

UCLA

UCLA Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

Messages that Minimize the Existence of Racism Have Different Consequences for Racial Minority and Majority Group Members

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/34c983nq>

Author

Heldreth, Courtney

Publication Date

2015

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Messages that Minimize the Existence of Racism Have Different Consequences for Racial
Minority and Majority Group Members

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Psychology

by

Courtney Mariel Heldreth

2016 (revised)

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Messages that Minimize the Existence of Racism Have Different Consequences for Racial
Minority and Majority Group Members

by

Courtney Mariel Heldreth

University of California, Los Angeles, 2016 (revised)

Professor Jenessa Rachel Shapiro, Chair

Despite a common post-racial rhetoric that has surfaced in recent years underscoring that discrimination against minority group members no longer exists, empirical research reveals that many individuals continue to experience discrimination and that racial prejudice continues to shape racial disparities in many domains. My dissertation examined this mismatch—when people’s experiences and beliefs are inconsistent with messages that imply that racial discrimination no longer exists. The present work explores how racial group membership influences this mismatch and leads people to experience a variety of outcomes. Across three experiments, results revealed that messages that imply that racism is no longer an issue led minority group members to report less belonging (Experiments 1-3), more negative affect (Experiments 1 & 2), greater vigilance to discrimination (Experiments 1 & 2), greater support for immigration policies (Experiment 1), and greater outgroup hostility (Experiment 2) compared to

racial minorities who were not exposed to messages that minimized or denied the existence of racism. Furthermore, results revealed that the perception that Whites do not understand the experiences of minority group members mediated the relationship between the message and a lower sense of belonging for racial minorities. Conversely, messages that minimized or denied the existence of racism had the opposite effect on Whites. After being exposed to a message that minimized the existence of racial discrimination against minority groups, Whites reported lower prejudice concerns and more positive emotions compared to Whites who were not exposed to a message that minimized the existence of racial discrimination. Given that messages that minimize racism are often subtle and not intended to harm members from disadvantaged groups, this research adds to an existing understanding of the same message can create disparate outcomes among racial minorities and Whites in the United States, which may ultimately have implications for intergroup relations.

The dissertation of Courtney Mariel Heldreth is approved.

Kerri Johnson

A. Janet Tomiyama

Miguel Unzueta

Jenessa Rachel Shapiro, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2016 (revised)

Dedicated to my husband Corey with love and gratitude. Without your patient support, I would have given up long ago. You have been my light. This achievement belongs to us both.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES.....	vii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	viii
CURRICULUM VITAE.....	viv
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER TWO: METHODS.....	40
CHAPTER THREE: EXPERIMENT 1 RESULTS.....	41
CHAPTER FOUR: EXPERIMENT 2 RESULTS.....	52
CHAPTER FIVE: EXPERIMENT 3A RESULTS.....	60
CHAPTER FIVE: EXPERIMENT 3B RESULTS.....	64
CHAPTER SIX: GENERAL DISCUSSION.....	65
APPENDIX A.....	80
APPENDIX B.....	84
REFERENCES.....	87

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

Figure 1. Ambiguous figure used in studies of wishful seeing when categorizing ambiguous objects.	31
Figure 2. Depressed mood as a functions of message type and race of the participant in Experiment 1	43
Figure 3. Anger as a function of message type and race of the participant in Experiment 1	44
Figure 4. Positive Emotions as a function of message type and race of participant in Experiment 1.....	45
Figure 5. Sense of belonging as a function of message type and race of the participant in Experiment 1	45
Figure 6. Desire to pursue leadership roles as a function of message type and race of the participant in Experiment 2.....	54
Figure 7. Outgroup hostility as a function of message type and race of the participant in Experiment 2.....	55
Figure 8. Shared reality mediates the effect of message type of sense of belonging among Asian participants	61
Table 1. Means, standard deviations, and tests of group differences for message type conditions as a function of race (Experiment 1).....	46
Table 2. Means, standard deviations, and tests of group differences for message type conditions as a function of race (Experiment 2).....	56

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Thanks to the past and present members of the Social Interaction and Social Stigma Lab (SISSL) for enthusiastic support and valuable input on research ideas and study results. I also wish to thank my dear friends and colleagues David. J. Lick and Clarissa Cortland for years of invaluable emotional, intellectual, and statistical support.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Courtney Mariel Heldreth (aka Courtney Mariel Hooker)

Education

M.A. Psychology, University of California, Los Angeles

B.A., Psychology, University of California, Berkeley

Honors

Edward A. Bouchet Honors Society Inductee, 2015

Society for Personality and Social Psychology (SPSP) Diversity Travel Award, 2014

UCLA Psychology Department Travel Award, 2013

Society for Australasian Social Psychologists (SASP) Summer School Attendee, 2012

Society of Australasian Social Psychologists Travel Award (SASP), 2012

Ford Foundation Pre-doctoral Fellowship, Alternate, 2011

Graduate Summer Research Mentorship, 2011

University of California, Berkeley (Cum Laude), 2004-2008

National Honors Society Member, 2005-2008

Golden Key National Honors Society Member, 2005-2008

Finalist of Lowe's Senior Class Award, 2008

Pac-10 Postgraduate Scholarship, 2008

Publications and Selected Presentations

Greenaway, K.H., Haslam, S.A., Ysseldyk, R., Cuwys, T., **Heldreth, C.M.**, & Branscombe, N.R. (2015). From “we” to “me”: Group identification enhances perceived personal control with consequences for health and well-being.

Heldreth, C.M., Shapiro, J.R., & Eisenberger, N. (Under review). I feel your pain: Vicarious experiences of prejudice.

Lick, D.J., **Heldreth, C.M.,** & Johnson, K.L. (In prep). The psychological implications of being an ally: Vicarious experiences of stigma among straight allies of the LGB community.

Marshall, S. & **Heldreth, C.M.** (In prep). Stereotype based-jokes: How humor differentially affects both ingroup and outgroup members.

Heldreth, C.M., Guardino, C.M., Wong, L.H., Dunkel Schetter, C., Shapiro, J.R., Schafer, P., Shalowitz, M., Lanzi, R.G., & Thorp, J. (In prep). Childhood racism experiences and postpartum depressive symptoms in a community sample of African American and White mothers.

Heldreth, C.M., Belsky, A. & Tomiyama, J. (Under review). Putting on Weight Stigma: Implications of wearing a fat suit on psychological, behavioral, and physical outcomes.

Heldreth, C.M., Shapiro, J.R., & Eisenberger, N.I. (2015, April). *When What you See is What you Get: The Effect of Vicarious Experiences of Prejudice on Psychological Well-being and Mental Health.* Talk presented at the annual conference for the Edward A. Bouchet Honors Society at Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut.

Heldreth et al. (2014, June). *When What You See is Literally What You Get: The Influence of Observing Discrimination in Childhood on Depression in African-American Adult Women.* Poster presented at the Division 45 research conference in Eugene, Oregon.

Heldreth, C.M., Shapiro, J.R., & Eisenberger, N.I. (2013, January). *I Feel Your Pain: Vicarious Experiences of Prejudice.* Poster presented at the annual conference of the Society for Personality and Social Psychology Conference in New Orleans, Louisiana.

Chapter One: Introduction

When President Barack Obama's was elected in the United States, it ignited a substantial discussion about whether or not racial bias remained a barrier to racial minorities. In fact, many believed that his election signaled the beginning of what many have called a "post-racial America." Gallup Poll statistics seem to corroborate the notion that discrimination against socially disadvantaged groups has become a thing of the past. For example, a recent public opinion poll revealed that 72% of White Americans believe that relations between African Americans are "somewhat good" or "very good," and only 25% of White Americans (compared to 33% in 1993) believe that the American justice system is biased against African Americans (Gallup poll, June 2013). Similar patterns of data are found when examining race relations between Whites and Latino Americans. A recent survey revealed that 75% of White Americans believe that race relations between Latinos are "somewhat good" or "very good," and 73% of White Americans reported that they believed that discrimination against Latinos was no longer an issue (Gallup poll, June 2013). Given the large majority of Whites reporting positive race relations between African Americans and Latino Americans, it is not surprising that Asian Americans, who are frequently stereotyped as the "model minority," are also not believed to be targets of discrimination in the United States. Polls indicate that 76% of Whites believe that Asian Americans are either "very satisfied" or "somewhat satisfied" with how they are treated in the United States (Gallup Poll, June 2013). In addition to these statistics, many prominent individuals have explicitly stated their belief that the United States has indeed achieved racial equality. Following a speech made by Barack Obama regarding the death of Trayvon Martin and the nation's current and broader history of race relations and racial bias, several White male pundits were quick to respond that "race had nothing to do with the incident" (Huffington Post,

2013). Collectively, both the Gallup Poll statistics and this statement echo a commonly held belief in the United States that discrimination against racial/ethnic minority group members is no longer a pressing issue.

Despite the apparent commonality of this belief, however, empirical research reveals that racial prejudice persists and continues to shape racial disparities in many domains. For example, incarceration statistics reveal that one in every three African American men born today can expect to go to prison at some point in their life, compared with one in every six Latino men, and one in every seventeen White men (UC Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2011). Importantly, when the same crime is committed, jail time is typically 60% longer for African American men compared to White men (Rehavi & Starr, 2012). Racial disparities do not just exist in the criminal justice system—they extend to other important domains, such as income and wealth. For every dollar that Whites earn, Latinos earn 70 cents and African Americans earn only 59 cents (DeNavas-Walt, Proctor, & Smith, 2014). These differences were further exacerbated in 2006, when the depressed housing market and the subsequent recession in 2006 negatively affected racial minorities to a greater degree than it did on Whites. According to the Pew Research Center (2013), “from 2005 to 2009, inflation-adjusted median wealth fell by 66% among Hispanic households and 53% among African American households, compared with just 16% among White households” (p. 1). Racial differences are also present when examining mortality rates across levels of education. White high school dropouts live 3.1 years longer compared to African American high school dropouts and 2.5 years longer than Latino high school dropouts (Meara, Richards, & Cutler, 2008). As education increases for all of these groups, the gap becomes even more pronounced, such that White college graduates live 4.2 years longer than African American college graduates and 3.6 longer than Latino college graduates.

Moreover, in regard to physical health, African Americans have 59% higher rates of preterm birth, have two times the infant mortality rate, are 40% more likely to die from heart disease, and are 30% more likely to die from cancer compared to Whites (2012 National Healthcare Disparities Report, 2013). In terms of the reported quality of medical care received by racial minorities, both African Americans and Hispanics also report receiving worse medical care than Whites for about 40% of quality measures. Asians also reported receiving worse medical care than Whites for about 25% of quality measures (2012 National Healthcare Disparities Report, 2013).

Based on previous research, Asians in the United States have a more ambiguous social status compared to Latinos, Blacks, and Whites. While Asians tend to be wealthier than Whites, they have less political authority and often report feeling less respected (DeNavas-Walt, Proctor, & Mills, 2003). Although Asians have engendered positive stereotypes (such as the “model minority”), they are also stereotyped as “cold” and are frequently targets of prejudice (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004; Cheryan & Bodenhausen, 2000). Despite the long-documented history of discrimination directed toward Asians, researchers have argued that there has been a lack of research identifying the consequences of prejudice and discrimination directed toward them (D.W. Sue & D. Sue, 2003). Why might this have occurred? One reason this may have occurred is that over the years, research has primarily focused on racial issues in Black and White terms (Liang, Li, & Kim, 2004). As a result, the consequences associated with racism directed toward Asian Americans are often surmounted by the experiences of Whites and Blacks. While research findings for the consequences of racial discrimination for these racial groups are often assumed to describe Asian Americans’ experiences as well, previous research suggests that

the social status of Asians tends to be greater than that of Latinos and Blacks, but is less than the social status of White Americans.

Collectively, these statistics demonstrate that White American and racial/ethnic minorities' experiences and perceptions of racism may diverge. In support of this position, a survey from *The New York Times* found compared to the 75% of White respondents, only 55% of African American respondents agreed that there have been significant efforts to reduce racial discrimination since the 1960s (Correspondents of *The New York Times*, 2001). Similar disparities in White, Black, and Latino assessments of racism have also been found in other nationally representative opinion surveys (Hoschild, 1995; Klugel & Smith, 1986). If this is true, is it possible that members from socially advantaged and disadvantaged groups may have different reactions to messages that minimize or deny the existence of racism? Before this question is answered, it is important to first understand the experiences and concerns of racial minority and majority group members in the United States to determine whether or not their experiences and concerns align with messages that minimize or deny the existence of racism.

Experiences of Minority Group Members in the United States

Racial Minorities Experience Racism in the United States

Research suggests that White Americans and racial minorities vary in how much they view racial progress. For example, White Americans typically assess racial progress by looking at how much work has already been done whereas racial/ethnic minorities instead focus on how much work in racial progress still needs to be made. This is in large part due to the fact that African Americans, Latino Americans, and Asian Americans frequently report being the targets of discrimination in the United States (Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2003; Finch, Kolody, & Vega, 2000; Noh & Kasper, 2003), and such discrimination, both actual and perceived, has been

identified as a source of stress that contributes to disparities in health between racial/ethnic minorities and Whites (Clark, Anderson, & Williams, 1999; Williams, Neighbors & Jackson, 2003; Mays, Cochran, & Barnes, 2007; Williams, Yu, Jackson, & Anderson, 1997; Noh & Kasper, 2003).

As a result, members of stigmatized groups have developed shared understandings about the ways members of dominant groups perceive their stigmatized status in society (Crocker & Major, 1989; Steele, 1997). For example, based on previous research, college students who are Latino American and African American are less likely to attribute hard work to success in the United States compared to White American and Asian American college students. Additionally, Latino American and African American college students are less likely than White Americans and Asian Americans to believe that social status differences between the groups are fair or legitimate (Levin, Sidanius, Rabinowitz, & Federico, 1998; Major et al., 2002; Major & O'Brien, 2005). This may be because people who have repeatedly worked hard but have not experienced any advantages as a result of their hard work, or have witnessed others who share the same group membership put in hard work but also are unable to advance, are unlikely to believe that society is fair and just. Thus, messages that minimize or deny the existence of racism may highlight the mismatch between minorities' experiences because they do not capture a meaningful explanation of their experiences.

Although it is generally accepted that African Americans and Latino/Hispanic Americans experience prejudice and discrimination, research on discrimination against Asian Americans has been burgeoning but has mainly focused on the consequences of stereotypes (e.g., Katz & Braly, 1933; LaPiere, 1934). However, a concentration on stereotypes alone may be missing part of the picture. For example, research demonstrates that a significant threat for Asian Americans is to be

denied their national identity (Cheryan & Monin, 2005). Although much of the research to date has focused on the experience of African Americans, Latino Americans, and women and the negative consequences associated with being the target of negative stereotypes (Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Swim & Stangor, 1998), conducting research on Asian Americans might reveal the consequences associated with denying an individual of an experience potentially linked to their identity. Supporting this logic, research conducted in the United States and Canada has reliably shown that personal and group-based racism against Asians negatively influences their overall psychological well-being (Dion & Kawakami, 1996; Kessler et al., 1999; Ying, Lee, & Tsai, 2000). Therefore, similar to Latinos and African Americans, it is likely that Asian Americans experiences with racism (and identity denial) are likely to be at odds with messages that make claims that discrimination against their group is no longer an issue. However, it is important to note that many of the existing studies documenting the relationship between racist events and mental health typically have not examined the experiences of Asian Americans. Consequently, some of the findings on racial discrimination directed toward African Americans or Latino Americans may not accurately describe the experiences of racism and discrimination directed toward Asian Americans.

In general, research demonstrates that any experience of discrimination may impose significant hardships on its targets, such as limiting their access to housing, jobs, healthcare, and health behaviors, among other things (Neckerman & Kirschenman, 1991; Yinger, 1995; Hausmann et al., 2011). Discrimination may also impose psychological hardships, leading targets to experience elevated levels of anger, depressive symptoms, anxiety (see review by Schmitt, Branscombe, Postmes, & Garcia, 2014). Because racism reflects perceived systematic

and unfaltering rejection on the part of the dominant group, racial discrimination can also lead individuals to feel as though they do not belong (Walton & Cohen, 2002).

Supporting this claim, Meyer (2003) proposed a theory that posits that psychological stress is derived from minority status. Although the author has based his predictions on gay individuals, they, like other minority group members, are subject experience stress as a consequence of stigmatization. Consistent with evidence for Dohrenwend and colleagues social causality of distress theory (Dohrenwend et al., 1992), and evidence for the social stress discourse (Mirowsky & Ross, 1989), it is proposed that such stress leads to adverse mental health. In general, minority stress occurs when there is conflict between minority and dominant group members' values in the social environment (Mirowsky & Ross, 1989). Lazarus & Folkman (1984) often describe such a disconnect between individuals and their experience in society as "the essence of all social stress." Certainly, when the individual is person belonging to a stigmatized status and thus experiences discrimination, the inconsistency between the individual and the dominant culture can be burdensome, and is likely to result in significant increases in minority stress.

Symbolic interaction and social comparison theories offer a different perspective. These theories posit that people derive meaning to their world and organize their experience based on the social environment (Pettigrew, 1967; Stryker & Statham, 1985). Minority group members may also be exposed to negative life events as a function stigmatization and discrimination related to their minority status (Brooks, 1981). However, it is important to note that minority stress is not something that only arises from negative life events--- it also arises out of a combination of minority group members' experiences in the dominant society. Importantly, at

the center of this experience and what often leads to distress is the inconsistency between the minority person's beliefs, experiences, concerns, and societal structures.

Several studies have documented the role stigmatization plays on mental and physical health. Much of the research to date has focused on the disparate role psychological stress has played on members from socially stigmatized groups compared to those who are not from minority groups (Meyer, 1995). Despite work that has shown this connection (e.g., Kessler, Mickelson, & Williams, 1999), many previous studies that compared rates of distress and disorder between Blacks and Whites, women and men, and homosexuals and heterosexuals did not confirm such predictions, leading some researchers to refute minority stress conceptualizations (see McCarthy & Yancy, 1971; Neighbors & Jackson, 1984). For example, researchers have concluded that economic conditions, rather than stigmatization and prejudice, are related to adverse mental health outcomes among ethnic minorities (Mirowsky & Ross, 1989). Despite research that reveals that African Americans report experiencing more stress than Whites, more recent studies reveal that they do not have higher rates of mental disorders than Whites, which is inconsistent with the minority stress hypothesis (Williams, Jackson, & Anderson, 2007). In fact, research also suggests that African Americans may have better psychological well-being and higher rates of self-esteem compared to White Americans (Ryff, Keys, & Hughes, 2003; Twenge & Crocker, 2002). However, support for minority stress theories is provided by some research. For example, support for minority stress conceptualizations in studies of Black-White differences is provided by Kessler & Neighbors (1986), who re-analyzed eight epidemiological surveys that had concluded that race differences in distress are entirely explained by social class. The reanalysis showed that, while overall SES explains higher levels of distress for African Americans, the hypothesized direct minority stress effect was at work

along low SES African Americans. This finding highlights that understanding the mechanisms through which minority position affects distress will help clarify findings on rate differences. As another example, Meyer and colleagues (2008) have shown clear support for the minority stress hypothesis with regard to race/ethnicity, but no substantial support with regard to sexual orientation and gender (Meyer, Schwartz, & Frost, 2008). More specifically, researchers found that Blacks and Latino LGB individuals were not only exposed to more stressors, but also reported having fewer available coping resources than both heterosexual and LGB Whites. Furthermore, these findings revealed that the reports of “overall stress and chronic strain” were also associated with an increase exposure to prejudice-related stressors, suggesting that a relationship between overall stress exposure and racial discrimination and prejudice. However, one important limitation of this study was the exclusion of African American or Latino heterosexuals. More specifically, the study had a central focus on LGB populations and therefore, white heterosexual men served as the reference group, with “sexual minority status, race/ethnicity minority status, and female gender as added contrasts” (Meyer et al., 2008).

Applied to the present case, messages that minimize or deny the experience of racism may be interpreted as a prejudice-related stressor—if the perception is that majority group members hold these views, then it is likely that racial/ethnic minorities believe that Whites are not acknowledging bias and discrimination when it exist. Whether intentional or unintentional, conscious or unconscious, a failure to see racism when it exists is likely to be threatening to racial/ethnic minorities because it is likely to make them more susceptible to race-based mistreatment in the future. Importantly, denying or minimizing racism may also be interpreted as the dominant group selecting to ignore experiences that are potentially relevant to racial minorities’ sense of identity.

