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Reminding dominant group members of past injustices committed by their group against a subordinate group may cause defensiveness. Prior research found that men who were reminded of historical injustices against women evidenced greater denial of present gender discrimination, which was associated with less support for gender-based affirmative action (Hideg & Wilson, 2020). In two studies, we examined whether reminders of past injustices have a similar effect in a racial-ethnic context. In Study 1, Black and White undergraduates read about injustices faced by African Americans (injustice condition) or general changes in the US (control condition). There was no significant effect of the reminder on White participants' denial of racial discrimination, and denial was not a significant mediator of the relationship between the historical condition and support for affirmative action. Study 2 conceptually replicated Study 1 but used a subtler manipulation of reminders of historical injustices and was conducted on American adults recruited online. Surprisingly, White participants in the injustice condition reported *less* denial and *more* support for affirmative action than White participants in the control condition. Altogether, this research challenges the notion that reminders of historical injustices increase dominant group members' denial of discrimination. Discussion highlights differences in methods across studies that may explain differences in results.

REMINDERS OF PAST INJUSTICES AGAINST
AFRICAN AMERICANS AND SUPPORT
FOR AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

by

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Affirmative action policies seek to reduce unlawful discrimination, rectify the consequences of past discrimination, and prevent future discrimination towards applicants in education and employment (American Association for Access, Equity and Diversity, 2022; Legal Information Institute, 2022). Many affirmative action policies include a justification, noting that minority groups such as women and racial-ethnic minorities have faced significant historical injustices committed by majority groups. Recent research explored the effect that these reminders of historical injustices have on support for gender-based affirmative action policies (Hideg & Wilson, 2020). Results indicated that reminders of past injustices increased men's denial of present gender discrimination, which was associated with lower support for affirmative action. Nonetheless, it remains unclear whether reminders of past racial-ethnic injustices yield similar results. The present research addresses this gap by exploring the consequences of reminders of past injustices on White and Black Americans' denial of present racial discrimination and support for race-based affirmative action policies.

Research suggests that denial of racial discrimination is higher among White Americans than Black Americans. For example, White Americans perceive less systemic racism and more racial equality in the present than Black Americans (Kraus et al., 2017; Norton & Sommers, 2011). Further, stronger White identity is associated with lower perception of racism (Bonam et al., 2019; Zell & Lesick, 2022). The present research examines the impact of reminders of past injustices on White people's denial of present racial discrimination and support for affirmative action. We propose that reminding dominant group members of historical injustices committed by their ingroup causes defensiveness, since it implies that their group committed wrongdoings (Gunn & Wilson, 2011; Peetz et al., 2010). As a result, reminders of past injustices should

increase White people's denial of present racism and lower their support for affirmative action policies that seek to address present inequities.

Perception of Racism

White Americans perceive less racism in society and in individual cases than Black Americans (Nelson et al., 2013; Strickhouser et al., 2019). For example, although both White and Black Americans perceive anti-Black bias to be decreasing over time, White Americans perceive a steeper decline (Norton & Sommers, 2011). In addition, White and Black Americans tend to overestimate progress toward racial economic equality, but overestimations are more pronounced for White Americans (Kraus et al., 2017). This discrepancy in perception of racism across racial groups may lead to intergroup conflict and unrest (Carter & Murphy, 2015). Current protest movements such as Black Lives Matter seek to raise awareness of the continued impacts of racism in society, including policing. Black Lives Matter protests have increased awareness of discrimination and racial inequality (Dunivin et al., 2022). However, White Americans are less likely to support the Black Lives Matter movement than Black Americans (Parker et al., 2020), further reflecting a racial gap in perception of racism.

Although racial differences in perception of racism are likely caused by several factors, research suggests that identity threat may be a plausible mechanism (i.e., threats to positive beliefs about one's ingroup; Carter & Murphy, 2015). For example, White people who strongly identify with their racial group are more likely to deny the existence of systemic racism (Bonam et al., 2019; Zell & Lesick, 2022). Thus, being confronted with historical and present racism may be threatening for some White Americans, since it suggests that their racial group committed wrongdoing. White Americans may cope with this identity threat by denying the magnitude of present racism. Consistent with this argument, some White Americans believe that as anti-Black

bias decreases in society, anti-White bias increases, which may further contribute to identity threat (Norton & Sommers, 2011).

Other research suggests that self-affirmation techniques that temporarily lower identity threat increase White people's acknowledgement of racism. White participants in one study ranked a list of values in importance and wrote about their most important value (self-affirmation condition) or their 9th most important value (control condition; Unzueta & Lowery, 2008, Study 1). Consistent with an identity-threat perspective, participants in the self-affirmation condition reported higher perceptions of institutional racism and White privilege (i.e., societal advantages that White people have over other groups) than participants in the control condition. Additionally, a related project found that self-affirmation increased White Americans' perception of racism but did not affect Hispanic Americans' perception of racism (Adams et al., 2006). In contrast, a recent set of studies found that self-affirmation had a negligible impact on White Americans' perception of racism (Lesick & Zell, 2021). Thus, prior research provides tentative evidence suggesting that interventions that reduce identity threat in turn reduce White denial of present racism.

Similar to work on perception of racism, research has found a discrepancy between Black and White Americans in support for affirmative action. Specifically, Black Americans have significantly more positive attitudes towards affirmative action than White Americans (Harrison et al., 2006; Norman, 2021). Consistent with an identity-threat perspective, opposition to affirmative action is more pronounced among White people who strongly identify with their racial group, and when such policies are perceived to have an adverse impact on White people's employment prospects (Lowery et al., 2006). Further, White people report greater concern about unfair treatment and anti-White discrimination for companies that emphasize diversity in

recruitment materials (Dover et al., 2016). Finally, White people have less favorable attitudes toward affirmative action policies that emphasize past discrimination, especially when they are prone to White guilt (i.e., feel guilty about the benefits and privileges White people receive; Jones et al., 2019). Together, this research suggests that pro-diversity messages, such as workplace affirmative action policies, invoke identity threat among dominant group members. Thus, racial differences in support for affirmative action may be due in part to identity threat.

Reminders of Past Injustices

The present research examines the effect of reminders of historical injustices on White and Black people's perception of discrimination and support for affirmative action policies. Across four studies, prior research found that reminders of past injustices may have a backfiring effect on dominant group members (Hideg & Wilson, 2020). In the first study, Canadian college students read an article describing injustices against women at the turn of the 20th century ("They were not allowed to vote, to run for office, or to own property") or a control article about life conditions during the same time period ("People did not yet have televisions"). Although the manipulation did not impact women, men in the injustice condition reported more denial of present gender discrimination than men in the control condition. Further, the effect of reminders of past injustices on men's support for affirmative action was mediated by denial of gender discrimination.

The second study replicated these effects in an MTurk sample using a subtler manipulation of reminders of historical injustices, in which the historical injustice information was briefly embedded within an affirmative action policy. Further, Study 3 found that the effect of reminders of historical injustices on denial among men was reduced in a mitigated threat condition, in which participants were presented with both information regarding historical

injustices and information depicting progress in women's rights. Finally, Study 4 found that men who were reminded of historical injustices reported lower collective self-esteem than men in the control condition (i.e., lower identification with their gender ingroup and less favorable evaluations of it). Further, collective self-esteem mediated the effect of reminders of injustices on men's denial of discrimination, which was in turn associated with support for an affirmative action policy. Overall, these findings suggest that reminders of past injustices increase dominant group members' denial of present discrimination, which is negatively associated with support for affirmative action policies. They also suggest that reminders of historical injustices may have this effect because they threaten a valued social identity.

Consistent with these findings, other research suggests that reminding dominant group members about past racial injustices may not increase acknowledgement of present racism (Onyeador et al., 2021). Specifically, White Americans in an initial study read an article about the persistence of racism over the last 50 years or left-handedness. Reminders of historical racism led to lower perceptions of racial economic equality in the past but did not impact perceptions of racial equality in the present. In a second study, participants read an article about the persistence of explicit racism, an article about the persistence of implicit racism, or no article. As in the prior study, reminders of historical racism impacted perceptions of past but not present racial economic equality. In sum, this research suggests that reminders of past racial injustices likely do not influence White Americans beliefs about racial economic equality in the present. Thus, although this research did not examine denial of discrimination or support for affirmative action, it suggests that reminders of past injustices may not boost acknowledgement of present racism.

Moreover, other research suggests that identity threat occurs when people are confronted with information that implicates their ingroup in historical wrongdoings. Specifically, Germans who were reminded of historical atrocities committed by their country during the Holocaust perceived the atrocities as occurring longer ago, reported lower guilt, and were less willing to compensate Jews than Germans who were also reminded of subsequent reparations or German resistance during the Holocaust (Peetz et al., 2010). Subsequent studies found that a group-affirmation manipulation, which theoretically lowers identity threat, increased collective guilt among dominant group members who were reminded of historical injustices against women and Aboriginal children in Canada (Gunn & Wilson, 2011). Finally, indicative of a defensive response, people are more likely to forget historical information about aggression committed by their own country than another country, especially when their national identity is salient (Rotella & Richeson, 2013). Together, these results suggest that identity threat may be an important factor in determining people's willingness to recognize past wrongdoing by their groups and their willingness to support initiatives that reconcile past wrongdoings.

The Present Research

Across two studies, the present research examines the effect of reminders of past injustices on White and Black American's denial of present racial discrimination and support for affirmative action policies. Previous research found that, in the context of gender discrimination, reminders of past injustices increased men's denial of present gender discrimination, which was negatively associated with their support for affirmative action (Hideg & Wilson, 2020). The present research examines the effect of reminders of past injustices in a racial-ethnic context. Specifically, we examine whether reminders of past racial injustices affect White and Black

Americans' denial of present racism, race-based collective self-esteem, and support for affirmative action.

Participants in Study 1 were UNCG undergraduates, who identified as Black or White. Participants in the injustice condition received a passage depicting historical injustices toward Black Americans. Conversely, participants in the control condition received a passage depicting how the United States has changed since the year 1900. All participants then completed a measure of their denial of present racial discrimination, support for affirmative action, and collective self-esteem. Participants in Study 2 were American adults who identified as White or Black, and who were recruited online. Participants read about an affirmative action policy that either included a brief statement about historical injustices toward Black people (injustice condition) or did not (control condition). Participants then completed similar questionnaires as those used in Study 1.

Hypotheses

Five hypotheses motivated the present research (see Table 1). First, we anticipated a significant race by historical condition interaction for denial of present racial discrimination (hypothesis 1), in which White participants would report more denial in the injustice condition than the control condition (hypothesis 1a), but there would be no conditional difference for Black participants (hypothesis 1b). Second, we anticipated a significant race by historical condition interaction for support for affirmative action (hypothesis 2), in which White participants would report lower support in the injustice condition than the control condition (hypothesis 2a), but there would be no conditional difference for Black participants (hypothesis 2b). Third, we anticipated a race by historical condition interaction for collective self-esteem (hypothesis 3), in which White participants would report lower collective self-esteem in the injustice condition

than the control condition (hypothesis 3a), but there would be no conditional difference for Black participants (hypothesis 3b). These hypotheses were informed by previous research which found significant gender by condition interactions for denial of present gender discrimination and collective self-esteem (Hideg & Wilson, 2020). Further, denial of gender discrimination was associated with support for an affirmative action policy, informing our predictions for affirmative action.

