
More Eyes on the Prize: Variability in White Americans' Perceptions of Progress Toward Racial Equality

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Much recent research suggests that Whites and non-Whites think differently about issues of race in contemporary America. For example, Eibach and Ehrlinger (2006) recently demonstrated that Whites perceive that more progress toward racial equality has been made as compared to non-Whites. The authors of this article sought to extend Eibach and Ehrlinger's analysis. To this end, they found that differences in Whites' and non-Whites' perceptions of racial progress can be explained by the reference points they use for understanding progress toward racial equality (Study 1). Furthermore, they demonstrated that there is variability in White people's perceptions of racial progress that can be explained by self-reported racial prejudice (Studies 1 and 2). Finally, they demonstrated that White people's perceptions of racial progress predict reactions to affirmative action (Study 2). Implications for better understanding intergroup relations and reactions to social policies are discussed.

Keywords: *racial and ethnic attitudes; affirmative action; prejudice; reference points; racial equality; goals*

"We have made [racial] progress . . . but there is so much left to be done. For anyone to assert that race is not a problem in America is to deny the reality in front of our very eyes."

Hillary Clinton (2007, Democratic debate at Howard University)

In making this observation, Hillary Clinton, a Democratic candidate for the presidency of the United States (US), put her finger on the pulse of one of the central issues garnering attention among politicians, lawmakers, and ordinary citizens in contemporary America:

How much progress has our nation made toward racial equality? And, against what standard should this judgment be made? This issue is the topic of heated debate, with many claiming that the nation has made substantial progress toward racial equality, whereas others counter that we are far from achieving the ideal of racial equality. One's position in this debate will likely have consequences for whether or not one believes steps are needed to achieve racial equality.

As the public debate continues, social scientists have been explicitly interested in how people think about issues of race and racial equality (e.g., Eibach & Ehrlinger, 2006; Eibach & Keegan, 2006; Haley & Sidanius, 2006; Lowery, Unzueta, Knowles, & Goff, 2006; Mazzocco, Brock, Brock, Olson, & Banaji, 2006). Not surprisingly, recent research suggests that Whites and non-Whites have different perceptions of how much progress has been made toward racial equality. Specifically, Eibach and Ehrlinger (2006) demonstrated that non-Whites perceive that less progress toward racial equality has been made in the US compared to Whites. As this work was designed to uncover differences in how Whites and non-Whites understand racial equality in contemporary society, it did not

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PSPB, Vol. 34 No. 4, April 2008 513-527

DOI: 10.1177/0146167207311337

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consider within-race variability in thinking about these issues or the implications of these thoughts for predicting social attitudes and behaviors. Thus, the primary goal of the current set of studies is to extend Eibach and Ehrlinger's work in these two important ways. Specifically, we first examined variability in people's perceptions of racial progress; second, we explored the extent to which this variability predicts reactions to a social policy—affirmative action (AA). As AA is designed to make up for past discrimination and create equality in the future, we suspect reactions to such policies should be strongly tied to one's perception of how much racial progress has been made and thus needs to be made in the future.

Perceptions of Progress Toward Racial Equality

In their work, Eibach and Ehrlinger (2006) examined Whites' and non-Whites' perceptions of how much progress has been made toward equality for minorities (i.e., racial progress) in the US and the reference points used to anchor these judgments. In one study, Whites and non-Whites rated how much racial progress they believed had been made in the US and explained this response in an open-ended fashion. Eibach and Ehrlinger argued that people's explanations may reflect the fact that they anchor these judgments on different reference points. Whereas some people may anchor their ratings on the distance the US has come from the past, others may anchor on the distance the US has to go to achieve racial equality in the future. Raters coded participants' responses for the extent to which their perceptions of racial progress were anchored on the reference point of how far the US has come from the past versus the reference point of how far the US has to go in the future. They found that Whites perceived that more racial progress had been made compared to non-Whites. Furthermore, Whites' ratings were anchored more strongly on how far the US has come from the past, whereas non-Whites' ratings were anchored more strongly on how far the US has to go to create racial equality in the future. Whites' and non-Whites' different perceptions of racial progress were mediated through the reference points used to anchor this judgment, suggesting that race differences in perceptions of racial progress emerge as a function of the different reference points Whites and non-Whites use for evaluating racial progress.

Eibach and Ehrlinger (2006) next examined if directing participants' attention to the past versus the future would affect their perceptions of racial progress. Prior to answering the racial progress question, some participants were encouraged to focus on how far the US has come from the past, whereas others were encouraged to focus on the ideal future of racial equality. Replicating

their first study, in a no-framing control group, Whites perceived that more racial progress had been made compared to non-Whites. However, when focused on the ideal future of racial equality, Whites' perceptions of racial progress decreased significantly and were similar to non-Whites' perceptions in the control condition; non-Whites' perceptions of racial progress were unaffected by the ideal future framing. When focused on how far the US has come from the past, non-Whites' perceptions of racial progress increased significantly and were similar to Whites' perceptions in the control condition; Whites' perceptions of racial progress were unaffected by the past framing. These findings supported Eibach and Ehrlinger's suggestion that in evaluating racial progress, non-Whites more strongly anchor on the ideal future of racial equality, whereas Whites more strongly anchor on the past.

Eibach and Ehrlinger's (2006) findings are thought provoking and provide a novel understanding of Whites' and non-Whites' differing perceptions of racial progress. The current research was designed to extend this analysis by considering the nuance in people's perceptions of racial progress. In what follows, we describe the important features of the current work and the specific ways in which our approach extends the work of Eibach and Ehrlinger.

Development of Measures to Assess Reference Points

Although Eibach and Ehrlinger (2006) developed a measure to assess perceptions of racial progress, they did not develop measures to assess the extent to which participants anchored their judgment of racial progress: (a) based on the distance the US has come from the past and (b) based on the distance the US has to go in the future to achieve racial equality. Instead, coders rated participants' open-ended responses on a scale ranging from *exclusively referencing the past* (rated as a 1) to *exclusively referencing an ideal future of racial equality* (rated as a 4). This approach assumes that these reference points lie on opposite ends of the same continuum, such that the more one anchors on the distance from the past, the less he or she anchors on the distance from the future ideal end state and vice versa. Although it is possible that tendency to anchor on the past is inversely related to the tendency to anchor on the ideal future, it is also possible that they are independent. For example, as Hillary Clinton's statement illustrates, one does not need to deny that racial progress has been made to embrace the idea that additional progress is needed to create equality in the future. In the present study, therefore, we developed two separate measures to assess people's reference points for understanding racial progress. The first measure focuses on the extent to which participants anchor

their perceptions of racial progress on the distance the US has come from the past; the second measure focuses on the extent to which participants anchor their perceptions of racial progress on the distance the US has to go to create the ideal of racial equality in the future. By developing such measures, we can statistically explore the direction and magnitude of the relationship between anchoring on the past and anchoring on the ideal future to explore if these reference points should be considered as two separate continua.

