

**Supplementary Information for “Not all beliefs against focusing on race are the same: It may depend on whether race is conceptualized as a social reality or as an essentialized entity”**

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# 1. Study 1

## 1.1 Colorblindness Measures

### 1.1.1 Ryan et al. (2007; 2010) Colorblind Scale

- Note: These items are referred to in the text by *Ryan1*, *Ryan2*, *Ryan3*, *Ryan4*, *Ryan5*.
  1. *Judging one another as individuals rather than members of an ethnic group would improve intergroup relations.*
  2. *Recognizing that all people are basically the same regardless of their ethnicity would improve intergroup relations.*
  3. *Recognizing that all people are created equally regardless of their ethnicity would improve intergroup relations.*
  4. *Adopting a colorblind perspective in which one's ethnic group membership is considered unimportant would improve intergroup relations.*
  5. *Learning to ignore differences between ethnic groups will improve relations between groups in the U.S.*

### 1.1.2 Levin et al. (2012) Colorblind Scale

- Note: These items are referred to in the text as *Levin1*, *Levin2*, *Levin3*, *Levin4*, *Levin5*, *Levin6*.
  1. *We should treat citizens of this country as Americans and not as members of particular ethnic, religious, or sexual communities.*
  2. *I do not want Americans to be identified by their race, national origin, or religion.*
  3. *American society is made up first and foremost of citizens, not of groups.*
  4. *For the unity of the country, individuals should be considered Americans before any consideration is given to their race or religion.*
  5. *It's best to judge one another as individuals rather than members of an ethnic group.*
  6. *It's important to recognize that people are basically the same regardless of their ethnicity.*

### 1.1.3 Knowles et al. (2009) Colorblind Scale

- Note: These items are referred to in the text as *Knowles1*, *Knowles2*, *Knowles3*, *Knowles4*.
  1. *I wish people in this society would stop obsessing so much about race.*
  2. *People who become preoccupied by race are forgetting that we are all just human.*
  3. *Putting racial labels on people obscures the fact that everyone is a unique individual.*
  4. *Race is an artificial label that keeps people from thinking freely as individuals.*

### 1.1.4 Mazzocco, Cooper, & Flint (2011) Colorblind Scale

- Note: These items are referred to in the text as *Mazzocco1*, *Mazzocco2*, *Mazzocco3*, *Mazzocco4*.
  1. *Nothing good will come out of continuing to focus on race.*
  2. *America would be better off if we stopped placing so much importance on race.*
  3. *The topic of race is something that should generally be avoided.*
  4. *Society would be better off if we all stopped talking about race.*

### 1.1.5 Rosenthal & Levy (2010) Colorblind Scale

- Note: These items are referred to in the text as *Rosenthal1*, *Rosenthal2*, *Rosenthal3*, *Rosenthal4*, *Rosenthal5*.
  1. *Ethnic and cultural group categories are not very important for understanding or making decisions about people.*
  2. *It is really not necessary to pay attention to people's racial, ethnic, or cultural background because it doesn't tell you much about who they are.*
  3. *At our core, all human beings are really the same, so racial and ethnic categories do not matter.*

4. *All human beings are individuals, and therefore race and ethnicity are not important.*
5. *Racial and ethnic group memberships do not matter very much to who we are.*

### 1.1.6 Hahn et al. (2015) Colorblind Scale

- Note: These items are referred to in the text as *Hahn1, Hahn2, Hahn3, Hahn4*.
  1. *You can find commonalities with every person no matter what their background is.*
  2. *All humans are fundamentally the same, regardless of where they come from or what their background is.*
  3. *In order to achieve a harmonious society, we must stop thinking of Americans with different racial backgrounds as different from each other, and instead focus on what makes us similar.*
  4. *It is important to pay attention to the individual characteristics that make a person unique rather than their ethnic, racial, or other social background.*

### 1.1.7 Neville et al. (2000) Colorblind Racial Attitudes Scale

- Denial of Racial Privilege subscale:
- Note: These items are referred to in the text as *Neville\_Privilege1 ... Neville\_Privilege7*.
  1. *White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin. (reverse-scored)*
  2. *Race is very important in determining who is successful and who is not. (reverse-scored)*
  3. *Race plays an important role in who gets sent to prison. (reverse-scored)*
  4. *Race plays a major role in the type of social services (such as type of health care or day care) that people receive in the U.S. (reverse-scored)*
  5. *Racial and ethnic minorities do not have the same opportunities as white people in the U.S.*
  6. *Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich.*
  7. *White people are more to blame for racial discrimination than racial and ethnic minorities. (reverse-scored)*
- Denial of Institutional Discrimination subscale:
- Note: These items are referred to in the text as *Neville\_Institutional1 ... Neville\_Institutional7*.
  1. *Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against white people.*
  2. *White people in the U.S. are discriminated against because of the color of their skin.*
  3. *English should be the only official language in the U.S.*
  4. *Due to racial discrimination, programs such as affirmative action are necessary to help create equality. (reverse-scored)*
  5. *Racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.*
  6. *It is important that people begin to think of themselves as American and not African American, Mexican American or Italian American.*
  7. *Immigrants should try to fit into the culture and values of the U.S.*
- Blatant racial issues subscale:
- Note: These items are referred to in the text as *Neville\_Blatant1 ... Neville\_Blatant6*.
  1. *Racial problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations.*
  2. *Talking about racial issues causes unnecessary tension.*
  3. *Racism is a major problem in the U.S. (reverse-scored)*
  4. *It is important for public schools to teach about the history and contributions of racial and ethnic minorities. (reverse-scored)*
  5. *It is important for political leaders to talk about racism to help work through or solve society's problems. (reverse-scored)*
  6. *Racism may have been a problem in the past, it is not an important problem today.*

### 1.1.8 Goff et al. (2013) Strategic Colorblindness

- Note: These items are referred to in the text as *Goff1, Goff2, Goff3, Goff4...Goff11*.

1. *Seeing people in terms of race contributes to racial tension for everyone.*
2. *Seeing people in terms of race breeds interracial mistrust and prejudice.*
3. *Seeing people in terms of race creates inequality among racial groups.*
4. *Categorizing people by race is in and of itself racist.*
5. *Seeing people in terms of race strips one of their individuality.*
6. *Seeing people in terms of race is an injustice.*
7. *Ending racial categorization would create a more just society.*
8. *Seeing people in terms of race leads to stereotyping.*
9. *Racism and prejudice are products of racial categorization.*
10. *Recognizing racial affiliations prevents the United States from moving towards a more socially just society.*
11. *Seeing people in terms of race is a significant hindrance to racial harmony.*

### 1.1.9 Strategic Colorblindness based off of Apfelbaum and colleagues' (2008) work

- Note: These items are referred to in the text as *Apfelbaum1*, *Apfelbaum4*.
  1. *When I interact with other people, I try not to even notice the color of their skin.*
  4. *If everyone paid less attention to race and skin color, we would all get along much better.*

## 1.2. Social Desirability Scale and Analysis

- Social Desirability Scale (Shortened) (Hart, Ritchie, Hepper, & Gebauer, 2015)
  1. *I sometimes tell lies if I have to. (reverse-scored)*
  2. *I never cover up my mistakes.*
  3. *There have been occasions when I have taken advantage of someone. (reverse-scored)*
  4. *I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget. (reverse-scored)*
  5. *I have said something bad about a friend behind his or her back. (reverse-scored)*
  6. *When I hear people talking privately, I avoid listening.*
  7. *I never take things that don't belong to me.*
  8. *I don't gossip about other people's business.*
- Analysis

To control for social desirability, we reverse-scored the items from the Social Desirability scale that were worded in a socially *undesirable* direction, and computed an average score (Stöber, Dette, & Musch, 2002), such that higher scores indicated greater tendency toward impression management. We then regressed each colorblind item on social desirability to obtain the residuals for use in our factor analysis. This allowed us analyze the endorsement of various colorblind items after taking into account tendencies to respond in socially desirable ways.

Acquiescence tendencies were controlled for in a similar way. However, this index score was created by leaving all social desirability responses in their original direction and computing an average score. Because half the items were conceptually in the reverse, a higher score indicates greater acquiescence tendency. We then regressed each colorblind item on acquiescence to obtain residuals for use in our factor analysis again.

Neither social desirability nor acquiescence made a difference in the factor structure. In other words, whether we took the residuals or the pure responses did not affect the factor structure, suggesting that social desirability and acquiescence tendencies relate to all of the factors to the same degree. In addition, correlations of colorblind items and social desirability ranged from .001 to .192, with the median correlation at .064. Correlations of colorblind items and acquiescence ranged from .001 to .171, with the median correlation at .055.

### 1.3. Results: Means & SDs of colorblind endorsement (n = 466)

	Mean	SD
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Ryan1: Judging one another as individuals rather than members of an ethnic group would improve intergroup relations.	6.01	1.25
Ryan2: Recognizing that all people are basically the same regardless of their ethnicity would improve intergroup relations.	5.92	1.39
Ryan3: Recognizing that all people are created equally regardless of their ethnicity would improve intergroup relations.	6.17	1.24
Ryan4: Adopting a colorblind perspective in which ones ethnic group membership is considered unimportant would improve intergroup relations.	5.17	1.85
Ryan5: Learning to ignore differences between ethnic groups will improve relations between groups in the U.S.	4.97	1.83
Levin1: We should treat citizens of this country as Americans and not as members of particular ethnic, religious, or sexual communities.	5.66	1.34
Levin2: I do not want Americans to be identified by their race, national origin, or religion.	4.86	1.67
Levin3: American society is made up first and foremost of citizens, not of groups.	5.57	1.42
Levin4: For the unity of the country, individuals should be considered Americans before any consideration is given to their race or religion.	5.63	1.37
Levin5: It's best to judge one another as individuals rather than members of an ethnic group.	5.93	1.21
Levin6: It's important to recognize that people are basically the same regardless of their ethnicity.	5.59	1.38
Rosenthal1: Ethnic and cultural group categories are not very important for understanding or making decisions about people.	3.95	1.66
Rosenthal2: It is really not necessary to pay attention to people's racial, ethnic, or cultural background because it doesn't tell you much about who they are.	4.15	1.69
Rosenthal3: At our core, all human beings are really the same, so racial and ethnic categories do not matter.	5.11	1.63
Rosenthal4: All human beings are individuals, and therefore race and ethnicity are not important.	4.86	1.73
Rosenthal5: Racial and ethnic group memberships do not matter very much to who we are.	4.13	1.74
Knowles1: I wish people in this society would stop obsessing so much about race.	5.26	1.66
Knowles2: People who become preoccupied by race are forgetting that we are all just human.	5.53	1.38
Knowles3: Putting racial labels on people obscures the fact that everyone is a unique individual.	5.29	1.45
Knowles4: Race is an artificial label that keeps people from thinking freely as individuals.	4.64	1.67
Mazzocco1: Nothing good will come out of continuing to focus on race.	4.48	1.81
Mazzocco2: America would be better off if we stopped placing so much importance on race.	5.23	1.61
Mazzocco3: The topic of race is something that should generally be avoided.	3.50	1.69
Mazzocco4: Society would be better off if we all stopped talking about race.	4.36	1.94
Neville_Privilege1: White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.	4.87	1.82
Neville_Privilege2: Race is very important in determining who is successful and who is not.	3.14	1.71
Neville_Privilege3: Race plays an important role in who gets sent to prison.	4.32	1.96
Neville_Privilege4: Race plays a major role in the type of social services (such as type of health care or day care) that people receive in the U.S.	4.46	1.66
Neville_Privilege5: Racial and ethnic minorities do not have the same opportunities as white people in the U.S.	4.47	1.91

Neville_Privilege6: Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich.	4.30	2.05
Neville_Privilege7: White people are more to blame for racial discrimination than racial and ethnic minorities.	3.81	1.90
Neville_Institutional1: Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against white people.	4.08	1.94
Neville_Institutional2: White people in the U.S. are discriminated against because of the color of their skin.	3.43	1.94
Neville_Institutional3: English should be the only official language in the U.S.	4.60	2.09
Neville_Institutional4: Due to racial discrimination, programs such as affirmative action are necessary to help create equality.	4.05	1.91
Neville_Institutional5: Racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.	3.68	1.81
Neville_Institutional6: It is important that people begin to think of themselves as American and not African American, Mexican American or Italian American.	4.97	1.78
Neville_Institutional7: Immigrants should try to fit into the culture and values of the U.S.	5.00	1.49
Neville_Blatant1: Racial problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations.	2.70	1.57
Neville_Blatant2: Talking about racial issues causes unnecessary tension.	4.04	1.81
Neville_Blatant3: Racism is a major problem in the U.S.	5.11	1.74
Neville_Blatant4: It is important for public schools to teach about the history and contributions of racial and ethnic minorities.	5.65	1.40
Neville_Blatant5: It is important for political leaders to talk about racism to help work through or solve society's problems.	5.06	1.67
Neville_Blatant6: Racism may have been a problem in the past, it is not an important problem today.	2.80	1.68
Apfelbaum1: When I interact with other people, I try not to even notice the color of their skin.	4.68	1.68
Apfelbaum2*: It is best not to mention a person's race when having a conversation with that person.	4.79	1.51
Apfelbaum3*: One should not mention race when having a conversation with a person of another race, unless they bring it up first.	4.48	1.60
Apfelbaum4: If everyone paid less attention to race and skin color, we would all get along much better.	5.54	1.41
Apfelbaum5*: It is best not to mention a person's race when referring to that person, even when that person is not in the conversation.	4.60	1.58
Apfelbaum6*: If one does not want to appear prejudiced, one should avoid using racial descriptors altogether.	4.38	1.71
Goff1: Seeing people in terms of race contributes to racial tension for everyone.	5.01	1.50
Goff2: Seeing people in terms of race breeds interracial mistrust and prejudice.	4.92	1.54
Goff3: Seeing people in terms of race creates inequality among racial groups.	4.95	1.50
Goff4: Categorizing people by race is in and of itself racist.	4.32	1.85
Goff5: Seeing people in terms of race strips one of their individuality.	4.96	1.57
Goff6: Seeing people in terms of race is an injustice.	4.52	1.67
Goff7: Ending racial categorization would create a more just society.	5.08	1.55
Goff8: Seeing people in terms of race leads to stereotyping.	5.30	1.46
Goff9: Racism and prejudice are products of racial categorization.	5.00	1.56
Goff10: Recognizing racial affiliations prevents the United States from moving towards a more socially just society.	4.47	1.66
Goff11: Seeing people in terms of race is a significant hindrance to racial harmony.	4.89	1.57

Knowles_Proc1*: The same rules and regulations should apply to all groups regardless of their race (e.g., race should not be considered when making decisions such as school admissions).	5.48	1.62
Knowles_Proc2*: The same rules and regulations should apply to all groups regardless of their race (e.g., race should not be considered when making decisions such as school admissions), even if that means existing racial inequalities continue.	4.86	1.82
Knowles_Dist1*: Treating different racial groups differently (e.g., taking people's race into account when making decisions such as school admissions) is justified if such treatment reduces existing inequalities.	3.82	1.80
Knowles_Dist2*: To achieve racial equality, race-conscious efforts are needed (e.g., taking people's race into account when making decisions such as school admissions).	3.71	1.79
Hahn1: You can find commonalities with every person no matter what their background is.	5.86	1.18
Hahn2: All humans are fundamentally the same, regardless of where they come from or what their background is.	5.41	1.51
Hahn3: In order to achieve a harmonious society, we must stop thinking of Americans with different racial backgrounds as different from each other, and instead focus on what makes us similar.	5.42	1.43
Hahn4: It is important to pay attention to the individual characteristics that make a person unique rather than their ethnic, racial, or other social background.	5.87	1.19

Note. Items are labeled by first author of scale and item number in scale. Subscales are denoted after the  $\_$ . We denote items that we created to represent the construct as demonstrated in the original researchers' works (introduced in Study 2a) with an  $*$ .

## 2. Study 2a

### 2.1. Additional Colorblind Items

#### 2.1.1 Strategic Colorblindness (based off of Apfelbaum et al., 2008; Norton et al., 2006)

- Note: These items are referred to in the text as *Apfelbaum2*, *Apfelbaum3*, *Apfelbaum5*, *Apfelbaum6*.
  - In the context of the person being there:
    2. *It is best not to mention a person's race when having a conversation with that person.*
    3. *One should not mention race when having a conversation with a person of another race, unless they bring it up first.*
  - More general:
    5. *It is best not to mention a person's race when referring to that person, even when that person is not in the conversation.*
    6. *If one does not want to appear prejudiced, one should avoid using racial descriptors altogether.*

#### 2.1.2 Procedural vs. Distributive Colorblindness (based off of Knowles et al. (2009) work)

- Note: These items are referred to in the text as *Knowles\_Procedural1*, *Knowles\_Procedural2*, *Knowles\_Distributive1*, and *Knowles\_Distributive2*.
  1. *The same rules and regulations should apply to all groups regardless of their race (e.g., race should not be considered when making decisions such as school admissions).*
  2. *The same rules and regulations should apply to all groups regardless of their race (e.g., race should not be considered when making decisions such as school admissions), even if that means existing racial inequalities continue.*
  1. *Treating different racial groups differently (e.g., taking people's race into account when making decisions such as school admissions) is justified if such treatment reduces existing inequalities. (reverse-scored)*

2. *To achieve racial equality, race-conscious efforts are needed (e.g., taking people's race into account when making decisions such as school admissions). (reverse-scored)*

## 2.2. Final subset of 22 items used in Study 2a

1. *Apfelbaum2: It is best not to mention a person's race when having a conversation with that person.*
2. *Apfelbaum5: It is best not to mention a person's race when referring to that person, even when that person is not in the conversation.*
3. *Goff3: Seeing people in terms of race creates inequality among racial groups.*
4. *Goff5: Seeing people in terms of race strips one of their individuality.*
5. *Hahn2: All humans are fundamentally the same, regardless of where they come from or what their background is.*
6. *Knowles1: I wish people in this society would stop obsessing so much about race.*
7. *Knowles\_Distributive1 (reversed): Treating different racial groups differently (e.g., taking people's race into account when making decisions such as school admissions) is justified if such treatment reduces existing inequalities.*
8. *Knowles\_Procedural2: The same rules and regulations should apply to all groups regardless of their race (e.g., race should not be considered when making decisions such as school admissions), even if that means existing racial inequalities continue.*
9. *Levin1: We should treat citizens of this country as Americans and not as members of particular ethnic, religious, or sexual communities.*
10. *Levin4: For the unity of the country, individuals should be considered Americans before any consideration is given to their race or religion.*
11. *Levin6: It is important to recognize that people are basically the same regardless of their ethnicity.*
12. *Mazzocco4: Society would be better off if we all stopped talking about race.*
13. *Neville\_Privilege2 (reversed): Race is very important in determining who is successful and who is not.*
14. *Neville\_Privilege3 (reversed): Race plays an important role in who gets sent to prison.*
15. *Neville\_Institutional2: White people in the U.S. are discriminated against because of the color of their skin.*
16. *Neville\_Institutional5: Racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.*
17. *Neville\_Blatant1: Racial problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations.*
18. *Neville\_Blatant6: Racism may have been a problem in the past, it is not an important problem today.*
19. *Ryan1: Judging one another as individuals rather than members of an ethnic group would improve intergroup relations.*
20. *Ryan3: Recognizing that all people are created equally regardless of their ethnicity would improve intergroup relations.*
21. *Ryan4: Adopting a colorblind perspective in which one's ethnic group membership is considered unimportant would improve intergroup relations.*
22. *Ryan5: Learning to ignore differences between ethnic groups will improve relations between groups in the U.S.*

## 2.3. Measures of Race-Relevant Attitudes and Beliefs

### 2.3.1 Assimilationism (Hahn et al., 2015, based on Wolsko et al., 2006).

Assimilationism is an intergroup ideology that is sometimes used interchangeably with colorblindness (e.g., Plaut, Goren & Thomas, 2009). However, effort has been made to distinguish between the two (Hahn et al., 2015; Levin et al., 2012; Ryan et al., 2007; 2010; Wolsko, Park, & Judd, 2006). To examine whether Assimilation relates differently depending on the particular “variety” of colorblindness called upon, we used a 4-item version of the original Wolsko et al. (2006) measure, as used in Hahn et al. (2015).

1. *People from all ethnic backgrounds should embrace the American dream of hard work and success.*
2. *In order to have a smoothly functioning society, members of ethnic minorities must better adapt to the ways of mainstream American culture.*
3. *Children from all ethnic groups should be taught to adopt mainstream American values from an early age.*
4. *If a person decides to live in America, it will help him or her adapt to his or her new home if he or she quickly adopts American customs and behaviors.*

### 2.3.2 Multiculturalism (Hahn et al., 2015, based on Wolsko et al., 2006).

Multiculturalism is often treated as a conceptual opposite to colorblindness (e.g., see Plaut, 2010; Rattan & Ambady, 2013; for reviews). While the latter calls to downplay racial group distinctions, the former calls to recognize and appreciate group differences. In fact, the two sometimes show negative correlation (e.g., Rosenthal & Levy, 2012). However, some studies also show that endorsement of Multiculturalism can be positively related with colorblind endorsement (e.g., Ryan et al., 2010; Hahn et al., 2015). To examine whether we could explain some of that variability, we used a shortened 4-item version of the popular Wolsko et al. (2006) measure, as used in Hahn et al., (2015).

1. *We must appreciate the unique characteristics of different ethnic groups in order to have a cooperative society.*
2. *Learning about the ways that different ethnic groups resolve conflict will help us develop a more harmonious society.*
3. *If we want to help create a harmonious society, we must recognize that each ethnic group has the right to maintain its own unique traditions.*
4. *I would like my children to be exposed to the language and cultural traditions of different ethnic groups.*

### 2.3.3 Symbolic Racism. (Henry & Sears, 2002).

Some studies show that colorblind endorsement is associated with greater race bias (e.g., Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004), while others show it is associated with less race bias (e.g., Wolsko et al., 2000; Rosenthal & Levy, 2012). To explore whether different colorblind “varieties” show different relations with race bias, we included an 8-item measure of Symbolic Racism, a measure of race bias in its contemporary form.

- Except where specified otherwise, the following scale is used: 1= strongly disagree, 2= somewhat disagree, 3= somewhat agree, 4= strongly agree
  1. *It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites.*
  2. *Irish, Italian, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same.*
  3. *Some say that black leaders have been trying to push too fast. Others feel that they haven't pushed fast enough. What do you think?\** 1= trying to push very much too fast, 2= going too slowly, 3= moving at about the right speed
  4. *How much of the racial tension that exists in the U.S. today do you think blacks are responsible for creating?\** 1= all of it, 2= most, 3= some, 4= not much at all
  5. *How much discrimination against blacks do you feel there is in the U.S. today, limiting their chances to get ahead? 1= a lot, 2= some, 3= just a little, 4= none at all*
  6. *Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.\**
  7. *Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve.\**

8. *Over the past few years, blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve.*

### 2.3.4 Social Dominance Orientation – Short Scale (SDO; Ho et al., 2015).

Some studies show that colorblind endorsement is related to greater egalitarianism (e.g., Levin et al., 2012). However, other studies show that colorblind ideology can shift towards an anti-egalitarian definition, so that those who prefer hierarchy may also endorse it (e.g., Knowles et al., 2009). This seemingly contradictory relation may be clarified once we see which colorblind statements are more favored by those high and low in preference for hierarchy. To measure preference for hierarchy, we included the two related but distinct subscales of this construct. The 4-item *Group-based Dominance subscale* takes an aggressive stance on preference for hierarchy, and reflects the belief that overt oppression of certain groups is natural and just. The 4-item *Opposition to Equality subscale* reflects the subtle, passive form of oppression, which is achieved by simply opposing policies intended to break down hierarchy.

Colorblindness is most applicable to the subtle, passive stance, because it is often expressed as simple opposition to hierarchy-attenuating practices, rather than overt oppression of other groups. However, it is possible that some versions of colorblindness are a form of dominance, and others are a form of subtle opposition. In fact, research suggests that subtle anti-egalitarians (those high in SDO-E) attempt to remove race from public agenda, while the unsubtle, “oppression-focused” (high SDO-D) anti-egalitarians sometimes trigger efforts to *encourage* discussion of race (Apfelbaum et al., 2016).

- Dominance: “group-based dominance”
  1. *An ideal society requires some groups to be on top and others to be on the bottom.*
  2. *Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.*
  3. *No one group should dominate in society.\**
  4. *Groups at the bottom are just as deserving as groups at the top.\**
- Anti-egalitarianism: “opposition to equality”
  1. *Group equality should not be our primary goal.*
  2. *It is unjust to try to make groups equal.*
  3. *We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.\**
  4. *We should work to give all groups an equal chance to succeed.\**

### 2.3.5 Motivations to Respond Without Prejudice (Plant & Devine, 1998).

Avoiding mention of race in conversation (i.e., “strategic colorblindness”) has been shown to be motivated by *external* pressures to seem unprejudiced (e.g., Apfelbaum et al., 2008; Norton et al., 2006). Other work suggests (though not directly measured) that colorblind ideas can also arise out of an *internal* motivation to be unprejudiced (Goff, 2013). To assess whether motivations give rise to different “varieties” of colorblindness, we included the Motivations to Respond without Prejudice scale, which is divided into *External Motivations* and *Internal Motivations* (Plant & Devine, 1998).

- External motivation:
  1. *Because of today’s politically correct standards, I try to appear non-prejudiced toward Black people.*
  2. *I try to hide any negative thoughts about Black people in order to avoid negative reactions from others.*
  3. *If I acted prejudiced toward Black people, I would be concerned that others would be angry with me.*
  4. *I attempt to appear non-prejudiced toward Black people in order to avoid disapproval from others.*
  5. *I try to act non-prejudiced toward Black people because of pressure from others.*

- Internal motivation:
  1. *I attempt to act in non-prejudiced ways toward Black people because it is personally important to me.*
  2. *According to my personal values, using stereotypes about Black people is OK.\**
  3. *I am personally motivated by my beliefs to be non-prejudiced toward Black people.*
  4. *Because of my personal values, I believe that using stereotypes about Black people is wrong.*
  5. *Being non-prejudiced toward Black people is important to my self-concept.*

### 2.3.6 Race Essentialism (No et al., 2008; Williams & Eberhardt, 2008).

We explored whether the belief that race is an informative, biological, and fixed category (i.e., race essentialism) is related to colorblind endorsement—which, at its core calls for moving focus away from racial group distinctions. At a conceptual level, they may seem directly opposite, as one calls to downplay racial categories, while the other believes that racial categories are fixed and meaningful. In fact, racial minorities might call on colorblind-like ideas as a way to deter race-based stereotyping (e.g., Purdie-Vaughns & Walton, 2011). However, this relationship may be more complicated, as both constructs have been shown to relate similarly to other measures, such as race bias (Jayaratne et al, 2006; Keller, 2005).

To examine the link between the two, we created a measure of race essentialism by compiling a set of items that previous researchers identified as the key features of their race essentialism measure. For instance, No and colleagues (2008) focused on two important constructs in their measure of race essentialism: one representing the biological concept of race, and one representing the social constructionist concept of race (e.g., “To a large extent, a person’s race biologically determines his or her abilities and traits” and “Races are just arbitrary categories and can be changed if necessary”). Williams and Eberhardt (2008) focused on several other features of race essentialism in their measure, such as the extent to which racial categories are considered biological (“Racial groups are primarily determined by biology”), natural (“It’s natural to notice the racial group to which people belong”), easily discernible (“It’s easy to tell what race people are by looking at them”), stable across time (“The same racial categories have pretty much always existed”), stable across contexts (“There’s agreement across cultures about which racial groups people fall into”), and stable within individuals (“A person’s race is fixed at birth”).

Using this method, we were left with an 8-item scale for Race Essentialism, all of which were rated on a 1(strongly disagree) to 7(strongly agree) scale. We further grouped these items into the two core components of Race Essentialism: inalterable membership and inductive potential (Rothbart & Taylor, 1992). Inalterable membership focuses on the fixed nature of racial group membership (i.e., race is fixed and underlying). We call this subscale *Race-as-Fixed Essentialism*. Inductive potential refers to the richly informative and meaningful nature of racial group membership (i.e., one can draw inferences about a person based on their race). We call this subscale *Race-as-Informative Essentialism*. One item, “It’s natural to notice the racial group to which people belong” did not fit either of these two subscales, and thus was not included in our analyses.

- Race-as-Fixed
  1. *Races are just arbitrary categories and can be changed if necessary. (No et al., 2008)*
  2. *A person's race is fixed at birth (Williams & Eberhardt, 2008)*
  3. *Racial groups are primarily determined by biology (Williams & Eberhardt, 2008)*
- Race-as-Informative
  4. *To a large extent, a person's race biologically determines his or her abilities and traits. (No et al., 2008)*
  5. *The same racial categories have pretty much always existed. (Williams & Eberhardt, 2008)\*\**
  6. *It's easy to tell what race people are by looking at them. (Williams & Eberhardt, 2008)*

7. *There's agreement across cultures about which racial groups people fall into. (Williams & Eberhardt, 2008)*

\*\* We are aware that this item does not belong under this subgroup (race-as-informative) but it is included here because the original factor analysis on which this sub-grouping was based included it. In other words, the face valid meaning doesn't quite fit, however we don't think this affects the overall results because we correct for this in Study 2b and results are consistent.

### 2.3.7 Opposition to Affirmative Action. (Haley & Sidanius, 2006).

Much of the discussion surrounding colorblindness is with regard to affirmative action, and whether schools should consider race in admissions decisions. Research shows that colorblind attitudes predict opposition to affirmative action (Awad et al., 2005; Mazzocco et al., 2011). However, the relationship may be more complicated, because colorblindness has been demonstrated to take on both a procedural justice meaning focused on equal procedures (i.e., in support of race-blind policy), as well as a distributive justice meaning focused on equal outcomes (i.e., in support of race-conscious policy) (Knowles et al., 2009; Peery, 2011). Thus, we explored whether certain items capture this distinction as well. We included a 6-item scale to measure Opposition to Affirmative Action. Participants were prompted to indicate their support for various affirmative action policies on a 1(strongly support) to 7(strongly oppose) scale.

- *How do you personally feel about different kinds of affirmative action? For each of the following policies, please indicate the extent to which you support or oppose the policy using the scale below. (1 = strongly support the policy, 7 = strongly oppose the policy)*
  1. *Quotas, that is, setting aside places for certain racial groups*
  2. *Using racial group membership as one of several considerations*
  3. *Using membership in certain racial groups as a tiebreaker when applicants are equally qualified*
  4. *Giving training to certain racial groups so they can compete equally*
  5. *Making a special effort to find qualified people from certain racial groups*
  6. *Giving preference to members of certain racial groups who are less qualified than someone else*

### 2.3.8 Opposition to Racial Policy (Ho et al., 2012).

Similar to affirmative action, but broader, is the question of whether government should consider race in public policy decisions in general. Research has shown that when anti-egalitarian Whites experience threat to the status quo, they are more likely to be in favor of colorblind policy (e.g., taking race out of the census) (Chow & Knowles, 2016). To assess this behavioral intention, we included a 6-item measure.

1. *Government should see to it that minorities get fair treatment in jobs.*
2. *Government should not pass laws concerning the hiring of ethnic minorities.*
3. *Government should ensure that Whites and minorities go to the same school.*
4. *Government has no business trying to ensure racial integration in schools.*
5. *Government should do what it can to improve the economic condition of poor ethnic minorities.*
6. *Government has no business trying to improve the economic condition of poor ethnic minorities.*

## 2.4 Main Results

### 2.4.1 Table. Replicating the factor analysis results from Study 1.

N of latent factors	$\chi^2$	df	AIC	BIC	RMSEA	CFI	SRMR	$\chi^2$ for	<i>p</i> for the
								difference in fit (df)	difference in fit
1	7605.09	2277	66745.731	67499.606	0.091	0.505	0.135		
2	4825.043	2209	63761.948	64763.472	0.065	0.757	0.061	2279.72 (68)	$p < 10^{-7}$
3	4071.406	2142	63009.458	64254.991	0.057	0.821	0.045	572.389 (67)	$p < 10^{-7}$
4	3872.561	2076	62710.249	64196.147	0.055	0.833	0.040	151.982 (66)	$p < 10^{-7}$
5	3473.696	2011	62487.53	64210.15	0.051	0.864	0.036	698.503 (65)	$p < 10^{-7}$
6	3229.942	1947	62307.521	64263.225	0.048	0.881	0.033	198.235 (64)	$p < 10^{-7}$
7	2980.538	1884	62165.281	64350.426	0.045	0.898	0.031	233.81 (63)	$p < 10^{-7}$

### 2.4.1 Table. Descriptive statistics for the race-related attitudes and beliefs theorized to be relevant to colorblindness

Race-relevant scales (# of items, authors)	Study 2a ( <i>n</i> = 153)		Study 2b ( <i>n</i> = 282)	
	Mean (SD)	$\alpha$	Mean (SD)	$\alpha$
Assimilationism (4 items; Hahn et al., 2015, Wolsko et al., 2006)	4.95 (1.31)	.85	5.08 (1.38)	.90
Multiculturalism (4 items; Hahn et al., 2015, Wolsko et al., 2006)	5.59 (1.07)	.85	5.53 (1.06)	.83
Symbolic Racism (8 items; Henry & Sears, 2002) <sup>a</sup>	18.03 (4.52)	.90	3.61 (1.58)	.94
SDO– Group-Based Dominance (4 items; Ho et al., 2015)	2.46 (1.42)	.87	2.28 (1.31)	.85
SDO– Opposition to Equality (4 items; Ho et al., 2015)	2.64 (1.46)	.87	2.44 (1.37)	.84
External Motivations to Respond Without Prejudice (5 items; Plant & Devine, 1998)	3.51 (1.71)	.93	3.71 (1.66)	.93
Internal Motivations to Respond Without Prejudice (5 items; Plant & Devine, 1998)	5.60 (1.39)	.90	5.85 (1.20)	.88
Race-as-Informative Essentialism (4 items; adapted from No et al., 2008, and Williams & Eberhardt, 2008) <sup>b</sup>	3.79 (1.18)	.61	2.42 (1.38)	.62
Race-as-Fixed Essentialism (3 items; adapted from No et al., 2008, and Williams & Eberhardt, 2008)	5.23 (1.28)	.71	5.82 (1.31)	.95
Opposition to Affirmative Action (6 items; Haley & Sidanius, 2006)	4.70 (1.40)	.89	4.50 (1.57)	.92
Opposition to Racial Policy (6 items; Ho et al., 2012)	3.17 (1.46)	.89	3.10 (1.51)	.91

Note. <sup>a</sup> The means reported for Symbolic Racism used different scales between Studies 2a and 2b. In Study 2a, this measure was presented and scored the way of the original scale was presented and scored (responses were summed rather than averaged). In Study 2b, this measure was reworded to be answered on a (1) strongly agree to (7) strongly disagree scale, and responses were averaged. <sup>b</sup> The items that make up our Race Essentialism measures slightly differ between Study 2a and Study 2b.

