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Mobilizing the Advantaged to Protest Injustice with the Disadvantaged

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MOBILIZING THE ADVANTAGED TO PROTEST INJUSTICE WITH THE
DISADVANTAGED

A Thesis Presented

by

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ABSTRACT
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DISADVANTAGED

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The participation of advantaged group members in collective action with the disadvantaged group to challenge inequality is crucial to building a social movement. Although prior work has found that an invitation to participate in collective action is a strong predictor of participation, the extent to which advantaged group members are influenced by such invitations is not known. The present research investigates the effect of the race of an inviter (White vs. Black) on Whites' willingness to participate in collective action for racial justice as a function of their underlying prejudicial attitudes. Study 1 found that greater internal motivation to respond without prejudice (IMS) was associated with greater willingness to participate in collective action for racial justice. Study 2 found a marginal interaction between race and IMS in predicting collective action, such that for Whites high on IMS, a Black (vs. White) inviter evoked greater willingness to participate in collective action; however, this effect was not replicated in Study 3. Instead, Study 3 found that IMS and the Black (vs. White) inviter independently predicted greater willingness for collective action. Study 3 also found initial evidence of conferred psychological standing to explain how inviter's race shapes collective action. Specifically, a Black (vs. White) inviter was perceived to have greater psychological standing on issues of racial justice, which increased Whites' personal standing, and subsequently, Whites' willingness to participate in collective action for racial justice.

Keywords: collective action, psychological standing, persuasion, prejudice

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Protests against injustices and inequality are typically led by and comprise disadvantaged group members. Yet, one of the ways that social change can be achieved is if the disadvantaged group garners support from advantaged group members to challenge inequality. Social change in some ways resides in the ability to mobilize advantaged group members to engage in collective action for justice (Subasic, Reynolds & Turner, 2008; Dixon, Levine, Reicher & Durrheim, 2012; Iyer & Ryan, 2009). In the context of racial justice in the United States, Whites make up the advantaged group that needs to be mobilized for collective action. Throughout history and at present, there are cases of Whites joining racial minorities to protest racial injustice. During the Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 60s, many Whites joined Blacks in efforts to desegregate public places and call for racial equality (Brown, 2002; Chappell, 1996). The struggle continues today with the Black Lives Matter movement – a movement that has brought thousands of people to the streets, including many Whites, to affirm the dignity and humanity of Black lives in the face of continued institutional racism.

There is growing interest in why advantaged group members join the disadvantaged group in pursuing social change. Past research has uncovered various precursors to advantaged group members' collective action for social change, such as anger about ingroup privilege (Leach, Iyer, & Pedersen, 2006), moral outrage against injustice (Montada, Schmitt, & Dalbert, 1986; Montada & Schneider, 1989; Thomas & McGarty, 2009), moral convictions against inequality (van Zomeren, Postmes, Spears, & Bettache, 2011), a sense of efficacy in creating positive social change (Thomas & McGarty, 2009), and a shared identity with the disadvantaged group (Reicher, Cassidy,

Wolpert, Hopkins & Levine, 2006).

However, past work has focused less intently on the more proximal predictors of advantaged group members' collective action, in particular how advantaged group members react to mobilization efforts for social change actions (e.g. protests). Research on micro-level predictors of protest participation has shown, however, that people rarely engage in protests without an invitation to do so (Klandermans, 2004; McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly, 2001; Snow, Louis, & Sheldon, 1980, Schussman & Soule, 2005, Somma, 2009). Although an important first step, this prior work (largely conducted by sociologists) has not examined the factors that shape the extent to which advantaged group members are influenced by invitations to protest injustice. A key gap in the research literature, then, is to understand what influences advantaged group members' responses to such efforts of mobilization that are crucial to building a social movement.

Thus, the goal of the current research is to investigate precisely this question, and situates itself within the mobilization of Whites in response to the Black Lives Matter movement. Specifically, the current research investigates how the race of the protest inviter (Black vs. White) shapes Whites' willingness to engage in collective action, and also investigates who is most likely to be mobilized.

1.1 The Protest Invitation Paradigm

Research on micro-level mobilization for collective action has revealed that receiving an invitation to protest injustice is the strongest predictor of protest participation (Schussman & Soule, 2005; see also Verba, Schlozman & Brady, 1995; Klandermans, 1997). Schussman and Soule (2005) weighed the relative effects of various factors on likelihood of protest participation, such as one's personal constraints including

employment status and family background (also known as biographical availability), one's level of political engagement such as political interest and perceived efficacy, and one's structural availability such as being part of a political organization. After accounting for the effects of these various factors, being invited to protest was the strongest predictor of protest participation (Schussman & Soule, 2005)

One of the most important ways in which people are now invited to protest injustice is through social media. Recent scholarship (e.g., Castells, 2012; Hwang & Kim, 2015; Meek, 2012; Segerberg & Bennett, 2011; Tufekci & Wilson, 2012; Valenzuela, 2013) shows that social media is now a vital platform in enhancing the growth of social movements by mobilizing support as well as participation in protests against injustices. This work has examined the role of social media in the social movements of the current generation, from the Egyptian revolution (Tufekci & Wilson, 2012) to climate change protests (Segerberg & Bennett, 2011) and the Occupy Wall Street movement against economic inequality (Conover, Ferrara, Menczer, Flammini, 2013; Gleason, 2013).

The role of social media in shaping social movements can also be seen in the present Black Lives Matter movement. The Black Lives Matter movement was popularized as a social media hashtag after the acquittal of George Zimmerman following Trayvon Martin's killing. The hashtag has called thousands of people to action; Black activists have used social media sites such as Twitter, Facebook and Instagram to spread awareness around injustices and promote immediate actions against those injustices (Freelon, McIlwain & Clarik, 2016). While past research has investigated the macro-level role of social media in building a political movement, there remains a gap in the literature

about the psychological processes through which people respond to such invitations to protest injustice. Invitations to protest injustice often come from a specific source, thus it is important to ask the question, *who* might be behind such invitations?

1.2 Who invites?

Since disadvantaged group members typically lead and organize collective action against the injustices affecting their group, there is strong basis to assume that disadvantaged group members will invite others, in particular, advantaged group members, to participate in collective action. Although the support and involvement by advantaged group members are an important part of social change efforts particularly in building a large social movement (Simon & Klandermans, 2001; Subasic et al., 2008), there exists a tension around garnering support from advantaged group members. Scholars and activists have shared concerns that advantaged group members' involvement should be careful so as to not distract from the voices of the disadvantaged group (Alcoff, 2005, Spivak, 1988; Lizzovoy & Brown, 2013). Thus, there is a notion that advantaged group members should be involved only when they are invited; advantaged group members (i.e., Whites) should not assume that their involvement is always necessary or needed to support the interest of the disadvantaged (i.e., Blacks). In fact, one of the most important lessons for advantaged group members who want to support interests of the disadvantaged group is to listen to the experiences and perspectives of disadvantaged group members, thereby empowering the disadvantaged group (Applebaum, 2010; Carby, 1996; Kivel, 2002; 2011; Lawrence & Tatum, 2004; Poulshock, 2004, see also Nadler & Halabi, 2006; Shnabel & Nadler, 2008). One could conclude that Blacks as leaders of the Black Lives Matter movement should be the ones

to invite Whites to join protests against racial injustice.

Nevertheless, there are also good arguments that Whites should invite other Whites to protest injustice. For one, in improving intergroup relations, advantaged group members are encouraged to confront their own and others' prejudices (Czopp & Monteith, 2003) as well as their own privileges (Knowles, Lowery, Chow & Unzueta, 2014), which inevitably involves confronting the biases that other Whites may have. Interviews with White allies also suggest that they are deeply committed to engaging with Whites within their own communities (Case, 2012; O'Brien, 2001). While past work implies that advantaged group members have an important role to play in changing the prejudicial attitudes of other Whites, we do not know how Whites react to invitations to protest racial injustice when it comes from a fellow White person. Taken together, it seems that both Blacks and Whites might invite others to protest injustice. The question then is, who might be more effective in mobilizing Whites against injustice?

1.3 Who is Effective in Mobilizing Whites?

An invitation to join a protest is essentially a 1) claim that there is discrimination and 2) an attempt at persuasion to mobilize members of society against that discrimination. Research on claiming and confronting discrimination, as well as persuasion and attitude change, posits that the race of the speaker influences how the message is processed and subsequently received by the audience. However, this prior work has not been linked to collective action outcomes. Thus, the first goal of the present research is to investigate how the race of the person who invites advantaged group members to protest injustice influences advantaged group members' willingness to

protest injustice: *Are Whites or Blacks more persuasive in mobilizing Whites to protest injustice?*

One strand of research strongly suggests that Whites may be more effective in mobilizing other Whites. Research indicates that members of stigmatized groups are negatively perceived when they claim discrimination (Crosby, 1993; Czopp, Monteith, & Mark, 2006; Feagin & Sikes, 1994; Gulker, Aimee, & Monteith, 2013; Kaiser & Miller, 2001; Rasinski & Czopp, 2010; Schultz & Maddox, 2013; Swim & Hyers, 1999). For example, Kaiser & Miller (2001) found that when a Black person claims to be a victim of racial discrimination, they are seen as a complainer (compared to a Black person who does not make any attributions to discrimination). Similarly, Rasinski & Czopp (2010) show that when Whites observe Blacks or Whites confront prejudice, they perceived the Black confronter more negatively and as less persuasive compared to the White confronter. This past work suggests that racial minorities are more at risk for facing negative backlash when making claims of bias.

Conversely, when majority group members (i.e., Whites) confront prejudice, they do not receive such backlash. Instead, they are sometimes more effective in changing peoples' prejudicial attitudes. Czopp and Monteith (2003) found that participants reported greater negative self-directed emotions, such as guilt and self-criticism, when they imagined *nontargets* of prejudice (i.e., Whites) confronting prejudice compared to targets of prejudice (i.e., Blacks). Furthermore, participants thought that Blacks who confronted prejudice were overreacting more so than the White confronters. Thus, Czopp and Monteith (2003) conclude that non-targets of prejudice (i.e., Whites) may have a "unique advantage" in confronting prejudiced responses.

Furthermore, Whites confronting bias against racial minorities raises an issue of expectancy violations. Whites who challenge racism are going against their objective group interests, since Whites benefit from a system of racism. Thus Whites for racial justice are not consistent with their group interest. Petty, Fleming, Priester, and Feinstein (2001) find that when individuals take a stance against their *group* interest, audience members are often surprised and the message is processed more deeply and is subsequently more persuasive in shifting peoples' attitudes.

Thus, prior research suggests that Whites may be effective in confronting racial injustice and inviting other Whites to protest injustice. This may be because Whites feel guiltier, more surprised, and evaluate the White inviter more positively than the Black inviter. However, there is an equally persuasive set of research findings suggesting the opposite: Black inviters may be more effective in mobilizing Whites to engage in collective action. First, research on perceptions of group interest indicates that people may find it surprising and react negatively when Whites take action on behalf of another group. This research shows that people often overestimate the extent to which self-interest will guide attitude and behaviors and may react negatively when such expectations are violated (Miller, 1999; Miller & Ratner, 1996). Blacks' inviting others to protest racial justice is consistent with group-based expectancies, however, Whites inviting others to protest racial justice is inconsistent with their group interest, since Whites are not targets of racism. Ratner and Miller (2001) found that people felt surprised and sometimes even angry, when they observed individuals take a stance on an issue in which they have no clear vested interest, because it violates the expectancy that self-interest will guide behaviors. For example, Ratner and Miller (2001) found that

participants were more confused and angry when they observed a man (compared to a woman) express his attitudes toward abortion, an issue in which women have a greater stake compared to men. Similarly, in the context of race relations, Whites may elicit more confusion and anger when they advocate for racial justice compared to Blacks.

Past research demonstrates that people are more likely to support and contribute to a cause when it is advocated by someone who has a clear *psychological standing* on the issue, which is the degree to which an individual has a vested interest in a cause, such as a material or a psychological stake in it (Miller & Effron, 2010, Ratner & Miller, 2001; Ratner, Zhao & Clarke, 2011). Ratner, Zhao & Clarke (2001) found that when an advocate for an anti-smoking campaign demonstrated clear personal connection to the cause, such as having lost someone to an illness due to smoking habits, people were interested in supporting the campaign. Consequently, Ratner and colleagues (2001; 2011) recommend that organizations should use advocates who have a clear psychological standing in the cause because they would be most effective in eliciting support from others. In the context of racial issues, Blacks are likely to have more psychological standing on the issue of racism compared to Whites, given that Blacks are personally affected by race-based discrimination and thus may be more influential in garnering support from Whites.

Beyond the possible effect of perceived group interest on reactions to White vs. Black inviters, classic research on persuasion also suggests that Blacks may be more effective in motivating Whites' collective action. Past research has shown that messages that come from stigmatized sources are often scrutinized more (White & Harkins, 1994), and this greater scrutiny was found among those who were low in prejudice (Petty,

Fleming, & White, 1999; Fleming, Petty, & White, 2005). Specifically, Whites low on prejudice scrutinized messages from a Black target more than a White target, and found arguments made by Black targets to be more persuasive (Petty et al., 1999; Fleming et al., 2005). These findings are consistent with the notion that low-prejudiced individuals engage in deeper message-processing in order to guard against their own biases (the watchdog hypothesis; Petty et al., 1999; c.f., Devine et al., 1991; Monteith, 1993). Furthermore, Blacks may be seen as more credible sources (i.e., trustworthy, knowledgeable) compared to Whites on racial justice issues, and past research has shown that source credibility is one of the routes to persuasion (Cacioppo & Petty, 1984; Petty & Wegner, 1998). Taken together, such research suggests that Blacks may be more effective in persuading Whites to protest injustice. This may be because Blacks elicit lesser surprise and anger, and are seen as more credible when they invite others to protest injustice (compared to Whites).

