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Shifting the Self to Make Sense of the Past:

Interdependence as Mediating Racial Divergences in Perceptions of Critical Black History

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

Requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

In Psychology

by

Gerald Daniel Higginbotham II

2021

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Shifting the Self to Make Sense of the Past:

Interdependence as Mediating Racial Divergences in Perceptions of Critical Black History

by

Gerald Daniel Higginbotham II

Doctor of Philosophy in Psychology

University of California, Los Angeles, 2021

Professor Kerri L. Johnson, Co-Chair

Professor Margaret J. Shih, Co-Chair

Black and White Americans show relative agreement on the extent of anti-Black racism before the 1960s but diverge in perceptions of racial progress made since. Here, I propose how Black and White Americans perceive the self in relation to others influences cognitive representations (temporal distance, indirect consequences) of history highlighting anti-Black racism (critical Black history). Overall, I propose that when engaging with critical Black history, Black Americans construe the self more interdependently with familial ancestors, while White Americans construe the self less interdependently. And, I propose this self-construal difference mediates racial differences in the perceived temporal distance and indirect consequences of critical Black history. Study Set 1 examined how (a) manipulating self-construal shapes temporal perceptions of past events and (b) how manipulating the racial content of history motivates White Americans to defensively shift perceptions of self and history. Results indicated that

participants made to think about their connection to family perceived one year ago (Pilot Study) and, to an extent, certain recent race-relevant events (Study 1) as closer to the present. Further, White Americans with strong anti-Black attitudes who engaged with critical Black history reported less interdependence with familial ancestors and perceived this history as further from the present (Study 2). Study Set 2 tested for—and examined whether self-construal explained—racial differences in perceptions of the Tulsa Race Massacre of 1921. Engaging with this critical Black history elicited Black Americans to perceive more interdependence with familial ancestors, but White Americans to perceive more interdependence with non-specific others—and this differential shift in interdependence focus mediated Black Americans perceiving this history as more temporally proximal and consequential than White Americans (Study 3). While manipulating the critical content of this history had minimal effects on history cognitions (Study 4), manipulating critical Black history to appear proximal to the present threatened White Americans, reflected in their history cognitions and restorative justice support (Study 5). These results highlight new insights into how the temporal location and perceived indirect consequences of critical racial histories are motivated social cognitions, in part facilitated by perceived connection to familial ancestors, with implications for support for restorative justice.

This dissertation of Gerald Daniel Higginbotham II is approved.

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2021

This dissertation is dedicated to my grandmothers, Nana and Grandma Minnie. Thank you for watching over me during my time in graduate school. I will always love you both.

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- Higginbotham, G. D. (2021, August). *On our ancestors' shoulders?: Interdependence as mediating racial differences in perceptions of the Tulsa Race Massacre*. Talk presented at the annual Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues conference. [Virtual]
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Chapter 1: Introduction

“I don’t think reparations for something that happened 150 years ago, for whom none of us currently living are responsible is a good idea. We tried to deal with our original sin of slavery by fighting a civil war, by passing landmark civil rights legislation, we elected an African-American president. I think we always are a work in progress, but no one currently alive was responsible for that.”

-Mitch McConnell, White Republican Senator (2019, June 18)

“...[T]his nation is both its credits and debits. That if Thomas Jefferson matters, so does Sally Hemings. That if D-Day matters, so does Black Wall Street. That if Valley Forge matters, so does Fort Pillow. Because the question really is not whether we’ll be tied to the somethings of our past, but whether we are courageous enough to be tied to the whole of them.”

-Ta-Nehisi Coates, Black American author (2019, June 19)

As illustrated in the above debate about reparations for slavery, discourse about the impact of past racial oppression of Black Americans by White Americans on current racial inequities today often seem to start at different points and are informed by different perspectives (e.g., reparations for slavery, racial disparities in COVID-19 complications; Goldstein, 2020; Lockhart, 2019). While Black and White Americans largely agree on the extent of discrimination Black Americans faced during certain historical periods, such as the 1950s and 60s Civil Rights Movement, there is much more disagreement on how much racial discrimination Black Americans face today (Norton & Sommers, 2011) and accordingly how much racial progress has been made since these periods (Eibach & Ehrlinger, 2006). Whereas Black Americans are likely to see histories of racial oppression as connected to and important context for the present, White Americans may be more likely to perceive these histories as a threat, disconnected from the present, and evidence of how much better race relations are in the U.S. today (Jones & Leitner 2015; Jones-Taylor et al., 2019; Knowles et al., 2014).

However, no research to date has experimentally examined the psychological mechanism underlying this divergence in racial perceptions and representations of history. In this

dissertation, I investigate whether more dynamic variations in self-construal—or how one perceives the self as more separate versus more connected to others—in the U.S. (a) play a role in cognitive representations of events and behaviors generally and (b) serve as a motivated social cognition that can unify disparate, yet consistent, patterns of racial differences in reactions to and representations of past racial wrongdoing. Importantly, Black Americans are found to construe the self more interdependently (i.e., more connected with other Black Americans) when engaging with positive, celebratory representations of Black history (Brannon et al., 2015) and are metaphorically “tied” to the past through perceived connection to one’s ancestors (see, Taylor-Jones et al., 2019). Insights from cultural psychology and social cognition posit that individuals with a more interdependent self-construal perceive past events as occurring subjectively more proximal to the present (Ji et al., 2009) and report more indirect consequences of past events (Maddux & Yuki, 2006). In the present research, I examine whether Black and White Americans are motivated to represent the self as *more* and *less* interdependent, respectively, both generally and with familial ancestors specifically, when exposed to *critical Black history* (Salter & Adams, 2016)—history that highlights racism and historical barriers erected by White Americans to oppress Black Americans. I also will examine the downstream consequences of interdependent self-construal on how critical Black history is cognitively represented temporally in relation to the present and the extent to which its more indirect consequences are perceived.

In Chapter 1, I motivate my hypotheses specific to Black and White Americans by reviewing research on differences in dominant versus marginalized racial/ethnic groups perceptions of and preferences for historical representations of past wrongdoing. Further, I examine how these racial differences map onto cross-cultural and social-cognitive research on

self-construal and cognitive representations of the past. In Chapter 2, I first examine how both independent and interdependent self-construal are accessible among Americans generally, in both a racially diverse U.S. sample (Pilot Study) and White American sample (Study 1), and are related to distinct temporal representations of past events and level of action/behavior construal. Further, I test how the racial content of past events and White Americans' anti-Black attitudes can motivate self-construal and temporal perceptions of the past (Studies 1 and 2). In Chapter 3, I explicitly examine how interdependent self-construal, particularly a sense of connection with one's familial ancestors, diverges among Black and White Americans when engaging with critical Black history. And, I examine whether this racial difference in self-construal explains racial differences in cognitive representations of the history (e.g., perceived temporal distance from the present, perceived consequences of the history; Studies 3 through 5) and support to make reparations for survivors and descendants of documented historical oppression (Study 5). Each study in Study Set 2 contributes additively to understanding the role of the self in racial differences of critical Black history cognitions: first testing for within-participant shifts in interdependent self-construal when engaging with critical Black history (Study 3), then examining whether racial differences in self- and history-perceptions are mitigated or exacerbated depending on the content of the Black history (e.g., history focused on racial barriers versus racial progress; Study 4) and whether the history is made to feel more proximal or distal from the present (Study 5). In Chapter 4, I discuss the theoretical and practical implications of the findings and conclude with directions for future research.

General hypotheses. First, I hypothesized that having a more interdependent self-construal (e.g., greater perceived connection with one's familial ancestors) will be associated with a more proximal temporal perception of past events, greater perception of indirect

consequences of past events, and taking a more concrete construal of actions and behaviors.

Second, I hypothesized that when engaging with history depicting the racist treatment of Black Americans by White Americans, Black and White Americans in the present will diverge in reported interdependent self-construal (*more* versus *less* respectively), which will mediate racial differences in the representation of critical Black history in a manner consistent with predictions outlined in the first hypothesis. Further, I hypothesized that these racial differences will be largest when engaging with (a) critical Black history versus history celebrating Black achievement and progress and (b) critical Black history that appears proximal to the present.

Racially Divergent Preferences and Motivations for Critical Black History Representations

Research on perceptions of history has illuminated stark divides in Black and White Americans' critical knowledge of Black historical events (Nelson et al., 2012), the extent of racial progress achieved in the U.S. (Eibach & Ehrlinger, 2006), and disagreement on the extent of racial discrimination faced by Black Americans today (Norton & Sommers, 2011). Given Black and White Americans agree on the extent of anti-Black prejudice past Black Americans have experienced (e.g., in the 1950s and 60s; Norton & Sommers, 2011), understanding the causes underlying racially divergent views of present U.S. racial inequality is paramount.

One contributing factor is the extent that Black and White Americans differ in recognizing and acknowledging the continued systemic racism Black Americans face today (Kraus et al., 2017; Salter & Adams, 2013). Even though Black Americans have made significant gains in domains such as post-secondary education since the 1960s Civil Rights Movement, the Black-White racial gap in homeownership, wealth, and incarceration has remained unchanged if not worsened (Jones et al., 2018). Knowledge about critical Black history increases the perception of systemic racism (Nelson et al., 2012). For example, White Americans who learn

critical historical information about systemic racism, such as the concentration of Black Americans into ghettos by the U.S. federal government, show increased perception of systemic racism, in part due to increased attention to the connection of past discrimination with present inequalities (Bonam et al., 2018, Study 2). Further, inducing White Americans to consider that Black Americans continue to face forms of systemic discrimination facilitates more accurate perceptions of the actual racial progress made and persisting racial differences in the U.S. (e.g., Black-White wealth gap; Eibach & Ehrlinger, 2006; Kraus et al., 2017).

However, White Americans show less preference for engaging with history that focuses on racism and the systemic barriers that Black Americans have had to overcome. Salter and Adams (2016) found that White Americans expressed less preference for these critical Black historical representations; instead, White Americans preferred Black historical representations that focused on progress and the achievements of Black Americans. In parallel, recent curriculum assessments of how slavery and civil rights are taught in U.S. K-12 education highlight that this preference to focus on achievement and progress is institutionalized in schools nationwide (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2014, 2018). Thus, this greater preference celebratory versus critical representations of Black history is cyclical, in that it is reinforced culturally (Salter & Adams, 2016). This cultural preference for teaching U.S. history focused on racial progress has real-world impact. Unlike knowledge of critical Black history, knowledge of celebratory Black history is unrelated to racism perception (Nelson et al., 2012). and is reflected in students' poor performance on basic knowledge of important U.S. historical facts—a survey of high school seniors found that only 8% correctly identified slavery as the cause of the Civil War (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2018).

From a social psychological perspective, the documented cultural and individual-level preference for ignoring critical Black histories and their link to present-day racial contexts are likely motivated by both concerns to protect and maintain group dominance (Eibach & Keegan, 2006; Knowles & Lowery, 2012; Salter & Adams, 2013) as well as concerns to protect against threats to the self (Knowles et al., 2014; Phillips & Lowery, 2015, 2018). At an individual level, people vary perceptions and evaluations of past selves or past personal experiences in manners to protect feelings of current self-worth (e.g., Ross & Wilson, 2002; Wilson & Ross, 2000, 2001); more recently, this process has been examined at collective levels. Relevant to understanding racial differences in how Black and White Americans incorporate race-relevant history into psychological understandings of the present, Jones and Leitner (2015) proposed the role of Sankofan processes. *Sankofa* symbolizes the idea of progressing forward while maintaining a critical awareness of the past. In their conceptualization, Sankofan processes represent the past being *assimilated to* (instead of *contrasted with*) the present. This assimilation motive is proposed as a general mechanism to promote critical knowledge gain that allows the reproduction of past successes or avoidance of past failures in the present and future. However, in terms of history that evokes critical Black knowledge and acknowledges racism, Black and White Americans are expected to diverge in this assimilation motivation. Specifically, among Black Americans, it is theorized that there is a motivation to assimilate critical representations of Black history to the issues of today, permitting assessment and contextualization of past and present circumstances. However, White Americans are instead motivated to contrast the past with the present to instead judge present racial circumstances more favorably (Jones & Leitner, 2015; see also Eibach & Ehrlinger, 2006; Witt et al., 2019).

To give a concrete example, there are multiple ways to imagine the 1960s Civil Rights Movement. In one representation of this history, one might imagine Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. speaking about equality and people being judged by the “content of their character, not the color of their skin.” This representation may also include images of landmark civil rights legislation being passed in support of this goal. In comparison, another representation of this same history might conjure details and images of how Black Americans were prevented systemically and often brutally from voting or attending legally desegregated schools by White Americans; this representation may include how this reality required explicit civil rights legislation to be passed to, at least legally, protect Black Americans’ rights. Given the explicit implication of past in-group members, the latter representation likely elicits a more defensive reaction among White Americans and correspondingly activates a motivation to contrast this past racial reality with the present. Yet, for Black Americans, instead of a defensive reaction, the latter representation is likely to be perceived as important context for making sense of one’s personal and racial in-group position in the present (e.g., modern-day voter suppression efforts). Accordingly, Black undergraduates who use race to understand their life circumstances show a greater tendency to think about the past, whereas this association was not found among White undergraduates (Jones & Leitner, 2015). While little research in social psychology has examined how Black Americans respond to critical Black history, a significant amount of research has highlighted the various manners in which dominant racial/ethnic group members, including White Americans, mitigate the perceived threat of reminders of in-group privilege to the self, in-group, and worldview. Histories depicting racial in-group wrongdoing fall into this category of threatening reminders (Gunn & Wilson, 2011; Peetz et al., 2010).

In U.S. contexts, reminders of past racial in-group wrongdoing are likely to evoke two specific forms of threat for White Americans: a threat to group-image and a threat to meritocracy (Knowles et al., 2014). Predictably, past in-group wrongdoings serve as a salient threat to group-image as the presence of in-group wrongdoing reduces the ability to hold one's racial group in positive regard. Further, history depicting past in-group wrongdoing serves as a threat to meritocracy (i.e., the idea that outcomes are due solely to one's hard work) as the explicit attention to unearned privilege reduces the ability to make biased self-serving attributions (i.e., internal attributions for successes and external attributions for failures; Kelley, 1973; Morris & Larrick, 1995), which are vital for maintaining a sense of self-worth in cultural contexts such as the U.S. (e.g., Frey, 1978; Greenberg, 1982). One strategy to protect self-esteem when reminded of negative aspects of one's in-group is to disidentify with the in-group (Arndt et al., 2002; Steele, 1997). For White Americans, distancing the self from *Whiteness* serves as a plausible method to reduce the threat past in-group wrongdoing serves to both meritocracy and group-image (Knowles et al., 2014). However, in addition to distancing from one's racial in-group, White Americans may also shift cognitive representations of past in-group wrongdoing to reduce the collective, and thereby personal, threat it poses.

Dominant Groups Change Perception of History to Mitigate Threat of Past Wrongdoing

Research on the role of identity and protecting collective self-esteem point to at least three, distinct psychological defensive strategies used by dominant groups to manage the threat of past in-group wrongdoing to the self and the relatively superior standing of the in-group: Motivated forgetting of concrete details implicating past in-group wrongdoing, temporally distancing past in-group wrongdoing from the present, and trivializing the far-reaching consequences of past in-group wrongdoing.

First, reminders of past in-group wrongdoing can elicit motivations to forget or misremember information about the past in self-protective ways. For example, in predominantly White U.S. sample, participants who read about the historical atrocities committed against indigenous populations in the U.S. less accurately recalled the passage, including the perpetrators of the atrocities, if the perpetrators were called “American colonists” instead of “European settlers”—a group less easily linked to participants’ American identity. This “misremembering” protected participants’ collective self-esteem (Rotella & Richeson, 2013). Further, if available, highly identified members of historically oppressive groups selectively attend to historical information that suggests favorable treatment of the historically oppressed outgroup rather than historical information detailing in-group oppressive behavior (Doosje, et al., 1998). This motivated forgetting of historical details that implicates one’s in-group in past wrongdoing coincides with dominant group members’ greater preference for abstract recollections of past in-group wrongdoing rather than those with concrete details (Epstein, 2000; Salter & Adams, 2016).

A second defensive mechanism employs changing the perceived temporal proximity of the history to the present. When confronted with the historical atrocities past in-group members have committed, current in-group members are motivated to relegate that history to the perceived distant past (Peez et al., 2010; see also, Does et al., 2021). For example, being reminded of the Holocaust, a globally acknowledged atrocity committed by past Germans against oppressed outgroup members, is likely a threat to present-day German’s sense of collective ethnic identity. Peez and colleagues (2010) found that Germans defensively pushed this historical period further into the distant past, which allowed feeling more positively about their German in-group (collective self-esteem) and feeling less guilt about the actions of past Germans (collective guilt). This distancing strategy was used most strongly by Germans who resented the burden of the guilt

and felt unjustly blamed for the Holocaust (Peetz et al., 2010). Similarly in U.S. contexts, reminders of the historical barriers that White Americans erected to oppress Black Americans are likely to be perceived as occurring in the more distal past to mitigate the threat of these histories to a positive sense of one's racial in-group, as well as hierarchy beliefs (Does et al., 2021). Further, this distancing strategy may be most pronounced among White Americans who resent the continued discussion and focus on the effects of past anti-Black racism on racial inequality today (e.g., racial resentful individuals, Kinder & Sanders, 1996; Sears & Henry, 2003).

And third, research on perceptions of systemic racism in the U.S. suggests that dominant group members are motivated to perceive the consequences of past in-group wrongdoing as having less far-reaching or indirect consequences. In the U.S., although events like slavery and the Civil Rights Movements are collectively marked as highly racist and oppressive periods in the U.S., there is differential acknowledgment of the more systemic forms of racism and oppression that stem from these periods (Salter & Adams, 2013). While salient in the collective memories of Black Americans (e.g., Eyerman, 2004), for White Americans, the consequences of oppressive histories may be perceived as constrained to the immediate historical context in which they occurred and thus disconnected from the present (Coleman et al., 2019). In other words, White Americans may be motivated to perceive past racism as having less indirect, far-reaching, or embedded systemic impacts on U.S. culture and today's racial landscape. While White American's lesser perception of systemic racism relative to Black Americans is in part due to less critical Black history knowledge (Bonam et al., 2018; Nelson et al., 2012), White racial identity also motivates systemic racism perceptions. Racial differences in perception of systemic racism also function to protect a sense of collective self-esteem about one's racial in-group (racial identity relevance; Nelson et al., 2012), even after accounting for racial differences in

critical Black history knowledge. While Black Americans higher in racial identity relevance perceived greater perception of racism in systemic forms of discrimination, White Americans higher in racial identity relevance perceived less racism in systemic forms of discrimination (Nelson et al., 2012). The findings relevant to White Americans indicate that perceiving less systemic racism, or systemic continuation of past explicit racism, functions as a motivated social cognition to protect collective identity and the self (see also, Kurtiş et al., 2010).

In summary, all three defensive strategies seek to buffer dominant group members' positive regard of their racial/ethnic in-group when confronted with past in-group wrongdoing. This research suggests that, within White Americans, strength of racial identification and racial attitudes toward Black Americans may also motivate the use of these defensive strategies. While the motivated forgetting strategy protects collective self-esteem through potentially reducing the encoding of historical information that suggests past in-group wrongdoing, the latter two history cognitions (i.e., perceived temporal distance and indirect consequences) have implications for history representations even when dominant group members are fully engaged with the history. Thus, the present research examines these two cognitive representations of critical Black history.

Research Gap: Underlying Mechanism Inclusive of Black Americans' Critical Black History Representations

Although the aforementioned studies provide clear evidence of motivated and systematic changes in dominant group members' cognitive representations of critical racial histories to protect the self, taken together as a whole, these studies are limited given (a) their sole focus on the threat of critical Black history for dominant group members and (b) their lack of an integrated psychological mechanism that connects each of these defensive reactions. First, through solely focusing on a threat framework, these studies do not capture the full spectrum of

how both groups who were the oppressor and the oppressed might respond to these histories. Nelson and colleagues (2012) did show that racial identity relevance was positively associated with systemic racism perception for Black participants, indicating a motivated cognition to see more indirect consequences of past racism. However, this effect was not replicated in follow-up research (Bonam et al., 2018), and the primary focus in both these studies centered on the effect of dominant group members' lack of critical historical knowledge. For example, in the studies documenting reactions to the atrocities committed against indigenous populations in the U.S. or during the Holocaust, there was no inclusion of participants linked to the historically oppressed group (e.g., U.S. indigenous populations or Germans of Jewish descent; Peetz et al., 2010; Rotella & Richeson, 2013). More than simply feel neutral about histories depicting oppression of past in-group members, these group members should be motivated to see this history as important context, with important consequences, for the present (Jones & Leitner, 2015).

Thus, while the reviewed research captured threat as a motivating factor for dominant groups to alter cognitive representations of these histories, more research outside of a threat framework is needed to understand how the same history may elicit divergent psychological responses for all involved groups (Li et al., 2021; see also Bilali & Vollhardt, 2019). While it is true that individuals of marginalized groups may distance from their respective group when under identity threat (e.g., Black Americans when under stereotype threat related to intelligence; Steele, 1997), Sankofan processes suggest that making racism salient should elicit a collective focus to the extent it permits gains in self- or collective-knowledge (Jones & Leitner, 2015). This perspective aligns with research finding Black Americans perceive the Jim Crow era as happening more proximal to the present than White Americans (Does et al., 2021) and that depictions of Black history in majority-Black schools more frequently acknowledge past racism

explicitly (Salter & Adams, 2016). Thus, I propose that threat processes will minimally capture Black Americans' psychological processes when engaging with critical Black history.

A second limitation of the reviewed studies is that, although the documented motivated history cognitions are all demonstrated to protect against a threat to collective self-esteem, the specific cognitions are not explicitly put into conversation with each other. For example, are these defensive strategies related to an underlying psychological mechanism? Is there a psychological through-line that unites misremembering more concrete details of threatening history, perceiving threatening history as occurring further away in the distant past, and perceiving less indirect consequences of threatening history? I propose, and related research suggests, yes. Cultural psychological research on self-construal and cognitive research on Construal Level Theory (CLT) not only offer relevant theory to connect these distinct, defensive cognitions of dominant group members but also highlight a unifying process that explains how Black and White Americans cognitively represent critical Black history given divergent motivations to represent history as assimilated with or contrasted with the present.

Incorporating Culture and Cognition to Explain Racially Divergent Views of History

In the next sections, I first review literature on cultural self-construal and Construal Level Theory (CLT) that informs my hypotheses related to how cognitive representations of the past are influenced by how one construes the self in relation to others. These two distinct areas of research converge on the importance placed on the extent to which context is taken into account when making judgments given cultural socialization or momentary shifts in the attention. The predictions of these two research areas illuminate that taking a more interdependent self-construal is associated with (a) giving more attention given to concrete, contextual information, (b) perceiving a past event as more proximal to the present, and (c) perceiving greater indirect

consequences of a focal event. As these three perceptual consequences of an interdependent self-construal map onto the three noted psychological defensive mechanisms dominant group members use to manage the threat of past in-group wrongdoing, understanding the ties between self-construal, history cognitions, race in the U.S. should provide insights for a mechanism underlying how Black and White Americans respond to and represent critical Black history. To this end, I then review emerging cultural psychological literature that emphasizes the need to understand more dynamic, within-country variations in self-construal, and how lived experiences of Black and White Americans in the U.S. influence how the self is perceived in relation to others. Finally, I conclude by outlining predictions of how these cultural self-views are expected to impact perceptions of the past depending on racial group membership given insights from cultural psychological and CLT research.

Self-construal: Independent, Relationally Interdependent, and Collective Interdependent

Self-construal refers to how aspects of the self are organized with implications for cognition, emotions, and behavior (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, 2010). Research on self-construal highlights three primary forms of self-construal: independent, relational interdependent, and collective interdependent (Cross et al., 2011, see also, Brewer & Gardner, 1996). Given the prevalence of a more chronic independent view of self in more Western cultures (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), and the predominance of research examining social psychological phenomenon within Western cultures, an independent self-construal has served as a basis view of self for important social psychological processes (e.g., cognitive dissonance, fundamental attribution error, self-enhancement motives). Particularly, this view of self emphasizes the need to establish and pay more attention to one's individual traits, feel positive about the self, and perceive the self as consistent across various social contexts (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, 2010). However,

individuals in East Asian cultural contexts are more likely to construe the self as fundamentally connected to others and define the self in terms of important relationships and group memberships (Cross et al., 2011; Markus & Kitayama, 1991, 2010). Correspondingly, cross-cultural research has highlighted how many Western psychological findings originally considered universal, were instead culturally specific to more independent cultural contexts (e.g., Morris & Peng, 1994).

However, interdependent self-construals are nuanced in terms of the type of connections they imply, with two major distinctions being made: collective versus relational interdependence (Brewer & Gardner, 1996; Brewer & Chen, 2007; Cross et al., 2011). Collective interdependence represents a form of interdependence that focuses more on a sense of connection with or membership in broader social groups, referring to more self-categorization and social identity processes (Brewer & Chen, 2007; Brewer & Gardner, 1996; Turner & Oakes, 1986). This form of interdependence has been more closely associated with Western contexts like the U.S. and does not necessarily require significant interpersonal knowledge or interaction with other in-group members (Brewer & Chen, 2007). Relational interdependence instead represents a form of interdependence that focuses on the sense of direct and indirect ties to closer others (e.g., family, close friends). Recent research has suggested that this form of interdependence most accurately captures interdependence associated with East Asian contexts (Brewer & Chen, 2007; Brewer & Gardner, 1996; Yuki et al., 2005), in that attention to the quality of ties within groups (e.g., group harmony) is valued and paramount (Brewer & Chen, 2007). Thus, while collective forms of interdependence may imply a more abstract sense of connection to others generally, relational forms of interdependence imply a more concrete sense of connection to specific close others.

These two forms of interdependence are qualitatively distinct across cultures (Brewer & Chen, 2007) and within U.S. contexts (e.g., Gabriel & Gardner, 1999). For instance, in U.S. cultures, interdependence (e.g., group membership) is valued to the extent that it provides benefits to self that outweigh the costs, and who is considered part of the in-group is malleable as interdependence is perceived as a choice (Markus & Kitayama, 2010). However, studies that examine independent versus interdependent self-construal often do not differentiate between relational and collective interdependence (Cross et al., 2011), and often theorize independent and interdependent self-views as chronic self-construals associated with Western and East Asian cultures, respectively.

Relational Interdependence Increases Temporal Proximity and Consideration of Context

Research on cross-cultural differences (East Asian versus Western) in temporal perceptions of past events highlights the importance of differences in attention to context derived from viewing the self as more versus less relationally interdependent with others. Construing the self interdependently requires attending to the self as concretely and contextually related to others—this focus is proposed to foster broader attention to the concrete, contextual interrelations between other objects, people, and situations (Gao, 2016; Ji et al., 2009; Maddux & Yuki, 2006). Specifically, the reviewed cultural research converges on the idea that compared to individuals from more independent cultural contexts, individuals from more (relational) interdependent cultural contexts construe past events (a) as more proximal to the present, and (b) as having farther-reaching, indirect consequences.

Cross-cultural differences in perceiving the past in relation to the present are attributed to cultural differences in temporal perspectives. Individuals from collectivistic cultures take a broader, long-term temporal perspective and are likely to incorporate the past and future into

their conceptualization of the present (i.e., more context). In contrast, individuals from more individualistic cultures are more likely to take a narrower, short-term perspective (i.e., less context; Gao, 2016). This differential time perspective derives from distinct cognitive processing styles emphasized in European American (analytic) versus East Asian cultures (holistic; Nisbett et al., 2001; Peng & Nisbett, 1999; Spencer-Rodgers et al., 2010; see also, Gao, 2016).

Collectivists' greater holistic focus and inclusion of context when making judgments is theorized to be reinforced by greater attention to interrelations of people, objects, and situations (Choi et al., 2003; Ji et al., 2009; Masuda & Nisbett, 2001; see also, Lee et al., 2011). Both from a cognitive processing and self-construal perspective, attention to a broader versus narrower temporal perspective given one's cultural context can impact the subjective temporal distance and perceived consequences of past events.

Ji and colleagues (2009) found that members of collectivistic cultures perceived past information as more relevant to help contextualize the present and perceived the past as occurring subjectively closer to the present than me. When asked to weigh the importance of different facts regarding their relevance to solving a crime, Japanese participants attributed greater relevance to facts that occurred further in the past than did Canadian participants. In two additional studies, Japanese undergraduates perceived a past date (e.g., this month, last year) and a past event (e.g., an exam) as happening as more proximal to the present than Canadian undergraduates (Ji et al., 2009). Thus, individuals who chronically construe the self as more relationally interdependent with others perceive the past as more proximal to and contextually important for the present compared to those that construe the self as more independent of others.

In addition to subjective temporal distance, individuals with a more relational interdependent self-construal are more attuned to the indirect consequences of actions and

events. Maddux and Yuki (2006) found that, compared to European Americans, Asian and Asian-Americans perceived, spontaneously generated, and felt greater responsibility for more indirect consequences of a focal event—regardless of their personal connection to the event or the intentionality of the actions causing the event. Importantly, this cross-cultural finding was specific to the perception of indirect consequences (i.e., those occurring further from the focal event) but was not direct consequences (i.e., those occurring proximal to the focal event; Maddux & Yuki, 2006, Study 1). These findings were also attributed to how collectivistic cultures foster greater attention to the interrelated, context-specific nature of the self and others.

These proposed perceptual effects of construing the self as more interdependent with close others, which requires more concretely considering the self and others and promotes a more concrete, low-level perception of people, objects, and situations (see, Maddux & Yuki, 2006; see also, Kühnen & Oyserman, 2002), aligns with the expected cognitive representations of events derived from Construal Level Theory (CLT; Trope & Liberman, 2010). CLT distinguishes between construing objects or events at different levels of concrete (low) or abstract (high) construal. Taking a low-level, “up close” construal of the event requires greater attention to its idiosyncratic features and details related to its surrounding context. In contrast, taking a high-level construal of an event is associated with an abstract, “distanced” representation, which requires representing the event based on its central features and ignoring features deemed as incidental or idiosyncratic. Due to the need to retain only features deemed essential to the abstract representation, the selected abstract representation is highly subjective to an individual’s motivations (Trope & Liberman, 2010). Like a more chronic relational interdependent view of self, a more concrete construal is associated with a more proximal

temporal distance and greater attention to object-context cues (Bar-Anan et al., 2006; Liberman & Förster, 2009; Trope & Liberman, 2010; Trope et al., 2007).

Importantly, the level of construal of historical events has implications for how it is remembered and represented. Individuals from individualistic contexts are likely to describe events that occurred in the distant past using abstract language while events from the recent past are described in more concrete, contextual language (Semin & Smith, 1999). As history is nuanced and easier to reconstruct than the present (Onyeador et al., 2020; Wilson & Ross, 2000), abstractly representing history may allow for selective attention to aspects of in-group relevant information and behaviors that permit forgetting or ignoring past in-group wrongdoing (Doosje et al., 1998). Vitaly, both research on cultural self-construal and CLT make convergent predictions about interdependent self-construal and cognitive representation of events: possessing a more relationally interdependent self-construal should be associated with a more proximal temporal perspective and greater attention to indirect consequences of a past event.

While the reviewed cross-cultural research uses more static, between-country level comparisons to infer how differences in self-construal influence the consideration of context and perceptions of past events, current theory and perspectives on cultural psychology highlights the importance of theorizing about and studying culture as more dynamic and adaptive (Kitayama, 2002; Oyserman, Kemmelmeier, & Coon, 2002), including within-country cultural variation. Notably within the U.S. cultural context, manipulating self-construal as more independent versus interdependent has been found to shift White American's construal-level (high versus low, respectively) demonstrated by a shift in the attention given to the context surrounding a focal object (Kühnen & Oyserman, 2002). Thus, these cross-cultural insights should be relevant for

understanding the role of self-construal within U.S. contexts, particularly as it pertains to racial differences in self-views and divergent perceptions of critical Black history.

