

THE INFLUENCE OF HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT  
ON PERCEPTIONS OF PROTEST

A Dissertation

by

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## ABSTRACT

I conducted 3 studies to investigate knowledge of history and its influence on perceptions of protest for racial justice. In Study 1 ( $N = 286$ ) I used a multiple regression design to explore potential individual difference predictors of non-violent and violent protest perceptions and protest engagement; specifically, I was interested in whether self-reported knowledge of history relates to support for protest and protest engagement. In Study 2 ( $N = 268$ ), I used a  $2 \times 2$  between subjects factorial design to investigate whether perceptions of protest for racial justice differ for past versus present protests. Participants read a news article about either a non-violent or violent protest against police brutality and were told that the protest happened either in the past or in the present. Participants then reported their perceptions of the protest. Study 3 ( $N = 333$ ) used a  $2 \times 2$  between subjects factorial design to explore whether exposure to critical history (marginalized group histories critical of United States' treatment of people of color) compared to mainstream history influences participants' views of violent and non-violent protest as well as their willingness to engage in these protests. Overall, the results from Study 1 revealed that self-reported knowledge of history relates to positive perceptions of non-violent protest. Results from Study 2 did not find evidence that when the protest occurred influences perceptions of the protest; however, non-violent protests were viewed more positively than violent protests. Meanwhile, results from Study 3 suggested that exposure to critical history leads to more positive perceptions of protest, a higher willingness to engage in protest, and social justice oriented behaviors.

## **DEDICATION**

This dissertation is dedicated to my grandparents Miguel and Elvira Ruiz. Thank you for your constant support and prayers. Your hard work and unconditional love have been an inspiration to me and are traits I aspire to maintain everywhere I go and with anything I do. I love you both.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

In the 1968 Olympics in Mexico City, two Black athletes, Tommie Smith and John Carlos, raised their fists in protest of racial inequality during the United States national anthem as they received their medals. Although a seemingly peaceful form of protest, this action was greeted by boos from the crowd and scorn from American media. One such criticism was from popular sportscaster Brent Musberger, who wrote for the *Chicago American* at the time. He described the protestors as “black-skinned storm troopers” and their protest as “juvenile” (Schad, 2019). Fast forward to the 2000s, and the actions of those men are celebrated across the country with statues in San Jose, California, and Washington D.C., and a mural in Oakland, California. Smith and Carlos also received a nationally recognized humanitarian award (Arthur Ashe Courage Award). The example of Tommie Smith and John Carlos suggests an implicit perception that there is a correct time and place to protest. As long as it happened in the past, protest may be perceived to be fine and perhaps worthy of celebration, but in the moment, it is perceived as reprehensible, even if the protest itself is something as peaceful as raising a fist.

Previous research has considered that perceptions of protest depend on at least one major distinction: normative versus non-normative protest. Normative protests include actions that conform to the norms of society, such as petitioning. Normative protests are viewed more favorably than non-normative protests, such as violent protests, which violate the rules of a society (Feinberg, Willer, & Kovacheff, 2020; Wright et al.,

1990). Although previous research in psychology has analyzed perceptions of normative and non-normative (i.e., violent) protest, perceptions of protest at the intersection of history and collective memory have not been considered. As the opening example suggested, whether a protest event happened in the past or present may impact how people perceive the protest. With these ideas in mind, the current research aims to accomplish four research goals: 1) *identify individual difference factors that relate to perceptions and support for violent and non-violent protest*, 2) *investigate the extent to which knowledge of history predicts protest support*, 3) *analyze the effects of time on perceptions of violent and non-violent protest within the context of race*, and 4) *test the influence of historical, contextual knowledge on the perception of protestors as victims of racism*.

## **1.1. Collective Memory and Perceptions of Non-Violent and Violent Protest**

### **1.1.1. Protest Engagement and Protest Perceptions**

Previous psychological research on protest has focused on factors that predict protest engagement. For example, prior research has suggested that factors such as identity, emotion, and perceived inequality all influence the likelihood that a person engages in protest (for a review, see van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013). Less research has focused on perceptions of protest (Feinberg, Willer, & Kovacheff, 2020). One component of protest success is positive perceptions of the protest from non-protesters. Protests that are viewed positively are more likely to persuade others to align with and support the cause; therefore, research on perceptions of protest is crucial for increasing the success of protests (Feinberg, Willer, & Kovacheff, 2020).

Recent research has contrasted normative and non-normative forms of protest in the context of the activist's dilemma. This concept suggests that non-normative forms of protest such as violence may increase attention and put pressure on government bodies to create social change. However, some non-normative protests may reduce support for a movement because other people may not readily identify with or view positively a protest that violates societal norms (Feinberg, Willer, & Kovacheff, 2020).

A consistent and pervasive finding is that non-violent protest is perceived more favorably than violent protest because it elicits more popular support from the public. Perhaps not surprisingly, violent protest has been found to undermine the perceived legitimacy of a protest cause among potential supporters (Simpson, Willer, & Feinberg, 2018; Thomas & Louis, 2014). For example, a study of perceptions of protest against immoral coal mining in Australia found that participants were more likely to perceive the protest cause as legitimate and were less likely to condemn protestors when they were said to have signed petitions compared to when the protestors were said to have hurled projectiles (Thomas & Louis, 2014). This same sentiment is reflected in peace studies research. An analysis of 323 real world violent and non-violent protests as well as deeper analysis of 3 case studies observed that non-violent campaigns were more successful because they more effectively mobilized social support (Stephan & Chenoweth, 2008).

### **1.1.2. Perceptions of Protest and Collective Memory**

Protest events do not exist in a vacuum as singular events but are events and movements inspired by history that construct the fabric of a country's dynamic, ongoing

historical canon. Protest events occur in a moment of history with a present-day perception from the public; however, this public perception evolves over time as a nation records history and presents this history to future generations. Perceptions of protest—generally or a perception of a particular protest event singularly—may thus change over time. Time and history arguably play an important contextual, psychological function in how people view protest, the perceptions of protestors, and those contextually attached to the protest (e.g., members of a racial group attached to protest for a particular racial cause).

For a historical example, perceptions of non-violent protest may change when considering their perceptions historically. For example, consider popular perceptions of Martin Luther King Jr. compared to Malcolm X. Martin Luther King Jr., famous American Civil Rights leader, espoused a doctrine of non-violent protest that is largely credited for influential civil rights legislation passed in the 1960s. Meanwhile, Malcolm X, another civil rights leader but perceived as the more violent of the two, is portrayed more negatively by comparison (Nimtz, 2016). Accordingly, Martin Luther King Jr. has been commemorated in a widely acknowledged holiday, often accompanied with parades and days off from school/work, and his memory is memorialized with a statue in Washington D.C., the nation's capital. None of these distinctions have been bestowed on Malcom X.

However, positive modern-day perceptions of King's non-violent philosophies were not widely shared in the 1960s. For example, a Gallup Poll conducted



in August 2011 discovered that 94% of surveyed individuals viewed King favorably; a comparable poll in 1966 reported his favorability rating at only 33%.

A contemporary example involving former National Football League (NFL) player Colin Kaepernick reveals that present-day non-violent protest is not always perceived positively. Kaepernick achieved notoriety for protesting police brutality by taking a knee during the national anthem before the beginning of football games. This action created controversy throughout the NFL, and Kaepernick polled as the least popular player in the league, behind players such as Jameis Winston, who has been accused of sexual assault multiple times (Yomtov, 2016). These instances suggest that non-violent protest, regardless of its portrayal as a positive force for eliciting support for a cause, may be differentially supported as a function of collective memory and historical context.

Insight into the central role that history plays in perceptions of protest may be informed by research on collective memory. Collective memory considers how history is recollected by individuals and communities and how this history is expressed societally (Schuman & Scott, 1989). Collective expressions of history are not neutral representations of past events but in fact are often molded to depict the nation in a positive light (Paez & Liu, 2010). Specifically, instances of violence toward outgroups are often overlooked and altered, which in turn may influence the collective memory of those involved. Consider, for example, ignoring the struggles and violence done to marginalized groups of people in favor of celebrating individual acts of heroism and perseverance by singular members of those groups (Paez & Liu, 2010). An example of

this tendency can be found in commemorative displays in United States schools. Research analyzing posters displayed during Black History Month in schools found themes celebrating the achievements of Black Americans, but not necessarily acknowledging the full complexities of the struggles faced by Black people as a whole (Salter & Adams, 2016). Ignoring the struggles runs the risk of neglecting the scope of a racial context and thus may reflect an influenced (biased) perception of historical events.

If students only learn history as a series of individual triumphs over hardship, but neglect the history of systemic violence that created those hardships in the first place, then understanding the reasons why people protest may be more difficult. Conveniently ignoring systemic violence done on behalf of the nation may allow people to perceive protest against that violence as unjustified. It is possible that non-violent protest could also be perceived negatively because ignorance of historic injustices and their contributions to current injustices may foster the belief that to protest against injustice is unnecessary. It is also possible that ignorance of the history of government-sanctioned violence toward marginalized citizens may allow people to more easily feel that violent protest on behalf of the marginalized is unreasonable. I suspect that how protest is perceived may be connected to an ignorance of history and the actual conditions in which protestors lived.

## **1.2. The Importance of Race on Protest Perceptions**

### **1.2.1. Colorblindness and Protest Engagement**

Race and racial attitudes are also important factors to consider when studying perceptions of protest. Previous research has discovered that negative racial attitudes are

predictive of numerous negative outcomes directed at people of color such as higher opposition to affirmative action, discriminatory hiring behaviors, and denial of racial inequality (Schuman, Steeh, Bobo, & Krysan, 1997). I suspect that negative racial attitudes toward people of color may also be related to negative perceptions of racialized protest. Little research has looked at racial attitudes and perceptions of protest; however, an analysis of national survey data uncovered that negative attitudes toward Blacks was correlated with negative perceptions of Black political movements (Bobo, 1988).

One related and likely relevant racial attitude is colorblindness. Colorblind ideology broadly focuses on the notion that race does not and should not matter anymore in society, and this perspective has been a prevalent ideology in the United States, where explicit discrimination has been stigmatized (Bonilla-Silva, 2015; Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000). Colorblind proponents argue that if race is not discussed, then it will cease to be a societal problem (Bonilla-Silva, 2015). However, ignoring race is an individualistic notion that fails to address the hegemonic structures that impede racial equality (Bonilla-Silva, 2015; Salter, Adams, & Perez, 2018). The notion that race should not be discussed is a logical strategy for individuals who believe that race was a problem in the past but is no longer a problem in the present. I expect that racial attitudes such as colorblind ideology may play a role in the support for protest because this ideology reinforces ignorance toward systemic issues of racism as well as the history of racial injustice in the United States.

Although previous psychological research has not considered the impact of colorblind ideology on perceptions of protest, previous research has found that

colorblind ideology predicts other social attitudes and behaviors. For example, White persons who endorse colorblindness have been found to be less likely to support affirmative action policies compared to Whites who do not endorse colorblind ideologies (Lopez Bunyasi, 2015). Additionally, colorblind ideology has been found to predict opposition to affirmative action policies specifically within low prejudice Whites who believe that discrimination is declining (Mazzocco, Cooper, & Flint, 2011). Furthermore, within the context of the workplace, colorblind ideology has been related to conflict between employers and employees of color and has been observed to predict minority employees' feelings of marginalization (Meeussen, Otten, & Phalet, 2014; Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2009).

Colorblind ideologies can impact how individuals perceive interracial relations by ignoring historic structures of inequality (Bonilla-Silva, 2015; Perez & Salter, 2019). This occurs by obscuring the issue of racial inequality as a whole. Although experimental research connecting colorblind ideology directly to the topic of protest is limited, research in Africana studies has made connections between colorblind ideology and decrease in protests. For example, in an analysis of Black Church involvement in protest, Barber (2012) highlighted that the manner in which Black church protest occurs and the degree to which it is effective changed as an era of colorblind ideology reinforced the idea that racism is no longer an issue if the racism is not overt (Barber, 2012). The connection of colorblind ideology to a belief that racism is a minimal issue and an issue of the past provides a theoretical groundwork to suggest that colorblindness may be a relevant predictor of protest perception in the context of racial protest. If

colorblind individuals feel race is unimportant and that systemic injustices toward people of color no longer occur, then perhaps they may not understand why others engage in protest.

### **1.2.2. Protest, Racial History and Respectability Politics**

Negative perceptions of protest due to ignorance of historical and systemic discrimination do not simply have consequences for the effectiveness of protest, but also have specific social consequences for individuals of color. One illustrative instance of violent protest is the Watts “Riot” of 1965. On August 11th of that year, a man named Marquette Frye was pulled over by police for reckless driving in the Watts neighborhood of Los Angeles, California (Horne, 1997). His arrest turned into an altercation with police, which in turn erupted into six days of civil unrest between community members and law enforcement. In present day, this protest is remembered as a “riot,” a racially laden term with negative connotations signifying a lack of restraint or control. However, representations of this protest as a riot have created an historical downstream consequence of criminalizing the individuals who engaged in violence against police while downplaying or fully ignoring violence by police toward the protestors. Specifically, forgotten from history are the official shoot-to-kill orders that police and other law enforcement officials were given during the six days of unrest; the majority of fatalities of protestors were gunshots to the back, indicating that they were shot by police when running away. Further forgotten is that protestors in this event did not immediately jump to violence without provocation. Preceding the violence were years of restrictive,

racist housing laws and continued reports of unjustified police brutality that went ignored despite earlier protests to change those conditions (Horne, 1997).

Similar to comparisons between Martin Luther King Jr and Malcolm X noted above, the protestors in Watts are remembered less favorably compared to their counterparts in other, non-violent protests from the 1960s. These comparisons represent an ever-present component of respectability politics in perceptions of protestors who engage in non-violent protest as more favorable. Politics of respectability derive from the notion that the way to advance or improve conditions for Black people (and other people of color) is to engage in “respectable” actions and behaviors that align with dominant norms (Harris, 2014). An example of respectability politics comes from dress codes in schools, wherein Black students are encouraged or forced to adhere to respectable clothing and hairstyles (e.g., no sagging pants and neat, trimmed hair; Harris, 2014). Children who do not adhere to these standards risk being labeled as disrespectful or even deviant. Respectability politics also played a role in protest events such as the Freedom Rides, wherein Black and White protestors defied bus segregation to test Supreme Court ruled bus integration in the South. An intentional strategy of these protests was for the protestors to dress as respectably as possible in suits, dresses, and nice clothing in order to look more sympathetic when violence was inflicted upon them by aggressors from the South (Arsenault, 2006). The idea behind this strategy was—if violent, overaggressive vigilantes and police were shown on television brutalizing “respectable” looking individuals, then the victims (the protestors) were more likely to be perceived as sympathetic victims of racial violence.

Protests against the police strain the bounds of respectability, and previous research has revealed that Whites tend to have negative perceptions of protests against police. In a review of a series of national and local polls, Reinka and Leach (2017) found that White people view protest against police less favorably than Black people and are quicker to apply racialized labels of “thugs” and “criminals” to individuals who engage in such protests. Such research suggests an element of respectability in perceptions of protest, such that racialized labels are more readily applied to racial groups engaging in protest against seemingly respectable representations of normative law. Regardless of the form of protest used by marginalized groups, the act of protest represents an expression of victimization. Therefore, when individuals engage in violent protest, the perception of unreasonableness seen in previous research likely also has consequences for public perceptions of the legitimacy of their victimization. With this in mind, I predict that knowledge of history (critical, marginal group relevant history) and exposure to historical context influences perceptions of protestors as victims.

### **1.3. Impact of Education and Protest Support**

Research conducted in the 1960s to 1970s, a time period associated with high frequency of protest, addressed the impact of education on support for protest. A survey of White individuals from 1967 to 1976 found that level of education was positively related to opposition to government oppression and support for protest (Hall, Rodeghier, & Useem, 1986). This correlation was thought to stem from exposure to and increasing knowledge of the specific grievances of protestors. Additionally, similar relationships

between education level and support for non-violent protest was found amongst Black respondents surveyed during a similar time period (1965 to 1976; Rodeghier, Hall, & Useem, 1991). However, the observed relationships did not account for the contextual factor of the kind of information shared and taught in the United States educational system.

How schools teach United States history has been and continues to be a fraught topic. For example, states such as Georgia, Texas, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Colorado have all attempted to influence Advanced Placement History courses to promote a more patriotic depiction of America (Rampell, 2015). These approaches to history education may be reflected in American's limited history knowledge. For example, survey research has indicated that only 1 in 3 Americans would pass the U.S. Citizenship Test given to immigrants to gain citizenship in the United States (Riccards, 2018), despite the fact that the history portion of the test includes mainly mainstream (and White-centric) questions such as, "Who wrote the Declaration of Independence?" and "Who was the first President?" (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2019). Not only does poor performance on such tests reflect a general ignorance of history, but the history that is taught in the United States educational system is often designed to depict the United States in a positive light while ignoring or suppressing the histories of marginalized populations (Loewen, 2008; Zinn, 2015). One example of this includes celebratory representations of Thanksgiving as a harmonious interaction between European colonists and Indigenous peoples—depictions



that downplay or ignore the violent genocide enforced upon Native Americans by European colonists (Kurtis, Adams, & Yellow Bird, 2010).

A liberation psychology perspective highlights the importance of indigenous collective memory for marginalized populations to challenge dominant ahistorical narratives as well as historical ignorance. Collective memory is an important element of liberation psychology for marginalized people because, if they learn only a hegemonic, dominant group-centric representation of history, then it may be difficult for them to imagine more beneficial futures or to understand the complexities of their own oppression (Martín-Baró, 1994). Previous theorists have thus suggested that the development of a critical historical consciousness is crucial for the promotion of social justice (Adams, Salter, Kurtis, Naemi & Estrada-Villalta, 2018). Such a historical consciousness contradicts glorified illusions of American society as wholly good and highlights the oppressive conditions faced by marginalized groups in society. Indeed, previous research has found that teaching demonstrations connecting racist imagery to relevant historical context of past racism can, in a classroom setting, increase student awareness of racism (Kurtis, Salter, & Adams, 2015).

In this dissertation, I propose that individuals' perceptions of violent protest may be influenced by the presentation of and exposure to relevant historical contexts. This prediction is informed in part by research on the Marley Hypothesis (Nelson, Adams, & Salter, 2013; Bonam, Nair Das, Coleman, & Salter, 2019), which suggests that ignorance of history influences perceptions of present-day racism. Previous research on the Marley hypothesis observed that individuals who report higher knowledge of critical history are

more likely to view racism as an issue in the present day. A study by Bonam and colleagues (2019) found that Whites exposed to an audio clip about historical racism in United States housing policy were more likely to perceive racism in the present day compared to participants exposed to information from a control condition about pig intelligence. Accordingly, I propose that exposing individuals to critical history of violence committed against marginalized groups will alter perceptions of protestors advocating for marginalized group rights.

#### **1.4. Other Predictors of Protest and Social Engagement**

##### **1.4.1. Potential Identity Predictors of Protest Perceptions**

As previously mentioned, research on protest in psychology has heavily focused on factors that predict protest engagement, and Social Identity Theory (SIT; Klandermans, 2014; Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008) has been prevalent in research on protest. SIT posits that individuals who identify highly with a relevant ingroup are more likely to view that group positively as well as view an outgroup more negatively in a relevant comparison context (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Previous protest research has used SIT in the study of social movements, finding that individuals who more strongly identify with a protest or movement are more likely to participate and support the movement (Sturmer & Simon, 2004). For example, previous research using longitudinal interviews with Spanish and Dutch farmworkers found that workers who more strongly identified as a farm worker were more likely to report readiness to engage in protest for farmers' rights (Klandermans, Sabucedo, Rodriguez, & de Weerd, 2002).

Additional research elaborated on national identification and its role in predicting intergroup behaviors and perceptions. Specifically, a study by Roccas, Klar, and Liviatan (2006) hypothesized two modes of identification: attachment and glorification. Attachment represents an individuals' general identification with a group, whereas glorification involves an elevation of ones' group to a higher level than other groups. Previous research in psychology has not analyzed these aspects of identity in the context of protest perceptions. I suspect that this dual model of identification has unique implications in the context of protest. One reason is that, although both modes reflect the degree of identification one has with a group, these identity classifications are differentially predictive of social behaviors. Specifically, attachment has been related to positive, reparative based emotions such as feelings of guilt for outgroup wrongdoing, whereas glorification has been negatively related to collective guilt (Roccas, Klar, & Liviatan, 2006).

Furthermore, the construct of glorification aligns with my previously discussed idea of celebratory histories of American achievement. Just as I hypothesized that a focus on American achievements may be detrimental to perceptions of protest, so too may individual differences in glorification of national identity. Individuals high in national glorification express beliefs that their group is superior to others. This sense of superiority, I suggest, has potentially negative impacts on perceptions of outgroup protestors. For example, previous research has found that individuals who report higher levels of ingroup glorification are less likely to support justice for outgroup prisoners victimized in the context of the Iraq war (Leidner, Castano, Zaiser, & Giner-Sorolla,

2010). Furthermore, glorification has been related to denial or ignorance of wrongdoing in the context of Turkish mass killings of Armenians as well as American misrepresentations of the genocide against Native Americans (Bilali, 2013; Kurtis, Adams, & Yellow Bird, 2010). I plan to use this dual model of national identification to investigate whether glorification and attachment differentially predict protest engagement as well as protest perceptions and more specifically whether glorification negatively influences perceptions of protest.

#### **1.4.2. Emotions and Protest Engagement**

Emotions have also been considered in previous research on protest, specifically group-based emotions (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013). Protest and other forms of collective action appear to be mostly influenced by negative emotions (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013). For example, previous research in different protest contexts (i.e., student protest against fees in Germany, protest against Muslims' mistreatment in India, and protest against British foreign policy on Muslims) observed that negative emotions such as anger and contempt predict both normative and nonnormative collective actions (Tausch et al., 2011). Additionally, in an intergroup context, research analyzing emotions directed at outgroups has found that decreasing intergroup anxiety helps to reduce outgroup prejudice (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). In fact, previous research on intergroup anxiety has found that intergroup anxiety negatively predicts support for collective action amongst majority group members (Brylka, Mähönen, Schellhaas, & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2015). Therefore, higher levels of

intergroup anxiety could have negative implications for perceptions of protest and protest intentions.

