpreted structural claims of racism. In particular, it was unclear whether participants attributed disparities across racial groups to discriminatory factors or other causes. Given that White people (and White Republicans in particular) tend not to conceptualize racism in structural terms (Pew Research Center, 2016; Rucker et al., 2019), it is possible that despite

being exposed to racial disparities, some participants did not attribute this disparity to discrimination and therefore their racial attitudes and support for antiracist policies were not strongly influenced. Future research should aim to gain a better understanding of how people interpret claims of structural racism and how their causal attributions may be related to other racial attitudes. It would also be interesting to explore whether giving more context to the causes of the racial inequity described in the structural racism examples may aid in providing deeper understanding and greater support for inequity-mitigating policies. Such context may include both historical as well as modern laws and policies that may be perpetuating inequity in society.

In the context of the cognitive-motivational view of conservatism in which conservatism is often driven by a sense of threat and uncertainty (Jost, Glaser, et al., 2003), it would also be pertinent to understand how individual versus structural claims of racism may psychologically impact people depending on their political orientation. While some research suggests that a focus on structural racism may be more appealing to White people's egalitarian motives and less likely to engender defensiveness (Carter & Murphy, 2015), other research has shown that self-image maintenance goals may motivate White people to conceive of racism as rooted in individuals as opposed to institutions (Unzueta & Lowery, 2008). Given the partisan gap in perceptions of structural racism in particular, it may be illuminating to understand whether or not these two types of racism may have varying psychological impacts depending on one's political orientation.

Finally, while we were able to manipulate source credibility in the current study, it was not the strongest manipulation. Although we successfully found two sources with differing levels of credibility—one that was more trusted by Democrats than Republicans and another that was the opposite—the higher credibility source for Republicans (Fox News) was still not rated near

the top of the scale by Republicans. We originally chose to use news organizations as the source of the discrimination claims because this is a common way that people consume information about current events and there are clear partisan divides in which news sources people tend to utilize (Grieco, 2020). However, given that Republicans tend to be much less trustful of news organizations across the board (Jurkowitz et al., 2020), perhaps a more trusted source would have been a better test of whether or not Republicans may be more receptive to racial discrimination claims from a high-credibility source. Future research should explore whether sources such as former President Donald Trump (who garnered 79% favorability among Republicans in April of 2021; The Economist/YouGov, 2021) or others may have more influence over White Republicans' racial attitudes.

Conclusions

On April 20th, 2021, the police officer who fatally knelt on George Floyd's neck for nine minutes nearly a year earlier was convicted of second-degree murder, among other charges. In the interim, massive racial justice protests shook the United States. Many Americans who may have previously been unaware or unwilling to acknowledge the stark racial injustices in our society were confronted with endless stories and videos on social media and in the news highlighting the reality of what it means for many to be Black in America. However, Derek Chauvin's conviction ultimately was a demonstration of accountability for an individual, not justice (Kaplan & Fernandez, 2021). Despite the fact that many Americans believe that we are on an inevitable upward path towards racial equality, massive inequity continues to exist (Kraus et al., 2019). The current research underscores the fact that in spite of the national spotlight on racial justice issues, there are large partisan divides in racial attitudes, with Republicans in particular being less perceptive of racial inequity and less supportive of antiracist policies. It also

reveals how deep-rooted some of these beliefs may be. Finally, while the current studies suggest that highlighting structural versus individual examples of racism may elicit different responses, it calls for further research and investment of resources to identify effective interventions to promote support for racial equity across the political spectrum.

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Tables

Table 1

Study 1 continuous variable condition means

	Democrats				Republicans			
	Low Exposure		High Exposure		Low Exposure		High Exposure	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Complainer Perceptions	2.42	.45	2.41	.51	2.93	.69	2.89	.83
Anti-Black Bias	5.47	.64	5.35	.69	3.49	1.27	3.44	1.24
Anti-White Bias	1.99	.93	2.20	1.08	4.15	1.13	4.16	1.20
Importance of Discussing Race	5.61	.61	5.42	.78	3.83	1.35	3.54	1.33
Discomfort Discussing Race	3.19	1.65	3.11	1.70	3.27	1.76	3.28	1.80
Willingness to Discuss Race	3.89	.78	3.92	.84	3.10	.98	3.35	1.02
SDO	1.57	.95	1.88	1.21	3.74	2.02	4.09	2.01

Table 2

Study 1 bivariate correlations between continuous variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Complainer Perceptions	1						
2. Anti-Black Bias	-.50***	1					
3. Anti-White Bias	.49***	-.73***	1				
4. Importance of Discussing Race	-.45***	.80***	-.75***	1			
5. Discomfort Discussing Race	.10	.02	.13	-.13*	1		
6. Willingness to Discuss Race	-.23***	.31***	-.44***	.48***	-.38**	1	
7. SDO	.31***	-.68***	.59***	-.70***	.06	-.26***	1