Culture as Dynamic: Race, Self-Construal, and History Cognitions in U.S. Contexts

In U.S. contexts, dominant ideas and institutions reinforce individualism, a worldview that posits the individuals as independent from others (Oyserman, Coon, Kimmelmeier, 2002; Cross et al., 2011). A predominant U.S. cultural narrative resulting from this worldview is that one's outcomes are based primarily, if not solely, on one's own merit and hard work. This cultural narrative stems from foundational ideas in the U.S., such as the Protestant Work Ethic (Weber, 1958), and are reflected in core tenets of American belief systems (e.g., pulling oneself up by their bootstraps). Given culture functions as a dynamic system (see, Kitayama, 2002; Salter & Adams, 2016; see also, Hong & Chiu, 2001), these narratives and beliefs are reinforced through the reciprocal interaction of a culture and its individuals—in that individuals are *shaped* by the culture in which they are embedded, while simultaneously *shaping* the culture. This process, referred to as *mutual constitution*, is reflected and represented in the concept of culture cycles (Markus & Kitayama, 2010). In sum, *culture cycles* represent how individual cognitions (e.g., I am independent) do not exist separate of daily interactions with others (e.g., parental socialization of working hard), institutions (e.g., free-market capitalism), and cultural ideas of what it means to be a good and moral person (e.g., self-reliance is moral). Consequently, at the individual-level in the U.S., these ideas and institutions are reflected in the predominant orientation to chronically construe the self as independent—distinct and inherently separate from others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, 2010; Oyserman, Coon, & Kimmelmeier, 2002).

Yet, although an independent self-construal is chronically accessible in U.S. contexts, both independent and interdependent self-construals are cognitively accessible to all individuals

and may arise in particular social contexts. Recent research exploring cultural variation in self-construal within the U.S. highlights that Americans can vary in the chronic accessibility of independent and interdependent self-construal due to their lived experiences (Markus, 2017). Specifically, the diversity of individual experiences in the U.S. due to the intersectional nature of identities and structural advantages/disadvantages incurred by group membership (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991) can foster more accessible interdependent selves in Americans as well. Although predominant ideas and institutions in the U.S. reinforce an independent self-construal, many of the interactions and individual experiences of Americans foster an interdependent self-construal (Brannon et al., 2015; Cross & Vick, 2001; Kraus et al., 2012; Markus, 2017; Stephens et al., 2012). Realistically, the ability to act and interact independently often depends on one's own positionality in relation to the dominant culture (Markus, 2017). For example, being middle-class, being White, and being a man, are associated with more cultural cycles that permit acting more independently in the U.S. given the access and maneuverability that money affords, the White=default cultural orientation of those in power, and the patriarchal systems prevalent in the U.S (hooks, 2000, 2010; Salter & Adams, 2013; see also Markus, 2017). In contrast, individuals with more marginalized identities are more likely to participate in cultural cycles that also foster interdependence. For example, being working class, Black, and a woman may evoke a greater need to learn to adapt and adjust to the multiple dominant cultural structures and orientations in the U.S. (e.g., middle-class, White, and male-oriented culture; see Fiske, 1993).

The need for individuals from marginalized groups to navigate within dominant U.S. cultural norms inherently draws more attention to the interconnectedness of self and others, as well as how one's actions and the actions of others have broader consequences (e.g., code-switching in jobs and schooling for Black Americans, navigating masculine cultures in jobs and

STEM fields for women; Rickford et al., 2015; Stout et al., 2011). Further, navigating dominant cultural norms draws more recognition to nuance in cultural narratives that may be applied unevenly due to group membership. For example, parental socialization of Black youth often requires delivering messages that highlight the interrelations between the self and predominant structural systems in the U.S. (e.g., preparation for bias; Brown et al., 2010; Dunbar et al., 2015; Thomas & Blackmon, 2015; Thomas & Speight, 1999). The cultural socialization and navigation required by members with marginalized identities require greater attention to the interrelated nature of self, others, and institutions, including relevant present and past contextual information.

While Black Americans do endorse individualistic ideals at a higher rate than White Americans (Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002; see also, Jones, 2003), a sense of interdependence and interconnectedness with one's racial group functions as an important source of identity and self (Altschul et al., 2006; Oyserman et al., 2003, 2003; Sellers et al., 1997). For instance, among Black college students, having a positive sense of one's identity as Black promotes greater self-esteem, positive academic adjustment and psychological/health outcomes, as well as buffers against racial discrimination (Anglin & Wade, 2007; Neblett et al., 2008; Rowley et al., 1998). Black Americans' sense of connection to family, extended relatives, and broader racial in-group members (i.e., fictive kinship; Taylor et al., 2013) has been fostered in response to historical individual-level (e.g., separation of enslaved Black families) and structural-level oppression (e.g., concentration of Black Americans into underserved urban areas). Consequentially, Black Americans endorse forms of collectivism that emphasize the importance of connections to both present-day familial and non-familial racial in-group members (e.g., group consciousness and linked fate; Austin et al., 2012; Brannon et al., 2017; Gay, 2004) as well as past familial and non-familial racial in-group members (e.g., ancestors) through

collective memory (Eyerman, 2004). Given that engagement with celebratory aspects of Black history elicits greater interdependence from Black Americans (Brannon et al., 2015), I expect that engaging with history depicting anti-Black racism will elicit greater interdependence, particularly with one's familial ancestors. For Black Americans, a sense of connection to past in-group others (e.g., ancestors), while protective of the self (Sesay, 1996), serves as a source of connection to the past (see, Jones-Taylor et al., 2019) and should facilitate contextualizing the past with the present.

For White Americans, feeling connected to past in-group others (e.g., ancestors) may negatively impact the self when engaging with history depicting anti-Black racism committed by their in-group. For example, attending to the potential involvement of one's familial ancestors in the past oppression of out-group members elicits negative self-conscious emotions among dominant group members (e.g., guilt/shame; Zebel et al., 2007). As White Americans are members of a historically oppressive racial group in the U.S., engaging with past anti-Black racism likely serves as a privileged-based threat to the self given its potential to implicate White Americans' extended sense of self (e.g., with familial ancestors) in the wrongdoing. Therefore for White Americans, construing the self as less interdependent with others may adaptively facilitate a sense of disconnectedness from past familial others that would implicate the self as benefitting from privilege (see, Phillips & Lowery, 2018). In summary, when engaging with information that implicates one's racial group in wrongdoing, such as critical Black historical representations, White Americans should be motivated to construe the self less interdependently with familial ancestors and see the present as decontextualized from the past.

In summary, although a product of an individualistic society whose stated goal is independence, interdependent self-construal is accessible among Americans broadly. Given lived

experiences, Black Americans are likely to construe the self as more interdependent when interacting in or with Black contexts (e.g., Brannon et al., 2015). For White Americans, when engaging in racial contexts where racial group membership may signal privilege, White Americans are expected to construe the self as less interdependent. Thus, I propose that, when asked to engage with critical Black historical representations, Black and White Americans' self-construal functions as a motivated social cognition and adaptively shifts in divergent manners (more interdependent and less interdependent, respectively). Specifically, I expect a perceived sense of interdependence with one's familial ancestors to be of particular importance given its similarity to relational interdependence associated with East Asian cultural contexts and given it more directly functions as a source of social connection to the past (Taylor-Jones et al., 2019). Given that possessing a more (relational) interdependent self-construal predicts cognitive representations of the past, taking a more versus less interdependent self-view should also explain racially divergent perceptions of critical Black histories. For example, as interdependent self-construal is associated with perceiving a past event as more proximal, racial differences in interdependent self-construal, particularly with familial ancestors, should predict differences in Black versus White Americans' subjective temporal distance of critical Black history from the present. Relatedly, as interdependent self-construal is associated with greater perception of an event's indirect consequences, racial differences in interdependent self-construal, again particularly with familial ancestors, should also explain the extent to which Black versus White Americans differ in the perceived indirect consequences of that same history.

Specific Dissertation Hypotheses

In sum, the reviewed literature supports the presence of a more unified mechanism—self-construal—that should capture how both dominant and marginalized groups (e.g., White and

Black Americans) cognitively represent and respond to critical Black history. Generally, I hypothesize that taking a more interdependent self-construal will elicit a more proximal temporal perspective of past events and a more concrete construal of behaviors/events. Specifically, as it relates to race and critical Black history, I hypothesize that Black Americans construe the self more interdependently, particularly with familial ancestors, when engaging with critical Black history, which facilitates the history being assimilated to the present: being perceived as more proximal to the present and as having more indirect consequences. In contrast, I hypothesize that White Americans are motivated to construe the self less interdependently, particularly with familial ancestors, when engaging with critical Black history, which facilitates history being contrasted with the present: being perceived as more distal to the present and as having fewer indirect consequences.

Hypothesis 1a: A diverse sample of individuals living within the U.S. made to construe the self more interdependently (vs. independently) will represent the past as subjectively more proximal to the present and take a more concrete-level construal of behavior/events.

Hypothesis 1b: White Americans made to construe the self more interdependently (vs. independently) will represent the past as subjectively more proximal to the present and take a more concrete-level construal of behavior/events.

Hypothesis 2: White Americans will be motivated to perceive critical Black history as happening further in the past compared to celebratory Black history and a control condition. This difference in subjective temporal distance will be mediated by White Americans reporting less interdependence with familial ancestors when engaging with critical Black history. These hypothesized effects are expected to be most pronounced among racially resentful White Americans.

Hypothesis 3: Black Americans will report increased familial ancestor interdependence after engaging with critical Black history, while White Americans will report decreased familial ancestor interdependence. Black Americans will also report this history as happening more proximal to the present and perceive more indirect consequences of the history than White Americans. The difference in subjective temporal distance and perceived indirect consequences will be mediated by Black Americans' greater shift toward familial ancestor interdependence.

Hypothesis 4: Black Americans will perceive critical Black history as happening more proximal to the present and perceive more indirect consequences of the history than White Americans and when compared to Black Americans in a control history condition. The difference in subjective temporal distance and perceived indirect consequences will be mediated by Black Americans in the critical Black history condition reporting greater familial ancestor interdependence.

Hypothesis 5: Eliciting critical Black history to feel more proximal to the present (versus more distal) will elicit divergent effects on familial ancestor interdependence between Black and White Americans. For Black Americans, I predict that making critical Black history feel more temporally proximal to the present will elicit a greater sense of familial ancestor interdependence. However, for White Americans, making critical Black history feel more temporally proximal to the present will elicit a lower sense of familial ancestor interdependence. As in prior studies, these shifts in interdependence are expected to be associated with downstream outcomes of how the history is represented (perceived indirect consequences) as well as support for restorative justice.

Determining Target Sample Sizes

Except for Study 3, the target sample size for each study was determined a priori using G*Power v3.1.9.6 to detect an effect when employing an ANOVA statistical design. However, given that linear regression is the more general form of an ANOVA (Cohen et al., 2003), linear regression is employed as the statistical tool used to test the primary hypotheses in each study to facilitate greater ease in comparing effects within and across studies.

Chapter 2: Study Set 1

Hypothesis 1a: A diverse sample of individuals living within the U.S. made to construe the self more interdependently (vs. independently) will represent the past as subjectively more proximal to the present and take a more concrete-level construal of behavior/events.

Pilot Study

This pilot study examines, as proof of concept among U.S. college students generally, whether eliciting interdependence (i.e., with family) promotes past events to be perceived as more proximal to the present and behavior to be construed at a more concrete level. Specifically, I predict participants led to construe the self as more interdependent will perceive past events as more proximal to the present and construe behavior at a more concrete level. Given the racial and ethnic diversity in the sample, this Pilot Study allows me to also exploratorily probe for whether the manipulation and effect of independent versus interdependent self-construal on these key outcomes operate similarly or differently among Whites and racial minorities in the U.S.

Method

Participants

152 undergraduates were recruited from the UCLA Communication Department subject pool and the Psychology Department subject pool for course credit over two quarters (Spring 2020 and Summer 2020). Using effect sizes documented in prior research with similar study

designs, (e.g., $d = .72$, Kimmelmeier, 2003, Study 2), my target recruitment sample size was 150 participants, which would provide more than 98% power for a one-way omnibus ANOVA with three groups and an adequate sample size to detect an effect even after participant exclusions. Fourteen participants were excluded for attempting the study twice, two participants were excluded for leaving every question blank, and two participants were excluded for taking more than 21 hours to complete the study. Thus, the final sample consisted of 134 UCLA undergraduates (women: 74%, $n = 99$, and men: 26%, $n = 35$). The sample was racially and ethnically diverse, as participants identified as Asian (37%, $n = 50$), White/Caucasian (32%, $n = 43$), Hispanic/Latino (18%, $n = 24$), African-American/Black (7%, $n = 9$), and as other sociocultural groups including American Indian/Native American, Middle Eastern, and self-described (7%, $n = 8$). Most participants reported being born in the U.S. (76%, $n = 102$) and a majority of the sample identified as Democrat (75%, $n = 101$), with fewer identifying as Independents (13%, $n = 18$), and Republicans (11%, $n = 15$). Participants' average reported level of maternal education was between "some college (no degree)" and "Associate/Vocational degree" ($M = 3.50$, $SD = 1.50$), and participant age was consistent with expectations of an undergraduate sample ($M = 19.84$, $SD = 2.22$).

Relevant Cultural Context in which Study is Embedded

Data collection for this study began on April 29, 2020 and concluded on September 8, 2020. This timing implicates that data was collected during the initial COVID-19 pandemic period in the United States and continued during the summer of nationwide protests over the murder of George Floyd and Breonna Taylor. Throughout this period, UCLA undergraduates had begun virtual learning in the spring and the summer quarters.

Procedure

Adapted from prior research (Kemmelmeyer, 2003), participants took part in a study ostensibly about writing styles and provided a writing sample in response to a prompt that served as the key manipulation of self-construal. Participants then completed a manipulation check and then answered the key dependent measures presented in a counterbalanced order and finally completed a demographic questionnaire.

Experimental Manipulation. To manipulate self-construal as more interdependent versus independent, participants completed a paragraph reframing task that emphasized memories related to shared family experiences or memories about personal freedom and decision-making (Kemmelmeyer, 2003). Participants were asked to read a paragraph and then reframe the theme expressed in the paragraph in their own words by writing their own paragraph. This manipulation was selected because family is a familiar interdependent context that cuts across multiple sociocultural demographics and is likely accessible broadly, regardless of cultural background. Thus, this manipulation was expected to be well-suited for the racially and ethnically diverse sample of undergraduates. Additionally, this specific manipulation sought to prime the form of relational interdependence that is most similar to the interdependence documented in cross-cultural research in East Asian contexts. Participants were randomly assigned to one of three paragraph conditions. In the interdependent self-construal condition, the paragraph read as follows:

My family and I have a number of interesting stories to tell. Although I can barely remember some of these, there are many I can recall quite clearly. In fact, I can often remember details such as conversations that took place between my family and me or the things they thought were important for me to know. Looking back, I can see to what extent my family and I share many of the same important memories.

In the independent self-construal condition, the paragraph read as follows:

I have a number of very personal experiences and stories in my life. Although I can barely remember some of these, there are many I can recall quite clearly. In fact, I can often remember details such as the way I insisted that the only way I could be happy was to make my own decisions. Looking back I can see to what extent my personal freedom has been important to who I am.

In the control condition, instead of writing a paragraph, participants proceeded directly to the main dependent measures of interest, consistent with prior research (Kimmelmeier, 2003).

Measures

Interdependent Self-Construal. Four Inclusion of In-group in Self (IIS) items were used to measure interdependent self-construal as a manipulation check. Adapted from prior research (Tropp & Wright, 2001; see also, Aron et al., 1992), participants were shown seven sets of two-overlapping circles that varied in the extent that they overlapped, from 1 = *No overlap* to 7 = *Nearly complete overlap* (SEE APPENDIX A1). The leftmost circle in each set was labeled “Self,” and represents the participant’s sense of self, whereas the rightmost circle was labeled “Group,” and represented the in-group of interest for that particular item. Participants were then instructed to select the pair of circles that they feel best represent their sense of connection with the target group. Thus, higher scores (i.e., more overlap of self and in-group) were expected to represent greater interdependent self-construal. Participants were asked to indicate the inclusion of in-group in self for four target groups: *Family members* ($M = 5.44, SD = 1.63$), *Familial ancestors* ($M = 3.13, SD = 1.61$), *Current racial in-group members* ($M = 3.90, SD = 1.65$), and *Past racial in-group members* ($M = 2.92, SD = 1.50$). These items were used as they serve as a measure of both relational (e.g., familial) and collective (e.g., broader racial in-group)

interdependence with racial in-group members (Cross et al., 2011) and provided a sense of temporal closeness to or distance from the present (e.g., ancestors, past racial in-group members are likely to be construed as more distant from the present). These items had acceptable reliability and were scaled together to create an overall measure of interdependent self-construal ($M = 3.84$, $SD = 1.16$), $\alpha = .70$.

Perceived Temporal Distance of One Year Ago from Present. Two items adapted from prior research were used to measure participants' subjective temporal distance from one year ago, a generic past event (Ji et al., 2009; Peetz et al., 2010). Participants received the following instructions: "The past may feel quite close or far away, regardless of the amount of time that has actually passed. Think about the present month, one year ago. How far away does this month last year feel to you?" Participants were asked to respond in two ways: first by using a slider scale ranging from 0 = *Feels very recent* to 100 = *Feels very distant*, and then using a 7-point scale ranging from 1 = *Feels like yesterday* to 7 = *Feels very far away*. These two items ($r = .88$, $p < .001$) were first standardized as z-scores and then averaged to create a measure of temporal distance, with higher numbers indicating perceiving one year ago as occurring further away from the present ($M = .00$, $SD = .97$).

Concrete Mindset. The Behavior Identification Form (Vallacher & Wegner, 1989) was used to measure whether participants level of abstraction, or whether they are in a more concrete (low-level construals) or abstract (high-level construals) mindset. Participants were shown a set of 25 behaviors (e.g., "making a list"), and after each behavior, were given two options of identifying the behavior. Importantly, these options varied in whether they were a high or low-level construal of the behavior. For example, the behavior "making a list" can be identified as either "getting organized" (abstract, high-level construal) or "writing things down" (concrete,

low-level construal). The number of concrete identifications selected were summed, and thus higher scores represented less abstraction, or taking a more concrete (low-level construal) mindset ($M = .48$, $SD = .17$), $\alpha = .73$.

Exploratory Measures and Demographics.

Individualistic Attitudes. Participants also responded to a two-item exploratory measure of individualistic attitudes (i.e., “Who I am today is solely due to my work ethic,” “Who I am today has been influenced by those who came before me”) measured on 7-point scales from 1 = *Not at all True* to 7 = *Very true*. These items were not significantly correlated ($r = .14$, $p = .11$), so the items were analyzed separately as endorsement of being *self-made* ($M = 4.47$, $SD = 1.69$) and *ancestor-made* ($M = 5.00$, $SD = 1.52$), respectively. The use of these two items allows for the exploration of the adherence to valuing a sense of individualism and acknowledging the role of past others on the self as not necessarily mutually exclusive attitudes.

Racial Identity Strength. Participants also responded to a two-item measure of strength of racial/ethnic identity. Participants first indicated the racial/ethnic group with which they most strongly identified (e.g., Asian, African-American/Black). On the following page, their answer to this racial demographic question was inserted into the two items measuring strength of racial/ethnic identity (e.g., “How important is your identity as an Asian person?”, “How strongly do you identify with other African-American/Black people?”) measured on 7-point scales from 1 = *Not important at all/Do not identify strongly at all* to 7 = *Very important/Identify very strongly*. These two items were highly correlated ($r = .63$, $p < .001$) were thus averaged to create a measure of racial identity strength ($M = 4.64$, $SD = 1.56$).

Demographic Items. Participants were finally asked to provide standard demographics including race, age, gender, political identification, the educational attainment of

mother/maternal guardian as a proxy for socioeconomic status, and a measure of the extent that the Covid-19 pandemic caused a living disruption (e.g., “To what extent has your living situation changed due to the Covid-19 pandemic?”) on a 7-point scale from 1 = *Has not changed at all* to 7 = *Has changed a lot* (89% of participants reported at least some level of living disruption due to COVID-19).

Results

Key Descriptives and Correlations

Although this sample was racially and ethnically diverse, there was no significant effect of participant race (White versus non-White) on interdependent self-construal ($M_s = 3.86$ and 3.83 , $SD_s = 1.32$ and 1.08 , respectively), $t(67.95) = .14$, $p = .89$, perceived temporal distance of a past event ($M_s = .00$ and $.00$, $SD_s = 1.01$ and $.96$, respectively), $t(78.66) = .03$, $p = .98$, or concrete mindset ($M_s = .48$ and $.48$, $SD_s = .19$ and $.16$, respectively), $t(71.44) = .13$, $p = .90$. In terms of gender, I did find a significant effect of gender on concrete mindset, whereas women ($M = .50$, $SD = .17$) showed more concrete thinking than men ($M = .42$, $SD = .17$), $t(54.67) = 2.20$, $p = .03$. However, no gender differences in women and men’s reported interdependent self-construal ($M_s = 3.90$ and 3.60 , $SD_s = 1.04$ and 1.36 , respectively), $t(45.22) = 1.15$, $p = .26$, or perceived temporal distance of a past event were observed ($M_s = .06$ and $-.12$, $SD_s = .94$ and 1.05 , respectively), $t(50.43) = .89$, $p = .38$. Thus, I will not control for race and gender in the primary analyses.

Examining correlations between the primary dependent variables of interest, concrete mindset and the perceived temporal distance of one year ago were not significantly correlated ($r = .12$, $p = .16$). Finding a positive, non-significant correlation is unexpected given past research suggests these two constructs should be negatively correlated. Further, my explicit measure of

interdependent self-construal was not significantly correlated with perceived temporal distance ($r = .05, p = .60$) or concrete mindset ($r = .12, p = .17$).

Primary Analyses

Perceived Temporal Distance of One Year Ago. First, I employed a linear regression model to examine whether participants in the interdependent condition reported perceiving one year ago as closer to the present than participants in the independent condition, by regressing perceived temporal distance on condition (dummy coded, reference category: Interdependent condition). As shown in Figure 1, consistent with my hypothesis, participants in the independent condition reported greater perceived distance of one year ago than participants in the interdependent condition, $B = .46, SE = .20, t(131) = 2.27, p = .02, 95\% \text{ CIs } [.06, .86]$. Also, as hypothesized, although participants in the control condition reported perceiving one year ago as further from the present than participants in the interdependent condition, this difference was not significant, $B = .17, SE = .20, t(131) = .86, p = .39, 95\% \text{ CIs } [-.23, .58]$.

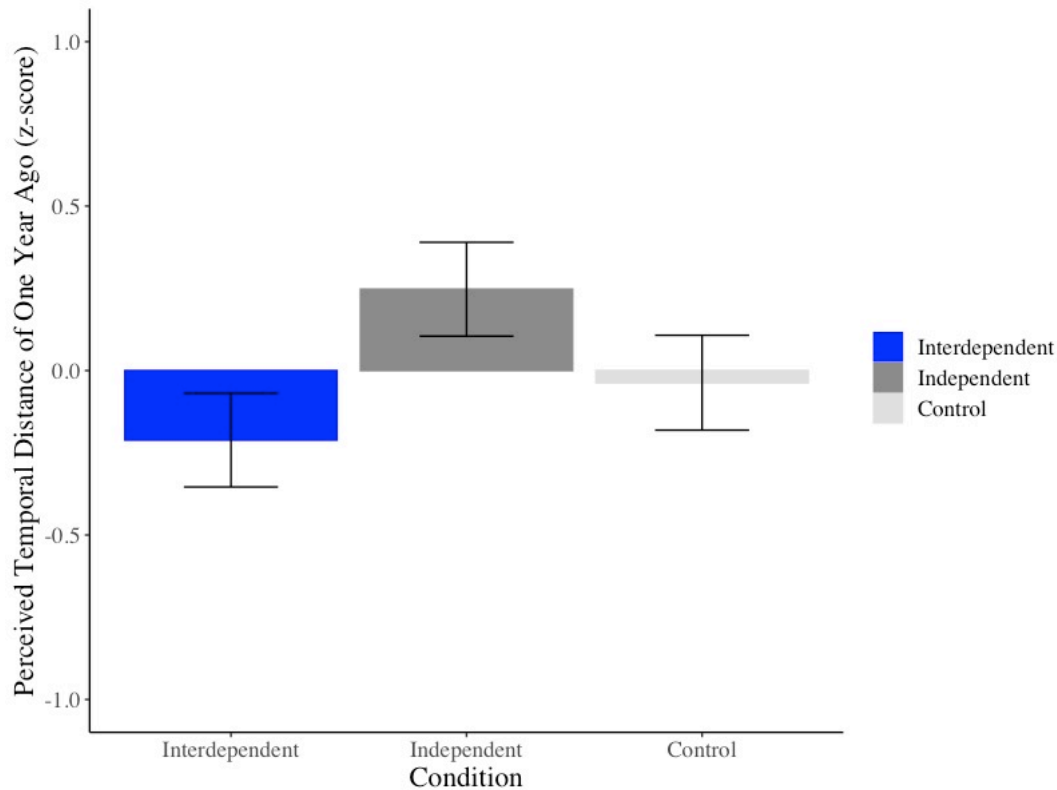


Figure 1

Perceived Temporal Distance of One Year Ago by Self-Construal Condition in Study 1

Concrete Mindset. Next, I tested the hypothesis that participants in the interdependent condition would report more concrete-thinking than participants in the independent condition, by regressing concrete mindset on condition (dummy coded, reference category: Interdependent condition). Contrary to my hypothesis, there was no significant difference in concrete mindset between participants in the interdependent and independent condition, $B = .02$, $SE = .04$, $t(131) = .56$, $p = .58$, 95% CIs [-.05, .09], or the interdependent and control condition, $B = -.003$, $SE = .04$, $t(131) = -.08$, $p = .94$, 95% CIs [-.08, .07].

Interdependent Self-Construal. Finally, I examined whether my current measure of interdependent self-construal appropriately captured the intended effect of the manipulation. In that, I expected participants to report greater interdependent self-construal in the interdependent

condition than in the independent condition. I regressed interdependent self-construal onto condition (dummy coded, reference category: Interdependent condition). Unexpectedly, there were no significant condition differences, and the pattern of condition differences was the opposite of what was expected. Although a marginally significant effect, participants in both the independent and control conditions reported higher scores on the measure of interdependent self-construal than participants in the interdependent condition, $B = .46$, $SE = .24$, $t(129) = 1.91$, $p = .06$, 95% CIs [-.02, .94], and, $B = .44$, $SE = .25$, $t(129) = 1.78$, $p = .08$, 95% CIs [-.05, .92].

Familial Ancestors. Given the unexpected pattern of findings in the four-item measure of interdependent self-construal, I replicated the above analyses with the one-item specific to interdependence with familial ancestors. Again, the pattern of means was in the opposite direction than expected, and participants in the control condition actually reported significantly greater interdependence with their familial ancestors than participants in the interdependent condition, $B = .88$, $SE = .34$, $t(131) = 2.61$, $p = .01$, 95% CIs [.21, 1.54]. Although marginal, participants in the independent condition did report more interdependence with familial ancestors than participants in the interdependent condition as well, $B = .58$, $SE = .33$, $t(131) = 1.73$, $p = .09$, 95% CIs [-.08, 1.24].

Exploratory Analyses

What Individualistic Attitude Does Interdependence with Familial Ancestors Predict for Diverse College Students? I next sought to explore whether higher scores on the single-item measuring interdependence with familial ancestors were associated with ancestor-made and/or self-made attributions. To examine these associations, I employed two separate linear regression models, regressing individualistic attitudes (i.e., ancestor-made, self-made) on interdependence with familial ancestors while controlling for condition. Reported

interdependence with familial ancestors was positively associated with endorsement of ancestor-made attributions, $B = .17$, $SE = .08$, $t(130) = 2.07$, $p = .04$, 95% CIs [.01, .33], but was not significantly associated with self-made attributions, $B = .06$, $SE = .09$, $t(130) = .64$, $p = .52$, 95% CIs [-.12, .24]. Thus, participants who reported greater familial ancestor interdependence also reported greater endorsement that who they are today is due to people who came before them, which corroborates the expected meaning of this interdependence item.

Is Racial Identity Strength Associated with Perceived Temporal Distance of One Year Ago or Concrete Mindset? First regressing racial identity strength on condition (dummy coded, reference category: Interdependent condition), there was no effect of condition on racial identity strength, $ps > .29$. Next, I examined whether strength of racial identity predicted perceived temporal distance of one year ago or concrete mindset when controlling for condition. Racial identity strength was not associated with perceived temporal distance, $B = .01$, $SE = .05$, $t(130) = .23$, $p = .82$, 95% CIs [-.09, .12], or concrete mindset, $B = -.01$, $SE = .01$, $t(130) = -.98$, $p = .33$, 95% CIs [-.03, .01].

Discussion

Overall, in a racially and ethnically diverse sample of undergraduates in the U.S., I find partial support for my hypotheses. Supporting my central hypothesis related to temporal perceptions of the past, individuals made to think of their connection to family (i.e., interdependent self-construal) perceived one year ago as more proximal to the present than participants made to think of their personal freedom and decision-making (i.e., independent self-construal). Of note, this finding among undergraduates was robust to the large cultural changes caused by the COVID-19 outbreak in the spring and summer of 2020, as nearly 90% of participants reported at least some level of living disruption due to COVID-19. My hypothesis

related to concrete mindset was not supported, as there were no condition differences in concrete mindset.

However, the explicit measure of interdependent self-construal employed in this study did not operate in the manner as expected. Participants responded to the explicit measure of interdependent self-construal in the opposite direction as expected, however this was important to improving and finalizing the measure of self-construal employed in the subsequent Studies 1-5. The opposite than expected pattern of findings, where undergraduates in the interdependent condition reported the lowest scores on this measure of interdependent self-construal, was likely due to limitations of the explicit measure used in this study. One limitation is that the current measure did not direct participants to report their in-the-moment sense of connection to others after the manipulation. This lack of specificity may have led participants to contrast the level of interdependence (independence) felt while completing the writing task with their more general sense of interdependence (independence), where participants who may felt highly interdependent during the writing about their family have reflected on the now-relative lack of interdependence they feel generally outside of the task, and thus reported lower scores on the measure of interdependence. A second potential cause of the unexpected pattern of responses on this explicit measure of interdependence was the abstractness of the groups used in the specific items. Being asked to think about one's connection to family as a whole or one's racial/ethnic in-group members in the past and present may feel too ambiguous and difficult to answer properly, especially among dominant group members who may not readily think about themselves in terms of their racial group membership (McDermott & Samson, 2005). Taking these two limitations into account, the subsequent study sought to better measure participants' "in-the-moment" sense of interdependence with specific others.

Hypothesis 1b: White Americans made to construe the self more interdependently (vs. independently) will represent the past as subjectively more proximal to the present and take a more concrete-level construal of behavior/events.

Study 1

Given that a diverse sample of college students reported one year ago as closer to the present when made to think about their interdependence with familial others, Study 1 is designed to replicate this effect among White American adults (Hypothesis 1b). This change in participant demographic tests my main hypothesis among a dominant racial group in the U.S. and a wider age range of Americans. Specifically, I predict White American adults led to construe the self as more interdependent will perceive past events as more proximal to the present and construe behavior at a more concrete level. In this study, I also employ a more nuanced measure of interdependent self-construal to capture participants in-the-moment felt interdependence with specific target others. In addition, Study 1 extends the Pilot Study into the context of race by exploratorily testing how explicit racial attitudes (i.e., racial resentment) and racial events (e.g., the election of Barack Obama, the killing of Trayvon Martin) can affect White adults' temporal perceptions.