Fourth, we hypothesized that the effect of the injustice condition on support for affirmative action would be mediated by denial of present racial discrimination and moderated by race (hypothesis 4). This hypothesis was informed by previous research that found an indirect effect of the injustice condition on support for a gender-based affirmative action policy through denial among men but not among women (Hideg & Wilson, 2020). Fifth, we proposed a moderated serial mediation pattern in which race-based collective self-esteem and denial of present racial discrimination would sequentially mediate the relationship between historical condition and support for the affirmative action policy for White but not Black participants (hypothesis 5). This hypothesis was informed by prior research which found that gender-based collective self-esteem and denial of present gender discrimination sequentially mediated the relationship between condition and support for a gender-based employment equity policy for men but not women (Hideg & Wilson, 2020, Study 4).

Table 1. Overview of Hypotheses

Hypotheses
H1: Significant race x historical condition interaction for denial of racism.
H1a: White participants will report more denial in the injustice condition than the control condition.
H1b: No conditional difference in denial for Black participants.
H2: Significant race x historical condition interaction for support for affirmative action.
H2a: White participants will report less support in the injustice condition than the control condition.
H2b: No conditional difference in support for Black participants.
H3: Significant race x historical condition interaction for collective self-esteem.
H3a: White participants will report lower collective self-esteem in the injustice condition than the control condition.
H3b: No conditional difference in collective self-esteem for Black participants.
H4: Proposed moderated mediation in which the relationship between historical condition and support for affirmative action is moderated by race and mediated by denial of racism.
H5: Proposed moderated serial mediation in which the relationship between historical condition and support for affirmative action is moderated by race and sequentially mediated by collective self-esteem and denial.

Note. Hypotheses 1, 2, and 4 apply to Study 1. Hypotheses 1-3 and 5 apply to Study 2.

CHAPTER II: STUDY 1

Our first study examined the effect of reminders of past racial injustices on White and Black people's denial of racial discrimination and support for a race-based affirmative action policy. Prior research assessed denial of discrimination and support for affirmative action in a gender context (Hideg & Wilson, 2020), but the present study is among the first to examine them in the context of race-ethnicity. We anticipated that White participants in the injustice condition would report more denial of discrimination and less support for affirmative action than White participants in the control condition, but that there would be no significant difference across conditions for Black participants.

Method

Study 1 was pre-registered prior to data collection. The pre-registration can be found at the following link: https://aspredicted.org/7JS_DL9

Participants

Participants were introductory psychology students recruited at a public university in the Southeastern United States who completed the 30-min study in exchange for course credit. The study used a 2 (participant race: White, Black) by 2 (historical condition: injustice, control) between-subjects design. Data were collected until we obtained a pre-registered goal of at least 210 participants who passed all checks (at least 105 in each racial group). A power analysis performed using G*Power indicated that a sample of this size would provide 95% power to detect a medium effect ($f = .25$; $\alpha = .05$; numerator $df = 1$; 4 groups). The key effect examined in the present study is the hypothesized interaction between race and historical condition. Prior work found a medium effect ($\eta_p^2 = .05$; $f = .23$) in the context of gender (Hideg & Wilson, 2020, Study 1). In total, we collected data from 234 participants. We excluded data from 15

participants (see below), resulting in a final sample of 219 participants (112 Black, 107 White, 170 women, $M_{age} = 19.5$). Results were very similar when excluded participants were retained.

Procedures

Participants completed study measures using Qualtrics. Participants were told that they would complete two unrelated studies. Specifically, participants were told that in the first study they would read and react to a historical excerpt, and then in the second they would read and react to a workplace policy. Next, participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions. Participants in the *injustice condition* were given an excerpt regarding injustices Black Americans faced at the turn of the 20th century (e.g., *They were not allowed to vote, to run for office, or to own property*; adapted from Hideg & Wilson, 2020, Study 1; see Appendix A). Historical information was obtained from relevant archives (History.com Editors, 2022; Lewis, 2020).

Participants in the *control condition* were given an excerpt regarding general demographic and societal changes in the United States since the turn of the 20th century (e.g., *Electric lights had been invented in 1882, but most households still used oil lamps for lights*; adapted from Hideg & Wilson, 2020, Study 1; see Appendix B). The statements presented in the control condition were informed by online resources (e.g., Digital History, 2016; University of Missouri, 2022). Participants in both conditions then completed a 5-item measure of their denial of present racial discrimination (e.g., *White and Black Americans are equal in American Society*) using a seven-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*; $\alpha = .63$; adapted from Hideg & Wilson, 2020, Study 1; see Appendix C).

In the second part of the study, all participants were given an affirmative action policy ostensibly proposed by their university with a 55% target hiring rate for Black students for

positions that Black students are underrepresented in (adapted from Hideg & Wilson, 2020, Study 1; see Appendix D). The policy also included a stipulation that this hiring rate would only be implemented when candidates' qualifications were equal. Participants then completed three measures to indicate their support for the proposed affirmative action policy (adapted from Hideg & Wilson, Study 1). Attitudes toward affirmative action was measured across 6-items (e.g., *The goals of affirmative action are good*) using seven-point scales (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*; $\alpha = .86$; Kravitz & Platania, 1993; see Appendix E). Behavioral intentions, or one's likelihood of promoting the proposed policy, was measured across 8-items (e.g., *Sign a petition to promote the visioning and implementation of the affirmative action program*) using seven-point scales (1 = *very unlikely*, 7 = *very likely*; $\alpha = .92$; Hideg et al., 2011; see Appendix F). Organizational attractiveness, or how attractive the organization would be if they were to implement the affirmative action policy, was measured across 3-items (e.g., *I would think very highly of an organization that selected candidates using this policy*) using seven-point scales (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*; $\alpha = .78$; Cropanzano et al., 2005; see Appendix G).

For exploratory purposes, participants then completed a measure of their race-based private collective self-esteem across 4-items (e.g., *I often regret that I belong to my racial group*) using seven-point scales (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; $\alpha = .83$; see Appendix H). This measure has been used in prior research to measure racial identity and reflects how favorably people perceive their racial group (Bonam et al., 2019; Zell & Lesick, 2022). Next, participants completed a series of demographic questions including age, gender, race/ethnicity, and native language as well as an attention check and manipulation check (see Appendix I). The attention check was implemented to identify participants who were responding randomly (i.e., *Click the sixth circle in the scale below. This is just to screen out random*

clicking) and the manipulation check asked participants to recall what the excerpt they read was about (*Injustice faced by African Americans at the turn of the 1900's*, *US general lifestyle at the turn of the 1900's*, *War history at the turn of the 1900's*). Finally, participants were debriefed and given course credit for their participation.

Data exclusions. We excluded 9 participants from data analysis for failing the attention check. Additionally, we excluded 6 participants for failing the manipulation check.

Results

Zero-order Correlations

Denial of present racial discrimination had a negative correlation with attitudes toward the affirmative action policy ($r = -.44$), organizational attractiveness ($r = -.38$), and behavioral intentions ($r = -.43$; see Table 2). Thus, denial of present racial discrimination had a negative association with all 3 indices of support for affirmative action. Additionally, attitudes toward affirmative action had strong positive correlations with both behavioral intentions ($r = .66$) and organizational attractiveness ($r = .73$). Finally, there was a strong positive correlation between behavioral intentions and organizational attractiveness ($r = .70$). These associations indicate that all three indices of support for the affirmative action policy are strongly correlated, but different enough to represent unique aspects of support for affirmative action.

Table 2. Correlations Between Measures in Studies 1-2

Measure	2	3	4	5
<i>Study 1</i>				
1. Denial	-.46*	-.41*	-.36*	-.11
2. Attitudes		.66*	.73*	-.08
3. Behavioral Intentions			.69*	.01
4. Organizational Attractiveness				-.09
5. Collective Self-Esteem				
<i>Study 2</i>				
1. Denial	-.79**	-.52**	-.70**	.26**
2. Attitudes		.76**	.85**	-.15*
3. Behavioral Intentions			.74**	-.15*
4. Organizational Attractiveness				-.14*
5. CSE				

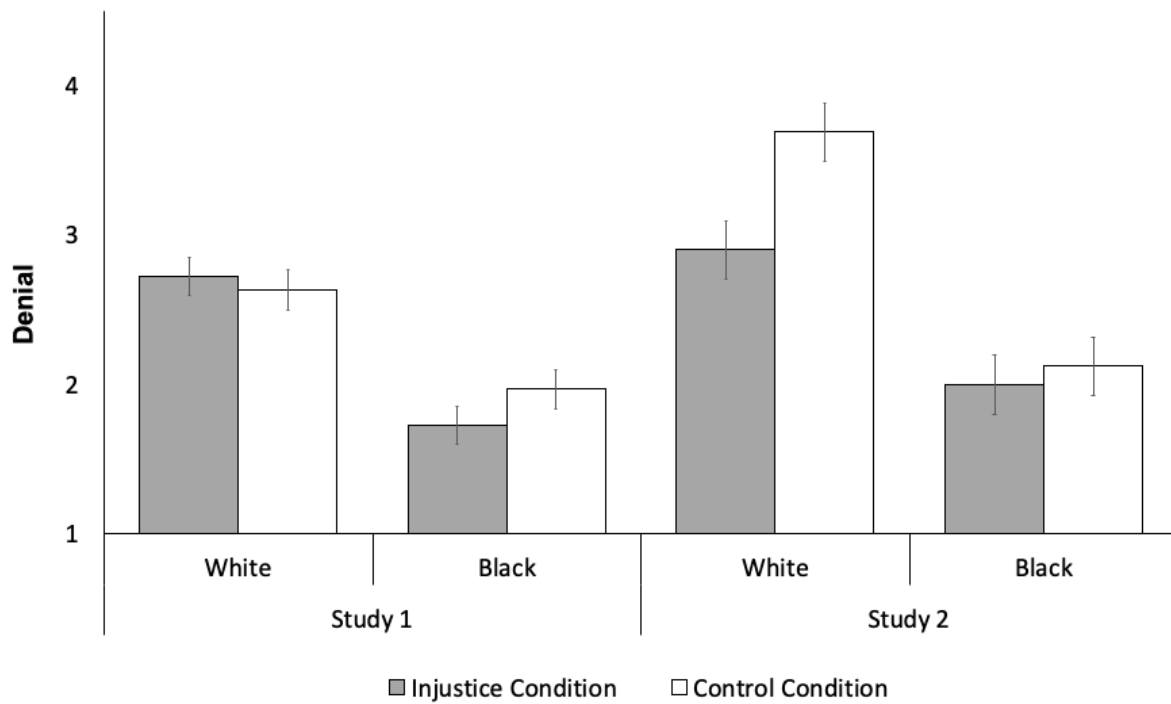
Note. Denial = denial of present racial discrimination, Attitudes = how positively participants view affirmative action policies, Behavioral Intentions = to what extent participants would participate in the promotion of the affirmative action policy, Organizational Attractiveness = how attractive participants find the organization implementing the policy. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .001$

Denial of Present Discrimination

We conducted a 2 (participant race) by 2 (historical condition) ANOVA on denial of present racial discrimination. This analysis yielded a significant main effect of race, such that White participants ($M = 2.68$, $SD = 1.16$) reported greater denial of present racial discrimination than Black participants ($M = 1.85$, $SD = 0.73$; see Table 3 and Figure 1). However, there was no main effect of historical condition, and no participant race by historical condition interaction. As indicated by the non-significant interaction, the effect of historical condition was relatively consistent across racial groups. That is, White participants in the injustice condition did not

significantly differ in their denial of present discrimination from White participants in the control condition, $t(215) = 0.45, p = .656, d = 0.08, 95\% \text{ CI } [-0.28, 0.45]$. Similarly, Black participants in the injustice condition did not significantly differ in their reports of denial of present discrimination from Black participants in the control condition, $t(215) = -1.30, p = .197, d = -0.24, 95\% \text{ CI } [-0.60, 0.12]$.