An additional benefit of having separate measures of anchoring on the past and ideal future is that we can examine the extent to which people anchor more strongly on one reference point than the other and if this varies by respondent race. Given their methods, Eibach and Ehrlinger (2006) could only speculate that non-Whites and Whites anchored more strongly on one reference point than another. Thus, a strength of our approach is that we can test the hypothesis, based on Eibach and Ehrlinger's findings, that non-Whites will anchor more strongly on the ideal future of racial equality as compared to the past, whereas Whites will anchor more strongly on the past as compared to the ideal future.

Consider Within-Group Variability

As Eibach and Ehrlinger's (2006) work was a first step in examining people's perceptions of racial progress, they did not attempt to explore within-group variability. Instead, Eibach and Ehrlinger focused on broad differences between non-Whites and Whites, arguing that they are motivated by different goals that will have implications for the reference points on which they anchor their judgments of racial progress. Specifically, they reasoned that non-Whites, for whom the struggle for racial equality is a personally important goal, should more strongly anchor on the ideal future, whereas Whites, for whom the goal of racial equality is less personally important, should more strongly anchor on the past. Although such group differences exist, we suspect that there is variability in the extent to which Whites perceive that achieving racial equality is a personally important goal and that this variability will affect their likelihood of anchoring on the past or ideal future.

Previous research lends support to this suggestion. Specifically, many White Americans possess strong motivation to respond without prejudice (Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Plant & Devine, 1998) and positive implicit and explicit attitudes toward outgroups (e.g., Livingston & Drwecki, 2007). Additional work has found that many Whites evidence the automatic activation of egalitarian goals upon exposure to outgroup members (e.g., Moskowitz, Gollwitzer, Wasel, & Schaal, 1998). Moreover, when low-prejudice people have violated

their egalitarian standards, they respond with guilt, and this guilt is associated with self-regulatory processes to bring their behavior in line with their standards (e.g., Devine, Monteith, Zuwerink, & Elliot, 1991).

Together, these findings suggest that for some Whites (i.e., those low in prejudice) achieving racial equality may be a personally important goal, whereas for others (i.e., those high in prejudice), achieving racial equality may be less personally important. As a result, we would expect low-prejudice Whites to more strongly anchor on the ideal future than the past and thus perceive that less racial progress has been made. That is, we suspect that low-prejudice Whites, like non-Whites, heed the advice of the popular civil rights hymn by keeping their "eyes on the prize." In contrast, high-prejudice Whites would be expected to show the pattern Eibach and Ehrlinger (2006) anticipated to characterize Whites, generally. Specifically, high-prejudice Whites should anchor more strongly on the past than the ideal future and thus perceive that greater progress toward racial equality has been made. We expect that any differences between low- and high-prejudice individuals' perceptions of racial progress should be explained by anchoring on different reference points.¹

Predict Reactions to a Social Policy Designed to Promote Future Equality

Finally, in their work, Eibach and Ehrlinger (2006) considered perceptions of racial progress as their key dependent variable. We plan to extend their work by exploring if people's perceptions of racial progress predict reactions to an issue strongly tied to racial progress, namely, AA. Much work has been conducted to understand people's reactions to AA programs (e.g., Bobocel, Son Hing, Davey, Stanley, & Zanna, 1998; Federico & Sidanius, 2002; Lowery et al., 2006; Sniderman & Carmines, 1997). This work has demonstrated that people who are politically conservative (Sniderman & Carmines, 1997), higher in prejudice (Kluegel & Smith, 1983), higher in social dominance orientation (Federico & Sidanius, 2002), and more strongly prefer a merit-based system (Bobocel et al., 1998) tend to oppose AA programs. However, as these constructs are related to the desire to create future equality in nuanced ways, their relationships with reactions to AA reflect this complexity. For example, people who strongly prefer a merit-based system typically oppose AA (Bobocel et al., 1998); however, they support AA when they perceive that discrimination has occurred (i.e., when merit-based principles have been violated; Son Hing, Bobocel, & Zanna, 2002).

We believe linking people's perceptions of racial progress to their reactions to AA will allow us to more

parsimoniously predict reactions to AA. If someone believes that insufficient racial progress has been made, then there is a clear link to supporting a policy designed to create equality in the future. Thus, we predict that individuals who perceive that less (compared to more) racial progress has been made should be more willing to take steps to create equality in the future, by supporting AA. Importantly, we expect that this relationship will continue to be strong even after controlling for those variables known to predict reactions to AA—racial prejudice, social dominance orientation, preference for merit, and political ideology. In addition to allowing us to more parsimoniously predict reactions to AA, we think this work will help us to better understand why people support or oppose AA (i.e., because they believe insufficient or sufficient racial progress has been made, respectively).

Suggestive evidence in support of this relationship was obtained recently using a nontraditional measure of perceptions of racial progress (Mazzocco et al., 2006). Using a “contingent validation paradigm,” Mazzocco et al. asked White participants how much money they would require to live as Black, an indicator they believed reflected the extent to which participants recognized (or failed to recognize) disparities between Blacks and Whites. They found that individuals who would require more money to live as Black (an indicator they speculated reflected a recognition of existing disparities between Blacks and Whites) were more supportive of policies aimed at reducing racial inequalities.

STUDY 1

To extend Eibach and Ehrlinger’s (2006) work in the ways described above, we expanded the assessment of perceptions of racial progress and developed separate and continuous measures of the tendency to anchor on the ideal future and the tendency to anchor on the past. We administered these measures to a large sample of White and non-White students. White participants in this sample also completed the Attitudes Towards Blacks Scale (ATB; Brigham, 1993), a measure of racial prejudice.

This study allows us to address four issues. First, we can examine the direction and magnitude of the relationship between anchoring on the past and anchoring on the ideal future. Second, we can examine mean level differences in perceptions of racial progress and reference points for understanding racial progress as a function of participant race. Third, we can replicate Eibach and Ehrlinger’s (2006) finding that Whites’ and non-Whites’ differing perceptions of racial progress are mediated through the reference points used for understanding progress. Finally, we can explore variability in

Whites’ perceptions of racial progress as a function of prejudice and statistically test if anchoring on different reference points accounts for this relationship.

Before proceeding, we note that although there is likely meaningful variability in non-Whites’ perceptions of racial progress, our sample did not yield sufficient numbers of any one non-White group to explore this possibility. We return to this issue in the General Discussion.

Method

Participants

At the beginning of the semester, 1,128 introductory psychology students (58% female) participated in a large mass-testing session in exchange for course extra credit. Participants self-reported their race during this session (78% White, 3% Black, 15% Asian, and 5% Latino). Their average age was 19.34 years old ($SD = 2.05$, range = 18 to 57).

Measures

To assess perceptions of racial progress, we included five items that were rated on 7-point scales and were averaged to create an index of perceptions of racial progress ($\alpha = .77$), such that higher scores reflect the tendency to perceive that more racial progress has been made. A sample item is “How much progress has been made toward equality for racial minorities in the US?”