### **1.4.3. Hierarchy, Inequality and Protest Perceptions**

Previous research has also focused on the role of social hierarchy in perceptions of protest. A well-established cause for protest is the perception of injustice, especially a perception of perceived illegitimate inequality or a belief that the current system or state of affairs is unjust (Klandermans, 1997). This belief then leads to lack of confidence in society, which in turn may promote protest behaviors (Shavit, Lahav, & Shahrabani, 2014). Previous research has found differential support for protest as a function of endorsement of existing political systems and social hierarchies. For example, individuals who expressed more support for their current political system were more likely to support normative forms of protest such as non-violence (Isemann, Walther, Solfrank, & Wilbertz, 2019). Another individual difference factor relating to hierarchy is social dominance orientation (SDO), a construct measuring an individual's preference for hierarchy in society (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). This construct has potential implications for protest support because individuals who engage in protest imply an underlying belief that society is unjust. Therefore, it is logical to infer that individuals who endorse hierarchy in society may be less endorsing of protest. Previous research has supported this notion whereby individuals reporting higher levels of SDO were less likely to report that they would engage in protest (Lemieux & Asal, 2010). Furthermore, previous research has uncovered that individuals with higher SDO report higher perceptions of protest as a criminal behavior (Rottenbacher de Rojas & Schmitz,

2013). I will thus test the relationship between SDO and perceptions of protest in the current studies.

### **1.5. Current Research**

Study 1 explored potential individual difference predictors of non-violent and violent protest perceptions and protest engagement, including potential predictors supported by previous research (e.g., social dominance orientation and perceptions of inequality) and also previously unresearched predictors such as knowledge of history and national glorification. The subsequent two studies incorporated the dimension of time/history to study perceptions of protest in the past versus the present. In Study 2, participants read news articles about an instance of police brutality involving a Latinx man who was beaten and killed by police. The resulting actions were described as either a violent or non-violent protest, and the protest was presented as either something that happened in the past or in the present. With this design I tested my hypothesis that individuals not only perceive non-violent protest more favorably than violent protest, as established by previous research, but also perceive past protest more favorably than present protest. Furthermore, in Study 3 I explored whether exposure to critical history (marginalized group histories critical of United States' treatment of people of color) influences participants' views of violent and non-violent protest. Specifically, I tested the hypothesis that exposure to critical history fosters more positive views of protest compared to exposure to uncritical mainstream United States history.

## **2. STUDY 1**

### **2.1. Method**

#### **2.1.1. Participants**

Overall, 286 participants provided the data for Study 1. Of those participants, 111 were cisgender male, 172 were cisgender female, and the remaining three participants indicated that they were female to male transgender, gender nonconforming, or preferred not to say. The average age of the sample was 19.39 ( $SD = 1.47$ ). The ethnic/racial composition of the sample was 55.8% White/Caucasian, 16.1% Hispanic-American/Latino, 14.0% Bi-racial or Multiracial, 9.1% Asian American/Pacific Islander, 3.2% African American/Black, 1.1% Other, and 0.7% Arab/Arab-American/Middle Eastern.

#### **2.1.2. Study Design and Procedure**

This study used multiple regression to identify individual difference variables relating to positive perceptions of violent and non-violent protest as well as willingness to engage in protest behavior. Predictors included items assessing racial attitudes, perceptions of inequality and hierarchy, knowledge and perceptions of the United States, and intergroup anxiety. Outcome variables included items measuring perceptions of protest past and present, activism and radicalism, and willingness to engage in violent and non-violent protest. Participants were recruited through the student subject pool at Texas A&M University. Participants signed up for the study online and were then redirected to a Qualtrics survey to complete. After completing the study participants received credit toward a course requirement for their participation.

#### **2.1.3. Predictor Variables**

### **2.1.3.1. Racial Attitudes**

#### **2.1.3.1.1. *Colorblind Racial Attitudes Scale***

I used the 20-item Colorblind Racial Attitudes Scale (COBRAS) to measure the degree to which participants subscribed to colorblind attitudes (Neville., Lilly, Duran, Lee & Browne, 2000). This scale is composed of 3 different subscales: racial privilege, institutional discrimination, and blatant racial issues. All of these subscales were internally consistent in this study: racial privilege ( $\alpha = .88$ ), institutional discrimination ( $\alpha = .78$ ), and blatant racial issues ( $\alpha = .79$ ). The racial privilege subscale measures blindness to White racial privilege, institutional discrimination highlights lack of awareness of institutional discrimination, and blatant racial issues focuses on participants' ignorance to the pervasiveness of racial discrimination. The items for this scale ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Example items included, "Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich" (racial privilege subscale), "It is important that people begin to think of themselves as American and not African American, Mexican American or Italian American" (institutional discrimination subscale), and "Talking about racial issues causes unnecessary tension" (blatant racial issues). For the entire scale see Appendix A.

#### **2.1.3.1.2. *Modern Racism Scale***

I presented participants an adapted version of the Modern Racism Scale (McConahay, 1986). The original scale measured individuals' ambivalent attitudes toward Blacks. For this study I adapted the scale to measure such attitudes toward Latinos ( $\alpha = .86$ ). The scale included 7 items with a response scale of 1(*strongly*



*disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Example items include “It is easy to understand the anger of Hispanic/Latino people in America” and “Hispanics/Latinos should not push themselves where they are not wanted.” For the full scale see Appendix A.

### **2.1.3.2. Perceptions of Inequality and Hierarchy**

#### ***2.1.3.2.1. Critical Consciousness Scale***

I administered the 22-item Critical Consciousness Scale to measure participants' perceptions of inequality in society (Diemer, Rapa, Park, & Perry, 2017). Two subscales assessing egalitarianism and perceived inequality, respectively, were used as predictors. These subscales were internally consistent in this sample, critical reflection of perceived inequality ( $\alpha = .95$ ) and critical reflection of egalitarianism ( $\alpha = .84$ ). Example items from these subscales include “Certain racial or ethnic groups have fewer chances to get a good high school education” for perceived inequality and “It would be good if groups could be equal” for egalitarianism. Participants responded using a Likert scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). Full scale provided in Appendix B.

#### ***2.1.3.2.2. Social Dominance Orientation (SDO)***

I measured social dominance orientation with a previously validated scale of 16 items (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). Example items included “Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups” and “Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.” ( $\alpha = .92$ ). Participants responded using a 7-point Likert scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). For the full scale see Appendix B.

### **2.1.3.3. United States Identity, History, Perceptions and Politics**

#### ***2.1.3.3.1. National Identity.***

National identification with the United States was measured along the dimensions of attachment and glorification with items adapted from a preexisting scale used in an Israeli context (Roccas, Klar, & Liviatan, 2006). A total of 16 items were used to measure national identification, including 8 items measuring attachment and 8 items measuring glorification. Example items included “Being an American is an important part of my identity” (attachment;  $\alpha = .94$ ) and “Other nations can learn a lot from us” (glorification;  $\alpha = .89$ ). Participants responded on a 7-point Likert scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). See Appendix C for the full scale.

#### ***2.1.3.3.2. History Knowledge and History Facts***

Participants completed three different items measuring knowledge of history. We asked how they would rate their perceived knowledge of United States history, Hispanic/Latino American history, and the history of protest in the United States ( $\alpha = .74$ ), respectively, using a scale from 1 (*not at all knowledgeable*) to 7 (*very knowledgeable*). Also, participants performed 3 different listing tasks. Participants were asked to “List five important United States history facts.” Then they were asked, “When you think about instances of protest in the past (20 years ago or later), what events come to mind?” and “When you think about instances of protest in the present (within the past 5 years), what events come to mind?”

#### ***2.1.3.3.3. Perceptions of the United States and Political Outlook***

Participants responded to 9 items regarding their opinions of the United States. Specifically, participants were invited to “Please rate the United States of America on each of the following descriptions” using a bipolar 5-point Likert scale. Items included

trustworthy (1) to not trustworthy (5), dishonest-honest, repressive-free, friend-enemy, responsible-irresponsible, aggressive-peaceful, good-bad, authoritarian-democratic, and threatening-not threatening. I then created a composite variable for these items and coded them to measure negative perceptions of the United States ( $\alpha = .89$ ). Also, I asked participants to rate their political outlook from 1 (*very liberal*) to 7 (*very conservative*), with the midpoint being neither liberal nor conservative.

#### **2.1.3.4. Intergroup Anxiety**

I also included the Intergroup Anxiety Scale to measure the levels of anxiety participants feel when interacting with others outside of their own racial/ethnic group (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Participants responded to the item “If you were the only member of your ethnic group and you were interacting with people from a different racial or ethnic group (e.g., talking with them, working on a project with them), how would you feel compared to occasions when you are interacting with people from your own ethnic group?” This question was followed by 11 different emotional words: certain, confident, awkward, irritated, self-conscious, impatient, happy, defensive, accepted, suspicious, careful. Participants indicated the degree to which they felt these emotions on a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*). I created a composite measuring overall intergroup anxiety ( $\alpha = .90$ ).

#### **2.1.4. Outcome Variables**

##### **2.1.4.1. Protest Perceptions.**

I used 8 items to measure perceptions of present and past protest. Specifically, participants indicated the extent to which they felt that the reasons why some individuals

participated in past and present protest are clear. They also reported how clear to them the reasons were for protest supporting Hispanic/Latino rights specifically in the past and in the present. Example items included “To what extent are the reasons why some groups might resort to non-violent (violent) protest to support their rights in the past (present) clear to you?” and “To what extent are the reasons why some groups might have resorted to non-violent (violent) protest to support Hispanic/Latino Rights in the past (present) clear to you?” Participants responded on a 7-point Likert scale from 1 (*not at all clear*) to 7 (*very clear*). A subsequent principal components analysis on the 8 protest clarity items identified 2 factors of 4 items each. The first factor appeared to represent the degree to which the reasons for non-violent protest were clear (eigenvalue = 4.03); this variable was titled non-violent protest clarity ( $\alpha = .95$ ). The second factor represented the degree to which the reasons for violent protest were clear to the participants (eigenvalue = 2.46); this variable was titled violent protest clarity ( $\alpha = .88$ ).

#### **2.1.4.2. Protest Intentions**

##### ***2.1.4.2.1. Activism and Radical Intentions Scale***

Participants were also asked to “Think of the group you feel closest to, such as religious group, ethnic group, or any other group that is important to you and write the name of that group down in the space provided.” Then I provided participants with an 8-item Activism and Radical Intentions Scale (ARIS) to measure willingness to engage in protest or radical actions (Moskalenko & McCauley, 2009). This scale includes two subscales, an Activism Intention Scale (AIS; 4 items) that measures participants willingness to engage in more non-violent forms of protest, and a Radical Intentions

Scale (RIS; 4 items) designed to measure participants willingness to engage in more violent protest behaviors. After participants indicated a group, they completed items such as, “I would travel for one hour to join in a public rally, protest, or demonstration in support of my group” (AIS;  $\alpha = .93$ ), and “I would continue to support an organization that fights for my group’s political and legal rights even if the organization sometimes resorts to violence” (RIS;  $\alpha = .85$ ). These items were measured on a 7-point Likert scale from 1 (*disagree completely*) to 7 (*agree completely*). For the full scale see Appendix D.

#### **2.1.4.2.2. Protest Behavior and Non-Normative Behavior**

With the group that they identified as most important to them in mind, participants completed an additional 10 items asking their willingness to engage in protest behaviors (Feinberg, Willer, & Kovacheff, 2020). Participants were asked about 6 specific protest behaviors that they may be willing to enact including civil disobedience, public demonstrations, protest fasts and hunger strikes, protest marches, riots, and strikes. Participants responded using a Likert scale from 1 (*not at all willing*) to 5 (*very willing*) and responses were combined into a singular protest intentions variable ( $\alpha = .89$ ). Also, more broadly, participants completed 4 items measuring the extent to which they would be willing to engage in non-normative behaviors. Specifically, participants indicated willingness to engage in behaviors that others might view as non-normative or unusual, others might view as extreme, behaviors that could disrupt everyday life for other people, and behaviors that could result in some form of property damage. I combined these items into a composite measure of non-normative

behavior ( $\alpha = .83$ ). These items were measured on the same 5-point Likert scale of willingness.

#### **2.1.4.2.3. Critical Action**

A subscale measuring sociopolitical action (Diemer, Rapa, Park, & Perry, 2017) was used to assess participants' participation in sociopolitical activities in the past year. This scale had high internal consistency in this sample,  $\alpha = .86$ . An example of an item from this scale is "Participated in a political party, club or organization." Participants responded using a scale from 1 (*never did this*) to 5 (*at least once a week*). This subscale is part of the aforementioned Critical Consciousness Scale; for the sake of this study it functioned as an outcome variable reflecting behavior (as opposed to attitudes). For the full items used in the scale see Appendix B.

## **2.2. Results**

### **2.2.1. Qualitative Data**

Before interpreting the quantitative data below, I will consider which groups participants indicated a willingness to protest for as well as the types of United States history facts they generated. I was interested in whether racial groups were a commonly-reported protest cause, and I was curious to see whether mainstream, non-marginal group relevant history facts would be more frequently reported than marginalized group history facts.

#### **2.2.1.1. Protest Groups.**

I identified the groups participants reported that they would protest for and compiled them into themes. In total, 194 participants reported groups for which they

would protest. I identified 8 different types of groups. Specifically, these groups included racial groups, religious groups, gender, nationality/state, LGBTQ+, political party/group, family, university/college, and other. The most frequently reported group was racial group; 37.11% of the participants who provided a group chose to protest on behalf of a racial group. Religious groups followed closely behind at 32.47%. For more detailed information on the protest group themes, see Table 1.

**Table 1. Reported Protest Group Themes, Frequencies, and Percentage of Prevalence**

Group Theme	Reported Groups	<i>f</i>	%
Racial Group	African/American-Black, Hispanic/Latino, Mexican/Mexican Americans, Asian/ Asian Americans, Filipino, Chinese American, White, Indian/Indian American, Lebanese American, Mixed Americans, Sikh, all ethnic groups	72	37.11
Religion	Church group, Catholic Filipino, Catholic Hispanic/Latino, Christianity, Christian White men, Lutheran, Episcopal church, Non-denominational Christianity, religious group, Roman Catholic, Church of Latter Day Saints, Hindu, Unitarian Universalist, White Christian	63	32.47
Gender	Women, Female, Christian White Men, Feminist, White American Women, White Christian Females, White guy, White male	17	8.77
Nationality/Government	Americans, Europeans, India, Texans, Mexicans	17	8.77
LGBTQ+	Gays, LGBTQ	10	5.15
Political Ideology/ Party	Conservative, independents, Liberals, Libertarian Conservative, republicans	8	4.12
University/College	A&M students, college friends, college students, fraternity	5	2.58

Family/Friends	Family, friends	4	2.06
Other	Humans, lower class, pro-life, young adults	4	2.06

*Note.* Percentages were calculated as the total frequency of each group theme divided by the number of participants who reported a protest group (194 of 286 participants reported a group). Additionally, some reported groups represented multiple categories (i.e., Christian White Males) and were counted in multiple categories when appropriate.

### 2.2.1.2. Reported History Facts

Participants reported up to 5 facts that they believed to be important elements of US history. I again placed participants' responses into thematic categories. A total of 1,083 facts were generated, and I separated them into two categories: United States marginalized group history facts and United States non-marginalized group history facts. Marginalized group history facts included facts that related directly to or involved the history of people of color in the United States or other underrepresented groups (e.g., LGBTQ, women, and those with disabilities). Overall, 3 themes arose in this category: conflicts and social movements (e.g., Civil War, Civil Rights), previous laws and legal changes (e.g., slavery, Jim Crow), and noteworthy individuals and individual achievements/actions (e.g., Martin Luther King Jr., Abraham Lincoln). Roughly 32% of the total facts provided by participants were classified into the marginalized historical facts category, and the most prevalent theme in this category was conflicts and social movements (~15% of total facts). For a visual representation of this category, see Table 2.

**Table 2. United States Marginalized Group Historical Facts**

Theme	Historical Events	<i>f</i>	% of total
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			history facts
Conflict and Social Movements	Civil War, Civil Rights Movement, Women's Suffrage, Montgomery Bus Boycott, Tulsa Race Massacre, violence towards Native Americans, Mexican Cession, March on Washington, overthrown Hawaiian kingdom, Stonewall Uprising	159	14.68
Previous Laws and Legal Changes	Amendments (13th, 14th, 15 <sup>th</sup> , 19th), abolishment of slavery, emancipation proclamation, legalize gay marriage, native American citizenship, slavery, Brown v. Board of Education, Education for All Act, Jim Crow (e.g., segregation, violent southern racism), Trail of Tears, Chinese Exclusion Act, Equal Rights Amendment, 3/5 Compromise, Voting Rights Act, KKK members in Congress, gay marriage legalization, Missouri Compromise, Plessy v. Ferguson, Puerto Rico becomes a territory (1), Roe v. Wade, Title IX, Japanese American Concentration Camps, Reconstruction	95	8.77
Individuals and Individual Achievements/Actions	Martin Luther King Jr., Abraham Lincoln, Barack Obama, Susan B. Anthony, Harriet Tubman, Malcolm X, Thomas Jefferson (owned slaves), Eisenhower (anti LGBTQ policies), Little Rock Nine, Lack of female president	92	8.50
Total		346	31.95

*Note.* Table includes a list of the exact theme examples provided by participants. The percentages reflect the number of cases of the listed theme out of all historical facts (1,083) (marginalized group facts as well as non-marginalized group facts).

The second category, United States non-marginalized group history facts, included U.S. historical facts not explicitly relevant to marginalized groups. Participant responses were categorized into 5 themes in this category: founding and construction of

the United States (e.g., Declaration of Independence, 13 original colonies), conflict and wars (e.g., American Revolution, World War II), individuals and individual achievements/actions (e.g., George Washington, Alexander Hamilton), eras and time periods (e.g., Great Depression, Industrialization), and environment/health (e.g., 3-Mile Island, Clean Air Act of 1963). Of the total reported history facts, 68.05% fell into the non-marginalized group category. The most prevalent theme in this category was founding and construction of the United States (25.58%). For a detailed representation of the themes and specific responses within those themes, please see Table 3.

**Table 3. United States Non-Marginalized Group Historical Facts**

Theme	Historical Events	<i>f</i>	% of total history facts
Founding/Construction of the United States	13 original colonies, Declaration of Independence, states founded (Texas, Rhode Island, Ohio, Hawaii), Jamestown, Louisiana Purchase, founding ideologies (religion, economic philosophies, manifest destiny), eventual 50 states, Constitution, Articles of Confederation, Magna Carta, government structure (term limits, separation of power, elections), political party structure, capitals, Marbury v. Madison (judicial review), Congress founded, symbology (flag and colors)	277	25.58
Conflicts and Wars	American Revolution, 9/11, Boston Tea Party, Pearl Harbor, Cold War, Vietnam War, World War I, World War II, U.S. atomic bomb drop, War of 1812, Battle of Yorktown, Korean War, War on Terror, Cuban Missile Crisis,	214	19.76

	Civil War (war of states' rights) <sup>1</sup> , Battle at Gettysburg, Bunker Hill		
Individuals and Individual Achievements/ Actions	Christopher Columbus, Donald Trump, Neil Armstrong, George Washington, Theodore Roosevelt, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Abraham Lincoln <sup>2</sup> , Alexander Hamilton, Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, John Adams, John F. Kennedy, Paul Revere, Andrew Jackson, Ronald Reagan, Betsy Ross, George Bush Sr., James Madison	193	17.82
Eras and Time Periods	Great Depression, Baby Boom, Industrialization, Populism, Progressive Era, Red Scare, Isolationism, Prohibition	39	3.60
Environmental/Health	3-mile island, Clean Air Act of 1963, COVID-19	14	1.29
<b>Total</b>		<b>737</b>	<b>68.05</b>

*Note.* Table includes a list of the exact theme examples provided by participants. Furthermore, the percentage provided in the table is calculated from the total number of cases of the listed theme out of all historical facts (1,083) provided from both tables (marginalized group facts as well as non-marginalized group facts).

### 2.2.1.3. Reported Protests

Participants' lists of protests that come to mind in the past and the present were also collected. Participants reported up to 5 protests from the past that came to mind. These protests were defined as protest events that occurred 20 years ago or later. A total of 652 protests were listed by participants. These 652 listed protests were separated into

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<sup>1</sup> Civil War was included in the non-marginalized group category if they explicitly claimed that it was a war of states' rights. Mention of states' rights as a cause of the Civil War is a common manner in which to undermine slavery's role; therefore, it was classified as non-marginal (James, 2011).

<sup>2</sup> Abraham Lincoln was categorized as a non-marginal group relevant historical fact if they mentioned facts about him not related to race (e.g., the number president he was or his assassination).

15 different themes: Civil Rights Protests, Women’s Rights Protests, Anti-War Protests, LGBTQ+ Rights Protests, Reproductive Rights Protests, Labor Rights Protests, Protests for United States Independence, International Protests, Latinx Rights Protests, Anti-Alcohol Protests, Anti-Muslim Protests, Free Speech Protests, Animal Rights Protests, Asian/Asian American Rights Protests, and Prisoner Rights Protests. Of these themes, the most commonly recalled protests related to Black Rights Protests such as 1960s Civil Rights marches, sit ins and protests against segregation. These protests accounted for roughly 34% of listed protests. For a full list of past protest themes see Table 4.

**Table 4. Listed Past Protests (Protests From 20 Years Ago or Later)**

Theme	Protests/Protest Events	<i>f</i>	% of total protest instances
Black Rights Protests	1963 march for civil rights, Civil Rights, civil rights boycotts, civil rights rallies, Martin Luther King “I Have a Dream Speech, Martin Luther King, Montgomery Bus Boycott, police brutality, Rodney King, segregation, Selma, slavery, Birmingham, African American rights, Detroit Riot, race, Rosa Parks, sit ins, Watts Riots, Malcolm X speech, Little Rock 9, million man march, police brutality, freedom rides, Greensboro sit in, Jim Crow laws, LA riots, Montgomery marches, 3/5 compromise, Black rights, March on Birmingham	223	34.20
Women’s Rights Protests	Equal pay, equal rights, feminist movement, March for Women’s lives, Million Woman March, protest women’s suffrage, protesting women’s rights, burning bras riots, women’s marches, million mom march, miss America protest	129	19.79

Anti-War Protests	Anti-war, anti-nuclear weapon, anti-Vietnam war, draft card burning, Iraq War, Korean war, Afghanistan war, gulf war protests, Kent State massacre, hippy movement, Democratic National Convention riot	109	16.72
LGBTQ+ Rights Protests	Gay rights, gay marriage, LGBTQ rights, march on Washington lesbian and gay rights, pride, marriage rights, stonewall, second national march for lesbian and gay rights, transgender movement, AIDS scare, New Left	82	12.58
Reproductive Rights Protests	Abortion, Roe v. Wade, planned parenthood, pro-choice rally, pro-life marches, march for life, new left	26	3.99
Labor Rights Protest	Labor union protest, low wages, newsboy strike, industrial revolution factory protests, employment rights, solidarity day march, child labor, workers' rights, working laws, factory protests, labor movement, communism/socialism, railroad strike, rights for business, Haymarket Riot	21	3.22
Protests for United States Independence	Boston Massacre, Boston Tea Party, south separating from north, U.S. protest independence, protest against British rule	19	2.91
International Protests	Gandhi Salt March, Indian partition, Tiananmen Square, Indian Independence, apartheid, storming bastille, Armenian March for Justice, Berlin Wall Protest, Nelson Mandela	19	2.91
Latinx Rights Protests	Immigration protest, Latino boycott of supermarkets, Chicano movement, Young Lords, migrant workers protest, Cesar Chavez labor protests	9	1.38
Anti-Alcohol Protests	Prohibition, Temperance Movement	7	1.07

Anti-Muslim Protests	Anti-Muslim protest after 9/11	2	0.31
Free Speech Protests	Berkeley, free speech	2	0.31
Animal Rights Protests	PETA, veganism	2	0.31
Asian/Asian American Rights Protests	Battle of International Hotel	1	0.15
Prisoner Rights Protests	Prisoners' Rights	1	0.15
Total		652	100

*Note.* Table includes a list of exact theme examples provided by participants. Furthermore, the percentage provided in the table is calculated from the total number of cases of the listed theme out of all listed past protests (652).

