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How Can We Reduce Racism? A Mixed Method Study of Factors That Influence Attitudes Towards Social Change

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HOW CAN WE REDUCE RACISM? A MIXED METHOD STUDY OF FACTORS THAT

INFLUENCE ATTITUDES TOWARDS SOCIAL CHANGE

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Abstract

The resurgence of social movements such as Black Lives Matter has provoked public discourse about racial inequality and efforts towards social change. The current study sought to better understand how young adults reason about racism reduction with a focus on racial allyship and collective action. The present study used mixed methods to identify strategies young adults believe different racial groups could do to reduce racism and investigate the influence that individual factors have on reasoning about social change. Here, I present emergent themes to describe racism reduction strategies from a large and racially diverse sample of undergraduate students (N= 428). Quantitative findings from this study replicate results from previous research, which showed a negative association between cross-race friendships and prejudicial attitudes towards racial outgroups. Greater cross-race friendships were also associated with higher levels of perceived discrimination and liberalism (sociopolitical beliefs). This study was also the first to use racial attitudes, sociopolitical beliefs, and cross-race friendships to predict narrated themes about racism reduction. Implications for fostering greater racial allyship and collective action among individuals from varying social groups are discussed.

   Keywords: racial prejudice, racial allyship, collective action, cross-race friendships, mixed methods

Table of Contents

List of Tables

Introduction

The American discourse about racial inequality has garnered considerable attention from the public and media. Public protest over racial injustice is common in the history of social movements in the U.S., including the March on Washington in 1963 (Bhattacharyya et al., 2020). The racial protests that occurred over the course of 2020, however, were unprecedented in notable ways. In particular, the scale and scope of these protests were immense; it is estimated that up to 26 million people across the U.S. in 650 different locations protested George Floyd's tragic death (Oborne & Cooke, 2020; Putnam et al., 2020). Importantly, there was an increased presence of individuals from diverse racial backgrounds participating in these protests (Oborne & Cooke, 2020). Although, the resurgence of the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement has effectively stirred up national debate about the state of racism in the U.S., public opinion of the movement has not been entirely positive. In fact, the BLM has inspired counter movements (Clark, 2019; Freelon et al., 2018; Sawyer & Gampa, 2018). For instance, researchers who examined twitter posts concerning BLM found that individuals who openly opposed BLM were in favor of colorblind ideology promoting equality for all racial groups (e.g., All Lives Matter movement; Carney, 2016; Tillery, 2019).

Other examples of discrepant perceptions about the state of racial inequality in the U.S. can be found in empirical studies (Brodish et al., 2008; Kraus et al., 2019). For instance, recent survey data indicate that adults in the U.S. significantly underestimate the wealth gap between Black and White Americans (Kraus et al., 2019). Given the decades of studies demonstrating that Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPoC) continue to be disproportionately affected by racial prejudice and discrimination (García & Sharif, 2015; Leitner et al., 2016; Major &

O'Brien, 2005; Scott et al., 2017), the divergence between personal beliefs and scientific evidence about racism in society is concerning. Individual beliefs about the historical and current state of racism in the U.S. may affect support for social change efforts (Nelson et al., 2013). As such, researchers must better understand how individuals reason about reducing racism and the factors that contribute to support for a more racially just society.

Racial allyship is one strategy to promote racial justice albeit a difficult construct to define; its use depends on the perspective and discipline of the researcher (Kutlaca et al., 2020; Williams & Sharif, 2021). Qualitative studies investigating ally behavior for racial justice typically conceptualize racial allyship as: 1) an understanding of racism and White privilege; and 2) a commitment to a set of ideas and actions aimed at dismantling a system of oppression that advantages one's social ingroup while disadvantaging other social groups (Broido, 2000; Broido & Reason, 2005; Obrien, 2001; Reason et al., 2005; Spanierman & Smith, 2017). This definition adequately describes the characteristics and actions of individuals who self-identify as allies for racial justice. Researchers should take caution in using this conceptualization of racial allyship when applying the construct to individuals who may act in ways that align with racial allyship, but do not self-identify as an ally. Indeed, the few participants (ranging from 6-11 participants), from these studies were interviewed because of their involvement in social justice work, which presents a challenge for the broader generalizability of these study findings.

A related term, collective action, was first used to describe behaviors that disadvantaged group members could do to improve their own group's condition (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013; Wright et al., 2009). It is important to delineate between the actions that dominant and oppressed racial groups can do to promote racial justice because the underlying

motivations for the actions might be different (Louis et al., 2019; Radke et al., 2020; van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013). For example, dominant group members who participate in social protests can be motivated to do so to meet personal desires or moral obligations (Radke et al., 2020). Furthermore, others have argued that when individuals from the dominant social group participate in social movements their well-intended support can imply that oppressed individuals lack the ability to take action for themselves (Droogendyk et al., 2016; Reicher, 2007; Wright & Lubensky, 2008). Hence, researchers should examine the perspectives of individuals from dominant and oppressed racial groups about various strategies to reduce racism. In this paper, I define racial allyship as an approach used by individuals from the dominant racial group to oppose or change a social and political system that advantages their ingroup and oppresses other racial groups. These individuals also recognize that their privilege can be used to effectively support social movements and increase the impact of their actions for racial equality. When discussing the actions that individuals from oppressed racial groups can do to improve their group's condition, status, or treatment I am referring to collective action.

Below I review the state of current research on individual factors and experiences that contribute to support for reducing racism. First, I elaborate on the theories of racial allyship and collective action to foreground the importance of these strategies as a promising inroad to creating meaningful change for racial justice (Carney, 2016; Clark, 2019; Tillery, 2019; Williams & Sharif, 2021). I then assess the literature on racial and sociopolitical attitudes as well as the research on intergroup contact to discuss how these individual factors may relate to an individual's support for strategies to reduce racism.

Literature Review

Emergent Theory of Racial Allyship

As indicated by the definition, allyship is a key component to actively reducing racism. Yet, a comprehensive model of racial allyship does not currently exist. Instead, several qualitative studies of self-identified allies for racial justice provide an initial framework for understanding the development of racial allyship. For instance, Reason and colleagues (2005) found that a sample of White undergraduates shared commonalities in how they derived meaning from their experience with racial justice issues and social justice work. The authors identified three critical themes that reoccurred among all participants in their sample. First, participants felt that it was important to acknowledge and understand their Whiteness, which occurred across participants to varying degrees. Participants spoke about their race on a continuum of complexity, ranging from White as "just the color of your skin" to Whiteness being an undetectable and unearned privilege. Second, participants often remarked on the social-contextual factors that influenced their understanding of Whiteness. For example, several participants discussed the diversity among their friend groups and how these experiences helped them to understand their Whiteness in relation to others. Third, all participants believed that their current educational and co-curricular experiences provided them with knowledge about systemic racism, racial justice issues, and ways to engage in racial justice work.

The critical themes that Reason and colleagues (2005) revealed were important to their participants' understanding of racial allyship correspond with qualitative findings from other studies of social justice allies and adults committed to racial justice work (Brodio, 2000; O'Brien, 2001). For instance, O'Brien (2001) interviewed 30 individuals who belonged to a professional organization dedicated to antiracist social justice work and noted the importance of

how her participants understood their Whiteness. In particular, participants spoke of their commitment to using their position of power in society to end an oppressive system that disadvantages people from non-dominant racial groups (O'Brien, 2001). O'Brien (2001) also noted that the participants' commitment to social justice work motivated them to seek support from other social activists. Support seeking was also noted in Reason et al.'s (2005) undergraduate study of racial allyship. More specifically, participants from both studies noted how their social connections provided them with opportunities to engage in social justice work and increased their confidence to continue the work (O'Brien, 2001; Reason et al., 2005).

A final common experience both samples reported was the value and importance of racial diversity in their environment and close relationships. The undergraduates valued being able to directly hear the racism experiences that students of color faced and reported that those experiences fostered greater feelings of empathy and provided opportunities to engage in perspective taking (Reason et al., 2005). The adult sample reported that their close relationships with other-race individuals were critical sources of motivation to continue their social justice work. These adults described their cross-race relationships as a turning point in their life when they realized the extent to which others experience racism and discrimination (O'Brien, 2001). Taken together, these themes reflect important aspects of racial allyship from the perspective of the dominant racial group in the U.S. First, it seems as though White individuals who want to be allies must acknowledge their privilege when engaging in racial justice work and supporting individuals from oppressed racial groups (Spanierman & Smith, 2017; Williams & Sharif, 2021). Furthermore, White allies engage with and make meaning from their experiences with other-race individuals to foster empathy and understanding of racial prejudice and discrimination. Last,

5

education about racial issues and support from likeminded others seems to encourage White individuals to actively pursue social change.

Social Identity Model of Collective Action

The social identity model of collective action (SIMCA) posits that there are three key factors, *ingroup-identification, ingroup-efficacy,* and *perceived injustice*, that reliably predict whether an individual engages in collective action[1] for social change (for a meta-analytic review see van Zomeren et al., 2008). When the model was proposed, researchers primarily used it to explain activist behavior from members of disadvantaged groups to improve their own condition (Dixon et al., 2005; van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013). More recently, the SIMCA has also been used to predict support for social change from other social groups who are not directly experiencing the oppression that the targeted disadvantaged group experiences (i.e., acting in solidarity; Klavina & van Zomeren, 2020; Selvanathan et al., 2018). The first predictor of the SIMCA is ingroup-identification. For members of oppressed racial groups, stronger identification with their in-group is associated with an increased willingness to act collectively to improve their groups' condition. If members of the dominant racial group identify with an oppressed racial group based on shared values and goals, that process can also increase their willingness to promote racial justice on behalf of oppressed individuals (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; van Zomeren et al., 2018).

The second predictor of the SIMCA refers to an individual's beliefs about their group's efficacy to change their condition, status, or treatment. According to this model, higher levels of

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[1] Collective action was initially used to describe the actions (e.g., protesting or signing petitions) that individuals from disadvantaged groups engaged in to improve their own group's condition, status, or treatment (Wright, 2009).

ingroup-efficacy are positively related to a willingness to collectively act for social change. There is corresponding evidence from empirical studies to suggest that members of the dominant racial group can also be influenced by perceived ingroup-efficacy. More specifically, individuals showed increased support for activism when they believed their actions would be effective (Rattan & Dweck, 2010; Stewart et al., 2010; Velasquez & LaRose, 2015). The final predictor of the SIMCA is related to an individual feeling of anger, either towards the system of oppression or towards the dominant group that has benefitted from that system (see Wright, 2009). For instance, results from one empirical study revealed that priming individuals with moral outrage over racism significantly increased their support for social change (Thomas & McGarty, 2009).

The theories of racial allyship and collective action (SIMCA) provide a good framework for understanding how dominant and oppressed racial groups might reason about allied and collective behavior to reduce racism. The qualitative work on racial allyship was useful for understanding themes that may emerge when individuals discuss allied behavior dominant group members can engage in to reduce racism. For example, dominant group members' understanding of their privilege seems to be an important component of their allyship. Likewise, the SIMCA might also allude to potential themes about activist behavior that oppressed racial groups can do to reduce racism. For example, themes related to the three predictors outlined in the SIMCA might emerge as important aspects of collective action for members of oppressed racial groups. Importantly, the two theories illuminate possible differences in how dominant and oppressed racial groups discuss strategies to reduce racism. It is also possible that other approaches to reducing racism emerge. Therefore, it is important to examine individual factors and experience

that may be predictive of willingness to engage in allied and collective behavior or support for other approaches to reduce racism.

Racial Prejudice

Racial prejudice refers to an individual's attitudes towards racial outgroups and members of those groups that serves to maintain a hierarchy of status among groups (Dovidio et al., 2010). In comparison, racism has been defined as the interaction of individual level attitudes towards oppressed racial groups and sociopolitical factors that maintain the hierarchy among racial groups (Roberts & Rizzo, 2020). In this paper, I primarily focus on individual racial prejudice. The recent revival of social movements which aim to affirm the value of Black and Brown lives can be viewed as a decline in the acceptance of explicit racial prejudice towards BIPoC (Sawyer & Gampa, 2018). Although blatant racial prejudice has become less acceptable in mainstream culture, individuals continue to show explicit prejudicial attitudes towards BIPoC (see Axt, 2018).

