HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE AND SOCIAL IDENTITY:

APPEASING IDENTITY THREAT AMONG HIGH-IDENTITY

MAJORITY GROUP MEMBERS THROUGH PERSPECTIVE-TAKING

BY

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANOVA – Analysis of variance

CSE – Collective Self-Esteem

HIMG – High-identifying members of the majority group

MR – Minority Receptiveness

RP – Racism Perception

SIT – Social Identity Theory

US – United States

ABSTRACT

Previous research has demonstrated that increased relevant historical knowledge for White Americans leads to more accurate perceptions of racism in the United States against African Americans. However, high-identifying members of the majority group (HIMG) tend to deny the presence of racism when presented with the same historical information. The present study tested whether processing historical injustice information from a different perspective (i.e., that of the minority) reduces identity threat for HIMG participants and lead them to both perceive modern racism more accurately and be more open to the African American historical perspectives. The findings reveal that interventions involving historical information were not effective for changing HIMGs' perceptions of racism, but perspective-taking approaches had the potential for leading HIMGs to be more receptive of learning more from an outgroup perspective. Further research on HIMG characteristics, social perceptions, and intergroup attitudes is needed to better inform a more optimal intervention for HIMGs.

Keywords: historical knowledge, social identity, majority group

INTRODUCTION

To alleviate intergroup tension caused by historical injustice, a reasonable first step includes making efforts towards holding similarly accurate perceptions of this injustice between groups who were positively and negatively impacted by the injustice. This perceptual common ground can not only help reduce prejudice, but it can further involve creating an overlapping understanding with the other group's perspective that leads to a common narrative. The Marley hypothesis predicts that White Americans generally perceive less racism compared to African Americans. Moreover, the hypothesis predicts that this difference in racism perception can be primarily explained by White Americans being generally less aware of historical context regarding racism compared to African Americans (Nelson, Adams, & Salter, 2013). Multiple studies have highlighted that learning more about specific historical injustices typically leads to acknowledgment of how these injustices have contributed to current social issues (Bonam, Das, Coleman, & Salter, 2018; Nelson et al., 2013; Strickhouser, Zell, & Harris, 2018). Generally, more historical education leads to greater social awareness (Adams, Edkins, Lacka, Pickett, & Cheryan, 2008; Bonam et al., 2018; Nelson et al., 2013; Strickhouser et al., 2018). For example, research has shown that people who become aware of their privileged status as a member of a non-stigmatized group subsequently recognize that discrimination is a pertinent issue (Adams et al., 2008).

Previous studies examining the Marley hypothesis have also found a negative relationship between racial group identity and racism perception for White Americans, meaning that those who strongly identify with the White (majority) racial group tend to perceive lower levels of current racism (Bonam et al., 2018; Nelson et al., 2013). The

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present research focuses on this subset of White Americans who highly identify with their racial group, and specifically their deviating perceptions of contemporary racism and their openness to the start of intergroup dialogue with African Americans. More specifically, the current study tests a novel presentation of historical racism context with an online sample of high identifying members of the majority group (HIMGs) to see if the intervention has a different effect on this group's racism perception and receptiveness to further relevant information.

Group Differences in Racism Perception

Race relations between White Americans and African Americans reflect a cumulation of historical injustices throughout United States history (Alexander, 2010). Since the era of slavery, the US legal system has continuously discriminated against African Americans, which has contributed to the current climate of racism (Hardaway & McLoyd, 2009; Inwood, Alderman, & Barron, 2016; Oliver, 2001; Stewart, Mears, Warren, Baumer, & Arnio, 2018). Systemic brutalities following the end of legal slavery include discriminatory laws, lynching, police violence, and mass incarceration (Alexander, 2010). Poverty, the proliferation of hate groups, and indifference towards this targeted brutality are examples of the social consequences of this injustice (Inwood et al., 2016; Pearson, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2007).

White Americans, who currently constitute the majority group in the US (73% as of 2017; United States Census Bureau, 2017), generally lack historical knowledge—and in some cases strongly resist such knowledge—of such injustices (Bonam et al., 2018; Nelson et al., 2013). This is arguably one key reason for persistent inequalities between White and African Americans, which has an ongoing oppressive impact on African

Americans and continues to put White Americans in a benefitting, privileged position. These differences in awareness of inequality impact each groups' perceptions of the circumstances differently (Carter & Murphy, 2015; Eibach & Ehrlinger, 2006). In general, White Americans tend to perceive less racism in America today compared to the perceptions of African Americans (Adams et al., 2008; Carter & Murphy, 2015; Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2002; Nelson et al., 2013). African Americans and White Americans additionally perceive the problem of racism differently in terms of causes, prevalence, persistence, and impact on well-being (Blank, 2001; Dovidio et al., 2002; Hochschild, 1995).

This disconnect between the groups' perceptions of racism cultivates a climate of distrust: despite explicit attitudes of racial equality amongst White Americans, they remain generally unaware of implicit attitudes shaped by negative stereotypes and more subtle forms of racism in society (Dovidio et al., 2002). Such circumstances can partially be explained by subtle yet common forms of prejudice such as aversive racism (Kovel, 1970), which are often unintended forms of bias by well-meaning white individuals who believe themselves to be nonprejudiced. This form of bias can be described as *aversive* because (a) the anxious emotions associated with African Americans lead to socially awkward behavior or active avoidance rather than direct expressions of racism and (b) the thought of being prejudiced in any way contradicts their own identity of not being biased (Dovidio et al., 2002). For example, because of the subtle nature of these actions, Whites are able to attribute their behaviors to factors other than racism, which impacts their perception of how discrimination affects African Americans, especially their own discriminatory behavior (Dovidio et al., 2002). On the other hand, African Americans are

likely to receive such treatment more consistently in various contexts, making discrimination more salient (Smelser, Wilson, & Mitchell, 2001).

Another reason these groups may perceive racism differently is because racial biases and attitudes are frequently unconscious (Dovidio et al., 2002). More specifically, Dovidio et al. (2001) found that Whites' negative implicit attitudes were largely dissociated from their positive, egalitarian explicit attitudes. These implicit attitudes are likely due to initial exposure to negative portrayals and stereotypes of African Americans through the media and socialization (Devine, 1989). The dissonance between implicit and explicit attitudes can be seen in white individuals' verbal and nonverbal behaviors during interracial contact. Given that they are generally unaware of the nonverbal cues they communicate, Whites typically evaluate the interaction based on their explicit behavior and conclude that the interaction went well. Conversely, African American individuals in these interactions have a higher ability to pick up on the more prejudicial nonverbal cues of the other party and evaluate that the interaction was uncomfortable and dissatisfactory. Interestingly enough, participants often assumed that the other person had the same impression of the interaction as they did (Dovidio et al., 2002). This lack of awareness among Whites enables these injustices to continue, which undermines progress towards positive intergroup relations (Stewart et al., 2018).

Majority and minority groups have different motivations for perceiving (or not perceiving) racism by attending to different information. More specifically, African Americans are more likely to expect signs of prejudice or discrimination, and are therefore more attentive to detecting signs of racism compared to White Americans (Richeson & Shelton, 2003; Shelton, Richeson, & Salvatore, 2005). Conversely, Whites

actively try to avoid conforming to the stereotype of being racist (Apfelbaum, Sommers, & Norton, 2008; Goff, Steele, & Davies, 2008; Salvatore & Shelton, 2007), so their threshold for instances of racism is higher; e.g., by labeling only ingroup members behaving in a blatantly racist manner (i.e., explicit expressions of opinions that African Americans are inferior; Carter & Murphy, 2015; Duckitt, 1992) as racist. In sum, African Americans tend to detect instances of both blatant and subtle racism whereas White Americans generally tend to only detect forms of blatant racism.

Whites and African Americans also differ in their perceptions of racial progress in recent US history. White Americans typically think of racial progress in relation to the past and think about how much conditions have improved in comparison to historical circumstances. For African Americans, they consider racial progress in terms of an idealized future and how much conditions can improve (Carter & Murphy, 2015). In terms of progress regarding racial equality, White Americans look to the past while African Americans look towards the future as their points of reference. These opposing references of time impact the discrepancy in group perceptions.

Because of the historically victimized position of their group, African Americans also tend to be vigilant about modern racism and have hopes that their position in society will improve. Conversely, White Americans aim to maintain positive beliefs about their group by avoiding the issue of modern racism and focusing only on their group's improvement over time. The Marley hypothesis addresses this difference in group perception by providing a clear information-based explanation.