Participants also listed up to 5 protests that they recalled from the present, defined as protests that occurred within the past 5 years. A total of 876 protests were listed by participants and I categorized them into 20 themes: Women's Rights Protests, Black Rights Protests, LGBTQ+ Rights Protests, Gun Control Protests, Reproductive Rights Protests, Anti-Elected Officials Protests, Environmental Protests, International Protests, Latinx Rights Protests, Labor Rights Protests, Right Leaning Protests, Animal Rights Protests, Medical Rights Protests, Anti-War Protests, Drug Legalization Protests, Internet Rights Protests, College Education Protests, Anti-Muslim Travel Ban Protests, Monuments Protests, Indigenous People's Rights Protests. The most commonly listed protest theme was Women's Rights Protests at roughly 20% of reported instances. For a full list of themes see Table 5.

**Table 5. Listed Present Protests (Protests From 5 Years Ago or Earlier)**

Theme	Protests/Protest Events	<i>f</i>	% of total protest instances
Women's Rights Protests	Me Too, 2017 Women's march, feminism marches, march for women, free the nipple, Pussyhat project, womens rights, feminist movement, gender protest, International Women's' March, equal pay, equal rights, feminism, walk a mile in her shoes, sexual assault protests, U.S. Womens soccer team gender discrimination, slut walks, women in Mexico protest disappearances and death of women	177	20.21
Black Rights Protests	Black Lives Matter, Ferguson, police shootings, national anthem kneeling, Charlotte protests, protests of police brutality, racism, riots in Baltimore, orange county protests, march for justice	130	14.84
LGBTQ+ Rights Protests	Gay pride, gay rights, gay rights protest, gay/lesbian rights, legalization of same sex marriage, LGBTQ protests, LGBTQ, pride, pride marches, protest Chick-Fil-A, sexuality protests, bathroom labeling, equal rights LGBTQ+, gay marriage, LGBTQ rights, protest against Draggieland, trans rights, transgender rights, LGBT equality, transgender rights in the military, transgender violence, protest against gay marriage, Westboro Baptist Church	125	14.27
Gun Control Protests	Gun control, gun violence, march for life, protesting for gun rights, student marches for gun control, concealed carry, gun laws, gun protest, gun rights, gun rallies, gun safety student walk outs, gun rights rally Virginia, anti-gun protests, protect 2 <sup>nd</sup> amendment, protest gun reform, protest against gun laws, protest school shootings	108	12.33
Reproductive Rights Protests	Abortion, abortion rights, anti-abortion/pro-life, pro-life-pro-choice, pro-choice,	88	10.05

	planned parenthood, abortion protests, pro-abortion, pro-life, protest against planned parenthood, march for life		
Anti-Elected Official Protests	2016 presidential election, Anti-Trump protest, democrats protesting Trump in office, Hillary Clinton emails, not my president, anti-Trump riots, scientist rally against trump, Bernie sanders protesting Hillary Clinton election, Hilary Clinton popular vote but not electoral college, for and against trump, impeach Donald Trump, Berkley protests in 2017, protest against Brett Kavanaugh	68	7.76
Environmental Protests	Climate change/global warming, environmental protest, climate march, Dakota access pipeline, global climate strike, Virginia pipeline protest, march for the planet, march for silence	39	4.45
International Protests	Brexit, Chinese protests, Hong Kong protest, Lebanese government protest, 2017 protests in Venezuela, death of Qasem Soleimani, Sudan protests against Omar Al-Bashir, Catalan, Spain protest, Greece protests police presence in schools, human rights marches in Turkey, telegram gate Puerto Rico, Latin American student protests, a day without us protest in Mexico, women in Mexico protest disappearances and death of women, American boycotts due to Hong Kong, Barcelona protests, Iran war protest	35	4.00
Latinx Rights Protests	Mexican/America border protest, DACA protest, dreamers/immigration, family separation, Rio Grande valley immigration, stand with immigrants, border wall, ICE protests, day without immigrants, Latino protests, protest against immigrant camps, anti-immigration protest, immigration policies, immigration protests, Hispanic	27	3.08



	protest, protecting undocumented immigrants		
Labor Rights Protests	Workers strikes on poor treatment in coronavirus (one specific talks healthcare workers), minimum wage increase, protest against prison conditions, higher teacher salaries/funding, protest better wages, entertainment worker walk outs in Vegas, hotel protest in san Francisco higher pay, workers strike, protest socialism, protest corporatism	26	2.97
Right Leaning Protests	Virginia Neo-Nazi protest/white supremacist march, blue lives matter, unite the right rally, all lives matter, march 4 trump	9	1.03
Animal Rights Protests	PETA, dog lab protest A&M, animal rights, peta protesting sea world	8	0.91
Medical Rights Protests	Medical care, anti-vaccine, bills requiring vaccine/not requiring vaccine, free healthcare, health care	7	0.80
Anti-War Protests	Anti-war, anti-nuclear weapons march/protest	6	0.68
Drug Legalization Protests	Marijuana legalization	6	0.68
Internet Rights Protests	Net neutrality, internet privacy	5	0.57
College Education Protests	College athlete payment, protesting college speakers (i.e., Ben Shapiro), affirmative action	4	0.46
Anti-Muslim Travel Ban Protests	Muslim travel ban	3	0.34
Monuments Protests	Robert E. Lee Statue, confederate flags and statues	3	0.34

Indigenous People's Rights Protests	Native American rights, protest for indigenous people	2	0.23
Total		876	100

*Note.* Table includes a list of exact theme examples provided by participants. The percentages indicate the total number of cases in each theme out of all listed present protests (876).

### 2.2.2. Regression Models

A series of multiple regressions were used to test whether the hypothesized predictors related to protest perceptions and protest intentions. The primary purpose of the study was to identify individual difference factors that predict positive perceptions and support for violent and non-violent protest, respectively, including relatively established predictor variables (i.e., perceived inequality, identification and social dominance orientation) and newly considered predictors (i.e., knowledge of history, colorblindness, and glorification). As a secondary analysis I also treated these same variables as predictors of protest intentions/behavior, both violent and non-violent.

#### 2.2.2.1. Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics for the predictor and outcome variables are presented in Table 6. Participants reported relatively low levels of racist attitudes (colorblindness, modern racism) and intergroup anxiety. Additionally, participants reported moderate attachment and glorification of the United States, relatively low negative perceptions of the United States, and low reported history knowledge. In regard to protest perceptions, participants reported relatively high non-violent protest clarity and low perceived clarity of violent protest. Furthermore, participants reported moderate to low levels of intention

to engage in protest both violent and non-violent. See Table 7 for the correlations among all variables.

**Table 6. Descriptive Statistics for Model Variables**

Variable	M	SD
<b>Predictors</b>		
Racial Privilege	3.86	1.38
Institutional Discrimination	3.58	1.11
Blatant Racial Issues	2.89	1.07
Modern Racism	2.86	1.02
Perceived Inequality	3.99	1.23
Egalitarianism	5.02	.950
Social Dominance Orientation	2.31	1.01
Attachment	4.96	1.40
Glorification	4.17	1.24
History Knowledge	3.41	1.15
United States Perception	2.51	.745
Political Outlook	4.32	1.64
Intergroup Anxiety	2.91	1.10
<b>Primary Outcomes</b>		
<b><i>Protest Perceptions</i></b>		
Non-Violent Protest Clarity	5.17	1.65
Violent Protest Clarity	2.87	1.46
<b>Secondary Outcomes</b>		
<b><i>Protest Behavior/Intentions</i></b>		
Activism Intentions Scale	4.60	1.61
Critical Action	1.52	.615
Radical Intentions Scale	2.74	1.47
Nonnormative Behavior	2.03	.885
Protest Behavior	2.30	1.01

*Note.* Political outlook was scored such that higher values indicate a more conservative political outlook, and United States perceptions were scored such that higher values indicate a more negative perception of the United States. Modern Racism measured racist attitudes towards Latinos.

**Table 7. Correlations Between Predictors and Outcome Variables**

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1.RP	-																		
2.ID	.616**	-																	
3.BRI	.694**	.631**	-																
4.MR	.611**	.647**	.679**	-															
5.PI	-.776**	-.560**	-.611**	-.565**	-														
6.Egal	-.252**	-.322**	-.488**	-.487**	.319**	-													
7.SDO	.296**	.417**	.516**	.525**	-.335**	-.735**	-												
8.Attach	.547**	.552**	.428**	.372**	-.428**	-.060	.177**	-											
9.Glor	.561**	.539**	.515**	.507**	-.476**	-.241**	.283**	.813**	-										
10.HK	-.092	-.140*	-.045	-.200**	.114	.103	-.125*	-.076	-.147*	-									
11.UP	-.591**	-.492**	-.456**	-.402**	.546**	.134*	-.179**	-.682**	-.677**	.179**	-								
12.PO	.576**	.537**	.507**	.438**	-.520**	-.230**	.238**	.569**	.587**	-.185**	-.546**	-							
13.IGA	-.303**	-.190**	-.171**	-.021	.229**	-.121*	.145*	-.280**	-.200**	-.096	.332**	-.278**	-						
14.NV	-.291**	-.365**	-.448**	-.508**	.326**	.353**	-.399**	-.187**	-.334**	.200**	.169**	-.225**	-.076	-					
15.VP	-.340**	-.241**	-.254**	-.266**	.320**	.100†	-.041	-.365**	-.408**	.078	.371**	-.360**	.254**	.239**	-				
16.AIS	-.226**	-.229**	-.270**	-.336**	.258**	.186**	-.195**	-.044	-.087	.238**	.173**	-.197**	.043	.306**	.080	-			
17.CA	-.260**	-.166**	-.114†	-.143*	.237**	-.022	.007	-.209**	-.196**	.208**	.317**	-.266**	.196**	.152**	.144*	.343**	-		
18.RIS	-.273**	-.218**	-.154**	-.085	.181**	-.069	.078	-.373**	-.273**	.042	.351**	-.378**	.302**	-.051	.340**	.320**	.275**	-	
19.NN	-.274**	-.241**	-.161	-.204**	.197**	.003	.005	-.300**	-.279**	.138*	.290**	-.325**	.183**	.085	.254**	.356**	.322**	.609**	-
20.PB	-.358**	-.320**	-.313**	-.372**	.306**	.127*	-.145*	-.342**	-.392**	.223**	.356**	-.376**	.191**	.284**	.298**	.533**	.459**	.543**	.705*

*Note.* Correlations between all predictors and outcome variables contained in the subsequent models. The table includes predictors Racial Privilege (RP), Institutional Discrimination (ID), Blatant Racial Issues (BRI), Modern Racism towards Latinos (MR), Perceived Inequality (PI), Egalitarianism (Egal), Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), Attachment (Attach), Glorification (Glor), History Knowledge (HK), U.S. Perception (UP), Political Outlook (PO) and outcomes Non-Violent Protest Clarity (NV), Violent Protest Clarity (VP), Activism Intention Scale (AIS), Critical Action (CA), Revenge Intentions Scale (RIS), Non-Normative Behavior (NN), Protest Behavior (PB). Political outlook is calculated so that higher numbers indicate a more conservative outlook and U.S. perception is coded that higher levels indicate a more negative perception of the United States. \* $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ .

### 2.2.2.2. Protest Perceptions

A multiple regression analysis assessed whether racial attitudes (colorblindness, modern racism), perceptions of equality and hierarchy (critical consciousness and social dominance orientation), United States identity perceptions, knowledge and politics (attachment, glorification, history knowledge, negative U.S. perception and political outlook), and intergroup anxiety predicted the perceived clarity of the reasons why groups engage in non-violent protest. The overall model was statistically significant,  $F(13,269) = 10.86, p < .001$ , and explained 34.4% of the variance in perceived clarity of reasons for non-violent protest. Descriptively, the strongest individual predictors were two specific predictors of racial attitudes, namely the ignorance to blatant racial issues subscale of the COBRAS,  $b = -.371, p = .005$ , and modern racist attitudes towards Latinos,  $b = -.430, p = .001$ . Glorification was also a negative predictor of non-violent protest clarity,  $b = -.355, p = .008$ , whereas self-reported knowledge of history was a positive predictor,  $b = .182, p = .018$ . All other predictors exhibited a non-significant relationship with non-violent protest clarity.

The same predictors variables were also used to predict violent protest clarity. Just as was the case for non-violent protest clarity, the overall model predicting violent protest clarity was significant,  $F(13, 269) = 6.64, p < .001$ , with 24.3% of the variance accounted for by this model. Only two individual predictors were statistically significant. Higher levels of intergroup anxiety predicted higher perceptions of violent protest clarity,  $b = .211, p = .011$ , whereas glorification of the United States negatively

predicted perception of violent protest clarity,  $b = -.263$ ,  $p = .037$ . All other predictors were non-significant. To view the coefficients for each predictor in both aforementioned models, please refer to Table 8.

**Table 8. Multiple Regression Models Predicting Violent and Non-Violent Protest Clarity**

Models	<i>b</i>	SE	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	95% CI <i>b</i>
<b>Non-Violent Protest Clarity</b>						
Racial Privilege	.183	.116	.152	1.58	.116	[-.045, .410]
Institutional Discrimination	-.067	.115	-.045	-.580	.562	[-.293, .160]
Blatant Racial Issues	-.371	.131	-.241	-2.84	.005	[-.629, -.114]
Modern Racism	-.430	.133	.263	-3.23	.001	[-.692, .168]
Perceived Inequality	.167	.111	.124	1.51	.133	[-.051, .385]
Egalitarianism	-.060	.138	-.034	-.431	.667	[-.332, .212]
SDO	-.179	.130	-.110	-1.38	.168	[-.434, .076]
Attachment	.126	.117	.106	1.08	.282	[-.104, .355]
Glorification	-.355	.132	-.264	-2.68	.008	[-.616, -.094]
History Knowledge	.182	.076	.127	2.39	.018	[.032, .333]
U.S. Perception	-.324	.181	-.146	-1.79	.074	[-.680, .032]
Political Outlook	.065	.070	.064	.917	.360	[-.074, .203]
Intergroup Anxiety	-.059	.087	-.039	-.678	.498	[-.230, .112]
<b>Violent Protest Clarity</b>						
Racial Privilege	-.017	.110	-.016	-.153	.879	[-.233, .199]
Institutional Discrimination	.126	.109	.096	1.16	.248	[-.089, .341]
Blatant Racial Issues	.034	.124	.025	.278	.782	[-.210, .279]
Modern Racism	-.179	.126	-.124	-1.42	.158	[-.428, .070]
Perceived Inequality	.121	.105	.102	1.15	.252	[-.086, .328]
Egalitarianism	.118	.131	.076	.901	.368	[-.140, .376]
SDO	.204	.123	.141	1.66	.098	[-.038, .446]
Attachment	-.041	.111	-.039	-3.66	.715	[-.259, .178]

Glorification	<b>-.263</b>	.126	-.222	<b>-2.09</b>	.037	[-.511, -.016]
History Knowledge	.036	.072	.028	.499	.618	[-.107, .179]
U.S. Perception	.080	.172	.041	.464	.643	[-.258, .417]
Political Outlook	<b>-.085</b>	.067	<b>-.096</b>	<b>-1.27</b>	.204	[-.217, .046]
Intergroup Anxiety	.210	.082	.157	2.55	.011	[.048, .373]

*Note.* Bold text denotes the outcome variable of the model. The other variables were the predictor variables in the model. Political outlook was calculated so that higher values indicate a more conservative outlook. U.S. perception was scored so that higher values indicate more negative perceptions of the United States. Social Dominance Orientation is abbreviated by SDO. Modern Racism measured negative racial attitudes towards Latinos.

### 2.2.2.3. Non-Violent Protest Intentions/Behaviors

The same predictors were used to predict protest intentions. First, a multiple regression analysis was conducted to determine the predictive relationship of the aforementioned variables on a pre-established measure of non-violent protest intentions, the Activism Intentions Scale. The overall model was significant.  $F(13, 180) = 2.83, p = .001$ , and accounted for 17% of the variance. Similar to the results for non-violent protest clarity, modern racism against Latinos was a negative predictor of non-violent activism intentions.  $b = -.383, p = .040$ , and history knowledge positively predicted non-violent protest intentions.  $b = .253, p = .023$ . None of the remaining predictors achieved statistical significance in relating to non-violent protest intentions.

Furthermore, the same predictor variables were used in a model with past non-violent protest/activism behavior as the outcome measure, specifically the critical action subscale of the critical consciousness scale. The overall model was significant.  $F(13, 269) = 4.15, p = .001$ , and accounted for 16.7% of the variance. Negative

perceptions of the United States were a positive predictor of engagement in prior critical action,  $b = .158, p = .038$ . And just as in the other two models of non-violent protest, history knowledge was again a significant predictor of non-violent protest/activism behavior,  $b = .086, p = .007$ . All other predictors were non-significant. To see the full coefficients for the both aforementioned non-violent protest/behavior models, please see Table 9.

**Table 9. Multiple Regression Models Predicting Non-Violent Protest Intentions and Non-Violent Activism Behavior**

Models and Predictors	<i>b</i>	SE	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	95% CI <i>b</i>
<b>AIS</b>						
Racial Privilege	-.060	.163	-.051	-.366	.715	[-.381, .262]
Institutional Discrimination	.059	.158	.040	.374	.709	[-.253, .372]
Blatant Racial Issues	-.199	.174	-.130	-1.14	.254	[-.543, .144]
Modern Racism	-.383	.185	-.235	-2.07	.040	[-.748, -.017]
Perceived Inequality	.131	.152	.099	.864	.389	[-.168, .431]
Egalitarianism	-.237	.187	-.121	-1.27	.205	[-.605, .131]
SDO	-.148	.180	-.085	-.821	.413	[-.502, .207]
Attachment	.207	.153	.178	1.36	.177	[-.095, .510]
Glorification	.225	.191	.164	1.18	.241	[-.152, .603]
History Knowledge	.253	.110	.167	2.29	.023	[.035, .471]
U.S. Perception	.257	.248	.112	1.04	.302	[-.233, .747]
Political Outlook	-.039	.099	-.040	-.394	.694	[-.235, .156]
Intergroup Anxiety	.035	.113	.025	.310	.757	[-.188, .258]
<b>Critical Action</b>						
Racial Privilege	-.057	.048	-.128	-1.18	.240	[-.153, .038]
Institutional Discrimination	.014	.048	.025	.289	.773	[-.081, .109]
Blatant Racial Issues	.062	.055	.108	1.13	.259	[-.046, .170]
Modern Racism	-.024	.056	-.039	-.422	.674	[-.133, .086]



Perceived Inequality	.027	.046	.054	.586	.559	[-.064, .119]
Egalitarianism	-.044	.058	-.068	-.764	.445	[-.158, .070]
SDO	.009	.054	.015	.173	.863	[-.097, .116]
Attachment	.014	.049	.032	.286	.775	[-.082, .110]
Glorification	.020	.056	.041	.368	.713	[-.089, .130]
History Knowledge	.086	.032	.161	2.70	.007	[.023, .149]
U.S. Perception	.158	.076	.191	2.09	.038	[.009, .307]
Political Outlook	-.043	.029	-.116	-1.47	.143	[-.016, .128]
Intergroup Anxiety	.056	.036	.099	1.54	.125	[-.101, .015]

*Note.* Bold text denotes the outcome variable of the model. The other variables were the predictor variables in the model. Political outlook was calculated so that higher numbers indicate a more conservative outlook. U.S. perception was scored so that higher levels indicate a more negative perception of the United States. Social Dominance Orientation is abbreviated by SDO. Modern Racism measured negative racial attitudes towards Latinos.

#### 2.2.2.4. Violent Protest Intentions

The first predictive model of violent protest intentions analyzed the aforementioned predictor variables with a previously validated measure of violent protest/action intentions, the Radical Intentions Scale, as the outcome variable. Overall, this model was significantly predictive of radical intentions,  $F(13, 180) = 4.20, p < .001$ , and accounted for 23.3% of the variance. Only conservative political outlook emerged as a significant individual predictor of radical intentions. Specifically, higher conservative political outlook negatively predicted willingness to engage in violent protest behaviors,  $b = -.220, p = .012$ . Another regression model, this time using non-normative violent protest intentions as the outcome variable, was statistically significant,  $F(13, 180) = 3.52, p < .001$ , variance accounted for 20.3%. However, none of the individual predictor

variables in the model were statistically significant. For an entire view of all the coefficients for both models, see Table 10.

**Table 10. Multiple Regression Models Predicting Violent and Non-Normative Protest Behavior**

Models and Predictors	<i>b</i>	SE	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	95% CI <i>b</i>
<b>RIS</b>						
Racial Privilege	-.055	.143	-.052	-.384	.702	[-.337, .227]
Institutional Discrimination	-.041	.139	-.030	-.293	.770	[-.314, .233]
Blatant Racial Issues	-.125	.153	-.089	-.821	.413	[-.426, .176]
Modern Racism	.088	.162	.059	.540	.590	[-.233, .408]
Perceived Inequality	-.017	.133	-.014	-.129	.898	[-.280, .245]
Egalitarianism	.024	.163	.014	.149	.881	[-.298, .347]
SDO	.222	.158	.140	1.41	.161	[-.089, .533]
Attachment	-.151	.134	-.142	-1.12	.262	[-.416, .114]
Glorification	.164	.168	.131	.977	.330	[-.167, .495]
History Knowledge	.059	.097	.043	.609	.544	[-.132, .250]
U.S. Perception	.250	.218	.119	1.15	.253	[-.180, .679]
Political Outlook	-.220	.087	-.248	-2.54	.012	[-.392, -.049]
Intergroup Anxiety	.191	.099	.147	1.19	.056	[-.005, .386]
<b>Non-Normative Behavior</b>						
Racial Privilege	-.127	.088	-.197	-1.44	.152	[-.301, .047]
Institutional Discrimination	.046	.086	.056	.536	.593	[-.123, .215]
Blatant Racial Issues	.048	.094	.057	.510	.611	[-.138, .234]
Modern Racism	-.146	.100	-.163	-1.46	.145	[-.344, .051]
Perceived Inequality	-.011	.082	-.015	-.132	.895	[-.173, .151]
Egalitarianism	.058	.101	.053	.571	.569	[-.141, .256]
SDO	.075	.097	.078	.769	.443	[-.117, .267]
Attachment	-.043	.083	-.067	-.523	.602	[-.207, .120]
Glorification	.005	.103	.007	.048	.962	[-.199, .209]
History Knowledge	.095	.060	.113	1.59	.114	[-.023, .213]

U.S. Perception	.122	.134	.097	.910	.364	[-.143, .387]
Political Outlook	-.044	.054	-.083	-.828	.409	[-.150, .061]
Intergroup Anxiety	.065	.061	.083	1.06	.291	[-.056, .185]

*Note.* Bold text denotes the outcome variable of the model. The other variables were the predictor variables in the model. Political outlook was calculated so that higher numbers indicate a more conservative outlook. U.S. perception was coded so that higher levels indicate a more negative perception of the United States. Social Dominance Orientation is abbreviated by SDO. Modern Racism measured negative racial attitudes towards Latinos.