2.4.2 Table. Study 2a correlations between colorblind item and related scale, items organized by cluster assignment

Cluster	Colorblind Item	Mean (SD)	Correlations with relevant scales										
			Symbolic Racism	SDO Dominance	SDO Opposition to Equality	External Motivation	Internal Motivations	Assimilationism	Multiculturalism	Race-as- Informative Essentialism	Race-as-Fixed Essentialism	Opposition to Affirmative Action	Opposition to Racial Policy
P1	Neville_Institutional5: Racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.	3.67 (1.81)	.51***	.27***	.31***	.17*	-.23**	.42***	-.23**	.21*	.02	.35***	.40***
P1	Neville_Institutional2: White people in the U.S. are discriminated against because of the color of their skin.	3.18 (1.85)	.51***	.36***	.41***	.10	-.28***	.31***	-.31***	.21*	.10	.31***	.38***
P1	Neville_Privilege3 (reversed): Race plays an important role in who gets sent to prison.	3.70 (2.00)	.60***	.27***	.40***	.13	-.14	.39***	-.19*	.14	.19*	.49***	.42***
P1	Neville_Blatant6: Racism may have been a problem in the past, it is not an important problem today.	2.32 (1.56)	.59***	.45***	.51***	.16*	-.48***	.24**	-.39***	.21**	.14	.39***	.52***
P1	Neville_Blatant1: Racial problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations.	2.48 (1.62)	.54***	.42***	.46***	.18*	-.42***	.23**	-.38***	.19*	.04	.31***	.52***
P1	Knowles_Procedural2: The same rules and regulations should apply to all groups regardless of their race, even if that means existing inequalities continue.	4.81 (1.82)	.45***	.18*	.29***	.14	-.14	.31***	-.21**	.21**	.25**	.64***	.43***
P1	Knowles1: I wish people in this society would stop obsessing so much about race.	5.64 (1.59)	.40***	.10	.21**	.02	-.18*	.35***	-.16*	.09	.21**	.52***	.37***
P1	Knowles_Distributive1 (reversed): Treating different racial groups differently (e.g., ...) is justified if such treatment reduces existing inequalities.	4.40 (1.99)	.43***	.12	.22**	-.01	-.14	.24**	-.30***	.10	.14	.65***	.34***

P1	Mazzocco4: Society would be better off if we all stopped talking about race.	4.82 (2.05)	.39***	.01	.10	.06	.007	.26**	-.09	.17*	.15	.36***	.29***
P2	Ryan3: Recognizing that all people are created equally regardless of their ethnicity would improve intergroup relations.	6.15 (1.26)	-.25**	-.53***	-.41***	-.11	.48***	-.03	.42***	-.27***	-.02	-.11	-.34***
P2	Levin6: It is important to recognize that people are basically the same regardless of their ethnicity.	5.74 (1.40)	-.26**	-.41***	-.43***	-.14†	.42***	.03	.33***	-.17*	.03	-.11	-.33***
P2	Hahn2: All humans are fundamentally the same, regardless of where they come from or what their background is.	5.38 (1.62)	-.27***	-.42***	-.39***	-.14	.30***	-.001	.30***	-.14	-.04	-.20*	-.29***
P3	Levin4: For the unity of the country, individuals should be considered Americans before any consideration is given to their race or religion.	5.62 (1.52)	-.02	-.27***	-.18*	-.09	.24**	.11	.20*	-.10	.21*	.13	-.06
P3	Levin1: We should treat citizens of this country as Americans and not as members of particular ethnic, religious, or sexual communities.	5.88 (1.36)	-.001	-.27***	-.19*	.03	.18*	.20*	.18*	-.16*	.12	.14	-.13
P3	Ryan1: Judging one another as individuals rather than members of an ethnic group would improve intergroup relations.	5.91 (1.22)	.08	-.20*	-.08	-.13	.19*	.14	.20*	-.07	.08	.09	-.10
P3	Apfelbaum2: It is best not to mention a person's race when having a conversation with that person.	4.77 (1.47)	.04	-.09	-.07	.21*	.14	.10	.15	.07	.22**	-.02	-.03
P3	Apfelbaum5: It is best not to mention a person's race when referring to that person, even when that person is not in the conversation.	4.78 (1.45)	.09	-.11	-.08	.13	.09	.13	.10	.09	.14	-.05	.02

P3	Goff3: Seeing people in terms of race creates inequality among racial groups.	5.23 (1.53)	.10	-.16*	-.13	-.08	.11	.12	.08	-.08	.16*	.23**	-.03
P3	Ryan5: Learning to ignore differences between ethnic groups will improve relations between groups in the U.S.	4.82 (1.79)	-.02	-.09	-.09	-.07	.12	.04	.04	-.12	.13	.19*	.05
P3	Ryan4: Adopting a colorblind perspective in which ones ethnic group membership is considered unimportant would improve intergroup relations	4.94 (1.73)	.16*	-.06	.02	-.25**	.07	.04	-.04	-.05	.22**	.23**	.03
P3	Neville_Privilege2 (reversed): Race is very important in determining who is successful and who is not.	4.99 (1.87)	.22**	-.02	.03	.01	.11	.08	.03	-.13	-.008	.32***	.10
P3	Goff5: Seeing people in terms of race strips one of their individuality.	5.10 (1.57)	.12	.02	.08	-.09	-.14	.21**	-.02	-.07	.09	.22**	.15

\*\*\*  $p \leq .001$ , \*\*  $p \leq .01$ , \*  $p \leq .05$

2.4.3 Table. Effect sizes of differences in colorblind items' relation to Symbolic Racism in Study 2a

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]	[10]	[11]
[1] Goff5	--	0.07	0.02	0.03	0.29**	0.13	0.04	0.57***	0.56***	0.49***	0.34**
[2] Apfelbaum2	--	--	0.06	0.04	0.37***	0.06	0.12	0.65***	0.63***	0.56***	0.42***
[3] Goff3	--	--	--	0.02	0.31***	0.12	0.06	0.59***	0.57***	0.5***	0.36***
[4] Apfelbaum5	--	--	--	--	0.33**	0.1	0.08	0.61***	0.59***	0.52***	0.38**
[5] Mazzocco4	--	--	--	--	--	0.43***	0.25**	0.28**	0.26*	0.19	0.05
[6] Ryan5	--	--	--	--	--	--	0.18	0.71***	0.69***	0.62***	0.48***
[7] Ryan4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	0.53***	0.51***	0.44***	0.3**
[8] Neville_Priv3r	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	0.02	0.09	0.23*
[9] Neville_Blat6	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	0.07	0.21
[10] Neville_Blat1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	0.14
[11] KnowlesDist1r	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
[12] Neville_Inst2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
[13] Neville_Inst5	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
[14] KnowlesProc2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
[15] Knowles1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
[16] Ryan3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
[17] Ryan1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
[18] Levin6	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
[19] Hahn2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
[20] Levin4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
[21] Levin1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
[22] Neville_Priv2r	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

	[12]	[13]	[14]	[15]	[16]	[17]	[18]	[19]	[20]	[21]	[22]
[1] Goff5	0.44***	0.44***	0.36***	0.31**	0.37***	0.04	0.38***	0.39***	0.13	0.12	0.1
[2] Apfelbaum2	0.51***	0.52***	0.44***	0.38***	0.3**	0.04	0.31**	0.32**	0.06	0.04	0.18
[3] Goff3	0.46***	0.46***	0.38***	0.32***	0.36***	0.02	0.36***	0.37***	0.12	0.1	0.12
[4] Apfelbaum5	0.47***	0.47***	0.4***	0.34**	0.34**	0.01	0.35**	0.36**	0.1	0.09	0.13
[5] Mazzocco4	0.15	0.15	0.07	0.01	0.67***	0.33***	0.68***	0.68***	0.43***	0.41***	0.19*
[6] Ryan5	0.57***	0.57***	0.5***	0.44***	0.24*	0.09	0.25**	0.26*	0	0.01	0.23*
[7] Ryan4	0.4***	0.4***	0.32**	0.26**	0.42***	0.08	0.42***	0.43***	0.18	0.16	0.06

[8] Neville_Priv3r	0.13	0.13	0.21*	0.27**	0.95***	0.61***	0.95***	0.96***	0.71***	0.69***	0.47***
[9] Neville_Blatt6	0.12	0.11	0.19	0.25*	0.93***	0.59***	0.94***	0.95***	0.69***	0.67***	0.45***
[10] Neville_Blatt1	0.05	0.05	0.12	0.18	0.86***	0.53***	0.87***	0.88***	0.62***	0.61***	0.39***
[11] KnowlesDist1r	0.1	0.1	0.02	0.04	0.72***	0.38***	0.72***	0.73***	0.48***	0.46***	0.24*
[12] Neville_Inst2	--	0	0.08	0.13	0.81***	0.48***	0.82***	0.83***	0.57***	0.56***	0.34**
[13] Neville_Inst15	--	--	0.08	0.14	0.82***	0.48***	0.82***	0.83***	0.58***	0.56***	0.34**
[14] KnowlesProc2	--	--	--	0.06	0.74***	0.4***	0.74***	0.75***	0.5***	0.48***	0.26**
[15] Knowles1	--	--	--	--	0.68***	0.34***	0.69***	0.7***	0.44***	0.43***	0.2*
[16] Ryan3	--	--	--	--	--	0.33***	0.01	0.02	0.24*	0.25**	0.47***
[17] Ryan1	--	--	--	--	--	--	0.34***	0.35***	0.09	0.08	0.14
[18] Levin6	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	0.01	0.25*	0.26**	0.48***
[19] Hahn2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	0.26**	0.27**	0.49***
[20] Levin4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	0.01	0.23*
[21] Levin1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	0.22*
[22] Neville_Priv2r	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .$  Shows the results for Symbolic Racism. The rows and columns both represent each of the 22 colorblind items. Where the rows and columns intersect are the effect sizes from the statistical significance tests comparing a pair of colorblind items' correlation with Symbolic Racism. For example, the differences between the correlation of *Goff5* and Symbolic Racism, versus the correlation of *Apfelbaum2* and Symbolic Racism, had an effect size of 0.07, and was not significantly different ( $p = .52$ ).

#### 2.4.4 Table. Study 2a correlations by cluster average.

	Symbolic Racism	SDO Dominance	SDO Equality	External Motivations	Internal Motivations	Assimilation	Multiculturalism	Race-As- Informative Essentialism	Race-As- Fixed Essentialism	Opposition to Affirmative Action	Opposition to Racial Policy
Cluster P1	.75***	.38***	.49***	.17*	-.34***	.47***	-.38***	.25**	.20*	.67***	.62***
Cluster P2	-.30***	-.51***	-.45***	-.15	.45***	.01	.40***	-.20*	-.002	-.18*	-.36***
Cluster P3	.13	-.23**	-.14	-.07	.19*	.19*	.15	-.12	.25**	.26***	.004

\*\*\*  $p \leq .001$ , \*\*  $p \leq .01$ , \*  $p \leq .05$

## 2.5 Additional Analyses

### 2.5.1 Whites and Racial minorities differ in mean endorsement

First, we examined whether Whites and racial minorities differed on their average endorsement of each of the 22 colorblind statements. Independent samples *t*-tests revealed that for most statements, the two groups did not differ in their levels of endorsement (see Table below, column 3 for means and difference tests). For instance, both groups agreed at similar levels with statements such as “We should treat citizens of this country as Americans and not as members of particular ethnic, religious, or sexual communities”, “I wish people in this society would stop obsessing of much about race”, and “Judging one another as individuals rather than members of an ethnic group would improve intergroup relations”.

However, for some statements, Whites showed greater endorsement compared to racial minorities. Specifically, Whites more strongly endorsed each of the *common humanity* statements (e.g., “Recognizing that all people are created equally regardless of their ethnicity would improve intergroup relations”, “All humans are fundamentally the same regardless of where they come from or what their background is”, and “It is important to recognize that people are basically the same regardless of their ethnicity”), and some of the more *ambiguous* statements (e.g., “It is best not to mention a person’s race when referring to the person, even when that person is not in the conversation”, “Society would be better off if we all stopped talking about race”, and “Adopting a colorblind perspective in which one’s ethnic group membership is considered unimportant would improve intergroup relations”). These findings are consistent with previous research showing that colorblindness is more favored by Whites than racial minorities (e.g., Ryan et al., 2007). However, our results suggest that this is not the case for all colorblind ideas.

2.5.2 Table. Study 2a White (n=113) vs. racial minority (n=36) means, SDs, and correlation patterns.

	M(SD)	Symb Racism	SDO Dom	SDO Equal	Ext Motivs	Int Motivs	Assim	Multi	Essen: Meaning	Essen: Fixed	Affirm Act	Racial Policy	
<b>Cluster P1</b>													
Nev_Inst5: Racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.	White	3.63 (1.75)	.56***	.27**	.23*	.13	-.15	.46***	-.24*	.12	.06	.28**	.36***
	Racial minority	3.81 (2.00)	.40*	.27	.50**	.11	-.40*	.28	-.24	.41*	-.09	.52***	.51**
	Difference test	t = -0.51	z = 1.03	z = 0.04	z = 1.58	z = 0.74	z = 1.38	z = 1.05	z = 0.02	z = 1.56	z = 0.73	z = 1.45	z = 0.94
Nev_Inst2: White people in the U.S. are discriminated against because of the color of their skin.	White	3.24 (1.79)	.53***	.43***	.40***	.11	-.29**	.40***	-.33***	.14	.07	.34***	.41***
	Racial minority	3.00 (2.04)	.44**	.20	.45**	.07	-.32	.04	-.26	.33*	.17	.23	.31
	Difference test	t = 0.67	z = 0.61	z = 1.32	z = 0.31	z = 0.21	z = 0.18	z = 1.90	z = 0.34	z = 1.01	z = 0.53	z = 0.62	z = 0.60
Nev_Priv3 (reversed): Race plays an important role in who gets sent to prison.	White	3.92 (2.04)	.66***	.34***	.48***	.15	-.31***	.44***	-.26**	.14	.24**	.51***	.51***
	Racial minority	3.03 (1.73)	.40*	.15	.17	.13	.17	.29	.04	.09	.06	.41*	.10
	Difference test	t = 2.58*	z = 1.91	z = 1.00	z = 1.76	z = 0.09	z = 2.44*	z = 0.87	z = 1.58	z = 0.28	z = 0.96	z = 0.66	z = 2.35*
Nev_Blaf6: Racism may have been a problem in the past, it is not an important problem today.	White	2.40 (1.58)	.58***	.43***	.45***	.15	-.46***	.30***	-.38***	.08	.15	.41***	.52***
	Racial minority	2.08 (1.46)	.62***	.53***	.69***	.23	-.64***	.06	-.44**	.56***	.13	.33*	.51**
	Difference test	t = 1.06	z = 0.35	z = 0.68	z = 1.84	z = 0.39	z = 1.27	z = 1.28	z = 0.35	z = 0.28**	z = 0.14	z = 0.43	z = 0.08
Nev_Blat1: Racial problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations.	White	2.56 (1.64)	.60***	.40***	.48***	.15	-.46***	.37***	-.40***	.14	.08	.42***	.59***
	Racial minority	2.25 (1.56)	.38*	.51**	.41*	.32	-.43**	-.24	-.33*	.33*	-.06	-.003	.31
	Difference test	t = 0.99	z = 1.44	z = 0.72	z = 0.44	z = 0.91	z = 0.19	z = 3.20***	z = 0.44	z = 1.01	z = 0.74	z = 2.27*	z = 1.84
KnowlesProc2: The same rules and regulations should apply to all groups regardless of their race, even if that means existing inequalities continue.	White	5.04 (1.72)	.51***	.17	.27**	.10	-.15	.29**	-.18	.13	.25**	.65***	.47***
	Racial minority	4.53 (2.09)	.29	.22	.35*	.24	-.20	.43**	-.28	.34*	.26	.64***	.33*
	Difference test	t = 1.32	z = 1.35	z = 0.26	z = 0.46	z = 0.70	z = 0.25	z = 0.82	z = 0.56	z = 1.14	z = 0.04	z = 0.04	z = 0.86
Knowles1: I wish people in this society would stop obsessing so much about race.	White	5.64 (1.68)	.50***	.16	.24**	.02	-.22*	.39***	-.26**	.13	.21*	.60***	.48***
	Racial minority	5.67 (1.33)	.09	-.11	.10	.04	-.08	.17	.14	.001	.22	.23	-.01
	Difference test	t = -0.10	z = 2.28*	z = 1.40	z = 0.75	z = 0.14	z = 0.73	z = 1.17	z = 2.04*	z = 0.63	z = 0.05	z = 2.32*	z = 2.65**
KnowlesDist1 (reversed): Treating different racial groups differently (e.g., ...) is justified if such treatment reduces existing inequalities.	White	4.44 (1.93)	.40***	.06	.17	-.03	-.17	.19*	-.33***	.02	.10	.67***	.36***
	Racial minority	4.25 (2.20)	.49**	.28	.36*	.06	-.11	.40*	-.26	.26	.24	.60***	.27
	Difference test	t = 0.50	z = 0.57	z = 1.13	z = 1.04	z = 0.13	z = 0.29	z = 1.18	z = 0.39	z = 1.23	z = 0.70	z = 0.64	z = 0.51
Mazz4: Society would be better off if we all stopped talking about race.	White	5.09 (1.89)	.46***	.10	.14	.07	-.19*	.31***	-.17	.22*	.15	.49***	.36***
	Racial minority	3.97 (2.31)	.22	-.14	.02	.08	.26	.20	.08	.02	.16	.05	.11
	Difference test	t = 2.63*	z = 1.34	z = 1.25	z = 0.60	z = 0.06	z = 2.32*	z = 0.62	z = 1.28	z = 1.03	z = 0.02	z = 2.46**	z = 1.31
<b>Cluster P2</b>													

Ryan3: Recognizing that all people are created equally regardless of their ethnicity would improve intergroup relations.	White	6.31 (.95)	-.16	-.41***	-.31***	-.09	.29**	-.001	.19*	-.14	.003	-.02	-.22*
	Racial minority	5.67 (1.87)	-.46**	-.73***	-.63***	-.14	.68***	-.05	.76***	-.50**	-.04	-.29	-.62***
	Difference test	t = 1.99*	z = 1.72	z = 2.46**	z = 2.08*	z = 0.26	z = 2.71**	z = 0.24	z = 4.02***	z = 2.02*	z = 0.23	z = 1.43	z = 1.77
Levin6: It is important to recognize that people are basically the same regardless of their ethnicity.	White	5.88 (1.19)	-.16	-.28**	-.33***	-.15	.31***	.04	.16	-.07	-.005	-.05	-.20*
	Racial minority	5.31 (1.86)	-.50**	-.61***	-.65***	-.12	.55***	.05	.62***	-.35*	.11	-.24	-.64***
	Difference test	t = 1.75	z = 2.01*	z = 2.11*	z = 2.16*	z = 0.17	z = 1.55	z = 0.06	z = 2.88**	z = 1.51	z = 0.60	z = 0.99	z = 0.65
Hahn2: All humans are fundamentally the same, regardless of where they come from or what their background is.	White	5.53 (1.45)	-.09	-.26**	-.25**	-.10	.13	.09	.20*	-.02	-.01	-.08	-.21*
	Racial minority	4.89 (2.00)	-.69***	-.70***	-.69***	-.21	.53***	-.19	.51**	-.38*	-.08	-.46**	-.50**
	Difference test	t = 1.79	z = 3.78***	z = 3.07**	z = 2.96**	z = 0.59	z = 2.31*	z = 0.54	z = 1.82	z = 1.95*	z = 0.33	z = 2.13*	z = 2.92**

### Cluster P3

Levin4: For the unity of the country, individuals should be considered Americans before any consideration is given to their race or religion.	White	5.71 (1.49)	.08	-.17	-.16	-.08	.18	.20*	.09	-.09	.26**	.20*	-.03
	Racial minority	5.36 (1.59)	-.29	-.51***	-.25	-.13	.34*	-.17	.47**	-.15	.08	-.08	-.16
	Difference test	t = 1.20	z = 1.86	z = 1.98*	z = 0.48	z = 0.25	z = 0.85	z = 1.86	z = 2.09*	z = 0.33	z = 0.89	z = 1.43	z = 0.65
Levin1: We should treat citizens of this country as Americans and not as members of particular ethnic, religious, or sexual communities.	White	5.96 (1.28)	.22*	-.09	.002	.12	.06	.28**	-.01	.04	.24**	.28**	.01
	Racial minority	5.64 (1.55)	-.54***	-.66**	-.65***	-.17	.39*	-.009	.57***	-.57***	-.14	-.20	-.51***
	Difference test	t = 1.11	z = 4.17***	z = 3.54***	z = 3.94***	z = 1.45	z = 1.75	z = 1.51	z = 3.32***	z = 3.46***	z = 1.98*	z = 2.43*	z = 2.92**
Ryan1: Judging one another as individuals rather than members of an ethnic group would improve intergroup relations.	White	6.00 (1.12)	.19*	.12	-.02	-.14	.08	.15	.05	.04	.10	.13	.002
	Racial minority	5.64 (1.48)	-.19	-.33*	-.22	-.09	.33*	.17	.51**	-.30	.04	-.01	-.34*
	Difference test	t = 1.35	z = 1.95*	z = 1.15	z = 1.01	z = 0.27	z = 1.36	z = 0.10	z = 2.56**	z = 1.77	z = 0.29	z = 0.71	z = 1.77
Apfel2: It is best not to mention a person's race when having a conversation with that person.	White	4.84 (1.41)	.11	.002	-.04	.20*	.13	.08	.12	.15	.26**	.09	.02
	Racial minority	4.56 (1.65)	-.14	-.28	-.13	.25	.13	.19	.21	-.12	.15	-.30	-.18
	Difference test	t = 1.02	z = 1.25	z = 1.43	z = 0.46	z = 0.27	z = 0.02	z = 0.60	z = 0.49	z = 1.38	z = 0.60	z = 2.01*	z = 1.02
Apfel5: It is best not to mention a person's race when referring to that person, even when that person is not in the conversation.	White	4.91 (1.37)	.10	-.07	-.13	.21*	.01	.10	.09	.07	.10	-.07	.03
	Racial minority	4.36 (1.62)	.02	-.17	.03	-.02	.15	.27	.14	.10	.25	-.02	-.03
	Difference test	t = 2.00*	z = 0.36	z = 0.55	z = 0.77	z = 1.16	z = 0.75	z = 0.89	z = 0.26	z = 0.12	z = 0.79	z = 0.25	z = 0.28
Goff3: Seeing people in terms of race creates inequality among racial groups.	White	5.22 (1.52)	.22*	-.07	-.04	-.06	.06	.14	-.04	-.01	.15	.29**	.08
	Racial minority	5.28 (1.60)	-.22	-.40*	-.37*	-.14	.26	.06	.35*	-.23	.19	.06	-.33*
	Difference test	t = 0.19	z = 2.27*	z = 1.78	z = 1.78	z = 0.40	z = 1.08	z = 0.42	z = 2.06*	z = 1.12	z = 0.21	z = 1.24	z = 2.13*
Ryan5: Learning to ignore differences between ethnic groups will improve relations between groups in the U.S.	White	4.95 (1.70)	.08	.02	-.01	-.08	-.05	.04	-.08	-.13	.11	.31***	.10
	Racial minority	4.42 (2.05)	-.26	-.29	-.28	-.01	.38*	.06	.29	-.13	.21	-.09	-.10
	Difference test	t = 1.55	z = 1.75	z = 1.56	z = 1.42	z = 0.37	z = 1.76	z = 0.11	z = 1.88	z = 0.02	z = 0.50	z = 2.07*	z = 1.03
Ryan4: Adopting a colorblind perspective in which ones ethnic group membership is considered	White	5.12 (1.60)	.24**	.06	.09	-.17	-.03	.14	-.13	-.07	.11	.34***	.16
	Racial minority	4.39 (2.00)	-.06	-.30	-.16	-.44**	.15	-.20	.16	-.07	.50**	-.02	-.31
	Difference test	t = 1.98*	z = 1.52	z = 1.87	z = 1.27	z = 1.52	z = 0.89	z = 1.72	z = 1.48	z = 0.03	z = 2.19*	z = 1.86	z = 2.41*

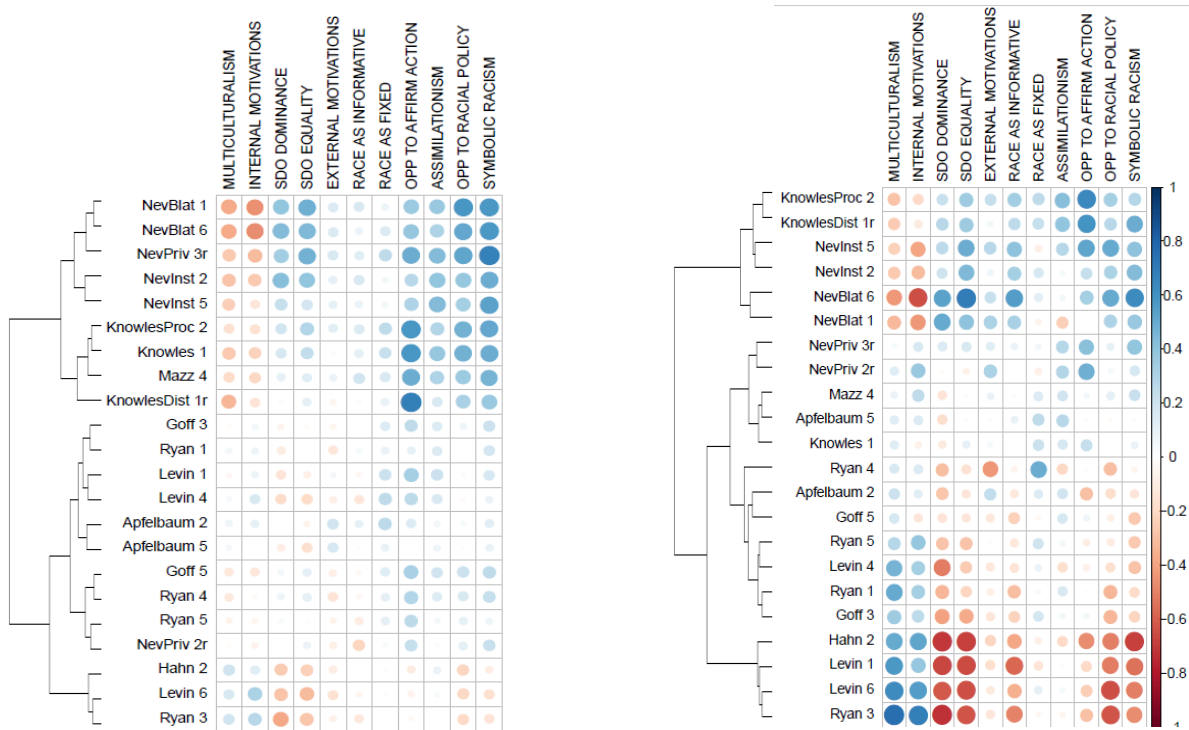
unimportant would improve intergroup relations													
Nev_Priv2 (reversed): Race is very important in determining who is successful and who is not.	White	5.15 (1.75)	.22*	.001	.08	-.09	-.06	.03	-.02	-.22*	.03	.25**	.11
	Racial minority	4.47 (2.13)	.18	-.03	-.07	.32	.38*	.30	.14	.01	-.09	.49**	.05
	Difference test	t = 1.92	z = 0.24	z = 0.14	z = 0.76	z = 2.12*	z = 2.30*	z = 1.41	z = 0.84	z = 1.17	z = 0.59	z = 1.41	z = 0.30
Goff5: Seeing people in terms of race strips one of their individuality.	White	5.07 (1.56)	.26**	.08	.16	-.08	-.13	.22*	-.10	.01	.13	.28**	.23*
	Racial minority	5.19 (1.62)	-.27	-.15	-.13	-.13	-.13	.18	.18	-.24	-.03	.07	-.08
	Difference test	t = -0.41	z = 2.74**	z = 1.16	z = 1.47	z = 0.26	z = 0.02	z = 0.20	z = 1.38	z = 1.25	z = 0.82	z = 1.10	z = 1.58

\*\*\*  $p \leq .001$ , \*\*  $p \leq .01$ , \*  $p \leq .05$ . Difference tests for means calculated using independent samples t-test. Difference tests for correlations calculated using Fisher's r-to-z transformation for independent samples.

### 2.5.3 Whites and Racial minorities differ in correlations

Next, we examined whether a given colorblind statement held different meaning for Whites compared to racial minorities, by examining each statement’s correlation pattern with the relevant scales separately for each group. The correlation patterns for White respondents are presented in every first row of each colorblind statement in the table above (Table in Section G), and the correlation patterns for racial minority respondents are presented in every second row of each colorblind statement in the table in Section G. To test whether the White and racial minority correlation coefficients for a given colorblind statement and scale were different, we converted each coefficient using Fisher’s  $r$ -to- $z$  transformation and took into account the sample sizes associated with each coefficient (Preacher, 2002, May). The results of the difference tests comparing the White correlation with the racial minority correlation are presented in every third row of each colorblind statement in the table in Section G. For a visual representation of correlation differences, see Figure 1S.

Figure 1S. Visual representation of White vs. racial minority correlation patterns. White patterns are displayed on the left ( $n = 113$ ), racial minority patterns are displayed on the right ( $n = 36$ ).



Results show that some statements do not differ much in psychological meaning for Whites compared to racial minorities. For instance, the set of statements reflecting *racism denial* seem to share similar correlation patterns across Whites and racial minorities. Thus, the psychological meaning of *racism denial* statements seem relatively clear and consistent across both groups.

The second set of statements, which emphasizes looking to our *common humanity*, also show similar relationships with the relevant scales across Whites and racial minorities. However, this pattern is much stronger for racial minorities compared to Whites. That is, while Whites who endorse these statements also hold these beliefs, the associations are weak. In contrast, racial minorities show strong associations with these beliefs when endorsing these items. In fact, these differences in correlation strength for all three *common humanity* statements are nearly all significant. Thus, for racial minorities, endorsement of this type of colorblindness can very much co-exist with

acknowledging and valuing different cultural backgrounds, and support for racial policy, while it appears to be less true for Whites.

In addition to similar but stronger associations for the *common humanity* statements, there is one other interesting difference when comparing White vs. racial minority associations. Endorsement of these statements by Whites is unrelated to the belief that race is an informative category about one's traits and abilities; however, for racial minorities, endorsement of these statements is significantly and negatively associated with that belief. This suggests that when racial minorities endorse such statements, they may intend it as a way to discourage stereotyping on the basis of race, while also acknowledging the value of cultural backgrounds and the need for race-conscious policy.

Analysis into the set of items that seemed uncorrelated with anything, in fact seem to reflect very different meaning for racial minorities compared to Whites. For Whites, many of these statements remain ambiguous in meaning, showing no correlations with the scales (e.g., SDO, motivations to be unprejudiced, multiculturalism, race categories are meaningful), except that those who endorse these ambiguous items are slightly more racially biased, believe minorities should assimilate, that race categories are biological and fixed, and they oppose affirmative action. However, for racial minorities, many of these statements actually do have clear meaning. When racial minorities endorse these statements, they are coming from a place of less race bias, more egalitarianism, more personal motivations to be unprejudiced, they endorse multiculturalism, do not believe race is a meaningful category, and although they are uncorrelated with opposition to affirmative action, they do support racial policy.

#### 2.5.4 Items that cluster together differ

Further, the clusters themselves differ across Whites and racial minorities. For instance, a subset of items that for Whites reflect the *racism denial* construct hold slightly different meaning for racial minorities. Endorsement of this subset for racial minorities is not related to anti-egalitarianism, opposition to racial policy, or the belief that race is a meaningful category, as it is for Whites. Instead, these statements sort into a different cluster of items, which also include two other items (from Cluster P3), that together, suggest a call against racial categorization (what we call Cluster New for reference purposes). That is, the difference may be that for Whites, these items are motivated as a way to maintain status quo (e.g., "stop talking about the social realities of race so that we can maintain status quo"), while for racial minorities, these items are interpreted as a larger frustration with racial categorization, and the reifying nature of continuous talk of it (e.g., "stop talking about race so that the social realities that arise from racial categorization do not continue"). This cluster, for racial minorities, is characterized by a slight positive correlation with race bias, assimilationism, and opposition to affirmative action, but also slight positive correlation with multiculturalism and personal motivations to be unprejudiced.

The other difference is that 4 items make up Cluster P2 for racial minorities, while only 3 of those items hold that meaning for Whites. Further, for racial minorities, all the remaining items after Cluster P1, Cluster New, and Cluster P2 are actually associated with less race bias, greater egalitarianism, greater belief that race is not a meaningful category, and greater support for racial policy, greater endorsement of multiculturalism, and greater motivation by personal values to be unprejudiced.

In contrast, for Whites, many more items reflected the *racism denial* idea (Cluster P1), and fewer items reflected the *common humanity* idea (Cluster P2). The remaining items were sorted into a cluster which relates slightly to opposition to affirmative action and race bias, and a cluster that is not correlated much with anything. Thus, what may be reflected as egalitarian and in line with racial policy and multiculturalism for non-whites, may be ambiguous for whites.

In sum, for Whites, there is a cluster that reflects racism denial, a cluster that reflects the emphasis on our common humanity, and 2 clusters that are somewhat ambiguous. For non-Whites, there is a cluster that reflects racism denial, a cluster that reflects an emphasis on common humanity, a cluster that shows similar but weaker patterns of the

common humanity version, and a cluster that is different altogether from Whites, which might reflect a general frustration with talk about race as a fixed meaningful category.

## 3. Study 2b

### 3.1. Changes made to the race-relevant scales

#### 3.1.1 Changes made to Symbolic Racism

We adapted this scale for Study 2b to be rated on a 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) scale). Wording that was changed from the original are underlined.

1. *It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if Blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites.*
2. *Irish, Italian, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same.*
3. *Some say that Black leaders have been trying to push too fast. Others feel that they haven't pushed fast enough. Do you think that Black leaders have been trying to push too fast?*
4. *Blacks are responsible for creating much of the racial tension that exists in the U.S. today.*
5. *There is considerable discrimination against Blacks in the U.S. today, limiting their chances to get ahead.\**
6. *Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for Blacks to work their way out of the lower class.*
7. *Over the past few years, Blacks have gotten less than they deserve.\**
8. *Over the past few years, Blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve.*

#### 3.1.2 Changes made to Race Essentialism

Because the items included in Study 2a represented such a heterogeneous array of essentialist ideas, for Study 2b, we decided to use a different inclusion method. Based on a previous dataset (n = 629), we factor analyzed responses on the two race essentialism scales. A principal components analysis extraction revealed 3 orthogonal factors (using the “elbow rule” in the scree plot). After rotating the 3 factors (using a Varimax method), the following three factors emerged: (1) the belief that race captures something meaningful and important about a person, (2) the belief that race is fixed, (3) the belief that race categories are universal across cultures. In fact, the first two factors are in line with the components we are interested in. Thus, we included the top 3 loading items for those two factors, resulting in a 6-item scale for race essentialism.

- Race-as-Informative
  1. *How a person is like (e.g., his or her abilities, traits) is deeply ingrained in his or her race. It cannot be changed much. (No et al., 2008)*
  2. *To a large extent, a person's race biologically determines his or her abilities and traits. (No et al., 2008).*
  3. *It's easy to tell what race people are by looking at them. (Williams & Eberhardt, 2008).*
- Race-as-Fixed
  1. *No one can change his or her race – you are who you are. (Williams & Eberhardt, 2008).*
  2. *A person's race is fixed at birth. (Williams & Eberhardt, 2008).*
  3. *A person's race is something very basic about them and it can't be changed much. (No et al., 2008).*

#### 3.1.3 Changes made to Opposition to Affirmative Action

In Study 2b, we used the same measure for Opposition to Affirmative Action, but prefaced it with a short description of Affirmative Action, taken from Wikipedia: “Affirmative action is the policy of favoring members of a disadvantaged group who currently suffer or historically have suffered from discrimination within a culture. Often,

these people are disadvantaged for historical reasons, such as oppression or slavery. Historically and internationally, support for affirmative action has sought to achieve goals such as bridging inequalities in employment and pay, increasing access to education, promoting diversity, and redressing apparent past wrongs, harms, or hindrances” (“Affirmative Action”, n.d.).

## 3.2 Main Results

3.2.1 Table. Individual Correlations for White sample, split by day (Monday n = 96, Wednesday n = 88, Sunday n = 98)

See section 3.3.6 of the online supplement for correlation values of all 3 days combined.