Racial Minorities' Prejudice Concerns in the United States

Individuals who experience racial discrimination frequently report being concerned about being the target of future racial discrimination and prejudice. Because of these concerns, racial/ethnic minorities often report anticipating being the target of prejudice when in interactions with Whites (Shelton, Richeson, & Salvatore, 2005; Major, Kaiser & McCoy, 2003). These concerns can result in a number of negative consequences. For example, racial minority group members tend to be aware of the negative stereotypes that are attributed to their group (Pinel, 1999) and as a result, concerns about appearing prejudice can negatively influence minority group member's performance on potentially stereotype-confirming tasks (Steele & Aronson, 1995). White's ambiguous behavior towards racial/ethnic minorities may also activate prejudice concerns (Crocker, Voelkl, Testa, & Major, 1991). For example, in one study, researchers found that when Asian and Latino participants overheard a White confederate state that he would not want to interact with a Asian or Latino person, Asian and Latino participants reported feeling more hostile and anxious about a future interaction with a White confederate and marginally less positive about interacting with outgroup members in general compared to Latinos and Asians who overheard the confederate make a race-neutral comments (Tropp, 2003). In other words, member's from racial/ethnic minority group may spontaneously be concerned about being the target of prejudice based on Whites' behavior (Word, Zanna & Cooper, 1974). As another example, research demonstrated that Black students who frequently perceived race-based rejection (e.g., believed negative treatment directed at them is likely due to their race) in academics experienced a higher overall sense of rejection and a decline in academic performance over the course of 2 years (Mendoza-Denton, Downey, Purdie, Davis, & Pietrzak, 2002). Ultimately, this research demonstrates that racial/ethnic minorities' status as members of a

disadvantaged group is likely to activate concerns about being the potential target of prejudice, which stands in stark contrast to messages that make claims that racism is over.

Racial Minorities' Value Their Racial Histories

Because racial/ethnic minority group members typically experience prejudice and are therefore concerned about being the target of prejudice, they are often motivated to think about and discuss racial issues. For example, both Blacks and Latinos report endorsing multicultural ideology, or an ideology in which group differences should be acknowledged (Ryan, Hunt, Weible, Peterson, & Casas, 2007). Research suggests that this approach may have positive consequences for ethnic minorities. For instance, many African-Americans and Latinos endorse racial socialization, a concept coined by Peters (1985) to describe the process of communicating messages about race to their children. Racial socialization messages can bolster African Americans' and Latinos' sense of identity, which is important given the possibility that their life experiences may involve racially hostile encounters (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Demo & Hughes, 1990; Hughes & Chen, 1997). There is also evidence that ethnic identity and understanding race is equally important to Asian Americans. In a study by Noh, Beiser, Kaspar, Hou, and Rummens (1999) on Southeast Asian refugees in Canada, researchers found that a combination of ethnic identity and "culture-specific coping" served as a psychological buffer against the negative psychological outcomes associated with perceived discrimination. In other words, ethnic identity and culture-specific coping among Asian refugees served as a buffer against perceived discrimination. Research also demonstrates that African American and Mexican American parents are also more likely than White American parents to teach children about their cultural history and ethnic pride (Phinney & Chavira, 1995). By supporting these messages, racial socialization has become a salient feature of child rearing in ethnic/racial minority families and

has important consequences for the identity development and well-being. Related to the present case, this research suggests that messages that minimize or deny the existence of racism may conflict with racial minorities' intentions to understand and appreciate their racial histories.

Conclusion

Altogether, there is growing evidence suggests that personal experiences of discrimination and prejudice concerns shared among racial and ethnic minorities have the potential to be inconsistent with messages that minimize the existence of racial discrimination. Indeed, messages that imply that "racism is over" are likely to be inconsistent with many racial/ethnic minority group members' actual experiences. Moreover, research also suggests that racial/ethnic minority group members are motivated to endorse ideologies that openly discuss race relations along with their racial histories. Thus, messages that minimize the existence of racism fail to acknowledge a history that is openly embraced among members from socially stigmatized groups and are therefore inconsistent with the lived experiences of racial/ethnic minorities.

Perceptions of Majority Group Members in the United States

Majority Group Members Have Concerns About Appearing Prejudice

In contrast, majority group members have a very different set of experiences and prejudice concerns in the United States. White Americans are frequently stereotyped as being racist in U.S. society (Niemann, Jennings, Rozelle, Baxter, & Sullivan, 1994). As a result of this stereotype, Whites are chronically concerned that they will be seen as holding prejudicial attitudes or appear racist (Richeson & Shelton, 2007; Shelton, Trail, & West, 2010; Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, 1998). This is largely due to America's history of overt and subtle racism perpetrated by Whites against racial minorities, as well as significant power and status

differences between Whites and racial minorities. As a result, it is important for Whites to not express racial bias (Plant & Devine, 1998). There are a couple of reasons why White individuals may be motivated to do this. First, they may be *internally* motivated to act in non-prejudiced ways because they personally value equality (Plant & Devine, 1998; Dunton & Fazio, 1997). In other words, some individuals have internalized egalitarian norms and have integrated these norms into their self-concept (see Ryan & Deci, 2000, for a review). Second, White individuals may be *externally* motivated not to appear prejudiced. Specifically, they do not want to appear prejudiced because they are concerned that others will reject or punish them for expressing interpersonal biases (Plant & Devine, 1998). Indeed, social rejection is one of the many penalties that may result from expressing prejudice toward other groups (van Leeuwen, van den Bosch, Castano, & Hopman, 2010). In addition to the social rejection, federal laws have also been established to punish individuals who discriminate against members from socially disadvantaged groups. Therefore, White individuals may be particularly motivated to suppress any prejudicial attitudes they hold (e.g., Judd, Park, Ryan, Brauer, & Kraus, 1995; Shapiro & Neuberg, 2008; Devine, Plant, Amodio, Harmon Jones, & Vance, 2002).

Regardless of the motivation, concerns about appearing prejudiced have been found to be a source of distress and anxiety for Whites (Devine, Evett, & Vasquez-Suson, 1996; Ickes, 1984). Prejudice concerns can create a state of physical threat in some majority group members, jump-starting physiological processes that may occur when one is under stress (Blacovich, Mendes, Hunter, Lickel, & Kowai-Bell, 2001). Because prejudice concerns are distressing to Whites, environments that make these concerns salient, such as interracial interactions, have been found to impair the cognitive functioning of White individuals (Richeson & Shelton, 2003). Specifically, after interacting with a Black confederate (compared to a White confederate), White

individuals did not perform as well on the Stroop color-naming paradigm, which is a measure of attention and executive functioning. This finding reveals that in addition to being distressing, concerns about appearing prejudice have the ability to engage physiological systems and hinder the cognitive performance of White individuals. Therefore, if messages that make claims that “racism is over” have the potential to alleviate prejudice concerns, it may also attenuate distress or negative affect that often occurs when Whites are concerned about appearing prejudice. As one might predict, this effect may become even more pronounced if Whites are exposed to messages that minimize or deny the existence of racism in an environment when prejudice concerns are relevant, such as an interracial interaction.

Whites Endorse Meritocracy

Given the frequency and consequences of prejudice concerns, majority group members tend to respond to members of minority groups with meritocracy—the belief that success is based on hard work and/or merit (e.g., Kluegel & Smith, 1986). People are motivated to endorse these system-justifying beliefs because they are motivated to preserve the idea that existing social arrangements are fair and legitimate (Jost & Hunyady, 2005). By placing the responsibility on the individual’s own merits, these beliefs ultimately justify status inequalities. As a result, meritocracy ultimately implies that those who are higher status are simply more capable because they work harder (and thus are more deserving) than those who are lower status (Ledgerwood, Mandisodza, Jost, & Pohl, 2011). Therefore, Whites are motivated to see the world as fair and egalitarian because if this were not true, their status in society would be perceived as less legitimate (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Major et al., 2002). In other words, if we lived in a biased world where discrimination has the power to bring negative outcomes to

particular social groups, then majority group members do not deserve their status because it would be considered unfair.

Colorblindness

Furthermore, because Whites are motivated to appear non-prejudiced, they are likely to engage in behaviors that demonstrate that they are not racist. One strategy often adopted by Whites is colorblindness. According to colorblindness, individuals should not be judged based on their racial/ethnic group membership (Ryan, Hunt, Weible, Peterson & Casas, 2007). Importantly, colorblindness suggests that an individual's life outcomes should in no way be influenced by racial group membership (Knowles, Lowery, Hogan & Chow, 2009). In other words, if individuals do not notice race, then they cannot be perceived as racist. In order to avoid appearing biased, Whites engage in colorblind strategies (i.e., avoid seeing or mentioning race) (Apfelbaum, Sommers, & Norton, 2008; Norton, Sommers, Apfelbaum, Pura, & Ariely, 2006). For example, even when race is the most noticeable characteristic available, White children will report not noticing that a person is Black in order to avoid appearing biased (Norton, Sommers, Apfelbaum, Pura, & Ariely, 2006). By limiting the opportunities to be perceived as racist, this approach allows the individual to make a positive impression. However, colorblind strategies have the potential to backfire. As one example, research has found that White students playing a Political Correctness Game, which is a task that requires matching in order to describe other individuals, were not as likely to use race to describe the target when paired with a African American partner than when paired with a White partner, demonstrating Whites' motivation to unconsciously adopt a colorblind strategy (Norton et al., 2006). However, such avoidance of race when interacting with a Black partner led Whites to perform poorly on a dyadic task (Norton et al., 2006). Furthermore, White individuals who used a colorblind strategy when interacting with

a Black partner appeared less friendly to the Black partner and was perceived to hold greater prejudicial racial attitudes compared to Whites who did not employ a colorblind strategy (Apfelbaum, Sommers, & Norton, 2008). Thus, Whites' efforts to avoid appearing biased through colorblind behavior may not always be the best strategy for Whites.

Conclusion

In summary, extant research demonstrates that majority group members are motivated to not appear prejudiced. These motivations foster the support of ideologies that avoid discussions of racial difference, such as meritocracy and colorblindness. Therefore, messages that avoid acknowledging race by minimizing the existence of racial discrimination may be consistent with motivations to de-emphasize racial differences that distinguish groups. In this way, messages that minimize or deny the existence of racism may be consistent with Whites beliefs and motivations by providing an opportunity for members of socially advantaged groups to appear non-prejudiced.

Evaluating Racial Progress: Racial Minority/White Differences in Perceptions of Racism

Thus far, I have been talking about racism with the underlying assumption that there is one definition that is universally accepted by all individuals, regardless of race. However, the "racism is over" rhetoric might be viewed differently if individuals are comparing the concept of racism to the racist conditions of the past to the goal of full racial equality. For example, concerning racial equality, Wolfe (1998) wrote, "Compared with where we were, there is progress. Compared with where we should be, that progress is insufficient"(p.223). In addition, Pettigrew (1996) demonstrated that statistics may allow individuals to form a positive impression of racial progress when current racial conditions for racial/ethnic minorities are compared to previous racial conditions, or conditions of the past. However, when current racial conditions for

racial/ethnic minorities are pitted against conditions for Whites, the result may form a more negative impression given the obvious disparities that still persist between racial minorities and White Americans.

In order to understand how individuals might vary in terms of racial progress (and thus, their definitions of racism), we can look to literature that details how individuals assess progress. While progress takes into account the distance the starting position and the final goal, individuals may sometimes assess progress by concentrating on either the position or the final goal. In turn, they may believe that they have made progress with respect to a selected reference point but fail to take into account the distance from the other critical point. However, one's aspirations and goals are sometimes used as other reference points (March & Shapira, 1992; Heath, Larrick, & Wu, 1999) and the important of how much progress one has made to achieve the goal can be seen very differently depending on how it is judged in terms of the reference points (Rothman, 2000). There are many psychological factors that differ between individuals that may affect the selection of a reference point for assessing a goal (Heath, Larrick, & Wu, 1999).

Once a goal has become an intention, it becomes a concern and leads individuals to more heavily monitor their how much they need to do in order to achieve the goal (Heckhausen & Kuhl, 1985). Racial/ethnic minorities and White Americans are likely to differ to the extent to which they define racial progress, and I argue that the difference is likely to influence the reference point they choose to select and their overall assessment of racism. Indeed, recent and past surveys indicate that Whites and racial/ethnic minorities may strongly differ in the degree to which full racial equality represents an important goal for them. In the 2014 Gallup Poll Survey, 34% of Black Americans compared to only 10% of White Americans rated President Obama's election as president in terms of progress for Blacks in the United States as "the most important

advances for Blacks in the past 100 years” (Gallup Poll, June 13). In a similar survey, non-Whites (22%) were more than twice as likely as White Americans (9%) to view racial issues as the nation’s largest problem (McCarthy, 2014).

In addition, racial/ethnic minorities and Whites might differ in what racial progress represents. For ethnic minorities, advances toward racial equity might more often represent a more urgent goal that includes concerns about safety and other more fundamental needs of the person (Eibach & Erhlinger, 2007). In contrast, Whites in particular, progress toward racial equality might represent a less urgent goal. Given that people tend to give more importance to the distance from the endpoint when determining progress towards nurturance goals, the difference in what the end goal actually means is important (Brodschool & Higgins, 2003). Thus, it is not surprising that Whites tend to judge racial progress by comparing the present to the way things were in the past racism severe (i.e., segregation and institutionalized discrimination). However, ethnic minorities are likely to have a greater investment in the goal to establish racial equality. As a result, racial/ethnic minorities often focus their assessments of progress on the goal of achieving full racial equality.

The research on racial differences in racial progress has important implications for the present work. In line with this research area, I argue that racial differences will produce different perceptions in how individuals conceptualize and respond to claims that imply racism is over. In particular, the magnitude of the goal of progress can seem further away when it is evaluated with respect to the end goal than when it is evaluated with respect to the starting point (Pettigrew, 1996). Today, racial/ethnic minorities today have higher standards in terms of assessing racial progress with respect to what racial conditions should ideally be (Eicbach & Ehrlinger, 2006). Borrowing from this perspective, the pace of racial progress may appear to be slow and

incomplete. In contrast, Whites today appear to be using a different and lower standard, assessing progress with respect to the severe racial conditions of the past. From this perspective, the pace of progress may appear to be fast and sufficient. Thus, Whites may have a more favorable impression to messages that deny the existence of racism because they believe it has already been achieved whereas ethnic minorities may form a less favorable impression to this message because they believe there is still much more progress that needs to occur (Eibach & Ehrlinger, 2006; Eicbach & Keegan, 2006). In other words, messages that deny or minimize the existence of racism might cause Whites to look backwards and focus on milestones in racial equality instead of looking at the barriers that may still exist for racial minorities (Kaiser et al., 2009). Given that my central hypothesis relies on the individual's interpretation of racism, understanding potential racial differences in racial progress provides a clearer understanding of how messages that minimize or deny the existence of racism may ultimately affect the well-being and status of individuals from socially disadvantaged and advantaged groups.

Summary of Racial Minority and Majority Group Members Experiences and Concerns

The above review of the existing literature suggests that there may be differences in racial/ethnic minority group members' and majority group members' experiences and prejudice concerns, and both of these are likely to influence their beliefs about racial progress. On one hand, racial/ethnic minorities are aware of prejudice and discrimination directed toward them and valid concerns about being targets of prejudice, which increase their motivation to identify discrimination and prejudice in order to protect themselves from such negative experiences. As a result, racial minorities typically focus on how much racial progress is needed as opposed to how much has been achieved (Eicbach & Ehrlinger, 2006). On the other hand, racial majority group members often do not have experiences as the targets of prejudice or discrimination to the same

degree. Instead, they tend to be seen as perpetrators of racism and discrimination and often perceive greater racial progress than ethnic minorities (Eicbach & Ehrlinger, 2006). Moreover, because their position of privilege in society motivates them to see the world as equitable, White Americans may therefore be more likely to support the notion that racism is no longer an issue. Collectively, these theories offer support for the possibility that minority and majority group members in the United States will differ in the extent to which they believe that messages minimizing or denying the existence of racism accurately reflect reality. If this is the case, then the consistency (a match between one's experiences and beliefs) or inconsistency (a mismatch between one's experience and beliefs) should have important implications for how individuals respond to messages that minimize or deny the existence of racism.

The Consequences of Inconsistency

There is reason to believe that inconsistency, or a mismatch between an individual's experiences or beliefs, should lead to adverse outcomes. First, prior work has demonstrated that when events are inconsistent with one's personal beliefs about how the world works (also referred to as *worldviews*), people report experiencing distress. More specifically, people are motivated to believe that negative events will never happen to them, that the world meaningful, fair, and just, and they themselves are valuable, good people. People do this in part because individuals are fundamentally motivated to perceive their social world and environment as consistent, unvarying, and foreseeable (Bowlby, 1969; Greenberg, Solomon, & Pyszczynski, 1997; Jost & Banaji, 1994). Perceiving the social world and environment as such affords the individuals with a number of psychological advantages, including enhanced sense of control, increased determination, self-efficacy, self-worth, and positive mental health (Greenberg et al., 1997; Janoff-Bulman, 1989). When certain events violate these assumptions, distress can occur

(Krystal, 1993). When “bad things happen to good people” (Kushner, 2007), their core assumptions of how the social world operates is “shattered.” In other words, people experience distress when an unforeseen event creates inconsistency between our beliefs (how we believe the world operates) and our experiences (how the world actually works).

Supporting this theory, research on belief in a just world (BJW) demonstrates that people desire perceived order and balance in the social world. BJW is defined as the conviction that individuals are solely responsible for their own outcomes (Lerner, 1980). Belief in a Just World provides individuals with the opportunity to make sense of negative events that may happen to them (Lerner, Miller, & Holmes, 1976). This approach is adaptive because it ultimately shields individuals from negative events that may make them feel personally vulnerable. It rests on the assumption that as long as people are good, then bad things will not impact them. Supporting this logic, research demonstrates that the more individuals endorse the belief in a just world, the less susceptible they feel to a wide range of threats compared to those who did not endorse just-world beliefs (Bulman & Wortman, 1977; Hafer & Olsen, 1993).

When these beliefs are challenged or when individuals find evidence that the world that they believe is fair and just is actually not, people experience a heightened sense of fear, stress, anxiety, vulnerability, and negative affect (Janoff-Bulman, 1989; Lerner, 1980). For example, most Americans believe that the September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States was an unfair occurrence (Pyszczynski, Solomon, & Greenberg, 2003). In a prospective study of Americans’ reactions to the terrorist attacks, researchers found that the more U.S college students endorsed a belief in a just world prior to the attacks, the more emotional distress they reported after the attacks and the more motivated individuals were to advocate revenge (Kaiser, Vick, & Major, 2004). This finding suggests that a strong challenge to an individual’s beliefs

about the world can lead individuals to feel distress and motivates them to seek revenge in order to restore their sense of justice. Applied to the present case, it could be argued that exposing individuals to a message that denies the existence of racism stands in conflict with racial/ethnic minority group members' belief systems. In other words, it may be the case the racial minorities' experiences with prejudice/discrimination, concerns about being the target of prejudice, and their characterizations of racial progress are inconsistent with messages that claim that their experiences, concerns, and characterizations are not legitimate. That is, I argue that racial minorities in general are unlikely to strongly endorse beliefs in a just world or meritocracy because they possess a stigmatized identity. Thus, messages that ignore racism as a problem may cause racial minorities to feel significantly distressed because this message does not match their beliefs, experiences, or concerns.

Building on this work, evidence for the consequences of inconsistent global views and beliefs have also been found in the context of perceived discrimination. For example, researchers found that members of socially disadvantaged groups (Latinos) who held strong beliefs that one can get a head by working hard and also reported high levels of perceived discrimination reported lower self-esteem than those whose experiences and beliefs were consistent (Foster, Sloto, & Ruby, 2006). As another example, Foster and Tsarfati (2005) found that women who rejected meritocracy and were the targets of a gender discrimination had higher-self esteem compared to women who endorsed meritocracy and were they targets of gender discrimination. In other words, women who held a belief meritocracy (a belief that did not match their experience) and experienced perceived discrimination reported greater feelings of personal vulnerability, negative affect, and lower self-esteem than those who had consistency between the discriminatory experience and their meritocratic beliefs. This suggests that perceiving racism

against one's ingroup may pose a threat to the worldview of individuals who believe that they earn their status in society, but solidifies the worldview of individuals who do not. Importantly, it also suggests that having consistency between your experiences and beliefs about how the world works is beneficial. Replicating this finding, Major, Kasier, O'Brien, and McCoy (2007) found that while perceiving discrimination against the ingroup has been found to be negatively associated with self-esteem among racial minorities who endorsed a belief that individuals of any group can get ahead in America (meritocratic worldview), perceiving discrimination was positively associated with self-esteem among those who rejected this worldview. These findings suggest that racial minorities have to engage in the psychologically strenuous task of reconciling this inconsistency between their worldviews and their experiences.