The Marley Hypothesis

Nelson et al.'s (2013) research examined what they termed the "Marley hypothesis." The hypothesis's name was inspired by the lyrics for Bob Marley's "Buffalo Soldier": "If you know your history/then you will know where you're comin' from/and you wouldn't have to ask me/who the heck do I think I am" (Marley & Williams, 1983). The hypothesis claims that White Americans have a different understanding of history compared to African Americans, which leads to a discrepancy in knowledge and awareness of events involving racial discrimination. The Marley hypothesis predicts differences in group perceptions of racism between White and African Americans that can be explained by differences in historical knowledge of racism. More specifically, the hypothesis predicted that this difference reflects (a) dominant group ignorance and denial of racism's past and (b) that White Americans have a less accurate knowledge of historical accounts of racism compared to African Americans. The Marley hypothesis therefore predicted that educating White Americans regarding historical racism would shift White Americans' perceptions closer to those of African Americans, helping to bridge the gap of perceptual racism differences.

Existing studies that have tested the Marley hypothesis found evidence supporting the claim that White Americans perceived less racism than African Americans and that historical knowledge predicted systemic racism perception (although the majority of findings for isolated racism perception were not significant; Bonam et al., 2018; Nelson et al., 2013; Strickhouser et al., 2018). These findings demonstrate support for the Marley hypothesis and that historical individual-level understanding of racism differs from knowledge about racism at the systemic level. Bonam et al. (2018) tested a historical

knowledge intervention for White Americans that predicted increasing historical knowledge could lead to an increase in racism perception.

Of note, racial identity relevance—a measure of social group identity (via the Collective Self-Esteem scale; Luhtanan & Crocker, 1992) —played a consistently influential role in these studies: these findings demonstrated that racism perception was negatively related to White group identification (Bonam et al., 2018; Nelson et al., 2013; Strickhouser et al., 2018) and Bonam et al.'s (2018) historical knowledge intervention study found that racial group identity moderated the treatment effect in a negative direction (higher identity indicated treatment to be less effective). In other words, high-identifying members of the majority group (HIMGs) continue to deny the presence of racism when presented with facts of historical injustice.

Majority Group Identity

Social Identity Theory (SIT) proposes that individuals have distinct social identities in addition to their individual identities. People therefore strive to maintain a positive image of their social group, which serves as a source of self-esteem and auspicious positioning for comparison to other groups (Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Individuals who identify with a social group experience benefits and positive feelings from the successes and accomplishments of other group members (i.e., collective self-esteem; Jackson, Sullivan, Harnish, & Hodge, 1996; Kiecolt & Hughes, 2017; Turner, 1975). Constructing a historical narrative that distinguishes the ingroup's role in events and in relation to other groups and institutions works as a way of defining a group's social identity (Liu & Hilton, 2005). Group members are motivated to develop a narrative that frames their group in a positive light, which involves omitting unflattering

facts and elaborating on information that promotes a positive group image (Baumeister &
Hastings, 1997; Sahdra & Ross, 2007; Salter & Adams, 2016). These historical narratives
provide the framework for which group members think about other groups and how they
respond to contemporary issues (Liu & Hilton, 2005). This in-group-out-group distinction
tied with self-esteem contributes to biased attitudes, thoughts, and behaviors (Dovidio et
al., 2008). A comparison that negatively frames the outgroup compared to the ingroup
(e.g., White Americans' oppressive role in racism against African Americans) often leads
to defensive reactions to identity threat, such as ingroup favoritism and/or devaluing the
outgroup (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999). In sum, identifying with a
particular group and its accomplishments enhances self-esteem, and motivates people to
portray and perceive their group positively throughout time.

When an ethnic group constitutes the majority of a nation's population, the
majority group's ethnic identity becomes entwined with national identity (Kaufmann,
2019, p. 9). Following this line of reasoning, many White Americans likely fuse their
white racial identity with their American national identity. Additionally, in a nationally
representative survey of over 2,000 participants, thirty-seven percent of White Americans
reported racial identity to be very important to them (Croll, 2007). As members of the
majority group, some White Americans see ethnic and cultural differences as a threat to
their group identity and therefore show some resistance to inclusion and change. Some
researchers have argued that group identity for White Americans revolves less around
prejudice towards outgroups, but rather is focused on cherishing and protecting ingroup
values, therefore seeing prejudicial attitudes and behaviors as a defensive reaction
motivated by threat (Brewer, 1999; Morrison, Plaut, & Ybarra, 2010).

For White majority group members, high ethnic identification predicts higher levels of opposition to multiculturalism (Verkuyten, 2005) and lower levels of support for minority rights (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2006). When the conversation about multiculturalism emerges, an ideology that emphasizes cultural differences (particularly celebrating minorities), HIMGs consider their own group's culture and may be perplexed about where they fit into a multicultural narrative (Knowles & Peng, 2005). HIMGs also exhibit higher levels of social group dominance in the presence of endorsement for multiculturalism (active presentation of other social groups prompts perceptions of anxiety and threat) compared to a presentation framed by colorblindness (an approach that supports ignoring ethnic group distinctions that does not pose a threat to ingroup values; Morrison et al., 2010). Similarly, they also expressed more prejudice (i.e., expressed a lack of warmth towards racial minorities) when they were reminded of racial and ethnic differences compared to those who were reminded of similarities (Morrison et al., 2010). In a way, this sense of fear and perception of threat may stem from the message that the majority must embrace cosmopolitanism and forfeit their ethnic identity to give minorities their opportunity to arise (Kaufmann, 2005, p. 54). Such negative attitudinal and emotional responses demonstrate that not only is it important for HIMGs to recognize racism, but also that it is equally if not more important for them to be open and receptive to the minority perspectives. Doing so will ideally lead to the promotion of constructive dialogue about historical injustice that leads in the direction towards reconciliation.

The dominant historical knowledge framework constructed by the White American majority culture is motivated by the desire to maintain a positive group image

(Powell, Branscombe, & Schmitt, 2005; Sahdra & Ross, 2007), which results in a limited and incomplete understanding of the African American minority. Typically, learning about their privilege or about their group's unfair treatment towards African Americans leads White Americans to feel a sense of collective guilt (Peetz, Gunn, & Wilson, 2010; Powell et al., 2005). However, for majority group members who feel a strong sense of group identity and are exposed to information that interrupts their historical narrative and frames their group in a negative manner, such exposure leads them to defensive responses (e.g., denial, shifting blame, distorting information; Bonam et al., 2018; Nelson et al., 2013; Peetz et al., 2010). For example, one study found that contemplating white privilege increased levels of racism for HIMGs (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Schiffhauer, 2007). This reaction of resistance leads to lower levels of guilt as well as less willingness to help the victimized minority group (Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, & Manstead, 1998; Peetz et al., 2010). These findings indicate that certain majority group members are especially sensitive to the way in which historical information involving their group is presented, which likely affects their willingness to acknowledge historical wrongdoings and recognize the plight of African Americans.

The consistent finding that high-identifying White Americans perceive on average lower levels of racism presents a caveat for the Marley hypothesis. Based on the evidence thus far, the Marley hypothesis's prediction that educating White Americans will change their perceptions of racism to be closer to the perceptions of African Americans only applies to moderate or low-identifying White Americans. In other words, a different approach is needed to address differences in perceptions of racism among high-identifying White Americans.

Wise Interventions

In a recent review, Walton and Wilson (2018) found that interventions to social problems (e.g., conflict) that provide an opportunity for subjective meaning-making can promote effective and lasting change. These interventions can help individuals understand the origins of their maladaptive views, the way they operate, and how to change those beliefs. Such modified insights are meaningful and can become important parts to the person's understanding of themselves and/or their circumstances. In the context of this paper, HIMGs have a biased view of modern racism and its historical roots. Motivated by a need to understand other people and groups, an intervention that allows HIMGs to make meaning of new relevant information with a feeling of connection with the people involved would likely broaden their view of racism and lead them to be more open to learning about racism from other perspectives.

For wise interventions motivated by a need to understand, the centralized strategy involves providing a new framework that interrupts biased thoughts and allows for new reasoning about the social context (e.g., whether racism is a relevant issue or not; Walton & Wilson, 2018). This can be done by presenting information about racial historical injustices in a thematic way that describes systemic factors (*prompting with information*; Walton & Wilson, 2018; see also Yeager et al., 2014). HIMGs may respond to this information alone defensively and resist changing their viewpoint (i.e., identity threat; Branscombe et al., 1999).

Another approach involves encouraging people to see a connection with outgroups (*prompting with leading questions*; Walton & Wilson, 2018). One study did this by having participants reflect on what it would be like to experience familiar

situations, but from the experience of a minority group member who was being judged negatively for being different. This intervention led to reduced prejudice and increased relevant policy support up to three months later (Broockman & Kalla, 2016). A number of studies that tested perspective-taking interventions found support for positive attitude change in participants towards the outgroups of interest (Batson et al., 1997; Bruneau & Saxe, 2012; Clore & Jeffery, 1972; Dovidio et al., 2004; Galinsky & Ku, 2004; Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000; Vescio, Sechrist, & Paolucci, 2003).