Figure 1. Denial of Discrimination by Participant Race and Historical Condition in Studies 1-2



Note. Higher scores indicate more denial of present racial discrimination. Error bars are \pm 1 standard error.

Table 3. ANOVA Results for Each Outcome Measure in Studies 1-2

Outcome	Race	Condition	Race x Condition
Study 1			
Denial	40.02, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .16$	0.34, $p = .559$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$	1.50, $p = .222$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$
Attitudes	0.59, $p = .445$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$	0.07, $p = .788$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$	10.51, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$
Intentions	4.95, $p = .027$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$	0.04, $p = .838$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$	6.32, $p = .013$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$
Attractiveness	0.60, $p = .441$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$	0.23, $p = .634$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$	7.15, $p = .008$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$
CSE	101.51, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .32$	5.47, $p = .020$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$	0.02, $p = .878$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$
Study 2			
Denial	39.96, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .13$	5.37, $p = .021$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$	2.86, $p = .092$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$
Attitudes	22.19, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$	1.90, $p = .169$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$	5.23, $p = .022$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$
Intentions	30.35, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$	2.59, $p = .109$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$	6.44, $p = .012$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$
Attractiveness	25.30, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .09$	3.21, $p = .075$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$	4.82, $p = .029$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$
CSE	17.98, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$	0.03, $p = .870$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$	1.44, $p = .231$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$
Private CSE	27.49, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .09$	1.78, $p = .183$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$	0.24, $p = .622$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$
Public CSE	124.54, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .31$	2.20, $p = .139$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$	1.75, $p = .187$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$

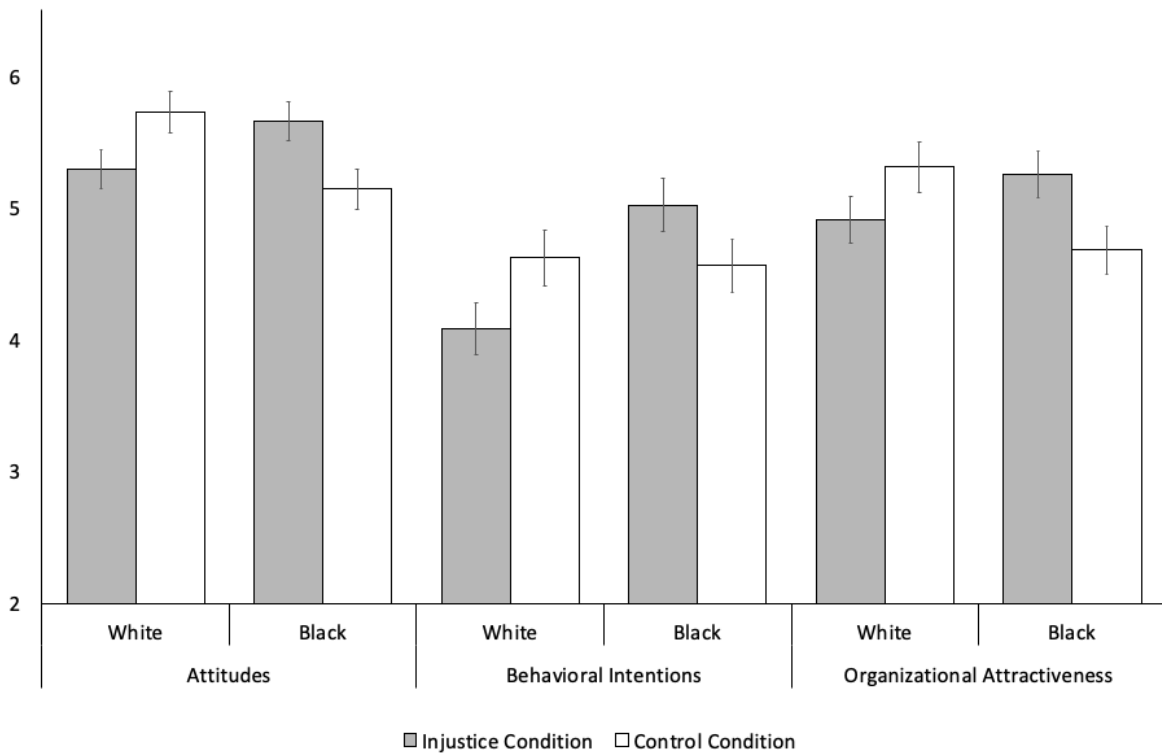
Note. Study 1 values are from 2 X 2 ANOVAs, $F(1, 215)$. Study 2 values are from 2 X 2 ANOVAs, $F(1, 272)$. Denial = denial of present racial discrimination, Attitudes = attitudes toward the affirmative action policy, Intentions = behavioral intentions regarding the affirmative action policy, Attractiveness = organizational attractiveness, CSE = collective self-esteem.

Support for Affirmative Action

We conducted a 2 (participant race) by 2 (historical condition) ANOVA on each of the three indices of support for the affirmative action policy. For each of the three indices, we found a significant participant race by historical condition interaction (see Figure 2). Planned comparisons were conducted to decompose the interactions. For attitudes toward the affirmative action policy, White participants in the injustice condition reported significantly less positive attitudes than White participants in the control condition, $t(215) = -2.04$, $p = .043$, $d = -0.44$,

95% CI [-0.87, -0.01]. Additionally, Black participants in the injustice condition reported significantly more positive attitudes than Black participants in the control condition, $t(215) = 2.47, p = .014, d = 0.52, 95\% \text{ CI } [0.11, 0.94]$. Together, this indicates that the manipulation had opposite effects on attitudes toward the affirmative action policy for White (e.g., decreasing) and Black (e.g., increasing) participants.

Figure 2. Support for Affirmative Action by Participant Race and Historical Condition in Study 1



Note. Higher scores indicate more positive attitudes toward the affirmative action policy, higher behavioral intentions regarding the policy, and higher perceived organizational attractiveness. Error bars are ± 1 standard error.

For behavioral intentions, White participants in the injustice condition reported similar behavioral intentions to White participants in the control condition, $t(215) = -1.90, p = .059, d =$

-0.54, 95% CI [-1.11, 0.02]. Additionally, Black participants in the injustice condition reported similar behavioral intentions to Black participants in the control condition, $t(215) = 1.65, p = .100, d = 0.46, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.09, 1.01]$. Although White and Black participants did not significantly differ across conditions, the direction of the effect of the manipulation was opposite for White and Black participants, with it being negative for White participants and positive for Black participants. This is consistent with the pattern for attitudes toward the affirmative action policy.

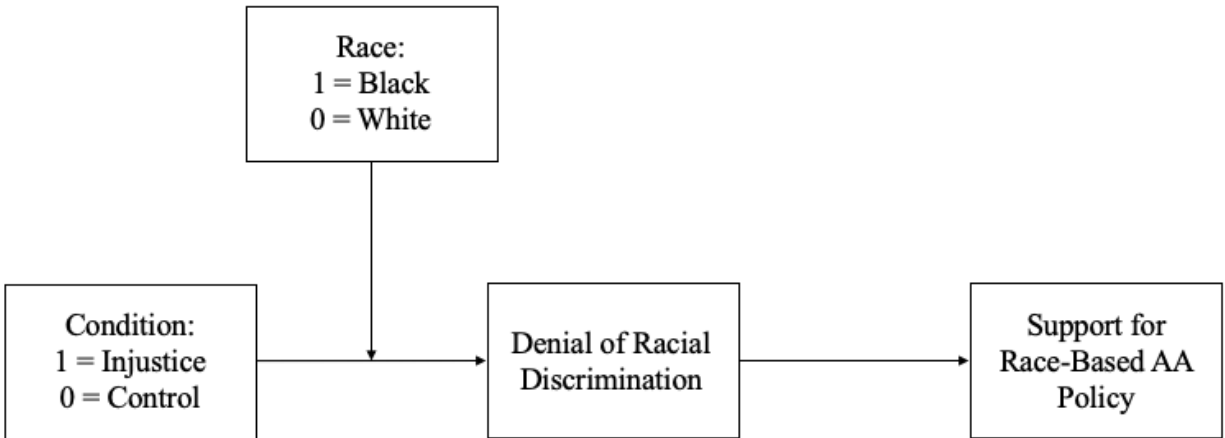
For organizational attractiveness, White participants in the injustice condition reported similar organizational attractiveness to White participants in the control condition, $t(215) = -1.54, p = .126, d = -0.40, 95\% \text{ CI} [-0.91, 0.11]$. However, Black participants in the injustice condition reported significantly more organizational attractiveness than Black participants in the control condition, $t(215) = 2.26, p = .025, d = 0.57, 95\% \text{ CI} [0.07, 1.08]$. Similar to both attitudes toward the policy and behavioral intentions, the effect of the manipulation was opposite for White and Black participants. Specifically, although there was not a significant difference between White participants across conditions, there was a trending negative effect. This opposes the significant positive effect found for Black participants in which the manipulation increased organizational attractiveness among Black participants.

Moderated Mediation

We conducted three moderated mediation analyses using Model 7 of the SPSS Process Macro (Version 4.1) with 10,000 bias-corrected bootstrap resamples (Hayes, 2022; see Figure 3). One model was conducted for each of the three measures of support for affirmative action. We anticipated that reminders of past injustice against Black Americans undermines White, but not Black Americans' support for affirmative action through greater denial of present racial

discrimination.

Figure 3. Moderated Mediation Analysis for Study 1



For the first model, historical condition was entered as the predictor, attitudes toward the affirmative action policy was entered as the outcome, race was entered as the moderator, and denial of present racial discrimination was entered as the mediator (see Table 4). The index of moderated mediation was not significant, $b = 0.15$, $SE = 0.14$, $CI [-0.09, 0.48]$, which indicates that the indirect effect did not vary significantly across racial groups. Denial of present discrimination was not a significant mediator of the relationship between historical condition and attitudes toward the affirmative action policy for either White participants, $b = -0.04$, $SE = 0.12$, $CI [-0.30, 0.16]$ or Black participants, $b = 0.11$, $SE = 0.07$, $CI [-0.02, 0.26]$.