***. Correlation is significant at the .001 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed).

Table 3

Study 2 continuous variable condition means

	Democrats				Republicans			
	Individual		Structural		Individual		Structural	
	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High
Complainer Perceptions	2.45 (.61)	2.40 (.50)	2.38 (.56)	2.44 (.44)	2.95 (.85)	2.83 (.77)	2.90 (.80)	2.82 (.76)
Anti-Black Bias	5.30 (.86)	5.37 (.72)	5.38 (.53)	5.36 (.71)	3.33 (1.12)	3.64 (.99)	3.32 (1.06)	3.65 (1.07)
Anti-White Bias	2.44 (1.16)	2.16 (1.04)	2.37 (1.02)	2.34 (1.02)	4.32 (1.12)	4.45 (1.15)	4.41 (1.20)	4.17 (.95)
Importance of Discussing Race	5.29 (.97)	5.41 (.97)	5.51 (.62)	5.45 (.70)	3.46 (1.44)	3.45 (1.31)	3.54 (1.46)	3.81 (1.29)
Discomfort Discussing Race	3.14 (1.64)	3.41 (1.75)	3.37 (1.73)	3.48 (1.73)	3.48 (1.75)	3.37 (1.77)	2.61 (1.66)	3.39 (1.82)
Willingness to Discuss Race	3.69 (.86)	3.67 (.86)	3.80 (.80)	3.82 (.85)	3.10 (1.06)	2.98 (1.16)	3.12 (1.13)	2.94 (.99)
SDO	1.86 (1.20)	1.55 (.82)	1.69 (1.09)	1.72 (1.11)	4.04 (2.30)	3.89 (2.04)	2.13 (2.33)	3.93 (1.82)
Individual Racism	6.67 (.77)	6.91 (.26)	6.90 (.22)	6.81 (.49)	6.20 (1.06)	6.15 (.93)	6.13 (1.14)	6.19 (1.11)
Structural Racism	5.35 (1.30)	5.61 (1.20)	5.68 (1.12)	5.53 (1.21)	3.49 (1.67)	3.49 (1.45)	3.74 (1.44)	4.14 (1.41)

Note. All means displayed as *M (SD)*.

Table 4

Study 2 bivariate correlations between continuous variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Complainer Perceptions	1								
2. Anti-Black Bias	-.48***	1							
3. Anti-White Bias	.43***	-.76***	1						
4. Importance of Discussing Race	-.51***	.82***	-.73***	1					
5. Discomfort Discussing Race	.03	.02	-.04	-.08	1				
6. Willingness to Discuss Race	-.28***	.44***	-.39***	.53***	-.30***	1			
7. SDO	.48***	-.67***	.60***	-.69***	.08	-.43***	1		
8. Individual Racism	-.29***	.42***	-.31***	.43***	.05	.17***	-.44***	1	
9. Structural Racism	-.40***	.70***	-.62***	.69***	.02	.42***	-.58***	.37***	1

***. Correlation is significant at the .001 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed).

Table 5

Study 3 continuous variable condition means

	Democrats				Republicans			
	Individual		Structural		Individual		Structural	
	CNN	Fox News	CNN	Fox News	CNN	Fox News	CNN	Fox News
Individual Racism	6.81 (.49)	6.84 (.37)	6.57 (.73)	6.84 (.31)	5.87 (1.17)	6.38 (.78)	6.04 (1.10)	6.06 (1.15)
Structural Racism	5.25 (1.25)	5.46 (1.30)	5.46 (1.16)	5.47 (1.18)	3.60 (1.70)	4.13 (1.77)	3.67 (1.86)	3.37 (1.70)
Anti-Black Bias	5.26 (.74)	5.33 (.70)	5.40 (.67)	5.17 (.92)	3.35 (1.06)	3.56 (1.18)	3.46 (1.30)	3.33 (1.43)
Anti-White Bias	2.49 (1.10)	2.60 (1.06)	2.46 (1.12)	2.51 (1.23)	4.66 (.98)	4.48 (1.01)	4.55 (1.08)	4.43 (1.19)
Support for Antiracist Policies	5.85 (.89)	5.94 (1.14)	5.98 (1.01)	5.95 (.87)	3.76 (1.53)	4.14 (1.22)	4.26 (1.46)	3.56 (1.45)
Importance of Discussing Race	5.35 (.92)	5.27 (.87)	5.37 (.74)	5.26 (.93)	3.29 (1.19)	3.44 (1.02)	3.51 (1.33)	3.37 (1.45)
Discomfort Discussing Race	3.37 (1.58)	3.24 (1.90)	2.61 (1.58)	3.06 (1.64)	2.95 (1.70)	3.46 (1.92)	3.09 (1.89)	2.98 (1.70)
Willingness to Discuss Race	3.64 (.84)	3.61 (.93)	3.60 (.96)	3.76 (.94)	3.21 (1.02)	3.04 (1.12)	3.24 (.99)	3.07 (1.12)
SDO	1.86 (1.05)	1.90 (1.49)	1.55 (.74)	1.93 (1.37)	4.62 (1.77)	3.69 (1.59)	4.27 (2.14)	4.30 (2.33)

Note. All means displayed as $M (SD)$.