As outlined above, there is a strong basis for competing predictions (and therefore strong motivation for research to test the outcome) about whether a White or a Black individual may be more persuasive in mobilizing Whites to protest racial injustice. As reviewed above, prior research has suggested that people may have different emotional reactions (e.g., guilt, confusion) and evaluations of the inviter (e.g., trustworthy, knowledgeable), which may serve as potential mediators of the effect, in so far as there *is* an effect of inviter's race on willingness to protest injustice. Thus far I have described the importance of examining the race of the inviter in predicting Whites' willingness to engage in collective action for racial justice. However, it is important to note that we should not expect all Whites to respond the same way to invitations to protest injustice -

Whites are far from monolithic. In particular, I hypothesize that their underlying racial attitudes may predict how they respond to such efforts of mobilizing for racial justice.

1.4 Who are the most likely to be mobilized?

In the United States, there are pervasive norms to be non-prejudiced that powerfully shape Whites' racial attitudes, such that it inhibits overt expressions of prejudice and promotes a motivation to control prejudice (e.g., Blanchard, Lilly, & Vaughn, 1994; Crosby, Bromley, & Saxe, 1980; Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; McConahay, Hardee & Batts, 1981; Monteith, Deneen & Tooman, 1996). Whites' racial attitudes are not only guided by *external* pressures to appear non-prejudiced; there may also be *internal* reasons to be non-prejudiced, such as one's personal standard to be egalitarian (Plant & Devine, 1998). In considering the underlying motivations to respond without prejudice, Plant and Devine (1998) demonstrate that people vary in the extent to which they are internally or externally motivated to respond without prejudice. Internal motivation to respond without prejudice (IMS) rests upon self-imposed standards and values; external motivation to respond without prejudice (EMS) stems from social pressures and standards imposed by others (Plant & Devine, 1998).

Past research has established that high IMS is associated with various positive intergroup outcomes, whereas high EMS tends to be associated with negative intergroup outcomes (e.g., Butz & Plant, 2009; Devine, Plant, Amodio, Harmon-Jones & Vance, 2002; Plant & Devine, 2009; Plant, Devine & Peruche, 2010; Ratcliff, Lassiter, Markman & Snyder, 2006). For example, in contrast to people who are high on EMS, those who are high on IMS are effective in controlling explicit and implicit biases (e.g., Devine, Plant, Amodio, Harmon-Jones, & Vance, 2002; Gonsalkorale, Sherman, Allen, Klauer &

Amodio, 2011). High IMS also predicts interest in reducing both detectable and undetectable prejudice, whereas high EMS only predicts interest to reduce detectable prejudice (Plant & Devine, 2009).

Furthermore, Johns, Cullum, Smith, & Freng (2008) found that IMS predicted greater tendencies to act in egalitarian ways when subliminally primed with a Black face (but not a White face). Activation of egalitarian goals inhibited automatic biased responding (i.e., implicit stereotyping; Johns et al., 2008). Thus, IMS is spontaneously linked to egalitarianism in response to Blacks which in turn then minimizes implicit bias. Taken together, past research provides converging evidence that individuals who avoid expressing prejudice because it is personally important to them (i.e., high IMS) have a genuine concern to be egalitarian.

Nevertheless, most extant literature has investigated motivation to control prejudice in relation to cross-group interactions, self-regulation of prejudice, and intergroup bias. Research has yet to link motivations to control prejudice to motivations to challenge the status quo. This is a problematic gap in the literature because broader social relations may only change if prejudice reduction translates to willingness to advocate for equality (Wright & Lubensky, 2008). If the motivation to be non-prejudiced stops at achieving harmonious relations, then unequal status relations between groups would remain unchallenged (Dixon, Levine, Reicher, & Durrheim, 2011; Wright & Lubensky, 2008).

Thus, it is important to examine whether Whites' motivation to control prejudice predicts outcomes that promote equality between groups, such as collective action for racial justice. Advantaged group members who have internalized values to be non-

prejudiced could be “natural allies” to disadvantaged group members (Crosby, 2015). By extension, we propose that people who are high on IMS are suitable targets to be mobilized in the struggle for social change. Consistent with prior research linking IMS to various positive intergroup outcomes as reviewed above, we predict that IMS will be positively linked to willingness to protest racial injustice. Additionally, we predict that Whites high on IMS may be susceptible to the effect of inviter’s race on willingness to protest racial injustice. Thus, we expect that the effect of inviter’s race on willingness for collective action will occur at high levels of IMS. We do not expect EMS to moderate responses to White vs. Black inviters to collective action for racial justice because EMS is more related to social presentation concerns than intrinsic motivation for positive inter-racial relations. Insofar as there is an effect of inviter’s race on willingness for collective action for Whites who are high on IMS, the present research also attempts to uncover the underlying mechanism of this effect.

1.5 Overview of Studies

This thesis presents three studies. Study 1 investigated whether Whites’ internal motivation to control prejudice (IMS) shape their willingness to participate in collective action for racial justice. Study 1 also investigated how Whites emotionally react to invitations to protest injustice and explored whether emotional reactions mediate the effect of IMS on willingness for collective action.

Study 2 investigated how the inviter’s race shapes willingness for collective action as a function of IMS. As described earlier, there were competing predictions about whether the White or Black inviter may elicit greater willingness for collective action from Whites. Thus, Study 2 aimed to resolve these competing predictions. Study 2 also

tested emotional reactions toward the invitation and evaluations of the speaker as possible mediators of this effect, however there was no conclusive evidence of mediation.

Study 3 aimed to replicate the findings of Study 2, and test whether psychological standing would explain the effect of race and IMS on collective action. Specifically, Study 3 examined whether the Black inviter would be perceived to have greater psychological standing in racial issues, which in turn would increase Whites' personal psychological standing, which will ultimately predict Whites' willingness to participate in collective action for racial justice.

CHAPTER 2

STUDY 1

2.1 Method

2.1.1 Participants

Participants were 330 U.S citizens who self-identified as White and who were recruited via MTurk. 46 participants were deleted either for dropping out of the survey or taking less than 10 seconds to read the protest invitation. 284 participants remained in our sample.

2.1.2 Procedure

Participants were invited to participate in a study advertised as “Reactions to protest invitations.” First participants responded to measures of IMS and EMS. Then, participants were told that they would be reading an example of a protest invitation similar to what they might see on social media (i.e., Facebook). Participants read a protest invitation welcoming members of the community to a rally to affirm that Black lives matter¹. The invitation also listed a few demands such as “end to racial profiling” and “anti-racist training for police officers”. After reading the invitation, participants were asked to report their emotional reactions toward the invitation. Then, participants were asked to imagine that the protest invitation was for a real protest in their local community, and they indicated their willingness to engage in the protest. All items within each of the measures below were randomized to account for possible order effects. After completing the survey, each participant was thanked and compensated with \$0.75.

¹ Participants were randomly assigned to receive a protest invitation that either emphasized common group identity (i.e., racial justice supporters) or a dual group identity (i.e., Black or White racial justice supporters) during solidarity. There was no significant effect of condition on outcomes nor was there any significant interactions between the condition and other variables. Thus, data were collapsed across conditions.

2.1.3 Measures

2.1.3.1 Motivation to respond without prejudice

Participants completed 5 items to assess internal motivation (IMS; $\alpha = .92$), and 5 items to assess external motivation (EMS; $\alpha = .88$) to respond without prejudice, taken from the original scales by Plant & Devine (1998). Responses were measured on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 9 (strongly agree).

2.1.3.2

Emotional reactions

After reading the protest invitation, participants were asked to report the extent to which they felt guilty (guilty, remorseful, regretful; $\alpha = .82$), anxious (anxious, nervous, concerned; $\alpha = .80$), sad (hurt, rejected; $\alpha = .84$), angry (angry, offended, outraged, furious; $\alpha = .90$), and positive (excited, confident, determined; $\alpha = .88$) when they were reading the invitation. Responses were measured on a scale from 1 (not at all) to 9 (extremely).

2.1.3.3

Willingness for collective action

Participants were asked to imagine that the invitation that they read was for a real event in the future and then asked to respond to 3 items indicating their willingness to participate in collective action. The items were: “How likely are you to attend this event?”, “How interested are you in attending this event?” and “How willing are you to attend this event?” ($\alpha = .97$). Responses were measured on a scale from 1 (not at all) to 9 (extremely).

2.1.3.4

Demographics

Participants reported their age and gender.

2.2 Results

Table 1 contains intercorrelations, means and standard deviations of all variables in Study 1.

To test our primary hypothesis that internal motivation to respond without prejudice predicts willingness to engage in collective action, regression analyses were conducted with IMS and EMS predicting willingness for collective action. IMS predicted greater willingness to participate in the protest, $b = .38$, $SE = .08$, $p < .001$, but EMS did not, $b = -.08$, $SE = .08$, $p = .28$.

As observed in Table 1, IMS was positively associated with greater anxiety and positive emotions, and lesser anger in response to the invitation. Furthermore, guilt, anxiety and positive emotions were associated with greater willingness for collective action, and anger was associated with lesser willingness for collective action. To assess which emotion may predict willingness for collective action, a multiple regression analysis was conducted with guilt, anxiety, sadness, anger and positive emotions predicting willingness for collective action. Positive emotions emerged as a significant predictor of willingness for collective action, $b = .80$, $SE = .05$, $p < .001$, and all other emotions did not (guilt, $b = .07$, $SE = .09$, $p = .43$, anxiety, $b = .05$, $SE = .07$, $p = .54$, sadness, $b = -.07$, $SE = .10$, $p = .45$, and anger, $b = -.09$, $SE = .07$, $p = .23$).

Simple mediation analysis was conducted to test whether positive emotions would mediate the effect of IMS on willingness for collective action. IMS was introduced as the

IV, positive emotions as the mediator, willingness for collective action as the DV, and EMS as the covariate, with 10,000 bootstrapping samples (Hayes, 2012, model 4). The analysis revealed a significant indirect effect of IMS on willingness for collective action through positive emotions ($b = .30$, $SE_b = .07$, 95% CI = [.163, .437]).

2.3 Discussion

Study 1 investigated Whites' reactions toward an invitation to protest injustice, without specifying the race of the inviter. As predicted, IMS was positively associated with willingness for collective action. Additionally, Study 1 revealed that IMS was related to higher positive emotions in response to the protest invitation. Furthermore, although various other emotions were correlated with willingness for collective action (i.e., higher guilt, higher anxiety, lower anger), only higher positive emotions emerged as a significant mediator of the relationship between IMS and willingness for collective action. The key question then is how might a Black vs. a White inviter shift Whites' willingness for collective action, and what might mediate the effect of inviter's race on willingness for collective action.

CHAPTER 3

STUDY 2

The purpose of Study 2 was to investigate whether willingness for collective action would differ when Whites receive a protest invitation that comes from a Black or White inviter. As described before, there are competing predictions about whether a White or a Black inviter would motivate greater willingness for collective action. Study 2 aimed to address these competing predictions. Additionally, Study 2 investigated how emotional reactions toward the invitation and evaluations of the inviter may differ as a function of the inviter's race. In so far as there *is* an effect of inviter's race on willingness for collective action, Study 2 also explored emotional reactions toward the invitation and evaluations of the inviter as potential mediators.

3.1 Method

3.1.1 Participants

Participants were 220 U.S citizens who self-identified as White and were recruited via MTurk. Participants' average age was 36.20 years ($SD = 11.89$); there were 99 males and 121 females.

3.1.2 Procedure

As in Study 1, participants were invited to participate in a study advertised as "Reactions to protest invitations." First, participants responded to measures of IMS and EMS. Then, participants were told that they would be reading an example of a protest invitation similar to what they might see on social media (i.e., Facebook). Participants were randomly assigned to receive either an invitation to a racial justice protest from a Black person or a White person. The race of the inviter was manipulated using a picture of a Black or a White female that appeared on the invitation, ostensibly as the person who

created the invitation. The name of the inviter was also manipulated, with stereotypical Black and White names (Tiara Williams or Katie Johnson) in the two conditions. In both conditions, participants read that all members of the community are welcomed to participate in a rally to affirm that Black lives matter. The text of the invitation was similar to the materials used in the Study 1. After reading the invitation, participants reported their emotional reactions toward the invitation, evaluations of the speaker and willingness to participate in collective action². All items within each of the measures were randomized to account for possible order effects. After completing the survey, each participant was thanked and compensated with \$0.75.

3.1.3 Measures

3.1.3.1 Motivation to respond without prejudice

Participants completed 5 items to assess internal motivation (IMS; $\alpha = .89$), and 5 items of external motivation (EMS; $\alpha = .92$) to respond without prejudice using the same items used in Study 1.