Strengths and Limitations of Worldview Verification Hypothesis

The previous review on the worldview verification theory and the belief in a just world theory provides an important platform for my dissertation by demonstrating that holding a belief that is inconsistent with one's experience may have detrimental consequences for well-being. Related to the present case, exposing racial/ethnic minorities to messages that make claims that "racism is over" is an experience that is likely to conflict with their experiences, concerns, and beliefs. More specifically, and consistent work revealing that racial minorities are often the targets of prejudice (Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2003), report feeling concerned about being the targets of prejudice (Shelton, Richeson, & Salvatore, 2005), and believe that racial equality has not yet been achieved (Eibach & Keegan, 2006), exposing racial minorities to messages that minimize or deny the existence of racism undermines the experiences, concerns, and belief systems that are commonly held among members from racial/ethnic minority groups. As a result, these messages are likely to be perceived as threatening. The work by Major and

colleagues (2007) and Foster and colleagues (2006) therefore provides empirical support for this hypothesis by demonstrating that messages that do not map onto a person's worldviews can lead individuals to experience distress.

Foster and colleagues attempted to explain these findings by drawing on the "shattered assumptions model of coping with traumatic events" (Janoff-Bulman, 1989, 1992) and theories related to group consciousness (e.g., Bowles & Klein, 1983). According to these two perspectives, having positive assumptions about the world (such as a belief in meritocracy) is positively associated with psychological well-being among racial minorities, as long as those assumptions remain "unshattered" or "damaged" by the psychological trauma of racism. Once individuals have been experienced racism, however, rejecting these belief system (criticizing meritocracy) is likely to be more advantageous because you do not need to reconcile the discrepancy between your beliefs and your experiences.

However, both the work by Foster and colleagues (2006) and Major and colleagues (2007) proposed that the consequences associated with perceived discrimination on psychological well-being depend on the target's core presumption and beliefs about how the world works (i.e., worldviews). In other words, they conclude that beliefs about the world may influence how individuals appraise prejudice and discrimination and how they might respond to prejudice and discrimination directed against them or their ingroup (Major, McCoy, Kaiser, Quinton, 2003; Major & Schmader, 2001). However, in the present research, I did not anticipate that worldviews (i.e., beliefs in meritocracy or beliefs in a just world) would moderate the relationship between messages that deny the existence of racism and psychological outcomes. This decision may be perceived as problematic because the absence of a moderator implies that racial minorities share similar belief systems, have similar prejudice concerns, and have had

similar experiences with racism as a function of belonging to a stigmatized group. However, research has shown that not all targets of prejudice experience the negative consequences associated with discrimination. For example, Crocker & Major (1989) hypothesized that because prejudice is a threat that can't be controlled by the individual, attributing negative outcomes to prejudice should protect the individual's self-esteem instead of making attributions to "internal, stable, and global causes such as lack of ability"(p. 613). In this case, attributing negative events to external causes may protect affect and self-esteem of racial minorities, whereby attributing negative outcomes to internal causes for which one is responsible may lead to negative affect and low self-esteem. Therefore, these attributions along with evidence that worldviews moderate the relationship between perceived discrimination and self-esteem provides substantial support for the importance of considering individual differences.

In light of these reservations, I did not include worldviews as a moderator in the present work for several reasons. First, there is compelling evidence suggesting that racial/ethnic minorities frequently report being the target of discrimination. For example, a recent survey revealed that Whites (12%) report the lowest incidence of racial discrimination, while Asian Americans (31%), Black Americans (66%) and Latino Americans (38%) reported experiencing higher rates of racial discrimination in the last two months (McCarthy, 2014). In fact, recent survey polls reveal that Americans name "racism" as the most important problem in the United States, which has climbed dramatically to 13%, since a finding of 15% in 1992, in the middle of the Rodney King verdict (McCarthy, 2014). In addition to high reports of explicit forms of racism, racial minorities are often the victims of racial microaggressions, which are defined as brief and everyday insults, slights, and condescending messages sent to racial minorities by well-intentioned Whites who are often unaware of the hidden yet nefarious messages being

communicated (Pierce, 1970). Ironically, it has been proposed that the daily common experiences of racial microaggressions may have significantly more influence on racial frustration, self-esteem, well-being, and anger than more overt forms of racism (Solorzana, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000). Given that the studies by Major and colleagues (2007) and Foster and colleagues (2006) were published eight years ago, the increasing rates of reported discrimination and the recent development of work on racial microaggressions suggests that both explicit and subtle forms of racial discrimination are a palpable problem for racial minorities in the United States. Even if racial minorities' are not the direct targets of racism, it is likely that they are aware of discrimination that is directed at their group. Third, research reveals that perceptions of discrimination can increase racial/ethnic identification to the group. Therefore, exposure to messages that deny the existence of racism may be perceived as threatening and discriminatory because they may increase the salience of racial group membership, which may ultimately highlight the inconsistency between their racial ideological worldview (Sellers, Chavous, & Cooke, 1998). That is, because the concept of racism is not foreign to the way in which racial/ethnic minorities engage the world, messages that deny racism may remind racial/ethnic minorities of their disadvantage, ultimately leading them to experience distress. Fourth, it is unlikely that participants in Foster and colleagues study (2006) or Major and colleagues study (2007) were exposed to the intense post-racial rhetoric that was incited when the first African American President, Barack Obama, was elected in 2008. Indeed, many would argue that Obama's election served as a massive milestone for racial progress and was the catalyst that inspired the "racism is over" rhetoric. Lastly, I would argue that perceiving discrimination is qualitatively different than being exposed to messages that minimize or deny the existence of racism. On one hand, perceiving discrimination implies that racial minorities are identifying

unfair treatment typically perpetrated by majority group members. On the other hand, messages that deny the existence of racism implies that majority group members are *failing* to identify or acknowledge unfair treatment when it exists. The latter situation implies a deliberate denial of a minority group member's experience on part of the dominant group, whereas one may draw the conclusion that identifying and interpreting events as discrimination rests in the hands of minority group members. Therefore, messages that minimize the existence of racism are dangerous because minority group members may be unlikely to believe that they have the power to change this perspective.

In the present work, I predict that racial minorities will experience emotional distress when they encounter information that challenges their core worldviews, or in other words, a messages that minimize or deny the existence of racism. Therefore, I hypothesize racial minorities' reactions are dependent on the content of their worldview, which I argue, is intrinsically informed by the nature of holding a marginalized position in society. Consequently, I predict that emotional well-being will suffer when racial minorities are exposed to information that undermines their experiences.

Absence of a Shared Reality: What Happens When Our Understanding of the World is Inconsistent with Others' Understanding of the World?

In addition to the worldview perspective, distress that may arise as a function of an inconsistency between messages that minimize the existence of racism and personal beliefs or experiences also suggests that an absence of a shared system of beliefs, social attitudes, and values can be deeply concerning. In everyday life we can identify many examples of the ways in which individuals share their inner states with others. For instance, when a new student enters a classroom, people tend to create their impressions of their new classmate together with their

peers, and they feel more certain in their evaluations of them when others agree. This occurs because it has been long documented that humans have a fundamental need to understand, control, and share their inner states, including feelings, attitudes, beliefs, wishes, goals, and standards with others (e.g., Higgins & Pittman, 2008; Echterhoff, Higgins, & Levine, 2009). In other words, people are motivated to achieve a mutual understanding or a '*shared reality*' with others (Hardin & Higgins, 1996). Social psychology is replete with empirical examples which document the psychological processes that enable individuals to share their inner states with others (e.g., Asch, 1952; Bar-Tal, 1990, 2000; Cooley, 1902; Destinger, 1950; Lewin, 1947; Sherif, 1935, 1936). In an experimental test of this theory, for example, researchers found that German students who have a speech to an audience belonging to a stigmatized outgroup (Turks) reported more often that they attempted to actively alter their messages more often to their audience's views than did participants communicating to an ingroup (German) audience (Echterhoff et al., 2008, Experiment 1). Consistent with this work, research on false consensus (e.g., Ross, Greene, & House, 1997) and egocentric pattern projections (e.g., Nickerson, 2001) also contend that people tend to presume that the inner states of others match their own inner states. The motivation to establish a subjective experience of reality by social sharing is so strong that people naturally believe that others agree with their opinions even when this is not the case (Ross, Greene, & House, 1997; Higgins, 2008). Thus, it is not surprising that when personal beliefs and opinions are not shared by others, the absence of a shared reality can play a critical factor in dysfunctional group dynamics (Nelson & Coopriider, 1996). For example, researchers found that when ingroup members felt that they did not share the same reality as outgroup members, ingroup members reported lower trust in outgroup members than did ingroup members who felt that outgroup members shared a similar reality (Echterhoff, Higgins, & Groll, 2005).

Therefore, the absence of a shared reality can have detrimental consequences not only for people's psychological well-being, but importantly for their feelings of connectedness, sense of belonging, and potential interactions with others (Hardin & Higgins, 1996).

How might the absence of a shared reality inform the present research? I argue that messages that deny the existence of racism damage the belief systems shared by racial minority and majority group members. Consistent with my earlier review on prejudice concerns and perceptions of discrimination, racial/ethnic minority group members are often faced with inequity and realize that much work is needed in order to achieve racial equality. When presented with messages that deny experiences of racism, which are experiences that pose a barrier to racial equality, it is possible that these messages highlight the disconnection between the inner states of racial/ethnic minorities and the inner states of majority group members. More specifically, I hypothesize that racial minorities will be less likely to believe that majority group members understand their experiences if they believe that dominant group members hold a belief that racism is over.

The Benefits of Consistency

Confirmation Bias: Searching for Information that Confirms Your Beliefs

In the past 60 years, a developing body of literature has suggested that people are intrinsically motivated to see what they wish to see. The thoughts people beguile about their social environments are not necessarily accurate depictions of reality, but rather the result of what people want and wish for. For example, classic work on confirmation bias has revealed that individuals often search for, interpret, and/or recall information that confirms his/her beliefs (Wason, 1960). In one experimental test of this phenomenon, Darley and Gross (1983) had two groups of participants come into the lab to view a video of a child taking an academic test. In one

condition, participants were led to believe that the child came from a high socioeconomic status background. In the other condition, participants were led to believe that the child came from a low socioeconomic status background. Participants from both groups were asked assigned to rate the academic abilities of the child. Results revealed that participants assigned to view the video featuring the low SES child rated their academic abilities as below grade level, whereas participants assigned to view the video picturing the high SES child rated the same performance as above grade level. These results indicate that participants formed hypotheses about the child's ability based on stereotypes associated with socioeconomic status, and these assumptions and then interpreted what they saw in the videotape in order to make it more in line with their predictions. Once an individual believes that members of a specific group will behave in certain ways, he or she is more likely to seek and identify evidence to support this belief than seek and identify evidence against it. Thus, confirmation bias provides a powerful system by which "stereotypes and prejudicial behavior are maintained, propagated, and justified"(p. 16, Chen & Bargh, 1997), ultimately leading individuals to experience increases in feelings of certainty, security, and positive affect.

The distinction between deliberately selecting something based on one's preferences and molding of facts to confirm one's hypotheses or beliefs is a challenging distinction to make and while the difference are meaningful, confirmation bias has more to do with the molding facts to confirm one's hypothesis than with the former (Nickerson, 1998). The belief that people can and do engage in building a case, often outside of their conscious awareness and without meaning to treat evidence in a biased way, is extremely important to the concept of confirmation bias.

Based on the central tenants of confirmation bias, recent work has demonstrated that people also put objects into specific categories in ways that are consistent with their own

personal beliefs or preferences (Dunning & Balcatetis, 2013). As a result, people don't always perceive the external environment according to the way it truly is; rather they perceive it the way they wish it to be. Researchers in social perception suggest that people's internal states influence their perceptual environment to create the experience of *wishful seeing*.



Figure 1. This ambiguous figure has been used in studies of wishful seeing. The image can be interpreted as either a “B” or a “13.”

As another example, I would like to draw your attention to the image in Figure 1, which can be perceived as either a “B” or “13.” In this study, this image was displayed to participants for 400 milliseconds. On average, observers tended to identify it as a “B” when letters were associated with a favorable outcome, which, in this case, was drinking freshly squeezed orange juice. In another condition, researchers asked participants to associate the numbers with an unfavorable outcome, which, in this case, was consuming an unappetizing healthy smoothie (Balcatetis & Dunning, 2006). If the associations of letters and numbers with those outcomes were reversed, participants tended to see a “13,” which was associated with the undesirable outcome instead of the “B,” which was associated with the favorable outcome. From this finding and findings like these, researchers drew the conclusion that people often gather and process

information in biased ways. Ultimately, doing this helps people sustain positive views of themselves and maintain a stable place in the social world (see Baumeister & Newman, 1994; Dunning, 2001).

However, there may be times in which individuals are motivated to disconfirm a particular hypothesis. For example, if an individual believes that a hypothesis is false or untrue, he/she may attempt to find evidence to prove that it is untrue or weight the evidence with less importance (Nickerson, 1998). However, in both cases, the hypothesis in question in this case is a hypothesis that has been informed by someone else's belief. For the individual who is attempting to disconfirm this hypothesis, a confirmation bias would be represented in the form of a bias to confirm the individual's own belief, namely to demonstrate that the hypothesis in question is untrue. Connecting this theory to the present work, it may be the case that when exposed to messages that minimize the existence of racism, racial minorities are not falling prey to confirmation bias--- they are *disconfirming* the hypothesis that racism is over.

In summary, work on confirmation bias and wishful seeing suggests that people tend to represent or interpret parts of their social environment in ways that converge with their personal preferences. How might this work relate to the present research, more specifically, Whites' responses to messages that imply that "racism is over"? First, I argue that messages that minimize or deny the existence of racism are consistent with Whites' motivations to appear non-prejudiced and meritocratic. Thus, if messages that make claims that "racism is over" ultimately removes concerns about appearing racist, then it is plausible to think that Whites may respond positively to the message. Second, because individuals often search for information that confirms their beliefs (Wason, 1960), messages that ignore racism provide a platform through which

Whites can confirm his/her belief that racism does not unfairly influence the status of individuals.

Terror Management Theory (TMT)

In addition to theories on shared reality, terror management theory (TMT) provides additional support for why consistency may lead individuals to experience positive outcomes. Although originally focused on death, the TMT perspective implies that maintaining a positive image of one's worldview is fundamental for self-esteem (Greenberg, Pyszczynski, & Solomon, 1986). The TMT perspective assumes that self-esteem is the product of an individual's personal meaning (preserving a belief in one's worldview) and value (believing that you are meeting the standards within that worldview). Researchers have shown that self-esteem will change if either meaning or value is altered (Pyszczynski, Greenberg, & Solomon, 1997). In an experimental test of this phenomenon, researchers found that reminding people of their death increased attraction to those who validated their beliefs and decreased attraction to those who threatened their beliefs (Greenberg et al., 1990). In the same study, reminding people of their mortality led to positive reactions among those who praised the participant's worldview and negative reactions to someone who threatened their worldview. Thus, TMT theory implies that events that pose a threat to the believed truth of one's worldview may negatively impact self-esteem. On the other hand, it also implies that if one's worldview is giving the individual value, events that corroborate correctness of one's beliefs about the world can potentially lead to positive outcomes.

Drawing on the above literature, I propose that the TMT perspective provides support for why messages that minimize the existence of racism create disparate outcomes among members from socially disadvantaged and advantaged groups. Exposing disadvantaged group members to

messages that minimize or deny the existence of racism may threaten the worldview of racial/ethnic minorities who, due to previous experiences with discrimination (both individual and group-based) and concerns about being the victim of discrimination, do not believe these messages capture a meaningful reality. In other words, I hypothesize that being reminded that people hold the belief that racism is over will decrease attraction to individuals promoting this worldview because the message does not accurately capture the reality of racial minority group members. In contrast, I hypothesize that exposing advantaged group members to messages that minimize or deny the existence of racism confirms the worldview of individuals (i.e., White Americans) who may believe that such messages corroborate their status ideology and concerns about appearing prejudice.

Conclusion

In sum, these studies offer empirical support that individuals dedicate themselves to establishing and sustaining consistency. Drawing on theories based on the benefits of consistency, the degree of consistency that individuals experience in their social world appears to be positively associated with levels of psychological adjustment. Conversely, inconsistency between personal beliefs and others' beliefs can lead to decrements in psychological well-being, sense of belonging and can negatively influence interactions with outgroup members.

Current Research

Overall, there is evidence to suggest that racial minority and majority group members may have different experiences and motivations that are inconsistent and consistent, respectively, with mainstream messages that make claims that racism is no longer an issue, or in other words, messages that minimize or deny the existence of racism.

I hypothesized that messages that minimize discrimination diminish the commonality in belief systems shared between minority and majority group members. On one hand, racial minorities' experiences and concerns about being the target of prejudice suggest that racial discrimination continues to negatively affect them. As a result, messages that make claims that discrimination is no longer an issue should not only create an inconsistency between their personal beliefs and messages that minimize or deny the existence of racial discrimination, but are likely interpreted as threatening and even discriminatory because they devalue experiences unique to racial minorities' identity. In other words and consistent with work on worldview verification by Major and colleagues (2007), I anticipated that negative outcomes will occur because messages that minimize or deny the existence of racism threatens the worldview of individuals who experience mistreatment and frequently the targets of prejudice, ultimately undermining core beliefs that provide them with meaning and value.

When considering the outcome variables for members of socially disadvantaged groups, the goal was to build on research that identifies the consequences associated with both the inconsistency between our beliefs and experiences and responses to discrimination across a variety of levels: individual (negative affect, sense of belonging, desire to pursue leadership roles, and vigilance to discrimination), group (collective action), and intergroup (outgroup hostility). First, research on both inconsistency and discrimination reveal that both carry negative consequences for psychological well-being (e.g., Foster, Sloto, & Ruby, 2006; Hardin & Higgins, 1996; Schmitt et al., 2014; Walton & Cohen, 2007). Because perceptions of discrimination can threaten one's sense of belonging (Walton & Cohen, 2007), messages that minimize or deny the existence of racism may also attenuate racial minorities' desire to engage with the person or institution promulgating the message. In addition, among members of

stigmatized groups, there is reason to believe that messages that minimize or deny the existence of racism may heighten vigilance to discrimination. Messages that minimize or deny the existence of racism discredit a reality lived by many racial minorities. Therefore, these messages may be perceived as inaccurate and potentially dangerous—if majority group members fail to see discrimination when it exists, then minorities may be more susceptible to prejudicial or discriminatory treatment. This awareness, in turn, may trigger vigilance for discrimination. Consistent with this claim, research also demonstrates that inconsistency between an individual's worldviews and their experiences is positively related to perceiving the self as personally vulnerable to discrimination (Major et al., 2007).

Second, it was important for the present research to address group-level consequences associated with inconsistency and perceived discrimination, that is, collective action. Collective action is any behavior that attempts to enhance the status of the group, whether enacted individually or with other members of the group (Wright, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1990). Research reveals a strong relationship between perceived racial discrimination and increased collective action (e.g., Foster & Matheson, 1995, 1999; Kelly & Breinlinger, 1996). Therefore, I was interested in how messages that minimize or deny racial discrimination would influence support for policies that benefit racial minorities.

Third, both the absence of a shared reality and perceived racial discrimination can have important implications for intergroup relations. For example, social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner) and equity theory (Hatfield, Walster, Walster, & Berscheid, 1978) both demonstrate that when an individual believes his/her identity is threatened or perceived inequality such as racial discrimination exists, group members may react by trying to reestablish their positive identity or sense of fairness. Among the possible ways to do so is to act aggressively toward the outgroup.

In a similar vein, getting retribution has been shown to be an efficient strategy for protecting one's belief or reestablishing moral order (Lerner, 1980). If the perpetrators are made aware of their behavior and are consequently penalized for it, then perceptions of injustice are not as significant because transgressors are getting the treatment that is owed to them (Walster, Walster, & Bercheid, 1978). Because messages that minimize or deny the existence of racism may be particularly challenging to individuals whose life experiences and concerns do not accurately reflect these messages, racial minorities may be especially likely to seek revenge. As such, I was interested in the extent to which disadvantaged group members would act aggressively toward Whites, in the form of outgroup hostility.

Finally, consistent with my earlier review, I also anticipated that an absence of a shared reality between the target of the message and the perpetrator relaying the message minimizing discrimination would mediate the relationship between the message and negative outcomes among racial minority individuals.

On the other hand, because majority group members are motivated to believe the world is fair and just, messages that minimize or deny the existence of racism should be consistent with their experiences and motivations. As a result, I anticipated that messages minimizing the existence of racism would be consistent with majority group members' motivations to appear non-prejudiced and egalitarian. Given that self-relevant information that confirms one's worldviews should increase feelings of security, self-esteem, and positive emotions (e.g., Janoff-Bulman, 1989; Major et al., 2007), we were particularly interested in Whites' positive emotions following exposure to a message that minimized or denied the existence of racism. It was further hypothesized that messages minimizing racism would be consistent with Whites' prejudice

concerns and beliefs, which would mediate the relationship between the message and positive outcomes for Whites.

Therefore, the following dissertation explored the impact of messages that minimize racism using a diverse sample of minority and majority group members. Three main objectives were pursued:

Experiment 1. Objectives for Minority Group Members: Determine whether messages that minimize the existence of racism lead racial minority group members to report some of the same negative outcomes associated with inconsistency and discrimination, such as higher levels of negative emotions, less belonging, increased vigilance to discrimination, and greater support for policies that benefit disadvantaged group members compared to Whites.