Table 6

Study 3 bivariate correlations between continuous variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Individual Racism	1								
2. Structural Racism	.53***	1							
3. Anti-Black Bias	.51***	.71***	1						
4. Anti-White Bias	-.42***	-.61***	-.78***	1					
5. Support for Antiracist Policies	.54***	.78***	.80***	-.73***	1				
6. Importance of Discussing Race	.50***	.66***	.85***	-.76***	.78***	1			
7. Discomfort Discussing Race	.002	-.13*	-.03	.10	-.07	-.19***	1		
8. Willingness to Discuss Race	.34***	.39***	.36***	-.33***	.41***	.46***	-.42***	1	
9. SDO	-.54***	.61***	-.67***	.60***	-.73***	-.68***	.14**	-.39***	1

***. Correlation is significant at the .001 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed).

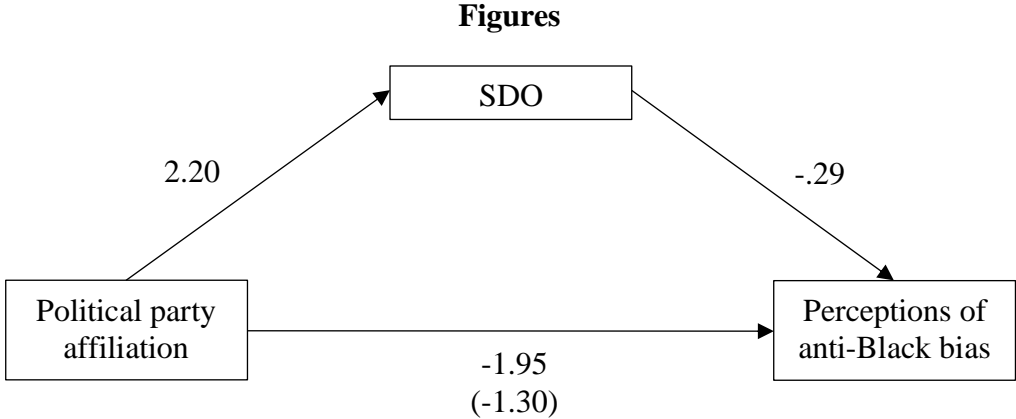


Figure 1. Study 1 SDO Mediation Model. All coefficients significant at $p < .001$.

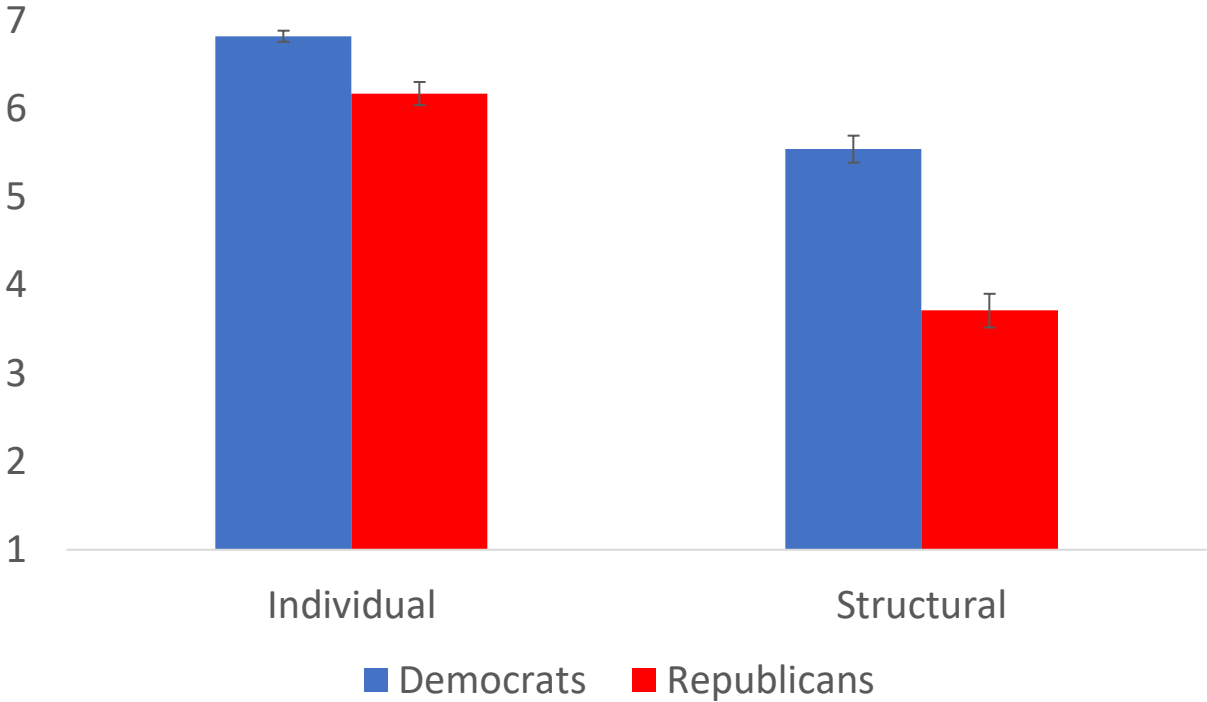


Figure 2. Study 2 Conceptualization of Racism as Individual vs Structural Among Democrats and Republicans. Error bars represent 95% CI.

