Senior Independent Study Theses

2016

When Do Black Lives Matter?: An Experimental Analysis of White American Support for Black Social Movements

Latrice M. Burks
The College of Wooster, lburks16@wooster.edu

Follow this and additional works at: https://openworks.wooster.edu/independentstudy

WHEN DO BLACK LIVES MATTER?: AN EXPERIMENTAL
ANALYSIS OF WHITE AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR BLACK
SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

By Latrice Marcella Burks

An Independent Study Thesis
Submitted to the Department of Political Science
At The College of Wooster
March, 2016
In partial fulfillment of the requirements of I.S. Thesis

Advisor: Michele Leiby
Second Reader: Eric Moskowitz

Abstract

The #BlackLivesMatter Movement has caught the media's eye as it addresses racism in our criminal justice system. However, there seems to be a racial divide in support for this race-based movement, namely, black Americans tend to be supportive of the cause, and white Americans appear to be less so. Previous literature suggests that an emotional reaction to injustice, specifically moral shock, may trigger cross-racial support for race-based movements. In addition, racial attitudes can also be influential on cross-racial social movement support. This experimental analysis explores under what conditions white Americans will support a black social movement, one that does not directly affect their livelihood. Using survey data from over 300 white Americans across the country, this analysis finds that exposure to racial injustice increases a white American's likelihood of supporting a black social movement. This study also finds that white Americans are more likely to support a black movement outside of the U.S. Furthermore, this study reveals that white Americans are less likely to perceive black people with ethnic names as victims in instances of racial injustice.

Acknowledgements

This independent study (I.S.) was written in loving memory of my parents, Lawrence and Patrice Burks, who I lost as an undergraduate here at the College of Wooster. My parents taught me that hard work and dedication would carry me far in life. Thank you, mom and dad. I will continue to try to make your spirits proud. I will always be a Burks. I will always be your daughter. I will always love you. May you both rest in eternal peace.

I would like to thank my academic mother, I.S. advisor, and mentor Professor Michele Leiby, who raised me to be the scholar who I am today. Thank you, Professor Leiby, for taking an interest in my success the fall semester of my first year when I took your Introduction to Comparative Politics course. Thank you for allowing me to serve as your research assistant and TA. Because you saw yourself in me, I had the opportunity to fly on an airplane for the first time in my life and travel outside of the United States when you and I went on our trip to conduct research in Lima, Peru. Thank you for teaching me that family can be more than the people who we are linked to by blood. Thank you for giving me advice and listening to me in my times of struggle. Thank you for letting me cry when I needed to. Thank you demonstrating that growing up in a poor family is not a death sentence. Thank you for everything you have done for me in my four years at the College of Wooster. I hope to impact someone's life as much as you have impacted mine.

I would like to thank the other Political Science professors (Professor Bos, Professor Kille, Professor Krain, Professor Lantis, Professor Moskowitz, Professor N'Diaye, Professor Van Doorn, and Professor Weaver) for their support not only as a Political Science student, but also as the President of the Political Science Club here at

the College of Wooster. I would like to thank Natalie McCoy who has symbolically adopted me to be her niece. God bless you, Nat for everything that you do for the Political Science Department. I appreciate all of your help in planning events for the Political Science Club. Thank you my big brother, Political Science Research Librarian, Stephen Flynn. Thank you, Stephen for all of your support with over the last couple of years. From editing the abstract for my Black and Gold article, to giving me a ride to the airport when I went to LA for the interview with Munger Tolles and Olson, you have been one of my strongest advocates on campus. I will miss having catching up with you over lunch.

Further, I would like to thank my big sister and friend, Lynette Mattson in the Writing Center. Thank you for working with me on a weekly basis to edit my I.S. More importantly, thank you for doing everything you could to help me succeed here at the College of Wooster. When I told you that my mother passed away, you not only gave your condolences, but you also encouraged me to forge ahead. I will never forget what you said to me, "You will thrive here". I will always remember those words. Thank you for allowing me to keep my personal belongings in your basement. Thank you for hosting me over winter break. Thank you for introducing me to your husband Matt Long (who will also be thanked shortly). You will be a great dean one day, big sis. I love you, Lynette.

I would also like to thank the Dean's Office here at the College of Wooster. Dean Laditka, thank you very much for taking me in after my mother passed away. You are the reason why the adversity that I faced did not interfere with my academic success. Thank you so much for making time to have lunch with me to check in. To Dean Kreuzman

thank you very much for your mentorship over the last couple of years. You made the law school application process bearable. Thank you for making the time to meet with me in times of despair. Thank you for believing in me, Dean Kreuzman. To Dean Buxton, thank you for all of your support and encouragement. Thank you for being as excited as I am about being law school and the Munger Tolles and Olson fellowship.

Further, I would like to thank my academic nanas Dr. Josephine Wright and Dr. Yvonne Williams whom I aspire to be. Dr. Josephine Wright, thank you so much for sparking my passion for social justice in Racism 101. Your course changed my life. Thank you for introducing me to attorney Edward Gilbert after my father passed away. Thank you for providing feedback on my article that I submitted to the College of Wooster's Black and Gold Student Research Journal. Thank you for everything that you do for black students here at the College of Wooster. We all appreciate and love you. Dr. Yvonne Williams, God bless you for symbolically adopting me. I have been safe under your wing since sophomore year. Thank you for hosting me for holidays and breaks when I had nowhere else to go. You are one of the few people who opened their home to me after my parents passed away. I will miss going to church and breakfast with you Sunday mornings. I love you, Dr. Williams.

To Matt, Cathy, and Greg Long, thank you all so much for your support throughout the years. Matt, God bless you for helping me handle my mother's estate after she passed out of the kindness of your heart. You made a difficult time a lot less difficult. You are extremely charismatic, and I expect great things from you in the future. I hope you run for political office one day. Thank you Cathy and Greg for being so kind to me.

Thank you taking me out to dinner on my birthday. Greg, I will miss talking about the Walking Dead with you. Cathy and Greg, I truly enjoy your company.

To Richard Bell and Toni Clark, thank you both for hosting me last summer as I interned for Senator Brown in D.C. You both have hearts of gold. Thank you for linking me to Becky Wheeler. By doing this, you gave me the time and space to grieve the loss of my parents and practice self-care. Richard, you and I are a lot alike, and I look up to you. I plan to follow your footsteps and serve on the Board of Trustees one day. Toni, you are a rockstar. Thank you for everything you have done and continue to do to make this world a better place. You are the ultimate public servant, and I plan to follow in your footsteps as well. You both inspire me, and I am so grateful to have you both in my life. I love you, Richard and Toni.

To my mentors and friends Chris and Jim Ruma-Cullen. Chris, you have been so good to me ever since high school. You helped me realize that I am a good person who is strong and resilient. Thank you so much for sending me treats in the mail in undergrad. Jim, thank you for getting me out of that sticky situation with the crocked car dealer out of the kindness of your heart. You are an excellent attorney, and I inspire to be like you. I love you, Chris and Jim.

To my NAA family, specifically Joe, Asia, Jason, Dylan, Maudisa, Arenne, Keily, Deisha, Phil, and anyone whom I may have missed, thank you for everything you all do to make this world a better place for people of color. Thank you for giving me the space to pursue my activism. I love you all.

I would like to thank the Henry J. Copeland Fund. Lastly, I would like to thank all of my friends and family whom I did not name, you know how you are and I love you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Introduction

Black Americans are statistically more likely than white Americans to report having a negative interaction with the police (Weitzer and Tuch 2004, 316). With the increase in media coverage of police brutality cases, many of which end with a black person dying at the hands of a white police officer, people across the country are beginning to discuss racism in the criminal justice system. As a native from Cleveland, Ohio, I was personally hurt when 12-year-old Tamir Rice had been shot and killed by a white police officer in a local park. I was angry that our society would allow this to happen to a child, specifically a black child who could have easily been my brother or nephew. The death of Tamir Rice, which happened after Trayvon Martin and Michael Brown were also killed, demonstrated that the lives of black Americans, specifically the lives of black males, are frequently at risk. I channeled my anger with the criminal justice system into activism, and I joined The Children's Defense Funds' New Abolitionists Association (NAA) in Cleveland, Ohio.

To me, joining this organization and engaging in protests and rallies made sense. Most of my black family members and friends were not motivated to join, but they understood that there is a racial disparity in the criminal justice system, and supported my decision. The reactions from my white friends and acquaintances were mixed. Most of them acknowledged that there is a societal problem that needs to be addressed, but they did not get involved besides the occasional post on Facebook. Others ignored the issue entirely, and when I did bring up race, they were quick to change the subject.

This was confusing to me. We have white members in NAA who joined the activist group for the same reasons that I did. Evidently, some white people were willing

to participate in activist work centered on the rights of black people, even though they themselves are not black. I began to wonder what are the key differences between white people who just do not care about racial injustice, my "slacktivist" white friends who are satisfied with posting on Facebook, and my white brothers and sisters in NAA who risk going to jail and being physically assaulted for a movement that does not directly affect them? I decided to write my senior thesis to explore these questions.

My specific research question is: under what conditions will white Americans support black social movements? Based on the literature that will be outlined in the next chapter, I have formed three hypotheses. First, white Americans will react emotionally when they witness racial injustice, and this response will affect their decision to support a black social movement. I further hypothesize that the name of the black person subjected to the racial injustice will have an effect on white American support for a black social movement. Lastly, I hypothesize that the location where the racial injustice takes place will affect white American support for black social movement.

I begin this study with Chapter 1, a review of the literature on social movement support, and present my theoretical argument and specific hypotheses. In Chapter 2, I will discuss the specific methodology that I used to test these hypotheses. I will then discuss the results of the tests, and their implications in Chapter 3. Finally, in Chapter 4, I will conclude by discussing the strengths and weaknesses of my study. Also in this chapter, I will outline the ways social movement organizations that focus on black rights can more effectively gain white American support. Finally, I identify areas for future research.

Chapter 1: Review of Literature

Scholars have attempted to understand the dynamics of social movements as early as the mid 1800s and have since changed their conceptualization and operationalization of social movements in attempt to better explain their features, features that previous theories and discussion did not comprehensively address.[1] The literature on the social movements support is plentiful, and usually falls within three theoretical camps: grievances, movement characteristics, and identity.

Grievance literature is the oldest and most contested of the theoretical camps that scholars use to explain why people support a social movement. In attempt to fill the gaps that the grievance literature leaves, scholars shifted their focus to movement characteristic theories. These theories, however, only indirectly explain why an individual chooses to join a social movement or not, and still leaves gaps in its explanation. Identity, the newest of the camps, is now the theoretical approach that scholars use to explain social movement support.

Grievances

Some scholars focus on the ability of a participant in a social movement to alter social structures when conceptualizing grievances. Among these scholars is Erica Simmons, who defines grievances as the conditions that social movement participants are working to change (Simmons 2014, 515). This definition places the movement participants at the frontline to better their lives. Other scholars take a different approach in conceptualizing grievances and focus on their emotional implications. These scholars believe that grievances are troublesome conditions that generate negative feelings such as

---

[1] According to a keyword search at jstor.org, the oldest article on social movements was published in July of 1834.
[2] Initially, I was interested in desensitization from repeated, over-time exposure to stories but I ultimately

dissatisfaction, fear, outrage, and resentment (Klandermans 1997, 38; Snow 2013). Scholars in this pool portray social movement participants not as exceptional individuals taking charge of their destiny, but rather ordinary people with feelings. Similar to the conceptualization of grievances, there are also two main theories that scholars have relied on in their discussion of social movement participation: the relative deprivation theory and the social justice theory.

Scholars note that grievances related to economic disparities affect social movement participation and support. For example, Helen Safa specifically looked at Latin American women's participation in overthrowing militant governments. She argues that the rise in cost of living created grievances for Latin American women living in poverty (Safa 1990, 355). These women were concerned about feeding their families, thus they were enticed to join social movements to overthrow their oppressive governments (Safa 1990, 355).

Safa's argument indicates that regime type may play a role in the types of grievances a group of citizens may have. Her argument indicates that people living under military regimes may have more severe grievances than those living under a democracy. She notes that another grievance area for Latin American mothers was related to the military regimes devaluing of their children's lives who were subject to being killed or imprisoned for political reasons (such as their membership in the opposition political party) under a military regime (Safa 1990, 355). If Safa is correct, we can expect grievances that are rooted in lack of economic resources to provide for one's family and oppressive regimes to lead to social movement participation and support.

The Relative Deprivation Theory

Some scholars, unlike Safa who focuses only on social movement support in military regimes, seek to explain social movement participation across all regimes and times, and design theories that are generalizable. One of these theories is the relative deprivation (RD) theory, which argues that a person perceives that they have been subject to injustice and feels deprived when they compare their social and economic situations to that of another person and or social standards, thus concluding that they do not have what they actually deserve and collective action is needed (Gurr 2011, 24; Klandermans 1997, 202; Stekelenburg, Roggeband, and Klandermans 2013, 5). The RD theory critiques those scholars who focus on regime type (or other forms of *absolute* grievances). Scholars in this pool believe that a person's lived experience, regardless of the regime type, compares to what he or she thinks he or she *should* have, and what his or her life *should* be like is the necessary point of focus for social movement support and participation analysis.

For example, the RD theory takes in account the effect economic growth has on a person's decision to join or support a movement. Individuals who live in poverty may not automatically organize in opposition, however, when the economy is booming and national wealth is accumulating, the poor will be more likely to revolt if their circumstances do not change in accordance with the improvements in the national economy. In other words, as the gap between one's expectations and one's lived experience widens, people will be more likely to mobilize in opposition.

This basic economically driven understanding of the RD theory is common among RD theorists. Klandermans (1997), Smelser (2011), and Gurr (2011) are just a few examples of the scholars who solely focus on the economic components of the RD theory to explain social movement support, specifically participation. Other scholars, however, argue that focusing on the economic components of the RD theory ignores social factors that could lead to perceived injustice and feelings of deprivation, such as identity. Laraña et al. (1994) argue that solely focusing on economic grievances is not appropriate for studying new social movements that are concerned with cultural and symbolic issues, thus the traditional understandings of grievances needs to be revisited to emphasize identity and non-material or class-based struggles (Laraña, Johnston, and Gusfield 1994, 7, 22–23). Laraña et al. contribute to the RD theory literature as they explain that social movement mobilization and support are not just solely related to economic disparities in society.

There is also contention in who the important actors are that perceive socioeconomic disparities. Early discussions of the RD theory focus on the individual as the most important actor. A person evaluates their *individual* circumstances and comes to the conclusion that there is a significant gap between what they have and what society says they should have, and consequently decide to support, specifically participate, in a social movement that aims to address their individual needs (Gurr 2011; Klandermans 1997; Olson, Herman, and Zanna 1986; Smelser 2011). Some scholars build off this approach. These scholars take the RD theory beyond its *individual* focus, and argue that deprivation can be group based. Collective or group deprivation occurs when an individual evaluates their position in society and concludes that their membership in a

specific group is the basis of their isolation in society, and as a result, decides to

participate in a social movement (Kelly and Breinlinger 1996, 105; Major 1994). Some

scholars argue that groups are the important actors, and group deprivation is more likely

to lead to collective action compared to individual deprivation because more people are

affected by the perceived disparity (Kelly and Breinlinger 1996, Major 1994). Some

scholars build off the group deprivation concept, and argue neither individual deprivation

nor collective deprivation *alone* is enough by itself to cause collective action. Foster and

Matheson (1995) conducted a study to determine which type of deprivation (individual or

collective) can best explain why female college students decide to participate in

collective action. They find that double relative deprivation, which they conceptualize as

the interaction of both individual deprivation and collective deprivation, explains why

female college students participate in collective action more so than individual or

collective deprivation alone (Foster and Matheson 1995, 21). Despite variations in

approach and minor amendments in theoretical models, the grievances literature at its

core argues that individuals will participate in or support social movements when there

exist objective or perceived grievances (such as low standard of living, suppression of

one's political freedoms, etc.) in society. The grievance literature explains why a white

American might join a social movement to address their grievances with their *own*

situation, but it contributes nothing to explain why a white American might support a

social movement that focuses on racial injustice against African Americans.

Movement Characteristics

Scholars have looked to movement characteristics to fill the gaps that grievances

and the RD theory leave in explaining why people decide to join a social movement.

Unlike the grievance camp, this camp focuses on external dynamics that are not within a participant's control when deciding whether to join a social movement. The resource mobilization theory is the most popular theory in this camp of literature. The next section of this literature review will outline this theory.

Resource Mobilization Theory

The resource mobilization (RM) theory is the product of scholars' critique of the RD theory that focuses on grievances derived from perceived deprivation. The RM theory generally focuses on when a social movement emerges. It is has no *direct* connection to social movement support. However, it considers important factors such as tactics and goals of a social movement that are relevant to gaining support for a movement. In this regard, the RM theory fills in some of the gaps that the RD theory leaves in its discussions. That being said, scholars debate about which specific phenomena the RM theory can actually explain.

There are five basic principles of the RM theory: 1) social movement participants are rational, 2) the goals of a social movement stem from disparities in institutionalized power dynamics, 3) these disparities cause grievances that generate mobilization centered on the redistribution of resources (social and political), 4) organized social movements are more likely to obtain resources and ultimately achieve their goals, and 5) social movement success is influenced by strategy and political climate (Flynn 2011, 112; Jenkins 1983, 528). In other words, the RM theory argues that social movements emerge when people negatively affected by the systematic power divisions mobilize to gain social and political power. As noted, scholars who accept the RM theory do not ignore

grievances entirely, but rather they just contribute to the grievance literature by emphasizing the importance of organization and resources obtainability.