Objectives for Majority Group Members: Conversely, but consistent with Whites prejudice concerns, the goal was to examine whether messages that minimize the existence of racism lead majority group members to experience more positive emotions compared to minority group members.

Experiment 2. Identify Other Negative Outcomes Among Minority Group Members: Determine whether messages that minimize racism lowers minority group members' desire to pursue leadership roles and increases outgroup hostility.

Experiment 3a. Identify a Mediator for Racial Minorities: In order to capture the *inconsistency* between messages that minimize or deny racial discrimination and minority group members' actual beliefs, determine whether an absence of a shared reality is a mediator among minority group members.

Experiment 3b. Identify a Mediator for Whites: In order to capture the *consistency* between messages that minimize or deny racism and majority group members' actual beliefs, the goal was

to determine whether prejudice concerns mediates the relationship between messages that minimize or deny racism and positive outcomes.

This work has several important implications. Theoretically, these studies provide a novel examination of the ways in which commonly used (and seemingly benign) messages can harm minority well-being. System-justifying beliefs are the fundamental need to view the social and political system as fair and just (Jost & Hunyady, 2005; Furnham & Proctor, 1989). Similar to system-justifying beliefs, messages that minimize or deny discrimination may lead individuals to perceive the social context as stable and fair (e.g., Major et al., 2002). As a result, messages that minimize racial discrimination may affect perceptions of threat by preventing individuals from perceiving events as unjust or harmful to the self. Conversely, other approaches have reaffirmed the idea that in race-related contexts in particular, norms guide perceptions and behavior—more specifically, Whites’ motivations to avoid appearing prejudice (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Plant & Devine, 1998). Although there have been some studies that Whites’ attempts to regulate their behavior in order to not appear prejudice may be positive received by outgroup members in the form of appearing more warm and socially desirable (Shelton, 2003; Shelton, Richeson, Salvatore, & Trawalter, 2005), other research reveals that these attempts carry important personal and social costs such as leading Whites to feel more cognitively depleted (Richeson et al., 2003) and undesirable nonverbal behavior (Devine, Evett, & Vasquez-Suson, 1996). The present investigation adds another complexity to these strategies by demonstrating that these efforts can be positive for Whites in their attempt to appear unbiased. However, attempts to appear unbiased by endorsing messages that ignore race may be counterproductive for both racial minorities and Whites in intergroup interactions (Apfelbaum, Sommers, & Norton, 2008).

Furthermore, the present research argues that differences in beliefs regarding discrimination among minority and majority group members may lead to disparate consequences across groups. This adds yet another layer to understanding intergroup interactions and the ways in which an absence of a shared reality can influence group members differently. If messages that minimize racism are perceived to be beneficial by one group but harmful by another, then it will be important to revise these messages to reflect the real experiences of both groups.

Chapter Two: Methods

Experiment 1

Participants

One hundred and sixteen (41 Latino, 75 White, 60.3% male) participants were recruited online through Amazon' Mechanical Turk (mTurk) who participated in exchange for \$0.35. Given the results from similar existing studies (Echterhoff, Higgins, & Groll, 2005), I expected the effect size to be around 1.1. Following the procedure suggested by Cohen (1988), I calculated an optimal sample of 114 on the basis of the expected effect size and a threshold of $p < .05$ for both the Type I and Type II errors.

Procedure

Participants first verbally consented to participating in the study and then were told that the researchers were working with a public policy school to better understand people's reactions to Gallup Polls, which are public opinion polls conducted in the United States. To bolster the cover story, participants were told that they would be randomly assigned to view 1 out of the 10 most popular topics featured on Gallup.com in 2014. Topics included were employment, global warming, health care, etc. Importantly, one of the ten topics was "race relations," and participants were always randomly assigned to view this poll. Participants then viewed a poll that

summarized the extent to which Americans believe discrimination against Latinos is a problem in the United States. In the **minimizing discrimination** condition, participants viewed an ostensible Gallup Poll in the form of a pie chart in which 73% of Americans believe that discrimination against Latinos is over, while 27% believe that discrimination against Latinos is not over. It is important to note that data from this poll aligned with the real Gallup Poll on this topic (Gallup, 2014). In the **control** condition, participants viewed an ostensible Gallup Poll in the form of a pie chart in which 27% of Americans believe that discrimination against Latinos is over, while 73% believe that discrimination against Latinos is not over (see Appendix B for full manipulation). Participants then filled out focal dependent variables, were debriefed, and then compensated.

Measures

Depressed Mood. To assess depressed mood, participants responded to eight items taken from a validated short version of the Profile of Mood States depressed mood subscale (Baker et al., 2002), including how unhappy, sad, blue, hopeless, discouraged, miserable, helpless, and worthless they felt when viewing the poll ($\alpha = .92$). Items were measured on a rating scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*extremely*).

Anger. Participants' level of anger was assessed using seven items taken from a validated short version of the Profile of Mood States anger subscale (Baker, Denniston, Zabora, Polland, & Dudley, 2002). This included the following items: angry, peeved, grouchy, annoyed, resentful, bitter, and furious ($\alpha = .93$). Items were measured on a rating scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*extremely*).

Positive Emotions. Participants' positive emotions were assessed using eight items taken from the PANAS-X joviality subscale (Watson & Clark, 1999). This included the following

items: happy, joyful, delighted, cheerful, excited, enthusiastic, lively, energetic ($\alpha = .96$). Items were measured on a rating scale ranging from 1 (*very slightly or not at all*) to 5 (*extremely*).

Sense of Belonging in the United States. In order to assess participant's sense of belonging in the United States, participants answered four items taken from a well-validated Sense of Belonging Membership subscale. These items included: "I feel that I belong in the United States," "I consider myself a member of the American community," "I feel like I am part of the American community," "I feel a connection with the American community" ($\alpha = .95$). Items were measured on a scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*).

Vigilance to Discrimination. Participants' vigilance to discrimination was assessed using four items taken from the abbreviated Heighten Vigilance to Discrimination Scale (Clark, Benkert, & Flack, 2006). Participants were asked how often they do the following things: "Try to prepare for possible insults from other people before leaving home," "Feel that you always have to be careful about your appearance," "Carefully watch what you say and how you say it," and "Try to avoid certain social situations and places." The response scale for all items ranged on a scale from 1 (*almost every day*) to 6 (*never*), $\alpha = .85$.

Support for Immigration Policies. To assess support for immigration policies, participants responded to seven items. A sample item included: "If a person is arrested on suspicion of a crime and is found to be in the United States illegally, he or she should be deported immediately to their country of origin" ($\alpha = .90$). Participants were asked to indicate their agreement with the items on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) (for a full list of items, see Appendix A).

Manipulation Check. In order to ensure participants correctly identified the poll, participants were asked to identify the percentage of the majority's belief that discrimination is

over in both the minimizing discrimination condition and the control condition. Ninety-four percent of the participants correctly identified the percentages in the minimizing discrimination condition and 91% correctly identified the percentages in the control condition. I removed any participants who did not correctly identify the manipulation.

Results

The data were analyzed using 2 (Race of Participant: Latino, White) x 2 (Gallup Poll Type: Minimized, Control) ANOVAs on each dependent variable. Given apriori hypotheses, ANOVAs were further investigated through a simple effects analysis. Means and standard deviations are reported in Table 1.

Depressed Mood. Results revealed a main effect of race, $F(1, 114) = 11.84, p = .001$, and a main effect of Gallup Poll Type, $F(1, 114) = 10.25, p = .002$ (see Figure 2). These results were qualified by a significant interaction, $F(1, 114) = 4.51, p = .04, \eta^2_p = .04$. Specifically, Latinos assigned to read the poll in which racial discrimination was minimized ($M = 2.68, SD = .83$) felt significantly more depressed than Latinos who read the control poll ($M = 1.84, SD = .97, p = .001$). Among Whites, there were no differences among those assigned to read the minimizing poll ($M = 1.80, SD = .85$) and those who read the control poll ($M = 1.63, SD = .63, p = .366$). When looking at just the minimized condition, Latinos felt significantly more depressed ($M = 2.68, SD = .83$) compared to Whites ($M = 1.80, SD = .85, p < .0001$).

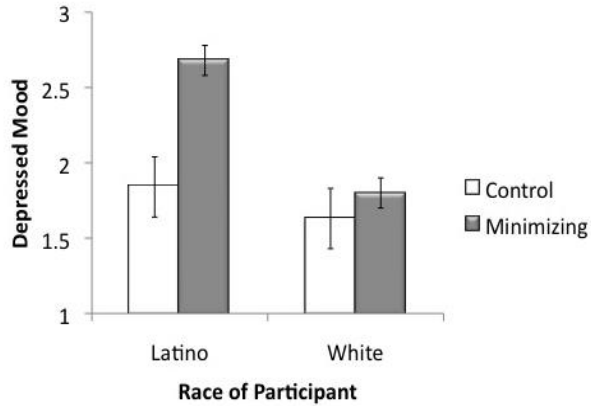
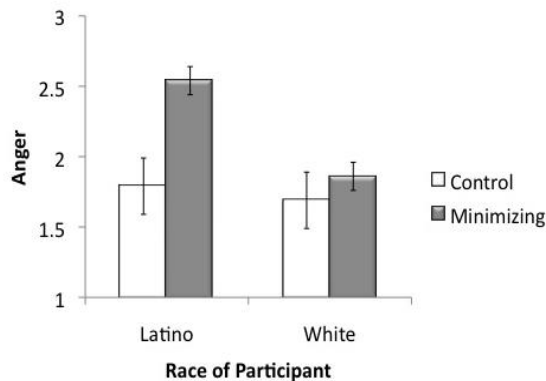


Figure 2. Depressed Mood as a function of message type and race of the participant in Experiment 1

Anger. Results revealed a main effect of race, $F(1, 114) = 5.43, p = .05$, and a main effect of Gallup Poll Type, $F(1, 114) = 7.49, p = .007$, qualified by a marginally significant interaction, $F(1, 114) = 2.96, p = .08, \eta^2_p = .03$ (see Figure 3). Latinos felt angrier when discrimination was minimized ($M = 2.54, SD = .97$) compared to Latinos in the control condition ($M = 1.79, SD = .88, p = .007$). Among Whites, there were no differences in anger among those assigned to read the minimizing poll ($M = 1.86, SD = .89$) compared to Whites that read the control poll ($M = 1.69, SD = .76, p = .39$). When just looking at just the minimized condition, Latinos felt significantly angrier ($M = 2.54, SD = .97$) compared to Whites in the minimized condition ($M =$

1.86, $SD = .89$, $p = .006$).

Figure 3. Anger as a function of message type and race of the participant in Experiment 1



Positive

no main effect of

$p = .27$, and no main

effect of Gallup Poll Type, $F(1, 114) = 1.01$, $p = .317$. However, there was a significant interaction, $F(1, 114) = 5.33$, $p = .02$ (see Figure 4). Specifically, there were no differences when discrimination was minimized ($M = 1.45$, $SD = .64$) compared to the control condition ($M = 1.70$, $SD = .95$, $p = .42$) among Latino participants. However, when discrimination was minimized, White participants reported feeling significantly happier ($M = 2.09$, $SD = 1.19$) than White participants in the control condition ($M = 1.47$, $SD = .79$, $p = .006$). When discrimination was minimized, Whites felt more positive emotions ($M = 2.09$, $SD = 1.19$) compared to Latinos in the minimized condition, ($M = 1.45$, $SD = .64$, $p = .019$).

a function of message

the participant in

Emotions. Results revealed

race, $F(1, 114) = 1.22$, p

effect of Gallup Poll Type,

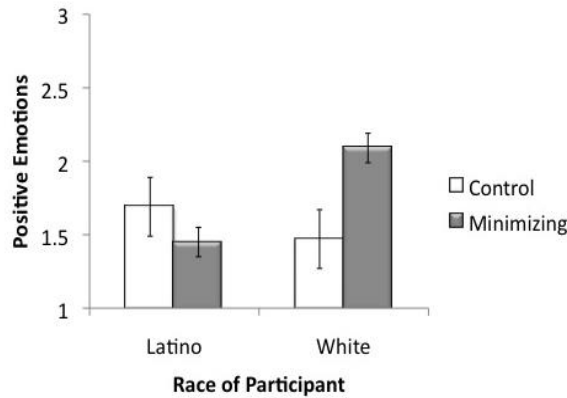


Figure 4. Positive Emotions as a function of message type and race of the participant in Experiment 1.

Sense of Belonging in the United States. As predicted, results revealed a main effect of race, $F(1, 114) = 3.67, p = .05$, and a main effect Gallup Poll Type, $F(1, 114) = 5.75, p = .02$. Both of these significant main effects were qualified by a significant interaction, $F(1, 114) = 12.60, p = .001, \eta^2_p = .10$ (see Figure 5). Latinos in the minimized condition ($M = 3.07, SD = 1.3$) reported feeling less belonging compared to Latinos in the control condition ($M = 4.18, SD = 1.04, p < .0001$). There was no significant difference among Whites who viewed the minimizing poll ($M = 4.09, SD = .69$) and Whites who viewed the control poll ($M = 4.18, SD = 1.04, p = .334$). When looking at the minimized condition, Latinos reported feeling significantly lower belonging ($M = 3.07, SD = 1.3$) compared to Whites ($M = 4.09, SD = .69, p < .0001$).

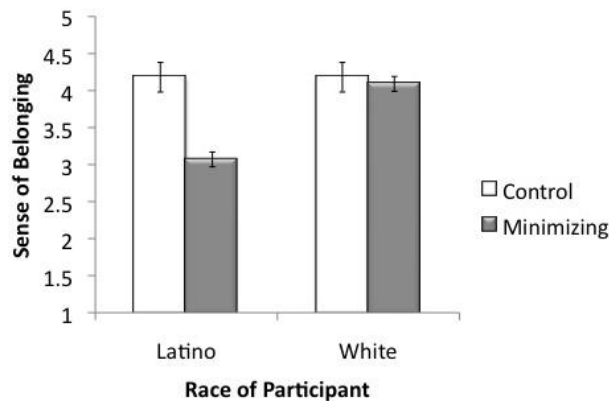


Figure 5. Sense of belonging as a function of message type and race of the participant in Experiment 1.

Vigilance to Discrimination. Results indicate a main effect of race, $F(1,114) = 8.67, p = .03$, and a marginally significant main effect of Gallup Poll Type, $F(1,114) = 3.55, p = .06$. Consistent with hypothesis, results revealed a significant interaction, $F(1, 114) = 5.32, p = .023$. When discrimination was minimized, Latinos reported feeling more vigilant to discrimination ($M = 4.30, SD = 1.24$) compared to Latinos in the control condition ($M = 3.20, SD = 1.6, p = .010$). Among Whites, there were no differences in vigilance among those who viewed the minimizing poll ($M = 3.12, SD = 1.27$) and the control poll ($M = 3.24, SD = 1.36, p = .72$). When examining the minimized condition, Latinos reported feeling significantly more vigilant ($M = 4.30, SD = 1.24$) compared to Whites ($M = 3.12, SD = 1.27, p = .010$).

Support for Latino Immigration Policies. Results revealed a main effect of race, $F(1,114) = 4.18, p = .04$, and a main effect of Gallup Poll Type, $F(1,114) = 10.71, p = .001$. However, there was no significant interaction, $F(1,114) = 1.05, p = .307$. Latinos assigned to view the minimizing poll ($M = 4.69, SD = 1.44$), reported supporting immigration policies more than Latinos in the control condition ($M = 3.46, SD = 1.49, p = .009$). There were no differences in support for Latino immigration policies among White participants ($p = .07$). When examining the minimized condition, Latinos reported more support for immigration policies ($M = 4.69, SD = 1.44$) compared to Whites ($M = 3.84, SD = 1.58, p = .034$).

Table 1
Means (and Standard Deviations) of Dependent Variables as a Function of Participant Race and Gallup Poll Condition (Experiment 1)

Dependent Variable	Participant Race	Gallup Poll Condition	
		Minimizing	Control
Depressed Mood	Latino	2.68 (.83)	1.84 (.97)
	White	1.80 (.85)	1.63 (.62)
Anger	Latino	2.54 (.97)	1.79 (.88)
	White	1.86 (.88)	1.69 (.76)
Positive Emotions	Latino	1.45 (.64)	1.69 (.95)
	White	2.09 (1.19)	1.47 (.79)

Sense of Belonging	Latino	3.07 (1.30)	4.18 (1.04)
	White	4.09 (.70)	3.88 (.95)
Vigilance to Discrimination	Latino	4.30 (1.24)	3.20 (1.64)
	White	3.12 (1.19)	3.24 (1.36)
Support for Immigration Policies	Latino	4.69 (1.44)	3.46 (1.49)
	White	3.81 (1.59)	3.17 (1.36)

Discussion

Consistent with the predictions that messages that minimize discrimination can lead to negative outcomes among minority group members, Latino participants who learned the majority of Americans believe that discrimination against Latinos is over felt significantly more angry and depressed, lower sense of belonging in the US, more vigilant to discrimination, and reported greater support for immigration policies compared to Latino participants who learned the majority of Americans do not believe that discrimination against Latinos is over. In addition, Latino participants who learned the majority of Americans believe that discrimination against Latinos is over also felt significantly more angry and depressed, a lower sense of belonging in the US, more vigilant to discrimination, and reported greater support for immigration policies compared to Whites exposed to the same poll. On the other hand, there were no differences in anger, depressed mood, belonging, vigilance, and support for immigration policies among Whites who learned that the majority of Americans believe that discrimination against Latinos is over and Whites who learned that the majority of Americans do not believe that discrimination against Latinos is over. However, Whites exposed to the Gallup Poll that revealed that a majority of Americans believe that discrimination against Latinos is over reported significantly more positive emotions than Whites who were exposed to a poll that suggested a majority of Americans do not believe that discrimination against Latinos is over. Overall, these findings are consistent with the hypothesis that messages that minimize racial discrimination may engender different feelings for minority group members and majority group members such that Whites

respond positively to these messages while racial minorities have negative responses to these messages. This illustrates that messages that minimize racial discrimination create a clear disconnect between the perceptions of White individuals and Latinos.

A particularly notable finding was that Latinos reported higher support for immigration policies when presented with the poll that a majority of Americans believe that discrimination against Latinos is over compared to Latinos in the control condition. This is consistent with work that demonstrates that perceptions of discrimination are associated with increased collective action (e.g., Foster & Matheson, 1995, 1999; Kelly & Breinlinger, 1996). Why might this occur? Previous research has found meta-analytic evidence that collective action is likely to occur when people experience injustice that is directed toward the group (Smith & Oritz, 2002; Cook, Crosby, & Hennigan, 1977). In other words, collective actions are commonly motivated by deep feelings of injustice. This logic is consistent with recent developments in the area of intergroup emotions (Mackie & Smith, 2002), which proposes that emotions that are group-based (i.e., anger) forms a theoretical link between how groups appraise these emotions and how they react as a consequence of these emotions. Specifically related to collective action, when inequality is directed at the group and is perceived to be unfair, group-based emotions like anger should increase collective action because they appeal to the desire to take action as a means to reconcile the injustice. In addition, according to social identity theory (SIT), when members from socially disadvantaged groups perceive the status differences between groups to not be legitimate, they may be more likely to identify with their social group and employ collective action in order to reconcile the status disparity (Ellemers, 1993; Tajfel, 1978). Thus, the fact that Latinos responded to messages that minimized the existence of racism against Latinos with increased collective action suggests that these messages were perceived to be unjust.

Experiment 2

The second experiment had several aims. While research has primarily focused on African Americans' and Latino Americans' experiences with prejudice and discrimination, there has been a lack of attention paid to the prejudice and discrimination directed against Asian Americans (Sue et al., 2007). As a result, we do not know a lot about the psychological needs of Asian Americans after they experience prejudice or discrimination. Despite the belief that Asian Americans do not experience racism in the United States, research demonstrates that widespread prejudice and discrimination continue to negatively influence their psychological well-being and mental health (Wong & Halgin, 2006). Thus, the first goal of Experiment 2 was to replicate the findings from Experiment 1 and extend them to a group that may also find messages that minimize discrimination to be inconsistent with their personal beliefs and experiences. Therefore, we included members from a stigmatized racial group that are often overlooked as targets of discrimination, Asian Americans.