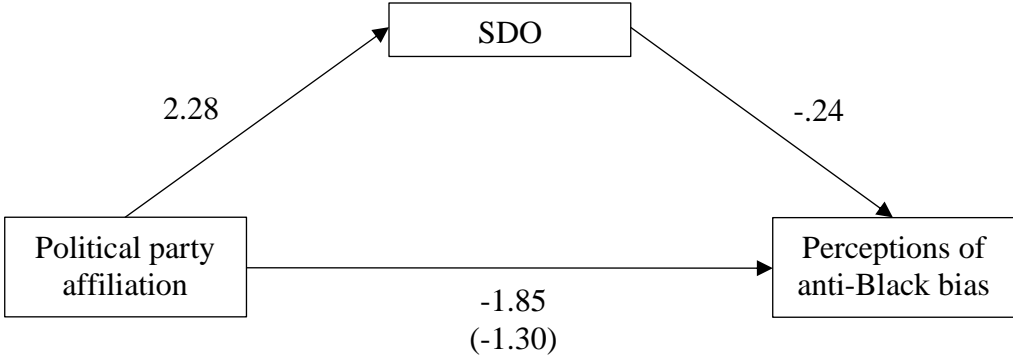


Figure 3. Study 2 SDO Mediation Model. All coefficients significant at $p < .001$.

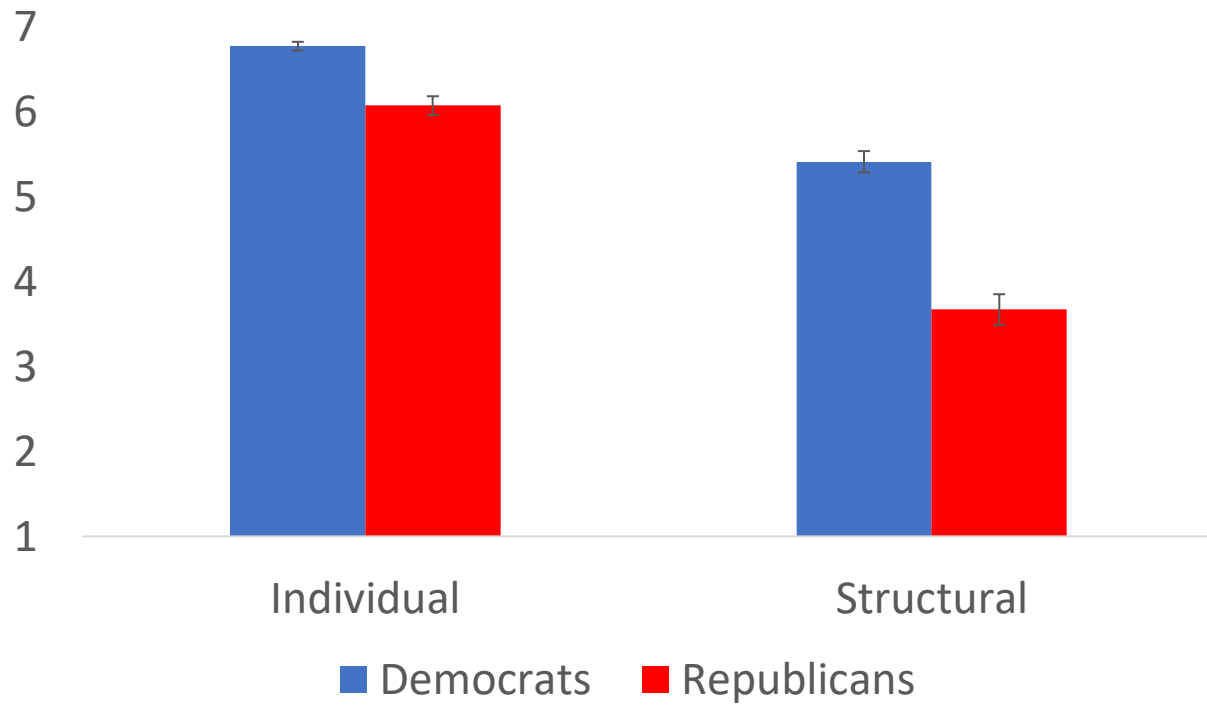


Figure 4. Study 3 Conceptualization of Racism as Individual vs Structural Among Democrats and Republicans. Error bars represent 95% CI.