### 2.2.2.5. Specific Protest Behavior

A final model was created to predict protest-related behavioral intentions and willingness to engage in specific protest behaviors (e.g., marches, fasts, and riots). This model was also statistically significant,  $F(13, 180) = 4.60, p < .001$ , accounting for 28.2% of the variance. The only significant individual predictor variable was modern racism, which exhibited a negative association with protest behavior intentions,  $b = -.291, p = .010$ . None of the other variables in the model were statistically significant predictors. For a full view of the coefficients for each predictor in the model, see Table 11.

**Table 11. Multiple Regression Models Predicting Specific Protest Behaviors Scale**

Models and Predictors	<i>b</i>	SE	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	95% CI <i>b</i>
<b>Protest Behavior</b>						
Racial Privilege	-.076	.098	-.100	-.771	.442	[-.270, .118]
Institutional Discrimination	.080	.096	.083	.834	.405	[-.109, .268]
Blatant Racial Issues	-.027	.105	-.027	-.257	.797	[-.235, .180]
Modern Racism	-.291	.112	-.275	-2.60	.010	[-.512, -.071]
Perceived Inequality	.008	.092	.009	.089	.930	[-.173, .189]
Egalitarianism	.036	.113	.028	.317	.752	[-.187, .258]

SDO	.082	.109	.073	.757	.450	[-.132, .297]
Attachment	.031	.092	.042	.340	.734	[-.151, .214]
Glorification	-.099	.116	-.111	-.856	.393	[-.327, .129]
History	.108	.067	.109	1.62	.107	[-.024, .240]
Knowledge						
U.S. Perception	.122	.150	.082	.812	.418	[-.174, .418]
Political Outlook	-.079	.060	-.124	-1.31	.191	[-.197, .039]
Intergroup	.047	.068	.051	.684	.495	[-.088, .181]
Anxiety						

*Note.* Bold text denotes the outcome variable of the model. The other variables are the predictor variables in the model. Political outlook is calculated so that higher numbers indicate a more conservative outlook. U.S. perception is coded so that higher levels indicate a more negative perception of the United States. Social Dominance Orientation is abbreviated by SDO. Modern Racism measured negative racial attitudes towards Latinos.

### 2.3. Brief Discussion

Results from Study 1 revealed a few consistent predictors of protest perceptions and intentions. First, racist attitudes proved to be a consistent predictor such that more racist attitudes related to reduced protest intentions and actions. However, colorblind racial attitudes were not reliably related to protest perceptions or intentions. Perhaps the racial attitudes assessed using the modern racism scale yielded a more direct assessment of racist attitudes than the colorblind ideology measure (the COBRAS). In any event, the results suggested that negative racial attitudes by the Modern Racism Scale are a reliable predictor of protest behavior and intentions but colorblind ideology is not.

Knowledge of history was a consistent and influential positive predictor of non-violent protest perceptions as well as non-violent protest intentions and engagement, even when accounting for other predictor variables. This finding provides preliminary support for the notion that history knowledge has an influential impact on perceptions of protest and is indeed an important factor to consider. Another consistent negative

predictor of protest perception was glorification (of US history). This result also provides some preliminary support for my notion that uncritical, glorified perceptions of the United States are important to consider when studying protest.

Although the results from this first study were promising, it had limitations that I plan to address in the following studies. First, Study 1 was limited due to the correlational design. This design allowed for a broad preliminary screen to test my initial hypotheses regarding protest; however, the cross-sectional, correlational nature of the design does not permit causal inferences. For instance, Study 1 could not reveal the degree to which history knowledge may affect perceptions of protest and protest engagement. Studies 2 and 3 will use experimental designs to directly test the influence of different aspects of history on perceptions of protest and protest engagement. Study 1 supported the idea that knowledge of history relates to perceptions and engagement with protest. However, this study did not investigate the influence of history as a historical time point; specifically, Study 1 was not able to consider whether perceptions of protest are influenced by a protest event occurring at a particular historical time point.

Therefore, Study 2 analyzed the time component of history by testing the extent to which perceptions of protest are influenced by whether the protest occurred in the past or in the present.

### **3. STUDY 2**

Study 2 tested perceptions of protest as a function of whether the protest was violent or non-violent and whether the protest occurred in the past or in the present. Participants read a news article based upon a real historical protest against police brutality toward a Latinx man. The article described either a violent or non-violent protest that occurred either in the past or in the present. Then I measured participants' perceptions of the protest.

#### **3.1. Method**

##### **3.1.1. Participants**

Participants were recruited through the SONA psychology subject pool. A total of 268 students (119 cisgender males, 148 cisgender females, and 1 prefer not to say) participated in this study. The average age of the sample was 18.73 years ( $SD = 1.16$ ). Additionally, the racial/ethnic composition of the study was 55.15 % White/Caucasian, 17.65 % Hispanic/Latino, 13.97 % Biracial or Multiracial, 9.93 % Asian/Asian American, 1.47 % African American/Black, 1.10 % Arab/Arab American, and 0.73 % Not Listed.

##### **3.1.2. General Procedure Information**

Participants completed the study online. Participants were asked to read and give their perceptions on a protest story. This study used a 2 (violent vs. non-violent protests) by 2 (past vs. present) between-subjects design. Participants were randomly assigned to read one of four news articles pertaining to a violent or non-violent Latinx protest that occurred in the present or the past. Afterwards, participants reported their evaluations of

the protest article, their emotional reactions to the protest article, and their perceptions of the protestors. The Latinx protest scenarios depicted true historical events, and after completion of the study participants were debriefed that the events they read about were true events.

### **3.1.3. Manipulation of Protest Type and Historical Context**

To manipulate protest type and gain external validity, a real historical protest case was used. Participants read a news article about a man named Joe Campos Torres, a Latinx man who was beaten and killed by police. The offending police officers were tried in court and sentenced to 1-year probation and a \$1 fine. As a result, local Latinx people protested both non-violently and violently. This real case of police brutality occurred in Houston, Texas in 1977, and much of the original article from the Houston Post was presented to participants (Asker, 1977; Houston Post, 1978). This event caused real-life instances of both violent and non-violent protest, and participants in this study read about those violent or non-violent protest events.

The articles were edited so that they had a similar number of words and similar content, except for the protest type (See Appendices E & F). Actual pictures from the protest events were included to increase the validity of the story, highlight whether the event was violent or non-violent, and to emphasize the time period of the event. Participants read the stories with an accompanying audio recording also reading the stories to them. Participants were told that the events happened in Phoenix, Arizona as opposed to Houston, Texas, to prevent students in our sample, many of whom come

from the Houston metropolitan area, from becoming suspicious that the event had occurred recently and that they had not heard of the events described.

### **3.1.4. Outcome Variables**

#### **3.1.4.1. Evaluation of the News Article.**

After reading the article participants responded to 10 items about their thoughts on the article. Responses were measured using a 7-point Likert scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*). A principal axis factor analysis with an oblique rotation on the 10 news article evaluation items in order to account for potential correlation amongst factors (Kashy, Donnellan, Ackerman, & Russell, 2009). Results suggested three factors with an eigenvalue of 1.00 or higher. However, a scree plot suggested up to four potential factors accounting for 51% of the variance. Upon examination of structure coefficients, four interpretable subscales emerged, including positive news evaluations, negative news evaluations, critical news evaluations, and recognition news evaluations. Positive news evaluations were comprised of two items, “How much do you like this news story?” and “Overall, how attractive is this news story?” These items demonstrated an acceptable level of reliability  $\alpha = .73$ . The negative news evaluations were composed of two items “How aggressive is this news story?” and “How hostile is this news story?” These items also had high internal reliability,  $\alpha = .96$ . The critical news evaluation factor included 4 items such as “How uncomfortable is this news story?”, “How critical of America is this news story?”, “To what extent would you like to see this story in the news?”, and “How patriotic is this news story?”,  $\alpha = .50$ . The final two items composed a factor that highlighted recognition of the news story ( $\alpha = .30$ ). These items included “How familiar



is this news story?” and “To what extent does this news story present Latino/Hispanic people accurately”. For detailed information on the coefficients and correlations amongst the factors see (Table 12 & Table 13).

**Table 12. Pattern Matrix for News Article Evaluation Items with Oblique Rotation**

Item Label	Structure Coefficients			
	Negative	Positive	Critical	Recognition
Like	.06	<b>.73</b>	.06	-.01
Attract	.02	<b>.75</b>	.03	.12
Familiar	.07	.17	-.07	<b>.22</b>
Accurate	-.13	.12	-.03	<b>.68</b>
Uncomfortable	.15	-.31	<b>.50</b>	.13
Aggressive	<b>.93</b>	.01	-.02	.00
Hostile	<b>.98</b>	.03	.01	-.03
Patriotic	-.19	-.04	<b>.28</b>	.21
Critical	.16	-.05	<b>.38</b>	.29
Like to See	-.15	.30	<b>.66</b>	-.09
Eigenvalue	1.98	1.37	1.00	.76

*Note.* Table consists of structure coefficients of the items measuring participant evaluations of the protest news article. Bolded coefficients denote the items that were included in the factor.

**Table 13. Correlation Matrix for Factors**

	1	2	3
1.Negative	-		
2.Positive	-.15	-	
3.Critical	-.13	.34	-
4.Recognition	-.36	.20	.15

*Note.* Table consists of correlational relationships between the factors uncovered by the principal axis analysis conducted for evaluation of the news article.

### 3.1.4.2. Emotional Reactions to the News Article.

After reading the article participants were asked to rate their current emotions using 28 emotion adjectives. The emotion items included *guilt, disgust, fear, admiring, anger, nervousness, embarrassment, surprise, worry, interest, contempt, sadness, pity,*

*pride, disappointed, sympathetic, hateful, resentful, frustrated, inspired, uneasy, compassionate, tense, ashamed, comfortable, fond, anxious, and secure*. Participants responded to each item using a scale from 0 (*none*) to 8 (*extremely strong amount*). A principal axis analysis with an oblique rotation suggested as many as 5 factors stemming from responses to the emotion items, with 5 factors scoring an eigenvalue of 1 or higher and accounting for 60% of the variance; looking at the scree plot yielded a similar pattern. Five interpretable factors emerged: admiration emotions (*comfortable, admiring, pride, inspired, fond, secure*;  $\alpha = .85$ ), anger emotions (*anger, embarrassment, disappointed, hateful, frustrated, disgust, sadness, resentful, ashamed*;  $\alpha = .92$ ), anxious emotions (*guilt, fear, worry, uneasy, tense, anxious, nervousness, surprise*;  $\alpha = .89$ ), compassionate emotions (*interest, sympathetic, compassionate*;  $\alpha = .78$ ), and contempt emotions (*contempt, pity*;  $\alpha = .55$ ). For detailed information on the coefficients and correlations amongst the factors see (Table 14 & Table 15).

**Table 14. Pattern Matrix for Emotional Reactions to News Article**

Item Label	Structure Coefficients				
	Anger	Anxious	Admiration	Compassionate	Contempt
Guilt	.01	<b>.46</b>	.12	.04	.34
Fear	.13	<b>.63</b>	.09	-.12	.11
Anger	<b>.63</b>	.15	.03	.17	-.09
Embarrassment	<b>.40</b>	.23	.07	-.09	.35
Worry	.30	<b>.56</b>	-.05	.10	.04
Contempt	.14	.22	.24	.04	<b>.28</b>
Pity	.05	.23	-.07	.40	<b>.40</b>
Disappointed	<b>.71</b>	-.11	-.08	.18	.19
Hateful	<b>.56</b>	.23	.14	-.18	.04
Frustrated	<b>.83</b>	.11	.05	.00	-.15
Uneasy	.43	.50	-.10	.09	-.08
Tense	.36	<b>.58</b>	-.08	.03	-.07
Comfortable	-.01	-.01	<b>.64</b>	-.21	.24
Anxious	-.01	<b>.87</b>	.03	.06	-.04

Disgust	<b>.85</b>	-.10	-.02	.09	.07
Admiring	.05	.00	<b>.71</b>	.09	-.15
Nervousness	-.11	<b>.90</b>	.05	.03	.02
Surprise	.00	<b>.45</b>	.18	.02	.14
Interest	.24	.06	.31	<b>.36</b>	-.12
Sadness	<b>.49</b>	.17	-.02	.32	.02
Pride	.01	.01	<b>.81</b>	-.01	-.12
Sympathetic	.13	.00	.00	<b>.76</b>	.03
Resentful	<b>.56</b>	.11	.24	.02	.02
Inspired	.10	.10	<b>.59</b>	.28	-.14
Compassionate	.00	.09	.26	<b>.63</b>	-.02
Ashamed	<b>.38</b>	.28	.03	.08	.29
Fond	.00	.06	<b>.73</b>	.02	.08
Secure	-.08	-.03	<b>.64</b>	.09	.30
Eigenvalue	5.19	4.75	3.57	2.26	1.07

*Note.* Table consists of structure coefficients of the items measuring participant emotional reactions to the protest news article. Bolded coefficients denote the items that were included in the factor.

**Table 15. Correlation Matrix of Factors**

	1	2	3	4
1. Anger	-			
2. Anxious	.62	-		
3. Admiration	.14	.35	-	
4. Compassionate	.54	.35	.25	-
5. Contempt	.11	.19	.14	.03

*Note.* Table consists of correlational relationships between the factors uncovered by the principal axis analysis conducted for emotional reactions to the news article.

### 3.1.4.3. Perceptions of Victimization in the Past

All participants responded to 3 items ( $\alpha = .90$ ) about their perceptions of the Latinx victimization in the past. These items included “To what extent do you feel that these protestors were victims of racial oppression in the United States in the past?”, “To what extent do you feel that Hispanic/Latinos as a whole were victims of racial oppression in the United States in the past?” and “To what extent do you feel that

Hispanic/Latinos as a whole were victims of police brutality in the United States in the past?”

#### **3.1.4.4. Perceptions of Victimization in the Present**

All participants also responded to 3 items ( $\alpha = .91$ ) about their perceptions of the Latinx victimization in the present. These items included “To what extent do you feel that these protestors are victims of racial oppression in the United States today?”, “To what extent do you feel that Hispanic/Latinos as a whole are victims of racial oppression in the United States?” and “To what extent do you feel that Hispanic/Latinos as a whole are victims of police brutality in the United States today?”

#### **3.1.4.5. Perceived Criminality**

One item measured participant perception of the actions of the protestors. These items included 1-item that measure perceived criminality of the protestors, “To what extent do you believe that the actions of these protestors are criminal?” measured on a scale of 1 (*not at all criminal*) to 7 (*very criminal*).

#### **3.1.4.6. Perceived Justification**

Two items formed a composite to measure perceived justification of the actions ( $r = .62$ ). These items were “To what extent do you understand the reason why these protestors engaged in these actions?” and “To what extent do you feel the actions of these protestors are justified?” These items were measured on a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very*).

### **3.2. Results**

#### **3.2.1. Perceptions of Protest News Coverage**

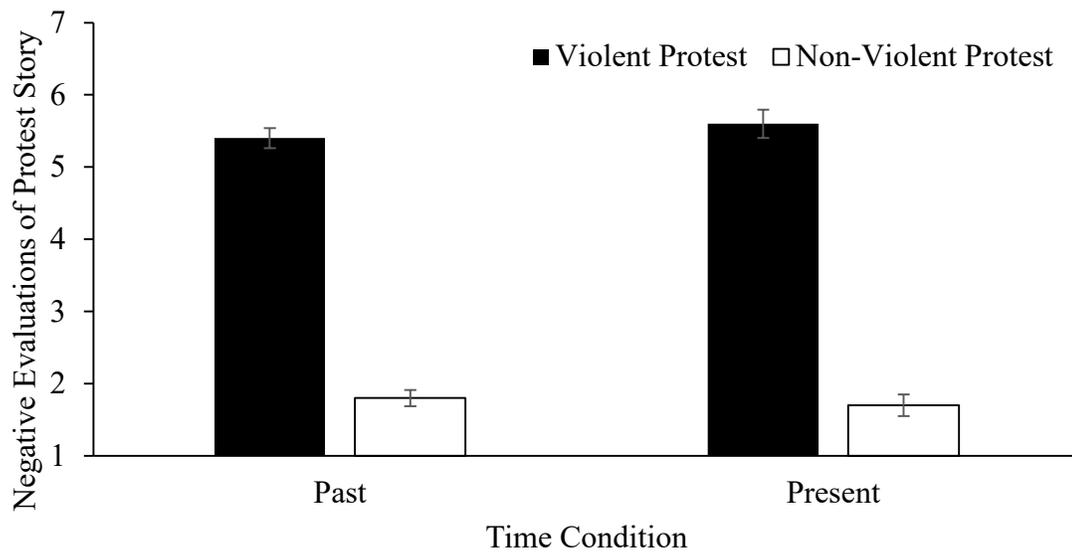
A  $2 \times 2$  factorial MANOVA tested whether protest news article evaluations (positive article evaluations, negative article evaluations, critical article evaluations, and recognition article evaluations) differed for protests that occurred in the past or the present or for violent or non-violent protests. Overall, there was no significant main effect of protest type Pillai's  $V = .012$ ,  $F(4, 262) = 0.857$ ,  $p = .491$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .012$ . There was an overall main effect of time, Pillai's  $V = .736$ ,  $F(4, 262) = 182.79$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .736$ . There were not any interaction effects on news article evaluations, Pillai's  $V = .014$ ,  $F(4, 262) = 0.943$ ,  $p = .439$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .014$ .

#### **3.2.1.1. Positive Article Evaluations**

First, results indicated no main effect of protest type on positive evaluations of the article  $F(1, 265) = 3.39$ ,  $p = .067$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .003$ . There was no main effect of time on positive evaluations of the news articles,  $F(1, 265) = 2.74$ ,  $p = .099$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .010$ . There was also no significant interaction effect between protest type and historical context on positive evaluations of the article,  $F(1, 265) = 2.93$ ,  $p = .087$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .011$ .

#### **3.2.1.2. Negative Article Evaluations**

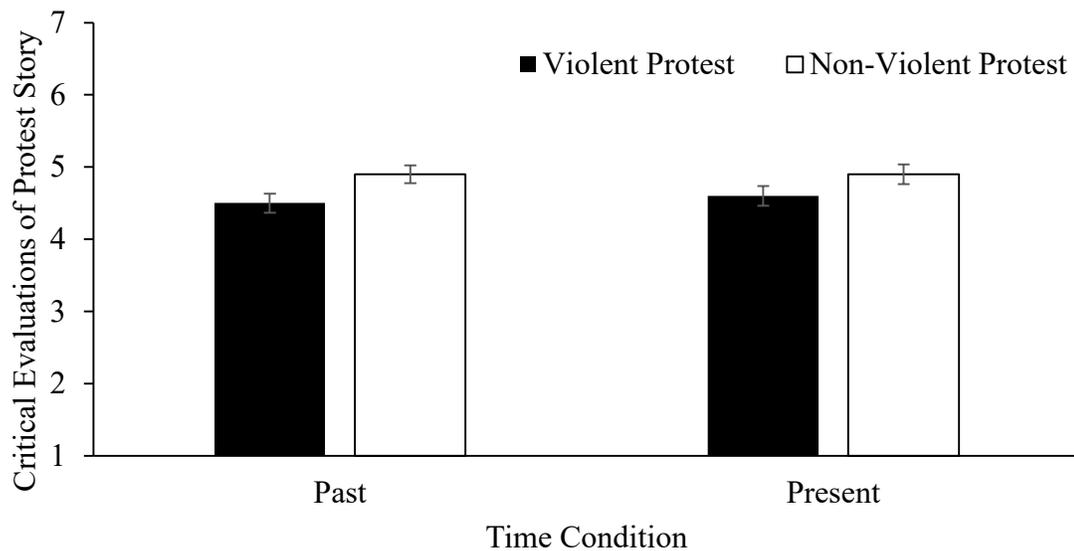
Unlike positive evaluations of the article, there was a significant main effect of protest type,  $F(1, 265) = 652.04$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .711$ , on negative evaluations of the news story. Participants reported more negative evaluations of the news article when they read about the violent protest ( $M = 5.49$ ,  $SD = 1.32$ ) compared to the non-violent protest ( $M = 1.75$ ,  $SD = 1.07$ ). There was no main effect of time on negative evaluations of the news articles,  $F(1, 265) = 0.089$ ,  $p = .765$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .000$ . Furthermore, there were no interaction effects,  $F(1, 265) = 0.467$ ,  $p = .495$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .002$ .