3.1.3.2 Emotional reactions

After reading the protest invitation, participants are asked to think about the author and the invitation that she posted. As in Study 1, participants indicated the extent to which they felt guilty (guilty, remorseful, regretful; $\alpha = .87$), anxiety (anxious, nervous, concerned; $\alpha = .74$), sadness (sad, hurt, rejected; $\alpha = .77$), anger (angry, offended, outraged, furious; $\alpha = .92$), and positive emotions (excited, confident, determined; $\alpha = .77$) in response to the invitation. In addition, participants also indicated the extent to which they felt confusion (*shocked, amazed, surprised, suspicious, skeptical*,

² There were additional measures included in Study 2. These additional measures and related results are described in Appendix A and B respectively. Table 2b and c contain the intercorrelations, means and standard deviations of these additional measures.

annoyed, confused; $\alpha = .87$; Ratner & Miller, 2001). The responses were measured on a scale from 1 (not at all) to 9 (extremely).

3.1.3.3 Evaluation of inviter

Participants were asked to rate the inviter on a series of traits measuring trustworthiness (dependable, honest, reliable, sincere, trustworthy; $\alpha = .97$) and expertise (expert, knowledgeable, qualified, experienced, skilled; $\alpha = .94$) using items from Ohanian (1990). We also added single-item measures of perceived morality and selfishness. The response scale was bipolar with each trait anchored from 1 to 9.

3.1.3.4 Willingness for collective action

Participants were asked to imagine that the invitation that they read was for a real event in the future and responded to the same 3 items used in Study 1 ($\alpha = .97$).

3.1.3.5 Demographics

Participants reported their age and gender.

3.2 Results

The intercorrelations, means and standard deviations of all variables in Study 2 are in Table 2a.

3.2.1 Willingness for collective action

There was no significant effect of inviter's race on willingness for collective action, $t(218) = 1.23, p = .22$). To examine our primary hypothesis that inviter's race will shape Whites' willingness for collective action as a function of internal motivation to control prejudice, we first tested for a two-way interaction between IMS and inviter's race on willingness for collective action, and included EMS as a control variable (Hayes, 2012, model 1). There was a marginally significant interaction between IMS and inviter's

race in predicting willingness for collective action, $F(1, 215) = 3.69, p = .06$. Simple slopes analyses revealed that IMS had a significant positive relationship to willingness for collective action when the author was Black, $b = .56, b_{SE} = .12, p < .001$, but not when the author was White, $b = .21, b_{SE} = .14, p = .14$. Analyses comparing the effect of the author race manipulation at high and low levels of IMS showed that there was not a significant effect of the manipulation for participants who were low in IMS, $b = .18, b_{SE} = .46, p = .69$. However, there was a significant effect at high levels of IMS, such that participants who were high in IMS reported significantly higher willingness for collective action when the inviter was Black, compared to when the inviter was White, $b = -1.07, b_{SE} = .45, p = .02$. EMS did not significantly predict willingness for collective action, $b = -.04, b_{SE} = .07, p = .56$. See Figure 1 for this interaction.

3.2.2 Emotional reactions

There was a significant effect of inviter's race on anxiety, $t(218) = 2.43, p = .02$ such that participants reported feeling more anxiety in the White inviter condition ($M = 3.52, SD = 1.92$) relative to the Black inviter condition ($M = 2.94, SD = 1.63$), however this main effect is qualified by an interaction (see findings for anxiety below). There was no significant effect of inviter's race on any other emotional reaction (all $ps < .17$). To examine whether inviter's race shaped emotional reactions toward the invitation as a function of IMS, we tested for a two-way interaction between inviter's race and IMS on each of the emotional reaction composites, and included EMS as a control variable (Hayes, 2012, model 1).

3.2.2.1 Guilt

There was a significant interaction between IMS and inviter's race in predicting guilt, $F(1, 215) = 7.83, p = .006$. Simple slopes analyses revealed that IMS had a marginally significant positive relationship to guilt when the author was Black, $b = .14, b_{SE} = .08, p = .07$. In contrast, IMS had a significant negative relationship to guilt when the author was White, $b = -.20, b_{SE} = .10, p = .04$. Analyses comparing the effect of the author race manipulation at high and low levels of IMS showed that there was an effect of the manipulation for participants who were low in IMS, such that participants who were low in IMS reported significantly higher guilt when the inviter was White, compared to when the inviter was Black, $b = -.93, b_{SE} = .31, p = .003$. However, there was not a significant effect of the manipulation at high levels of IMS, $b = .30, b_{SE} = .31, p = .33$. See Figure 2 for this interaction. It is noteworthy that although there was a significant interaction between IMS and condition, this does not follow the form of the interaction for willingness for collective action.

3.2.2.2 Anxiety

There was a significant interaction between IMS and inviter's race in predicting anxiety, $F(1, 215) = 7.09, p = .008$. This interaction followed the form of the interaction that was found for guilt. Simple slopes analyses revealed that IMS had a significant positive relationship to anxiety when the author was Black, $b = .21, b_{SE} = .08, p = .02$. IMS did not significantly predict anxiety when the author was White, but the effect is trending in the opposite direction, $b = -.14, b_{SE} = .10, p = .16$. Analyses comparing the effect of the author race manipulation at high and low levels of IMS showed that there was an effect of the manipulation for participants who were low in IMS, such that

participants who were low in IMS reported significantly higher anxiety when the inviter was White, compared to when the inviter was Black, $b = -1.22$, $b_{SE} = .33$, $p < .001$.

However, there was not a significant effect of the manipulation at high levels of IMS, $b = .04$, $b_{SE} = .33$, $p = .91$.

3.2.2.3 Sadness

There was a significant interaction between IMS and inviter's race in predicting sadness, $F(1, 215) = 6.40$, $p = .01$. This interaction followed the form of the interaction that was found for guilt. Simple slopes analyses revealed that IMS did not have a significant relationship to sadness when the author was Black, but the effect was trending in a positive direction, $b = .12$, $b_{SE} = .08$, $p = .12$. In contrast, IMS had a significant negative relationship to sadness when the author was White, $b = -.18$, $b_{SE} = .09$, $p = .05$. Analyses comparing the effect of the author race manipulation at high and low levels of IMS showed that there were marginally significant effects of the manipulation at high and low levels of IMS. Participants who were low in IMS reported higher sadness when the inviter was White, $b = -.54$, $b_{SE} = .29$, $p = .07$. In contrast, participants who were high in IMS reported higher sadness when the inviter was Black, $b = .52$, $b_{SE} = .29$, $p = .08$.

3.2.2.4 Anger

There was a no significant interaction between IMS and inviter's race in predicting anger, $F(1, 215) = .03$, $p = .86$.

3.2.2.5 Positive emotions

There was not a significant interaction between IMS and inviter's race in predicting positive emotions, but the effect was marginal, $F(1, 215) = 6.40$, $p = .10$. Simple slopes analyses revealed that IMS did not have a significant relationship to

positive emotions when the author was White, $b = .10$, $b_{SE} = .12$, $p = .39$. In contrast, IMS had a significant positive relationship to positive emotions when the author was Black, $b = .35$, $b_{SE} = .10$, $p < .001$. Analyses comparing the effect of the author race manipulation at high and low levels of IMS showed that there was not a significant difference in positive emotions at low levels of IMS, $b = -.37$, $b_{SE} = .38$, $p = .34$. There was a trending effect of the manipulation at high levels of IMS, such that participants high in IMS reported greater positive emotions when the inviter was Black, $b = .52$, $b_{SE} = .38$, $p = .17$. See Figure 3 for this interaction. This interaction, though not significant, does follow the form of the interaction for willingness for collective action.

3.2.2.6 Confusion

There was not a significant interaction between IMS and inviter's race in predicting confusion, $F(1, 215) = .21$, $p = .65$. To examine whether there were simple effects of IMS, EMS or inviter's race on confusion, a multiple regression analysis was conducted. IMS negatively predicted confusion, $b = -.24$, $b_{SE} = .06$, $p < .001$, EMS positively predicted confusion, $b = .13$, $b_{SE} = .04$, $p < .01$, and inviter's race did not significantly predict confusion, $b = -.16$, $b_{SE} = .19$, $p = .41$.

3.2.3 Evaluation of inviter

There was no significant effect of inviter's race on any evaluations of the inviter (all $ps < .26$). To examine whether inviter's race shaped evaluations of the inviter as a function of IMS, we tested for a two-way interaction between inviter's race and IMS on each of the evaluation of inviter composites, and included EMS as a control variable (Hayes, 2012, model 1).

3.2.3.1 Trustworthiness

There was not a significant interaction between IMS and inviter's race in predicting trustworthiness, $F(1, 215) = 1.20, p = .28$. Simple slopes analyses revealed that IMS has a significant positive relationship to trustworthiness when the author was White, $b = .39, b_{SE} = .10, p < .001$, and also when the author was Black, $b = .53, b_{SE} = .08, p < .001$. Although not significant, this interaction follows the form of the interaction for willingness for collective action.

3.2.3.2 Expertise

There was a significant interaction between IMS and inviter's race in predicting expertise, $F(1, 215) = 4.20, p = .04$. This interaction followed the form of the interaction that was found for willingness for collective action. Simple slopes analyses revealed that IMS has a significant positive relationship to expertise when the author was White, $b = .26, b_{SE} = .11, p = .01$, and an even stronger relationship when the author was Black, $b = .54, b_{SE} = .09, p < .001$. Analyses comparing the effect of the author race manipulation at high and low levels of IMS showed that there was not a significant difference in expertise scores at low levels of IMS, $b = -.38, b_{SE} = .34, p = .26$. There was a significant effect of the manipulation at high levels of IMS, such that participants high in IMS reported higher expertise when the inviter was Black, $b = .62, b_{SE} = .34, p = .07$.

3.2.3.3 Morality

There was not a significant interaction between IMS and inviter's race in predicting morality, but the effect was trending, $F(1, 215) = 2.28, p = .13$. This interaction followed the form of the interaction that was found for willingness for collective action. Simple slopes analyses revealed that IMS has a significant positive

relationship to morality when the author is White, $b = .39$, $b_{SE} = .11$, $p < .001$, and when the author is Black, $b = .60$, $b_{SE} = .09$, $p < .001$. Analyses comparing the effect of the author race manipulation at high and low levels of IMS showed that there was not a significant difference in morality scores at low levels of IMS, $b = -.45$, $b_{SE} = .34$, $p = .19$, but the effect was trending such that participants high in IMS reported greater morality when the inviter was Black. There was not a significant effect of the manipulation at high levels of IMS, $b = .29$, $b_{SE} = .34$, $p = .39$.

3.2.3.4 Selfishness

There was a marginally significant interaction between IMS and inviter's race in predicting selfishness, $F(1, 215) = 3.05$, $p = .13$. This interaction followed the form of the interaction that was found for willingness for collective action. Simple slopes analyses revealed that IMS has a marginally significant negative relationship to selfishness when the author is White, $b = -.24$, $b_{SE} = .13$, $p = .06$, and IMS has a significant negative relationship to selfishness when the author is Black, $b = -.53$, $b_{SE} = .11$, $p < .001$.

Analyses comparing the effect of the author race manipulation at high and low levels of IMS showed that there was a significant difference in selfishness scores at low levels of IMS, such that participants low in IMS reported greater selfishness when the inviter was Black, $b = .83$, $b_{SE} = .42$, $p = .05$. There was not a significant effect of the manipulation at high levels of IMS, $b = -.21$, $b_{SE} = .42$, $p = .62$.

3.2.4 Moderated mediation analysis: Emotional reactions toward the invitation and willingness for collective action

The interaction between inviter's race and IMS on each emotional reaction revealed that in the Black inviter condition, IMS predicted greater guilt, anxiety, sadness

and positive emotions, whereas in the White inviter condition, IMS predicted reduced guilt, anxiety, sadness and positive emotions. Thus, these emotional reactions may be potential mediators of the effect of inviter's race on willingness for collective action at high levels of IMS. Four moderated mediation analyses were conducted to test the extent to which each of these emotional reactions toward the invitation mediated the effect of inviter's race on willingness for collective action at high levels of IMS. Inviter's race was introduced as the IV, each emotional reaction as the mediator, IMS as the moderator, EMS as the covariate, and willingness for collective action as the DV to test moderation of both the direct and indirect paths (i.e., mediated through emotional reactions) from inviter's race to willingness for collective action (Hayes, 2012, model 8). Hayes' index of moderated mediation always included zero, indicating that there was no significant indirect effect of inviter's race on willingness for collective action through any of the emotional reactions as a function of IMS.

Although there was not significant moderated mediation through emotional reactions as a function of inviter's race, there was evidence of simple mediation that was consistent with the Study 1. Collapsing over condition, there was a significant indirect effect of IMS on willingness for collective action through positive emotions ($b = .15$, $SE_b = .05$, 95% CI = [.07, .25]). There were no significant indirect effects of IMS on willingness for collective action through any other emotion.

3.2.5 Moderated mediation analysis: Evaluations of the inviter and willingness for collective action

Moderated mediation analyses were also conducted to test the extent to which evaluations of the inviter moderated the effects of inviter's race on willingness for

collective action at high levels of IMS. Inviter's race was introduced as the IV, each evaluation of the inviter composite as the mediator, IMS as the moderator, EMS as the covariate, and willingness for collective action as the DV to test moderation of both the direct and indirect paths (i.e., mediated through evaluations of the inviter) from inviter's race to willingness for collective action (Hayes, 2012, model 8). Hayes' index of moderated mediation always included zero, indicating that there was no significant indirect effect of inviter's race on willingness for collective action through evaluations of the inviter as a function of IMS.