Table 4. Moderated Mediation Models for Support for Affirmative Action in Study 1

Path	Outcomes		
	Attitudes	Intentions	Attractiveness
Direct effect	0.02 [-0.25, 0.29]	-0.08 [-0.44, 0.29]	0.07 [-0.27, 0.40]
Injustice condition to denial	0.08 [-0.28, 0.45]	0.08 [-0.28, 0.45]	0.08 [-0.28, 0.45]
Denial to outcome	-0.48 [-0.61, -0.35]	-0.62 [-0.80, -0.45]	-0.49 [-0.65, -0.33]
White Participants	0.17 [-0.19, 0.53]	0.17 [-0.19, 0.53]	0.17 [-0.19, 0.53]
Black Participants	-0.25 [-0.60, 0.09]	-0.25 [-0.60, 0.09]	-0.25 [-0.60, 0.09]
Conditional indirect effect			
White Participants	-0.04 [-0.30, 0.16]	-0.05 [-0.35, 0.22]	-0.04 [-0.29, 0.17]
Black Participants	0.11 [-0.02, 0.26]	0.15 [-0.02, 0.33]	0.12 [-0.01, 0.27]
Index of moderated mediation	0.15 [-0.09, 0.48]	0.20 [-0.12, 0.56]	0.16 [-0.09, 0.46]

Note. $N = 219$. Values are b [95% CIs]. Denial = denial of present racial discrimination, Attitudes = attitudes toward the affirmative action policy, Intentions = behavioral intentions regarding the affirmative action policy, Attractiveness = organizational attractiveness.

The second model was identical but entered behavioral intentions as the outcome. As above, the index of moderated mediation was not significant, $b = 0.20$, $SE = 0.17$, $CI [-0.12, 0.56]$. Denial of present discrimination was not a significant mediator of the relationship between historical condition and behavioral intentions for either White participants, $b = -0.05$, $SE = 0.14$, $CI [-0.35, 0.22]$ or Black participants, $b = 0.15$, $SE = 0.09$, $CI [-0.02, 0.33]$. Finally, the third moderated mediation model entered organizational attractiveness as the outcome. Once again, the index of moderated mediation was not significant, $b = 0.16$, $SE = 0.14$, $CI [-0.09, 0.46]$. Denial of present discrimination was not a significant mediator for either White participants, $b = -0.04$, $SE = 0.12$, $CI [-0.29, 0.17]$ or Black participants, $b = 0.12$, $SE = 0.07$, $CI [-0.01, 0.27]$.

Exploratory Analyses

For exploratory purposes, we conducted a 2 (participant race) by 2 (historical condition) ANOVA on collective self-esteem. We found a main effect of race in which White participants ($M = 4.82$, $SD = 1.25$) reported lower collective self-esteem than Black participants ($M = 6.33$, $SD = 0.97$; see Figure 5). Further, we found a main effect of condition such that participants in the injustice condition ($M = 5.75$, $SD = 1.28$) reported higher collective self-esteem than participants in the control condition ($M = 5.42$, $SD = 1.40$). We did not find a significant race by historical condition interaction.

For exploratory purposes, we conducted three moderated serial mediation analyses using Model 83 of the SPSS Process Macro (Version 4.1) with 10,000 bias-corrected bootstrap resamples (Hayes, 2022) to compute the conditional indirect effect. One model was conducted for each of the three measures of support for affirmative action. For the first model, historical condition was entered as the predictor, attitudes toward the affirmative action policy was entered as the outcome, race was entered as the moderator, and collective self-esteem was entered as the first mediator, and denial of present racial discrimination was entered as the second mediator. The second and third models were identical but entered either behavioral intentions or organizational attractiveness as the outcome variable. In all 3 analyses, collective self-esteem and denial of present discrimination were not significant serial mediators of the relationship between historical condition and support for affirmative action for either White or Black participants (see Table 5).

Table 5. Exploratory Moderated Serial Mediation Models for Support for Affirmative Action in Study 1

Path	Outcomes		
	Attitudes	Intentions	Attractiveness
Injustice condition to CSE	0.33 [-0.10, 0.75]	0.33 [-0.10, 0.75]	0.33 [-0.10, 0.75]
Injustice condition to denial	-0.04 [-0.32, .24]	-0.04 [-0.32, .24]	-0.04 [-0.32, .24]
Injustice condition to outcome	-0.40 [-0.77, -0.02]	-0.47 [-1.00, .04]	-0.34 [-.081, 0.13]
Indirect effect through CSE			
White Participants	0.001 [-0.05, 0.06]	-0.01 [-0.10, 0.06]	-0.01 [-0.08, 0.05]
Black Participants	0.001 [-0.05, 0.05]	-0.02 [-0.11, 0.06]	-0.01 [-0.09, 0.05]
Index of moderated mediation	0.0001 [-0.04, 0.04]	-0.002 [-0.08, 0.06]	-.002 [-0.06, 0.05]
Indirect effect through denial	0.02 [-0.15, 0.18]	0.02 [-0.16, 0.20]	0.02 [-0.14, 0.20]
Indirect effect through CSE and denial			
White Participants	0.02 [-0.01, 0.06]	0.02 [-0.01, 0.06]	0.01 [-0.01, 0.06]
Black Participants	0.02 [-0.001, 0.05]	0.02 [-0.004, 0.06]	0.02 [-0.004, 0.05]
Index of moderated mediation	0.002 [-0.04, 0.04]	0.002 [-0.04, 0.04]	0.002 [-0.04, 0.04]

Note. $N = 219$. Values are b [95% CIs]. Denial = denial of present racial discrimination, Attitudes = attitudes toward the affirmative action policy, Intentions = behavioral intentions regarding the affirmative action policy, Attractiveness = organizational attractiveness, CSE = collective self-esteem.

Discussion

Study 1 provided mixed support for our hypotheses. Inconsistent with hypothesis 1, there was no interaction, nor a conditional difference in White participants' denial of discrimination. However, consistent with hypothesis 2, we found a significant race by historical condition

interaction for all three indices of support for affirmative action. Regarding hypothesis 2a, White participants in the injustice condition reported significantly less positive attitudes toward the affirmative action policy than White participants in the control condition as anticipated. However, although trending in a similar direction, White participants did not significantly differ in behavioral intentions or organizational attractiveness across conditions. These findings suggest that reminding dominant group members of past injustices faced by minorities may not impact denial of present discrimination but may decrease support for affirmative action particularly through less positive attitudes toward the affirmative action policy.

Moreover, contrary to hypothesis 2b, we found a conditional difference for Black participants for attitudes toward the policy as well as organizational attractiveness. Hypothesis 2b was supported for behavioral intentions as we found no conditional difference for Black participants. These results suggest that reminders of historical injustices may have a positive effect on minority group's support for affirmative action. Finally, we did not find support for hypothesis 4, as the index of moderated mediation was not significant for all three indices of support for affirmative action. For White participants, these findings suggest that the manipulation did not decrease support for affirmative action through denial of present discrimination as anticipated. For Black participants, the indirect effects were nonsignificant as predicted. Overall, the results of the moderated mediation did not replicate those previously obtained in the context of gender (Hideg & Wilson, 2020, Study 1).

One potential limitation of Study 1 was the measure of denial of present racial discrimination, which had relatively low reliability ($\alpha = .63$). Additionally, we were concerned with the first item (i.e., *White and Black Americans are equal in society*) as participants' responses may be higher on this item if they construe the question to be asking their personal

view rather than their perception of society. To address this concern, we ran assessments of measure reliability after dropping the first item. We found that reliability was similar when we excluded the first item ($\alpha = .63$). Additionally, we ran analyses with this first item dropped, and the pattern of results were unchanged. Our concerns with this measure offer a limitation of the present study, that we will address in Study 2 with a different measure of denial of discrimination.

CHAPTER III: STUDY 2

Study 1 provided initial evidence suggesting that reminders of historical injustice may not affect White or Black people's denial of present racial discrimination but may decrease White people's support for affirmative action. Study 2 deviates from Study 1 in three ways. First, the sample consists of American workers recruited from Prolific rather than college students.

Obtaining a different population in Study 2 allows us to assess the generalizability of the present research (i.e., external validity). Second, Study 2 uses a slightly different manipulation in which the historical injustice information is briefly embedded within an affirmative action policy rather than being a separate excerpt introduced prior to the policy. This change allows us to assess whether reminders of historical injustices impact support for affirmative action when such reminders are explicitly framed as a justification for the policy. Third, Study 2 includes a broader measure of race-based collective self-esteem to assess identity threat. Specifically, the measure assesses both private collective self-esteem (i.e., personal evaluations of one's racial group) and public collective self-esteem (i.e., perceptions of how others view their racial group). Prior research in a gender context used 16-items across 4 subscales and combined scores across them to create an index of collective self-esteem (Hideg & Wilson, 2020, Study 4). Although prior research used all four subscales of collective self-esteem, the two subscales used in the present research reflect the two most relevant to the present research question. Thus, in Study 2, we will combine the private and public collective self-esteem subscales to assess this construct.

Hypotheses 1 and 2 were again tested in Study 2. We also assessed two unique hypotheses in Study 2. First, we anticipated a race by historical condition interaction for collective self-esteem (hypothesis 3). This hypothesis about collective self-esteem is based on prior research that found support for a conditional change in men's but not women's collective

self-esteem in a gender context (Hideg & Wilson, 2020, Study 4). Further, we proposed a moderated serial mediation model, in which collective self-esteem and denial of present racial discrimination would sequentially mediate the relationship between historical condition and support for an affirmative action policy for White but not Black participants (hypothesis 5). This hypothesis was informed by prior research which found that gender-based collective self-esteem and denial of present gender discrimination sequentially mediated the relationship between condition and support for a gender-based employment equity policy for men but not women (Hideg & Wilson, 2020, Study 4).

Method

Study 2 was pre-registered prior to data collection. The pre-registration can be found at the following link: https://aspredicted.org/4PW_KDV

Participants

Participants were recruited from Prolific, a crowdsourcing platform that provides comparable data quality to MTurk (Peer et al., 2017). The study used a 2 (participant race: White, Black) by 2 (historical condition: injustice, control) between-subjects design. Data were collected until we reached a pre-registered goal of 260 participants who passed all checks. A power analysis performed using G*Power indicated that a sample of this size would provide 80% power to detect a small-to-medium effect ($f = .175$; $\alpha = .05$; numerator $df = 1$; 4 groups). The key effect examined in the present study is the hypothesized interaction between race and historical condition. Prior work found a small-to-medium effect in the context of gender (Hideg & Wilson, 2020, Study 2 ($\eta_p^2 = .02$; $f = .14$) and Study 4 ($\eta_p^2 = .03$; $f = .18$)). The study took approximately 6-min to complete, and participants were paid U.S. \$1.20 (\$12.00 hourly rate).

We restricted participation to American adults who were born and resided in the United

States, were native English speakers, had a study approval rate $\geq 95\%$, had at least 20 previous Prolific submissions, identified as either Black or White, and indicated their consent for the use of deception. Further, to be consistent with prior research which mostly included full-time workers (Hideg & Wilson, 2020; Study 2), we required participants to be currently employed in a full-time position. We collected data from 283 participants. We excluded data from 7 participants (see below), resulting in a final sample of 276 participants (138 White, 138 Black, 133 women, $M_{\text{age}} = 38.2$). Participants were employed across a range of occupations, with the largest number of participants reporting education and training (11.2%), science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (9.4%), and finance (8.7%). Results were very similar when excluded participants were retained. One exclusionary measure was dropped from the study due to an unexpected high failure rate (see below).