Method

Participants

192 White Americans were recruited from Prolific Academic recruitment services. As in Study 1, my target recruitment sample size was 150 participants. Two participants were excluded for failing to pass an a priori attention check and one participant was excluded for most strongly identifying as Latino. Thus, the final sample consisted of 189 White American adults (women:

39%, $n = 74$; men: 58%, $n = 110$; transgender/gender queer/self-described: 2%, $n = 5$) who on average were in their mid-30s ($M = 34.21$, $SD = 11.48$). Participants reported primarily being born in the U.S. (97%, $n = 183$), and tracked closely with the national distribution of political party identification among White Americans (Democrat: 47%, $n = 89$; Republican: 46%, $n = 87$; Independent: 7%, $n = 13$). Most participants reported having a bachelor's degree or higher (57%, $n = 107$) while the average level of educational attainment was an associate's or vocational degree ($M = 4.35$, $SD = 1.46$).

Relevant Cultural Context in which Study is Embedded

Data collection for this study was conducted on September 17, 2020. At this point, the COVID-19 pandemic had been recognized for six months in the U.S. federally. Additionally, conversations about systemic racism and police brutality were mainstream due to the nationwide protests over the murder of George Floyd and Breonna Taylor.

Procedure

The study design consists of the same three conditions outlined in the Pilot Study and will be a direct replication of the same procedures.

Measures

Interdependent Self-Construal. Although similar in nature, distinct from the Pilot Study, I employed nine Inclusion of Other in Self items (IOS; Aron et al., 1992), which makes the target of comparison a specific other (e.g., mother) more so than a general group (e.g., family members). As in the Pilot Study, participants were shown seven sets of two-overlapping circles that varied in the extent that they overlapped, from 1 = *No overlap* to 7 = *Nearly complete overlap*. The leftmost circle in each set was again labeled "Self," and represented the participant's sense of self, however, distinct from the Pilot Study, the rightmost circle was

labeled “Other” to represent the specific other of interest for that item (See Appendix A2). Participants were asked to indicate the inclusion of other in self for the following nine target others: *mother, grandparents, great grandparents, ancestors, best friend, others in general, other Americans, co-workers, and favorite high school teacher*. Participants were instructed to select the pair of circles they feel best represent their sense of connection with the target other at the present moment, where higher scores represent greater interdependent self-construal. Target others were presented in random order between participants. These nine items had an acceptable reliability and were scaled together to create an overall measure of interdependent self-construal ($M = 3.56, SD = .98, \alpha = .78$).

This revised overall measure of interdependent self-construal allowed more a nuanced examination of how a more relational sense of interdependence with familial others with temporal proximity to the past (e.g., great grandparents, familial ancestors) versus a more abstract sense of collective interdependence (e.g., others in general, other Americans) influences temporal perceptions of the past. I conducted a principal components analysis (PCA) to explore potential underlying factors within this overall measure of interdependent self-construal. Three factors were identified with eigenvalues > 1 , and thus a three-component PCA solution with varimax rotation was tested. The three items *grandparents, great grandparents, and ancestors* loaded primarily on the first factor (factor loadings $\geq .60$; familial ancestors, $\alpha = .76$), the two items *others in general* and *other Americans* loaded primarily on the second factor (factor loadings $\geq .54$; generalized others, $r = .51, p < .001$), while the remaining four items loaded inconsistently on the third factor (factor loadings = .35 to .68). Thus, in addition to examining the overall measure of interdependent self-construal, I also test the first two factors of familial

ancestor and generalized other interdependence ($M_s = 3.18$ and 3.10 , $SD_s = 1.46$ and 1.17 , respectively) as separate subscales.¹

Perceived Temporal Distance of One Year Ago. The same two-items ($r = .87$, $p < .001$) used in the Pilot Study were used to measure participants' subjective temporal distance from one year ago today, and were standardized then averaged ($M = .00$, $SD = .97$).

Concrete Mindset. As in the Pilot Study, the Behavior Identification Form (Vallacher & Wegner, 1989) was used to measure participants concrete versus abstract mindset ($M = .44$, $SD = .21$), $\alpha = .84$.

Exploratory Measures and Demographics.

Perceived Temporal Distance of Recent Race-Relevant Events. Three items were used to exploratorily test whether the racial content of a past event influences how that event is perceived in relation to the present. Participants were shown three recent events all occurring in 2012. These selected events varied in the extent that they deal explicitly with race for White Americans (i.e., Barack Obama and Trayvon Martin) and to which they highlight racial progress versus the persistent racism that Black Americans face in the U.S. (e.g., electing the first Black president versus killing an unarmed Black teenager). For each event, participants were asked "How far away does each of the following events feel to you?" from 1 = *Feels like yesterday* to 7 = *Feels very far away*. The following three events were presented in a random order between participants: "Barack Obama is elected as President of the United States for a second term (racial progress event)" ($M = 5.60$, $SD = 1.66$); "Trayvon Martin is killed while walking home from a convenience store (racism persists event)" ($M = 5.15$, $SD = 1.75$); "26 Sandy Hook Elementary School students are killed in a mass shooting (racially irrelevant event)" ($M = 5.47$, $SD = 1.60$).

¹ In this study I also pilot tested two other measures of self-construal (explicit and indirect) adapted from prior research (Kitayama et al., 2009; Park et al., 2016), however I will not be discussing these measures further.

As all three events occurred in 2012, differences in their reported temporal distance from the present reflect subjective as opposed to objective differences.

Individualistic Attitudes. Participants also responded to the same two-item exploratory measure of individualistic attitudes as in the Pilot Study. These items were again not significantly correlated ($r = -.09, p = .20$), so the items were again analyzed separately as endorsement of being *self-made* ($M = 4.29, SD = 1.82$) and *ancestor-made* ($M = 4.57, SD = 1.64$).

Racial Resentment. Four items were used to measure racial resentment towards Black Americans (e.g., “Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Black people should do the same without any special favors”; “It’s really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if Black people would try harder they could be just as well off as White people”; American National Election Studies, 2016). Participants responded from 1 = Disagree strongly to 5 = Agree strongly, and the four items showed strong reliability, $\alpha = .90$, thus they were averaged to create a measure of racial resentment ($M = 2.47, SD = 1.24$).

Racial Identity Strength. Participants responded to the same two-item measure of strength of racial/ethnic identity as in the Pilot Study using a 7-point scale. These two items were again highly correlated ($r = .78, p < .001$) and were thus averaged to create a measure of strength of racial identity ($M = 4.06, SD = 1.82$).

Demographic Items. Participants were finally asked to provide standard demographics including race, age, gender, political identification, the educational attainment of mother/maternal guardian as a proxy for socioeconomic status, and the same measure of

COVID-19 living disruptions from the Pilot Study, which I dichotomized as *No living disruption* (51% of sample) or *Some living disruption* (49% of sample).

Results

Description of Key Correlations

Similar to the Pilot Study, concrete mindset was not significantly correlated with the perceived temporal distance of one year ago ($r = .12, p = .11$). In this study, the full measure of interdependent self-construal and the familial ancestor subscale showed a marginally significant negative correlation with perceived temporal distance ($r_s = -.13, p_s = .08$), but generalized other interdependence was not significantly correlated ($r = -.04, p = .60$), which aligned with expectations that greater interdependence (particularly with one's familial ancestors) should elicit the past (i.e., one year ago) to feel closer to the present. Unexpectedly and contrary to my hypothesis, the full measure of interdependent self-construal was negatively associated with concrete mindset, ($r = -.19, p = .009$), however, this overall negative correlation was primarily driven by generalized other interdependence ($r = -.21, p = .004$) as familial ancestor interdependence was not significantly correlated with concrete mindset ($r = -.12, p = .11$). Thus, greater interdependence (particularly with general, non-specific others) was associated with less concrete (i.e., more abstract) thinking.

Primary Analyses

Perceived Temporal Distance of One Year Ago. As in Study 1, I employed linear regression to examine whether participants in the interdependent condition perceived one year ago as more proximal to the present, by regressing perceived temporal distance on condition (dummy coded, reference category: Interdependent condition). Unexpectedly, the effect of condition on perceived temporal distance was non-significant and in the opposite direction than

was expected. Although only a marginally significant effect, participants in both the independent and control condition reported perceiving one year ago as closer to the present than participants in the interdependent condition, $B = -.35$, $SE = .18$, $t(186) = -1.96$, $p = .052$, 95% CIs [-.70, .002], and, $B = -.30$, $SE = .17$, $t(186) = -1.73$, $p = .09$, 95% CIs [-.62, .04], respectively.

Concrete Mindset. I next examined whether participants in the interdependent condition engaged in more concrete-thinking, by regressing concrete mindset on condition (dummy coded, reference category: Interdependent condition). As in the Pilot Study, there was no effect of condition on concrete mindset, as participants in the interdependent and independent condition did not significantly differ on concrete mindset, $B = -.02$, $SE = .04$, $t(186) = -.60$, $p = .55$, 95% CIs [-.10, .05], and there were no differences between participants in the interdependent and control condition, $B = -.02$, $SE = .04$, $t(186) = -.47$, $p = .64$, 95% CIs [-.09, .06].

Interdependent Self-Construal. As in the Pilot Study, I employed linear regression to examine the effect of condition on reported interdependent self-construal. In this set of analyses, I tested three interdependent-self construal outcomes. First, I examined the effect of condition on the full nine-item measure of interdependent self-construal, and then on the familial ancestor and generalized other interdependence subscales. This analysis plan permits more specificity about which aspect of interdependent self-construal the experimental manipulation is affecting. To do so, I regressed each interdependent self-construal (full measure or subscale) on condition (dummy coded, reference category: Interdependent condition).

Full Interdependent Self-Construal Measure. There was no significant difference in interdependent self-construal between participants in the interdependent and independent conditions, $B = -.10$, $SE = .18$, $t(186) = -.55$, $p = .58$ 95% CIs [-.46, .26], or participants in the

interdependent and control conditions, and, $B = -.08$, $SE = .17$, $t(186) = -.47$, $p = .64$, 95% CIs [- .42, .26].

Familial Ancestor Interdependence. Although the condition differences were in the expected direction (i.e., interdependent condition eliciting greater familial ancestor interdependence) there were no significant differences in familial ancestor interdependence between participants in the interdependent and independent conditions, $B = -.29$, $SE = .27$, $t(186) = -1.07$, $p = .28$, 95% CIs [-.82, .24], or participants in the interdependent and control conditions, $B = -.21$, $SE = .25$, $t(186) = -.84$, $p = .40$, 95% CIs [-.72, .29].

Generalized Other Interdependence. As with the other measures of interdependence, there were no significant condition differences in generalized other interdependence between participants in the interdependent and independent conditions, $B = .14$, $SE = .22$, $t(186) = .64$, $p = .53$, 95% CIs [-.29, .57], or participants in the interdependent and independent conditions, $B = .29$, $SE = .20$, $t(186) = 1.43$, $p = .15$, 95% CIs [-.11, .70].

Exploratory Analyses

What Individualistic Attitude Does Each Interdependence Subscale Predict for White Adults? In these exploratory analyses, I sought to explore the individualistic attitudes associated with feeling more interdependent with one's familial ancestors and generalized others. Thus, I employed multiple linear regression to explore whether interdependence with familial ancestors or generalized others predicted ancestor-made and/or self-made attributions while controlling for experimental condition. For both individualistic attitudes, I tested two separate main effects models, first regressing the individualistic attitude outcome (i.e., ancestor-made or self-made attribution) on familial ancestor interdependence and condition, and then in a separate model regressing the individualistic attitude on generalized other interdependence and condition.

Ancestor-made. Being higher in familial ancestor interdependence predicted greater endorsement of ancestor-made attributions, $B = .19$, $SE = .08$, $t(185) = 2.37$, $p = .02$, 95% CIs [.03, .35], however, generalized other interdependence was not significantly associated with ancestor-made attributions, $B = .17$, $SE = .10$, $t(185) = 1.65$, $p = .10$, 95% CIs [-.03, .37].

Self-made. Both greater familial ancestor and generalized other interdependence predicted greater self-made attributions, $B = .27$, $SE = .09$, $t(185) = 3.08$, $p = .002$, 95% CIs [.19, .62], and, $B = .41$, $SE = .11$, $t(185) = 3.72$, $p < .001$, 95% CIs [.19, .62], respectively.

Did Pandemic-related Living Disruptions Influence Condition Effects on the Perceived Temporal Distance of One Year Ago? Given this study was conducted six months into the COVID-19 pandemic in the U.S., I examined whether living disruptions caused by COVID-19 may explain the unexpected effect of condition on the perceived temporal distance of one year ago by testing the interaction of condition and living disruption on perceived temporal distance. A significant effect of condition was only observed among participants who reported no living disruption due to COVID-19, as these participants in the independent and control conditions both reported perceiving one year ago as closer to the present than participants in the interdependent condition, $B = -.63$, $SE = .25$, $t(183) = -2.47$, $p = .01$, 95% CIs [-1.13, -.12], and $B = -.45$, $SE = .24$, $t(183) = -1.91$, $p = .058$, 95% CIs [-.92, .01]. However, these condition effects were non-significant among participants reporting at least some living disruption due to COVID-19, $ps > .60$. Thus, only among participants who had no COVID-19 living disruptions did being made to think of connections to family increase the perceived temporal distance of one year ago.

Do Temporal Perceptions of Race-Relevant Events Operate Differently than Temporal Perceptions of One Year Ago? To begin to answer whether temporal perceptions of one year ago are similar to or different from the three specific events occurring in 2012, I first

examined the correlations between these four items. The perceived temporal distance of the three recent events showed a moderate positive correlation with each other ($r_s > .32, p_s < .001$).

However, the perceived temporal distance of one year ago was only positively correlated with the perceived temporal distance of the racially irrelevant recent event (Sandy Hook shooting, $r = .18, p = .01$), not the two-race relevant recent events ($r_s < .12, p_s > .10$). This pattern of associations suggests that White participants' temporal distance perceptions of more general, abstract events (e.g., one year ago) may not map onto the temporal distance of more specific, race-relevant events.

I next examined whether experimental condition (between-participant) affected how far participants perceived each of these three recent events (within-participant) from the present day. I tested two linear mixed-effect models using the R packages “lme4” and “lmerTest” (Bates et al., 2014; Kuznetsova et al., 2017) to (a) examine the main effects of condition and event type on perceived temporal distance of the events, and then (b) examine the interaction of condition and event type on perceived temporal distance. Given these three events occurred in the recent past, I control for perceived temporal distance of one year ago to serve as a baseline for participants' recent temporal orientations. Examining the main effect of condition and event type, I regressed perceived temporal distance on condition (dummy coded, reference category: interdependent condition) and history type (dummy coded, reference category: racism persists), while controlling for perceived temporal distance of one year ago. There was no main effect of condition on perceived temporal distance of recent events, $p_s > .19$. A main effect of event type emerged, whereby participants perceived both the 2nd election of President Barack Obama (racial progress event) and the Sandy Hook mass shooting (race irrelevant event) as further from the present than the killing of Trayvon Martin (racism persists event), $B = .45, SE = .13, t(376) =$

3.52, $p < .001$, 95% CIs [.20, .71], and, $B = .25$, $SE = .13$, $t(376) = 2.48$, $p = .01$, 95% CIs [.07, .57], respectively.

To examine whether this main effect of event type was contingent on condition, I regressed perceived temporal distance on condition (dummy coded, reference category: interdependent), history type (dummy coded, reference category: racism persists), and their interaction, while controlling for the perceived temporal distance of one year ago. No two-way interaction reached significance, $ps > .11$. However, given the complexity of the omnibus model, I explored whether the racism persists event was perceived as closer to the present than the other two events within each experimental condition. As shown in Figure 2, only in the interdependent condition did participants perceive the racism persists event as closer to the present than both the racial progress event and the race irrelevant event, $B = .70$, $SE = .23$, $t(372) = 3.13$, $p = .002$, 95% CIs [.27, 1.14], and, $B = .49$, $SE = .23$, $t(372) = 2.19$, $p = .03$, 95% CIs [.05, .93], respect. In the control condition, participants perceived the racism persists event as closer to the present than the racially irrelevant event, but not closer than the racial progress event, $B = .43$, $SE = .21$, $t(372) = 2.08$, $p = .04$, 95% CIs [.03, .83], and, $B = .33$, $SE = .21$, $t(372) = 1.61$, $p = .11$, 95% CIs [-.07, .74], respectively. In the independent condition however, there was no difference in perceived temporal distance of the racism persists event and either the racial progress or racial irrelevant events, $B = .32$, $SE = .23$, $t(372) = 1.37$, $p = .17$, 95% CIs [-.14, .78], and, $B = -.02$, $SE = .23$, $t(372) = -.08$, $p = .94$, 95% CIs [-.48, .44], respectively. Thus, only in the interdependent condition, did participants pull the killing of Trayvon Martin closer to the present than the election of Barack Obama and the Sandy Hook shooting.

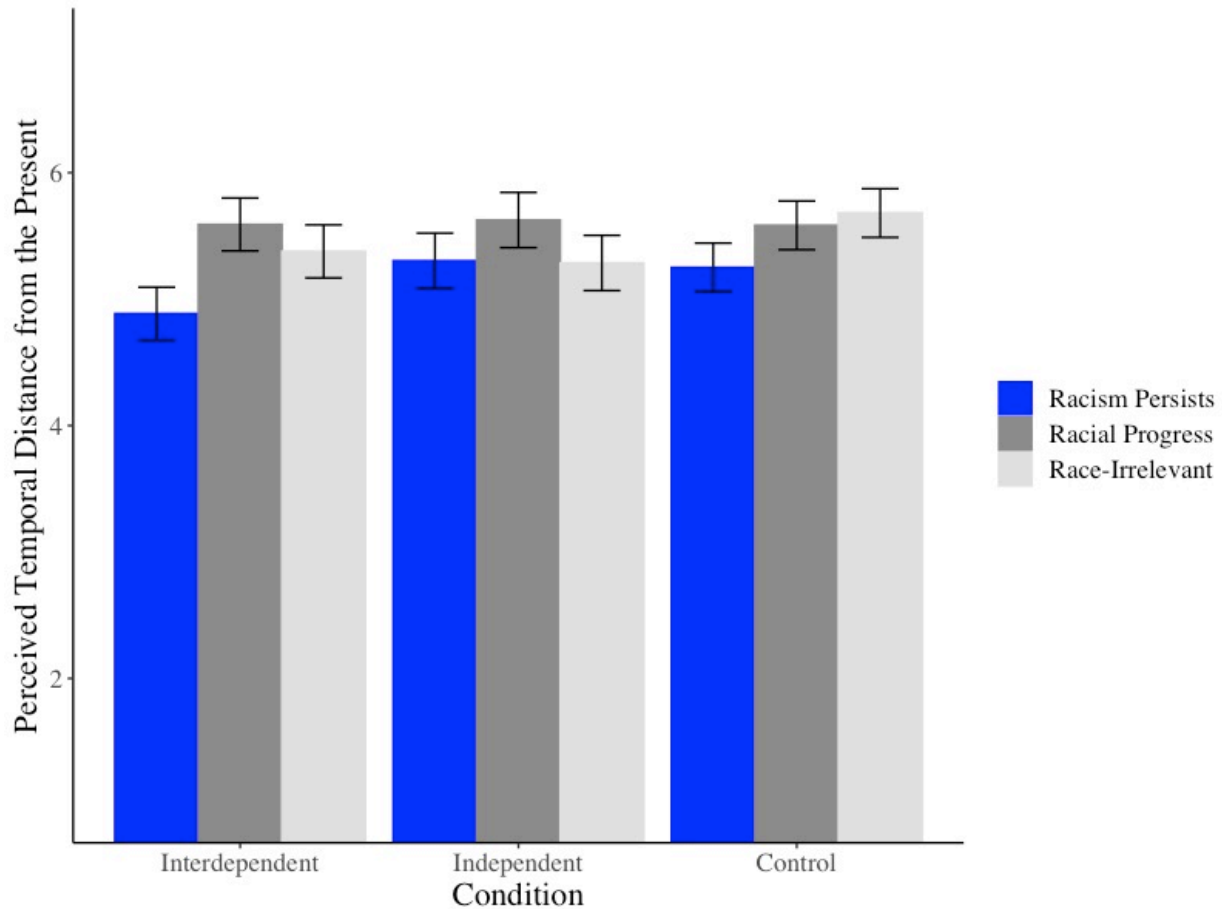


Figure 2
Perceived Temporal Distance of 2012 Events by Self-Construal Condition and Racial Content of Event in Study 1

Finally, to begin to explore the potential relevance of White Americans' racial out-group and in-group attitudes on temporal perceptions of events, I examined the correlations between racial resentment, strength of racial identity, and both the perceived temporal distance from one year ago and the recent race-relevant events in 2012. Racial resentment and strength of racial identity were strongly positively correlated ($r = .49, p < .001$). Interestingly, greater racial resentment was associated with perceiving one year ago as closer to the present ($r = -.22, p = .002$), but was marginally associated with perceiving the killing of Trayvon Martin as further from the present ($r = .16, p = .09$). Racial resentment was unassociated with the perceived

temporal distance of the racial progress ($r = -.07$) or race-irrelevant event ($r = .06$), $ps > .32$.

Strength of racial identity was not associated with the perceived temporal distance of either of the four past-related events, all $ps > .13$.

Discussion

Unlike in the Pilot Study, the experimental condition did not have the expected effect on perceived temporal distance of one year ago, and again I found no effect of condition on concrete mindset. In this study, although not significant, the measure of interdependent self-construal operated in the expected direction by condition and, although only marginally significant, showed the expected negative correlation with perceived temporal distance of one year ago. Given this study was collected six months into the COVID-19 pandemic, my measure of perceived temporal distance essentially asked participants to reflect on how far away the time before COVID-19 felt from the present. The potential time-slowing nature of the COVID-19 pandemic (Mazur, 2021) makes this set of findings difficult to interpret.

Although my central hypotheses were not supported in this study, the exploratory analyses critically motivate the need to understand the role of self-construal and perceptions of temporal distance in an explicitly racial context. For example, while exploratory, participants in the interdependent condition did uniquely pull the killing of Trayvon Martin closer to the present than the two other race-relevant and irrelevant events also occurring in 2012. Again, attending the cultural context occurring outside of the study, this effect may have been due to the recent murder of George Floyd. Being made to take a more interdependent view of the self may have elicited the killing of an unarmed Black male to feel closer to the present than the other events given Black Lives Matters protests and the nationwide reckoning with race and anti-Black racism. However, more telling was the presence of a positive correlation between the perceived

temporal distance of one year ago and the Sandy Hook shooting, but not the killing of Trayvon Martin and the 2nd election of President Barack Obama. This pattern of correlations provided evidence that temporal perceptions of race-relevant events may operate differently than general perceptions of temporal distance. One potential influencing factor uncovered in this study was participant level anti-Black attitudes as racially resentful White participants saw last year as occurring closer to the present, but saw the killing of Trayvon Martin as further from the present. Although strength of racial identity was unrelated to White American's temporal perceptions, this finding implicates that stronger anti-Black racial attitudes may motivate temporal distancing of events that signal racism persists.

To better examine this process in the next study, instead of seeking to manipulate self-construal, I instead examine how engaging with a more distal historical event that either focuses on the racism Black Americans have faced at the hands of White Americans (critical Black history) or focuses more on racial progress (celebratory Black history) influences White temporal perceptions of the history and the self in motivated ways. Given racially resentful attitudes were associated with greater temporal distancing of a recent event that highlighted the persistence of racism, I examine whether White participants who hold racially resentful attitudes show the largest shifts in self- and history-relevant cognitions when engaging with critical Black history.

Hypothesis 2: White Americans will be motivated to perceive critical Black history as happening further in the past compared to celebratory Black history and a control condition. This difference in subjective temporal distance will be mediated by White Americans reporting less interdependence with familial ancestors when engaging with critical Black history. These

hypothesized effects are expected to be most pronounced among racially resentful White Americans.

Study 2

In a racially diverse student sample (Pilot Study) and an exclusively White American adult sample (Study 1), I find mixed evidence that individuals who are made think about their connections to familial others perceive the past year as more proximal to the present. Study 1 highlighted that perceptions of more abstract events in time (one year ago) may operate differently than concrete racial events (e.g., the killing of Trayvon Martin), and that anti-Black attitudes specifically may play a particular role in temporal perceptions. Study 2 seeks to use explicitly racial historical events to examine whether White Americans report less interdependence when exposed to more critical historical representations of racial in-group wrongdoing toward Black Americans and whether this contributes to differential cognitive representations of this history.

Specifically, critical Black history representations are defined as history that explicitly implicates the White in-group as perpetrators of racial wrongdoing and contributing to the barriers that Black Americans have and continue to face (e.g., George Zimmerman killing Trayvon Martin for looking suspicious in his neighborhood and not being convicted of murder, Alabama Governor George Wallace declaring his desires for permanent and lasting racial segregation). As detailed in the introduction, White Americans show less preference for these critical representations of Black history that emphasize historical barriers faced by Black Americans, and instead prefer more sanitized, celebratory representations of Black history focused on themes of inclusion, the historical achievement of Black Americans (e.g., the election of President Barack Obama, Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. declaring his desires for people to

not be judged by the color of their skin), and that do not directly implicate the racial in-group in racism and oppression of racial out-groups (Salter & Adams, 2016; see also, Kurtiş et al., 2010).

Thus, in Study 2, I test whether White Americans who learn about more critical versus more celebratory Black history-related events report less interdependence, particularly with one's familial ancestors. Further, I will examine whether this difference in self-construal explains the extent to which critical racial histories are perceived as more distal from the present than are celebratory racial representations and a control history. Given that prior research has identified that defensive reactions to reminders of past in-group wrongdoing are strongest among dominant group members who feel unjustly blamed for these past wrongdoings (Peetz et al., 2010), I hypothesize that critical Black historical representations will have the most impact on the self and history representations of White Americans that hold stronger anti-Black attitudes. Thus, I also test whether participant level racial resentment (high vs. low) moderates the effect of critical history on interdependent self-construal and the perceived temporal distance of the history.

Method

Participants

360 White Americans were recruited from Prolific Academic recruitment services. My target recruitment sample size was 320 participants, per a power analysis, whereby this sample size will provide more than 90% power to detect a small to medium effect size ($d = .40$, G-power) for a one-way ANOVA with three groups. Thirty-two participants were excluded for failing to pass an a priori attention check, and seven participants were excluded as they indicated identifying strongly with a non-White racial group (Latino, American Indian, Asian, biracial/multiracial). Thus, the final sample consisted of 321 White American adults (women: 49%, $n = 157$; men: 50%, $n = 160$; multiple genders/transgender/gender queer/self-described/did

not disclose, 1%, $n = 4$) who on average were in their mid to late-30s ($M = 37.13$, $SD = 13.57$). Participants reported primarily being born in the U.S. (97%, $n = 311$), and tracked closely with the national distribution of political party identification among White Americans (Democrat: 46%, $n = 149$; Republican: 46%, $n = 148$; Independent: 8%, $n = 24$). Most participants reported having a bachelor's degree or higher (65%, $n = 210$) while the average level of educational attainment was between an associate's or vocational degree and a bachelor's degree ($M = 4.65$, $SD = 1.35$).

Relevant Cultural Context in which Study is Embedded

Data collection for this study was conducted on October 14, 2020. At this point, the 2020 Presidential election was less than one month away, and a record number of early votes had been cast. Less than two weeks prior, the Republican U.S. President and First Lady had tested positive for COVID-19 and Black Lives Matter protests were continuing nationally.

Procedure

Participants took part in a study ostensibly about matching audio of historical speeches with speech-to-text derived transcripts. Participants were provided information about the clip they were about to hear, including a brief introduction of the clip and the year the speech was given (i.e., 1963). Participants were then asked to listen to the historical speech along with the text transcription and were asked to pay attention to whether the transcription aligned with the audio. The key manipulation is whether the historical speech participants are assigned to listen to directly implicates White Americans in the historical discrimination of Black Americans (i.e., critical history condition) versus less directly implicates the White Americans in the historical discrimination of Black Americans (i.e., celebratory history condition). In the control conditions, participants listened to a speech not explicitly related to race in the United States. Participants

were randomly assigned to one of these three conditions. After completing the speech audio portion of the procedures, participants answered questions related to the cover story (e.g., how well the transcript aligned with the speech audio), and then answered key dependent measures of interest² and completed the same demographic questionnaire from Study 1.

Experimental Manipulation. To manipulate the racial content of the history as celebratory or critical, participants were randomly assigned to listen to audio excerpts of historical speeches given by Martin Luther King Jr. (celebratory Black history condition), George Wallace (critical Black history condition), and John F. Kennedy (control history condition). Short excerpts of these speeches were used for the main study manipulation (see Appendix B for speech descriptions, transcripts, and sources). Participants in the celebratory Black history condition listened to and read transcripts on Martin Luther King Jr. speaking about the hope and desire for freedom and equality as rooted in the American Dream, while those in the critical Black history condition listened to and read transcripts on George Wallace speaking about the need for racial segregation now and into the future. In the control history condition, participants listened to and read transcripts of John F. Kennedy speaking about peace and the need to de-escalate international war to preserve human interests. Critically, all three speeches occurred in 1963. As participants were informed of this fact, differences in subjective temporal distance will not be due to actual temporal differences in the occurrence of the speeches.

Measures

Interdependent Self-Construal. Interdependent self-construal was measured using the same nine IOS-items as in Study 1, whereas again higher values indicated greater interdependence. These items again showed good reliability and were scaled together to create an

² Participants also answered the exploratory measures of individualistic attitudes and strength of racial identity as in prior studies, however they are not mentioned further in these analyses.

overall measure of interdependent self-construal ($M = 3.86$, $SD = 1.37$), $\alpha = .91$. As in Study 1, the two subscales of familial ancestor interdependence (3-items, $\alpha = .89$) and generalized other interdependence (2-items, $r = .76$, $p < .001$) were also examined ($M_s = 3.55$ and 3.47 , $SD_s = 1.80$ and 1.46 , respectively).

Perceived Temporal Distance of the Historical Speech from Present. Two items adapted from the prior two studies were used to assess how temporally distant the historical speech subjectively felt from the present. Participants read the following: “The past may feel quite close or far away, regardless of the amount of time that has actually passed. Think about the time period in which the speech you just listened was given. How far away does the time period in which this speech was given feel to you? As in the prior two studies, participants answered using a slider scale (0 = *Feels very recent* to 100 = *Feels very distant*) and a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *Feels like yesterday* to 7 = *Feels very far away*). These items were highly correlated ($r = .79$, $p < .001$), and thus were standardized and averaged to create a measure of the perceived temporal distance of the historical speech from the present ($M = .00$, $SD = .95$).

Racial Resentment. Racial resentment was measured as in Study 1. The 4-items had good reliability, $\alpha = .89$, and were thus averaged ($M = 2.42$, $SD = 1.14$).

Results

Familiarity with Historical Speeches and Key Correlations

Participants in the celebratory Black history condition (“I have a dream” speech) reported being more familiar with their speech ($M = 5.86$, $SD = 1.21$) than participants in critical Black history (“Segregation forever” speech; $M = 2.40$, $SD = 1.88$) and the control history conditions (“A strategy of peace” speech; $M = 2.25$, $SD = 1.74$), $ps < .001$. In fact, while 76% of participants in the celebratory Black history condition reported having at least heard of their

speech before participating in this study, only 15% of participants in the critical Black history and control history conditions had heard of their respective speeches before participating in this study.