Tactics

If the RM theory is correct, and social movement participants are rational actors, then we can expect them to strategically choose tactics that will allow them to gain support (the specific area of focus for this study), and support for their movement will then help them achieve their goals. One of the most debated questions in this camp of social movement literature is whether the use of nonviolent tactics is essential to social movement support. Scholars like Stephen Zunes argue yes, nonviolent tactics affect social movement support, specifically cross-racial support for a race-based movement. He explains that black South African antiapartheid activists boycotted red meat, laid down in front of bulldozers that threatened to destroy black settlements, and participated in hunger strikes while in jail (Zunes 1999, 154). Nonviolent tactics like these were effective because over time the nonviolent struggle not only gained white support internationally, but also the white South African population became less threatened by the black majority, and less enticed to use violence to retaliate (Zunes 1999, 145 & 163).

The nonviolent argument applies to gender-based social movements as well. Laurel Weldon, like Zunes, conducts an observational study; however, she does not focus on a black social movement, but rather a women's movement addressing violence against women. She argues that because the female participants used nonviolent tactics, not only did they gain support from their male allies, but they were not framed as a threat in public opinion (Weldon 2002, 62). In other words, if the male allies felt targeted by the female participants, they would be less likely to support the women's rights movement. If

Weldon and Zunes are correct, then using nonviolent tactics can be important to gain cross-racial support.

Individual Attitudes/Identity

Recently, scholars have developed a third theoretical camp to explain social movement support. These scholars shift their focus away from the traditional explanations mentioned above and toward individual aspects such as identity. Personal relationships, education, class, and emotional reactions to events are factors in this camp that scholars have identified as influential factors for social movement support. Although this theoretical approach contributes to the arguments presented in the RD and RM theories, it still neglects to address the roles racial attitudes and negative racial perceptions play in conjuring cross-racial support for a race-based social movement.

Collective Identity Theory

The main premise behind the collective identity (CI) theory is that economics, specifically the pursuit of power and resources, cannot always explain social movement participation because social movement participants, specifically in recent years, are not always seeking access to resources, but rather seek identity recognition (Polletta 2001, 286). Collective identity as a process, a shared definition triggered by several interactive individuals who are concerned with three things: the orientations of their action, their opportunities, and the constraints that their actions are confined to (Klandermans and de Weerd 2000, 69; Melucci, Keane, and Mier 1989, 34).

Melucci's conceptualization of collective identity does not discuss the free-rider problem, the tendency for people within a collective identity to not participate in a social movement yet benefit from the advantages that follow the movement. Under the CI

theory, there are two models used to explain why people participate in a movement even though they are uncertain on whether or not their contributions will make a difference: the loyalty model and the self-interests model. The loyalty model argues that a person will choose to participate in a social movement when three conditions are met: (1) they belong to the group sharing the collective identity, (2) their personal lives are interwoven within the group, meaning they have family or friends who are also a part of the collective identity, and (3) the fate of the group has a direct effect on their personal lives, thus participation is a cultural obligation, regardless of whether or not their contribution will have impact (Polletta 2001, 289). Under this model, a person does not become a free-rider because they feel obligated to participate in the social movement.

The self-interest model, unlike the loyalty model, does not concern cultural obligations. This model argues that some members of a collective identity choose to participate because they are concerned with the reputational consequence associated with not participating in a social movement (Bowler and Segura 2012, 147; Chong 1991; Polletta 2001, 290). The participating members of the collective identity will shame those who do not participate, thus making the incentive to become a free rider unappealing.

Social Networks

Social networks are an important resource for recruiting social movement participants. David Snow and Louis Zurcher, for example, conducted a study to identity the recruitment strategies that social movement organizations use. They find that social networks are the most commonly used mechanism for recruiting social movement participants. Specifically, in one of their data sets which included a sample of university

students, they found that 63% of all students recruited had preexisting relationships with at least one member of the social movement organization (Snow and Zurcher 1980, 792).

In his book *Freedom Summer*, Doug MacAdam also contributes to the social networks argument. MacAdam is one of the few social movement scholars who *explicitly* discussed white Americans' support and participation in the Civil Rights Movement, specifically the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer. MacAdam was able to collect data from over 500 out of the 1,000 Freedom Summer applicants, 382 of whom actually participated and 174 people who withdrew prior to the project, the majority of whom were young white Americans. MacAdam notes that white college students used their social networks with student organizations to jumpstart their involvement in the Civil Rights Movement. Specifically, the majority of the white applicants for Freedom Summer had personal connections with members of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the student organization that organized the Freedom Summer (MacAdam 1990, 23, 55). If Snow and Zurcher and MacAdam are correct, we can expect those white Americans who have personal relationships with black American activists to be more likely to support a black social movement.

Education

Education also plays a role in whether or not a person supports or joins a social movement. These young white Americans represented the educated American elite. McAdam notes that the majority of the students who applied for Freedom Summer came from the top 30 colleges and universities in the country including Harvard, Yale, Stanford, and Princeton (MacAdam 1990, 42). If MacAdam is correct, I can expect that educated white Americans are more likely to support a black social movement.

Socioeconomic Class

Socioeconomic class, as MacAdam agrees, also plays a role in white American support for black social movements. The white Freedom Summer participants were members of the middle and upper classes. Specifically, the median household income for Freedom Summer applicants was $8,417 (MacAdam 1990, 41). As MacAdam notes, the median household income for the applicants was almost twice as much as the national median income at the time, which was only $5,660 (MacAdam 1990, 41). MacAdam's findings contradict the economic argument of the RD theory. In this case, the middle and upper class white American youth had no economic grievances that the Civil Rights Movement aimed to address. In fact, the Civil Rights Movement was concerned with the economic and political grievances the black American population had. Yet, hundreds of young white American rich youth still decided to participate in the Freedom Summer, a specific project to address the needs of the black community. I can expect then that white Americans who are middle and upper class to be more likely to support a black social movement.

Moral Shock

Some scholars aimed to build off the arguments made by their peers such as MacAdam, who emphasizes social networks. These scholars contribute to the literature by exploring the conditions that may cause a person without the proper social connections to join a social movement. In his book *The Art of Moral Protest: Culture, Biography, and Creativity in Social Movements,"* James Jasper was the first scholar to tackle this question, and created the concept "moral shocks", which he defines as, "the first step toward recruitment into social movements: when an unexpected event or piece

of information [triggers] raises such a sense of outrage in a person that she becomes inclined toward political action, with or without the network of personal contacts" (Jasper 1997, 106). Jasper notes that the triggers can have a variety of characteristics. Specifically, they can be highly publicized events, sudden and unexpected, or they can even occur gradually over time (Jasper 1997, 106). Jasper further notes that although the triggers can take on any of these characteristics, they ultimately have the same specific function, namely, they aid a person in thinking about their specific values, and how society, in some way, diverges away from those values (Jasper 1997, 106). This may be the core difference between experiencing moral shock and experiencing sadness or anger. Moral shock, as Jasper notes, is directly followed by a personal evaluation of one's values.

From Jasper's arguments, I understand that moral shock does not always lead to social movement support and participation. He argues that for most people, moral shocks do not lead to social movement participation because people convince themselves that governmental entities and corporations do not respond well to citizen protest (Jasper 1997, 106). In other words, a person's negative views on the effectiveness of political action can defeat moral shock. A moral shock can lead to protest only if it has three dimensions to it: (1) an explicit cognitive dimension, (2) an emotional dimension, and (3) a moral dimension (Jasper 1997, 180).

Jasper also shines light on *who* creates moral shocks. Activists, he explains, "work hard to create moral outrage and anger" (Jasper 1997, 107). In other words, moral shocks are recruitment tools for social movement organizations. These organizations can use different methods to create moral shocks. Jasper highlights that social movement

organizations create moral shocks using their own rhetoric, conducting activity that outsides perceive as outrageous, or by using injustice frames or an interpretation of an event that leads a person to the conclusion that an authority system is violating their morals (Jasper 1997, 78 & 179).

Using a survey method, Jasper joins forces with Jane Poulsen and examines moral shocks in the Animal Rights Movement and the Anti-Abortion Movement. Animal rights activists use explicit imagery to create moral shocks for outsiders to join the movement (Jasper and Poulsen 1995, 506). They also specify the role moral shock played in recruitment for the Anti-Abortion Movement. They note that several anti-abortion activists joined the Anti-Abortion Movement on the same day that the U.S. Supreme Court decided on the *Roe v. Wade* case (Jasper and Poulsen 1995, 498). These activists had preexisting beliefs that were violated by the U.S. Supreme Court's decision to legalize abortion.

An outsider, as Jasper and Poulsen conceptualize the word, is limited to the parameter of the social movement. Although Jasper and Poulsen help me understand how and why a person would support or participate in a social movement that they have no social network to, they do not at all discuss the racial implications for social movement support. Further, they overlook how an outsider also be conceptualized as a person who is not part of the race that a race-based social movement is centered on. Still, if Jasper and Poulsen are correct, then we can anticipate that the scholars who emphasize social networks may have overlooked the possibility of social movement recruitment occurring without preexisting relationships and social ties.

Literature Critiques

Scholars criticize the absolute grievances literature for its inability to account for the number of empirical cases in which grievances were present, and yet the aggrieved population had failed to mobilize in dissent. Furthermore, this literature contributes nothing to answer my question about cross-racial support. The absolute grievance literature, in fact, is colorblind. In other words, it assumes that a person's race is insignificant to the specific grievances they experience.

The grievances literature is most directly related to an individual's choice to join a movement; it does not seem directly relevant to choices to support or not support a movement, especially a movement which, by definition, is defined by race-based grievances, which the individual does not share. The grievance literature then is not enough to explain cross-racial support for social movements, the area of focus for this analysis. Assuming that both black and white Americans share similar grievances on racial injustices in this country, we still find white Americans do not join black social movements to express these grievances. Furthermore, if we accept Laraña et al.'s argument that grievances are rooted in identity, we still lack an explanation, mainly because white Americans do not identify as black Americans.

Also, the RD theory is not enough to explain the disparity in cross-racial support for race-based social movements. Most white Americans, when comparing their situation to the norms within American society, not only fail to believe that their deprivation is enough to recognize the similarity in deprivation that black Americans feel, but also fail to join black social movements.

Similar to the RD theory, the RM theory contributes little to answering my research question about cross-racial support. Even if we accept the five basic principles of the RM theory to be true, it still leaves gaps. The struggle to gain access to resources and political power may explain why a black American would support a black social movement, but it does not explain why a white American who benefits from the status quo would support a social movement that aims to dismantle the existing social structure. The nonviolent arguments presented in this theoretical camp may play a role in cross-racial support for a raced-based social movement.

The CI theory is not applicable to my interest in cross-racial support for two main reasons, first, white Americans and black Americans do not share a collective identity as defined by the literature, and second, even if they did share a collective identity, they do not mobilize in attempt to make that collective identity politically recognized. Under the loyalty model, white Americans would feel culturally obligated to participate in black social movements if they consider themselves members of a collective identity with black Americans. Under the self-interest model, **we** would expect to see a community putting pressure on white Americans to join and participate in black social movements. **W**e see neither models present. The majority of the white American population just does not participate nor support black social movements.

Racial Attitudes

As indicated above, existing social movement literature does not discuss the important role racial attitudes play in cross-racial support for social movements. Broadly, racial attitudes literature focuses on cross-racial support for race-based policies that aim to address socioeconomic and political disparities between white and black Americans.

This camp of literature has gained popularity under the Obama administration. Specifically, scholars are attempting to prove that although the U.S. has had a black president for the last eight years, we are not living in a post-racial society. In other words, white Americans still harvest negative attitudes towards black Americans.

Recently, scholars have reported that white Americans hold an overall negative attitude toward polices that aim to address racial inequality (Norton and Sommers 2011; Tesler and Sears 2010). White Americans believe that as conditions for black Americans improve, conditions for white Americans get worse. This is the notion behind Norton and Sommers' argument that white Americans see racism as a zero-sum game that they perceive to be losing. Norton and Sommers had over 400 white Americans and black Americans use a 10 point scale to depict the extent to which they believe whites and blacks are the targets of discrimination. Norton and Sommers find that the white respondents perceived that anti-black bias is declining and anti-white bias is rapidly increasing (Norton and Sommers 2011, 216). The arguments presented by the racial attitude scholars although not directly linked to black social movement support reveals that there is a disparity in how white Americans and black Americans view racism. Consequently, if a white American does not feel racism against black people is an issue worth mobilizing over, then **we** can assume that they would not be motivated to support, let alone participate in a social movement aimed to reduce racism against black people.

Ethnic Name

Similar to the cross-racial literature at large, there is no literature available that specifically looks at how ethnic names affect cross-racial support for a race-based social movement. Most of the ethnic name literature evaluates the effects that having an ethnic

name has on accessibility to employment and housing opportunities. Marianne Bertrand and Sendhil Mullainathan (2003) are the leading scholars in studying the negative consequences associated with having an ethnic name. They conducted a study in which they submitted 5,000 mock resumes to real job advertisements in major newspapers in Boston and Chicago. Some of the resumes had a racially ambiguous name, and others with an African-American sounding name. The only difference between the resumes was the name. Their study reveals that the resumes with the racially ambiguous name were 50 percent more likely to get calls in for interviews (Bertrand and Mullainathan 2003, 1 & 10). African Americans with ethnic names have less access to social mobility simply because of their name, something they have no control over.

The literature in this camp reveals that the discriminatory practices based on names is not an issue unique to the U.S. Moa Bursell (2007) conducted a field study in Sweden in which he submitted personal letters and CVs to over 3,000 jobs advertisements across 15 occupational fields in Sweden. Some of the personal letters and CVs had Eurocentric Swedish names, others had Arabic names, and some had African names. This study reveals that only two out of the 15 job occupational fields did not have statistically significant evidence that demonstrates racial discrimination (Bursell 2007, 22). If the ethnic name scholars are correct, we can expect that white Americans will be less likely to support a black social movement that is framed around a racial event involving a black American with an ethnic name because they will hold negative perceptions about them.

Based on the literature presented above, I have developed three hypotheses. First, white Americans exposed to a clear instance of race-based injustice will be more likely to

experience a "moral shock", which is defined as a sense of outrage triggered by a specific situation, and as a result, will be more likely to support a black social movement. Secondly, the "moral shock" will be mitigated when white Americans are presented with a clear instance of race-based injustice against a black person with an ethnic name. As a result, in these cases, white Americans will be less likely to support a black social movement. Lastly, I hypothesize that white Americans often expect racial injustice outside of the U.S., and, therefore, when exposed to a clear instance of race-based injustice in a foreign country are less likely to have moral shock *but* will still be more likely to support a foreign black social movement because their support does not require any loss of their advantages that a similar movement in the U.S. would

Figure 1. Arrow Diagram for Hypothesis #1

Independent Variable: Exposure to an incident	→(+)	Intervening Variable: Moral Shock	→(+)	Dependent Variable: Support
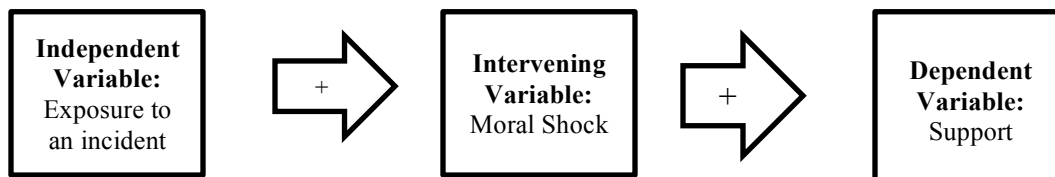
Figure 2. Arrow Diagram for Hypothesis #2

Independent Variable: Exposure to an incident	→(-)	Intervening Variable: Moral Shock	→(-)	Dependent Variable: Support

↑(+)

Conditional Variable: Incident w/an ethnic name
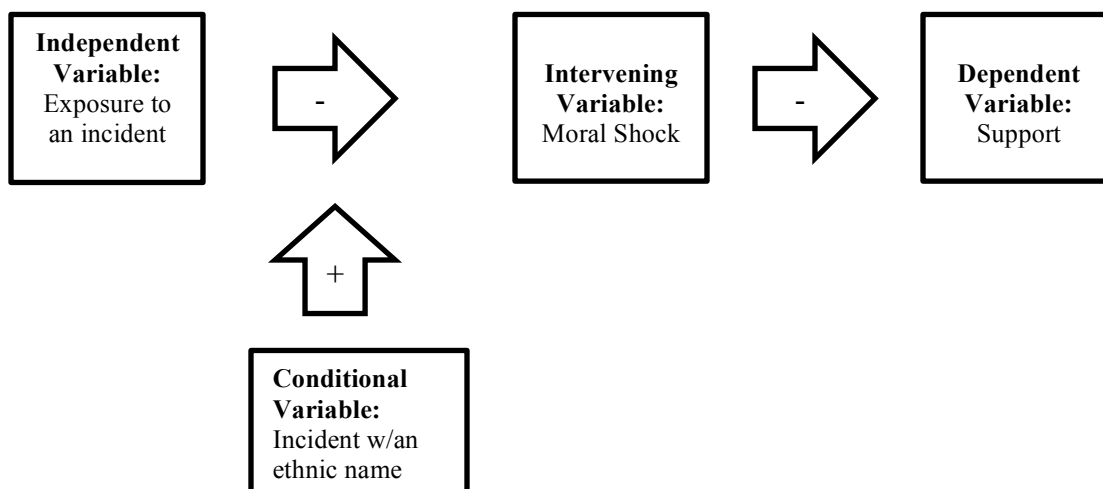
Figure 3. Arrow Diagram for Hypothesis #3

Independent Variable: Exposure to an incident	→ (-)	**Intervening Variable:** Moral Shock
↑ (+)	× ↘	
		Dependent Variable: Support
Conditional Variable: Outside of U.S.		

Chapter 2: Methods

The objective of this study is to examine cross-racial support for race-based social movements. The primary research question for this study is: under what conditions will white Americans support black social movements? In exploring of this research question, I contribute to cross-racial political scholarship by using the moral shock theory of participation to develop an experimental design that uses survey research. There are three independent variables for this study: exposure to a clear instance of racial injustice, the name of the person subjected to the racial injustice, and the country where the racial injustice takes place. The dependent variable is white American support for black social movements.