Procedures

Participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions. Participants in the *injustice condition* were given an excerpt regarding a company, INDSCO, that is proposing a new affirmative action policy with a 55% target hiring rate for Black applicants for positions that Black individuals are underrepresented in (adapted from Hideg & Wilson, 2020, Study 2; see Appendix J). This excerpt included an explicit reminder of historical injustices faced by Black Americans (i.e., *At the turn of the 20th century, Black Americans had few rights. It was not until 1866 that Black Americans were considered 'people' under the law*). The policy again included a stipulation that this hiring rate will only be implemented when candidates' qualifications were equal. Participants in the *control condition* were given the same policy without the historical injustice information. Participants then responded to a 3-item measure of denial of workplace discrimination (e.g., *Perhaps there used to be racial discrimination against African Americans in*

the workplace, but this is not the case today; $\alpha = .91$; adapted from Hideg & Wilson, 2020, Study 2; see Appendix K). Participants next completed similar measures as Study 1 to indicate their support for affirmative action (attitudes: $\alpha = .94$; behavioral intentions: $\alpha = .96$; organizational attractiveness: $\alpha = .72$; see Appendix L).

Participants then completed the measure of race-based collective self-esteem, which consisted of a 4-item private collective self-esteem subscale (e.g., *In general, I'm glad to be a member of my racial group*; $\alpha = .85$) and a 4-item public collective self-esteem subscale (e.g., *Overall, my racial group is considered good by others*; $\alpha = .87$) using 7-point scales (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; see Appendix M). As in prior research (Hideg & Wilson, 2020), the two subscales were combined for primary analyses (Hideg & Wilson, 2020; $\alpha = .78$), but we analyzed subscales separately in supplemental analyses. Prior research also included two additional measures of collective self-esteem (i.e., membership esteem and importance to identity; Hideg & Wilson, 2020). We elected against inclusion of these additional measures to conserve time and because they were less relevant to the specific hypotheses tested in the present work regarding identity threat.

Next, participants completed demographic questions as well as the same attention check used in Study 1 (see Appendix N). Participants completed a manipulation check, which asked them to recall whether the affirmative action policy they read described disparities between White and Black Americans at the turn of the 20th century. Participants then completed an additional open-ended attention check that asked participants what they believed to be the purpose of the study. Open-ended responses were coded as failing if they were irrelevant or incoherent (Zell & Lesick, 2022). Finally, participants were debriefed.

Data exclusions. We excluded 5 participants from data analysis for failing the purpose check. There were 2 participants whose responses to the race-ethnicity question during the study was inconsistent with their response to a similar question during the prescreening questionnaire. Given that their racial group was unclear, we excluded these participants. Further, although we had planned to use the manipulation check as an additional exclusion criterion, we elected against doing so, since 62 participants (22%) failed the check. We came to realize that the wording of the manipulation check was unclear as some participants expressed confusion about it in their open-ended response. Further, this type of check was not used in the prior study that used a similar manipulation (Hideg & Wilson, 2020, Study 2). Exploratory analyses indicated that the pattern of results was similar when this exclusionary criterion was applied (see Appendix O).

Data Analysis

Zero-order Correlations

Denial of present racial discrimination had a strong negative correlation with attitudes toward the affirmative action policy ($r = -.79$), organizational attractiveness ($r = -.70$), and behavioral intentions ($r = -.57$; see Table 2). Thus, denial of present racial discrimination has a negative association with all 3 indices of support for affirmative action. Additionally, attitudes toward affirmative action had strong positive correlations with both behavioral intentions ($r = .76$) and organizational attractiveness ($r = .85$). There was also a strong positive correlation between behavioral intentions and organizational attractiveness ($r = .74$). These associations indicate that all three indices of support for the affirmative action policy are strongly correlated. Collective self-esteem had a positive correlation with denial of present racial discrimination ($r = .26$), and a negative correlation with attitudes ($r = -.15$), behavioral intentions ($r = -.15$), and

organizational attractiveness ($r = -.14$).

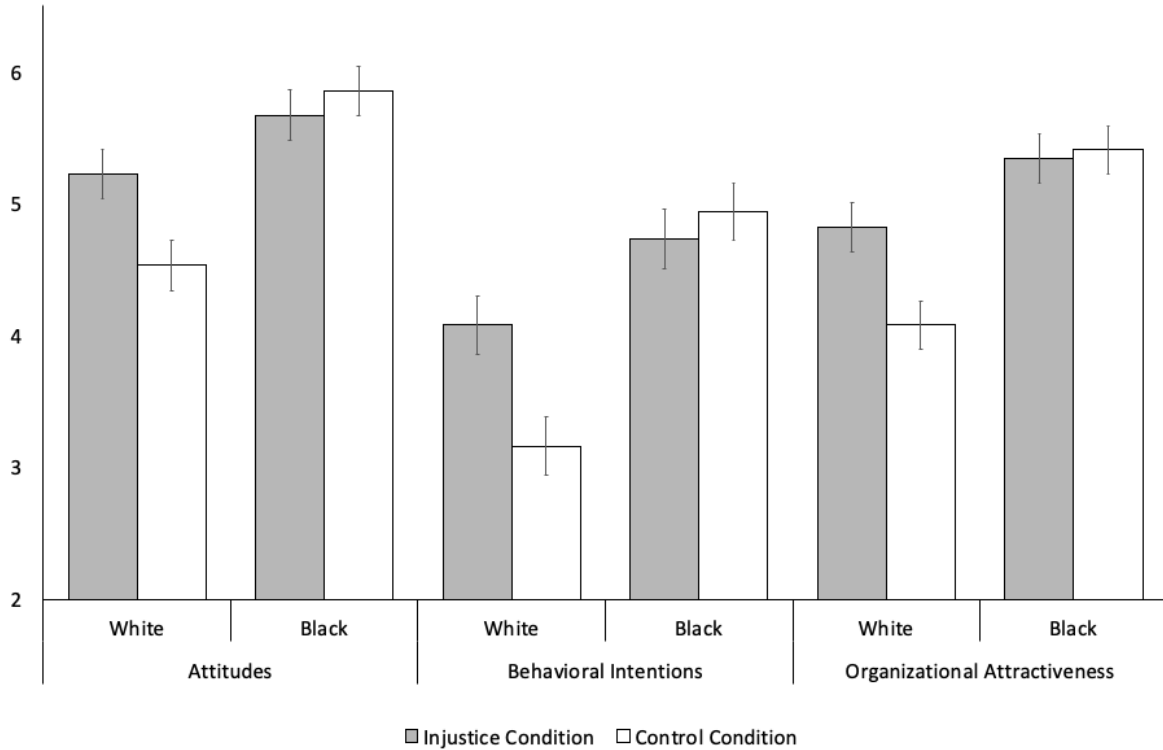
Denial of Present Discrimination

We conducted a 2 (participant race) by 2 (historical condition) ANOVA on denial of present racial discrimination. This analysis yielded a significant main effect of race, such that White participants ($M = 3.29, SD = 2.00$) reported greater denial of present racial discrimination than Black participants ($M = 2.06, SD = 1.17$; see Table 3 and Figure 1). Additionally, we found a main effect of historical condition in which participants in the injustice condition ($M = 2.46, SD = 1.60$) reported less denial of present racial discrimination than participants in the control condition ($M = 2.89, SD = 1.86$). We did not find the predicted participant race by condition interaction. However, planned comparisons indicated White participants in the injustice condition reported significantly less denial of present racial discrimination than White participants in the control condition, $t(272) = -2.83, p = .005, d = -0.78, 95\% CI [-1.33, -0.24]$. Black participants in the injustice condition did not significantly differ in their denial of present discrimination from Black participants in the control condition, $t(272) = -0.44, p = .659, d = -0.12, 95\% CI [-0.67, 0.42]$.

Support for Affirmative Action

We conducted a 2 (participant race) by 2 (historical condition) ANOVA on each of the three indices of support for the affirmative action policy. For each of the three indices, we found a significant participant race by historical condition interaction (see Figure 4). Planned comparisons were conducted to decompose the interactions. Contrary to our hypotheses, the results across the three indices of affirmative action support indicate that the manipulation used in Study 2 increased White participant's support for the affirmative action policy.

Figure 4. Support for Affirmative Action by Participant Race and Historical Condition in Study 2



Note. Higher scores indicate more positive attitudes toward the affirmative action policy, higher behavioral intentions regarding the policy, and higher perceived organizational attractiveness. Error bars are ± 1 standard error.

Specifically, for attitudes toward the affirmative action policy, we found a significant main effect of race, such that White participants ($M = 4.87, SD = 1.84$) reported less positive attitudes toward the policy than Black participants ($M = 5.67, SD = 1.30$). The main effect of historical condition was not significant, but we did find a significant race by condition interaction. White participants in the injustice condition reported significantly more positive attitudes than White participants in the control condition, $t(272) = 2.25, p = .026, d = 0.60, 95\%$ CI [0.08, 1.30]. However, Black participants in the injustice condition did not significantly differ

in their attitudes compared to Black participants in the control condition, $t(272) = -0.80, p = .426, d = -0.17, 95\% \text{ CI} [-0.60, 0.26]$.

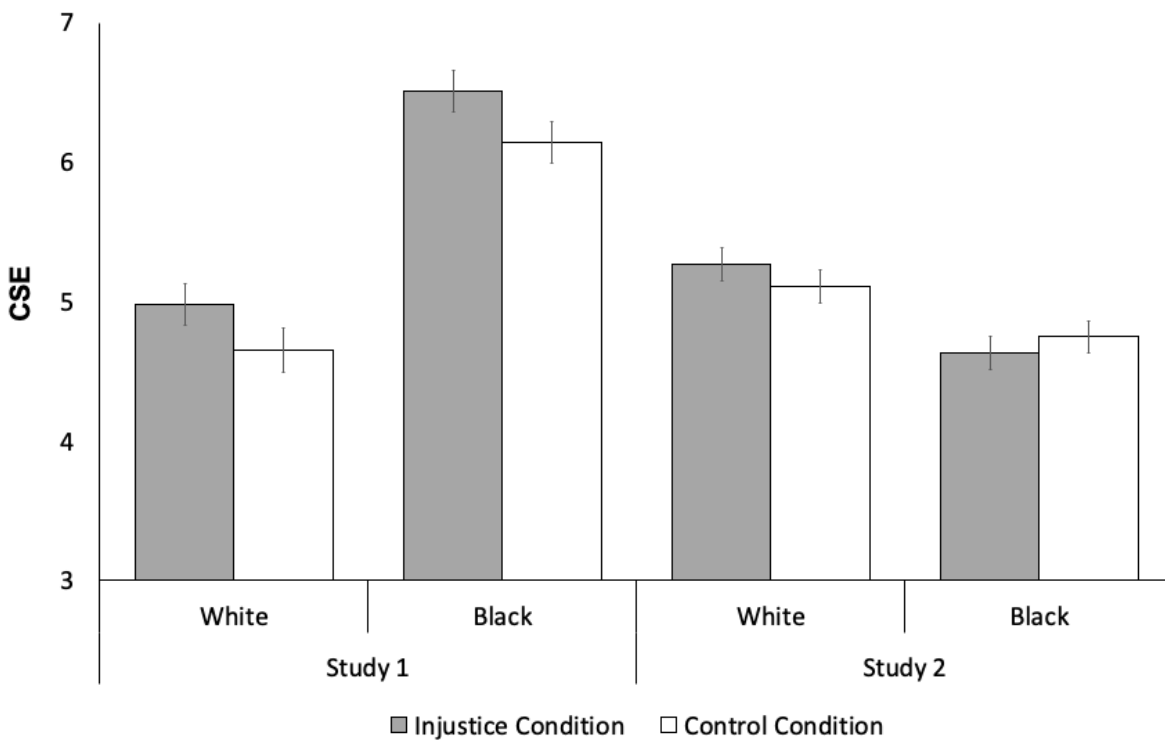
For behavioral intentions, we found a significant main effect of race, such that White participants ($M = 3.62, SD = 1.98$) reported less behavioral intentions than Black participants ($M = 4.84, SD = 1.73$). Additionally, we found a significant participant race by condition interaction, in which White participants in the injustice condition reported significantly greater behavioral intentions than White participants in the control condition, $t(272) = 2.93, p = .004, d = 0.91, 95\% \text{ CI} [0.30, 1.53]$. However, Black participants in the injustice condition reported similar behavioral intentions to Black participants in the control condition, $t(272) = -0.66, p = .511, d = -0.21, 95\% \text{ CI} [-0.82, 0.41]$. Finally, for organizational attractiveness, we found a significant main effect of race, such that White participants ($M = 4.45, SD = 1.72$) reported less positive attitudes toward the policy than Black participants ($M = 5.38, SD = 1.36$). Additionally, we found a significant participant race by condition interaction, in which White participants in the injustice condition reported significantly greater organizational attractiveness than White participants in the control condition, $t(272) = 2.82, p = .005, d = 0.73, 95\% \text{ CI} [0.22, 1.25]$. However, Black participants in the injustice condition reported similar organizational attractiveness to Black participants in the control condition, $t(272) = -0.29, p = .774, d = -0.07, 95\% \text{ CI} [-0.59, 0.44]$.