The goal of perspective-taking wise interventions is to change beliefs about social groups, which can thus improve intergroup outcomes (Walton & Wilson, 2018). Empirical studies utilizing perspective-taking interventions have also found that being capable and willing to take another person's perspective is vital for improving intergroup relations (Cehajic-Clancy, Goldenberg, Gross, & Halperin, 2016). Considering different viewpoints allows the person to recognize an extent of overlap in perspectives, which increases tolerance, empathic concern, and helping (Batson, 2009) while decreasing bias and ingroup favoritism (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000). Employing an intervention to allow HIMGs to see the historical knowledge from the African American minority perspective would encourage them to consider this new information outside of their identity and narrative, making the information less threatening and more approachable. Thinking about the information from this perspective may also change HMIGs' beliefs about the minority group as well as their willingness to be more receptive of African Americans and their perspective regarding historical racism. Expanding HIMGs' understanding of racism by learning about historical context through another perspective and broadening their openness to learning more from people outside of their social group

could provide the foundation for mutually productive dialogue about addressing the

societal issues affected by historical injustice.

THE PRESENT STUDY

The current study focuses on examining how the knowledge of historical injustice affects current intergroup perceptions and openness towards outgroup perspectives by attempting to increase this knowledge for high-identifying majority group members. The Marley hypothesis suggests that historical education can address the issue of White ignorance and make their perceptions of racism to be more accurate. However, presenting historical knowledge seems to have the opposite effect for high-identifying Whites, leading them to perceive racism as less of an issue today; for HMIGs, once they feel that their group's image has been threatened, they are no longer receptive to the presented information (Bonam et al., 2018; Nelson et al., 2013). I therefore tested a perspective-taking intervention to examine whether processing historical injustice information from a perspective outside of one's group identity leads participants to be otherwise more receptive to such information and open to learning more outside of their ingroup narrative. I predicted that the more a person identifies with the majority group, the more likely they would experience identity threat when presented with new information about the legacy of racism and therefore defensively express lower levels of racism perception compared to those who did not learn the new racism information. I also predicted that HMIGs who processed the new information about the legacy of racism from the perspective of someone living through the specified experiences would demonstrate higher levels of racism perception as well as more willingness to learn more about racism from the minority perspective compared to HMIGs who did not process the information the same way or HMIGs who were not exposed to the information at all.

METHOD

The current study is a 2x3 factorial, between-subjects, cross sectional experimental design. The independent variables are group identity (high vs. low) and historical knowledge (standard, perspective-taking, and none). The dependent variables are racism perception and minority receptiveness (i.e., willingness to listen to African Americans and their perspective about racism). Before collecting data, the study was approved by the university's Institutional Review Board and preregistered on the Open Science Framework at

https://osf.io/twd5y/?view_only=0898b09cc0404d84849b55992ee554bb.

For the present study, I tested the following hypotheses: (a) the gap in racism perception between high- and low-identifying participants will become greater for those in the standard historical knowledge intervention condition compared to those in the control condition, (b) high-identifying participants who receive the perspective-taking historical knowledge intervention will perceive more racism compared to other high-identifying participants in the other conditions, and that (c) high-identifying participants who receive the perspective-taking historical knowledge intervention will be subsequently more willing to listen to African Americans and their historical perspective of racism compared to other high-identifying participants in the other conditions of the study.

Participants

Participants were recruited from Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) platform. Due to the nature of the study's research questions, participation was limited to White Americans. A power analysis with specified conditions (.20 effect size, .05 alpha, .80

power) suggested a sample size of 244 participants. 308 responses were collected, but after cleaning the data based on exclusion criteria (listed in procedure section), the remaining total included 240 total participants (for demographics, see Table I). The 240 White participants were randomly assigned to each condition, with 92 participants in the control condition, 72 in the standard intervention, and 76 in the perspective-taking intervention. Participants were not aware of their condition placement.

Table I

Participant Demographics

Participants	*n*	%	Participants	*n*	%
Gender			**Education**		
Male	125	52.1	Less than HS	1	0.4
Female	112	46.7	HS graduate	39	16.3
Other	3	1.2	Some college	55	22.9
Age			2 year degree	34	14.2
18 - 24	8	3.2	4 year degree	94	39.2
25 - 34	88	34.9	Prof. degree	15	6.3
35 - 44	82	32.5	Doctorate	1	0.4
45 - 54	40	15.9			
55 - 64	25	9.9			
65 - 74	9	3.6			
75 or older	0	0.0			

Measures

Historical knowledge. Participants were given a list of 16 statements about history of past racism against African Americans (see Appendix A; Nelson et al., 2013)

as the first step of the intervention. Participants in each condition of the study received the same historical knowledge measure. The list contains 11 true statements about past racism (e.g., "The United States criminal justice system has historically delivered longer sentences to Black Americans than White Americans who commit the same crimes") and 5 false statements about past racism (e.g., "African American Paul Ferguson was shot outside of his Alabama home for trying to integrate professional football"). Each statement requires the participant to indicate whether each item is *true* or *false* and how confident they are about selecting the correct response on a scale of 1 (*guessing*) to 5 (*certain*). To stay consistent, this is the same measure that was used in the previous Marley hypothesis studies (Bonam et al., 2018; Nelson et al. 2013; Strickhouser et al., 2018).

     Intervention. Participants were randomly assigned to one of three intervention conditions. The intervention was a manipulation of how the answers to the historical knowledge measure were presented. The "standard intervention" condition included 6 different categorical sections (criminal justice system, health care system, rights suppression, post-slavery/reconstruction, political discrimination, and segregation; each section had its own slide in the survey; see Appendix B) that discuss the validity of the relevant statements and how they relate to the historical racism context (e.g., "The era between the Civil War and the beginning of the Civil Rights era involved a dark practice of lynching African Americans in the American South, with a total of 3,959 lynchings documented."). Following the categorical sections, a writing prompt instructed the participant to reflectively write for 10 minutes. The "perspective-taking intervention" condition uses the same format as the standard intervention, with the modification of the

following writing prompt that instructs: "Based on the information you just learned, spend the next 10 minutes writing your thoughts reflecting on what it would be like to live through these experiences." The control condition only provided the correct response for each statement from the historical knowledge measure.

Racial identity relevance. The Collective Self-Esteem Scale (CSE) has a 4-item Private Collective Self-Esteem subscale (see Appendix C; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Cronbach's α = .84) that has been used in previous studies to measure racial identity relevance (Bonam et al., 2018; Nelson et al., 2013; Strickhouser et al., 2018). Participants responded to these items in reference to their racial identity (e.g., "In general, I'm glad to be a member of my racial group") on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*).

Perception of racism. On a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*certainly*), participants indicated the degree to which they perceive each item to describe cases of racism. The measure includes 5 items regarding isolated incidents of racism (e.g., "Several people walk into a restaurant at the same time. The server attends to all the white customers first. The last customer served happens to be the only person of color"; see Appendix D; α = .82) and 9 items referring to systemic manifestations of racism (e.g., "The decision of universities like California and Texas to end affirmative action programs; α = .89; Nelson et al., 2013; adapted from Adams, Tormala, & O'Brien, 2006; Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999).

Minority receptiveness. Participants indicated their level of agreement (1-7, *strongly disagree – strongly agree*) with a single item: "I am willing to listen to African Americans share their perspective of racism."

Demographics. Participants identified their age group, gender, ethnicity, level of education, and political orientation regarding social and fiscal issues.

Manipulation check. Three questions that were only shown to participants in intervention conditions to ensure they thoroughly read the intervention content. Each question asked about specific content from the interventions (see Appendix E).

Look-up question. A single question asking participants if they looked up answers to the historical knowledge measure online while completing the survey. To deter participants from lying, the question indicates that the participant will still receive compensation/credit regardless of their answer.

Procedure

The online survey (via Qualtrics) was posted on MTurk (using Turk Prime) for individuals who meet the criteria to participate. Turk Prime is a participant recruitment platform for online scientific research (Litman, Robinson, & Abberbock, 2016). Each participant was compensated $2.50 for their time. The survey was made available on MTurk until the desired number of participants completed the study. Because the study was administered online, participants potentially looked up answers to the historical knowledge measure online while taking the survey. Despite this shortcoming of administering the study online, a previous study compared administration methods (online vs. lab setting) and found no significant differences in results (Strickhouser et al., 2018).

After the data was collected, the following exclusion criteria were considered and implemented: those who had incomplete surveys ($n = 49$), selected "yes" or whose answer was missing for the look-up question ($n = 5$), were younger than eighteen years

old ($n = 0$), selected anything other than "White" for the ethnicity demographic question ($n = 6$), scored a 0/3 on the manipulation check ($n = 3$), completed the survey in a time measured two standard deviations below the mean (in seconds; $n = 0$), or completed the standard intervention or perspective-taking intervention writing portions in a time measured three standard deviations below the mean (in seconds; $n = 3$). This left us with a sample of 240 participants.