Colorblind Item	Day of data collection	Symb. Racism	SDO Dominance	SDO Equality	Ext Motive	Int. Motive	Assimilation	Multi-cultural	Essential 1	Essential 2	Opp. to Affirm. Act	Opp. Racial Policy
KnowlesProc2: The same rules and regulations should apply to all groups regardless of their race (e.g., race should not be considered when making decisions...), even if that means existing racial inequalities continue.	Monday	.673***	.339***	.423***	.317**	-.323***	.432***	-.286**	.194†	.297**	.697***	.448***
	Wednesday	.637***	.228*	.270*	.140	-.397***	.387***	-.144	.256*	.340***	.675***	.538***
	Sunday	.612***	.282**	.351***	.078	-.218*	.475***	-.356***	.236*	.231*	.638***	.508***
KnowlesProc1: The same rules and regulations should apply to all groups regardless of their race (e.g., race should not be considered when making decisions such as school admissions)	Monday	.532***	.198*	.317**	.223*	-.121	.412***	-.132	.078	.333***	.633***	.360***
	Wednesday	.541***	.145	.188†	.110	-.241*	.398***	-.169	.086	.404***	.662***	.384***
	Sunday	.567***	.287**	.341***	.093	-.235*	.470***	-.278**	.326***	.286**	.611***	.419***
KnowlesDist1 (reversed): Treating different racial groups differently (e.g., taking peoples race into account when making decisions...) is justified if such treatment reduces existing inequalities	Monday	.684***	.330***	.446***	.319**	-.253*	.496***	-.365***	.126	.267**	.764***	.569***
	Wednesday	.614***	.138	.135	.071	-.166	.373***	-.160	.008	.427***	.654***	.480***
	Sunday	.466***	.274**	.387***	-.052	-.200*	.298**	-.481***	.057	.056	.652***	.541***
KnowlesDist2 (reversed): To achieve racial equality, race-conscious efforts are needed (e.g., taking peoples race into account when making decisions such as school admissions)	Monday	.587***	.305**	.451***	.369***	-.281**	.339***	-.302**	.175	.187†	.606***	.557***
	Wednesday	.501***	.327**	.289**	.137	-.298**	.349***	-.226*	.015	.285**	.536***	.536***
	Sunday	.529***	.272**	.431***	-.122	-.349***	.344***	-.518***	.194†	.133	.687***	.567***
Mazzocco4: Society would be better off if we all stopped talking about race	Monday	.573***	.233*	.241*	.334***	-.214*	.323***	-.228*	.093	.109	.469***	.364***
	Wednesday	.523***	.201†	.198†	-.051	-.174	.376	-.239*	.094	.060	.531***	.480***
	Sunday	.609***	.239*	.291**	.170	-.193†	.461***	-.330***	.306**	.116	.504***	.456***
Mazzocco1: Nothing good will come out of continuing to focus on race	Monday	.428***	.122	.269**	.149	-.120	.185†	-.151	.068	.181†	.426***	.229*
	Wednesday	.410***	.146	.177	-.108	-.104	.295**	-.247*	-.020	-.024	.385***	.364***
	Sunday	.578***	.225*	.318***	.058	-.127	.518***	-.323	.143	.175	.634***	.475***
Neville_Institutional5: Racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin	Monday	.623***	.480***	.480***	.425***	-.277**	.295**	-.399***	.236*	.081	.359***	.406***
	Wednesday	.439***	.339***	.269*	.189†	-.283**	.387***	-.120	.210**	.174	.251*	.325**
	Sunday	.550***	.406***	.452***	.372***	-.270**	.451***	-.258*	.281**	.135	.449***	.410***
Neville_Institutional2: White people in the U.S. are discriminated against because of the color of their skin	Monday	.553***	.257*	.329***	.259*	-.232*	.412***	-.225*	.203*	.058	.418***	.319*
	Wednesday	.493***	.330**	.313**	.199†	-.380***	.353***	-.206†	.229*	.104	.439***	.355***
	Sunday	.691***	.330***	.397***	.170	-.289**	.324***	-.320**	.218*	.153	.425***	.400***
	Monday	.415***	.320***	.260**	.218*	-.158	.338***	-.117	.226*	.148	.283**	.260*

Neville_Blantant2: Talking about racial issues causes unnecessary tension	Wednesday	.533***	.310**	.254*	.222*	-.184	.279**	-.290**	.209*	.109	.430***	.408***
	Sunday	.569***	.301**	.372***	.201*	-.162	.315**	-.255*	.295**	.143	.408***	.432***
Mazzocco3: The topic of race is something that should generally be avoided	Monday	.584***	.406***	.394***	.317**	-.384***	.390***	-.301**	.188†	.245*	.385***	.395***
	Wednesday	.297**	.224*	.218*	.195†	-.092	.192†	-.293**	-.002	.013	.232*	.283**
	Sunday	.521***	.196**	.263**	.170	-.222*	.315**	-.168	.328***	.082	.310**	.397***
Neville_Institutional3: English should be the only official language in the U.S.	Monday	.562***	.386***	.386***	.384***	-.293**	.586***	-.342***	.243*	.329***	.388***	.441***
	Wednesday	.591***	.376***	.295**	.036	-.320**	.615***	-.478***	.244*	.367***	.498***	.437***
	Sunday	.623***	.359***	.356***	.342***	-.151	.710***	-.436***	.326***	.279**	.515***	.384***
Neville_Institutional7: Immigrants should try to fit into the culture and values of the U.S.	Monday	.482***	.279**	.231*	.332***	-.212*	.741***	-.392***	.135	.176	.391***	.392***
	Wednesday	.583***	.352***	.300**	.065	-.370***	.806***	-.491***	.171	.270*	.503***	.448***
	Sunday	.423***	.262**	.290**	.142	-.101	.779***	-.325***	.220*	.231*	.389***	.335***
Neville_Institutional6: It is important that people begin to think of themselves as American and not African American, Mexican American or Italian American	Monday	.492***	.089	.191†	.178†	-.136	.463***	-.197†	.113	.224*	.444***	.280**
	Wednesday	.410***	.115	.116	-.058	-.200†	.517***	-.366***	.008	.224*	.350***	.238*
	Sunday	.479***	.098	.109	.078	.086	.511***	-.231*	.169	.175†	.415***	.336***
Mazzocco2: America would be better off if we stopped placing so much importance on race	Monday	.231*	-.086	.108	.014	.192†	.241*	.028	-.131	.252	.319**	.092
	Wednesday	.546***	.154	.223*	-.101	-.144	.498***	-.232*	.100	.269*	.527***	.370***
	Sunday	.490***	.141	.186†	.134	-.048	.410***	-.210*	.066	.253*	.530***	.334***
Knowles1: I wish people in this society would stop obsessing so much about race	Monday	.493***	.150	.223*	.247*	-.017	.337***	-.179†	.060	.208*	.458***	.286**
	Wednesday	.429***	.099	.138	.051	-.150	.399***	-.293**	-.053	.310**	.532***	.325**
	Sunday	.570***	.215*	.262**	.050	-.067	.519***	-.300**	.049	.248*	.593***	.383***
Neville_Privilege2 (reversed): Race is very important in determining who is successful and who is not	Monday	.473***	.176	.270**	.239*	-.063	.233*	-.028	.006	.393***	.448***	.311**
	Wednesday	.292**	-.023	.023	-.087	-.084	.114	.075	-.037	.146	.283**	.218*
	Sunday	.453***	.325***	.315**	.166	-.038	.177†	-.301**	-.029	.196†	.406***	.373***
Neville_Privilege4 (reversed): Race plays a major role in the type of social services (such as type of health care or day care) that people receive in the U.S.	Monday	.392***	.253*	.152	.174	-.200*	.226*	-.201*	.095	.124	.369***	.375***
	Wednesday	.160	-.003	.020	-.082	-.056	.100	-.110	.018	.271*	.299**	.191†
	Sunday	.460***	.150	.202*	.028	-.119	.362***	-.403***	.174	.073	.359***	.388***
Neville_Privilege5 (reversed): Racial and ethnic minorities do not have the same opportunities as white people in the U.S.	Monday	.866***	.469***	.512***	.464***	-.314**	.459***	-.409***	.214**	.237*	.669***	.682***
	Wednesday	.782***	.418***	.484***	.122	-.461***	.522***	-.359***	.260*	.284***	.658***	.656***
	Sunday	.821***	.395***	.468***	.181†	-.283**	.479***	-.482***	.200*	.277**	.552***	.556***
Neville_Privilege3 (reversed): Race plays an important role in who gets sent to prison	Monday	.716***	.458***	.468***	.325***	-.309**	.378***	-.358***	.180†	.252**	.562***	.640***
	Wednesday	.765***	.401***	.481***	.181	-.408***	.517***	-.298**	.280**	.347***	.699***	.741***

	Sunday	.777***	.400***	.474***	.181†	-.242*	.400***	-.438***	.236*	.097	.494***	.500***
Neville_Privilege7 (reversed): White people are more to blame for racial discrimination than racial and ethnic minorities	Monday	.713***	.297**	.359***	.416***	-.341***	.384***	-.337***	.255*	.121	.589***	.536***
	Wednesday	.739***	.313***	.393***	.210*	-.356***	.563***	-.342***	.272*	.332**	.702***	.640***
	Sunday	.799***	.325***	.427***	.284**	-.303**	.509***	-.443***	.315**	.179†	.542***	.441***
Neville_Privilege1 (reversed): White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin	Monday	.753***	.443***	.481***	.318**	-.318**	.385***	-.464***	.320***	.180†	.607***	.616***
	Wednesday	.722***	.333**	.480***	.060	-.330**	.394***	-.358***	.146	.227*	.690***	.679***
	Sunday	.723***	.233*	.297**	.011	-.205*	.352***	-.412***	.222*	.096	.454***	.504***
Neville_Institutional1: Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against white people	Monday	.820***	.535***	.506***	.400***	-.421***	.476***	-.453***	.284***	.239***	.683***	.603***
	Wednesday	.629***	.324**	.322**	.179	-.521***	.504***	-.303**	.301**	.273*	.714***	.577***
	Sunday	.707***	.306**	.429***	.142	-.286**	.537***	-.466***	.153	.219*	.643***	.566***
Neville_Institutional4 (reversed): Due to racial discrimination, programs such as affirmative action are necessary to help create equality	Monday	.718***	.415***	.451***	.232*	-.406***	.424***	-.393***	.211*	.223*	.716***	.645***
	Wednesday	.694***	.380***	.414***	.067	-.422***	.512***	-.466***	.254	.328**	.799***	.728***
	Sunday	.600***	.365***	.484***	.106	-.363***	.417***	-.521***	.133	.221*	.720***	.656***
Neville_Blatant3 (reversed): Racism is a major problem in the U.S.	Monday	.617***	.386***	.248*	.236*	-.364***	.344***	-.340***	.086	-.007	.496***	.454***
	Wednesday	.595***	.431***	.519***	.030	-.471***	.369***	-.464***	.041	.216*	.567***	.624***
	Sunday	.655***	.436***	.523***	.225*	-.366***	.354***	-.440***	.362***	.131	.432***	.509***
Neville_Blatant1: Racial problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations	Monday	.591***	.418***	.399***	.280**	-.352***	.294**	-.314**	.199*	.000	.442***	.481***
	Wednesday	.527***	.302**	.388***	.042	-.268*	.232*	-.207	.053	.003	.494***	.473***
	Sunday	.590***	.466***	.600***	.201*	-.440***	.344***	-.450***	.337***	.153	.396***	.527***
Neville_Privilege6: Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich	Monday	.701***	.438***	.509***	.296**	-.380***	.389***	-.393***	.239*	.247*	.665***	.611***
	Wednesday	.759***	.532***	.578***	.163	-.448***	.535***	-.373***	.374***	.230*	.578***	.679***
	Sunday	.540***	.405***	.363***	.171	-.082	.389***	-.388***	.162	.197*	.261*	.313**
Neville_Blatant5 (reversed): It is important for political leaders to talk about racism to help work through or solve societies problems	Monday	.591***	.246*	.315**	.285*	-.479***	.369***	-.561***	.057	.084	.567***	.562***
	Wednesday	.683***	.490***	.613***	.244*	-.541***	.369***	-.502***	.236*	.049	.579***	.712***
	Sunday	.609***	.267**	.470***	.075	-.355***	.280**	-.489***	.156	-.024	.530***	.589***
Neville_Blatant6: Racism may have been a problem in the past, it is not an important problem today	Monday	.686***	.506***	.490***	.245*	-.432***	.407***	-.501***	.340***	.128	.485***	.542***
	Wednesday	.641***	.491***	.566***	.055	-.525***	.391***	-.469***	.181	.111	.482***	.676***
	Sunday	.680***	.477***	.607***	.173	-.435***	.436***	-.436***	.420***	.180†	.467***	.614***
Neville_Blatant4 (reversed): It is important for public schools to teach about the history and contributions of racial and ethnic minorities	Monday	.534***	.319**	.369***	.276**	-.473***	.300**	-.739***	.323***	.020	.451***	.549***
	Wednesday	.369***	.391***	.466***	.204†	-.464***	.211**	-.663***	.205†	-.146	.330**	.453***
	Sunday	.514***	.369***	.350***	.240*	-.367***	.161	-.462***	.260*	-.051	.364***	.416***

Ryan3: Recognizing that all people are created equally regardless of their ethnicity (would improve intergroup relations)	Monday	-.197*	-	-.253*	-.050	.234*	-.141	.237*	-.173	.045	-.175	-.265**
	Wednesday	.040	.352***	-.240*	-.167	.281**	.051	.212*	-.170	.152	.102	-.046
	Sunday	-.098	-.303**	-.241*	-.211*	.302**	.262**	.181†	-.316**	.192†	.088	-.153
Hahn2: All humans are fundamentally the same, regardless of where they come from or what their background is	Monday	-.054	-.271**	-.206*	-.158	.199*	-.092	.102	-.283**	-.065	-.038	-.146
	Wednesday	-.260*	-	-.293**	-.181	.404***	-.194†	.349***	.293**	-.071	-.140	-.238*
	Sunday	-.150	.372***	-.152	-.161	.287**	.145	.205*	-.133	.028	.000	-.101
Levin6: It's important to recognize that people are basically the same regardless of their ethnicity	Monday	-.046	-.222*	-.133	-.056	.091	.015	.014	-.142	-.014	.008	-.033
	Wednesday	-.024	-.265*	-.252*	-.179	.314**	.101	.282**	-.268*	.014	-.034	-.134
	Sunday	-.100	-.147	-.172	-.135	.325***	.208*	.116	-.099	-.020	-.050	-.061
Levin5: Its best to judge one another as individuals rather than members of an ethnic group	Monday	-.102	-.296**	-.082	.001	.239*	-.027	.287**	-.276**	.063	.061	-.136
	Wednesday	.033	-.262*	-.221*	-.269*	.288**	-.001	.308**	-.407***	.124	.101	-.046
	Sunday	.001	-.144	-.093	-.140	.255*	.092	.098	-.198*	.170	.087	-.012
Hahn4: It is important to pay attention to the individual characteristics that make a person unique rather than their ethnic, racial, or other social background	Monday	.133	-.124	-.008	.038	.144	.049	.129	-.254*	.056	.154	.046
	Wednesday	.010	-.149	-.111	-.121	.226*	.120	.062	-.150	.290**	.122	-.090
	Sunday	.025	-.163	-.074	-.007	.141	.173	.160	-.152	.234*	.056	-.129
Hahn1: You can find commonalities with every person no matter what their background is	Monday	.013	-.172	-.077	.019	.188†	.124	.343***	-.184†	.167	.105	-.027
	Wednesday	-.055	-.146	-.231*	-.113	.253*	.094	.287**	-.050	.054	-.082	-.198†
	Sunday	-.049	-.209*	-.125	-.150	.226*	.098	.163	-.266**	.203*	.069	-.085
Ryan1: Judging one another as individuals rather than members of an ethnic group (would improve intergroup relations)	Monday	.086	-.216*	-.125	-.009	.136	-.029	.085	-.258*	-.005	.130	-.031
	Wednesday	.152	-.135	-.134	-.052	.106	.225*	.093	-.175	.208*	.179	.008
	Sunday	-.039	-.251*	-.160	-.173	.199*	.078	.169	-.267	.193†	.105	-.070
Ryan2: Recognizing that all people are basically the same regardless of their ethnicity (would improve intergroup relations)	Monday	.086	-.216*	-.125	-.009	.136	-.029	.085	-.258*	-.005	.130	-.031
	Wednesday	.040	-.247*	-.240*	-.167	.281**	.051	.212*	-.170	.152	.102	-.046
	Sunday	.128	-.125	-.092	-.157	.137	.388***	.037	-.039	.073	.246*	.038
Rosenthal3: At our core, all human beings are really the same, so racial and ethnic categories do not matter	Monday	.153	-.130	.004	-.014	.123	.066	-.043	-.170	-.074	.163	.010
	Wednesday	.083	-.160	-.107	-.213*	.200†	.104	.081	-.182	.065	.122	.027
	Sunday	.121	-.169	-.094	-.147	.137	.360***	.060	.014	.107	.216*	.022
	Monday	.114	-.202*	-.068	-.017	.042	.047	-.109	-.246*	-.069	.181†	.019
	Wednesday	.202†	-.082	-.028	.012	.044	.261*	-.055	-.091	.204†	.240*	.092

Apfelbaum4: If everyone paid less attention to race and skin color, we would all get along much better	Sunday	.152	-.019	.016	.055	.204*	.249*	.088	-.018	.280**	.190†	.007
Hahn3: In order to achieve a harmonious society, we must stop thinking of Americans with different racial backgrounds as different from each other, and instead focus on what makes us similar	Monday	.136	-.117	-.025	-.026	.044	.044	.014	-.271**	.049	.214*	.053
	Wednesday	.136	-.053	-.010	-.086	.108	.263*	.069	-.229*	.179	.183	.043
	Sunday	.123	-.113	-.014	.060	.137	.276**	.091	-.018	.116	.133	.027
Goff8: Seeing people in terms of race leads to stereotyping	Monday	.142	-.009	.039	.078	.247*	.143	-.007	-.164	-.007	.189	-.035
	Wednesday	-.012	-.043	-.085	.026	.214*	-.042	.074	-.171	-.014	.018	-.083
	Sunday	.125	-.047	.064	.152	.078	.168	.023	-.001	.135	.041	-.039
Goff7: Ending racial categorization would create a more just society	Monday	.042	-.298**	-.120	-.088	.191†	.010	.061	-.134	-.001	.078	-.181†
	Wednesday	.090	-.158	-.136	.114	.176	.078	-.003	-.118	-.017	.097	.002
	Sunday	.373***	.134	.162	.180†	-.082	.304**	-.147	.120	.069	.362***	.201*
Levin2: I do not want Americans to be identified by their race, national origin, or religion	Monday	.133	-.089	-.009	.084	.105	.134	.007	-.152	.122	.209*	-.052
	Wednesday	.201†	-.040	.000	.000	.051	.133	.028	-.244*	-.001	.183	.021
	Sunday	.184†	.050	.008	.005	.173	.138	-.023	.119	.019	.203*	.121
Goff5: Seeing people in terms of race strips one of their individuality	Monday	.082	-.217*	-.077	-.002	.148	-.043	.066	-.243*	-.097	.130	-.083
	Wednesday	-.098	-.157	-.066	-.125	.168	.079	-.096	-.339***	-.049	-.057	-.139
	Sunday	.168	-.015	.092	.033	.067	.183†	-.049	-.027	.002	.022	.053
Knowles3: Putting racial labels on people obscures the fact that everyone is a unique individual	Monday	.051	-.137	-.041	-.124	.145	.014	.011	-.163	-.052	.105	-.140
	Wednesday	.034	-.067	-.039	-.012	.023	.129	-.035	-.137	.032	-.011	-.021
	Sunday	.058	.055	.122	.114	.038	.026	.045	.070	-.063	.097	.129
Apfelbaum5: It is best not to mention a person's race when referring to that person, even when that person is not in the conversation	Monday	.133	.074	.007	-.001	-.082	.003	-.109	-.207*	-.127	.144	.055
	Wednesday	-.060	-.004	-.053	.159	.259*	-.042	-.060	-.028	-.059	-.108	-.129
	Sunday	.047	.014	-.079	.057	.206*	.004	.011	.099	-.069	.051	-.058
Goff9: Racism and prejudice are products of racial categorization	Monday	.058	-.111	-.032	.012	.179†	.110	.013	-.127	-.187†	.055	-.092
	Wednesday	.074	.014	-.051	.188†	.134	.115	.100	-.063	-.041	.070	-.049
	Sunday	.041	.050	-.046	.207*	.061	.098	.160	.104	-.010	.114	-.002
Knowles4: Race is an artificial label that keeps people from thinking freely as individuals	Monday	.186†	-.081	-.021	.146	-.088	.004	-.168	-.271**	-.250*	.106	.055
	Wednesday	.013	-.187†	-.102	-.057	.167	-.011	-.011	-.210*	.055	.076	.018
	Sunday	.230*	.086	.104	.025	.024	.233*	-.080	-.030	-.131	.274**	.202*
	Monday	.049	-.092	-.050	-.050	.173	-.099	-.060	-.224*	-.218*	.021	-.136

Goff6: Seeing people in terms of race is an injustice	Wednesday	.010	-.113	-.040	.033	.266*	-.029	-.044	-.170	-.049	.020	-.050
	Sunday	.307**	.060	.134	.073	.048	.228*	-.162	.081	-.059	.245*	.104
Goff4: Categorizing people by race is in and of itself racist	Monday	.247*	-.112	-.044	.093	.024	.148	-.135	-.040	-.112	.180†	.011
	Wednesday	.148	.071	.064	.027	-.012	.148	-.164	.082	-.168	.140	.131
	Sunday	.176†	-.071	-.027	.112	.157	.120	-.064	.089	-.092	.106	.061
Apfelbaum2: It is best not to mention a person's race when having a conversation with that person	Monday	.049	.106	.077	.116	.042	-.098	-.083	-.097	-.139	.061	-.014
	Wednesday	.127	.081	.093	.268*	-.004	.150	-.173	-.044	.076	.099	.082
	Sunday	.242*	.040	-.029	.145	.094	.188†	-.074	.151	.113	.108	.074
Apfelbaum3: One should not mention race when having a conversation with a person of another race, unless they bring it up first	Monday	.248*	.183†	.190†	.171	-.020	.137	-.297**	.007	-.104	.229*	.155
	Wednesday	.053	.083	.065	.271*	.058	.000	-.077	-.099	-.095	-.084	-.024
	Sunday	.226*	.089	-.022	.153	.141	.206*	-.060	.175†	.031	.063	.120
Goff1: Seeing people in terms of race contributes to racial tension for everyone	Monday	.216*	.135	.116	.004	.075	.093	-.048	-.031	.024	.154	.037
	Wednesday	.137	.043	.023	.209*	.104	.117	-.097	.034	-.029	No Data	.011
	Sunday	.265**	.046	.124	-.044	.027	.310**	-.051	.070	.024	.320***	.109
Goff3: Seeing people in terms of race creates inequality among racial groups	Monday	-.008	-.128	-.117	-.019	.202*	-.003	.100	-.186†	-.133	-.053	-.180†
	Wednesday	.052	-.147	-.130	.044	.105	.114	-.121	-.097	.002	.069	-.079
	Sunday	.293**	.130	.136	.140	.039	.216*	-.101	.073	.074	.276**	.165
Goff2: Seeing people in terms of race breeds interracial mistrust and prejudice	Monday	.239*	.000	.068	.182†	.081	.146	-.216*	-.097	-.085	.220*	.061
	Wednesday	.025	-.083	-.062	.087	.124	.139	-.087	-.047	.094	.044	-.056
	Sunday	.263**	.020	.095	.132	.009	.241*	-.091	.035	.109	.229*	.073
Levin3: American society is made up first and foremost of citizens, not of groups	Monday	.288**	.104	.126	.058	-.038	.250*	.060	.096	.469***	.254*	.062
	Wednesday	.049	-.265*	-.297**	-.110	.164	.117	.108	-.139	.096	.122	-.091
	Sunday	.278**	-.021	.031	-.103	.091	.376***	-.194†	-.072	.331***	.385***	.260*
Levin1: We should treat citizens of this country as Americans and not as members of particular ethnic, religious, or sexual communities	Monday	.252*	-.013	.073	-.029	.065	.344***	.046	-.121	.340***	.359***	.126
	Wednesday	.164	-.158	-.171	-.012	.202†	.261*	.178	-.167	.308**	.258*	-.041
	Sunday	.227*	-.110	-.037	-.042	.136	.260*	.006	.010	.145	.199*	.089
Knowles2: People who become preoccupied by race are forgetting that we are all just human	Monday	.291**	.066	.099	-.016	.000	.178†	-.035	-.054	.096	.301**	.119
	Wednesday	.275**	.024	-.036	-.140	.051	.356***	.057	-.106	.163	.293**	.181
	Sunday	.263**	-.029	.009	.030	.068	.334***	.011	-.027	.102	.307**	.075
	Monday	.399***	.135	.175	.182†	-.042	.432***	-.160	-.020	.296**	.425***	.222*
	Wednesday	.198†	-.044	-.041	-.113	.151	.298**	.112	-.153	.247*	.178	-.013

Levin4: For the unity of the country, individuals should be considered Americans before any consideration is given to their race or religion	Sunday	.270**	.027	.006	.216*	.067	.341***	-.102	-.153	.209*	.400***	.158
Apfelbaum1: When I interact with other people, I try not to even notice the color of their skin	Monday	.386***	.241*	.245*	.258*	-.040	.181†	-.272**	-.002	.057	.270**	.266**
	Wednesday	.162	-.011	-.003	.041	.155	.293**	.055	.121	.115	.220*	.089
	Sunday	.294**	.095	.114	.085	.097	.269**	-.081	.178†	-.051	.078	.138
Apfelbaum6: If one does not want to appear prejudiced, one should avoid using racial descriptors altogether	Monday	.355***	.079	.122	.225*	-.041	.203*	-.258*	.041	.035	.410***	.260*
	Wednesday	.174	.156	-.068	.186†	.026	.098	-.036	.197†	.074	.097	.027
	Sunday	.403***	.222*	.207*	.194†	-.102	.223*	-.160	.173	.004	.287**	.244*
Rosenthal5: Racial and ethnic group memberships do not matter very much to who we are	Monday	.095	-.244*	-.123	.016	.150	-.110	-.015	-.206*	-.058	.114	-.007
	Wednesday	.016	-.151	-.063	-.191†	.103	.168	.011	-.131	-.107	.087	-.004
	Sunday	.398***	.168	.246*	-.199*	-.101	.392***	-.346***	.155	.254*	.413***	.398***
Rosenthal2: It is really not necessary to pay attention to peoples racial, ethnic, or cultural background because it doesn't tell you much about who they are	Monday	.141	-.029	.092	.064	.044	-.051	-.131	-.133	-.130	.064	.021
	Wednesday	.074	-.105	-.060	-.205†	.101	.159	-.138	-.068	-.009	-.201†	.067
	Sunday	.321***	.084	.220*	-.117	-.105	.309**	-.294**	.179†	.084	.383***	.322***
Goff11: Seeing people in terms of race is a significant hindrance to racial harmony	Monday	.266**	-.088	.011	.097	-.053	.109	-.093	-.124	-.024	.281**	.103
	Wednesday	.121	-.107	-.032	-.079	.067	.157	-.198†	-.124	.043	.219	.101
	Sunday	.272**	.012	.068	.162	.037	.170	-.026	.124	.122	.224*	.122
Rosenthal4: All human beings are individuals, and therefore race and ethnicity are not important	Monday	.219*	-.126	-.028	.068	-.134	.047	-.071	-.015	-.044	.203*	.081
	Wednesday	.121	-.055	-.113	.017	.141	.108	.024	-.156	.128	.128	-.011
	Sunday	.364***	.093	.172	.020	.002	.489***	-.195	.150	.166	.451***	.336***
Ryan4: Adopting a colorblind perspective in which ones ethnic group membership is considered unimportant (would improve intergroup relations)	Monday	.077	-.092	-.020	.014	.039	.016	-.060	-.133	-.023	.052	-.051
	Wednesday	.181	.040	.181	.029	.058	.178	-.194†	-.036	.112	.207*	.152
	Sunday	.342***	.109	.186†	-.140	-.075	.265**	-.312**	.020	-.031	.266**	.231*
Rosenthal1: Ethnic and cultural group categories are not very important for understanding or making decisions about people	Monday	.313**	.006	.045	.072	-.113	.070	-.148	-.126	.025	.347***	.205*
	Wednesday	.148	.049	.069	-.082	.054	.167	-.202†	.119	-.073	.093	.133
	Sunday	.221*	.140	.149	-.072	-.132	.242*	-.342***	.123	.106	.250*	.231*
Goff10: Recognizing racial affiliations prevents the United States from moving towards a more socially just society	Monday	.380***	-.023	.083	.129	-.086	.071	-.140	-.054	.008	.226*	.119
	Wednesday	.175	-.110	.012	-.132	.037	.278	-.153	-.046	-.027	.299	.145
	Sunday	.261*	.103	.202*	.088	-.103	.239*	-.164	.259*	.088	.320***	.283**
	Monday	.319**	.019	.054	.080	-.177†	.007	-.055	-.040	.112	.266**	.105
	Wednesday	.321**	-.022	.018	-.059	-.035	.439***	-.002	-.133	.241*	.345***	.195†

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Ryan5: Learning to ignore differences between ethnic groups will improve relations between groups in the US	Sunday	.242*	-.011	.160	-.001	-.050	.260*	-.185†	.174	.014	.239*	.260*
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\*\*\*  $p \leq .001$ , \*\*  $p \leq .01$ , \*  $p \leq .05$ ,

### 3.3 Parallel Analysis with data from self-identified African-American / Black participants

#### 3.3.1 Introduction

African Americans have very different experiences with race from Whites, suggesting that a call to “minimize attention to race” may mean something different when coming from a Black individual compared to a White individual. Indeed, colorblind ideas often used by anti-egalitarian Whites to hinder efforts for equality (Knowles et al., 2009) can sound confusingly similar to colorblind-like ideas evoked by African American professionals calling to be judged as individuals and not as stereotypical members of their racial group (Purdie-Vaughns & Walton, 2011). In fact, research suggests that Whites and racial minorities can interpret the same colorblind idea (e.g., “Race does not matter”) differently (Levy et al., 2005). Thus, we predicted that the correlations between a colorblind statement and race-relevant attitude variables (e.g., Symbolic Racism, SDO, Multiculturalism) would be different for Black participants compared to White participants.

#### 3.3.2 Method

##### *Participants*

273 self-identified African American MTurkers 177 female, 95 male, 1 other;  $M_{age} = 35.39$ ,  $SD_{age} = 11.39$  participants were recruited for this study. The African American group did not differ from the White group in age, gender, or education.

##### *Measures*

#### 3.3.3 Table. Race-relevant attitudes and beliefs for African American sample (n = 273)

Variables (# of items)	Mean (SD)	$\alpha$
Assimilationism (4 items; Hahn et al., 2015, Wolsko et al., 2006)	4.66 (1.29)	.83
Multiculturalism (4 items; Hahn et al., 2015, Wolsko et al., 2006)	6.13 (.83)	.80
Symbolic Racism (8 items; Henry & Sears, 2002) <sup>a</sup>	2.36 (1.06)	.84
SDO– Group-Based Dominance (4 items; Ho et al., 2015)	1.88 (1.00)	.69
SDO– Opposition to Equality (4 items; Ho et al., 2015)	2.00 (1.03)	.66
External Motivations to Respond Without Prejudice (5 items; Plant & Devine, 1998)	3.23 (1.52)	.87
Internal Motivations to Respond Without Prejudice (5 items; Plant & Devine, 1998)	5.74 (1.15)	.78
Race-as-Informative Essentialism (4 items; adapted from No et al., 2008, and Williams & Eberhardt, 2008) <sup>b</sup>	2.57 (1.52)	.54
Race-as-Fixed Essentialism (3 items; adapted from No et al., 2008, and Williams & Eberhardt, 2008)	5.82 (1.35)	.86
Opposition to Affirmative Action (6 items; Haley & Sidanius, 2006)	3.33 (1.26)	.83
Opposition to Racial Policy (6 items; Ho et al., 2012)	2.18 (.97)	.79

##### *Results*

Results for the Black participants varied somewhat more depending on the day of data collection compared to Whites. See tables below for descriptive statistics and for correlations split by day of data collection.

3.3.4 Table. Means and standard deviations for all 69 colorblind items, compared across racial group, split by day of data collection

Colorblind item	Racial group	Grand mean (SD)	Monday mean (SD)	Wednesday mean (SD)	Sunday mean (SD)	Omnibus test for day-of-week differences
Levin1: We should treat citizens of this country as Americans and not as members of particular ethnic, religious, or sexual communities.	White	5.84 (1.26)	5.69 (1.26) <sup>a</sup>	5.68 (1.34) <sup>b</sup>	6.11 (1.14) <sup>a,b</sup>	F = 3.68*
	Black	5.66 (1.54)	5.75 (1.52)	5.57 (1.53)	5.65 (1.58)	F = 0.30
	Race Difference	t = 1.51				
Levin2: I do not want Americans to be identified by their race, national origin, or religion	White	5.05 (1.62)	4.99 (1.59)	4.88 (1.69)	5.26 (1.58)	F = 1.37
	Black	4.51 (1.93)	4.81(1.75)	4.42 (1.90)	4.33 (2.09)	F = 1.57
	Race Difference	t = 3.53***				
Levin3: American society is made up first and foremost of citizens, not of groups.	White	5.66 (1.46)	5.66 (1.47)	5.65 (1.37)	5.66 (1.53)	F = 0.00
	Black	5.26 (1.72)	5.45 (1.65)	5.19 (1.65)	5.14 (1.85)	F = 0.88
	Race Difference	t = 2.94***				
Levin4: For the unity of the country, individuals should be considered Americans before any consideration is given to their race or religion.	White	5.78 (1.31)	5.72 (1.31)	5.65 (1.38)	5.95 (1.25)	F = 1.36
	Black	5.44 (1.77)	5.69 (1.57)	5.40 (1.72)	5.24 (1.98)	F = 1.51
	Race Difference	t = 2.54**				
Levin5: It's best to judge one another as individuals rather than members of an ethnic group.	White	6.15 (.86)	6.20 (0.763)	6.11 (1.01)	6.14 (0.80)	F = 0.23
	Black	6.13 (1.08)	6.10 (1.09)	6.10 (1.09)	6.17 (1.06)	F = 0.13
	Race Difference	t = 0.33				
Levin6: It's important to recognize that people are basically the same regardless of their ethnicity.	White	5.92 (1.22)	5.98 (1.21)	5.83 (1.18)	5.95 (1.26)	F = 0.38
	Black	5.69 (1.51)	5.94 (1.32) <sup>a</sup>	5.52 (1.51) <sup>a</sup>	5.63 (1.66)	F = 1.88
	Race Difference	t = 1.95*				
Rosenthal1: Ethnic and cultural group categories are not very important for understanding or making decisions about people.	White	3.94 (1.70)	4.01 (1.71)	3.84 (1.70)	3.95 (1.68)	F = 0.23
	Black	3.75 (1.90)	4.07 (1.95)	3.59 (1.87)	3.62 (1.88)	F = 1.78
	Race Difference	t = 1.19				
Rosenthal2: It is really not necessary to pay attention to people's racial, ethnic, or cultural background because it doesn't tell you much about who they are.	White	4.20 (1.72)	4.09 (1.76)	4.17 (1.59)	4.33 (1.79)	F = 0.46
	Black	3.93 (2.00)	4.49 (2.01) <sup>a,b</sup>	3.70 (1.88) <sup>a</sup>	3.62 (2.02) <sup>b</sup>	F = 5.35**
	Race Difference	t = 1.72				
Rosenthal3: At our core, all human beings are really the same, so racial and ethnic categories do not matter.	White	5.45 (1.48)	5.43 (1.47)	5.31 (1.48)	5.59 (1.50)	F = 0.87
	Black	5.00 (1.90)	5.20 (1.83)	4.80 (1.88)	5.00 (1.98)	F = 1.01
	Race Difference	t = 3.08***				
Rosenthal4: All human beings are individuals, and therefore race and ethnicity are not important.	White	5.19 (1.66)	5.25 (1.70)	5.01 (1.64)	5.30 (1.64)	F = 0.77
	Black	4.66 (2.01)	4.98 (1.89) <sup>a</sup>	4.64 (1.92)	4.37 (2.17) <sup>a</sup>	F = 2.09
	Race Difference	t = 3.42***				
Rosenthal5: Racial and ethnic group memberships do not matter very much to who we are.	White	4.41 (1.67)	4.45 (1.73)	4.57 (1.52)	4.24 (1.75)	F = 0.89
	Black	3.74 (1.96)	4.34 (2.03) <sup>a,b</sup>	3.48 (1.86) <sup>a</sup>	3.44 (1.89) <sup>b</sup>	F = 6.27**
	Race Difference	t = 4.33***				
Knowles1: I wish people in this society would stop obsessing so much about race.	White	5.50 (1.58)	5.47 (1.60)	5.52 (1.46)	5.50 (1.68)	F = 0.03
	Black	4.71 (2.07)	4.92 (2.00)	4.52 (2.05)	4.71 (2.15)	F = 0.86
	Race Difference	t = 5.00***				
Knowles2: People who become preoccupied by race are forgetting that we are all just human.	White	5.76 (1.38)	5.86 (1.23) <sup>a</sup>	5.50 (1.52) <sup>a,b</sup>	5.89 (1.38) <sup>b</sup>	F = 2.28
	Black	5.39 (1.74)	5.50 (1.60)	5.49 (1.64)	5.19 (1.96)	F = 0.92
	Race Difference	t = 2.73**				
Knowles3: Putting racial labels on people obscures the fact that everyone is a unique individual.	White	5.32 (1.44)	5.36 (1.49)	5.05 (1.50) <sup>a</sup>	5.53 (1.31) <sup>a</sup>	F = 2.72†
	Black	5.04 (1.83)	5.14 (1.82)	5.18 (1.69)	4.83 (1.97)	F = 0.99
	Race Difference	t = 1.99*				
	White	4.74 (1.73)	4.72 (1.75)	4.55 (1.78)	4.94 (1.66)	F = 1.21