Collective Self-Esteem

We conducted a 2 (participant race) by 2 (historical condition) ANOVA on collective self-esteem. This analysis yielded a significant main effect of race, such that White participants ($M = 5.18, SD = 1.05$) reported greater collective self-esteem than Black participants ($M = 4.69, SD = 0.88$; see Figure 5). However, there was no main effect of historical condition, and no

participant race by historical condition interaction. As indicated by the non-significant interaction, the effect of historical condition was relatively consistent across racial groups. That is, White participants in the injustice condition did not significantly differ in their collective self-esteem from White participants in the control condition, $t(272) = 0.97, p = .335, d = 0.16, 95\% \text{ CI} [-0.17, 0.48]$. Similarly, Black participants in the injustice condition did not significantly differ in their collective self-esteem from Black participants in the control condition, $t(272) = -0.73, p = .464, d = -0.12, 95\% \text{ CI} [-0.45, 0.20]$.

Figure 5. Collective Self-Esteem by Participant Race and Historical Condition in Studies 1-2

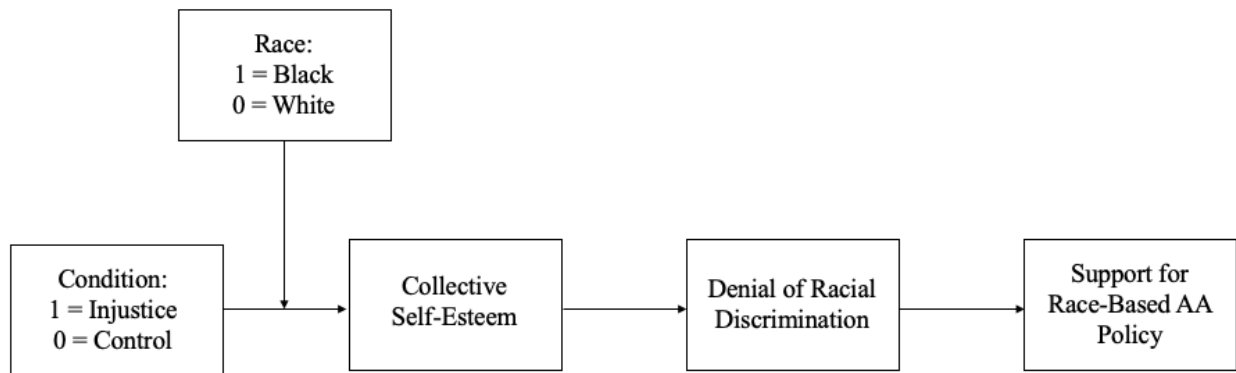


Note. Study 1 used only private collective self-esteem, but Study 2 used both private and public collective self-esteem. Error bars are ± 1 standard error.

Moderated Serial Mediation

We conducted three moderated serial mediation analyses using Model 83 of the SPSS Process Macro (Version 4.1) with 10,000 bias-corrected bootstrap resamples (Hayes, 2022; see Figure 6) to compute the conditional indirect effect. One model was conducted for each of the three measures of support for affirmative action. We anticipated that the historical injustice condition would undermine White but not Black Americans' support for the presented affirmative action policy due to lower collective self-esteem and greater denial of present racial discrimination.

Figure 6. Moderated Serial Mediation Analysis for Study 2



For the first model, historical condition was entered as the predictor, attitudes toward the affirmative action policy was entered as the outcome, race was entered as the moderator, collective self-esteem was entered as the first mediator, and denial of present racial discrimination was entered as the second mediator (see Table 6). The index of moderated mediation was not significant, $b = 0.10$, $SE = 0.08$, $CI [-0.07, 0.27]$, which indicates that the indirect effect did not vary significantly across racial groups. Collective self-esteem and denial of present discrimination were not significant mediators of the relationship between historical condition and attitudes toward the affirmative action policy for either White participants, $b = -0.06$, $SE = 0.06$ $CI [-0.19, 0.07]$ or Black participants, $b = 0.04$, $SE = 0.05$, $CI [-0.06, 0.15]$.

Table 6. Moderated Serial Mediation Models for Support for Affirmative Action in Study 2

Path	Outcomes		
	Attitudes	Intentions	Attractiveness
Injustice condition to CSE	0.16 [-0.17, 0.48]	0.16 [-0.17, 0.48]	0.16 [-0.17, 0.48]
Injustice condition to denial	-0.45 [-0.84, -.05]	-0.45 [-0.84, -0.05]	-0.45 [-0.84, -0.05]
Injustice condition to outcome	-0.08 [-0.33, 0.16]	0.06 [-0.32, 0.45]	0.03 [-0.23, 0.30]
Indirect effect through CSE			
White Participants	0.02 [-0.02, 0.08]	-0.0002 [-0.05, 0.07]	0.01 [-0.02, 0.08]
Black Participants	-0.01 [-0.06, 0.02]	0.0002 [-0.06, 0.04]	-0.01 [-0.06, 0.02]
Index of moderated mediation	-0.03 [-0.11, 0.02]	0.0004 [-0.11, 0.07]	-.02 [-0.11, 0.02]
Indirect effect through denial	0.34 [0.04, 0.64]	0.28 [0.04, 0.54]	0.29 [0.04, 0.56]
Indirect effect through CSE and denial			
White Participants	-0.06 [-0.19, 0.07]	-0.05 [-0.16, 0.06]	-0.05 [-0.17, 0.06]
Black Participants	0.04 [-0.06, 0.15]	0.04 [-0.05, 0.13]	0.04 [-0.05, 0.13]
Index of moderated mediation	0.10 [-0.07, 0.27]	0.08 [-0.06, 0.23]	0.09 [-0.06, 0.24]

Note. $N = 276$. Values are b [95% CIs]. Denial = denial of present racial discrimination, Attitudes = attitudes toward the affirmative action policy, Intentions = behavioral intentions regarding the affirmative action policy, Attractiveness = organizational attractiveness, CSE = collective self-esteem.

The second model was identical but entered behavioral intentions as the outcome variable. As above, the index of moderated mediation was not significant, $b = 0.08$, $SE = 0.07$, CI [-0.06, 0.23]. Collective self-esteem and denial of present discrimination were not significant mediators of the relationship between historical condition and behavioral intentions for either

White participants, $b = -0.05$, $SE = 0.06$, $CI [-0.16, 0.06]$ or Black participants, $b = 0.04$, $SE = 0.05$, $CI [-0.05, 0.13]$. Finally, the third moderated serial mediation model entered organizational attractiveness entered as the outcome variable. Once again, the index of moderated mediation was not significant, $b = 0.09$, $SE = 0.07$, $CI [-0.06, 0.24]$. Collective self-esteem and denial of present discrimination were not significant mediators of the relationship between historical condition and organizational attractiveness for either White participants, $b = -0.04$, $SE = 0.06$, $CI [-0.17, 0.06]$ or Black participants, $b = 0.04$, $SE = 0.05$, $CI [-0.05, 0.13]$.

Exploratory Analyses

We conducted separate ANOVAs on private and public collective self-esteem (see Table 3). For private collective self-esteem, we found a significant main effect of race, such that White participants ($M = 5.37$, $SD = 1.29$) reported less private collective self-esteem than Black participants ($M = 6.14$, $SD = 1.13$). However, there was no main effect of historical condition, and no participant race by historical condition interaction. For public collective self-esteem, we found a significant main effect of race, such that White participants ($M = 5.00$, $SD = 1.22$) reported greater public collective self-esteem than Black participants ($M = 3.25$, $SD = 1.40$). Again, we found no main effect of historical condition, and no participant race by historical condition interaction. Interestingly, the direction of the main effects of race were opposite when comparing private collective self-esteem to public collective self-esteem. This indicates that private and public collective self-esteem measure potentially opposing constructs of collective self-esteem. Further, we found that the two subscales were uncorrelated ($r = -.03$).

For exploratory purposes, we also conducted a moderated mediation analysis parallel to the one conducted in Study 1. Specifically, one model was conducted for each of the three measures of support for affirmative action. For the first model, historical condition was entered

as the predictor, attitudes toward the affirmative action policy was entered as the outcome, race was entered as the moderator, and denial of present racial discrimination was entered as the mediator (see Table 7). The index of moderated mediation was not significant, $b = -0.49$, $SE = 0.29$, $CI [-1.09, 0.08]$, which indicates that the indirect effect did not vary significantly across racial groups. Denial of present discrimination was a significant mediator of the relationship between historical condition and attitudes toward the affirmative action policy for White participants, $b = 0.58$, $SE = 0.26$, $CI [0.09, 1.10]$, but not Black participants, $b = 0.09$, $SE = 0.15$, $CI [-0.21, 0.37]$.

Table 7. Exploratory Moderated Mediation Models for Support for Affirmative Action in Study 2

Path	Outcomes		
	Attitudes	Intentions	Attractiveness
Direct effect	-0.07 [-0.32, 0.17]	0.06 [-0.32, 0.44]	0.04 [-0.24, 0.31]
Injustice condition to denial	-0.78 [-1.33, -0.24]	-0.78 [-1.33, -0.24]	-0.78 [-1.33, -0.24]
Denial to outcome	-0.74 [-0.81, -0.67]	-0.64 [-0.75, -0.53]	-0.64 [-0.72, -0.57]
Conditional indirect effect			
White Participants	0.58 [0.09, 1.10]	0.50 [0.08, 0.95]	0.50 [0.08, 0.95]
Black Participants	0.09 [-0.21, 0.37]	0.09 [-0.18, 0.32]	0.08 [-0.17, 0.33]
Index of moderated mediation	-0.49 [-1.09, 0.08]	-0.42 [-0.95, 0.07]	-0.42 [-0.95, 0.06]

Note. $N = 276$. Values are b [95% CIs]. Denial = denial of present racial discrimination, Attitudes = attitudes toward the affirmative action policy, Intentions = behavioral intentions regarding the affirmative action policy, Attractiveness = organizational attractiveness.