Due to the categorical nature of my second and third hypotheses, I identified HIMGs using a median split for the racial identity relevance measure.[1] More specifically, I categorized the HIMG group as participants who scored equal to the median or higher for the Collective Self-Esteem scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; median = 5.25, $n = 124$).

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[1] I acknowledge the method's controversy, especially the concern about an arbitrary point of distinction between groups (MacCallum, Zhang, Preacher, & Rucker, 2002) and that doing so has the potential to decrease power (Rucker, McShane, & Preacher, 2015). Despite these shortcomings, this case of categorizing a continuous variable is considerably appropriate since the latent variable of HIMGs is inherently categorical, the regression analysis for the first hypothesis and potential post hoc exploratory analyses can address the issue of power, and the categorization practice simplifies the interpretation and communication of results (DeCoster, Gallucci, & Iselin, 2011; Iacobucci, Posavac, Kardes, Schneider, & Popovich, 2015).

RESULTS

Hypothesis 1

I predicted that the gap in racism perception between high- and low-identifiers will be larger in the standard intervention condition compared to the control condition. For this first hypothesis, I ran a moderated multiple regression analysis seeking an interaction between the simple linear regressions of racial identity predicting racism perception for the samples in the standard intervention condition and the control condition. The first linear model tested if intervention condition and racial identity scores predicted racism perception. The second model introduced the interaction term, testing if the interaction between intervention condition and racial identity affects the prediction racism perception (i.e., demonstrates a moderating relationship).

The strength and direction of the relationship between racial identity and racism perception did not significantly differ by condition. More specifically, the interaction between racial identity and intervention condition did not account for a significant amount of the variance compared to the amount of variance explained by racial identity and intervention condition on their own ($\Delta R^2 < .0001$, $F(1, 160) = 0.01$, $p = .91$; see Table 2). In the first linear model before the interaction term was introduced, racial identity significantly predicted racism perception in both the standard intervention and control conditions, $F(2, 161) = 17.11$, $p < .001$, explaining close to 20% of the variance ($R^2 = .18$). However, racial identity was not a significant predictor in the second model once the interaction term was introduced.

These results suggest that the more an individual highly identified with the White racial group, the less likely they were to report perceiving racism. These findings also

show that those who highly identify with the majority group consistently perceive lower levels of racism, regardless of their exposure to contextual information about historical injustices of racism.

Table II

Predicting Racism Perception using Moderated Regression

Predictor	Estimate	SE	β	t	p
Model 1					
Constant	6.71	0.50	-	13.41	< .001*
Racial Identity	-0.49	0.08	-.42	-5.85	< .001*
Intervention	0.09	0.19	.03	0.44	.660
Model 2					
Constant	6.56	1.36	-	4.82	< .001*
Racial Identity	-0.46	0.26	-.40	-1.80	.070
Intervention	0.19	0.92	.07	0.21	.840
Racial Id. x Interv.	-0.02	0.17	-.05	-0.12	.910

*$p \leq .05$

Hypothesis 2

My second hypothesis was that HIMGs in the perspective-taking intervention condition would perceive higher levels of racism compared to HIMGs in the other two conditions (i.e., standard intervention and control conditions). This prediction was tested via a one-way independent analysis of variance (ANOVA) with planned comparisons that examined the mean differences in racism perception of HIMGs for the different intervention conditions. The omnibus test determined if racism perception means differed

among the three conditions, while the planned contrasts considered if the means differed between particular conditions.

The results for the omnibus test were not significant, $F(2, 121) = 0.38$, $p = .68$, $\eta^2 = .006$, demonstrating that the average racism perception score for HIMGs in the perspective-taking intervention ($n = 36$, $M = 4.02$, $SD = 1.11$) did not differ from those in the standard intervention condition ($n = 45$, $M = 3.88$, $SD = 1.26$) nor from the control ($n = 43$, $M = 3.77$, $SD = 1.38$).

The first orthogonal contrast examined if the racism perception means in an intervention condition (both standard and perspective-taking interventions) significantly differ from the baseline (control condition). Similar to the omnibus test, this contrast did not end up being significant ($t(121) = 0.76$ $p = .45$, $\eta^2 = .004$), indicating that on average, HIMGs in an intervention condition ($n = 81$, $M = 3.94$, $SD = 1.19$) did not significantly differ from HIMGs in the control condition ($M = 3.77$, $SD = 1.38$) in racism perception.

The second planned contrast, which considered if racism perception means in the standard intervention condition ($M = 3.88$, $SD = 1.26$) significantly differed from those in the perspective-taking intervention condition ($M = 4.02$, $SD = 1.11$), did not result in significant outcomes either ($t(121) = 0.47$, $p = .64$, $\eta^2 = .003$). These results demonstrate that HIMGs in the different intervention conditions did not significantly differ in their average perceptions of racism. The same nonsignificant outcome occurred when I conducted the same analysis for perceptions of individual-level and systemic-level cases of racism (see Table 3). Together, these results show that on average, HIMG's perceptions of racism are not affected by considering new historical knowledge about racism.
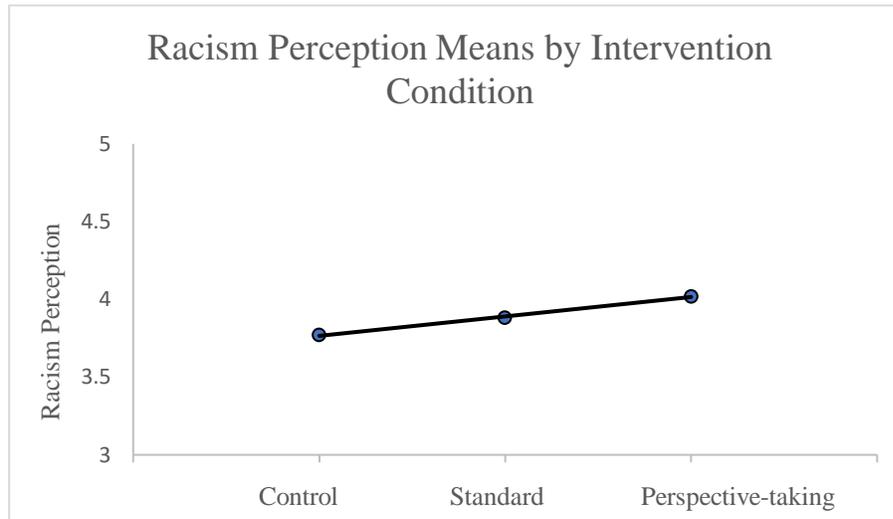
Figure 1

Table III

Individual and Systemic Racism Means and Standard Deviations

Intervention Condition	*n*	*M*(*SD*)
Individual Racism Perception		
Control	43	4.55(1.54)
Standard	45	4.60(1.33)
Perspective-taking	36	4.90(1.30)
Systemic Racism Perception		
Control	43	3.34(1.45)
Standard	45	3.48(1.35)
Perspective-taking	36	3.53(1.20)

Hypothesis 3

Finally, my third hypothesis was that HIMGs' willingness to hear about racism from the African American perspective (i.e., minority receptiveness) would be higher in the perspective-taking intervention condition compared to that of HIMGs in both the standard intervention and control conditions. A one-way ANOVA with planned contrasts compared the means of minority receptiveness scores for HIMGs in the three different intervention conditions (i.e., perspective-taking, standard, and control). The planned contrasts compared minority receptiveness mean scores for a) intervention conditions versus baseline control and b) standard intervention versus perspective-taking intervention condition.

The omnibus test that indicated if the mean MR scores differed by condition was not significant, $F(2, 121) = 2.27$, $p = .11$, $\eta^2 = .036$. The first contrast did not reach significance ($t(121) = 1.28$, $p = .20$, $\eta^2 = .011$), meaning that HIMGs' average minority receptiveness score in an intervention condition ($M = 6.01$, $SD = 1.26$) did not significantly differ from those in the control condition ($M = 5.72$, $SD = 1.47$). However, the second contrast comparing the MR means of the two intervention conditions showed a marginal relationship (standard, $M = 5.78$, $SD = 1.50$; perspective-taking, $M = 6.31$, $SD = 0.82$) but did not reach significance ($t(121) = 1.78$, $p = .08$, $\eta^2 = .044$). Keeping in mind the relatively small effect size via partial eta-squared and the *p*-value not quite reaching the threshold of .05, these results otherwise signify that HIMG individuals who take the perspective of the minority group when processing the historical injustice information on average are more willing to hear more from the African American