However, there was a marginally significant indirect effect through expertise. At 90% confidence interval, Hayes' index of moderated mediation through expertise did not include zero, $b = .15$, $SE_b = .08$, 90% CI = [.03, .28]). This test indicates that the strength of the indirect effect from inviter's race to willingness for collective action was different at low levels and high levels of IMS, at marginal significance. Follow-up examination of the indirect effects at low and high levels of IMS revealed that there was a marginally significant indirect effect of inviter's race at high levels of IMS through expertise, $b = .33$, $SE_b = .20$, 90% CI = [.01, .68]. In contrast, there was not a significant indirect effect of inviter's race at low levels of IMS through expertise, $b = -.20$, $SE_b = .17$, 90% CI = [-.49, .06].

3.3 Discussion

Study 2 found that inviter's race predicted willingness for collective action at high levels of IMS, such that Whites who are high on IMS were more willing to engage in collective action when invited by a Black individual compared to a White individual. However, the mechanism underlying this effect remains ambiguous. Although both

positive emotion and inviter's expertise showed some evidence consistent with their role as mediators, there was no strong evidence of moderated mediation for either variable.

In considering these results, I return to the question of why might the Black inviter increased Whites' willingness to participate in collective action relative to the White inviter. One possibility is that the Black inviter has greater psychological standing, thereby *conferring* standing onto Whites, such that Whites (or at least Whites high on IMS) feel greater psychological standing to participate in collective action for racial justice when invited by a Black individual. If the Black inviter had greater psychological standing than the White inviter, the psychological standing literature would predict that the White inviter should elicit greater anger and confusion compared to the Black inviter. However, it is worth pointing out that Study 2 did not find such evidence. It is possible that we did not find such effects because the measures of emotional reactions were asked in response to the invitation in general, rather than toward the inviter specifically. Interestingly, for the measures on evaluations of the inviter, it was found that at marginal significance, the Black inviter was seen as more knowledgeable than the White inviter, and this increased expertise marginally mediated the conditional effect of inviter race on willingness for collective action (i.e., the effect for inviter race that is found for participants who reported high levels of IMS). The difference in perceived expertise between the White and Black inviter may imply that participants viewed the Black inviter as having greater standing on the issue of racial justice.

Additionally, it is important to note that Study 2 did not find that emotional reactions toward the invitation explained the conditional effect of speaker race on willingness for collective action (i.e., the effect found at high levels of IMS). However,

across both the Study 1 and Study 2, positive emotions in response to the invitation mediated the relationship between IMS and willingness for collective action, even though inviter's race did not significantly influence this effect. In other words, a Black inviter did not significantly increase positive emotions compared to a White inviter. Thus, it may not be positive emotions per say that increase Whites' willingness to protest when invited by a Black person, but rather, Whites' sense of psychological standing to participate in the protest. Prior work on psychological standing reveals that people are often unmotivated to act on their attitudes unless they feel psychological standing to do so (e.g., Ratner & Miller, 2001). The race of the inviter may shift participants' *personal psychological standing* to act on their attitudes. Specifically, being invited by a Black individual may *confer* standing onto Whites such that it increases Whites' psychological standing to participate in collective action for racial justice. It is plausible that a Black individual (compared to a White individual) has the power to *confer* standing because Blacks are perceived to *have* more standing on issues of racial justice compared to Whites.

Taken together, one of the limitations of Study 2 is that by measuring emotional reactions toward the invitation and evaluations of the inviter, these variables only *indirectly* measure whether the standing of the inviter may explain the effect of race on willingness for collective action at high levels of IMS. In fact, most prior research on psychological standing does not include a direct measure of perceived psychological standing of oneself or of others. Standing is often implied through emotional reactions toward others (e.g., Ratner & Miller, 2001) and one's self-reported comfort in acting for a cause (e.g., Effron & Miller, 2012). To address these limitations, Study 3 will utilize newly developed measures (i.e., inviter's psychological standing and personal

psychological standing) to *directly* measure the extent to which participants perceive the inviter to have psychological standing on the issue of racial justice, and participants' perceptions of personal psychological standing to participate in collective action for racial justice.

It is expected that for Whites who are high on IMS, a Black inviter will be perceived to have greater psychological standing, and this greater psychological standing of the inviter will increase perceptions of personal psychological standing, which then predicts greater willingness for collective action. The proposed model is depicted in Figure 4 and will be tested in Study 3.

CHAPTER 4

STUDY 3

Study 3 aims to replicate the findings from Study 2 that a Black inviter (vs. a White inviter) predicts greater willingness for collective action for Whites high on IMS. In contrast to Study 2, Study 3 will include a true baseline condition, that is, two experimental conditions as in Study 2 (White inviter, Black inviter) and a control condition (no invitation). The control condition will assess participants' baseline willingness for collective action at the absence of an invitation to join a protest. The baseline will allow us to assess whether at high levels of IMS, Whites' willingness to engage in collective action decreases when invited by a White individual or increases when invited by a Black person, relative to receiving no invitation to participate in collective action.

Study 2 did not clearly uncover the underlying mechanism of the effect of inviter's race on willingness for collective action, thus Study 3 will attempt to test a potential underlying mechanism: conferred psychological standing. It is predicted that the Black inviter will 1) be perceived to have greater psychological standing and 2) increase Whites' personal psychological standing to participate in a protest for racial justice, compared to the White inviter. This process will demonstrate that Whites are *conferred* standing when a Black individual invites them to participate in a racial justice protest. Thus, Study 3 will include newly developed measures of perceived psychological standing of the inviter and perceptions of personal psychological standing to protest racial injustice. In examining the phenomenon of conferred standing, emotional reactions and evaluations of the inviter measures will still be included in Study 3 to examine how these measures relate to the standing measures, and to account for the possibility that we may

find significant mediation through emotional reactions and evaluation of the speaker with increased power to detect effects.

Another goal of Study 3 was to examine whether the size of the photo of the inviter may influence our findings. The race of the inviter (i.e., Black or White) in Study 2 was implied through the picture and name of an individual that appeared on the invitation. The size of the picture of the inviter was quite small (see Appendix C). It is possible that the relative salience of the race of the inviter, conveyed through the relative size of the inviter's picture, may shape whether and how inviter's race predicts willingness to engage in collective action. Participants may be more likely to attend to the picture of the inviter if it is made salient (i.e., depicted larger) than if there is no special emphasis on the inviter (i.e., depicted smaller). Furthermore, it is not known whether the effects of inviter's race on willingness to engage in collective action is relatively unconscious or automatic, or that the effects are shaped by explicit recognition of the inviter's race.

To begin to examine this issue, Study 3 uses two sets of experimental stimuli that vary the relative size of the picture of the inviter. Specifically, there were two waves of data collection whereby in wave 1, participants saw a slightly bigger picture of the inviter compared to the experimental stimuli that was used in Study 1 (see Appendix C). In wave 2 (which was conducted approximately 1 week after wave 1), participants saw the identical experimental stimuli that were used in Study 1 in which the size of the picture of the inviter was relatively small (see Appendix C).³

³ There was not a significant difference between participants who saw the small or large pictures of the inviter in the accuracy of recalling the race of the inviter, $\chi^2(1) = .13$, $p = .76$.

4.1 Method

4.1.1 Participants

Eight hundred self-identified White Americans were recruited via MTurk, and were compensated with \$0.75. There were two phases of data collection (each phase recruited 400 participants) whereby the size of the picture of the inviter was varied across the two phases (described further below). Participants who failed to complete the study in its entirety (i.e., dropped out from the study midway) or failed to recall the correct race of the inviter were excluded from analyses. 769 participants remained: 278 were in the control condition, 245 were in the Black inviter condition and 246 were in the White inviter condition.

4.1.2 Procedure

The general method of Study 3 was essentially the same as Study 2, but with the addition of a control condition, new measures, and counterbalancing of the proposed mediator and dependent variable measures. Participants were invited to participate in a study advertised as “Reactions to a protest event”. In the first part of the study, participants responded to measures of IMS and EMS. Participants were then randomly assigned to read a protest invitation from a Black person, a White person, or receive no such invitation (control). There were two phases of data collection, involving two slightly different versions of the experimental stimuli. For the two versions, the size of the photo of the inviter was varied slightly. Specifically, one version of the photo was identical to the stimuli used in Study 2. The other version of the stimuli used a slightly larger photo size of the inviter (See Appendix C for the experimental stimuli). Thus, the subsequent

analyses will consider the effect of the photograph size manipulation (“small vs. large photo”).

In both protest invitation conditions, the invitation welcomed members of the community to a local rally to affirm that Black lives matter and to demand criminal justice reform. Participants were asked to imagine that they received such an invitation to a protest in their community. After reading the invitation, participants responded to measures of emotional reactions, evaluations of the inviter, inviter’s psychological standing, personal psychological standing and willingness to participate in collective action for which they were invited to attend. Participants in the control condition did not receive any invitation to a protest, and were only asked to respond to measures of personal psychological standing and willingness to participate in collective action (as the other measures were not relevant at the absence of a protest invitation). The order of the standing measures (i.e., inviter’s psychological standing and personal psychological standing) and willingness for collective action measures were counterbalanced in all three conditions to account for possible order effects. After completing the study, participants were thanked and fully debriefed.

4.1.3 Measures

4.1.3.1 Motivation to respond without prejudice

Participants responded to 5 items to assess internal motivation (IMS, $\alpha = .91$), and 5 items of external motivation (EMS; $\alpha = .88$) to respond without prejudice using the same items used in the Study 1 and in Study 2.

4.1.3.2 Emotional reactions

As in Study 2, participants were asked to indicate the extent to which they felt guilty (guilty, remorseful, regretful; $\alpha = .78$), anxiety (anxious, nervous, concerned; $\alpha = .74$), sadness (sad, hurt, rejected; $\alpha = .70$), anger (angry, offended, outraged, furious; $\alpha = .95$), confusion (shocked, amazed, surprised, suspicious, skeptical, annoyed, confused; $\alpha = .82$), and positive emotions (excited, confident, determined; $\alpha = .84$) in response to the invitation. The responses were measured on a scale from 1 (not at all) to 9 (extremely).

4.1.3.3 Evaluations of inviter

As in Study 2, participants were asked to rate the inviter on a series of traits measuring trustworthiness (dependable, honest, reliable, sincere, trustworthy; $\alpha = .96$) and expertise (expert, knowledgeable, qualified, experienced, skilled; $\alpha = .93$) using items from Ohanian (1990). We also added single-item measures of perceived morality and selfishness used in Study 2. The response scale was bipolar (i.e., dependable or undependable) with each trait anchored from 1 to 9.

4.1.3.4 Inviter's psychological standing

After reading the invitation and completing the prior measures, participants were asked to indicate the extent to which the inviter has standing to invite others to join the protest. 8 items were developed to measure perceived *inviter psychological standing*. These newly developed items had strong scale reliability ($\alpha = .89$). An example item was "Tiara/Katie has the standing to invite others to protest racial injustice." Participants rated the extent to which they agree on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*). All items on this measure are listed in Appendix D.

4.1.3.5 Personal psychological standing

Participants were then asked to indicate the extent to which they perceive themselves to have personal psychological standing to attend the protest. 8 items were developed to measure perceived psychological standing. These new developed items had strong scale reliability ($\alpha = .90$). An example item was, “If you were invited by Tiara/Katie, how appropriate is it for you to participate in this protest?” Participants responded on a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 9 (*extremely*). All items on this measure are listed in Appendix D.

4.1.3.6 Willingness for collective action

Participants responded to the same 3-item measure used in the Study 1 and in Study 2 ($\alpha = .96$).

4.1.3.7 Manipulation check

At the end of the study, participants in the experimental conditions (i.e., Black or White inviter conditions) were asked to report the race of the inviter for the invitation that they read.

4.1.3.8 Demographics

Participants reported their age and gender.

4.2 Results

The correlations between all the primary variables are depicted in Table 3a.

4.2.1 Manipulation check

Participants that failed to recall the correct race of the inviter (N = 43) were excluded from subsequent analyses.

4.2.2 Effect of counterbalancing the order of psychological standing and collective action measures

Counterbalancing the order of the psychological standing⁴ (i.e., inviter's psychological standing and personal psychological standing) and willingness for collective action measures did not interact with any of the variables (i.e., IMS, condition) to predict the outcomes of interest, nor did it have any main effects on the outcome measures (all $ps = ns$). Counterbalancing was added as a covariate in all subsequent analyses, but will not be discussed further.

4.2.3 Willingness for collective action

Consistent with the Study 1 and Study 2, IMS predicted greater willingness for collective action, $b = .41$, $b_{SE} = .05$, $p < .001$, but EMS did not, $b = -.00$, $b_{SE} = .04$, $p = .91$. Participants in the Black inviter condition ($M = 3.10$, $SD = 2.51$) reported marginally greater willingness for collective action compared to the control condition ($M = 2.71$, $SD = 2.37$; $t(765) = -1.86$, $p = .06$). There were no significant differences between the White inviter condition ($M = 2.83$, $SD = 2.37$) and the control condition, or between the White and Black inviter conditions. The effect of condition on willingness for collective action is qualified by a significant interaction between condition and picture size in predicting willingness for collective action (controlling for the effects of IMS, EMS and counterbalancing), $F(759, 2) = 3.72$, $p = .03$. Simple slopes analyses revealed that when participants saw large pictures of the inviter, there was a main effect of being invited to a protest on willingness for collective action, such that being invited by a Black inviter ($b = .83$, $b_{SE} = .28$, $p < .01$) and a White inviter ($b = .62$, $b_{SE} = .28$, $p = .03$) predicted greater willingness for collective action compared to the no inviter control condition.