Second, in the first experiment, participants viewed a Gallup poll that either showed that a majority of Americans believe discrimination against Latinos is no longer an issue, or a poll in which the majority of Americans believe that discrimination against Latinos is still an issue. Therefore, it is unclear whether or not students would respond similarly to a self-relevant institution (i.e., their university) denying a discrete and blatant incident of discrimination (as opposed to learning from a poll that a majority of Americans deny the existence discrimination). Third, it is possible that messages that deny discrimination not only lead minorities to feel that they belong less (as demonstrated in Experiment 1), but they might also influence their desire to engage with the institution promulgating this message. Experiment 2 therefore included a measure that attempted to assess participants' desire to pursue leadership roles as a function of

these messages. In addition, because we anticipated that messages that deny discrimination are perceived as threatening to members of minority groups and inconsistent with their beliefs, Experiment 2 included a measure of outgroup hostility. It was hypothesized that racial minorities would express more negativity toward majority group members after viewing a message that denied racial discrimination compared to minority group members not exposed to such a message. Lastly, I created and employed a control condition in which a discriminatory incident is either denied or acknowledged in order to better understand the nuances through which these messages affect the well-being of minority group members. More specifically, we included a condition in Experiment 2 that does not explicitly decide whether or not the university will hold the perpetrator responsible for discriminating against the individual—it simply acknowledges the potential for the event to be perceived as discriminatory.

Methods

Participants.

In Experiment 2, I recruited 122 (73 Asian, 49 White, 30.3% male) participants on campus in exchange for candy. Consistent with results from similar existing studies (Echterhoff, Higgins, & Groll, 2005) I expected the effect size to be around 1.2. Following the procedure suggested by Cohen (1988), I calculated an optimal sample of 114 on the basis of the expected effect size and a threshold of $p < .05$ for both the Type I and Type II errors.

Procedure

Participants first verbally consented to participating in the study and then were randomly assigned to view one of two ostensible incident reports issued by the University of California, Los Angeles Office of the Dean. Both of the incident reports detailed an incident in which an Asian student experienced a blatant experience of discrimination perpetrated by a White

professor (for the full manipulation, see Appendix B). In the **denial of discrimination** condition, the Office of the Dean issued a response stating that they did not believe the incident violated the university's anti-discrimination laws and they will not be investigating the matter further. In the **acknowledge/control** condition, the Office of the Dean issued a response that they believed that the incident may have violated the university's anti-discrimination laws and they will be investigating the matter further. Thus, in both conditions, the responses from the Dean are identical except that in the denial of discrimination condition, the incident was not perceived as discriminatory whereas in the control condition, the incident is acknowledged and will be investigated. After reading the incident report, participants filled out focal dependent variables, were debriefed, and given one piece of candy

Measures

Depressed Mood. To assess depressed mood, participants responded to eight items taken from a validated short version of the Profile of Mood States depressed mood subscale (Baker et al., 2002), including how unhappy, sad, blue, hopeless, discouraged, miserable, helpless, and worthless they felt when reading the incident report ($\alpha = .94$). Items were measured on a rating scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*extremely*).

Anger. Participants' level of anger was assessed using seven items taken from a validated short version of the Profile of Mood States anger subscale (Baker, Denniston, Zabora, Polland, & Dudley, 2002). This included the following items: angry, peeved, grouchy, annoyed, resentful, bitter, and furious ($\alpha = .92$). Items were measured on a rating scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*extremely*).

Sense of Belonging at UCLA. In order to assess participant's sense of belonging at UCLA, participants answered four items taken from a well-validated Sense of Belonging

Membership subscale. These items included: “I feel that I belong at UCLA,” “I consider myself a member of the UCLA community,” “I feel like I am part of the UCLA community,” “I feel a connection with the UCLA community” ($\alpha = .95$). Items were measured on a scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*).

Desire to Pursue Leadership Roles. A single item was used to assess participant’s desire to pursue leadership roles at UCLA. The question stated: “Within the next year, how likely are you to apply for a leadership role (sorority/organization/university President or Vice President)?” Participants responded on a scale from 1 (*not at all likely*) to 7 (*very likely*).

Outgroup Hostility. Eight items were adapted from the Outgroup Hostility Scale (Branscombe & Wann, 1994). Participants were asked to estimate the frequency with which they experienced the following emotions and feelings toward Whites when reading the incident report. Items included: Trust (reverse scored), reliability (reverse scored), doubt, suspicion, hostility, aggression, hate, and anger. The response scale ranged from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*a lot*), $\alpha = .81$.

Vigilance to Discrimination. Participants’ vigilance to discrimination was assessed using four items taken from the abbreviated Heighten Vigilance to Discrimination Scale (Clark, Benkert, & Flack, 2006). Participants were asked the same four items listed in Experiment 1. The response scale for all items ranged on a scale from 1 (*almost every day*) to 6 (*never*), $\alpha = .80$.

Results

Data were analyzed using 2 (Race of Participant: Asian, White) x 2 (Condition: Denial of discrimination, Control) ANOVAs for each of the focal dependent variables. Each ANOVA was followed up with simple effects analyses. Means and standard deviations are reported in Table 2.

Depressed Mood. Replicating Experiment 1, results revealed a main effect of participant

race, $F(1, 118) = 8.39, p = .004$, a main effect of condition, $F(1,118) = 7.89, p = .006$, and a significant interaction, $F(1,118) = 12.94, p < .0001, \eta^2_p = .09$. Asians who read a response denying discrimination reported significantly higher levels of depressed mood ($M = 3.15, SD = 1.04$) than Asians in the control condition ($M = 2.00, SD = .77, p < .0001$). Among Whites, there were no differences in levels of depression when discrimination was denied ($M = 1.98, SD = 1.02$) compared to the control condition ($M = 2.12, SD = 1.00, p = .614$). When examining the denial condition, Asians reported feeling more depressed ($M = 3.15, SD = 1.04$) compared to Whites ($M = 1.98, SD = 1.02, p = .033$).

Anger. Consistent with findings from Experiment 1, results revealed a main effect of race, $F(1,118) = 6.16, p = .014$, a main effect of condition, $F(1,118) = 3.84, p = .05$, and a significant interaction, $F(1, 118) = 6.52, p = .012, \eta^2_p = .05$. Asians felt significantly angrier when discrimination was denied ($M = 3.39, SD = 1.22$) than Asians who read the response in the control condition ($M = 2.45, SD = .85, p < .0001$). There were no differences among Whites in the denial condition ($M = 2.35, SD = 1.18$) and the control condition ($M = 2.47, SD = 1.14, p = .703$). When examining the denial condition, Asians reported feeling angrier ($M = 3.39, SD = 1.22$) compared to Whites ($M = 2.35, SD = 1.18, p = .008$).

Sense of Belonging at UCLA. Replicating Experiment 1, results revealed a main effect of race, $F(1, 118) = 26.72, p < .0001$, a main effect of condition, $F(1,118) = 5.53, p = .020$, and a significant interaction, $F(1,118) = 31.06, p < .0001, \eta^2_p = .21$. Asians felt less belonging when discrimination was denied ($M = 2.37, SD = 1.37$) than Asians who read the response in the control condition ($M = 4.03, SD = .95, p < .0001$). Interestingly, Whites in the denial condition ($M = 4.63, SD = .81$) felt significantly more belonging than Whites in the control condition ($M = 3.95, SD = 1.13, p = .04$). When examining the denial condition, Asians reported less belonging

($M = 2.37$, $SD = 1.37$) compared to Whites ($M = 4.63$, $SD = .81$, $p < .0001$).

Desire to Pursue Leadership Roles. New to the study, we examined participants desire to pursue leadership roles at UCLA. Results revealed a main effect of race, $F(1,118) = 4.67$, $p = .033$, no significant main effect of condition, $F(1,118) = .00$, $p = .987$, and a significant interaction, $F(1,118) = 6.87$, $p = .010$, $\eta^2_p = .06$ (see Figure 6). Asians wanted to pursue leadership roles *less* when discrimination was denied ($M = 1.98$, $SD = 1.28$) compared to when discrimination was acknowledged ($M = 2.97$, $SD = 2.13$, $p = .04$). However, the message did not affect Whites' desire to pursue leadership roles in the denial condition ($M = 3.61$, $SD = 2.35$) and the control condition ($M = 3.82$, $SD = 2.45$, $p = .09$). When looking at just the denial condition, Asians reported less desire to pursue leadership roles ($M = 1.97$, $SD = 1.28$) compared to Whites ($M = 3.61$, $SD = 2.35$, $p = .021$).

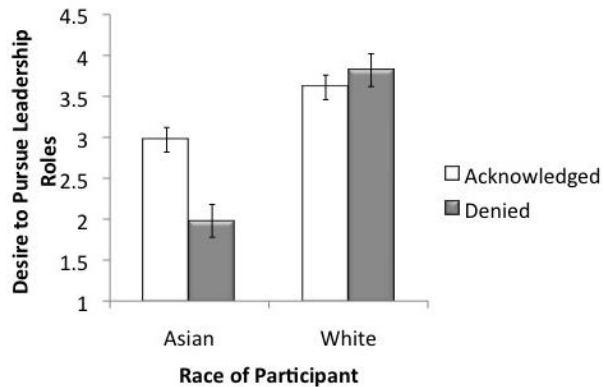


Figure 6. Desire to pursue leadership roles as a function of message consistency and participant race in Experiment 2

Outgroup Hostility. Also new to the study, results revealed a significant main effect of participant race, $F(1,118) = 3.90$, $p = .05$, no significant main effect of condition, $F(1,118) = 1.45$, $p = .231$, and a marginally significant interaction, $F(1,118) = 3.08$, $p = .08$, $\eta^2_p = .03$. Asians felt more hostile toward Whites when discrimination was denied ($M = 3.68$, $SD = 1.19$)

compared to Asians in the control condition ($M = 2.35, SD = 1.07, p = .020$). Among Whites, there were no differences between the denial condition ($M = 2.69, SD = 1.21$) and the control condition ($M = 2.45, SD = 1.20, p = .722$). When examining the denial condition, Asians reported more outgroup hostility toward Whites ($M = 3.68, SD = 1.19$) compared to Whites ($M = 2.69, SD = 1.21, p = .013$) (see Figure 7).

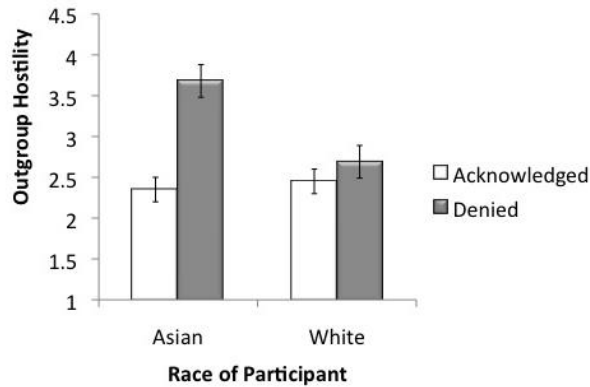


Figure 7. Outgroup hostility as a function of message consistency and participant race in Experiment 2.

Vigilance to Discrimination. Consistent with the findings from Experiment 1, results reveal a main effect of race, $F(1,118) = 9.92, p = .002$, no significant main effect of condition, $F(1,118) = .39, p = .53$, and a significant interaction, $F(1,118) = 4.86, p = .03, \eta^2_p = .04$. Asians in the denial condition felt significantly more vigilant to discrimination after reading an incident in which discrimination was denied ($M = 3.44, SD = 1.58$) compared to Asians who read the incident in which discrimination was acknowledged ($M = 2.81, SD = 1.12, p = .03$). There were no differences among Whites who read about an incident in which discrimination was denied ($M = 2.24, SD = .65$) compared to when discrimination was acknowledged ($M = 2.59, SD = 1.01, p = .312$). When examining the denial condition, Asians reported more vigilance ($M = 3.44, SD = 1.58$) compared to Whites ($M = 2.24, SD = .65, p = .004$).

Table 2
Means (and Standard Deviations) of Dependent Variables as a Function of Participant Race

and UCLA Incident Report Condition, N = 122 (Experiment 2)

Dependent Variable	Participant Race	UCLA Incident Report Condition	
		Denied	Control
Depressed Mood	Asian	3.15 (1.04)	2.00 (.97)
	White	1.98 (1.02)	2.13 (1.00)
Anger	Asian	3.39 (1.22)	2.46 (.86)
	White	2.35 (1.18)	2.47 (1.15)
Sense of Belonging	Asian	2.37 (1.37)	4.04 (.95)
	White	4.63 (.80)	3.95 (1.13)
Desire to Pursue Leadership Roles	Asian	1.98 (1.19)	2.97 (2.13)
	White	3.82 (1.21)	3.61 (2.45)
Outgroup Hostility	Asian	3.68 (1.24)	2.35 (1.07)
	White	2.69 (1.19)	2.45 (1.35)
Vigilance to Discrimination	Asian	3.45 (1.58)	2.81 (1.13)
	White	2.24 (.65)	2.59 (1.00)

Discussion

Replicating Experiment 1 and consistent with the hypothesis that messages that deny discrimination can lead to negative outcomes among minority group members, Asian participants who read a response from their university denying a blatant incident of discrimination felt greater levels of depressed mood and more angry, less belonging to their university, and more vigilance to discrimination compared to Asian participants who read a response from their university acknowledging a blatant incident of discrimination. Importantly, Asian participants who read the denial response also reported greater levels of depressed mood and anger, less belonging, and more vigilance to discrimination than Whites who read the denial response. Also replicating Experiment 1, there were no differences in White participants' negative affect, desire to pursue leadership roles, vigilance to discrimination, or outgroup hostility who read a response from their university denying a blatant incident of discrimination and White participants who read a response acknowledging the incident of discrimination. However, Whites who read the denial response reported feeling *more belonging* than Whites who read the acknowledge response. Consistent with work on prejudice concerns (Plant & Devine, 1998), messages that deny racial

discrimination may mitigate concerns about appearing prejudice—if racism is over, then Whites no longer need to worry about appearing racist. Therefore, the perception that race is no longer an issue may lead Whites to feel that they belong more at the university. Again, these findings highlight the interesting ways in which messages that deny discrimination are being interpreted and processed differently for racial minorities and Whites.

New to the study, Asian participants to who read a response from the university denying a blatant incident of discrimination reported a lower desire to pursue leadership roles than Asian participants who read a response acknowledging the incident. In line with my earlier review on consequences of inconsistency (e.g., Foster, Sloto, & Ruby, 2006), messages that deny discrimination may be perceived as threatening to racial minorities. If the institution becomes a source of threat, then it is unlikely that potential targets of that threat would want to associate with the institution, let alone pursue leadership roles. Supporting this logic, results revealed that Asian participants who read the denial response also reported a lower sense of belonging compared to Asian participants who read the acknowledge response. Therefore, message that minimize discrimination appear to threaten racial minorities sense of belonging, leading them to want to avoid engaging in leadership roles at their university.

Also new to the study is the finding that Asian participants who read a response from the university denying a blatant incident of discrimination reported greater hostility towards Whites than Asian participants who read a response acknowledging the incident. Consistent with work with the Realistic Conflict Theory (LeVine & Campbell, 1972; Sherif & Sherif, 1953), regardless of whether it is actual or perceived, the perception the outgroup is a threat to the ingroup creates a situations in which connection with the ingroup is associated with outgroup hostility. If the institution's fails to acknowledge a blatant incident of discrimination (a perceived outgroup

threat), our results indicate that Asian students may be electing to retaliate with outgroup derogation and hostility.

Although Experiments 1 and 2 showed that racial minorities respond negatively to messages that minimize discrimination and Whites respond positively to messages that minimize discrimination, these studies did not offer an explanation regarding *why* these associations occur. Thus, Experiments 3a and 3b attempted to identify a mechanism through which message that minimize discrimination influence psychological well-being among members of socially disadvantaged and advantaged groups.

Experiment 3a

It was hypothesized that messages that minimize discrimination leads to adverse outcomes among members from socially stigmatized groups because messages that make claims that racism is no longer an issue are inconsistent with minority group members' actual prejudice concerns and experiences. In order to capture this inconsistency, we turn to the theory of shared reality (Hardin & Higgins, 1996) and anticipated that the absence of a shared reality, or the absence of a mutual understanding of others, can be detrimental to racial minorities' feelings of connectedness and sense belonging. Consistent with these consequences, Experiments 1 and 2 both revealed that messages that minimize or deny racial discrimination led both Latino participants (Experiment 1) and Asian participants (Experiment 2) to report a lower sense of belonging. Although it was hypothesized that the absence of a shared reality might account for the relationship between the message and adverse outcomes among racial minorities, the previous two studies did not explicitly test it as a potential mechanism. Thus, Experiment 3 included a measure to capture the absence of a shared reality.

Methods

Participants

Thirty-eight Asian undergraduate students (44% male) participated in this on-campus survey for a piece of candy. Given the results from existing similar existing research (Major et al., 2007), I expected the effect size to be around .80. Following the procedure suggested by Cohen (1988), I needed a sample size of 52 participants on the basis of the expected effect size and a threshold of $p < .05$ for both the Type I and Type II errors. However, due to time constraints with data collection, I was only able to collect a sample of 38 participants. Limitations regarding the small sample size are discussed in the general discussion.

Procedure

Participants first verbally consented to participating in the study and were then randomly assigned to read one of the two university incident reports (denial, control) featured in Experiment 2. After the incident report, they completed all focal dependent variables and were debriefed.

Measures

Sense of Belonging at UCLA. In order to assess participant's sense of belonging at UCLA, Asian participants answered four items taken from a well-validated Sense of Belonging Membership subscale (see Experiment 2) ($\alpha = .95$).

Shared Reality. Two items were created in order to capture the extent to which the Office of the Dean shares a similar reality to the Asian participant: "The Office of the Dean understands the experiences of individuals from minority groups," and "Both the Office of the Dean and people from my racial group share a similar reality" ($r = .82$).

Data Analysis Plan

In order identify the mechanism through which messages that minimize racial

discrimination lead to negative outcomes for racial minorities, I ran t-tests to examine the association between messages type (denial of discrimination, control) on the focal dependent variables. Next, following the guidelines by Hayes (2013), I ran a mediational model to test for indirect effects using bootstrapped confidence intervals (CIs). Each indirect effect was evaluated as significant if the bias-corrected 95% confidence interval did not cross zero (Preacher & Hayes, 2008).

Results

Consistent with the findings from Experiment 1 and Experiment 2, Asian participants felt significantly less belonging in the denial of discrimination condition ($M = 2.61, SD = .811$) compared to Asians in the control condition ($M = 3.93, SD = 1.16$), $t(36) = 4.06, p < .0001$. In addition, Asian participants reported feeling that the Office of the Dean understood their experiences less when discrimination was denied ($M = 2.32, SD = .92$) compared to the control condition ($M = 3.94, SD = .92$).

Next, I tested the hypothesis that a shared reality mediates the relationship between the messages and lower sense of belonging among Asian participants. As expected, the indirect path through shared reality was statistically significant, as indicated by the finding that the 95% confidence interval (bias corrected) for the indirect path, through this mediator, did not include zero (-1.42, -.22). Thus, participants' belief that the Office of the Dean shares the reality with their group mediated the relationship between the type of message and belonging (Figure 8).

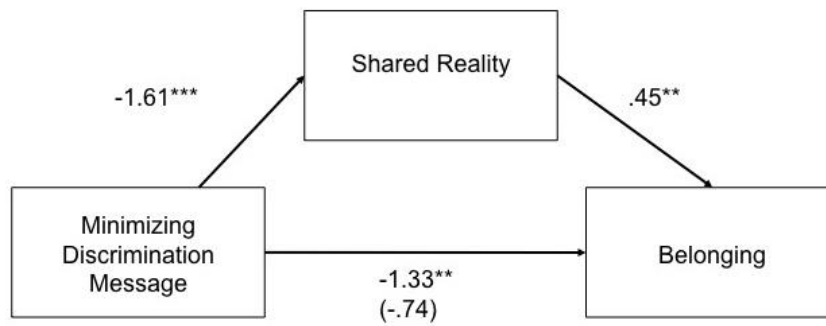


Figure 8. The association between type of message and sense of belonging was fully mediated by shared reality.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Discussion

Replicating the results from Experiment 1 and 2, Asian participants who read a response from the university denying a blatant incident of discrimination felt a lower sense of belonging than Asian participants who read a response from the university acknowledging the incident. New to the study, Asian participants who read the denial response reported that they shared a similar reality with the university less than Asian participants who read the acknowledge response. Furthermore, the absence of a shared reality, or a mutual understanding of others, mediated the relationship between the message and a lower sense of belonging. In other words, messages that minimize or deny racial discrimination are inconsistent with minority group members actual beliefs, which is captured by the belief that they do not believe that the institution responsible for the response truly understands their experiences. This finding is consistent with research demonstrating that inconsistency can lead to adverse outcomes (e.g., Festinger, 1950; Foster, Sloto, & Ruby, 2006) and work that demonstrates that an absence of a shared reality can be deeply disconcerting (e.g., Echterhoff et al., 2009).

Experiment 3b

The goal of Experiment 3b was to identify a mechanism that might explain why messages that minimize or deny discrimination lead Whites to experience positive emotions. I focus on positive emotions as the outcome of interest for two reasons. First, across two experiments, there were no significant differences in negative affect among Whites assigned to the minimizing/denying discrimination condition and Whites assigned to the control condition.