Knowles4: Race is an artificial label that keeps people from thinking freely as individuals.	Black	4.35 (2.02)	4.58 (2.03)	4.41 (1.94)	4.07 (2.08)	F = 1.49
	Race Difference	t = 2.46**				
Mazzocco1: Nothing good will come out of continuing to focus on race.	White	4.73 (1.82)	4.50 (1.71)	4.73 (1.90)	4.95 (1.84)	F = 1.48
	Black	4.24 (2.07)	4.40 (2.08)	4.18 (1.95)	4.16 (2.19)	F = 0.37
Mazzocco2: America would be better off if we stopped placing so much importance on race.	White	5.45 (1.56)	5.46 (1.38)	5.38 (1.68)	5.51 (1.62)	F = 0.18
	Black	4.90 (2.02)	4.92 (1.87)	5.01 (2.00)	4.78 (2.17)	F = 0.32
Mazzocco3: The topic of race is something that should generally be avoided.	White	3.67 (1.82)	3.50 (1.71)	3.66 (1.87)	3.85 (1.88)	F = 0.89
	Black	3.01 (1.79)	3.19 (1.81) <sup>a</sup>	3.14 (1.70)	2.71 (1.85) <sup>a</sup>	F = 2.02
Mazzocco4: Society would be better off if we all stopped talking about race.	White	4.38 (1.89)	4.25 (1.90)	4.33 (1.86)	4.54 (1.93)	F = 0.61
	Black	3.79 (2.14)	3.98 (2.06)	3.74 (2.10)	3.68 (2.26)	F = 0.49
Neville_Privilege1 (reversed): White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.	White	3.19 (1.88)	2.83 (1.78) <sup>a,b</sup>	3.39 (1.91) <sup>a</sup>	3.36 (1.92) <sup>b</sup>	F = 2.62†
	Black	1.79 (1.17)	1.93 (1.24)	1.74 (1.17)	1.71 (1.10)	F = 0.93
Neville_Privilege2 (reversed): Race is very important in determining who is successful and who is not.	White	5.12 (1.76)	4.81 (1.85) <sup>a</sup>	5.35 (1.66) <sup>a</sup>	5.20 (1.74)	F = 2.36
	Black	4.60 (1.96)	4.75 (1.76)	4.63 (2.09)	4.44 (2.02)	F = 0.59
Neville_Privilege3 (reversed): Race plays an important role in who gets sent to prison.	White	3.83 (1.99)	3.71 (1.88)	4.03 (2.06)	3.78 (2.03)	F = 0.68
	Black	2.33 (1.51)	2.33 (1.36)	2.40 (1.68)	2.27 (1.49)	F = 0.18
Neville_Privilege4 (reversed): Race plays a major role in the type of social services (such as type of health care or day care) that people receive in the U.S.	White	3.69 (1.70)	3.35 (1.48) <sup>a</sup>	3.99 (1.77) <sup>a</sup>	3.74 (1.78)	F = 3.35*
	Black	2.99 (1.60)	3.17 (1.64)	2.97 (1.66)	2.83 (1.51)	F = 1.03
Neville_Privilege5 (reversed): Racial and ethnic minorities do not have the same opportunities as white people in the U.S.	White	3.71 (1.93)	3.33 (1.81) <sup>a,b</sup>	3.93 (1.96) <sup>a</sup>	3.89 (1.97) <sup>b</sup>	F = 2.92†
	Black	2.26 (1.43)	2.31 (1.31)	2.25 (1.51)	2.21 (1.49)	F = 0.10
Neville_Privilege6: Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich.	White	4.15 (2.10)	4.03 (2.13)	4.11 (2.09)	4.31 (2.08)	F = 0.44
	Black	3.64 (2.02)	3.69 (1.84)	3.67 (2.10)	3.55 (2.12)	F = 0.13
Neville_Privilege7 (reversed): White people are more to blame for racial discrimination than racial and ethnic minorities.	White	4.35 (1.97)	4.02 (1.90) <sup>a</sup>	4.33 (2.02)	4.68 (1.97) <sup>a</sup>	F = 2.78†
	Black	2.69 (1.64)	2.86 (1.57)	2.68 (1.72)	2.53 (1.61)	F = 0.96
Neville_Institutional1: Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against white people.	White	4.13 (2.02)	3.81 (1.98) <sup>a</sup>	4.10 (2.00)	4.48 (2.03) <sup>a</sup>	F = 2.71†
	Black	2.36 (1.54)	2.49 (1.55)	2.38 (1.56)	2.22 (1.53)	F = 0.68
Neville_Institutional2: White people in the U.S. are discriminated against because of the color of their skin.	White	3.48 (1.89)	3.19 (1.90) <sup>a</sup>	3.49 (1.84)	3.77 (1.92) <sup>a</sup>	F = 2.28
	Black	2.36 (1.70)	2.55 (1.72)	2.25 (1.62)	2.29 (1.75)	F = 0.82
Neville_Institutional3: English should be the only official language in the U.S.	White	4.70 (2.11)	4.68 (2.07)	4.63 (2.15)	4.79 (2.13)	F = 0.14
	Black	3.97 (1.99)	3.90 (1.84)	4.04 (2.02)	3.98 (2.12)	F = 0.12
Neville_Institutional4 (reversed): Due to racial discrimination, programs such as affirmative action are necessary to help create equality.	White	4.02 (1.93)	3.79 (1.92) <sup>a</sup>	3.91 (1.99)	4.36 (1.85) <sup>a</sup>	F = 2.34
	Black	2.26 (1.32)	2.18 (1.26)	2.37 (1.34)	2.22 (1.37)	F = 0.52
Neville_Institutional5: Racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.	White	3.64 (1.78)	3.33 (1.79) <sup>a,b</sup>	3.81 (1.77) <sup>a</sup>	3.79 (1.74) <sup>b</sup>	F = 2.17
	Black	2.78 (1.84)	2.95 (1.77)	2.73 (1.80)	2.67 (1.95)	F = 0.59
Neville_Institutional6: It is important that people begin to think of themselves as American and	White	4.94 (1.82)	4.82 (1.85)	4.80 (1.76)	5.18 (1.82)	F = 1.33
	Black	4.29 (2.08)	4.66 (1.99) <sup>a</sup>	4.16 (2.05)	4.05 (2.17) <sup>a</sup>	F = 2.18
	Race Difference	t = 3.96***				

not African American, Mexican American or Italian American.						
Neville_Institutional7: Immigrants should try to fit into the culture and values of the U.S.	White	4.86 (1.68)	4.66 (1.64)	4.85 (1.71)	5.07 (1.68)	F = 1.44
	Black	4.56 (1.62)	4.56 (1.69)	4.60 (1.61)	4.53 (1.57)	F = 0.05
	Race Difference	t = 2.16*				
Neville_Blatant1: Racial problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations.	White	2.69 (1.61)	2.52 (1.54)	2.76 (1.61)	2.80 (1.68)	F = 0.83
	Black	1.83 (1.33)	1.82 (1.30)	1.86 (1.31)	1.82 (1.38)	F = 0.03
	Race Difference	t = 6.87***				
Neville_Blatant2: Talking about racial issues causes unnecessary tension.	White	4.13 (1.83)	4.08 (1.67)	3.90 (2.02) <sup>b</sup>	4.39 (1.79) <sup>b</sup>	F = 1.72
	Black	3.60 (1.94)	3.68 (1.82)	3.86 (1.90) <sup>a</sup>	3.29 (2.07) <sup>a</sup>	F = 2.11
	Race Difference	t = 3.29***				
Neville_Blatant3 (reversed): Racism is a major problem in the U.S.	White	2.71 (1.56)	2.50 (1.42)	2.73 (1.49)	2.89 (1.74)	F = 1.51
	Black	1.73 (1.18)	1.83 (1.29)	1.74 (1.15)	1.64 (1.10)	F = 0.60
	Race Difference	t = 8.30***				
Neville_Blatant4 (reversed): It is important for public schools to teach about the history and contributions of racial and ethnic minorities.	White	2.11 (1.28)	2.05 (1.29)	2.15 (1.21)	2.12 (1.33)	F = 0.14
	Black	1.65 (1.08)	1.65 (0.98)	1.73 (1.21)	1.57 (1.03)	F = 0.45
	Race Difference	t = 4.57***				
Neville_Blatant5 (reversed): It is important for political leaders to talk about racism to help work through or solve society's problems.	White	2.88 (1.63)	2.65 (1.49)	2.99 (1.70)	3.00 (1.69)	F = 1.45
	Black	2.10 (1.33)	2.20 (1.29)	2.21 (1.26)	1.89 (1.42)	F = 1.73
	Race Difference					
Neville_Blatant6: Racism may have been a problem in the past, it is not an important problem today.	White	2.68 (1.68)	2.48 (1.60) <sup>a</sup>	2.66 (1.60)	2.91 (1.80) <sup>a</sup>	F = 1.61
	Black	1.73 (1.35)	1.90 (1.46)	1.62 (1.18)	1.67 (1.40)	F = 1.09
	Race Difference	t = 7.43***				
Apfelbaum1: When I interact with other people, I try not to even notice the color of their skin.	White	5.06 (1.58)	5.05 (1.71)	5.01 (1.47)	5.11 (1.55)	F = 0.10
	Black	4.70 (1.94)	4.60 (1.90)	4.65 (1.88)	4.84 (2.05)	F = 0.39
	Race Difference	t = 2.40*				
Apfelbaum2: It is best not to mention a person's race when having a conversation with that person.	White	4.94 (1.54)	5.02 (1.63)	4.83 (1.55)	4.96 (1.44)	F = 0.37
	Black	4.86 (1.70)	5.08 (1.59) <sup>a</sup>	4.96 (1.61)	4.55 (1.85) <sup>a</sup>	F = 2.48
	Race Difference	t = 0.60				
Apfelbaum3: One should not mention race when having a conversation with a person of another race, unless they bring it up first.	White	4.49 (1.55)	4.36 (1.58)	4.52 (1.54)	4.58 (1.53)	F = 0.51
	Black	4.32 (1.70)	4.70 (1.55) <sup>a,b</sup>	4.15 (1.47) <sup>a</sup>	4.12 (1.98) <sup>b</sup>	F = 3.41*
	Race Difference	t = 1.24				
Apfelbaum4: If everyone paid less attention to race and skin color, we would all get along much better.	White	5.71 (1.33)	5.69 (1.42)	5.64 (1.28)	5.80 (1.28)	F = 0.35
	Black	5.33 (1.78)	5.44 (1.80)	5.43 (1.63)	5.13 (1.91)	F = 0.91
	Race Difference	t = 2.83**				
Apfelbaum5: It is best not to mention a person's race when referring to that person, even when that person is not in the conversation.	White	4.79 (1.56)	4.92 (1.49)	4.58 (1.64)	4.86 (1.55)	F = 1.21
	Black	4.68 (1.73)	4.93 (1.55)	4.56 (1.72)	4.57 (1.87)	F = 1.35
	Race Difference	t = 0.77				
Apfelbaum6: If one does not want to appear prejudiced, one should avoid using racial descriptors altogether.	White	4.71 (1.64)	4.64 (1.62)	4.74 (1.71)	4.77 (1.62)	F = 0.17
	Black	4.37 (1.91)	4.73 (1.65) <sup>a</sup>	4.38 (1.84)	4.02 (2.15) <sup>a</sup>	F = 3.14*
	Race Difference	t = 2.25*				
Goff1: Seeing people in terms of race contributes to racial tension for everyone.	White	5.14 (1.53)	5.10 (1.50)	4.98 (1.61)	5.33 (1.47)	F = 1.26
	Black	4.90 (1.76)	5.07 (1.60) <sup>a</sup>	5.09 (1.66) <sup>b</sup>	4.55 (1.95) <sup>a,b</sup>	F = 2.79†
	Race Difference	t = 1.75†				
Goff2: Seeing people in terms of race breeds interracial mistrust and prejudice.	White	5.02 (1.48)	4.94 (1.34)	4.92 (1.63)	5.19 (1.48)	F = 1.02
	Black	4.76 (1.81)	5.10 (1.68) <sup>a</sup>	4.89 (1.69) <sup>b</sup>	4.32 (1.96) <sup>a,b</sup>	F = 4.72*
	Race Difference	t = 1.85†				
Goff3: Seeing people in terms of race creates inequality among racial groups.	White	5.10 (1.51)	5.10 (1.54)	4.83 (1.57) <sup>a</sup>	5.34 (1.40) <sup>a</sup>	F = 2.65†
	Black	4.74 (1.80)	4.89 (1.80)	4.81 (1.68)	4.53 (1.92)	F = 0.99
	Race Difference	t = 2.54**				
Goff4: Categorizing people by race is in and of itself racist.	White	4.21 (1.94)	4.41 (1.88)	3.94 (1.95)	4.26 (1.97)	F = 1.35
	Black	4.19 (1.97)	4.50 (1.87) <sup>a</sup>	4.32 (1.97) <sup>b</sup>	3.77 (2.00) <sup>a,b</sup>	F = 3.53*
	Race Difference	t = 0.14				
	White	4.98 (1.59)	5.09 (1.61)	4.75 (1.69)	5.07 (1.48)	F = 1.33

Goff5: Seeing people in terms of race strips one of their individuality.	Black	4.68 (1.91)	4.85 (1.84)	4.82 (1.83)	4.39 (2.02)	F = 1.68
	Race Difference	t = 1.97*				
Goff6: Seeing people in terms of race is an injustice.	White	4.61 (1.62)	4.48 (1.64) <sup>b</sup>	4.44 (1.60) <sup>a</sup>	4.89 (1.59) <sup>b,a</sup>	F = 2.25
	Black	4.37 (1.87)	4.58 (1.86)	4.26 (1.81)	4.29 (1.94)	F = 0.79
	Race Difference	t = 1.59				
Goff7: Ending racial categorization would create a more just society.	White	5.17 (1.52)	5.22 (1.50)	5.03 (1.56)	5.26 (1.52)	F = 0.55
	Black	4.86 (1.93)	5.10 (1.82)	4.87 (1.85)	4.63 (2.11)	F = 1.35
	Race Difference	t = 2.09*				
Goff8: Seeing people in terms of race leads to stereotyping.	White	5.51 (1.36)	5.53 (1.52)	5.31 (1.30) <sup>a</sup>	5.66 (1.24) <sup>a</sup>	F = 1.62
	Black	5.47 (1.56)	5.50 (1.58)	5.57 (1.48)	5.35 (1.62)	F = 0.46
	Race Difference	t = 0.29				
Goff9: Racism and prejudice are products of racial categorization.	White	5.22 (1.48)	5.23 (1.53)	5.13 (1.52)	5.31 (1.40)	F = 0.35
	Black	5.37 (1.67)	5.51 (1.55) <sup>b</sup>	5.57 (1.50) <sup>a</sup>	5.05 (1.88) <sup>b,a</sup>	F = 2.72†
	Race Difference	t = -1.12				
Goff10: Recognizing racial affiliations prevents the United States from moving towards a more socially just society.	White	4.41 (1.69)	4.40 (1.72)	4.25 (1.75)	4.58 (1.61)	F = 0.90
	Black	4.11 (1.85)	4.18 (1.79)	4.30 (1.75)	3.86 (1.99)	F = 1.38
	Race Difference	t = 2.03*				
Goff11: Seeing people in terms of race is a significant hindrance to racial harmony.	White	5.09 (1.53)	5.04 (1.54)	4.85 (1.72) <sup>a</sup>	5.36 (1.29) <sup>a</sup>	F = 2.65†
	Black	4.78 (1.79)	4.84 (1.76)	4.86 (1.58)	4.65 (2.01)	F = 0.39
	Race Difference	t = 2.21*				
KnowlesProc1: The same rules and regulations should apply to all groups regardless of their race (e.g., race should not be considered when making decisions such as school admissions).	White	5.59 (1.74)	5.50 (1.81)	5.41 (1.85)	5.83 (1.55)	F = 1.51
	Black	5.25 (1.86)	5.20 (1.85)	5.27 (1.75)	5.27 (2.00)	F = 0.04
	Race Difference	t = 2.19*				
KnowlesProc2: The same rules and regulations should apply to all groups regardless of their race (e.g., race should not be considered when making decisions...), even if that means existing racial inequalities continue.	White	4.90 (1.98)	4.50 (2.03) <sup>a</sup>	4.92 (1.94)	5.29 (1.91) <sup>a</sup>	F = 3.91*
	Black	4.05 (2.03)	4.08 (1.96)	4.07 (2.07)	4.02 (2.07)	F = 0.02
	Race Difference	t = 5.00***				
KnowlesDist1 (reversed): Treating different racial groups differently (e.g., taking people's race into account when making decisions...) is justified if such treatment reduces existing inequalities.	White	4.30 (1.89)	4.32 (1.99)	4.39 (1.92)	4.19 (1.78)	F = 0.25
	Black	3.50 (1.88)	3.68 (1.80)	3.51 (1.85)	3.33 (1.98)	F = 0.80
	Race Difference	t = 4.97***				
KnowlesDist2 (reversed): To achieve racial equality, race-conscious efforts are needed (e.g., taking peoples race into account when making decisions such as school admissions).	White	4.35 (1.86)	4.16 (1.90) <sup>a</sup>	4.19 (1.86) <sup>b</sup>	4.68 (1.81) <sup>a,b</sup>	F = 2.43
	Black	3.42 (1.79)	3.42 (1.81)	3.50 (1.69)	3.34 (1.89)	F = 0.18
	Race Difference	t = 5.99***				
Hahn1: You can find commonalities with every person no matter what their background is.	White	6.18 (0.95)	6.16 (1.05)	6.06 (0.94) <sup>a</sup>	6.32 (0.85) <sup>a</sup>	F = 1.79
	Black	6.19 (1.00)	6.13 (1.11)	6.16 (0.91)	6.27 (0.99)	F = 0.51
	Race Difference	t = -0.05				
Hahn2: All humans are fundamentally the same, regardless of where they come from or what their background is.	White	5.68 (1.33)	5.78 (1.20)	5.52 (1.47)	5.72 (1.33)	F = 0.94
	Black	5.53 (1.61)	5.69 (1.53)	5.45 (1.55)	5.44 (1.75)	F = 0.70
	Race Difference	t = 1.23				
Hahn3: In order to achieve a harmonious society, we must stop thinking of Americans with different racial backgrounds as different from each other, and instead focus on what makes us similar.	White	5.70 (1.25)	5.72 (1.27)	5.43 (1.37) <sup>a</sup>	5.92 (1.07) <sup>a</sup>	F = 3.57*
	Black	5.49 (1.54)	5.83 (1.41) <sup>a</sup>	5.47 (1.48)	5.19 (1.66) <sup>a</sup>	F = 3.96*
	Race Difference	t = 1.72†				
Hahn4: It is important to pay attention to the individual characteristics that make a person unique rather than their ethnic, racial, or other social background.	White	6.04 (0.96)	6.13 (0.78)	5.90 (1.03)	6.08 (1.04)	F = 1.46
	Black	5.91 (1.24)	5.93 (1.35)	5.92 (1.09)	5.88 (1.27)	F = 0.042
	Race Difference	t = 1.35				
	White	5.92 (1.03)	5.92 (1.07)	5.74 (1.10) <sup>a</sup>	6.08 (0.89) <sup>a</sup>	F = 2.61†

Ryan1: Judging one another as individuals rather than members of an ethnic group would improve intergroup relations.	Black	5.71 (1.41)	5.65 (1.47)	5.77 (1.32)	5.72 (1.46)	F = 0.17
	Race Difference	t = 1.94*				
Ryan2: Recognizing that all people are basically the same regardless of their ethnicity would improve intergroup relations.	White	5.93 (1.13)	5.95 (1.06)	5.89 (1.09)	5.96 (1.24)	F = 0.11
	Black	5.64 (1.53)	5.68 (1.59)	5.47 (1.51)	5.78 (1.50)	F = 0.95
Ryan3: Recognizing that all people are created equally regardless of their ethnicity would improve intergroup relations.	White	6.14 (1.02)	6.34 (0.93) <sup>a, b</sup>	6.01 (0.93) <sup>a</sup>	6.06 (1.15) <sup>b</sup>	F = 2.97*
	Black	6.21 (1.13)	6.17 (1.26)	6.19 (1.04)	6.26 (1.08)	F = 0.15
Ryan4: Adopting a colorblind perspective in which ones ethnic group membership is considered unimportant would improve intergroup relations.	White	4.85 (1.59)	4.80 (1.61)	4.75 (1.51)	4.98 (1.64)	F = 0.54
	Black	4.31 (1.95)	4.78 (1.90) <sup>b, a</sup>	4.27 (1.95) <sup>b</sup>	6.26 (1.08) <sup>a</sup>	F = 4.78**
Ryan5: Learning to ignore differences between ethnic groups will improve relations between groups in the U.S.	White	4.78 (1.64)	4.75 (1.64)	4.64 (1.64)	4.95 (1.64)	F = 0.88
	Black	4.40 (1.94)	4.58 (1.90)	4.54 (1.77)	4.11 (2.13)	F = 1.69
	Race Difference					

Note. Means that share a superscript within the same row are significantly different from each other at  $p < .05$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$

We examined the patterns of correlations between colorblind statements and race-relevant attitude scales among African Americans, and asked if they are different from the correlations patterns found among Whites.

### 3.3.5 Overall differences in correlation values

To first test whether the associations differed between the two groups *in general*, for each colorblind item by scale pair, we used the Fisher *r*-to-*z* transformation and tested differences in correlations between two independent samples. Results show that 30% (226 out of 759) of the correlations were significantly different across the two groups, with the majority of those differences (90%) showing stronger correlations among Whites compared to African Americans.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 17 out of the 90 preregistered predictions for correlation differences were confirmed. Of the disconfirmed, 29 were in the predicted direction but not significant, and 44 were actually no different.

3.3.6 Table. Comparison of correlations between White and Black participants, for the 69 colorblind items and related scales, organized by White cluster assignment, all 3 days combined.

Colorblind Item		Symb Rac	SDO Dom	SDO Equal	Ext Motiv	Int Motiv	Assim	Multi	Essen: Inform	Essen: Fixed	Affirm Act	Racial Policy
KnowlesProc2: The same rules and regulations should apply to all groups regardless of their race (e.g., race should not be considered when making decisions...), even if that means existing racial inequalities continue.	White	.645***	.291***	.354***	.177**	-.320***	.439***	-.262***	.239***	.305***	.667***	.506***
	Black	.335***	.162**	.143*	.123*	-.125*	.257***	-.122*	.150*	-.023	.331***	.218***
	Difference	W>B***		W>B**		W<B*	W>B*			W>B***	W>B***	W>B***
KnowlesProc1: The same rules and regulations should apply to all groups regardless of their race (e.g., race should not be considered when making decisions such as school admissions).	White	.544***	.207***	.278***	.146*	-.196***	.430***	-.183**	.165**	.351***	.633***	.389***
	Black	.235***	.022	-.004	.145*	.034	.159**	.060	.126*	.013	.359***	.111†
	Difference	W>B***	W>B*	W>B***		W<B**	W>B***	W<B**		W>B***	W>B***	W>B***
KnowlesDist1 (reversed): Treating different racial groups differently (e.g., taking people's race into account when making decisions...) is justified if such treatment reduces existing inequalities.	White	.585***	.245***	.320***	.111†	-.204***	.387***	-.330***	.060	.258***	.687***	.516***
	Black	.160**	.067	.076	.047	-.073	-.021	-.132*	.072	-.101	.411***	.219***
	Difference	W>B***	W>B*	W>B**			W>B***	W<B*		W>B***	W>B***	W>B***
KnowlesDist2 (reversed): To achieve racial equality, race-conscious efforts are needed (e.g., taking peoples race into account when making decisions such as school admissions).	White	.543***	.305***	.390***	.126*	-.307***	.352***	-.340***	.134*	.215***	.608***	.557***
	Black	.308***	.060	.123*	-.030	-.130*	.137*	-.164**	-.004	.005	.417***	.207***
	Difference	W>B***	W>B**	W>B***		W<B*	W>B**	W<B*		W>B*	W>B**	W>B***
Mazzocco4: Society would be better off if we all stopped talking about race.	White	.572***	.227***	.244***	.156**	-.194***	.391***	-.264***	.178**	.101	.502***	.438***
	Black	.378***	.196***	.143*	.124*	-.001	.241***	-.106†	.114†	-.053	.274***	.181**
	Difference	W>B**				W<B*					W>B**	W>B***
Mazzocco1: Nothing good will come out of continuing to focus on race.	White	.479***	.170**	.256***	.032	-.122*	.342***	-.242***	.075	.117*	.486***	.375***
	Black	.325***	.121*	.159**	.180**	-.012	.184**	-.088	.030	-.090	.275***	.140*
	Difference	W>B*					W>B*			W>B*	W>B**	W>B**
Neville_Institutional5: Racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.	White	.547***	.413***	.405***	.327***	-.285***	.378***	-.265***	.253***	.136*	.357***	.387***
	Black	.370***	.333***	.247***	.086	-.172**	.228***	-.053	.273***	-.065	.177**	.270***
	Difference	W>B**		W>B*	W>B**			W<B*		W>B*	W>B*	
Neville_Institutional2: White people in the U.S. are discriminated against because of the color of their skin.	White	.588***	.310***	.349***	.207***	-.305***	.370***	-.251***	.225***	.113†	.429***	.371***
	Black	.465***	.265***	.242***	.053	-.153*	.011	-.212***	.170**	-.141*	.210***	.375***
	Difference	W>B*					W>B***			W>B**	W>B**	

Neville_Blant2: Talking about racial issues causes unnecessary tension.	White	.505***	.310***	.290***	.216***	-.165**	.315***	-.219***	.244***	.138*	.377***	.379***
	Black	.379***	.188**	.174**	.170**	-.104	.249***	-.202***	.183**	-.045	.313***	.243***
	Difference									W>B*		
Mazzocco3: The topic of race is something that should generally be avoided.	White	.473***	.276***	.292***	.223***	-.227***	.305***	-.254***	.184**	.124*	.309***	.364***
	Black	.385***	.252***	.182**	.118*	-.063	.261***	-.149*	.156**	-.042	.234***	.204***
	Difference						W<B*				W>B*	
Neville_Institutional3: English should be the only official language in the U.S.	White	.590***	.373***	.347***	.258***	-.253***	.637***	-.416***	.273***	.325***	.468***	.416***
	Black	.118*	.124*	.158**	-.005	.019	.375***	-.148*	.023	.036	-.030	.035
	Difference	W>B***	W>B**	W>B*	W>B**	W<B**	W>B***	W<B***	W>B**	W>B***	W>B***	W>B***
Neville_Institutional7: Immigrants should try to fit into the culture and values of the U.S.	White	.497***	.302***	.278***	.178***	-.234***	.776***	-.404***	.187**	.232***	.429***	.396***
	Black	.138*	.063	.047	-.011	.037	.631***	-.078	-.004	-.040	.106*	.018
	Difference	W>B***	W>B**	W>B**	W>B*	W<B**	W>B***	W<B***	W>B*	W>B**	W>B***	W>B***
Neville_Institutional6: It is important that people begin to think of themselves as American and not African American, Mexican American or Italian American.	White	.465***	.104†	.142*	.073	-.085	.500***	-.258***	.104†	.216***	.404***	.293***
	Black	.349***	.061	.097	.034	-.074	.382***	-.047	.037	-.147*	.274***	.112†
	Difference							W<B*		W>B***		W>B*
Mazzocco2: America would be better off if we stopped placing so much importance on race.	White	.426***	.078	.174**	.022	-.014	.386***	-.144*	.027	.254***	.466***	.282***
	Black	.269***	.001	.041	.090	.050	.155*	-.074	-.043	-.155*	.259***	.069
	Difference	W>B*					W>B**			W>B***	W>B**	W>B**
Knowles1: I wish people in this society would stop obsessing so much about race.	White	.500***	.156**	.209***	.113†	-.078	.418***	-.255***	.022	.247***	.527***	.332***
	Black	.345***	.090	.096	.119*	.022	.267***	-.038	.019	-.057	.261***	.096
	Difference	W>B*					W>B*	W<B**		W>B***	W>B***	W>B**
Neville_Privilege2 (reversed): Race is very important in determining who is successful and who is not.	White	.419***	.167**	.211***	.111†	-.075	.181**	-.091	-.007	.262***	.383***	.310***
	Black	.177**	-.086	.006	-.035	.133*	.098	.010	-.143*	.074	.091	.060
	Difference	W>B**	W>B**	W>B*		W<B*				W>B*	W>B***	W>B**
Neville_Privilege4 (reversed): Race plays a major role in the type of social services (such as type of health care or day care) that people receive in the U.S.	White	.347***	.133*	.130*	.028	-.133*	.233***	-.245***	.113†	.164**	.343***	.323***
	Black	.305***	.101	.091	-.068	-.112†	.052	-.229***	-.099	-.047	.293***	.172**
	Difference						W>B*		W>B*	W>B*		

Cluster 1A												
Colorblind Item	Symb Rac	SDO Dom	SDO Equal	Ext Motiv	Int Motiv	Assim	Multi	Essen: Inform	Essen: Fixed	Affirm Act	Racial Policy	
Neville_Privilege5 (reversed): Racial and ethnic minorities do not have the same opportunities as white people in the U.S.	White	.825***	.430***	.490***	.242***	-.369***	.486***	-.421***	.236***	.272***	.624***	.628***
	Black	.554***	.161**	.188**	-.013	-.095	.135*	-.191***	.079	-.009	.311***	.443***
	Difference	W>B***	W>B***	W>B***	W>B**	W>B***	W>B***	W<B**		W>B***	W>B***	W>B**
Neville_Privilege3 (reversed): Race plays an important role in who gets sent to prison.	White	.750**	.419***	.475***	.221***	-.326***	.425***	-.366***	.238***	.235***	.584***	.615***
	Black	.457***	.164**	.170**	.073	-.115†	.143*	-.309***	.082	.024	.243***	.271***
	Difference	W>B***	W>B**	W>B***		W<B**	W>B***			W>B*	W>B***	W>B***
	White	.753***	.317***	.395***	.300***	-.338***	.490***	-.372***	.291***	.222***	.611***	.543***

Neville_Privilege7 (reversed): White people are more to blame for racial discrimination than racial and ethnic minorities.	Black	.486***	.176**	.234***	-.017	-.224***	.091	-.175	.040	-.045	.269***	.341***
	Difference	W>B***		W>B*	W>B***		W>B***	W<B*	W>B**	W>B**	W>B***	W>B**
Neville_Privilege1 (reversed): White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.	White	.735***	.340***	.424***	.118*	-.294***	.378***	-.413***	.234***	.180**	.582***	.598***
	Black	.657***	.259***	.339***	.061	-.166**	.139*	-.363***	.141*	-.064	.334***	.506***
	Difference						W>B**			W>B**	W>B***	
Neville_Institutional1: Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against white people.	White	.723***	.392***	.421***	.236***	-.413***	.511***	-.405***	.247***	.255***	.678***	.587***
	Black	.551***	.225***	.198***	-.024	-.209***	.125*	-.268***	.114†	-.159**	.337***	.377***
	Difference	W>B***	W>B*	W>B**	W>B**	W<B**	W>B***			W>B***	W>B***	W>B**
Neville_Institutional4 (reversed): Due to racial discrimination, programs such as affirmative action are necessary to help create equality.	White	.672***	.390***	.449***	.136*	-.397***	.456***	-.454***	.203***	.269***	.744***	.679***
	Black	.416***	.123*	.275***	.012	-.149*	.053	-.366***	.011	.001	.410***	.522***
	Difference	W>B***	W>B***	W>B*		W<B**	W>B***		W>B*	W>B**	W>B***	W>B**
Neville_Blattant3 (reversed): Racism is a major problem in the U.S.	White	.627***	.420***	.433***	.169**	-.400***	.359***	-.413***	.196***	.119*	.493***	.535***
	Black	.467***	.199***	.332***	.081	-.159**	.083	-.336***	-.023	-.028	.310***	.392***
	Difference	W>B**	W>B**			W<B**	W>B***		W>B**		W>B*	W>B*
Neville_Blattant1: Racial problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations.	White	.574***	.398***	.463***	.174**	-.355***	.295***	-.325***	.211***	.054	.445***	.499***
	Black	.634***	.433***	.411***	.157**	-.314***	.162**	-.425***	.231***	-.194***	.240***	.547***
	Difference									W>B**	W>B**	
Neville_Privilege6: Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich.	White	.664***	.460***	.486***	.210***	-.307***	.437***	-.383***	.256***	.230***	.499***	.523***
	Black	.502***	.174**	.116†	.159**	-.003	.273***	-.032	.157**	-.026	.338***	.226***
	Difference	W>B**	W>B***	W>B***		W<B***	W>B*	W<B***		W>B**	W>B*	W>B***
Neville_Blattant5 (reversed): It is important for political leaders to talk about racism to help work through or solve society's problems.	White	.630***	.342***	.474***	.190***	-.464***	.339***	-.517***	.166**	.048	.559***	.626***
	Black	.482***	.250***	.430***	.156**	-.119*	.021	-.405***	.092	-.007	.304***	.516***
	Difference	W>B*				W<B***	W>B***				W>B***	
Neville_Blattant6: Racism may have been a problem in the past, it is not an important problem today.	White	.672***	.491***	.552***	.160**	-.462***	.417***	-.464***	.327***	.149*	.478***	.616***
	Black	.520***	.294***	.317***	.106†	-.277***	.195***	-.258***	.170**	-.125*	.219***	.395***
	Difference	W>B**	W>B**	W>B***		W<B*	W>B**	W<B**	W>B*	W>B**	W>B***	W>B***
Neville_Blattant4 (reversed): It is important for public schools to teach about the history and contributions of racial and ethnic minorities.	White	.478***	.358***	.392***	.240***	-.431***	.224***	-.618***	.261***	-.051	.382***	.464***
	Black	.447***	.213***	.294***	.046	-.163**	.038	-.375***	.071	.013	.263***	.367***
	Difference				W>B*	W<B***	W>B*	W<B***	W>B*			
<b>Cluster 2</b>												
<b>Colorblind Item</b>		<b>Symb Rac</b>	<b>SDO Dom</b>	<b>SDO Equal</b>	<b>Ext Motiv</b>	<b>Int Motiv</b>	<b>Assim</b>	<b>Multi</b>	<b>Essen: Inform</b>	<b>Essen: Fixed</b>	<b>Affirm Act</b>	<b>Racial Policy</b>
Ryan3: Recognizing that all people are created equally regardless of their ethnicity (would improve intergroup relations).	White	-.193***	-.374***	-.326***	-.154**	.355***	.012	.287***	-.294***	.062	-.099	-.269***
	Black	-.070	-.288***	-.295***	.035	.257***	.165**	.215***	-.110†	.102	-.013	-.263***
	Difference				W<B*				W<B*			
Hahn2: All humans are fundamentally the same, regardless of where they come from or what their background is.	White	-.161**	-.277***	-.224***	-.162**	.311***	-.043	.232***	-.234***	-.041	-.064	-.163**
	Black	.074	-.108†	-.004	.011	.194***	.170**	.059	-.232**	-.019	.123*	-.073
	Difference	W<B**	W<B*	W<B**	W<B*		W<B*	W>B*			W<B*	

Levin6: It's important to recognize that people are basically the same regardless of their ethnicity.	White	-.061	-.211***	-.186**	-.121*	.247***	.110†	.139*	-.167**	-.007	-.027	-.076
	Black	.087	-.123*	-.036	-.012	.153*	.292***	.071	-.165**	-.031	.112†	-.138*
	Difference						W<B*					
Levin5: It's best to judge one another as individuals rather than members of an ethnic group.	White	-.022	-.237***	-.143*	-.145*	.266***	.020	.240***	-.300***	.111†	.083	-.061
	Black	.026	-.162**	-.133*	-.101	.172**	.202***	.131*	-.163**	.065	.146*	-.189**
	Difference						W<B*					
Hahn4: It is important to pay attention to the individual characteristics that make a person unique rather than their ethnic, racial, or other social background.	White	.043	-.149*	-.073	-.030	.181**	.120*	.121*	-.181**	.190***	.101	-.074
	Black	.106†	-.139*	-.167**	.028	.194***	.268***	.086	-.135*	.103	.141*	-.106†
	Difference											
Hahn1: You can find commonalities with every person no matter what their background is.	White	-.023	-.169**	-.140*	-.071	.220***	.115*	.273***	-.160**	.146*	.035	-.090
	Black	-.044	-.224***	-.170**	-.057	.279***	.194***	.230***	-.279***	.018	.024	-.237***
	Difference											
Ryan1: Judging one another as individuals rather than members of an ethnic group (would improve intergroup relations).	White	.093	-.156**	-.110†	-.045	.122*	.155*	.129*	-.238***	.197***	.174**	-.026
	Black	.099	-.099	-.066	-.027	.252***	.252***	.150**	-.173**	.013	.079	-.168**
	Difference									W>B*		
Ryan2: Recognizing that all people are basically the same regardless of their ethnicity (would improve intergroup relations).	White	.087	-.192***	-.150*	-.114†	.185**	.152*	.110†	-.138*	.070	.164**	-.007
	Black	.079	-.179**	-.125*	.017	.292***	.283***	.128*	-.193***	.039	.018	-.176**
	Difference										W>B*	
Rosenthal3: At our core, all human beings are really the same, so racial and ethnic categories do not matter.	White	.122*	-.150*	-.064	-.121*	.155**	.185**	.035	-.102	.031	.168**	.026
	Black	.236***	-.039	.024	.127*	.059	.190**	-.062	-.111†	-.006	.175**	-.003
	Difference					W<B**						
Apfelbaum4: If everyone paid less attention to race and skin color, we would all get along much better.	White	.154	-.103	-.028	.019	.093	.181	-.028	-.110	.119	.202	.042
	Black	.193***	-.020	-.075	.158**	.140*	.289***	.051	-.021	.010	.225***	-.027
	Difference											
Hahn3: In order to achieve a harmonious society, we must stop thinking of Americans with different racial backgrounds as different from each other, and instead focus on what makes us similar.	White	.131*	-.089	-.019	-.012	.101	.195***	.064	-.171**	.121*	.176**	.049
	Black	.101	-.125*	-.096	.061	.183**	.233***	.145*	-.167**	-.047	.170**	-.153*
	Difference									W>B*		W>B*
Goff8: Seeing people in terms of race leads to stereotyping.	White	.090	-.031	.004	.091	.187**	.102	.034	-.108†	.042	.087	-.044
	Black	.166**	.004	.020	.109†	.070	.154*	.051	-.091	-.008	.219***	-.047
	Difference											
Goff7: Ending racial categorization would create a more just society.	White	.169**	-.109†	-.038	.076	.101	.135*	-.024	-.035	.015	.177**	.023
	Black	.156**	.001	-.009	.167**	.046	.224***	.071	.124*	-.057	.221***	-.032
	Difference											
Levin2: I do not want Americans to be identified by their race, national origin, or religion.	White	.175**	-.024	.001	.033	.106†	.143*	.007	-.081	.059	.199***	.045
	Black	.232***	.049	.042	.081	-.011	.270***	.001	.021	-.162**	.217***	.006
	Difference									W>B***		