Next, I examined correlations between the key variables of interest across conditions. First, there was no significant correlation of perceived temporal distance of the speeches with either the full measure of interdependent self-construal or the two interdependence subscales ($|rs| < .06, ps > .31$). Next examining correlations with racial resentment, racial resentment was positively correlated with the full interdependent self-construal measure ($r = .34$), the familial ancestor and generalized other interdependence subscales ($rs = .40$ and $.23$, respectively), and the perceived temporal distance of the speeches ($r = .23$), all $ps < .001$. Thus, White participants with stronger anti-Black attitudes reported more interdependence with others, with a particularly strong link to familial ancestors, and perceived these speeches as occurring further from the present.

Primary Analyses

Interdependent Self-Construal. Given the expectation that White Americans may differ in the level of threat the critical Black history poses to the self, I expected that White Americans generally would report less interdependence with others when exposed to critical Black history compared to celebratory Black history, especially those high in racial resentment.

Full Interdependent Self-Construal Measure. I first employed simultaneous linear regression to examine main effects of condition and racial resentment on reported interdependent self-construal, and then added interactions terms to examine for a potential interaction effect of racial resentment and condition (dummy coded, reference category: critical history condition). To first examine main effects, I regressed interdependent self-construal on condition and racial

resentment. Racial resentment was positively associated with interdependent self-construal, $B = .41$, $SE = .06$, $t(317) = 6.50$, $p < .001$, 95% CIs [.29, .54]. However, I found no significant differences in interdependent self-construal between participants in the critical history and celebratory history conditions, $B = .25$, $SE = .18$, $t(317) = 1.44$, $p = .15$, 95% CIs [-.09, .60], or between participants in the critical history and control history conditions, $B = .09$, $SE = .18$, $t(317) = .49$, $p = .62$, 95% CIs [-.26, .44]. I then tested for an interaction of condition and racial resentment by regressing interdependent self-construal on condition, racial resentment, and their interaction. A significant interaction emerged for racial resentment and the dummy term representing critical versus celebratory history conditions, $B = .38$, $SE = .16$, $t(315) = 2.35$, $p = .02$, 95% CIs [.06, .70]. Among those low in racial resentment, there was no significant difference in reported levels of interdependent self-construal between those in the critical history and celebratory history conditions, $B = -.19$, $SE = .26$, $t(315) = -.73$, $p = .47$, 95% CIs [-.69, .32]. However, among participants high in racial resentment, those in the celebratory history condition reported greater interdependent self-construal, $B = .68$, $SE = .25$, $t(315) = 2.70$, $p = .007$, 95% CIs [.18, 1.18]. No significant interaction emerged between (racial resentment and the dummy term representing the critical history and celebratory history condition, $B = .18$, $SE = .15$, $t(315) = 1.23$, $p = .22$, 95% CIs [-.11, .47].

Familial ancestors. I next examined whether this same pattern of results was found for ancestral interdependence. I regressed interdependence with familial ancestors on condition (dummy coded, reference category: critical history) and racial resentment. Greater racial resentment was associated with greater felt connection to familial ancestors, $B = .65$, $SE = .08$, $t(317) = 8.04$, $p < .001$, 95% CIs [.49, .81]. As with the full interdependent self-construal measure, there was no difference in reported familial ancestor interdependence between

participants in the critical and celebratory history conditions, $B = .23$, $SE = .22$, $t(317) = 1.05$, $p = .29$, 95% CIs [-.20, .67], or between those in the critical and control history conditions, $B = .10$, $SE = .23$, $t(317) = .45$, $p = .65$, 95% CIs [-.34, .55]. I then examined for the interaction between condition and racial resentment, by regressing familial ancestor interdependence on condition, racial resentment, and their interaction. As with the full measure of interdependent self-construal, a significant interaction emerged for racial resentment and the dummy term representing critical versus celebratory history conditions, $B = .41$, $SE = .21$, $t(315) = 1.98$, $p = .049$, 95% CIs [.002, .81]. Examining simple effects, among participants low in racial resentment, there was no difference in reported levels of familial ancestor interdependence between those in the critical and celebratory history conditions, $B = -.23$, $SE = .32$, $t(315) = -.72$, $p = .47$, 95% CIs [-.87, .41]. However, among participants high in racial resentment, those in the celebratory history condition reported greater familial ancestor interdependence than those in the critical history condition, $B = .69$, $SE = .32$, $t(315) = 2.16$, $p = .03$, 95% CIs [.06, 1.33]. No significant two-way interaction emerged between racial resentment and the dummy term representing critical versus control history conditions, $B = .14$, $SE = .19$, $t(315) = .75$, $p = .46$, 95% CIs [-.23, .51] (Figure 3).

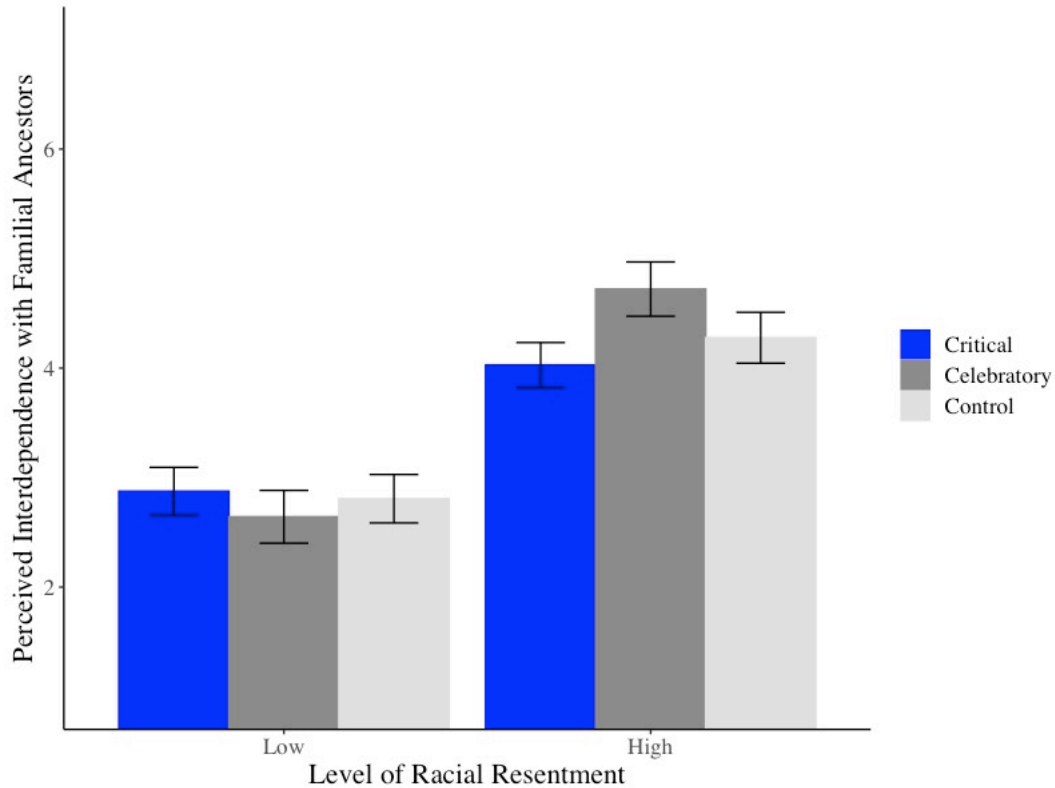


Figure 3
Familial Ancestor Interdependence by Participant Level of Racial Resentment and History Condition in Study 2

Generalized Others. I then examined whether this same pattern was found for perceived interdependence with generalized others. As in the prior analyses, greater racial resentment was associated with greater generalized other interdependence, $B = .29$, $SE = .07$, $t(317) = 4.19$, $p < .001$, 95% CIs [.16, .43], but there was no difference in reported interdependence with generalized others among participants in the critical history versus celebratory history, $B = .09$, $SE = .22$, $t(317) = .45$, $p = .65$, 95% CIs [-.29, .47], nor between participants in the critical history and the control history, $B = -.04$, $SE = .20$, $t(317) = -.22$, $p = .83$, 95% CIs [-.43, .34]. Unlike the familial ancestor interdependence subscale, no two-way interactions emerged between racial resentment and either of the dummy terms representing critical versus celebratory history conditions, $B = .29$, $SE = .18$, $t(315) = 1.63$, $p = .11$, 95% CIs [-.06, .64], or critical

versus control history conditions, $B = .15$, $SE = .16$, $t(315) = .95$, $p = .34$, 95% CIs [-.16, .47], and none of the simple effects of condition at high or low levels of racial resentment approached significance, $ps > .14$.

Perceived Temporal Distance of the Historical Speech from Present. I then examined whether White participants in the critical Black history condition perceived their speech as occurring further from the present than White participants in the celebratory Black history condition, particularly if they are high in racial resentment. I first I regressed subjective temporal distance on condition and racial resentment. Greater racial resentment predicted greater perceived temporal distance of the historical speech from the present, $B = .19$, $SE = .05$, $t(317) = 4.24$, $p < .001$, 95% CIs [.10, .28]. There was no significant effect of condition, as participants in the interdependent and independent condition did not differ in perceived temporal distance, $B = -.13$, $SE = .12$, $t(317) = -1.05$, $p = .29$, 95% CIs [-.38, .11], and participants in the interdependent and control condition did not differ in perceived temporal distance, $B = .01$, $SE = .13$, $t(317) = .10$, $p = .92$, 95% CIs [-.24, .26]. I then tested for an interaction of condition and racial resentment by regressing on perceived temporal distance on racial resentment, condition, and their interaction. No significant two-way interactions emerged between racial resentment and either of the dummy terms representing critical versus celebratory history conditions, $B = -.19$, $SE = .12$, $t(315) = -1.63$, $p = .10$, 95% [-.42, .04], and critical versus control history conditions, $B = -.13$, $SE = .10$, $t(315) = -1.28$, $p = .20$, 95% [-.34, .07]. However, upon examining the simple effects (Figure 4), I found a marginal simple effect that aligned with the overarching hypotheses. Among participants high in racial resentment, those in the celebratory history condition reported their historical speech to occur closer to the present than those in the critical history condition, B

= -.34, $SE = .18$, $t(315) = -1.90$, $p = .059$, 95% CIs [-.48, .21]. No other simple effects of condition at high or low levels of racial resentment approached significance, $ps > .33$.

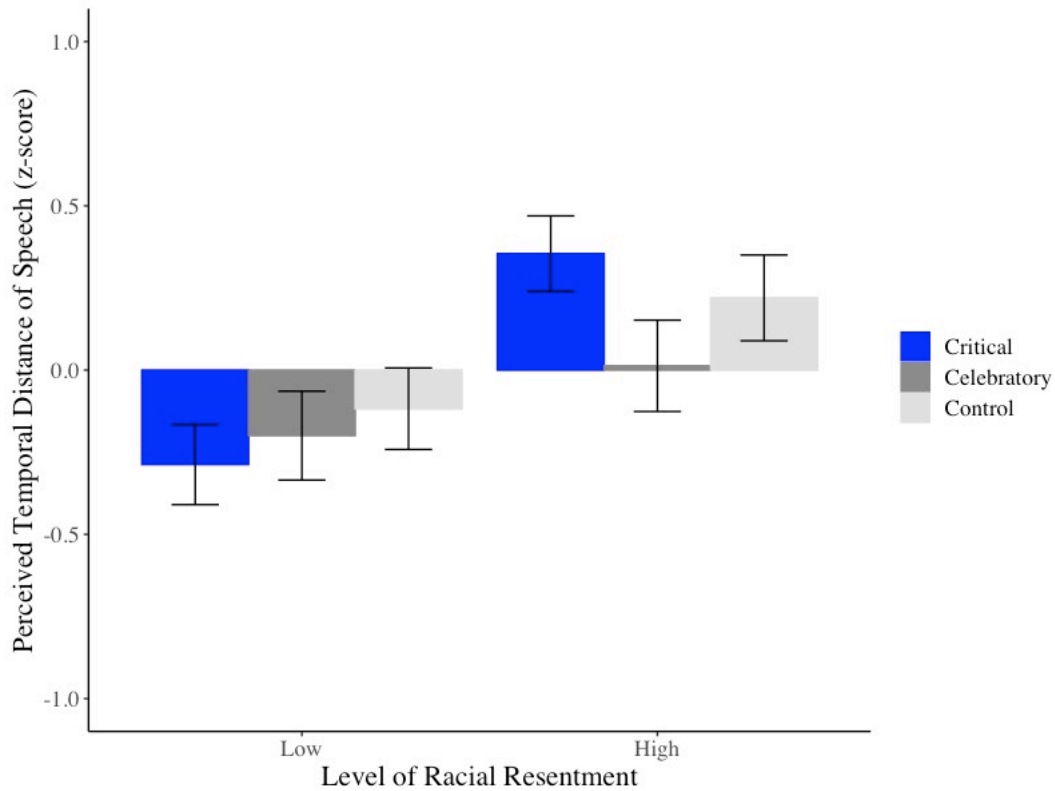


Figure 4

Perceived Temporal Distance of 1963 Speech by Participant Level of Racial Resentment and History Condition in Study 2

Mediation Analyses. In this study, I sought to examine whether differences in perceived temporal distance of historical speeches in the more critical versus the more celebratory history condition were mediated by interdependent self-construal. While there was no direct effect of condition on perceived temporal distance, even when examining racial resentment as a moderator, I examined whether there was an indirect effect of condition (critical = 0, celebratory = 1) on temporal distance through interdependent self-construal among participants high in racial resentment. Thus, I tested a moderated mediation model, whereby racial resentment moderated the *a*-path (condition predicting interdependent self-construal) and *c*-path (condition and

interdependent self-construal predicting perceived temporal distance of historical speech). I calculated 95% CIs for the indirect effect using Model 8 of the PROCESS Macro for R V. 3.5.3, beta 0.6 with 5,000 bias-corrected bootstrap resamples with both the full measure of interdependent self-construal and the familial ancestor interdependence subscale specified as the mediator in two separate models. At both high and low levels of racial resentment, the 95% CIs included 0 when specifying the full interdependent self-construal measure as the mediator (racial resentment high: $B = -.016$, $SE = .04$ 95% CIs [-.11, .04]; low: $B = .007$, $SE = .02$, 95% CIs [-.02, .08]) and when specifying familial ancestor interdependence (racial resentment high: $B = .010$, $SE = .03$ 95% CIs [-.03, .10]; low: $B = -.005$, $SE = .02$, 95% CIs [-.07, .02]). In summary, I did not find an indirect effect of interdependent self-construal or familial ancestor interdependence on perceived temporal distance of the historical speech among participants high or low in racial resentment.

Discussion

Overall, I find support for my hypotheses that White Americans do shift their representation of self and history in motivated ways depending on the racial content of the history. As hypothesized, racially resentful White participants reduced their perceived connection to familial ancestors when engaging with critical Black history and, although a marginally significant effect, perceived this history as occurring further from the present than celebratory Black history. This change in self and history representation was not found among White participants low in racial resentment. More generally, the association of racial resentment with self-construal and temporal distance generally in the study highlighted a paradox: compared to White participants low in racial resentment, racially resentful White participants reported greater interdependence with familial ancestors but also perceived these 1960s speeches as

further from the present, which may indicate a desire to feel connected to one's ancestors but not to their past.

One important limitation of this study is participants' familiarity with the speeches systematically varied as well as how esteemed each speech is generally regarded in U.S. historical consciousness. Based on social impact, political impact, and rhetorical artistry, both MLK and JFK's speeches are regarded in the top 100 speeches given in the U.S. during the 20th century; in contrast, George Wallace's speech is not ranked on this list (Wolff, 1999). Although this variation in the rankings of these speeches aligns with U.S. cultural preferences to elevate history that focuses on racial progress versus racial barriers (e.g., Salter & Adams, 2016), this difference in familiarity and public regard of the speeches and speakers serves as an important confound addressed in Chapter 3. Overall, however, these findings support that engaging with critical Black history elicits White Americans, particularly those with strong anti-Black attitudes, to push the history to the distant past and reduce their perceived sense of connection to familial ancestors. This study serves as a conservative test that individual-level motivations can influence perceptions of history within White Americans, which is likely to be exacerbated when examining racial differences in how engaging with critical Black history shifts Black and White Americans' perception of self and history.

Chapter 3: Study Set 2

Hypothesis 3: Black Americans will report increased familial ancestor interdependence after engaging with critical Black history, while White Americans will report decreased familial ancestor interdependence. Black Americans will also report this history as happening more proximal to the present and perceive more indirect consequences of the history than White

Americans. The difference in subjective temporal distance and perceived indirect consequences will be mediated by Black Americans' greater shift toward familial ancestor interdependence.

Study 3

Given that study 2 shed light on how engaging with critical Black history can motivate White Americans to perceive less interdependence with familial ancestors and the history as further away in time, I examine this process in parallel among Black Americans in Studies 3 through 5. In line with the theory of Sankofan processes (Jones & Leitner, 2015) and given that Black Americans perceive past periods of racism (e.g., Jim Crow era) as more temporally proximal to the present than White Americans (Does et al., 2021), I hypothesize that Black Americans represent the self and history in a pattern opposite of White Americans when engaging with critical Black history—perceiving more interdependence with familial ancestors and a more proximal temporal perspective of the history in relation to the present.

In these remaining studies, I utilize the historical event of the destruction of the all-Black Greenwood District in Tulsa, Oklahoma at the hand of a White American mob in 1921, known as the Tulsa Race Massacre. This historical event was selected for several reasons. First, this event occurred long enough ago where there is minimal potential for participants to have lived through this event, a potential limitation of using a moment from the 1960s Civil Rights era. Second, the consolidation of Black Americans in Tulsa, Oklahoma as self-sufficient, hard-working, and successful provides a positive representation of Black Americans in history, while its destruction by White Americans has explicit implications of group-level racial wrongdoing with potentially far-reaching effects. And third, as this event is historically less discussed in mainstream spaces and not linked to salient racial exemplars (e.g., Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Rosa Parks) the

details of this history are likely less familiar to participants even if a participant has heard of the historical event.

Because my main hypotheses pertain to how engaging with critical Black history, such as the Tulsa Race Massacre, shifts interdependent self-construal in divergent patterns for Black and White Americans, Study 3 directly tests this proposed process using a within-subject design. Using a recontact design, Study 3 examines whether a relative shift in interdependent self-construal after engaging with the history of the Greenwood District (compared to baseline self-construal collected before engaging with the history) predicts racial differences in cognitive representations of this history. I hypothesize that engaging with the history of the Greenwood District and the Tulsa Race Massacre will elicit Black Americans to shift toward feeling greater interdependence with familial ancestors while White Americans are expected to shift away from feeling interdependent with familial ancestors. Further, compared to White Americans, I hypothesize that Black Americans will systematically report representations of this history consistent with an interdependent self-construal. Specifically, Black Americans are expected to (a) perceive the Tulsa Race Massacre as occurring subjectively more proximal to the present and (b) perceive the Tulsa Race Massacre as having more indirect, far-reaching consequences than will White Americans. I expect these racial differences in the perceived temporal distance and indirect consequences of the Tulsa Race Massacre will be mediated by the shift toward familial ancestor interdependence.

Methods

Participants

300 Black and White Americans were recruited from Prolific Academic recruitment services to participate in a recontact study, and 209 participants participated in both time points.

My target recruitment sample size was 210 participants per a power analysis to provide more than 95% power to detect a medium effect size ($d = .50$, G-power) for a two-group independent samples t-test. Fifteen participants were excluded due to reporting technical issues with the survey software, and six participants were excluded for failing to pass an a priori attention check. Thus, the final sample consisted of 188 Black and White American adults (56%, $n = 105$, and 44%, $n = 83$, respectively; women: 55%, $n = 104$; men: 44%, $n = 82$; transgender/gender queer/did not disclose: 1%, $n = 2$) who on average were in their mid-30s ($M = 34.19$, $SD = 12.05$). Participants reported primarily being born in the U.S. (96%, $n = 181$), and showed variance of political party identification that tracked closely with the national distribution within race (Overall: Democrat: 57%, $n = 107$; Republican: 31%, $n = 58$; Independent: 12%, $n = 23$). Most participants reported having a bachelor's degree or higher (52%, $n = 96$) while the average educational attainment was an associate's or vocational degree ($M = 4.19$, $SD = 1.47$).

Relevant Cultural Context in which Study is Embedded

Data collection for Time 1 (baseline) occurred on January 14, 2021. Thus, Time 1 was collected one week after the insurrection at the U.S. Capitol by a mob of primarily conservative White Americans supported by the Republican U.S. President, and one week before the inauguration of the Democrat President-elect. Data collection for Time 2 (main study) began on February 4, 2021, two weeks after the Presidential Inauguration, and ended on February 13, 2021.

Procedure

Participants ostensibly participated in a research study that was a part of a larger project that sought to understand Americans' general perceptions of U.S. history that was currently being considered added to mainstream U.S. history curriculum. Participants were contacted to

complete a measure of interdependent self-construal and several other demographic measures (Time 1) three weeks before the start of the main study (Time 2). At the three-week mark, participants were recontacted to participate in Time 2 and data collection for Time 2 lasted for 10 days. At Time 2, participants were told that they would watch a brief video about one historical event taken from a collection of events being considered and would be given the opportunity to give their thoughts and opinions about the historical event. All participants were made to watch a video giving a critical historical account of the history of the Greenwood District, an all-Black town in Tulsa, Oklahoma at the turn of the 20th century. Participants watched a short (3-minute) video describing the prosperity of the Greenwood District and the Tulsa Race Massacre that left the District in ruins in 1921 (see Appendix C for video transcript). After viewing the video, participants completed the dependent measures of interest and the demographic questionnaire from prior studies. Correlations for participant demographics and the key dependent measures of interest for Study Set 2 (Studies 3-5) can be found in Appendix E.

Measures

Interdependent Self-Construal (Time 1 and Time 2). Interdependent self-construal was measured using the 9 IOS-items from Studies 1 and 2, with higher values indicating greater interdependence. The nine items again had good reliability both at Time 1 and Time 2 and were scaled to create an overall measure of interdependent self-construal ($M_s = 3.73$ and 3.92 , $SD_s = 1.06$ and 1.19 , respectively), $\alpha_s = .82$ and $.88$, respectively. Again, the same three-items from prior studies at Time 1 and Time 2 (*grandparents*, *great grandparents*, *ancestors*, $\alpha_s = .83$ and $.88$, respectively) were averaged to create the familial ancestor interdependence subscale ($M_s = 3.64$ and 3.94 , $SD_s = 1.61$ and 1.71 , respectively) and the same two-items from prior studies (*other Americans*, *others in general*, $r_s = .63$ and $.73$, respectively, $p_s < .001$) were averaged to

create the generalized other interdependence subscale ($M_s = 2.88$ and 3.07 , $SD_s = 1.23$ and 1.35 , respectively). These two subscales of interdependence were again examined in addition to the overall measure of interdependent self-construal.

Perceived Temporal Distance of Tulsa Race Massacre from Present. Two items similar to those used in prior studies were used to assess how temporally distant the destruction of Black Wallstreet subjectively feels from the present. As in the prior two studies, participants read the following: “The past may feel quite close or far away, regardless of the amount of time that has actually passed. Think about the destruction of the Greenwood District in Tulsa, Oklahoma. How far away does the destruction of the Greenwood District feel to you?” Participants again answered using a slider scale ($0 = \textit{Feels very recent}$ to $100 = \textit{Feels very distant}$) and a 7-point Likert scale ($1 = \textit{Feels like yesterday}$ to $7 = \textit{Feels very far away}$). These items were highly correlated ($r = .87$, $p < .001$), and thus were standardized and averaged to create a measure of the perceived temporal distance of the Tulsa Race Massacre from the present ($M = .00$, $SD = .94$).

Perceived Consequences of the Tulsa Race Massacre. Nine items across four sub-measures assessed the perceived direct consequences (more proximal consequences) and indirect consequences (more distal, far-reaching consequences) of the destruction of the Greenwood District. These sub-measures also capture the perceived *length of consequences* (e.g., how long did the negative impact on Black Americans last?) and *width of consequences* (e.g., how many Black Americans were negatively impacted?) of the Tulsa Race Massacre. Items are adapted and modified from prior research (Maddux & Yuki, 2006).

General Consequence (Direct): Number of Black Americans Impacted Within One Year. First, participants provided an open-ended estimate of the number of people both directly

and indirectly impacted by the destruction of the Greenwood District within the year after the town was destroyed. Participants read the following: “Please think about the destruction of the Greenwood District in 1921 and the year following its destruction. Within that one year, how many Black Americans were likely directly or indirectly impacted negatively by the destruction of the Greenwood District?” ($M = 60,292$, $SD = 85,987$). This sub-measure captures participant’s perception of a direct consequence of the Tulsa Race Massacre given its temporal proximity to the focal event. Outliers were calculated using the interquartile range, and outliers (estimates > 242,500) were reset to the designated outlier cutoff point as in prior research (Maddux & Yuki, 2006).

General Consequence (Indirect): Years Negative Impact Lasted for Black Americans.

Next, participants estimated how many years the Tulsa Race Massacre negatively impacted the lives of Black Americans. Participants read and responded to the following: “Please think about the time after the destruction of the Greenwood District generally. For how many years did the destruction of the Greenwood District likely have a direct or indirect negative impact on the lives of Black Americans? Please use the slider below to indicate until which year the negative impact likely lasted.” Participants answered using a 100-point sliding scale from 1921 to 2021 ($M = 1984.5$, $SD = 34.1$). This sub-measure captures the extent to which participants perceive far-reaching, indirect consequences of the Tulsa Race Massacre.

Black Wealth Consequence (Direct and Indirect): Impact on Massacre Survivors and Descendants Ability to Accumulate Wealth. Before answering the final two sub-measures about wealth accumulation, participants were given the following brief description of wealth adapted from prior research (Norton & Ariely, 2011; Onyeador et al., 2020):

“Wealth, also known as net worth, is defined as the total value of everything someone owns minus any debt that he or she owes. A person’s net worth includes his or her bank

account savings plus the value of other things such as property, stocks, bonds, art, collections, etc., minus the value of things like loans and mortgages.”

Participants were then asked four questions about the impact that the Tulsa Race Massacre had on Black survivors’ and their descendants’ ability to accumulate wealth. Participants first read the following instructions:

“Think about the destruction of the Greenwood District in 1921. For the following questions, you will be asked to estimate the potential negative impact that the district's destruction had on the ability of the town's Black residents and their descendants (such as their grandchildren) to accumulate wealth on a scale of 0% to 100%. A response of 0% indicates that the destruction of the Greenwood District would have no negative impact on the ability to accumulate wealth, while a response of 100% indicates that its destruction would completely have a negative impact on the ability to accumulate wealth.”

Consistent with prior research (Maddux & Yuki, 2006), participants were then asked to respond to the following question for 4 different groups using an 11-point scale from 0 = 0% *No impact* to 10 = 100% *Complete impact*: “To what extent did the destruction of the Greenwood District negatively impact the ability of the town's Black [group] to accumulate wealth?” for the following groups: *adults* ($M = 8.66, SD = 1.78$), *children* ($M = 7.98, SD = 2.19$), *descendant grandchildren* ($M = 6.77, SD = 2.73$), and *descendant great grandchildren* ($M = 5.97, SD = 3.23$). These 4-items showed good reliability, $\alpha = .89$. Except where noted, these items were averaged and analyzed as a composite measure. Overall, this sub-measure captures participants’ general perception of the far-reaching effects of the Tulsa Race Massacre, however looking at individual items specifically captures both perception of more direct consequences (i.e., impact on Black adults) versus indirect consequences (e.g., Black descendant grandchildren) of the Tulsa Race Massacre.

Black Wealth Consequence (Indirect): Impact on Current Black-White Wealth Gap.

Finally, participants responded to three items that measured the perceived impact of the

destruction of the Greenwood District on the current Black-White wealth gap today. Before responding to these items, participants were provided actual statistics about the existing wealth gap as follows:

“As reported by the Brookings Institute, recent data from the U.S. Federal Reserve Bureau shows that, on average, White households hold a substantially greater amount of wealth than Black households today. Currently, the median wealth of White households (\$171,000) is about ten times greater than the median wealth of Black households (\$17,000).”

Participants responded to the following question, “In your opinion, to what extent did the destruction of the Greenwood District contribute to the current racial wealth gap between Black and White Americans today?” on an 11-point scale from 1 = 0% *No impact* to 11 = 100% *Complete impact*. Participants then indicated their agreement with the following two statements, “The destruction of the Greenwood district has significantly contributed to the present-day gap in Black-White wealth in the U.S.” and “The destruction of the Greenwood district had little effect on the present wealth gap between Black and White Americans today [reverse-coded]” using a 7-point scale from 1 = *Strongly disagree* to 7 = *Strongly agree*. These items showed acceptable reliability, $\alpha = .79$, and thus were standardized and then averaged ($M = .00$, $SD = .86$). This sub-measure captures the extent to which participants perceive indirect consequences of the Tulsa Race Massacre on the ability of Black Americans widely to accumulate wealth.

Exploratory Measures.

Individualistic Attitudes (Time 1 and Time 2). Participants responded to the same two individualistic attitudes items as in previous studies. Unlike in previous studies, these two items showed a small to moderate negative correlation at both Time 1 and 2 ($r_s = -.28$ and $-.15$, $p_s < .05$, respectively). However, to maintain consistency with the prior studies, these items were

analyzed separately as endorsement of being *self-made* ($M_s = 4.40$ and 4.54 , $SD_s = 1.71$ and 1.78) and *ancestor-made* ($M_s = 4.53$ and 5.04 , $SD_s = 1.71$ and 1.50).

Racial Resentment (Time 1 and Time 2). Racial resentment was measured at Time 1 and Time 2 as in the previous studies. The 4-items had good reliability at both Time 1 and Time 2, $\alpha_s = .89$ and $.86$, and were thus averaged separately ($M_s = 2.20$ and 2.10 , $SD_s = 1.10$ and 1.01). In the subsequent exploratory analyses, only racial resentment at Time 2 is described. Importantly past research asserts that racial resentment is relevant to Black American attitudes as it more generally captures structural (low scores) versus individual (high scores) attributions to the social and economic standing of Black Americans and is thus an appropriate measure for the present research (Kam & Burge, 2017).

Racial Identity Strength (Time 2). Racial identity strength was measured using the same two items as in previous studies. These two items were again highly correlated ($r = .81$, $p < .001$) and were thus averaged to create a measure of racial identity strength ($M = 5.34$, $SD = 1.60$).

Results

Familiarity with Tulsa Race Massacre and Key Correlations

Participants reported relatively low familiarity with the history of the Greenwood District and the Tulsa Race Massacre. While participant race did play a role in familiarity, as nearly twice the number of Black Americans (60%) than White Americans (31%) reported having at least heard about this historical event before participating in this study, and reported higher familiarity with this historical event ($M_s = 3.90$ and 2.66 , $SD_s = 2.16$ and 2.03 , respectively), $t(180.46) = -4.02$, $p < .001$, 95% CIs $[-1.84, -.63]$, both group averages were below the midpoint (i.e., 4) on the 7-point familiarity scale.

I then examined correlations between the key variables of interest at Time 2 across race. First, perceiving the Tulsa Race Massacre as occurring further from the present was associated with perceiving fewer indirect consequences of the Massacre ($r_s < -.27, p_s < .001$), but was not significantly correlated with the perception of direct consequences of the Massacre (i.e., Black Americans impacted within one year of the Massacre; $r = -.12, p = .11$). Next, I examined the correlation between interdependent self-construal subscales and cognitive perceptions of the Tulsa Race Massacre. Expected and aligned with my hypothesis, greater interdependence with familial ancestors was significantly associated with seeing the Massacre as closer to the present ($r = -.26, p < .001$). Generalized other interdependence was instead positively, but not significantly, correlated with perceived temporal distance of the Massacre ($r = .10, p = .19$). Following this general divergent pattern, greater familial ancestral interdependence was positively, but not significantly, associated with perceived indirect consequences of the Massacre ($r_s = .09$ to $.14, p_s > .06$), while greater generalized other interdependence was negatively associated with perceived indirect consequences ($r_s = -.05$ to $-.17, p_s > .02$).