Social psychologists offer several definitions of contemporary racial prejudice which differs from traditional and blatant forms of racial prejudice (for a review see Dovidio et al., 2010). Blatant forms of racial prejudice involve animosity towards non-White racial groups that is rooted in the belief that these groups are biologically inferior; this "inferiority" is then used to justify racial segregation and discrimination (Sears & Henry, 2003). Newer and subtle forms of racial prejudice, still involve animosity towards BIPoC, however, the rationale for the animosity stems from psychological and cultural reasons as opposed to biological ones. Over the years researchers developed different scales to measure contemporary racial prejudice, including the modern racism (McConahay, 1986), symbolic racism (Henry & Sears, 2002), and racial

resentment (Kinder & Sanders, 1996) scales. Each scale measures levels of racial animosity towards non-White racial groups, however, the rationale for the animosity differs. For instance, from a modern racism perspective, racial antipathy arises from beliefs that non-White individuals are too aggressively demanding to be included where they are not wanted (McConahay, 1986). Racial resentment reflects a strong reinforcement of personal responsibility for one's life outcomes (individualism), which results in unsympathetic attitudes towards social and economic disparities that disproportionately affect non-White racial groups (Kinder & Sanders, 1996).

The symbolic racism scale is a more comprehensive scale measuring individual racial prejudice towards BIPoC (Henry & Sears, 2002). Henry & Sears (2002) describe symbolic racism as a unitary and discrete belief system that reflects four core themes about prejudice towards Black people collectively: 1) racial prejudice and discrimination toward Black people are no longer obstacles that hinder their socioeconomic advancement (*denial of racism*); 2) social and economic disadvantages that Black people endure are the results of their unwillingness to work hard (*meritocracy beliefs*); 3) thus, any demands that Black people make are unwarranted (*excessive demands*); and 4) government assistance and advantages for Black people are not deserved (*undeserved advantages*). From this theoretical framework, individuals with higher levels of symbolic racism should be less inclined to perceive racial injustice as a prevalent societal issue and should also be less willing to support social policies intended to reduce racial discrimination (Henry & Sears, 2002; Sears & Henry, 2003). In fact, symbolic racism was found to be a better predictor of an individual's opposition to anti-racist policies than negative stereotype endorsement, political ideology, and attitudes towards the federal government (Rabinowitz et al., 2009; Sears et al., 1997; Sears & Henry, 2003; Tarman & Sears, 2005). Thus,

it is possible that individual differences in racial prejudice as measured by the symbolic racism scale may influence individuals' responses about racism reduction. Specifically, their responses concerning racism reduction should reflect negativity towards BIPoC and or a lack of sympathy for the discrimination these individuals experience. Hence, the symbolic racism scale was used in the current study as a measure of racial attitudes towards BIPoC.

Political Beliefs and Perceived Discrimination

Current research suggests that an individual's level of symbolic racism is a good predictor of whether they will support anti-racist policies. Nevertheless, some researchers posit that symbolic racism should be considered alongside other relevant social and political beliefs to more fully understand an individual's willingness to support social change (Abramowitz, 1994; Gawronski et al., 2008; Meerteens & Pettigrew, 1997). It is well established that political ideology is moderately related to displays of explicit racial prejudice, in that higher levels of liberalism are negatively associated with explicit racial prejudice (for a review see Turner et al., 2020). Relatedly, individuals with a conservative political orientation report less support for social policies that increase government spending and affirmative action programs that give preferences to individuals from underrepresented groups (Chambers et al., 2012; Harrison et al., 2006; Sniderman et al., 1991). Taken together, these findings suggest that racial prejudice and sociopolitical beliefs are related and together may contribute to views of racism and approaches to rectifying racial injustices.

Another factor that may influence an individual's support for actions to reduce racism is their perception of the ongoing prevalence of racial discrimination. That is, to what extent do individuals believe BIPoC experience unwarranted discrimination based on their race? Evidence

from experimental studies suggest that individuals who engage in perspective taking, or imagining the world from someone else's point of view (Galinsky et al., 2005) show increased prosocial behavior towards individuals from a racial outgroup and also report higher levels of perceived discrimination towards that racial group (Todd et al., 2011, 2012). Relatedly, intergroup perspective-taking refers to imagining the world through the perspective of an other-race individual (Todd et al., 2012). Interestingly, Todd and others (2012) proposed that intergroup perspective taking might increase perceptions of discrimination towards Black individuals because the perceiver experiences an overlap of the self and the other-race individual through the perspective taking process.

Although evidence suggests that people who engage in intergroup perspective taking in the lab show increased perceptions of racial discrimination, it is unclear whether these effects last beyond the immediate context. Decades of theoretical and empirical work have determined that increased positive intergroup contact, which refers to the combination of quality and quantity of interactions with other-race individuals, is associated with decreased racial prejudice (MacInnis & Page-Gould, 2015; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Below I expand upon the intergroup contact literature and its implications for reducing racial prejudice and support for social change.

Intergroup Contact and Prejudice Reduction

Intergroup contact is a well-examined prejudice reduction strategy (Allport, 1954; Dovidio, 2001; 2010; Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Pettigrew, 1997). In particular, several quantitative reviews have been published in which researchers examined the effects of intergroup contact on racial attitudes (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, 2008; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005b). For instance, in a meta-analysis researchers concluded that the overall effect of intergroup contact on

attitudes towards racial outgroups is positive (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Furthermore, group status was found to moderate positive intergroup attitudes such that the positive effects of intergroup contact were more strongly observed among members of the racially dominant group when compared to members of an oppressed racial group (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005b). A potential explanation for this moderation is that members of oppressed racial groups are apprehensive about cross-race interactions with members of the dominant racial group because they fear becoming targets of prejudice (Crocker, Major, & Steel, 1998) and want to be respected over being liked (Buttny & Williams, 2000). These findings indicate a need for research that includes the perspectives of individuals from multiple racial groups to better understand how to reduce racism (Kutlaca et al., 2020). Additionally, qualitative methods are better suited to reveal rich information about how individuals from different racial groups reason about intergroup contact in the context of racism reduction.

Newer research has started to conceptualize intergroup contact as a multifaceted experience that can reduce prejudice, but may also have differential effects on support for social change depending on group status (Dixon et al., 2005, 2007; Saguy, 2018; Saguy et al., 2009). In this line of work, researchers highlight the potential downside of intergroup contact from the perspectives of both dominant and oppressed racial groups. For instance, researchers found that positive contact increased low-power group members' social attitudes towards high-power group members and increased their expectations that high-power group members would act fairly in a resource allocation task. These findings maintained even when the high-power group members did not follow through with fair resource allocation (Saguy et al., 2009). Correlational studies of naturally occurring groups with differential status report similar findings. Specifically,

disadvantaged racial group members who report more contact with advantaged groups show less identification with their own racial ingroup, perceive inequalities as justifiable, and are less motivated to act for social change (for a review see Saguy, 2018). Regarding negative outcomes of intergroup contact for members of the dominant racial group, when individuals report little to no previous intergroup contact, interactions with other race individuals often increase feelings of anxiety (for a review see MacInnis & Page-Gould, 2015). Broadly, the existing work indicates that positive intergroup contact increases favorable attitudes towards outgroup members for individuals from the dominant racial group, but the effects of intergroup contact are not as positive for members from oppressed racial groups.

Fewer studies have investigated intergroup contact as a strategy to increase support for social change. Some researchers have studied how intergroup contact might create changes in the cognitive components of prejudice (stereotype endorsement) and support for social change (Hässler et al., 2020; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005a; Wolsko et al., 2003). For instance, researchers found that greater contact with other racial groups increased positive evaluations of that racial outgroup collectively, however, the use of stereotypes associated with racial outgroups did not decrease (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005a; Wolsko et al., 2003). More recently, researchers assessed associations between intergroup contact and support for social change in a large-scale examination of international survey data (Hassler et al., 2020). These researchers examined associations among frequency of intergroup contact, participants' subjective experience of the situation (i.e., ratings of the positivity and the absence of negative contact), and levels of support for various actions related to social change (e.g., signing a petition, attending demonstrations, or talking to ingroup members about racial injustice; Hässler et al., 2020). Advantaged group

13

members with more intergroup contact showed an increased willingness to work in solidarity with disadvantaged groups for social change but were less willing to raise awareness about injustice with their ingroup members. These findings align with results from experimental work which showed that White Americans' increased contact with Black Americans was related to greater support for collective action mediated by greater empathy and anger towards the experience of racism Black Americans face (Selvanathan et al., 2018). Additional work has also found similar results among individuals living outside of the U.S., specifically participants from the U.K. who reported increased contact with Black individuals also reported more support for BLM (Meleady & Vermue, 2019).

With respect to individuals from disadvantaged groups, those who reported fewer negative contact experiences with advantaged group members also reported a greater willingness to work with advantaged group members for social change. (Hässler et al., 2020). Interestingly, it seems as though positive intergroup contact is not associated with an increase in all kinds of activist behavior to promote social change. Instead, positive intergroup contact was only found to be related to an increase in individuals' willingness to work in solidarity with outgroups towards social change as opposed to other forms of activism such as attending rallies and or raising ingroup awareness about social inequalities. For dominant group members, one plausible explanation for the increased willingness to work together toward social change could be attributed to a decrease in intergroup anxiety and greater empathy for what outgroup members experience (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Todd et al., 2012). For oppressed group members, the increased willingness to work with outgroup members for social change may be due to a decreased perception of injustice and anger towards racial injustice (Droogendyk et al., 2016).

14

Sustained anger towards dominant group members is less likely when they are viewed favorably as the result of positive interactions.

Cross-group Friendships and Support for Social Change

Evidence suggests that intergroup contact positively influences liking and willingness to work together towards social change, however, much of the research on intergroup contact does not consider more intimate cross-race relationships, such as cross-race friendships. In addition, the current work examining the effects of cross-race friendships on support for social change has yielded mixed results. On the one hand, qualitative studies of White racial allies found that participants commonly perceived their close relationships with cross-race individuals as a catalyst that motivated their subsequent engagement in racial activism or desire to seek out more education about systematic racism (O'Brien, 2001; Reason et al., 2005). On the other hand, quantitative studies of cross-race friendships and support for social change do not consistently show positive effects of the cross-race friendship on individuals' willingness to engage in allied or collective action for social change (Levin et al., 2003; Tropp et al., 2012; Tropp & Bianchi, 2006). For instance, researchers who examined the number of ingroup and outgroup friendships that African American, Asian, Latinx, and White students reported throughout college found that students with more outgroup friendships also showed less ingroup favoritism and intergroup anxiety (Levin et al., 2003). These results replicate previous correlational findings that indicate a moderate negative relationship between the number of cross-race friendships and prejudicial attitudes towards racial outgroups (Pettigrew, 1997).

Another longitudinal investigation of cross-race friendships during college revealed the potential for cross-race friendships to undermine collective action among college students from

15

oppressed racial groups (Tropp et al., 2012). Researchers assessed the proportion of White

friends that African American, Asian, and Latinx students had in their freshman year of college,

their perceptions of discrimination, and willingness to support ethnic activism (e.g., signing

petitions and or voting on issues that directly affected their ethnic group). Researchers found that

for African American and Latinx students, a greater proportion of friendships with White

students in their earlier years of college predicted lower levels of perceived discrimination

towards their ingroup and less support for racial activism at the end of college (Tropp et al.,

2012). These findings, coupled with the intergroup contact and collective action literature,

indicate a potential downside to positive contact with dominant racial group members.

Specifically, for non-White students, friendships with the dominant racial group may lessen their

willingness to engage in collective action for racial equality. It remains unclear exactly how and

in what contexts cross-race friendships undermine willingness to support social change efforts.