⁴ Inviter's psychological standing was always asked before personal psychological standing.

Specifically, among those who saw the larger pictures of the inviter, participants reported significantly greater willingness for collective action in the Black inviter condition ($M = 3.27$, $SD = 2.55$) compared to the no-inviter condition ($M = 2.42$, $SD = 2.16$; $t(391) = -2.89$; $p = .004$). Participants also reported significantly greater willingness for collective action in the White inviter condition ($M = 3.09$, $SD = 2.49$) compared to the no-inviter condition ($M = 2.42$, $SD = 2.16$; $t(391) = -2.27$, $p = .03$). There was not a significant difference in willingness for collective action between the White and Black inviter conditions, $t(391) = .61$, $p = .54$. However, when participants saw small pictures of the inviter, there was no significant effect of being invited to a protest on willingness for collective action (all $ps > .19$).

There were no significant interactions between IMS, condition and picture size, between IMS and picture size in (all $ps > .34$), or between IMS and condition in predicting willingness for collective action.

To examine whether inviter's race will shape Whites' willingness for collective action as a function of internal motivation to control prejudice, we tested for a two-way interaction between IMS and condition on willingness for collective action, and included EMS, picture size and counterbalancing as a control variables (Hayes, 2012, model 1). There was no significant interaction between IMS and condition in predicting willingness for collective action, $F(2, 759) = .01$, $p = .99$. Simple slopes analyses revealed that IMS had a significant positive relationship to willingness for collective action regardless of condition, specifically, when the author was Black, $b = .42$, $b_{SE} = .09$, $p < .001$, when the author was White, $b = .41$, $b_{SE} = .08$, $p < .001$, and when there was no inviter, $b = .41$, $b_{SE} = .08$, $p < .001$.

4.2.4 Emotional reactions

There were no significant interactions between IMS, condition and picture size, or between IMS and condition (i.e., inviter's race) in predicting any of the emotional reactions (all $ps > .14$), nor were there any main effects of condition on emotional reactions (all $ps > .41$).

As shown in Table 3b, IMS has a significant positive relationship to positive emotions, and anxiety, and a significant negative relationship to anger, sadness and confusion in response to the invitation. To examine emotional reactions as predictors of willingness for collective action, multiple regression analysis was conducted with the six emotional reaction composites entered as predictors of collective action. As in the Study 1 and Study 2, positive emotions predicted willingness ($b = .62, SE = .06, p < .001$). In addition, there was a significant and positive effect of guilt ($b = .34, SE = .11, p = .002$), and a significant negative effect of confusion ($b = -.35, SE = .10, p = .001$) on collective action. There was also a marginally significant negative effect of anxiety on collective action ($b = -.14, SE = .08, p = .09$). There was no significant effect of anger ($b = .02, SE = .09, p = .78$) and sadness ($b = .06, SE = .12, p = .65$) on collective action.

As in Study 1 and 2, simple mediation analysis was conducted to test whether positive emotions would mediate the effect of IMS on willingness for collective action. IMS was introduced as the IV, positive emotions as the mediator, willingness for collective action as the DV, and EMS, picture size, and counterbalancing as covariates, with 10,000 bootstrapping samples (Hayes, 2012, model 4). As in Study 1 and 2, there was a significant indirect effect from IMS to collective action via positive emotions ($b = .17, SE_b = .04, 95\% CI = [.098, .251]$).

4.2.5 Evaluations of inviter

There were no significant interactions between IMS, condition and picture size, or between IMS and condition (i.e., inviter's race) in predicting any of the evaluations (all $ps > .23$). There were parallel main effects of IMS and condition on evaluations of the inviter, as described below.

4.2.5.1 The effect of condition

There was a marginally significant main effect of condition on expertise ($t(218) = 1.73, p = .09$), such that participants reported greater expertise in evaluating the black inviter ($M = 5.48, SD = 1.83$) compared to the white inviter ($M = 5.04, SD = 1.94$). There were no significant effects of condition on other evaluations (all $ps > .22$). Simple mediation analysis was conducted to test whether expertise would mediate the effect of condition on willingness for collective action. Condition was introduced as the IV, expertise as the mediator, willingness for collective action as the DV, and IMS, EMS, picture size, and counterbalancing as the covariate, with 10,000 bootstrapping samples (Hayes, 2012, model 4). There was a significant indirect effect from condition to collective action via expertise ($b = .30, SE_b = .09, 95\% CI = [.132, .479]$).

4.2.5.2 The effect of IMS

As shown in Table 3c, IMS is positively associated with trust, expertise and morality, and negatively associated with selfishness. To examine evaluations of inviter as predictors of willingness for collective action, multiple regression analysis was conducted with the four evaluation composites entered as predictors of collective action. There was a significant positive effect of expertise ($b = .72, SE = .14, p < .001$) and a significant negative effect of selfishness ($b = -.23, SE = .09, p = .01$) on willingness for collective

action. There was no significant effect of trust ($b = -.16, SE = .19, p = .40$) and morality ($b = -.11, SE = .14, p = .43$) on willingness for collective action.

Simple mediation analysis was conducted to test whether expertise would mediate the effect of IMS on willingness for collective action. IMS was introduced as the IV, expertise as the mediator, willingness for collective action as the DV, and condition, EMS, picture size, and counterbalancing as the covariate, with 10,000 bootstrapping samples (Hayes, 2012, model 4). There was a significant indirect effect from IMS to collective action via expertise ($b = .22, SE_b = .03, 95\% CI = [.158, .292]$).

4.2.6 Inviter's psychological standing

There were no significant interactions between IMS, condition and picture size, between condition and picture size, or between IMS and picture size in predicting inviter's psychological standing (controlling for the effects of IMS or condition, EMS and counterbalancing), all $ps > .35$.

To examine whether the manipulation of inviter race had an effect on inviter's psychological standing as a function of IMS, we tested for a two-way interaction between IMS and condition on inviter's psychological standing, and included EMS as a control variable (Hayes, 2012, model 1). There was no significant interaction between IMS and condition in predicting inviter's psychological standing, $F(1, 484) = 1.46, p = .31$. Simple slopes analyses revealed that IMS had a significant positive relationship to inviter's psychological standing when the author was Black, $b = .36, b_{SE} = .06, p < .001$, and when the author was White, $b = .46, b_{SE} = .05, p < .001$.

There was a main effect of inviter's race on inviter's psychological standing, $t(489) = 6.15, p < .001$. Specifically, participants reported that the Black inviter had

greater psychological standing ($M = 6.67$, $SD = 1.56$) compared to the White inviter ($M = 5.73$, $SD = 1.82$).

4.2.7 Personal psychological standing

There were no significant interactions between IMS, condition and picture size, and between IMS and picture size in predicting personal psychological standing (controlling for the effects of IMS or condition, EMS and counterbalancing), all $ps > .40$.

There was a significant interaction between condition and picture size in predicting personal psychological standing (controlling for the effects of IMS, EMS and counterbalancing), $F(759, 1) = 4.16$, $p = .02$. Simple slopes analyses revealed that when participants saw the big picture of the inviter, being invited predicted greater personal standing compared to not being invited. A Black inviter ($b = 1.05$, $b_{SE} = .22$, $p < .001$) and a White inviter ($b = .81$, $b_{SE} = .22$, $p < .001$) predicted greater personal standing compared to the control condition. Participants reported significantly greater personal standing in the Black inviter condition ($M = 4.13$, $SD = 1.98$) compared to the no-inviter condition ($M = 3.06$, $SD = 1.78$; $t(391) = 4.55$; $p < .001$). Participants also reported significantly personal standing in the White inviter condition ($M = 3.90$, $SD = 1.98$) compared to the no-inviter condition ($M = 3.06$, $SD = 1.78$; $t(391) = 3.61$, $p < .001$). There was not a significant difference in personal standing between the White and Black inviter conditions, $t(391) = -.94$, $p = .35$. However, when participants saw small pictures of the inviter, there was not an effect of being invited to a protest on personal psychological standing (all $ps > .41$).

To examine whether the manipulation will shape Whites' personal psychological standing as a function of internal motivation to control prejudice, we tested for a two-way

interaction between IMS and condition on personal psychological standing, and included EMS, counterbalancing, and picture size as control variables (Hayes, 2012, model 1).

There was no significant interaction between IMS and condition in predicting personal psychological standing, $F(2, 759) = .33, p = .72$. Simple slopes analyses revealed that IMS had a significant positive relationship to personal psychological standing when the author was Black, $b = .38, b_{SE} = .07, p < .001$, when the author was White, $b = .38, b_{SE} = .06, p < .001$, and when there was no inviter, $b = .33, b_{SE} = .06, p < .001$.

4.2.8 Mediation analyses: The parallel effects of condition and IMS on collective action through inviter's psychological standing

Given that there was no interaction between condition and IMS on collective action, we examined whether there were independent indirect effects of condition and IMS through inviter's psychological standing in predicting collective action.

4.2.8.1 The effect of condition

Although there was not a simple effect of inviter's race on collective action, it is possible that there exists a significant indirect effect through inviter's psychological standing (Hayes, 2009; Preacher & Hayes, 2004; Rucker, Preacher, Tormala & Petty, 2011). Thus, a mediation analysis was conducted to test the indirect effect of inviter's race on willingness for collective action through inviter's psychological standing. Given that there were no significant interactions between condition and IMS in predicting any of the proposed mediator variables or the DV (controlling for EMS), IMS (and EMS) were added as covariates in the mediation model. Inviter's race was introduced as the IV (0 = White, 1 = Black), inviter's psychological standing as the mediator, IMS, EMS, counterbalancing, and picture size as covariates and willingness for collective action as

the DV, using 10,000 bootstrapping samples (Hayes, 2012, model 4). There was a significant indirect effect of inviter's race on willingness for collective action via inviter's standing, $b = .50$, $boot\ SE = .08$, $95\% CI = [.35, .68]$. The direct effect was not significant, $b = -.21$, $boot\ SE = .21$, $95\% CI = [-.62, .20]$.

Given that expertise was a significant mediator of inviter's race on willingness for collective action, we repeated the mediation analyses to test whether 1) the indirect effect through inviter's standing would remain significant after controlling for the effect of expertise, and 2) whether the indirect effect via expertise would remain significant after controlling for the effect of inviter's standing. It was found that the indirect effect via inviter's standing remained significant after adding expertise as a covariate ($b = .17$, $boot\ SE = .05$, $95\% CI = [.08, .29]$). However, the indirect effect via expertise was not significant when we controlled for the effect of inviter's standing ($b = -.03$, $boot\ SE = .06$, $95\% CI = [-.15, .09]$).

4.2.8.2 The effect of IMS

Given that IMS has a significant and positive effect on willingness for collective action and inviter's standing, it is possible that there may be an indirect effect of IMS on willingness for collective action through inviter's standing. When IMS was used as the IV (and controlling for the effect of inviter's race, EMS, counterbalancing, and picture size), the indirect effect of IMS on willingness for collective action via inviter's standing was significant, $b = .21$, $boot\ SE = .03$, $95\% CI = [.16, .28]$. The direct effect was also significant, $b = .20$, $boot\ SE = .06$, $95\% CI = [.07, .32]$.

4.2.9 Sequential mediation analyses: The parallel effects of condition and IMS on collective action through inviter's standing and personal standing

Given that there was no significant interaction between condition and IMS in predicting inviter's standing, personal standing or collective action, we did not test the predict moderated mediation model that is depicted in Figure 4. Instead, we examined whether there were independent, or parallel indirect effects of condition and IMS through inviter's psychological standing in predicting collective action. Please see Figure 5 for this revised model.

4.2.9.1 The effect of condition

Serial mediation analysis was conducted to test the indirect effects of inviter's race on willingness for collective action through inviter's psychological standing (step 1) and personal psychological standing (step 2). Inviter's race was introduced as the IV (0 = White, 1 = Black), inviter's psychological standing as the step 1 mediator, personal psychological standing as the step 2 mediator, IMS, EMS, counterbalancing and picture size as covariates and willingness for collective action as the DV, using 10,000 bootstrapping samples (Hayes, 2012, model 6). The sequential indirect effect from inviter race to willingness via inviter's psychological standing to personal psychological standing was significant, $b = -.52$, $boot SE = .09$, $95\% CI = [.36, .71]$.

4.2.9.2 The effect of IMS

When IMS was used as the IV instead of inviter's race (and controlling for the effect of inviter's race, EMS, counterbalancing and picture size), the sequential indirect effect via inviter's psychological standing to personal psychological standing was also significant, $b = .22$, $boot SE = .03$, $95\% CI = [.17, .30]$. After controlling for the

sequential path, there was also a significant indirect effect through personal standing alone, $b = .16$, $boot\ SE = .04$, $95\% \ CI = [.07, .24]$.

4.3 Discussion

Study 3 found that the Black inviter was perceived to have greater psychological standing compared to the White inviter. This greater psychological standing of the inviter predicted greater personal psychological standing, which then predicted greater willingness to participate in collective action for racial justice. Contrary to the prediction that the effect of inviter race on collective action will be moderated by IMS (as found in Study 2), Study 3 found that inviter' race and IMS were both independent predictors of collective action. Specifically, regardless of condition, IMS predicted greater perceptions of inviter standing, which in turn predicted greater personal standing that then predicted greater willingness for collective action.