Cluster 3												
Colorblind Item		Symb Rac	SDO Dom	SDO Equal	Ext Motiv	Int Motiv	Assim	Multi	Essen: Inform	Essen: Fixed	Affirm Act	Racial Policy
Goff5: Seeing people in terms of race strips one of their individuality.	White	.046	-.136*	-.027	-.027	.138*	.072	-.019	-.203***	-.052	.028	-.055
	Black	.163**	.058	.051	.009	-.003	.098	-.064	-.016	-.155*	.234***	.021
	Difference		W<B*						W<B*		W<B*	
Knowles3: Putting racial labels on people obscures the fact that everyone is a unique individual.	White	.047	-.054	.005	-.001	.075	.064	.013	-.074	-.018	.062	.000
	Black	.171**	.028	.002	.055	.078	.161**	-.023	-.046	-.043	.225***	-.013
	Difference											
Apfelbaum5: It is best not to mention a person's race when referring to that person, even when that person is not in the conversation.	White	.035	.023	-.046	.077	.144*	-.009	-.046	-.037	-.085	.023	-.051
	Black	.108†	.109†	.097	.165**	.044	.193***	.042	.129*	-.051	.164**	.074
	Difference						W<B*					
Goff9: Racism and prejudice are products of racial categorization.	White	.058	-.018	-.043	.137*	.127*	.111†	.021	-.023	-.085	.079	-.042
	Black	.031	-.006	-.060	.130*	.065	.146*	.055	.113†	-.037	.173**	-.092
	Difference											
Knowles4: Race is an artificial label that keeps people from thinking freely as individuals.	White	.147*	-.063	-.011	.042	.042	.082	-.082	-.159**	-.103†	.152*	.101
	Black	.174**	.118*	.030	.081	-.005	.240***	-.041	.057	-.190**	.173**	.067
	Difference		W<B*						W<B*			
Goff6: Seeing people in terms of race is an injustice.	White	.132*	-.043	.015	.025	.161**	.046	-.085	-.085	-.100	.100	-.005
	Black	.163**	.036	.054	.132*	.013	.215***	.026	.012	-.104	.176**	.028
	Difference						W<B*					
Goff4: Categorizing people by race is in and of itself racist.	White	.182**	-.041	-.008	.082	.065	.137*	-.112†	.041	-.125*	.136*	.064
	Black	.166**	.010	.083	.046	-.015	.075	-.049	.053	-.152*	.189**	.037
	Difference											
Apfelbaum2: It is best not to mention a person's race when having a conversation with that person.	White	.132*	.075	.048	.175**	.046	.071	-.106†	.004	-.001	.087	.046
	Black	.178**	.031	-.007	.112†	.060	.130*	.006	.117*	-.054	.148*	.035
	Difference											
Apfelbaum3: One should not mention race when having a conversation with a person of another race, unless they bring it up first.	White	.185**	.123*	.085	.195***	.053	.122*	-.150*	.041	-.055	.074	.090
	Black	.206***	.147*	.134*	.184**	-.004	.204***	-.081	.130*	.004	.210***	.104
	Difference											
Goff1: Seeing people in terms of race contributes to racial tension for everyone.	White	.208***	.076	.085	.060	.072	.180**	-.062	.030	.013	.184**	.061
	Black	.188**	.052	.046	.057	-.007	.283***	-.026	.076	-.050	.231***	-.009
	Difference											
Goff3: Seeing people in terms of race creates inequality among racial groups.	White	.110†	-.054	-.047	.061	.121*	.114†	-.031	-.062	-.021	.095	-.016
	Black	.062	-.062	-.039	.111†	.046	.128*	.052	-.011	-.032	.153*	-.086
	Difference											
Goff2: Seeing people in terms of race breeds interracial mistrust and prejudice.	White	.178**	-.020	.031	.133*	.072	.182**	-.126*	-.024	.045	.162**	.033
	Black	.171**	.018	-.006	.165**	.044	.160**	-.043	-.011	-.060	.191**	-.030
	Difference											

Levin3: American society is made up first and foremost of citizens, not of groups.	Difference											
	White	.213***	-.055	-.040	-.052	.072	.255***	-.011	-.043	.303***	.260***	.091
	Black	.185**	-.030	.000	-.018	.215***	.282***	.116†	-.027	.024	.040	-.013
Levin1: We should treat citizens of this country as Americans and not as members of particular ethnic, religious, or sexual communities.	Difference									W>B***	W>B**	
	White	.221***	-.086	-.042	-.021	.132*	.299***	.083	-.082	.289***	.274***	.071
	Black	.071	-.152*	-.165**	-.002	.140	.298***	.170**	-.086	.070	.085	-.191**
Knowles2: People who become preoccupied by race are forgetting that we are all just human.	Difference									W>B**	W>B*	W>B**
	White	.268***	.016	.015	-.036	.051	.294***	.023	-.068	.122*	.295***	.124*
	Black	.191**	-.043	-.015	.082	.134*	.246***	.054	-.086	.022	.277***	-.007
Levin4: For the unity of the country, individuals should be considered Americans before any consideration is given to their race or religion.	Difference									W>B***	W>B**	W>B**
	White	.293***	.041	.048	.099	.062	.364***	-.043	-.109†	.261***	.332***	.126*
	Black	.113†	.054	-.114†	.009	.006	.405***	.043	-.010	-.084	.115†	-.103
Apfelbaum1: When I interact with other people, I try not to even notice the color of their skin.	Difference	W>B*										
	White	.289***	.115†	.125*	.133*	.068	.243***	-.106†	.102	.047	.189***	.164**
	Black	.222***	.069	.016	.117*	.080	.293***	-.024	-.018	-.050	.235***	-.002
Apfelbaum6: If one does not want to appear prejudiced, one should avoid using racial descriptors altogether.	Difference	W>B*										
	White	.315***	.154***	.084	.201***	-.039	.178**	-.151***	.146	.043	.263***	.177**
	Black	.200***	.076	.120*	.198***	-.025	.218***	.050	.192***	-.047	.159**	.028
Rosenthal5: Racial and ethnic group memberships do not matter very much to who we are.	Difference											
	White	.178**	-.075	.018	-.127*	.046	.140*	-.120*	-.041	.014	.211***	.142*
	Black	.279***	.050	.157**	.060	.000	.177**	-.094	-.065	-.108†	.202***	.141*
Rosenthal2: It is really not necessary to pay attention to people's racial, ethnic, or cultural background because it doesn't tell you much about who they are.	Difference											
	White	.190***	-.010	.089	-.081	.009	.142*	-.187**	.014	-.021	.221***	.157**
	Black	.175**	.026	.146*	.133*	.044	.134*	-.081	-.067	-.121*	.191**	.099
Goff11: Seeing people in terms of race is a significant hindrance to racial harmony.	Difference											
	White	.217***	-.063	.010	.059	.022	.153**	-.107†	-.040	.048	.239***	.116*
	Black	.189**	.015	-.011	.122*	.076	.238***	.048	-.004	-.056	.280***	.005
Rosenthal4: All human beings are individuals, and therefore race and ethnicity are not important.	Difference											
	White	.236***	-.032	.004	.038	.011	.218***	-.073	-.003	.073	.261***	.145*
	Black	.212***	.036	.087	.083	-.016	.225***	-.062	-.057	-.062	.293***	.062
Ryan4: Adopting a colorblind perspective in which ones ethnic group membership is considered unimportant (would improve intergroup relations).	Difference											
	White	.204***	.020	.112†	-.036	.007	.157**	-.184**	-.040	.023	.177**	.125*
	Black	.226***	.073	.065	.110†	.070	.351***	-.058	.012	-.051	.179**	.050
	Difference						W<B*					
	White	.226***	.062	.083	-.026	-.055	.158**	-.223***	.044	.014	.229***	.187**

Rosenthal1: Ethnic and cultural group categories are not very important for understanding or making decisions about people.	Black	.215***	.027	.087	.108†	.055	.151*	-.111†	-.021	-.063	.167**	.117*
	Difference											
Goff10: Recognizing racial affiliations prevents the United States from moving towards a more socially just society.	White	.275***	-.012	.094	.033	-.044	.197***	-.147*	.061	.024	.281***	.189***
	Black	.187**	.13*0	.069	.078	.020	.165**	-.049	.104	-.191***	.219***	.004
Ryan5: Learning to ignore differences between ethnic groups will improve relations between groups in the US.	White	.293***	-.002	.076	.011	-.083	.233***	-.076	.011	.132*	.283***	.196***
	Black	.264***	.081	-.002	.111†	.005	.163**	-.079	.121*	-.148*	.257***	.032
	Difference									W<B*	W>B*	
										W>B***		

\*\*\*  $p \leq .001$ , \*\*  $p \leq .01$ , \*  $p \leq .05$ , †  $p \leq .08$ . To test that certain correlations differed significantly between Whites and African Americans, we used the Fisher  $r$ -to- $z$  transformation and tested for differences in correlations between two independent samples. Blank cells in the “difference” rows indicate that the White vs. African American correlation differences were not significant for that scale.

### 3.3.7 Differences in correlation patterns

Do White and Black participants differ in the correlation *patterns* associated with each colorblind item as well? To see how the colorblind statements might be organized among Black participants, and whether distinct constructs may be represented in colorblind measures for Black participants as well, we conducted the same analyses as we did for the White participants.

First, we replicated the same basic finding that with principal axis factoring, more than one latent factor is represented among the 69 colorblind items for African Americans. The “elbow” rule again revealed 3 orthogonal factors, accounting for 28.83%, 8.26%, and 3.40% of the variance, respectively.

We next repeated the hierarchical clustering analysis for Black participants’ responses. The heatmap function in R revealed 4 clusters for Black participants similar to the 4 clusters observed among White participants (see Figure below).<sup>2</sup> That is, there was a cluster that was characterized by positive associations with Symbolic Racism, SDO Dominance and SDO Opposition to Equality, Opposition to Racial Policy and Affirmative Action, and negative associations with Multiculturalism and Internal Motivations to Respond without Prejudice (i.e., Cluster 1A). There was also a cluster similar to Cluster 1A in correlation patterns but weaker in strength (i.e., Cluster 1B), a cluster characterized by associations opposite to that of Cluster 1A (i.e., Cluster 2), and a cluster characterized by being uncorrelated with the scales (i.e., Cluster 3). Furthermore, when creating index scores for these 4 clusters by averaging the items within each cluster, these 4 clusters differed significantly in their associations with the majority of the relevant scales.

### 3.3.8 Figure. Heatmap analysis on the full set of 69 items for African American participants

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<sup>2</sup> 18 out of the 28 cluster correlation predictions for racial minorities were confirmed, with 43 out of 44 of those cluster correlation difference predictions confirmed.



3.3.9 Table. Study 2b correlations and correlation differences between cluster index scores and measures of relevant constructs, Black participants only (n = 273), exploratory clusters

	Exploratory Cluster				Cluster comparisons					
	Cluster B-1A	Cluster B-1B	Cluster B-2	Cluster B-3	B-1A vs. B-1B	B-1A vs. B-2	B-1A vs. B-3	B-1B vs. B-2	B-1B vs. B-3	B-2 vs. B-3
Symbolic Racism	.67***	.77***	.11	.33***	2.93**	9.65***	8.66***	9.64***	8.12***	-5.48***
SDO Dominance	.35***	.33***	-.20***	.08	-0.29	8.27***	5.84***	6.05***	3.48***	-6.71***
SDO Opposition to Equality	.30***	.43***	-.15*	.08	2.63**	6.75***	4.72***	6.77***	4.99***	-5.54***
External Motives	.18**	.08	.02	.15*	-1.74	2.43*	0.56	0.76	-0.95	-3.3***
Internal Motives	-.17**	-.26***	.29***	.04	-1.61	-6.89***	-4.48***	-6.21***	-4.04***	6.04***
Assimilationism	.39***	.15*	.34***	.35***	-4.61***	0.87	1.04	-2.22*	-2.79**	-0.23
Multiculturalism	-.21***	-.48***	.18**	-.06	-5.36***	-5.81***	-3.22***	-7.82***	-6.1***	5.74***
Race-as-Informative Essentialism	.26***	.13*	-.20***	.03	-2.37*	6.80***	4.89***	3.64***	1.32	-5.44***
Race-as-Fixed Essentialism	-.12*	-.07	.04	-.11	0.88	-2.33*	-0.15	-1.21	0.57	3.60***
Opposition to Affirmative Action	.44***	.45***	.15*	.36***	0.21	4.53***	1.83	3.58***	1.34	-5.18***
Opposition to Racial Policy	.40***	.64***	-.20***	.07	5.33***	9.22***	7.20***	10.53***	8.72***	-6.67***
Belief that equality is achieved	.51***	.65***	-.01	.25***						
Belief that equality is not possible	.20***	.19**	.20***	.18**						

Note. \*\*\* p < .001, \*\* p < .01, \* p < .05. Cluster comparisons are computed from transforming correlations from r-to-z, and testing the difference between the z-scores. The values in the left half are Pearson's r, the values in the right half are the Z difference scores between the two clusters' correlations with the given scale.

3.3.10 Table. Individual Correlations for Black sample, split by day of data collection (Monday n = 88, Wednesday n = 91, Sunday n = 94)

Colorblind Item	Day	Symb. Racism	SDO Dominance	SDO Equality	Ext Motive	Int. Motive	Assimilation	Multi-cultural	Essential 1	Essential 2	Opp. to Affirm. Act	Opp. Racial Policy
KnowlesProc2(ourown): The same rules and regulations should apply to all groups regardless of their race (e.g., race should not be	Monday	.362***	.226*	.225*	.091	-.082	.297**	-.045	.309**	.033	.379***	.242*
	Wednesday	.417***	.237*	.214*	.204*	-.094	.202†	-.259*	-.032	-.064	.439***	.203*
	Sunday	.239*	.037	.005	.070	-.198†	.270**	-.056	.196†	-.032	.197†	.212*

considered when making decisions...), even if that means existing racial inequalities continue.												
KnowlesProc1(ourown): The same rules and regulations should apply to all groups regardless of their race (e.g., race should not be considered when making decisions such as school admissions)	Monday	.256*	.069	-.066	.068	.161	.189†	.036	.177	.189†	.370***	.171
	Wednesday	.225*	.069	.090	.233*	.043	.033	.001	.086	-.163	.450***	.001
	Sunday	.229*	-.059	-.01	.146	-.090	.225*	.130	.120	.004	.278**	.156
KnowlesDist1(ourown) (reversed): Treating different racial groups differently (e.g., taking peoples race into account when making decisions...) is justified if such treatment reduces existing inequalities	Monday	.315**	.242*	.139	-.034	-.030	.090	-.177	.136	-.228*	.393***	.296**
	Wednesday	.218*	.068	.067	.136	-.071	-.057	-.223*	-.016	-.168	.573***	.183†
	Sunday	-.002	-.062	.008	.026	-.121	-.088	-.002	.101	.097	.304**	.190†
KnowlesDist2(ourown) (reversed): To achieve racial equality, race-conscious efforts are needed (e.g., taking peoples race into account when making decisions such as school admissions)	Monday	.498***	.104	.111	-.106	-.068	.065	-.193†	-.028	.048	.510***	.328**
	Wednesday	.257*	.013	.021	.045	.031	.078	-.234*	-.146	-.002	.436***	.147
	Sunday	.207*	.064†	.216*	-.026	-.325***	.254*	-.074	.124	-.031	.328***	.143
Mazzocco4: Society would be better off if we all stopped talking about race	Monday	.351***	.202†	.149	.071	.001	.368***	-.064	.075	-.095	.344***	.214*
	Wednesday	.408***	.349***	.198†	.075	.013	.258*	-.348***	.046	.058	.363***	.188†
	Sunday	.375***	.066	.081	.213*	-.017	.121	.079	.210*	-.112	.152	.151
Mazzocco1: Nothing good will come out of continuing to focus on race	Monday	.302**	.079	.155	.174	-.046	.319**	.007	.065	-.087	.247*	.130
	Wednesday	.354***	.299**	.194†	.138	.005	.127	-.324**	-.081	-.137	.409***	.167
	Sunday	.321**	.012	.124	.218*	.003	.102	.032	.101	-.040	.199†	.132
Neville_Institutional5: Racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin	Monday	.405***	.327**	.217*	-.103	-.079	.182	.150	.166	-.149	.140	.175
	Wednesday	.402***	.404***	.362***	.128	-.204*	.257*	-.247*	.273**	-.106	.076	.441***
	Sunday	.321**	.291**	.174	.217*	-.235*	.253*	-.049	.364***	.067	.300**	.203*
Neville_Institutional2: White people in the U.S. are discriminated against because of the color of their skin	Monday	.415***	.313**	.154	.004	-.188†	.044	-.111	.200†	-.155	.172	.378***
	Wednesday	.497***	.191†	.340***	.085	-.161	.036	-.380***	.080	-.167	.297**	.493***
	Sunday	.483***	.308**	.238*	.060	-.116	-.040	-.153	.239*	-.091	.182†	.275**
Neville_Blattant2: Talking about racial issues causes unnecessary tension	Monday	.270**	.075	.053	.088	-.066	.289**	-.171	.039	.009	.257*	.168
	Wednesday	.362***	.370***	.272**	.249*	-.115	.177	-.272**	.223*	-.207*	.358***	.265**
	Sunday	.466***	.132	.213*	.168	-.145	.298**	-.148	.238*	.074	.340***	.286**
Mazzocco3: The topic of race is something that should generally be avoided	Monday	.257*	.184	.119	.101	-.038	.365***	-.063	.188†	-.054	.205†	.138
	Wednesday	.324**	.356***	.242*	.054	-.182†	.213*	-.216*	.115	-.084	.250*	.210*

	Sunday	.538***	.242*	.188†	.183†	-.001	.219*	-.150	.157	.032	.266**	.267**
Neville_Institutional3: English should be the only official language in the U.S.	Monday	-.087	-.154	-.051	.224*	.234*	.258*	.017	.005	.098	-.180	-.140
	Wednesday	.141	.164	.243*	.003	.081	.354***	-.216*	.085	.007	-.039	.076
	Sunday	.238*	.300**	.291**	-.218*	-.222*	.502***	-.221*	-.026	.005	.092	.147
Neville_Institutional7: Immigrants should try to fit into the culture and values of the U.S.	Monday	.142	-.009	.043	.046	.178	.685***	.033	.009	-.029	.093	-.032
	Wednesday	.049	.240*	.096	.028	.034	.659***	-.045	-.020	-.131	.003	.022
	Sunday	.217*	-.040	.013	-.118	-.113	.563***	-.220*	-.007	.046	.214*	.067
Neville_Institutional6: It is important that people begin to think of themselves as American and not African American, Mexican American or Italian American	Monday	.279**	.103	.076	-.020	-.027	.461***	.023	.002	-.129	.316**	.116
	Wednesday	.358***	.054	.104	.211*	-.031	.259*	-.087	.089	-.175	.295**	.005
	Sunday	.398***	.056	.080	-.111	-.165	.421***	-.062	.028	-.117	.242*	.230*
Mazzocco2: America would be better off if we stopped placing so much importance on race	Monday	.185†	-.067	-.048	.074	.043	.256*	.059	-.129	-.052	.295**	.133
	Wednesday	.299**	.133	.115	.087	.120	.098	-.235*	-.049	-.269**	.372***	.063
	Sunday	.299**	-.062	.065	.106	-.008	.123	-.033	.013	-.137	.144	.015
Knowles1: I wish people in this society would stop obsessing so much about race	Monday	.268*	-.060	-.019	.090	.111	.294**	.118	-.068	-.015	.173	.082
	Wednesday	.389***	.296**	.140	.126	.062	.317**	-.242*	-.059	-.065	.387***	.075
	Sunday	.367***	.035	.152	.132	-.092	.201*	.010	.175	-.081	.234*	.146
Neville_Privilege2 (reversed): Race is very important in determining who is successful and who is not	Monday	.310**	.027	.014	-.120	.085	.329**	-.029	-.083	.082	.106	.102
	Wednesday	.207*	-.106	-.032	-.002	.028	-.018	-.045	-.152	.196†	.195†	.082
	Sunday	.056	-.144	.019	-.007	.271**	.010	.107	-.185†	-.052	-.007	-.002
Neville_Privilege4 (reversed): Race plays a major role in the type of social services (such as type of health care or day care) that people receive in the U.S.	Monday	.337***	.081	.093	.019	-.075	-.069	-.231*	-.063	-.143	.300**	.241*
	Wednesday	.365***	.038	.078	-.145	-.142	.071	-.281**	-.186†	-.015	.390***	.211*
	Sunday	.222*	.207*	.082	-.098	-.131	.169	-.164	-.042	.041	.208*	.056
Neville_Privilege5 (reversed): Racial and ethnic minorities do not have the same opportunities as white people in the U.S.	Monday	.642***	.218*	.274**	-.113	-.172	.040	-.179	-.065	-.055	.408***	.540***
	Wednesday	.567***	.058	.215*	-.092	-.132	.083	-.423***	-.039	.056	.293**	.471***
	Sunday	.480***	.223*	.088	.157	.002	.264**	.025	.300**	-.032	.258**	.335***
Neville_Privilege3 (reversed): Race plays an important role in who gets sent to prison	Monday	.420***	.201†	.241*	.093	-.149	.026	-.433***	.012	-.004	.287**	.381***
	Wednesday	.486***	.003	.153	.023	-.033	.063	-.385***	-.030	.116	.180	.264*
	Sunday	.455***	.312**	.133	.113	-.177	.333***	-.120	.248**	-.053	.279**	.177
	Monday	.497***	.231*	.282**	-.107	-.152	.019	-.204†	-.048	-.093	.264*	.401***

Neville_Privilege7 (reversed): White people are more to blame for racial discrimination than racial and ethnic minorities	Wednesday	.453***	.028	.287**	-.050	-.329**	-.001	-.331***	.004	.027	.268**	.384***
	Sunday	.515***	.297**	.126	.095	-.202*	.249*	.020	.150	-.059	.291**	.242*
Neville_Privilege1 (reversed): White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin	Monday	.629***	.295**	.413***	.061	-.158	.083	-.310**	.046	-.155	.435***	.568***
	Wednesday	.763***	.190†	.401***	.020	-.150	.137	-.647***	.056	.027	.270**	.574***
	Sunday	.595***	.319**	.183†	.093	-.198†	.205*	-.129	.331***	-.044	.311**	.373***
Neville_Institutional1: Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against white people	Monday	.435***	.236*	.030	-.238*	-.220*	.074	-.151	.007	-.157	.351***	.328**
	Wednesday	.619***	.297**	.400***	.017	-.230*	.189†	-.465***	.097	-.226*	.376***	.564***
	Sunday	.584***	.159	.189†	.148	-.188†	.131	-.180†	.221*	-.077	.302**	.232*
Neville_Institutional4 (reversed): Due to racial discrimination, programs such as affirmative action are necessary to help create equality	Monday	.386***	.182	.335***	-.056	-.093	-.042	-.427***	-.016	-.033	.335***	.517***
	Wednesday	.529***	.048	.337***	.017	-.162	.152	-.465***	-.036	-.053	.532***	.576***
	Sunday	.339***	.143	.191†	.078	-.195†	.070	-.219*	.061	.085	.371***	.470***
Neville_Blattant3 (reversed): Racism is a major problem in the U.S.	Monday	.539***	.252*	.411***	-.006	-.261*	.155	-.309**	-.055	-.055	.352***	.450***
	Wednesday	.625***	.182	.298**	.030	-.150	.105	-.550***	-.065	-.012	.299**	.408***
	Sunday	.262*	.177	.260*	.232*	-.059	-.014	-.145	.048	.002	.290**	.313**
Neville_Blattant1: Racial problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations	Monday	.545***	.576***	.425***	.009	-.500***	.027	-.498***	.146	-.280**	.379***	.694***
	Wednesday	.703***	.338***	.449***	.151	-.252*	.278**	-.518***	.102	-.079	.265**	.521***
	Sunday	.642***	.403***	.380***	.311**	-.201*	.200*	-.279**	.413***	-.226*	.101	.435***
Neville_Privilege6: Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich	Monday	.493***	.254*	.110	.136	.036	.351***	.144	.251*	-.032	.296**	.204†
	Wednesday	.506***	.095	.095	.162	.059	.032	-.193†	.071	-.112	.415***	.251*
	Sunday	.505***	.194†	.141	.176	-.096	.413***	-.017	.169	.073	.310**	.223*
Neville_Blattant5 (reversed): It is important for political leaders to talk about racism to help work through or solve societies problems	Monday	.572***	.234*	.459***	.100	-.277**	.018	-.503***	-.009	-.102	.457***	.623***
	Wednesday	.466***	.234*	.426***	.086	-.111	.068	-.561***	.157	.038	.178	.423***
	Sunday	.433***	.294**	.412***	.263**	-.001	.005	-.179†	.100	.059	.295**	.512***
Neville_Blattant6: Racism may have been a problem in the past, it is not an important problem today	Monday	.466***	.464***	.406***	.089	-.335***	.303**	-.121	.249*	-.083	.126	.387***
	Wednesday	.707***	.361***	.447***	.253*	-.336***	.231*	-.414***	.223*	-.074	.245*	.503***
	Sunday	.438***	.103	.108	-.017	-.178	.058	-.269**	.079	-.206*	.299**	.330**
Neville_Blattant4 (reversed): It is important for public schools to teach about the history and contributions of racial and ethnic minorities	Monday	.289**	.235*	.302**	.052	-.291**	-.054	-.277**	.076	-.001	.149	.288**
	Wednesday	.597***	.360***	.390***	-.010	-.166	.004	-.558***	.094	-.022	.287**	.439***
	Sunday	.407***	.033	.211*	.106	-.052	.169	-.254*	.029	.077	.347***	.354***

Ryan3: Recognizing that all people are created equally regardless of their ethnicity (would improve intergroup relations)	Monday	-.121	-.455***	-.339***	.083	.369***	.294**	.073	-.012	.139	.035	-.219*
	Wednesday	-.072	-.107	-.266**	.042	.195†	-.019	.184†	-.097	.137	.100	-.231*
	Sunday	-.021	-.296*	-.267*	-.026	.189†	.161	.397***	-.220*	.017	-.166	-.352***
Hahn2: All humans are fundamentally the same, regardless of where they come from or what their background is	Monday	.119	.102	.090	.041	.209*	.148	.187†	-.212*	-.006	.115	.011
	Wednesday	.084	-.171	-.104	-.005	.167	.191†	.039	-.236*	-.147	.131	-.206*
	Sunday	.036	-.209*	-.034	-.015	.205*	.176	-.024	-.241*	.101	.134	-.017
Levin6: It's important to recognize that people are basically the same regardless of their ethnicity	Monday	-.040	-.147	-.097	-.100	.272**	.279**	.225*	-.259*	.075	.030	-.193†
	Wednesday	.047	-.062	-.086	-.028	.151	.262*	-.003	-.192†	-.182	.204*	-.192†
	Sunday	.201*	-.145	.018	.057	.066	.330***	.027	-.065	.040	.109	-.032
Levin5: Its best to judge one another as individuals rather than members of an ethnic group	Monday	.061	-.139	-.163	-.148	.294**	.406***	.201†	-.245*	.143	.125	-.170
	Wednesday	.048	-.021	-.098	.000	.095	.005	.052	-.069	-.006	.319**	-.175
	Sunday	-.020	-.325***	-.133	-.155	.127	.161	.135	-.181†	.053	.008	-.224*
Hahn4: It is important to pay attention to the individual characteristics that make a person unique rather than their ethnic, racial, or other social background	Monday	.066	-.177	-.149	-.021	.317***	.373***	.169	-.253*	.146	.087	-.122
	Wednesday	.116	-.041	-.300**	.011	.221*	.104	.075	-.040	.082	.155	-.229*
	Sunday	.133	-.185†	-.091	.096	.042	.278**	.016	-.112	.080	.185†	.021
Hahn1: You can find commonalities with every person no matter what their background is	Monday	-.063	-.219*	-.136	-.067	.388***	.143	.248*	-.291**	.082	.134	-.159
	Wednesday	-.022	-.265*	-.155	-.020	.238*	.232*	.222*	-.264*	.022	.069	-.221*
	Sunday	-.044	-.210*	-.216*	-.072	.205*	.218*	.210*	-.284**	-.065	-.134	-.345***
Ryan1: Judging one another as individuals rather than members of an ethnic group (would improve intergroup relations)	Monday	.067	-.243*	-.126	.048	.478***	.316**	.383***	-.191†	.180	.026	-.241*
	Wednesday	.116	-.006	-.161	.029	.217*	.157	.006	-.256*	-.050	.136	-.234*
	Sunday	.111	-.056	.082	-.154	.058	.266**	.056	-.097	-.108	.079	-.035
Ryan2: Recognizing that all people are basically the same regardless of their ethnicity (would improve intergroup relations)	Monday	-.015	-.249*	-.214*	-.081	.453***	.368***	.346***	-.217*	.099	-.027	-.256*
	Wednesday	.093	-.097	-.097	.017	.220*	.326**	-.076	-.204*	-.039	.151	-.173
	Sunday	.151	-.198†	-.065	.128	.205*	.150	.094	-.145	.052	-.064	-.081
Rosenthal3: At our core, all human beings are really the same, so racial and ethnic categories do not matter	Monday	.097	-.040	-.063	-.021	.094	.298**	.079	-.316**	.034	.138	-.017
	Wednesday	.248*	.047	.142	.287**	.021	.109	-.190†	.012	-.074	.267*	-.015
	Sunday	.331***	-.108	-.012	.105	.065	.152	-.071	-.044	.032	.136	.033
Apfelbaum4: If everyone paid less attention to race and skin color, we would all get along much better	Monday	.083	-.181	-.197†	.030	.257*	.514***	.132	-.083	.125	.146	-.080
	Wednesday	.110	.169	-.016	.163	.163	.139	-.034	-.055	-.127	.375***	-.160
	Sunday	.338***	-.029	-.011	.273**	.006	.201*	.062	.047	.035	.190†	.141

Hahn3: In order to achieve a harmonious society, we must stop thinking of Americans with different racial backgrounds as different from each other, and instead focus on what makes us similar	Monday	.088	-.170	-.111	.084	.393***	.334***	.317**	-.156	.092	.121	-.082
	Wednesday	.024	-.039	-.150	.012	.092	.060	-.018	-.180	-.142	.326***	-.287***
	Sunday	.167	-.145	-.090	.058	.078	.298**	.181†	-.170	-.052	.110	-.094
Goff8: Seeing people in terms of race leads to stereotyping	Monday	.108	-.170	-.133	.041	.219*	.178	.240*	-.183	.024	.127	-.081
	Wednesday	.200†	.049	-.031	.155	.147	.071	-.048	-.174	-.130	.339***	-.103
	Sunday	.180†	.122	.211*	.132	-.143	.205*	-.022	.042	.083	.208*	.034
Goff7: Ending racial categorization would create a more just society	Monday	.028	-.070	-.071	.090	.139	.397***	.051	.101	.044	.135	-.047
	Wednesday	.112	.127	.053	.236*	.059	-.012	.120	.144	-.149	.290**	-.084
	Sunday	.279**	-.037	-.021	.164	-.052	.257*	.065	.127	-.048	.248*	.030
Levin2: I do not want Americans to be identified by their race, national origin, or religion	Monday	.089	.014	-.077	-.087	.119	.450***	.146	-.094	-.019	.172	-.043
	Wednesday	.243*	.183†	.100	.152	-.015	.070	-.100	.098	-.299**	.367***	.021
	Sunday	.318**	-.024	.072	.144	-.121	.283**	-.013	.044	-.142	.146	.040
Goff5: Seeing people in terms of race strips one of their individuality	Monday	.110	-.011	-.023	-.111	.005	.213*	-.070	-.175	-.068	.325**	.068
	Wednesday	.139	.095	-.004	-.029	.010	.112	-.008	-.005	-.154	.219*	-.084
	Sunday	.218*	.098	.152	.143	-.034	.001	-.089	.082	-.223*	.189†	.075
Knowles3: Putting racial labels on people obscures the fact that everyone is a unique individual	Monday	.102	.008	-.007	.027	.068	.296**	.015	-.157	-.061	.259*	.079
	Wednesday	.163	.072	-.016	-.037	.246*	.040	-.120	-.063	-.147	.195†	-.076
	Sunday	.225*	.017	.016	.154	-.056	.139	.041	.039	.078	.233*	-.048
Apfelbaum5(ourown): It is best not to mention a person's race when referring to that person, even when that person is not in the conversation	Monday	.133	-.061	.118	.140	.183	.315**	.134	-.004	-.034	.208*	.114
	Wednesday	-.018	.302**	.028	.210*	.074	.208*	-.031	.158	-.113	.142	.008
	Sunday	.198†	.081	.112	.134	-.098	.086	.041	.212*	.010	.162	.119
Goff9: Racism and prejudice are products of racial categorization	Monday	.031	-.037	-.159	.008	.173	.377***	.029	-.019	.075	.180	-.097
	Wednesday	.013	.166	-.041	.185†	.120	.125	.027	.059	-.125	.185†	-.223*
	Sunday	.036	-.103	-.004	.183†	-.077	-.003	.124	.229*	-.042	.179†	.007
Knowles4: Race is an artificial label that keeps people from thinking freely as individuals	Monday	.187†	.094	-.003	.097	.087	.416***	.022	.076	-.145	.218*	.116
	Wednesday	.148	.147	-.026	.037	.086	.035	-.050	.008	-.243*	.264**	.061
	Sunday	.185†	.130	.089	.089	-.183†	.245*	-.073	.080	-.168	.074	.027

Goff6: Seeing people in terms of race is an injustice	Monday	.110	-.116	-.043	.060	.184	.356***	.100	-.012	-.108	.154	.014
	Wednesday	.076	.117	-.034	.160	.111	.010	-.007	-.152	-.139	.137	-.072
	Sunday	.278**	.106	.200*	.165	-.234*	.240*	-.005	.188†	-.055	.236*	.152
Goff4: Categorizing people by race is in and of itself racist	Monday	.083	.064	.117	-.175	-.203†	.200†	.034	-.009	.037	.206*	.103
	Wednesday	.108	.034	.002	.217*	.194†	-.119	-.129	.056	-.327**	.275**	-.039
	Sunday	.274*	-.035	.097	.063	-.052	.139	-.020	.088	-.133	.126	.051
Apfelbaum2(ourown): It is best not to mention a person's race when having a conversation with that person	Monday	.242*	-.037	-.025	.119	.199†	.210*	.054	.180	-.019	.286**	.150
	Wednesday	.067	.231*	.049	.107	.148	.066	.014	-.052	-.068	.166	-.045
	Sunday	.220*	-.070	-.055	.094	-.143	.129	-.014	.204*	-.051	.047	.005
Apfelbaum3(ourown): One should not mention race when having a conversation with a person of another race, unless they bring it up first	Monday	.187†	.005	.090	.078	.082	.300**	-.026	.152	.121	.324**	.161
	Wednesday	.224*	.305**	.197†	.288**	.141	.114	-.187†	-.020	-.085	.106	.152
	Sunday	.212*	.163	.097	.179	-.176	.194†	-.041	.242*	.005	.225*	.041
Goff1: Seeing people in terms of race contributes to racial tension for everyone	Monday	.143	-.023	-.020	-.028	.154	.411***	.123	.077	.149	.029	.027
	Wednesday	.206*	.126	.000	.195†	.075	.154	-.115	-.014	-.210*	.371***	-.096
	Sunday	.200*	.064	.123	-.010	-.217*	.302**	-.040	.131	-.055	.295**	.029
Goff3: Seeing people in terms of race creates inequality among racial groups	Monday	.075	-.156	-.088	.055	.192†	.239*	.154	-.133	.055	.094	-.109
	Wednesday	.055	.076	-.006	.113	.063	.083	-.016	-.007	-.182†	.285**	-.100
	Sunday	.054	-.090	-.030	.154	-.111	.070	.036	.073	.035	.111	-.055
Goff2: Seeing people in terms of race breeds interracial mistrust and prejudice	Monday	.160	-.127	-.084	.044	.140	.274**	.088	-.100	.113	.159	-.044
	Wednesday	.127	.131	-.064	.159	.083	.100	-.047	-.070	-.232*	.264*	-.198†
	Sunday	.209*	.066	.075	.261*	-.085	.134	-.116	.088	-.029	.192†	.129
Levin3: American society is made up first and foremost of citizens, not of groups	Monday	.027	-.104	-.132	.046	.406***	.276**	.386	.000	.077	.025	-.093
	Wednesday	.264**	.066	.085	.086	.102	.107	-.060	-.009	.034	.170	.158
	Sunday	.231*	-.041	.034	-.191†	.141	.421***	.051	-.057	-.018	-.044	-.097
Levin1: We should treat citizens of this country as Americans and not as members of particular ethnic, religious, or sexual communities	Monday	-.037	-.293**	-.332**	.070	.411***	.328**	.459***	-.192†	.282**	-.048	-.360***
	Wednesday	.061	.035	-.006	-.036	.024	.296**	-.088	-.020	-.115	.219*	-.108
	Sunday	.164	-.201*	-.149	-.048	-.011	.273**	.149	-.051	.055	.089	-.104
Knowles2: People who become preoccupied by race are forgetting that we are all just human	Monday	.124	-.131	-.074	.028	.304**	.428***	.190†	-.100	-.001	.207*	-.069
	Wednesday	.212*	.024	-.065	.113	.173	.187†	-.117	-.121	-.048	.467***	-.103
	Sunday	.213*	-.024	.062	.096	-.038	.155	.101	-.061	.114	.196†	.124

