Political Affiliation and White Privilege: The Effect of Exposure to Symbols of Political Affiliation and Race on Perceptions of White Privilege and Anti-Black Discrimination

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The Effect of Exposure to Symbols of Political Affiliation and Race on Perceptions of White Privilege and Anti-Black Discrimination

Hannah Knechel

Senior Honors Project

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the graduation requirements of the Westover Honors Program

Westover Honors Program

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Dr. Pepper Hanna

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Dr. Nancy Cowden
Abstract

This thesis explored the effects of exposure to different political affiliations and races on participants' perceptions of white privilege and anti-black discrimination. Current research has studied the effects of race, framing, and guilt on the acknowledgement of white privilege, but none have explored how political affiliation can affect these perceptions. If simple exposure to these symbols of political affiliation can alter the perceptions of those exposed, perhaps the results of this study could be used to bring about awareness and ease political tensions.

Participants were placed in one of six groups consisting of either a white or black experimenter wearing a Black Lives Matter shirt, Make America Great Again shirt, or a plain black shirt. Participants completed a series of three surveys: a demographic survey, a belief in White Privilege Scale, and the Other Focused Belief in Discrimination Scale. A two-way ANOVA was used to analyze the data. There were no significant differences in scores on the White Privilege Scale based on race or shirt of the experimenter.
The Effect of Exposure to Symbols of Political Affiliation and Race on Perceptions of White Privilege and Anti-Black Discrimination

Privilege can be defined as one group of people receiving benefits or advantages that they have not earned. Privilege can be based on race, sex, gender, socioeconomic status, and many other characteristics (Knowles & Lowery, 2012). Many people do not acknowledge that this privilege exists or exists in them for various reasons (Knowles & Lowery, 2012). Discrimination occurs when a group of people receive consequences or disadvantages that they do not deserve based on the same characteristics that can give another group privilege (Knowles & Lowery, 2012). In contrast to privilege, discrimination is generally acknowledged as being present in society (Knowles & Lowery, 2012). This dichotomy is interesting because the two words are opposite ends of the same spectrum. That is, if one group is facing advantages, the other group must be facing disadvantages. For example, consider a man and women who work at the same company with the same credentials, but the man receives a higher pay rate than the woman. The male is experiencing privilege—he is simply receiving higher pay due to his gender. The woman in this situation is facing a disadvantage based on a characteristic that she was assigned at birth. This example shows how privilege and discrimination are complementary of one another.

One of the most prominent examples of privilege and discrimination is in terms of race. With the prevalence of racism in the news and media—such as the recent white supremacy rally in Charlottesville, VA or the police brutality and killing of black citizens—racial disparity is hard to ignore. Seeing these events occur might lead people to agree that there is anti-black discrimination, but those same people might still deny the existence of white privilege. Anti-black discrimination occurs when people face disadvantages simply because they are black. White privilege is when people are given advantages simply because they are white, which may
challenge the belief in Meritocracy—the belief that you get out of life exactly what you put in. For example, a white male might apply for a job and be offered the job over an equally qualified black male. The white male was granted this advantage due to his race. Acknowledging that privilege played a part in the white man obtaining the job threatens the belief that he was given the job solely based on his hard work and credentials.

Knowles and Lowery (2012) studied the interaction between the preference for meritocratic principle (PMP) and belief in white privilege. They measured PMP, white identity, and competitive victimhood. PMP is the amount that one believes that we operate in a Meritocratic society, so those who score high in PMP believe that you get out what you put in, no matter what. Participants who were high in white identity placed a lot of value and self-worth on their group membership in the dominant (i.e., white) group. This means that they were very prideful of their race. Knowles and Lowery (2012) found that PMP and white identity were both positively correlated with privilege denial and that privilege denial was positively correlated with competitive victimhood. This means that those who have a high belief in PMP or a high amount of white identity typically score higher in white privilege denial and that those same groups engage in more competitive victimhood. In addition, they found that PMP had no correlation with belief in anti-black discrimination, only white privilege denial. That is, even though those who had high belief in PMP scored higher on the white privilege scale, they recognized the existence of anti-black discrimination. They also used framing (whether information was presented as white privilege or discrimination) and found that whites were more likely to deny privilege when presented with information that accused the in group of causing the disparity. Researchers would give one group an article discussing racial disparity, noting that it is because of the dominant group (white people) that the subordinate group (black people) are oppressed.
The second group read a similar article, but it did not place the blame for the subordinate group's disadvantage, it only stated that they are disadvantaged. When participants did not feel as if they were being blamed for racial disparity, they had less privilege denial.