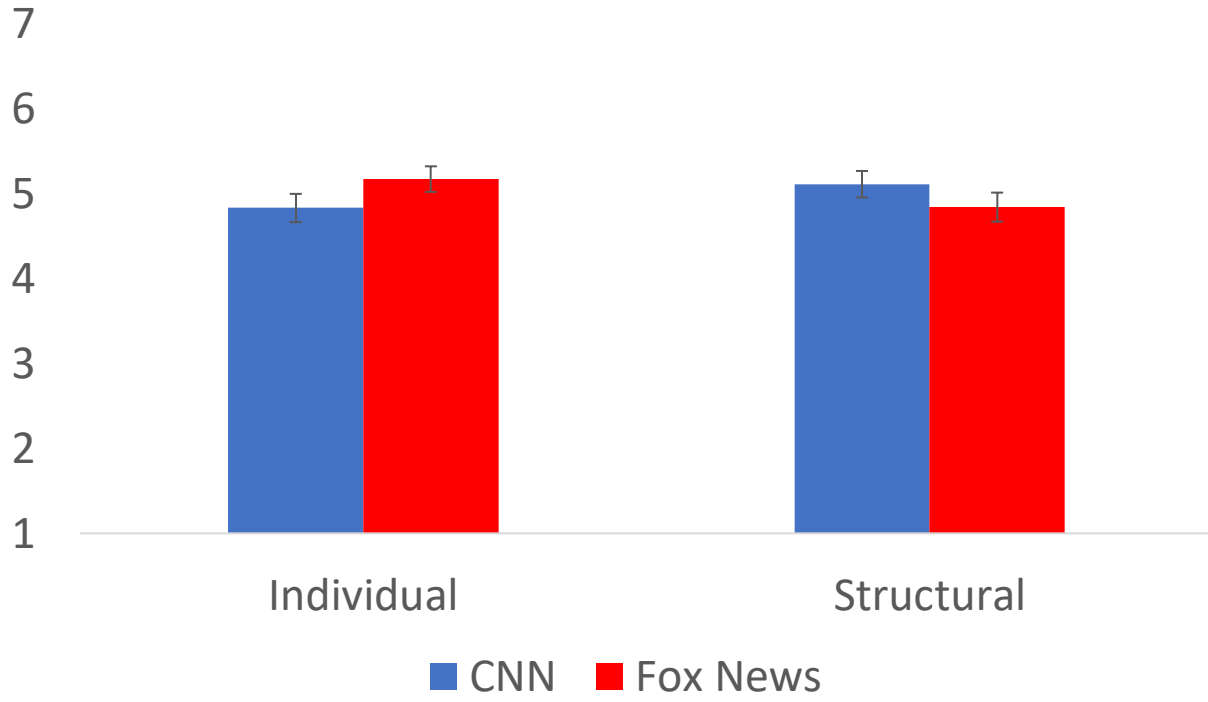


Figure 5. Study 3 Support for Antiracist Policies Based on Source and Type of Racism Claims (collapsed across political party affiliation). Error bars represent 95% CI.

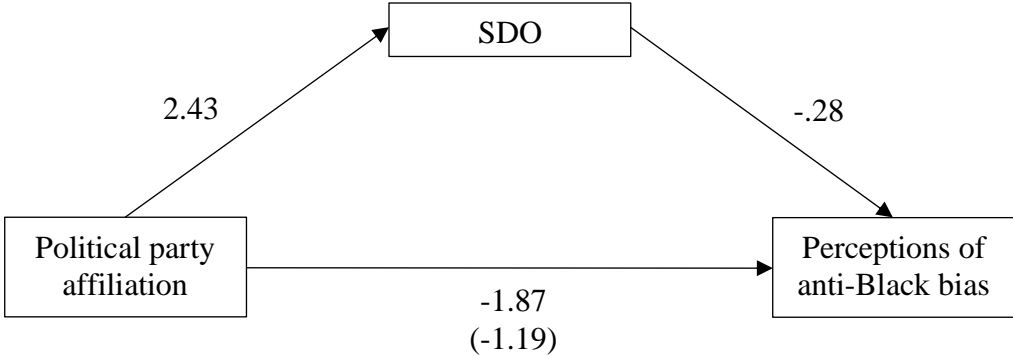


Figure 6. Study 3 SDO Mediation Model. All coefficients significant at $p < .001$.

Appendices

Appendix A: Study 1 Vignettes (Exposure Manipulation for Study 1; Carter, 2015)

Discrimination Posts

Today I went to the store and when I was standing in line, there was White man standing behind me. As I approached the front of the line, a young White girl was behind the counter did not even acknowledge that I was there. She told the man behind me to "Please step up to the register sir". So I responded and said "Excuse me, hello, I was here first" and as she took my order, she had an attitude the whole time. But as I was walking out, the man stepped up to the register and her attitude changed completely.

I just got back from dinner with my family and had the most uncomfortable experience. First of all, we had to wait at least an hour to be seated. Once we were able to get a table we realized they put us way in the back by the kitchen. The service was really poor, and it took us forever to get menus and then get a chance to order our food. The server did not seem thrilled to have to wait on us, but interestingly, the other customers were treated just fine. I definitely won't be going back THERE again.

I took my little cousins on an outing today, and they were hungry so we stopped by McDonald's. They had seen a commercial for a "limited edition" kids meal box, and so they wanted those kinds of boxes. The woman that worked there was very rude to us and said they had no more kids meals boxes and gave us regular bags instead. After us, a White family ordered kids meals as well. This time, the lady that worked there greeted them with a smile and handed them kids meal boxes. I guess they weren't out of them after all.

On the bus this morning I somehow managed to be the only person with an empty seat next to me. The bus was so crowded and people still decided to stand up instead of sitting next to me. Maybe I'm being paranoid, but it seemed like people were avoiding eye contact with me. It's like they would rather be uncomfortable and stand up for the entire ride than sit next to the Black person. That mentality makes no sense to me.