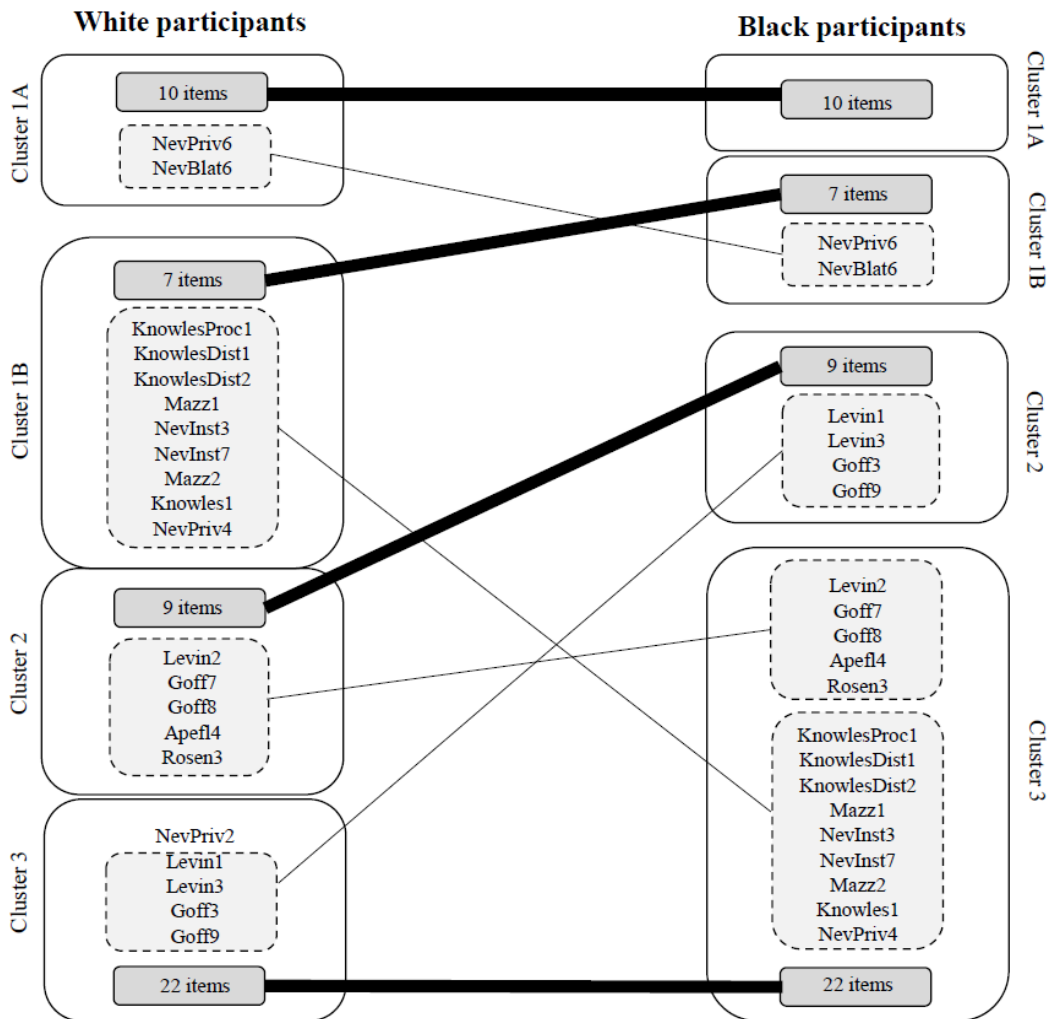
Levin4: For the unity of the country, individuals should be considered Americans before any consideration is given to their race or religion	Monday	.028	-.098	-.312**	-.067	.256*	.533***	.174	-.021	.169	.083	-.182
	Wednesday	.073	.185†	-.076	.111	.025	.323**	.025	.018	-.208*	.184†	-.194†
	Sunday	.196†	.070	-.012	-.040	-.212*	.384***	-.027	-.024	-.164	.098	.045
Apfelbaum1: When I interact with other people, I try not to even notice the color of their skin	Monday	.120	-.111	-.111	.024	.192†	.279**	.044	-.098	.048	.244*	-.033
	Wednesday	.236*	.227*	.043	.229*	.139	.180	-.123	-.030	-.156	.327**	-.017
	Sunday	.290**	.072	.126	.112	-.067	.389***	-.005	.060	-.052	.147	.044
Apfelbaum6(ourown): If one does not want to appear prejudiced, one should avoid using racial descriptors altogether	Monday	.235*	.012	.114	.200†	.076	.382***	.220*	.158	.011	.107	.039
	Wednesday	.076	.198†	.077	.170	-.055	.104	.018	.246*	-.065	.078	-.060
	Sunday	.275**	.042	.134	.209*	-.093	.197†	-.021	.178	-.052	.283**	.105
Rosenthal5: Racial and ethnic group memberships do not matter very much to who we are	Monday	.107	-.025	.044	-.022	.189†	.247*	.104	-.210*	-.050	.301**	.108
	Wednesday	.493***	.194†	.310**	.133	-.098	.141	-.265**	.007	-.080	.298**	.206*
	Sunday	.248*	.024	.099	.039	-.119	.142	-.123	.019	-.169	.061	.142
Rosenthal2: It is really not necessary to pay attention to peoples racial, ethnic, or cultural background because it doesnt tell you much about who they are	Monday	.118	-.022	.080	.112	.114	.265**	.121	-.185	-.042	.148	.037
	Wednesday	.313**	.008	.167	.165	.196†	.070	-.240*	.008	-.184†	.262*	.118
	Sunday	.107	.123	.155	.096	-.167	.061	-.119	-.018	-.116	.203*	.171
Goff11: Seeing people in terms of race is a significant hindrance to racial harmony	Monday	.181	-.064	-.031	.103	.228*	.308**	.144	-.043	.022	.166	.014
	Wednesday	.215*	.230*	.126	.084	.096	.166	-.151	-.036	-.241*	.365***	.063
	Sunday	.175	-.080	-.090	.170	-.075	.236*	.129	.040	.030	.320**	-.055
Rosenthal4: All human beings are individuals, and therefore race and ethnicity are not important	Monday	.106	-.035	.040	.057	.131	.312**	.102	-.258*	.044	.107	.006
	Wednesday	.284**	.125	.070	.089	-.002	.162	-.145	-.004	-.241*	.430***	.049
	Sunday	.225*	.035	.118	.084	-.164	.210*	-.110	.045	.031	.353***	.131
Ryan4: Adopting a colorblind perspective in which ones ethnic group membership is considered unimportant (would improve intergroup relations)	Monday	.099	-.110	.020	-.015	.101	.505***	.119	-.146	-.073	.155	.006
	Wednesday	.264**	.275**	.160	.283**	.093	.289**	-.204*	.112	-.119	.213*	.030
	Sunday	.292**	.073	-.015	.025	.005	.285**	-.058	.048	.082	.203*	.128
Rosenthal1: Ethnic and cultural group categories are not very important for	Monday	.226*	.017	.060	.167	.278**	.168	.118	-.080	-.041	.192†	.138
	Wednesday	.348***	.017	.100	.046	-.045	.120	-.302**	.077	-.155	.286**	.190†
	Sunday	.090	.066	.072	.088	-.081	.161	-.148	-.046	.029	.054	.033

understanding or making decisions about people												
Goff10: Recognizing racial affiliations prevents the United States from moving towards a more socially just society	Monday	.144	.205†	.100	.061	.042	.386***	.072	.144	-.173	.225*	.046
	Wednesday	.160	.213*	.104	.204*	.117	-.069	-.139	.092	-.278**	.246*	-.070
	Sunday	.237*	.012	.011	-.029	-.091	.157	-.059	.068	-.123	.205*	.026
Ryan5: Learning to ignore differences between ethnic groups will improve relations between groups in the US	Monday	.126	.018	-.102	-.002	.066	.248*	.036	.058	-.049	.159	-.057
	Wednesday	.250*	.110	-.017	.148	.198†	.072	-.235*	.036	-.312**	.469***	-.083
	Sunday	.371***	.124	.088	.174	-.209*	.168	-.033	.226*	-.084	.196†	.211*

\*\*\*  $p \leq .001$ , \*\*  $p \leq .01$ , \*  $p \leq .05$ , †  $p \leq .08$

However, there were two notable differences. First, the specific items that make up each cluster differ slightly for Blacks compared to Whites. Figure 4S offers a visual comparison of each item's cluster assignment by group. To distinguish the clusters by their respective racial groups, we refer to the clusters observed among White participants as Clusters W-1A, W-1B, W-2, W-3, and the clusters observed among Black participants as Clusters B-1A, B-1B, B-2, B-3. As the figure below illustrates, fewer of the colorblind statements revealed patterns of association characteristic of Cluster 1A and Cluster 1B for Black participants compared to White participants (i.e., Clusters B-1A and B-1B included fewer items compared to Clusters W-1A and W-1B), and many more colorblind statements revealed patterns of association characteristic of Cluster 3 for Black participants compared to White participants (i.e., Cluster B-3 consisted of many more items compared to Cluster W-3).

3.3.11 Figure. Comparing colorblind item cluster assignments for Black participants vs. White participants



The second notable difference is that even among the items that represented the same cluster for both groups, associations with the scales were overall much weaker for Black participants compared to White participants. To illustrate the magnitude of differences between Whites and African Americans in the correlations, we compared the median of the absolute values of the correlations of the two groups. Of 759 correlations computed, the median of the

absolute values of the correlations was .16 for Whites (with an interquartile range of 0.07 to 0.30), and the median of the absolute values of the correlations was .12 for African Americans (with an interquartile range of 0.05 to 0.19). These findings suggest that, in general, endorsement of colorblind ideas are more weakly associated with the scales for Black participants compared to White participants.

This was especially true for the shared items making up Clusters 1A and 1B. In fact, 85 out of 132 correlations for shared items from Cluster 1A, and 101 out of 187 correlations for shared items from Cluster 1B, were significantly weaker for Black participants compared to White participants. In contrast, only 9 out of 154 correlations from Cluster 2 were significantly weaker (7 were significantly stronger), and 23 out of 286 significantly different (a mix of stronger and weaker) from Cluster 3.

### Discussion

Parallel analysis on the full set of colorblind ideas among Black participants revealed similar patterns of associations, with similar clustering patterns, as observed among Whites. That is, the four clusters of colorblind ideas identified among Black participants correspond to the 4 clusters observed among White participants. However, the strengths of these associations were generally weaker for African Americans compared to what was found among Whites, and the specific items that displayed each cluster’s characteristic patterns slightly differed between the two groups. For example, fewer colorblind items reflected the *avoid discussing race* patterns for Black participants compared to White participants, and many more items reflected the ambiguous patterns of the *general opposition to racial categorization* cluster for Black participants compared to White participants.

In addition, there were greater variations in the pattern of results as a function of the day of data collection for Black participants compared to White participants. Thus, though these findings suggest that there are multiple distinct clusters of colorblind ideas for African Americans as well, the specifics of the clusters found in the present studies appear more context-dependent for African Americans. These findings suggest that there may be greater ambiguity and multiple potential meanings in what the colorblind statements mean to African Americans compared to Whites.

## 4. The 4 Clusters

Cluster groupings are based on hierarchical clustering of the 69 colorblind items, for White participants only. Each cluster is presented in its own table. For each cluster, items are listed in order of representativeness of that cluster (based on item-total correlations). “Item total correlation” refers to the correlation of that item with the average for that cluster. “Average inter-item correlation” refers to the average of the correlations of each item with the correlations of the items above it. “Chronbach’s alpha” refers to the Chronbach’s alpha based on a scale consisting of that item and the items above it. For example, the first 3 items listed under Cluster 1b (*Neville\_Privilege5*, *Neville\_Privilege1*, *Neville\_Privilege7*) correlate with each other on average at  $r = .74$ , and a scale consisting of these 3 items have a Chronbach’s alpha of .90. The last column indicates the cluster assignment based on the cluster analysis of 22 items from Study 2a.

### 4.1 Table. Cluster 1a – Racism Denial

Cluster 1a Items	Item-total correlation	Average inter-item correlation	Cronbach’s alpha	22-item cluster assignment
<i>Neville_Privilege5</i> : Racial and ethnic minorities do not have the same opportunities as white people in the U.S. (reversed)	.825			

<i>Neville_Privilege1</i> : White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin. (reversed)	.781			
<i>Neville_Privilege7</i> : White people are more to blame for racial discrimination than racial and ethnic minorities. (reversed)	.760	.743	.897	
<i>Neville_Privilege3</i> : Race plays an important role in who gets sent to prison. (reversed)	.751	.716	.910	P1
<i>Neville_Blattant6</i> : Racism may have been a problem in the past, it is not an important problem today.	.743	.654	.904	P1
<i>Neville_Institutional4</i> : Due to racial discrimination, programs such as affirmative action are necessary to help create equality. (reversed)	.723	.627	.910	
<i>Neville_Blattant3</i> : Racism is a major problem in the U.S. (reversed)	.720	.616	.918	
<i>Neville_Institutional1</i> : Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against white people.	.709	.609	.926	
<i>Neville_Blattant5</i> : It is important for political leaders to talk about racism to help work through or solve society's problems. (reversed)	.671	.593	.929	
<i>Neville_Blattant1</i> : Racial problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations.	.668	.582	.933	P1
<i>Neville_Privilege6</i> : Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich.	.650	.570	.936	
<i>Neville_Blattant4</i> : It is important for public schools to teach about the history and contributions of racial and ethnic minorities. (reversed)	.502	.540	.934	

4.2 Table. Cluster 1b – Avoid discussing race (to maintain status quo)

Cluster 1b Items	Item-total correlation	Average inter-item correlation	Cronbach's alpha	22-item cluster assignment
<i>Mazzocco4</i> : Society would be better off if we all stopped talking about race.	.764			P1
<i>Knowles_Procedural2</i> : The same rules and regulations should apply to all groups regardless of their race (e.g., ...), even if that means existing racial inequalities continue.	.757			P1
<i>Knowles1</i> : I wish people in this society would stop obsessing so much about race.	.738	.591	.810	P1
<i>Knowles_Procedural1</i> : The same rules and regulations should apply to all groups regardless of their race (e.g., race should not be considered when making decisions such as school admissions).	.738	.608	.861	
<i>Mazzocco1</i> : Nothing good will come out of continuing to focus on race.	.736	.609	.884	

<i>Knowles_Distributive1</i> : Treating different racial groups differently (e.g., ..) is justified if such treatment reduces existing inequalities. (reversed)	.671	.593	.896	P1
<i>Neville_Institutional6</i> : It is important that people begin to think of themselves as American and not African American, Mexican American or Italian American.	.632	.564	.900	
<i>Mazzocco2</i> : America would be better off if we stopped placing so much importance on race.	.619	.559	.910	
<i>Neville_Blatant2</i> : Talking about racial issues causes unnecessary tension.	.614	.542	.914	
<i>Knowles_Distributive2</i> : To achieve racial equality, race-conscious efforts are needed (e.g., taking peoples race into account when making decisions such as school admissions). (reversed)	.590	.524	.917	
<i>Mazzocco3</i> : The topic of race is something that should generally be avoided.	.553	.505	.918	
<i>Neville_Institutional2</i> : White people in the U.S. are discriminated against because of the color of their skin.	.544	.485	.918	P1
<i>Neville_Institutional3</i> : English should be the only official language in the U.S.	.526	.464	.917	
<i>Neville_Institutional5</i> : Racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.	.503	.451	.919	P1
<i>Neville_Privilege2</i> : Race is very important in determining who is successful and who is not. (reversed)	.472	.435	.919	P3
<i>Neville_Institutional7</i> : Immigrants should try to fit into the culture and values of the U.S.	.443	.419	.919	
<i>Neville_Privilege4</i> : Race plays a major role in the type of social services (such as type of health care or day care) that people receive in the U.S. (reversed)	.360	.398	.917	

#### 4.3 Table. Cluster 2 – Emphasis on our Common Humanity (for intergroup harmony)

Cluster 2 Item	Item-total correlation	Average inter-item correlation	Cronbach's alpha	22-item cluster assignment
<i>Ryan2</i> : Recognizing that all people are basically the same regardless of their ethnicity would improve intergroup relations.	.731			
<i>Hahn3</i> : In order to achieve a harmonious society, we must stop thinking of Americans with different racial backgrounds as different from each other, and instead focus on what makes us similar.	.717	.557		
<i>Rosenthal3</i> : At our core, all human beings are really the same, so racial and ethnic categories do not matter.	.697	.568	.798	

<i>Ryan1</i> : Judging one another as individuals rather than members of an ethnic group would improve intergroup relations.	.653	.525	.817	P3
<i>Apfelbaum4</i> : If everyone paid less attention to race and skin color, we would all get along much better.	.634	.526	.849	
<i>Levin6</i> : It's important to recognize that people are basically the same regardless of their ethnicity.	.613	.505	.860	P2
<i>Levin5</i> : It's best to judge one another as individuals rather than members of an ethnic group.	.608	.483	.868	
<i>Hahn2</i> : All humans are fundamentally the same, regardless of where they come from or what their background is.	.608	.479	.880	P2
<i>Hahn4</i> : It is important to pay attention to the individual characteristics that make a person unique rather than their ethnic, racial, or other social background.	.599	.469	.888	
<i>Levin2</i> : I do not want Americans to be identified by their race, national origin, or religion.	.581	.456	.893	
<i>Goff8</i> : Seeing people in terms of race leads to stereotyping.	.575	.447	.898	
<i>Ryan3</i> : Recognizing that all people are created equally regardless of their ethnicity would improve intergroup relations.	.563	.439	.903	P2
<i>Goff7</i> : Ending racial categorization would create a more just society.	.556	.434	.908	
<i>Hahn1</i> : You can find commonalities with every person no matter what their background is.	.471	.418	.909	

#### 4.4 Table. Cluster 3 – General Opposition to Racial Categorization

Cluster 3 Item	Item-total correlation	Average inter-item correlation	Cronbach's alpha	22-item cluster assignment
<i>Goff2</i> : Seeing people in terms of race breeds interracial mistrust and prejudice.	.747			
<i>Goff3</i> : Seeing people in terms of race creates inequality among racial groups.	.701			P3
<i>Rosenthal4</i> : All human beings are individuals, and therefore race and ethnicity are not important.	.700	.542	.783	
<i>Goff1</i> : Seeing people in terms of race contributes to racial tension for everyone.	.698	.575	.840	
<i>Goff11</i> : Seeing people in terms of race is a significant hindrance to racial harmony.	.692	.560	.865	
<i>Goff6</i> : Seeing people in terms of race is an injustice.	.690	.559	.885	
<i>Goff4</i> : Categorizing people by race is in and of itself racist.	.678	.551	.896	

<i>Goff10</i> : Recognizing racial affiliations prevents the United States from moving towards a more socially just society.	.654	.538	.904	
<i>Ryan5</i> : Learning to ignore differences between ethnic groups will improve relations between groups in the U.S.	.654	.529	.911	P3
<i>Goff5</i> : Seeing people in terms of race strips one of their individuality.	.651	.523	.917	P3
<i>Knowles4</i> : Race is an artificial label that keeps people from thinking freely as individuals.	.648	.518	.922	
<i>Knowles3</i> : Putting racial labels on people obscures the fact that everyone is a unique individual.	.626	.511	.927	
<i>Apfelbaum6</i> : If one does not want to appear prejudiced, one should avoid using racial descriptors altogether.	.582	.493	.927	
<i>Ryan4</i> : Adopting a colorblind perspective in which ones ethnic group membership is considered unimportant would improve intergroup relations.	.565	.481	.929	P3
<i>Levin1</i> : We should treat citizens of this country as Americans and not as members of particular ethnic, religious, or sexual communities.	.561	.469	.930	P3
<i>Knowles2</i> : People who become preoccupied by race are forgetting that we are all just human.	.560	.460	.932	
<i>Rosenthal2</i> : It is really not necessary to pay attention to people's racial, ethnic, or cultural background because it doesn't tell you much about who they are.	.551	.449	.933	
<i>Apfelbaum1</i> : When I interact with other people, I try not to even notice the color of their skin.	.539	.439	.934	
<i>Rosenthal5</i> : Racial and ethnic group memberships do not matter very much to who we are.	.519	.431	.935	
<i>Goff9</i> : Racism and prejudice are products of racial categorization.	.518	.423	.935	
<i>Apfelbaum2</i> : It is best not to mention a person's race when having a conversation with that person.	.500	.412	.936	P3
<i>Apfelbaum5</i> : It is best not to mention a person's race when referring to that person, even when that person is not in the conversation.	.498	.404	.936	P3
<i>Levin4</i> : For the unity of the country, individuals should be considered Americans before any consideration is given to their race or religion.	.485	.396	.937	P3
<i>Rosenthal1</i> : Ethnic and cultural group categories are not very important for understanding or making decisions about people.	.480	.389	.937	
<i>Apfelbaum3</i> : One should not mention race when having a conversation with a person of another race, unless they bring it up first.	.447	.381	.937	
<i>Levin3</i> : American society is made up first and foremost of citizens, not of groups.	.404	.371	.939	

## 5. Study 3 Pilot

### 5.1 Participants

101 self-identified White MTurk workers participated in an online survey in exchange for \$3. After excluding those who (1) missed the embedded attention checks ( $n = 2$ ), (2) lived in the U.S. for less than 10 years ( $n = 1$ ), (3) complete the survey impossibly quickly ( $<7$  minutes) ( $n = 3$ ), and (4) were actually non-white ( $n = 6$ ), we were left with 89 White participants ( $M_{\text{age}} = 37.08$ ,  $SD_{\text{age}} = 9.95$ ; 37 female, 51 male, 1 other) with useable data.

### 5.2 Colorblindness Measures

Each of the 3 meaningful clusters identified in Study 2b were represented by their 5 most representative statements, as determined by their item-total. Although participants also rated endorsement of the top 5 items representing the miscellaneous, ambiguous cluster *categorization* ( $\alpha = .91$ ), we did not further consider the consequences of endorsing these statements because this was not a meaningful cluster in itself (i.e., it was a cluster only because of the items' shared *lack* of correlation with the intergroup attitudes).

Participants indicated their agreement with each of the 15 colorblind statements on a 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) scale. Items representing the same cluster were averaged together to form an index score representing that cluster (*Racism denial*  $\alpha = .89$ ; *avoid discussing race*  $\alpha = .89$ ; *common humanity*  $\alpha = .89$ ).

To test how endorsement of these 3 clusters compare with a conceptually opposite ideology, participants also rated their agreement with 5 multiculturalism statements. The multicultural statements chosen for this study were based on a factor analysis of 3 multiculturalism scales conducted by Rosenthal & Levy (2012). We included the top 5 loading items, drawn from 3 multiculturalism scales, and averaged them together to create an index score representing endorsement of multiculturalism (*multiculturalism*  $\alpha = .84$ )

- **Colorblind statements** (5 most representative items as identified in Study 2b)
  - Racism denial
    1. *White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin. R*
    2. *Race plays an important role in who gets sent to prison. R*
    3. *Racial and ethnic minorities do not have the same opportunities as white people in the U.S. R*
    4. *White people are more to blame for racial discrimination than racial and ethnic minorities. R*
    5. *Racism may have been a problem in the past, it is not an important problem today.*
  - Avoid discussing race
    1. *I wish people in this society would stop obsessing so much about race.*
    2. *Nothing good will come out of continuing to focus on race.*
    3. *Society would be better off if we all stopped talking about race.*
    4. *The same rules and regulations should apply to all groups (e.g., race should not be considered when making decisions such as school admissions or public policy), even if that means existing racial inequalities continue.*
    5. *Treating different racial groups differently (e.g., taking people's race into account when making decisions such as school admissions or public policy) is justified if such treatment reduces existing inequalities. R*
  - Common humanity
    1. *At our core, all human beings are really the same, so racial and ethnic categories do not matter.*
    2. *If everyone paid less attention to race and skin color, we would all get along much better.*

3. *In order to achieve a harmonious society, we must stop thinking of Americans with different racial backgrounds as different from each other, and instead focus on what makes us similar.*
4. *Judging one another as individuals rather than members of an ethnic group would improve intergroup relations.*
5. *Recognizing that all people are basically the same, regardless of their ethnicity would improve intergroup relations.*

- **Multiculturalism statements**

(based on Rosenthal & Levy, 2012 factor analysis of 3 scales).

1. *Learning about the ways that different ethnic groups resolve conflict will help us develop a more harmonious society. (Wolsko et al., 2006 – Item 2) [Note. aligns with multi2 from study2]*
2. *When interacting with a member of an ethnic group that is different from your own, it is very important to take into account the history and cultural traditions of that person’s ethnic group. (Wolsko et al., 2006 – Item 4)*
3. *In order to live in a cooperative society, everyone must learn the unique histories and cultural experiences of different ethnic groups. (Wolsko et al., 2006 – Item 3) [Note. adapted version is multi1 in study2]*
4. *A society that has a variety of cultural groups is more able to tackle new problems as they occur. (Ryan 2010 adaptation of Berry & Kalin 1995 – Item 3)*
5. *If we want to help create a harmonious society, we must recognize that each ethnic group has the right to maintain its own unique traditions. (Wolsko et al., 2006 – Item 5) [Note. aligns with multi3 in study2]*

## 5.3 Outcome Measures.

### 5.3.1 Budgeting (adapted from Chow & Knowles, 2016).

To test whether the colorblind varieties work differently in “taking race off the table”, participants indicated the programs they would be willing to cut from the federal budget. Participants were told that the following 6 problems were widely recognized as serious: *obesity epidemic, gun violence, cyber security breach, dependence on foreign oil, aging transportation infrastructure, and bias against racial minorities*. However, due to budgeting constraints, there was only enough money to create task forces to address three of them. Participants were instructed to indicate the 3 issues they would prioritize with a task force, and the 3 task forces they could do without, by ranking the issues in order of importance (1 = most important, thus definitely in the budget, 6 = least important, thus definitely cut from the budget).

### 5.3.2 Voting for policy (adapted from Wolsko et al., 2006).

Six fictional policies were created for this study. One represented a colorblind policy (e.g., anti-affirmative action), one a “less-costly” multicultural policy (e.g., mandatory celebration of cultural holidays and incorporating cultural activities in schools), one a “positive-interaction” multicultural policy (e.g., funding community centers that facilitate positive intergroup interactions and ethnic exchange within the community), and one a “more-costly” multicultural policy (e.g., funding health clinics that serve medically underserved communities of color). We also included two control policies unrelated to race or diversity (e.g., mandatory recycling programs, raising the federal minimum wage). See Supplemental Materials for policy descriptions.

All policies were accompanied by a brief description of the policy, and a question explicitly asking whether they would support or oppose the policy if it were included on the upcoming ballot. Participants voted either “yes” or “no” to the policy, and indicated their level of confidence in that vote on a 1(not at all confident) to 7(extremely confident) scale. Votes in favor of the policy were coded as +1 and votes against the policy were coded as -1. This value was then multiplied by the participant’s confidence rating in that vote, resulting in a scale that ranged from -7 (extremely confident in voting against the policy) to +7 (extremely confident in voting for the policy), with no 0-midpoint value.

As a secondary measure for their support, participants were also asked if they would like to sign a petition in favor of this proposal (0 = no, 1 = yes), and how much money they would be willing to contribute to the campaign (open-ended). Participants were made to believe that if they indicated interest in signing the petition, the researchers would send them more information through their MTurk account.

Type of Policy	Policy	Policy Description
Colorblind	Anti-affirmative action	In school districts where students may apply to attend any high school, certain schools become oversubscribed when too many students list them as first choice. Some schools currently use the applicant's race as a tiebreaker. Specifically, to maintain racial diversity, if the racial demographics of any school's student body deviates by more than a predetermined number of percentage points from those of the county’s total student population (e.g., in Seattle, approximately 40% white and 60% non-white), the racial tiebreaker goes into effect. This proposal <u>bans the use of race as a tiebreaker, or any consideration of race in the admissions process</u> . Applicants will be selected based on other factors, such as merit, instead.
Easy-way-out/low-cost Multicultural	Mandatory cultural education in schools	This initiative would <u>require all public schools to incorporate cultural education in the school environment and/or curriculum</u> . Specifically, schools must incorporate (1) the teachings of other cultures and traditions in lesson plans, (2) celebrating ethnic festivals and holidays (e.g., Cinco de Mayo, Fiesta DC, Semana Santa), (3) campus-wide posters and decorations celebrating different ethnic cultures, and/or (4) providing field trips to local ethnic venues. ( <i>wording taken from Prop 1</i> )
Positive-interaction Multicultural	Funding community centers for intercultural exchange	This initiative proposes <u>redirecting some funds from other programs to fund the creation and management of Intercultural Exchange Community Centers</u> . These community centers will be in every major locality, and have the specific aim of increasing cultural interactions and ethnic exchange among local residents. Programs would include events where racially diverse members engage in different activities together, and weekly "open table talk sessions" which provide casual environment for conversation and positive exchange, among others. Supporting such community centers would require redirecting funds currently dedicated to other programs.
Structural-change Multicultural	Health clinic funding for communities of color	This initiative proposes <u>increasing funding for health care in medically underserved areas, which are often communities of color</u> . Funding will be redirected from other programs to instead support community health clinics that provide high-quality care to underinsured and uninsured patients, many of whom are people of color (e.g., providing resources that would increase staff, supplies, and equipment to the community health clinics in medically underserved areas). ( <i>wording taken from <a href="https://www.raceforward.org/research/health-health-policy">https://www.raceforward.org/research/health-health-policy</a></i> )

Control	Mandatory recycling programs	To move toward our nationwide goal of sending zero waste to landfills, <u>residents will be issued three mandatory garbage bins: a black one for trash, a blue one for recyclables and a green one for compost.</u> Garbage collectors who spot orange peels or aluminum soda cans in a black trash bin will leave a note reminding the owner how to separate his or her trash properly. <u>Anyone found repeatedly flouting recycling protocol will be issued fines</u> of \$100 for small businesses and single-family homes and up to \$1,000 for large businesses and multiunit buildings. ( <i>wording taken from <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2009/06/11/us/11recycle.html?mcubz=0">http://www.nytimes.com/2009/06/11/us/11recycle.html?mcubz=0</a></i> )
Control	Raising the Federal Minimum Wage	The current federal minimum wage is set at \$7.25 per hour worked. The proposed amendment, if passed, would <u>raise the federal minimum wage, requiring employers across all 50 states to pay employees \$8.25 per hour worked if the employer provides health benefits, or \$9.20 per hour worked if the employer does not provide health benefits.</u>

### 5.3.3 Allocating money (adapted from Freeman, Aquino, & McFerran, 2008).

To assess the degree to which participants would support an organization that helps eliminate racial disparities, participants were told, “As a thank you for your participation, you will be entered to win \$20 for completion of this study. Every person has a 4% chance of winning. If you are selected, we offer you the option to donate none, a portion, or all of your winnings, to several of our partnered organizations. Whatever you select is entirely up to you and does not affect your chances of winning.” Participants were then given brief descriptions of 4 charities and their mission statements (one of which was focused on empowering racial minorities), and indicated the dollar amount they would apportion to themselves and/or each organization (\$0 - \$20). Because they could assign \$0 to any number of the options, they were allowed to keep any amount of the winnings for themselves. Allocation restrictions were set such that the total must amount to \$20. See Appendix for organization descriptions. Of interest to this study was the amount that participants would apportion to the organization dedicated to empowering racial minorities (i.e., *Scholarships for Minorities*).

Organization	Description
Association for Green Environments ( <i>taken from Nature Conservatory</i> )	Our mission is to conserve the lands and waters on which all life depends, from supporting natural solutions to climate change to creating sustainable fisheries to investing in nature in urban areas.
Kids for Early Education ( <i>taken from Early Education for Every Child</i> )	Our mission is to ensure that every child has an opportunity to enjoy the benefits of early learning and literacy by providing high quality software programs, books and other materials that equip parents with the curriculum and tools necessary to create an engaging and fun learning environment.
Scholarships for Minorities ( <i>taken from Scholarship America</i> )	Our mission is to mobilize underprivileged racial and ethnic minorities through scholarships and other educational support. We engage the private sector in programs and policies that advance racial equity in postsecondary education, and work directly with students, parents, colleges, businesses and communities to help racial minority students fulfill their college dreams.
American Red Cross ( <i>taken from their mission statement</i> )	Our mission is to prevent and alleviate human suffering in the face of emergencies. We work so that: (1) all people affected by disaster receive care, shelter, and hope; (2) our communities are ready and prepared for disasters, (3) and in an emergency, there are always trained individuals nearby, ready to use their Red Cross skills to save lives.

### 5.3.4 Outgroup warmth

Participants indicated their feelings about various social groups on a scale from 0 (very coolly) to 100 (very warmly) scale. Of interest to the current study were participant ratings of warmth towards major 3 ethnic groups: Blacks, Latinos, Asians, and Whites. As fillers, participants also rated warmth towards other groups, such as men, women, college students, homeless, corporate CEOs, elderly, and children. Bias toward each of the 3 ethnic groups was calculated by *ingroup-warmth* minus *outgroup-warmth*, such that positive values indicated pro-white bias, and negative values indicated pro-outgroup bias.

### 5.3.5 Willingness for intergroup contact (adapted from Yogeewaran & Dasgupta, 2014; Esses & Dovidio, 2002; Tropp & Bianchi, 2006).

To assess participant willingness to interact with an outgroup member, participants indicated the extent to which they would be willing or unwilling to interact with a black person in 10 scenarios varying in degree of intimacy (e.g., attend a cultural event sponsored by a black person, visit a black person in his or her home, have an intimate relationship with a black person) on a 1 (not at all willing) to 7 (extremely willing) scale (see Supplemental Materials). Items were averaged together to create a composite measure, with higher scores indicating greater willingness to have an intimate relationship with a black person ( $\alpha = .964$ ).

- *Please indicate the extent to which you would be willing or unwilling to...*
  1. *Attend a cultural event sponsored by a black person.*
  2. *Have a black person as a casual acquaintance.*
  3. *Visit a black person in his or her home.*
  4. *Accept a black person as a co-worker.*
  5. *Accept a black person as a neighbor.*
  6. *Confide in a black person.*
  7. *Have a black person as a close friend.*
  8. *Accept a black person as a family member through marriage.*
  9. *Have an intimate relationship with a black person.*
  10. *Marry a black person.*

### 5.3.6 Interracial interaction intentions and expectations (adapted from Apfelbaum, Grunberg, et al., 2016, Study 7).

To examine whether the colorblind varieties differ in their associations with self-reported comfort in interracial interactions, participants indicated their agreement with eight statements assessing their interracial interaction intentions and expectations on a 7-point response scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree; e.g., “I feel anxious about interacting with someone of a different race” (reverse-scored), “I am confident that people from other racial backgrounds will like me”). We averaged these items to form a composite measure, with higher scores indicating more positive interracial interaction intentions and expectations (see Supplemental Materials). ( $\alpha = .822$ )

1. *I feel anxious about interacting with someone of a different race. R*
2. *I seek out interactions with people from different racial backgrounds than me.*
3. *When interacting with someone of another race, I feel motivated to understand his or her point of view.*
4. *I am unsure how to act in order to convey respect when interacting with someone of another race. (R)*
5. *I am confident that I can respond without prejudice when interacting with someone of another race.*
6. *I am confident in my ability to make a positive impression when interacting with someone of another race.*
7. *I am confident that people from other racial backgrounds will respect me.*

8. *I am confident that people from other racial backgrounds will like me.*

## 5.4 Procedure

Participants completed an online survey that was organized into blocks. In the first block, participants allocated their potential bonus money, decided on programs to cut from the budget, and voted on different policies. These three measures were presented in fixed order, but the individual choices within each measure were presented in randomized order. In the second block, participants rated their agreement with the 15 colorblind and 5 multicultural statements, presented individually, and in randomized order. In the third block, participants completed, in randomized order, feeling thermometers for various social groups, indicated their willingness for intergroup contact, and interracial interaction intentions and expectations. Finally, participants completed demographics. This order was chosen to capture the more behavioral outcomes first (e.g., donating money, budget allocation, voting intention) without cueing participants in to the study's interest in racial beliefs and attitudes.

## 5.5 Main Results

### 5.5.1 Preliminary analyses: Replicating the colorblind distinctions of Studies 2a and 2b.

Table 5.5.2 provides descriptive statistics for all measures. Overall, endorsement of the colorblind statements were high (above the midpoint), except for the *racism denial* items (around midpoint).

Table 5.5.3 presents correlations between each of the colorblind clusters. All 3 colorblind clusters were positively correlated with each other ( $r = .25$  to  $r = .74$ ), and negatively correlated with multiculturalism ( $r = -.21$  to  $r = -.65$ ). Correlations between *racism denial* and *avoid discussing race* were particularly high ( $r = .74$ ). However, because they each related to *common humanity* differently ( $r = .25$  vs.  $r = .51$ ), we did not collapse the two.

### 5.5.2 Table. Descriptive statistics for all variables

Variables	Study 3 Pilot ( <i>n</i> = 89) Mean (SD)	Study 3 ( <i>n</i> = 199) Mean (SD)
<i>Colorblind clusters (5 most representative items)</i>		
Racism denial	3.55 (1.54)	
Avoid discussing	4.91 (1.48)	
Common humanity	5.67 (1.13)	
General opposition	5.01 (1.46)	
Multiculturalism	4.91 (1.13)	
<i>Winnings allocation (proportion out of amount donated to charity)</i>		
Yourself	---	---
Association for Green Environments	.27 (.32)	.30 (.35)
Kids for Early Education	.31 (.35)	.23 (.30)
Scholarship for Minorities	.09 (.15)	.16 (.27)
American Red Cross	.34 (.38)	.29 (.35)
<i>Winnings allocation (proportion out of total possible)</i>		
Yourself	.83 (.28)	.77 (.29)
Association for Green Environments	.04 (.10)	.07 (.14)
Kids for Early Education	.05 (.11)	.05 (.12)
Scholarship for Minorities	.02 (.06)	.04 (.10)
American Red Cross	.06 (.17)	.07 (.15)

*Budgeting priorities (rank data, higher value = lower priority)*

Obesity epidemic	4.21 (1.70)	3.97 (1.66)
Gun violence	3.00 (1.74)	3.21 (1.78)
Cyber security breach	3.12 (1.44)	3.22 (1.55)
Dependence on foreign oil	3.43 (1.77)	3.48 (1.65)
Aging transportation infrastructure	3.22 (1.47)	3.03 (1.67)
Bias against racial minorities	4.02 (1.77)	4.09 (1.66)

*Voting intentions (positive = support for policy)*

Ban Consideration of Race policy	2.84 (5.51)	2.11 (4.51)
Mandatory Cultural Education policy	-.44 (6.11)	-.06 (4.95)
Intercultural Exchange Centers policy	-1.03 (5.64)	-.66 (4.56)
Community Health Clinics policy	3.85 (4.55)	2.11 (4.32)
Minimum wage control	3.22 (5.53)	3.75 (3.78)
Mandatory recycling control	.61 (6.08)	.98 (5.01)

*Secondary measure of policy support*

*Study 3a: Sign petition (0 = no, 1 = yes) / donation toward campaign;*

*Study 3b: Additional tasks (0 = no, 1 = yes)*

Ban Consideration of Race policy	.30 (.46) / \$3.82 (13.19)	.04 (.19)
Mandatory Cultural Education policy	.20 (.40) / \$3.00 (11.85)	0
Intercultural Exchange Centers policy	.21 (.41) / \$1.94 (5.32)	.01 (.07)
Community Health Clinics policy	.35 (.48) / \$3.80 (9.32)	.04 (.19)
Minimum wage control	.41 (.49) / \$6.35 (24.63)	.09 (.29)
Mandatory recycling control	.29 (.46) / \$3.38 (12.31)	.04 (.20)

*Outgroup warmth (positive = pro-white bias)*

Pro-white vs. Black bias	7.74 (21.05)	8.66 (22.66)
Pro-white vs. Latino	6.42 (15.83)	9.09 (23.78)
Pro-white vs. Asian bias	1.34 (9.36)	4.25 (19.21)

*Interracial interaction intentions*

Willingness to interact (10 items; Study 3 pilot alpha = .96)	5.15 (1.07)	5.01 (1.04)
Interracial interaction intention and expectations (8 items; Study 3 pilot alpha = .82)	5.34 (.85)	5.03 (.90)

Note. Items highlighted in gray are the race-relevant variables of interest.