Table 1. IV and DV Chart

Independent Variables	Dependent Variable
1) Exposure to racial injustice 2) The name of the person experiencing racial injustice 3) The country where the racial injustice took place.	White American support for black social movements

I hypothesize that white Americans who are exposed to a clear instance of race-based injustice will be more likely to feel "moral shock" and as a result, will be more likely to support a black social movement than those who are not exposed to any narrative about racial injustice. My second hypothesis argues that this moral shock will be mitigated when white Americans are presented with a clear instance of race-based injustice against a black person with an ethnic name because they will rely on negative stereotypes. Lastly, I hypothesize that white Americans often expect racial injustice

outside of the U.S., and, therefore, when exposed to a clear instance of race-based injustice, are less likely to have moral shock *but* will still be more likely to support a foreign black social movement because support does not require any loss of their advantages that a similar movement in the U.S. would.

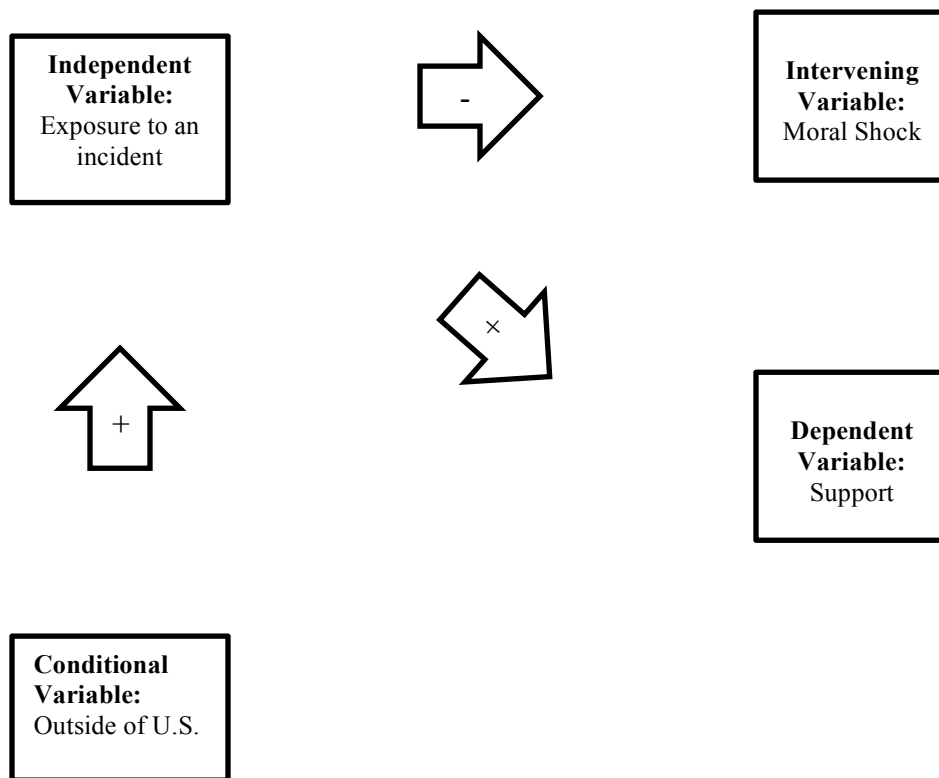**Experimental Design**

To examine white American support for black social movements, this analysis utilizes an experimental design, specifically a survey experiment. This method is appropriate for the parameters of this study because it allows for controlled manipulation of the independent variables, which will help test the three stated hypotheses. Experimentation allows researchers to control for extraneous variables, which is a necessary step when isolating and identifying the explanatory variables. Experimentation, however, has both strengths and weaknesses. Some social scientists favor experimental methods because they provide high levels of internal validity, meaning that the researchers can be confident that the results found in the study apply to the study's sample population. Experimentation leads to high levels of internal validity because the researcher has complete control of the environment in which the experiment takes place. They can control for extraneous variables that may interfere with their findings. This high level of control is not available in non-experimental settings.

However, experimental designs have low external validity because subjects in experiments may alter their behavior differently in an experiment than they would in the real world, which is messy and uncontrolled. Another reason why experimentation has low external validity is that the information presented in the treatment groups may not be representative of how information is presented in the real world. Real reports, for

instance, usually include images of the people involved in the event. In some situations, experiments cannot capture the everyday behavior that they aim to study. Therefore, the generalizability of experiments may be low.

Not only does an artificial environment weaken generalizability, but non-representative sampling can also have the same effect. When looking for subjects for their experiments, researchers sometimes take the easy road and use convenience samples, which are samples of the population of interest that are easily accessible and plentiful. Commonly, social scientists use undergraduate students to form convenience samples in experiments, especially when the researcher is also associated with the same institution. Undergraduate students participate in experiments for small incentives such as gift cards and extra credit points. The issue with using convenience samples like undergraduate students is that they are usually not representative of the population of interest, and as a result, the findings of the experiment will not be as generalizable as they would be with a more diverse sample. I will return to this point later in my data analysis chapter (see page 34).

Even if a convenience sample were representative of the population of interest, one could still run into issues. Specifically, when using experimentation, researchers have to be wary of their participants' tendency to lie while answering survey questions based on their attempt to abide by social norms such as political correctness. Lying to appear politically correct can negatively affect the findings of the experiment. I may run into this issue given that I will be asking white Americans questions regarding their thoughts on race relations, and I assume most of them do not want to be labeled as a racist. I want my subjects to be completely honest, so to reduce the social desirability issue, I will indicate

in the consent form that the survey is confidential. In addition, I designed the survey in a way that prevented the participants from going back and changing their answers. Furthermore, because I did not want to prime the participants, I separated questions by placing them on difference pages.

Forming good survey questions without biased language is an important component of maintaining internal validity. With well-worded survey questions, I can measure a variable in multiple ways, which will allow me to capture the different ways the participants view a concept. For example, support for a movement can be donating money to the cause for some participants, and for others it could be posting on Facebook. Although I will test some variables with multiple questions, I cannot do this for all of the variables for the sake of time and length. Survey experiments can sometimes generate participant fatigue if they feel the survey takes too much of their time. Long surveys can have skewed results because the participants' attention will be drawn away from the requested task. To avoid this issue, my survey will be limited to 30 questions, and one vignette per treatment group.[2] The full survey used for this study can be found in Appendix A on page 83.

Independent Variables

For this study, the independent variables are exposure to a clear instance of racial injustice involving a black person, the name of the person experiencing the injustice, and the country in which the injustice took place. In all four of the treatment groups, the police officer is a white male, and the man that is stopped by the officer is black. The operationalization of a clear instance of racial injustice includes the white police officer

---

[2] Initially, I was interested in desensitization from repeated, over-time exposure to stories but I ultimately determined this would be difficult to simulate in an experiment without inducing participant fatigue.

behaving in a way that indicates that he is influenced by racial prejudices and negative stereotypes. Specifically, in the reports, the white officer temporarily detains the black man after he received notice that there was a burglary in the neighborhood; thus, the white officer relies on his belief in a racial stereotype that black men commit crimes. This stereotype did not hold true when the officer contacted the police station just to find that the black man did not fit the description of the suspect.

Scholars have identified negative consequences associated with being a minority with an ethnic sounding name, which is conceptualized as a name that indicates one's membership to an ethnic group. The ethnic name selected for the vignette in the U.S., Jamal, was selected from the Bertrand and Mullainathan (2003) article on racial bias against black Americans with ethnic names that is cited in the literature review chapter. Selecting the ethnic name for South Africa required a different approach. Given that there is no scholarship on ethnic names in South Africa, I had to pick a name from a list of traditional South African names provided by Behind the Name, a website of South African names along with their origin.[3] Some of the names that the website provides are racially ambiguous. Lodewikus, the name that I selected for my study, is not racially ambiguous, and is usually given to black South Africans.

A country outside of the U.S. has a self-sufficient conceptualization. For this study, South Africa will be the country used in the vignettes that illustrates racial injustice outside of the U.S. South Africa is an appropriate choice for this for a few reasons. First, South Africa, similar to the U.S., has a history of legal discrimination that targeted blacks. Similar to the U.S., South Africa had a black social movement that

---

[3] The full URL for the website:
http://www.behindthename.com/submit/names/usage/south-african

directly fought against the legal manifestations of racism. Also, South Africa, like the U.S., continues to have racial issues such as police brutality and racially segregated neighborhoods.

Intervening Variable

This study will borrow Jasper's conceptualization of moral shock, "the first step toward recruitment into social movements: when an unexpected event or piece of information [triggers] raises such a sense of outrage in a person that she becomes include toward political action, with or without the network of personal contacts" (Jasper 1997, 106). Moral shock will be operationalized through the responses to the following survey questions: how much of an emotional reaction do you experience when thinking about injustice and violence against the black community?, based on what you just read, on a scale of 1-10 please rate the extent to which the violence makes you feel shocked, and how concerned are you when thinking about injustice/violence toward the black community?. If the moral shock theory is correct, then we can expect participants' moral shock to indicate the answers to the dependent variable questions: support for black social movements.

Dependent Variable

Support for a black social movement is the dependent variable for this analysis. As illustrated in Table 3, support for a black social movement will be measured using five survey questions. The reasoning behind this is that support has multiple dimensions, and does not always involve significant time commitments and donating money. Having multiple questions about support increases the likelihood of capturing the variety of responses that the participants may have.

Table 2. Variables and Measurements

		Survey Question(s)	Measurement
Dependent Variable	Support for a black social movement	How likely are you to support a social movement organized to advance the interests and protect the needs of the black community?	Ordinal, Scale from 1 to 5
		How likely are you to do the following: 1) Actively participate in a social movement that aims to advance the interests and protect the needs of the black community, 2) Donate money to a social movement that aims to advance the interests and protect the needs of the black community, 3) Defend the importance of a social movement organized to advance the interests and protect the needs of the black community in a conversation with a family member or friend	Ordinal, Scale from 1 to 5
		How do you feel when thinking about injustice/violence toward the black community?	Categorical, Scale from 1 to 4
Independent Variables	Control	No Treatment	N/A
	Treatment 1	On January 13th, 2014 at 11:30 in the evening, Tony, a 35-year-old black African- American man was on his way home from a friend's party in Richmond. Walking through a predominantly white neighborhood to get home faster, he was stopped by a white police officer. The officer was investigating a reported burglary in the area, and asked Tony to turn around, handcuffed him, and put him in the back of his police car. After radioing in, the officer learned that Tony did not fit the description of the burglary suspect. The officer released Tony and continued his patrol. No charges were brought against the officer or Tony.	Dichotomous, 1= participant assigned to designated group
	Treatment 2	On January 13th, 2014 at 11:30 in the evening, Jamal, a 35-year-old black African-American man was on his way home from a friend's party in Richmond. Walking through a majority white neighborhood to get home faster, he was stopped by a white police officer. The officer was investigating a reported burglary in the area, and asked Jamal to	

		turn around, handcuffed him, and put him in the back of his police car. After radioing in, the officer learned that Jamal did not fit the detailed description of the burglary suspect. The officer released Jamal and continued his patrol. No charges were brought against the officer or Jamal.	
	Treatment 3	On January 13th, 2014 at 11:30 in the evening, Jeremiah, a 35-year-old black South African man was on his way home from a friend's party in Cape Town. Walking through a majority white neighborhood to get home faster, he was stopped by a white police officer. The officer was investigating a reported burglary in the area, and asked Jeremiah to turn around, handcuffed him, and put him in the back of his police car. After radioing in, the officer learned that Jeremiah did not fit the detailed description of the burglary suspect. The officer released Jeremiah and continued his patrol. No charges were brought against the officer or Jeremiah.	
	Treatment 4	On January 13th, 2014 at 11:30 in the evening, Lodewikus, a 35-year-old black South African man was on his way home from a friend's party in Cape Town. Walking through a majority white neighborhood to get home faster, he was stopped by a white police officer. The officer was investigating a reported burglary in the area, and asked Lodewikus to turn around, handcuffed him, and put him in the back of his police car. After radioing in, the officer learned that Lodewikus did not fit the detailed description of the burglary suspect. The officer released Lodewikus and continued his patrol. No charges were brought against the officer or Lodewikus.	
Intervening Variable	Moral Shock	How surprised would you be if you heard a story of injustice/violence toward the black community?	Ordinal, Scale from 1 to 5

Control Variables	Age	What is your age in years?	Ratio
	Gender	Which of the following best describes your gender?	Nominal (male, female, transgender, other)
	Political Party Affiliation	Generally speaking, how would you describe your political party affiliation?	Nominal (Strong republican/weak republican/independent who leans republican/independent/independent who leans democrat/weak democrat/strong democrat)
	Education	What is the highest level of education that you have completed?	Ordinal, scale from 1 to 7
	News Frequency	How much have you been following the news regarding recent violent incidents involving the police?	Ordinal, scale from 1 to 4
	Income	What is your median household income?	Ordinal, scale from 1 to 5
	Social Networks	Do you have any co-workers, peers, friends or family members who are African-American?	Dichotomous
	White Privilege	To what extent do you agree with the follow statements: ▪ I can go shopping alone and assume that I will not be followed or harassed by store security. ▪ People perceive me to be financially reliable because of the color of my skin. ▪ Presidential campaigns adequately address the issues that affect my racial group. ▪ When I see police in my neighborhood, I do not fear for my physical safety. ▪ Affirmative action programs give African Americans an unfair advantage when applying to college or a job.	Ordinal, scale from 1 to 5
	Political Action Effectiveness	To what extent do you agree with the following statement: Political action is an effective means to address issues in our society.	Ordinal, scale from 1 to 5
	Nonviolent Movement Support	To what extent do you agree with the following statement: I am more likely to support movements that use nonviolent tactics	Ordinal, scale from 1 to 5
	Illegal Activity	Do you know anyone who has ever been accused of being involved in illegal activity?	Dichotomous, 1=yes

Procedure

I will post a job description entitled, "Please take a short survey on social issues" on Amazon's Mechanical Turk platform (MTurk), a marketplace for work that requires human subjects. Individuals and businesses use MTurk to obtain feedback from people. Social scientists use MTurk because it yields reliable results and produce sample parameters that are better than other samples. Furthermore, it is convenient and cheap. The sample population is a convenience (not necessary nationally representative) sample. The majority of MTurk users are white, more likely to be a female in her early 30s (Mason and Suri 2012, 4). Given that MTurk survey takers are not representative of the white American population, I will discuss these limitations and their potential effect in my analysis and interpretation of the results of my study. Participants will have access to my survey via a link to Qualtrics, a survey software provided to students and faculty at The College of Wooster. Qualtrics will randomly assign participants to the control group or to one of the four treatment groups. I used mild deception for my study. Specifically, the participants did not know that the reports used in the treatment groups are fake until I debrief them at the end of my survey.

Participants

Given that this study is interested in white American support for black social movements, the participants whose responses will be included in the analysis will be white Americans only. I plan to have around 500 participants in my study, 100 in each of the four treatment groups, and 100 in the control group. One of the unique features available about MTurk is that it allows requesters to set specific qualifications for the

workers that they would like for their study. Those workers who do not meet the qualifications will not see the job advertisement. For my sample, I set two specific work qualifications: first, the MTurk workers must have a work approval rate of 85% or higher. This means that the workers for my study must have completed 85% of all of their jobs with accuracy, which indicates a solid B average. Secondly, the MTurk workers for my study must have completed five or more jobs prior to taking my study. This helps me ensure that the workers for my survey are experienced and familiar with the MTurk system. Only those participants who met these two qualifications were able to take my survey.

All participants for my study were randomly assigned to their treatment groups. Randomization is essential for my study that is testing how to two variables interact with each other. Randomization reduces the possible of sample biases and spreads the various demographic factors across groups. Because of randomization, I can say with confidence that not all the male right-leaning participants were assigned to one treatment, which would have a significant effect on my results. Randomization evens out the playing field for my study, and decreases bias and experimental error.

Plan for Analysis

Data for this study will be analyzed using quantitative techniques. Specifically, I will use ordered logistic (ologit) regression to analyze my data because I am interested in finding whether or not there is a statistically significant relationship between two variables. This technique will allow us to identify whether or not there is a statistical significance between the relationships of our independent and dependent variables. If my three hypotheses are supported, then I can expect statistically significant evidence from

the survey data that illustrates how my three treatments: exposure to a clear instance of

racial injustice, a black person with an ethnic name, and location outside of the U.S., have

a direct effect on the dependent variable: white American's support for a black social

movement.

Chapter 3: Data Analysis

Introduction

Based on previous scholarship, I expect to find that those participants exposed to a report will be more likely to support a black social movement. Based on the previous experiments, I expect that the name of the black man in the report will affect how the white participants express their willingness to support and their overall evaluation of the man's character because they will hold negative stereotypes against him. Lastly, I expect that location will matter in regards to the white respondents' willingness to support a black social movement, and white Americans will be more willing to support a black social movement outside of the U.S. because supporting such a movement would not cost white privileges.

I begin my analysis with a summary of participants, focusing on key demographics that some of the literature highlights as factors in social movement: support and participation. All of the participants used in this summary are those who self-identified as white. I also discuss the spread across the different variables to demonstrate that all possible answer choices were selected. After explaining who the participants are and the robustness of the data, I ran several ordered logistic regressions to test the three hypotheses. For some of the tests, I also ran chi-squared statistics to further the discussion on when white Americans are likely to support a black social movement. Also in this chapter, I ran tests to fully demonstrate the role emotions play in support for a black social movement. In these tests, the emotions are the intervening variables, and the dependent variables represent the different forms of social movement support. I conclude

this chapter with a discussion of the statistically significant factors that my hypotheses did not predict.

Descriptive Statistics

From previous literature, I understand what the typical MTurk worker looks like. For instance, there are more women workers than men, given that the gender divide is usually 55% women and 45% men (Mason and Suri 2012b, 4). Previous literature also indicates that the average age for MTurk workers is 32 years old (Mason and Suri 2012, 4). Furthermore, MTurk workers tend to me more liberal. As Berinsky et al note, Democrats (both moderate and strong) make up about 40% of the MTurk worker population (Berinsky, Huber, and Lenz 2012, 6). If these scholars are correct, then we can expect my sample of white American MTurk workers to be mostly women in their early 30s who affiliate with the Democratic Party.