Second, Experiment 1 demonstrated that White participants' sense of belonging was unaffected by the manipulation. Research has demonstrated that Whites are not stigmatized in academic settings and often *assume* to that they belong in academic settings (Cohen, Steele, & Ross, 1999). For example, minorities who were led to believe that they might have few friends in a field of study reported a lower sense of fit in college whereas White students were unaffected (Walton & Cohen, 2007). Experiment 1 provides support for this finding—unlike Latino participants (Experiment 1) or Asian participants (Experiment 2), there were no differences in White students' sense of belonging regardless of the poll they were shown. However, Experiment 2 yielded a different yet interesting result. White participants who read a response from the university denying a blatant incident of discrimination reported significantly *higher levels* of belonging compared to White participants who read a response from the university acknowledging the incident. In other words, denying racism led White participants to feel that they belong *more* at the university. While we will continue to explore Whites sense of belonging as a function of messages that deny discrimination in future work, the current two findings stand in opposition to each other and it is therefore unclear whether the findings from Experiment 2 represent a stable effect.

However, Experiment 1 revealed that White participants who were led to believe that

discrimination against Latinos is over (minimizing discrimination) reported significantly higher levels of positive emotions compared to those who were led to believe that discrimination against Latinos is not over. Earlier, it was hypothesized that messages that minimize or deny racial discrimination may be consistent with Whites' motivations and concerns about appearing prejudice. In other words, messages that minimize or deny racial discrimination ignore race as a factor in the mistreatment of an individual, then Whites may be less concerned about appearing racist. Therefore, I hypothesized that messages that minimize racial discrimination may lower prejudice concerns, and these lower prejudice concerns may account for the relationship between the message and positive emotions among Whites.

Participants

Thirty-four White undergraduate students (40% male) participated in this on-campus survey for a piece of candy. . Based on results from a similar existing study (Major et al., 2007), I expected the effect size to be around .80. Following the procedure suggested by Cohen (1988), I needed a sample size of 52 participants on the basis of the expected effect size and a threshold of $p < .05$ for both the Type I and Type II errors. However, due to time constraints with data collection, I was only able to collect a sample of 34 participants. Limitations regarding the small sample size are discussed in the general discussion.

Procedure

Participants first verbally consented to participating in the study and were then randomly assigned to read one of the two university incident reports (denial, control) featured in Experiment 2 and 3a. After the incident report, they completed all focal dependent variables and were debriefed.

Measures

Positive Emotions. White participants' positive emotions were assessed using eight items taken from the PANAS-X joviality subscale. This included the following items: happy, joyful, delighted, cheerful, excited, enthusiastic, lively, energetic ($\alpha = .93$). Items were measured on a rating scale ranging from 1 (*very slightly or not at all*) to 5 (*extremely*).

Prejudice Concerns. In order to assess White's prejudice concerns, I used three items (adapted from Shelton, Richeson, & Salvatore, 2005). These items included: "I am concerned that I will be seen as prejudiced," "Appearing prejudice is something that I worry about," "I am afraid racial minorities will interpret my behavior as discriminatory" ($\alpha = .86$). These items were measured on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*).

Results

Replicating Experiment 1, Whites reported feeling more positive emotions when discrimination was denied ($M = 2.96, SD = .84$) compared to Whites in the control condition ($M = 2.00, SD = .99$), $t(31) = -2.99, p = .005$. In addition, Whites reported lower prejudice concerns when discrimination was denied ($M = 2.35, SD = .84$) compared to when discrimination was not denied ($M = 3.28, SD = 1.61$), $t(31) = 2.18, p = .037$.

Next, I tested whether prejudice concerns mediated the relationship between the type of message and positive emotions among Whites. The indirect path through prejudice concerns was statistically insignificant, as indicated by the finding that the 95% confidence interval (bias corrected) for the indirect path included zero (-.48, .26). Thus, prejudice concerns did not significantly mediate the relationship between the type of message and positive emotions.

Discussion

Replicating Experiment 1, White participants who read a response from the university that denied a blatant incident of discrimination felt more positive emotions than White participants

who read a response from the university acknowledging the incident. New to the study, White participants who read the denial response reported significantly lower prejudice concerns than White participants who read the acknowledge response. This finding is consistent with work that demonstrates that Whites are motivated to not appear prejudice (Richeson & Shelton, 2007; Shelton, West, & Trail, 2010; Vorauer et al., 2000; Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, 1998) and will look for information that confirms that they are not racist (Apfelbaum, Sommers, & Norton, 2008; Norton, Sommers, Apfelbaum, Pura, & Ariely, 2006). However, inconsistent with my predictions, White's prejudice concerns did not mediate the relationship between the type of message and positive outcomes among Whites. More work is needed to identify this mechanism.

General Discussion

Today, many Whites insist that racism in America is over; that discrimination is no longer a factor in determining the life chances of minority group members. Indeed, having the first African American President inspired many discussions about whether or not racial bias is a significant obstacle to racial/ethnic minorities. However, despite Obama's election, racial prejudice persists and continues to shape the experience of many racial minorities in the United States. These results provide initial evidence that messages that minimize or deny the existence of racism have different consequences for members of socially advantaged and disadvantaged groups. Exposure to messages that deny or minimize the existence of racial discrimination led racial minority participants to experience decrements in psychological well-being (Experiments 1 and 2), feel that they belong less (Experiments 1-3), and report greater vigilance to discrimination (Experiments 1 and 2). Furthermore, exposure to messages that denied the existence of racism led minority participants to report a lower desire to pursue leadership roles (Experiment 2), greater outgroup hostility (Experiment 2), and greater support for immigration

policies favoring ingroup members (Experiment 1). These findings emerged in a context where the message that minimized the existence of racism was a societal view (Experiment 1) or a view held and disseminated by a self-relevant institution (Experiments 2 and 3). Importantly, the association between the message that denied the existence of racism and negative outcomes was successfully mediated by the belief that Whites do not understand or share a similar reality as minority group members (Experiment 3a). This finding is consistent with evidence that people tend to presume inner states in others match their own state (e.g., Nickerson, 2001). Thus, messages that deny the existence of racism create a perceived mismatch between Whites and racial minorities' worldviews, ultimately leading racial minorities to experience negative outcomes.

Although racial minorities were negatively affected by messages that minimized or denied racial discrimination, White participants remained generally unaffected. When exposed to messages that minimized or denied discrimination, Whites participants did not report feeling angrier, more depressed, more vigilant to discrimination, or greater outgroup hostility compared to Whites who were not exposed to such a message. Instead, White participants who read a response or viewed a poll minimizing or denying discrimination reported feeling *more* positive emotions (Experiment 1), and a *greater* sense of belonging (Experiment 2). In fact, messages that minimized or denied discrimination led to lower prejudice concerns among Whites compared to Whites who were exposed to a neutral message. However, a mechanism for Whites remains unclear.

Consistent with work by Major and colleagues (2007) a worldview framework may partially provide an explanation for these findings. According to this perspective, beliefs about one's status are vital to one's beliefs about the world; as such, they often are not challenged

because they provide humans with meaning and value. Thus, information that is relevant to the self and corroborates one's beliefs about how the world works should increase feelings of security, certainty, and positive emotions, whereas information that is relevant to the self and poses a threat to one's beliefs about how the world works should increase feelings of vulnerability, uncertainty, and negative emotions (Major et al., 2007; Foster et al., 2006; Janoff-Bulman, 1989; Greensburg et al., 1997). In the present research, messages that minimized or denied the existence of racism were consistent with Whites concerns and motivations, leading Whites to experience positive emotions and feel as though they belonged more. However, messages that minimized or denied the existence of racism among racial/ethnic minorities and may have threatened their worldview, leading racial/ethnic minorities to experience negative emotions, feel more vulnerable to racism, lowered their sense of belonging, and increased feeling of hostility toward outgroup members.

Implications for Prejudice Research

The present findings suggest that extant prejudice and discrimination research may be overlooking the ways in which messages that minimize the existence of racism can influence racial minorities. That is, the focus of most research to date is on the person expressing prejudice and the target of these prejudices. However, many individuals are exposed to messages that minimize racial discrimination and our findings suggest that there are important consequences for these individuals. Specifically, the risk for harmful outcomes may be greater than what is typically discussed, as messages that minimize the existence of racism have become a popular post-racial rhetoric, which makes racial minorities susceptible to these negative outcomes. This has an obvious implication: A failure to consider how these messages may harm members from

minority groups can lead one to overlook a person's risk for the consequences, increasing the likelihood that these messages will harm members from minority groups.

While there are many pervasive meritocratic cues that American is fair and success is merit-driven, not everyone subscribes to this view. In particular, for individuals who have been repeatedly exposed to prejudice or racism or have observed others like them experience prejudice or discrimination, sustaining a belief in meritocracy is not realistic because it does not accurately reflect their reality or provide much basis for deriving self-worth. For racial minorities in particular, an alternative and more realistic worldview in which "social status is explained in terms of bias, discrimination, and favoritism may provide a more meaningful depiction of reality" (p. 1080, Major et al., 2007).

Of particular interest was the finding that exposure to messages that minimized or denied racism increased vigilance to racism. Vigilance can be described as vigilance as one of the "traits" that targets of racism or prejudice might develop and employ as a way of coping with their stigmatized status (Allport, 1954). Ultimately, the concept of vigilance may help explain how messages that minimize or deny the existence of racism are stressful. A high level of perceived ignorance to racism among majority group members led minority group members to maintain a higher degree of vigilance (as demonstrated by Experiments 1 and 2). The stress experienced by the vigilant racial minority may lead to a general experience of fear and mistrust in interactions with the dominant culture. For example, Warren (1980) notes that the struggle to reconcile one's devalued identity with social stigma "involve[s] a considerable investment of emotional energy and... a considerable psychic toll." Messages that minimize or deny the experience of racism, then, may lead racial minorities to chronically experience stress as they feel that they must remain vigilant to avoid being harmed.

In addition, the current research investigates the implications of messages that minimize or deny the existence of racial discrimination on a variety of outcomes among racial minorities, including outgroup hostility. This particular finding is notable because of its potential to damage intergroup interactions. For example, research finds that both African Americans and Whites often report anxiety as a function of anticipating an interracial interaction (e.g., Shelton & Richeson, 2003). More specifically, the more ethnic minorities expect Whites to express bias, the more negative experiences they report having during interracial interactions (Shelton, Richeson, & Salvatore, 2005). The present work uncovers yet another nuance of intergroup relations by revealing that Whites and racial/ethnic minorities can be exposed to the same message, but walk away with very different experiences. These results suggest that because of racial minorities' experiences with racial discrimination and concerns about being victims or prejudice, they may view these messages that minimize or deny the existence of racism as threatening, damaging, and problematic, whereas Whites may feel positively about these messages and less concerned about appearing racist. These different perceptions not only deter racial/ethnic minorities from engaging in interracial interactions in the future, but they can also result in misinterpretations that may cause contention later on.

The difference in responses to messages that minimize or deny the existence of racism may be due to differences in how White and racial/ethnic minority Americans understand the objective of achieving racial equality (Eibach & Keegan, 2006). It may not be the case that Whites and racial/ethnic minority differ in their endorsement of the objective of achieving racial equality. However, Whites and racial/ethnic minorities may have differences in the desire to psychologically invest in this goal. For racial/ethnic minorities, racial equality may be a more urgent goal that needs to be fully actualized. In contrast, for Whites, achieving racial equality

may be a less urgent and something that they would eventually like to obtain but not as pressing as it is for racial/ethnic minorities.

Furthermore, these current findings are consistent with work revealing that Whites often engage in and respond positively to messages that avoid mention of race (Apfelbaum, Sommers, & Norton, 2008; Norton, Sommers, Apfelbaum, Pura, & Ariely, 2006). This strategy may not only limit the possibility for Whites to appear bias, but (as Experiment 3b demonstrates) may also minimize prejudice concerns that are affixed to Whites undesirable position as perpetrators of prejudice. Furthermore, although Whites believe that underrepresented minorities will respond positively during interactions that ignore race, research finds that racial minorities view colorblind Whites as more prejudiced compared to Whites who acknowledge race (Apfelbaum, Sommers, & Norton, 2008). If messages that minimize or deny the existence of racism have a similar effect, then these messages illustrate a clear disconnect between the perceptions of Whites and Blacks, which would have important implications for interracial interactions. Moreover, these results suggest ironic consequences for Whites, as their desire to maintain a non-prejudiced appearance through messages that minimize or deny the existence of racial discrimination may carry social costs.

Despite the direct consequences of these messages for disadvantaged group members, messages that minimize discrimination ironically lead to positive outcomes for Whites. As a result, one could argue that these messages are somewhat useful. Specifically, because Experiment 3b found that these messages might lower Whites' prejudice concerns, one might draw the conclusion that there is utility in messages that minimize the existence of racial discrimination. The question is, then, the motivation to appear unprejudiced bad for Whites? Not exactly. The desire to avoid prejudice, like most social norms, produces mixed outcomes; the

wisdom to decide whether or not to be generous to another person, for example, is really dependent on whether the recipient typically recognizes and accepts norms related to reciprocity (Fehr & Fischbacher, 2004). Given that innumerable studies continue to demonstrate prejudice or discrimination directed against members of stigmatized groups in numerous settings (e.g., Neckerman & Kirschenman, 1991; Yinger, 1995; Hausmann et al., 2011), the discomfort that Whites may experience when attempting to appear unbiased might be an important force needed to ameliorate prejudice and racial discrimination. For example, Whites' efforts to make interracial interactions go smoothly can lead African Americans partners to form more favorable impressions of them (Shelton, Richeson, Salvatore, & Trawalter, 2005). In addition, research has found that even the anticipation of an interracial interaction leads to improvements in cognitive processing and group-based decision making (Sommers, 2006). If prejudice concerns indeed reflect a desire among Whites to be more meritocratic, they represent a positive movement in the direction toward reducing or eliminating racial discrimination, prejudice, and bias. However, attempting to sustain positive intergroup relations solely by using colorblind strategies may create a more complicated story than research has previously shown.

Although messages that minimize the existence of racial discrimination resulted in more positive experiences for Whites (i.e., more positive affect and lower prejudice concerns), racial minorities had the opposite reaction. In addition to frequently being the targets of prejudice (Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2003), these findings indicate that messages that minimize the existence racial discrimination carry an added consequence for racial minorities. Turning on the news, browsing the Internet, or viewing social media are all ways racial minorities may be exposed to messages that minimize or deny the existence of racism. The present research suggests that members of socially stigmatized groups do not even need to be exposed to racist

interactions in order to experience some of the consequences associated with discrimination-- these messages are threatening to racial minorities and bear psychological costs. Moreover, racial minorities' exposure to messages that minimize the existence of racial discrimination may negatively influence their experiences during interracial interactions in ways that were not explored in the present studies. Recall that in Experiment 2, racial minorities exposed to messages that minimized the existence of racism reported greater outgroup hostility towards Whites compared to those who were not exposed to this message. However, these studies do not explore ways in which this outgroup hostility is exhibited in interracial interactions. Thus, the ways in which messages that minimize the existence of racial discrimination influence interracial interactions remains somewhat unclear at this point and should be addressed in future work.

Ironically, people denying a Latino or Asian American's experience of racism through exposing them to seemingly innocent messages are often well-intentioned and even trying to be culturally sensitive. When the GOP issued a tweet stating thanking Rosa Parks for her role in ending racism, it is possible that they were trying to be nice. Similar to work on identity threat (Cheryan & Monin, 2005), when Asian Americans are asked by strangers where they are really from, it often is an effort to demonstrate cultural sensitivity rather than making the mistake of putting all Asian Americans into one category. Denying racism may not be intended to be disrespectful. However, when this response is given every day to Asian Americans or Latinos, it serves as an oppressive reminder that their experiences with racism and concerns about being the target of prejudice are not understood.

The Kernel of Truth Issue

My key predictions rely on the assumption that Latinos and Asians face and assume that he or she has previous experiences with discrimination and thus stand in opposition to messages

that make claims that racism is over. Is it really correct to assume that, on average, these two groups have faced racism? After all, Asian Americans are considered to be the “model minority” and are believed to experience high academic achievement, wealth, and are generally problem free in areas of mental health and crime. Of particular relevance is the fact that this dissertation was conducted at the University of California, Los Angeles, and like many universities in the United States, UCLA’s undergraduate population is primarily Asian American. According the registrar, in Fall 2014, 33.5% of the undergraduate population at UCLA identified as Asian/Pacific Islander. Thus, one could argue that because Asians are heavily represented, it is likely that students have bonds with members from their ingroup, which has shown to be protective in the face of perceived discrimination (Branscombe & Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999). However, claiming that representativeness is protective in the face of messages that minimize racism are problematic. First, as we can see from America’s past that group that are considered less prototypical of dominant group members are evaluated more harshly (Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999; Turner, 1987). Hate crimes against Asian Americans who have been perpetrated by Americans who believe that Asian Americans do not belong in America and serve as an example of unfair treatment Asian Americans still face. As these examples demonstrate, not being a member of a high status group can lead to negative outcomes (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000).

Limitations and Future Directions

The present research provides an important starting point for understanding how messages that minimize the existence of racial discrimination can lead to divergent outcomes among minority and majority group members. However, one limitation is the inability to identify a mechanism that may have accounted for the relationship between the message and positive

outcomes among Whites. Consistent with my earlier review, I hypothesized that messages that minimize the existence of racism would lower Whites prejudice concerns, which, in turn, would explain why Whites respond positively to these messages. Concerns about appearing prejudiced are often a source of anxiety and distress for members of dominant groups (Devine, Evett, & Vasquez-Suson, 1996; Ickes, 1984). Thus, it seemed likely that the lowering of Whites prejudice concerns would be related to positive outcomes. However, Whites often endorse beliefs that existing social arrangements are fair, legitimate, and justifiable (Jost & Hunyady, 2005). Hence, beliefs that all groups are equal, and not prejudice concerns, may be a more likely mediator.

A second limitation of the present research is the focus on two groups, Asians and Latinos. Previous research on members from socially disadvantaged groups have found that reminding individuals of racial discrimination directed against their group increases identification with their group (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Jetten, Branscombe, Schmitt, & Spears, 2001). As one example, researchers found that perceiving racial discrimination against international students was significantly related to the degree of identification to their home country (Schmitt, Spears, & Branscombe, 2003). Furthermore, degree of identification as an international student mediated the relationship between perceived discrimination and self-esteem. In contrast, it is likely that individuals who hold a negatively stereotyped group membership that tends not to elicit group identification (e.g., mental illness, being overweight; Shapiro, 2011) would be less likely to perceive messages that minimize or deny the existence of racism as a threat. Likewise, it is possible that Latinos and Asians fall back on their group identity as Asian or Latino, an identity that is likely maintained because of perceived common discrimination (Operario & Fiske, 2001). Future research would benefit from

clarifying the role group identification plays in the reaction to messages that minimize racial discrimination.

In addition, the present work does not examine the effect of these messages on African American participants, a group chronically affected by discrimination in the United States. Due to barriers that make it difficult to recruit these participants, I was unable to examine their reactions to messages that minimize the existence of racial discrimination. However, future work should include this group in order to better understand how these messages may be influencing their psychological well-being.

Another limitation of the present work is the small sample sizes of Experiments 3a and 3b. Due to time constraints, I was unable to collect data from more participants. However, collecting more data is necessary to ensure that the mediation finding for racial minorities represents a stable effect. Despite the low numbers in Experiments 3a and 3b, we still found the expected significant mediation finding, suggesting that collecting more data will only improve statistical power. In addition, I did not probe participants for suspicion in these experiments. Despite an attempt to create subtle manipulations, I am still unable to rule out demand characteristics as a potential alternative explanation for these findings. However, in order to determine if participants believed the manipulation in Experiment 1 (Gallup Polls) as a function of what the polls say, I will conduct a post pre-test in order to see if participants believed what the polls indicated. Furthermore, all of the dependent variables were, for the most part, in the same direction. Future work should have different dependent variables where we would expect different patterns in order to determine discriminant validity.