Current Study

The current study used a mixed methods approach to examine how young adults reason

about racism reduction. Mixed methods research combines qualitative and quantitative data to

answer research questions (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). One primary advantage that mixed

methods research offers is the ability to integrate two kinds of data, providing more complex and

nuanced information not gleamed from either kind of data analyzed in isolation (Tashakkori &

Teddlie, 2010). For the current study, the mixed methods approach allowed for a rich description

of how young adults approach racism reduction which quantitative data alone do not provide.

Specifically, my first research question explored the strategies that young adults believe different

racial groups can use to reduce racism (Research Question 1). I also investigated whether these

strategies differed based on participants' social identity, such as their gender and race (Research Question 2) or based on whether they were reasoning about what the majority group members or minority group members could do to enact social change (Research Question 3). Some variation in theme pattern was expected and might be related to the status of the group working for racial justice (Dixon et al., 2007; Saguy, 2018). Due to the exploratory nature of the open-ended questions about reducing racism, I offer limited predictions of potential findings. One expected finding was that allyship and collective action would be the most prominent themes narrated by participants in response to both open ended questions (Hypothesis 1). This prediction was based on the current research documenting an increase in support for racial allyship among dominant group members and for collective action among oppressed racial groups (Clark, 2019; Freelon et al., 2018; Selvanathan et al., 2018; Tillery, 2019).

Another goal of this research was to better understand the associations between cross-race friendships, prejudicial attitudes, and sociopolitical beliefs (Research Question 4). Specifically, I aimed to replicate findings from previous research that demonstrated a negative association between cross-race friendships and prejudicial attitudes (Hypothesis 2) (Pettigrew, 1997; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005b). Because previous work has demonstrated that intergroup contact can increase empathy and prosocial behavior towards racial outgroups, (Meleady & Vermue, 2019; Todd et al., 2011, 2012) I also predicted that more cross-race friendships and more time spent with other-race friends would be associated with an increase in perceived discrimination and political liberalism (Hypothesis 3). Given the research on the differential impact that cross-race friendships have for members of the dominant and oppressed racial groups, I also tested whether participants' race was a moderating factor. Specifically, I predicted

17

that the association between cross-race friendships and perceived discrimination would be greater for White participants than participants from non-White racial groups (Hypothesis 4) (Tropp et al., 2012).

My final research question attempted to integrate the quantitative and qualitative data to assess whether individuals who shared similar racial, sociopolitical attitudes, and levels of cross-race friendships reasoned similarly about how different racial groups could reduce racism (Research Question 5). This research question was examined using mixed methods. Given the exploratory nature of this research question, it was difficult to make predictions about the relation between quantitative correlates and emergent qualitative themes. It was possible, however, that participants who narrated strategies that reflected racial allyship or collective action would also show lower levels of symbolic racism, higher levels of perceived discrimination and political liberalism, and report more cross-race friendships (Hypothesis 5) (Clark, 2019; Reason et al., 2005; Turner et al., 2020). Additionally, I predicted that a greater proportion of individuals with high levels of cross-race friendships would discuss the importance of diverse friendships for increasing empathy and perhaps mention themes related to solidarity compared to individuals with low levels of cross-race friendships (Hypothesis 6) (Selvanathan et al., 2018; van Zomeren et al., 2008).

<center>**Method**</center>

Participants

Participants were 428 students enrolled at a large university in the Southwestern United States aged 18-40 years ($M = 20.49$, $SD = 3.50$). I recruited students via the Psychology department's subject pool to participate in an online study for course credit. Data were collected across two semesters in 2019. Table 1 shows a summary of the demographic characteristics of the final sample.

Procedure

Participants provided consent online before they began the study. The online study included demographic questions, items from two scales to assess their racial attitudes and sociopolitical beliefs, questions assessing facets of their cross-race friendships, and two open-ended questions about how different social groups could reduce instances of racism[2]. Participants received course credit for completing the survey.

Measures

Symbolic Racism 2000 (SR2K) Scale

I assessed attitudes towards non-White racial groups with a modified version of the Symbolic Racism Scale 2000 (SR2K; Henry & Sears, 2002). The SR2K contains eight items designed to measure individuals' beliefs related to the four central themes that embody the construct of symbolic racism. Sample items from the SR2K include, "*It's a matter of some*

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[2] The current paper focuses on a subset of data examining racial attitudes, sociopolitical beliefs, and strategies to reduce racism. Additionally, all participants in the current study completed assessments to measure levels of sexism, such as the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1996), answered questions about their cross-gender friendships, and answered open-ended questions about strategies to reduce sexism; the data related to sexism are not reported here.

people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites" and *"Over the past few years, people of color have gotten more economically than they deserve."* Participants were asked to rate their agreement with each item on a scale from 1 (e.g., *strongly disagree*) to 4 (e.g., *strongly agree*). Higher scores indicate higher levels of symbolic racism. After conducting a test of internal reliability and inspecting inter-item correlations, one item was dropped based on a low and negative inter-item correlation (Furr, 2013). After dropping this item, the SR2K had good reliability ($\alpha = .80$; George & Mallery, 2003).

Social Beliefs and Opinions Inventory

I assessed perceptions of sociopolitical attitudes with the Social Beliefs and Opinions Inventory (SBOI; Galinsky et al., 2008; Todd et al., 2012). The SBOI contains 14 items intended to measure perceptions of racial discrimination and sociopolitical attitudes related to liberal or anti-discrimination policy. A sample item related to perceived discrimination is, *"Society has reached a point where people of color and Whites have equal opportunity"* and a sample item related to general political orientation towards liberalism or conservatism is, *"Government should leave decisions about pregnancy to individuals."* Participants were asked to rate their agreement with each item on a scale from 1 (*very strongly disagree)* to 9 *(very strongly agree).* Higher scores indicate higher levels of perceived discrimination and liberalism. After conducting a test of internal reliability and inspecting the inter-item correlations, one item was dropped based on a low and negative inter-item correlation (Furr, 2013). After dropping this item, the SBOI had acceptable reliability ($\alpha = .73$; George & Mallery, 2003) that corresponded with the scale reliability found by Todd and colleagues (2012).

Cross-Race Friendships

I assessed individual levels of cross-race friendships with three items adapted from a questionnaire developed by Islam and Hewstone (1993). Participants reported the proportion of friends in their closest friend group who were of a different race (i.e., "*What percentage of people in your closest friend group are of a different race?*"). They also reported how many people of a different race they considered their close friends (i.e., "*How many close friends do you have that are of a different race?*"). Last, participants reported how often they interacted with the other-race friends in their closest friend group (i.e., "*How often do you have contact with people of a different race in your closest friend group?*"). Davies and colleagues (2011) conducted a meta-analysis of how cross-race friendships were measured across studies. They reported that studies using multiple items to assess friendship characteristics such as perceived closeness and time spent with other-race friends yielded the largest effect size on measures of positive outgroup attitudes. The researchers also indicated no significant differences in mean effect sizes for studies conducted before and after 2000 (for a meta-analytic review see Davies et al., 2011). Hewstone and others (2011) found that self-reported cross-race friendships were reliably accurate when compared with observer reports of the quality and quantity of others' intergroup contact and cross-group friendships.

Qualitative Reasoning about Racism Reduction

After participants completed the quantitative scales, I asked two open-ended questions about their beliefs regarding strategies that different social groups could use to reduce racism. I provided participants with definitions of racism and the different social groups to which I referred. For example, I explained that in the U.S., White individuals make up the racial *majority*

of the population and this means that people of color are in the *minority*. Specifically, I asked participants, "*What do you think the majority group can do to reduce instances of racism against minority groups?*" and "*What do you think the minority groups can do to reduce instances of racism against minority groups?*" Participants were not given any further instructions for responding to these questions.

Data Treatment and Analysis

Qualitative Coding

I followed guidelines for conducting thematic analysis to identify patterns among participants' responses to the two open-ended questions about racism reduction (Braun & Clarke, 2006; 2013). I used a blended inductive and deductive approach that was informed by theories of racial allyship development (Reason et al., 2005) and collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2008), while also allowing for other themes to spontaneously emerge from the data. To begin the coding process, I read the entire corpus of data, taking note of interesting ideas and overall impressions. This process was repeated once more to ensure that I was immersed in the data. After I intently read the responses, I generated initial codes for each response. The initial codes described basic features of responses, such as labeling content that was directly referenced in the narratives (e.g., minorities should work hard; break stereotypes). I then mapped out how the initial codes were related to one another and created a coding manual where these codes were grouped into main and subthemes. Main themes reflect important and broad ideas that reoccurred across responses. Subthemes represent responses that coded into a main theme but highlighted an aspect of that main theme that was interesting or unique. I developed separate coding manuals to code main and subthemes for the majority group and minority group questions.

I then trained an undergraduate research assistant to code a subset of the data (i.e., 10%) using the coding manuals. After the subset was coded, I met with the research assistant to discuss issues with the coding process and resolve disagreements among coded responses through consensus. This iterative process continued, with responses being re-coded and themes redefined as needed (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The final inter-rater reliability between coders was evaluated using Cohen's Kappa. Inter-rater reliability for main themes was high ($\kappa = .89$) for both open ended questions. Inter-rater reliability for subthemes was also high for the majority group question ($\kappa = .85$) and for the minority group question ($\kappa = .87$). After inter-rater reliability reached an acceptable level ($\kappa \geq .80$; Landis & Koch, 1977) I independently coded the remaining responses.

Results

Findings for the qualitative and quantitative data are presented separately before results of the mixed methods analyses are presented. My first research question sought to answer how young adults reason about racism reduction (Research Question 1). Below I present the themes from participants' responses to both open-ended questions about racism reduction. First, I describe the themes related to racial allyship and collective action (Hypothesis 1). I then describe the pattern variation among the responses as a function of participants' gender and race (Research Question 2), and cross-race friendships (Research Question 3). After, I present the results examining the associations between cross-race friendships, racial attitudes, and sociopolitical beliefs (Research Question 4; Hypotheses 2 and 3) Then, I present the results from a multinomial logistic regression to address my final research question in which I asked whether individuals who reported similar racial and sociopolitical attitudes, and cross-race friendship experiences also provided similar responses to questions about racism reduction (Research Question 5). In this regression, participants' social attitudes, sociopolitical beliefs, and cross-race friendships were used to predict the likelihood of coding into a particular response theme (Hypotheses 5 and 6).

Qualitative Findings

My first research question aimed to understand how participants were reasoning about approaches to reduce racism. I was also interested in variation among response patterns based on whether participants were reasoning about what the majority group or minority groups could do to reduce racism. The blended inductive-deductive approach to analyzing participants' narrative responses yielded a breadth of strategies to reduce racism. For both open ended questions, four main themes emerged from participants' responses. These main themes reflected different

approaches to reduce racism. As shown in Table 2, the main themes for the majority group question were *allyship*, *supportive behavior*, *non-supportive behavior*, and *ambivalence* and the main themes for the minority group question were *collective action*, *supportive behavior*, *non-supportive behavior,* and *ambivalence.* Responses that did not fit into one of the four main themes or provided little to no information were coded as *not interpreted*. Participants' responses could broadly code into a main theme or into one or more subthemes. Emergent subthemes highlighted a unique aspect of a main theme. For example, a response may reflect multiple ideas and actions that represent allyship, so this particular response would be coded into the main theme of allyship and into the appropriate allyship subthemes. Tables 3 and 4 show the main and subthemes emerging from responses to the majority and minority open-ended questions respectively. The tables also include descriptive statistics for each coding category and exemplary responses from participants. As shown in Tables 3 and 4, there was a noteworthy pattern of different subthemes which emerged when participants discussed what minority groups could do to reduce racism. The qualitative analysis of the main themes and subthemes is provided below.

Allyship and Collective Action Themes

The *allyship* and *collective action* main themes were proportionally the greatest narrated themes among participants' responses to both open-ended questions. Specifically, when referring to what different racial groups could do to reduce racism, 49.6% of participants discussed *allyship* for the majority group and 51.3% of participants discussed *collective action* for the minority group. This main theme of *allyship* reflects a broad approach to racism reduction in which individuals from the dominant racial group seek to change the current social and political

system that sustains racial inequalities. The strategies participants mentioned occurred on various levels, such as individual, group, and or societal. Importantly, the participants' responses that coded into this main theme often discussed the role of dominant group members' privilege and how this could be leveraged to create change more effectively for racial justice.