perspective about racism compared to those who did not process the information from a
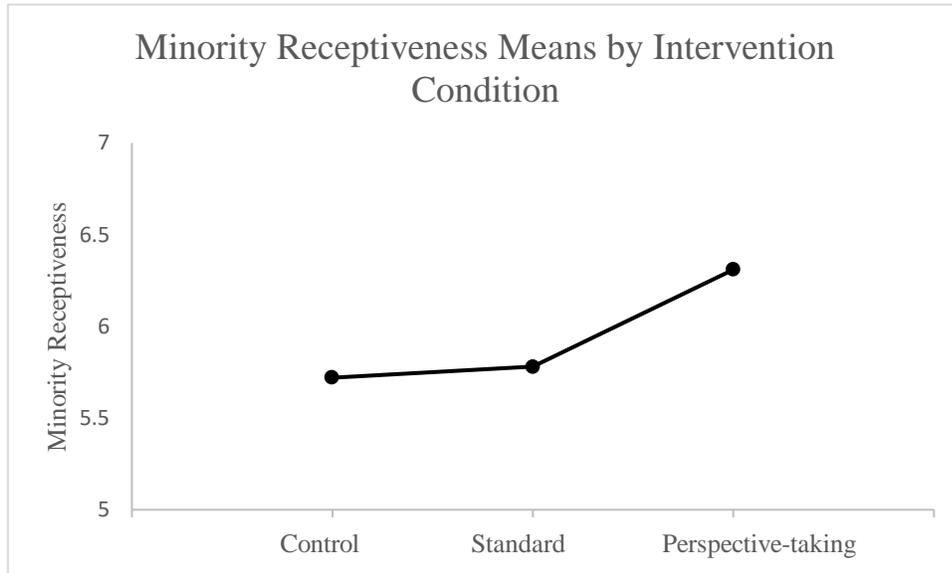
different perspective.

Figure 2

DISCUSSION

Previous studies examining the Marley hypothesis compared White and African Americans' knowledge and perceptions of racism, which have demonstrated that White Americans perceive lower levels of racism, seemingly due to their relative lack of knowledge regarding historical racist injustices (Bonam et al., 2018; Nelson et al., 2013; Strickhouser et al., 2018). Strickhouser et al. (2018) also note how the gaps in knowledge and perception differ depending on the environmental context of the samples. More specifically, samples with more diversity and in the southern US region have smaller gaps in knowledge and perceptions about racism between White and African Americans (Strickhouser et al., 2018). Regardless of the gap size, there was a consistent finding that racial identity was negatively related to racism perception, especially for White Americans with higher levels of racial identity (Bonam et al., 2018; Nelson et al., 2013; Strickhouser et al., 2018). Bonam et al. (2018) conducted a study that tested a systemic racism historical knowledge intervention on a White American online sample, in which racial identity still moderated the outcomes in a way that showed HIMGs to be less receptive to the information and perceived comparatively lower levels of racism. This study demonstrated that presenting information that increases knowledge about historical racism tends to show an increase in racism perception for White Americans, except for those who exhibit high levels of racial identity (Bonam et al., 2018). The present study's purpose was to take a closer look at the high-identifying White American population (HIMGs) and test an intervention with two variations in how the participants process the new information that expands on the historical knowledge measure. The new variation

involved perspective-taking when processing the intervention to see if this would address the bias that comes from a strong racial group identity using a national online sample.

Based on previous findings that increases in racial identity relate to an increasingly negative effect on racism perception (Bonam et al., 2018), I predicted a similar trend of higher racial identity indicating lower levels of racism perception for the standard intervention that presented historical knowledge about racism compared to participants in the control condition. However, my results did not show that the presentation of historical racism information made a difference in the relationship between racial group identity and racism perception. The results did find racial identity to negatively predict racism perception, indicating that as racial identity increased, perceptions of racism tended to decrease. Despite the results not supporting my prediction, the negative linear relationship between racial identity and racism perception did replicate past findings and thus shows further support for the effect of racial identity on the Marley hypothesis.

The second hypothesis predicted that HIMGs who processed the historical knowledge intervention from the perspective of someone who experienced the relevant historical injustices would perceive more racism compared to HIMGs who processed the same intervention from their own perspective and those who did not process new information. The results showed that racism perception remained relatively the same across conditions. Overall, racism perception scores for HIMGs remained on the lower side, indicating that HIMG participants on average perceived the presented scenarios to more so not be racist. The results for this hypothesis indicate that the interventions of presenting new information about a group and/or processing that information from the

perspective of another group did not appease group identity threat. With that being said, these results do support the notion that group identity threat poses as a plausible reason for HIMGs' deviation in racism perception levels in the presence of relevant historical information.

Due to the nature of HIMGs' historical relations and the study's focus on intergroup perceptions, I was interested in how these variables might relate to attitudes that could lead the majority group in the direction of reconciling past and present unjust dynamics with the minority group. Participants were asked how willing they were to listen to African Americans share their perspective of racism. The study found that HIMGs who processed the historical knowledge intervention from the perspective of someone who experienced discriminatory events were more willing to hear more from the minority perspective than other HIMGs in the study (note: effect size was small and results were not quite significant, $p = .08$).

Finding an increase in minority receptiveness but not racism perception with the addition of the perspective-taking element of the intervention corresponds with the approach that strong ingroup identity has more to do with focusing on ingroup values rather than outgroup judgments. This perspective considers HIMGs' prejudice expressions as a reaction to feelings threatened, so it can be interpreted that a focus on the other perspective that does not directly include or encompass their own group does not seemingly pose a threat to HIMGs. This indicates that HIMGs are open to other groups and their perspectives when feelings of group identity threat are absent. Similarly, observing change in minority receptiveness after taking another perspective is consistent

with the wise intervention goal of changing outgroup beliefs in the direction of improved intergroup relations.

All prior studies that have tested the Marley hypothesis, including the present study, has found racial identity relevance to be a variable that significantly impacts the relationship between racial group, historical knowledge, and racism perception. More specifically, evidence has shown majority group members with high racial group identity to have the opposite effect on relevant variables (i.e., historical knowledge interventions, racism perception) compared to other members of the population. It is important to specify within the predictions of the hypothesis that they do not apply in the same way to HIMGs as they do to the rest of the population of interest. For example, HIMGs lack of knowledge about historical racism may not simply be due to ignorance, but rather could be from motivated resistance to actively deny such knowledge in response to fear of identity threat. Most importantly, the prediction that education about historical racism will change perceptions of racism does not apply to HIMGs (Bonam et al., 2018; Nelson et al., 2013). As can be seen from the results of hypotheses one and two of the current study, the presentation of new historical information regarding racism does not make a significant difference in HIMGs' racism perception.

Historical knowledge may be effective for bridging the gap for most White Americans, but there's likely a different mechanism or approach at work for HIMGs. Even if the Marley hypothesis is generally found to be supported across different conditions, high-identifying White Americans is an important group to differentiate, considering the resistance and current climate of social and political affairs in the US today (Kaufmann, 2019). For HIMGs, it seems that prejudice and limited perceptions of

racism are products of something else that more importantly needs to be directly addressed. In line with SIT, they may stem from motivations to maintain a positive group image, but it also seems likely that having strong ties to group identity may drive (or be driven by) fear and a sense of threat.

According to a recent meta-analysis, those who highly identify with their social group experience higher levels of threat compared to low-identifiers (Riek, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006; Stephan et al., 2002; Stephan & Stephan, 2000) and there is supporting evidence that threat can also increase group identification (Jetten, Branscombe, Schmitt, & Spears, 2001). This leads to the question of whether wise interventions are appropriate before any sense of fear or threat is alleviated or if an intervention with the purpose of relieving HIMG feelings of threat is a possibility. Another possibility is that the content of the intervention itself poses as a threat to HIMGs and they need an entirely different approach from historical knowledge entirely. Currently it is unclear which would be the better approach for HIMGs: an intervention that would lead them to be more receptive to historical knowledge and thus change their perceptions of racism or an intervention that alters their perceptions of racism in a completely different way that does not involve historical context for racism. Considering the impact of the perspective-taking intervention on HIMGs' receptiveness to the minority perspective on racism, the focus on the outgroup from an outgroup member's perspective and does not include the HIMG's group within the presented context may be an effective mode of intervention.

Only a few studies that specifically look at majority group identity exist in the psychology literature (Jetten, Spears, & Manstead, 2001; Knowles & Peng, 2005; Morrison & Chung, 2011; Morrison, Plaut, & Ybarra, 2010; Verkuyten, 2005). In order

to test the optimal intervention to change HIMGs' perceptions of racism, further studies that help us understand majority group identity and HIMG characteristics are needed.