In addition, Study 3 found that there was a main effect of being invited to participate in a protest, such that being invited (either by a Black or a White individual) predicted greater personal standing and greater willingness for collective action compared to not being invited (control condition). This effect was found among participants that saw the larger picture of the inviter, possibly suggesting that the salience of the inviter was important in increasing personal standing and willingness to participate in collective action.

Although Study 3 did not replicate the effect of inviter's race on willingness for collective action as a function of IMS, which was found in Study 2, the findings across both studies consistently show that the Black inviter is more effective than the White inviter in mobilizing Whites for collective action for racial justice.

CHAPTER 5

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The present research investigated how advantaged group members respond to invitations to protest injustice, and whom among the advantaged group are most likely to be mobilized. Specifically, the current research demonstrated how the race of the individual inviting others to participate in collective action for racial justice (i.e., Black or White inviter), and Whites' preexisting racial attitudes (i.e., motivation to respond without prejudice) shape Whites' willingness to engage in collective action for racial justice (i.e., a Black Lives Matter protest).

As reviewed earlier, past research suggested competing predictions about whether a Black or a White inviter would be more persuasive in promoting Whites' participation in collective action. This research provided initial evidence to resolve these competing predictions by showing that a Black inviter (compared to a White inviter) is more effective at mobilizing Whites for racial justice (Study 2 and 3). The Black inviter was perceived to have greater *standing* in inviting others for a racial justice protest, which in turn predicted Whites' *personal standing*, and subsequently, their willingness to engage in collective action for racial justice (Study 3). Thus, this research uncovered a process of conferred psychological standing to explain how the race of the inviter shapes Whites' willingness to participate in collective action for racial justice.

Additionally, across Studies 1 – 3, it was found that Whites' internal motivation to respond without prejudice (IMS) predicted greater willingness to participate in collective action. Further, positive emotions in response to the invitation to participate in a racial justice protest mediated the effect of IMS on willingness to participate in

collective action.

5.1 Psychological standing

The measures of psychological standing developed for this research predicted willingness for collective action beyond the initial measures that may imply standing (Study 3). Prior research on psychological standing measured emotions such as anger and confusion to imply standing, such that an individual who lacks standing will elicit greater anger and confusion from others (e.g., Miller & Effron, 2010; Ratner & Miller, 2001). However, we did not find that these emotions were shifted as a function of manipulating the race of the inviter (Study 2). We also included evaluations of the inviter that may imply psychological standing (i.e., expertise, trustworthiness, morality, selfishness), and we found that the Black inviter was perceived to have more expertise than the White inviter (Study 2 and 3). Additionally, it was found that expertise marginally mediated the effect of race on willingness for collective action (Study 2 and 3). However, this mediation effect was no longer significant after controlling for the effect of inviter's standing (Study 3). By contrast, inviter's standing significantly mediated the effect of race on willingness for collective action even after controlling for the effect of expertise (Study 3). Thus, the newly developed measures of psychological standing of the inviter appear to be a better measure to explain the effect of race on collective action intentions, beyond the measures of emotional reactions and evaluations of the inviter.

5.2 Emotional reactions toward the invitation

This research also examined Whites' emotional reactions toward an invitation to protest injustice (i.e., guilt, anxiety, sadness, anger and positive emotions). Across 3 studies, it was found that having a positive emotional reaction (i.e., excited, determined)

consistently predicted greater willingness to participate in collective action for racial justice. It was also found that high IMS predicted greater positive emotional reactions, which then predicted greater willingness for collective action.

Prior research on various emotions as predictors of political action for social change, has shown that emotions such as anger or moral outrage, towards injustice is particularly important in predicting advantaged group members willingness to engage in political behaviors on behalf of the disadvantaged group (Leach, Iyer, Pedersen, 2006; Thomas & McGarty, 2009). To my knowledge, the positive emotions in response to invitations to protest injustice documented in this research is a new finding that may add to the research on prosocial emotions motivating behaviors for social change (Thomas, McGarty & Mavor, 2009).

5.3 Inconsistencies between Studies 2 and 3

Study 2 found that a Black inviter (compared to a White inviter) predicted greater willingness to engage in collective action at high levels of internal motivation to respond without prejudice. Study 3 did not replicate this effect of inviter's race at high levels of IMS. Instead, Study 3 found that inviter's race and IMS had parallel effects on willingness for collective action. In addition, Study 3 found preliminary evidence of conferred psychological standing, a phenomenon whereby the Black inviter was perceived to have greater psychological standing on mobilizing others for racial justice, compared to the White inviter. This greater psychological standing of the Black inviter predicted participants' greater personal standing to participate in collective action, which then predicted willingness for collective action. This sequential mediation path was also significant when using IMS as a predictor, that is, IMS predicted greater inviter's

psychological standing, which predicted greater personal psychological standing that in turn predicted greater willingness to engage in collective action. It is important to note that these inconsistencies do not provide radically different conclusions. In particular, both studies suggest that IMS and inviter's race play critical roles in shaping Whites' attitudes toward participating in collective action for racial justice, which we believe warrants further exploration in future research. Also, both studies suggest that the Black inviter is more effective in mobilizing Whites for racial justice.

Although the studies presented in this thesis do not directly label the Black and White inviter as activists, it is likely that participants perceived these individuals to be activists of a racial justice movement. Thus, the studies may provide initial evidence of the downstream consequences of people's perceptions of activists from the advantaged or the disadvantaged group (i.e., White and Black racial justice activists). One possible future direction is to specifically examine how people perceive White and Black racial justice activists. Prior research has found that people typically have negative stereotypes of activists (Bashir, Lockwood, Chasteen, Nadolny & Noyes, 2013), however, these stereotypes might differ when considering the different group memberships of activists, and may suggest that allies and non-allies should have different roles in creating social change. I am currently developing studies to examine this question using a different methodological tool (i.e., thought-listing tasks), experimental paradigm (i.e., profiles of activists) and participant pool (i.e., college student sample) in order to examine this question.

5.4 Integrating various literatures

By integrating literatures from confronting prejudice, persuasion, and

psychological standing to examine advantaged group members' participation in collective action, the present research provides a novel framework for understanding the dynamics of inviting advantaged group members, who are potential allies in a movement for social change, to participate in collective action. In particular, these findings point to the importance of considering the group membership of the inviter in the context of recruiting advantaged group members for collective action to support interests of the disadvantaged, a previously unexplored area of research. By demonstrating the mechanism of *conferred standing*, the present work also extends the understanding of psychological standing, by showing that individuals who have a psychological stake in an issue can motivate action from others who lack such standing (Miller & Effron, 2010; Ratner & Miller, 2001; Ratner, Zhao, & Clarke, 2001). Moreover, this research provides a point of connection between prejudice and collective action literatures which have developed largely in isolation (Dixon, Levine, Reicher, & Durrheim, 2011; Wright & Lubensky, 2008), by showing that Whites' who are intrinsically motivated to be non-prejudiced are also motivated to participate in collective action for racial justice.

5.5 Limitations

In all three studies, IMS and EMS were always measured first (i.e., before the experimental manipulation of inviter's race and measures of the mediators and DV). Thus, it is unclear whether getting participants to consider their own motivations for being non-prejudiced was necessary to produce the effects of inviter's race on willingness for collective action. It is possible that people who were high in IMS were motivated to be consistent with their egalitarian standards when asked to later report on their willingness to participate in a racial justice protest. Research has shown that people tend

to be motivated to seek consistency in their beliefs and attitudes (self-consistency theory; Higgins, 1987; Lecky, 1945; Festinger, 1962). Thus, future studies in this line of research should counterbalance the order of IMS and EMS (i.e., appearing at the beginning of the study and at the end of the study) or conduct a two-step process whereby all participants respond to measures of IMS and EMS first and then return at a later to respond to the stimulus materials and outcome measures.

Another limitation is the high correlation between the measures of personal psychological standing and willingness for collective action ($r = .80$). These constructs may be referring to a general attitude towards engaging in a protest for racial justice, whereby being willing to participate in collective action implies that people feel they have personal psychological standing. Nevertheless, for our purposes of investigating how people respond to a Black or a White inviter, it is important to note that there is evidence of significant mediation through inviter's psychological standing alone, even without personal psychological standing added to the model. Specially, in Study 3, there was a significant indirect effect from inviter's race to willingness for collective action through inviter's psychological standing. This finding demonstrates that inviter's psychological standing plays the key role in linking inviter's race to willingness to engage in collective action, whether or not personal psychological standing is taken into account.

5.6 Directions for future research

The present research demonstrates that Whites are perceived to have lesser standing to invite other Whites to participate in a racial justice protest. This finding invites further question about the role and importance of White allies in recruiting other

Whites for the struggle against racial injustice. White anti-racist activists often have the goal of drawing in other Whites to support racial justice. Qualitative research suggests that White anti-racist activists act as positive role models to other White allies who are struggling to find their place or role in racial justice efforts (Helms, 1997; O'Brien, 2001; Reason, Millar & Scales, 2005). Also, forming a community of White allies who are committed to racial justice is key to sustaining long-term actions supporting racial justice (Case, 2012). One possibility is that White allies may be particularly useful in educating other Whites about their privileged status within a social movement for racial justice, such as by suggesting that Whites play supportive roles rather than leadership roles in order to avoid reproducing the dynamics of inequality. Confronting the privileged status of Whites may be construed as group criticism, in which case Whites would be more likely to be influential in educating other Whites about White privilege, while Blacks may elicit defensiveness (intergroup sensitivity effect, Hornsey, Oppes, Svensson, 2002; Hornsey & Esposito, 2009). Thus, future research should empirically investigate how allies from the advantaged group are perceived, especially in regards to the psychological standing that allies have to engage in various efforts to support social change.

Table 1

Intercorrelations, means and standard deviations of all variables in Study 1

	<i>M (SD)</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. IMS	7.02 (1.87)	1							
2. EMS	4.14 (1.98)	-.24***	1						
3. Guilt	2.31 (1.58)	.05	.19**	1					
4. Anxiety	3.30 (1.92)	.17**	.08	.58***	1				
5. Sadness	2.01 (1.53)	-.03	.14*	.37***	.40***	1			
6. Anger	2.58 (1.92)	-.21***	.08	.19**	.23***	.57***	1		
7. Positive emotions	3.84 (2.18)	.32***	-.04	.22***	.19**	.09	-.17**	1	
8. Willingness for collective action	3.17 (2.57)	.29***	-.13*	.18**	.15*	.00	-.19**	.67***	1

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

Table 2a

Intercorrelations, means and standard deviations of primary variables in Study 2

	<i>M (SD)</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. IMS	6.96 (1.80)	1							
2. EMS	4.29 (2.25)	-.26***	1						
3. Guilt	2.36 (1.65)	-.05	.22**	1					
4. Anxiety	3.23 (1.80)	.003	.23***	.59***	1				
5. Sadness	2.33 (1.55)	-.04	.16*	.45***	.53***	1			
6. Anger	2.75 (1.99)	-.26***	.13 [†]	.21**	.34***	.55***	1		
7. Positive emotions	4.29 (2.00)	.22**	-.04	.23**	.30***	.27***	.15*	1	
8. Willingness for collective action	3.15 (2.48)	.31***	-.10	.30***	.25***	.22**	.00	.54***	1

Note: [†] $p < .06$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 2b

Intercorrelations, means and standard deviations of additional variables (moderators) in Study 2

	<i>M (SD)</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. IMS	6.96 (1.80)	1									
2. EMS	4.29 (2.25)	-.26***	1								
3. Perceived White advantage	6.13 (1.96)	.41***	<.01	1							
4. Perceived minority discrimination	5.88 (2.09)	.26***	.18**	.60***	1						
5. Familiarity of BLM	6.35 (2.21)	-.06	-.08	-.03	.00	1					
6. Support for BLM	4.58 (2.62)	-.36***	-.07	.43***	.51***	.08	1				
7. Participation in BLM	1.95 (1.80)	.05	.03	.10	.23**	.11	.49***	1			
8. Liberalism	5.71 (2.35)	.26***	-.02	.45***	.47***	.10	.47***	.22**	1		
9. Explicit Stereotype Threat	4.88 (1.97)	.011	.43***	-.02	.29***	.08	.09	.21**	.07	1	
9. Willingness for collective action	3.15 (2.48)	.31***	-.10	.31***	.42***	-.05	.58***	.57***	.37***	.15*	1

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

Table 2c

Intercorrelations, means and standard deviations of additional variables (mediators) in Study 2

	<i>M (SD)</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. IMS	6.96 (1.80)	1						
2. EMS	4.29 (2.25)	-.26***	1					
3. Sense of belonging	4.26 (1.94)	.39***	-.22**	1				
4. Negative perception of Whites	4.90 (2.10)	-.36***	.19**	-.73***	1			
5. Expectation of different roles	5.54 (1.88)	-.30***	.16*	-.76***	.66***	1		
6. Awareness of White privilege	5.29 (1.41)	.24***	.14*	.13 [†]	-.21**	.04	1	
7. Common group representation	4.62 (2.44)	.28***	-.10	.68***	-.62***	-.76***	.09	1
8. Dual group representation	5.56 (2.41)	-.30***	.18**	-.69***	.64***	.78***	-.04	-.90***
9. Willingness for collective action	3.15 (2.48)	.31***	-.10	.68***	-.46***	-.48***	.22**	.46***

Note: [†] $p < .06$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 3a
Intercorrelations, means and standard deviations of primary variables in Study 3