When participants described the *collective action* that minority group members could do to reduce racism, they spoke broadly about strategies that could improve the condition, status, and or treatment of BIPoC. A key distinction between the *allyship* and *collective action* main themes was a perception that members of oppressed racial groups could achieve change more effectively as a collective. For example, a desire for community and support for one another while working together for racial justice came through in various subthemes of *collective action* that were not found in the *allyship* main theme. Additionally, when participants narrated collective action responses, they spoke of a lack of privilege as opposed to the ability to use privilege for social change.

Allyship and Collective Action Subthemes

Of the participants who described an *allyship* approach, 29.4% specifically called for individuals from the dominant racial group to use their privileged status to actively work towards dismantling a system of oppression that gives their group power, which coded into a subtheme called *activism*. These activist behaviors occurred on various levels, including individual efforts to confront instances of racism, group efforts to protest for racial justice, or at the societal level supporting antidiscrimination policy or voting for political candidates who campaign for racial justice. One participant clearly referenced a need for activist behavior in her response by stating, "[c]heck their privilege, stand up for people of color, boost voices from people of color/minority

groups rather than talk over them, call out instances of racism (whether it be from peers, friends, family members, etc.), make an active effort to not be racist, accept that the United States (especially) has a white supremacy problem and take steps to combat that, recognize that white privilege is very real in society and every white person benefits from it whether they want to or not, don't make racist jokes (because they're still racist), etc."

For the *collective action* responses, a similar subtheme emerged in which 24.9% of participants described the active work members of oppressed racial groups could engage in to improve their condition, status, and or treatment, a subtheme also called *activism*. One participant clearly articulated the importance of *activism* in advocating for equality: "What minority groups need is support and motivation to keep fighting for their civil rights. Though it is unfair that minimal progress has been made and majority members continue to be ignorant and ignore the problems facing minority groups, it is important to continue pushing for progress. In addition, support networks between different minority groups and allies from the majority are critical to encourage feelings of togetherness and accountability as they can combine efforts to fight with a common goal with the hopes of having a louder voice than those against the fight for equality."

Other subthemes of *allyship* and *collective action* that were slightly less prevalent included *education* as a primary strategy to change the current social and political system, as well as efforts to reduce manifestations of racial bias and increase awareness of unearned privilege based solely on group membership, *racial bias reduction*. The subtheme that centered around education to reduce racism was more prevalent when participants discussed what the majority group (22.1%) could do to reduce racism as opposed to when participants discussed

what minority groups could do to reduce racism (10.9%). For both majority and minority groups, participants called for more education related to racism, race related issues, diversity, and social justice. When participants spoke about education that majority group members could benefit from, they often mentioned how knowledge about the history of racism and current systems of oppression could help these individuals to better understand their roles as allies. This call for more education aligns well with Broido's (2001) findings in which self-identified allies discussed the impact their college coursework regarding social justice and race issues had on their decision to commit to racial allyship. In this study when noting what majority group members could do, one participant said, "Become educated on the hundreds of years that has built this systematic racial oppression and how today's society continues to perpetuate it." In contrast, when participants discussed education with reference to minority groups, the content focused more on knowledge to help increase awareness of racism or the histories of specific minority groups. For example, one participant stated, "Become educated as well but focus more on other minorities' history because the white man's history has been taught to us. Might as well learn about the others."

The *reduce bias* subthemes of *allyship* and *collective action* were qualitatively similar for responses to the majority group (15.8%) and minority group (5.7%) questions. Participants encouraged both majority and minority group members to reduce manifestations of bias at the individual, interpersonal, and societal level. For example, a participant noted, "Majority groups could stop stereotyping said minority groups. Just because someone supports Islam it doesn't mean they're trying to kill you." Another participant strongly indicated that minority group

28

members should, "Stop stereotyping other minority groups and be more conscience of how they are treating the other minority groups."

A key variation identified among participants' responses was the presence of two subthemes that only occurred for responses to the minority group question. These two *collective action* subthemes were *solidarity* (12.6%) and *responsibility* (7.8%). In the *solidarity* responses, participants primarily focused on the common experience that BIPoC share with instances of racial prejudice and racism. This subtheme of *solidarity* differs from *allyship* in that the solidarity emphasizes a shared identity among BIPoC which is different from dominant racial groups members working in support of BIPoC. For example, among solidarity responses I often saw phrases such as "unite" or "join together," whereas for the *allyship* subtheme, the language was more reflective of dominant group members "standing up for" or "taking responsibility." The language describing what dominant group members could do to reduce racism confers a sense of distinctiveness of their identity and unique position in society to help oppressed racial groups. *Solidarity*, as indicated by language such as "unite", conveys a sense of shared superordinate identity with common interests or goals (Dovido et al., 1997, 2000). One participant exemplified *solidarity* among minority groups when he said, "Minority groups should work together to combat racism and discrimination. Minority groups should not be racist towards other minorities just because they are of a different race than them. Minority groups should keep fighting for their rights to the highest extent that they can." The other subtheme that emerged only among responses to the minority group question was *responsibility*. These participants questioned whether it was right to ask oppressed racial groups to reduce the racism they face. These responses typically reflected lower minority group-efficacy by pointing out the historical

context of oppressed racial groups continuing to act with minimal progress towards racial justice. One participant's response highlighted disappointment with the stagnant process towards racial justice when she said, "Minority groups can fight for their rights as well but they have been doing that for many of years and things still don't change."

Supportive Behavior Theme

A supportive orientation towards racism reduction entailed strategies intended to alleviate individual or group suffering through intergroup harmony or other prosocial behaviors (e.g., being compassionate, empathetic, supportive, or kind). Hence, responses that coded into the *supportive behavior* main theme focused largely on the treatment of others rather than the status or condition of others. Responses that coded into this theme characterized 35.8% of responses to the majority group question and 14.9% of responses to the minority group question. Many of the responses that coded into this theme did not specifically target a racial group, and some responses reflected egalitarian beliefs that all people are fundamentally equal. Several subthemes also emerged in a similar pattern for both questions, including themes related to *positive intergroup contact*, *prosocial behavior*, and *commonality*.

Supportive Behavior Subthemes

Regarding the *positive intergroup contact* subtheme, participants discussed this strategy similarly for both the majority and minority group questions, however, this subtheme was more prevalent for the majority group question (14.4%) compared to the minority group question (6.8%). A participant clearly exemplified a value for diversity when he said, "Majority groups can try to incorporate themselves more with people of minority groups and be accepting of the

different groups opinions and ways that they do things." Another participant had a similar response expressing the need for minority group members to have intergroup contact: "The minority group needs to make sure to branch out. Don't just stick with the minority group just because you're apart of them. Make sure you feel equal to the majority, and if the minority group starts believing their equals then all of the majority group will see them as equals."

Another subtheme, *commonality*, was also more prevalent among responses to the majority group question compared to the minority group question. I defined *commonality* as an emphasis on the internal qualities that all people share (e.g., we all need love and respect). This emphasis on internal qualities that these responses shared also implied that race does not play a crucial role in the lived experiences of BIPoC, which resonates with aspects of colorblind ideology (Apfelbaum et al., 2012; Neville et al., 2014). Once again, participants mentioned the *commonality* approach more often when referring to the actions of majority group members (16.7%) than when referring to the actions of minority group members (4.0%). One participant who emphasized *commonality* beliefs said, "Treat everyone the same no matter skin color or race we are all human love each other not hate." Another notable difference in narrative responses was related to the *prosocial behavior* subtheme (17.9% for the majority group question and 8.8% for the minority group question). When participants mentioned prosocial behavior among minority groups, they often referred to minorities as needing to build up their own communities. For instance, one participant said, "[The] minority group must build respect for themselves in their communities first because it will take time for racism to be eradicated. So we must learn to love, appreciate and respect [our]selves first." When participants noted prosocial behavior for majority groups, they spoke more generally about general prosocial behaviors that majority

members could do without specifying a target group. For example, one participant said, "I think the best way to reduce racism is just to be open-minded…" and another participant said, "Treat others the way you want to be treated."

Non-supportive Behavior Theme and Subthemes

A third main theme that reoccurred across responses embodied ideas and strategies that were in direct opposition to racism reduction, coded as *non-supportive behavior*. These responses characterized 4.8% of the responses to the majority group question and 23.9% of the responses to the minority group question. Two subcategories emerged in this main theme: *meritocracy* and *denial*. The *meritocracy* subtheme indicated a belief that an individual's effort and hard work, or lack thereof, was primarily responsible for their status, condition, or treatment. Less than one percent of responses to the majority question and 13.1% of responses to the minority question coded into this subtheme. One participant when speaking about minority groups clearly showed meritocracy beliefs when he said, "success isn't given its earned; they must understand that concept to become successful. Selling drugs and committing crimes is often what minorities turn to [to] save themselves or support their families. [There] are a multitude of other roads for them to take they just have to take the initiative to find them." The second subtheme entailed a *denial of racism* or minimization of the seriousness of racism, broadly indicating that racism is not a problem that warrants attention. Responses in this subtheme characterized 4.2% of participants' responses to the majority question and 13.1% of the participants' responses to the minority question. When speaking about majority groups, a participant offered one strategy to resist the need for racial justice work by stating, "Stop focusing on racism, stop giving it value. There is no need for black history month…"

The increased prevalence of the denial subtheme for the minority group question seemed to be driven by responses that criticized minority racial groups for using racism as an excuse for their own lack of effort or responsibility for their condition. For instance, one participant showed strong criticism of minority groups by alluding to a lack of emphasis on education, "… It has to happen slowly, through education. Become educated. Stop relying on the athletic lottery. I get it. That was all that was available for a long time. But no longer. Besides most of the professional athletes I've seen on TV can't even spell…They obviously didn't pay attention when they were in college. Or they're just stupid."

Ambivalence Theme

Some responses reflected a blend of strategies from two or more main themes, often with the participant evaluating positive and negative outcomes related to each mentioned strategy. These responses were coded into the main theme of *ambivalence*. In the current data, 8.0% of the responses to the majority question and 7.4% of the responses to the minority question coded into the ambivalence main theme. For instance, one participant said, "Be willing to get to know white people. Be aware that they might be worried about seeming racist and/or be uncomfortable. It is not the responsibility of the person of color to make a white person comfortable, but awareness of her perspective could make the interaction more genuine. Don't blame bad things on racism as an excuse. There are plenty of real examples of racism, but when a person of color "plays the race card" when really the situation was caused because of individual action, it lessens understanding and support from allies. Be willing to live and work in areas with diverse populations." This participant clearly acknowledges both the advantages and disadvantages of

33

intergroup contact, while also explaining the discomfort that an individual from the dominant

social group might face during these interactions.

Quantitative Findings

Preliminary Analyses

In terms of directionality, the correlation coefficients among the continuous and ordinal

variables were as expected (see Table 5). Average levels of symbolic racism were negatively and

strongly correlated with average levels of sociopolitical beliefs (indexed by perceived

discrimination and liberalism). Regarding cross-race friendships, proportion of other-race friends

in the close friend group, number of close cross-race friendships, and frequency of contact with

close other race friends were positively and moderately to strongly correlated. Average level of

symbolic racism was not correlated with measures of cross-race friendships. Average

sociopolitical beliefs were weakly and positively correlated with participants' reported

proportion of other race friends in their close friend group.

A multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted to test for differences in

mean levels of symbolic racism and sociopolitical beliefs among participants grouped by the

varying contact frequency with close other-race friends (4 groups: rarely, occasionally,

frequently, and very frequently). I chose to use the cross-race friendship measure of contact

frequency because researchers who conducted a meta-analysis of various aspects of cross-race

friendships, reported that time spent with other-race friends consistently yielded the largest effect

sizes for outcomes related to prejudice reduction (Davies et al., 2011). Results supported

hypotheses 2 and 3. A four-group MANOVA showed a significant multivariate difference on the

linear combination of symbolic racism and sociopolitical beliefs, $\Lambda= .96$, $F(6, 774) = 2.55$, $p =$

.019. As presented in Table 6, follow up univariate ANOVAs indicated that individuals in the

occasional contact group had significantly higher levels of symbolic racism ($M = 1.99$, $SD = .59$)

than individuals in the very frequent contact group ($M = 1.76$, $SD = .54$). In addition, another

univariate ANOVA revealed that individuals in the occasional contact group had lower levels of

perceived discrimination and liberalism ($M = 6.03$, $SD = .93$) than individuals in the very

frequent contact group ($M = 6.53$, $SD = .95$). Table 6 shows univariate statistics and Figures 1

and 2 illustrate contact frequency group mean differences in symbolic racism and sociopolitical

beliefs, respectively. After breaking down the contact groups by race, I did not have enough

power (indicated by cells with $n < 10$) to test whether race moderated participants' racial

attitudes and sociopolitical beliefs (Hypothesis 4).

Group Variation in Qualitative Themes

Regarding variation in qualitative themes, I conducted chi-square tests of the proportion

of responses in each theme category as a function of gender, race, and cross-race friendships

(contact frequency and number of other-race friends). For the majority group question, among

participants who identified as men or women, I found a statistically significant gender difference

in the proportion of responses that coded into the non-supportive theme, $\chi^2 (1, \ n = 118) =$

$9.94, p = .002$, $V = .16$. Upon inspection of the standardized residuals, I found that men were

more likely than women to provide responses that coded into the non-supportive theme when

responding to the majority group question. There were no other gender differences in narrative

responses for either the majority or minority group question. Chi-square analysis also revealed

that for the minority group question, among the participants who reported their racial identity as

Asian American, Black, Latinx, or White there was a statistically significant racial group

difference in the proportion of responses that coded into the solidarity subtheme of activism, χ^2 (2, $n = 117) = 8.22, p = .016, V = .16$. Upon inspection of the standardized residuals, I found that White participants were less likely than other racial groups to provide responses that coded into the solidarity subtheme.

For the minority group question, among all participants who reported how often they interacted with close other race friends, I found a statistically significant difference in the proportion of responses that coded into the allyship main theme as a function of contact frequency with close other-race friends, χ^2 (1, $n = 118) = 11.32, p = .001, V = .17$. Upon inspection of the standardized residuals, I found that participants who reported having rare to occasional contact with close other-race friends were less likely than participants who reported frequent to very frequent contact with close other-race friends to provide responses that coded into the allyship theme. Additionally, among all participants who reported the number of close other race friends they have, there was a statistically significant difference in the proportion of responses that coded into the meritocracy subtheme of non-supportive behaviors, as a function of the number of close cross-race friendships, χ^2 (1, $n = 122) = 7.56, p = .006, V = .14$. Upon inspection of the standardized residuals, I found that participants who reported having more than eight close other-race friends were less likely than participants with fewer other-race friends to provide responses that coded into the meritocracy subtheme.

Mixed Methods Findings

Quantitative Predictors of Qualitative Themes

Two multinomial logistic regression analyses were performed using SPSS NOMREG to predict membership in one of four outcome categories (mutually exclusive themes:

allyship/collective action, supportive behavior, non-supportive behavior, or ambivalence) for participants' responses to the majority and minority open-ended questions. The three predictors were symbolic racism, sociopolitical beliefs, and contact frequency with close other-race friends (low and high groups). Regarding the first logistic regression for the majority group question, comparison of the log-likelihood ratios (see Table 7) for models with and without the predictors showed statistically significant improvement in model fit with the addition of the three predictors, χ^2 (9) = 82.20, $p < .001$. Table 9 shows the regression coefficients, Wald chi-square statistics, and odds ratios for each of the predictors. Symbolic racism was a significant predictor of the likelihood that a participant's response was coded into the supportive behavior main theme rather than the allyship main theme, $\beta = 1.09$ ($SE = .30$), $p < .001$. Symbolic racism was also a significant predictor of the likelihood that a participant's response coded into the non-supportive main theme rather than allyship main theme, $\beta = 3.84$ ($SE = .73$), $p < .001$. The odds of coding into the supportive behavior rather than allyship main theme increased by a factor of 2.98 for each one-unit increase in symbolic racism. Similarly, and to a greater extent, the odds of coding into the non-supportive behavior rather than allyship main theme increased by a factor of 46.55 for each one-unit increase in symbolic racism. Frequency of contact with other race friends was also a significant predictor of coding into the non-supportive rather than allyship main theme, $\beta = 1.41$ ($SE = .54$), $p < .01$. The odds of coding into the non-supportive theme than allyship main theme increased by a factor of 4.07 for participants who reported infrequent contact with cross-race friends compared to participants who reported frequent to very frequent contact with cross-race friends.

Regarding the second logistic regression for the minority group question, comparison of the log-likelihood ratios (see Table 8) for models with and without the predictors showed statistically significant improvement in model fit with the addition of the three predictors, χ^2 (9) = 68.18, $p < .001$. Table 10 shows the regression coefficients, Wald chi-square statistics, and odds ratios for each of the predictors. Symbolic racism was a significant predictor of the likelihood that a participant's response was coded into the supportive behavior main theme rather than the collective action main theme, $\beta = .78$ ($SE = .39$), $p < .05$. Symbolic racism was also a significant predictor of the likelihood that a participant's responses was coded into non-supportive behavior rather than the collective action main theme, $\beta = 1.85$ ($SE = .35$), $p < .001$. The odds of coding into the supportive behavior rather than collective action main theme increased by a factor of 2.18 for each one-unit increase in symbolic racism and the odds of coding into the non-supportive behavior rather than the collective action main theme increased by a factor of 6.35 for each one-unit increase in symbolic racism. Frequency of contact with other race friends was also a significant predictor of the likelihood that a participant's response was coded into the non-supportive rather than collective action main theme, $\beta = .74$ ($SE = .29$), $p < .01$. The odds of coding into the non-supportive rather than collective action main theme increased by a factor of 2.10 for participants who reported infrequent contact with cross-race friends compared to participants who reported frequent to very frequent contact with cross-race friends.

Discussion

The main goal of this research was to describe the strategies young adults believed different social groups can engage in to reduce racism. Most participants thought that both dominant and oppressed racial groups could engage in action to promote racial equality, which was in line with my expectations. Results also showed gender and racial differences in the racism reduction strategies participants provided, such that women were more likely to mention allyship responses and White participants were less likely to encourage solidarity among oppressed racial groups as a racism reduction strategy. Overall, similar subthemes emerged across responses to both open-ended questions with some exceptions. For instance, participants narrated different subthemes related to allyship strategies for the majority group than the collective action subthemes for minority groups. This theme variation further supports the call for multiple group perspectives concerning strategies to promote social change (Kutlaca et al., 2020). Additionally, this study replicated results from previous research that showed racial attitudes and sociopolitical beliefs are moderated by an individual's self-reported cross-race friendships (Pettigrew, 1997; Turner et al., 2020). Finally, this research was the first to show that these attitudinal, belief, and friendship measures can predict broad response themes about racism reduction. Below I discuss my main findings and potential implications for future research.

Reasoning About Racism Reduction

My first hypothesis predicted that themes related to allyship, and collective action would be proportionally the greatest themes narrated by participants (Hypothesis 1). As expected, these two response themes were proportionally the greatest among interpreted responses to both open ended questions (49.6% of the responses to the majority question and 51.3% of the responses to the minority group question). Furthermore, these two themes showed the most variation among

the subthemes that emerged. For instance, the subtheme of *education* (21.2%) was noted more often among responses to the majority group question and described different kinds of education than what participants believed minority groups could benefit from. In this sample, many participants believed that dominant group members lack awareness and education about racism and racial issues. This belief corresponds with the findings from qualitative studies in which researchers reported that White allies found great value in their college education about racial issues. Indeed, initial evidence from a psychoeducational intervention study suggests that education about racism and racial issues can reduce racial prejudice and increase feelings of warmth towards outgroup members (Hochman & Suyemoto, 2020). Future research could examine how university policies related to offered coursework and or training on racial issues affects their students' understanding of racism and participation in racial allyship or collective action.

Regarding the subthemes of *collective action* responses, two subthemes emerged only when participants discussed what minority group members could do to reduce racism: *solidarity* (12.6%) and *responsibility* (7.8%). The importance of promoting solidarity among individuals from different oppressed racial groups might be related to perceptions of low in-group efficacy to realize social change (van Zomeren et al., 2008). Additionally, when participants discussed *prosocial behavior* that minority groups could engage in to reduce racism, there was an emphasis on building up minority communities to act as supportive networks. Taken together, these qualitative findings can be interpreted as evidence to develop collective action training for BIPoC individuals that focuses on building solidarity and supportive communities among

different oppressed racial groups. In this context, White allies can assume a more supportive role allowing for oppressed groups to carry out their own solutions (Droogendyk et al., 2016).

Women were also more likely than men to provide allyship responses (Research Question 2). One potential explanation for this finding is that women are more likely to have a marginalized identity compared to men. An empirical study of White allies' personal characteristics showed that having a marginalized identity was associated with an increase in allied behavior after reading a hypothetical racially sensitive scenario (Williams & Sharif, 2021). Future research should investigate what may facilitate this gender difference in relation to support for racial allyship. For instance, one study showed that when women recalled personal stories of discrimination, they showed less anti-gay bias compared to women who recalled group-based discrimination (i.e., sexism) or women in a no discrimination control group (Craig & Richeson, 2016). It is possible that personal connection with stigma can increase support for allyship through empathy and compassion. If personal experiences of stigma increase support for activism, it might also be useful to determine whether others with different marginalized identities (e.g., sexual and religious minorities) reason similarly about racism reduction.

Individuals who reported spending more time with close other-race friends were also significantly more likely to provide allyship responses compared to individuals with less frequent contact with other-race friends. This finding is similar to work that has shown positive effects of cross-race friendships on prosocial outgroup attitudes and support for social change (Davies et al., 2011; Hässler et al., 2020). Notably, proportion of other-race friends in one's closest friend group was unrelated to allyship responses, which suggests that diversity within the friendship group alone is not sufficient to influence reasoning about social change. The lack of a strong

association between these two variables echoes results from the contact literature in which researchers found that contact must be meaningful and high-quality in order to have positive effects on attitude and behavior (Allport, 1954; Dovidio et al., 2003; Pettigrew, 1997).

In this study I was not able to examine the differential effects of cross-race friendships on participants' racial and sociopolitical attitudes within racial groups (Hypothesis 4). Contrary to my predictions, across racial groups participants did not discuss the importance of their cross-race friendships in relation to racism reduction strategies (Hypothesis 6). Positive intergroup contact, however, did occur more often among the responses to the majority group question (14.1%) compared to the minority group question (6.2%). This finding does suggest that in this sample, participants more readily thought of increasing diversity as a strategy that individuals from the dominant racial group could engage in to reduce racism, and not so much a strategy for minority group members. Future research should attempt to replicate these findings in a larger sample of racially diverse participants and specifically ask participants to report the races of their close other-race friends. Researchers should consider better operationalization of cross-race friendships. For instance, it might be useful for researchers to delineate between in person and virtual cross-race friendships because previous research has shown that relational processes such as self-disclosure can be experienced differently in virtual compared to in person interactions (Hood et al., 2018; Mesch et al., 2012). Initial evidence from a young adult European sample suggests, however, that virtual and face-to-face contact with cross-race individuals similarly increase positive outgroup attitudes (Žeželj et al., 2017). Additionally, contact frequency and relationship quality should be treated as continuous variables to more accurately measure the variability among participants' friendship experiences.