**Figure 1. Differences in negative evaluations of the protest story based upon whether the story occurred in the past or the present or was a violent or non-violent protest.**

### 3.2.1.3. Critical Article Evaluations

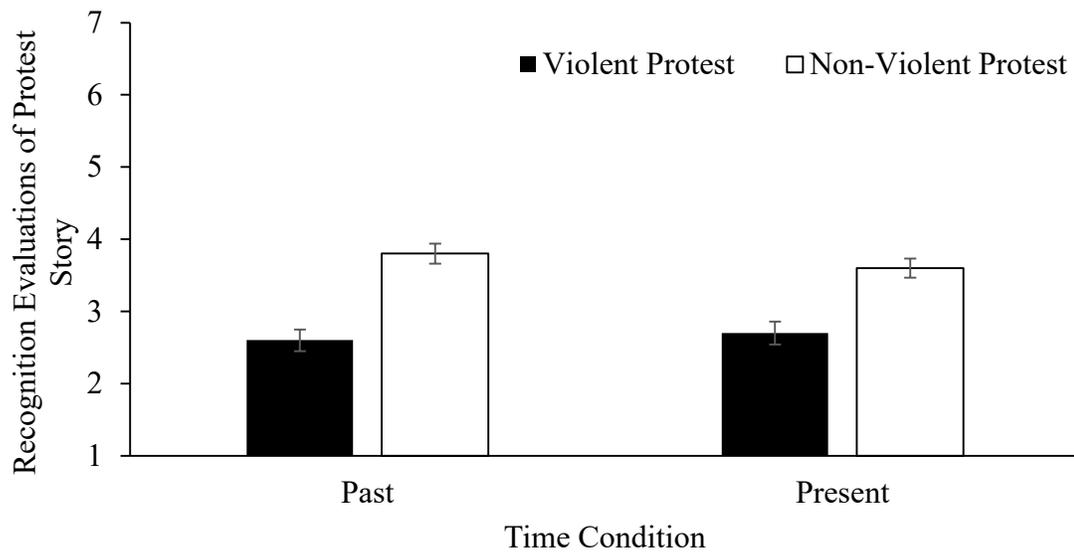
There was a significant main effect of protest type on reported critical evaluations of the protest news articles  $F(1, 265) = 10.84, p = .001, \eta^2 = .039$ . Participants who read the non-violent protest article reported higher critical evaluations of the article ( $M = 4.93, SD = 1.06$ ) than participants who read the violent protest article ( $M = 4.5, SD = 1.09$ ). There was no main effect of time,  $F(1, 265) = 0.150, p = .698, \eta^2 = .000$ , on critical evaluations of the news article, nor were there any interaction effects,  $F(1, 265) = 0.156, p = .692, \eta^2 = .001$ .



**Figure 2. Reported differences in critical evaluations of the protest story based upon whether the protest story occurred in the past or the present or was violent or non-violent protest.**

### 3.2.1.4. Recognition Article Evaluations

There was a significant main effect of protest type on recognition evaluations of the article,  $F(1, 265) = 54.05, p < .001, \eta^2 = .169$ . Participants who read the non-violent protest article reported higher recognition evaluations ( $M = 3.72, SD = 1.13$ ) than participants who read the violent protest article ( $M = 2.65, SD = 1.26$ ). However, there was no main effect of time  $F(1, 265) = 0.014, p = .907, \eta^2 = .000$ , nor any interaction effects,  $F(1, 265) = 0.497, p = .481, \eta^2 = .002$ , on recognition evaluations of the protest news article.



**Figure 3. Reported differences in recognition evaluations of the protest story based on whether the protest occurred in the past or the present or was a violent or non-violent protest.**

### 3.2.2. Emotional Reactions to News Article

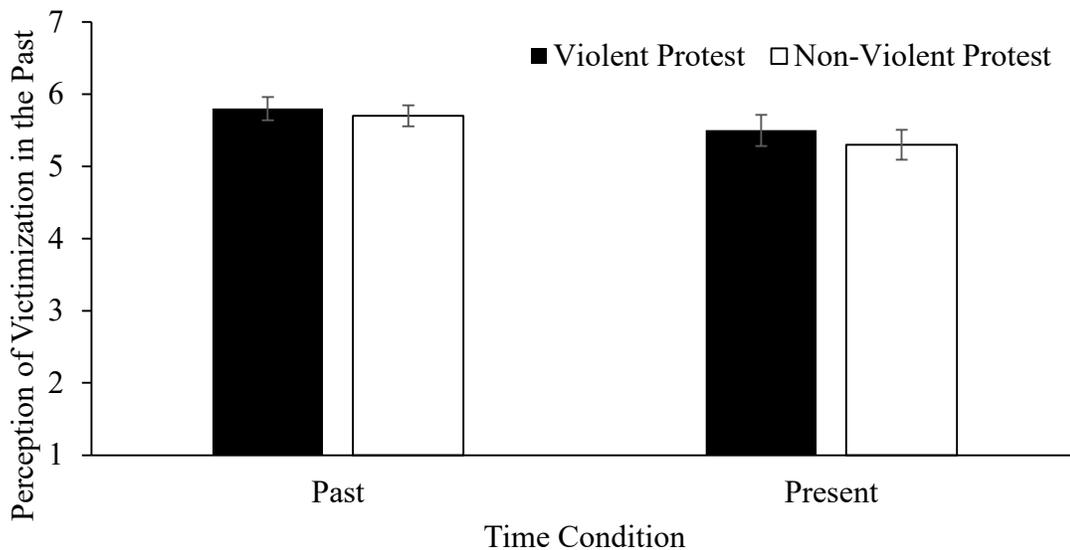
A  $2 \times 2$  factorial MANOVA tested for differences in the aforementioned 5 emotional reactions (anger, anxious, admiration, compassion, and contempt) to the news article as a function of whether the protest occurred in the past or the present or whether the protest was violent or non-violent. Overall, there was no significant main effect of protest type, Pillai's  $V = .034$ ,  $F(5, 259) = 1.84$ ,  $p = .105$ ,  $\eta^2 = .034$ , main effect of time Pillai's  $V = .003$ ,  $F(5, 259) = 0.203$ ,  $p = .961$ ,  $\eta^2 = .003$ , nor any interaction effects on reported emotional reactions, Pillai's  $V = .007$ ,  $F(5, 259) = 0.007$ ,  $p = .414$ ,  $\eta^2 = .000$ .

### 3.2.3. Perceptions of Victimization

#### 3.2.3.1. Perception of Past Victimization



First, there was no main effect of protest type on perceptions of past victimization,  $F(1, 265) = 0.680, p = .410, \eta^2 = .003$ . However, there was a main effect of time on perceptions of past victimization,  $F(1, 265) = 4.08, p = .044, \eta^2 = .015$ . Participants who read about the past protest event reported higher perceptions of victimization in the past ( $M = 5.74, SD = 1.34$ ) compared to the participants who read about Latinx protests in the present ( $M = 5.37, SD = 1.61$ ). There were no interaction effects,  $F(1, 265) = 0.229, p = .632, \eta^2 = .002$  of protest type and time on perceptions of victimization in the past.



**Figure 4. Differences in perceptions of Latinx victimization in the past based on whether the protest occurred in the past or the present or was a violent or non-violent protest.**

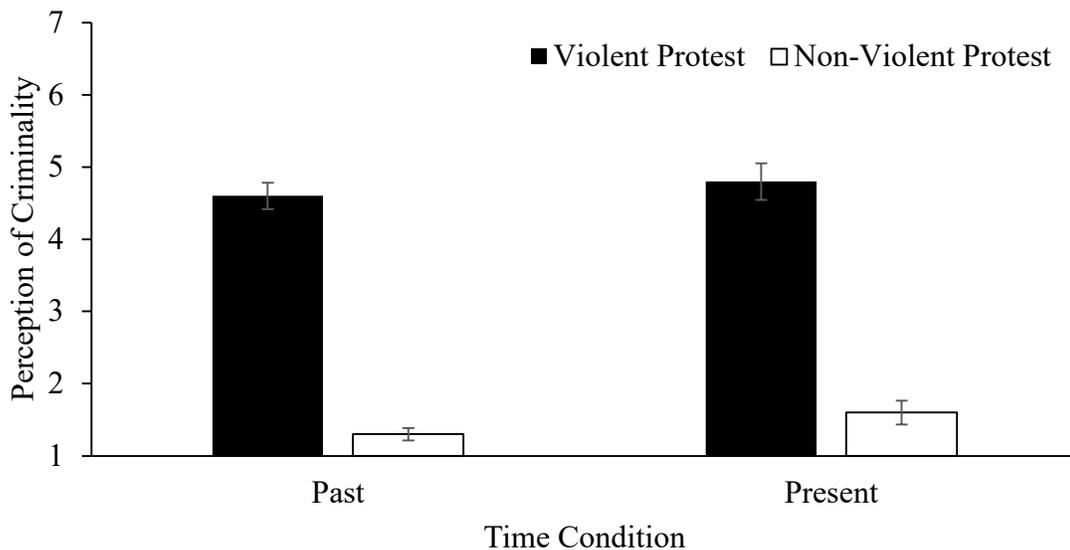
### 3.2.3.2. Perceptions of Present Victimization

There was no main effect of protest type,  $F(1, 265) = 0.347, p = .556, \eta^2 = .001$ , no main effect of time  $F(1, 265) = 1.27, p = .261, \eta^2 = .005$ , or interaction effects

$F(1, 265) = 1.85, p = .175, \eta^2 = .007$ . Overall, unlike perceptions of victimization in the past, there were no differences in perceptions of victimization in the present based upon whether participants had read about a protest that occurred in the past or present or whether that protest was violent or non-violent.

### 3.2.3.3. Perceptions of Criminality

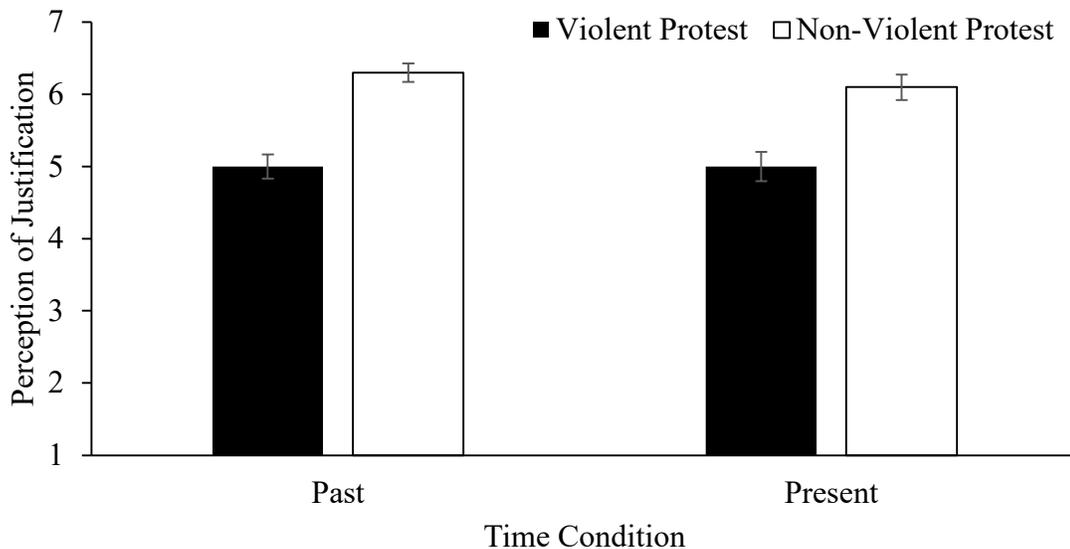
There was a significant main effect of protest type on perceptions of criminality,  $F(1, 265) = 358.4, p < .001, \eta^2 = .575$ . Specifically, participants who read about the violent protest ( $M = 4.69, SD = 1.71$ ) perceived the actions of the protestors as more criminal than those who read about the non-violent protest ( $M = 1.44, SD = 1.02$ ). There was no significant main effect of time of protest,  $F(1, 265) = 1.05, p = .308, \eta^2 = .004$ , or significant interaction effects  $F(1, 265) = 0.013, p = .911, \eta^2 = .000$ , on perceptions of the protestors actions as criminal.



**Figure 5. Differences in perceptions of criminality of protestors based upon whether the protest story occurred in the past or the present or was a violent or non-violent protest.**

### 3.2.3.4. Perceptions of Justification

There was a significant main effect of protest type on perceptions of the protest actions as justified,  $F(1, 265) = 52.9, p < .001, \eta^2 = .166$ . Participants who read about the non-violent protest ( $M = 6.22, SD = 1.24$ ) perceived the protest as more justified than participants who read about the violent protest ( $M = 5.01, SD = 1.47$ ). There were no significant main effect of time,  $F(1, 265) = 0.096, p = .756, \eta^2 = .000$ , or significant interaction effects,  $F(1, 265) = 0.272, p = .602, \eta^2 = .001$ . This pattern is consistent with previous research suggesting that individuals typically view the protest causes behind non-violent protests as more justified.



**Figure 6. Differences in perceptions of protest actions as justified based on whether the protest occurred in the past or the present or was a violent or non-violent protest.**

### **3.3. Brief Discussion**

Results from Study 2 did not provide evidence of significant differences in positive or negative perceptions of protest based upon whether the protest occurred in the past or the present. However, there were consistent patterns based upon protest type (i.e., whether the protest was violent versus non-violent). In general, participants in Study 2 reported more positive perceptions of the protest article when the protest was non-violent and perceived the protestors' actions as more justified when they were non-violent. Meanwhile, participants perceived the violent protest article more negatively and the actions of these protestors as more criminal.

This study revealed differences in perceptions of protest based upon whether the protest was violent or non-violent. Meanwhile, the results from Study 1 suggested that historical knowledge may influence perceptions of protest. Therefore, the purpose of Study 3 was to investigate whether exposure to critical history influences the perception of violent compared to non-violent protest. Additionally, the results from Study 2 addressed perceptions of protest but did not investigate protest intentions and behavior. Study 3 also investigated whether exposure to history influenced not only protest perceptions but also protest intentions and social justice engagement.

## 4. STUDY 3

Study 3 tested whether participants' perceptions of protest are altered by exposure to critical Latinx history. Specifically, I examined whether exposure to Latinx-relevant history compared to more widely disseminated United States history influenced perceptions of protest as well as protest intentions and protest related behavior. I presented participants with historical information that was either Latinx specific or more mainstream historical information similar to what a general US history course might present. Afterwards, participants read the same violent/non-violent protest scenarios as presented in Study 2, focusing exclusively on present-day protests in Study 3.

### 4.1. Method

#### 4.1.1. Participants

A total of 333 students from the SONA psychology subject pool participated in this study. Of these participants 118 were cisgender males, 208 were cisgender females, 3 transgender males, 2 transgender females, 1 gender non-conforming, 1 not sure. The average age of the sample was 18.7 years ( $SD = 1.14$ ). The racial/ethnic distribution of the study was 56.52% White/Caucasian, 15.07% Bi-racial/multiracial, 14.78% Hispanic/Latino, 8.41% Asian/Asian American, 3.48% African American/Black, 0.87% Not Listed, 0.58% Arab/Arab American, 0.29% Native American.

#### 4.1.2. General Procedure Information

Participants completed Study 3 online. This study used a 2 (Historical Information: critical Latinx history or non-critical mainstream U.S. history)  $\times$  2 (Protest Type: non-violent or violent) between-subjects design to test the interaction between

historical information and perceptions of different types of Latinx protest. As a cover story, participants were told that they would be reading about history and that the purpose of the study was to identify perceptions of historical information to be taught in future history courses. Participants were randomly assigned to read either 6 mainstream history items or 6 Latinx-specific critical history items. After reading the assigned history items, participants were asked to write below each item why learning that history fact is important.

The mainstream history items were a combination of items adapted from Study 4 of Salter and Adams (2016) and also items inspired by the mainstream history facts supplied by participants in Study 1. The Latinx history items were borrowed from an article from the Huffington Post (Planas, 2015). A sample Latinx history item was: “Before *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, the courts ruled it unconstitutional to segregate students of Mexican heritage into inferior schools. The plaintiff, Sylvia Mendez, sued after being turned away from a ‘whites only’ public school in California.” A sample mainstream history was, “Manifest Destiny was a phrase used by leaders and politicians in the 1840s to explain continental expansion by the United States. They believed America had a divine right to become a transcontinental nation.” For a full list of history items, see Appendix G.

Participants were then randomly assigned to read either the non-violent or violent protest present news story from Study 2 before completing the same outcome measures from Study 2. Additional items were included in the current study to measure participant willingness to engage in protest, willingness to donate to a bailout fund for protestors

combatting police brutality, and willingness to learn more about signing petitions to combat police brutality. I used the same news article from Study 2 and the content of the article was a true historical case of Latinx protest. Upon completion of the study participants were debriefed that the events actually happened in the past in Houston, Texas.

### **4.1.3. Outcome Variables**

#### **4.1.3.1. Evaluation of the News Article**

After reading the article participants were asked to respond to the same 10 items about their thoughts on the article. Just as in Study 2, responses were measured on a 7-point Likert scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*). A principal axis analysis with an oblique rotation revealed three factors with eigenvalues higher than 1.00 accounting for 43% of the variance; visual analysis of a scree plot also suggested three potential factors. Upon examination of the structure coefficients 3 interpretable subscales emerged: positive news evaluations, negative news evaluations, and critical news evaluations. Positive news evaluations were comprised of three items: “How much do you like this news story?” and “Overall, how attractive is this news story?”,  $\alpha = .63$ . The negative news evaluations were composed of three items: “How aggressive is this news story”, “How hostile is this news story?”, and “To what extent does this news story present Latino/Hispanic people accurately” (reverse coded),  $\alpha = .81$ . The critical news evaluations included the items “How uncomfortable is this news story?”, “How patriotic is this news story?”, “How critical of America is this news story?”, “To what extent would you like to see this story in the news?”,  $\alpha = .53$ . The final item asking “How

familiar is this news story?” did not load into the aforementioned 3 factors. For detailed information on the coefficients and correlations amongst the factors see (Table 16 & Table 17).

**Table 16. Pattern Matrix of News Article Evaluations Items with Oblique Rotation**

Item Label	Structure Coefficients		
	Negative Evaluations	Positive Evaluations	Critical Evaluations
Like	.00	<b>.83</b>	-.03
Attract	.02	<b>.53</b>	.16
Familiar	.12	.12	.00
Accurate	<b>-.37</b>	.29	.07
Uncomfortable	.03	-.23	<b>.60</b>
Aggressive	<b>.90</b>	-.03	.00
Hostile	<b>.96</b>	.05	.01
Patriotic	-.23	.17	.24
Critical	.06	.02	<b>.44</b>
Like to See	-.07	.24	<b>.59</b>
Eigenvalue	2.00	1.28	1.02

*Note.* Table consists of structure coefficients of the items measuring participant evaluations of the protest news article. Bolded coefficients denote the items that were included in the factor.

**Table 17. Correlation Matrix of Factors**

	1	2
1. Negative	-	
2. Positive	-.29	-
3. Critical	-.20	.21

*Note.* Table consists of correlational relationships between the factors uncovered by the principal axis analysis conducted for evaluation of the news article.

#### 4.1.3.2. Emotional Reactions to the News Article

The same 28 emotion adjectives from Study 2 were used to measure responses to the article in Study 3. Participants responded to each item using a scale from 0 (*none*) to 8 (*extremely strong amount*). A principal axis analysis with oblique rotation of



participants' responses suggested as many as 5 factors could account for the response patterns; 5 factors scored eigenvalues of 1 or higher, and this evidence was supported also by the scree plot. A 5-factor model accounted for 56% of the variance. Five similar interpretable factors emerged in Study 3: admiration emotions in response to the protest news article (*comfortable, admiring, pride, inspired, contempt, fond, secure*;  $\alpha = .82$ ), anger related emotions (*anger, disappointed, hateful, frustrated, disgust, resentful*;  $\alpha = .87$ ), anxiety related emotions (*fear, worry, uneasy, tense, anxious, nervousness*;  $\alpha = .91$ ), compassionate emotions (*compassionate, sympathetic, sadness, pity, interest*;  $\alpha = .83$ ), and guilt emotions (*guilty, ashamed, embarrassment, surprise*;  $\alpha = .70$ ). For detailed information on the coefficients and correlations amongst the factors see (Table 18 & Table 19).

**Table 18. Pattern Matrix for Emotional Reaction to News Article**

Item Label	Structure Coefficients				
	Anxious	Admiration	Anger	Compassionate	Guilt
Guilt	.25	.25	-.02	.17	<b>.33</b>
Fear	<b>.75</b>	.04	.00	-.02	.04
Anger	.08	.08	<b>.67</b>	.16	-.12
Embarrassment	.17	.05	.30	.02	<b>.41</b>
Worry	<b>.58</b>	-.03	.18	.17	-.02
Contempt	.11	<b>.30</b>	.25	-.06	.26
Pity	-.04	.01	.16	<b>.49</b>	.26
Disappointed	-.01	-.11	<b>.66</b>	.12	.18
Hateful	.28	.20	<b>.54</b>	-.17	.12
Frustrated	.18	.01	<b>.69</b>	.08	-.10
Uneasy	<b>.58</b>	-.07	.34	.03	-.02
Tense	<b>.70</b>	-.02	.28	-.04	-.15
Comfortable	-.03	<b>.65</b>	-.13	-.11	.24
Anxious	<b>.84</b>	-.02	-.06	.09	-.01
Disgust	-.08	-.09	<b>.74</b>	.12	.11
Admiring	-.07	<b>.75</b>	.08	.08	-.16
Nervousness	<b>.81</b>	.08	-.16	.04	.15
Surprise	.18	.18	.08	.15	<b>.20</b>

Interest	.09	.24	.16	<b>.42</b>	-.15
Sadness	.22	-.06	.25	<b>.48</b>	.02
Pride	.07	<b>.77</b>	.01	-.03	-.13
Sympathetic	.02	-.07	.06	<b>.78</b>	-.01
Resentful	.22	.10	<b>.37</b>	.06	.16
Inspired	.07	<b>.54</b>	.07	.37	-.10
Compassionate	.07	.14	-.05	<b>.75</b>	.02
Ashamed	.12	-.03	.34	.15	<b>.49</b>
Fond	.01	<b>.74</b>	-.02	.05	.09
Secure	.00	<b>.63</b>	-.09	-.01	.21
Eigenvalue	4.31	3.36	3.87	2.84	1.19

*Note.* Table consists of structure coefficients of the items measuring participant emotional reactions to the protest news article. Bolded coefficients denote the items that were included in the factor.

**Table 19. Correlation Matrix of Factors**

	1	2	3	4
1. Anxious	-			
2. Admiration	.29	-		
3. Anger	.57	-.02	-	
4. Compassionate	.45	.25	.52	-
5. Guilt	.19	.13	.12	.08

*Note.* Table consists of correlational relationships between the factors uncovered by the principal axis analysis conducted for emotional reactions to the news article.

#### 4.1.3.3. Perceptions of Victimization

Participants responded to the same 6 items about their perceptions of Latinx victimization in the past and the present. Just as in Study 2, these items were divided into perceptions of victimization in the past ( $\alpha = .87$ ) and perceptions of victimization in the present ( $\alpha = .91$ ).

#### 4.1.3.4. Perceived Criminality and Justification

The same 3 items were used to measure participants perception of the actions of the protestors. This included the same single item measure of perceived criminality. As in Study 2, two items formed a composite measure of the perceived justification of the protestors' actions. In Study 3 these items had a reliability of  $r = .62$ .

#### **4.1.3.5. Protest Behavior and Non-Normative Behavior**

In Study 3, I also included two scales from Study 1 designed to measure participants willingness to engage in protest against police brutality (adapted from Feinberg, Willer, & Kovacheff, 2020). First, participants were asked about 6 specific protest behaviors that they may be willing to engage in to combat police brutality. These actions included civil disobedience, public demonstrations, protest fasts and hunger strikes, protest marches, riots, and strikes. Participants responded using a Likert scale from 1 (*not at all willing*) to 5 (*very willing*) and responses were combined into a singular protest behavioral intentions variable. This measure had high internal consistency ( $\alpha = .89$ ).