Primary Analyses

Interdependent Self-Construal. First, I examined for racial differences in interdependent self-construal at Time 1 and at Time 2. In terms of the full interdependent self-construal measure, there were no significant differences between Black and White participants at Time 1 ($M_s = 3.73$ and $3.73, SD_s = 1.06$ and 1.07 , respectively), $t(175.18) = .02, p = .99$, 95% CIs $[-.31, .31]$, or Time 2 ($M_s = 3.88$ and 3.97 , respectively), $t(177.25) = .49, p = .63$, 95% $[-.26, .43]$. I next examined for racial differences in the two subscales of interdependence at Time 1 and Time 2. At Time 1, there were no differences in Black and White participants reported familial ancestor interdependence, ($M_s = 3.70$ and $3.57, SD_s = 1.59$ and 1.64 , respectively),

$t(173.57) = -.54, p = .59, 95\% \text{ CIs } [-.60, .34]$, or generalized other interdependence, ($M_s = 2.88$ and $2.89, SD_s = 1.26$ and 1.19 , respectively), $t(180.51) = .03, p = .98, 95\% \text{ CIs } [-.35, .36]$.

Although at Time 2 the observed means on familial ancestor interdependence followed the expected pattern of racial differences, there again were no significant differences between Black and White participants, ($M_s = 4.11$ and $3.73, SD_s = 1.71$ and 1.69 , respectively), $t(176.67) = -1.54, p = .13, 95\% \text{ CIs } [-.88, .11]$. Although for generalized interdependence, the pattern of observed means reflected the opposite racial pattern, Black and White participants also did not differ on generalized other interdependence at Time 2 ($M_s = 2.92$ and $3.25, SD_s = 1.32$ and 1.38 , respectively), $t(172.19) = 1.66, p = .10, 95\% \text{ CIs } [-.06, .72]$

Change in Interdependent Self-Construal by Race. I next examined whether observed changes in reported interdependent self-construal from Time 1 to Time 2 (after engaging with critical Black history) were significantly different from zero, and whether these shifts depended on race. To test for significant shifts, Time 2 scores were subtracted from Time 1 scores on the full measure and two subscales (i.e., familial ancestor, generalized other) of interdependent self-construal and were then tested for significance from zero (Figure 5). For Black participants, there was no significant change in overall interdependent self-construal from Time 1 to Time 2 ($M = .15, SD = .98$), $t(104) = 1.58, p = .12, 95\% \text{ CIs } [-.04, .34]$, or generalized other interdependence ($M = .04, SD = 1.22$), $t(104) = .36, p = .72, 95\% \text{ CIs } [-.19, .28]$. However, Black participants reported a significant increase in familial ancestor interdependence after engaging with critical Black history at Time 2 ($M = .41, SD = 1.49$), $t(104) = 2.85, p = .005, 95\% \text{ CIs } [.13, .70]$. In stark contrast and unexpectedly, White participants reported a significant increase in overall interdependent self-construal ($M = .23, SD = .78$) and generalized other interdependence ($M = .37, SD = 1.24$) after engaging with critical Black history at Time 2, $t_s(82) = 2.73$ and $2.69, p_s =$

.008 and .008, 95% CIs [.06, .41] and [.10, .64], respectively. However, White participants reported no change in familial ancestor interdependence from Time 1 to Time 2 ($M = .16$, $SD = 1.10$), $t(82) = 1.30$, $p = .20$, 95% CIs [-.08, .40].

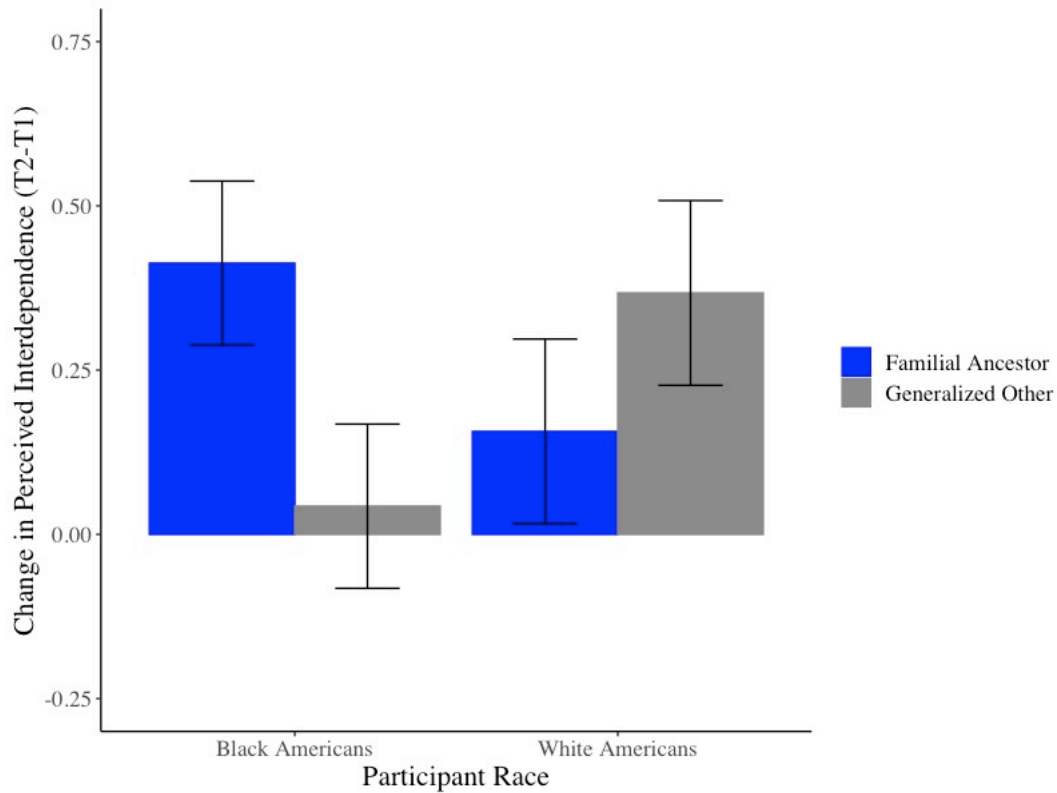


Figure 5
Change in Perceived Interdependence (T2 – T1) with Familial Ancestors and Generalized Others by Race in Study 3

Perceived Temporal Distance of Tulsa Race Massacre from Present. A two-group independent samples t-test was employed to examine racial differences in the perceived temporal distance of the Tulsa Race Massacre from the present. As hypothesized, Black participants reported the Tulsa Race Massacre as happening significantly closer to the present ($M = -.18$, $SD = .70$) than White participants ($M = .22$, $SD = .64$), $t(181.9) = 4.05$, $p < .001$, 95% CIs [.20, .59].

Perceived Consequences of the Tulsa Race Massacre. I next examined racial differences in the four sub-measures of perceived direct and indirect consequences of the Tulsa Race Massacre.

General Consequence (Direct): Number of Black Americans Impacted Within One Year. Employing a two-groups independent samples t-test, no significant differences emerged between Black participant ($M = 68,054$, $SD = 91,238$) and White participant ($M = 50,354$, $SD = 78,180$) estimates of the number of Black Americans impacted within a year of the Tulsa Race Massacre, $t(183.37) = -1.43$, $p = .16$, 95% CIs [-42,169: 6,770].

General Consequence (Indirect): Years Negative Impact Lasted for Black Americans. Employing a two-groups independent samples t-test, I find that Black participants reported perceiving the Tulsa Race Massacre as having over a decade longer negative impact on the lives of Black Americans ($M = 1990.3$, $SD = 33.3$) than White participants ($M = 1977.1$, $SD = 33.9$), $t(174.71) = -2.66$, $p = .009$, 95% CIs [-22.9, -3.4].

Black Wealth Consequence (Direct and Indirect): Impact on Massacre Survivors and Descendants Ability to Accumulate Wealth. I hypothesized Black and White participants would report perceiving a similar impact of the Massacre on adults (a more direct consequence of the massacre), but that Black participants would perceive greater impact of the massacre on subsequent generations (indirect consequences of the massacre) than White participants.

To test for this expected nuance in perceived impact by generational distance, I employed a linear mixed-effects regression model. I first regressed perceived impact on participant race and generational distance, and then in a second model, I regressed perceived impact on participant race, generational distance, and their interaction. Overall, Black participants perceived the Massacre as having a greater impact of the wealth accumulation ability of

Massacre survivors and descendants than did White participants, $B = 1.58$, $SE = .30$, $t(186) = 5.17$, $p < .001$, 95% CIs [.98, 2.17], and overall, the further the generation was removed from the Massacre, the less participants perceived the impact of the Massacre on wealth accumulation ability, $B = -.77$, $SE = .05$, $t(563) = -14.74$, $p < .001$, 95% CIs [-.87, -.67]. Importantly, a significant two-way interaction of participant race and generation emerged, $B = .66$, $SE = .10$, $t(562) = 6.57$, $p < .001$, 95% CIs [.47, .86]. Supporting my hypothesis, Black and White participants reported a similar perceived impact of the Massacre on Black adult's wealth accumulation ability, $B = .58$, $SE = .34$, $t(283.93) = 1.70$, $p = .09$, 95% CIs [-.09, 1.25], but Black participants perceived greater impact than White participants on the wealth accumulation ability of the town's Black children, $B = 1.24$, $SE = .31$, $t(196.34) = 4.03$, $p < .001$, 95% CIs [.64, 1.85], Black descendent grandchildren, $B = 1.91$, $SE = .31$, $t(196.34) = 6.18$, $p < .001$, 95% CIs [1.30, 2.51], and Black descendent great grandchildren, $B = 2.57$, $SE = .34$, $t(283.93) = 7.56$, $p < .001$, 95% CIs [1.91, 3.24] (Figure 6).

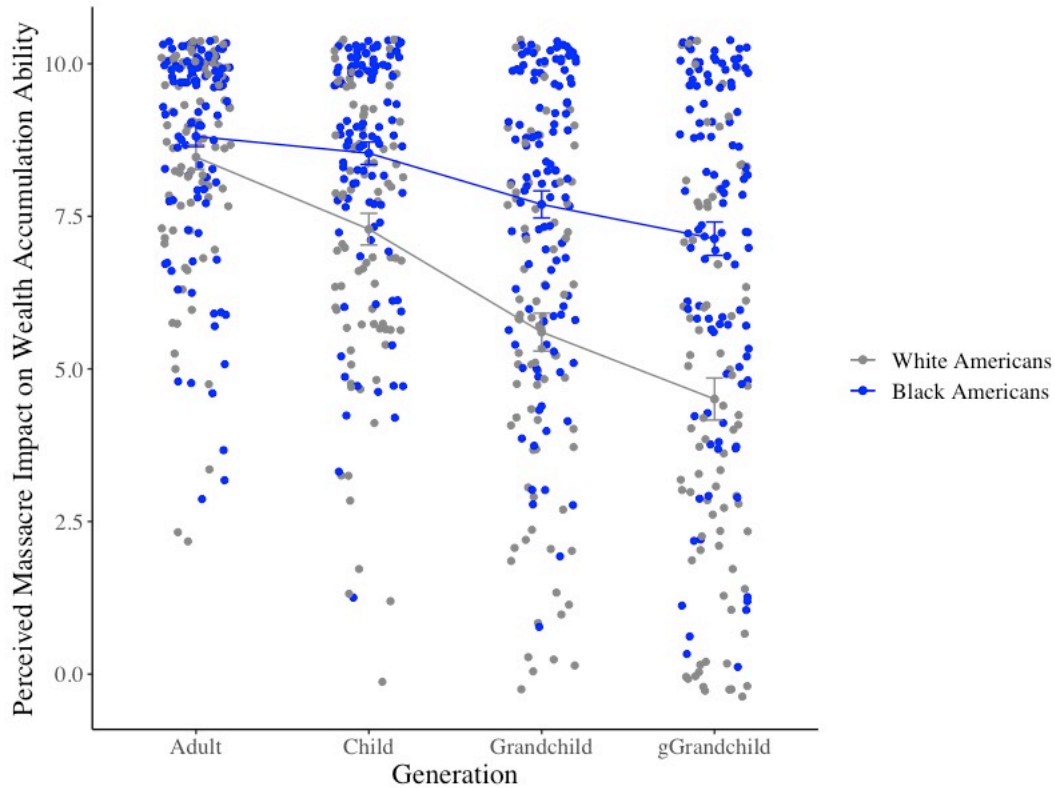


Figure 6
Mean Perceived Impact of Tulsa Race Massacre on Wealth Accumulation Ability by Generation and Participant Race in Study 3

Black Wealth Consequence (Indirect): Impact on Current Black-White Wealth Gap. I

hypothesized that Black Americans would perceive more consequences of the Tulsa Race Massacre on the current Black-White wealth gap. Employing a two-group independent samples t-test, as hypothesized, Black participants did perceive the Tulsa Race Massacre as having a larger impact on the current Black-White wealth gap ($M = .29, SD = .73$) than White participants ($M = -.37, SD = .87$), $t(158.98) = -5.47, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CIs } [-.89, -.42]$

Mediation Analyses. To examine the main hypothesis that a sense of connection to one's familial ancestors would explain racial differences in history cognitions (i.e., perceived temporal distance, perceived indirect consequences), I sought to examine whether relative shifts in interdependent self-construal mediate observed racial differences in history cognitions. Given

that Black Americans reported a significant shift toward family ancestral interdependence when engaging with the history of the Tulsa Race Massacre while White Americans reported a significant shift toward generalized other interdependence, I examined whether this differential sense of connection to past familial others versus others in general mediates observed differences in perception of the Tulsa Race Massacre. Thus, to model this differential focus of interdependence, I created a *relative ancestral interdependence* score by subtracting generalized other interdependence from familial ancestor interdependence at both Time 1 and Time 2. Thus, in each mediation model, I tested whether a shift toward familial ancestor interdependence relative to generalized other interdependence at Time 2 mediates the direct effect of race on history perceptions by specifying T2 relative ancestral interdependence score as the mediator while controlling for T1 relative ancestral interdependence score.

I expected that Black participants' perception that the Tulsa Race Massacre occurred more proximally to the present and had greater indirect consequences than White participants will be partially explained through Black participants' greater relative shift toward ancestral interdependence. Results are displayed in Table 1. Black participants' perception that the Massacre occurred temporally closer to the present, greater perception of the temporal length of the Massacre's negative impact on Black Americans generally, and greater perception of the Massacre's negative impact of Massacre survivors and descendants' wealth accumulation ability were all explained through Black participants greater shift toward ancestral interdependence when engaging with history. However, no significant mediation of racial differences in the Massacre's perceived impact on the Black-White wealth gap was observed.

Table 1

Study 3 Indirect Effect of Participant Race on Perceived Temporal Distance and Indirect Consequences through Shift in Relative Ancestral Interdependence

Outcome	Indirect Effect	Bootstrapped Standard Error	Bias-Corrected Lower Limit	Bias-Corrected Upper Limit
Perceived Temporal Distance of Tulsa Race Massacre	-.094	.040	-.190	-.032
Years Negative Impact Lasted for Black Americans	3.412	1.500	1.032	7.001
Impact on Wealth Accumulation Ability	.176	.082	.049	.379
Impact on Current Black-White Wealth Gap	.027	.031	-.022	.100

Note. Bias-corrected 95% confidence intervals were calculated using 5,000 bootstrap samples. Significant indirect effects (95% CI does not include 0) are highlighted in boldface.

Exploratory Analyses

What Individualistic Attitude Does Each Interdependence Subscale Predict for Black and White Adults? I examined whether interdependence with familial ancestors or generalized others predicted ancestor-made and/or self-made attributions and the potential moderating role of participant race. For each individualistic attitude, I tested four separate models. I first tested two main effect models examining whether familial ancestor (or generalized other) interdependence at Time 2 predicted the individualistic attitude at Time 2, controlling for participant race and baseline individualistic attitude at Time 1. Then I employed two separate two-way interaction models to test for the interaction of participant race and familial ancestor (or generalized other) interdependence at Time 2, controlling for baseline individualistic attitude at Time 1.

Ancestor-made. Both the main effect of familial ancestor interdependence and generalized other interdependence were non-significant, $B = .11$, $SE = 1.88$, $t(184) = 1.88$, $p = .06$, 95% CIs [-.01, .23], and $B = .04$, $SE = .07$, $t(184) = .50$, $p = .62$, 95% CIs [-.11, .18], respectively. However, a significant two-way interaction of participant race and interdependence emerged for both the familial ancestor interdependence and generalized other interdependence models, $B = .24$, $SE = .12$, $t(183) = 1.99$, $p = .048$, 95% CIs [.002, .47], and, $B = .35$, $SE = .15$,

$t(183) = 2.36, p = .02$. Among Black Americans, greater familial ancestor interdependence was a highly significant predictor of greater endorsement of ancestor-made attributions, $B = .22, SE = .08, t(183) = 2.74, p = .007, 95\% \text{ CIs } [.06, .37]$, and greater generalized other interdependence also predicted greater endorsement of ancestor-made attributions, $B = .20, SE = .10, t(183) = 1.98, p = .049, 95\% \text{ CIs } [.001, .40]$. Among White Americans, neither familial ancestor interdependence (unexpectedly) or generalized other interdependence were associated with ancestor-made attributions, $ps > .16$.

Self-made. Greater generalized other interdependence predicted more endorsement of self-made attributions, $B = .21, SE = .09, t(184) = 2.37, p = .02, 95\% \text{ CIs } [.03, .38]$, but familial ancestor interdependence was not associated with self-made attributions, $B = .12, SE = .07, t(184) = 1.73, p = .09, 95\% \text{ CIs } [-.02, .26]$. There was no interaction of participant race with either familial ancestor interdependence or generalized other interdependence, $ps > .07$.

Do Racial Attitudes, Identification, and Age Motivate Self and History Perceptions Differently by Race? Exploratorily, I tested whether strength of racial identity, racial attitudes toward Black Americans, and lived proximity to the past (i.e., age) motivated self (familial ancestor interdependence) and history perceptions (perceived temporal distance of Tulsa Race Massacre). Further, I examined whether these specific motivations led to different self- and history-perceptions contingent on participant race. First, controlling for participant race, I simultaneously examined the main effects of these motivations on (a) familial ancestor interdependence at Time 2 (controlling for Time 1) and (b) the perceived temporal distance of the Tulsa Race Massacre from the present. Then I examined the two-way interaction of race with each predictor for both outcomes.

Examining factors motivating familial ancestor interdependence across race, having a stronger racial identity broadly predicted greater familial ancestor interdependence, $B = .22$, $SE = .07$, $t(180) = 3.04$, $p = .003$, 95% CIs [.08, .35].³ Looking at differences by race, older Black participants reported stronger familial ancestor interdependence than younger Black participants, $B = .03$, $SE = .01$, $t(176) = 2.90$, $p = .004$, 95% CIs [.01, .05], while there was no effect of age among White participants, $B = -.005$, $SE = .01$, $t(176) = -.42$, $p = .67$, 95% CIs [-.03, .02]. Next examining factors motivating the perceived temporal distance of the Tulsa Race Massacre across race, participants scoring higher on racial resentment perceived the Tulsa Race Massacre as occurring further from the present, $B = .23$, $SE = .05$, $t(181) = 4.47$, $p < .001$, 95% CIs [.13, .34].⁴ While a main effect of strength of racial identity was observed ($p = .02$), I examined the simple effects by race given the two-way interaction of participant race and racial identity strength approached significance ($p = .15$). Specifically, Black Americans who more strongly identified with their race saw the Tulsa Race Massacre as closer to the present, $B = -.16$, $SE = .06$, $t(178) = -2.69$, $p = .008$, 95% CIs [-.28, -.04], but there was no effect of racial identity strength for White participants, $B = -.05$, $SE = .05$, $t(178) = -.94$, $p = .35$, 95% CIs [-.15, .05].⁵

Overall, having a stronger racial identity predicted greater familial ancestor interdependence for both Black and White participants, but only affected temporal perceptions of the Tulsa Race Massacre for Black participants. Both Black and White participants who scored higher on racial resentment also perceived the Tulsa Race Massacre as occurring further from the

³ This observed main effect of strength of racial identity predicting greater familial ancestor interdependence was replicated in Studies 4 and 5.

⁴ This observed main effect of racial resentment predicting the Tulsa Race Massacre being perceived as more temporally distal from the present was replicated in Studies 4 and 5.

⁵ This observed effect of strength of racial identity predicting the Tulsa Race Massacre being perceived as more temporally proximal to the present among Black Americans, while having no effect among White Americans, was replicated in Studies 4 and 5.

present. Interestingly, age was not predictive of the perceived temporal distance of the Massacre, although older Black Americans did perceive greater interdependence with familial ancestors.

Discussion

As hypothesized, Black participants perceived the Tulsa Race Massacre as occurring more temporally proximal to the present and as having more indirect (but not direct) negative consequences for Black Americans than did White participants. While Black and White participants did not differ in their overall level of interdependence when engaging with this critical Black history, as hypothesized, Black participants reported a significant increase in interdependence with familial ancestors when engaging with this critical Black history (compared to baseline). The pattern of interdependence for White participants was unexpected. White participants unexpectedly showed no decrease in interdependence with familial ancestors, however, did report greater interdependence with generalized others (compared to baseline), which exploratory analyses showed related to endorsing more individualistic attitudes. This pattern of shifting one's focus of interdependence with others, rather than simply reducing overall levels of interdependence, makes sense given the fundamental need to feel a sense of belongingness (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Importantly, this differential shift in feeling more interdependent with familial ancestors relative to generalized others significantly mediated the observed racial differences in the perceived temporal distance of the Massacre from the present, and two of the three measures of the level to which the indirect consequences of the Massacre on the lives of Black Americans were perceived. Given that these findings document the expected racial divergence in both history perceptions and self-perceptions using a within-subject design, I next sought to understand whether varying the focus on either more celebratory (e.g., Black prosperity, self-reliance) versus critical aspects (e.g., Black prosperity, self-reliance, and White

destruction in the Tulsa Race Massacre) of this history would mitigate the racial divergence in self and history representations.

Hypothesis 4: Black Americans will perceive critical Black history as happening more proximal to the present and perceive more indirect consequences of the history than White Americans and when compared to Black Americans in a control history condition. The difference in subjective temporal distance and perceived indirect consequences will be mediated by Black Americans in the critical Black history condition reporting greater familial ancestor interdependence.

Study 4

Study 4 seeks to extend Study 3 by examining whether the observed racial divergence in self and history perception is unique to engagement with critical representations of the destruction of the Greenwood District, or whether this pattern of results would also be observed if the focus of the historical content is centered on more celebratory aspects of the Greenwood District. Given Study 2 findings, a critical historical representation of the Greenwood District and Tulsa Race Massacre should be more threatening for White Americans than a celebratory historical representation. Here I attempt to conceptually replicate Study 2 by examining whether the framing of the Tulsa Race Massacre, a more temporally distal historical event than the 1960s Civil Rights era, influences Black and White American self-perceptions and cognitive representations of the history itself. In this study, employing the use of the same historical event but varying the focus of the historical description on more critical versus celebratory aspects addresses multiple aforementioned limitations of Study 2—particularly, differences in familiarity

with the historical event as well as differences in the primary subject of the historical event (e.g., Martin Luther King, Jr. versus George Wallace).

Methods

Participants

446 Black and White Americans were recruited from Prolific Academic recruitment services. My target recruitment sample size was 390 participants, per a power analysis to provide more than 90% power to detect a small to medium effect size ($d = .40$, G-power) for a 3 (Condition: Critical Black history, Celebratory Black history, Control) x 2 (Participant Race: Black, White) between-subjects ANOVA design. Twenty-two participants were excluded for failing to pass an a priori attention check, three participants were excluded for taking longer than 3 hours to complete the study, and 10 participants were excluded because they provided no racial information. Thus, the final sample consisted of 411 Black and White American adults (49%, $n = 200$, and 51%, $n = 211$, respectively; women: 52%, $n = 213$; men: 46%, $n = 188$; transgender/non-binary/gender queer/did not disclose, 2%, $n = 10$) who on average were in their early- to mid-30s ($M = 33.00$, $SD = 11.42$). Participants reported primarily being born in the U.S. (98%, $n = 402$), and showed variance of political party identification that tracked closely with the national distribution within race with slight overrepresentation of Black Republicans (Overall: Democrat: 54%, $n = 223$; Republican: 32%, $n = 131$; Independent: 14%, $n = 56$). Most participants reported having a bachelor's degree or higher (57%, $n = 232$) while the average level of educational attainment was an associate's or vocational degree ($M = 4.34$, $SD = 1.48$).

Relevant Cultural Context in which Study is Embedded

Data collection was conducted on February 10, 2021. Thus, data collection occurred more than one month after the insurrection at the U.S. Capitol, two weeks after the Presidential

Inauguration, and the day after the U.S. Senate ruled that the impeachment trial of the former U.S. President for his role in inciting the insurrection was constitutional. In terms of public health, the UK variant of the coronavirus was confirmed as spreading rapidly through the U.S.

Procedure

Participants ostensibly participated in a research study that was a part of a larger project that sought to understand Americans' general perceptions of U.S. history that was currently being considered added to mainstream U.S. history curriculum. Participants were told that they would be read a brief article about one historical event taken from a collection of events being considered and would be given the opportunity to give their thoughts and opinions about the historical event. All participants were made to engage with the history of the Greenwood District, an all-Black town in Tulsa, Oklahoma at the turn of the 20th century.

Experimental Manipulation. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two experimental conditions or a third control condition. In the two experimental conditions, participants were given details about the history of the prosperity of the Greenwood District. What was manipulated was whether participants were also given detailed information about the racism and structural barriers that contributed to the creation and destruction of the town and its citizens at the hands of White Americans in 1921 (critical Black history condition) or not (celebratory Black history condition). In both experimental conditions, participants read a brief (643-691 words) article about the origin and development of Greenwood as an important center of economic independence and wealth for Black Americans, including how it became known as "Black Wallstreet." However, only participants in the critical Black history condition were told that Greenwood residents were in fact forced to be self-reliant because of Jim Crow segregation laws. Participants in both experimental conditions learned that a vast number of homes and

businesses in the Greenwood District were destroyed in 1921. However, participants in the critical Black history condition learned that the town was destroyed during the Tulsa Race *Massacre* where a mob of White Americans came to Greenwood, massacred Black citizens, and were responsible for the looting; participants in the celebratory history condition instead learned that the town was destroyed during the Tulsa Race *Riot*⁶ without further elaboration on who was behind the riot. In the two experimental conditions, after reading the passage and answering relevant perceptual questions (e.g., familiarity with history, perceived importance of history), participants answered the dependent variables of interest⁷ and the same demographic questionnaire as in prior studies.

Participants in the control condition were given a brief, two-sentence description of the Greenwood District and its destruction without mention of who caused the destruction and then answered the dependent variables of interest and demographics. Afterward, these participants were given the opportunity to read the full History.com article about the Greenwood District and the Tulsa Race Massacre (See Appendix D for experimental article manipulation).

Measures

Interdependent Self-Construal. Interdependent self-construal was measured using the 9 IOS-items from the prior studies, with higher values indicating greater interdependence. The items again had good reliability and were scaled to create an overall measure of interdependent self-construal ($M = 3.83$, $SD = 1.13$), $\alpha = .82$. As in prior studies, the two subscales of familial

⁶ Survivors of the massacre, historians, and activists have called to change the naming of the destruction of Greenwood, Oklahoma from *Tulsa Race Riots* to *Tulsa Race Massacre*. The use of *riot* follows the same pattern of mainstream historical descriptions that minimize the attention to White racial wrongdoing. The continued framing of the destruction as a riot evokes image of a disturbance in which perpetrators are not clearly defined. In contrast, a *massacre* more critically implicates wrongdoing by White Americans (i.e., murder, property destruction) against Black Americans (Cobb, 2020; Tulsa Historical Society and Museum, 2020).

⁷ Participants also answered the exploratory measures of individualistic attitudes, racial resentment, and strength of racial identity as in prior study, however they are not mentioned further in these analyses.

ancestor interdependence ($\alpha = .82$) and generalized other interdependence ($r = .73, p < .001$), were also examined ($M_s = 3.72$ and $3.08, SD_s = 1.63 = 1.34$).

Perceived Temporal Distance of Tulsa Race Massacre from Present. The same two items from Study 3 were used to assess how temporally distant the destruction of Black Wallstreet subjectively feels from the present. These items were again highly correlated ($r = .81, p < .001$), and thus were standardized and averaged to create a measure of the perceived temporal distance of the Tulsa Race Massacre from the present ($M = .00, SD = .95$).

Perceived Consequences of the Tulsa Race Massacre. Participants completed the same four sub-measures from Study 3 that measured the perceived direct and indirect consequences of the destruction of the Greenwood District.

General Consequence (Direct): Number of Black Americans Impacted Within One Year As in Study 3, participants provided an open-ended estimate of the number of people both directly and indirectly impacted by the destruction of the Greenwood District within the year after the town was destroyed ($M = 32,175, SD = 43,188$). Outliers (estimates $> 122,000$) were reset to the outlier cutoff point.

General Consequence (Indirect): Years Negative Impact Lasted for Black Americans. As in Study 3, participants again estimated how many years the Tulsa Race Massacre negatively impacted the lives of Black Americans using a 100-point slide scale from 1921 to 2021 ($M = 1983.2, SD = 34.5$).

Black Wealth Consequence (Direct and Indirect): Impact on Massacre Survivors and Descendants Ability to Accumulate Wealth. As in Study 3, participants were given the same brief definition of wealth and then asked to respond to four questions about the negative impact that the Tulsa Race Massacre had on Black survivors' and their descendants' ability to

accumulate wealth from 1 = 0% *No impact* to 11 = 100% *Complete impact*, specifically for the town's Black *adults* ($M = 8.08, SD = 2.04$), *children* ($M = 7.39, SD = 2.24$), *descendant grandchildren* ($M = 6.30, SD = 2.52$), and *descendant great grandchildren* ($M = 5.35, SD = 2.97$). These 4-items showed good reliability, $\alpha = .89$. Except where noted, these items were averaged and analyzed as a composite measure ($M = 6.78, SD = 2.15$).

Black Wealth Consequence (Indirect): Impact on Current Black-White Wealth Gap.

Finally, participants responded to three items that measured the perceived impact of the destruction of the Greenwood District on the current Black-White wealth gap today. These items showed acceptable reliability, $\alpha = .77$, and were thus standardized and then averaged ($M = .00, SD = .86$).

Results

Description of Key Correlations

Similar to Study 3, I examined correlations between the key variables of interest across race and condition. First, perceiving the Tulsa Race Massacre as occurring further from the present was associated with perceiving fewer indirect consequences of the Massacre ($r_s < -.31, p_s < .001$), and, unlike study 3, fewer direct consequences as well ($r = -.16, p = .001$). Next, I examined the correlation between interdependent self-construal subscales and cognitive perceptions of the Tulsa Race Massacre. Replicating Study 3 and aligned with my hypothesis, greater interdependence with familial ancestors was significantly associated with seeing the Massacre as closer to the present ($r = -.15, p = .002$). And again, generalized other interdependence was not significantly correlated with perceived temporal distance of the Massacre ($r = -.05, p = .33$). Unlike Study 3, both the familial ancestral interdependence and

generalized other interdependence were inconsistently, and non-significantly, associated with perceived indirect consequences of the Tulsa Race Massacre, all $ps > .06$.

Primary Analyses

Interdependent Self-Construal. I first examined whether interdependent self-construal significantly differed by participant race. I hypothesized that Black participants would report greater interdependent self-construal overall, but that this would be particularly observed in the familial ancestor subscale. Further, I hypothesized that the racial difference in interdependent self-construal would be greatest in the critical Black history condition, as I expected Black participants in the critical Black history condition to report greater interdependence than Black participants in the control condition, whereas I expected White participants in the critical Black history condition would report lower interdependence than White participants in the control condition. To test for these differences, I employed multiple linear regression, whereby I first test a main effects model of participant race and history condition (dummy coded, reference category: critical history condition) and then test a separate model examining the potential interaction effect of participant race and history condition.