In addition to examining the potential effects of messages that minimize the existence of racism among different stigmatized groups, the present research does not identify potential

moderators that may strengthen or attenuate the relationship between the message and negative outcomes. For example, research has shown that people who are high in group identification are likely to perceive and react to instances of racial discrimination or prejudice differently from people who are low in group identification (Operario & Fiske, 2001). More specifically, perceptions of prejudice have been shown to be negatively associated with well-being; however, including ethnic identity diminishes the association between perceived prejudice and well-being, suggesting that ethnic identity operates as a psychological buffer (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999). With this logic in mind, one might expect that having a strong group identity may attenuate the relationship between the message that implies discrimination against them is over and negative outcomes. On the other hand, related research by Pinel (1999) indicates that individual differences in people's expectations about being stereotyped based on group membership, referred to as *stigma consciousness*, can increase perceptions of prejudice. Therefore, it is possible that racial minorities who are high on stigma consciousness may find messages that minimize discrimination even more troublesome. Similarly, it is also possible that more frequent experiences with prejudice or discrimination may also create an even bigger inconsistency between messages that minimize racial discrimination and minorities' experiences with discrimination. In this case, we might expect that these experiences would moderate the relationship between the message and negative outcomes such that the more frequent these experiences occur, the more racial minorities will report negative outcomes. Furthermore, it is unclear whether or not racial minorities can use psychological strategies to avoid the nefarious effects of messages that minimize the existence of racial discrimination. For example, self-affirmations involve making aware important aspects of one's life that are distinct from the threatening domain or participating in activities that solidifies important values that are distinct

from the threatening domain (e.g., Cohen, Garcia, Apfel, & Master, 2006). Research demonstrates that self-affirmations can decrease self-protective or defense behaviors, such as hostility directed toward the outgroup (Fein & Spencer, 1997) and perceptions of racism (Adams, Tormala, & O'Brien, 2006). Applied to the present case, a self-affirmation treatment may reduce the relevance of threats associated with judgments about the existence of racism. If a self-affirmation treatment reduces or eliminates group differences in perceptions of these messages, this would have important implications for minority group member's experiences.

Due to time constraints, I was unable to propose and address three studies that were promised to my committee members during my preliminary oral defense meeting. First, it was suggested that I use a scientific article that shows data that discrimination is either over or not over. The goal of this study was to determine whether ostensible scientific knowledge that racism is over would create differential responses among racial minority and majority group members. Based on the present findings, there are several responses that may occur. First, consistent with findings from Experiments 1-3, exposing racial minority group members to a scientific article that shows that racism is over may exacerbate negative reactions to the article because it would limit the attributions one could make to protect themselves from the threat. For example, it may be the case the racial minorities are unable to provide an external attribution that the article is simply being prejudiced, which in turn would harm self-esteem (Crocker & Major, 1989). By making the "racism is over" message appear more legitimate, racial minorities may believe that there is an even larger consistency between racial minorities beliefs and this message. On the other hand, the scientific article may lead racial minorities to actually consider the racism is over message as valid. If the message is coming from a legitimate source, then racial minorities may be even more willing to believe the information to be true. This, in turn,

may attenuate racial minorities' negative responses to messages that minimize or deny the existence of racism. I would also hypothesize that White Americans would respond even more positively and be less concerned about appearing prejudice if exposed to a scientific message that claimed that racism is over. A scientific message would likely corroborate Whites' status ideology by providing irrefutable evidence that racism is over. In addition, I also proposed that I would revise an article in which a waiter makes a racist comment and acts inappropriately, which is followed up by a response from the restaurant's lawyer that either minimized or denied racism. I ran this design two times and was unable to find the expected pattern of results. This may have occurred because the length of the article was rather long and as a result, it might have hidden the manipulation. Indeed, a manipulation check revealed that only 72% of participants in the minimizing condition and 84% of participants in the control condition for one of these studies correctly identified the lawyer's response (the manipulation). Therefore, shortening this study and making the lawyer's response more focal would help better clarify the ways in which the "racism is over" rhetoric in the news may lead to different responses among racial/ethnic minority and majority group members.

Lastly, many have lauded recent political developments as inviting the arrival of a post-racial era in America, several controversies regarding anti-White bias have created increasing concerns about "reverse racism." For example, researchers have shown that Whites' are beginning view of racism as "a zero-sum game," and believe that decreases in perceived bias against Blacks are associated with increases in perceived bias against Whites (Norton & Sommers, 2011). Moreover, these Whites have no come to view anti-White bias as an even bigger societal problem than racial discrimination against Blacks. However, before examining Whites, it is important to keep in mind a few limitations. First, it is important to first understand

what it means when Whites report perceiving anti-White bias and ensure that it is an experience distinct from other forms of interpersonal rejection. If Whites are reporting that they perceive anti-White racism, it will be important for future research to compare their reactions to messages that claim that racism is over to the reactions of racial minorities. Given that we know that group identification among Whites is highly criticized (Rowe, Bennett, & Atkinson, 1994) and further complicated by the absence of a history with racism, any significant changes in emotions or behaviors as a function of viewing a message that minimizes or denies the existence of racism against Whites warrants a stringent investigation.

Conclusion

Although the United States has moved far from its brutal racial history, it is still fighting to achieve racial equality. The present research is the first to explore whether and how messages that minimize or deny the existence of racism have different consequences for racial minority and majority group members. It also builds on and informs existing sociological theories that have attempted to investigate the question of whether America is moving towards becoming a genuinely “colorblind” society or remains a society deeply polarized by race (Bobo & Charles, 2009). Studies of racial attitudes in the United States often present a difficult puzzle. Findings from this dissertation suggest that these seemingly benign messages that minimize the existence of racism have the potential to further disrupt race relations in the United States.

Appendix A

Measures for Experiments 1-3

Depressed Mood (8 items)

1. unhappy
2. sad
3. blue
4. hopeless
5. discouraged
6. miserable
7. helpless
8. worthless

Anger (7 items)

1. furious
2. bitter
3. resentful
4. annoyed
5. grouchy
6. peeved
7. angry

Positive Emotions (7 items)

1. happy
2. joyful
3. delighted

4. cheerful
5. exited
6. enthusiastic
7. energetic

Sense of Belonging in the US (4 items)

1. I see myself as part of the community
2. I feel that I am a member of the American community
3. I feel a sense of belonging in the United States

Vigilance to Discrimination (4 items)

1. You try to prepare for possible insults from other people before leaving home
2. You feel that you always have to be very careful about your appearance(to get good service or avoid being harassed)
3. Carefully watch what you say and how you say it
4. Try to avoid certain social situations and places

Support for Immigration Policies (7 items)

1. A minority group member is hired over a White applicant as long as the group member meets a minimal level of qualifications. Under this policy it is possible for a minority group member to get hired even if he/she is relatively less qualified than a White applicant.
2. A color-blind policy whereby a candidate's race is completely ignored throughout the entire employment procedure (i.e., in both the recruiting and hiring stage)
3. A "tie-breaker" policy in which a minority applicant is selected over a White applicant when the two applicants are equally qualified

4. A policy through which minority group members can receive supplemental training to prepare them for the selection process. However, minority group status is not considered at the hiring stage.
5. A policy that requires an organization to make extra efforts to get members from minority groups to apply for positions but does not take minority status into consideration at the hiring stage. Examples of such extra efforts include advertising in magazines with high minority readership or recruiting applicants at historically Black colleges and universities.
6. A policy that will increase the number of temporary work visas for agriculture, food industry workers, and highly skilled workers
7. A policy that will increase enforcement of immigration laws at U.S. borders
8. A policy that will deport unauthorized immigrants

Desire to Pursue Leadership Roles (1 item)

1. Within the next year, how likely are you to apply for a leadership role(sorority/organization/university President or Vice President)?

Outgroup Hostility (8 items)

Instructions: Please estimate the frequency with which you experienced the following emotions and feelings toward Whites when reading the incident report.

1. Trust
2. Reliability
3. Doubt/Hesitancy
4. Suspicion
5. Hostility

6. Aggression

7. Hate

8. Anger

Shared reality (2 items)

1. The Office of the Dean understands the experiences of individuals from minority groups.
2. Both the Office of Dean and people from my racial group share a similar reality.

Prejudice Concerns (3 items)

1. I am concerned that I will be seen as prejudiced
2. Appearing prejudice is something that I worry about
3. I am afraid racial minorities will interpret by behavior as discriminatory

Appendix B

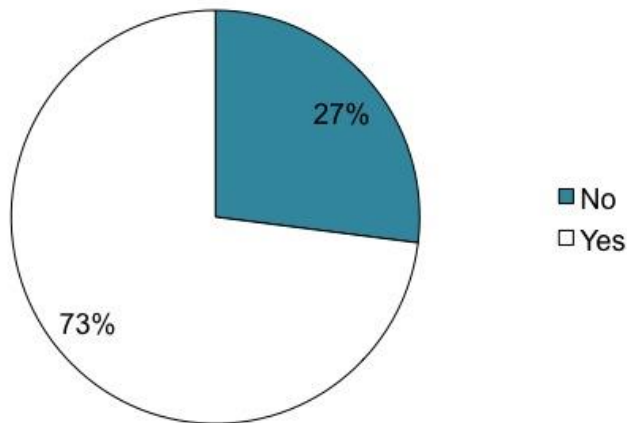
Manipulations for Experiment 1-3

Experiment 1: Gallup Poll Manipulation

Minimizing Discrimination condition

By: The Gallup Editors

PRINCETON, N.J. – The U.S. Gallup has measures of American’s attitudes about the status of racial discrimination against Latinos in the United States.

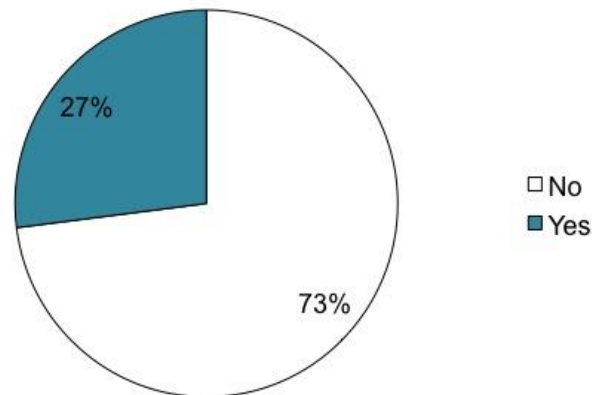


2013 Gallup Poll: Is discrimination against Latinos a problem in the United States?

Control condition

By: The Gallup Editors

PRINCETON, N.J. – The U.S. Gallup has measures of American’s attitudes about the status of racial discrimination against Latinos in the United States.



2013 Gallup Poll: Is discrimination against Latinos a problem in the United States?

Experiments 2 and 3: UCLA Incident Report

Control condition

On October 2, 2014, a Michael Yee (student) reported the following incident:

“I was sitting in my English class while my instructor, Mr. Taylor, a White male, was discussing writing strategies. I raised my hand and asked a question about paragraph organization. Mr. Taylor then asked me where I was from. When I stated that I was from the United States, Mr. Taylor then told me that he had initially thought I did not understand paragraph organization because he thought I was an international student and stated that they “typically did not speak or understand English very well, which is why you might be experiencing difficulty.” He then continued to make anti-Asian remarks. As a student from an Asian background, I was alarmed and hurt by this statement and Mr. Taylor’s behavior.

Response from UCLA:

“We carefully reviewed Mr. Lee’s case and have decided to pursue legal action against Mr. Taylor. We feel that this incident violates the Anti-Discrimination Laws or University policies of discrimination based on race, color, national or ethnic origin, alienage, sex, religion, age, sexual orientation, gender identity, marital status, veterans status, physical or mental disability, or perceived membership in any of these classifications which resulted in injuries to the Student. The Dean will investigate this matter further.”

Denial condition

On October 2, 2014, a Michael Yee (student) reported the following incident:

“I was sitting in my English class while my instructor, Mr. Taylor, a White male, was discussing writing strategies. I raised my hand and asked a question about paragraph organization. Mr. Taylor then asked me where I was from. When I stated that I was from the United States, Mr. Taylor then told me that he had initially thought I did not understand paragraph organization because he thought I was an international student and stated that they “typically did not speak or understand English very well, which is why you might be experiencing difficulty.” He then continued to make anti-Asian remarks. As a student from an Asian background, I was alarmed and hurt by this statement and Mr. Taylor’s behavior.

Response from UCLA:

“We carefully reviewed Mr. Lee’s case and have decided not to pursue legal action against Mr. Taylor. We did not feel that this incident violates the Anti-Discrimination Laws or University policies of discrimination based on race, color, national or ethnic origin, alienage, sex, religion, age, sexual orientation, gender identity, marital status, veterans status, physical or mental

disability, or perceived membership in any of these classifications which resulted in injuries to the Student. The Dean will not investigate this matter further.”

References

2012 National Healthcare Disparities Report. June 2013. Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality, Rockville, M.D.

<http://www.ahrq.gov/research/findings/nhqrdr/nhdr12/index.html>

Adams, G., Tormala, T. T., & O'Brien, L. T. (2006). The effect of self-affirmation on perception of racism. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 42*(5), 616-626.

Allport G.W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Apfelbaum, E. P., Sommers, S. R., & Norton, M. I. (2008). Seeing race and seeming racist?

Evaluating strategic colorblindness in social interaction. *Journal of personality and social psychology, 95*(4), 918.

Asch, S. (1952) *Social psychology*. Prentice-Hall.

Baker, F., Denniston, M., Zabora, J., Polland, A., & Dudley, W. N. (2002). A POMS short form for cancer patients: psychometric and structural evaluation. *Psycho- Oncology, 11*(4), 273-281.

Barrett, L. F., & Swim, J. K. (1998). Appraisals of prejudice and discrimination. *Prejudice: The target's perspective, 11-36*.

Bar-Tal, D. (1990). *Group beliefs: A conception for analyzing group structure, processes, and behavior*. New York: Springer-Verlag.

Bar-Tal, D. (2000). *Shared beliefs in a society: Social psychological analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Baumeister, R. F., & Newman, L. S. (1994). How stories make sense of personal experiences: Motives that shape autobiographical narratives. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 20(6), 676-690.
- Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1995). The need to belong: desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. *Psychological bulletin*, 117(3), 497.
- Blascovich, J., Mendes, W. B., Hunter, S. B., Lickel, B., & Kowai-Bell, N. (2001). Perceiver threat in social interactions with stigmatized others. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 80(2), 253.
- Bobo, L. D., & Charles, C. Z. (2009). Race in the American mind: From the Moynihan report to the Obama candidacy. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 621(1), 243-259.
- Bowlby, J. (1969). Attachment and loss, volume i: Attachment.
- Boykin, A. W., & Toms, F. D. (1985). Black child socialization: A conceptual framework.
- Branscombe, N. R., Schmitt, M. T., & Harvey, R. D. (1999). Perceiving pervasive discrimination among African Americans: Implications for group identification and well-being. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 77(1), 135.
- Branscombe, N. R., & Wann, D. L. (1994). Collective self-esteem consequences of outgroup derogation when a valued social identity is on trial. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 24(6), 641-657.
- Brehm, S. F., & Brehm, S. W. (1981). Psychological reactance: A theory of freedom and control. New York: Academic.
- Brooks, V. R. (1981). Minority stress and lesbian women. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

- Bulman, R. J., & Wortman, C. B. (1977). Attributions of blame and coping in the "real world": severe accident victims react to their lot. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 35(5), 351.
- Chaiken, S., & Baldwin, M. W. (1981). Affective-cognitive consistency and the effect of salient behavioral information on the self-perception of attitudes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 41(1), 1.
- Cheryan, S., & Bodenhausen, G. V. (2000). When positive stereotypes threaten intellectual performance: The psychological hazards of "model minority" status. *Psychological Science*, 11(5), 399-402.
- Cheryan, S., & Monin, B. (2005). Where are you really from?: Asian Americans and identity denial. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 89(5), 717.
- Clark, R., Anderson, N. B., Clark, V. R., & Williams, D. R. (1999). Racism as a stressor for African Americans: A biopsychosocial model. *American psychologist*, 54(10), 805.
- Clark, R., Benkert, R. A., & Flack, J. M. (2006). Large arterial elasticity varies as a function of gender and racism-related vigilance in black youth. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 39(4), 562-569.
- Cohen, G. L., Garcia, J., Apfel, N., & Master, A. (2006). Reducing the racial achievement gap: A social-psychological intervention. *science*, 313(5791), 1307-1310.
- Cohen, G. L., Steele, C. M., & Ross, L. D. (1999). The mentor's dilemma: Providing critical feedback across the racial divide. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 25, 1302–1318.
- Cooley, C.H. (1964). Human nature and the social order. New York: Schocken Books. (Original work published 1902)

- Crocker, J., & Major, B. (1989). Social stigma and self-esteem: The self-protective properties of stigma. *Psychological review*, 96(4), 608.
- Crocker, J., Voelkl, K., Testa, M., & Major, B. (1991). Social stigma: The affective consequences of attributional ambiguity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 60(2), 218.
- Darley, J. M., & Gross, P. H. (1983). A hypothesis-confirming bias in labeling effects. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 44(1), 20.
- Demo, D. H., & Hughes, M. (1990). Socialization and racial identity among Black Americans. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 53(4), 364-374.
- DeNavas-Walt, C., Proctor, B. D., & Mills, R. J. (2003). Income, poverty, and health insurance coverage in the United States US Census Bureau of the Department of Commerce. *Washington, DC*.
- DeNavas-Walt, C., Proctor, B. D., & Smith, J. C. (2014). Income, Poverty, and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States: 2009.
- Devine, P. G., Evett, S. R., & Vasquez-Suson, K. A. (1996). Exploring the interpersonal dynamics of intergroup contact.
- Devine, P. G., Plant, E. A., Amodio, D. M., Harmon-Jones, E., & Vance, S. L. (2002). The regulation of explicit and implicit race bias: the role of motivations to respond without prejudice. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 82(5), 835.
- Diener, E., & Seligman, M. E. (2002). Very happy people. *Psychological science*, 13(1), 81-84.
- Dion, K. L., & Kawakami, K. (1996). Ethnicity and perceived discrimination in Toronto: Another look at the personal/group discrimination discrepancy. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science/Revue canadienne des sciences du comportement*, 28(3), 203.

- Dunning, J. H. (2001). The eclectic (OLI) paradigm of international production: past, present and future. *International journal of the economics of business*, 8(2), 173-190.
- Dunning, D., & Balceris, E. (2013). Wishful seeing how preferences shape visual perception. *Current directions in psychological science*, 22(1), 33-37.
- Dunton, B. C., & Fazio, R. H. (1997). An individual difference measure of motivation to control prejudiced reactions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 23, 316-326.
- Echterhoff, G., Higgins, E.T., & Groll, S. (2005). Audience-tuning effects on memory: The role of shared reality. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 89, 257–276.
- Echterhoff, G., Higgins, E. T., & Levine, J. M. (2009). Shared reality experiencing commonality with others' inner states about the world. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 4(5), 496-521.
- Eibach, R. P., & Ehrlinger, J. (2006). “Keep your eyes on the prize”: Reference points and racial differences in assessing progress toward equality. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 32(1), 66-77.
- Eibach, R. P., & Keegan, T. (2006). Free at last? Social dominance, loss aversion, and White and Black Americans' differing assessments of racial progress. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90(3), 453.
- Fein, S., & Spencer, S. J. (1997). Prejudice as self-image maintenance: Affirming the self through derogating others. *Journal of personality and Social Psychology*, 73(1), 31.
- Festinger, L. (1950). Informal social communication. *Psychological review*, 57(5), 271.
- Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J., Glick, P., & Xu, J. (2002). A model of (often mixed) stereotype content: competence and warmth respectively follow from perceived status and competition. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 82(6), 878.

- Fiske, S. T. (2004). Intent and ordinary bias: Unintended thought and social motivation create casual prejudice. *Social Justice Research, 17*(2), 117-127.
- Foster, M. D., Sloto, L., & Ruby, R. (2006). Responding to discrimination as a function of meritocracy beliefs and personal experiences: Testing the model of shattered assumptions. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 9*(3), 401-411.
- Foster, M. D., & Matheson, K. (1999). Perceiving and responding to the personal/group discrimination discrepancy. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 25*(10), 1319-1329.
- Foster, M. D., & Matheson, K. (1995). Double relative deprivation: Combining the personal and political. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 21*, 1167-1177.
- Foster, M. D., & Tsarfati, E. M. (2005). The effects of meritocracy beliefs on women's well-being after first-time gender discrimination. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 31*(12), 1730-1738.
- Furnham, A., & Procter, E. (1989). Belief in a just world: Review and critique of the individual difference literature. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 28*(4), 365-384.
- Gallup Poll. (2013). Four Key Findings on Race Relations in the United States.
<http://www.gallup.com/video/163712/four-key-findings-race-relations.aspx>
- Gaertner, S. L., & Dovidio, J. F. (1986). *The aversive form of racism*. Academic Press.
- Greenberg, J., Pyszczynski, T., & Solomon, S. (1986). The causes and consequences of a need for self-esteem: A terror management theory. In *Public self and private self* (pp. 189-212). Springer New York.
- Greenberg, J., Pyszczynski, T., Solomon, S., Rosenblatt, A., Veeder, M., Kirkland, S., & Lyon, D. (1990). Evidence for terror management theory II: The effects of mortality salience on

- reactions to those who threaten or bolster the cultural worldview. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 58(2), 308.
- Greenberg, J., Solomon, S., & Pyszczynski, T. (1997). Terror management theory of self-esteem and cultural worldviews: Empirical assessments and conceptual refinements. *Advances in experimental social psychology*, 29, 61-139.
- Hafer, C. L., & Olson, J. M. (1993). Beliefs in a just world, discontent, and assertive actions by working women. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 19(1), 30-38.
- Hardin, C. D., & Higgins, E. T. (1996). Shared reality: How social verification makes the subjective objective.
- Hatfield, E., Walster, E. H., Walster, G. W., & Berscheid, E. (1978). *Equity: Theory and research*. Allyn & Bacon.
- Hausmann, L. R., Hannon, M. J., Kresevic, D. M., Hanusa, B. H., Kwoh, C. K., & Ibrahim, S. A. (2011). Impact of perceived discrimination in health care on patient-provider communication. *Medical care*, 49(7), 626.
- Hayes, A. F. (2013). *Introduction to mediation, moderation, and conditional process analysis: A regression-based approach*. Guilford Press.
- Heath, C., Larrick, R. P., & Wu, G. (1999). Goals as reference points. *Cognitive Psychology*, 38, 79-109.
- Hebl, M. R., & Dovidio, J. F. (2005). Promoting the “social” in the examination of social stigmas. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 9(2), 156-182.