Last night I tried to go out with some friends and the doorman didn't take my ID. It's an out of state ID, but it's definitely valid. I explained that it was not fake, and even tried to show him other forms of ID, but he was so rude and wouldn't even look at it. I tried to explain the situation, but he clearly wasn't going to hear it so we left and went somewhere else. I hate when I get treated like that.

Negative Posts

Today I was trying to print off my notes before class and went to the computer print station. Usually this is pretty easy, but everything seemed to go wrong today. When I sent the files to the printer, I saw a "jammed" message on the screen of the computer. Once I finally got that fixed, the printer was out of paper. So I went to a different printing station and there was a long line of people waiting to print there. I ended up giving up since I was already late for class.

I'm trying to recover from this knee injury in time for a half marathon next month, and it's proving to be really difficult. I finally made it up to 9 miles when my knee started hurting really badly. I bought a brace, rested for a little bit, and started out again a few days later. Now my other knee has started hurting. I still have some time to train, but this is getting really frustrating.

I had a really hard exam today, and when there were about 20 minutes left (out of an hour and 15 minutes long class), the professor said to everyone still in the room that the exam was designed to only take 50 minutes, and so if we were still working we were just “BS-ing” and should just stop writing because it would only hurt our grade. I tried not to let it bother me, but now I’m worried that I didn’t do well on the test.

There was awful traffic on the highway today. It seemed like all the cars were moving at a snail’s pace, and it was in the middle of the day so it didn’t make any sense why there was such a backup. I was trying to make it to a meeting across town, and I had left myself plenty of time to make it there early. Even still, I ended up being 10 minutes late. Once the cars started moving again, there were no signs as to why there had been traffic in the first place. I hate when stuff like that happens.

After my shift at work today, two Assistant Managers called a staff meeting to discuss a recent event we had thrown. All of us employees thought the event had run pretty smoothly and were in a good mood, but the Assistant Managers went on to tell us how poorly it went. We tried to ask for specifics about what we were doing wrong, or what they were talking about, but the Assistant Managers couldn’t give us any specifics other than “it was little things”. Everyone was equally puzzled and upset afterward.

Final Target Discrimination Post

I heard an announcement a while ago that a local company was hiring, and the position sounded perfect for me. My qualifications were as good as, if not better than, what they were asking for. I

put together my application and submitted it well before the deadline. I still haven't heard anything, and it's been quite a while since they stopped taking applications. As I was talking about it with some friends, come to find out that a couple of the people who are in charge of making hiring decisions are known for being discriminatory. Hopefully they won't have too much influence on the other people on the committee, but I have a feeling I won't be hearing from that company.

Appendix B: Perceptions of Final Discrimination Claimant (Carter, 2015)

Participants answered 18 questions (adapted from Kaiser & Miller, 2001) about the final claimant on a 5-point scale (1 = *never* to 5 = *almost always*). These items contained six complainer items (items 3, 5, 9, 10, 16, 17), seven negative trait items (items 1, 6, 7, 8, 12, 15, 18), and five positive trait items (items 2, 4, 11, 13, 14).

1. To what extent is this person usually angry?
2. To what extent is this person usually friendly?
3. To what extent is this person usually upset?
4. To what extent is this person usually happy?
5. To what extent does this person usually see the negative side of everything?
6. To what extent is this person usually rude?
7. To what extent is this person usually unkind?
8. To what extent is this person usually arrogant?
9. To what extent is this person usually emotional?
10. To what extent does this person usually complain?
11. To what extent is this person usually nice?
12. To what extent is this person usually aggressive?
13. To what extent does this person usually have a positive outlook on life?
14. To what extent is this person usually sociable?
15. To what extent is this person usually insensitive?
16. To what extent is this person usually hypersensitive?
17. To what extent does this person usually have lots of irritating posts?
18. To what extent is this person usually argumentative?

Appendix C: Prevalence of Racism (Carter, 2015)

Participants answered six questions about the prevalence anti-Black and anti-White bias in society on a 6-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 6 = *strongly agree*).

1. Discrimination against Blacks is no longer a problem in the United States.
2. Blacks are no longer the targets of racism in the United States today.
3. American society still has a long way to go before Blacks will achieve equal status compared to Whites.
4. Whites are discriminated against more these days because of efforts to give racial minorities more opportunities.
5. Reverse racism (acts of racism by Blacks against Whites) is prevalent in today's society.
6. Blacks in America have the same rights, privileges, and opportunities as Whites.
7. Prejudice and discrimination against Whites are on the rise.
8. Whites do not experience racism.

Appendix D: Perceptions of the Importance of Discussing Race and Participants'**Willingness to Discuss Race in the Future***Items on a 6-point scale (strongly disagree to strongly agree)*

1. It is important to talk about race-related issues (e.g., race relations, racial inequality, racial discrimination) if we want to make society more equal.
2. We have already talked enough about race and should focus on other issues. (*reverse-coded*)
3. Talking about race does more harm than good. (*reverse-coded*)
4. Talking about race makes me feel uncomfortable.

Items on a 5-point scale (not at all to extremely)

To what extent would you be open to discussing race-related issues in the future...