Table 3. Demographic Summary of White Survey Participants

Age (mean years)		38
		% of respondents
Gender	Male	48.01
	Female	51.99
Education	Grade school	0
	High school	31.75
	Undergraduate	52.91
	Graduate/Professional School	15.34
Political Party Affiliation	Strong Republican	8.16
	Weak Republican	11.32
	Indepen.-Rep.	8.42
	Independent	19.74
	Indepen.- Dem.	13.68
	Weak Democrat	18.95
	Strong Democrat	19.74
Income	< $30,000	24.80
	Btw $30,001-$60,000	39.05
	Btw $60,001-$100,000	26.39
	Btw $100,001-$150,000	6.86
	> $150,001	2.90
News Consumption, Police Violence	Not At All	4.21
	Occasionally	55.26

	Frequently	40.53
Social Movement Participation	Never	71.32
	Btw 1-5 activities	26.05
	> 5 activities	2.63

Table 4. Demographic Summary and Treatment Group Breakdown

		Control	Tony	Jamal	Jeremiah	Lodewikus
	Age (mean years)	37.68	38.91	37.95	38.19	37.91
Gender	**% Male**	44.87	39.73	52.17	59.02	45.21
	% Female	55.13	60.27	47.83	40.98	54.79
Education	**Grade school**	--	--	--	--	
	High school	33.75	36.11	28.57	37.70	24.32
	Undergraduate	52.50	45.83	59.34	49.18	55.41
	Graduate/Professional School	13.75	18.06	12.09	13.11	20.27
News Frequency	**Never**	2.47	0.00	2.17	0.00	0.00
	Rarely	8.64	10.96	9.78	3.28	12.16
	Several times a month	16.05	4.11	7.61	11.48	9.46
	Once a week	12.35	12.33	11.96	13.11	10.81
	Daily	60.49	72.60	68.48	72.13	67.57
Party Affiliation	**Strong Republican**	8.75	6.35	9.78	6.56	8.11
	Weak Republican	7.50	23.29	6.52	11.48	9.46
	Indepen.-Rep.	7.50	5.48	8.70	8.20	12.16
	Independent	13.75	20.55	20.65	26.23	18.92
	Indepen.- Dem.	20.00	16.44	10.87	14.75	6.76
	Weak Democrat	22.50	10.96	25.00	19.67	14.86
	Strong Democrat	20.00	16.44	18.48	13.11	29.73
Social Movement Participation	**Never**	66.25	67.12	75.00	83.61	66.22
	Btw 1-5 activities	31.25	30.14	21.74	16.39	29.73
	> 5 activities	2.50	2.74	3.26	0.00	4.05
Income	**< $30,000**	37.50	19180	21.74	26.23	19.18
	Btw $30,001-$60,000	32.50	45.21	40.22	44.26	34.25
	Btw $60,001-$100,000	20.00	26.03	31.52	19.67	32.88
	Btw $100,001-$150,000	7.50	5.48	5.43	4.92	10.96

	> $150,001	2.50	4.11	1.09	4.92	2.74
N		80	73	92	61	74

Table 5. Variable Variation

Variables		**Mean**	**Std. Dev.**	**Min.**	**Max.**
Dependent Variables	Blkmove	7.018	1.209	5	9
	Actpart	15.786	1.219	14	18
	Money	15.395	1.161	14	18
	Defend	16.966	1.231	15	19
	Concern_Injustice	2.942	1.093	1	5
Intervening Variables	Moral Shock	1.907	.953	1	4
	Angry	2.357	.986	1	4
	Scared	1.577	.804	1	4
	Sad	2.303	1.014	1	4
Treatment Groups	Control Group	0.211	0.409	0	1
	Report vs Control	0.789	0.408	0	1
	Ethnic vs Non-ethnic	0.553	0.498	0	1
	U.S. vs S.A.	0.45	0.498	0	1
Control Variables	White Privilege Statement on: Shopping	4.148	.819	1	5
	White Privilege Statement on: Finance	3.30	1.076	1	5
	White Privilege Statement on: Presidential Elections	3.338	1.032	1	5
	White Privilege Statement on: Police	4.042	.941	1	5
	White Privilege Statement on: African Americans and Affirmative Action	3.084	1.280	1	5
	Political Action Effectiveness	3.546	.984	1	5
	Nonviolent Movement Support	4.321	.829	1	5
	Illegal	1.482	.500	1	2
	African American Family, Friends, or Co-workers	1.219	.414	1	2
	Age	38.113	12.100	3[4]	72
	Gender	1.519	.500	1	2
	Party Affiliation	4.553	1.909	1	7
	Education	2.836	.667	2	4
	Income	2.240	.996	1	5
	News Frequency	4.366	1.0529	1	5

My sample meets some of the expectations outlined in the literature on MTurk workers and not others. As Table 3 indicates, the gender divide for my sample meets the

---

[4] I assume that this is an error.

expectation from the literature, and there are more female workers compared to male workers. This expectation, however, is not met across all of the treatment groups. For instance, there were more men randomly assigned to Jamal and Jeremiah than women (see Table 4)[5]. Furthermore, my sample does not meet the expectation from previous literature because the average age of my sample is significantly older. There is a six-year difference between the average age for my sample and the average age highlighted in the literature on MTurk workers (see Table 3).

Lastly, my sample is Liberal leaning as expected. As demonstrated in Table 3, over 50% of my sample either weakly or strongly affiliated with the Democratic Party. Given that I used random assignment for this study, I can expect that there are no systematic differences in the demographic profile of those participants assigned to the treatment groups. That being said, I can only confirm this to be true if I conduct difference of means t-tests.

Overall, my sample is representative of the national white American population. According to the U.S. Census, the gender divide for white Americans is 49.1% male and 50.9% female (U. S. Census Bureau 2013). These percentages are relatively close to those for my sample. Also, the national mean age for white Americans in the U.S. was 39 years old in 2014 (U.S. Census Bureau 2014). The average age for my sample is only a year off from the national average. Although my sample is representative of the national white American population for gender and age, it is not representative in regards to political party affiliation. From 1992 to 2014, 40% or more of white Americans had affiliated with the Republican party (Street et al. 2015). Later we will discuss whether

---

[5] We do not know if having more men in the Jamal and Jeremiah treatment groups have an affect the results of the study.

this unrepresentativeness affects the three hypotheses. However, given that age and gender are representative, I will use my sample to draw inferences and generalizations about the white American population.

Multicollinearity

Before I could test my hypotheses, I needed to test for multicollinearity. This is a necessary process for social science studies that rely on statistical analysis. Multicollinearity exists when two or more control variables are moderately or highly correlated, which weakens the confidence of the analysis, and limits the conclusions that one can draw from the data (Penn State Eberly College of Science 2016). In other words, I need to verify that I can use all of my control variables for the various tests that I will run. If there is a significant correlation between two or more control variables, indicated by a correlation coefficient of 0.5 or higher, then I would have to run my tests without those correlated control variables in the same model.

Table 6. Multicollinearity Correlation Matrix

	WP: Shopping	WP: Finance	WP: Elections	WP: Police	WP: Affir_ Act	Poli_Act Eff	Nonvio_ Mov	Illegal	Afr_Amer	Age
WP: Shopping	1.000									
WP: Finance	0.358	1.00								
WP: Elections	0.329	0.373	1.00							
WP: Police	0.479	0.204	0.303	1.00						
WP: Affirmative Action	0.0717	-0.119	-0.097	0.109	1.00					
Poli_Act Effectiveness	0.1835	0.171	0.229	0.129	-0.254	1.00				
Nonvio_Mov	0.206	0.079	0.130	0.185	-0.158	0.208	1.00			
Illegal	0.065	0.128	0.103	0.031	-0.013	0.043	-0.059	1.00		
Afr_Amer	0.114	0.067	0.029	0.104	0.117	-0.017	-0.129	0.107	1.00	1.00

Age	0.046	-0.064	-0.025	0.111	-0.002	0.044	0.133	0.034	-0.008	0.142
Gender	0.067	0.115	0.094	0.396	-0.188	0.044	0.145	0.024	-0.064	0.087
Party_Affil	0.009	0.189	0.069	0.033	-0.412	0.267	0.115	0.061	0.017	0.051
Education	0.056	0.115	0.022	0.021	-0.052	0.102	0.035	0.035	-0.043	0.023
Income	0.172	0.128	0.073	0.119	0.049	-0.042	-0.017	0.043	-0.071	0.218
News_Freq	0.135	0.021	0.036	0.115	0.045	0.082	0.163	0.067	-0.142	0.264

Table 7. Multicollinearity Correlation Matrix Cont.

|	Party_Affil	Education	Income	News_Freq
Party_Affil	1.00			
Education	0.053	1.00		
Income	-0.136	0.285	1.00	
News_Freq	-0.016	0.044	0.129	1.00

The correlation coefficients equal 1.00 when the control variables were tested against themselves. This perfect relationship is expected, and there is no issue. If there was a perfect relationship between a control variable and a *different* control variable, then there would be an issue. That being said, given that none of the correlation coefficients are 0.5 or greater when I test two different control variables, I conclude that multicollinearity does not exist in my study. Therefore, I can conduct my tests using all of the control variables in multivariate models and be confident in the results revealed. In the next section, I will test the first hypothesis.

Testing Hypothesis #1

Only those participants who were randomly assigned to a report were asked whether they felt shocked based on what they read. The participants in the control group were not asked whether they felt shocked. This, in hindsight, was a mistake in my research design, and consequently, I cannot test the intervening variable, moral shock resulting from my first hypothesis.

Figure 4. Revised Arrow Diagram Hypothesis #1

My study **CANNOT** test:
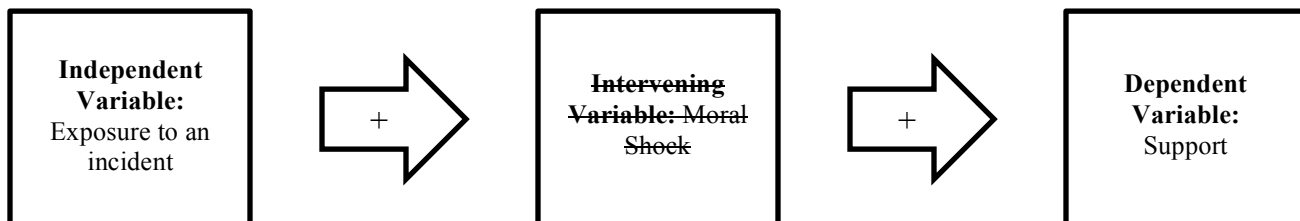
I was, however, able to test whether seeing a report about racial injustice against a black person plays a role in a person's decision-making process about supporting a black social movement. I ran a multivariate ordered logistic (ologit) regression with a dependent variable, an independent variable, and all the relevant control variables.

My study **CAN** test:
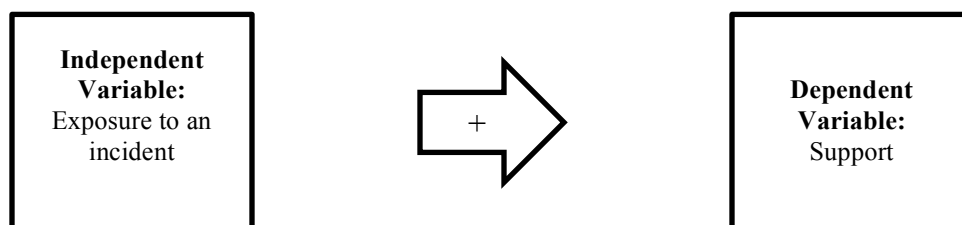
I labeled the dependent variable for this regression "blkmove" and measured it
with the following survey question that can also be found in Appendix A on page 83,
*"How likely are you to actively participate in a social movement that aims to advance the
interests and protect the needs of the black community?"* The independent variable,
"treatmentH1" is coded as 0 for those respondents assigned to the control group and 1 for
those assigned to any of the treatment groups.

Table 8. Model 1: Multivariate Ologit Regression for Blkmove

Treatments	TreatmentH1: Control v Tony/Jamal/Jeremiah/Lodewikus	0.520* (0.251)
Controls	White Privilege Statement on: Shopping	-0.192 (0.158)
	White Privilege Statement on: Finance	0.203+ (0.109)
	White Privilege Statement on: Presidential Elections	0.243* (0.119)
	White Privilege Statement on: Police	-0.186 (0.131)
	White Privilege Statement on: African Americans and Affirmative Action	-0.705*** (0.104)
	Political Action Effectiveness	0.418*** (0.120)
	Nonviolent Movement Support	0.152 (0.135)
	Illegal	0.454* (0.214)
	African American Family, Friends, or Co-workers	-0.041 (0.264)
	Age	-0.142 (0.009)
	Gender	0.053 (0.212)
	Party Affiliation	0.279*** (0.066)
	Education	0.285+ (0.160)
	Income	0.091 (0.109)
	News Frequency	-0.058 (0.116)

Model Stats	N	393
	χ^2 (18)	265.82***
	Log Likelihood	-428.5074

Notes: Two-tailed tests; robust standard errors in parentheses; $^+$ *= p < 0.10;* * *= p < 0.05;* ** *= p < 0.01;* *** *= p < 0.001*

The p-value for the multivariate ordered logistic test is 0.038, less than the social science standard of 0.05. Consequently, we can reject the null hypothesis and conclude that there is a statistically significant difference in how participants in the control group and participants in any of the treatment groups responded when asked about their likelihood of supporting a black social movement.[6] Based on the sign of the coefficient, we know that people who were exposed to a story about racial injustice were more likely to say they would support a black social movement than those who saw no story.

In the next section, I will look at the other measurements of black movement support, and run a similar test to determine whether or not seeing a report affects a person's likelihood to participate actively in a black social movement, donate money to a black social movement organization, defend a black social movement in a conversation with a friend or family member, or to have concerns about the well-being of black Americans.

---

[6] I first tested this hypothesis with a bivariate regression, simply meaning without the control variables, and the p-value was 0.060, indicating that there is a significant difference at the .1 level.

Table 9. Model 2: Multivariate Ologit Regression for other DVs

DVs		Actively Participate	Donate Money	Defend in Conservation	Concerned about Injustice
IV	**TreatmentH1: Control v Tony/Jamal/Jeremiah/Lodewikus**	0.496* (0.243)	-0.233 (0.248)	0.376 (0.239)	-0.345 (0.254)
Controls	**White Privilege Statement on: Shopping**	-0.369* (.157)	-0.469** (0.159)	0.065 (0.151)	0.315 (0.158)
	White Privilege Statement on: Finance	0.226* (0.109)	0.276* (0.112)	0.026 (0.106)	-0.309** (0.113)
	White Privilege Statement on: Presidential Elections	0.141 (0.116)	0.323** (0.117)	0.068 (0.108)	-0.175 (0.121)
	White Privilege Statement on: Police	-0.052 (0.129)	-0.181 (0.132)	0.206 (0.123)	-0.048 (0.134)
	White Privilege Statement on: African Americans and Affirmative Action	-0.531*** (0.097)	-0.498*** (0.098)	0.059 (0.091)	0.889*** (0.107)
	Political Action Effectiveness	0.419*** (0.118)	0.292** (0.121)	-0.212[+] (0.115)	-0.261 (0.118)
	Nonviolent Movement Support	0.003 (0.134)	0.081 (0.139)	0.039 (0.131)	0.018 (0.136)
	Illegal	0.453* (.209)	0.639** (0.212)	0.028 (0.201)	-0.031 (0.211)
	African American Family, Friends, or Co-workers	-0.1903 (0.264)	-0.193 (0.264)	0.166 (0.256)	0.246 (0.266)
	Age	-0.207 (0.087)	-0.026** (0.009)	-0.007 (0.008)	-0.010 (0.009)
	Gender	0.103 (0.207)	0.409[+] (0.214)	-0.009 (0.201)	0.0149 (0.266)
	Party Affiliation	0.181** (0.063)	0.105 (0.064)	0.042 (0.061)	-0.216** (0.066)
	Education	-0.010 (0.155)	-0.114 (0.161)	0.183 (0.153)	-0.008 (0.159)
	Income	0.169 (0.105)	0.278* (0.108)	-0.141 (0.099)	-0.187[+] (0.108)
	News Frequency	-0.189[+] (0.115)	-0.027 (0.226)	-0.054 (0.109)	0.025 (0.116)

		369	370	370	370
Model Stats	**N**	369	370	370	370
	χ^2 (18)	197.76***	164.25***	27.00	216.52
	Log Likelihood	-470.331	-458.764	-559.382	-433.064

*Notes: Two-tailed tests; robust standard errors in parentheses; + = p < 0.10; * = p < 0.05; ** = p < 0.01; *** = p < 0.001*

For "actively participate," the p-value is 0.042. We can reject the null hypothesis and conclude that there is statistically significant evidence indicating that whether or not a person read a report influences their likelihood to participate actively in a black social movement. [7] This data shows that seeing a report matters. Since all the treatments are lumped together for this test, we do not know which treatment is driving the statistical significance. Were participants who were exposed to Lodewikus more willing to actively participate than those who were exposed to the report with Tony?

Testing Hypothesis #2

I hypothesized that moral shock will decrease when the instance of racial injustice involved a black person with an ethnic name, and white Americans will be less likely to support a black social movement. In Model 3, I determined if there was a statistically significant difference in moral shock between participants who read a report about a black man with an ethnic name and those who did not. "TreatmentH2", my independent variable, is coded as 1 for the participants who read the report about Jamal or Lodewikus, and 0 for participants who read about Tony or Jeremiah. In Model 4, I ran an ologit regression to determine whether there was a difference in "blkmove" between participants assigned to an ethnic name and participants not assigned to an ethnic name.

---

[7] In a bivariate model, the p-value for the actively participate test was 0.065, which is statistically significant at the .1 level. None of the other dependent variables were statistically significant in a bivariate model.