- Heckhausen, H., & Kuhl, J. (1985). From wishes to actions: The dead ends and short cuts on the long way to action. In M. Frese & J. Sabini (Eds.), *Goal-directed behavior: The concept of action in psychology* (pp. 134-159). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Heider, F. (1958). *The psychology of interpersonal relations*. New York: Wiley.
- Higgins, E.T. (1998). The aboutness principle: A pervasive influence on human inference. *Social Cognition*, 16, 173–198.
- Higgins, E. T., & Pittman, T. S. (2008). Motives of the human animal: Comprehending, managing, and sharing inner states. *Annual Review in Psychology*, 59, 361-385.
- Hogg, M. A. (2001). A social identity theory of leadership. *Personality and social psychology review*, 5(3), 184-200.
- Huffington Post. (2013). White Conservative Male Pundits to Nation: Racism is Over, Stop Talking About It. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/07/19/white-men-racism-over_n_3624866.html
- Hughes, D., & Chen, L. (1997). When and what parents tell children about race: An examination of race-related socialization among African American families. *Applied Developmental Science*, 1(4), 200-214.
- Ickes, W. (1984). Compositions in Black and White: Determinants of interaction in interracial dyads. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 47(2), 330.
- Janoff-Bulman, R. (1989). Assumptive worlds and the stress of traumatic events: Applications of the schema construct. *Social Cognition*, 7, 113– 136.
- Janoff-Bulman, R. (2010). *Shattered assumptions*. Simon and Schuster
- Jost, J. T., & Banaji, M. R. (1994). The role of stereotyping in system- justification and the production of false consciousness. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 33(1), 1-27.

- Jost, J. T., & Hunyady, O. (2005). Antecedents and consequences of system-justifying ideologies. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *14*(5), 260-265.
- Judd, C. M., Park, B., Ryan, C. S., Brauer, M., & Kraus, S. (1995). Stereotypes and ethnocentrism: Diverging interethnic perceptions of African American and White American youth. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *69*(3), 460.
- Kaiser, C. R., Vick, S. B., & Major, B. (2004). A prospective investigation of the relationship between just-world beliefs and the desire for revenge after September 11, 2001. *Psychological Science*, *15*(7), 503-506.
- Katz, D., & Braly, K. (1933). Racial stereotypes of one hundred college students. *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, *28*(3), 280.
- Kelly, C., & Breinlinger, S. (1996). *The social psychology of collective action: Identity, injustice and gender*. Taylor & Francis.
- Kessler, R. C., Mickelson, K. D., & Williams, D. R. (1999). The prevalence, distribution, and mental health correlates of perceived discrimination in the United States. *Journal of health and social behavior*, 208-230.
- Kaiser, C. R., Drury, B. J., Spalding, K. E., Cheryan, S., & O'Brien, L. T. (2009). The ironic consequences of Obama's election: Decreased support for social justice. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *45*(3), 556-559.
- Kaiser, C. R., Vick, S. B., & Major, B. (2004). A prospective investigation of the relationship between just-world beliefs and the desire for revenge after September 11, 2001. *Psychological Science*, *15*(7), 503-506.
- Kluegel, J. R., & Smith, E. R. (1986). *Beliefs about inequality: American's view of what is and what ought to be*. Hawthorne, NJ: Aldine de Gruyter.

- Knowles, E. D., Lowery, B. S., Hogan, C. M., & Chow, R. M. (2009). On the malleability of ideology: motivated construals of color blindness. *Journal of personality and social psychology, 96*(4), 857.
- Krystal, H. (1993). Shattered Assumptions: Towards a New Psychology of Trauma. *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, 181*(3), 208-209.
- Kushner, H. S. (2007). *When bad things happen to good people*. Anchor.
- LaPiere, R. T. (1934). Attitudes vs. actions. *Social forces, 13*(2), 230-237.
- Lazarus, R. S., & Folkman, S. (1984). *Stress, appraisal, and coping*. New York: Springer.
- Leary, M. R., & Baumeister, R. F. (2000). The nature and function of self-esteem: Sociometer theory.
- Ledgerwood, A., Mandisodza, A. N., Jost, J. T., & Pohl, M. J. (2011). Working for the system: Motivated defense of meritocratic beliefs. *Social Cognition, 29*(3), 322-340.
- Lerner, M. J. (1980). *The belief in a just world* (pp. 9-30). Springer US.
- Lerner, M. J., Miller, D. T., & Holmes, J. (1976). Deserving and the emergence of justice. *Advances in experimental social psychology, 47-69*.
- Levin, S., Sidanius, J., Rabinowitz, J. L., & Federico, C. (1998). Ethnic identity, legitimizing ideologies, and social status: A matter of ideological asymmetry. *Political Psychology, 19*(2), 373-404.
- LeVine, R. A., & Campbell, D. T. (1972). Ethnocentrism: Theories of conflict, ethnic attitudes, and group behavior.
- Lewin, K. (1947). Group decision and social change. In T.M. Newcomb & E.L. Hartley (Eds.), *Readings in social psychology* (pp. 330– 344). New York: Holt.

- Liang, C. T., Li, L. C., & Kim, B. S. (2004). The Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory: Development, Factor Analysis, Reliability, and Validity. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 51*(1), 103.
- Luhtanen, R., & Crocker, J. (1992). A collective self-esteem scale: Self-evaluation of one's social identity. *Personality and social psychology bulletin, 18*(3), 302-318.
- Major, B., & O'Brien, L. T. (2005). The social psychology of stigma. *Annu. Rev. Psychol., 56*, 393-421.
- Major, B., Gramzow, R. H., McCoy, S. K., Levin, S., Schmader, T., & Sidanius, J. (2002). Perceiving personal discrimination: the role of group status and legitimizing ideology. *Journal of personality and social psychology, 82*(3), 269.
- Major, B., Kaiser, C. R., & McCoy, S. K. (2003). It's not my fault: When and why attributions to prejudice protect self-esteem. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 29*(6), 772-781.
- Major, B., Kaiser, C. R., O'Brien, L. T., & McCoy, S. K. (2007). Perceived discrimination as worldview threat or worldview confirmation: implications for self-esteem. *Journal of personality and social psychology, 92*(6), 1068.
- Major, B., McCoy, S., Kaiser, C., & Quinton, W. (2003). Prejudice and self-esteem: A transactional model. *European review of social psychology, 14*(1), 77-104.
- March, J. G., & Shapira, Z. (1992). Variable risk preferences and the focus of attention. *Psychological Review, 99*, 172-183.
- Mays, V. M., Cochran, S. D., & Barnes, N. W. (2007). Race, race-based discrimination, and health outcomes among African Americans. *Annu. Rev. Psychol., 58*, 201-225.

- McCarthy, J. D., & Yancey, W. L. (1971). Uncle Tom and Mr. Charlie: Metaphysical pathos in the study of racism and personal disorganization. *American Journal of Sociology*, 648-672.
- McCarthy, J. (2014). A major U.S. problem, race relations sharply rises. Retrieved from: <http://www.gallup.com/poll/180257/major-problem-race-relations-sharply-rises.aspx>
- Meara, E. R., Richards, S., & Cutler, D. M. (2008). The gap gets bigger: changes in mortality and life expectancy, by education, 1981–2000. *Health Affairs*, 27(2), 350-360.
- Meyer, I. H. (1995). Minority stress and mental health in gay men. *Journal of health and social behavior*, 38-56.
- Meyer, I. H. (2003). Prejudice, social stress, and mental health in lesbian, gay, and bisexual populations: conceptual issues and research evidence. *Psychological bulletin*, 129(5), 674.
- Mendoza-Denton, R., Downey, G., Purdie, V. J., Davis, A., & Pietrzak, J. (2002). Sensitivity to status-based rejection: implications for African American students' college experience. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 83(4), 896.
- Meyer, I. H., Schwartz, S., & Frost, D. M. (2008). Social patterning of stress and coping: Does disadvantaged social statuses confer more stress and fewer coping resources?. *Social science & medicine*, 67(3), 368-379.
- Mirowsky, J., & Ross, C. E. (1989). *Social causes of psychological distress*. Hawthorne, NY: Aldine De Gruyter.
- Neckerman, K. M., & Kirschenman, J. (1991). Hiring strategies, racial bias, and inner-city workers. *Social Problems*, 433-447.

- Neighbors, H. W., & Jackson, J. S. (1984). The use of informal and formal help: Four patterns of illness behavior in the black community. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 12(6), 629-644.
- Nelson, K. M., & Coopridge, J. G. (1996). The contribution of shared knowledge to IS group performance. *MIS quarterly*, 409-432.
- Nickerson, R.S. (2001). The projective way of knowing: A useful heuristic that sometimes misleads. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 10, 168–172.
- Niemann, Y. F., Jennings, L., Rozelle, R. M., Baxter, J. C., & Sullivan, E. (1994). Use of free responses and cluster analysis to determine stereotypes of eight groups. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 20(4), 379-390.
- Noh, S., Beiser, M., Kaspar, V., Hou, F., & Rummens, J. (1999). Perceived racial discrimination, depression, and coping: A study of Southeast Asian refugees in Canada. *Journal of health and social behavior*, 193-207.
- Norton, M. I., & Sommers, S. R. (2011). Whites see racism as a zero-sum game that they are now losing. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 6(3), 215-218.
- Norton, M. I., Sommers, S. R., Apfelbaum, E. P., Pura, N., & Ariely, D. (2006). Color Blindness and Interracial Interaction Playing the Political Correctness Game. *Psychological Science*, 17(11), 949-953.
- Operario, D & Fiske, S.T (2001) Ethnic Identity Moderates Perceptions of Prejudice: Judgments of Personal versus Group Discrimination and Subtle Versus Blatant Bias. *Personality and Social Psychology*. 27 (5), 550-561
- Peters, M. F. (1985). Racial socialization of young Black children. *Black children: Social, educational, and parental environments*, 159-173.

- Pettigrew, T. F. (1996). *How to think like a social scientist*. New York: HarperCollins.
- Pettigrew, T. F., & Levine, D. (Ed.) (1967). Nebraska Symposium on Motivation. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Pew Research Center. (2013). Demographic & Economic Data, by Race. Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C. August 22, 2013. <http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2013/08/22/chapter-3-demographic-economic-data-by-race/>
- Phinney, J. S., & Chavira, V. (1995). Parental ethnic socialization and adolescent coping with problems related to ethnicity. *Journal of research on adolescence*, 5(1), 31-53.
- Pinel, E. C. (1999). Stigma consciousness: the psychological legacy of social stereotypes. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 76(1), 114.
- Plant, E. A., & Devine, P. G. (1998). Internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 75(3), 811.
- Preacher, K. J., & Hayes, A. F. (2008). Asymptotic and resampling strategies for assessing and comparing indirect effects in multiple mediator models. *Behavior research methods*, 40(3), 879-891.
- Pyszczynski, T., Greenberg, J., & Solomon, S. (1997). Why do we need what we need? A terror management perspective on the roots of human social motivation. *Psychological Inquiry*, 8(1), 1-20.
- Pyszczynski, T., Solomon, S., & Greenberg, J. (2003). *In the wake of 9/11: Rising above the terror*. American Psychological Association.
- Rehavi, M. M., & Starr, S. B. (2012). Racial disparity in federal criminal charging and its sentencing consequences. *U of Michigan Law & Econ, Empirical Legal Studies Center Paper*, (12-002).

- Richeson, J. A., & Shelton, J. N. (2003). When prejudice does not pay effects of interracial contact on executive function. *Psychological Science, 14*(3), 287-290.
- Richeson, J. A., & Shelton, J. N. (2007). Negotiating interracial interactions costs, consequences, and possibilities. *Current Directions in Psychological Science, 16*(6), 316-320.
- Rosenbloom, S. R., & Way, N. (2004). Experiences of discrimination among African American, Asian American, and Latino adolescents in an urban high school. *Youth & Society, 35*(4), 420-451.
- Rosenberg, S., Gara, M., & Shaver, P. R. (Ed.) (1985). Self, situations, and social behavior. Review of "Personality and Social Psychology". Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Rothman, A. J. (2000). Toward a theory-based analysis of behavioral maintenance. *Health Psychology, 19*, 64-69.
- Rowe, W., Bennett, S. K., & Atkinson, D. R. (1994). White Racial Identity Models A Critique and Alternative Proposal. *The Counseling Psychologist, 22*(1), 129-146.
- Ryan, C. S., Hunt, J. S., Weible, J. A., Peterson, C. R., & Casas, J. F. (2007). Multicultural and colorblind ideology, stereotypes, and ethnocentrism among Black and White Americans. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 10*(4), 617-637.
- Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (2000). Intrinsic and extrinsic motivations: Classic definitions and new directions. *Contemporary educational psychology, 25*(1), 54-67.
- Ryff, C. D., Keyes, C. L., & Hughes, D. L. (2003). Status inequalities, perceived discrimination, and eudaimonic well-being: do the challenges of minority life hone purpose and growth?. *Journal of health and Social Behavior, 275-291*.

- Schmader, T., Major, B., & Gramzow, R. H. (2001). Coping with ethnic stereotypes in the academic domain: Perceived injustice and psychological disengagement. *Journal of Social Issues, 57*(1), 93-111.
- Schmitt, M. T., Branscombe, N. R., Postmes, T., & Garcia, A. (2014). The consequences of perceived discrimination for psychological well-being: A meta-analytic review.
- Sellers, R. M., Chavous, T. M., & Cooke, D. Y. (1998). Racial ideology and racial centrality as predictors of African American college students' academic performance. *Journal of Black Psychology, 24*(1), 8-27.
- Shapiro, J. R., & Neuberg, S. L. (2008). When do the stigmatized stigmatize? The ironic effects of being accountable to (perceived) majority group prejudice-expression norms. *Journal of personality and social psychology, 95*(4), 877.
- Shapiro, J. R. (2011). Different groups, different threats: A multi-threat approach to the experience of stereotype threats. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 37*(4), 464-480.
- Shelton, J. N. (2000). A reconceptualization of how we study issues of racial prejudice. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 4*(4), 374-390.
- Shelton, J. N., Richeson, J. A., & Vorauer, J. D. (2006). Threatened identities and interethnic interactions. *European review of social psychology, 17*(1), 321-358.
- Shelton, J. N., Richeson, J. A., & Salvatore, J. (2005). Expecting to be the target of prejudice: Implications for interethnic interactions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 31*(9), 1189-1202.

- Shelton, J. N., Trail, T. E., West, T. V., & Bergsieker, H. B. (2010). From strangers to friends: The interpersonal process model of intimacy in developing interracial friendships. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 27*(1), 71-90.
- Sherif, M. (1935). A study of some social factors in perception. *Archives of Psychology, 27*(Whole No. 187).
- Sherif, M. (1936). *The psychology of social norms*. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- Sherif, M., & Sherif, C. W. (1953). *Groups in harmony and tension; an integration of studies of intergroup relations*.
- Sherman, D. A., Nelson, L. D., & Steele, C. M. (2000). Do messages about health risks threaten the self? Increasing the acceptance of threatening health messages via self-affirmation. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 26*(9), 1046-1058.
- Shih, M., Pittinsky, T. L., & Ambady, N. (1999). Stereotype susceptibility: Identity salience and shifts in quantitative performance. *Psychological science, 10*(1), 80-83.
- Sidanius, J., Pratto, F. (1999). *Social dominance: An intergroup theory of social hierarchy and oppression*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Song Hing, L. S. S., Li, W., & Zanna, M. P. (2002). Inducing hypocrisy to reduce prejudicial responses among aversive racists. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 38*(1), 71-78.
- Steele, C. M. (1997). A threat in the air: How stereotypes shape intellectual identity and performance. *American psychologist, 52*(6), 613.
- Steele, C. M., & Aronson, J. (1995). Stereotype threat and the intellectual test performance of African Americans. *Journal of personality and social psychology, 69*(5), 797.

- Stryker, S., Statham, A., Lindzey, G., & Aronson, E. (Eds.) (1985). *Handbook of social psychology*. New York: Random House.
- Sue, D. W. (2003). *Overcoming our racism: The journey to liberation*. CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Sue, D. W., Capodilupo, C. M., Torino, G. C., Bucceri, J. M., Holder, A., Nadal, K. L., & Esquilin, M. (2007). Racial microaggressions in everyday life: implications for clinical practice. *American psychologist*, *62*(4), 271.
- Swim, J. K., & Stangor, C. (Eds.). (1998). *Prejudice: The target's perspective*. Academic Press.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. *The social psychology of intergroup relations*, *33*(47), 74.
- Tajfel, H. & Turner, J.C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. *Psychology of Intergroup Relations*. Nelson-Hall, Chicago. Págs, 7-24.
- Tropp, L. R. (2003). The psychological impact of prejudice: Implications for intergroup contact. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, *6*(2), 131-149.
- Twenge, J. M., & Crocker, J. (2002). Race and self-esteem: meta-analyses comparing whites, blacks, Hispanics, Asians, and American Indians and comment on Gray-Little and Hafdahl (2000).
- UC Bureau of Justice Statistics. (2011). *Correctional Populations in the United States*, 1, 3, tbl 2.
- van Leeuwen, E., van den Bosch, M., Castano, E., & Hopman, P. (2010). Dealing with deviants: The effectiveness of rejection, denial, and apologies on protecting the public image of a group. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *40*(2), 282-299.
- Vorauer, J. D., Hunter, A. J., Main, K. J., & Roy, S. A. (2000). Meta-stereotype activation: evidence from indirect measures for specific evaluative concerns experienced by

- members of dominant groups in intergroup interaction. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 78(4), 690.
- Vorauer, J. D., Main, K. J., & O'Connell, G. B. (1998). How do individuals expect to be viewed by members of lower status groups? Content and implications of meta-stereotypes. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 75(4), 917.
- Walton, G. M., & Cohen, G. L. (2007). A question of belonging: race, social fit, and achievement. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 92(1), 82.
- Walster, E., & Walster, G. W. (4). Berscheid, E.(1978). *Equity: Theory and research*.
- Watson, D., & Clark, L. A. (1999). The PANAS-X: Manual for the positive and negative affect schedule-expanded form.
- Wason, P. C. (1960). On the failure to eliminate hypotheses in a conceptual task. *Quarterly journal of experimental psychology*, 12(3), 129-140.
- Williams, D. R., Neighbors, H. W., & Jackson, J. S. (2003). Racial/ethnic discrimination and health: findings from community studies. *American Journal of Public Health*, 93(2), 200-208.
- Williams, D. R., Yu, Y., Jackson, J. S., & Anderson, N. B. (1997). Racial differences in physical and mental health socio-economic status, stress and discrimination. *Journal of health psychology*, 2(3), 335-351.
- Williams, D. R., Yu, Y., Jackson, J. S., & Anderson, N. B. (1997). Racial differences in physical and mental health socio-economic status, stress and discrimination. *Journal of health psychology*, 2(3), 335-351.

- Wolfe, A. (1998). *One nation, after all: What middle-class Americans really think about: God, country, family, racism, welfare, immigration, homosexuality, work, the right, the left, and each other*. New York: Viking.
- Wong, F., & Halgin, R. (2006). The “model minority”: Bane or blessing for Asian Americans?. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, 34(1), 38-49.
- Word, C. O., Zanna, M. P., & Cooper, J. (1974). The nonverbal mediation of self-fulfilling prophecies in interracial interaction. *Journal of experimental social psychology*, 10(2), 109-120.
- Wright, S. C., Taylor, D. M., & Moghaddam, F. M. (1990). Responding to membership in a disadvantaged group: from acceptance to collective protest. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 58(6), 994.
- Ying, Y. W., Lee, P. A., & Tsai, J. L. (2000). Cultural orientation and racial discrimination: Predictors of coherence in Chinese American young adults. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 28(4), 427-441.
- Yinger, J. (1995). *Closed doors, opportunities lost: The continuing costs of housing discrimination*. Russell Sage Foundation.