Knowles, Lowery, Chow, and Unzueta (2014) argued that denial of white privilege comes in two forms. It is either due to meritocratic threat or the threat of the group image being tarnished (if the group accepts responsibility for the disadvantages faced by the subordinate group, they could be viewed less favorably). Meritocratic threat is the idea that if the person acknowledges that they have privilege, then they are also acknowledging that they may not have earned all that they have (Knowles et al., 2014). Those who have a strong belief in the idea of Meritocracy also have a higher denial of white privilege. Self-image threat is when accepting the existence of white privilege means that the dominant group is to blame for the mistreatment of the subordinate groups, causing conflict within the way a person sees their group. Knowles et al. (2014) stated that whiteness is the core of the racial problem and that, in order to protect themselves, whites actively work to remain as the dominant group which holds whiteness as the ideal. That is, whites act in ways to keep the subordinate groups oppressed rather than actively working to eradicate the racial disparity that sweeps our country. To support their argument, Knowles and Colleagues (2014) cited multiple theories. First, they discussed perceptual theory which says that whiteness is not explicitly noticed, it is just in the background. This would mean that humans have been desensitized to the oppressive nature of the dominant group, allowing members of this group (white people) to ignore their whiteness all together. The researchers then discussed the normative theory which says that color-blindness is taught at such a young age that it becomes part of society’s normal way of thinking. This goes along with perceptual theory, meaning that society has normalized color-blindness and the existence of the dominance of
whiteness to the point that members of society no longer question these roles. Knowles and his colleagues came to the conclusion that white people deny white privilege in order to protect both their in-group’s image as well as their belief in meritocracy. As a way to quell thinking of their group in a negative way, white people often normalize their position of dominance.

In many cases, the beliefs, customs, and ideals of the privileged group are seen widely as the norm. Harris (2016) found that in situations where there is a clear dominant and marginalized group, the dominant group does not feel the need to know about the marginalized group. However, the marginalized group is expected to know the customs, thoughts, beliefs, and behaviors of the dominant group (and to understand their privilege) in order to simply survive. Harris (2016) used the Standpoint Theory to explain normalization of the dominant group’s beliefs through examining male privilege. The Standpoint Theory makes three claims. First, knowledge comes from experience. Second, all knowledge is partial. And third, some knowledge is more partial than others (Harris, 2016). Harris conducted his experiment by speaking with multiple people (male and female) and asking them how they define rape. The findings were that men often defined rape as solely when a female victim explicitly says “no” and a male perpetrator forces himself on her anyway. In contrast, many females defined rape as any forced sexual encounter where the victim did not explicitly say “yes.” Some examples of such situations include if the victim did not say yes or no at all, was unconscious, or was coerced into the encounter (Harris 2016). The Standpoint Theory can be used to explain the discrepancy in the way that men and women respond to questions such as this one—men overall have a different view on what rape is due to their standpoint. Since men are the dominant group in society, Harris (2016) claimed that they have a less complete view of the world. The dominant group, men, do not have to know or understand the experiences of the marginalized group, women, and thus
display a less complete view of the world as shown by their narrow definitions of rape (Harris, 2016). The research completed by Harris (2016) shows that the dominant group does not know or understand the experiences of the marginalized group—they feel that their actions and opinions are normal. On the other hand, women—the marginalized group—understand the actions and opinions of the men because they must to survive in this culture. It is important to note the different ways that the two groups think about topics such as rape in order to illustrate the Standpoint Theory (Harris, 2016). This theory can be applied to many situations involving privilege and discrimination. It can be seen clearly in the situation of race—whiteness is normalized and all people are expected to understand and follow the culture that this dominant group has set into place. For example, in the workplace many women of color are required to change their hair to appear more “net.” However, this really means that administration wants these employees to appear more white, straightening their hair and not being able to express their own heritage. This example illustrates that the customs of the dominant group are normalized and even incorporated into rules and regulations.

Pratto and Stewart (2012) examined the normalization of the dominant group, focusing on what they refer to as half-blindness. Half-blindness is the idea that although almost all people will acknowledge the existence of discrimination, they deny the existence of privilege although the two are one in the same. Pratto and Stewart (2012) anonymously surveyed college students measuring social dominance orientation, in-group affiliation, differential group affiliation, race and gender in-group promotion, in-group salience, perceived status, and poor promotion. Researchers examined race, gender, and sexual orientation and found that in all cases, the dominant group reported a lower group awareness than the subordinate group. The dominant groups also scored higher in the acceptance of their place on the hierarchy. Pratto and Stewart
(2012) also found that those who are accepting of their dominant position are more likely to want even more power, creating an even bigger gap between the dominant and subordinate groups.