Table 10. Models 3 & 4: Multivariate Ologit Regression for Moral Shock & Blkmove

		Model 3	Model 4
Treatment	TreatmentH2: Ethnic v Non-Ethnic	-0.495* (0.232)	-0.028 (0.234)
Controls	White Privilege Statement on: Shopping	-0.152 (0.177)	-0.445* (0.187)
	White Privilege Statement on: Finance	0.203[+] (0.128)	0.241[+] (0.129)
	White Privilege Statement on: Presidential Elections	0.146 (0.129)	0.133 (0.135)
	White Privilege Statement on: Police	-0.007 (0.141)	-0.068 (0.150)
	White Privilege Statement on: African Americans and Affirmative Action	-0.199[+] (0.109)	-0.626*** (0.118)
	Political Action Effectiveness	-0.015 (0.120)	0.426** (0.142)
	Nonviolent Movement Support	-0.159 (0.149)	0.150 (0.157)
	Illegal	0.224 (0.227)	0.546* (0.245)
	African American Family, Friends, or Co-workers	-0.433 (0.285)	-0.091 (0.299)
	Age	-0.253* (0.010)	-0.012 (0.010)
	Gender	0.248 (0.234)	0.289 (0.243)
	Party Affiliation	-0.024 (0.072)	0.376*** (0.077)
	Education	-0.186 (0.178)	0.308[+] (0.186)
	Income	0.199 (0.125)	0.157 (0.129)
	News Frequency	-0.128 (0.121)	-0.112 (0.136)
Model Stats	N	292	292
	χ^2 (18)	37.08	224.30***
	Log Likelihood	-340.43999	-324.39591

Notes: Two-tailed tests; robust standard errors in parentheses; [+] = $p < 0.10$; * = $p < 0.05$; ** = $p < 0.01$; *** = $p < 0.001$

In Model 3, the p-value is 0.033 and statistically significant at the 0.05 level.[8] We can reject the null hypothesis, and conclude that there is a statistically significant difference in moral shock between participants who were exposed to a report with an ethnic name and participants who were exposed to a report with a non-ethnic name. Based on the sign of the coefficient, we know that people who were exposed to a story with an ethnic name were less likely to report feeling shocked than those exposed to a story with a non-ethnic name. In Model 4, we cannot reject the null hypothesis, and must conclude that there is no statistically significant difference in support for a black social movement between subjects assigned to a report with an ethnic name and subjects who were exposed to a non-ethnic name. Next, I will test the second hypothesis using the other dependent variables.

Table 11. Model 5: Multivariate Ologit Regression for other DVs

DVs		Actively Participate	Donate Money	Defend in Conservation	Concerned about Injustice
Treatment	**TreatmentH2: Ethnic v Non-Ethnic**	0.034 (.227)	-0.066 (0.234)	0.088 (0.221)	0.147 (0.231)
Controls	**White Privilege Statement on: Shopping**	-0.563* (.183)	-0.535** (0.182)	0.281 (0.172)	0.240 (0.184)
	White Privilege Statement on: Finance	0.245+ (0.128)	0.440** (0.131)	-0.144 (0.123)	-0.187 (0.113)
	White Privilege Statement on: Presidential Elections	-0.009 (0.131)	0.196 (0.129)	0.068 (0.123)	-0.163 (0.135)
	White Privilege Statement on: Police	0.135 (0.147)	-0.088 (0.148)	0.142 (0.136)	-0.135 (0.152)
	White Privilege Statement on: African Americans and Affirmative Action	-0.569*** (0.113)	-0.470*** (0.113)	0.112 (0.106)	0.935*** (0.126)
	Political Action	0.329*	0.193	-0.212	-0.283*

[8] In a bivariate model, the p-value for this test is 0.154, which is close to being but not statistically significant at the .1 level. Extraneous factors may be driving the multivariate results.

	Effectiveness	(.136)	(0.141)	(0.134)	(0.137)
	Nonviolent Movement Support	0.017 (0.152)	0.072 (0.159) P-Value: 0.653	0.013 (0.152) P-Value: 0.929	0.012 (0.155) P-Value: 0.936
	Illegal	0.593* (.236)	0.850*** (0.241)	-0.095 (0.225)	-0.223 (0.240)
	African American Family, Friends, or Co-workers	-0.204 (0.293)	-0.223 (0.292)	0.072 (0.283)	0.264 (0.299)
	Age	-0.018[+] (0.009)	-0.024* (0.010)	-0.001 (0.009)	-0.011 (0.010)
	Gender	0.085 (0.233)	0.485* (0.243)	-0.113 (0.225)	-0.091 (0.243)
	Party Affiliation	0.234** (0.072)	0.171* (0.074)	0.091 (0.069)	-0.266*** (0.075)
	Education	0.054 (0.177)	-0.069 (0.183)	0.339* (0.172)	-0.082 (0.183)
	Income	0.217[+] (0.125)	0.188 (0.125)	-0.142 (0.116)	-0.184 (0.129)
	News Frequency	-0.112 (0.131)	-0.009 (0.133)	0.003 (0.129)	0.013 (0.136)
(MODEL STATS)	**N**	292	292	292	292
	χ^2 (18)	165.74***	138.15***	27.75[+]	193.99***
	Log Likelihood	-369.554	-358.049	-438.608	-325.671

Notes: Two-tailed tests; robust standard errors in parentheses; [+] = $p < 0.10$; * = $p < 0.05$; ** = $p < 0.01$; *** = $p < 0.001$

Similarly to Model 4, there is no statistical significance present in Model 5. We learn that inclusion of an ethnic name did not influence participants' likelihood of actively participating in, donating money to, or defending a black movement. The findings of Models 4 and 5 counter the arguments presented in ethnic name scholarship (Bertrand and Mullainathan 2003). As noted in the literature review, whether or not a black person has an ethnic name can play a role in how others perceive them. My results, however, indicate that whether or not a black person has an ethnic name may not be as

important as we think it is to white Americans. In the next section of this chapter, I will test the third hypothesis, which highlights the importance of location.

Testing Hypothesis 3

I hypothesized that although white Americans may expect injustice outside of the U.S. and experience less moral shock, they are still willing to support a foreign black social movement, which does not require any loss of their privileges. In Model 6, I ran an ologit regression to determine whether or not there is a relationship between moral shock and location. "TreatmentH3" is coded as "1" for those participants assigned to the Jeremiah and Lodewikus reports, which both took place in Cape Town, South Africa, and "0" for those assigned to the Tony and Jamal reports, which are set in the U.S. In Model 7, I tested the second half of the hypothesis by running an ologit regression with "blkmove" as the dependent variable and "TreatmentH3" as the independent variable.

Table 12. Models 6 & 7: Multivariate Ologit Regression for Moral Shock & Blkmove

		Model 6 *Moral Shock*	Moral 7 Blkmove
Treatment	TreatmentH3: South Africa v U.S.	-0.347 (0.225)	0.349 (0.231)
Controls	White Privilege Statement on: Shopping	-0.095 (0.176)	-0.468* (0.187)
	White Privilege Statement on: Finance	0.205 (0.127)	0.244^{+} (0.129)
	White Privilege Statement on: Presidential Elections	0.134 (0.129)	0.131 (0.135)
	White Privilege Statement on: Police	-0.401 (0.142)	-0.035 (0.149)
	White Privilege Statement on: African Americans and Affirmative Action	-0.191^{+} (0.113)	-0.621*** (0.118)
	Political Action Effectiveness	0.012 (0.137)	0.436** (0.142)
	Nonviolent Movement Support	-0.151 (0.149)	0.148 (0.157)

	Illegal	0.233 (0.235)	0.541* (0.245)
	African American Family, Friends, or Co-workers	-0.328 (0.290)	-0.084 (0.299)
	Age	-0.025* (0.010)	-0.011 (0.010)
	Gender	0.272 (0.240)	0.319 (0.244)
	Party Affiliation	-0.040 (0.072)	0.375*** (0.077)
	Education	-0.214 (0.182)	0.309[+] (0.185)
	Income	0.177 (0.124)	0.158 (0.129)
	News Frequency	-0.092 (0.131)	-0.119 (0.135)
Model Stats	N	292	292
	$\chi^2 (18)$	34.68*	226.58***
	Log Likelihood	-341.32523	-323.25389

Notes: Two-tailed tests; robust standard errors in parentheses; [+] = p < 0.10; * = p < 0.05; ** = p < 0.01; *** = p < 0.001

The results of Model 6 indicate that there is no statistically significant difference in moral shock between participants exposed to injustice in the U.S. and those exposed to injustice in South Africa. This finding supports the first part of my third hypothesis. This finding, however, is limited because it does not support the expectation of violence that I hypothesized. Model 7 reveals that there is no statistically significant difference in support for a black social movement between subjects who read about a report in the U.S. and those who read about a similar event in South Africa, which does not support the last component of my hypothesis. Model 8 investigates whether or not location matters for the other dependent variables.

Table 13. Model 8: Multivariate Ologit Regression for other DVs

DV		Actively Participate	Donate Money	Defend in Conservation	Concerned about Injustice
IV	TreatmentH3	0.389+ (.223)	0.283 (0.227)	-0.149 (0.221)	0.031 (0.227)
Controls	White Privilege Statement on: Shopping	-0.587** (.184)	-0.552** (0.183)	0.280 (0.171)	0.229 (0.184)
	White Privilege Statement on: Finance	0.251* (0.127)	0.437** (0.130)	-0.139 (0.122)	-0.180 (0.130)
	White Privilege Statement on: Presidential Elections	-0.009 (0.129)	0.192 (0.129)	0.040 (0.121)	-0.156 (0.135)
	White Privilege Statement on: Police	-0.013 (0.147)	-0.083 (0.148)	0.144 (0.135)	-0.127 (0.151)
	White Privilege Statement on: African Americans and Affirmative Action	-0.562*** (0.113)	-0.473*** (0.113)	0.114 (0.106)	0.956*** (0.126)
	Political Action Effectiveness	0.345* (.136)	0.204 (0.139)	-0.220+ (0.132)	-0.289* (0.137)
	Nonviolent Movement Support	0.012 (0.153)	0.060 (0.159)	0.022 (0.152)	0.014 (0.155)
	Illegal	0.582* (.237)	0.829** (0.241)	-0.087 (0.225)	-0.219 (0.240)
	African American Family, Friends, or Co-workers	-0.195 (0.293)	-0.219 (0.293)	0.061 (0.283)	0.254 (0.299)
	Age	-0.018+ (0.009)	-0.024* (0.010)	-0.001 (0.009)	-0.012 (0.010)
	Gender	0.112 (0.234)	0.504* (0.244)	-0.126 (0.226)	-0.089 (0.244)
	Party Affiliation	0.232** (0.072)	0.167* (0.074)	0.093 (0.069)	-0.262*** (0.075)
	Education	0.060 (0.176)	-0.071 (0.182)	0.341* (0.171)	-0.078 (0.182)
	Income	0.220+ (0.125)	0.178 (0.125)	-0.140 (0.116)	-0.181 (0.129)
	News Frequency	-0.127 (0.131) P-Value: 0.333	-0.012 (0.133) P-Value: 0.930	0.001 (0.129) P-Value: 0.991	0.019 (0.136) P-Value: 0.891

Model Stats	N	292	292	292	292
	χ^2 **(18)**	168.78***	139.64***	28.09[+]	193.61***
	Log Likelihood	-368.036	-357.304	-438.438	-325.863

Notes: Two-tailed tests; robust standard errors in parentheses; [+] = p < 0.10; * = p < 0.05; ** = p < 0.01; *** = p < 0.001

Similar to what was found in Model 1, only "actively participate" has a statistically significant relationship with the independent variable.[9] Given that the p-value in Model 8 is less than 0.10, we can reject the null hypothesis, and conclude that there is a statistically significant difference in how participants assigned to a report about the U.S. and participants assigned to a report about South Africa responded when asked about their likelihood to participate actively in a black social movement. Based on the sign of the coefficient, we know that participants assigned to reports about injustice in South Africa were more willing to participate actively in a black social movement outside of the U.S. Unlike the results of Model 7, the results of Model 8 support the last component of my third hypothesis, and we can conclude that location matters for white Americans' support of black social movements. In the next section, I will conduct more ologit regressions to test my three hypotheses using other emotions as the intervening variables.

Other Emotions

To determine how other emotions, not just "moral shock", can affect whether or not a white American supports a black social movement, I ran Models 9 through 17. For Models 9, 10, and 11, I conducted a multivariate ologit regression with the various forms of social movement support as the dependent variables, and angry, scared, and sad as the independent variables. Models 9 through 11 will tell us if there is a statistically significant relationship between having an emotional reaction to an instance of race-

---

[9] I ran the bivariate model for actively participate and TreatmentH3. The p-value was 0.055, which is statistically significant at the .1 level.

based injustice and supporting a black social movement. Given that we cannot test "TreatmentH1", Models 12 through 14 are multivariate ologit regressions with "angry," "sad," and "scared" as the dependent variables and "TreatmentH2" as the independent variable. Lastly, Models 15 to 17 are multivariate ologit regressions in which the emotions are the dependent variable and "TreatmentH3" is the independent variable. These six Models will tell us whether exposure to an ethnic name and the location of the injustice has a statistically significant relationship with an emotional reaction.

Table 14. Model 9: Multivariate Ologit Regression with Angry as IVs

DVs		Actively Participate	Donate Money	Defend in Conservation	Concerned about Injustice
IV	Angry	0.472*** (0.127)	0.326** (0.129)	0.051 (0.120)	-0.753*** (0.139)
Controls	White Privilege Statement on: Shopping	-0.605** (0.184)	-0.536** (0.182)	0.323+ (0.172)	0.274 (0.185)
	White Privilege Statement on: Finance	0.182 (0.129)	0.373** (0.132)	-0.157 (0.124)	-0.058 (0.134)
	White Privilege Statement on: Presidential Elections	-0.077 (0.132)	0.148 (0.130)	0.019 (0.122)	-0.050 (0.136)
	White Privilege Statement on: Police	0.199 (0.149)	-0.088 (0.148)	0.084 (0.135)	-0.199 (0.151)
	White Privilege Statement on: African Americans and Affirmative Action	-0.511*** (0.115)	-0.474*** (.113)	0.051 (0.104)	0.953*** (0.128)
	Political Action Effectiveness	0.364** (0.138)	0.251+ (0.142)	-0.179 (.133)	-0.376** (0.137)
	Nonviolent Movement Support	-0.162 (0.154)	0.078 (0.158)	0.052 (0.149)	0.023 (0.154)
	Illegal	0.544* (0.236)	0.674** (0.230)	-0.291 (0.218)	-0.051 (0.234)
	African American Family, Friends, or Co-workers	-0.139 (0.293)	-0.261 (0.288)	-0.041 (0.278)	0.289 (0.294)

	Age	-0.193[+] (0.009)	-0.023* (0.010)	0.001 (0.009)	-0.012 (0.010
	Gender	0.778 (0.072)	0.447[+] (0.239)	-0.085 (0.223)	-0.049 (0.242)
	Party Affiliation	0.223** (0.072)	0.172* (0.073)	0.101 (0.068)	-0.258** (.075)
	Education	0.068 (0.178)	-0.014 (0.181)	0.375* (0.168)	-0.159 (0.182)
	Income	0.223[+] (0.125)	0.188 (0.125)	-0.131 (0.116)	-0.174 (0.130)
	News Frequency	-0.120 (0.133)	0.049 (0.123)	0.119 (0.119)	-0.076 (0.128)
Model Stats	N	292	292	292	292
	χ^2 (18)	179.82***	139.43***	17.11	219.87***
	Log Likelihood	-362.518	-357.409	-443.927	-312.729

Notes: Two-tailed tests; robust standard errors in parentheses; [+] = $p < 0.10$; * = $p < 0.05$; ** = $p < 0.01$; *** = $p < 0.001$

In Model 9, we learn that there is a statistically significant relationship between anger and all of the types of social movement support with the exception of defending a black movement in a conversation. For active participation and financial donation, the relationship is positive, which means the angrier a person is, the more likely they are to participate actively in a black social movement and donate money to a black social movement organization. The coefficient for concern about the black community indicates a negative relationship because it is reverse coded. A 2 represents those white Americans who were very concerned about injustice toward the black community, and a 5 represents those white American participants who are not at all concerned. The angrier a white person is, the more likely they are to have concerns about injustices toward the black community.