Regarding qualitative themes of supportive and non-supportive behavior, I found a higher prevalence of supportive themes than non-supportive themes among responses to the majority group question. The inverse pattern occurred for these two main themes among responses to the minority group question. This finding was unexpected and seems to be driven by a higher prevalence of responses reflecting meritocracy beliefs among responses to the minority group question (12.6% compared to < 1% for majority group). The high proportion of meritocracy beliefs expressed within the non-supportive subtheme provides qualitative evidence that symbolic racism as a belief system goes beyond racial antipathy and includes beliefs that BIPoC should work harder to improve their condition and thus do not deserve assistance (Rabinowitz et al., 2009; Sears & Henry, 2003). Additionally, participants who reported having more than eight other race friends were less likely to say that minority groups could work harder to improve their status. That finding provides qualitative evidence in support of previous results that showed greater cross-race friendships is related to reduced racial prejudice (Pettigrew, 1997; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

Cross-Race Friendships, Symbolic Racism, and Sociopolitical Beliefs

My second and third hypotheses were mostly supported by the results of quantitative analyses. I found that the amount of time spent with cross-race friends was significantly related to participants' levels of symbolic racism and sociopolitical beliefs. This finding replicated results from previous work demonstrating the relation between close intergroup contact and prejudice (Pettigrew, 1997; Tropp et al., 2012; Turner et al., 2020). Furthermore, this finding showed that greater cross-race friendships was associated with higher levels of perceived discrimination and liberalism. Despite these results, the current research still indicates that not all

cross-race friendships serve to increase support for racial activism (Tropp et al., 2012). Thus, future research could focus on cross-race friendship dyads and interactions to gain a better understanding of the extent that close other-race friends discuss racially sensitive topics and which contexts elicit these kinds of conversations.

Predictors of Qualitative Themes

I found evidence to partially support my hypothesis that participants with similar racial attitudes, sociopolitical beliefs, and cross-race friendship experience reason similarly about racism reduction (Research Question 5). Contrary to my predictions, sociopolitical beliefs (indexed by perceived discrimination and political liberalism) were not a significant predictor of any narrative theme. Higher levels of symbolic racism and less frequent contact with other-race friends significantly increased the odds of a participant's responses being coded as supportive or non-supportive rather than allyship or collective action. Although it was not surprising that participants with higher levels of symbolic racism provided responses that denied or minimized racism (e.g., non-supportive), it was unexpected that higher symbolic racism increased the odds of giving a supportive response. This finding might have occurred because the *commonality* subtheme which was a subcategory of the main theme *supportive behavior,* reflected some aspects of colorblind ideology. I choose to include commonality as a subtheme of supportive behavior because the tone of these responses was generally positive and often paired with other supportive actions, such as "being empathetic or kind to everyone." Previous work has found that White students high in social dominance and right wing authoritarianism were more likely to endorse colorblind racial attitudes (Poteat & Spanierman, 2012). Additionally, results from a longitudinal study of White college students' endorsement of colorblind racial ideology showed

that support of colorblind racial ideology decreased over time when White students spent more

with Black friends (Neville et al., 2014). Future research could examine whether colorblind

racial ideology is a multifaceted construct that carries supportive and non-supportive undertones

and qualitatively assess the reasons why some individuals believe this strategy is effective at

reducing racism (Diggles, 2014).

Strengths and Limitations

The mixed methods approach used in this study resulted in a replication of results from

previous work in prejudice reduction and provided elaboration in the form of qualitative themes

to complement current theories of allied behavior and collective action for racial justice.

Additionally, this study presented multiple groups' perspectives about racial allyship and

collective action and described the breadth of strategies young adults believe can bring about

social change. In the current study, however, I did not consider the specific race of participants'

cross-race friendships and therefore cannot provide evidence to support or challenge the potential

for intergroup contact to undermine support for collective action. Relatedly, I did not get a

measure of endorsement for the strategies that participants noted in their responses. Although

some participants provided insight into their knowledge of potential strategies, such responses

were not necessarily related to their endorsement or willingness to engage in these strategies. A

future study could include quantitative measures of endorsement and willingness to engage in the

specific strategy participants mentioned in their qualitative responses.

The generalizability of these findings is also somewhat limited given that I collected the

data at a highly diverse university situated in an urban context. Caution should be used in

generalizing these findings to individuals from racially homogenous or rural areas. Additionally,

the current study's sample was overrepresented by freshman and sophomore psychology undergraduate students. It would be beneficial to conduct this study among a group of students who are in their later years of college having gained potentially more exposure to and experience with social justice work and increased knowledge about issues related to racism.

Finally, with respect to the qualitative component of this study, I want to acknowledge that other researchers may have found different themes among these participants' responses. For instance, a critical perspective might have resulted in themes related to participants' understanding of structural racism and their ability to critique the current system of oppression (Watts et al., 2011). Qualitative themes reflecting varying levels of a participants' critique of the current system of oppression might have been associated with higher levels of perceived discrimination and lower levels of symbolic racism.

Conclusion

As the U.S. and other countries become more racially and ethnically diverse, we can expect issues related to racism to persist. This societal trend underscores the need to develop comprehensive theories of racial allyship and collective action. Importantly, work should be done to integrate the current theories of allied and collective action and create actionable strategies that consider the perspectives of different social groups. For instance, the qualitative findings from this study can be used to create targeted training to address the unique needs that different racial groups have when pursuing racial justice work. From this work, it seems useful to design interventions to increase a sense of solidarity and community among BIPoC. These study findings also provide useful information about other individual factors and experiences that are key contributors to how individuals reason about strategies to create social change. Researchers

in psychology and related fields are well suited to use these findings to illuminate potential pathways for individuals who want to make a commitment towards racial justice work. Finally, findings from this work validate the importance of close cross-race friendships which might be particularly important for young adults in college who are exploring their social identity and worldview (Arnett, 2000). A new line of research could focus on developing interpersonal interventions to promote and facilitate discussion about racially sensitive topics within close cross-race friendships.

Table 1

Sociodemographic Characteristics of the Participants in the Final Sample

Characteristic	n	%	Characteristic	n	%
Gender			Political party affiliation		
Women	298	70%	Democratic (77% women)	241	56%
Men	120	28%	Independent (59% women)	90	21%
Non-Binary	6	1.4%	Republican (48% women)	45	11%
Trans Woman	1	0.2%	Libertarian (64% women)	14	3.3%
Trans Man	1	0.2%	Other (72% women)	32	7.5%
Other	1	0.2%	Did not report	6	1.4%
Did not report	1	0.2%	Highest education level		
Race/ Ethnicity			First-year college student	171	40%
White (61% women)	118	28%	Second-year college student	106	25%
Asian/ or Pacific Islander (65% women)	121	28%	Third-year college student	79	18%
Hispanic/ Latino/ Chicano (84% women)	104	24%	Fourth-year college student	28	6.8%
African American/ Black (75% women)	48	11%	Fifth-year college student or beyond	22	5.1%
Native American (25% women)	4	0.9%	Associate or bachelor's degree	21	5.0%
Other (72% women)	32	7.5%	Post-graduate or professional degree	1	0.2%
Did not report	1	0.2%	Did not report	-	-

Note. N = 428 (18-40 years)

Table 2

Organization of Qualitative Themes for the Reponses to Majority and Minority Open-Ended Questions

Majority question themes	Minority question themes
Main theme Subthemes	Allyship • Activism • Education • Reduce bias • Allyship other	Collective action • Activism • Solidarity • Education • Reduce bias • Responsibility • Collective action other
Main theme Subthemes	Supportive behavior • Positive intergroup contact • Prosocial behavior • Commonality • Supportive other	Supportive behavior • Positive intergroup contact • Prosocial behavior • Commonality • Supportive other
Main theme Subthemes	Non-supportive behavior • Meritocracy • Denial or minimization of racism • Non-supportive other	Non-supportive behavior • Meritocracy • Denial or minimization of racism • Non-supportive other
Main theme	Ambivalence	Ambivalence
Other category	Not interpreted	Not interpreted

Table 3

Approaches to Reducing Racism for Majority Group Members and Response Frequency for Each Coding Category

Themes and subthemes	Frequency, *n* (%)	Example quote
Allyship main theme Strategies that individuals from the dominant racial group use to oppose or change a social and political system that advantages their ingroup and oppresses other racial groups.	211 (49.6)	"The majority group can stand with minority groups by attending protests, educating themselves and supporting minorities. They can educate their friends, peers and family about how racism is wrong and hurtful. The majority group should recognize all racist comments and situations rather than be ignorant and hide behind their privilege."
Activism subtheme Activism for racial justice refers to active involvement in allied behavior and or a movement to combat racial inequalities on behalf of an oppressed racial group.	125 (29.4)	"Call attention to it. Take action in their community to help equality. Ask minorities what they can do for them." "The majority group can make an effort to work on projects or support movements that support minority groups."
Education subtheme A call for more education related to racism and race related issues such as education about the social and political systems that maintain racism.	94 (22.1)	"Educate themselves and learn how they've oppressed minorities in the past and resolve to end those actions. Meeting and talking with members of minority groups and hearing the stories of their struggles..."
Reduce bias subtheme Efforts to reduce manifestations of racial bias at the individual, interpersonal, or societal level. Raising awareness of White privilege often emerged when participants mentioned bias reduction strategies.	67 (15.8)	"Majority groups could stop stereotyping said minority groups. Just because someone supports Islam it doesn't mean they're trying to kill you." "Realize the privilege that they have in society, and try to actual understand the struggles that minorities have to go to in which they do not. I think they should also stop saying racial slurs."
Other allyship subtheme	15 (3.5)	"Give opportunities to minority groups."

Responses that broadly reflect allyship but lack sufficient detail to code into a subtheme.		
Supportive main theme A supportive approach towards other individuals to alleviate their individual or group suffering.	152 (35.8)	"BE NICE! the younger generation, generation Z and so on are actually really not too bad with not seeing color, and being friends with people of color. Now the older generation are still stuck in their ways and are rude to people of color because that's how they grew up. Now people who are set in their ways are so hard to change, but it is getting better, but still we have a long way to go."
Positive intergroup contact subtheme Positive intergroup contact to increase racial diversity on an interpersonal, group, or societal level.	61 (14.4)	"Members of the majority group should spend time with minority groups to understand their lifestyle and their beliefs. There is a severe lack of communication between whites and colored people that often leads to bigoted views that are not true at all. White people should pursue friendship with people of difference races and ethnic groups."
Prosocial behavior subtheme Prosocial behavior intended to alleviate others' suffering, particularly when interacting with others.	76 (17.9)	"I think the best way to reduce racism is just to be open-minded. Just like how white people of different cultures will have different opinions towards a subject, people of color will have different opinions as well."
Commonality subtheme These strategies focus on evaluating others for their internal qualities and or emphasis on commonalities all people have.	71 (16.7)	"Give every person equal opportunity. Act as though you are colorblind" "[T]reating anyone of any race with the same respect and courtesy as you would of people that is in the majority group. Treat people the same no matter their race. Race does not define a group of people socially."
Other supportive subtheme Responses that broadly reflect a supportive approach but lack sufficient detail to code into a subtheme.	1 (0.2)	"Give them a chance"
Non-supportive main theme These responses reflect a lack of support for racial equality.	20 (4.7)	"The majority group in some instances may help my providing simple jobs to the minority group, however it's not the responsibly of the majority to care for and setup the minority groups…"

Meritocracy subtheme
    Meritocracy refers to beliefs that hard
    work and individual effort mostly
    determines social status, condition, or
    how an individual is treated.
	3 (0.7)	"…If the minority groups want a change they have to work for it…, success isn't given its earned; they must understand that concept to become successful. Selling drugs and committing crimes is often what minorities turn to save themselves or support their families their are a multitude of other roads for them to take they just have to take the initiative to find them."

Denial subtheme
    Denial or minimization of racism and
    or racism related issues, such as the
    belief that racism no longer exists or
    that racism is a not a prevalent societal
    issue.
	18 (4.2)	"[I]gnore it, fanning the flames by repetitively harping on it does not allow our country to heal from this old wound."
		
		"[N]othing."