Limitations

One significant challenge for the current study and other studies related to majority group identity is how to successfully identify and measure HIMGs. Social group identification is determined by the person, as it is a form of self-concept (Knowles & Peng, 2005; Smith & Henry, 1996), so external indicators of high group identification may be difficult to find or may never be present. If group identity is measured on a spectrum from low to high identification, distinguishing high-identifiers with distinctive attitudes and behaviors becomes more difficult. Determining a "cut-off" point on a spectrum scale (like what was done in the present study) allows for a categorical group with its own characteristics, but it remains unclear at what point the distinction is appropriate primarily because such a clean distinction from "low" to "high" does not exist on a continuum. This leads to the question of what is the best way to measure HIMGs. This study and the previous Marley hypothesis studies have used Luhtanen and Crocker's (1992) Collective Self-Esteem scale modified to assess racial group identification. The selection of using the CSE scale for the current study was primarily motivated by keeping measures consistent with previous Marley hypothesis studies, so other measures of racial identity relevance were not taken into serious consideration. Another logistical obstacle is knowing where to identify HIMG individuals and collect a representative sample. For example, the present sample was relatively educated (see Table 1), making the sample not fully representative of the full population of HIMGs with different levels of education. There is likely to be a portion of HIMGs within a

typical sample of a general population, but the downside of only looking at HIMGs from a normal sample means ignoring or eliminating a notable portion of the collected data. Conducting a median split for the present analyses meant only looking at half of the collected responses.

The limited sample size due to resources, exclusion criteria, and the median split more than likely made it more difficult to find an effect. The effect sizes for the majority of hypotheses results were on the smaller side (effect sizes for previous Marley hypothesis studies were generally small as well, but the present findings were relatively smaller), making it more appropriate to evaluate the trend of results to guide future studies rather than make strong conclusions about the presence of findings.

Finally, the average scores for the minority receptiveness measure were very high, which could potentially be due to response bias, more specifically desirability effect. One upside of the MR question is that it asks exactly what the construct attempts to capture (i.e., high face validity), but the potential downside is that participants may have responded in a way that they think is socially desirable rather than genuinely expressing what they think. For future studies evaluating minority receptiveness or openness to minority group perspective, it would be valuable to research and determine if an established measure exists.

Future Directions

As I mentioned earlier, it would be beneficial to implement a new intervention framework for HIMGs that takes majority group identity characteristics into better consideration. Considering how distinct HIMGs are within the context of Marley hypothesis predictions, a replication of analyses that compared high- and low-identifying

members of the majority group (rather than comparing White and African Americans) would shed light on how HIMGs compare to other White Americans in terms of perceptions of different forms of racism, knowledge of historical racism, and minority receptiveness. Previous studies focused on the Marley hypothesis studies concentrated on university student samples, of which one pointed out the distinction of cultural context in the results (Strickhouser et al., 2018). Replicating the present study using a college student sample could potentially clarify the current study's results and provide more comparable sample for previous Marley hypothesis study White American samples. A sample is currently being collected from Wake Forest University, a private, predominantly White university in the southeastern United States. This sample would add a new cultural context for the Marley hypothesis, as the previous studies' samples were all either from the Midwest and/or a diverse university.

CONCLUSION

The current study focused on HIMGs and tested interventions that presented new contextual information about historical racism, one of which asked participants to process this information from the perspective of someone living through the described experiences. I was interested to test whether processing historical knowledge from a different perspective would affect HIMGs perceptions of racism and willingness to learn more from the minority perspective. This study was inspired by past studies that tested the Marley hypothesis and found high racial group identification to diverge from the typical predicted results. The lack of significant outcomes is just as telling about HIMGs and their unique viewpoint regarding intergroup relations and perceptions. Considering the study's results, it seems that introducing contextual information about historical racism does not effectively change HIMGs' perceptions of racism, but may in fact be a source of threat to HIMGs. The perspective-taking approach appears more promising as a direction towards an effective intervention for HIMGs, at least for willingness to hear out the minority group and their perspective about the issue of racism. To improve future relevant studies, much potential remains for understanding majority group identity, especially those who highly identify with the majority social group.

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Appendix A

Historical Knowledge Measure

Critical History Items

1. African American Paul Ferguson was shot outside of his Alabama home for trying to integrate professional football. **(F)**
2. The United States criminal justice system has historically delivered longer sentences to Black Americans than White Americans who commit the same crimes. **(T)**
3. The African American slave Dred Scott sued for his freedom. The Supreme Court ruled that he was property, not a citizen of the US and therefore could not sue in federal court. **(T)**
4. Less than 200 Black people were lynched in the US during the one-hundred-year span between 1870 and 1970. **(F)**
5. In Tuskegee, Alabama the US Government deceived over 600 African American men by hiding their diagnosis of syphilis, and for the next forty years denied them medicinal treatment for this potentially fatal disease. **(T)**
6. The US government deliberately created and administered the HIV virus to over 900 African Americans in a secret project during the 1980s. **(F)**
7. Medgar Evers struggled for the civil rights of Black Americans and was assassinated for his writings. **(T)**
8. In the 1980s congress passed the Purity Act which prevents Black immigrants from entering the US. **(F)**
9. The Emancipation Proclamation did not abolish slavery throughout the US (Full citizenship was not established for Black Americans until the 14th Amendment was adopted). **(T)**
10. Historically, African American defendants convicted of killing White victims were much more likely to be sentenced to death than were African American defendants convicted of killing African American victims. **(T)**
11. The FBI has employed illegal techniques (e.g., hidden microphones in motels) in an attempt to discredit African American political leaders during the civil rights movement. **(T)**
12. Fourteen-year-old African American Emmett Till was kidnapped, beaten, shot, and dumped for allegedly whistling at a White woman. Two White men acquitted for his murder by an all-White jury later boasted about committing the murder in a *Look* magazine interview. **(T)**
13. The Supreme Court ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), that separate facilities for Whites and Blacks were constitutional, encouraged discriminatory laws. **(T)**
14. Jim Crow laws—which enforced segregation, limited job opportunities and kept Black Americans from voting—were in effect until the 1960s. **(T)**
15. In the 1970s, the FBI developed a program to ensure high unemployment rates of African American people to maintain an inexpensive pool of workers. **(F)**

16. The US government promised free slaves payment of 40 acres of land and a mule but never delivered such payment. **(T)**

T and *F* refer to true and false items, respectively. Most false items were complete fabrications. For example, we are unaware that anyone named Paul Ferguson died in the Civil Rights struggle or that anyone died trying to integrate professional football. However, a few items are false because we changed an essential element of a true statement.

Intervention

Post-slavery/Reconstruction

The Emancipation Proclamation did not abolish slavery throughout the US (Full citizenship was not established for Black Americans until the 14th Amendment was adopted) **– TRUE**

The African American slave Dred Scott sued for his freedom. The Supreme Court ruled that he was property, not a citizen of the US and therefore could not sue in federal court **– TRUE**

During the third year of the Civil War, the Emancipation Proclamation declared freedom for slaves in the Confederacy and encouraged them to join the Union military with their new freedom (Emancipation Proclamation, n.d.). It wasn't until after the civil war that the Thirteenth Amendment freed slaves across the nation. However, the phrasing of this amendment specified involuntary servitude as a form of criminal punishment, which Southerners who were bitter about the end of slavery took advantage of. An organized effort named "Redemption" attempted to maintain racial inequality in the South by criminalizing arbitrary actions like being unemployed to arrest African Americans. Those arrested were forced into involuntary servitude within a convict leasing system between state and private organizations. The government primarily failed to intervene because it helped revitalize the economy (Forde & Bowman, 2017).

For African Americans who did not get swept into the convict system, freedom did not necessarily mean equal, dignified freedom. The Dred Scott case, concluding he was not property nor a US citizen, illustrated how post-slavery African Americans were not recognized as equal people who could practice their rights of participating in American systems (Gerteis, 2014).

Rights Suppression

African American Paul Ferguson was shot outside of his Alabama home for trying to integrate professional football. **– FALSE**

Medgar Evers struggled for the civil rights of Black Americans and was assassinated for his writings. **– TRUE**

Medgar Evers was a writer who was assassinated outside of his own home. Evers investigated discriminatory crimes against blacks and he organized voter-registration efforts (Medgar Evers, n.d.). Numerous individuals involved in peaceful movements and demonstrations were shot or bombed as ways to suppress their voices. Violence directed at community spaces to stifle African Americans' freedom of assembly led to a church bombing that killed four young girls preparing for church services (Civil rights martyrs, n.d.).

In addition to Jim Crow laws creating barriers for African Americans to vote, such as literacy tests, property tests, and poll taxes (Alexander, 2010), numerous activists who encouraged African Americans to vote were murdered for their efforts (i.e., Rev. George Lee, Lamar Smith, Herbert Lee; Civil rights martyrs, n.d.). The march that led to the Voting Rights Act in 1965 was inspired by Jimmie Lee Jackson, a young man who was beaten and shot to death while trying to protect his mother and grandfather from abusive troopers during a voting rights march in Marion, Alabama (Jimmie Lee Jackson, n.d.).

Despite the end of the Jim Crow era, barriers to voting still exist for African Americans and other minorities. Unsupported claims of voter fraud have led to the hollow justification of voter ID laws, of which African Americans are more likely to lack

adequate identification meeting these laws (Ansolabehere & Hersh, 2017). There have also been closures of polling places in predominantly black communities and illegal removal of names from voter registration lists (of which the vast majority were people of color; Maxwell & Root, 2017).