Full Interdependent Self-Construal Measure. To examine main effects, I regressed the full interdependent self-construal measure on participant race and history condition. As hypothesized, Black participants reported having greater interdependent self-construal than White participants, $B = .31$, $SE = .11$, $t(407) = 2.85$, $p = .005$, 95% CIs [.10, .53]. However, no differences in interdependent self-construal were observed between the critical and celebratory conditions, $B = -.02$, $SE = .13$, $t(407) = -.16$, $p = .87$, 95% CIs [-.29, .24], or the critical and the control history conditions, $B = .21$, $SE = .14$, $t(407) = 1.58$, $p = .12$, 95% CIs [-.05, .48]. To examine whether the effect of condition on interdependent self-construal was contingent on

participant race, I regressed the full interdependent self-construal measure on participant race, history condition (dummy coded, reference category: critical Black history), and their interaction. No significant interaction emerged, $ps > .36$.

Familial Ancestors. I next examined whether this same pattern of results was true or distinct for participant reported interdependence with familial ancestors. Again, first examining main effects, Black participants report greater familial ancestor interdependence than White participants, $B = .50$, $SE = .16$, $t(407) = 3.15$, $p = .002$, 95% CIs [.19, .81]. There again was no significant difference between the critical and celebratory condition, $B = -.10$, $SE = .19$, $t(407) = -.53$, $p = .60$, 95% CIs [-.48, .28]. A marginally significant difference was observed between the critical and the control condition, whereby participants in the control history condition reported a higher mean ancestral interdependence than those in the critical history condition, $B = .34$, $SE = .20$, $t(407) = 1.73$, $p = .08$, 95% CIs [-.05, .72].

No significant two-way interactions of participant race and condition approached significance, $ps > .57$. However, given the specific hypothesis that White participants would report reduced familial ancestor interdependence in the critical history compared to the control condition, I examined the simple effect of condition within race. As shown in Figure 7, among Black participants, those in the control history condition report the highest mean familial ancestor interdependence; yet, there was no significant difference between Black participants in the control and critical history condition, $B = -.22$, $SE = .28$, $t(405) = -.79$, $p = .43$, 95% CIs [-.78, .34], or the control and celebratory history condition, $B = -.33$, $SE = .28$, $t(405) = -1.21$, $p = .23$, 95% CIs = .23. However, White participants in the celebratory history condition report significantly lower familial ancestor interdependence than White participants in the control condition, $B = -.54$, $SE = .27$, $t(405) = -2.01$, $p = .04$, 95% CIs [-1.07, -.01] and, although non-

significant, White participants in the critical history condition follow this same pattern relative to those in the control condition, $B = -.44$, $SE = .27$, $t(405) = -1.63$, $p = .10$, 95% CIs $[-.98, .09]$. Thus, although both Black and White participants in the control condition report highest mean level familial ancestor interdependence within-race, the celebratory (and to a lesser extent critical) history condition reduced familial ancestor interdependence uniquely among White participants.

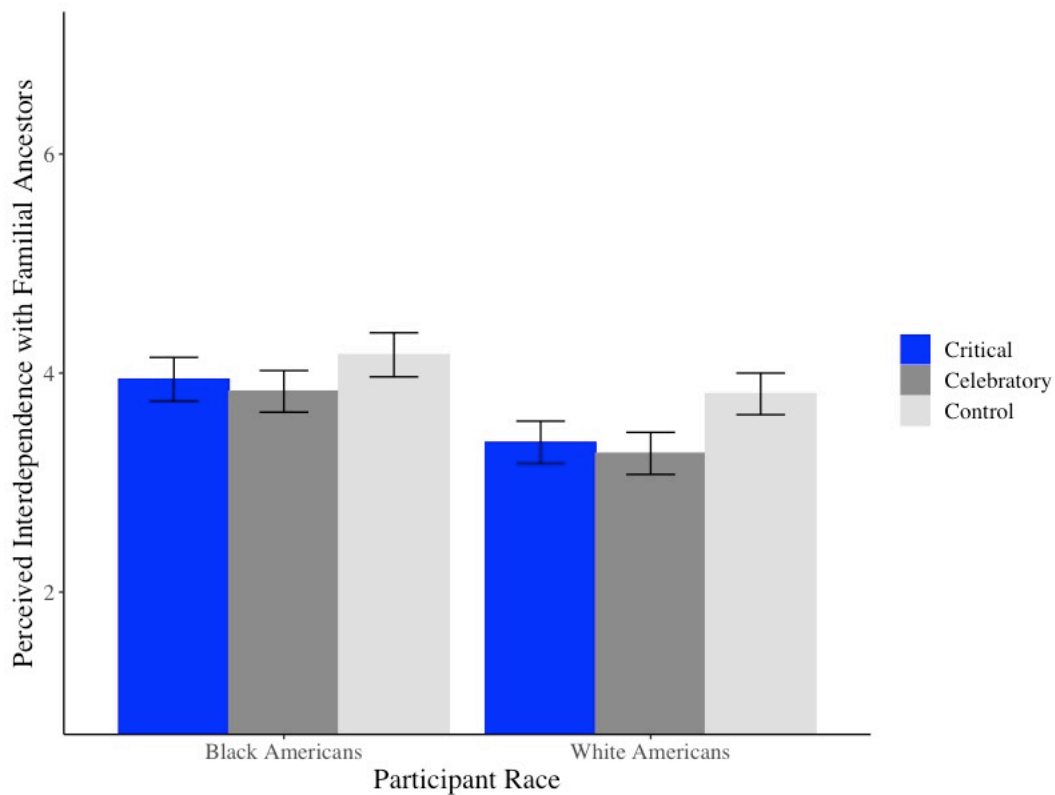


Figure 7
Familial Ancestor Interdependence by Participant Race and History Condition in Study 4

Generalized Others. I then examined the effect of participant race and condition on reported generalized other interdependence. Black participants also reported greater generalized other interdependence than White participants, $B = .29$, $SE = .13$, $t(407) = 2.24$, $p = .03$, 95% CIs $[.04, .55]$, but there was no significant difference between participants in the critical and celebratory history conditions, $B = -.06$, $SE = .16$, $t(407) = -.38$, $p = .71$, 95% CIs $[-.38, .26]$, or

the critical and control history conditions, $B = .15$, $SE = .16$, $t(407) = .94$, $p = .35$, 95% CIs [-.17, .47]. Again, no significant two-way interaction of participant race and history condition emerged, $ps > .32$.

Perceived Temporal Distance of Tulsa Race Massacre from Present. To examine the effect of participant race and history condition on perceived temporal distance, I employed a linear regression model to first test for main effects and then to test for interaction of participant race and condition. Again, I expected Black participants to report less temporal distance between the Tulsa Race Massacre and the present than White participants (i.e., main effect of participant race), and that within race, Black participants in the critical history condition would perceive less temporal distance than Black participants in the control condition, whereas I expected the opposite pattern of condition effects to be observed among White participants given that the critical history is expected to elicit the most threat (i.e., participant race by history condition interaction).

As hypothesized, Black participants reported perceiving the Tulsa Race Massacre as closer to the present than White Americans, $B = -.46$, $SE = .09$, $t(407) = -5.12$, $p < .001$, 95% CIs [-.64, -.28]. Examining the effect of condition, participants in the control history condition perceived the Tulsa Race Massacre as further from the present than those in the critical history condition, $B = .39$, $SE = .11$, $t(407) = 3.53$, $p < .001$, 95% CIs [.17, .61], however there was no significant difference in perceived temporal distance between participants in the celebratory history condition and the critical history condition, $B = .11$, $SE = .11$, $t(407) = 1.02$, $p = .31$, 95% CIs [-.10, .33]. Unexpectedly, there was no interaction of participant race and history condition, $ps > .37$. Thus, while Black participants reported perceiving the Tulsa Race Massacre as occurring more proximal to the present than White participants as expected, both Black

participants (expected) and White participants (unexpected) in the critical history condition reported perceiving the Massacre as closer to the present than those in the control history condition (Figure 8).

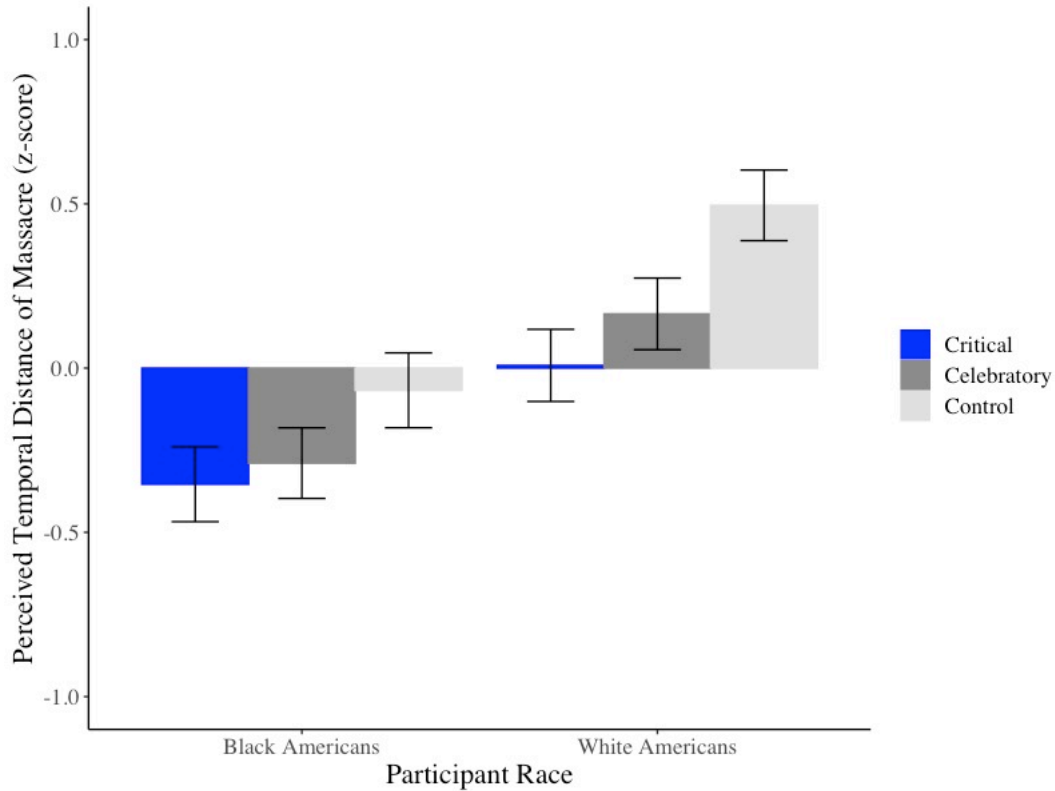


Figure 8
Perceived Temporal Distance of Tulsa Race Massacre by Participant Race and History Condition in Study 4

Perceived Consequences of Tulsa Race Massacre. I next examined for race and condition differences in the four sub-measures of perceived direct and indirect consequences of the Tulsa Race Massacre. Consistent with prior studies, I expected to observe a main effect of participant race for indirect consequences, such that Black participants perceived more indirect consequences than White participants. However, I did not expect significant racial differences in more direct consequences. I also expected to observe a participant race by history condition interaction, whereby Black participants would perceive more indirect consequences in the critical

history condition relative to the control condition and White participants would perceive less indirect consequences in the critical condition relative to the control condition. Except where noted, for each consequence sub-measure, I first regressed the perceived consequence on participant race and condition (dummy coded, reference category: critical history condition), and next tested for a two-way interaction by regressing the perceived consequence on participant race, condition, and their interaction.

General Consequence (Direct): Number of Black Americans Impacted Within One Year. As hypothesized, no racial differences in the estimated of the number of Black Americans impacted within one year of the Tulsa Race Massacre were observed, $B = 586.0$, $SE = 4258.3$, $t(406) = .14$, 95% CIs [-7784.2, 8957.9], and there was no significant differences in estimates between participants in the critical and control history conditions, $B = -2481.2$, $SE = 5253.4$, $t(406) = -.46$, $p = .65$, 95% CIs [-12745.5, 7909.1]. Unexpectedly, there was a marginally significant difference found among participants in the critical and celebratory history conditions, whereby participants in the celebratory history condition reported higher estimates than participants in the critical history condition, $B = 8661.0$, $SE = 5207.8$, $t(406) = 1.66$, $p = .097$. There were no significant two-way interactions of participant race and condition, $ps > .12$. However, analyses of simple effects highlight that the unexpected marginally significant main effect between participants in the celebratory versus critical history condition was driven by Black participants: Black participants in the control history condition reported significantly lower estimates than Black participants in the celebratory condition, $B = -23990$, $SE = 7388$, $t(404) = -3.25$, $p = .001$, 95% CIs [-38514, -9466], and a marginally significant difference was found between Black participant estimates in the celebratory (higher estimates) and critical condition (lower estimates), $B = -13127$, $SE = -1.78$, $t(404) = -1.78$, $p = .08$, 95% CIs [-27651,

1397]. Among White participants, no simple effect of condition approached significance, $ps > .57$.

General Consequence (Indirect): Years Negative Impact Lasted for Black Americans.

Consistent with my hypothesis and consistent with previous indirect consequences results, Black participants reported perceiving the Tulsa Race Massacre as having over a decade longer negative impact on the lives of Black Americans than did White participants, $B = 10.24$, $SE = 3.37$, $t(407) = 3.04$, $p = .002$, 95% CIs [3.61, 16.86]. Contrary to my hypothesis, there was no significant difference in estimates between participants in the critical and control history, $B = -2.12$, $SE = 4.16$, $t(407) = -.51$, $p = .61$, 95% CIs [-10.30, 6.07]. However, a marginally significant effect of condition was observed between the critical and celebratory history conditions, as participants in the celebratory history condition reported that the negative impact on Black Americans lasted for fewer years than participants in the critical history condition, $B = -7.30$, $SE = 4.12$, $t(407) = -1.77$, $p = .08$, 95% CIs [-15.40, .80]. Again, contrary to my hypothesis about indirect consequences, there was no significant interaction of participant race and condition, $ps > .47$ (Figure 9).

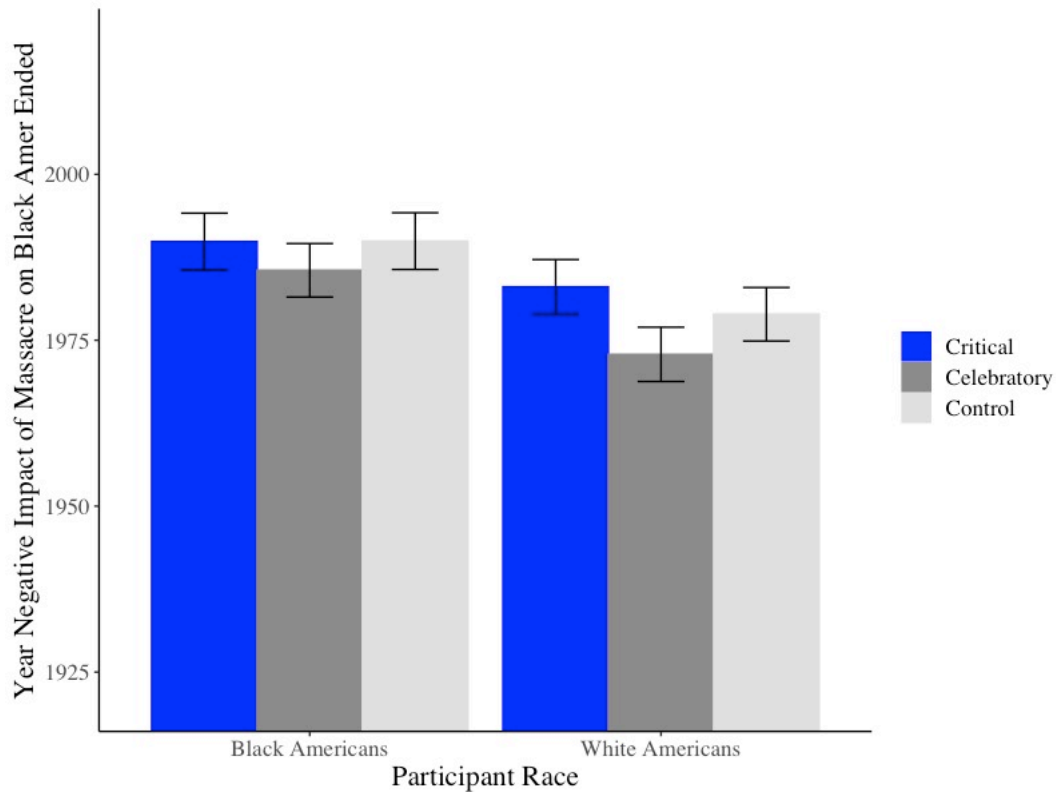


Figure 9
Estimated Year the Negative Impacts of Tulsa Race Massacre Ended for Black Americans (Indirect Consequence Perception) by Participant Race and History Condition in Study 4

Black Wealth Consequence (Direct and Indirect): Impact on Massacre Survivors and Descendants Ability to Accumulate Wealth. To test for the expected nuance in racial differences in perceived impact for those more directly (i.e., adults) versus indirectly impacted (i.e., children, grandchildren, and great grandchildren) by the Massacre while considering the potential interaction effect by condition, I employed a linear mixed-effects regression model. To conduct this analysis, I tested three models whereby in the first model I tested for main effects of participant race, history condition, and generational distance, then ran a separate model for all two-way interactions, and then ran a third model to test for a 3-way interaction. Replicating Study 3, Black participants perceived greater impact of the Massacre than White participants, $B = 1.00$, $SE = .21$, $t(407) = 4.83$, $p < .001$, 95% CIs [.59, 1.40], and the further the generation was

removed from the Massacre, the less participants perceived the impact of the Massacre on wealth accumulation ability, $B = -.74$, $SE = .03$, $t(1232) = -21.18$, $p < .001$, 95% CIs $[-.81, -.67]$. There was no main effect of being in the critical versus control condition on perceived impact, $B = -.24$, $SE = .26$, $t(407) = -.95$, $p = .35$, 95% CIs $[-.74, .26]$, however, a marginally significant main effect representing the difference between the critical and celebratory history condition was observed, as participants in the celebratory condition reported less impact than those in the critical history condition, $B = -.43$, $SE = .25$, $t(407) = -1.72$, $p = .09$, 95% CIs $[-.93, .06]$.

Examining all two-way interactions, two significant interactions emerged. The first significant two-way interaction replicated the results of Study 3, whereby there was a significant interaction of participant race and generational distance, $B = .39$, $SE = .07$, $t(1229) = 5.67$, $p < .001$, 95% CIs $[.25, .52]$. Examining simple effects, the same pattern emerged as in Study 3 and supports my hypotheses, where Black and White participants reported similar perceived impact of the Massacre on Black adult's ability to accumulate wealth, $B = .32$, $SE = .38$, $t(471) = .84$, $p = .40$, 95% CIs $[-.42, 1.06]$, but Black participants reported greater perceived impact on the wealth accumulation ability of the descendant children (marginal), $B = .71$, $SE = .37$, $t(412) = 1.93$, $p = .05$, 95% CIs $[-.01, 1.42]$, grandchildren $B = 1.10$, $SE = .37$, $t(412) = 2.99$, $p = .003$, 95% CIs $[.38, 1.81]$, and great grandchildren, $B = 1.48$, $SE = .38$, $t(471) = 3.92$, $p < .001$, 95% CIs $[.75, 2.22]$. The second significant two-way interaction represented an interaction between generational distance and the dummy code representing the difference being in the critical versus control condition, $B = .22$, $SE = .08$, $t(1229) = 2.56$, $p = .01$, 95% CIs $[.05, .38]$. Upon examining the simple effect of being in the critical versus control history condition at each generational distance, no simple effect reached significance, $ps > .07$. However, the pattern of effects suggested that participants in the critical condition (compared to the control condition) perceived

greater impact of the Massacre on the wealth accumulation of Black adults, but this condition effect diminished for judgments of more distal generations. No other two-way interactions were significant, $ps > .71$.

Finally, I examined the model testing the three-way interaction of participant race, history condition (dummy coded, reference category: critical history condition), and generational distance. While the three-way interaction term including the critical versus control history condition dummy was not significant, $B = -.24$, $SE = .17$, $t(1227) = -1.45$, $p = .15$, 95% CIs [-.58, .09], the three-way interaction term including the critical versus celebratory history condition was significant, $B = -.34$, $SE = .17$, $t(1227) = -2.04$, $p = .04$, 95% CIs [-.67, -.01]. Examining the simple effects of condition at each generational distance within race, no simple effect reached significance, all $ps > .06$. However, looking at the pattern, this three-way interaction was driven by racial differences in at which generational distance (more proximal vs. more distal) the effect of being in the critical versus celebratory history conditions was most pronounced. White participants in the critical history condition perceived the Massacre as having a greater impact on the wealth accumulation ability of generations more proximal to the Massacre (i.e., adults, children) compared to White participants in the celebratory history condition. However, Black participants in the critical history condition perceived the Massacre as having a greater impact on the wealth accumulation ability of generations more distal from the Massacre (i.e., great grandchildren, grandchildren) than Black participants in the celebratory history condition.

Taken together, replicating Study 3, Black and White participants agreed on the more direct wealth accumulation ability consequences of the Massacre (i.e., impact on adults), but Black Americans perceived the Massacre having a greater impact on those more indirectly affected by the Massacre (i.e., children and later generations). The effect of the critical history

condition was nuanced, as it increased perceptions of more direct consequences than the control history condition generally, and depending on race, led to the greater perception of direct consequences (White participants) or indirect consequences (Black participants) compared to the celebratory history condition.

Black Wealth Consequence (Indirect): Impact on Current Black-White Wealth Gap.

As expected and consistent with hypotheses related to racial perceptions of indirect consequences of the Tulsa Race Massacre, Black participants perceived the Massacre as having a greater impact on the current racial wealth gap than White participants, $B = .57$, $SE = .08$, $t(407) = 7.28$, $p < .001$, 95% CIs [.42, .73]. No significant differences in perceived impact emerged between participants in the critical and celebratory history conditions, $B = -.09$, $SE = .14$, $t(405) = -.63$, $p = .53$, 95% CIs [-.35, .18], or the critical and control history conditions, $B = -.05$, $SE = .13$, $t(405) = -.40$, $p = .69$, 95% CIs [-.32, .21]. Again, contrary to my hypothesis, there were no significant two-way interactions of participant race and history condition, $ps > .19$.

Mediation Analyses. I next turned to examine whether interdependent self-construal explained racial differences in the perceived temporal distance and indirect consequences of the Tulsa Race Massacre, I tested for mediation of the direct effect of race by reported interdependence. Given that, in this study, (a) Black participants reported greater interdependent self-construal in the overall measure and on the familial ancestor *and* generalized other interdependence than White participants and (b) there is no baseline to capture the directionality of shifts in interdependence, I test the full measure of interdependent self-construal, familial ancestral interdependence, and generalized other interdependence as mediators in three separate models for each outcome. Given that the effects of condition on self- and history-perceptions

were largely similar across race (unexpectedly), I test the mediation using the full sample of participants while controlling for condition.

Table 2
Study 4 Indirect Effect of Participant Race on Perceived Temporal Distance and Indirect Consequences through Interdependence Type

Interdependence Measure Tested as Mediator of Racial Difference	Indirect Effect	Bootstrapped Standard Error	Bias-Corrected Lower Limit	Bias-Corrected Upper Limit
Outcome = Perceived Temporal Distance of Tulsa Race Massacre				
Full Measure	-.031	.017	-.078	-.005
Familial Ancestor	-.040	.020	-.092	-.009
Generalized Other	-.007	.012	-.038	.011
Outcome = Years Negative Impact Lasted for Black Americans				
Full Measure	-1.278	.708	-3.150	-.266
Familial Ancestor	-.919	.651	-2.628	.064
Generalized Other	-.860	.586	-2.481	-.066
Outcome = Impact on Wealth Accumulation Ability				
Full Measure	-.003	.031	-.069	.058
Familial Ancestor	.004	.036	-.063	.085
Generalized Other	-.005	.025	-.069	.038
Outcome = Impact on Current Black-White Wealth Gap				
Full Measure	.0004	.012	-.022	.025
Familial Ancestor	-.004	.013	-.031	.020
Generalized Other	.002	.009	-.013	.023

Note. Bias-corrected 95% confidence intervals were calculated using 5,000 bootstrap samples. Significant indirect effects (95% CI does not include 0) are highlighted in boldface.

As in the prior study, I expected the direct effect of Black participants’ perceiving the Tulsa Race Massacre as (a) occurring more proximally to the present and (b) having greater indirect consequences than White participants would be partially explained through Black participants’ greater interdependence, particularly interdependence with familial ancestors. Results are displayed in Table 2.

Perceived Temporal Distance of Tulsa Race Massacre from Present. Black participants’ perception that the Massacre occurred temporally closer to the present than White participants was mediated by the full interdependent self-construal measure and the familial ancestor

interdependence subscale, but not the generalized other interdependence subscale. Thus, this pattern of results conceptually replicates Study 3 using a cross-sectional design. Thus, feeling a greater sense of interdependence, particularly with one's familial ancestors, mediated the observed racial differences in Black participants perceiving the Tulsa Race Massacre as occurring closer to the present than White participants.

Perceived Consequences of Tulsa Race Massacre. Unexpectedly, familial ancestor interdependence did not mediate any direct effect of race on perceived indirect consequences of the Tulsa Race Massacre. Also unexpectedly, the full interdependent self-construal measure and generalized other interdependence mediated the direct effect of race on the estimated number of years the Massacre impacted Black Americans, such that Black participants scored higher on these two interdependence measures than White participants, but, in this case, greater interdependence predicted smaller estimates of the temporal length (i.e., years) of the Massacre's impact on Black Americans.

Discussion

Replicating Study 3, Black participants again perceived the Tulsa Race Massacre as occurring temporally closer to the present and as having more indirect (but not direct) negative consequences for Black Americans than did White participants. In this study, while unaffected by history condition, Black participants reported greater absolute levels of interdependent self-construal than White participants. And, this greater perceived interdependence with familial ancestors among Black Americans mediated the racial difference in perceived temporal distance of the Massacre from the present. Unlike Study 3, interdependence with familial ancestors did not mediate racial differences in the perceived indirect consequences of the Massacre. Although in the current study, participants were exposed to either a more celebratory or more critical

historical depiction of the Tulsa Race Massacre, White participants in the critical history condition did not demonstrate the expected threat response. As hypothesized, Black participants in the critical history condition perceived the Tulsa Race Massacre as occurring closer to the present than Black participants in the control history condition, yet this same condition effect was found among White participants as well. Further, there was no significant difference in perceived temporal distance between the celebratory and critical history conditions among Black participants or White participants. Of note, although marginally significant effects, Black and White participants who engaged with the critical history of the Tulsa Race Massacre generally perceived more negative consequences of the Massacre than Black and White participants engaging with the celebratory historical depiction. Thus, for all participants, being exposed to the critical history of the Tulsa Race Massacre elicited the history to feel relatively closer to the present and somewhat increased perception of its consequences compared to the control and celebratory conditions, respectively.

Although this pattern of results aligned largely with my hypotheses for Black participants, this pattern of effects was contradictory to my hypotheses for White participants especially given the observed threat response to 1960s era critical Black history representations in Study 2. One potential reason for the lack of threat response among White Americans in the critical history condition is that the history of the Tulsa Race Massacre in the early 1920s may feel distant enough from the present to be safe. Thus, in Study 5, I manipulate the perceived proximity of the critical depiction of the Tulsa Race Massacre to examine whether increasing the felt proximity of critical Black history affects Black and White American's self- and history-perceptions as well as support for restorative justice to those impacted by past racism.

Hypothesis 5: Eliciting critical Black history to feel more proximal to the present (versus more distal) will elicit divergent effects on familial ancestor interdependence between Black and White Americans. For Black Americans, I predict that making critical Black history feel more temporally proximal to the present will elicit a greater sense of familial ancestor interdependence. However, for White Americans, making critical Black history feel more temporally proximal to the present will elicit a lower sense of familial ancestor interdependence. As in prior studies, these shifts in interdependence are expected to be associated with downstream outcomes of how the history is represented (perceived indirect consequences) as well as support for restorative justice.

Study 5

Taken together, the results of Studies 2 through 4, showed that history perceptions are motivated for both Black and White Americans, yet Studies 2 and 4 diverged in that White Americans exhibited a threat response to critical representations of Black history in Study 2, but not in Study 4. One key difference between the critical history representations in Study 2 versus Study 4 was their naturally occurring difference in proximity to the present. It may be the case that the more distal, objective temporal distance of the Tulsa Race Massacre may have elicited this critical historical representation to feel less threatening for White Americans and mitigated any difference between reactions to the critical and the celebratory history representations. This potential explanation would suggest that critical Black history that is made to feel more proximal might elicit a greater threat response from White Americans. In contrast, eliciting critical Black history to feel closer to the present may elicit a greater assimilation motivation among Black Americans.

I test this assumption in Study 5, by examining whether varying the temporal proximity of critical Black history (i.e., Tulsa Race Massacre) to the present day elicits predictable shifts in self-construal and if this, in turn, affects downstream perceptual and behavioral outcomes. Specifically, I expect Black Americans to report greater familial ancestor interdependence when the Tulsa Race Massacre is made to feel more temporally proximal to the present (vs. more distal), whereas I expect White Americans to report less familial ancestor interdependence when this critical Black history is made to feel more temporally proximal to the present (vs. more distal). Further, I test whether increasing the perceived proximity of the Tulsa Race Massacre to the present impacts behavioral support for financial reparations to survivors and descendants of the Massacre.

Methods

Participants

400 Black and White Americans were recruited from Prolific Academic recruitment services. My target recruitment sample size was 360 participants per a power analysis to provide more than 90% power to detect a small to medium effect size ($d = .40$, G-power) for a 2 (Condition: Proximal history, Distal history) x 2 (Participant Race: Black, White) between-subjects ANOVA. Thirty-seven participants were excluded due to reporting technical issues with the survey software, and 6 participants were excluded for failing to pass an a priori attention check. Thus, the final sample consisted of 356 Black and White American adults (50%, $n = 178$; 50%, $n = 178$, respectively; women: 42%, $n = 148$; men: 57%, $n = 201$; transgender/gender queer/did not disclose: 2%, $n = 7$) who on average in their mid-30s ($M = 35.99$, $SD = 12.53$). Participants reported primarily being born in the U.S. (97%, $n = 346$), and showed variance of political party identification that tracked closely with the national distribution within race with

slight overrepresentation of Black Republicans (Overall: Democrat: 57%, $n = 203$; Republican: 36%, $n = 129$; Independent: 7%, $n = 24$). Most participants reported having a bachelor's degree or higher (62%, $n = 219$) while the average educational attainment was between an associate's/vocational degree and a bachelor's degree ($M = 4.47$, $SD = 1.45$).

Relevant Cultural Context in which Study is Embedded

Data collection was conducted on April 2, 2021. Thus, data collection occurred more than a year after the COVID-19 pandemic was officially recognized by the U.S. federal government. In the previous weeks, multiple mass shootings occurred including the Atlanta Spa shooting that was racially motivated and spurred by growing overt anti-Asian prejudice that heightened in the U.S. during the COVID-19 pandemic. Additionally, multiple Republican-led state legislatures had begun to change voting laws to make it increasingly more difficult to vote with a disproportionately and implicitly intentional impact on Black and other racial minority voters who lean Democrat.