Also, participants completed 4 items measuring the extent to which they would be willing to engage in behaviors that others might view as non-normative or unusual, others might view as extreme, behaviors that could disrupt everyday life for other people, and behaviors that could result in some form of property damage. I combined these items into a composite measure of non-normative behavior ( $\alpha = .88$ ). These items were also measured on the same 5-point Likert scale of willingness.

#### **4.1.3.6. Social Justice Behaviors**

Last, I also measured social justice related behaviors. Participants were asked “If you could donate money to a bailout fund for protesters arrested protesting police brutality, how much do you feel you would donate?” and they indicated how much they would hypothetically donate from \$0 to \$100.

Also, participants were asked after the study whether they would be interested in learning more about petitions to sign in order to combat police brutality. Specifically, participants were asked “Would you like to learn more about petitions that you can sign to combat police brutality?” and they could indicate “Yes” or “No.” Participants who indicated “Yes” were redirected to a link on change.org to read through petitions that they could sign to combat police brutality. Participants who indicated “No” skipped to the end of the study.

## **4.2. Results**

### **4.2.1. Perception of Protest News Coverage**

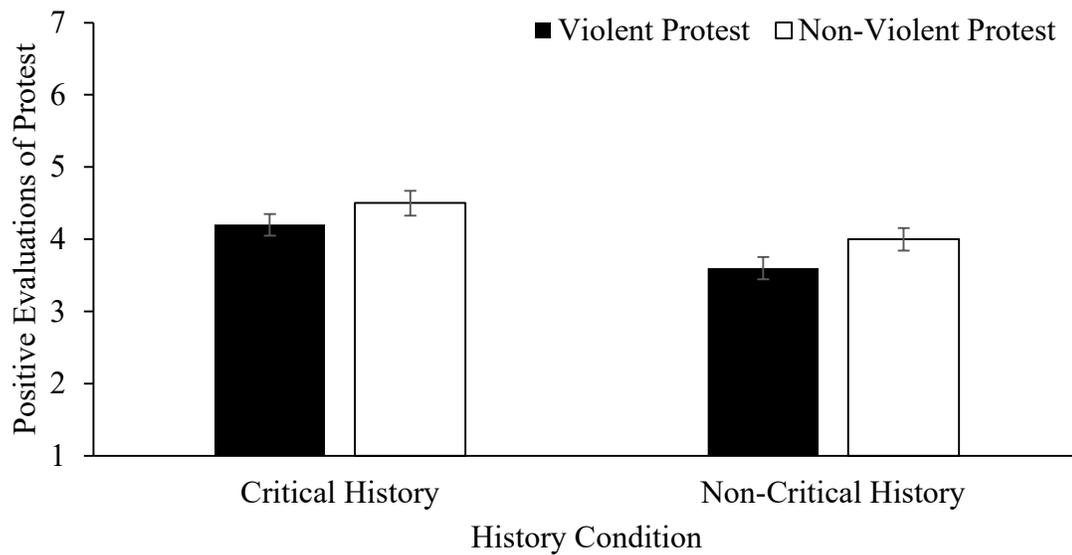
A  $2 \times 2$  factorial MANOVA tested for differences in the aforementioned 3 protest new article evaluations (positive article evaluations, negative article evaluations, critical article evaluations) and perceived familiarity with the article as a function of whether participants read critical Latinx history or non-critical mainstream United States history before reading about the protest and whether the protest was violent or non-violent. I found a significant main effect of protest type, Pillai’s  $V = .75$ ,  $F(4, 324) = 247.35$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .753$ , and a main effect of history condition, Pillai’s  $V = .053$ ,  $F(4, 324) = 4.49$ ,  $p = .002$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .053$ . However, there was no interaction effects on any of

the three news article evaluations Pillai's  $V = .004$ ,  $F(4, 324) = 0.290$ ,  $p = .884$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .004$ .

#### **4.2.1.1. Positive Article Evaluations.**

First, in regards to positive evaluation of the news article, there was a significant main effect of protest type,  $F(1, 327) = 12.68$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .037$ . Overall, participants reported more positive evaluations of the article when they read about the non-violent protest ( $M = 4.37$ ,  $SD = 1.51$ ) compared to the violent protest ( $M = 3.80$ ,  $SD = 1.39$ ).

There was also a main effect of exposure to history on positive evaluations of the news articles,  $F(1, 327) = 6.45$ ,  $p = .012$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .019$ . Participants who read the Latinx history facts reported more positive evaluations to the protest events ( $M = 4.29$ ,  $SD = 1.49$ ) than participants who read the non-critical mainstream United States History facts ( $M = 3.89$ ,  $SD = 1.44$ ). There was no significant interaction between protest type and exposure to historical knowledge on positive evaluations of the article,  $F(1, 327) = 0.179$ ,  $p = .672$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .001$ .

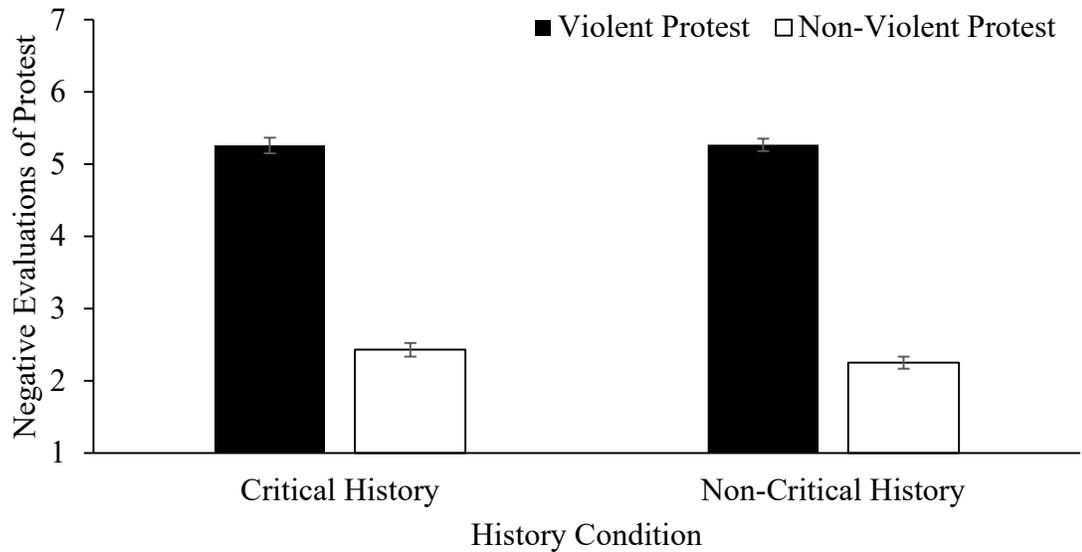


**Figure 7. Differences in positive evaluations of the protest article based on whether the story was violent or non-violent protest or was preceded by critical compared to non-critical history.**

#### 4.2.1.2. Negative Article Evaluations.

Similar to positive evaluations of the article, there was also a significant main effect of protest type on negative evaluations of the protest article,  $F(1, 327) = 961.79, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .746$ . Participants reported more negative evaluations when they read about the violent protest ( $M = 5.27, SD = 0.88$ ) compared to the non-violent protest ( $M = 2.34, SD = 0.84$ ). However, unlike positive news article evaluations, there was no main effect of exposure to history on negative evaluations,  $F(1, 327) = 2.41, p = .122, \eta_p^2 = .007$ . There was also no interaction effect,  $F(1, 327) = 1.02, p = .312, \eta_p^2 = .003$ , on negative

evaluations of the protest news story.

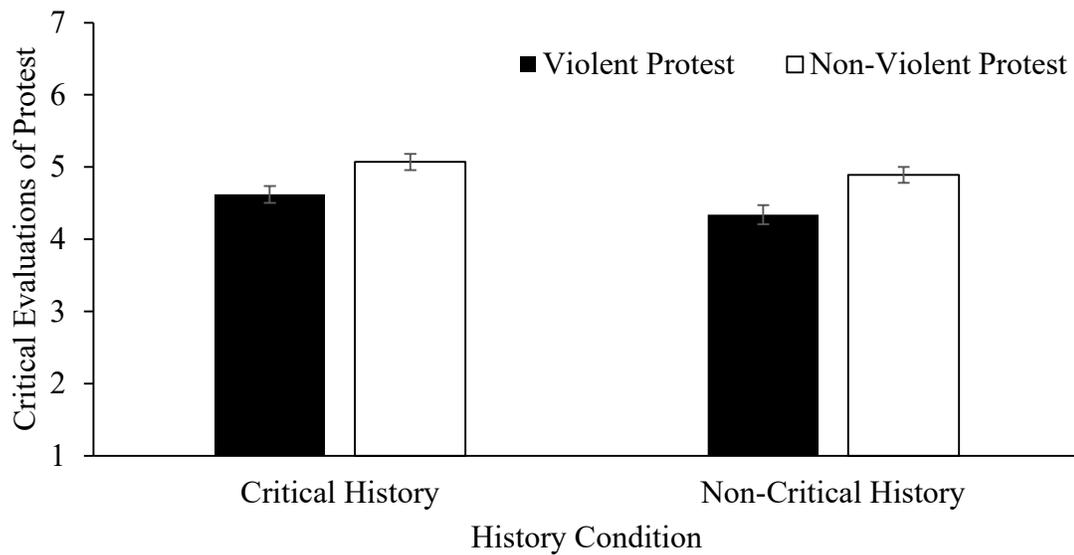


**Figure 8. Differences in negative evaluations of the protest article based on whether the protest story was violent or non-violent protest or was preceded by critical compared to non-critical history.**

#### 4.2.1.3. Critical Article Evaluations.

There was a significant main effect of protest type on reported critical evaluations of the protest news articles,  $F(1, 327) = 17.96, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .052$ .

Participants who read the non-violent protest article reported higher critical evaluations of the article ( $M = 4.98, SD = 1.03$ ) than participants who read the violent protest article ( $M = 4.48, SD = 1.12$ ). There was no main effect of history,  $F(1, 327) = 3.21, p = .074, \eta_p^2 = .009$ , nor were there any interaction effects,  $F(1, 327) = 0.218, p = .641, \eta_p^2 = .001$ , on critical evaluations of the protest news article.



**Figure 9. Reported differences in critical evaluations of the protest article based on whether the protest story occurred in the past or the present or was a violent or non-violent protest.**

#### 4.2.1.4. Familiarity Article Evaluations.

There was no main effect of protest type on familiarity evaluations of the article,  $F(1, 327) = .089, p = .764, \eta_p^2 = .000$ . There was also no main effect of history,  $F(1, 327) = 2.12, p = .162, \eta_p^2 = .006$ , nor any interaction effect,  $F(1, 327) = 0.035, p = .852, \eta_p^2 = .000$ , on familiarity.

#### 4.2.2. Emotional Reactions to News Article

A  $2 \times 2$  factorial MANOVA tested for differences in the aforementioned 5 emotional reactions (*admiration, anger, anxious, guilt, compassion*) to the new article based on whether the participants were exposed to critical Latinx history or non-critical mainstream United States history and whether the protest was violent or non-violent.

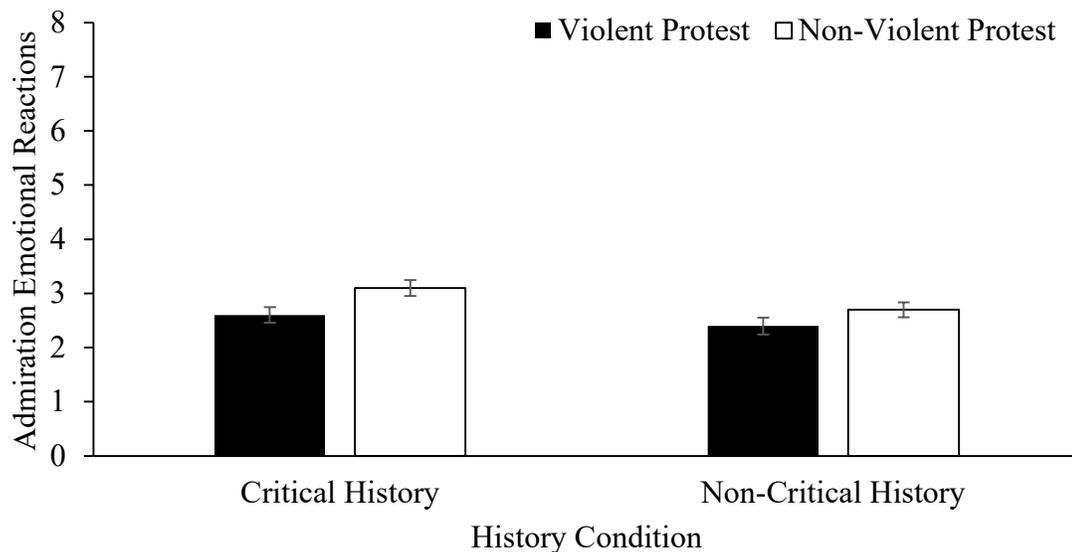
Overall, there was a significant main effect of protest type, Pillai's  $V = .065, F(5, 324)$



= 4.57,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .065$ . However, there was no main effect of history exposure, Pillai's  $V = .024$ ,  $F(5, 324) = 1.61$ ,  $p = .158$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .024$ , nor any interaction effects on reported emotional reactions to the news articles, Pillai's  $V = .004$ ,  $F(5, 324) = 0.297$ ,  $p = .914$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .004$ .

#### 4.2.2.1. Admiration Emotional Reactions

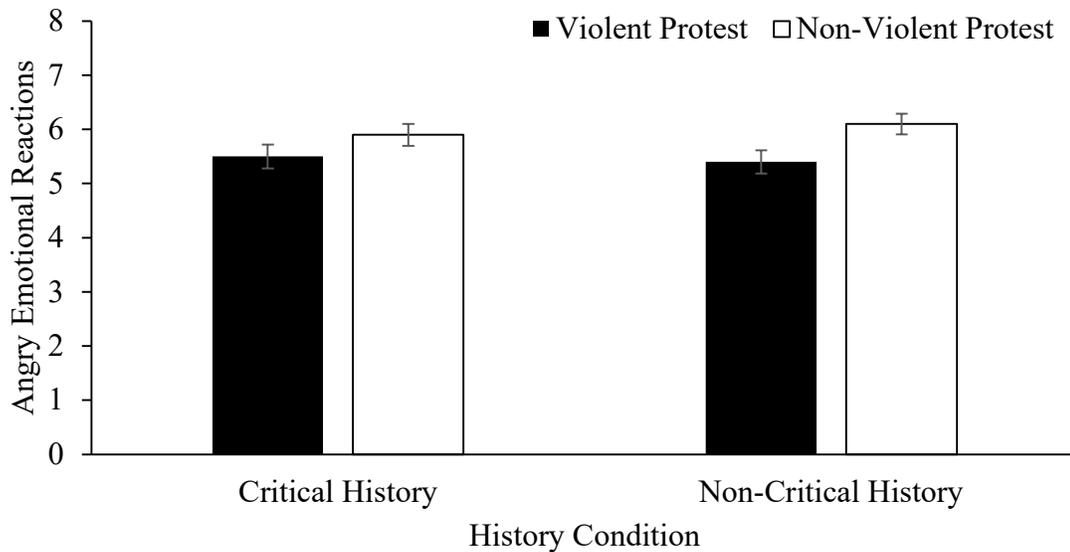
First, there was significant main effect of protest type,  $F(1, 328) = 6.82$ ,  $p = .009$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .020$ , on admiration emotional reactions to the articles. Participants reported more admiration emotions in response of the non-violent protest ( $M = 2.86$ ,  $SD = 1.31$ ) than the violent protest ( $M = 2.48$ ,  $SD = 1.37$ ). There was no main effect of exposure to history,  $F(1, 328) = 3.47$ ,  $p = .063$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .010$ , nor an interaction effect on reported feelings of admiration in response to the protest news article,  $F(1, 328) = .427$ ,  $p = .513$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .001$ .



**Figure 10. Reported admiration emotional reactions to the protest article based on exposure to history and protest type.**

#### 4.2.2.2. Angry Emotional Reactions.

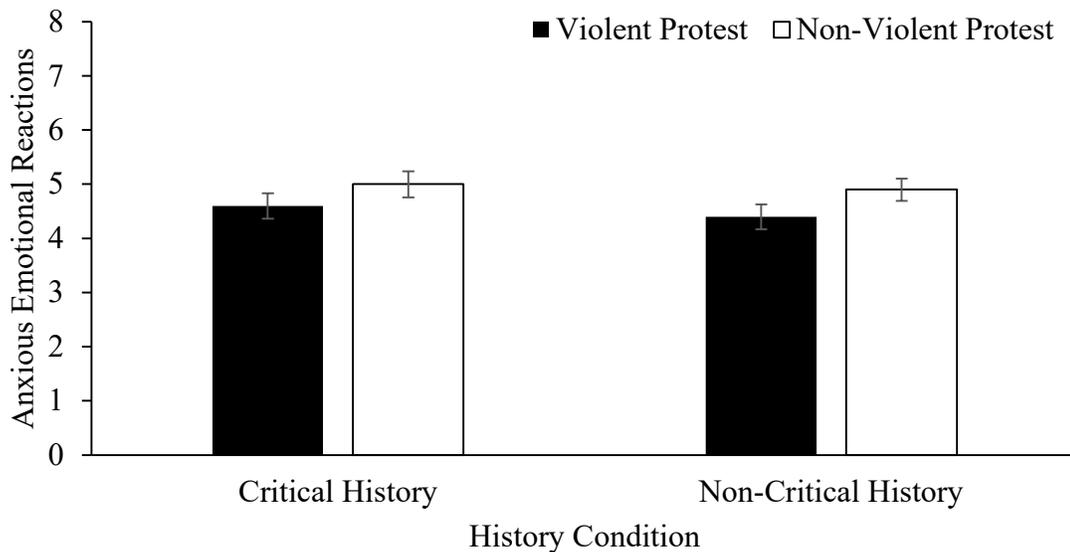
There was a significant main effect of protest type,  $F(1, 328) = 8.06, p = .004, \eta_p^2 = .024$ , on angry emotional reactions in response to the news article. Participants reported higher levels of anger-oriented emotions in response to the non-violent protest ( $M = 6.01, SD = 1.80$ ) than the violent protest ( $M = 5.42, SD = 1.96$ ). However, there was no main effect of exposure to history on angry emotional reactions to the news article,  $F(1, 328) = 0.219, p = .062, \eta_p^2 = .000$ , nor a significant interaction effect,  $F(1, 328) = 0.294, p = .587, \eta_p^2 = .000$  on anger-oriented emotions.



**Figure 11. Reported angry emotional reactions to the protest article based upon exposure to history and protest type.**

#### 4.2.2.3. Anxious Emotional Reactions

There was a main effect of protest type,  $F(1, 328) = 4.18, p = .041, \eta^2 = .013$ , on anxious emotional reactions to the news article. Participants reported higher anxiety related emotions in response to reading about the non-violent protest ( $M = 4.96, SD = 2.05$ ) than participants who read about the violent protest ( $M = 4.49, SD = 2.09$ ). There was no main effect of exposure to history,  $F(1, 328) = .220, p = .639, \eta^2 = .000$ , nor any interaction effects on feelings of anxiety in response to reading the protest story  $F(1, 328) = 0.195, p = .658, \eta^2 = .001$ .

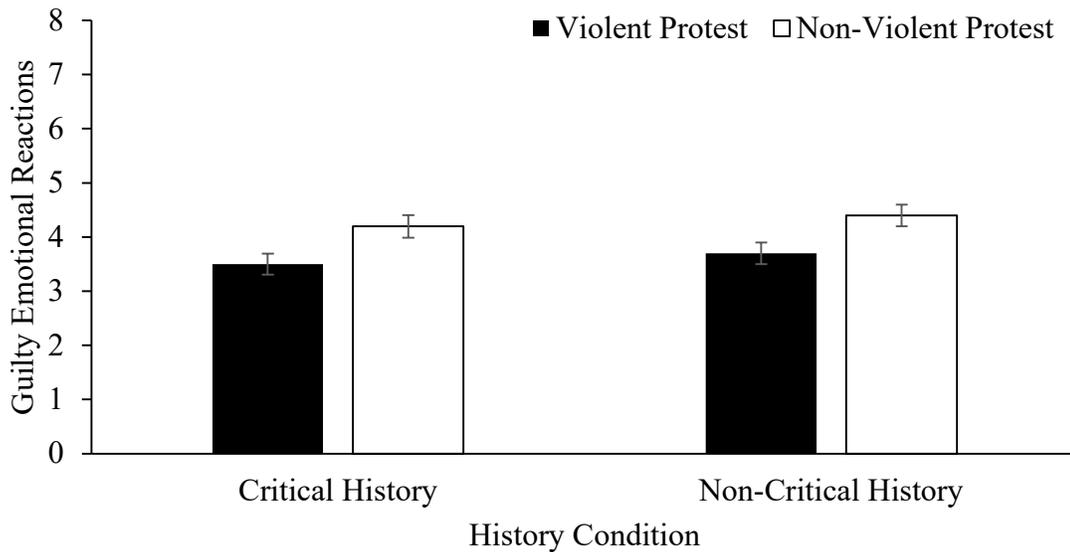


**Figure 12. Reported anxious emotional reactions to the protest article based on exposure to history and protest type.**

#### 4.2.2.4. Guilty Emotional Reactions

I also investigated whether there were differences in the experience of guilt related emotions as a result of exposure to history and protest type. Similar to anxiety, admiration, and anger, there was a significant main effect of protest type,  $F(1, 328) =$

11.81,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .034$ , on reported feelings of guilt related emotions. Participants reported more feelings of guilt after reading about the non-violent protest ( $M = 4.28$ ,  $SD = 1.88$ ) compared to the violent protest ( $M = 3.59$ ,  $SD = 1.71$ ). There was no main effect of exposure to history,  $F(1, 328) = 0.965$ ,  $p = .326$ ,  $\eta^2 = .002$ , nor any significant interaction effects,  $F(1, 328) = 0.080$ ,  $p = .776$ ,  $\eta^2 = .002$ , in reported feelings of guilt.