To assess anchoring on the past, we included two items assessing the extent to which participants anchor their judgment of racial progress on how far the US has come from the past. These items were rated on 7-point scales and were averaged to create an index of anchoring on the past ($\alpha = .63$), such that higher scores reflect the tendency to more strongly anchor on how far the US has come from the past. A sample item is “When I think about racial progress, I think about how much improvement the US has made from the past.”

To assess anchoring on the ideal future, we included two items assessing the extent to which participants anchor their judgment of racial progress on how far the US has to go to achieve racial equality in the future. These items were rated on 7-point scales and were averaged to create an index of anchoring on the ideal future ($\alpha = .76$), such that higher scores reflect the tendency to more strongly anchor how far the US has to go. A sample item is “When I think about racial progress, I think about how much improvement the US has to make in the future.” (See the appendix for the perceptions of racial progress, past and ideal future anchoring items.)

White participants also completed the ATB Scale. This scale includes 20 items that were rated on a scale

ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*), reversed scored, as necessary, and averaged ($\alpha = .90$) such that higher scores indicate more prejudice toward Blacks.² A sample item is “Generally, Blacks are not as smart as Whites.”

Upon completion of the mass survey questionnaire, participants were provided with extra course credit; they were debriefed, in writing, later in the semester.

Results

Data Analytic Plan

We had four primary data analytic goals. First, we examined the magnitude of the correlations between the two reference points and perceptions of racial progress. In these analyses, we explored if the tendency to anchor on the past and the tendency to anchor on the ideal future should be considered unidimensional or as two separate dimensions. Second, we compared Whites’ and non-Whites’ perceptions of racial progress and reference points for understanding racial progress. Third, we explored the extent to which Whites’ and non-Whites’ different perceptions of racial progress were mediated through their reference points.

Finally, we sought to explore variability within Whites’ perceptions of racial progress and reference points. Because racial prejudice is a continuous variable, we first examined the correlation between self-reported racial prejudice, perceptions of racial progress, and the two reference points. Next, to examine the extent to which racial prejudice was related to the tendency to anchor more strongly on one or the other reference point, we calculated a difference score between the two reference points and correlated this difference score with racial prejudice. Last, we explored the extent to which the relationship between prejudice and perceptions of racial progress was mediated through participants’ reference points.

Correlation Between Reference Points and Perceptions of Racial Progress

Supporting our suggestion that the tendency to anchor on the past and tendency to anchor on the ideal future should be considered as two separate dimensions, these two measures were largely uncorrelated, $r(1125) = -.08, p = .008$.

Perceptions of racial progress were positively correlated with anchoring on the past, $r(1125) = .40, p < .001$, such that people who more strongly anchored on the past perceived that more racial progress had been made. Perceptions of racial progress were negatively correlated with anchoring on the ideal future, $r(1125) = -.52, p < .001$, such that people who more strongly

anchored on the ideal future perceived that less racial progress had been made.

Comparison of White Versus Non-White Participants

In this set of analyses, we combined the responses of all non-White participants and compared their responses with those of the White participants.

Perceptions of racial progress. We submitted participants’ perceptions of racial progress to a one-way (Race: White vs. non-White) analysis of variance (ANOVA). Consistent with Eibach and Ehrlinger’s (2006) finding, Whites perceived that more racial progress had been made ($M = 4.13, SD = 0.95$) compared to non-Whites ($M = 3.66, SD = 0.88$), $F(1, 1126) = 47.93, p < .001, d = .50$.

Reference points. To examine the extent to which participants anchored on different reference points as a function of their race, we conducted a 2 (race: White vs. non-White) \times 2 (reference point: the past vs. the ideal future) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last factor. This analysis revealed only a significant interaction between race and reference point, $F(1, 1125) = 36.34, p < .001$ (see Figure 1). Non-Whites anchored more strongly on the ideal future ($M = 5.26, SD = 1.26$) compared to the past ($M = 4.43, SD = 1.24$), $F(1, 246) = 54.53, p < .001, d = .66$, whereas Whites anchored similarly on the ideal future ($M = 4.76, SD = 1.31$) and the past ($M = 4.73, SD = 1.16$), $F(1, 879) < 1.0$. Considered another way, Whites anchored more strongly on the past than non-Whites, $F(1, 1125) = 11.88, p = .001, d = .24$, whereas non-Whites anchored more strongly on the ideal future than Whites, $F(1, 1125) = 27.79, p < .001, d = -.38$.

Mediational analyses. We next conducted a multiple mediational model to determine if Whites’ and non-Whites’ different perceptions of racial progress were mediated through anchoring on the past and anchoring on the ideal future. In this bootstrapping approach, advocated by Preacher and Hayes (2007), we examined the direct effect of race on perceptions of racial progress and the indirect effects of race on perceptions of racial progress mediated through participants’ reference points. This bootstrapping approach is ideal for our purposes because it (a) permits the simultaneous consideration of multiple mediators while accounting for the potential shared variance between them and (b) corrects for violations of normality of the indirect effect (see also MacKinnon, Lockwood, & Williams, 2004).

To conduct this analysis, we implemented the SPSS macro provided by Preacher and Hayes (2007) in which

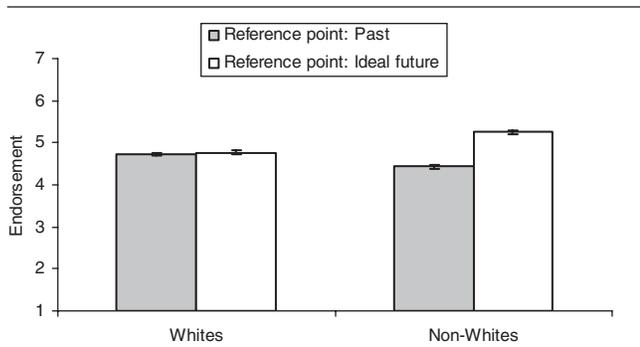


Figure 1 Reference point anchoring as a function of participant race.

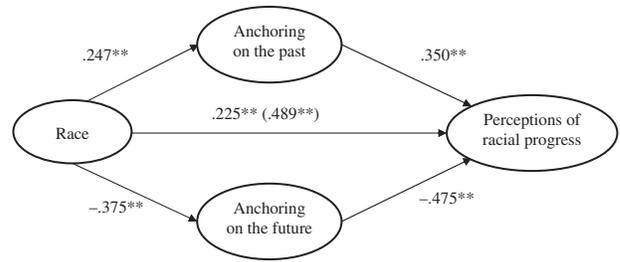
5,000 resamples of the data (with replacement) were selected. This resampling procedure creates an empirically derived sampling distribution of the indirect effects of each mediator. The mean of each sampling distribution provides an estimate of the “true” indirect effect of race on perceptions of racial progress mediated through anchoring on the past and anchoring on the ideal future. If the 95% confidence interval (CI) around the mean of each sampling distribution includes zero, then the indirect effect is zero, indicating no mediation. However, if the 95% confidence interval around the mean of the sampling distribution of the indirect effect does not include zero, then significant mediation has been demonstrated.