- with friends?
- with family?
- with co-workers?
- with someone of the same race?
- with someone of a different race?

Appendix E: Short Social Dominance Orientation (SSDO) Scale (Pratto et al., 2013)

Instructions: There are many kinds of groups in the world: men and women, ethnic and religious groups, nationalities, political factions. How much do you support or oppose the ideas about groups in general? Next to each statement, write a number from 1 to 10 to show your opinion (1 = *extremely oppose* to 10 = *extremely favor*).

1. In setting priorities, we must consider all groups. (*reverse-coded*)
2. We should not push for group equality.
3. Group equality should be our ideal. (*reverse-coded*)
4. Superior groups should dominate inferior groups.

Appendix F: Studies 2 and 3 Vignettes (Exposure and Type of Racism Manipulation for Study 2; Type of Racism Manipulation for Study 3)

The five topics included: unemployment, community leadership/representation, water quality (related to infrastructure/health), educational funding, and maternal healthcare.

Individual Racism Posts

All I want is to be able to live comfortably and put food on the table for my kids. But I lost my job a few months ago. The other day I went in to interview for a retail position. As I was waiting my turn, the interviewer came out with a White woman she had just interviewed and was all bubbly talking about her latest Netflix binge. When she called "next" I stood up. As we walked past the secretary into her office, I heard her say under her breath "This'll be quick." I hate it when people write me off like that.

Making sure you have representation in government is important if you want to build up your community. That's why I chose to run for congress this year. I can't say it's been easy though... I'm still trying to get my name and my message out there. Sometimes when I'm campaigning people will like my message but then ask, "So, who are you campaigning for?" It's like they can't imagine someone who looks like me representing them.

The other day I went out to lunch with my family. Our waitress brought us a pitcher of water to start us off as we looked over the menu. As I poured some into my glass, I realized there were things floating in the water. I called the waitress over to alert her but when I asked for a new pitcher, she rolled her eyes, didn't even apologize, and stomped off with the old pitcher. A few minutes later I saw her apologizing to the other customers--all White families-- and bringing

them new pitchers of water before finally bringing ours over. I definitely won't be going back THERE again.

Each year students at my daughter's high school compete to receive a grant to present their junior research project at a conference. The way it works is the students present their work to a judge who then picks the best student to send to the conference. The judge this year was this old White lady. The first presenter was a White girl--the judge had a huge smile on her face and said she was SO EXCITED to hear about her amazing work... but when it was my daughter's turn, she didn't even listen--just looked down at her phone and said "next" when my daughter finished. This type of thing makes me so angry.

I'm seven months pregnant and so excited to be a mom! I can't lie though—I'm nervous about the delivery. The other day I went into the clinic to meet with the midwife. When she saw my natural hair, she said to make sure I had my hair "under control" when the baby was ready so it wouldn't get in the way. I bet she didn't give that advice to the White woman who came in after me. It just seems crazy people still say things like that.

Individual Negative Experience Posts

All I want is to be able to live comfortably and put food on the table for my kids. But I lost my job a few months ago. The other day I went in to interview for a retail position. After sitting in the waiting room for two hours with maybe five other applicants, the manager came out and announced that the position had been filled and they wouldn't be interviewing anyone else for the job. So frustrating that they invited us out there if they weren't even going to give us a chance to interview!

Volunteering and organizing community activities is a great way to invest in your local community. That's why I chose to start a free youth exercise group. I can't say it's been easy though... I'm still trying to get my message out there. Sometimes when I'm exercising in the park with the younger teens older teens will ride by on their bikes and make fun of the kids. I wish they wouldn't be so discouraging!

The other day I went out to lunch with my family. Our waitress brought us a pitcher of water to start us off as we looked over the menu. As I poured some into my glass, I realized there were things floating in the water--it was pretty gross. I called the waitress over to alert her and she apologized and replaced the pitcher for us, but it still had things floating in it! I definitely won't be going back THERE again.

Each year students at my daughter's high school compete to receive a grant to present their junior research project at a conference. The way it works is the students present their work to a judge who then picks the best student to send to the conference. Today was my daughter's turn to present, but there was a terrible accident on the way to school and we ended up being caught in standstill traffic for almost three hours! She missed her turn to present and therefore can no longer compete for the grant. So disappointing!

I'm seven months pregnant and so excited to be a mom! I can't lie though—I'm nervous about the delivery. The other day I went into the clinic to meet with the midwife. She was reminding me of all of the different things to bring with me for the delivery. It was all a little confusing but

when I tried to ask her a question, she seemed frustrated and just said "You can figure it out yourself ok? I don't have all day here." I'll probably figure it out, but I wish she was more patient with me.

Structural Racism Posts

All I want is to be able to live comfortably and put food on the table for my kids. But I lost my job a few months ago and have had such a hard time finding a new one. The federal unemployment rate for Black Americans is at 10.3% compared to just 5.9% for White Americans. I guess there are just systems in place that make it tougher for some of us than for others.

Black people have been fighting for better representation in the government for a long time. But there's still a long way to go. The 2018 midterm elections brought in the most diverse congress yet. Even so, only 57 of the current 535 members are Black... clearly the system still leaves some of us out.