Table 15. Model 10: Multivariate Ologit Regression with Scared as IVs

	DVs	Actively Participate	Donate Money	Defend in Conservation	Concerned about Injustice
IV	Scared	0.301* (0.149)	0.132 (0.147)	0.088 (0.133)	-0.356* (0.153)
Controls	White Privilege Statement on: Shopping	-0.542** (0.185)	-0.480** (0.1822)	0.333[+] (0.172)	0.161 (0.182)
	White Privilege Statement on: Finance	0.228[+] (0.129)	0.417** (0.131)	-0.153 (0.123)	-0.162 (0.131)
	White Privilege Statement on: Presidential Elections	-0.031 (0.130)	0.159 0.1300	0.017 (0.122)	-0.112 (0.136)
	White Privilege Statement on: Police	0.178 (0.149)	-0.119 (0.148)	0.089 (0.135)	-0.133 (0.151)
	White Privilege Statement on: African Americans and Affirmative Action	-0.551*** (0.114)	-0.515*** (0.111)	-0.052 (0.104)	0.983*** (0.126)
	Political Action Effectiveness	0.331* (0.134)	0.225 (0.139)	-0.179 (0.132)	-0.308* (0.135)
	Nonviolent Movement Support	0.043 (0.154)	0.102 (0.158)	0.063 (0.149)	-0.021 (0.154)
	Illegal	0.534* (0.237)	0.672** (0.231)	-0.296 (0.218)	-0.009 (0.234)
	African American Family, Friends, or Co-workers	-0.183 (0.293)	-0.339 (0.286)	-0.047 (0.277)	0.351 (0.291)
	Age	-0.019+ (0.009)	-0.022* (0.101)	0.001 (0.009)	-0.012 (0.010)
	Gender	0.112 (0.235)	0.469[+] (0.239)	-0.081 (0.223)	-0.118 (0.240)
	Party Affiliation	0.221** (0.072)	-0.174* (0.074)	0.098 (0.068)	-0.254* (0.075)
	Education	0.071 (0.177)	-0.021 (0.181)	0.373* (0.168)	-0.125 (0.179)
	Income	0.198 (0.125)	0.178 (0.126)	-0.138 (0.117)	-0.159 (0.129)

	Affirmative Action				
	Political Action Effectiveness	0.378** (0.138)	0.265[+] (0.142)	-0.178 (0.133)	-0.347* (0.138)
	Nonviolent Movement Support	-0.005 (0.154)	0.075 (0.159)	0.049 (0.149)	0.025 (0.156)
	Illegal	0.514* (0.237)	0.654** (0.231)	-0.294 (0.218)	0.022 (0.235)
	African American Family, Friends, or Co-workers	-0.155 (0.295)	-0.281 (0.288)	-0.043 (0.278)	0.384 (0.296)
	Age	-0.025* (0.009)	-0.028** (0.010)	0.001 (0.009)	-0.007 (0.010)
	Gender	-0.003 (0.236)	0.427[+] (0.241)	-0.089 (0.223)	-0.011 (0.243)
	Party Affiliation	0.248** (0.073)	0.184* (0.073)	0.104 (0.068)	-0.284*** (0.075)
	Education	0.076** (0.073)	0.007 (0.182)	0.377* (0.168)	-0.178 (0.182)
	Income	0.226[+] (0.126)	0.189 (0.125)	-0.131 (0.116)	-0.172 (0.188)
	News Frequency	-0.132 (0.134)	0.037 (0.123)	0.119 (0.119)	-0.046 (0.129)
Model Stats	**N**	292	292	292	292
	χ^2 (18)	188.81***	146.59***	17.36	214.97***
	Log Likelihood	-358.019	-353.828	-443.800	-315.183

Notes: Two-tailed tests; robust standard errors in parentheses; [+] = p < 0.10; * = p < 0.05; ** = p < 0.01; *** = p < 0.001

There is a statistically significant relationship between being sad and all of the forms of support, with the exception of defending in a conversation. The results in Model 11 are similar to the results of Model 9 that looked at anger instead of sadness. Unlike Model 9, however, all three relationships are significant at the 0.001 level. Therefore, we learn that the sadder the white participants are, the more likely they are to participate

actively in a black social movement, donate money to a black social movement organization, and express concerns about injustice toward the black community.

Table 17. Models 12-14: Multivariate Ologit Regression Emotions & TreatmentH2

		Moral 12 Angry	Moral 13 Scared	Moral 14 Sad
IV	**TreatmentH2**	-0.510* (0.231)	0.350 (0.255)	-0.098 (0.229)
Controls	**White Privilege Statement on: Shopping**	0.075 (0.175)	-0.373[+] (0.191)	-0.230 (0.179)
	White Privilege Statement on: Finance	0.422** (0.128)	0.322* (0.147)	0.439** (0.129)
	White Privilege Statement on: Presidential Elections	0.341** (0.129)	0.239 (0.146)	0.375** (0.131)
	White Privilege Statement on: Police	-0.259[+] (0.144)	-0.337* (0.154)	-0.251[+] (0.148)
	White Privilege Statement on: African Americans and Affirmative Action	-0.291** (0.108)	-0.232[+] (0.120)	-0.347** (0.109)
	Political Action Effectiveness	-0.238[+] (0.141)	-0.092 (0.149)	-0.139 (0.138)
	Nonviolent Movement Support	0.156 (0.156)	-0.167 (0.174)	0.169 (0.158)
	Illegal	0.199 (0.234)	0.406 (0.261)	0.273 (0.236)
	African American Family, Friends, or Co-workers	-0.411 (0.284)	-0.218 (0.328)	-0.254 (0.287)
	Age	0.004 (0.009)	-0.009 (0.011)	0.017[+] (0.010)
	Gender	0.089 (0.233)	-0.189 (0.259)	0.291 (0.235)
	Party Affiliation	0.118[+] (0.069)	0.093 (0.080)	-0.005 (0.070)
	Education	-0.089 (0.181)	-0.169 (0.201)	-0.098 (0.182)

	Income	0.033 (0.127)	0.185 (0.138)	-0.001 (0.128)
	News Frequency	-0.092 (0.259)	0.131 (0.151)	0.046 (0.138)
Model Stats	**N**	292	292	292
	χ^2 **(18)**	75.52***	48.17***	74.05***
	Log Likelihood	-343.809	-269.919	-340.271

Notes: Two-tailed tests; robust standard errors in parentheses; $^+$ = p < 0.10; * = p < 0.05; ** = p < 0.01; *** = p < 0.001

For Table 17, Model 12 is the only one with a statistically significant relationship between the independent variable and the dependent variable. In Model 12, this relationship is negative. A 0 represents those white participants who were assigned to Tony or Jeremiah, and a 1 represents those assigned to Jamal or Lodewikus. Given that the p-value is < 0.05, we conclude that those assigned to Tony or Jeremiah were more likely to report being angry than those assigned to Jamal or Lodewikus. This finding supports existing literature on ethnic name discrimination.

Table 18. Models 15-17: Multivariate Ologit Regression Emotions & TreatmentH3

DVs		**Moral 15 Angry**	**Moral 16 Scared**	**Moral 17 Sad**
IV	**TreatmentH3**	-0.215 (0.224)	-0.070 (0.246)	-0.082 (0.224)
Controls	**White Privilege Statement on: Shopping**	0.105 (0.175)	-0.393* (0.190)	-0.223 (0.179)
	White Privilege Statement on: Finance	0.399** (129)	0.335* (0.146)	0.436** (0.129)
	White Privilege Statement on: Presidential Elections	0.318* (0.129)	0.253$^+$ (0.145)	0.373** (0.131)
	White Privilege Statement on: Police	-0.298* (0.143)	-0.318* (0.153)	-0.259$^+$ (0.147)
	White Privilege			

	Statement on: African Americans and Affirmative Action	-0.298** (0.108)	-0.229+ (0.121)	-0.351 (0.109)
	Political Action Effectiveness	-0.196 (0.139)	-0.111 (0.149)	-0.134 (0.137)
	Nonviolent Movement Support	0.149 (0.156)	-0.163 (0.173)	0.168 (0.158)
	Illegal	0.193 (0.234)	0.422 (0.259)	0.270 (0.235)
	African American Family, Friends, or Co-workers	-0.396 (0.284)	-0.238 (0.326)	-0.252 (0.287)
	Age	0.006 (0.009)	0.008 (0.011)	0.018+ (0.010)
	Gender	0.085 (0.234)	-0.211 (0.259)	0.287 (0.235)
	Party Affiliation	0.106 (0.691)	0.101 (0.080)	-0.007 (0.069)
	Education	-0.104 (0.179)	-0.153 (0.200)	-0.099 (0.181)
	Income	0.020 (0.126)	0.196 (0.138)	-0.001 (0.128)
	News Frequency	0.047 (0.133)	0.122 (0.149)	0.049 (0.138)
Model Stats	**N**	292	292	292
	χ^2 (18)	71.53***	46.35***	74.01***
	Log Likelihood	-345.805	-270.831	-340.295

*Notes: Two-tailed tests; robust standard errors in parentheses; + = p < 0.10; * = p < 0.05; ** = p < 0.01; *** = p < 0.001*

In Models 15 through 17, there are no statistically significant relationships between "TreatmentH3" and any of the emotions. We fail to reject the null hypotheses, and conclude that the location in which the racial injustice occurs does not have a statistically significant effect on whether or not white participants feel angry, scared or sad. Although Models 15 through 17 do not tell us much about the significance of

location, they do reveal that other variables have a statistically significant relationship with the emotions. In the next section of this analysis chapter, I will discuss the last tests that I ran which highlight the important factors that influence how the participants evaluated the characters in the reports.

Other Intervening Variables (Character Evaluations)

Those participants who were assigned to reports were asked to what extent the characteristics "victim," "just," "innocent," "aggressive," "credible," and "vulnerable" apply to Tony, Jamal, Jeremiah, or Lodewikus, depending on which report they were assigned. The responses ranged from 1, which means "not at all," to 4 for "very well." I integrated all the same responses across the reports and created the following six new variables: "victnew," "justnew," "innocnew," "aggrnew," "crednew," and "vunlnew." Then I was able to test my three hypotheses as the independent variable and the character evaluations as the dependent variables. From these tests, I determined whether the name of the black person in the report and the location of the racial incident influenced the participants' evaluations. Since I did not ask the control group to evaluate any characters because they did not read a report, we could not test the first hypothesis.

First, I tested the relationship between the new evaluation variables and the treatment groups in a bivariate model (without any control variables). Then, I used chi-squared statistics to identify those statistically significant relationships that the bivariate ordered logistic models may have overlooked. The chi-squared statistics indicates which participants' responses are drove the model into statistical significance. From there, we can make inferences and learn more about white American support for black social movements.

Table 19. Model 18 Bivariate Ologit Regression Character Evaluations

		Victnew	Justnew	Innocnew	Aggrnew	Crednew	Vunlnew	Dependent Variables
Independent Variables	TreatmentH2	-0.187 (0.212)	-0.352[+] (0.210)	-0.420 (0.263)	0.276 (0.343)	-0.268 (0.218)	-0.062 (0.216)	
	TreatmentH3	-0.049 (0.212)	-0.239 (0.209)	-0.070 (0.257)	-0.322 (0.343)	-0.196 (0.217)	0.046 (0.217)	

Notes: Two-tailed tests; robust standard errors in parentheses; [+] = p < 0.10; * = p < 0.05; ** = p < 0.01; *** = p < 0.001

In the bivariate ordered logistic model, there is only one statistically significant relationship, between "justnew" and "TreatmentH2." This relationship is negative, and we can infer that those white Americans who were assigned to Tony or Jeremiah were statistically more likely to evaluate them as just. The negated relationship is much more revealing. Those white Americans assigned to Jamal or Lodewikus were statistically more likely to evaluate them as less just or not just at all. This finding confirms what is regularly discussed in ethnic name literature: preconceived notions and stereotypes. The literature explains that bias against black people with ethnic names can directly affect their livelihood, and hinder them from specific opportunities (Bertrand and Mullainathan 2003). If the reports were real, white Americans' negative perception of Jamal and Lodewikus could cost the two men their lives. We do not know whether those white Americans who view Jamal and Lodewikus as unjust are openly racist. The effect of their bias is the same, regardless if they are intentionally discriminatory. The chi-square chart below gives us more detail for this finding.

Table 20. Model 19 Chi-Squared Statistics: Just

Justnew	0 (assigned to Tony or Jeremiah)	1 (assigned to Jamal or Lodewikus)	Total
Not At All	54 60.4 42.86	72 65.6 57.14	126 126.0 100.00
Not Very Well	33 35.0 45.21	40 38.0 54.79	73 73.0 100.00
Somewhat Well	56 55.6 48.28	34 25.9 62.96	116 116.0 100.00
Very Well	34* 25.9 62.96	20* 28.1 37.04	54 54.0 100.00
Total	177 177.0 47.97	192 192.0 52.03	369 369.0 100.00
P-value	0.093[+]		

Notes: *= the residual value for this relationship is between -1.6 and 1.6, demonstrating statistical significance. [+] = p < 0.1. Residual = $\frac{(Observed\ value - Expected\ value)}{\sqrt{Expected\ value}}$ Key: (top row) frequency, (middle) expected frequency, (bottom) row percentage

Using the residual formula, I was able to determine which groups of white respondents were driving the chi-squared statistics to significance. The highlighted areas both have high residuals, which indicate that their responses were significantly different than predicted. Specifically, the residuals for these findings are 1.591 for Tony and Jeremiah and -1.509 for Jamal and Lodewikus. Those white participants assigned a report with Tony or Jeremiah were more likely than expected to express that the characteristic just applies to them. Also, white participants assigned to Jamal or Lodewikus were less likely to believe that the characteristic just applies to them. In short, there is statistically significant evidence to prove that white Americans hold, either consciously or unconsciously, negative perceptions of black people with ethnic names more so than they hold against black people with racially ambiguous names.

Although not significant at the bivariate level, there is a statistically significant relationship between "victnew" and "TreatmentH2". The chi-squared statistics captures where, specifically, the disparity is between the expected values and the observed values for this model.

Table 21. Model 20 Chi-Squared Statistics: Victim

Victnew	0 (assigned to Tony or Jeremiah)	1 (assigned to Jamal or Lodewikus)	**Total**
Not At All	9* 15.6 25.71	26* 19.4 74.29	35 35.0 100.00
Not Very Well	28 22.3 56.00	22 27.7 44.00	50 50.0 100.00
Somewhat Well	44 45.6 43.14	58 56.4 56.86	102 102.0 100.00
Very Well	53 50.5 46.90	60 62.5 53.10	113 113.0 100.00
Total	134 134.0 44.67	166 166.0 55.33	300 300.0 100.00
P-value	0.046*		

Notes: the highlighted areas indicate that the residual value for this relationship is between -2 and 2, demonstrating statistical significance. *= p < 0.01 $Residual = \frac{(Observed\ value - Expected\ value)}{\sqrt{Expected\ value}}$ Key: (top row) frequency, (middle) expected frequency, (bottom) row percentage.

The residuals for the first row, associated with the answer choice "not at all," are -1.67 and 1.49. We learn that those white participants who read a report with Tony or Jeremiah were less likely than predicted to view Tony or Jeremiah as not at all a victim. Also, the participants assigned to a report with either Jamal or Lodewikus were more likely than predicted to evaluate Jamal or Lodewikus as not at all a victim. In other words, whether or not a black person has an ethnic name affects how white Americans perceive them. In the last section of this analysis, I will discuss the control variables that have a statistically significant relationship with support for a black social movement.

Additional Factors (Control Variables)

Table 22. Statistically Significant Control Variables

Variables	Models
White Privilege Statement on: Shopping	Model 2, Model 4, Model 5, Model 7, Model 8, Model 9, Model 10, Model 11, Model 13, and Model 16
White Privilege Statement on: Finance	Model 1, Model 2, Model 3, Model 4, Model 5, Model 7, Model 8, Model 9, Model 10, Model 11, Model 12, Model 13, Model 15, Model 16, Model 17
White Privilege Statement on: Presidential Elections	Model 1, Model 12, Model 14, Model 16, Model 17
White Privilege Statement on: Police	Model 12, Model 13, Model 14, Model 15, Model 16, Model 17
White Privilege Statement on: African Americans and Affirmative Action	Model 1, Model 2, Model 3, Model 4, Model 5, Model 7, Model 8, Model 9, Model 10, Model 11, Model 12, Model 13, Model 14, Model 15, Model 16
Political Action Effectiveness	Model 1, Model 2, Model 4, Model 7, Model 8, Model 9, Model 10, Model 11, Model 12
Illegal	Model 1, Model 2, Model 4, Model 5, Model 7, Model 8, Model 9, Model 10, Model 11
Age	Model 2, Model 4, Model 5, Model 7, Model 8, Model 9, Model 10, Model 11, Model 14, Model 17
Gender	Model 2, Model 5, Model 11
Party Affiliation	Model 1, Model 2, Model 4, Model 5, Model 7, Model 8, Model 9, Model 10, Model 11, Model 12
Education	Model 1, Model 4, Model 5, Model 7, Model 8, Model 9, Model 10, Model 11
Income	Model 2, Model 5, Model 8, Model 11

Table 22 illustrates that all of the control variables, except having African American family members, friends, or co-workers, and news frequency, had some statistical significance in the Models with the exception of nonviolent movement support. Also indicated by the table, each of the control variables is statistically significant in more than one model. Next we will look at each control variable individually and interpret the statistically significant relationships.

White Privilege Statements

As indicated in Table 22, acknowledgment of the various types of white privilege was the most consistently influential control variable throughout this study. That being said, the white privilege statement on finance and affirmative action had statistically significant relationships in almost all of the Models. With the exception of Model 2, all of the Models that had a statistically significant relationship between the white privilege statement on finance and the dependent variables are all positive. Based on the coefficients in the Models, we know that white people who agree that their race plays a factor in the way others perceive their financial situation were more likely to support a black social movement. The affirmative action statement, unlike the statement on finance, is reverse coded, and, consequently, has a negative statistically significant relationship. Those white participants who disagree with the statement that affirmative action gives African Americans an unfair advantage are more likely to support a black social movement.

Political Action Effectiveness

Similar to the white privilege statements, views on political action effectiveness is another control variable with statistical significances in multiple models. In a few of the models, the relationship between views on political action and the dependent variable is positive, meaning that the more white participants agree that political action is an effective means to solve societal problems, the more likely they are to support a black social movement. In Models 2, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12, however, the relationship between views on political action effectiveness has a negative relationship with the dependent variables. In Model 8, for instance, we learn that the more white participants believe that

political action is an effective way to address societal problems, the less likely they are to defend a black social movement in a conversation and express concern about injustice toward the black community.

Illegal Activity

The control variable "illegal activity" has statistical significance in nine of the Models for this study. In all nine Models, the coefficients for the relationship are positive. Furthermore, the p-values for the nine Models are all at least significant at the 0.05 level. With this information, we learn that those white participants who do not know anyone accused of being involved in illegal activity were statistically more likely to support a black social movement. This finding is innovative, and has not been discussed in previous literature on social movements. That being said, the depth at which we understand this relationship is limited. In other words, my study does not explain the casual mechanism for this relationship, and we do not know why this relationship exists.