Procedure

Procedures for all participants mirror the procedures of Study 3 with one key difference: After watching the video on the Tulsa Race Massacre, participants were randomly assigned to one of two experimental conditions that varied the perceived temporal proximity of the history (proximal vs. distal). After completing the experimental manipulation, participants completed the dependent measures of interest⁸ and the same demographic questionnaire as in prior studies.

Experimental Manipulation. Before engaging with the critical Black history passage, participants completed a timeline manipulation drawn from prior research designed to vary the temporal proximity of past events (Peetz et al., 2010). This manipulation required participants to

⁸ Again, participants also answered the exploratory measures of individualistic attitudes, racial resentment, and strength of racial identity as in prior study, however they are not mentioned further in these analyses.

mark when the destruction of Black Wallstreet (1921) occurred on a timeline, with the right-most point representing the present. The leftmost point of the timeline varied as follows: participants randomly assigned to the *proximal history* condition saw a timeline where the leftmost endpoint read the “Louisiana Purchase (1803)” and those assigned to the *distal history* condition saw a timeline where the leftmost endpoint read the “Beginning of last century (1900).” Varying the leftmost endpoint of the timeline elicits in the proximal history condition to place the destruction of the Greenwood District visually closer to the present (the rightmost endpoint) on the timeline than participants in the distal history condition.

Measures

Placed and Perceived Temporal Distance of Tulsa Race Massacre from Present. As a manipulation check, participants completed the same two items ($r = .82, p < .001$) used in Studies 3 and 4 as a measure of perceived temporal distance of the destruction of the Greenwood District from the present. These two items were standardized and averaged ($M = .00, SD = .95$). Additionally, where the participants placed the Tulsa Race Massacre in relation to the present on their given timeline was captured, ranging from 0 = *Today (2021)* to 100 = *Louisiana Purchase (1803)/Beginning of last century (1900)* ($M = 66.29, SD = 20.28$).⁹

Interdependent Self-Construal. Participants completed the same nine-item measure of interdependent self-construal as in prior studies. These nine items again showed good reliability and were averaged to create an overall measure of interdependent self-construal ($M = 3.96, SD =$

⁹In the study, the timeline manipulation was ostensibly described as an “attention check.” This framing unexpectedly elicited reactions from participants, where some participants reported worry that they needed to put the mark in the exact right place on the timeline to be given credit for participating. Although all participants were paid, this worry about payment among some participants may have drawn focus away from the placement of the history in relation to the present, potentially muting the effect of the desired experimental manipulation.

1.19). The familial ancestor subscale ($\alpha = .86$) and generalized other subscale ($r = .73, p < .001$) were also examined as in the prior studies ($M_s = 3.85$ and $3.20, SD_s = 1.64$ and 1.41).

Perceived Consequences of the Tulsa Race Massacre. Participants completed the same four sub-measures from Studies 3 and 4 that measured the perceived direct and indirect consequences of the destruction of the Greenwood District.

General Consequence (Direct): Number of Black Americans Impacted Within One Year. As in prior studies, participants provided an open-ended estimate of the number of people both directly and indirectly impacted by the destruction of the Greenwood District within the year after the town was destroyed ($M = 42,256, SD = 54,232.41$). Outliers (estimates $> 148,750$) were reset to the outlier cutoff point.

General Consequence (Indirect): Years Negative Impact Lasted for Black Americans. Participants again estimated how many years the Tulsa Race Massacre negatively impacted the lives of Black Americans using a 100-point slide scale from *1921* to *2021* ($M = 1984.2, SD = 34.3$).

Black Wealth Consequence (Direct and Indirect): Impact on Massacre Survivors and Descendants Ability to Accumulate Wealth. After reading the brief definition of wealth as in prior studies, participants again responded to four questions about the impact that the Tulsa Race Massacre had on Black survivors' and their descendants' ability to accumulate wealth from $1 = 0\%$ *No impact* to $11 = 100\%$ *Complete impact*, specifically for the town's Black adults ($M = 8.30, SD = 2.01$), Black children ($M = 7.72, SD = 2.19$), Black descendant grandchildren ($M = 6.70, SD = 2.53$), and Black descendant great grandchildren ($M = 5.87, SD = 3.03$). These 4-items showed good reliability, $\alpha = .89$, and thus, except where noted, these items were averaged and analyzed as a composite measure ($M = 7.15, SD = 2.16$).

Black Wealth Consequence (Indirect): Impact on Current Black-White Wealth Gap.

Participants then responded to three items that measured the perceived impact of the destruction of the Greenwood District on the current Black-White wealth gap today. These items showed acceptable reliability, $\alpha = .76$, and thus were standardized and then averaged ($M = .00$, $SD = .83$).

Support for Financial Reparations for the Tulsa Race Massacre. Participants were then asked to read the following information before answering questions about support for financial reparations to be paid to Black businesses and Black survivors and descents of the Tulsa Race Massacre:

“Because you learned and answered questions about the history of the Greenwood District, we are interested in your opinions about current conversations and actions relevant to this history. Currently, national conversations are being had about whether there is a need to make financial reparations for Black Americans who were directly affected by or are descendants of the Tulsa Race Massacre. Financial reparations can include things such as community reinvestments that help redevelop or support Black businesses and organizations. It can also include direct financial compensation to those Black Americans directly disadvantaged by and/or are descended from the Tulsa Race Massacre. While there are arguments voiced on both sides of this debate, we are interested in your own opinions about this ongoing conversation.”

Reported Scale Support. Three items were used to measure self-reported support for the use of Oklahoma state tax dollars to provide financial compensation to Black businesses/organizations in Tulsa, Black survivors of the Tulsa Race Massacre, and Black descendants of the Tulsa Race Massacre. Participants responded to these three items (“To what extent do you support the use of Oklahoma state tax dollars to financially invest in Black-owned businesses and organizations in Tulsa, Oklahoma?”; “To what extent do you support the use of Oklahoma state tax dollars to provide direct financial compensation to Black Americans who survived the Tulsa Race Massacre?”; “To what extent do you support the use of Oklahoma state tax dollars to provide direct financial compensation to Black Americans who are direct descendants of the Tulsa Race Massacre?”) using a 7-point scale from 1 = *Do not support at all*

to 7 = *Strongly support*. These 3-items showed strong reliability, $\alpha = .93$, and were thus averaged ($M = 5.28$, $SD = 1.88$).

Behavioral Petition Support. Participants also were given the chance to express and engage in explicit support of a petition calling for reparations for the Tulsa Race Massacre. After answering the above scale items, participants were asked, “Would you sign a petition to support financial reparations for Tulsa Race Massacre survivors and their descendants?” Participants were given the options of “*Yes*” or “*No*” (Petition Support Behavior 1). Participants that responded “*Yes*” to Petition Support Behavior 1 were taken to a page where they then saw and were given the opportunity to respond to the following prompt: “You indicated that you would sign a petition in support of financial reparations for Tulsa Race Massacre survivors and their descendants. Would you like to share why you would support a petition like this? If yes, please feel free to use the textbox below to indicate the reason for your support.” Whether or not participants wrote a brief message was tracked (Petition Support Behavior 2). Finally, after the debriefing at the end of the study, participants who responded “*Yes*” to Petition Support Behavior 1 were given brief information and a link to a real, ongoing Change.org petition titled, “Reparations for 1921 Tulsa Race Massacre Survivors and Descendants” (Turner, 2020). Participants were informed that clicking the link was voluntary and that the researchers received no benefit of sharing the link or petition. Whether or not participants clicked the link to be directed to the live petition was tracked (Petition Support Behavior 3). Summing each of the three Petition Support Behaviors provided a 4-point scale from 0 = *Did not engage in any Petition Support Behaviors* to 3 = *Engaged in all three Petition Support Behaviors* ($M = 1.34$, $SD = .99$).

Results

Description of Key Correlations

Perceiving the Tulsa Race Massacre as occurring further from the present was again associated with perceiving fewer indirect consequences of the Massacre ($r_s < -.14, p_s < .01$), but was not significantly associated with the perception of direct consequences ($r = -.07, p = .20$), and was associated with less reported and behavior support for financial reparations of the Massacre, ($r_s < -.32, p_s < .001$). Replicating prior findings, greater interdependence with familial ancestors was significantly associated with seeing the Massacre as closer to the present ($r = -.22, p < .001$). Interestingly in this study, generalized other interdependence was also negatively associated with perceived temporal distance of the Massacre ($r = -.29, p < .001$). Further, both familial ancestral and generalized other interdependence were significantly associated with reported and behavioral support for financial reparations ($r_s > .12, p_s < .05$). As in Study 4, both the familial ancestral interdependence and generalized other interdependence were inconsistently, and non-significantly, associated with perceived indirect consequences of the Tulsa Race Massacre, all $p_s > .10$.

Primary Analyses

Unless specified, for each outcome I tested two regression models first testing the main effect of participant race and condition and then testing a separate interaction model with a two-way interaction term of participant race and condition.

Placed and Perceived Temporal Distance of Tulsa Race Massacre from Present. As a manipulation check, I examined whether participants (a) placed the Tulsa Race Massacre closer to the present on the timeline in the proximal (vs. distal) condition and (b) reported that the Massacre felt subjectively closer to the present in the proximal (vs. distal condition). As expected, participants in the proximal condition placed the Tulsa Race Massacre closer to the

present on the timeline than participants in the distal condition, $B = -30.27$, $SE = 1.43$, $t(353) = -21.19$, $p < .001$, 95% CIs [-33.08, -27.46]. While there was no significant main effect of race on the placement of the Tulsa Race Massacre, $B = 1.58$, $SE = 1.43$, $t(353) = 1.10$, $p = .27$, 95% CIs [-1.23, 4.39], there unexpectedly was a two-way interaction of participant race x condition, $B = 7.89$, $SE = 2.83$, $t(352) = 2.79$, $p = .006$, 95% CIs [2.32, 13.46]. In the proximal condition, Black participants placed the Tulsa Race Massacre further from the present than White participants, $B = 5.52$, $SE = 2.00$, $t(352) = 2.76$, $p = .006$, 95% CIs [1.58, 9.46], but there was no significant effect of race in the distal condition, $B = -2.37$, $SE = 2.00$, $t(352) = -1.18$, $p = .24$, 95% CIs [-6.31, 1.57].

Having shown that participants in the proximal condition placed the Tulsa Race Massacre closer to the present than participants in the distal condition, I next examined differences in the perceived temporal distance of the Tulsa Race Massacre from the present. As expected, Black participants perceived the Tulsa Race Massacre as occurring closer to the present than White participants, $B = -.39$, $SE = .10$, $t(353) = -3.89$, $p < .001$, 95% CIs [-.58, -.19]. However, although in the expected direction, there was no significant effect of condition on perceived temporal distance of the Massacre, $B = -.10$, $SE = .10$, $t(353) = -.98$, $p = .33$, 95% CIs [-.29, .10], and there was no two-way interaction of participant race and condition, $B = .10$, $SE = .20$, $t(352) = .50$, $p = .62$, 95% CIs [-.29, .49]. Therefore, although participants in the proximal history condition placed the Massacre visibly closer to the present on a timeline than did participants in the distal history condition, participants in the proximal history condition did not report perceiving that the Massacre occurred closer to the present.

Interdependent Self-Construal. As in Study 4, I examined whether race and condition influenced interdependent self-construal. Specifically, I expected a main effect of race whereby

Black participants will report greater interdependent self-construal, particularly familial ancestor interdependence, than White participants. I expected a significant two-way interaction of participant race and condition, whereby Black participants were expected to report the highest level of interdependent self-construal in the proximal history condition, and White participants were expected to report the highest level of interdependent self-construal in the distal history condition.

Full Interdependent Self-Construal Measure. As hypothesized, Black participants reported greater interdependent self-construal than White participants, $B = .48$, $SE = .12$, $t(353) = 3.83$, $p < .001$, 95% CIs [.23, .72], but there was no main effect of condition, $B = -.18$, $SE = .12$, $t(353) = -1.44$, $p = .15$, 95% CIs [-.42, .07]. There was no two-way interaction of participant race and condition, $B = -.04$, $SE = .25$, $t(352) = -.15$, $p = .88$, 95% CIs [-.52, .45].

Familial Ancestors. As hypothesized, Black participants also reported greater familial ancestor interdependence than White participants, $B = .79$, $SE = .17$, $t(353) = 4.69$, $p < .001$, 95% CIs [.46, 1.12], but there again was no main effect of condition, $B = -.13$, $SE = .17$, $t(353) = -.78$, $p = .44$, 95% CIs [-.46, .20]. Unexpectedly, there was no two-way interaction of participant race and condition, $B = -.27$, $SE = .34$, $t(352) = -.81$, $p = .42$, 95% CIs [-.94, .39], thus critical Black history being made to appear visually closer to versus distant from the present did not influence Black or White participant perceptions of interdependence with familial ancestors (Figure 10).

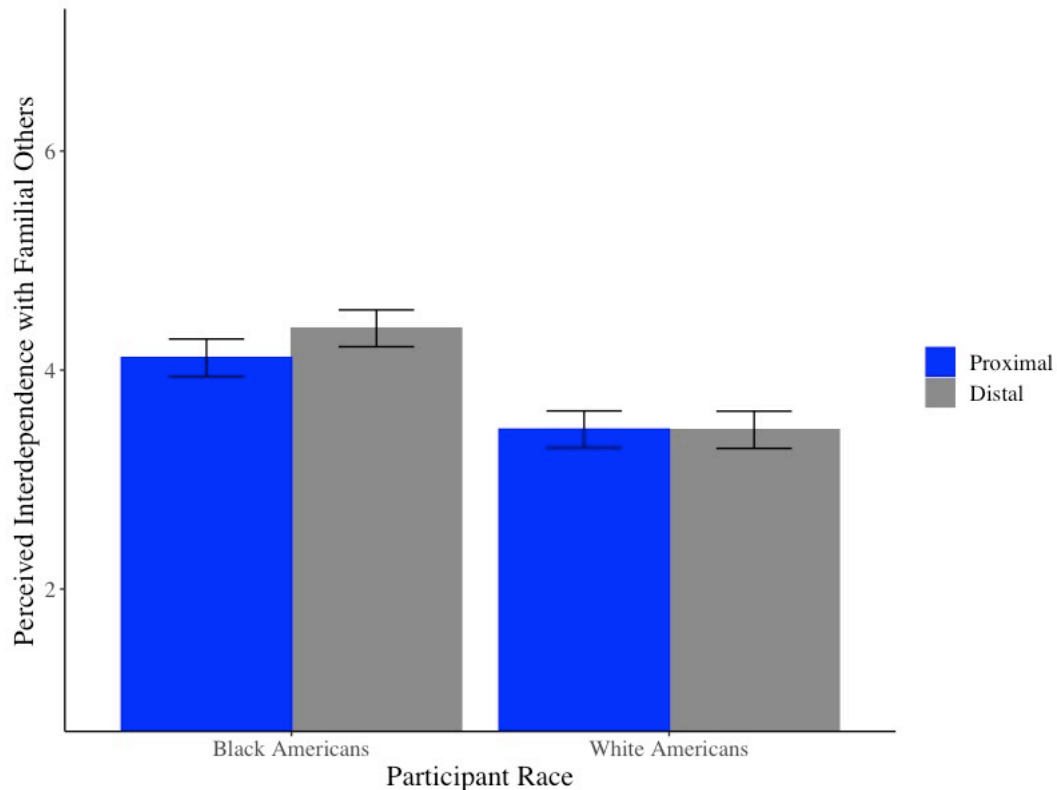


Figure 10
Familial Ancestor Interdependence by Participant Race and History Proximity in Study 5

Generalized Others. Consistent with my hypothesis that racial differences should be most pronounced among interdependence with familial others, there was no main effect of race or condition on generalized other interdependence, $B = .21$, $SE = .15$, $t(353) = 1.40$, $p = .16$, 95% CIs [-.08, .50], and, $B = -.10$, $SE = .15$, $t(353) = -.64$, $p = .52$, 95% CIs [-.39, .20]. Again, there was no two-way interaction of participant race and condition, $B = .07$, $SE = .30$, $t(352) = .24$, $p = .81$, 95% CIs [-.52, .66].

Perceived Consequences of the Tulsa Race Massacre. I again then tested for the effect of participant race and condition on perceived direct and indirect consequences of the Tulsa Race Massacre. As in past studies, I hypothesized that Black participants would report greater perception of indirect (but not direct) consequences of the Massacre than White participants, Unique to this study, I expect to find an interaction of participant race and condition, where

Black participants in the proximal history condition will report greater perception of indirect consequences than Black participants in the distal history condition, but that White participants in the proximal condition will report less perception of indirect consequences than White participants in the distal history.

General Consequence (Direct): Number of Black Americans Impacted Within One Year. Participants in the proximal history condition estimated a higher number of Black Americans impacted within a year of the Tulsa Race Massacre, $B = 15727$, $SE = 5654$, $t(352) = 2.78$, $p = .006$, 95% CIs [4608.0, 26845.7], and, unexpectedly, White participants reported higher estimates than Black participants, $B = -15140$, $SE = 5654$, $t(352) = -2.68$, $p = .008$, 95% CIs [-26259.0, -4021.4]. There was no two-way interaction of participant race and condition, $B = 5971$, $SE = 11319$, $t(351) = .53$, $p = .60$, 95% CIs [-16289.5, 28232.1]

General Consequence (Indirect): Years Negative Impact Lasted for Black Americans. No significant main effect of race or condition was observed, $B = -2.14$, $SE = 3.64$, $t(353) = -.59$, $p = .56$, 95% CIs [-9.30, 5.02], and $B = .74$, $SE = 3.64$, $t(353) = .20$, $p = .84$, 95% CIs [-6.42, 7.90]. However, the two-way interaction of participant race and condition was significant, $B = 16.73$, $SE = 7.24$, $t(352) = 2.31$, $p = .02$, 95% CIs [2.49, 30.97]. I first examined the simple effect of condition within participant race. Aligned with my hypothesis, I found a marginally significant effect where Black participants in the proximal condition estimated that the impact of the Massacre lasted more years than Black participants in the distal condition, $B = 9.11$, $SE = 5.12$, $t(352) = 1.78$, $p = .08$, 95% CIs [-.96, 19.17]. Although for White participants, the means are also in the hypothesized direction, there was no significant effect of being in the proximal versus distal condition for White participants, $B = -7.63$, $SE = 5.12$, $t(352) = -1.49$, $p = .14$, 95% CIs [-17.69, 2.44]. I next examined the simple effect of race within condition. Unexpectedly,

Black participants in the distal condition perceived that the impact of the Massacre lasted a decade shorter than White participants in the distal condition, $B = -.10.50$, $SE = 5.12$, $t(352) = -2.05$, $p = .04$, 95% CIs [-20.57, -.44], yet there was no significant effect of race in the proximal condition, $B = 6.23$, $SE = 5.12$, $t(352) = 1.22$, $p = .22$, 95% CIs [-3.84, 16.29]. Thus, decreasing the visual nearness of the Massacre to the present elicited White participants to perceive the Massacre as having a longer-lasting effect on Black Americans relative Black participants in the distal condition (Figure 11).

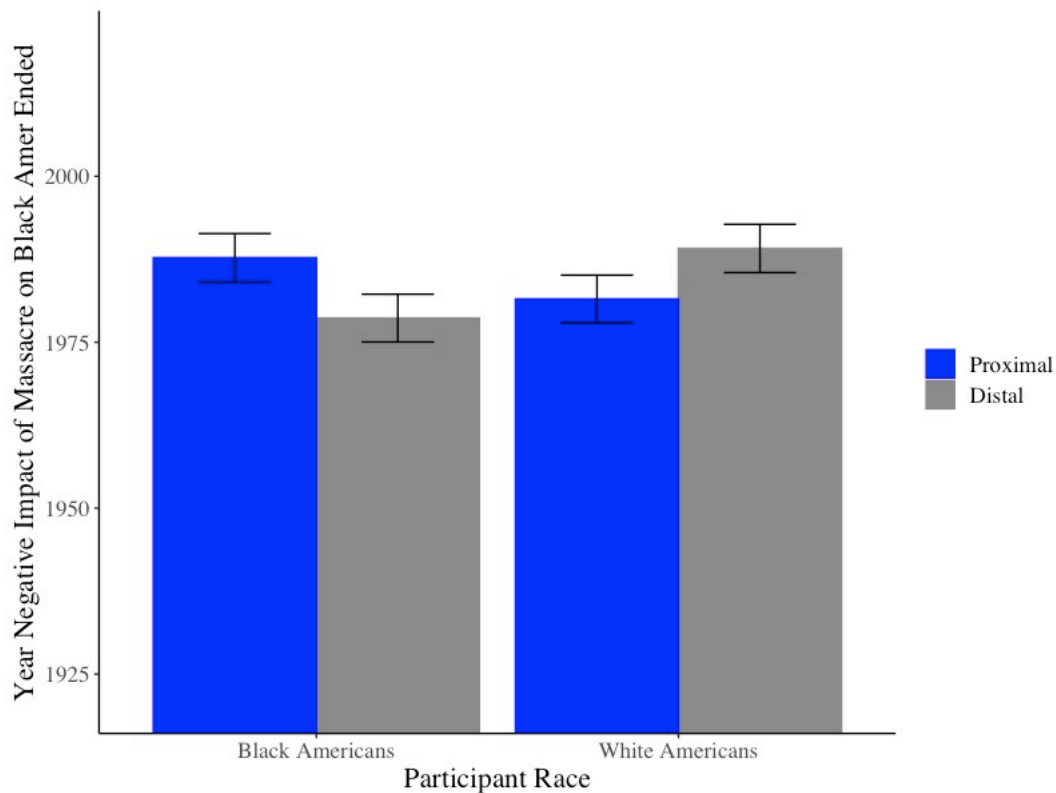


Figure 11
Estimated Year the Negative Impacts of Tulsa Race Massacre Ended for Black Americans (Indirect Consequence Perception) by Participant Race and History Proximity in Study 5

Black Wealth Consequence (Direct and Indirect): Impact on Massacre Survivors and Descendants Ability to Accumulate Wealth. First examining main effects and replicating the prior studies, Black participants perceived greater overall impact on the ability of Massacre

survivors and descendants to accumulate wealth than White participants, $B = .45$, $SE = .23$, $t(353) = 1.99$, $p = .048$, 95% CIs [.01, .90], and the further the generation was removed from the Massacre, the less participants perceived the impact of the Massacre on wealth accumulation ability, $B = -.83$, $SE = .03$, $t(1067.00) = -25.45$, $p < .001$, 95% CIs [-.90, -.77]. There was no main effect of condition, $B = -.18$, $SE = .23$, $t(353) = -.80$, $p = .43$, 95% CIs [-.63, .27]. I then tested all two-way interactions, and a significant interaction of participant race and generational distance emerged, $B = .61$, $SE = .06$, $t(1065) = 9.70$, $p < .001$, 95% CIs [.48, .73], while no other two-way interactions were significant and the three-way interaction was also non-significant, $ps > .10$. Examining the two-way interaction of participant race and generational distance, a similar pattern emerged as in previous studies that support my main hypotheses. Unique to this sample however, Black participants reported less perceived impact of the Massacre on Black adult's ability to accumulate wealth than White participants, $B = -.77$, $SE = .34$, $t(413.11) = -2.30$, $p = .02$, 95% CIs [-1.43, -.12], and there was no simple effect of race on the perceived impact of the Massacre on the wealth accumulation ability of Black descendant children, $B = -.17$, $SE = .32$, $t(358.64) = -.51$, $p = .61$, 95% CIs [-.80, .47], or grandchildren, $B = .44$, $SE = .32$, $t(358.64) = 1.36$, $p = .17$, 95% CIs [-.19, 1.08]. However, similar to prior studies in the most distal generation, Black Americans reported perceiving greater impact of the Massacre on the wealth accumulation ability of Black descendant great grandchildren, $B = 1.05$, $SE = .34$, $t(413.11) = 3.12$, $p = .002$, 95% CIs [.39, 1.71].

Black Wealth Consequence (Indirect): Impact on Current Black-White Wealth Gap.

As hypothesized and consistent with the prior studies, Black participants reported perceiving the Tulsa Race Massacre as having a larger impact on the current Black-White wealth gap than White participants, $B = .60$, $SE = .08$, $t(353) = 7.26$, $p < .001$, 95% CIs [.44, .76]. There was no

main effect of condition on the perceived impact of the Massacre of the current Black-White wealth gap, $B = -.13$, $SE = .08$, $t(353) = -1.57$, $p = .12$, 95% CIs [-.29, .03] and, unexpectedly there was no significant two-way interaction of participant race and condition, $B = .12$, $SE = .16$, $t(352) = .71$, $p = .48$, 95% CIs [-.21, .44].

Support for Financial Reparations for the Tulsa Race Massacre. I next examined the effect of participant race and condition on a self-report scale measure and a behavioral measure of support for financial reparations for individuals and businesses impacted by the Tulsa Race Massacre. Black participants expressed greater reported support and behavioral support for financial reparations than White participants, $B = 1.47$, $SE = .18$, $t(352) = 8.07$, $p < .001$, 95% CIs [1.11, 1.83], and $B = .56$, $SE = .10$, $t(353) = 5.57$, $p < .001$, 95% CIs [.36, .76], respectively. Additionally, participants in the proximal condition expressed less reported support and behavioral support for financial reparations than participants in the distal condition, $B = -.44$, $SE = .18$, $t(352) = -2.43$, $p = .02$, 95% CIs [-.80, -.08], and, $B = -.24$, $SE = .10$, $t(353) = -2.40$, $p = .02$, 95% CIs [-.44, -.04]. For both reported support and behavioral support, a marginal two-way interaction of race and condition emerged, $B = .60$, $SE = .36$, $t(351) = 1.63$, $p = .10$, 95% CIs [-.12, 1.31], and, $B = .33$, $SE = .20$, $t(352) = 1.65$, $p = .10$, 95% CIs [-.06, .72], respectively. For both reported support and behavioral support, White participants in the proximal condition had less support for financial reparations than White participants in the distal condition, $B = -.74$, $SE = .26$, $t(351) = -2.88$, $p = .004$, 95% CIs [-1.24, -.23], and, $B = -.41$, $SE = .14$, $t(352) = -2.87$, $p = .004$, 95% CIs [-.68, -.13], respectively. However, among Black participants, there was no effect of condition on either reported support or behavioral support for financial reparations, $B = -.15$, $SE = .26$, $t(351) = -.57$, $p = .57$, 95% CIs [-.65, .36], and, $B = -.08$, $SE = .14$, $t(352) = -.54$, $p = .59$, 95% CIs [-.35, .20], respectively (Figure 12).

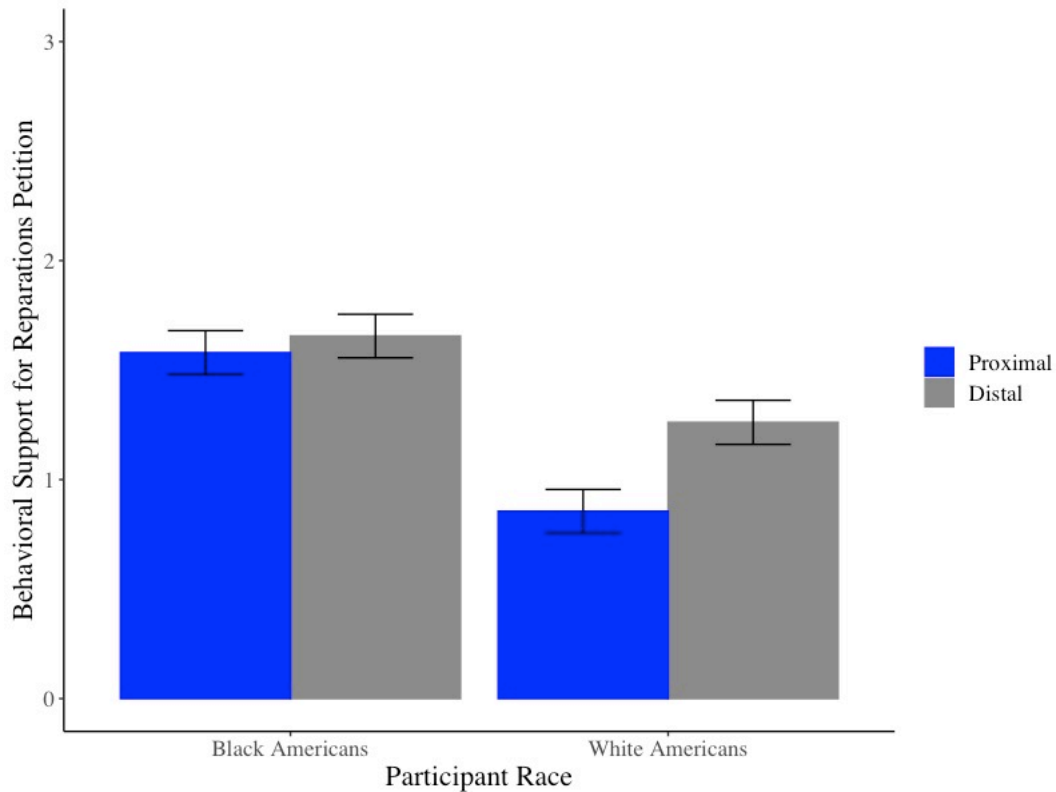


Figure 12
Behavioral Support for Petition to Financially Compensate Survivors and Descendants of the Tulsa Race Massacre by Participant Race and History Proximity in Study 5

Mediation Analyses. As in the prior studies, I next examined whether interdependent self-construal explained racial differences in perceived temporal distance and indirect consequences of the Tulsa Race Massacre. In this study, I also examined whether interdependent self-construal explained racial differences in support for financial reparations to Black Americans. Specifically, I expected the direct effect of Black participants showing more support for financial reparations and perceiving the Tulsa Race Massacre as (a) occurring more proximally to the present (b) having greater indirect consequences than White participants would be partially explained by Black participants’ greater interdependence, particularly interdependence with familial ancestors. Given that there was no significant condition effect on

interdependent self-construal, I collapse across condition and control for condition in these mediation analyses. Results are displayed in Table 3.

Table 3

Study 5 Indirect Effect of Participant Race on Perceived Temporal Distance, Indirect Consequences, and Reparations Support through Interdependence Type

Interdependence Measure Tested as Mediator of Racial Difference	Indirect Effect	Bootstrapped Standard Error	Bias-Corrected Lower Limit	Bias-Corrected Upper Limit
Outcome = Perceived Temporal Distance of Tulsa Race Massacre				
Full Measure	-.113	.036	-.195	-.053
Familial Ancestor	-.085	.033	-.161	-.031
Generalized Other	-.04	.03	-.109	.009
Outcome = Years Negative Impact Lasted for Black Americans				
Full Measure	-.389	.808	-2.11	1.166
Familial Ancestor	.408	.895	-1.259	2.307
Generalized Other	-.29	.401	-1.58	.178
Outcome = Impact on Wealth Accumulation Ability				
Full Measure	-.035	.052	-.156	.055
Familial Ancestor	-.034	.06	-.167	.075
Generalized Other	-.018	.026	-.101	.011
Outcome = Impact on Current Black-White Wealth Gap				
Full Measure	.007	.017	-.024	.045
Familial Ancestor	-.013	.021	-.056	.026
Generalized Other	.007	.009	-.003	.036
Outcome = Reported Support for Financial Reparations				
Full Measure	.111	.048	.037	.226
Familial Ancestor	.041	.046	-.041	.144
Generalized Other	.045	.035	-.01	.134
Outcome = Behavioral Support for Financial Reparations				
Full Measure	.053	.024	.015	.115
Familial Ancestor	.027	.026	-.018	.084
Generalized Other	.031	.023	-.01	.083

Note. Bias-corrected 95% confidence intervals were calculated using 5,000 bootstrap samples. Significant indirect effects (95% CI does not include 0) are highlighted in boldface.