Segregation

The Supreme Court ruling in Plessy v. Ferguson *(1896), that separate facilities for Whites and Blacks were constitutional, encouraged discriminatory laws.* **– TRUE**

Jim Crow laws—which enforced segregation, limited job opportunities and kept Black Americans from voting—were in effect until the 1960s. **– TRUE**

The establishment of discriminatory Jim Crow laws occurred in 1877 and lasted until the 1960s (Bireda, 2017). It was the Supreme Court ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896 that considered segregation as "separate but equal" and began the implementation of segregation laws (Oberst, 1973) that created an era of legal alienation and discrimination of African Americans.

In the 1930s, the New Deal efforts to end the Great Depression included the Social Security Act, the National Housing Act, and the GI Bill. All of these programs systematically excluded African Americans (Earp, Jhally, & Morris, 2013). The federal government even pointed out where African Americans lived on metropolitan maps and indicated appraisers not to insure mortgages in these locations (an effort termed "redlining"). These exclusions reinforced Jim Crow discrimination, leading African Americans to live in separate and more impoverished neighborhoods (Rothstein, 2017). The Fair Housing Act was signed in 1968 in efforts to eliminate these practices of housing discrimination. Despite its face-value, housing in America today is almost just as segregated as when the law was first enacted. Primarily due to inconsistent enforcement

at the level of mortgage bankers ("higher interest rates"), real estate agents ("steering" minority buyers away from white communities), and landlords (race-based restrictions on who can move in) who maintained discriminatory practices (Williams, 2018).

Living in these poorer neighborhoods means that children only have access to underfunded schools with lower quality education and adults can't access certain jobs due to barriers (e.g., river, highway) that isolate them from job centers. It's also harder for people in these neighborhoods to access quality hospitals and other resources (Williams, 2018).

Political Discrimination

The US government promised free slaves payment of 40 acres of land and a mule but never delivered such payment. – **TRUE**

In the 1980s congress passed the Purity Act which prevents Black immigrants from entering the US. – **FALSE**

The FBI has employed illegal techniques (e.g., hidden microphones in motels) in an attempt to discredit African American political leaders during the civil rights movement. – **TRUE**

In the 1970s, the FBI developed a program to ensure high unemployment rates of African American people to maintain an inexpensive pool of workers. – **FALSE**

Following the end of the Civil War, an order was established to set aside land for newly freed slaves in the Southeast, a plan better known as "40 acres and a mule." However, after Lincoln's assassination, the order was reversed and the land was given back to Confederate owners, which left many African Americans with few options outside of returning to the fields to work as sharecroppers (McCammon, 2015).

During the Civil Rights era, the FBI launched the program COINTELPRO (Counter-INTELligence PROgram), and described its mission as "to expose, disrupt,

misdirect, discredit, and otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist

organizations and groupings and their leadership, spokesmen, membership, and

supporters" (Day & Whitehorn, 2001). The program was an illegal and unconstitutional

effort that specifically targeted African American social justice advocates and worked to

suppress these domestic groups' First Amendment rights of speech and assembly. Some

of COINTELPRO tactics included illegal wiretapping, letter opening, conspiring with the

media (e.g., planting false stories), break-ins and burglaries, false imprisonments, and

even arranged murders (Day & Whitehorn, 2001; Ogbar, 2017).

Twenty-year-old Fred Hampton, Chairman of the Black Panther Party Illinois

chapter, was murdered in his own apartment by the Chicago police who were informed

by an FBI agent who infiltrated the Black Panther Party, drugged their food, and provided

the police with a map of Hampton's apartment (Day & Whitehorn, 2001). A result of

these efforts includes criminalizing political justice activists and continuous oppression of

black communities, making it nearly impossible for them progress or receive justice (Day

& Whitehorn, 2001).

Health Care Discrimination

The US government deliberately created and administered the HIV virus to over 900
African Americans in a secret project during the 1980s. **– FALSE**

In Tuskegee, Alabama the US Government deceived over 600 African American men by
hiding their diagnosis of syphilis, and for the next forty years denied them medicinal
treatment for this potentially fatal disease. **– TRUE**

Substance abuse and dependence are often an issue in urban communities,

environments that are at risk for HIV primarily due to the issue of needle sharing for

drugs (Adimora, Schoenbach, & Floris-Moore, 2009; Baker & Bell, 1999; Rhodes,

Singer, Bourgois, Friedman, & Strathdee, 2005;). In fact, HIV infection has been

spreading more rapidly among African Americans compared to any other group in the US

(Thomas & Quinn, 1991; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2019). Often times

such drug dependency can lead to homelessness, leading homeless populations to have

high rates of HIV. Similarly, HIV prevention and treatment services are not equally

available or accessible for minority communities (Mays, Cochran, & Barnes, 2007;

Rhodes et al., 2005).

The Tuskegee Syphilis Study deceived African Americans living with syphilis by

withholding sources of treatment over the course of forty years, despite promising them

free care (Brandt, 1978; Thomas & Quinn, 1991). Fully aware of the subjects' ignorance,

the researchers did not educate them about their disease and how it could be transmittable

to their partner and children (Thomas & Quinn, 1991). Continuously deceiving their

subjects, the researchers conducted spinal taps to test for evidence of neuro-syphilis,

which they misleadingly communicated to their subjects as a "special treatment" (Brandt,

1978).

Criminal Justice System

Less than 200 Black people were lynched in the US during the one-hundred-year span between 1870 and 1970. **– FALSE**

Historically, African American defendants convicted of killing White victims were much more likely to be sentenced to death than were African American defendants convicted of killing African American victims. **– TRUE**

The United States criminal justice system has historically delivered longer sentences to Black Americans than White Americans who commit the same crimes. **– TRUE**

Fourteen-year-old African American Emmett Till was kidnapped, beaten, shot, and dumped for allegedly whistling at a White woman. Two White men acquitted for his murder by an all-White jury later boasted about committing the murder in a Look magazine interview. **– TRUE**

The era between the Civil War and the beginning of the Civil Rights era involved a dark practice of lynching African Americans in the American South, with a total of 3,959 lynchings documented (Equal Justice Initiative, 2015). These public killings promoted terror towards African Americans and were a crude demonstration of support for Jim Crow laws and racial segregation. The majority of lynchings were vigilante acts in response to minor social transgressions and whose perpetrators were never held accountable (Equal Justice Initiative, 2015).

In 1955, Emmett Till was a 14-year-old boy who was brutally beaten to death and dumped in a river because a white woman falsely claimed that he made a sexual advance towards her. The two men who murdered Till were acquitted by an all-white jury (Jones, 2018). More recent stories of the murders of Trayvon Martin, Michael Brown, Freddie Gray, and Stephon Clark reinforce the culture of carelessly criminalizing African Americans and fueling the danger felt by young African American males (Jones, 2018).

The number of prisoners in the US prison system has grown exponentially over the years, with the number now being in the millions (Stevenson, 2006). African Americans make up less than thirteen percent of the US population yet comprise forty-two percent of the prisoners on death row (Equal Justice Initiative, 2015). One report from the US Sentencing Commission found that African American men's sentences are on average 19.1 percent longer than white men charged with the same federal crime (Lopez, 2017). Similarly, a study from the National Registry of Exonerations found that African Americans are seven times more likely to be wrongly convicted of murder and twelve times more likely to be wrongly convicted of drug crimes compared to their White counterparts (Lopez & Zarracina, 2017). Once these individuals are released from prison,

society treats them as second-class citizens who experience additional barriers to

accessing public resources and employment (Gross, 2012).

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Appendix C

Collective Self-Esteem Scale

Private Collective Self-Esteem Subscale (with reference to racial identity)

1. I often regret that I belong to my racial group. **(R)**

2. In general, I'm glad to be a member of my racial group.

3. Overall, I often feel that my racial group is not worthwhile. **(R)**

4. I feel good about other members of my racial group.

R indicates a reverse-coded item.

Appendix D

Perceptions of Racism Scale

Isolated Events

1. Several people walk into a restaurant at the same time. The server attends to all the White customers first. The last customer served happens to be the only person of color.

2. An African American man goes to a real estate company to look for a house. The agent takes him to look only at homes in low income neighborhoods.

3. An African American man was pulled over for speeding by a White highway patrol officer. Unknown to the man, his registration had expired earlier that month. Rather than give him a ticket and let him continue, the officer impounded the vehicle at the man's expense.

4. An African American woman made reservations for a rental car over the phone, but when she arrived in person to collect the car, the agent informed her that no cars were available.

5. Lashandra Jenkins and Amy Conner applied for the same job. They have nearly identical qualifications. Amy gets called for an interview and Lashandra does not.

Systemic Manifestations

1. The decision of universities like California and Texas to end affirmative action programs.

2. The decision of the US government to invade Iraq.

3. High rates of poverty among African Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans.

4. The practice of racial profiling—using only information about race in the decision to make traffic stops, police searches, etc.