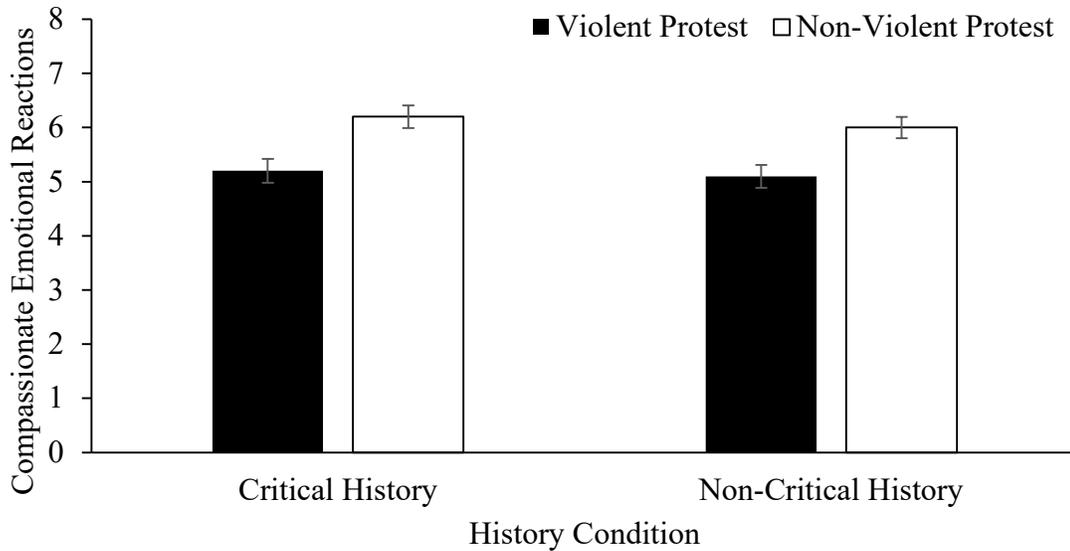


**Figure 13. Reported guilty emotional reactions to the protest article based upon exposure to history and protest type.**

#### 4.2.2.5. Compassionate Emotional Reactions

Last, I investigated whether feelings of compassionate emotions differed based upon exposure to history and protest type. Consistent with the previous emotions I found a main effect of protest type,  $F(1, 328) = 19.38$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .056$ . Participants reported higher feelings of compassion in response to the protest news story when they read about the non-violent protest ( $M = 6.10$ ,  $SD = 1.86$ ) than when they read about the

violent protest ( $M = 5.17$ ,  $SD = 1.95$ ). There was no main effect of history exposure,  $F(1, 328) = 0.349$ ,  $p = .555$ ,  $\eta^2 = .000$ , nor a significant interaction effect,  $F(1, 328) = 0.004$ ,  $p = .948$ ,  $\eta^2 = .000$ , on compassionate emotions in response to the protest events.



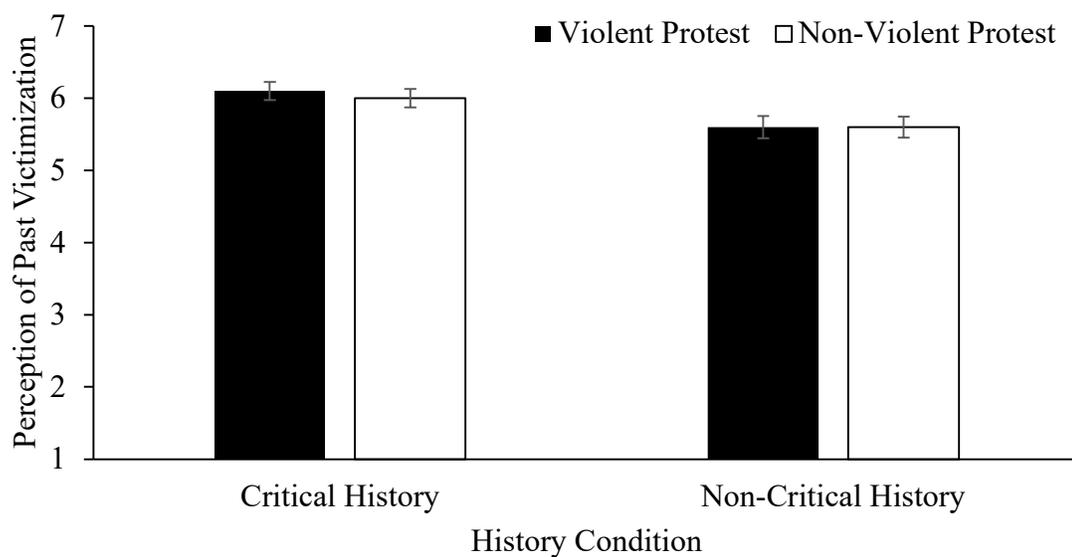
**Figure 14. Reported compassionate emotional reactions to the protest article based on exposure to history and protest type.**

#### 4.2.3. Perceptions of Victimization

Two 2 (Historical Information: critical/Latinx history or non-critical/mainstream US)  $\times$  2 (Protest Type: violent protest or non-violent protest) between-subjects factorial ANOVAs were conducted to analyze potential differences in perceptions of victimization. I conducted tests looking at both perceptions of victimization in the past and perceptions of victimization in the present.

##### 4.2.3.1. Perceptions of Past Victimization

There was no main effect of protest type on perceptions of past victimization,  $F(1, 327) = 0.137, p = .711, \eta^2 = .000$ . However, there was a main effect of history exposure,  $F(1, 327) = 7.32, p = .007, \eta^2 = .022$ . Participants who read about the Latinx history facts reported higher perceptions of past victimization ( $M = 6.01, SD = 1.47$ ) compared to participants who read the non-critical mainstream United States history facts ( $M = 5.64, SD = 1.35$ ). There was no interaction effect,  $F(1, 327) = .090, p = .764, \eta^2 = .000$ , between protest type and history exposure on perceptions of victimization in the past.



**Figure 15. Differences in perceptions of Latinx victimization in the past based on exposure to history or whether the protest was a violent or non-violent protest.**

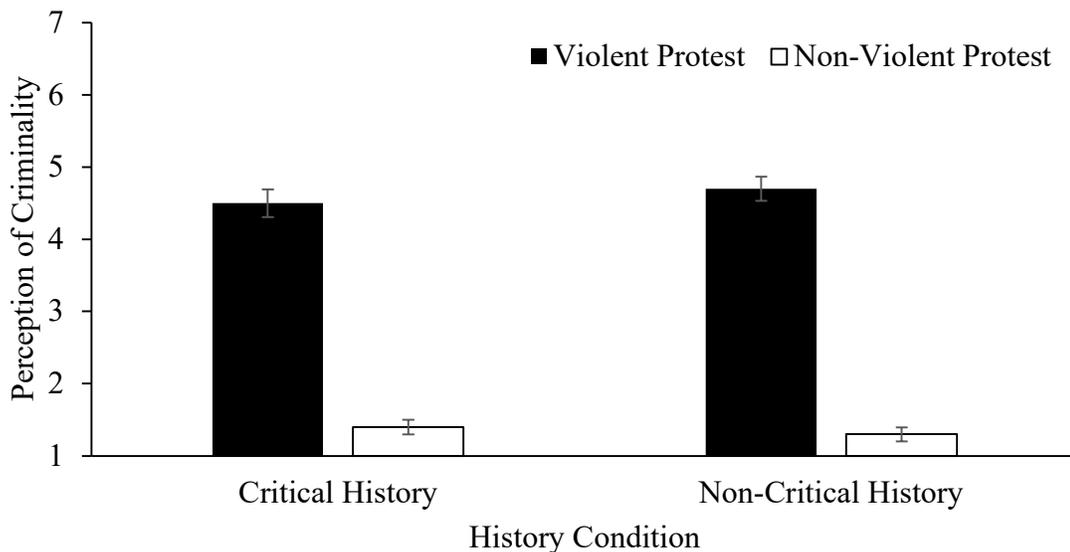
#### 4.2.3.2. Perceptions of Present Victimization

There was no main effect of protest type,  $F(1, 327) = 1.28, p = .258, \eta^2 = .004$ , or main effect of history exposure,  $F(1, 327) = 0.523, p = .470, \eta^2 = .002$ , on

perceptions of victimization in the present. Also, there was no interaction,  $F(1, 327) = 1.63, p = .202, \eta^2 = .004$ . Overall, perceptions of victimization in the present did not differ as a function of exposure to critical/Latinx history or non-critical mainstream United States history and whether the protest depicted in the article was violent or non-violent.

#### 4.2.3.3. Perceptions of Criminality

There was a significant main effect of protest type on perceptions of criminality,  $F(1, 328) = 505.11, p < .001, \eta^2 = .606$ . Specifically, participants who read about the violent protest ( $M = 4.60, SD = 1.62$ ) perceived the actions of the protestors as more criminal than those who read about the non-violent protest ( $M = 1.36, SD = .913$ ). There was no main effect of exposure to history,  $F(1, 328) = 0.112, p = .738, \eta^2 = .000$ , and no significant interaction effect,  $F(1, 328) = 0.340, p = .560, \eta^2 = .001$ .

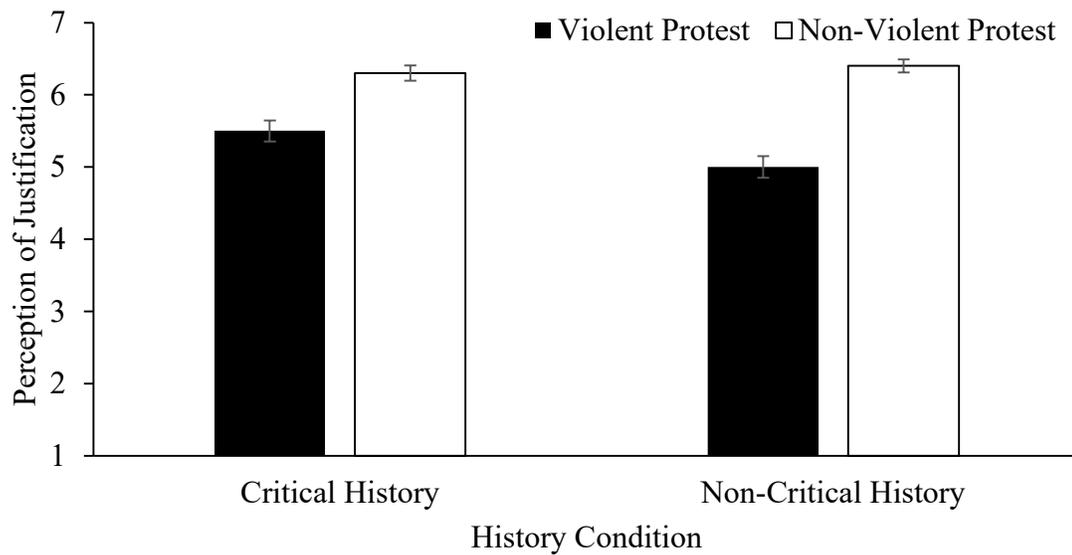


**Figure 16. Differences in perceptions of criminality of protestors based on exposure to history or whether the protest was violent or non-violent.**

#### 4.2.3.4. Perceptions of Justification

There was a significant main effect of protest type on perceptions of the protest actions as justified,  $F(1, 328) = 83.69, p < .001, \eta^2 = .203$ . Participants who read about the non-violent protest ( $M = 6.37, SD = .900$ ) perceived the protest as more justified than participants who read about the violent protest ( $M = 5.25, SD = 1.33$ ). There was no main effect of history exposure  $F(1, 328) = 0.905, p = .342, \eta^2 = .002$ , but there was a significant interaction effect  $F(1, 328) = 4.74, p = .030, \eta^2 = .014$ . A simple effects test found that participants who read about the violent protest differed on perceptions of the protest as justified based upon whether they were exposed to critical/ Latinx history compared to non-critical/mainstream U.S. history,  $t(328) = 2.38, p = .018, d = 0.262$ . Participants in the violent protest condition reported a higher perceived justification of the protestors actions when they were exposed to critical history ( $M = 5.45, SD = 1.31$ ) than participants who were exposed to the non-critical history ( $M = 5.03, SD = 1.33$ ). Additionally, participants perceptions of the protestors actions (violent or non-violent) as justified was significantly different when exposed to both the critical history condition,  $t(328) = 4.93, p < .001, d = 0.543$ , as well as the non-critical history condition,  $t(328) = 8.01, p < .001, d = 0.879$ . Participants perceived the protestors' actions as more justified when it was non-violent, both when participants had been were exposed to critical history (Non-Violent:  $M = 6.31, SD = .964$ ; Violent:  $M = 5.45, SD = 1.31$ ) and to non-critical history (Non-Violent:  $M = 6.43, SD = .836$ ; Violent:  $M = 5.03, SD = 1.33$ ).





**Figure 17. Differences in perceptions of protest actions as justified based on whether the protest story occurred in the past or the present or was a violent or non-violent protest.**

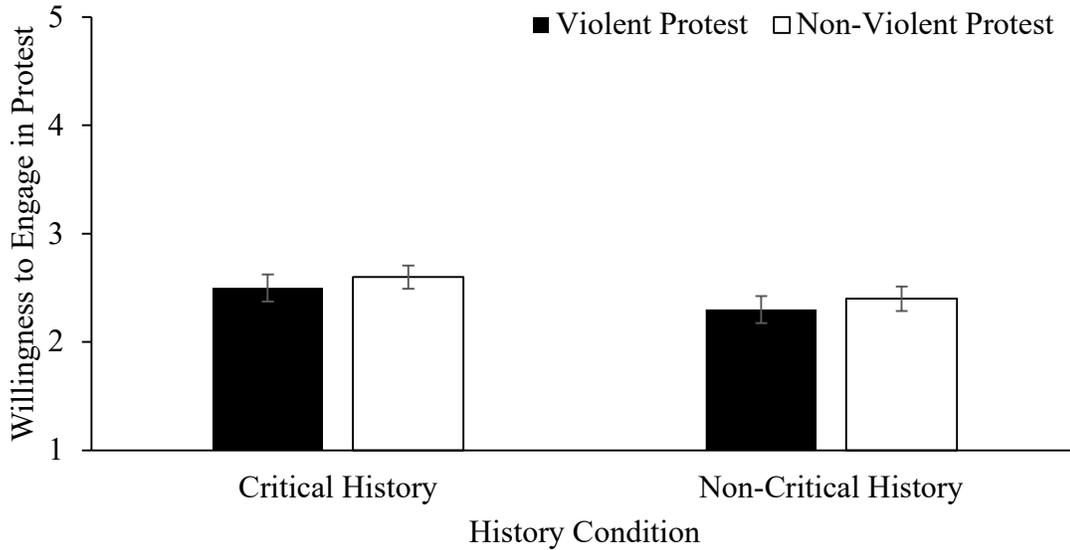
#### **4.2.4. Protest Behavioral Intentions and Nonnormative Behavioral Intentions**

Two 2 (Historical Information)  $\times$  2 (Protest Type) between-subjects factorial ANOVAs were conducted to test whether reported protest intentions differed based on exposure to critical history and protest type. Specifically, I investigated whether participants differed in their willingness to engage in protest behaviors as well as willingness to engage in nonnormative protest behaviors.

##### **4.2.4.1. Protest Behavioral Intentions**

There was no main effect of protest type,  $F(1, 328) = 0.527, p = .468, \eta^2 = .002$ , on protest behavioral intentions. However, there was a significant main effect of exposure to history,  $F(1, 328) = 3.87, p = .049, \eta^2 = .012$ . Participants who were exposed to the critical Latinx history items reported higher protest behavioral intentions

( $M = 2.56$ ,  $SD = 1.06$ ) than participants who read the non-critical mainstream United States history items ( $M = 2.33$ ,  $SD = 1.07$ ). There was no interaction effect,  $F(1, 328) = 0.031$ ,  $p = .859$ ,  $\eta^2 = .000$ .

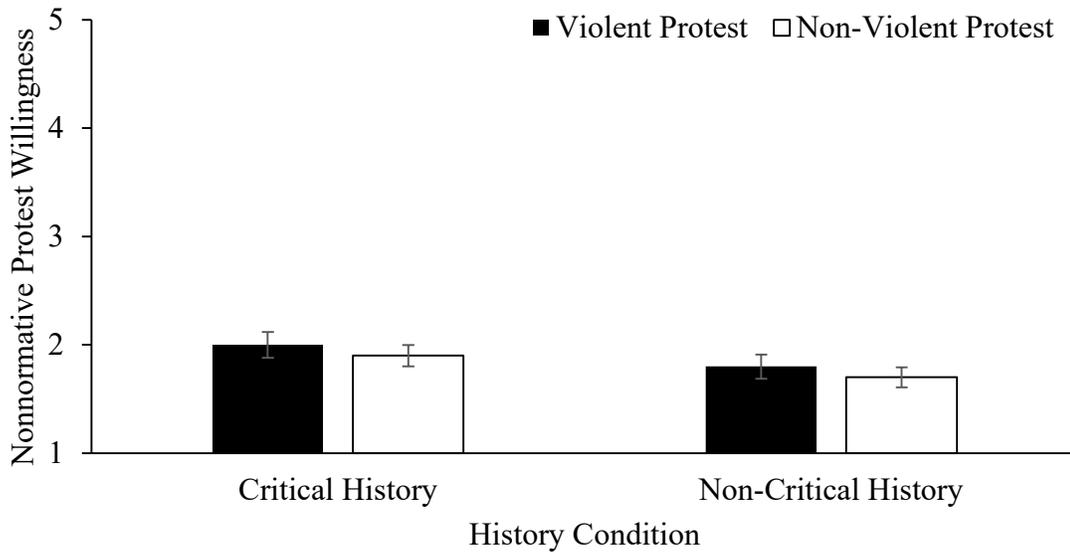


**Figure 18. Differences in willingness to engage in protest based on whether participants were exposed to critical or non-critical history and whether the protest was violent or non-violent.**

#### 4.2.4.2. Non-Normative Protest Intentions

There was no main effect of protest type,  $F(1, 328) = 1.43$ ,  $p = .232$ ,  $\eta^2 = .004$ , on willingness to engage in nonnormative forms of protest. However, there was a significant main effect of exposure to history,  $F(1, 328) = 4.53$ ,  $p = .034$ ,  $\eta^2 = .014$ . Participants who were exposed to the critical Latinx history reported higher willingness to engage in nonnormative protests ( $M = 1.99$ ,  $SD = .991$ ) than participants who read the non-critical mainstream United States history items ( $M = 1.77$ ,  $SD = .926$ ). Just as with

protest behavioral intentions, there was no interaction effect,  $F(1, 328) = 0.051, p = .822, \eta^2 = .000$ .



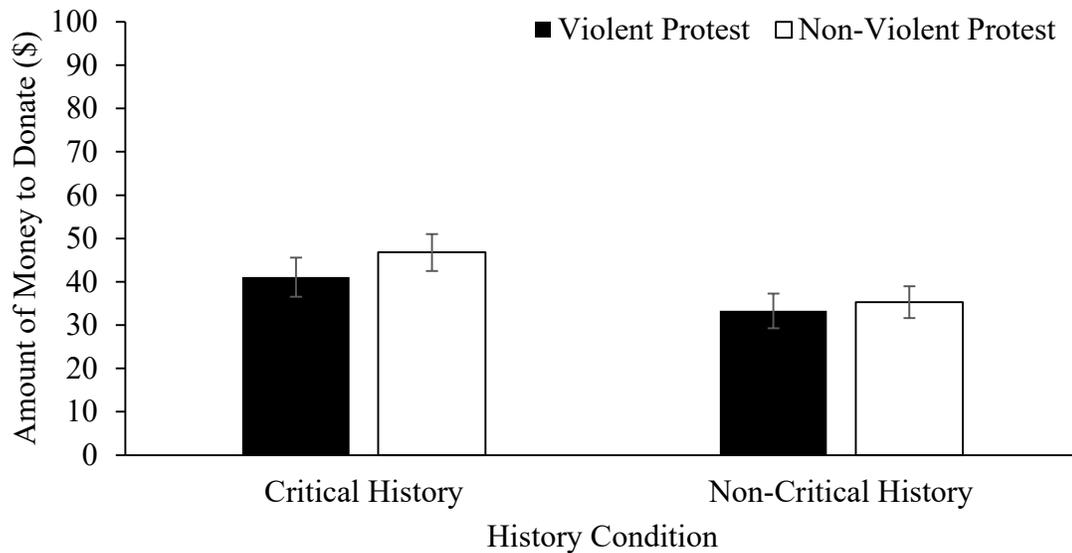
**Figure 19. Differences in willingness to engage in nonnormative protest based upon whether participants were exposed to critical compared to non-critical history and whether the protest was violent or non-violent.**

#### 4.2.5. Social Justice Behaviors

##### 4.2.5.1. Financial Donation.

I conducted a factorial ANOVA to test for differences in the amount of money participants were willing (hypothetically) to donate to a bail fund. There was no main effect of protest type,  $F(1, 263) = 0.852, p = .356, \eta_p^2 = .003$ . However, there was a main effect of exposure to history,  $F(1, 263) = 5.36, p = .021, \eta_p^2 = .019$ . Participants exposed to the critical history were willing to donate more money to a bail fund for protestors arrested while protesting police brutality ( $M = 43.9, SD = 35.77$ ) than participants who read the non-critical mainstream history facts ( $M = 34.4, SD = 31.37$ ).

There was no significant interaction effect,  $F(1, 263) = 0.205, p = .651, \eta_p^2 = .001$ . on willingness to donate to a bailout fund.



**Figure 20. Differences in amount of money participants were willing to donate after being exposed to critical compared to non-critical history and whether the protest was violent or non-violent.**

#### 4.2.5.2. Willingness to Learn More About Petitions.

To further investigate the relationship between exposure to history and protest behavioral intentions, a multiple logistic regression analysis tested the effects of protest type (non-violent protest = 0, violent protest = 1) and exposure to history (non-critical/mainstream United States history = 0, critical/Latinx history = 1), on the decision to learn more about petitions to sign against police brutality (do not learn more = 0, learn more = 1). Protest type did not predict whether participants decided to learn more about petitions to sign to combat police brutality,  $b = .431, SE = .317, \text{Wald } \chi^2 = 1.36, p = .174$ . However, exposure to history significantly predicted participant willingness to

learn more about petitions to combat police brutality,  $b = .876$ ,  $SE = .314$ , Wald  $\chi^2 = 2.79$ ,  $p = .005$ . Specifically, exposure to the critical/Latinx history condition increased the frequency of decisions to learn more about petitions combatting police brutality (OR = 2.40). The interaction between history exposure and protest type was non-significant,  $b = -.626$ ,  $SE = .445$ , Wald  $\chi^2 = -1.40$ ,  $p = .159$ .

### **4.3. Brief Discussion**

Results from Study 3 supported the notion that exposure to critical history is increases positive perceptions of protest, increases willingness to engage in protest, and increases engagement in social justice behaviors (i.e., donate more money to bail out funds, choose to learn more about petitions to sign in order to combat police brutality). Meanwhile, similar to Study 2, participants viewed the non-violent protest more positively than violent protest, perceived violent protest as more criminal and reported higher levels of perceived victimization when the protest was non-violent compared to violent. However, participants that were exposed to critical history perceived violent protest as more justified compared to participants who read non-critical history. Somewhat surprisingly participants reported higher anger, and anxious emotions in response to the non-violent protest compared to the violent protest. This result could potentially be due to anger and anxiety in reaction to the treatment of Latinos in the news story. Perhaps the violent protest in response to mistreatment may foster and invalidating perception in the minds of participants. Because there are no violent retaliatory actions in response to mistreatment there may be nothing for participants to

point to in order to invalidate their experience. As consequence participants may not be able to avoid feeling negative emotions to the mistreatment of Latinos.