This analysis revealed that the significant direct effect of race on perceptions of racial progress ($\beta = .489, p < .0001$) was reduced ($\beta = .225, p = .0001$) when the mediators were included in the model; this reduction was significant ($z = 5.94, p < .00001$; see Figure 2). The indirect effects through both anchoring on the past ($M = 0.09, 95\% \text{ CI} = .03-.14, z = 3.36, p = .0008$) and anchoring on the ideal future ($M = 0.18, 95\% \text{ CI} = .11-.25, z = 5.10, p < .0001$) were significant, suggesting that these variables significantly mediate the relationship between race and perceptions of progress. Anchoring on the ideal future was a stronger mediator of this relationship than was anchoring on the past, $z = -2.17, p = .03$.

Variability in Whites’ Perceptions of Racial Progress and Reference Points

Having documented differences in perceptions of racial progress and reference points as a function of participant race, our next objective was to explore variability within Whites’ ($N = 863$) perceptions of racial progress and reference points.

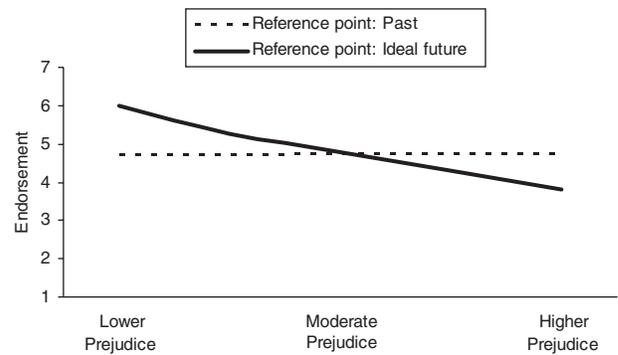
Correlations. In this set of analyses, we correlated racial prejudice with perceptions of racial progress and reference points and calculated predicted values for these measures at one standard deviation below



** $p < .001$

Figure 2 Multiple mediator model of the relationship between race and perceptions of racial progress.

Study 1



Study 2

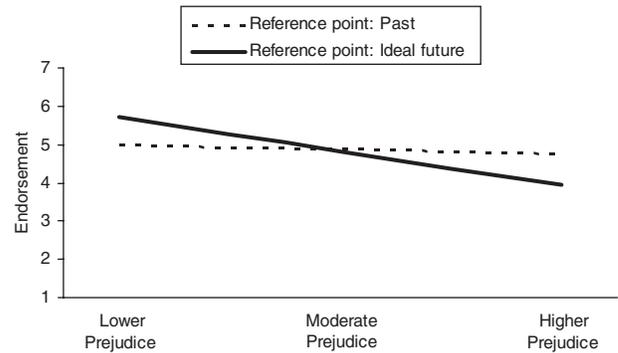


Figure 3 Reference point anchoring as a function of self-reported prejudice.

the mean (i.e., those considered low prejudice), at the mean of racial prejudice (i.e., those considered moderate prejudice), and at one standard deviation above the mean (i.e., those considered high prejudice). As expected, prejudice was significantly correlated with perceptions of racial progress, $r(861) = .27, p < .001$, such that people who were lower in prejudice perceived that less racial progress had been made

compared to those higher in prejudice (low prejudice: $\hat{Y} = 3.87$, moderate prejudice: $\hat{Y} = 4.13$, high prejudice: $\hat{Y} = 4.38$). In addition, prejudice was significantly correlated with the tendency to anchor on the ideal future, $r(861) = -.37, p < .001$, such that people who were lower in prejudice more strongly anchored on the ideal future compared to those higher in prejudice (low prejudice: $\hat{Y} = 5.26$, moderate prejudice: $\hat{Y} = 4.77$, high prejudice: $\hat{Y} = 4.29$). Prejudice was unrelated to the tendency to anchor on the past, $r(861) = .006, p = .87$, (low prejudice: $\hat{Y} = 4.72$, moderate prejudice: $\hat{Y} = 4.73$, high prejudice: $\hat{Y} = 4.73$; see Figure 3, top panel).

Next, we computed a difference score to explore the extent to which racial prejudice is associated with the tendency to anchor more strongly on one reference point than the other.³ We calculated this difference score by subtracting anchoring on the past from anchoring on the ideal future; thus, positive scores indicate a tendency to anchor more strongly on the ideal future than on the past, negative scores indicate a tendency to anchor more strongly on the past than on the ideal future, and scores close to zero indicate a tendency to anchor similarly on the past and the ideal future. We then correlated this difference score with racial prejudice and calculated predicted values for this difference score as described above. This approach is conceptually similar to the Race \times Reference Point repeated measures ANOVA conducted above, in which we examined the extent to which Whites and non-Whites anchored more strongly on one reference point than the other.

Prejudice was significantly correlated with the difference score, $r(861) = -.27, p < .001$. Specifically, people who were lower in prejudice more strongly anchored on the ideal future than the past, whereas those higher in prejudice more strongly anchored on the past than the ideal future (low prejudice: $\hat{Y} = 0.54$, moderate prejudice: $\hat{Y} = 0.05$, high prejudice: $\hat{Y} = -0.45$).

Mediational analyses. Finally, to examine if the relationship between prejudice and perceptions of racial progress could be accounted for by differences in participants' reference points, we followed the recommendations outlined above for testing multiple mediation (Preacher & Hayes, 2007). This analysis revealed that the significant direct effect of prejudice on perceptions of racial progress ($\beta = .267, p < .0001$) was reduced ($\beta = .097, p = .0007$) when the mediators were included in the model; this reduction was significant ($z = 7.58, p < .0001$; see Figure 4, top panel). However, only the indirect effect through anchoring on the ideal future significantly mediated this relationship ($M = 0.17, 95\% \text{ CI} = .13-.21, z = 9.47, p < .0001$).

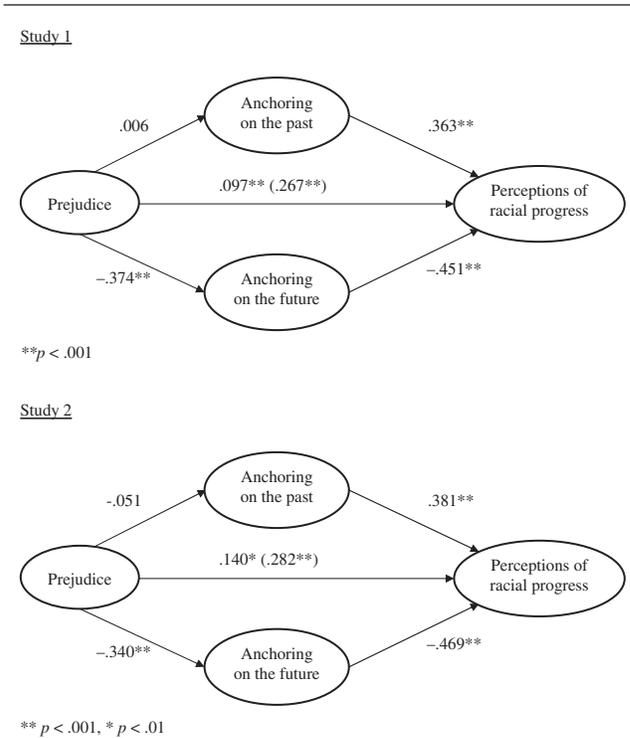


Figure 4 Multiple mediator model of the relationship between self-reported prejudice and perceptions of racial progress.