Age

The age of the survey participants is another variable that I controlled for and has statistical significance with the dependent variables. For the majority of the statistically significant Models, age has a negative relationship. In Model 2, for instance, we learn that the older the white participants are, the less likely they are to donate money to a black social movement organization. Also, the older the participants are, the less likely they are to experience moral shock (see Model 3). In Model 5, we learn that the older the participants are, the less likely they are to participate actively in a black social movement. Model 14 demonstrates a positive relationship between age and a dependent variable. In

that Model, we learn that the older the participants are, the more likely they are to report feeling sad after they read a report that depicts racial injustice.

Gender

Unlike age, the gender of the participants was only statistically significant in three of the Models, namely Models 2, 5, and 8. All three Models depict the same statistically significant relationship between gender and monetary donations. The relationship is positive. Since I coded this variable as "1" for male and "2" for female, we learn from all three Models that the female participants in my study were more likely to report that they would donate money to a black social movement organization than were their male counterparts. Again, we do not have the causal mechanism for the relationship, and cannot explain this phenomenon.

Political Party Affiliation

My study reveals that political party affiliation plays a role in whether or not a white American decides to support in a black social movement. From Models 1, 2, and 5, we learn that the participants who affiliate with the Democratic Party are more likely to participate actively in a black social movement and donate money to a black social movement organization. In Models 2 and 5, there is a negative relationship between political party affiliation and concern about racial injustice. This relationship is negative because of how concern about racial injustice was coded. A 1 represents those who were extremely concerned, and a 5 represents those who were not at all concerned. From this, we learn that those participants who affiliate either moderately or strongly with the Republican Party were statistically less likely to express concern when asked about injustice toward the black community. Model 12 reveals how party affiliation influences

a person's emotional reaction when exposed to racial injustice. White participants who affiliate with the Democratic Party are more likely to express anger when exposed to a report depicting racial injustice than are their right-leaning counterparts.

Education

My study supports and contributes to the literature on the relationship between education and support for social movements. In Models 1, 4, and 7, we learn that there is a positive statistically significant relationship between education and support for a black social movement. In other words, the more educated the participants are, the more likely they are to support a black social movement. This evidence supports the arguments MacAdam presents about the Freedom Summer of 1964, where wealthy white college students from elite institutions joined the Civil Rights Movement. My study also contributes to the literature because it reveals that the more educated the white participants are, the more likely they were to express their willingness to defend a black social movement in a conversation with a friend or family member (see Models 5, and 8 through 11).

Income

Lastly, income is another control variable that has a statistically significant relationship with support for a black social movement. In Models 5, 8, and 11, we learn that the higher the participants' incomes are, the more likely they are to express their willingness to actively participate in a black social movement. Similar to education level, this finding supports MacAdam's argument. In Model 2, we learn that there is a positive statistically significant relationship between income and willingness to donate money to a black social movement organization. In other words, the higher the income is for

participants, the more likely they are to donate money to a black social movement organization. Although we do not know the causal mechanism to explain why this occurs, this finding still contributes to the social movement literature.

With the data presented in this chapter, we can begin to answer my research question: when do white Americans support black social movements? Broadly, as hypothesized, white Americans are more likely to support a black social movement when they are exposed to an instance of racial injustice. Further, the data reveals the usage of ethnic names in instances of racial injustice weakens white Americans' emotional response (moral shock) to racial injustice, *however,* the usage of ethnic names does not necessary affect white Americans' support for a black social movement. Also, white Americans are more likely to support, specifically participate actively in, a black social movement that occurs outside of the U.S. as hypothesized. The data from this study can be used to predict specific demographic information of a white American who supports black social movements. These white supporters will most likely be young, educated, middle or upper class, conscious of their white privilege, politically left-leaning individuals who believe that political action is an effective means for social change, and who do not know anyone accused of illegal activity.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

The question examined in this study asks under what conditions will white Americans support black social movements? I developed three hypotheses for the relationship between exposure to race-based injustice and white American support. First, white Americans who are exposed to a clear instance of race-based injustice will be more likely to experience moral shock, and as a result will be more likely to support a black social movement. Also, based on previous literature on ethnic names, moral shock will be mitigated when white Americans are presented with a clear instance of race-based injustice against a black person with an ethnic name, and as a result, will be less likely to support a black social movement. Lastly, I hypothesize that white Americans often expect racial injustice outside of the U.S., and, therefore, when exposed to a clear instance of race-based injustice in a foreign country, are less likely to have moral shock; however, white Americans are more likely to support a foreign black social movement (even absent moral shock) because their support does not require any loss of their advantages that a similar movement in the U.S. would.

The results of this study support my first and third hypothesis. The intervening variable, moral shock, in my first hypothesis could not be tested. The dependent variable, on the other hand, support for a black social movement was tested. The results of ordered logistic tests suggest that exposure to an instance of racial injustice makes a difference in whether or not a white American support and participate in a black social movement. In other words, seeing something matters. Therefore, the latter component of the first hypothesis was confirmed.

Further, the third hypothesis was confirmed in full. First, as predicted, there was

no statistically significant difference in moral shock between those white participants exposed to a story set in the U.S. and those participants exposed to a story that took place in South Africa. Furthermore, when asked about their likelihood of participating actively in a black social movement, white participants who read a report about an instance in Cape Town, South Africa were more likely to express their willingness to participate (See Model 8).

The second hypothesis, on the other hand, was rejected in full. There was not statistically significant difference in moral shock between white Americans exposed to a story with an ethnic name and those exposed to a story without an ethnic name. There is no statistically significant evidence indicating that white Americans are more or less likely to support a black social movement when exposed to an instance of racial injustice against a black person with an ethnic name.

Similar to the location of the instance of injustice, a white American's emotional reaction influences whether or not they choose to support a black social movement. As Models 9, 10, and 11 indicate, the angrier or sadder white Americans are, the more likely they are to participate actively in a black social movement, donate money to a black social movement organization, and have concerns about injustice toward the black community.

Not only was I able to find statistical significance regarding white Americans' emotional response to racial injustice, but also I was also able to determine how they evaluate and perceive the black characters in the reports. For instance, in Model 19 in Table 20, there is statistically significant evidence that suggests white Americans are more likely to perceive a black man with a racially ambiguous name to be more "just"

and are less likely to characterize a black man with an ethnic name as "just". Further

evidence indicates that white Americans are likely to perceive that a black man with an

ethnic name is not a victim when handcuffed and wrongfully taken into police custody

(See Model 20 in Table 21).

Throughout the various tests, specific control variables had a strong statistically

significant relationship between the dependent variables. Namely, views on the

effectiveness of political action, history with illegal activity, political party affiliation,

and three of the white privilege statements, all remained statistically significant while

testing the dependent variables. Those white Americans who expressed that political

action can be an effective means to bring change were more likely to support a black

movement. Also, those white Americans who do not have a criminal background are

more likely to support a black movement. White Americans who either weakly or

strongly affiliate with the Democratic Party are more likely to support a black social

movement. Lastly, white Americans who acknowledge their privilege of not being

harassed while shopping, acknowledge their privilege of perceived financial stability, and

do not have negative views about affirmative action programs will be more likely to

support a black social movement.

Evaluation of Study

That being said, one of the limitations of this study is that the findings may not be

very generalizable. As with any experimental design, external validity was a challenge. I

recognize that the findings apply to those white Americans who took my survey because I

used their data for the statistical analysis. However, these findings may not be as

applicable to the white American population at large. As indicated in Chapter 2, the

sample for this study is younger and more politically left leaning than the national white American population. I also acknowledge that asking a white American to report their likelihood of supporting a black movement is not the same as them actually supporting a black social movement. If I had to redo this study, I would include a test to determine whether white Americans would pursue an opportunity to support a black social movement if I presented one to them. This study could have provided the participants with a link to a black social movement organization's website where they could have actually made a donation or provide their email addresses to receive updates and invitations to political rallies.

Another major limitation of this study is its inability to test the first hypothesis properly. The white participants in the control group were not asked if they feel moral shock. Thus, it was impossible to test this intervening variable, and consequently, we do not know if moral shock conjures support for a black social movement. This limitation is a result of oversight on my behalf. If I could redo this analysis, I would ask the participants in the control group "to what extent does the term "shocked" apply to them when thinking about injustice in the black community?" With that data, I would run a simple bivariate ordered logistic test with "shocked" as the dependent variable and "TreatmentH1" as the independent variable. The p-value would tell me whether there is a statistically significant difference in shock between those participants in the control group and those participants in the treatment groups.

This study leaves a few important questions yet to be answered. First, we do not know if the reports (the treatments) need to be amplified in violence to conjure moral shock or other emotional reactions. In other words, we still do not know if white

Americans are desensitized to racial injustice against black Americans. Has the racially violent history of this country numbed the white majority and hindered them from seeing even the most minor of civil rights violations? Furthermore, questions remain about whether the media's recent coverage of police brutality is the reason for this desensitization. We do not know if white Americans would be more likely to express moral shock if the black person in the report was beaten or killed by the police instead of being handcuffed and taken into custody temporarily. This study does not address these questions; however, it does highlight the role location plays in white Americans' emotional response to racial injustice and support for black movements.

Although I was able to prove that white Americans are more likely to participate actively in a black social movement outside of the U.S., I was not able to prove if the lack of threat to their advantages is the explanation for this support. Perhaps they perceive racial injustices as more severe in South Africa than in the U.S. Maybe being out of sight and out of mind is an advantage for black social movements outside of the U.S. Maybe for white Americans it is easier to believe that racism is a bigger problem in a country that is not their own.

In my last hypothesis, I also predicted that white Americans would not experience moral shock because they may expect racial injustice. The data presented in this study does not inform us about whether or not white Americans expect violence outside of the U.S. even though it successfully proves the moral shock component of the hypothesis. To answer this question, I could have asked the participants assigned to the reports set in South Africa how surprised they were to learn that racial injustice occurs outside of the U.S. If the participants indicated that they were not surprised about racial injustice in

South Africa, then we would have evidence indicating that white Americans expect violence outside of the U.S., and thus would not experience moral shock.

Not only does this study support the third hypothesis, but it also proves that emotions matter and affect whether or not white Americans support a black social movement. That being said, the study offers no solidified explanation as to where these emotional reactions come from. Although the participants in the treatment groups were asked to share their emotional reaction based on what they just read, we do not know for certain if the reports themselves triggered their emotional response. Clearly, there is, at least, the possibility that the participants who reported being angry, sad, scared, or shocked felt these emotions before they started the survey. One possible explanation for this is the acknowledgement of white privilege. Being conscious of one's own advantages may foster negative emotions when thinking about someone's disadvantage. Furthermore, white Americans who acknowledge their white privilege may foster negative feelings about racial injustice because they feel they do not have the power to fix it.

Implications

The evidence presented is this study confirms what the ethnic name literature and cross-racial relations literature already articulates. White Americans perceive black Americans more negatively when they have an ethnic name. My study supports this theory outlined in ethnic name literature. My study presents evidence that white Americans also perceive black South Africans with an ethnic name more negatively as well. We can infer that negative perceptions of black people with an ethnic name are a phenomenon that affects black people regardless of nationality. Black people with ethnic

names around the world are subject to the same discrimination.

Similar to ethnic name literature, my study supports existing literature on cross-racial relations, specifically how white Americans view race-based policies and programs. In almost every test that I ran, views on affirmative action were strong and statistically significant. White participants who believe blacks have an unfair advantage because of affirmative action and other race-based policies were less likely to support a black social movement. This finding confirms what scholars like Norton and Sommers argue, namely that white Americans on average have a harder time recognizing anti-black bias and are more likely to feel anti-white bias is a bigger issue (Norton and Sommers 2011, 215). If whites believe anti-black bias is no longer a major societal issue, then they are likely to believe affirmative action programs are no longer needed. Furthermore, they would be inclined not to support a black social movement because they feel anti-black bias is not as prevalent as it was in the past.

This study contributes to the ongoing scholarly debate on social movement mobilization. Specifically, this study contributes to the limited cross-racial social movement mobilization literature. There are a few lessons that black social movement organizations can take away from my study. First, since those white participants who were exposed to an instance of racial injustice were more likely to support a black social movement, black social movement organizations may be able to gain white American support if they launched an awareness campaign. In this campaign, black Americans who have had their rights violated by the police based on their race can share their stories. The purpose of this awareness campaign would be to spark an emotional reaction from potential white allies, which as we know from the data, is correlated with supporting a

black social movement. My study reveals that white Americans are not morally shocked when the instance of injustice involves a black person being temporarily detained. Black social movement organizations should strategically choose stories that depict extreme cases of injustice and violence. Maybe then they will have a better time conjuring white American support.

Lastly, in an attempt to gain white American support, black social movement organizations should promote their cause and raise white awareness by strategically choosing cases of racial injustice involving a black person with a racially ambiguous name. My study reveals that this strategy will serve black movement organizations well since white Americans are less likely to perceive a black person with an ethnic name to be a victim. A black person with a racially ambiguous name will also be perceived to be just more so than their counterparts with an ethnic name. Perceiving a black person to be a victim who is just may be a stepping for a white Americans to support a black social movement. Although this approach may be strategically beneficial, it raises some normative concerns. Furthermore, forming campaigns around black people with racially ambiguous names may conjure more white Americans support; however, their negative bias against black people with ethnic names will not change.

Future Research

My study reveals that there are many possibilities for further research on the influence of emotions and exposure to racial injustice on white American support. This study focused specifically on black social movements; however, more can be said about white American perceptions of African Americans more broadly. Further research could benefit from examining whether or not gender dynamics influence a white American's

decision to support a black social movement. Are white Americans more or less likely to support a black social movement when exposed to an instance of racial injustice against a black woman? Furthermore, future research could benefit from examining whether or not the sexual orientation of the black person in the report influences a white American's support for a black social movement. Lastly, my study innovatively finds that white Americans are more likely to participate actively in a black movement out of the U.S. Future research should examine this relationship between the location of a black movement and white American support. Exploring this relationship can guide black social movement organizations outside of the U.S. that want to gain interracial support.

Unless there are some serious policy changes regarding the racial disparities in the criminal justice system in this country, black social movements will continue their struggle for racial equality. Consequently, the need for supportive white American allies will only increase with time. Understanding how and why white Americans support black social movements will become more important for black social movement organizations. These organizations will begin to realize that supportive white allies are essential to political change. Once black social movement organizations, like #BlackLivesMatter, understand the mechanisms that lead to white American support, they can channel their resources more effectively and achieve their goal: racial equality.

Reference

Berinsky, A. J., G. A. Huber, and G. S. Lenz. 2012. "Evaluating Online Labor Markets for Experimental Research: Amazon.com's Mechanical Turk." *Political Analysis* 20(3): 351–68.

Bertrand, Marianne, and Sendhil Mullainathan. 2003. *Are Emily and Greg More Employable than Lakisha and Jamal? A Field Experiment on Labor Market Discrimination*. National Bureau of Economic Research. Working Paper.

Bursell, Moa. 2007. *What's in a Name? A Field Experiment Test for the Existence of Ethnic Discrimination in the Hiring Process*. Stockholm University Linnaeus Center for Integration Studies

Bowler, Shaun, and Gary M. Segura. 2012. *The Future Is Ours*. Thousand Oaks, Calif: CQ Press/SAGE.

Chong, Dennis. 1991. *Collective Action and the Civil Rights Movement*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Flynn, Simone I. 2011. "Resource Mobilization Theory." *Sociology Reference Guide*: 111–44.

Foster, M. D., and K. Matheson. 1995. "Double Relative Deprivation: Combining the Personal and Political." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 21(11): 1167–77.

Gurr, Ted Robert. 2011. *Why Men Rebel*. 40. anniversary paperback ed. Boulder, Colo.: Paradigm Publ.

Jasper, James M. 1997. *The Art of Moral Protest: Culture, Biography, and Creativity in Social Movements*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Jasper, James M., and Jane D. Poulsen. 1995. "Recruiting Strangers and Friends: Moral Shocks and Social Networks in Animal Rights and Anti-Nuclear Protests." *Social Problems* 42(4): 493–512.

Jenkins, J. Craig. 1983. "Resource Mobilization Theory and the Study of Social Movements." *Annual Review of Sociology* 9: 527–53.

Kelly, Caroline, and Sara Breinlinger. 1996. *The Social Psychology of Collective Action: Identity, Injustice, and Gender*. London: Taylor & Francis.

Klandermans, Bert. 1997. *The Social Psychology of Protest*. Oxford, UK ; Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell Publishers.

Klandermans, Bert, and Marga de Weerd. 2000. *Group Identification and Political Protest in Self, Identity, and Social Movements*. eds. Sheldon Stryker, Timothy J. Owens, and Robert W. White. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Laraña, Enrique, Hank Johnston, and Joseph Gusfield. 1994. "Identities, Grievances, and New Social Movements." *Temple University Press*.

Major, Brenda. 1994. "From Social Inequality to Personal Entitlement: The Role of Social Comparisons, Legitimacy Appraisals, and Group Membership." In *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, Elsevier, 293–355.

MacAdam, Doug. 1990. *Freedom Summer*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press.
Mason, Winter, and Siddharth Suri. 2012. "Conducting Behavioral Research on Amazon's Mechanical Turk." *Behavior Research Methods* 44(1): 1–23.

Melucci, Alberto, John Keane, and Paul Mier. 1989. *Nomads of the Present: Social Movements and Individual Needs in Contemporary Society*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Norton, M. I., and S. R. Sommers. 2011. "Whites See Racism as a Zero-Sum Game That They Are Now Losing." *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 6(3): 215–18.

Penn State Eberly College of Science. 2016. "Lesson 12: Multicollinearity and Other Regression Pitfalls." https://onlinecourses.science.psu.edu/stat501/node/343 (March 15, 2016).

Polletta, Francesca. 2001. "Collective Identity and Social Movements." *Annual Review of Sociology* 27: 283–305.

Olson, James M., C. Peter Herman, and Mark P. Zanna, eds. 1986. *Relative Deprivation and Social Comparison*. Hillsdale, N.J: L. Erlbaum Associates.

Safa, H. I. 1990. "Women's Social Movements in Latin America." *Gender & Society* 4(3): 354–69.