The second model was identical but entered behavioral intentions as the outcome. As

above, the index of moderated mediation was not significant, $b = -0.42$, $SE = 0.26$, $CI [-0.95, 0.07]$. Denial of present discrimination was a significant mediator of the relationship between historical condition and behavioral intentions for White participants, $b = 0.50$, $SE = 0.22$, $CI [0.08, 0.95]$, but not Black participants, $b = 0.09$, $SE = 0.13$, $CI [-0.18, 0.32]$. Finally, the third moderated mediation model entered organizational attractiveness as the outcome. Once again, the index of moderated mediation was not significant, $b = -0.42$, $SE = 0.25$, $CI [-0.95, 0.06]$. Denial of present discrimination was again a significant mediator for White participants, $b = 0.50$, $SE = 0.22$, $CI [0.08, 0.95]$, but not Black participants, $b = 0.08$, $SE = 0.13$, $CI [-0.17, 0.33]$.

CHAPTER IV: GENERAL DISCUSSION

Previous research examined the effect of reminders of historical injustices on denial of gender discrimination and support for a gender-based affirmative action policy (Hideg & Wilson, 2020). Across two studies, the present research examined the effect of reminders of historical injustice on denial of racial discrimination and support for a race-based affirmative action policy. We anticipated that White participants in the injustice condition would report more denial of present discrimination, lower support for affirmative action, and lower collective self-esteem than White participants in the control condition. However, we anticipated that our manipulations would not affect any outcome among Black participants. Further, we anticipated denial of present racial discrimination to mediate the relationship between the historical condition and support for the affirmative action policy for White but not Black participants in Study 1. In Study 2 we anticipated that race-based collective self-esteem and denial of present racial discrimination would sequentially mediate the relationship between historical condition and support for the affirmative action policy for White but not Black participants.

The results of Study 1 only partially supported our hypotheses. As predicted, White participants in the injustice condition reported significantly less positive attitudes toward the affirmative action policy as well as non-significantly lower behavioral intentions and organizational attractiveness than White participants in the control condition. However, denial of discrimination did not vary for either White or Black participants across conditions. Further, we found no support for the proposed moderated mediation hypotheses in that the index of moderated mediation was nonsignificant for all three indices of support for the affirmative action policy.

The results of Study 2 reflected the inverse of our hypotheses in that White participants in the injustice condition reported significantly less denial of racial discrimination and significantly greater support for the affirmative action policy across all three indices than White participants in the control condition. Further, Black participants did not exhibit a conditional difference in their denial nor their support for the affirmative action policy. For collective self-esteem, there was no conditional difference found for White nor Black participants. Finally, the proposed moderated serial mediation hypotheses were not supported in that the index of moderated serial mediation was nonsignificant for each of the three affirmative action outcomes.

Implications

To our knowledge, the effect of reminders of past injustices on support for affirmative action has not been studied in a racial-ethnic context. Therefore, the present research contributes to the literature by examining how such reminders influence racial differences in support for affirmative action. The present findings differ from the backfiring effect observed in prior research. Specifically, whereas Study 1 found some support for the proposed backfiring effect (i.e., reminders of historical injustices reduced support for affirmative action), Study 2 found the opposite effect. However, prior research found that a backfiring effect was continuously found across samples and manipulations (Hideg & Wilson, 2020). This suggests that the effect of reminders of historical injustices on denial of present racial discrimination and support for affirmative action found in a gender context may not necessarily replicate in a racial-ethnic context.

Across both studies, we did not find the anticipated interaction for denial. Consistent with prior research (Nelson et al., 2013; Strickhouser et al., 2019), we found a main effect of race in both Study 1 and Study 2, such that White participants reported greater denial of present racial

discrimination than Black participants. In Study 2, we also found a significant main effect of condition, such that participants in the control condition reported greater denial of present racial discrimination than participants in the injustice condition, but this main effect was not found in Study 1. However, inconsistent with prior research conducted in a gender context (Hideg & Wilson, 2020), the key race by condition interaction was not significant for either study. Further, Study 2 showed an unexpected pattern in the opposite direction, whereby White participants reported less denial of present racial discrimination in the injustice condition compared to the control condition. Altogether, these data do not support the argument that reminders of historical injustices lead to defensive denial of discrimination among dominant group members.

Additionally, similar to denial of present racial discrimination, the anticipated interaction for collective self-esteem was not obtained. Whereas Black participants exhibited greater collective self-esteem than White participants in Study 1, Black participants exhibited lower collective self-esteem than White participants in Study 2. Further, across both Study 1 and Study 2, the interaction between race and condition was not significant. This contrasts with previous work (Hideg & Wilson, 2020), and suggests that collective self-esteem may not be impacted by reminders of historical injustice in a racial-ethnic context. One potential explanation for this finding could be the ineffectiveness of the CSE measure to capture identity threat. The sub-measures of CSE did not significantly correlate with one another, indicating that they were assessing different facets of collective self-esteem. The effectiveness of the measure of collective self-esteem will be further discussed in the limitations section.

Unlike denial of present racial discrimination and collective self-esteem, a different pattern emerged for support for the affirmative action policy. In Study 1, we found that the manipulation had the predicted effect for White participants. Some indices of support for the

affirmative action policy were trending, but this pattern suggests that the effect was detectable. In Study 2, we found the opposite effect. Specifically, White participants in the injustice condition reported more positive attitudes, more behavioral intentions, and greater organizational attractiveness than White participants in the control condition.

We believe that the discrepancies in results across studies may be due to the use of different manipulations. Specifically, the manipulation used in Study 2 is embedded within the policy and much more subtle as it is only a couple of lines signifying a reminder of historical injustices faced by African Americans. The manipulation used in Study 1 was much more overt and was presented to participants as an excerpt for a separate study. Both the cover story used in Study 1 along with the more overt and lengthier reminder, could have induced more defensiveness among White participants. These differences in results across studies suggest that the backfiring effect may only occur when historical information is presented before the affirmative action policy as compared to when it is embedded within the policy.

In summary, the results for both denial of present racial discrimination and collective self-esteem did not replicate past work in a gender context (Hideg & Wilson, 2020). Specifically, prior research found that men in the injustice condition reported greater denial and lower collective self-esteem than men in the control condition, resulting a significant gender by condition interaction. The present research did not find the key race by condition interaction. The results from Study 2 greatly differ from previous work as we found an opposite pattern. Although prior researchers did not run analyses to assess group and conditional differences in support for the affirmative action policy, their findings suggest that support for an affirmative action policy decreases in the injustice condition as a function of an increased denial of current gender discrimination (Hideg & Wilson, 2020). Thus, they consistently found a backfiring effect,

even when using a more subtle manipulation (Hideg & Wilson, 2020; Study 2), whereas we found that a subtle manipulation increased support for affirmative action among White participants.

In Study 1, we found a similar pattern indicative of a backfiring effect, but some aspects differed. Whereas the results from Study 1 indicated that Black participants' support for affirmative action was affected by the manipulation, prior research found no effect of the manipulation for women. Specifically, we found the Black participants reported more positive attitudes and greater organizational attractiveness in the injustice condition compared to the control condition. Overall, these discrepancies suggest that the effects of reminders of historical injustice are different in a racial-ethnic context.

Limitations and Future Directions

As the present research is among the first to assess how reminders of historical injustices impact racial differences in support for affirmative action, it should inspire future research on the topic. The findings of both Study 1 and Study 2 taken together provide conflicting conclusions regarding the backfiring effect (i.e., the negative effect of reminders of historical injustices have on denial of present discrimination and policy support). Specifically, whereas Study 1 provided partial support for the backfiring effect, in that White participants reported less positive attitudes toward the policy in the injustice condition than the control condition, Study 2 found that reminders of historical injustices boosted White participants support for the affirmative action policy. Future research is needed to provide clarity as to why Study 1 and Study 2 yielded different results, and why they deviate from prior research that assessed these questions in a gender context (Hideg & Wilson, 2020).

One limitation of the present research is the framing that was used for the manipulations

across both studies. Specifically, the manipulation used in Study 1 was a more blatant reminder of historical injustice as it was a separate, lengthier excerpt to the affirmative action policy, which increases concerns of potential demand characteristics. Specifically, demand characteristics could have influenced the results of Study 1 as participants could have recognized that the studies, although presented as unrelated, were in fact related. This could have influenced participants to respond to later questionnaires in a way that they anticipated would either satisfy what they believed to be our hypotheses or go in the opposite direction. This limitation should be considered when interpreting the results of Study 1 as the results of Study 2 do not support the presence of a backfiring effect.

Further, the materials used in both Study 1 and Study 2 contribute to a few limitations of the present research. Specifically, the historical injustice condition presented information regarding injustice faced by African Americans at the turn of the 20th century. This may contribute to a contrast effect that could have emerged as a result of participants comparing injustices faced years ago to injustices faced during present day, increasing their denial of present racial discrimination. Further, this is likely to be more evident for White participants who do not experience present racial discrimination to the same extent as Black participants. Although we did not find a conditional difference indicating the presence of a contrast effect, future research should assess these research questions using a temporally closer injustice condition, or by adding another condition in which the information regarding injustice is set in present day (see Hideg & Wilson, 2020, Study 4). Another limitation of the materials used is the differences in length of the excerpt read in the injustice versus the control condition in Study 1. The excerpt used in the injustice condition is slightly longer than that of the control condition which may have affected participants' responses to later questionnaires.

Another limitation of the present research are the measures used for race-based collective self-esteem. Specifically, results indicated that private and public collective self-esteem did not correlate with one another as anticipated. To address this limitation, we ran additional exploratory analyses on both private and public collective self-esteem. We found a main effect of race for both private and public collective self-esteem, but the direction of the effect was opposite for each sub-measure. Specifically, White participants reported lower private collective self-esteem but greater public collective self-esteem than Black participants. Although the main effects were in opposite directions, the result of the race by condition interaction was nonsignificant for both sub-measures. These analyses suggest that although private and public collective self-esteem seem to be measuring different constructs, the results of the critical interaction was consistent across sub-measures. Our use of collective self-esteem in Study 2 was to explore the contribution of identity threat to decreased support for the affirmative action policy. Future research is needed to further explore the presence of identity threat with reminders of historical injustice through the use of improved measures.

Although the present research offers potentially important contributions to the literature on how reminders of injustice impact support for affirmative action, future research is still needed. One line of future research could be to assess these hypotheses by using an in-person laboratory study. This would allow us to examine actual participant behavior such as signing a petition in support for an affirmative action policy or sharing information to friends and family members. This could be a lucrative future direction as behavioral intentions reported in a survey may not match actual behavior. Moreover, future research should identify a potential intervention to increase White Americans support for affirmative action policies, as research has shown a persistent racial gap in affirmative action support (Harrison et al., 2006; Norman, 2021).