Discussion

Study 1 addressed four primary issues. First, we explored if anchoring one's judgment of racial progress on the past is independent of anchoring this judgment on the ideal future. Eibach and Ehrlinger (2006) assumed these reference points lie on opposite ends of the same continuum; however, Study 1 suggests that the tendency to anchor on the past and the tendency to anchor on the ideal future are independent. Second, we examined perceptions of racial progress and reference points for understanding racial progress as a function of participant race. The results replicated Eibach and Ehrlinger's basic finding that Whites perceived that more racial progress had been made compared to non-Whites and supported their suggestion that non-Whites would anchor more strongly on the ideal future compared to the past. The results for Whites, however, were more complex. Whereas Eibach and Ehrlinger suggested that Whites would anchor more strongly on the past compared to the ideal future, we found that overall, Whites anchored their judgments of racial progress similarly on the past and ideal future. Third, we demonstrated that Whites' and non-Whites' different perceptions of racial progress were partially mediated through the reference points used to anchor their judgments of racial progress.

Finally, we explored variability in Whites' perceptions of racial progress, demonstrating that racial prejudice moderated both perceptions of racial progress and the reference points used to understand racial progress. Specifically, lower prejudice Whites tended to perceive that less progress toward racial equality has been made compared to higher prejudice Whites and tended to anchor more strongly on the ideal future compared to the past. This pattern was consistent with the pattern obtained for non-Whites, suggesting commonality in how non-Whites and lower prejudice Whites think about progress toward racial equality. Higher prejudice Whites, in contrast, tended to perceive that more progress toward racial equality has been made compared to lower prejudice Whites and tended to anchor more strongly on the past compared to the ideal future—the pattern Eibach and Ehrlinger (2006) expected among Whites, in general. Furthermore, the relationship between prejudice and perceptions of racial progress was partially mediated through the tendency to anchor on the ideal future. This finding suggests that prejudice-level differences in perceptions of racial progress may be accounted for by differences in the tendency to anchor on the ideal future.

Interestingly, the tendency to anchor on the past did not mediate the relationship between prejudice and perceptions of racial progress, whereas the tendency to anchor on the ideal future emerged as a strong mediator. In addition, the tendency to anchor on the ideal future was a stronger mediator of the relationship between race and perceptions of racial progress than was the tendency to anchor on the past. Given this set of findings, we suspect that anchoring on the ideal future may be the critical reference point for understanding people's judgments of racial progress. The tendency to anchor on the past may reflect an objective awareness of what conditions were like for minorities in the past, whereas anchoring on the ideal future may reflect a more subjective assessment of what the ideal future should look like, and thus, be critical for understanding people's perceptions of racial progress. Alternatively, anchoring on the ideal future among Whites may reflect the ability or willingness to take another group's perspective. That is, by anchoring on the ideal future, lower prejudice Whites may be demonstrating their greater ability and/or willingness to take a minority group's perspective compared to higher prejudice Whites (see Bäckström & Björklund, 2007; Brodish et al., 2003).

Having demonstrated variability in Whites' perceptions of racial progress, we conducted Study 2 to explore the extent to which this variability predicted reactions to a program whose explicit goal is to create racial equality. Beyond its intuitive appeal, empirical support for a relationship between perceptions of racial progress and reactions to AA comes from the Mazzocco et al. (2006)

findings described earlier and research demonstrating that non-Whites tend to be more supportive of AA programs than Whites (e.g., Haley & Sidanius, 2006). It is possible that non-Whites' support for AA programs is rooted in their perception that insufficient racial progress has been made and thus steps are needed to create equality in the future. Therefore, we posit that Whites who perceive that less (compared to more) racial progress has been made should more strongly support AA.

STUDY 2

In Study 2, White students who completed measures of perceptions of racial progress, past and ideal-future anchoring, and racial prejudice during a mass testing at the beginning of the semester were invited to participate in a survey study. In this survey, participants completed several questionnaires including the Social Dominance Orientation Scale (SDO; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994), the Preference for Merit Principle Scale (PMP; Davey, Bobocel, Son Hing, & Zanna, 1999), and a political ideology scale. In addition, participants were asked about their attitude toward a specific AA program. Furthermore, they had the opportunity to behaviorally support or oppose the policy. Thus, in this study we can replicate the findings from Study 1 regarding the correlation of Whites' racial prejudice with perceptions of racial progress and reference points. Second, we can explore the extent to which perceptions of racial progress predict reactions to an AA policy, both attitudinally and behaviorally. As a strong test of this hypothesis, we can examine if the relationship between perceptions of racial progress and reactions to AA holds after controlling for those variables (prejudice, SDO, PMP, political ideology) known to predict reactions to AA.

Method

Participants

Participants in this study were 269 White introductory psychology students (62% female) who completed the perceptions of racial progress ($\alpha = .78$), anchoring on the past ($\alpha = .69$), anchoring on the ideal future ($\alpha = .73$), and ATB ($\alpha = .90$) measures during a mass-testing session at the beginning of the semester. Their average age was 19.13 years ($SD = 1.71$, range = 18 to 37).

Procedure

Participants were contacted via e-mail and invited to participate in a survey study. In groups of 5-20, participants

completed a variety of questionnaires, including a questionnaire assessing their attitude toward a specific AA policy and a measure of AA-related behavior. After finishing the questionnaires, participants were debriefed, thanked, and awarded extra credit.

Measures

Political Ideology. To assess political ideology, participants indicated how politically liberal or conservative they were, in general, and on three separate issues (foreign policy, economic policy, social policy) using a scale from 1 (*very liberal*) to 5 (*very conservative*). Items were averaged ($\alpha = .92$) such that higher scores reflect a more politically conservative ideology.

SDO. The SDO (Pratto et al., 1994) includes 16 items that were rated from 1 (*very negative*) to 7 (*very positive*), reverse scored as necessary, and averaged ($\alpha = .90$), such that higher scores reflect greater preference for social hierarchy. A sample item is "To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups."

PMP. The PMP includes 15 items that were rated from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*), reverse scored as necessary, and averaged ($\alpha = .70$), such that higher scores reflect greater preference for merit. A sample item is "In organizations, people who do their job well ought to rise to the top."

AA policy attitudes and behavior. To assess attitudes toward an AA policy, participants read the following paragraph:

The National Committee on Undergraduate Education is evaluating potential strategies to increase the representation of African American students at colleges and universities across the country. The committee is currently focusing their attention on this issue within the University of Wisconsin system. The committee has recommended that the UW system channel more money into a scholarship fund for academically deserving incoming and current African American students in the UW system.

Participants rated seven statements reflecting their attitudes toward this policy from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Items were reverse scored as necessary and averaged ($\alpha = .96$), such that higher scores reflect greater support for the policy. A sample item is "I am in favor of this policy."