Cabrera (2014) designed a study to examine the normalization of white supremacy. The goal of this study was to examine how white male college students normalize and problematize whiteness. Participants were selected through an email list and in person solicitations, being comprised of white men because, as Cabrera (2014) stated, these are the most powerful. Participants then completed a survey followed by a semi-structured interview focusing on whether racism is an individual problem or a systematic problem, the minimization of racisms prevalence, and white victimization (Cabrera 2014). The researcher was of mixed race and was explicit about this with the participants, which he hypothesized would reduce the honesty of responses that participants would supply him with. Cabrera (2014) thought that his race would cause participants to alter their responses in an attempt to give answers that they deemed socially desirable.

Based on the survey, most of the participants came from higher socioeconomic status, mainly white living environments, and did not have a large number of friends/interactions with those who are not white (Cabrera, 2014). Cabrera (2014) found through the interview four main themes that relate to white supremacy in higher education. He found that many people have their own, differing definition of racism, many people minimize the issues of race, many participants felt that whites were victimized and minorities had unearned privileges, and that there was not a great change in racial views since participants began college.

Cabrera (2014) rejected his hypothesis and noted that participants were very honest in their answers despite the researcher being of a minority racial background. He also found that many people defined racism as being a personal problem, not systematic, and based on hating
another race. Participants believed they were not racist because they did not hate people of another race, like the KKK did and that they only saw racism as a huge problem when it was “reverse racism” (Cabrera, 2014). Reverse racism is the idea that in an attempt to fix racism, the dominant group is actually the victim of racism. Cabrera (2014) discusses how there was an apparent intersection of race and gender and that there should be analysis of CRT in terms of other kinds of oppression as well. He also mentions that the need to view oneself positively enforces the minimization of the racial problem, leading to feelings that whites are actually being oppressed, thus prohibiting social change and activism. This idea that when whites think they are being threatened, they will feel that they are being oppressed is known as competitive victimhood.

Phillips and Lowery (2015) hypothesize that when whites are exposed to the concept of white privilege, they will, in turn, claim more personal hardship than if they are not exposed to white privilege. They also believe that this is due to self-threat, also hypothesizing that claiming these hardships allows whites to not feel personal responsibility, but that they don’t excuse the group level privilege. The independent variable in this study is whether or not the participant is exposed to white privilege and the dependent variable is the claim of personal hardships. To test this, Phillips and Lowery (2015) recruited white Americans from an online list. Each participant filled out two surveys: one about inequality in America and one about childhood memories (to measure perceived hardships). Phillips and Lowery found that when presented with white privilege information, participants claimed more life hardships unless they were affirmed after the white privilege information. One possibility for why participants claimed life hardships when they were presented with white privilege information is because they wanted to reduce the guilt that they were feeling.
Swim and Miller (1999) had four purposes to their study: to find out if white guilt existed, to examine the relationship between white guilt and how the white group as a whole is evaluated, to test the relationship between white guilt and its antecedents, and to test the implications of white guilt for affirmative action policies. One hundred and two white undergraduate students were the participants in this study. Multiple surveys were given, including a demographic survey. They measured participant’s self-esteem, white guilt, white privilege, belief in discrimination, affirmative action attitudes, and feelings on whites and blacks. Swim and Miller (1999) found that women were more likely to experience white guilt than men were and that those who reported higher white guilt also rated whites in general more unfavorably. Their hypothesis was supported in that white guilt mediates the interaction between white privilege and belief in discrimination to attitudes about affirmative action. Another way to look at the role of white privilege and focusing so much on the ingroup and outgroup dynamic is that whites experience intergroup anxiety as a result of being so group focused.