Stekelenburg, Jacquelien van, Conny Roggeband, and Bert Klandermans, eds. 2013. *The Future of Social Movement Research: Dynamics, Mechanisms, and Processes*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Simmons, Erica. 2014. "Grievances Do Matter in Mobilization." *Theory and Society* 43(5): 513–46.

Smelser, Neil J. 2011. *Theory of Collective Behavior / by Neil J. Smelser ; with 2011 Foreword by Gary T. Marx*. New Orleans: Quid Pro.

Snow, David A. 2013. "Grievances, Individual and Mobilizing." In *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements.*

Snow, David A., and Louis Zurcher. 1980. "Social Networks and Social Movements- A Microstructural Approach to Differential Recruitment.pdf." *American Sociological Review* 45.

Street et al. 2015. "Party Identification Trends, 1992-2014." *Pew Research Center for the People and the Press*.

Tesler, Michael, and David O. Sears. 2010. *Obama's Race: The 2008 Election and the Dream of a Post-Racial America*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

U. S. Census Bureau, Demographic Internet Staff. 2013. "Age and Sex." http://www.census.gov/population/age/ (February 11, 2016).

U. S. Census Bureau, Demographic Internet Staff. 2014. "Age and Sex Composition in the United States: 2012." http://www.census.gov/population/age/data/2012comp.html (February 12, 2016).

Weitzer, Ronald, and Steven A. Tuch. 2004. "Race and Perceptions of Police Misconduct." *Social Problems* 51(3): 305–25.

Weldon, S. Laurel. 2002. *Protest, Policy, and the Problem of Violence Against Women: A Cross-National Comparison*. University of Pittsburgh Press.

Zunes, Stephen. 1999. "The Role of Non-Violent Action in the Downfall of Apartheid." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 37(1): 137–69.

Appendix A: Survey

Consent

Please read the directions and answer the questions that follow. The survey is completely confidential, so please answer as honestly as possible. You may refuse to answer any question or end your participation in the survey at any time. After completing the survey you will be credited $0.50 to your MTurk account. By clicking next, you are consenting to participate in the survey and certify that you are over 18 years of age. Thank you for your time.

Treatments

Control

Please click next to continue with the survey.

Report #1: Tony

Please read the following description. After this, we will ask you a few questions.

On January 13th, 2014 at 11:30 in the evening, Tony, a 35-year-old black African- American man was on his way home from a friend's party in Richmond. Walking through a predominantly white neighborhood to get home faster, he was stopped by a white police officer. The officer was investigating a reported burglary in the area, and asked Tony to turn around, handcuffed him, and put him in the back of his police car. After radioing in, the officer learned that Tony did not fit the description of the burglary suspect. The officer released Tony and continued his patrol. No charges were brought against the officer or Tony.

Report #2: Jamal

Please read the following description. After this, we will ask you a few questions.

On January 13th, 2014 at 11:30 in the evening, Jamal, a 35-year-old black African-American man was on his way home from a friend's party in Richmond. Walking through a majority white neighborhood to get home faster, he was stopped by a white police officer. The officer was investigating a reported burglary in the area, and asked Jamal to turn around, handcuffed him, and put him in the back of his police car. After radioing in, the officer learned that Jamal did not fit the detailed

description of the burglary suspect. The officer released Jamal and continued his patrol. No charges were brought against the officer or Jamal.

Report #3: Jeremiah

Please read the following description. After this, we will ask you a few questions.

On January 13th, 2014 at 11:30 in the evening, Jeremiah, a 35-year-old black South African man was on his way home from a friend's party in Cape Town. Walking through a majority white neighborhood to get home faster, he was stopped by a white police officer. The officer was investigating a reported burglary in the area, and asked Jeremiah to turn around, handcuffed him, and put him in the back of his police car. After radioing in, the officer learned that Jeremiah did not fit the detailed description of the burglary suspect. The officer released Jeremiah and continued his patrol. No charges were brought against the officer or Jeremiah.

Report #4: Lodewikus

Please read the following description. After this, we will ask you a few questions.

On January 13th, 2014 at 11:30 in the evening, Lodewikus, a 35-year-old black South African man was on his way home from a friend's party in Cape Town. Walking through a majority white neighborhood to get home faster, he was stopped by a white police officer. The officer was investigating a reported burglary in the area, and asked Lodewikus to turn around, handcuffed him, and put him in the back of his police car. After radioing in, the officer learned that Lodewikus did not fit the detailed description of the burglary suspect. The officer released Lodewikus and continued his patrol. No charges were brought against the officer or Lodewikus.

Questions

Q1. How do the following words describe how you feel after reading the report?

	Not at All	**Not very well**	**Somewhat well**	**Very well**
Angry				
Scared				
Happy				
Shocked				
Sad				

Q3. Based on what you just read, how well do the following characteristics describe Tony/Jamal/Jeremiah/Lodewikus from the report?

	Not at all	Not very well	Somewhat well	Very well
Victim				
Just				
Innocent				
Aggressive				
Credible				
Vulnerable				

Q4. Based on what you just read, how well do the following characteristics describe the police officer from the report?

	Not at all	Not very well	Somewhat well	Very well
Victim				
Just				
Innocent				
Aggressive				
Credible				
Vulnerable				

Q5. What was the main actor in the report doing when he was stopped by the police officer?

- Driving to visit a friend
- Driving to work
- Walking home from a party

Q6. What did the police officer do to the other main actor in the report?

- Handcuffed him
- Aimed his gun at him
- Left him alone

Q7. How likely are you to support a social movement organized to advance the interests and protect the needs of the black community?

- Very unlikely
- Unlikely
- Neither likely nor unlikely
- Likely
- Very likely

Q8. How likely are you to actively participate in a social movement that aims to advance the interests and protect the needs of the black community?

- Very unlikely
- Unlikely
- Neither likely nor unlikely
- Likely
- Very likely

Q9. How likely are you to donate money to a social movement that aims to advance the interests and protect the needs of the black community?

- Very unlikely
- Unlikely
- Neither likely nor unlikely
- Likely
- Very likely

Q10. In a conversation with a family member or friend, how likely are you to defend the importance of a social movement organized to advance the interests and protect the needs of the black community?

- Very unlikely
- Unlikely
- Neither likely nor unlikely
- Likely
- Very likely

Q11. Think about the report you just read; to what extent are the following important to your views on the event:

- The race of the police officer
- The race of the man handcuffed
- The gender of the police officer
- The gender of the man handcuffed
- That there was a burglary reported

    - Not at all important
    - Unimportant
    - Neither important nor unimportant
    - Important
    - Very important

Q12. To what extent do you agree with the following statement: The race of the main actors in the report plays a role in how they interact with each other.

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

Q13. How concerned are you when thinking about injustice and violence toward the black community?

- Extremely concerned
- Very concerned
- Somewhat concerned
- Not too concerned
- Not at all concerned

Q14. How do you feel about the #BlackLivesMatter movement?

- Very negatively
- Negatively
- Neither positively nor negatively
- Positively
- Very positively

Q15. To what extent do you agree with the following statements:

- I can go shopping alone and assume that I will not be followed or harassed by store security.
- People perceive me to be financially reliable because of the color of my skin.
- Presidential campaigns adequately address the issues that affect my racial group.
- When I see police in my neighborhood, I do not fear for my physical safety.
- Affirmative action programs give African Americans an unfair advantage when applying to college or a job.

    - Strongly disagree
    - Disagree
    - Neither agree nor disagree
    - Agree
    - Strongly agree

Q16. To what extent do you agree with the following statement: Political action is an effective means to address issues in our society.

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

Q17. To what extent do you agree with the following statement: I am more likely to support movements that use nonviolent tactics.

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

Q18. Do you know anyone who has ever been accused of being involved in illegal activity?

- Yes
- No

Q19. What is 5 minus 3?

Q20. Do you have any co-workers, peers, friends or family members who are African-American?

- Yes
- No

Q21. How would you describe your racial identity?

- Black/African American
- White/Caucasian
- Hispanic
- Asian
- Other (please describe)

Q22. What is your age in years?

Q23. Which of the following best describes your gender?

- Male
- Female

- Transgendered male
- Transgendered female
- Other (please explain)

Q24. Generally speaking, how would you describe your political party affiliation?

- Strong Republican
- Weak Republican
- Independent who leans Republican
- Independent
- Independent who leans Democrat
- Weak Democrat
- Strong Democrat

Q25. What is your highest completed level of education?

- Grade school
- High school
- Undergraduate (College)
- Graduate or Professional school

Q26. Which of the following best describes your median household income?

- Below $30,000
- Between $30,001 and $60,000
- Between $60,001 and $100,000
- Between $100,001 and $150,000
- More than $150,001

Q27. What is your zip code?

Q28. How often do you follow the news?

- Never
- Rarely
- Several times a month
- Once a week
- Daily

Q29. How much have you been following the news regarding recent violent incidents involving the police?

- Not at all
- Occasionally
- Frequently

Q30. Have you ever participated in any social movement activity before?

- Never
- Between 1 and 5 activities
- More than 5 activities

Debrief

Thank you for your participation in this study. The purpose of this investigation is to determine under what conditions white Americans support black social movements. I created fictitious stories that depict a racial incident in order to ensure participants' responses reflected those that might occur in the real world. The individuals in the stories are not real people. Participants were shown varying stories of a black man, with or without an ethnic name, being subjected to racial discrimination. All participants were asked questions about their opinions of race relations and black social movements, and whether they would be willing to support a black social movement. I anticipate that participants who were exposed to a clear instance of race-based injustice will be more likely to feel "moral shock" and as a result, will be more likely to support a black social movement. Thank you again for your participation in this study. If you have any questions or concerns about this study, please feel free to contact Latrice Burks at lburks16@wooster.edu or 216-570-6780. You may also contact my supervisor, Dr. Michele Leiby, at mleiby@wooster.edu or 1-330-287-1951. **Please click next to receive your MTurk payment code**.

Survey Codebook

-control, dichotomous variable
      1= in control group
      0= not in control group

-Tony, categorical variable
      1= assigned to blurb about Tony
      0= either control or other treatment

-Feelings Qs, categorical variable
How do the following words describe how you feel after reading the report?

      Angry
      Scared
      Happy
      Sad
      Shocked

      1=Not at all

2=Not very well
3=Somewhat well
4=Very well

-Char_Eval, categorical variable
Based on what you just read, how well do the following characteristics describe
(Tony/Jamal/Jeremiah/Lodekius) from the report?

TonyVictim
TonyJust
TonyInnocent
TonyAggres
TonyCred
TonyVuln
JamalVict
JamalJust
JamalInnoc
JamalAggres
JamalCred
JamalVuln
JermVict
JermJust
JermInnoc
JermAgres
JermCred
JermVulner
LodeVict
LodeJust
LodeInnoc
LodeAgres
LodeCred
LodeVuln
PolVict
PolJust
PolInnoc
PolAggres
PolCred
PolVuln

1=not at all
2=not very well
3=somewhat well
4=very well

-Paying Attn Qs, categorical??
What was the main actor in the report doing when he was stopped by the police officer?
 report?

-Stopped_by_pol
       1=driving to visit a friend
       2=driving to work
       3=walking home from a party

       *3 is the correct answer

-What city?
           1=Richmond
           2=Arlington
           3=Water Ridge

           *1 is the correct answer

       PolHandcuffed
-What did the police officer do to the other main actor in the report?

           1= Handcuffed him
           2=Aimed his gun at him
           3=Left him alone
           *1 is correct

-blkmove, ordinal variable
How likely are you to support a social movement organized to advance the interests and
protect the needs of the black community?

5=very unlikely
6=unlikely
7=neither likely nor unlikely
8=likely
9=very likely

-ActPart, ordinal variable
How likely are you to actively participate in a social movement that aims to advance the
interests and protect the needs of the black community?

       14=very unlikely
       15=unlikely
       16=neither likely nor unlikely
       17=likely
       18=very likely

-Money, ordinal variable
How likely are you to donate money to a social movement that aims to advance the interests and protect the needs of the black community?

       14=very unlikely
       15=unlikely
       16=neither likely nor unlikely
       17=likely
       18=very likely

-Defend, ordinal
In a conversation with a family member or friend, how likely are you to defend the importance of a social movement organized to advance the interests and protect the needs of the black community?

       15=unlikely
       16=neither likely nor unlikely
       17=likely
       18=very likely
       19=very unlikely

-Important Factors, ordinal variable
Think about the report you just read; to what extent are the following important to your views on the event:

ImpFact_Race_Pol
ImpFact_RaceMan
ImpFact_GenPol
ImpFact_GenMan
ImpFact_Bugrl

       1=not at all important
       2=unimportant
       3=neither important nor unimportant
       4=important
       5=very important

-Race_Interact, ordinal variable
To what extent do you agree with the following statement: The race of the main actors in the report plays a role in how they interact with each other

       1=strongly disagree
       2=disagree
       3=neither agree nor disagree

4=agree
5=strongly agree

-Concern_Injustice, ordinal variable
How concerned are you when thinking about injustice and violence toward the black community?

2=very concerned
3=somewhat concerned
4=not too concerned
5=not at all concerned

-#BLM, ordinal variable
How do you feel about the #BlackLivesMatter movement?

1=very negatively
2=negatively
3=neither negatively nor positively
4=positively
5=very positively

-White Privilege, ordinal variable
To what extent do you agree with the following statements:

whitepriv_shopping
I can go shopping alone and assume that I will not be followed or harassed by store security.
whitepriv_finance
People perceive me to be financially reliable because of the color of my skin.
whitepriv_pres
Presidential campaigns adequately address the issues that affect my racial group.
whitepriv_pol
When I see police in my neighborhood, I do not fear for my physical safety.
whitepriv_AffirmAct
Affirmative action programs give African Americans an unfair advantage when applying to college or a job.

1= strongly disagree
2=disagree
3=neither agree nor disagree
4=agree
5=strongly agree

-PolitAct_Effective, ordinal variable
To what extent do you agree with the following statement: Political action is an effective means to address issues in our society.

1=strongly disagree
2=disagree
3=neither agree nor disagree
4=agree
5=strongly agree

-NonViolent_Mov_Supp, ordinal variable
To what extent do you agree with the following statement: I am more likely to support movements that use nonviolent tactics.

1=strongly disagree
2=disagree
3=neither agree nor disagree
4=agree
5=strongly agree

-Illegal, dichotomous variable
Do you know anyone who has ever been accused of being involved in illegal activity?

1=yes
2=no

-BotQ, ratio variable
What is 5 minus 3?

2

-AfriAmer, dichotomous variable
Do you have any co-workers, peers, friends or family members who are African-American?

1=yes
2=no

-Racial_ID, categorical variable
How would you describe your racial identity?

1=black
2=white
3=Hispanic
4=Asian
5=other

-Age, ratio variable
What is your age in years?

-Gender, categorical variable
Which of the following best describes your gender?

      1=Male
      2=Female
      3=Trans Male
      4=Trans Fem
      5=Other

-Party_Affli, categorical variable
Generally speaking, how would you describe your political party affiliation?

      1=Strong Rep
      2=Weak Rep
      3=Indep leaning Rep
      4=Indep
      5=Indep leaning Dem
      6=Weak Dem
      7=Strong Dem

-Education, categorical variable
What is your highest completed level of education?

      1=Grade school
      2=High school
      3=undergrad
      4=Grad/Prof

-Income, categorical variable
Which of the following best describes your median household income?

      1= <30,0000
      2=30,001-60,000
      3=60,001-100,000
      4=100,001=150,000
      5=more than 150,000

-ZipCode, ratio
What is your zip code?

-News_Freq, categorical variable
How often do you follow the news?

1=Never
2=Rarely
3=Several times a month
4=Once a week
5= Daily

-News_PolVio, categorical variable
How much have you been following the news regarding recent violent incidents involving the police?

1=not at all
2=occasionally
3=freq

-SocMov_Part, categorical variable
Have you ever participated in any social movement activity before?

1=never
2=1-5
3= >5

-validity1, categorical variable
= 1 if in hard launch and answer is correct (Stopped_by_pol)

-validity2, categorical variable
= 1 if in hard launch and answer is correct (PolHandcuffed)

-validitydichotomous, dichotomous variable
= 1 if person got either validity question correct
=0 if they didn't get any correct

-controlnew, dichotomous variable
=1 if in control group
=0 if person in any of treatment groups (tony, jamal, jermeriah, Lodewikus)

-tonynew, dichotomous variable (Testing H1)
=1 if in tony treatment group
=0 if in control group

-jamalnew, dichotomous variable (Testing H2)
=1 if in jamal treatment group
=0 if in tony treatment group

-lodewikusnew, dichotomous variable (Testing H2)

=1 if in lodewikus treatment group
=0 if in jermeriah treatment group

-out_us, dichotomous variable (Testing H3)
=1 if jeremeriah OR lodewikus
=0 if tony OR jamal

-Treatments, dichotomous
-treatmentH1: 0=control 1=tonyjamaljeremiahlodewikus

-TreatmentH2: 0=tonyjeremiah 1=jamallodewikus

-TreatmentH3: 0=US (tony OR jamal) 1=jeremiahlodewikus

-Char_vict: 0= don't think the men in story are not vict 1=think they are victims somewhat OR very well

Char_just: 0=don't think just apply not @ all/ not very well 1=just applies somewhat OR very well

Char_Innoc: 0= innocent doesn't apply not @ all/ not very well 1= applies somewhat or very well

Char_Aggr: 0= aggressive doesn't apply not @ all/ not very well 1= applies somewhat/very well

Char_Cred: 0= crediable doesn't apply not @ all/ not very well 1= applies somehat/very well

Char_Vuln: 0= vulnerable doesn't apply not @ all/not very well 1=applies somewhat/very well

-Victnew/Justnew/ Agrenew/ Crednew/ Vulnew:

1=not at all for Tony or Jamal or Jeremiah or Lodewikus
2=not very well for Tony or Jamal or Jeremiah or Lodewikus
3=somewhat well for Tony or Jamal or Jeremiah or Lodewikus
4=very well for Tony or Jamal or Jeremiah or Lodewikus