Participants also had the opportunity to express behaviorally how strongly they felt about the policy by filling out opinion cards that would be shared with the committee (see Plant & Devine, 2001). Participants were told, "The committee is interested in both the direction of

your attitude as well as how strongly you feel about this issue. Therefore, you may fill out as many of these cards as you'd like from 0 to 20." Participants wrote out the phrase "I am for this policy" or "I am against this policy" on as many cards as they wished (up to 20) and put the cards in an envelope. Because 4.5% of participants completed cards both in favor and against the policy, we subtracted the number of cards completed against the policy from the number of cards completed in support of the policy. Thus, positive scores indicate behavior in support of the policy, whereas negative scores indicate behavior in opposition to the policy.

Results

Data Analytic Plan

We first sought to replicate the findings reported in Study 1 regarding the relationships between perceptions of racial progress and anchoring on the past and the ideal future. Next, we wanted to replicate the findings from Study 1 demonstrating meaningful variability in Whites' perceptions of racial progress and reference points as a function of racial prejudice. Finally, we examined the extent to which these measures predicted reactions to an AA policy.

Relation Between Reference Points and Perceptions of Racial Progress

The correlations between reference points and perceptions of racial progress were consistent with those obtained in Study 1. The tendency to anchor on the past and the tendency to anchor on the ideal future were uncorrelated, $r(263) = -.03$, $p = .69$. In addition, people who more strongly anchored on the past perceived that more racial progress had been made, $r(263) = .39$, $p < .001$, whereas people who more strongly anchored on the ideal future perceived that less racial progress had been made, $r(263) = -.53$, $p < .001$. (See Table 1 for the zero-order correlations among all variables assessed in Study 2.)

Variability in Whites' Perceptions of Racial Progress and Reference Points

Correlations. People who were lower in prejudice perceived that less racial progress had been made compared to those higher in prejudice, $r(263) = .28$, $p < .001$ (low prejudice: $\hat{Y} = 3.93$, moderate prejudice: $\hat{Y} = 4.20$, high prejudice: $\hat{Y} = 4.46$). In addition, people who were lower in prejudice more strongly anchored on the ideal future compared to those higher in prejudice, $r(263) = -.34$, $p < .001$ (low prejudice: $\hat{Y} = 5.26$, moderate prejudice: $\hat{Y} = 4.82$, high prejudice: $\hat{Y} = 4.38$). Prejudice was unrelated

TABLE 1: Zero-Order Correlations Among Measured Variables in Study 2

	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. ATB	5.53	0.89	—							
2. Racial progress	4.19	0.96	.282*	—						
3. Reference point: The past	4.87	1.16	-.051	.386*	—					
4. Reference point: Ideal future	4.81	1.33	-.340*	-.530*	-.032	—				
5. SDO	2.49	0.94	.597*	.194*	.015	-.290*	—			
6. PMP	5.28	0.54	-.036	.096	.095	-.067	.013	—		
7. Political ideology	3.54	1.44	.393*	.248*	.077	-.273*	.492*	.165*	—	
8. AA policy attitude	3.56	1.64	-.386*	-.257*	.005	.284*	-.314*	-.160*	-.346*	—
9. AA policy behavior	-1.21	5.94	-.343*	-.216*	-.043	.259*	-.289*	-.148*	-.336*	.813*

NOTE: $N = 265$. ATB = Attitudes Toward Blacks Scale; SDO = Social Dominance Orientation Scale; PMP = Preference for Merit Principle Scale; AA = affirmative action.
* $p < .01$.

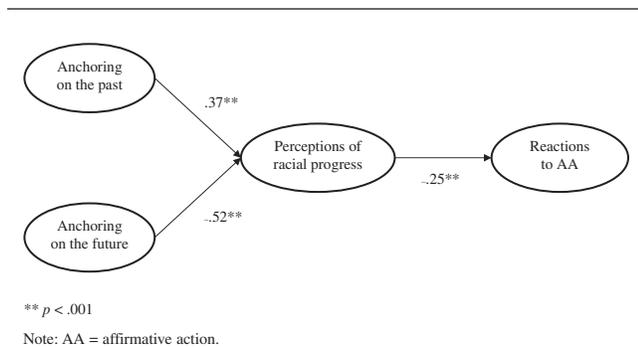


Figure 5 Structural equation model predicting reactions to affirmative action (AA) in Study 2.

to the tendency to anchor on the past, $r(263) = -.05, p = .43$ (low prejudice: $\hat{Y} = 4.93$, moderate prejudice: $\hat{Y} = 4.89$, high prejudice: $\hat{Y} = 4.82$; see Figure 3, bottom panel). These correlations replicated those obtained in Study 1.

We next correlated prejudice with the difference score, reflecting the extent to which participants anchored more strongly on one versus the other reference point (positive scores indicate the tendency to anchor more strongly on the ideal future; negative scores indicate the tendency to anchor more strongly on the past). Consistent with Study 1, prejudice was significantly correlated with this difference score, $r(263) = -.22, p < .001$. Specifically, people who were lower in prejudice anchored more strongly on the ideal future than the past, whereas those higher in prejudice anchored more strongly on the past than the ideal future (low prejudice: $\hat{Y} = 0.33$, moderate prejudice: $\hat{Y} = -0.06$, high prejudice: $\hat{Y} = -0.44$).

Mediational analyses. Replicating Study 1, the significant direct effect of prejudice on perceptions of racial

progress ($\beta = .282, p < .0001$) was reduced ($\beta = .140, p = .005$) when the mediators were included in the model; this reduction was significant ($z = 3.43, p < .0001$; see Figure 4, bottom panel). Only the indirect effect through anchoring on the ideal future significantly mediated this relationship ($M = 0.16, 95\% \text{ CI} = .10-.23, z = 4.93, p < .0001$).

Predicting Reactions to AA

To examine the extent to which perceptions of racial progress predicted AA attitudes and behaviors, we conducted a structural equation model (SEM) using LISREL. We used SEM rather than a series of hierarchical regression analyses to test conduct this analysis for two primary reasons: (a) SEM provides a test of the desired model in one statistical analysis, in which all paths are simultaneously estimated; and (b) it provides fit statistics regarding how well the proposed model fits the observed data. As neither of these can be accomplished using a series of hierarchical regression analyses, we believed SEM was the best statistical approach.⁴

As the measures of AA attitudes and AA behaviors were strongly correlated, $r(263) = .81$, and we obtained identical results when predicting AA attitudes as we did when predicting AA behaviors, we combined these variables into a single-reactions-to-AA index. We accomplished this by z -scoring AA attitudes and AA behaviors; we then averaged these z -scored variables. This new variable served as the reactions-to-AA index. In this model, we predicted perceptions of racial progress from anchoring on the ideal future and anchoring on the past and allowed perceptions of progress to predict reactions to AA.