	<i>M (SD)</i>	1	2	3	4	5
1. IMS	7.03 (1.80)	1				
2. EMS	4.42 (2.05)	-.20***	1			
3. Inviter's standing	6.20 (1.76)	.43***	-.14**	1		
4. Personal standing	3.68 (1.94)	.33***	-.04	.54***	1	
5. Willingness for collective action	2.87 (2.42)	.31***	-.06	.43***	.80***	1

Note: Participants in the control condition did not respond to personal standing items thus the correlation between personal standing and the other variables are based on those in the experimental conditions. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 3b
Intercorrelations, means and standard deviations of additional variables in Study 3

	<i>M (SD)</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. IMS	7.03 (1.80)	1								
2. EMS	4.29 (2.05)	-.20***	1							
3. Guilt	2.31 (1.55)	.03	.18***	1						
4. Anxiety	3.50 (1.86)	.09*	.11*	.56***	1					
5. Sadness	2.34 (1.54)	-.12*	.15**	.48***	.41***	1				
6. Anger	2.96 (2.24)	-.31***	.16***	.19***	.26***	.55***	1			
7. Positive emotions	4.22 (2.10)	.24***	-.05	.25***	.17***	.11*	-.10*	1		
8. Confused	2.96 (1.60)	-.27***	.22***	.34***	.38***	.43***	.59***	-.07	1	
9. Willingness for collective action	2.87 (2.42)	.31***	-.06	.19***	.06	.04	-.16**	.58***	-.21***	1

Table 3c
Intercorrelations, means and standard deviations of additional variables in Study 3

	<i>M (SD)</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. IMS	7.03 (1.80)	1						
2. EMS	4.42 (2.05)	-.20***	1					
3. Trustworthiness	6.24 (1.91)	.37**	-.08	1				
4. Expertise	5.22 (1.84)	.37***	-.03	.82***	1			
5. Morality	6.33 (2.11)	.39*****	-.07	.83***	.74***	1		
6. Selfishness	4.14 (2.17)	-.29***	.03	-.67***	-.61***	-.66***	1	
7. Willingness for collective action	2.87 (2.42)	.31***	-.06	.44***	.49***	.39***	-.39***	1

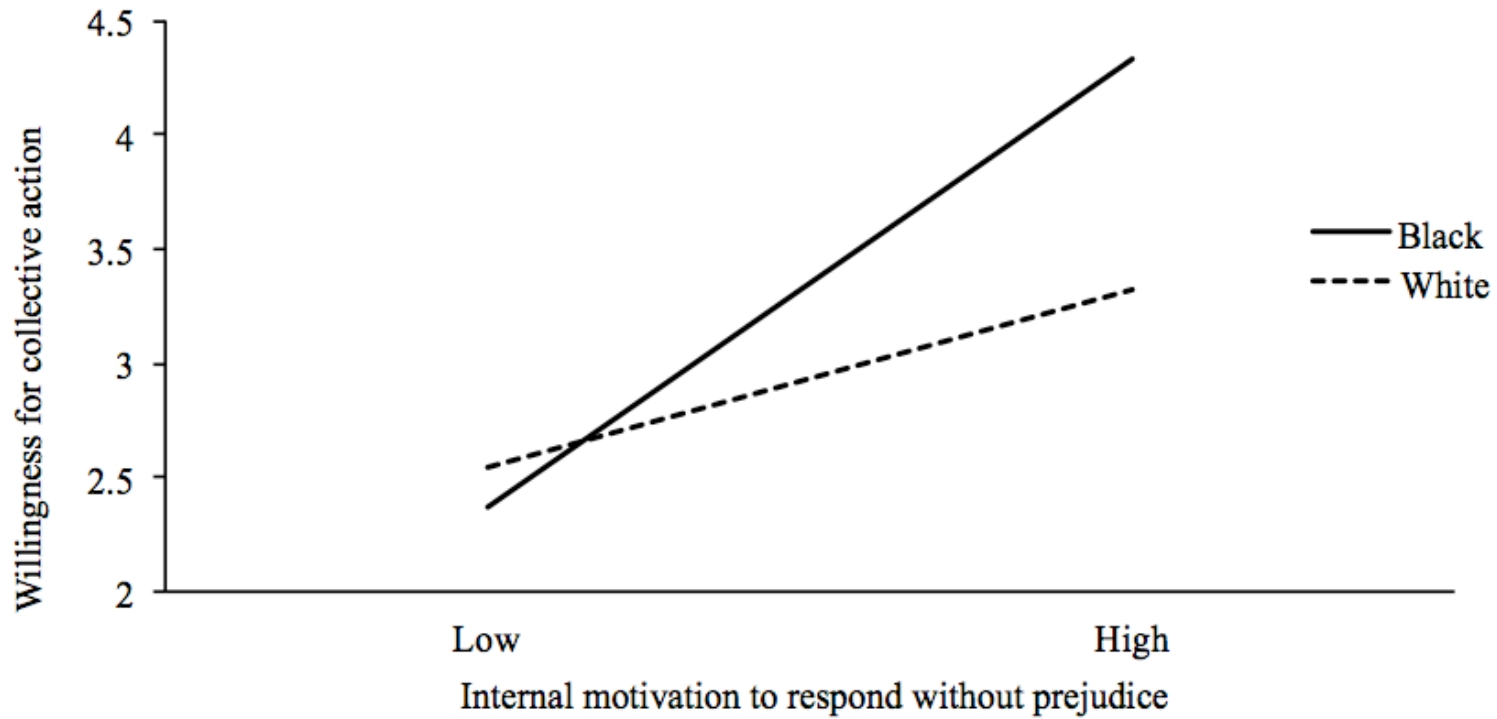


Figure 1. Effect of inviter's race on willingness for collective action as a function of internal motivation to respond without prejudice. High and low internal motivation to respond without prejudice is plotted one standard deviation above and below the mean.

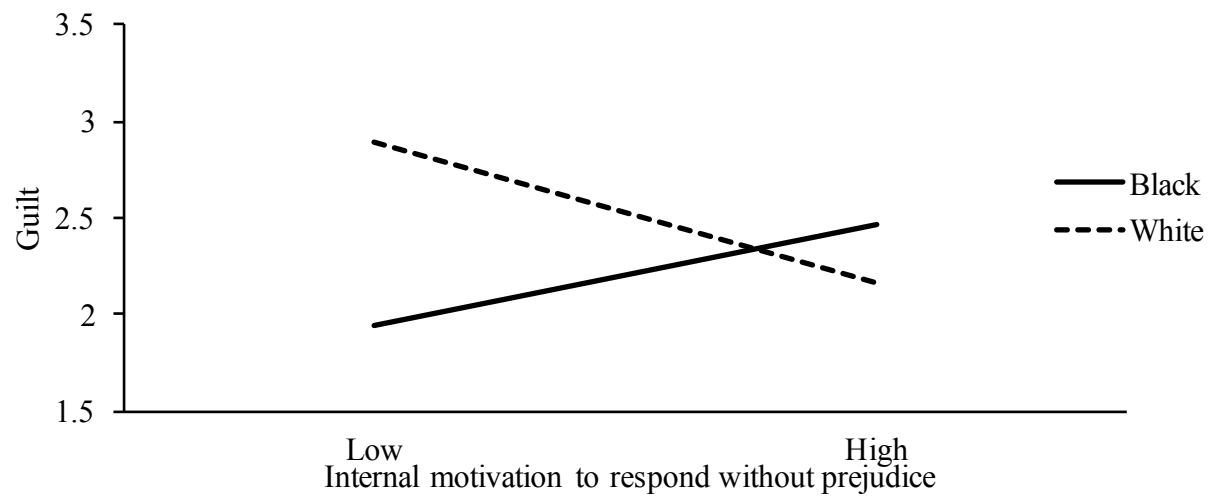


Figure 2. Effect of inviter's race on guilt as a function of internal motivation to respond without prejudice. High and low internal motivation to respond without prejudice is plotted one standard deviation above and below the mean.

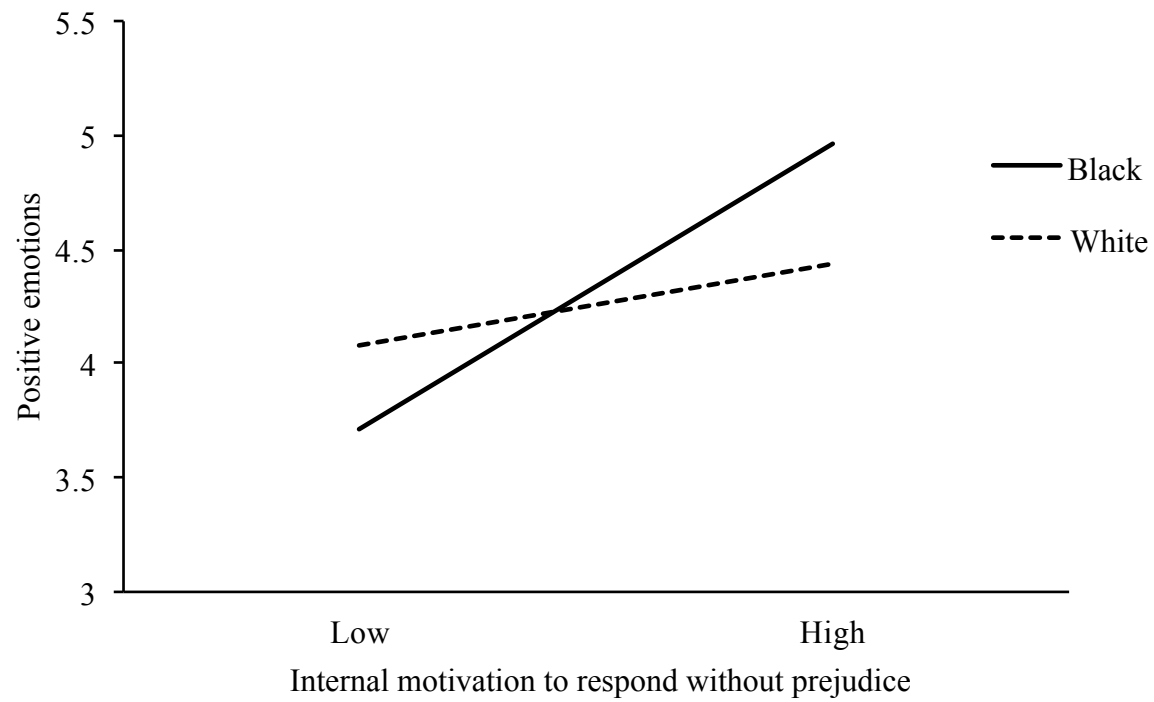


Figure 3. Effect of inviter's race on positive emotions as a function of internal motivation to respond without prejudice. High and low internal motivation to respond without prejudice is plotted one standard deviation above and below the mean.

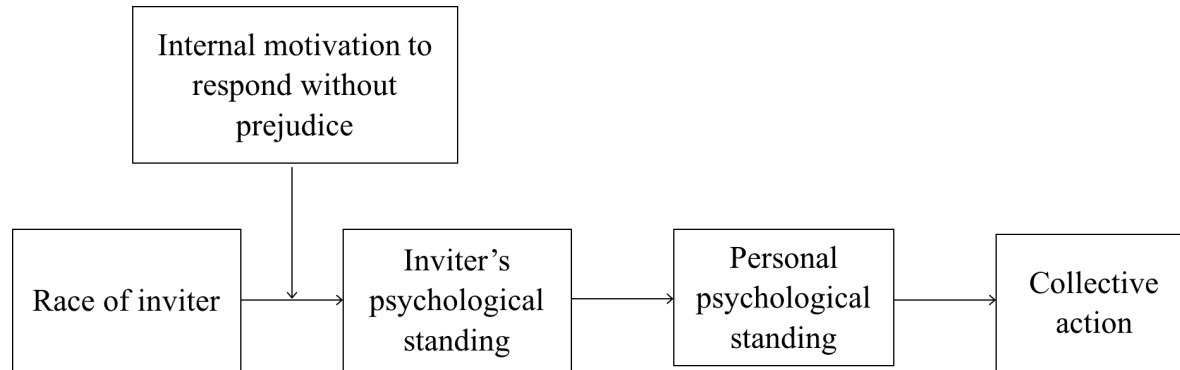


Figure 4. The proposed conceptual model for Study 3 depicting the moderated effects of inviter's race (Black vs. White) and IMS on collective action.