5.5.3 Table. Study 3 pilot colorblind cluster correlations (n = 89).

	Racism denial	Avoid discussing	Common humanity	General opposition
Racism denial				
Avoid discussing	.744***			
Common humanity	.252*	.513***		
General opposition	.317**	.617***	.791***	
Multiculturalism	-.654***	-.534***	-.209*	-.269**

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

5.5.4 Main analysis: Correlations between colorblind endorsement and behavioral intentions

To examine whether interracial interaction intentions, money allocation, budgeting priorities, voting intentions, and outgroup warmth varied by colorblind endorsement, we computed correlations between each of the DVs and

endorsement of *racism denial*, *avoid discussing race*, and *common humanity*. To validate the DVs using a conceptually opposite ideology, we also computed the correlations between the DVs and *multiculturalism*. Correlation coefficients are reported in Table 5.5.3.

Overall, endorsement of *racism denial* and *avoid discussing race* was negatively associated with willingness and comfort engaging in interracial interactions, and positively associated with bias against Blacks and Latinos. In addition, endorsement of these clusters was negatively associated with donating to charities that support racial minorities, addressing race bias in the budget, and voting for race-conscious policy (i.e., they were positively associated with voting for race-blind policy)<sup>3</sup>.

Interestingly, the correlation differences between *racism denial* and *avoid discussing race* varied depending on the particular outcome measure. For instance, compared to *avoid discussing race*, endorsement of *racism denial* was more strongly opposed to funding health clinics, more in favor of removing race from being addressed in the budget, and more biased against Blacks, but *avoid discussing race* was more strongly related to support for policy banning the consideration of race in school admissions, and opposition to funding intercultural exchange centers. In fact, when controlling for endorsement of the other cluster (see last 3 columns of Table 5.5.5), *racism denial* and *avoid discussing race* appear to play unique roles in predicting different outcomes: *Racism denial* uniquely drives the associations with charity donations, removing race from the budget, voting against cultural education and funding health clinics, and bias against Blacks and Latinos, while *avoid discussing race* uniquely drives associations with voting for colorblind policy and against intercultural community centers, and unwillingness to interact with Blacks.

Endorsement of *common humanity* was also negatively (but much more weakly) related to voting for race-conscious policy and donating to organizations that support racial minorities. However, in contrast to *racism denial* and *avoid discussing race* endorsement, it was unrelated to all other outcome variables. In fact, almost all race-relevant correlations for *common humanity* were significantly different from those of *racism denial* and *avoid discussing race* — similar to what would be expected from Study 2b. However, the negative or lack of correlation with most measures are somewhat unexpected given the more positive correlations observed in Study 2b. Results are slightly more consistent with Study 2b after isolating the contributions of *common humanity* from *racism denial* and *avoid discussing race*. In other words, when controlling for endorsement of the other two clusters, *common humanity* is actually uncorrelated with all DVs aimed for structural change (e.g., donating, budgeting, and voting) as well as outgroup warmth, but now positively related to the interracial interaction DVs (e.g., willingness and comfort engaging in interracial interactions).

We also examined correlations between the DVs and endorsement of *multiculturalism* as a way to validate the measures. As expected—and in contrast to the colorblind clusters—support for *multiculturalism* was positively related to support for all race-relevant structural change and interracial interaction intentions, and negatively related with outgroup bias. These correlations with *multiculturalism* were significantly opposite to the correlations of all colorblind clusters on virtually every measure, though the differences were greater and more consistent for *multiculturalism vs. racism denial* compared to *multiculturalism vs. common humanity*.

### 5.5.5 Table. Study 3 pilot correlations between colorblind endorsement and DVs. Table reports race-relevant measures only.

	Correlation coefficients (pearson's r)	Correlations controlling for the other colorblind varieties
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<sup>3</sup> We assumed that a participant voting against race-blind policy was for race-conscious policy, and a participant voting against race-conscious policy was for race-blind policy, because the very existence of the proposal suggests that the current state of affairs is one that is currently contrary to what the policy proposes.

	Racism denial	Avoid discussing race	Comm on human ity	Racism denial	Avoid discussi ng	Comm on humani ty
<i>Winnings allocation (proportion out of total amount donated to any charity, n = 36)</i>						
Scholarship for Minorities	-.49**	-.37*	-.25	-.34*	.04	-.14
<i>Budgeting priorities (rank data, higher value = lower priority)</i>						
Bias against racial minorities	.51***	.39***	.05	.29**	.07	-.10
<i>Voting intentions (positive = support for policy)</i>						
Ban Consideration of Race policy	.36***	.43***	.19†	.06	.21*	.02
Mandatory Cultural Education policy	-.57***	-.46***	-.27*	-.36***	.01	-.12
Intercultural Exchange Centers policy	-.28**	-.39***	-.24*	-.003	-.20†	-.06
Community Health Clinics policy	-.39***	-.22*	.06	-.31**	.03	.12
<i>Interest in signing petition (binary choice, 0 = no, 1 = yes)</i>						
Ban Consideration of Race policy	.13	.12	.02	.05	.04	-.03
Mandatory Cultural Education policy	-.25*	-.20†	-.29**	-.20†	.11	-.26*
Intercultural Exchange Centers policy	-.23*	-.25*	-.20†	-.08	-.06	-.10
Community Health Clinics policy	-.24*	-.11	.02	-.22*	.07	.04
<i>Petition donation (dollar amount)</i>						
Ban Consideration of Race policy	.11	.09	.001	-.07	-.06	-.09
Mandatory Cultural Education policy	-.21*	-.23*	-.18†	.02	-.23*	.11
Intercultural Exchange Centers policy	-.23*	-.30**	-.06	.06	.03	-.04
Community Health Clinics policy	-.29**	-.24*	-.10	-.17	-.02	-.01
<i>Outgroup warmth (positive = pro-white bias)</i>						
Pro-white vs. Black bias	.51***	.39***	.06	.29**	.07	-.10
Pro-white vs. Latino	.33***	.22*	.07	.25*	-.04	.01
Pro-white vs. Asian bias	.12	.09	.08	.08	-.02	.06
<i>Interracial interaction intentions</i>						
Willingness to interact	-.35***	-.32**	.08	-.11	-.20†	.25*
Interracial interaction intention and expectations	-.25*	-.17	.10	-.15	-.06	.17

† p < .10, \* p < .05, \*\* p < .01, \*\*\* p < .001. The last three columns represent the unique contribution of that colorblind variety in predicting the DV (i.e., semi-partial correlations)

Table. Full correlations table

	Correlation coefficients (pearson's r)			Difference tests			Correlations controlling for the other colorblind varieties		
	Racism denial	Avoid discussing race	Comm on human ity	Racism denial vs. Avoid discussing	Racism denial vs. Common humanity	Avoid discussing vs. Common Humanity	Racism denial	Avoid discussing	Comm on humanity
<i>Winnings allocation (proportion out of total amount donated to any charity, n = 36)</i>									
Yourself	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Association for Green Environments	-.27	-.22	.04	RD = AD	RD = CH	AD = CH	-.11	-.12	.15
Kids for Early Education	.28	.21	-.09	RD = AD	RD >† CH	AD >† CH	.11	.14	-.20
Scholarship for Minorities	-.49**	-.37*	-.25	RD = AD	RD = CH	AD = CH	-.34*	.04	-.14
American Red Cross	.17	.13	.14	RD = AD	RD = CH	AD = CH	.13	-.04	.12
<i>Winnings allocation (proportion out of total possible, n = 89)</i>									
Yourself	.15	.20†	.05	RD = AD	RD = CH	AD = CH	-.01	.14	-.06
Association for Green Environments	-.24*	-.19†	.02	RD = AD	RD <* CH	AD <* CH	-.12	-.06	.10
Kids for Early Education	-.02	-.03	-.08	RD = AD	RD = CH	AD = CH	-.01	.02	-.08
Scholarship for Minorities	-.28**	-.23*	-.12	RD = AD	RD = CH	AD = CH	-.16	-.01	-.04
American Red Cross	-.02	-.13	.005	RD = AD	RD = CH	AD = CH	.14	-.21*	.11
<i>Budgeting priorities (rank data, higher value = lower priority)</i>									
Obesity epidemic	-.03	-.01	.06	RD = AD	RD = CH	AD = CH	-.01	-.03	.08
Gun violence	.17	.16	.05	RD = AD	RD = CH	AD = CH	.07	.06	-.03
Cyber security breach	-.18†	-.11	-.05	RD = AD	RD = CH	AD = CH	-.15	.04	-.03
Dependence on foreign oil	-.42***	-.37***	-.17	RD = AD	RD <* CH	AD <* CH	-.21*	-.07	-.02
Aging transportation infrastructure	-.10	-.09	.06	RD = AD	RD = CH	AD = CH	-.02	-.08	.12
Bias against racial minorities	.51***	.39***	.05	RD >† AD	RD >*** CH	AD >*** CH	.29**	.07	-.10
<i>Voting intentions (positive = support for policy)</i>									
Ban Consideration of Race policy	.36***	.43***	.19†	RD <† AD	RD = CH	AD >* CH	.06	.21*	.02
Mandatory Cultural Education policy	-.57***	-.46***	-.27*	RD = AD	RD <*** CH	AD <† CH	-.36***	.01	-.12
Intercultural Exchange Centers policy	-.28**	-.39***	-.24*	RD = AD	RD = CH	AD = CH	-.003	-.20†	-.06
Community Health Clinics policy	-.39***	-.22*	.06	RD <*** AD	RD <*** CH	AD <*** CH	-.31**	.03	.12

Minimum wage control	-.20†	-.16	.27*	RD = AD	RD <*** CH	AD <*** CH	-.04	-.21†	.39***
Mandatory recycling control	-.24*	-.11	.07	RD <† AD	RD <* CH	AD <† CH	-.22*	.05	.09
<i>Interest in signing petition (binary choice, 0 = no, 1 = yes)</i>									
Ban Consideration of Race policy	.13	.12	.02	RD = AD	RD = CH	AD = CH	.05	.04	-.03
Mandatory Cultural Education policy	-.25*	-.20†	-.29**	RD = AD	RD = CH	AD = CH	-.20†	.11	-.26*
Intercultural Exchange Centers policy	-.23*	-.25*	-.20†	RD = AD	RD = CH	AD = CH	-.08	-.06	-.10
Community Health Clinics policy	-.24*	-.11	.02	RD <† AD	RD <* CH	AD = CH	-.22*	.07	.04
Minimum wage control	-.06	-.05	.06	RD = AD	RD = CH	AD = CH	-.02	-.05	.09
Mandatory recycling control	-.29**	-.22*	-.03	RD = AD	RD <* CH	AD <† CH	-.17	-.03	.06
<i>Petition donation (dollar amount)</i>									
Ban Consideration of Race policy	.11	.09	.001	RD = AD	RD = CH	AD = CH	-.07	-.06	-.09
Mandatory Cultural Education policy	-.21*	-.23*	-.18†	RD = AD	RD = CH	AD = CH	.02	-.23*	.11
Intercultural Exchange Centers policy	-.23*	-.30**	-.06	RD = AD	RD = CH	AD <* CH	.06	.03	-.04
Community Health Clinics policy	-.29**	-.24*	-.10	RD = AD	RD = CH	AD = CH	-.17	-.02	-.01
Minimum wage control	.004	-.004	-.05	RD = AD	RD = CH	AD = CH	-.004	.02	-.06
Mandatory recycling control	-.14	-.15	-.11	RD = AD	RD = CH	AD = CH	-.05	-.04	-.04
<i>Outgroup warmth (positive = pro-white bias)</i>									
Pro-white vs. black bias	.51***	.39***	.06	RD >† AD	RD >*** CH	AD >*** CH	.29**	.07	-.10
Pro-white vs. latino	.33***	.22*	.07	RD = AD	RD >* CH	AD = CH	.25*	-.04	.01
Pro-white vs. Asian bias	.12	.09	.08	RD = AD	RD = CH	AD = CH	.08	-.02	.06
<i>Interracial interaction intentions</i>									
Willingness to interact	-.35***	-.32**	.08	RD = AD	RD <*** CH	AD <*** CH	-.11	-.20†	.25*
Interracial interaction intention and expectations	-.25*	-.17	.10	RD = AD	RD <*** CH	AD <* CH	-.15	-.06	.17

†  $p < .10$ , \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$ . Items highlighted in gray are the race-relevant variables of interest. For the correlation difference tests, shared  $r$  for Racism Denial and Common Humanity = .25, Racism Denial and Avoid Discussing = .74, and Avoid Discussing and Common Humanity = .51. The last three columns represent the unique contribution of that colorblind variety in predicting the DV (i.e., semi-partial correlations)

*Table. Correlations for multiculturalism*

	Pearson's r	Difference test
	Multiculturalism	Common humanity vs. Multiculturalism (shared r = -.209)
<i>Winnings allocation (proportion out of total amount donated to any charity, n = 36)</i>		
Yourself	---	---
Association for Green Environments	.19	Z = -0.56
Kids for Early Education	-.30†	Z = 0.80
Scholarship for Minorities*	.19	Z = -1.65†
American Red Cross	.05	Z = 0.34
<i>Winnings allocation (proportion out of total possible, n = 89)</i>		
Yourself	-.24*	Z = 1.75†
Association for Green Environments	.26*	Z = -1.46
Kids for Early Education	.07	Z = -0.90
Scholarship for Minorities*	.22*	Z = -2.05*
American Red Cross	.14	Z = -0.81
<i>Budgeting priorities (rank data, higher value = lower priority)</i>		
Obesity epidemic	.14	Z = -0.48
Gun violence	-.27**	Z = 1.94*
Cyber security breach	.10	Z = -0.90
Dependence on foreign oil	.38***	Z = -3.40***
Aging transportation infrastructure	.21*	Z = -0.91
Bias against racial minorities*	-.50***	Z = 3.53***
<i>Voting intentions (positive = support for policy)</i>		
Colorblind policy*	-.24*	Z = 0.31
Less costly Multicultural policy*	.56***	Z = -5.39***
Positive interaction Multicultural policy*	.39***	Z = -3.91***
Eliminate disparities Multicultural policy*	.43***	Z = -2.36*
Minimum wage control	.29**	Z = -0.13
Mandatory recycling control	.31**	Z = -1.48
<i>Interest in signing petition (binary choice, 0 = no, 1 = yes)</i>		
Colorblind policy*	-.008	Z = 0.17
Less costly Multicultural policy*	.33**	Z = -3.82***
Positive interaction Multicultural policy*	.24*	Z = -2.67**
Eliminate disparities Multicultural policy*	.32**	Z = -1.85†
Minimum wage control	.17	Z = -0.66
Mandatory recycling control	.36***	Z = -2.41*
<i>Petition donation (dollar amount)</i>		
Colorblind policy*	-.07	Z = 0.42
Less costly Multicultural policy*	.15	Z = -0.18
Positive interaction Multicultural policy*	.07	Z = -0.78

Eliminate disparities Multicultural policy*	.17	Z = -1.62
Minimum wage control	-.03	Z = -0.12
Mandatory recycling control	.15	Z = -1.56
<i>Outgroup warmth (positive = pro-white bias)</i>		
Pro-white vs. black bias*	-.43***	Z = 3.08**
Pro-white vs. latino*	-.35***	Z = 2.59**
Pro-white vs. Asian bias*	-.17	Z = 1.50
<i>Interracial interaction intentions</i>		
Willingness to interact*	.52***	Z = -2.91**
Interracial interaction intention and expectations*	.48***	Z = -2.48*

† p < .10, \* p < .05, \*\* p < .01, \*\*\* p < .001. Items highlighted in gray are the race-relevant variables of interest.

### 5.5.6 Discussion

Study 3 Pilot found that the colorblind clusters identified in Study 2b predicted different behavioral intentions that are of consequence for intergroup relations. Specifically, using the top five items representing each cluster, results showed that those who endorsed *racism denial* and *avoid discussing race* were more likely to oppose efforts for structural change, were more likely to have bias against Blacks and Latinos, and were less interested and willing to engage in interracial interactions. Interestingly, although *racism denial* and *avoid discussing race* both opposed race-conscious structural change and interracial interactions, they each played unique roles in predicting different behavioral intentions, lending support for the case that the two clusters are—though related—meaningfully distinct constructs.

Those who endorsed *common humanity*, on the other hand, were less likely than those who endorsed *racism denial* or *avoid discussing race* to oppose race-relevant policies and programs, have bias against Blacks and Latinos, and were more likely to express interest in interracial interactions. In fact, when controlling for the shared portion with *racism denial* and *avoid discussing race*, *common humanity* endorsement itself was actually unrelated to race-conscious efforts for structural change, but positively related to the interpersonal measures.

The only measures that did not exhibit these patterns as strongly were the measures gauging interest in signing petitions for race-conscious policies, and donation toward those petition campaigns. These may have operated differently from the voting intention measures because of a reluctance to receive spam through email, or in the general belief that petitions are not effective, and thus were not a reliable measure for policy support. Bias against Asians was also unassociated with colorblind endorsement, suggesting that colorblind ideology is most relevant to attitudes and behaviors toward Blacks and Latinos.

Though overall consistent with the takeaways from Studies 1, 2a, and 2b (i.e., that there are multiple versions of colorblindness that distinctly relate to race-relevant attitudes and behaviors), these results are somewhat different from what might be expected from Study 2b. Specifically, attitude associations in Study 2b showed that *common humanity* was positively related to multiculturalism and internal motivations to respond without prejudice, and negatively correlated with SDO. However, in Study 3 Pilot, which uses more behavioral measures, we find that *common humanity* patterns are closer to the patterns of *racism denial* than previously observed. Thus, before speculating about the potential differences between the attitudes reported in Study 2b and the behavioral intentions observed in Study 3 Pilot, we conducted Study 3 to test a conceptual replication of Study 3 Pilot.

## 5.6 Additional analyses

### 5.6.1 Outcome variables

#### *Donation.*

The average amount that participants donated to each charity is presented in Table 3P.4. Most participants chose to keep the entire \$20 to themselves. However, of the ones who donated to any charity ( $n = 36$ ), the least amount of money was still apportioned to *Scholarships for Minorities*. Specifically, when calculating the portion of money that was donated to *Scholarships for Minorities* out of all money donated to charity, *Scholarships for Minorities* on average represented only 9% of the total donated to charity. Further, the most that any participant ever donated to the *Scholarship for Minorities* organization was \$5, while the maximum for all other organizations was \$10 or \$20.

Table 3P.4 - Mean dollar amount apportioned to self and charities

	Min	Max	Mean amount (SD) (n = 89)	Mean amount among those who donated (n = 36)	Percentage out of total possible (\$20) (n = 89)	Percentage out of total donated to any charity (n = 36)
Yourself	\$0	\$20	\$16.53 (\$5.55)	\$11.42 (\$5.48)	.82 (.28)	---
Association for Green Environments	\$0	\$10	\$0.82 (\$1.90)	\$2.03 (\$2.57)	.04 (.10)	.27 (.32)
Kids for Early Education	\$0	\$10	\$1.01 (\$2.26)	\$2.50 (\$3.01)	.05 (.11)	.31 (.35)
Scholarships for Minorities	\$0	\$5	\$0.38 (\$1.10)	\$0.94 (\$1.58)	.02 (.06)	.09 (.15)
American Red Cross	\$0	\$20	\$1.26 (\$3.31)	\$3.11 (\$4.65)	.06 (.17)	.34 (.38)

#### *Budgeting*

Participants were asked to rank 6 issues in order of importance, under the assumption that the top 3 issues would be assigned a task force, and the bottom 3 issues would not be addressed in the budget. Table 3P.5 displays the mean ranks for each issue. *Gun violence*, *cyber security breach*, and *aging transportation infrastructure* were ranked highest in importance overall, indicating that participants desired task forces to address these issues. *Bias against racial minorities* was ranked 5<sup>th</sup> most important on average, indicating that if forced to choose, participants would not prioritize this issue in the budget.

To see if differences in ranking were meaningful, we conducted a Friedman Test for related samples. Results showed that there was a significant overall difference in the ranks of different issues,  $X^2(5, n = 89) = 32.20, p < .001$ . For pairwise comparisons testing whether ranking differences between *bias against racial minorities* and each of the other issues were meaningful, we conducted Wilcoxon Signed Rank Tests for each of the issues against *bias against racial minorities*. As Table 3P.5 shows, all issues except *obesity epidemic* were ranked significantly more important than *bias against racial minorities*.

Table 3P.5 - Prioritizing the budget

	Mean Rank	Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test comparing issue rank against bias against racial minorities
Gun violence	2.99	-3.86 <sup>b</sup> ***
Cyber security breach	3.12	-3.21 <sup>b</sup> ***
Aging transportation infrastructure	3.22	-2.56 <sup>b</sup> **

Dependence on foreign oil	3.43	-1.86 <sup>b</sup> †
Bias against racial minorities	4.02	---
Obesity epidemic	4.21	-0.92 <sup>a</sup>

a. Based on positive ranks, b. Based on negative ranks. \*p < .05 \*\*p < .01 \*\*\*p < .001

### Voting.

As the first column of Table 3P.1 shows, on average, participants were fairly supportive of the *colorblind* ( $M = 2.84$ ,  $SD = 5.51$ ) and *health clinics* ( $M = 3.85$ ,  $SD = 4.55$ ) policies, and indifferent or slightly unsupportive of the *cultural education* ( $M = -0.44$ ,  $SD = 6.11$ ) and *intercultural community centers* policies ( $M = -1.03$ ,  $SD = 5.64$ ).

Interest in signing petitions mimicked the patterns observed in voting intentions. Specifically, there was greater interest in signing petitions for the *colorblind* ( $M = .30$ ,  $SD = .46$ ) and *health clinics* ( $M = .35$ ,  $SD = .48$ ) policy, and less interest in signing petitions for *cultural education* ( $M = .20$ ,  $SD = .40$ ) and *intercultural community centers* ( $M = .21$ ,  $SD = .41$ ).

Similarly, of the race-relevant initiatives, the most money was donated toward petitions for the *health clinics* ( $M = \$3.80$ ,  $SD = \$9.32$ ) and *colorblind* policy ( $M = \$3.82$ ,  $SD = \$13.19$ ), and the least money was donated to petition for the *intercultural community center* ( $M = \$1.94$ ,  $SD = \$5.32$ ).

### Interracial Interaction DVs.

Overall, participants reported strong willingness to interact with black individuals ( $M = 5.15$ ,  $SD = 1.07$ ), and reported being confident and comfortable in interracial interactions ( $M = 5.34$ ,  $SD = .85$ ).

### Outgroup warmth.

Overall, participants felt greater warmth toward their ingroup (i.e., Whites) compared to Blacks, Latinos, and Asians, though this pro-White bias was stronger against Blacks ( $M = 7.74$ ,  $SD = 21.05$ ) and Latinos ( $M = 6.42$ ,  $SD = 15.83$ ) than Asians ( $M = 1.34$ ,  $SD = 9.36$ ).

Table 3P.8 - Rank order correlations (spearman's rho) between issue rank and colorblind endorsement.

	Bias against racial minorities	Obesity epidemic	Gun violence	Cyber security breach	Dependence on foreign oil	Aging transportation infrastructure
Racism denial	.51***	-.07	.17	-.19†	-.40***	-.12
Avoid discussing race	.36***	-.05	.13	-.11	-.35***	-.09
Common humanity	.05	.02	-.008	-.04	-.15	.05
General opposition	.09	-.04	.14	-.14	-.17	.01
Multiculturalism	-.53***	.10	-.25*	.13	.38***	.21*

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

Table 3P.9 - Point serial correlations between interest in signing petition and colorblind endorsement.

	Race-relevant policy initiatives			Control initiatives		
Ban Consideration of Race policy	Mandatory Cultural Exchange policy	Intercultural Exchange Centers policy	Community Health Clinics policy	Mandatory Recycling policy	Minimum wage policy	

Mean (SD)	.30 (.46)	.20 (.40)	.21 (.41)	.35 (.48)	.30 (.46)	.41 (.49)
Correlation coefficients						
Racism denial	.13	-.25*	-.23*	-.24*	-.29**	-.06
Avoid discussing race	.12	-.20t	-.25*	-.11	-.22*	-.05
Common humanity	.02	-.29**	-.20t	.02	-.03	.06
General opposition	.10	-.13	-.10	.04	-.05	.05
Multiculturalism	-.01	.33**	.24*	.32**	.36***	.17

### 5.6.2 Do combinations of colorblind beliefs matter?

Given the lack of correlations observed for *common humanity*, and its change after controlling for the other varieties, we next tested whether the meaning of *common humanity* shifted as a function of endorsement of *racism denial*, *avoid discussing race*, and *multiculturalism*. We regressed the combinations of *common humanity* and *racism denial*, *common humanity* and *avoid discussing race*, and *common humanity* and *multiculturalism*, separately onto each of the DVs, and tested for their interactions.

None of the combinations interacted when predicting behavioral intention measures aimed for *structural* change (e.g., budgeting, voting intention) or outgroup warmth.

However, when including *common humanity* in the same model as any of the other varieties, it is only the other variety that contributes significantly to those DVs. This suggests that *racism denial*, *avoid discussing race*, and *multiculturalism* are the stronger ideologies, and it is endorsement of those varieties that really contribute to budgeting priorities, voting intention, and outgroup warmth.

In contrast, when predicting the *interpersonal* DVs, the combinations do interact. That is, as endorsement of *common humanity* increases, so does one's willingness to interact with black individuals and one's positive interracial interaction intentions and expectations. However, this increase is more pronounced when endorsement of *racism denial* (or *avoid discussing race*) is high (e.g., 1 SD above the mean) (see Figure 4 for illustration). In other words, those who are low in *racism denial* or *avoid discussing race* are generally interested in interracial interactions, regardless of how much one endorses *common humanity*. But, for those who are high in *racism denial* or *avoid discussing race*, endorsement of *common humanity* can increase interest in interracial interactions, while low endorsement of *common humanity* can decrease interest. Similar patterns were observed for the *common humanity* and *multiculturalism* combination, though in the opposite direction: those high in *multiculturalism* were generally interested in interracial interactions regardless of *common humanity* endorsement, while those low in *multiculturalism* were more interested in interracial interactions only if also endorsing *common humanity*.

Table 12. Regression results predicting DVs from Common Humanity combinations

	Budgeting		Voting intentions							
	Bias against racial minorities		Ban Consideration of Race policy		Mandatory Cultural Education policy		Intercultural Exchange Centers policy		Community Health Clinics policy	
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
<b>Combo 1</b>										
CH	-.05	-.04	.15	.15	-.16†	-.15	-.17	-.15	.16	.15
Multicult	-.51***	-.51***	-.21†	-.21†	.53***	.53***	.35***	.35***	.46***	.46***
CH x Multi	---	-.03	---	.01	---	-.01	---	-.05	---	.04
Δ R <sup>2</sup>	.25***	.001	.08*	.00	.34***	.00	.18***	.00	.21***	.00

<b>Combo 2</b>										
CH	-.17†	-.23*	-.02	-.02	-.06	-.02	-.12	-.08	.24*	.27*
RD	.55***	.57***	-.42***	-.41***	-.53***	-.54***	-.30**	-.31**	-.43***	-.44***
CH x RD	---	-.13	---	-.01	---	.08	---	.08	---	.05
Δ R <sup>2</sup>	.26***	.01	.18***	.00	.30***	.01	.14**	.01	.16***	.002
<b>Combo 2</b>										
CH										
AD										
CH x AD										
Δ R <sup>2</sup>										

	Interaction intentions				Outgroup warmth			
	Willingness to interact		Interracial interaction expectations		Bias against blacks		Bias against Latinos	
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
<b>Combo 1</b>								
CH	.20*	.29**	.21*	.27**	-.04	-.04	.002	-.001
Multicult	.56***	.55***	.53***	.52***	-.44***	-.44***	-.35***	-.35***
CH x Multi	---	-.26**	---	-.18†	---	.01	---	.01
Δ R <sup>2</sup>	.31***	.06**	.27***	.03†	.19***	.00	.12***	.00
<b>Combo 2</b>								
CH	.27*	.44***	.22*	.35**	-.17†	-.20†	-.06	-.09
RD	-.47***	-.52***	-.32**	-.35**	.55***	.56***	.32**	.33**
CH x RD	---	.36***	---	.27*	---	-.06	---	-.07
Δ R <sup>2</sup>	.19***	.11***	.09*	.06*	.26***	.003	.09*	.004
<b>Combo 2</b>								
CH								
AD								
CH x AD								
Δ R <sup>2</sup>								

All reported coefficients represent standardized betas. † p < .10, \* p < .05, \*\* p < .01, \*\*\* p < .001. Budget rankings are scored such that higher scores indicate lower priority to be addressed in the budget, lower scores indicate higher priority. Voting intentions are scored such that higher scores indicate more confident votes in support of the policy, lower scores indicate more confident votes in opposition to the policy.

## 6. Study 3a

### 6.1 Measures

#### 6.1.1 Colorblind statements

- Racism denial – Existing statements (alpha = .916)
  1. *White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.* R
  2. *Race plays an important role in who gets sent to prison.* R
  3. *Racial and ethnic minorities do not have the same opportunities as white people in the U.S.* R
  4. *White people are more to blame for racial discrimination than racial and ethnic minorities.* R

5. *Racism may have been a problem in the past, it is not an important problem today.*

- Racism denial – Core statements
  - A. *Discrimination against racial minorities is no longer a major problem in the United States.*
  - B. *Race does not play a role in people’s chances to get ahead anymore.*
  
- Avoid discussing race – Existing statements (alpha = .852)
  1. *I wish people in this society would stop obsessing so much about race.*
  2. *Nothing good will come out of continuing to focus on race.*
  3. *Society would be better off if we all stopped talking about race.*
  4. *The same rules and regulations should apply to all groups (e.g., race should not be considered when making decisions such as school admissions or public policy), even if that means existing racial inequalities continue.*
  5. *Treating different racial groups differently (e.g., taking people’s race into account when making decisions such as school admissions or public policy) is justified if such treatment reduces existing inequalities. R*
  
- Avoid discussing race – Core statements
  - A. *Society would be better off if we all stopped focusing so much on how people's race affects their lives in society.*
  - B. *People's race should not be considered when organizations make decisions (e.g., school admissions decisions) even if the goal is to reduce racial inequalities.*
  
- Common humanity – Existing statements (alpha = .856)
  1. *At our core, all human beings are really the same, so racial and ethnic categories do not matter.*
  2. *If everyone paid less attention to race and skin color, we would all get along much better.*
  3. *In order to achieve a harmonious society, we must stop thinking of Americans with different racial backgrounds as different from each other, and instead focus on what makes us similar.*
  4. *Judging one another as individuals rather than members of an ethnic group would improve intergroup relations.*
  5. *Recognizing that all people are basically the same, regardless of their ethnicity would improve intergroup relations.*
  
- Common humanity – Core statements
  - A. *The world will be a better place if more people affirm the common humanity that we all share, regardless of race.*
  - B. *To improve our society, we must learn to pay less attention to skin color and embrace the fact that as human beings, we are fundamentally no different from each other.*

## 6.2 Results

### 6.2.1 Table. Convergent and discriminant validity for the “core” colorblindness items.

	Cronbach's alpha	Correlations					
		Racism denial – Core 1	Racism denial – Core 2	Avoid discuss – Core 1	Avoid discuss – Core 2	Comm human – Core 1	Comm human – Core 2
Racism denial – 5 existing	.916	<b>.801***</b>	<b>.757***</b>	.587***	.571***	-.057	-.037
Avoid discussing race – 5 existing	.852	.547***	.578***	<b>.805***</b>	<b>.736***</b>	.227**	.332***
Common humanity – 5 existing	.856	-.038	.102	.388***	.308***	<b>.752***</b>	<b>.822</b>

\* p < .05, \*\* p < .01, \*\*\* p < .001. Bolded items represent the correlations predicted to be highest for each column.

6.2.2 Table. Study 3a core item means and correlations (n = 177).

	Mean (SD)	Racism denial	Avoid discussing	Common humanity
Racism denial	3.07 (1.74)	-		
Avoid discussing	4.82 (1.74)	.56***	-	
Common humanity	5.93 (1.33)	-.05	.27***	-

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

## 7. Study 3b

### 7.1 Multiculturalism statements

(based on Rosenthal & Levy, 2012 factor analysis of 3 scales).

1. *Learning about the ways that different ethnic groups resolve conflict will help us develop a more harmonious society. (Wolsko et al., 2006 – Item 2) [aligns with multi2 from study2]*
2. *When interacting with a member of an ethnic group that is different from your own, it is very important to take into account the history and cultural traditions of that person’s ethnic group. (Wolsko et al., 2006 – Item 4)*
3. *In order to live in a cooperative society, everyone must learn the unique histories and cultural experiences of different ethnic groups. (Wolsko et al., 2006 – Item 3) [adapted version is multi1 in study2]*
4. *A society that has a variety of cultural groups is more able to tackle new problems as they occur. (Ryan 2010 adaptation of Berry & Kalin 1995 – Item 3)*
5. *If we want to help create a harmonious society, we must recognize that each ethnic group has the right to maintain its own unique traditions. (Wolsko et al., 2006 – Item 5) [aligns with multi3 in study2]*

### 7.2. Outcome measures

Same as in the Pilot Study. However, instead of indicating interest in signing petitions (which involved sending participants information through email), we opted for a different measure of policy support by giving participants a chance to work, unpaid, on additional tasks supporting each policy campaign after the study was completed. Specifically, participants were told: “If any of these initiatives resonated with you and you are interested in helping further their potential on the ballot, you can contribute by working on additional tasks for the campaigns. Tasks typically take 3-5 minutes and can be completed on the computer at the end of the survey after this study has been completed. We will be unable to compensate you for these additional tasks, but each completed task amounts to about \$0.50 worth of work toward that campaign”. Participants indicated any and all initiatives for which they were willing to work on additional tasks (0 = no, 1 = yes).

### 7.3 Main results

### 7.3.1 Table. Study 3b colorblind means and correlations (n = 199).

	Mean (SD)	Racism denial	Avoid discussing	Common humanity
Racism denial	3.06 (1.65)	-		
Avoid discussing	4.95 (1.70)	.64***	-	
Common humanity	5.89 (1.18)	.003	.36***	-
Multiculturalism	4.88 (1.14)	-.53***	-.32***	.28***

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

### 7.3.2 Table. Descriptive statistics for all variables in Study 3b

Variables	Study 3 Pilot (n = 89) Mean (SD)	Study 3 (n = 199) Mean (SD)
<i>Colorblind clusters (measured using the 5 most representative items in Study 3 pilot, Core items in Study 3)</i>		
Racism denial	3.55 (1.54)	
Avoid discussing	4.91 (1.48)	
Common humanity	5.67 (1.13)	
General opposition	5.01 (1.46)	
Multiculturalism	4.91 (1.13)	
<i>Winnings allocation (proportion out of amount donated to charity)</i>		
Yourself	---	---
Association for Green Environments	.27 (.32)	.30 (.35)
Kids for Early Education	.31 (.35)	.23 (.30)
Scholarship for Minorities	.09 (.15)	.16 (.27)
American Red Cross	.34 (.38)	.29 (.35)
<i>Winnings allocation (proportion out of total possible)</i>		
Yourself	.83 (.28)	.77 (.29)
Association for Green Environments	.04 (.10)	.07 (.14)
Kids for Early Education	.05 (.11)	.05 (.12)
Scholarship for Minorities	.02 (.06)	.04 (.10)
American Red Cross	.06 (.17)	.07 (.15)
<i>Budgeting priorities (rank data, higher value = lower priority)</i>		
Obesity epidemic	4.21 (1.70)	3.97 (1.66)
Gun violence	3.00 (1.74)	3.21 (1.78)
Cyber security breach	3.12 (1.44)	3.22 (1.55)
Dependence on foreign oil	3.43 (1.77)	3.48 (1.65)
Aging transportation infrastructure	3.22 (1.47)	3.03 (1.67)
Bias against racial minorities	4.02 (1.77)	4.09 (1.66)
<i>Voting intentions (positive = support for policy)</i>		
Ban Consideration of Race policy	2.84 (5.51)	2.11 (4.51)
Mandatory Cultural Education policy	-.44 (6.11)	-.06 (4.95)
Intercultural Exchange Centers policy	-1.03 (5.64)	-.66 (4.56)
Community Health Clinics policy	3.85 (4.55)	2.11 (4.32)
Minimum wage control	3.22 (5.53)	3.75 (3.78)
Mandatory recycling control	.61 (6.08)	.98 (5.01)

Secondary measure of policy support

Study 3a: Sign petition (0 = no, 1 = yes) / donation toward campaign;

Study 3b: Additional tasks (0 = no, 1 = yes)

Ban Consideration of Race policy	.30 (.46) / \$3.82 (13.19)	.04 (.19)
Mandatory Cultural Education policy	.20 (.40) / \$3.00 (11.85)	0
Intercultural Exchange Centers policy	.21 (.41) / \$1.94 (5.32)	.01 (.07)
Community Health Clinics policy	.35 (.48) / \$3.80 (9.32)	.04 (.19)
Minimum wage control	.41 (.49) / \$6.35 (24.63)	.09 (.29)
Mandatory recycling control	.29 (.46) / \$3.38 (12.31)	.04 (.20)
<i>Outgroup warmth (positive = pro-white bias)</i>		
Pro-white vs. Black bias	7.74 (21.05)	8.66 (22.66)
Pro-white vs. Latino	6.42 (15.83)	9.09 (23.78)
Pro-white vs. Asian bias	1.34 (9.36)	4.25 (19.21)
<i>Interracial interaction intentions</i>		
Willingness to interact (10 items; Study 3 pilot alpha = .96, Study 3 alpha)	5.15 (1.07)	5.01 (1.04)
Interracial interaction intention and expectations (8 items; Study 3 pilot alpha = .82, Study 3 alpha)	5.34 (.85)	5.03 (.90)

Note. Items highlighted in gray are the race-relevant variables of interest. † p < .10, \* p < .05, \*\* p < .01, \*\*\* p < .001.