This model provided an excellent fit to the data. Although the chi-square test was cant, $\chi^2(2 N = 265) = 9.93, p = .007$, the Comparative Fit Index (CFI = .95) and

Goodness-of-Fit Index (GFI = .98) were at or above the .95 criterion for good fit. In addition, the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA = .12) and standardized root mean square residual (SRMR = .054) were close to the .05, suggesting a good fit of the model to the data. Anchoring on the past ($\beta = .37, z = 7.98, p < .001$) and anchoring on the ideal future ($\beta = -.52, z = -10.98, p < .001$) both predicted perceptions of racial progress. Importantly, perceptions of racial progress predicted reactions to AA ($\beta = -.25, z = -4.14, p < .001$). See Figure 5.

We next explored if this model would continue to provide a good fit to these data after controlling for those variables known to predict reactions to AA. To this end, we created a variable, residualized reactions to AA, controlling for prejudice, PMP, SDO, and political ideology. We examined the model described above using residualized reactions to AA as the dependent variable. The model continued to provide a good fit to these data; the chi-square test was nonsignificant, $\chi^2(2, N = 265) = 1.86, p = .40$; the fit indices continued to suggest a good fit (CFI = 1.00; GFI = 1.00; RMSEA = 0.00; SRMR = .024). Anchoring on the past ($\beta = .37, z = 7.83, p < .001$) and anchoring on the ideal future ($\beta = -.52, z = -10.98, p < .001$) significantly predicted perceptions of racial progress. Importantly, perceptions of racial progress continued to predict residualized reactions to AA ($\beta = -.11, z = -1.77, p = .04$, one-tailed).

Discussion

Consistent with Study 1, the results of Study 2 suggest that Whites' perceptions of racial progress and reference points for understanding racial progress vary as a function of self-reported prejudice. In addition, results revealed that perceptions of racial progress predicted reactions to AA. In fact, perceptions of racial progress continued to predict reactions to AA even after controlling for several constructs linked to AA in previous research (prejudice, SDO, PMP, political ideology). Highlighting the robustness of this relationship, even though controlling for these constructs predicted a large portion of the variance in reactions to AA (20%), this relationship remained significant.

We believe the present findings are important because they highlight that people's perceptions of racial progress predict an outcome of great social significance—reactions to AA policies. It is likely that people's perceptions of racial progress will predict a variety of other race-related attitudes and behaviors. Thus, by understanding people's perceptions of racial progress, we may gain insight into the source of Whites' resistance to, and support for, issues ranging from immigration policy to support for minority presidential candidates and leaders.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The present work replicated Eibach and Ehrlinger's (2006) initial findings on perceptions of racial progress and extended these ideas through a more nuanced examination of within-group variability in Whites' perceptions of racial progress. Studies 1 and 2 demonstrated that the tendency to anchor one's judgment of racial progress on the past was independent of the tendency to anchor on the ideal future. This finding highlights that one can acknowledge that racial progress has been made from the past, while recognizing that more racial progress is needed to achieve equality in the future. In addition, Study 1 replicated Eibach and Ehrlinger's finding that Whites, compared to non-Whites, perceive that more racial progress has been made. Furthermore, this study revealed that these different perceptions of racial progress were partially mediated through Whites' and non-Whites' reference points for understanding racial progress.

Studies 1 and 2 extended Eibach and Ehrlinger (2006) by demonstrating that there is variability in Whites' perception of racial progress and reference points that is predicted by racial prejudice. Specifically, people who were lower in prejudice perceived that less racial progress had been made compared to those who were higher in prejudice. Lower prejudice Whites tended to more strongly anchor their perceptions of racial progress on how far the US has to go to achieve equality in the future. That is, these individuals, like non-Whites, seem to have their "eyes on the prize" of achieving racial equality in the future. In contrast, higher prejudice Whites tended to anchor their perceptions of racial progress more strongly on how far the US has come from the past. In addition, Studies 1 and 2 demonstrated that the relationship between prejudice and perceptions of racial progress was partially mediated through the tendency to anchor one's judgment of racial progress on an ideal future. Finally, in Study 2, we found that Whites who perceived that less racial progress had been made tended to more strongly support an AA policy compared to Whites who perceived that more racial progress had been made.

In addition to the reference points used to anchor one's judgment of racial progress, other processes may account for the relationship between prejudice and perceptions of racial progress. Whereas Eibach and Ehrlinger (2006) focused on the reference points Whites and non-Whites used to anchor their judgments as a mediator of the relationship between race and perceptions of racial progress, Eibach and Keegan (2006) suggested another mechanism. Integrating insights from prospect theory (Kahneman & Tversky, 1984) and social dominance theory (Pratto et al., 1994), Eibach

and Keegan argued that Whites and non-Whites have different perceptions of racial progress because of differential importance or meaning ascribed to non-Whites' gains. Working with the metaphor of available resources as a fixed pie, Eibach and Keegan assumed that gains for non-Whites imply corresponding losses in tangible resources for Whites—thinking referred to as “zero-sum.” Furthermore, they reasoned that because, in general, people assign greater weight to losses than objectively equivalent gains (Kahneman & Tversky, 1984), White participants would perceive that greater racial progress had been made when considering non-White gains compared to non-White participants. This is precisely what Eibach and Keegan found.

It is possible that a similar mechanism may account for the relationship between racial prejudice and perceptions of racial progress. For example, higher prejudice Whites may be more likely than lower prejudice Whites to engage in zero-sum thinking. As such, higher prejudice Whites may weight gains for non-Whites (implying losses for Whites) highly and thus perceive that more racial progress has been made. In contrast, we speculate that lower prejudice Whites may be less inclined to think of gains and losses exclusively in terms of tangible resources (e.g., money, jobs, education). Instead, we speculate that lower prejudice Whites may perceive that gains for non-Whites are associated with gains for society, in terms of nontangible values, such as equality, fairness, and justice. To the extent that this is true, they may give less weight to gains for non-Whites and thus perceive that less racial progress has been made. It seems possible that these two mechanisms for understanding race and prejudice differences in perceptions of racial progress are not independent and may operate in concert with each other. We speculate that people who more strongly anchor their perceptions of racial progress on the past are more likely to engage in zero-sum thinking than those who more strongly anchor on an ideal future. Specifically, when thinking about gains for non-Whites, it is possible that people who are strongly focused on the past may be more readily able to perceive losses for their group compared to the past, whereas individuals who are more strongly focused on the ideal future may be more readily able to perceive gains for society in the future.

Interestingly, this type of logic may explain how our findings on reactions to AA are related to Lowery et al.'s (2006) approach to understanding reactions to AA. Lowery et al. argued that Whites will oppose AA policies when they are believed to have costs for Whites but will be more likely to support such policies when they are believed to have no costs to Whites. We suspect that the extent to which people engage in zero-sum thinking will influence whether or not they believe AA policies

have costs for Whites. That is, people who strongly engage in zero-sum thinking may perceive that AA policies have costs for Whites and thus be opposed to such policies. In contrast, people who less strongly engage in zero-sum thinking may be less likely to perceive costs for Whites (and perhaps may perceive benefits to society) and thus support such policies. Because we did not assess the extent to which participants perceived racial progress in zero-sum terms, we cannot directly explore this possibility, and hence, our ideas are speculative. We do believe, however, that this would be a fruitful avenue for future research.