The results from Study 1 suggested that historical knowledge is an influential predictor of positive perceptions of protest and engagement with protest. Study 2 did not find evidence to support the idea that past protest is viewed more positively than protest that occurs in the present, but results from this study were consistent with previous research that violent protest is viewed more negatively than non-violent protest. However, Study 3 revealed that history is influential not only as an individual difference predictor, but that exposure to critical history can positively influence participant support for protest. Although violent protest is perceived less favorably than non-violent protest, results from this study suggest that exposure to critical history may even influence people's perceptions of violent protest and increase perceived justification for violent protest in response to protests for racial justice.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

Overall, the purpose of these studies was to test three central hypotheses. First, that knowledge of history would relate to positive perceptions of protest. Second, individuals will perceive non-violent protest more favorably than violent protest, as established by previous research, and also perceive past protest more favorably than present protest. Third, exposure to critical history (marginalized group histories critical of United States' treatment of people of color) will influence participants perceptions of and engagement with protest.

Study 1 used a correlational design in order to investigate potential individual differences predictors of participant perceptions of protest as well as participant willingness to engage in protest. Results from Study 1 highlighted that knowledge of history was a consistent and positive predictor of more positive perceptions of non-violent protest and positively related to higher reported willingness to engage in non-violent protest. Study 1 introduces knowledge of history as a factor to consider in the protest literature with psychology. Furthermore, this study expands upon work from the Marley Hypothesis which suggests that greater knowledge of history is related to higher awareness of modern racism (Nelson, Adams, & Salter, 2013; Bonam, Nair Das, Coleman, & Salter, 2019). Evidence from this study suggests that knowledge of history may not solely be related to higher social awareness of racism but is also associated with more positive perceptions of protest against racism as well as higher intentions to engage in protest against racism.

Study 2 used an experimental design in order to test whether participants' perceptions of protest for racial justice differed based upon whether the protest was violent or non-violent and also interrogate whether perceptions of protest differed based upon whether the protest occurred in the past compared to the present. Consistent with previous research, violent protest was viewed more negatively, was viewed as less justified and was viewed as more criminal than non-violent protest. However, Study 2 did not provide evidence to support the hypothesis that protests that occurred in the past are viewed more positively than protest that occurred in the present. The lack of evidence for this hypothesis could indicate that violence is a too heavily influential, aversive action within the context of protest. Because participants find violence so aversive, simply presenting whether it occurred in the past compared to the present is not sufficient enough to elicit any differences based upon time. Furthermore, differences may not be evident with non-violent protest within the context of time (past or present) because non-violent protest may be viewed consistently positively. The protest scenario used in this study could be too detached from the experiences of the participants. Non-violent protest occurring in the present day is likely aversive to the degree that it is consistently within someone's attention. Additionally, the measures I used to investigate whether there may be significant differences in perceptions of protest by time were likely limited. For example, perceptions of criminality will undoubtedly be higher for the violent protest, regardless of time of occurrence, as property damage and vandalism are known criminal offenses. It would have been more beneficial to focus more on



perceptions of respectability of the protest and protestors more specifically as opposed to criminality which will consistently be viewed consistent with established laws.

Lastly, Study 3 also used an experimental design in order to investigate whether exposure to critical history influences perceptions of protest and engagement with protest. Study 3 found evidence to support the notion that exposure to history positively influences perceptions of protest. Participants exposed to critical Latinx history facts reported more positive reactions to the protest news articles than those who were exposed to the non-critical/mainstream U.S. history items. Participants exposed to critical history also reported that they would donate more money to a bailout fund for protestors arrested protesting police brutality and were more likely to request to learn more about petitions to sign to combat police brutality. Additionally, exposure to critical history specifically influenced perceptions of violent protest. Participants exposed to critical history perceived the violent protest as more justified than participants who read about the non-critical history. Result from this study support Study 1 that history plays an influential role on perceptions of protest. However, this study also builds on psychological protest research. The results from Study 3 highlight that even though violent protest may be aversive in many situations, perceptions of violence as justified may change with added historical context. Although, participants may initially feel that violence is wholly bad, perhaps condemning violence is more difficult when exposed to historical context that highlights mistreatment and violence of marginalized people.

### **5.1. Limitations**

Although this study provided evidence to support the idea that engagement with history may play an important role in perceptions of protest and engagement with social justice, this study had several limitations. First, these studies were conducted with undergraduate student samples. Undergraduate students may have a different overall perspective on protest compared to individuals who are not currently enrolled in an undergraduate program. For example, previous research has suggested that college is a critical point in which individuals become more politically involved and engaged (Finlay, Lake, & Flanagan, 2010). Therefore, positive perceptions and engagement with protest may be heightened in college students relative to a non-student sample, although this possibility remains to be tested. Additionally, this sample was made up mostly of White participants. Individuals from ethnic minority groups could have different perceptions of protest compared to White individuals and therefore the influence of history knowledge may differ among individuals who likely have more personal experience with the social issues at hand compared to White participants.

Secondly, the emotion items used in these studies were limited in what they were in reference to. The emotion items just asked individuals what their current emotional state was after reading the protest news article; however, the emotional reactions in response to these articles could be elicited by a multitude of factors. Participant's reported emotions could have been influenced by the mistreatment of Latinos, they could have been influenced by the protest cause, or they could have been influenced by the actions of the protestors themselves. There were not and differences in emotional responses of participants based upon protest type or time of protest occurrence in Study

2. This could be because of the lack of specificity of the target of the emotional reaction. Participants may have had differing emotional reactions to the protest story in response to different targets (i.e., protest cause, protest actions, mistreatment of Latinos) and the lack of specificity could have led to conflicting sources for emotional reactions that could have prevented observance of an effect. Providing a more specific target for the emotional reactions could have yielded differences in participants emotional reactions to the protest news story.

With this in mind, results from Study 3, somewhat surprisingly, found that participants reported more angry and anxious emotional reactions in response to the non-violent protest article compared to the violent protest article. As previously mentioned, this could be due to a lack of violent reaction in response to mistreatment. Previous research suggests that individuals view violent protest for social causes as less legitimate than non-violent protest (Feinberg, Willer, & Kovacheff, 2020; Thomas & Louis, 2014). Participants may not have been able to point to violence in order to delegitimize the protest cause, and as a result felt anxiety and anger in response to the mistreatment of Latinos. This explanation could also be partially supported by participants in Study 3 reporting higher guilt emotions in response to non-violent protest. Once again, because there is no violent reaction to mistreatment, participants cannot delegitimize the protest cause and in turn may feel more guilt. However, emotional reactions items to the protestors and protest cause specifically were not included, thus I can only speculate to the reason for this finding.

Finally, this study provides initial support for the notion that knowledge of history and exposure to history may influence perceptions of protest. However, these studies did not address more specifically what it is about exposure to history that may influence changes in perceptions. For example, one avenue by which exposure to history may increase positive perceptions and engagement in protest is through glorification. As suggested in Study 1, glorified national identity was negatively related to protest intentions and positive protest perceptions. Therefore, exposure to critical history may influence protest perception and engagement by decreasing glorification. Perhaps exposure to critical history provides a counternarrative to the glorified notion that the United States is wholly good. This counternarrative in turn may decrease glorified identity which in turn may increase positive perceptions of and engagement with protest. In future research it could be helpful to investigate glorification as a mediating factor in order to analyze why exposure to history influences perceptions of protest; specifically, by lowering individuals glorified depiction of the United States.

## **5.2. Future Directions**

These studies contribute to the literature on protest by suggesting knowledge of and exposure to history can play an influential role in how protest is perceived as well as individual willingness to engage in protest. Also, at a theoretical level, this work builds on previous research that suggests history is an important psychological factor for social justice. This research provides support for the notion that knowledge of history not only influences how individuals perceive racism (Bonam, Das, Coleman, & Salter, 2019; Nelson, Adams, & Salter, 2013), but also may influence how individuals perceive

protest in response to racism and encourage individuals to engage in protest for racial justice.

With this in mind, this research may also attest to the importance of ethnic histories in education. In the United States education system, there have been real-world initiatives to remove marginalized histories from our collective consciousness in favor of more “patriotic” representations of American history (Rampell, 2015). However, these patriotic histories often sanitize violence and brutality committed against people of color (Kurtis, Adams, & Yellowbird, 2010). As a consequence of historical ignorance, individuals often criticize protest for racial justice in the present, but are often ignorant to the numerous instances of violence committed against people of color in the past. Under these conditions, protest in general, and violent protest specifically, are viewed as non-respectable behaviors. However, the present research suggests that exposing individuals with often ignored critical history may alter perceptions of whether a protest is justified or “respectable”. Results from this work align with modern social justice philosophies such as the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement (Obasogie & Newman, 2016) that have attempted to challenge the perceived necessity of respectability. At the core of BLM’s philosophy is a counternarrative against respectability politics. This movement has organized to expand the definition of who is a victim of racial violence in American society and has argued that respectability is not an inhibiting factor to racial victimization and social justice.

Previous research in psychology has often operated within the bounds of assumed respectability. Previous research has compared and contrasted the effectiveness

between violence and non-violence, often discussing how violence reduces respectability which in turn reduces support for a social cause (Feinberg, Willer, & Kovacheff, 2020; Thomas & Louis, 2014). However, regardless of protest type, protest for racial justice is rooted in a similar struggle for social equality. These protests are a response to a history of violence and marginalization that are ignored in mainstream historical consciousness. It is important to not just consider why people perceive protests differently, but also to focus attention on the social issue when the protest is underlined by a justified social concern, regardless of its form. Future psychological research on protest should not just place the onus on how a protest may reduce respectability or support, but instead question why the public itself may focus on the actions of the protest over the consideration of the social issue. A crucial component to this goal, as suggested by this research, is to challenge mainstream American histories. Exposure to critical histories provides individuals with a more wholistic understanding of the context surrounding protests for racial justice. This context can help individuals understand that protest for racial justice is not a singular unjustified tantrum. These protests are a cultivated response to combat racist violence and racist practices that have existed in our history and that have permeated to our present.

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## APPENDIX A

### Colorblind Ideology Scale

1. (RP) Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich.
2. (RP) Race plays a major role in the type of social services (such as type of health care or day care) that people receive in the U.S.
3. (ID) It is important that people begin to think of themselves as American and not African American, Mexican American or Italian American.
4. (ID) Due to racial discrimination, programs such as affirmative action are necessary to help create equality.
5. (BRI) Racism is a major problem in the U.S.
6. (RP) White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.
7. (RP) Race is very important in determining who is successful and who is not.
8. (BRI) Racism may have been a problem in the past, it is not an important problem today.
9. (RP) Racial and ethnic minorities do not have the same opportunities as white people in the U.S.
10. (ID) White people in the U.S. are discriminated against because of the color of their skin.
11. (BRI) Talking about racial issues causes unnecessary tension.

12. (BRI) It is important for political leaders to talk about racism to help work through or solve society's problems.

13. (ID) Immigrants should try to fit into the culture and values of the U.S.

14. (ID) English should be the only official language in the U.S.

15. (RP) White people are more to blame for racial discrimination than racial and ethnic minorities.

16. (ID) Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against white people.

17. (BRI) It is important for public schools to teach about the history and contributions of racial and ethnic minorities.

18. (ID) Racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.

19. (BRI) Racial problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations.

20. (RP) Race plays an important role in who gets sent to prison.

\*RP indicates Racial Privilege, ID indicates Institutional Discrimination, BRI indicates Blatant Racial Issues

### **Modern Racism Scale**

1. Discrimination against Latinos is no longer a problem in the United States.

2. It is easy to understand the anger of Latino people in America.

3. Latinos have more influence upon school desegregation plans than they ought to have.

4. Latinos are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights.

5. Latinos should not push themselves where they are not wanted.
6. Over the past few years, Latinos have gotten more economically than they deserve.
7. Over the past few years, the government and news media have shown more respect to Latinos than they deserve.



## APPENDIX B

### **Critical Consciousness Scale**

#### *Critical Reflection: Perceived Inequality*

1. Certain racial or ethnic groups have fewer chances to get a good high school education
2. Poor children have fewer chances to get a good high school education
3. Certain racial or ethnic groups have fewer chances to get good jobs
4. Women have fewer chances to get good jobs
5. Poor people have fewer chances to get good jobs
6. Certain racial or ethnic groups have fewer chances to get ahead
7. Women have fewer chances to get ahead
8. Poor people have fewer chances to get ahead

#### *Critical Action: Socio-Political Participation*

9. Participated in a civil rights group or organization
  10. Participated in a political party, club or organization
  11. Wrote a letter to a school, community newspaper, or publication about a social or political issue
  12. Contacted a public official by phone, mail, or email to tell him or her how you felt about a social or political issue
  13. Joined in a protest march, political demonstration, or political meeting
  14. Worked on a political campaign
  15. Participated in a discussion about a social or political issue
  16. Signed an email or written petition about a social or political issue
  17. Participated in a human rights, gay rights, or women's rights organization or group
- #### *Critical Reflection: Egalitarianism*
18. It is a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom
  19. It would be good if groups could be equal
  20. Group equality should be our ideal
  21. All groups should be given an equal chance in life
  22. I would have fewer problems if I treated people more equally

### **Social Dominance Orientation**

1. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.
2. In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.
3. It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.
4. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.
5. If certain groups stayed in their place, I would have fewer problems.
6. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.
7. Inferior groups should stay in their place.
8. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.
9. It would be good if groups could be equal.

10. Group equality should be our ideal.
11. All groups should be given an equal chance in life.
12. I should do what I can to equalize conditions for different groups.
13. Increased social equality.
14. I would have fewer problems if I treated people more equally.
15. I should strive to make incomes as equal as possible.
16. No one group should dominate in society.

## APPENDIX C

### National Identity (Attachment-Glorification)

A: I love the United States.

G: Other nations can learn a lot from us.

A: Being an American is an important part of my identity.

G: In today's world, the only way to know what to do is to rely on the leaders of our nation.

A: It is important to me to contribute to my nation.

G: The United States military is the best army in the world.

A: It is important to me to view myself as an American.

G: One of the important things that I have to teach children is to respect the leaders of our nation.

A: I am strongly committed to my nation.

G: Relative to other nations, we are a very moral nation.

A: It is important to me that everyone will see me as an American.

G: It is disloyal for Americans to criticize Israel.

A: It is important for me to serve my country.

G: The United States is better than other nations in all respects.

A: When I talk about Americans I usually say "I" rather than "they."

G: There is generally a good reason for every rule and regulation made by our national authorities.

\*A indicates attachment item, G indicates glorification item

## APPENDIX D

### Activism and Radical Intentions Scale

Think of “the Group You Feel Closest to, such as religious group, ethnic group, or any other group that is important to you” and write the name of that group down in the space provided.

1. I would join/belong to an organization that fights for my group’s political and legal rights (AIS)

2. I would donate money to an organization that fights for my group’s political and legal rights (AIS)

3. I would volunteer my time working (i.e. write petitions, distribute flyers, recruit people, etc.) for an organization that fights for my group’s political and legal rights (AIS)

4. I would travel for one hour to join in a public rally, protest, or demonstration in support of my group (AIS)

5. I would continue to support an organization that fights for my group’s political and legal rights even if the organization sometimes breaks the law (RIS)

6. I would continue to support an organization that fights for my group’s political and legal rights even if the organization sometimes resorts to violence (RIS)

7. I would participate in a public protest against oppression of my group even if I thought the protest might turn violent (RIS)

8. I would attack police or security forces if I saw them beating members of my group (RIS)

\*AIS indicates an Activism Intentions Scale item, RIS indicates a Revenge Intentions Item

## APPENDIX E

### 200 Peacefully Protest Torres Case Verdict Article Published May 9, 1978 (2019)

In Phoenix, about 200 persons protesting the verdict of negligent homicide and the probated sentence given to two former Phoenix police officers in the death of Joe Torres marched Saturday from El Reposo Park to police headquarters where they demonstrated against alleged police brutality. With chants of “we want justice” and “stop killer cops” the mostly Mexican American group walked, accompanied by cars and a sound truck, a little more than two miles.

According to police, on May 5<sup>th</sup> 1977 (2018), Torres had been arrested for disorderly conduct at a bar in Phoenix's predominantly Hispanic East End neighborhood. The six police officers who responded took Torres to a spot called "The Hole" near a south area creek and beat him. The officers then took Torres to the city jail, who refused to process him due to his injuries. They were ordered to take him to John C. Lincoln Hospital, but instead of doing so, the officers took him back to the banks of the creek and pushed him into the water after one of the officers allegedly said "Let's see if this wetback can swim." Torres's body was found two days later. Officers Terry W. Denson and Steven Orlando were tried on state murder charges. They were convicted of negligent homicide and received one year of probation and a \$1 fine.

Protestors denounced the jury's giving former officers Terry Denson, 27, and Stephen Orlando, 22, probation Friday for negligent homicide. “I have been disappointed and depressed that these cops got away with murder,” commented one protestor on the steps of the police station. “Nobody is supposed to take our lives,” said protestors using a portable loudspeaker system. “If (someone) had killed a cop, they’d be on death row,” she said. The march took about an hour, and was peaceful. A police helicopter flew in large circles high above the marchers as they made their way from the park to the police station. Some demonstrators carried signs and banners in Spanish and English with slogans such as “Torres dead, cops go free”; “End police brutality,”. Several pamphlets were passed out along the way. At one point, marchers chanted, “We want the feds.” That apparently referred to the possibility of former police officers being prosecuted in federal court allegedly violating Joe Torres’ civil rights. The crowd played and joined in chanting. The demonstrators dispersed after about an hour at the police headquarters.



## APPENDIX F

### 200 Violently Protest Torres Case Verdict Article published May 9, 1978

(2019)

Phoenix sought an answer Monday as to why a gathering of 200 people on Sunday afternoon at El Reposo Park turned into a night-long event of injury and destruction as Southside Mexican-Americans gathered to protest the verdict of negligent homicide and the probated sentence given to two former Phoenix police officers in the death of Joe Torres.

According to police, on May 5<sup>th</sup> 1977 (2018), Torres had been arrested for disorderly conduct at a bar in Phoenix's predominantly Hispanic South End neighborhood. The six police officers who responded took Torres to a spot called "The Hole" near a south area creek and beat him. The officers then took Torres to the city jail, who refused to process him due to his injuries. They were ordered to take him to John C. Lincoln Hospital, but instead of doing so, the officers took him back to the banks of the creek and pushed him into the water after one of the officers allegedly said "Let's see if this wetback can swim." Torres's body was found two days later. Officers Terry W. Denson and Steven Orlando were tried on state murder charges. They were convicted of negligent homicide and received one year of probation and a \$1 fine.

One protestor reportedly said injured police "received a small dose of justice they deserve". He said the disturbance was inevitable because people in the community were upset over the light sentences received by police implicated in the death of Torres. "I think it was great what people did to the police yesterday," he said to reporters Monday. Cars moving through the neighborhood were hit by bottles and rocks in scattered incidents Monday night, and one police officer was hurt when he was struck in the head, police said. Officers reported several firebombs had been thrown. Two helicopters were overhead. Six juveniles were arrested. Instigators reportedly yelled "Kill the pigs" and "Turn over the pigs' cars; burn them if you want justice" when officers marched into the park about 9 p.m. 15 people, including three police, were taken to local hospitals with injuries inflicted by the angry mob Sunday in the largely Chicano neighborhood of south of downtown. The mayor said he was told that friction over the Joe Campos Torres case "has been brewing for a while." Eventually, firefighters sprayed down the smoking rubble, police regained control of the park.



## **APPENDIX G**

### **Latinx/Critical History Items**

Before *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, the courts ruled it unconstitutional to segregate students of Mexican heritage. The plaintiff, Sylvia Mendez, sued after being turned away from a “whites only” public school in California.

Private Felix Longoria was killed in World War II. The director of the funeral home in his hometown of Three Rivers, Texas forbade the family from using the chapel. The G.I. Forum, a civil rights organization led by Hector P. Garcia, caught the attention of then-U.S. Sen. Lyndon Johnson. He arranged for Longoria to be buried at Arlington National Cemetery.

In 1965, Latino farmworker unions joined in a strike, and boycotted grapes in the Delano, California to protest poor conditions. The five-year campaign ultimately forced the grape producers to sign union contracts.

Puerto Rican women were used as human guinea pigs for the birth control pill during the late '50s. Many were not told the pill was experimental and were unaware of the potential negative side effects. Their symptoms were often ignored. Three women who participated died. No investigation was conducted to see if the pill caused their deaths.

Following allegations that a Mexican-American Studies curriculum in Tucson, Arizona politicized students, politicians shut it down. The local board of education dismantled the program, credited by researchers with boosting student achievement and fostering critical thinking skills. A lawsuit challenging the legislation has been appealed.

Mexico, the U.S. and Canada signed a free trade agreement in 1994 that reduced trade barriers. Though money was allowed to cross borders more freely, people were not. Millions of Mexican farm workers lost their jobs as cheap U.S. imports put Mexican farms out of business. Many of those migrants eventually wound up in the U.S.

### **United States Mainstream/Non-Critical History**

George Washington served as the first president of the United States from 1789 to 1797. Washington has been called the "Father of His Country" for his leadership in the formative days of the new nation.

The stock market crash of 1929 in the U.S. triggered a decade of high unemployment and poverty known as the Great Depression. The worst hit sectors were



blue collar employees from heavy industry, agriculture, mining, and logging; least affected were white collar workers.

The Declaration of Independence was written at Independence Hall in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on July 4, 1776. The Declaration explained why the Thirteen Colonies at war with the Kingdom of Great Britain regarded themselves as thirteen independent sovereign states, no longer under British rule. With the Declaration, these new states took a collective first step toward forming the United States of America.

Manifest Destiny was a phrase used by leaders and politicians in the 1840s to explain continental expansion by the United States. They believed America had a divine right to become a transcontinental nation.

The Boston Tea Party was a protest by the Sons of Liberty in Boston, Massachusetts, on December 16, 1773. They protested the Tea Act of May 10, 1773, which allowed the British East India Company to sell tea from China in American colonies without paying taxes. American Patriots strongly opposed this as a violation of their rights. Demonstrators destroyed an entire shipment of tea sent by the East India Company.

The attack on Pearl Harbor was a surprise military strike by the Japanese upon the United States against the naval base at Pearl Harbor in Honolulu, Hawaii, on December 7, 1941. The attack led to the United States' formal entry into World War II.