5. The relatively small number of African Americans in professional sports coaching positions (NBA, NFL) relative to the number of African American athletes.

6. The decision of the USA to withdraw from the United Nations conference on racism.

7. The policy of denying Mexican trucks access to US highways, even though (a) Canadian trucks have unimpeded access and (b) access for Mexican trucks is mandated by the NAFTA accord.

8. The portrayal of African Americans in US entertainment media.

9. Sentencing practices whereby possession of any quantity of cocaine is punishable by a maximum sentence of one year, whereas possession of 5 grams of crack (made from cocaine and baking soda) carries a mandatory 5 year minimum sentence.

Appendix E

Manipulation Check

1. What example was used to describe the practice of segregation?
   a. Housing
   b. Public transportation
   c. Restroom facilities
   d. Restaurants

2. What was COINTELPRO?
   a. A bank that reinforced the practice of segregation
   b. A political organization that promoted economic equality
   c. An FBI program focused on suppressing the Civil Rights movement
   d. An organization that facilitated communication between leading officials

3. The majority of lynchings were formal punishments sentenced by criminal justice courts.
   a. True
   b. False

Curriculum Vitae

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EDUCATION

2017-2019

Degree:	Master of Arts, Psychology
Location:	Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, North Carolina
GPA:	3.52

2012-2016

Degree:	Bachelor of Arts
Location:	James Madison University, Harrisonburg, Virginia
Majors:	Psychology & Global Justice Studies
GPA:	3.49

PUBLICATIONS

Brunsting, N., **Mischinski, M.**, Wu, W., Tevis, T., Takeuchi, R., He, Y., Zheng, Y., & Coverdell, T. (2018). International students' social outcomes, Educational status, and country of high school graduation. *Journal of Studies in International Education, 00*(0), 1-18.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

Brunsting, N.C., **Mischinski, M.**, Wu, W., & Fang, X. (2018, February). International student adjustment to US universities: The role of intercultural skills and social support. A paper presented at the 10th Annual Meeting of the Workshop on Intercultural Skills Enhancement, Winston-Salem, NC.

Critchfield, K.L., Panizo, M.T., Bonilla, K., **Mischinski, M.**, & Benjamin, L.S. (2017, June). Contingent patterns of therapeutic response that supports attachment-based mechanisms of change in Interpersonal Reconstructive Therapy. Paper in panel organized by L. Knobloch-Fedders, "The interpersonal context of intervention: Using Structural Analysis of Social Behavior (SASB) to promote effective treatment." Presented to the International Society for Psychotherapy Research, Toronto, Canada.

POSTER PRESENTATIONS

     Mischinski, M. (March 2016). *Removing Stigmatizing Labels by Changing the Title of a Domestic Violence Prevention Program.* Poster presented at the James Madison University Department of Psychology Student Symposium. Harrisonburg, Virginia.

     DuVall, K.D.R., **Mischinski, M.**, Fox, N., Manley, M., & Reimann, G., (March 2016). *Monument-al Assessment of Peer Advising*. Poster presented at the National Academic Advising Association (NACADA) Region 2 Conference. Hyattsville, Maryland.

     DuVall, K.D.R., Schultz, A., Weismiller, D., **Mischinski, M.**, & Fox, N., (March 2015). *Enriching the Peer Advising Experience Through Assessment.* Poster presented at the National Academic Advising Association (NACADA) Region 2 Conference. Richmond, Virginia.

AWARDS AND HONORS

Dean's List	Fall 2012, Fall 2013, Fall 2014, Fall 2015, Spring & Fall 2016
Casey Mitschele Dorsey Scholarship Nomination	2015
Elected to Psi Chi, the National Honor Society in Psychology	2016

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

     Fall 2017 – present

Lab:	Growth Initiative Lab
Supervisor:	Eranda Jayawickreme, Ph.D.
Location:	Department of Psychology, Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, North Carolina
Projects:	Thesis – Historical Knowledge and Social Identity: Appeasing Identity Threat Among High-Identity Majority Group Members Through Perspective-Taking
	First year project – What Predicts Moral Tolerance? Examining the Role of Intellectual Traits

     Fall 2017 – Summer 2018

Lab:	The Beacon Project
Supervisor:	Eranda Jayawickreme, Ph.D.
Location:	Department of Psychology, Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, North Carolina
Duties:	Designed methods and recruited participants for a three-staged research project measuring wisdom and well-being of the morally exceptional in the triad area.

Spring 2015 – Spring 2017
Lab: Interpersonal Reconstructive Therapy Lab
Supervisor: Ken Critchfield, Ph.D.
Location: Department of Psychology, James Madison University, Harrisonburg, Virginia
Duties: Transcribed therapy sessions involving adults with personality disorders and severe depression; coded transcriptions utilizing Structural Analysis of Social Behavior (SASB) method.

Fall 2015 – Spring 2016
Lab: Psychology Peer Advising Assessment
Supervisor: Kimberly D.R. DuVall, Department of Psychology Faculty
Location: Department of Psychology, James Madison University, Harrisonburg, Virginia
Duties: Researched and assessed the effectiveness of Psychology Peer Advising methods; created and distributed both Qualtrics and paper surveys to assess student satisfaction with Psychology Peer Advising services; established the development of a pre-post test regarding the attainment of valuable experience, departmental knowledge, and leadership skills through the Peer Advising Practicum.

Spring 2014
Lab: Conceptualizing Depression (Thesis Research Assistance)
Supervisor: Mariafé Panizo, Psy.D. Candidate at James Madison University
Location: Department of Psychology, James Madison University, Harrisonburg, Virginia
Duties: Transcribed and coded interviews with psychiatrists, psychologists, counselors, and laypeople regarding their perspective of depression; engaged in analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data about depression based on the Behavioral Shutdown Model.

RELEVANT WORK EXPERIENCE

Spring 2018 – present
Title: Graduate Research Assistant for Global Research and Assessment
Supervisor: Nelson Brunsting, Ph.D.
Location: Center for Global Programs and Studies, Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, North Carolina
Duties: Working on initial stages of developing a Global Competency Framework for future university programs and initiatives; organize, coordinate, and conduct bi-annual assessment interviews for Wake Forest's 5-year Quality Enhancement Plan; created a thorough guidebook for coordinating the Quality Enhancement Plan assessment.

Fall 2017
Title: Teaching Assistant
Supervisors: Eranda Jayawickreme, Ph.D.; E.J. Masicampo, Ph.D.; Fadel
                  Zeidan, Ph.D.
Location: Department of Psychology, Wake Forest University,
                  Winston-Salem, North Carolina
Duties: Edited and copied exams and other relevant materials; graded
                  exams and course assignments; proctored exams; wrote and
                  maintained a course blog as a method of communicating scientific
                  literacy.

Spring 2016
Title: Intern at Batterers Intervention Program
Supervisors: Judith Weaver, LPC; Felicia Housden, Group Facilitator
Location: Harrisonburg, Luray, and Woodstock, Virginia
Duties: Led, co-facilitated, and observed group counseling sessions;
                  conducted intake interviews of new program candidates and
                  contacted partner victims via phone interviews to ensure safety;
                  organized data regarding program involvement of domestic
                  abusers.

Fall 2014 – Spring 2016
Title: Department of Psychology Peer Advisor
Supervisor: Kimberly D.R. DuVall, Department of Psychology Faculty
Location: Department of Psychology, James Madison University,
                  Harrisonburg, Virginia
Duties: Advised current and prospective JMU psychology students with
                  questions about scheduling, extracurricular involvement,
                  professional future planning, etc.; developed and contributed to
                  products, services, and presentations that provided psychology-
                  related knowledge and resources to students; served as an
                  undergraduate student representative of the JMU Psychology
                  Department.

Fall 2013 – Fall 2015
Title: Tutor for At-Risk and Foster Children
Supervisor: Joann Grayson, Ph.D.
Location: Department of Psychology, James Madison University,
                  Harrisonburg, Virginia
Duties: Helped local seventh and twelfth grade students semiweekly with
                  homework; communicated with students' teachers and guardians
                  regarding their academic abilities and well-being; advised
                  organization and study skills as well as future planning to benefit
                  the students' learning experience.

Summer 2013 – Summer 2015
Title: Camp Counselor
Supervisor: Leslie Long and Brandie Huffman, Camp Directors
Location: Brace YMCA Hemby Center, Matthews, North Carolina
Duties: Provided leadership for a group of ten to fifteen campers daily; led specialized groups for campers on the Autism spectrum; communicated with campers' parents weekly.

SKILLS
- Qualtrics research software
- SPSS software
- Quantitative statistical analyses
- Qualitative research coding
- Transcribing audio/visual data
- Microsoft Office: Word, PowerPoint, Excel
- Tutoring and advising
- Assessment interviewing