We believe the present work has important theoretical and applied implications. Theoretically, this work underscores Eibach and Ehrlinger's (2006) suggestion that Whites and non-Whites have divergent perceptions of racial progress. However, we believe our work begins to provide a more complete understanding of the variety of ways in which these divergent perceptions of racial progress may contribute to intergroup misunderstanding. For example, Whites' and non-Whites' divergent perceptions of racial progress likely contribute to their differing views about AA. Because AA is an issue of great social importance in our society, these divergent views may contribute to misunderstanding between Whites and non-Whites. For example, non-Whites may not understand why Whites oppose AA when more needs to be done to create racial equality in the future; Whites may not understand why non-Whites support AA when we have come so far from the past. This may create resentment and disagreement among both non-Whites and Whites. The consequences of Whites' and non-Whites' divergent perceptions of racial progress likely extend beyond AA and may contribute to their divergence in attitudes toward other social attitudes, further contributing to intergroup mistrust.

Although differences between Whites' and non-Whites' perceptions of racial progress may help us to understand intergroup misunderstanding, we believe our work may also promote understanding and intergroup trust. Specifically, our findings regarding within-group variability in Whites' perceptions of racial progress highlight an area of commonality between non-Whites and many Whites; lower prejudice Whites maintain perceptions of racial progress similar to those held by non-Whites. The motivations underlying these shared perceptions of racial progress are likely different, but the implications of believing insufficient racial progress has been made is likely the same for both Whites and non-Whites, for example, support for AA programs. Knowing that many Whites share many non-Whites' perceptions that insufficient racial progress has been made may create a sense of shared understanding and goals between groups (Tropp & Bianchi,

2006). In an applied setting, highlighting areas of commonality may combat the sense that Whites and non-Whites perceive the world differently and increase the desire for intergroup contact, promoting understanding and favorable intergroup attitudes (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

Limitations and Future Directions

As our sample was primarily White, we were only able to explore variability in Whites' perceptions of racial progress and reference points. Future studies should address this limitation by examining variability within non-Whites' perceptions of racial progress and reference points. It is possible that the extent to which one focuses on the history of stigmatization of one's group (called "stigma consciousness"; Pinel, 1999) may explain variability within non-Whites' perceptions of racial progress. We would expect non-Whites who are strongly focused on the stigmatization of their group to perceive that less racial progress has been made compared to those who are less focused on the stigmatization of their group. Future research could also explore if perceptions of racial progress vary as a function of one's specific ethnic group. It is possible that non-Whites' perceptions of racial progress may reflect the extent to which *their* group has made progress based on objective markers such as socioeconomic status and access to health care. People may be sensitive to objective changes in the environment relevant to the progress of their own group but may be insensitive to objective changes relevant to the progress of other groups. This differential sensitivity may help to understand conflict and potential points of understanding between members of different ethnic groups.

In addition, future research could explore the extent to which these ideas may help to elucidate men's and women's reactions to policies designed to redress historical inequality between men and women. It is likely that people's perceptions of how much progress has been made toward gender equality will affect their support for AA policies designed to promote women's equality. However, because of the close relationships between men and women that are not typically

observed between non-Whites and Whites (e.g., Glick & Fiske, 1996), it is possible that some men may be less likely to perceive progress toward women's equality as zero-sum. For example, if a man in an intimate relationship with a woman is considering progress toward women's equality at the unit of the couple, he could benefit from AA policies designed to promote women's equality; thus, he would be likely to support such policies. We believe this would be a very interesting domain in which to extend these ideas.

The present research is not without limitations. Participants in our studies were all college students. It is possible that there are age differences in perceptions of racial progress and in people's tendency to anchor these perceptions on the ideal future or on the past. It will be important for future work to examine how Whites and non-Whites across a variety of age groups perceive the issue of racial progress. For example, as older individuals have witnessed the past, they may anchor their perceptions of racial progress more strongly on how far the US has come from the past, whereas younger individuals may be more inclined to anchor their perceptions of racial progress with respect to an ideal future. Thus, the different reference points used for understanding progress could help to explain any age-related differences in perceptions of racial progress or reactions to AA policies (Wilson, 1996).

Conclusion

Despite these limitations, this work makes an important contribution to the literature by demonstrating that although, on average, non-Whites and Whites think quite differently about issues of race (e.g., Eibach & Ehrlinger, 2006; Haley & Sidanius, 2006), there is also much overlap in how they reason about these issues. Our work suggests that more people than just non-Whites have their "eyes on the prize"; specifically, lower prejudice Whites also have their "eyes on the prize" of racial equality. We believe this finding is important as it suggests an area of commonality between Whites and non-Whites that could promote intergroup understanding (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

APPENDIX

Perceptions of racial progress

- How much progress has been made toward equality for racial minorities in the United States (US)?
 How much further do you think the US has to go to create equality for racial minorities in the future? (R)
 How much improvement has there been in equality for racial minorities in the US?
 How much improvement do you think the US has to make to achieve equality for racial minorities in the future? (R)
 How much have conditions improved for racial minorities in the US?

Anchoring on the past

- When I think about racial progress, I think about how much improvement the US has made from the past.
 When reflecting on issues of equality, how much do you think about how far the US has come to create equality for racial minorities?

Anchoring on the ideal future

- When I think about racial progress, I think about how much improvement the US has to make in the future.
 When reflecting on issues of equality, how much do you think about how much further the US has to go to create equality for racial minorities?

NOTE: (R) indicates a reverse-scored item. Rated from 1 (*little progress*) to 7 (*a great deal of progress*), 1 (*not much further*) to 7 (*much further*), 1 (*little improvement*) to 7 (*a lot of improvement*), 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*), or 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*a great deal*) depending on question wording.

NOTES

1. Our work is not the first to explore within-group variability in people's perceptions of racial progress. Specifically, Eibach and Keegan (2006) examined individual differences in Whites' social dominance orientation (SDO) as a predictor of perceptions of racial progress. In their work, however, Eibach and Keegan used individual differences in SDO as a proxy for the tendency to engage in "zero-sum thinking" (the tendency to perceive gains for non-Whites as corresponding losses for Whites). In contrast to Eibach and Keegan, we are interested in how racial prejudice influences the way people understand and perceive racial progress in the United States.

2. For those familiar with the Attitudes Towards Blacks Scale (ATB), we want to note that this scoring scheme differs from that recommended by Brigham (1993). According to Brigham's scoring scheme, high scores on the ATB reflect low-prejudice responses, whereas low scores reflect high-prejudice responses. As this scoring scheme is often confusing to those unfamiliar with the ATB, we reversed Brigham's scoring scheme, such that high scores on the ATB reflect high-prejudice responses, whereas low scores reflect low-prejudice responses.

3. We thank an anonymous reviewer for this suggestion.

4. We did, however, test the proposed model using a series of hierarchical multiple regression analyses. These analyses yielded an identical pattern of results.

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Received May 22, 2007

Revision accepted September 26, 2007