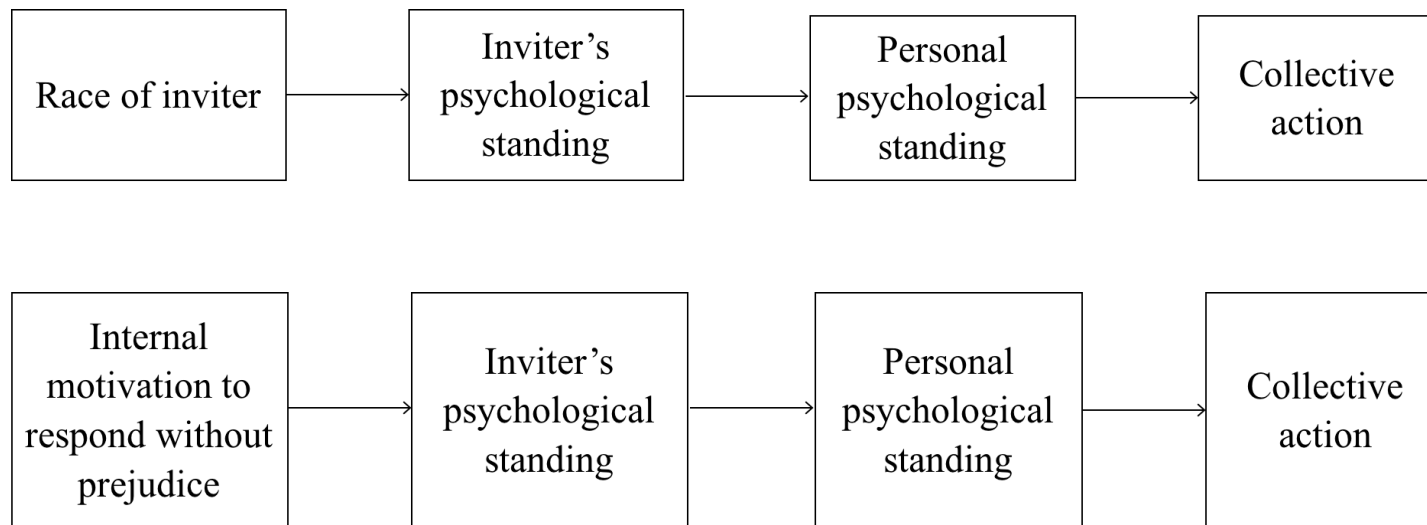


Figure 5. The conceptual model for Study 3 depicting the parallel effects of inviter's race (Black vs. White) and IMS on collective action.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

ADDITIONAL MEASURES INCLUDED IN STUDY 2.

Moderator variables.

The measures below were included before the manipulation of inviter's race and thus were potential moderators of the effect of inviter's race on willingness for collective action.

Perceived White advantage. Participants responded to the item “Do you think that Whites are advantaged or disadvantaged, compared to racial minorities in the United States?” on a bipolar scale anchored by 1 (*Whites are advantaged*) and 9 (*Racial minorities are advantaged*) adapted from Leach et al. (2006).

Perceived minority discrimination. Participants responded to the item “Do you think that racial minorities face discrimination in the United States?” on a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 9 (*very much so*).

Familiarity with the Black Lives Matter movement. Participants responded to a single item asking “How familiar are you with the Black Lives Matter movement?” on a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 9 (*extremely*).

Support for the Black Lives Matter movement. Participants responded to a single item asking “How much do you support the Black Lives Matter movement?” on a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 9 (*extremely*).

Participation in the Black Lives Matter movement. Participants responded to a single item asking “How often have you participated in the Black Lives Matter movement? (i.e., attend protests, share content on social media, signed petitions)”

on a scale from 1 (*never*) to 9 (*very often*).

Explicit stereotype threat scale. Participants responded to 5 items from Goff, Steele & Davies (2008) to measure Whites experience of stereotypes about Whites' racism (e.g., "I worry that something I say might be misinterpreted as prejudiced by other people.")

Liberalism. Participants are asked where they would place themselves on a scale of political views from 1 (*extremely conservative*) to 9 (*extremely liberal*).

Mediator variables.

The measures below were included after the manipulation of inviter's race and thus were potential mediators of the effect of inviter's race on willingness for collective action.

Sense of belonging. Participants are asked to imagine that the protest invitation they received was for a real event in their local community and respond to 30 items assessing participants' sense of belonging in the Black Lives Matter movement, adapted from Good, Rattan, & Sweck's (2012) Math Sense of Belonging Scale to be in the context of the BLM movement (e.g., "I feel that I belong in the BLM movement", "I trust that I do not have to constantly prove myself as an ally").

Negative meta-stereotype of Whites.

Participants are asked to imagine that the protest invitation they received was for a real event in their local community and are asked how they think Whites would be viewed at the protest, with 10 items adapted from Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell (1998) (e.g., "insensitive", "ignorant").

Expectation of different roles. Participants responded to 10 items developed for the study to assess expectations of roles for Whites and Blacks at the protest (e.g., “Only Blacks will have a leadership role in this protest.”, “Everyone at the protest will have the opportunity to lead chants”).

Awareness of White privilege. Participants responded to 8 items developed for the study to assess awareness of White privilege during collective action for racial justice (e.g., “Whites should be careful not to “take over” when they work with Blacks for racial justice.”, “Whites who are working for racial justice do not have privilege in society.”).

Common group representations. Participants responded to two items assessing common group representation during collective action adapted from Gaertner & Dovidio (2000): “Blacks and Whites would be treated the same in this protest” and “Blacks and Whites would be treated as part of one group in this protest”.

Dual group representations. Participants responded to two items assessing dual group representation during collective action adapted from Gaertner & Dovidio (2000): “Blacks and Whites would be treated differently in this protest” and “Blacks and Whites would be treated as part of two groups in this protest”.

APPENDIX B

RESULTS FOR ADDITIONAL MEASURES INCLUDED IN STUDY 2.

Moderator variables. Correlations among all additional variables that are potential moderators are in Table 2b.

Perceived White advantage. Perceived White advantaged did not moderate the effect of inviter's race on willingness for collective action, $b = .02$, $SE = .16$, $p = .89$.

Perceived minority discrimination. Perceived minority discrimination did not moderate the effect of inviter's race on willingness for collective action, $b < .01$, $SE = .15$, $p = .99$.

Familiarity with the Black Lives Matter movement. Familiarity with the Black Lives Matter movement did not moderate the effect of inviter's race on willingness for collective action, $b = -.14$, $SE = .15$, $p = .36$.

Support for the Black Lives Matter movement. Support for the Black Lives Matter movement did not moderate the effect of inviter's race on willingness for collective action, $b = .16$, $SE = .10$, $p = .13$.

Participation in the Black Lives Matter movement. Participation in the Black Lives Matter movement did not moderate the effect of inviter's race on willingness for collective action, $b = -.06$, $SE = .15$, $p = .68$.

Explicit Stereotype Threat Scale. Explicit stereotype threat scale did not moderate the effect of inviter's race on willingness for collective action, $b = -.07$, $SE = .17$, $p = .67$.

Liberalism. Liberalism did not moderate the effect of inviter's race on willingness for collective action, $b = -.04$, $SE = .13$, $p = .77$.

Mediator variables.

Correlations among all additional variables that are potential mediators are in Table 2c. Moderation analyses were conducted to explore whether any of the potential mediators are affected by the manipulation (i.e., inviter's race), and moderated by IMS.

Sense of belonging. There was no significant interaction between IMS and inviter's race in predicting sense of belonging, $F(1, 214) = .26$, $p = .61$.

Negative perception of Whites. There was no significant interaction between IMS and inviter's race in predicting sense of belonging, $F(1, 215) = 2.04$, $p = .16$. Simple slopes analyses revealed that IMS was inversely associated with negative perception of Whites when the inviter was White, $b = -.26$, $b_{SE} = .12$, $p = .03$ and when the inviter was Black, $b = -.48$, $b_{SE} = .10$, $p < .001$.

Expectation of different roles. There was no significant interaction between IMS and inviter's race in predicting expectations of different roles, $F(1, 215) = .83$, $p = .36$.

Awareness of White privilege. There was no significant interaction between IMS and inviter's race in predicting expectations of different roles, $F(1, 215) = .60$, $p = .44$.

Common group representation. There was a marginally significant interaction between IMS and inviter's race in predicting common group representation, $F(1, 215) = 2.84$, $p = .09$. Simple slopes analyses revealed that IMS did not

significantly predict common group representation when the inviter was White, $b = .19$, $b_{SE} = .14$, $p = .17$, but IMS significantly predicted higher common group representation when the inviter was Black, $b = .50$, $b_{SE} = .12$, $p < .001$.

Moderated mediation analyses were conducted to examine the extent to which common group representation mediated the effect of inviter's race on willingness for collective action as a function of IMS. Inviter's race was introduced as the IV, common group representation as the mediator, IMS as the moderator, EMS as the covariate, and willingness for collective action as the DV, to test moderation of both the direct and indirect paths (i.e., mediated through common group representation) from inviter's race to willingness for collective action (Hayes, 2012, model 8). Hayes' index of moderated mediation always included zero, indicating that there was no significant indirect effect of inviter's race on willingness for collective action through common group representation as a function of IMS, $b = .12$, $b_{SE} = .07$, $CI = [-.01, .29]$.

Dual group representation. There was not a significant interaction between IMS and inviter's race in predicting dual group representation, $F(1, 215) = 1.93$, $p = .17$. Simple slopes analyses revealed that IMS did not significantly predict dual group representation when the inviter was White, $b = -.21$, $b_{SE} = .14$, $p = .12$, but IMS significantly predicted lower dual group representation when the inviter was Black, $b = -.46$, $b_{SE} = .11$, $p < .001$.

Moderated mediation analyses were conducted to examine the extent to which dual group representation mediated the effect of inviter's race on willingness for collective action as a function of IMS. Inviter's race was


introduced as the IV, dual group representation as the mediator, IMS as the moderator, EMS as the covariate, and willingness for collective action as the DV, to test moderation of both the direct and indirect paths (i.e., mediated through dual group representation) from inviter's race to willingness for collective action (Hayes, 2012, model 8). Hayes' index of moderated mediation always included zero, indicating that there was no significant indirect effect of inviter's race on willingness for collective action through common group representation as a function of IMS, $b = .09$, $b_{SE} = .06$, $CI = [-.02, .22]$.

APPENDIX C

EXPERIMENTAL STIMULI

Below are the experimental stimuli used for Study 2 and Study 3 (Phase 1) for the White inviter and Black inviter conditions.

FEB 19 Black Lives Matter protest

Public · Hosted by  Katie Johnson

★ Interested + Going Invite ▾ ...


The Black Lives Matter movement is demanding criminal justice reform. All members of the community are invited for a local rally to affirm that Black Lives Matter. We aspire to create a climate that takes a stand against racial injustice.

Our demands include:

- Independent investigation into police misconduct
- Limit the use of police force on citizens
- Anti-racist training for police officers
- End to racial profiling
- Body cameras for police officers

P/S: The rally is expected to last for about an hour. The exact route will be disclosed shortly.

FEB 19 Black Lives Matter protest

Public · Hosted by  Tiara Williams

★ Interested + Going Invite ▾ ...

The Black Lives Matter movement is demanding criminal justice reform. All members of the community are invited for a local rally to affirm that Black Lives Matter. We aspire to create a climate that takes a stand against racial injustice.


Our demands include:

- Independent investigation into police misconduct
- Limit the use of police force on citizens
- Anti-racist training for police officers
- End to racial profiling
- Body cameras for police officers

P/S: The rally is expected to last for about an hour. The exact route will be disclosed shortly.

Below are the experimental stimuli used for Study 3 (Phase 2) for the White inviter and Black inviter conditions.

FEB 19 Black Lives Matter protest

Public · Hosted by 
Katie Johnson

★ Interested + Going 📧 Invite ▾ ⋮


The Black Lives Matter movement is demanding criminal justice reform. All members of the community are invited for a local rally to affirm that Black Lives Matter. We aspire to create a climate that takes a stand against racial injustice.

Our demands include:

- Independent investigation into police misconduct
- Limit the use of police force on citizens
- Anti-racist training for police officers
- End to racial profiling
- Body cameras for police officers

P/S: The rally is expected to last for about an hour. The exact route will be disclosed shortly.

FEB 19 Black Lives Matter protest

Public · Hosted by 
Tiara Williams

★ Interested + Going 📧 Invite ▾ ⋮

The Black Lives Matter movement is demanding criminal justice reform. All members of the community are invited for a local rally to affirm that Black Lives Matter. We aspire to create a climate that takes a stand against racial injustice.

Our demands include:

- Independent investigation into police misconduct
- Limit the use of police force on citizens
- Anti-racist training for police officers
- End to racial profiling
- Body cameras for police officers

P/S: The rally is expected to last for about an hour. The exact route will be disclosed shortly.

APPENDIX D

MEASURES DEVELOPED FOR STUDY 3.

Inviter's psychological standing

1. It is appropriate for Tiara/Katie to invite others to participate in this protest.
2. Tiara/Katie has a stake in racial justice issues.
3. Tiara/Katie has a moral obligation to invite others to protest racial injustice
4. Tiara/Katie has no business inviting others to participate in a protest for racial justice (reverse scored)
5. Tiara/Katie has the standing to invite others to protest racial injustice.
6. It is understandable that Tiara/Katie is inviting others to participate in a protest for racial justice.
7. Tiara/Katie should not be the one inviting others to participate in this protest. (reverse scored)
8. It is not Tiara/Katie's place to invite others to join a protest for racial justice. (reverse scored)

Scale: 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*)

Personal psychological standing

1. If you were invited by Tiara/Katie, how appropriate is it for you to participate in this protest?
2. If you were invited by Tiara/Katie, how comfortable do you feel about participating in this protest?

3. If you were invited by Tiara/Katie, to what extent do you now feel that you have a stake in racial justice issues?
4. If you were invited by Tiara/Katie, to what extent do you now feel like you can't say no to this invitation?
5. If you were invited by Tiara/Katie, to what extent do you now feel obligated to go for this protest?
6. If you were invited by Tiara/Katie, to what extent do you now feel that you have a place in this protest?
7. If you were invited by Tiara/Katie, to what extent do you now feel that you should participate in this protest?
8. If you were invited by Tiara/Katie, to what extent do you feel that it does not make sense for you to participate in this protest. (reverse scored)

Scale: 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*)

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