Other non-supportive subtheme
    Responses that broadly reflect a non-
    supportive approach but lack sufficient
    detail to code into a subtheme.
	3 (0.7)	

Ambivalence main theme
    Responses contain multiple
    strategies and often there is an
    evaluative component reflecting
    positive, and negative aspects of each
    strategy.
	34 (8.0)	"Be respectful of minority groups, get rid of any stereotypes and resentment towards them [**reduce racial bias**]. Not necessarily give them an EXTRA helping hand [**meritocracy**], but take note of the fact that they are just as competent to do the same as the majority group can and to allow them to do so [**commonality**]."

Non-interpretable responses	8 (1.9)	"I don't know"

Note. Subtheme percent of responses were calculated as a proportion of the total number of responses $N = 425$.

Table 4

Approaches to Reducing Racism for Minority Group Members and Response Frequency for Each Coding Category

Themes and subthemes	Frequency, *n* (%)	Example quote
Collective action main theme Strategies individuals from oppressed racial groups can do to improve their condition, treatment, or status.	216 (51.3)	"Minority groups need to keep fighting for what they deserve: equal treatment. They need to make it public and known when something is wrong and they are being treated unfairly."
Activism subtheme Activism for racial justice refers to active involvement in collective action or movement to improve the condition, treatment, or status of the oppressed group.	105 (24.9)	"Organization, peaceful protest, finding allies in the majority groups, and holding those in power accountable." "Rally. Make their voices be heard as best they can"
Solidarity subtheme Solidarity entails a focus on uniting oppressed racial groups to work together towards a shared goal of racial equality.	53 (12.6)	"Well we need to first work together. each minority group has their own problems and we need to work together to put our differences aside and unite to face the bigger issues that effect all of us. Once we do that we can take on the opposition as a united front."
Education subtheme A call for more education related to racism and race related issues such as education about the social and political systems that maintain racism.	46 (10.9)	"Stop pitting minority groups against one another. They may not be equally oppressed, but they're still hecking oppressed…[e]ducate yourselves on systematic/socioeconomic oppressions. You won't know how to fight it if you don't know what's being done to you or if you're being taken advantage of."
Reduce bias subtheme Efforts to reduce manifestations of racial bias at the individual, interpersonal, or societal level.	24 (5.7)	"Stop projecting minority stereotypes onto other minority races." "Stop stereotyping other minority groups and be more conscience of how they are treating the other minority groups."

Responsibility subtheme Questioning whether the responsibility should be placed on BIPoC to reduce racism because of perceived low efficacy these groups have to make social change.	33 (7.8)	"[I]t is not their responsibility, however all people always look to minority groups to fight against what they are experiencing... how about you just stop being an oppressor and stop upholding white supremacy."
Other collective action subtheme Responses that broadly reflect collective action but lack sufficient detail to code into a subtheme.	42 (9.9)	"By being more active and equal." "Don't fight racism with prejudice."
Supportive main theme A supportive approach towards other individuals to alleviate their individual or group suffering.	63 (14.9)	"Minority groups should get rid of wars between their groups so they can all flourish."
Positive intergroup contact subtheme Positive intergroup contact to increase racial diversity on an individual, interpersonal, or societal level.	29 (6.8)	"Minority groups can also incorporate themselves with majority groups to try to learn more about how they are."
Prosocial behavior subtheme Supportive behavior and interactions that emphasize building a community or support network to foster resiliency.	37 (8.8)	"I believe that other minority groups can support their members by providing support. Racism is a serious issue and if one member of the minority group were to offend another member, it would cause chaos within their community. That conflict would bring the group farther from uniting"
Commonality subtheme These strategies focus on evaluating others for their internal qualities and or emphasis on commonalities all people have. For BIPoC there was an emphasis on showing socially desirable internal characteristics.	17 (4.0)	"Instead of acting angry at the rumors of what they do in their culture or religion stand up and explain what we do is how we were taught and everything we do isn't different from what you do. If you think about it everything that we do no matter what race we are it's the same thing in our own unique way."

Other supportive subtheme
    Responses that broadly reflect a
    supportive approach but lack sufficient
    detail to code into a subtheme.
	7 (1.7)	"Keep moving forward and finding your own voice--no one can't take that away from you."

Non-supportive main theme
    These responses reflect a lack of
    support for racial equality
	101 (23.9)	"They can rely less on welfare benefits and try to break away from stereotypes by getting a better education."

Meritocracy subtheme
    Meritocracy refers to beliefs that hard
    work and individual effort mostly
    determines social status, condition, or
    how an individual is treated.
	55 (13.1)	"The minority groups should just continue to keep their heads up. Keep working hard and being resilient. They need to believe in a good America and that a door will soon open for them."

Denial subtheme
    Denial or minimization of racism and
    or racism related issues, such as the
    belief that racism no longer exists or
    that racism is a not a prevalent societal
    issue.
	55 (13.1)	"Minority groups need to stop reaching for everything that can cause a racial problem….[f]or instance, a police officer shooting someone of color does not always mean he shot them because he was racist. He may have shot the person because he felt his life truly was in danger..."

Other non-supportive subtheme
    Responses that broadly reflect non
    supportive but do not provide
    enough information to be coded into a
    specific subtheme.
	16 (3.8)	"It depends on the equality of each person if we would like to reduce racism in the future."

Ambivalence
    Responses contain multiple
    strategies and often there is an
    evaluative component reflecting
    positive, and negative aspects of each
    strategy.
	31 (7.4)	"I think minority groups can stop feeding into the majority groups stereotypes and acting how they expect us to. [**reduce bias and meritocracy**] I think minority groups can start marches and other things to demand equality [**collective action**] and allow people to see that the color of their skin isn't what shapes a person [**commonality**]"

Non-interpretable responses	10 (2.4)	"I don't know"

Note. Subtheme percent of responses were calculated as a proportion of the total number of responses $N = 421$

Table 5

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations Among Quantitative Measures of Symbolic Racism, Sociopolitical Beliefs, and Cross Race Friendships

Quantitative variable	n	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5
1. Symbolic racism scale average[a]	427	1.9	.50	-				
2. Social beliefs and opinions scale average	427	6.2	.93	-.63**	-			
3. Proportion of other race friends in close friend group[b]	425	3.5[c]	1.2	-.09	.10*	-		
4. Number of close other race friends	425	3.0[c]	1.1	-.05	.01	.65**	-	
5. Frequency of contact with close other race friends	425	3.0[c]	.92	-.11*	.15**	.47**	.40**	-

[a] Pearson correlation was determined for continuous variables, symbolic racism, and sociopolitical beliefs. [b] Spearman's correlation was determined for ordinal variables, measures of cross-race friends 3-5. [c] the most prevalent response for the cross-race friendship measures are as follows: proportion of other race friends in close friend group was 75% or more (n =125), number of close other race friends was 3-5 (n = 147), and frequency of contact with close other race friends was "frequently" (n = 160).

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ (2-tailed)

Table 6

Contact Frequency Group[a] Mean Differences in Quantitative Variables

	Rarely	Occasionally	Frequently	Very frequently	ANOVA test statistics		
	M (SD)	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	*F*	*p*	adj η_p^2
Symbolic racism	1.77 (.60)	1.99 (.59)	1.85 (.55)	1.75 (.54)	3.29	.021	.025
Sociopolitical beliefs	6.43 (1.03)	6.03 (.93)	6.32 (.99)	6.53 (.95)	4.77	.003	.035

[a] Participants reported the frequency of contact with close other race friends and were grouped into one of four categories which ranged from 1 (rarely) to 4 (very frequently).

Table 7

Comparison of Baseline Model to Model with Quantitative Predictors of Majority Question Response Themes

Model	-2*LR*	χ^2	df	*p*	Nagelkerke R^2
Intercept only	842.80				
Final	760.60	82.20	9	< .001	.207

Table 8

Comparison of Baseline Model to Model with Quantitative Predictors of Minority Question Response Themes

Model	-2LR	χ^2	df	p	Nagelkerke R^2
Intercept only	889.61				
Final	821.43	68.18	9	< .001	.173

Table 9

Multinomial Logistic Regression Summary of Associations Between Quantitative Predictors and Majority Question Response Themes

Predictor	Allyship vs Supportive			Allyship vs Non-supportive			Allyship vs Ambivalence		
	B (SE)	Wald χ^2	OR	B (SE)	Wald χ^2	OR	B (SE)	Wald χ^2	OR
Symbolic racism	1.09 (.30)***	12.98***	2.98	3.84 (.73)***	27.55***	46.55	.028 (.530)	.003	1.03
Sociopolitical beliefs	-.21 (.16)	1.84	.81	.09 (.35)	.07	1.10	.095 (.272)	.122	1.10
High vs low cross race contact	.17 (.25)	.44	1.18	1.41 (.54)**	6.88**	4.07	.489 (.408)	1.44	1.63

Note. Symbolic racism and sociopolitical beliefs are continuous predictors. Cross-race contact is a categorical predictor with the reference group being high contact characterized by participants who reported "frequent to very frequent" contact with other race close friends.

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

Table 10

Multinomial Logistic Regression Summary of Associations Between Quantitative Predictors and Minority Question Response Themes

Predictor	Collective action vs Supportive			Collective action vs Non-supportive			Collective action vs Ambivalence		
	B (SE)	Wald χ^2	OR	B (SE)	Wald χ^2	OR	B (SE)	Wald χ^2	OR
Symbolic racism	.78 (.39)	3.94*	2.18	1.85 (.35)***	27.61***	6.35	.742 (.527)	1.98	2.10
Sociopolitical beliefs	-.35 (.21)	2.86	.71	-.06 (.19)	.09	.94	-.134 (.279)	.232	.87
High vs low cross race contact	.59 (.33)	3.28	1.80	.74 (.29)**	6.66**	2.10	.624 (.429)	2.12	1.87

Note. Symbolic racism and sociopolitical beliefs are continuous predictors. Cross-race contact is a categorical predictor with the reference group being high contact characterized by participants who reported "frequent to very frequent" contact with other race close friends.

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

Figure 1

Contact Frequency Group Mean Differences in Symbolic Racism Scores

Group Mean Differences in Symbolic Racism

*$p < .05$
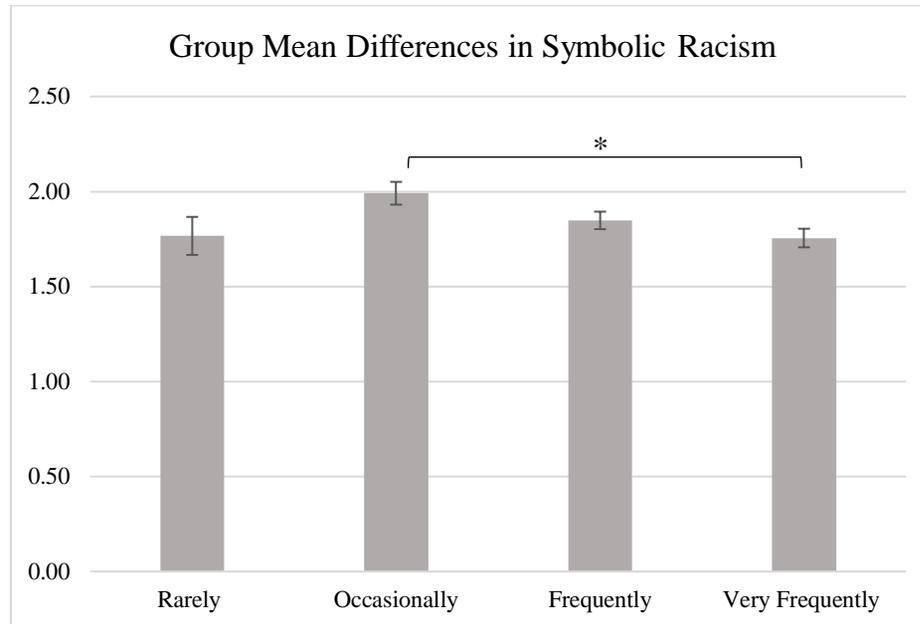
Figure 2

Contact Frequency Group Mean Differences in Sociopolitical Beliefs Scores

Group Mean Differences in Socioplotical Beliefs

* *p* < .05

Appendix M

Demographic Survey Questions

Prompt: Please respond to the following questions about *yourself*:

1. Parent's Highest Education level (List the highest education level achieved)-

   Response: a. (some high school) b. (high school degree or GED) c. (some college) d.