In Study 2, Black participants reported less denial of present racial discrimination and greater support for the affirmative action policy than White participants, indicating a continued racial discrepancy in policy support. Thus, future research is still needed as a means of further reducing the racial gap in policy support. Self-affirmation research has been shown to increase White Americans' perception of racism and acknowledgement of White privilege (Adams et al., 2006; Unzueta & Lowery, 2008). Therefore, it would be informative to test whether self-affirmation increases White people's support for affirmative action.

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSIONS

Although affirmative action policies intend to increase diversity in the workforce, and offset historical injustices faced by minority groups, a racial gap persists in support for these policies. The present research explored whether affirmative action policies that are accompanied with reminders of past injustices affect support for the policy through a denial of present racial discrimination and increased identity threat. In Study 1, we found partial support for a backfiring effect among White participants in which the manipulation decreased White participants' support for the affirmative action policy, but in Study 2 we found that the manipulation boosted White participants' support for the affirmative action policy. Although the findings from both studies conflict with one another, the present research contributes to the literature, by being among the first to assess racial differences in affirmative action support as a function of historical reminders. Further, it may inspire future work that continues to assess why groups differ in support for affirmative action policies, and how to optimally frame such policies to reduce potential identity threat experienced by dominant group members.

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APPENDIX A: PUTTING HISTORY INTO PERSPECTIVE: A SNAPSHOT OF
AMERICAN HISTORY (INJUSTICE CONDITION)

Racial inequality, with White Americans having more power, resources, and status than Black Americans, has been the most prevalent form of racial inequality throughout American history. Black Americans have often been at a disadvantage; being underrepresented in the labor force and being the victims of violence, police profiling, incarceration, as well as discriminatory housing policies. For instance, at the turn of the 20th century, Black Americans had few rights. It was not until 1866 that Black Americans were considered ‘people’ under the law. They were not allowed to vote, to run for office, or to own property. Furthermore, job and housing discrimination on the basis of skin color forced Black Americans into poverty perpetuating an economic disparity between White and Black Americans. Moreover, White violence against Black Americans was not only common, but was socially and legally accepted. For example, White on Black attacks were rarely a chargeable offence, so White Americans could physically assault Black Americans without fear of consequence. Black Americans had so few rights that they were not permitted to live, work, or attend school amongst White Americans until 1954. Furthermore, Black men were brutally beaten and prosecuted for looking at a White woman in the wrong way or merely being accused of doing so.

APPENDIX B: PUTTING HISTORY INTO PERSPECTIVE: A SNAPSHOT OF
AMERICAN HISTORY (CONTROL CONDITION)

America was tremendously different in the early 1900s. The population was just over 76 million (compared to over 330 million today). Electric lights had been invented in 1882, but most households still used oil lamps for lights. Only 3 in 10 people owned a telephone, and very few people owned cars- in 1900 there were only 8,000 of them registered in all of USA. Two out of every five people lived on a farm. People did not yet have televisions or even radio in their homes. For leisure people had social gatherings, enjoyed live theater and singing, reading, and sports. The average hourly wage was 22 cents, but cost of living too was much less expensive. For example, foods such as steak used to cost 13 cents/lb and coffee used to cost 35 cents/lb; the price of a typical car used to be \$1000; and a movie ticket was 7 cents.

APPENDIX C: DENIAL OF PRESENT RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

(1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree)

- White and Black Americans are equal in American society.
- American society provides White and Black Americans with equal opportunities for achievement.
- Black Americans often say they are discriminated against when they aren't.
- It's easy to understand why Black American groups are still concerned about social limitations on Black American's opportunities. (reversed)
- It is only fair that Black Americans with less education do not have as many opportunities for career advancement or desirable jobs.

APPENDIX D: AFFIRMATIVE ACTION POLICY

UNCG is proposing to implement a new Affirmative Action (AA) policy for Black students in student hiring at UNCG. AA policies refer to the elimination of unfair practices that prevent the entry, promotion, or retention of minorities in the workplace. This proposed AA policy suggests a target hiring rate for Black students of 55%. This would mean that the hiring rate for Black students would increase for UNCG positions in which they are currently underrepresented. This AA policy would involve hiring Black students over White students only if they had equal qualifications.

APPENDIX E: ATTITUDE TOWARD AFFIRMATIVE ACTION SCALE

(1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree)

- Affirmative action is a good policy.
- I would not like to work at an organization with an affirmative action plan. (reversed)
- The goals of affirmative action are good.
- Employees should be actively involved in attempts to improve the affirmative action conditions at their place of employment.
- I would be willing to work at an organization with an affirmative action plan.
- All in all, I oppose affirmative action plans in industry for minorities. (reversed)

APPENDIX F: BEHAVIORAL INTENTIONS

If there were an opportunity for UNCG students to assist with the promotion of this proposed Affirmative Action program, how likely would you be willing to... (1 = very unlikely, 7 = very likely)

- Join a student committee and attend biweekly forum sessions for one school term to get involved in a visioning process for the Affirmative Action program.
- Volunteer for one day at an information booth to create public awareness about the Affirmative Action vision.
- Distribute and post flyers on the UNCG campus regarding the Affirmative Action vision.
- Ask students in my classes to sign a petition to support the creation of the Affirmative Action vision.
- Sign a petition to promote the visioning and implementation of the Affirmative Action program.
- Add my e-mail address to a mailing list to receive recent updates about the Affirmative Action program.
- Say positive things about the Affirmative Action program to your friends and family.
- Try to convince others that the Affirmative Action program is fair.

APPENDIX G: ORGANIZATIONAL ATTRACTIVENESS

(1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree)

- I would think very highly of an organization that selected candidates using this policy.
- An organization that uses this policy is likely to be socially irresponsible. (reversed)
- If I learned that a firm used this policy, it would improve my opinion of them.

APPENDIX H: PRIVATE COLLECTIVE SELF-ESTEEM

(1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree)

- I often regret that I belong to my racial group. (reversed)
- In general, I'm glad to be a member of my racial group.
- Overall, I often feel that my racial group is not worthwhile. (reversed)
- I feel good about other members of my racial group.

APPENDIX I: POLITICAL VIEWS, DEMOGRAPHICS, AND CHECKS (STUDY 1)

Political Views

How would you describe your political views? [1 = very liberal, 7 = very conservative]

Who did you vote for in the 2020 Presidential election? [Joe Biden, Donald Trump, other]

Are you registered to vote in the United States? [yes, no]

Demographics

What is your age?

What is your race? [White, Black]

Were you born in the United States? [yes, no]

Is English your native language? [yes, no]

What is your gender? [male, female, Other]

Manipulation and Attention Checks

Click the sixth circle in the scale below. This is just to screen out random clicking. [1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree]

What was the topic of the paragraph you read earlier?

- Injustice faced by African Americans at the turn of the 1900's
- US general lifestyle at the turn of the 1900's
- War history at the turn of the 1900's

What do think is the purpose of this study?

APPENDIX J: AFFIRMATIVE ACTION POLICY

[Additional text for the Injustice condition is in brackets].

INDSCO, a leader in the engineering consulting industry, is proposing to implement a new Affirmative Action (AA) policy to increase the hiring of Black applicants. AA policies refer to the elimination of unfair practices that prevent the entry, promotion, or retention of minorities in the workplace. [At the turn of the 20th century, Black Americans had few rights. It was not until 1866 that Black Americans were considered ‘people’ under the law. They were not allowed to vote, to run for office, or to own property. Furthermore, job and housing discrimination based on skin color forced Black Americans into poverty perpetuating an economic disparity between White and Black Americans.]

In addition, in today’s highly globalized business environment a major imperative for organizations worldwide is to find and hire the best employees and to do so many organizations have started adopting diversity policies such as AA policies. An AA policy would help this imperative by increasing the pool of qualified potential candidates, and thus making an AA policy good business sense.

The proposed AA policy suggests a target hiring rate for Black applicants of 55%. This would mean that the hiring rate for Black applicants would increase for all positions in which they are currently underrepresented. This AA policy would involve hiring Black applicants over White applicants only if they had equal qualifications. Thus, qualifications would be considered first, and race second.

APPENDIX K: DENIAL OF WORKPLACE DISCRIMINATION

(1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree)

- Black people experience discrimination in hiring or promotion decisions. (R)
- Perhaps there used to be racial discrimination against African Americans in the workplace, but this is not the case today.
- Promotion decisions are biased by race so that White people are advantaged. (R)

APPENDIX L: BEHAVIORAL INTENTIONS

If there were an opportunity for you to assist with the promotion of this proposed Affirmative Action program, how likely would you be willing to... (1 = very unlikely, 7 = very likely)

- Join a committee and attend biweekly forum sessions for six months to get involved in a visioning process for the Affirmative Action program.
- Volunteer for one day at an information booth to create public awareness about the Affirmative Action vision.
- Distribute and post information regarding the Affirmative Action vision.
- Ask coworkers to sign a petition to support the creation of the Affirmative Action vision.
- Sign a petition to promote the visioning and implementation of the Affirmative Action program.
- Add my e-mail address to a mailing list to receive recent updates about the Affirmative Action program.
- Say positive things about the Affirmative Action program to your friends and family.
- Try to convince others that the Affirmative Action program is fair.

APPENDIX M: PRIVATE AND PUBLIC COLLECTIVE SELF-ESTEEM

We are all members of different social groups or social categories. We would like you to consider **your race or ethnicity** (e.g., African-American, Latino/Latina, Asian, European-American) in responding to the following statements. There are no right or wrong answers to any of these statements; we are interested in your honest reactions and opinions.

(1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree)

- I often regret that I belong to my racial group. (R)
- In general, I'm glad to be a member of my racial group.
- Overall, I often feel that my racial group is not worthwhile. (R)
- I feel good about other members of my racial group.
- Overall, my racial group is considered good by others.
- Most people consider my racial group, on the average, to be more ineffective than other groups. (R)
- In general, others respect my race.
- In general, others think that my racial group is unworthy. (R)

APPENDIX N: DEMOGRAPHICS AND CHECKS (STUDY 2)

Demographics

What is your age?

What is your race? [White, Black]

What is your gender? [male, female, Other]

How would you describe your political views? [1 = very liberal, 7 = very conservative]

How many years of work experience do you have?

What is your occupation?

Manipulation and Attention Checks

Click the fifth circle in the scale below. This is just to screen out random clicking. [1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree]

Did the policy you read in this study describe disparities between White and Black Americans at the turn of the 20th century? [yes, no]

What do think is the purpose of this study?

APPENDIX O: ANOVA RESULTS FOR EACH OUTCOME MEASURE USING THE
RESTRICTIVE CHECK IN STUDY 2

Outcome	Race	Condition	Race x Condition
Denial	42.13, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .16$	2.78, $p = .097$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$	4.90, $p = .028$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$
Attitudes	22.57, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .09$	2.19, $p = .140$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$	4.51, $p = .035$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$
Intentions	22.38, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$	4.70, $p = .031$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$	3.22, $p = .074$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$
Attractiveness	26.53, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .11$	3.63, $p = .058$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$	4.21, $p = .041$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$
CSE	18.53, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$	0.74, $p = .392$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$	0.03, $p = .870$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$

Note. $N = 221$. Values are from 2 X 2 ANOVAs, $F(1, 218)$. Denial = denial of present racial discrimination, Attitudes = attitudes toward the affirmative action policy, Intentions = behavioral intentions regarding the affirmative action policy, Attractiveness = organizational attractiveness, CSE = collective self-esteem.