Litteleford, Wright, and Sayoc-Parial (2005) conducted a study to determine whether whites experience intergroup anxiety and to determine whether white who experience this anxiety amplify their behaviors and affect in situations where they are interacting with minority groups. They hypothesized that whites would experience this anxiety during interaction with minorities and that whites will increase their behaviors and affects when they become more anxious/uncomfortable. 246 undergraduate students were recruited for this study and, due to the lack of minority students at the school, blacks and Asians were assigned to interracial interactions only. Whites were either assigned to interracial interaction or same race interactions. For three minutes, the students interacted by discussing how to solve three issues (unrelated to race). Their blood pressure was recorded before and during the three minutes and then students
filled out surveys, including one about how they felt (Littleford et al., 2005). They found that whites felt less anxious around other whites, supporting their hypothesis, and that white systolic blood pressure was significantly higher when interacting with minorities than with other whites. Littleford and colleagues (2005) note that black interviewers were rated higher by white participants because of fear of appearing prejudiced. The race of an interviewer seems to have an effect on how the participants perceive them as well as the information that is being presented.

Littleford and Jones (2017) examined the effects of professor’s race and the way that they talked about racial disparity on the student’s motivation to respond without prejudice. They also looked at collective guilt and the student’s evaluation of the professors. Littleford and Jones (2017) had white undergraduate students imagine that they were taking a course taught by either a black or white professor teaching either white privilege information or anti-black discrimination information. The students then filled out an anonymous survey online which assessed their evaluation of the professor, motivation to respond without prejudice, collective guilt, and beliefs on racial disparity. The results of this study were that collective guilt played no significant role in student’s beliefs about racial disparity. They also found that black professors were rated as more intelligent, warm, and expert but also more biased than white professors. In this experiment, white professors led to more acknowledgement of racial disparity when talking about white privilege and black professors elicited more outward motivation to respond without prejudice when talking about white privilege. Overall, Littleford and Jones (2017) found that the professor’s race and the way that they frame information directly affects people’s acknowledgement of racial disparity, their motivation to respond without prejudice, and how they are rated. This framing effect, the exposure to different races and different kinds of information, can also be seen in society through encounters with different races and symbols of.
Through all of the literature on privilege and discrimination, there is a common theme that shows a clear effect of race on people's perceptions of white privilege. However, one limitation of the current literature is that none of it looks explicitly at what kinds of effect, if any, political affiliation can have on these same perceptions. That is why the present study's purpose is to examine the effect that exposure to symbols of political affiliation and race have on participants' perceptions of white privilege and anti-black discrimination. I hypothesize that when participants are exposed to symbols of conservative political affiliation (Make America Great Again) they will show more privilege denial than when exposed to symbols of liberal political affiliation (Black Lives Matter). In addition, I think that when the experimenter is black, there will also be more privilege denial. Across all conditions, I do not expect the level of belief in Anti-black discrimination to change.

Method

Participants

The present sample consisted of 34 Lynchburg College students, 18 years or older (28 female, 6 male), who were recruited from either a school wide email or Intro to Psychology classrooms. Participants did not receive any compensation for their participation in this study.

Measures

There were two independent variables in this study: race of the experimenter and political affiliation of the experimenter based on the shirt they were wearing. There were two conditions for race: either the experimenter was white or black. For political affiliation there were three conditions: either a black lives matter shirt, a Make America Great Again shirt, or a plain shirt (control group). In order to measure perceptions of white privilege and anti-black discrimination, participants were administered a five item White Privilege scale (Appendix A) and a seven item
Other-focused belief in Discrimination Scale (Appendix B). Participants responded using a 6-point Likert scale from "Strongly Disagree" to being "Strongly Agree." A low score on the White Privilege scale would indicate a high white privilege denial and a low score on the Other-focused Belief in Discrimination scale would indicate high anti-black discrimination denial. Item 4 on the White Privilege scale and item 1 on the Other-focused belief in discrimination scale were reverse scored. Participants were also given a demographic questionnaire (Appendix C) and an Attitudes Towards Gender Roles scale (Appendix D).

Procedure

Using a 3 X 2 factorial design, participants signed up for time slots through Sona Systems. The time slots were previously randomly assigned to one of the six conditions. When participants entered the classroom, they sat at any desk that they wished. Each desk contained a packet of papers that included the informed consent form as well as all survey materials. The experimenter for the condition stood at the front of the classroom and informed participants to turn in the informed consent form prior to beginning the surveys. At the end of the study, participants were handed a letter to debrief them as to the nature of the experiment, to give contact information for the counseling center, and to thank them for their participation in the study.