7.3.3 Table. Full correlations results for Study 3b (n = 199)

	Correlation coefficients (pearson's r)			Correlations controlling for the other colorblind clusters		
	Racism denial	Avoid discussing race	Common humanity	Racism denial	Avoid discussing	Common humanity
<i>Winnings allocation (proportion out of total amount donated to any charity, n = 106 )</i>						
Yourself	---	---	---	---	---	---
Association for Green Environments	.08	.07	.07	.06	-.003	.06
Kids for Early Education	.12	.20*	.11	-.02	.14	.01
Scholarship for Minorities*	-.33***	-.43***	-.24*	-.07	-.23*	-.07
American Red Cross	.07	.08	.02	.03	.04	-.005
<i>Winnings allocation (proportion out of total possible, n = 199)</i>						
Yourself	.06	.03	-.14†	.003	.06	-.15*
Association for Green Environments	.002	.006	.13†	.04	-.06	.14*
Kids for Early Education	.03	.12†	.12†	-.03	.08	.07
Scholarship for Minorities*	-.13†	-.14*	-.05	-.06	-.06	-.02
American Red Cross	-.05	-.06	.09	.01	-.08	.11
<i>Budgeting priorities (rank data, higher value = lower priority)</i>						
Obesity epidemic	-.10	-.04	.13†	-.06	-.03	.13†
Gun violence	.19**	.08	-.12†	.14*	.002	-.11
Cyber security breach	-.27***	-.26***	.03	-.11	-.14†	.09
Dependence on foreign oil	-.32***	-.24***	.03	-.19**	-.07	.06

Aging transportation infrastructure	-0.11	-0.08	.04	-0.06	-0.03	.05
Bias against racial minorities*	.59***	.52***	-.09	.26***	.26***	-.20**
<i>Voting intentions (positive = support for policy)</i>						
Ban Consideration of Race policy*	.33***	.46***	.11	.03	.31***	-.05
Mandatory Cultural Education policy*	-.47***	-.42***	-.09	-.25***	-.13†	-.02
Intercultural Exchange Centers policy*	-.38***	-.34***	-.07	-.20**	-.11	-.01
Community Health Clinics policy*	-.45***	-.33***	.10	-.24***	-.13†	.15*
Minimum wage control	-.35***	-.20**	.19†	-.23***	-.03	.12†
Mandatory recycling control				-.30***	.09	-.05
<i>Additional tasks (binary choice, 0 = no, 1 = yes)</i>						
Ban Consideration of Race policy*	.05	.09	.03	-.01	.08	-.01
Mandatory Cultural Education policy*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Intercultural Exchange Centers policy*	-.02	-.10	.007	.07	-.13†	.07
Community Health Clinics policy*	.03	-.03	-.05	.04	-.04	-.03
Minimum wage control	-.08	-.11	.09	.04	-.14*	.14*
Mandatory recycling control	-.08	.08	.09	-.16*	.15*	.01
<i>Outgroup warmth (positive = pro-white bias)</i>						
Pro-white vs. black bias*	.41***	.32***	-.22**	.16*	.21**	-.29***
Pro-white vs. latino*	.37***	.37***	-.09	.11	.24***	-.19**
Pro-white vs. Asian bias*	.30***	.26***	-.10	.11	.16*	-.17*
<i>Interracial interaction intentions</i>						
Willingness to interact*	-.32***	-.18*	.39***	-.12	-.17*	.42***
Interracial interaction intention and expectations*	-.11	-.003	.36***	-.02	-.09	.36***

Note. Items highlighted in gray are the race-relevant variables of interest. †  $p < .10$ , \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

## 7.4 Additional analyses

We also explored how combinations of colorblind beliefs interacted in predicting each behavioral intention. That is, we were interested in whether the meaning of *common humanity*—as seen in its relationship with behavioral intentions indicative of one’s commitment to address racism—might shift as a function of one’s endorsement of *racism denial* and *avoid discussing race*. However, by and large there was no interaction that was systematic, or for which we could not rule out either a ceiling or floor effect. Interestingly, when including *common humanity* in the same model with any of the other clusters, it is always the other cluster that predicts the DV, and not *common humanity*. This suggests that *common humanity* is not itself a strong and clear cut idea—whereas *avoid discussing race*, *racism denial*, and *multiculturalism* are—and that emphasizing our common humanity may itself be a reflection of multiple things.

### 7.4.1 Table. Regression results testing the effect of holding a combination of “colorblind” beliefs

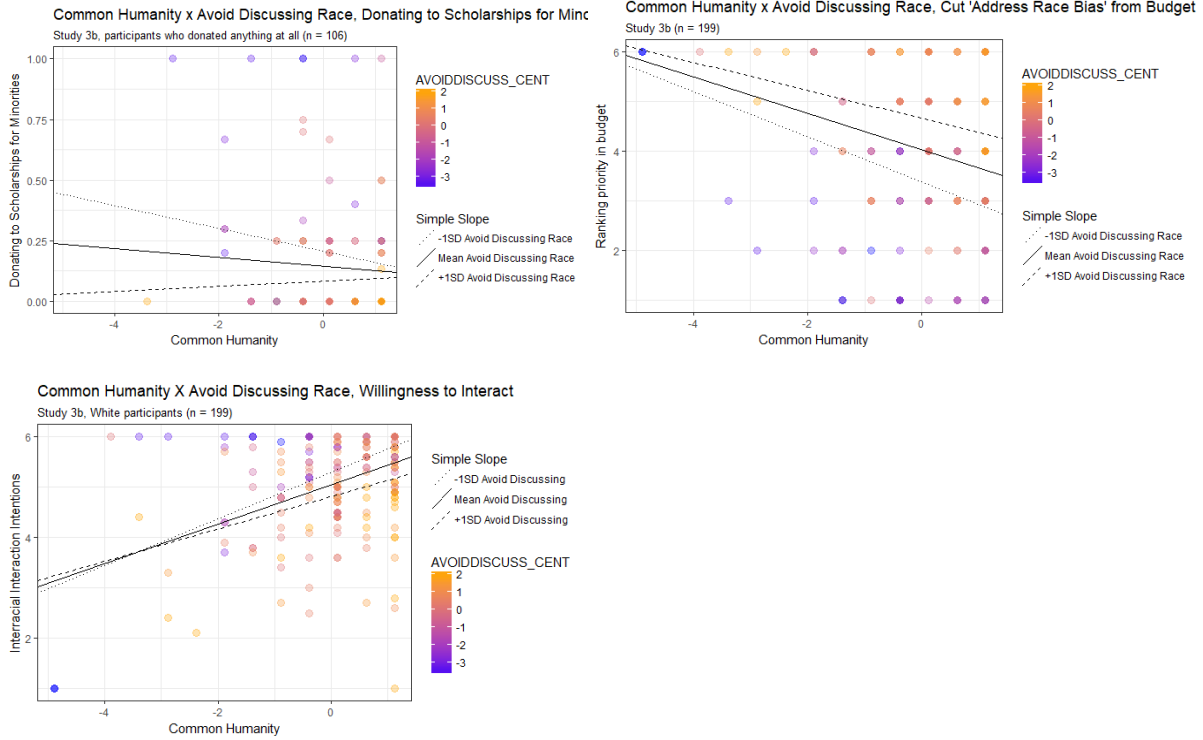
	Combination	Regression steps		Combination	Regression steps		Combination	Regression steps	
	Racism Denial			Common			Common		
	X Avoid			Humanity x			Humanity x		
<b>Outcome DV</b>	Discussing	Step 1	Step 2	Racism			Avoid		
	<i>Racism Den</i>	-.09	-.16	Denial	Step 1	Step 2	Discussing	Step 1	Step 2
				<i>Common</i>	-.23*	-.22*	<i>Common</i>	-.11	-.06

Donating (only for those who donated)	<i>Avoid Disc</i>	-.37**	-.27†	<i>Racism Den</i>	-.32***	-.34***	<i>Avoid Disc</i>	-.39***	-.40***
	Interaction	---	.13	Interaction	---	.12	<b>Interaction</b>	---	<b>.21*</b>
	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	.19***	.01	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	.16***	.01	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	.19***	.04*
Budgeting	<i>Racism Den</i>	.44***	.51***	<i>Common</i>	-.09	-.08	<i>Common</i>	-.32***	-.26***
	<i>Avoid Disc</i>	.24**	.14	<i>Racism Den</i>	.59***	.60***	<i>Avoid Disc</i>	.63***	.66***
	<b>Interaction</b>	---	<b>-.15*</b>	Interaction	---	.08	<b>Interaction</b>	---	<b>.16*</b>
	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	.38***	.02*	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	.36***	.01	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	.36***	.02*
Ban Consideration of Race policy vote	<i>Racism Den</i>	.06	.16†	<i>Common</i>	.11†	.11	<i>Common</i>	-.06	-.06
	<i>Avoid Disc</i>	.42***	.29**	<i>Racism Den</i>	.33***	.32***	<i>Avoid Disc</i>	.48***	.48***
	<b>Interaction</b>	---	<b>-.20**</b>	Interaction	---	-.07	Interaction	---	-.009
Δ R <sup>2</sup>	.21***	.03**	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	.12***	.01	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	.22***	.000	
Mandatory Cultural Education policy vote	<i>Racism Den</i>	-.34***	-.32***	<i>Common</i>	-.09	-.09	<i>Common</i>	.07	.07
	<i>Avoid Disc</i>	-.21*	-.23*	<i>Racism Den</i>	-.47***	-.47***	<i>Avoid Disc</i>	-.45***	-.45***
	Interaction	---	-.03	Interaction	---	.01	Interaction	---	-.02
Δ R <sup>2</sup>	.24***	.001	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	.23***	.000	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	.18***	.000	
Intercultural Exchange Centers policy vote	<i>Racism Den</i>	-.27**	-.27**	<i>Common</i>	-.07	-.07	<i>Common</i>	.06	.06
	<i>Avoid Disc</i>	-.17*	-.17†	<i>Racism Den</i>	-.38***	-.38***	<i>Avoid Disc</i>	-.36***	-.36***
	Interaction	---	-.001	Interaction	---	.01	Interaction	---	.001
Δ R <sup>2</sup>	.16***	.00	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	.15***	.000	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	.12***	.000	
Community Health Clinics policy vote	<i>Racism Den</i>	-.40***	-.33***	<i>Common</i>	.10	.10	<i>Common</i>	.26***	.22**
	<i>Avoid Disc</i>	-.08	-.17†	<i>Racism Den</i>	-.45***	-.45***	<i>Avoid Disc</i>	-.43***	-.45***
	Interaction	---	-.12	Interaction	---	-.04	Interaction	---	-.11
Δ R <sup>2</sup>	.20***	.01	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	.21***	.002	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	.17***	.01	
Bias against Blacks	<i>Racism Den</i>	.35***	.37***	<i>Common</i>	-.22***	-.25***	<i>Common</i>	-.39***	-.41***
	<i>Avoid Disc</i>	.10	.07	<i>Racism Den</i>	.41***	.38***	<i>Avoid Disc</i>	.47***	.45***
	Interaction	---	-.05	<b>Interaction</b>	---	<b>-.22***</b>	Interaction	---	-.06
	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	.18***	.002	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	.22***	.05***	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	.24***	.003
Bias against Latinos	<i>Racism Den</i>	.23**	.28**	<i>Common</i>	-.09	-.11†	<i>Common</i>	-.26***	-.25***
	<i>Avoid Disc</i>	.22**	.16	<i>Racism Den</i>	.37***	.35***	<i>Avoid Disc</i>	.46***	.46***
	Interaction	---	-.10	<b>Interaction</b>	---	<b>-.17**</b>	Interaction	---	.01
	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	.17***	.01	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	.15***	.03**	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	.19***	.000
Bias against Asians	<i>Racism Den</i>	.22*	.30**	<i>Common</i>	-.11	-.12†	<i>Common</i>	-.23**	-.21**
	<i>Avoid Disc</i>	.12	.02	<i>Racism Den</i>	.30***	.28***	<i>Avoid Disc</i>	.34***	.35***
	<b>Interaction</b>	---	<b>-.15†</b>	<b>Interaction</b>	---	<b>-.11†</b>	Interaction	---	.05
	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	.10***	.02†	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	.10***	.01†	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	.11***	.002
Willingness to Interact	<i>Racism Den</i>	-.34***	-.34***	<i>Common</i>	.39***	.39***	<i>Common</i>	.52***	.45***
	<i>Avoid Disc</i>	.04	.04	<i>Racism Den</i>	-.32***	-.32***	<i>Avoid Disc</i>	-.36***	-.40***
	Interaction	---	-.002	Interaction	---	-.01	<b>Interaction</b>	---	<b>-.21**</b>
	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	.10***	.00	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	.25***	.000	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	.26***	.03**
Interracial Interaction Expectations	<i>Racism Den</i>	-.18*	-.17†	<i>Common</i>	.36***	.36***	<i>Common</i>	.42***	.39***
	<i>Avoid Disc</i>	.11	.10	<i>Racism Den</i>	-.11†	-.12†	<i>Avoid Disc</i>	-.15*	-.17*
	Interaction	---	-.02	Interaction	---	-.04	Interaction	---	-.08
	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	.02	.00	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	.14***	.002	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	.15***	.005

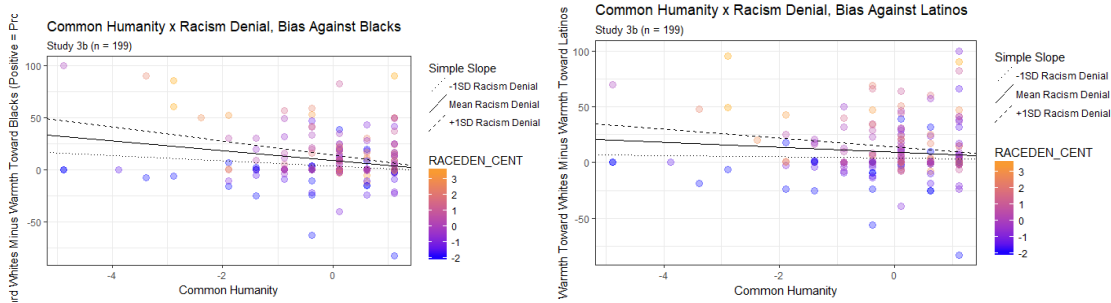
Note. All reported coefficients represent standardized betas. † p < .10, \* p < .05, \*\* p < .01, \*\*\* p < .001. Bolded items represent significant interactions. However, after winsorizing the data, all interactions were no longer significant. Budget rankings are scored such that higher scores indicate lower priority to be addressed in the budget, lower scores indicate higher priority. Voting intentions are scored such that higher scores indicate more confident votes in support of the policy, lower scores indicate more confident votes in opposition to the policy.

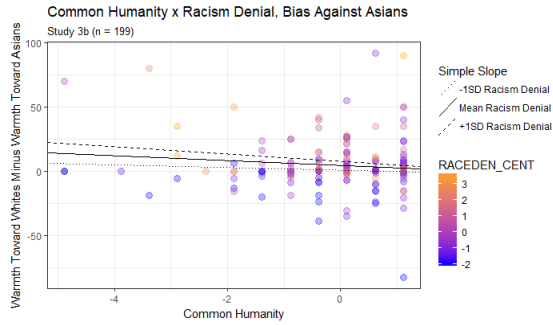
7.4.2 Figure. Illustrating the interactions that were significant before winsorizing

*Common humanity x Avoid discussing race*

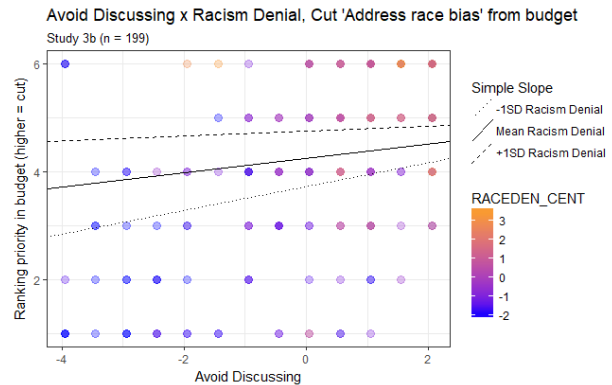
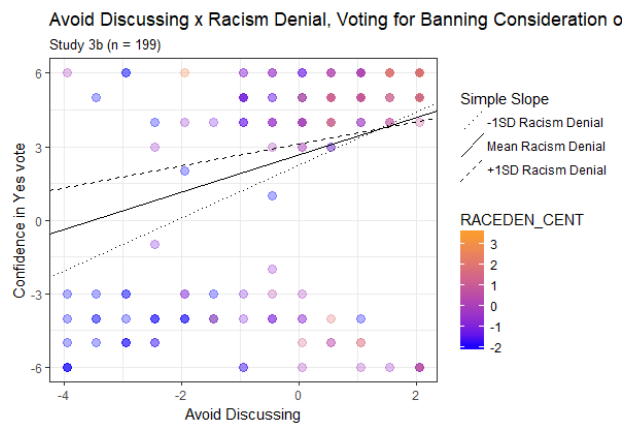


*Common humanity x Racism denial*





*Avoid discussing race X Racism denial*



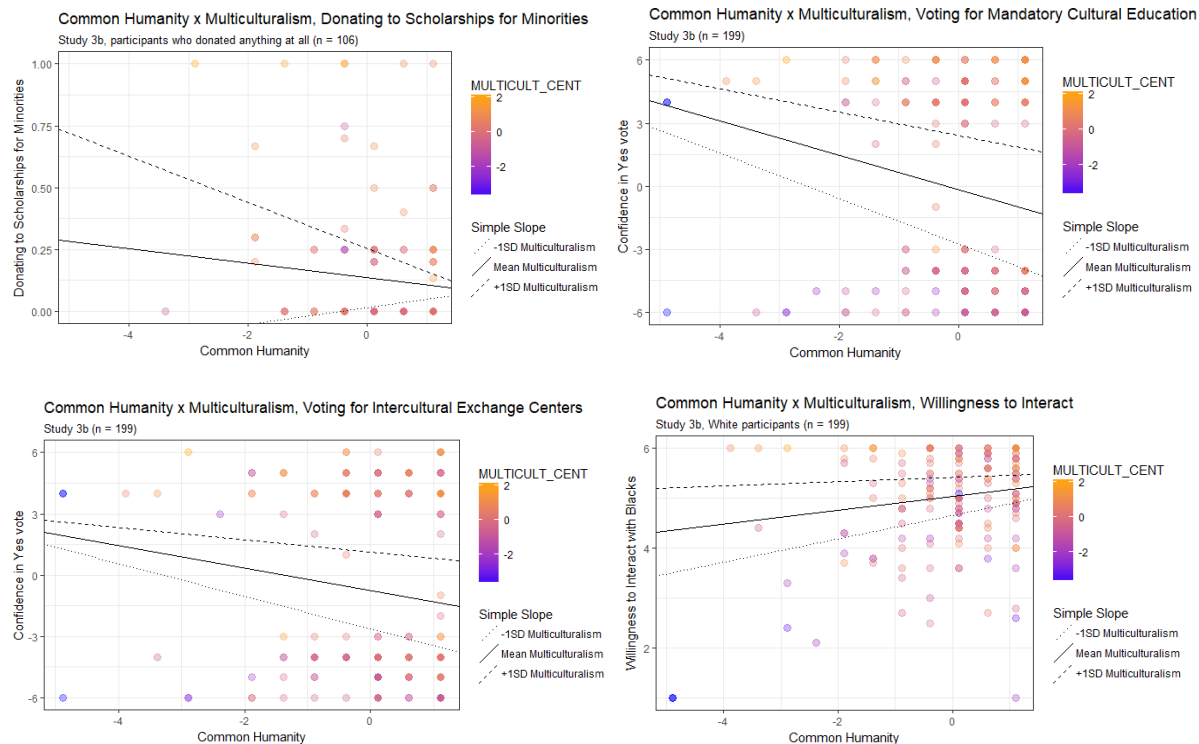
7.4.3 Table. Regression results testing the effect of holding the “common humanity” belief with multiculturalism beliefs

DV	Common Humanity x		
	Multiculturalism	Step 1	Step 2
Donating (only for those who donated)	Common	-.21*	-.11
	Multicult	.34***	.40***
	<b>Interaction</b>	---	<b>-.26**</b>
	$\Delta R^2$	.17***	.06**
Budgeting	Common	.07	.04
	Multicult	-.55***	-.58***
	Interaction	---	-.09
	$\Delta R^2$	.29***	.01
Ban Consideration of Race policy vote	Common	.20**	.19*
	Multicult	-.31***	-.32***
	Interaction	---	-.04
	$\Delta R^2$	.10***	.001
Mandatory Cultural Education policy vote	Common	-.25***	-.20**
	Multicult	.55***	.60***

	<b>Interaction</b>	<b>---</b>	<b>.14*</b>
	$\Delta R^2$	.29***	.02*
Intercultural Exchange Centers policy vote	Common	-.19**	-.14*
	Multicult	.43***	.47***
	<b>Interaction</b>	<b>---</b>	<b>.15*</b>
	$\Delta R^2$	.17***	.02*
Community Health Clinics policy vote	Common	-.04	-.01
	Multicult	.49***	.51***
	Interaction	---	.08
	$\Delta R^2$	.23***	.004
Bias against Blacks	Common	-.09	-.09
	Multicult	-.44***	-.44***
	Interaction	---	.009
	$\Delta R^2$	.23***	.000
Bias against Latinos	Common	.02	.03
	Multicult	-.39***	-.39***
	Interaction	---	.01
	$\Delta R^2$	.15***	.000
Bias against Asians	Common	-.02	-.02
	Multicult	-.30***	-.30***
	Interaction	---	.01
	$\Delta R^2$	.09***	.000
Willingness to Interact	Common	.24***	.16**
	Multicult	.50***	.42***
	<b>Interaction</b>	<b>---</b>	<b>-.25***</b>
	$\Delta R^2$	.38***	.04***
Interracial Interaction Expectations	Common	.27***	.25***
	Multicult	.31***	.29***
	Interaction	---	-.07
	$\Delta R^2$	.22***	.004

Note. All reported coefficients represent standardized betas. †  $p < .10$ , \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$ . Bolded items represent significant interactions. Budget rankings are scored such that higher scores indicate lower priority to be addressed in the budget, lower scores indicate higher priority. Voting intentions are scored such that higher scores indicate more confident votes in support of the policy, lower scores indicate more confident votes in opposition to the policy

## 7.4.4 Figure. Illustrating the interactions that were significant before winsorizing



## 8. Study 4

### 8.1 Measures

#### 8.1.1 Race as an essentialist entity: ours ( $\alpha = .772$ )

1. The color of someone's skin can't tell you anything about a person's interests, ability, intelligence, or personality. R
2. There is really no inherent biological basis for racial categories -- differences between races are not natural or inevitable. R
3. Each race has distinctive cultural behaviors linked to their biology.
4. The behaviors associated with each racial group are innate and inherited.

#### 8.1.2 Race as an essentialist entity: Andreychik & Gill, 2014's ( $\alpha = .803$ )

1. There are underlying genetic/biological factors that make African Americans similar to one another—and different from Whites—in terms of their behavior and thinking (e.g., their personality traits, attitudes, abilities).
2. Differences in the life trajectories (e.g., education, careers) of African Americans versus Whites can be understood in terms of the different underlying biology of the races.
3. Because of the genetic/biological factors that determine their behavior and thinking, it is quite difficult for most African Americans to “think and act like Whites” or for Whites to “think and act like African Americans.”
4. Because of their underlying biological/ genetic basis, differences in behavior and thinking (e.g., personality traits, attitudes, abilities) between African Americans and Whites have probably been roughly the same for a long time and will continue into the foreseeable future.

5. (*ours based on their work*) Differences in behavior patterns observed among racial groups are caused by the external living conditions each group has experienced, rather than any innate, biological roots.

### 8.1.3 Race as an essentialist entity: No et al., 2008's (alpha = .731)

1. To a large extent, a person's race biologically determines his or her abilities and traits.
2. Although a person can adapt to different cultures, it is hard if not impossible to change the dispositions of a person's race.
3. How a person is like (e.g., his or her abilities, traits) is deeply ingrained in his or her race. It cannot be changed much.
4. A person's race is something very basic about them and it can't be changed much.
5. Races are just arbitrary categories and can be changed if necessary. R
6. Racial categories are constructed totally for economic, political, and social reasons. If the socio-political situation changes, the racial categories will change as well. R
7. Race does not have an inherent biological basis, and thus can be changed. R
8. Racial categories are fluid, malleable constructs. R

### 8.1.4 Race as a social reality (based on Smedley & Smedley, 2005; Markus, Steele, Steele, 2000; Markus & Moya, 2010; alpha = .903)

1. There are no longer differences in opportunities between racial groups--no racial group has an advantage or disadvantage in life anymore. R
2. It is really not necessary to provide additional opportunities for racial minority groups because the system is already fair and equal. R
3. In today's society, there is no real difference in how people of different races are treated.
4. Race is no longer an important part of how people think of themselves. R
5. There are significant differences in the local worlds experienced by racial minority and non-minority groups.
6. A person's race, as seen by others, affects how she or he is treated, their employment opportunities, the quality of their health care, and whether individuals can fully participate in the social, political, economic mainstream of American life.

## 9. Study 5

### 9.1 Study 5 Materials

#### 9.1.1 Table - Interview prompts used to represent the different contexts

Race Context	Specific topic	Interview prompt
Race as an essentialized entity	<i>Justification for prejudice</i>	"It is important to recognize that biology determines a lot of the differences we see in racial groups—some races are naturally inferior, and some are naturally superior; it can't be helped."
	<i>Justification for stereotypes</i>	"It is important to recognize that the color of someone's skin can tell a lot about a person; some racial groups are just naturally more musical, or more athletic, or better at math."
	<i>General focus on race</i>	"We need to first recognize and see race in order to fight racial inequality."

Acknowledging the social realities of race	<i>General focus on systems</i>	“It is important to acknowledge that some racial groups enjoy advantages that others don’t, and that some racial groups suffer disadvantages that others don’t.”
	<i>Policy specific</i>	“Because of a system built on inequality, we need to provide additional opportunities for racial minority groups in order to level the playing field.”
Control	<i>Race-neutral</i>	“What are your thoughts about race in society?”

9.1.2 Table - Interviewee responses used to represent different colorblind ideas

<b>Colorblind belief</b>	<b>Most representative statements identified in Chang, King, &amp; Shoda (unpublished)</b>	<b>Core idea</b>
<i>Avoid discussing or considering race</i>	<p>Society would be better off if we all stopped talking about race. (Mazzocco et al., 2011)</p> <p>The same rules and regulations should apply to all groups regardless of their race (e.g., race should not be considered when making decisions such as admissions), even if that means existing racial inequalities continue.</p> <p>I wish people in this society would stop obsessing so much about race. (Knowles et al., 2009)</p>	<p>“I think we should stop talking about and focusing so much on race.”</p> <p>“I think people of all races should be treated the same.”</p>
<i>Racism denial</i>	<p>Racial and ethnic minorities do not have the same opportunities as White people in the U.S. (reversed item; Neville et al., 2000)</p> <p>White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin. (reversed item; Neville et al., 2000)</p> <p>White people are more to blame for racial discrimination than racial and ethnic minorities. (reversed item; Neville et al., 2000)</p>	<p>“I don’t think race plays a role in people’s chances to get ahead anymore.”</p>
<i>Focus on common humanity</i>	<p>Recognizing that all people are basically the same regardless of their ethnicity would improve intergroup relations. (Ryan et al., 2009; 2010)</p> <p>In order to achieve a harmonious society, we must stop thinking of Americans with different racial backgrounds as different from each other, and instead focus on what makes us similar. (Wolsko et al., 2006)</p> <p>At our core, all human beings are really the same, so racial and ethnic categories do not matter. (not sure)</p>	<p>“I think that all people are basically the same, regardless of their racial background.”</p> <p>“At our core, we are all human so we are really all the same.”</p>

<i>Generic</i>	Seeing people in terms of race breeds interracial mistrust and prejudice. (Goff et al., 2011)	“I don’t think we should see people in terms of race.”
	Seeing people in terms of race creates inequality among racial groups. (Goff et al., 2011)	
	All human being are individuals, and therefore race and ethnicity are not important. (Rosenthal & Levy, 2012)	“I don’t think a person’s racial group membership is very important.”

### 9.1.3. Photographs of interviewees

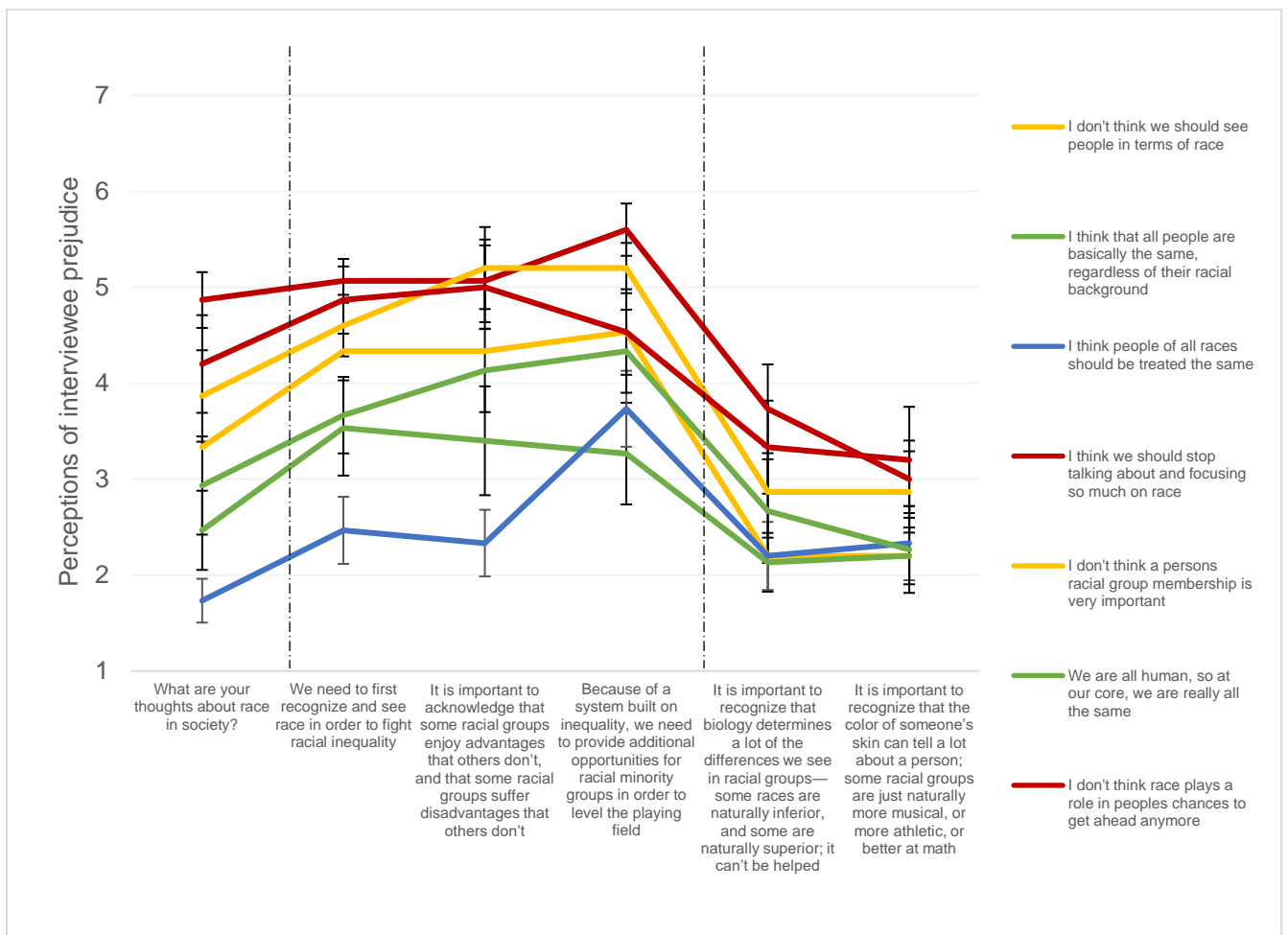


### 9.1.4 Figure - Study design for Study 5

	X 15		X 15		X 15	
	Interview prompt	Interviewee response	Interview prompt	Interviewee response	Interview prompt	Interviewee response
Interview with Student 1:	A	A	A	B	A	C
Interview with Student 2:	B	A	B	B	B	C
Interview with Student 3:	C	A	C	B	C	C
Interview with Student 4:	D	A	D	B	D	C
Interview with Student 5:	E	A	E	B	E	C
Interview with Student 6:	F	A	F	B	F	C

## 9.2 Results

### 9.2.1 Uncollapsed results



## 10. Study 6

### 10.1 Results

#### 10.1.1. Table - University of Washington sample (n = 56), context (3) x response (2) interactions

	Racism denial	Stop talking	Generic	Common humanity	Treat
Racism denial	--				
Stop talking	F(2, 54) = 2.20, p = .12	--			
Generic	F(2, 54) = 7.99, p = .001	F(2, 54) = 1.94, p = .15	--		
Common humanity	F(2, 54) = 14.01, p < .001	F(2, 54) = 5.69, p = .006	F(2, 54) = 2.92, p = .06	--	
Treat	F(2, 54) = 13.76, p < .001	F(2, 54) = 5.14, p = .009	F(2, 54) = 3.68, p = .03	F(2, 54) = 2.62, p = .08	--
Race conscious	F(2, 52) = 8.23, p = .001	F(2, 52) = 6.26, p = .004	F(2, 52) = 11.19, p < .001	F(2, 52) = 11.33, p < .001	F(2, 52) = 9.44, p < .001

Note. This table tests whether the effect of context on a given response differs from the effect of context on another response. Significant values at each intersection indicate that the context affects reactions to those responses in significantly different ways.

#### 10.1.2 Table - Study 2, community college sample (n = 32), context (3) x response (2) interactions

	Racism denial	Stop talking	Generic	Common humanity	Treat
Racism denial	--				
Stop talking	F(2, 31) = .10, p = .91	--			
Generic	F(2, 31) = 6.34, p = .005	F(2, 30) = 6.88, p = .003	--		
Common humanity	F(2, 31) = 2.34, p = .11	F(2, 30) = .94, p = .40	F(2, 30) = 2.01, p = .15	--	
Treat	F(2, 31) = 6.90, p = .003	F(2, 31) = 4.89, p = .01	F(2, 31) = .09, p = .911	F(2, 31) = 2.67, p = .085	--
Race conscious	F(2, 30) = 5.63, p = .008	F(2, 30) = 4.47, p = .02	F(2, 30) = 9.73, p = .001	F(2, 30) = 7.58, p = .002	F(2, 30) = 7.81, p = .002

Note. This table tests whether the effect of context (3) on a given response differs from the effect of context (3) on another response. Significant values at each intersection indicate that the context affects reactions to those responses in significantly different ways.

## 11. Study 7

### 11.1 Results

#### 11.1.1 Table - Perceptions of deflecting

	Essentialist context	Social reality context	Independent samples t-test (t)
Racism denial	3.08 (1.68)	3.10 (1.85)	.02
Avoid discussing	4.83 (2.21)	6.00 (1.05)	1.53
Common humanity	3.83 (2.17)	5.70 (1.77)	2.18*
Generic	2.92 (2.11)	4.50 (1.58)	1.96†
Race-conscious	2.67 (1.37)	2.60 (2.22)	.09
Control	5.17 (1.47)	4.40 (1.07)	1.37
ANOVA: <i>F</i> (df)	7.74 (5, 7)**	8.37 (5, 5)*	
Control vs. CB: <i>F</i> (df)	4.08 (1, 11)†	.57 (1, 9)	
Color-conscious vs. CB: <i>F</i> (df)	16.84 (1, 11)**	3.66 (1, 9) †	

#### 11.1.2 Figure - Perceptions of deflecting