The other day I got a call from the city saying I should stop drinking tap water for a while. They weren't very specific about what the problem was but I guess it might be contaminated. It seems like this type of thing happens all too often in Black neighborhoods... in fact, problems with drinking water are 40% more likely to be found in communities that are majority Black compared to communities that are majority White.

Education is supposed to be the great equalizer in this country but I'm not sure it's working.

Schools in majority-White districts get \$23 billion more in funding than schools in districts with

mostly minorities. I know it's not just about the money, but clearly, they aren't investing in us as much. Even if our kids are motivated, it's tough to be as competitive for college as students who receive more support in school.

I'm seven months pregnant and so excited to be a mom! I can't lie though—I'm nervous about the delivery. I know every mom gets a little anxious about it, but I also know that Black women are three times more likely to die of complications than White women. It just seems crazy that this type of thing is still a problem. It will probably be fine but I just wish this wasn't something I had to think about.

Structural Negative Experience Posts

All I want is to be able to live comfortably and put food on the table for my kids. But I lost my job a few months ago and have had such a hard time finding a new one. The federal unemployment rate is 6.7% in America. I guess we're all just in a tough spot right now.

Volunteering and organizing community activities is a great way to invest in your local community. That's why I chose to start a free youth exercise group. It's been pretty difficult though... I'm still trying to get my message out there. It's really discouraging to think about the fact that only one in three kids are physically active each day--such an uphill battle!

The other day I got a call from the city saying I should stop drinking tap water for a while. They weren't very specific about what the problem was but I guess it might be contaminated. It seems like this type of thing happens all too often in our country... in fact, over 130 million people in America live with drinking water violations that put their health at risk.

Education is supposed to be the backbone of our country but how are we supposed to expect much out of it when we are constantly underpaying our teachers? Teachers are paid nearly 20% less than similarly college-educated professionals. I know it's not just about the money, but clearly, we need to invest more in the system. Even if our kids are motivated, it's tough to keep up with other countries if we don't support our educators.

I'm seven months pregnant and so excited to be a mom! I can't lie though—I'm nervous about the delivery. I know every mom gets a little anxious about it, but I also know that Americans are more than five times as likely to die during childbirth than women in other developed countries like Germany or New Zealand. It just seems crazy that this type of thing is still a problem. It will probably be fine but I just wish this wasn't something I had to think about.

Final Target Discrimination Post (Study 2 only)

I've been saving up for a while now, hoping to get enough money for a down payment on a house for my family. It's exciting browsing online looking for our dream house! But sometimes I get discouraged. Last week I went to the bank to apply for a loan... I have a White-sounding name, so I guess on paper my application looked good but as soon as the clerk saw me she wasn't so sure anymore--she said I'd need special approval from her supervisor. I really hope it works out for us.

Appendix G: Conceptions of Racism as Individual versus Structural (Unzueta & Lowery, 2008)

Participants were asked to indicate on a seven-point scale the extent to which they considered various racially disparate outcomes as indicative of racism (1 = *definitely not an example of racism*, 4 = *may be an example of racism*, 7 = *definitely an example of racism*). These items differed with regard to the location of the mechanism (i.e., individuals or institutions) that produced the disparate outcome.

Individual conception of racism items

1. A car salesman offers lower prices to White customers than to non-White customers
2. A teacher is overheard using racial slurs to refer to Hispanic and Black students
3. A taxi driver refuses to pick up African Americans who hail his cab

Structural conception of racism items

1. A city adopts zoning ordinances that prohibit low-income and multifamily households in predominantly White communities
2. A university ends its affirmative action program, resulting in a large drop in Black enrollment
3. A downtown renewal project results in the dislocation of a large number of racial minorities from their homes and communities

Appendix H: Support for Antiracist Policies (adapted from Adams et al., 2008)

Participants completed a 10-item scale to measure the extent to which they supported policies designed to reduce racial inequity in society. Participants indicated the extent to which they agreed with each general policy on a 7-point scale (1 = *Strongly disagree*, 4 = *Neutral*, 7 = *Strongly agree*).

1. Black Americans deserve some sort of reparations for the years of oppression within this country.
2. Universities should make every effort to attract qualified Black American students.
3. Hospitals should make a concerted effort to improve the quality of care for Black Americans specifically.
4. States should work to redistribute funds across districts to ensure that schools in predominantly Black communities receive equal funding to those in predominantly White communities.
5. Companies should make every effort to attract qualified Black American candidates.
6. States should prioritize investing in infrastructure aimed at improving water safety in predominantly Black communities.
7. Cities should make a special effort to contract with Black-owned businesses.
8. We should aim to divest from policing and reallocate those resources to housing, healthcare, and education in Black communities.
9. Political parties should make an effort to increase the representation of Black Americans in local and national government.
10. States should prioritize making the Covid-19 vaccine available and accessible to Black communities.

Note. Items 1-2 were drawn from Adams et al. (2008) while items 3-8 were created for the current study. Items 3-6 and 9 related directly to topics covered in the discrimination experience vignettes (Studies 2 and 3).