Results

It was hypothesized that the groups who were exposed to the symbol of conservative political affiliation (MAGA shirt) would have higher privilege denial than those exposed to the symbol of liberal political affiliation (BLM) shirt. Results indicated that there was not a significant effect based on symbol of political affiliation, $F(2, 28) = 0.941, p = .402$. It was also hypothesized that when the researcher was black, participants would have a higher privilege
denial than when exposed to a white experimenter. There was not a significant main effect for experimenter race, $F(1, 28) = 0.071, p = .792$. Finally, it was hypothesized that there would be not be a significant difference across groups when it came to participant’s acknowledgement of anti-black discrimination. This hypothesis was supported by data, for political affiliation $F(2, 28) = 0.755, p = .479$ and for race $F(1, 28) = 0.001, p = .971$. A two-way ANOVA was used to analyze the relationship among the groups, and no significance was found throughout. The descriptive statistics for these groups can be seen in Figure 1 and Figure 2.

**Discussion**

It was hypothesized that when participants were exposed to symbols of conservative political affiliation (Make America Great Again T-shirt) they would have higher white privilege denial as compared with exposure to liberal political affiliation (Black Lives Matter T-shirt). This hypothesis was not supported by the results which showed no significant differences between the two groups. Similarly, results did not support the hypothesis that when the experimenter was black, participants would have higher privilege denial than when the experimenter was white. The third hypothesis, that across all conditions, there would be no significant difference in belief in anti-black discrimination, was supported by data. Results suggest that neither the race of the experimenter nor the symbol of political affiliation that the participants were exposed to had a significant effect on perceptions of white privilege or anti-black discrimination.

Knowles and Lowery (2012) found results similar to the third hypothesis in their study, which showed that across conditions the belief in anti-black discrimination did not differ significantly. While Pratto and Stewart (2012) also found that anti-black discrimination would not vary across conditions, they studies half-blindness which is the idea that people tend to
acknowledge anti-black discrimination whereas they ignore white privilege although they are the same thing. This is contrary to the results found in this study as the results did not show a significant amount of privilege denial. Littleford and Jones (2017) studied experimenter race as well, but found that there was a significant difference between when there was a white and black experimenter. This difference could be attributed to how the experiment was set up. Littleford and Jones (2017) anonymously surveyed white college students about a hypothetical situation (they had students imagine that they had either a white or black experimenter). The current study, although no names were written on the surveys, was done in person with actual experimenters which could account for the discrepancies in the results.

It is possible that the first two hypothesis were not supported due to the population of the study. This study was completed on the campus of Lynchburg College, a small liberal arts college. This environment does not allow for the participant pool to be representative of the country, so the results cannot be generalized to the general public. In addition, the experimenters, while always female, were not always the same person which could have led to differences in results. Furthermore, sessions were not always held in the same room or building, so there could be some confounding factors based on the environment that could have affected the results of this study. For example, if one room was significantly more cold or hot than another, this could have led to discomfort and altered the way that participants answered the surveys.

The study could be improved by creating more standardized conditions across sessions. The sessions could be held in the same room with the same experimenter (either the black female or the white female based on the condition) each time. In addition, creating a larger and more representative participant pool would increase the efficacy, results, and generalization ability of the study.
Future research could be done extending the population to other campuses as well as to the general public. It would be interesting to perhaps compare the results of a liberal arts college (such as Lynchburg College) to another conservative, religion based college or university. It would also be interesting to look at religion as an independent variable in future research. It is likely that political affiliation has no significant effect on white privilege because preference for Meritocracy (Knowles & Lowery, 2012) and Guilt (Swim & Miller, 1999) are two known predictors of white privilege denial. Members of all political parties have a belief in Meritocracy and experience guilt, a reality that is reflected in the results of this study.


Figure 1. Means of the symbol of political affiliation (shirt worn) when the experimenter is black.

Figure 2. Means of the symbol of political affiliation (shirt worn) when the experimenter is white.
Appendix A

WHITE PRIVILEGE SCALE (6 point Likert Scale)

1. Whites have certain advantages that blacks do not have in this society.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Completely Agree</th>
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2. My status as a white person grants me unearned privileges in today’s society.

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3. I feel that being a white person in the United States opens many doors for whites during their everyday lives.

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4. I do not feel that whites have any benefits or privileges due to their race. (Reverse coded).

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5. My race is an asset to me in my everyday life.

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Appendix B

Other-Focused Belief in Discrimination Scale (6 point Likert Scale)

1. Although there is some race discrimination in today’s society, most blacks do not face discrimination on a regular basis. (reverse-coded)

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2. It’s hard to admit, but a lot of blacks are treated unfairly because of race.

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3. Many black employees face racial bias when they apply for jobs or are up for a promotion.

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4. There is a great deal of discrimination against blacks looking to buy or rent properties.

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5. Black customers probably receive bad service from businesses because of their race.