   (trade/technical/vocational training) e. (associate degree) f. (bachelor's degree) g.

   (master's degree) h. (professional degree) i. (doctorate degree)

2. What is your education level?
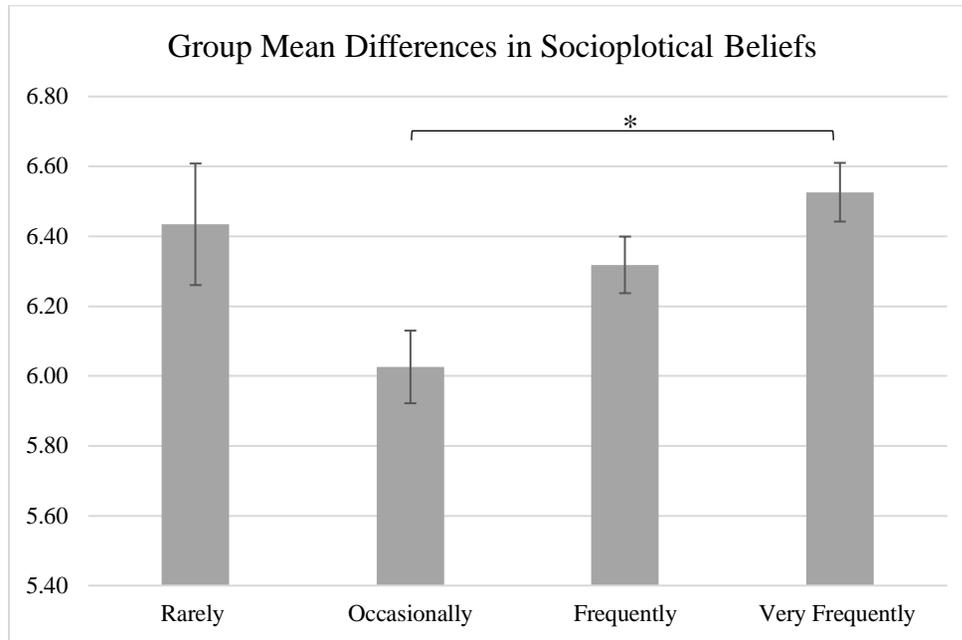
   Response: a. (1st year college student) b. (2nd year college student) c. (3rd year college

   student) d. (4th year college student) e. (5th year college student or beyond) f. (associate

   degree) g. (bachelor's degree) h. (other, please explain)

3. Employment status-

   Response: a. (employed) b. (unemployed)

4. If employed, Number of hours spent on paid labor outside the home-

   Response: a. (less than 10) b. (10-20) c. (20-30) d. (30-40) e. (40+)

5. Political Affiliation-

   Response: a. (Democratic Party) b. (Republican Party) c. (Independent) d. (Libertarian

   Party) e. (other, please explain)

6. Age-

   Response: open-ended

7. Ethnicity-

   Response: a. (White) b. (Hispanic/Latino/Chicano) c. (African American/Black) d.

   (Native American or American Indian) e. (Asian/Pacific Islander) f. (other)

8. Gender Identity-

   Response: a. (Female) b. (Male) c. (Trans Female) d. (Trans Male) e. (Nonbinary) f.

   (other, please explain)

Appendix O

The Symbolic Racism Scale

1. It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if people of color would only
    try harder they could be just as well off as whites.

    Response: Strongly disagree =1; Somewhat disagree = 2; Somewhat agree = 3; Strongly
    agree = 4

2. Irish, Italian, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way
    up. People of color should do the same.

    Response Strongly disagree = 1; Somewhat disagree = 2; Somewhat agree = 3; Strongly
    agree = 4

3. Some say that leaders of color have been trying to push too fast. Others feel that they
    haven't pushed fast enough. What do you think?

    Response: Trying to push very much too fast = 1; Going too slowly = 2; Moving at about
    the right speed = 3

4. How much of the racial tension that exists in the United States today do you think people
    of color are responsible for creating?

    Response: Not much at all = 1; Some = 2; Most = 3; All of it = 4

5. How much discrimination against people of color do you feel there is in the United States
    today, limiting their chances to get ahead?

    Response: None at all = 1; Just a little = 2; Some = 3; A lot =4 (R)

6. Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult
    for people of color to work their way out of the lower class. (R)

Response: Strongly disagree = 1; Somewhat disagree = 2; Somewhat agree = 3; Strongly agree = 4

7. Over the past few years, people of color have gotten less than they deserve. (R)

    Response: Strongly disagree = 1; Somewhat disagree = 2; Somewhat agree = 3; Strongly agree = 4

8. Over the past few years, people of color have gotten more economically than they deserve.

    Response: Strongly disagree = 1; Somewhat disagree = 2; Somewhat agree = 3; Strongly agree = 4

Social Beliefs and Opinions Inventory

Instructions: Please read each statement carefully and indicate the extent to which you agree or

disagree with it. Keep in mind that there are no right or wrong answers. We're only interested in

your honest opinions.

Please use the following scale when responding to each of the statements below.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Very strongly disagree   *Very strongly agree*

1. High taxes on the wealthy punish them for their success. R

2. The government should be restricted in the search and seizure of criminal evidence.

3. Too much governmental regulation of business restricts economic enterprise. R

4. Too many Black people still lose out on jobs because of their skin color.

5. It is the duty of the government to protect its citizens from terrorist attacks by whatever means

necessary. R

6. It should be illegal for two individuals of the same sex to be married. R

7. The government should institute programs to ensure against the poverty of its citizens.

8. Gay men and lesbians should be restricted from serving in the armed forces. R

9. The U.S. government should provide free health care to all its citizens.

10. Society has reached a point where Black and White people have equal opportunities. R

11. The government's need for law and order takes precedence over civil liberties. R

12. Government should leave decisions about pregnancy to individuals.

13. Recreational drug use should be illegal in the U.S. R

14. The government should not restrict sexual activity between consenting adults.

Appendix Q

Measure of Cross-group friendships

1. What percentage of people in your closest friend group are of a different race?

   Response: 1=none, 2=less than 25%, 3=25-50%, 4=50-75%, 5=75% or more

2. How many close friends do you have that are of a different race?

   Response: 1=none, 2=1 or 2, 3=3 to 5, 4=6 to 8, 5= more than 8

3. How often do you have contact with people of a different race in your closest friend group?

   Response: 1=rarely, 2=occasionally 3=frequently 4=very frequently

Appendix R

Open-ended questions

Racism can be defined as prejudice, discrimination, or antagonism against someone of a different race.

In the United States, White individuals make up the racial *majority* of the population. This means that People of Color are in the *minority*.

Using this definition above, please respond to the following questions:

1. What do you think the *majority group* can do to reduce instances of racism against *minority groups*?

2. What do you think *minority groups* can do to reduce instances of racism against *minority groups*?

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Graduate Research Assistant   Jul. 2021-present
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Rennels, J.L., **Insouvanh, K**. (accepted). *Developmental research assessing bias would benefit from naturalistic observation data*. Behavioral and Brain Sciences.

Manuscripts Submitted or in Preparation

John, J. E., **Insouvanh, K**., Robnett, R. D., (revise and resubmit). *The roles of gender identity, peer support, and math anxiety in middle school math achievement*. Journal of Research on Adolescence.

Rennels, J.L., **Insouvanh, K.**, Fink-Armold, A. (in preparation) *Attention and it's relation to children and adults' social decision-making and judgements*.

Insouvanh, K., (thesis) *How can we reduce racism? A mixed method study of factors that influence attitudes towards social change*.

De Souza, L., **Insouvanh, K**., John, J. E., *Opinions about social change: Examination of proactive and reactive allyship behavior to reduce sexism towards women*.

Insouvanh, K., Rennels, J.L., Legare, C.H. *Factors influencing children's attention and subsequent imitative fidelity*.

Conference and Research Presentations

O'Connell, S. R., Nave-Blodgett, J., Wilson, G., Ridgway, W. B., **Insouvanh, K**., Hannon, E. E., & Snyder, J. S. (2021, November). *Exploring the Relation Between Musical and Dance Sophistication and Musical Groove Perception*. The 19th Annual Auditory Perception Cognition and Action Meeting.

Insouvanh, K. (2021, April). *Racial allyship and collection action for social change: A mixed method study of attitudes towards reducing racism.* Poster session presented at UNLV's 23rd annual GPSA Student Research Forum, virtual convention.

Insouvanh, K., John, J. E., De Souza, L., Robnett, R. D., (2021, February). *Attitudes towards social change*. Poster session presented at the annual convention meeting of the Society for Personality and Social Psychology, virtual Convention.

Insouvanh, K., Rennels, J.L., Legare, C.H., Odrunia, K.S., (2019, October). *The effects of target attributes and context on children's imitative fidelity*. Poster session presented at the biennial meeting of the Cognitive Development Society, Louisville, KY.

Insouvanh, K. (2019, April). *Factors affecting children's imitative fidelity and transmission of knowledge.* Presented at the UNLV Psychology Department Research Fair.

Insouvanh, K. (2018, November). *Children's imitation and attractiveness bias.* Presented at the UNLV Psychology Department Proseminar Second Year Talks.

Insouvanh, K. (2017, March). *Children's imitation and factors that contribution to sustained attention.* Presented at the UNLV Psychology Department Proseminar First Year Talks.

Teaching

University of Nevada, Las Vegas	Jan. 2021-May 2021

PSY 210: Introduction to Statistical Methods
Teaching evaluation average: 4.7/5

University of Nevada, Las Vegas	Aug. 2018-Aug. 2021

PSY 101: General Psychology
Teaching evaluation average: 4.8/5

Professional Development

Latent Profile Analysis Seminar	Jan. 2021

Stats Camp Foundation

Part-Time Instructor Professional Development Workshop	Jan. 2021

UNLV College of Liberal Arts

Grad Rebel Writing Boot Camp	Aug. 2018

UNLV Graduate College

Multilevel Modeling Seminar	Jun. 2018

Stats Camp Foundation

Regression Using R Workshop	Jun. 2017

UNLV Psychology Department

EPY 733 Multiple Regression	Jan. 2018

UNLV Department of Education non-required course

EPY 734 Structural Equation Modeling	Jan. 2019

UNLV Department of Education non-required course

EPY 733 Multivariate Statistics	Aug. 2019

UNLV Department of Education non-required course

Intramural Service

Diversity, Equity, Inclusivity, & Justice (DEIJ) Advisory Board	Oct. 2021 - present

UNLV Graduate College Committee

Rebel Research and Mentorship Program Mentor   Aug. 2021-May 2022
UNLV Graduate College
Mentee: Rachel Dewald

Graduate Mentorship Certification   Aug. 2021-May 2022
UNLV Graduate College

OUMP Mentor   Sept. 2017-May. 2021
Outreach Undergraduate Mentoring Program event

Research Matching Fair Panel speaker   Nov. 2019
Outreach Undergraduate Mentoring Program event

Secretary   May 2017-May 2019
Experimental Student Committee (ESC)

Research Experience Panel speaker   Nov. 2018
Outreach Undergraduate Mentoring Program event

Graduate Student Panel speaker   Jan. 2017 & Jan. 2018
UNLV Experimental Psychology Committee event

Extramural Service

Reviewer for 2021 APS Student Research Award	May 2021
Reviewer for 2020 APS RISE Research Award	Mar. 2020
Reviewer for 2019 APSSC Student Grant Competition	Dec. 2019
Reviewer for 2019 APS Student Research Award	Apr. 2019
Reviewer for 2018 APS Student Research Award	Apr. 2018

Membership

American Psychological Association, Member	Jan. 2021-present
Society for Personality and Social Psychology, Member	Jul. 2020-present
Cognitive Development Society (CDS), Member	Jan. 2019-present
Society for Child Development Research (SRCD), Member	Sep. 2018-present