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6. In many cities, blacks are treated harshly by the police simply because of their race.

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7. Blacks have to deal with racial slurs on a regular basis.

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<th>Completely</th>
<th>Slightly</th>
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<th>Agree</th>
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Appendix C

Demographic Survey

1. Which race do you best identify with?
   a. White
   b. Black
   c. American Indian or Alaska Native
   d. Asian
   e. Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
   f. Hispanic or Latino
   g. Other:_____________________

2. Which Gender do you identify with?
   a. Male
   b. Female
   c. Transgender Male
   d. Transgender Female
   e. Non-binary/Gender Variant
   f. Prefer not to answer
   g. Other:_____________________

3. What is your age?
   a. 18-20
   b. 21-23
   c. 24-26
   d. 26-28
   e. 28-30
   f. 30+

4. Which Political Affiliation do you most identify with?
   a. Republican
b. Democratic
c. Tea Party
d. Green party
e. Independent

5. Relationship Status
a. Single
b. Married
c. Divorced
d. Cohabitation

6. Employment Status. Are you…? (You may choose more than one).
a. Employed
b. Self-employed
c. Unemployed
d. A student
e. Military
f. Retired
g. Disabled

7. Which religion do you most identify with?
a. Christianity
b. Catholicism
c. Judaism
d. Islam
e. Hinduism
f. Atheism
g. Agnostic
h. Chose not to answer
i. Other: ______________
8. Which class are you a member of?
   a. Freshman
   b. Sophomore
   c. Junior
   d. Senior
   e. Other:___________

9. Household income (if you live with your parents, you may answer based on their incomes)
   a. Below $20,000
   b. $20,000-$30,000
   c. $30,000-$40,000
   d. $40,000-$50,000
   e. $50,000+
Appendix D

Attitudes Towards Gender Roles Scale (4 point Likert Scale)

1. It is more appropriate for a woman to be a babysitter or a child educator than it is for males to fill in these roles
   
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Completely</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
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2. The man should have the main responsibility for the family’s economic support
   
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<th>Completely</th>
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3. The use of profane language is worse for a girl than for a boy
   
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4. Women are very easily offended by certain jokes
   
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5. Only men should be able to participate in military combat
   
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<th>Completely</th>
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6. The man should pay the bill when he is on a date with a woman
   
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<tr>
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7. Sexual harassment in the workplace is a serious issue
   
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<tr>
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8. It should be equally acceptable for boys and girls to practice rough sports such as roller hockey and soccer.
   
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9. It is acceptable when a woman takes the initiative to start a romantic relationship with a man.
   Completely
   Disagree Disagree Agree Agree
   1 2 3 4

10. Discrimination against women in the workforce is no longer an issue
    Completely
    Disagree Disagree Agree Agree
    1 2 3 4

11. It should be equally acceptable for a woman and for a man to stay at home to take care of the children while the other spouse works
    Completely
    Disagree Disagree Agree Agree
    1 2 3 4

12. It is wrong for boys to play with dolls
    Completely
    Disagree Disagree Agree Agree
    1 2 3 4

13. The woman needs to be careful not to appear more intelligent than the man when they are dating
    Completely
    Disagree Disagree Agree Agree
    1 2 3 4

14. Some jobs are not suitable for women
    Completely
    Disagree Disagree Agree Agree
    1 2 3 4

15. Girls should have more boundaries when going out than boys should
    Completely
    Disagree Disagree Agree Agree
    1 2 3 4

16. In the workforce, women are taking jobs away from men who need them more
    Completely
    Disagree Disagree Agree Agree
17. When men are courteous to women (such as when they open a door), it is a sign that men are superior to women
   Completely
   Disagree  Disagree  Agree  Agree
   1  2  3  4

18. It is harder for a woman to find a job than it is for a man to find a job
   Completely
   Disagree  Disagree  Agree  Agree
   1  2  3  4

19. Men and women should be able to make choices about their lives without being restricted by their sex
   Completely
   Disagree  Disagree  Agree  Agree
   1  2  3  4

20. Women should worry more about their clothing and appearance than men should
   Completely
   Disagree  Disagree  Agree  Agree
   1  2  3  4

21. Crying in front of other people is equally acceptable for men and women
   Completely
   Disagree  Disagree  Agree  Agree
   1  2  3  4

22. When both parents are employed and their child gets sick at school, the mother must be called first, and only later is the father called
   Completely
   Disagree  Disagree  Agree  Agree
   1  2  3  4