Perceived Temporal Distance of Tulsa Race Massacre from Present. Black participants' perception that the Massacre occurred temporally closer to the present was again mediated by the full interdependent self-construal measure and the familial ancestor interdependence subscale,

but not the generalized other interdependence subscale. Thus, as hypothesized and directly replicating Study 4, feeling a greater sense of interdependence, particularly with one's familial ancestors, mediated the observed racial differences in Black participants perceiving the Tulsa Race Massacre as occurring closer to the present than White participants.

Perceived Indirect Consequences of Tulsa Race Massacre. Similar to Study 4, there was no significant mediation of racial differences in the perceived indirect consequences of the Massacre by familial ancestor interdependence. Further, there was also no mediation by either the full interdependent self-construal measure or the generalized other subscale.

Support for Financial Reparations for the Tulsa Race Massacre. For both reported and behavioral support for reparations, Black participants' greater support for financially compensating Massacre survivors and descendants than White participants was significantly mediated by higher levels of interdependent self-construal (full measure). Unexpectedly, there was no significant mediation of support for reparations by familial ancestor interdependence (or generalized other interdependence).

Discussion

Replicating the prior two studies, Black participants reported perceiving the Tulsa Race Massacre as occurring temporally closer to the present and generally have more indirect, negative consequences than did White participants. As in Study 4, Black participants also reported greater familial ancestor interdependence than White participants, and this again only mediated the racial difference in the perceived temporal distance of the Tulsa Race Massacre from the present. Overall, Black participants also showed greater support for financial reparations being paid to Black descendants and survivors of the Tulsa Race Massacre than White Americans. Interestingly, this racial difference was mediated by overall reported

interdependence, but unexpectedly not by familial ancestral interdependence (or generalized other interdependence). Although unexpected, this finding does align with the hypothesized effect of generally having a more interdependent view of the self in the U.S.—increased empathy, solidarity, and concern for others broadly, and greater concern for the good of one’s in-group specifically (see Markus, 2017, Table 1). Given that the proposed financial reparations in this study would only be paid to Black survivors/descendants of the Tulsa Race Massacre, it is unlikely that either Black or White participants in this study would have directly benefitted from supporting these reparations. However, Black participants’ general sense of interdependence with others may have elicited concern, solidarity, and support for other Black in-group members, increasing support for reparatory justice for those Black Americans connected to the Massacre.

Unique to this study, I sought to manipulate the perceived temporal proximity of the Tulsa Race Massacre to the present. The condition manipulation did not shift Black or White participants’ reported perceptions of the temporal distance of the Tulsa Race Massacre from the present or reported interdependent self-construal. While Black participants reported little to no differences by condition, the effect of the condition did have some influence on White participants’ perceptions of the Massacre’s consequences and support for restorative justice. Specifically, White participants in the distal history condition reported increase perception of the length of time the consequences of the Massacre lasted for Black Americans and were more supportive of reparations than those in the proximal history condition. While Black participants’ self- and history-perceptions were not affected by the appearance of critical history as closer versus further from the present, my results indicate that for White participants, permitting critical history to appear more temporally distant from the present may increase acknowledgment of the history’s consequences and support for reparations. Again, this pattern of results highlights a

seeming paradox among White Americans, as perceiving the Tulsa Race Massacre as temporally closer to the present is strongly associated with both perceiving greater indirect consequences of the Massacre and support for restorative action.

Chapter 4: General Discussion

Across six studies, I tested the interrelationship between self-construal and history cognitions, and whether (a) the extent to which Black history explicitly depicts racism, (b) its perceived proximity to the present, and (c) one's racial group membership shifts both self- and history-perceptions in motivated ways among Black and White Americans. My results provide overarching support for these proposed relationships.

In Study Set 1, I both manipulated self-construal to examine its effect on American's perception of recent histories and manipulated the racial content of historical events to examine its effect on White Americans' self-construal and history perceptions. The results of the Pilot Study and Study 1 provided preliminary evidence that prompting American participants to focus on their connection to family can elicit the recent past to feel closer to the present, regarding both abstract recent events (i.e., one year ago; Pilot Study) as well as specific recent events salient in the present collective consciousness (i.e., killing of Trayvon Martin in 2012 during the nationwide George Floyd protests in summer 2020; Study 1). However, in Study 2, I examined how anti-Black attitudes within White American populations motivate self- and history-perceptions when engaging with U.S. history that explicitly acknowledges anti-Black racism committed by past racial in-group members (e.g., George Wallace's 1963 segregation forever speech). Specifically, racially resentful White Americans made to engage with this more critical Black history (compared to Black history celebrating racial progress) reduced their perceived connection to familial ancestors and perceptually pushed the history further to the distant past.

In Study Set 2, I examined whether racial differences in critical Black history perceptions among Black and White Americans can be explained by a divergence in felt interdependence with familial ancestors when engaging with this history. In these studies, I employed the history of the 1921 Tulsa Race Massacre. Critically, I find that Black Americans' (but not White Americans) sense of connection to familial ancestors is increased when engaging with this critical Black history (Study 3), and this greater interdependence with familial ancestors consistently mediated Black Americans perceiving the Massacre as closer to the present than White Americans (Studies 3 – 5). Importantly, perceiving the Massacre as closer to the present was consistently associated with perceiving more indirect consequences of this history, although familial ancestor interdependence was not found to consistently mediate racial differences in indirect consequence perceptions. Further, I find some evidence that critical representations (rather than celebratory representations) of more distal histories like the 1921 Tulsa Race Massacre may elicit greater perception of the history's consequences among both Black and White Americans (Study 4); but only for White Americans, indirect consequence perceptions and support for restorative justice are undermined if the Massacre is made to visually appear proximal to the present day (Study 5).

Theoretical Advances

Collectively, these six studies provide several important theoretical advances. First, this set of studies contributes to the growing calls to understand cultural influences on the self as dynamic and to examine within-country variation in conceptions of self (Brannon et al., 2015; Kitayama, 2002; Markus, 2017; Talhelm et al., 2014). Specifically, in this research self-construal is manipulated experimentally as well as shown to be affected by engagement with cultural products. Whereas past research has examined the effect of engaging with more positive (i.e.,

celebratory) Black cultural products on the self-perception of Black Americans (Brannon et al., 2015), this study contributes that engaging with more critical Black representations of history shift self-perceptions in motivated ways for both Black and White Americans. Specifically, engaging with history depicting anti-Black racism motivates Black Americans to perceive the self as more relationally interdependent with familial ancestors and in turn facilitates assimilating history with the present. In contrast for White Americans, engaging with critical Black history motivates lower perception of connection with familial ancestors, either by directly decreasing felt connection (Study 2) or through increasing felt connection to other abstract, collective relationships (Study 3). This observed racial divergence in interdependent self-construal points to how engaging with past in-group wrongdoing can further motivate White Americans to double-down on the self as independent, self-made, and, separate from past others, to reduce the threat of group-based privilege this connection may evoke (Knowles et al., 2014), which may cyclical contribute to widening cultural divide on the importance of critical racial histories (1619 Project versus 1776 Project and Commission; Friedersdorf, 2020; The White House, 2021; Woods, 2020).

Second, this study contributes to the understanding of the relationship between self-construal, subjective temporal distance, and perceptions of indirect consequences of focal events. While past cross-cultural research has examined the effect of self-construal on these past-relevant cognitions using between-country designs (Ji et al., 2009; Maddux & Yuki, 2006), these past studies rely on expected between-country variation in cultural orientation (e.g., more individualistic versus collectivist) to support their findings of the relationship between self-construal and past-relevant cognitions. However, the present research both explicitly manipulated self-construal (Pilot Study and Study 1) and measured self-construal to examine its

effect on perceived temporal distance and indirect consequences of past events and histories. When examining racial differences in history cognitions (Study set 2), consistent with past cross-cultural research, greater relational interdependent self-construal (i.e., familial ancestors) was consistently associated with a more proximal temporal perspective of the past. Although, no consistent association of familial ancestor interdependence was found for perceived indirect consequences of past racism, consistent with cross-cultural psychological (Gao, 2016) and construal-level theory (Trope & Liberman, 2010), a more proximal temporal perspective was consistently associated with perceiving greater indirect consequences of this history.

Third, this research contributes to findings related to the asymmetry of responses to past group wrongdoing contingent on one's in-group connection to the past oppressor or oppressed group (for review, see Bilali & Vollhardt, 2019). Past research has focused on how level of in-group identification (e.g., Doosje et al., 1998) and in-group glorification (e.g., Li et al., 2021) motivates asymmetrical responses to reminders of in-group wrongdoing. Consistent with this past research, strength of racial identification motivated asymmetrical perceptions of the temporal distance of critical Black history depending on racial group membership. Specifically, strength of racial identification among Black Americans predicted perceiving the Tulsa Race Massacre as more proximal to the present but was not associated with temporal distance perceptions among White Americans. I also find evidence that negative racial attitudes toward Black Americans (i.e., racial resentment) motivated symmetrical responses to critical Black history, as greater racial resentment predicts perceiving the Tulsa Race Massacre as further from the present across race. However, the primary focus of this research centered on how engaging with past wrongdoing can itself motivate asymmetrical cultural self-views which in turn facilitate asymmetrical representations of the historical wrongdoing. Correspondingly, in this research,

present-day Black Americans represented the self more interdependently with past others when engaging with histories depicting anti-Black racism, which elicited Black Americans to perceive this history as temporally closer to the present than did White Americans.

And finally, this research contributes to theory on how White and Black Americans manage their ties and connection to past histories of racism at a relational versus a collective level. As highlighted in the introduction, the theory of Sankofan processes (Jones & Leitner, 2015) proposes that Black Americans are motivated to assimilate past racism to the present, whereas White Americans are motivated to contrast past racism with the present. Past research has focused on how members of in-groups who have perpetrated historical mistreatment of outgroups manage their perception of the in-group to protect the self. Specifically, these individuals either reduce the perceived collective continuity of the in-group over time (e.g., “we are different now”; Witt et al., 2019) or manage their sense of identification with the in-group (distancing strategy; Knowles et al., 2014). The present findings offer an additional mechanism that centers the role of dynamic perceptions of concrete, relational connections to the past. Unlike with more abstract group membership, it may be more difficult to perceive familial connections as discontinuous over time or to chronically disidentify with close familial others. This research suggests that felt interdependence with others operates dynamically in a manner to protect the self from the threat of past wrongdoing (e.g., reducing interdependence with threatening others, focusing interdependence on non-threatening relationships). For example, among White Americans in Study 2, racially-resentful White Americans reported greater identification with their racial in-group and overall perceived greater interdependence with familial ancestors, yet were uniquely likely to reduce their perceived interdependence with familial ancestors when confronted with critical Black history. This reactive management of

threatening history, when presented, through varying in-the-moment relational interdependence with past others may afford members of historically oppressive groups the chronic ability to remain highly identified with a historically oppressive in-group and to perceive the in-group as highly continuous across time.

Practical Implications

This research also has practical implications on how Americans collectively learn about history and its relation to the present, as well as how Americans consider their personal connections to the past. First, this research implicates how incorporating more critical Black history in broader collective knowledge can have a significant impact on both Black and White Americans' perceptions and understanding of history. Study 4 showed that being made to engage with concrete details about the history of the Greenwood District and Tulsa Race Massacre generally elicited the history to feel subjectively more proximal to the present for both Black and White Americans, regardless of whether depicted as more critical or more celebratory in nature. Again, reducing the perceived temporal distance of an object or event increases attention to its idiosyncratic details and nuances, which can increase attention to the interrelation between a focal event and more far-reaching consequences. However, this study also provided evidence that in addition to bringing histories of oppression closer, the content of the history also matters for facilitating greater perception of its potential far-reaching consequences. Both Black and White participants in the critical history condition perceived more indirect consequences of the Massacre (i.e., higher estimates of years Black Americans negatively impacted, greater perceived impact on generational wealth accumulation) than those in the celebratory history condition. Thus, in addition to simply teaching more Black history, highlighting *both* the positive celebratory aspects (e.g., 1960 Civil Rights Movement won Black people the right to vote) and

the critical aspects (e.g., White police officers beat primarily Black Americans walking across the Edmund Pettis bridge in support of Black voting rights) is critical to not only bringing history perceptually closer to the present but to increase perceptions of its more nefarious consequences for the present (e.g., systemic racism; Bonam et al., 2018; Salter & Adams, 2016).

Second, this research also highlights that simply exposing individuals to critical Black history is not enough to promote interracial agreement on past racism's impact on the present. The present research demonstrates that exposure to the exact same historical event elicits racially divergent representations of history. Given that Black and White Americans shown the same histories represent the history in motivated, self-protective ways, building coalition, acknowledgment, and agreement about the collective meaning of the past oppression requires more than simply exposing dominant group members to history depicting past in-group wrongdoing. To this point, supplementing learning about the historical mistreatment and context affecting marginalized group members with actual intergroup contact with members of the marginalized group may promote greater awareness of systemic oppression while also reducing prejudicial attitudes and increasing support for policies that promote equity among dominant group members (Cadenas et al., 2018; Lopez, 2004). In addition to focusing on outgroup contact, it is likely important to focus on increasing dominant group members' acknowledgment of their connection to past in-group others when engaging with histories of oppression. As highlighted by Knowles and colleagues (2014), promoting White Americans to adopt a lay theory of multiple necessary causes (see, Kelley, 1973) regarding their racial privilege may offer a pathway forward. This construal of in-group privilege acknowledges that White American's hard work matters for their life outcomes, but that their connection to familial ancestors and the past more broadly, even if it implicates privilege, matters, too (see, Knowles et al., 2014). For White

Americans, acknowledging that both personal actions and benefits derived from past in-group actions matter may reduce the potential threat of feeling relationally connected to past others when engaging with critical Black history and thus increase the likelihood that the history will be assimilated with the present.

Finally, this research highlights two paradoxical perceptions among White Americans that may function either as critical impediments or levers to building support for restorative justice for past racism. The first paradox is found among racially resentful White Americans. Again, holding racially resentful attitudes signifies greater blaming of Black American work ethic (instead of past and continued structural racism) for their current social and economic position in the U.S. (Kam & Burge, 2017; Sears & Henry, 2003). In this research, compared to White Americans low in racial resentment, racially resentful White Americans simultaneously reported greater interdependence with familial ancestors *and* greater perceived distance of the 1960s speeches (Study 2) and the Tulsa Race Massacre (Study 3). In addition to reporting incongruent self-construal and temporal proximity perspectives, this pattern signals that racially resentful White Americans may value and see themselves as more connected to past others, but not connected to America's (racist) past. Second, when explicitly measuring support for financial compensation for the Tulsa Race Massacre survivors and descendants, White participants expressed greater support when the history was made to appear visually distant from the present. While recent research finds that support for restorative justice decreases the further the in-group wrongdoing is perceived from the present (Li et al., 2021), these present findings signal that attempts to increase the perceived proximity of past racism to the present may elicit reactance among dominant group members, undermining support for restorative justice. Thus, efforts to build interracial support for restorative justice through simply increasing the perceived proximity

of past racism may elicit backlash among White Americans broadly. This finding also suggests that White Americans may be more open to restorative justice efforts if the perceived temporal proximity of the past racism fits with their preferred (i.e., distal) temporal perspective. Future research should more directly test this effect of temporal distance fit on restorative justice support.

Limitations

One limitation of the present research was measuring self-construal using explicit measures. Often explicit measures of self-construal are thought of as not sensitive enough to reflect between-group differences in self-construal, as level of independence and interdependence are often culturally situated to the group in question (Kitayama, 2002; Kitayama et al., 2009). For this reason, measures of self-construal often rely on shifts in behavior after engaging with cultural products (e.g., more cooperation; Brannon et al., 2015), implicit measures (e.g., symbolic self-inflation; Kitayama et al., 2009; Park et al., 2016), or more open-ended coding of the presence of independent versus interdependent self-descriptions (e.g., Twenty Statements Task; Cousins, 1989). Acknowledging this potential limitation of more explicit measures of interdependent self-construal, the use of the explicit measure in Studies 1-5 allowed the capturing of felt interdependence with specific others that varied in their relational (versus collective) connections to the self and temporal connections to history, critical to my hypotheses. Further, finding and replicating both the expected pattern of racial differences in familial ancestor interdependence and the expected correlation between familial ancestor interdependence and perceived temporal distance instills confidence that this explicit measure tapped the desired form of relational interdependent self-construal. Future research should employ more behavioral, symbolic, or open-ended measures of interdependence to corroborate

the present findings. For example, when engaging with critical Black history, White Americans may be motivated to focus on individualistic behaviors that affirm one's sense of independence, such as the preference for choice. Savani and Rattan (2012) found that Americans who were asked to think about the personal choices they made in the previous day were less disturbed by wealth inequality in the U.S. and were less supportive of redistributive processes. As culture is cyclical and mutually constituted (Markus & Kitayama, 2010), engaging with critical Black history might increase White Americans' attention to personal choices to reaffirm the self as independent and protect against the threat of feeling relationally interdependent with past others.

A second limitation is that the present research did not explicitly measure the extent to which taking a more relational interdependent construal of self increased attention to and greater inclusion of context. Taking a more relational interdependent self-construal is associated with a more proximal temporal perspective and perceiving more indirect consequences because this construal of self elicits taking more context into account and attending to low-level details and interrelationships between events (Kuhnen & Oysrman, 2002; Gao, 2016). Although I examined whether experimentally manipulating participants to take a more interdependent self-construal increased concrete-level thinking (Pilot Study and Study 1), these results were non-significant. This null finding of self-construal and construal-level may have been due to the measurement of concrete mindset was not specific to the study context. Future research should explicitly measure how the greater attention to context-specific information (e.g., holistic processing; Jones-Taylor et al., 2019) may explain why shifts in self-construal are associated with taking a proximal temporal perspective of race-relevant histories. For example, given members of dominant groups misremember more concrete details of past in-group wrongdoing in motivated ways (Doosje et al., 1998; Rotella & Richeson, 2013), future research might examine whether self-construal

predicts greater attending to or memory of idiosyncratic-contextual details and facts embedded in critical Black history depictions.

Future Directions

Future research should contribute nuance to when Black Americans may not be motivated to assimilate critical Black history with the present and when White Americans may be particularly motivated to assimilate critical Black history with the present. For Black Americans, the content of the critical Black history is likely to determine whether it is assimilated with the present. Returning to the theory of Sankofan processes (Jones & Leitner, 2015), it is proposed that Sankofa processes will occur when history provides a form of self or collective knowledge that provides guidance to either (a) reproduce past success in the present and elicit positive future expectations or (b) avoid or benefit from past failures in the present and to adjust future expectations (e.g., preparation for prejudice and discrimination; Jones & Leitner, 2015). Thus, Black history that depicts racism but does not contain information helpful to reproducing past successes or avoid past failures in the present, such as history representations that solely focus on the racial trauma and terrorism that past Black Americans faced at the hands of White Americans, should not be assimilated to the present. For example, the 2017 film *Detroit* (directed by a White woman) detailed the brutal torture of Black Americans by police officers in 1967 Detroit. The film was negatively received, especially by Black Americans, especially criticized for its sole, dehumanizing focus on Black pain with little attention given to Black characters' personal and broader historical contexts (Joyce, 2017; Lai, 2018; Young, 2017). Future research in this area is critical to ensure that critical representations of Black history, whether in film or the classroom, promote learning and self/collective knowledge and avoid incurring additional costs to well-being (e.g., mental health) for Black Americans.

In contrast for White Americans, one's personal need to restore a sense of control may elicit greater assimilation of critical Black history to the present. Recent research among Germans has illuminated that representations of national histories serve to restore a sense of control and morality among dominant groups. Specifically, when a personal sense of control is under threat, individuals with a strong desire for control are more willing to accept in-group history that signals power and dominance over other groups as self-relevant, even if the historical actions by one's in-group are admittedly immoral (e.g., the Nazi occupation of Eastern Europe; Bilewicz et al., 2019). Given the cultural emphasis on individualism and personal control in the U.S., future research should explore whether White Americans who either momentarily or more chronically perceive a lack of personal control (e.g., low-income White Americans) show greater interdependence with familial ancestors when engaging with and greater assimilation of (e.g., proximal temporal distance, greater acknowledgment of indirect consequences) history depicting White Americans engaging in explicit anti-Black racism or other group-based oppression.

Accordingly, it is important to highlight the current findings do not suggest White Americans are ahistorical, but that distancing of certain histories is motivated. Compared to members of collectivistic cultures, members of individualistic cultures do focus more on the present and proximal past, and less on the more distant past (Gao, 2016). However, in Western culture, feelings of nostalgia are generally important to giving meaning to life because it boosts a sense of social connection with others (Routledge et al., 2011), and perceiving a sense of temporal continuity between one's in-group in the current day and the past is important for maintaining a positive view of the in-group (Sani et al., 2007). From a collective memory perspective, dominant groups may value or feel most connected to histories that provide a sense of collective self-enhancement (Salter & Adams, 2016). For example, Southern, rural White

Americans, who often harbor resentment toward Black Americans for, in their view, violating norms of individualism (Katz & Hass, 1988; Kinder & Sears, 1981; Sears & Henry, 2003), often claim to value family legacy and connection to certain in-group histories. For example, White Americans are the primary attendees and organizers of Civil War re-enactments and express attending these events seeking to re-experience and engage with their ancestral legacy (Behrendt, 2020; Crosby, 2019; Tsatsas, 2020). Similarly, common narratives explaining southern White American affinity for the Confederate flag and monuments relate to pride about family history and a need to preserve what they consider to be important Southern legacy and tradition (Farmer, 2005). Given ample evidence that White Americans, given the proper context and historical event, may experience similar feelings of interdependence with familial ancestors, future research should examine these self- and history-perceptual processes for histories that evoke a sense of in-group pride among White Americans. For example, research on whether certain historical representations relating to region or identity (e.g., southern Confederate rebels) may increase some White Americans' perceived connection to familial ancestors and, in turn, increase the perceived temporal proximity of these histories to the present. Understanding nuances in White self-views when engaging with U.S. histories infused with racial in-group pride and racism would contribute to a more holistic understanding of the motivated nature of history representations.

Although the present research has centered race as the focal identity and historical context in question, future research should examine whether self-construal functions as a broader mechanism underlying dominant versus marginalized group members' representation of past oppression. The self- and history-perceptual processes documented in the current research may offer similar, yet qualitatively distinct predictions when considering other intergroup contexts

where there is a sustained, historical power difference and motivation to sustain the status quo (e.g., gender, socioeconomic status). For example, men who read a passage depicting women's voter disenfranchisement in the early 1900s expressed more collective guilt when their group identity as a man was affirmed (Gunn & Wilson, 2011, Study 1), indicating that this history served as a threat to their identity as a man, a historically dominant and oppressive group along the lines of gender. Mirroring the racial differences outlined in the present research, women in the U.S. have been found to engage in more relational forms of interdependence while men have been found to engage in more collective forms (Cross & Madson, 1997; Gabriel & Gardner, 1999). Consequentially, understanding how cultural self-views of interdependence influence history representations along the lines of gender and other socially stratified social groups will be a fruitful contribution to the psychological study of culture and intergroup relations.

Similarly, future research should also examine the role of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991) and how having multiple marginalized versus dominant identities may increase or decrease the chronic attention paid to context and the interrelation of actions, people, and events. As highlighted in Markus (2017), it is not a coincidence that middle-class, White men are most likely to construe the self as independent; White men's experiences at the intersections of these collective identities reinforce this independent mindset. In contrast, Black women are required to think about themselves both as Black and as a woman in more mainstream, dominant cultural spaces, but also within their own in-group communities; within Black communities Black women may persist against gender discrimination, such as expectations of conservative gender roles within Black religious and familial contexts, as well as persist against racism within all-woman settings, such as exclusion by White feminists in "mainstream" women's rights movements. Consequentially, individuals who share intersecting group membership in multiple

marginalized groups may be most attuned to context and the interrelation of multiple forms of oppression (e.g., Black feminist thought; Collins, 2000; hooks, 2010; see also, Gay & Tate, 1998). Future research might examine whether individuals with more marginalized identities chronically perceive self- or other- relevant histories of oppression chronically closer to the present, and if this varies depending on if an in-group is implicated as the oppressor (e.g., lesbian White women's representation of the historical oppression of Black women by White Americans) or if the in-group is not implicated as the oppressed (e.g., Black women's representation of the historical oppression of Latinx individuals by White Americans).

Conclusion

Given salient country-level discourse and decisions related to race and the role of present *and* past racism in the U.S. (e.g., reparations for slavery, abolishing/reforming policing), understanding how critical racial history is perceived and contextualized with the present from a social psychological perspective is essential. This dissertation contributes to cultural psychological and social cognitive theory by demonstrating how self-construal functions as a unifying motivated social cognition that influences how the past is contextualized with the present. Specifically, Black Americans' greater perception that history depicting White anti-Black oppression occurs more proximal to the present is explained by their greater perceived connection to familial ancestors compared to White Americans. Importantly, having a proximal temporal perception of history is associated with perceiving more indirect consequences of history and support for restorative justice. Given Black Americans' strong cultural view of the self as connected with one's ancestors, these findings implicate U.S. cultural orientations of individualism as providing, and potentially being reinforced by, dominant group members viewing the self as independent from past familial others in order to relegate histories of in-group

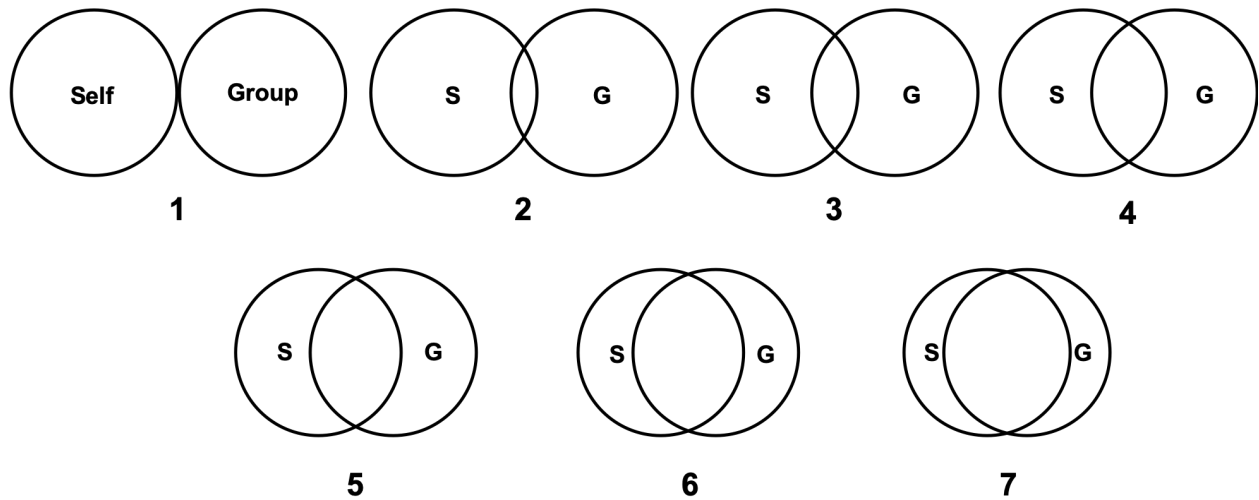
oppression to the distant past. This racial divide in self-views highlights the need for a broader cultural shift in understanding the self as inherently connected to past others to fully realize the efficacy of building intergroup agreement about the impact of past racism on present racial inequality through engaging with critical representations of Black (i.e., U.S.) history.

APPENDICES

Appendix A1: Pilot Study: Inclusion of In-group in Self (IIS) Overlapping Circles

For the following questions, you will see sets of overlapping circles that represent your sense of connection to various groups.

Sets that show more overlap of the "Self (S)" and "Group (G)" circles indicate a greater sense of connection to that group.



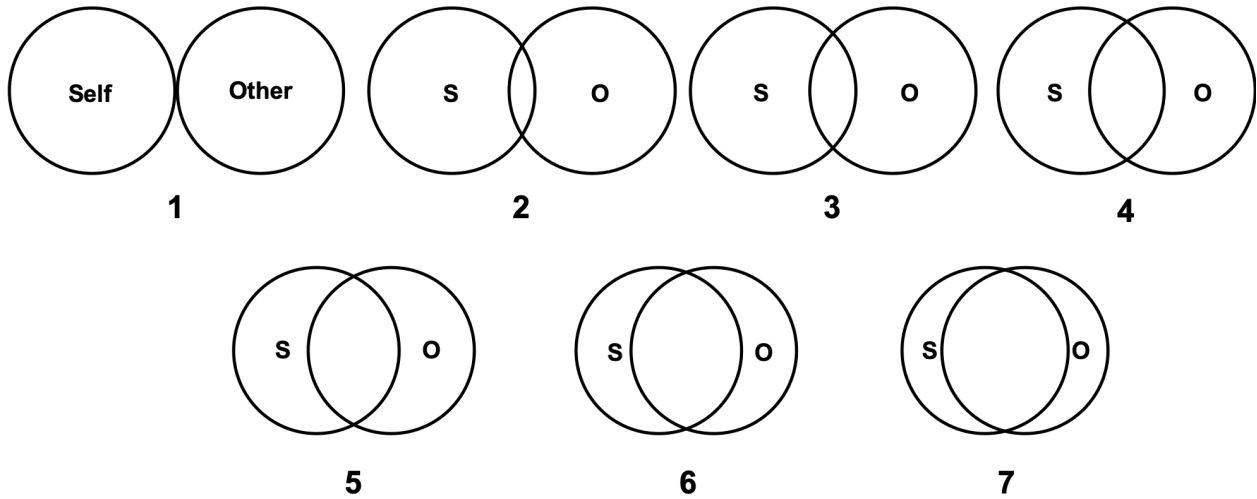
Using the above diagram, select the pair of circles that you feel best represent your own sense of connection to the following groups.

Again, sets that show more overlap of the "Self (S)" and "Group (G)" circles indicate a greater sense of connection to that group.

Appendix A2: Studies 1 – 5: Inclusion of Other in Self (IOS) Overlapping Circles

For the following questions, you will see sets of overlapping circles that represent your sense of connection to other people at this moment.¹⁰

Sets that show more overlap of the "Self (S)" and "Other (O)" circles indicate a greater sense of connection to the specified person(s).¹¹



Using the above diagram, select the pair of circles that you feel best represent your own sense of connection to the following person(s) at this moment.

Again, sets that show more overlap of the "Self (S)" and "Other (O)" circles indicate a greater sense of connection at this moment.

¹⁰ In the baseline measure for Study 3 (Time 1), participants were asked about their sense of connection to the following person(s) in general. This was to capture a participant's general sense of interdependence with others, rather than the in-the-moment interdependence a participant may have been feeling during Time 1 data collection.

¹¹ In Studies 3-5, the instructions also included the following sentence to clarify the interdependent self-construal instructions due to pilot feedback from Black adults: "Although some of the listed people may or may not currently be alive, please think about your general sense of connection or feelings of closeness with the specified person(s)."

Appendix B: Study 2: Transcripts of Historical Speeches

Favorable Racial History Condition (Total words = 264)

1963: Public Address Delivered by Martin Luther King, Jr.

The "I Have a Dream" speech was a public address delivered by American civil rights activist Martin Luther King Jr. during the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom on August 28, 1963. King urged America to "make real the promises of democracy" and called for civil and economic rights in the United States. King synthesized portions of his earlier speeches to capture both the necessity for change and the potential for hope in American society.

Delivered from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., the speech was a defining moment of the Civil Rights Movement.

Audio Clip: Word count: 157

Audio Source:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=397&v=smEqnnklfYs&feature=emb_logo

Transcript Source: <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/king-papers/documents/i-have-dream-address-delivered-march-washington-jobs-and-freedom>

I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream. I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed. We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal. I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood. I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi a state sweltering with the heat of injustice sweltering with the heat of oppression will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice. I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.

Critical Black History Condition (Total words = 257)

1963: Inaugural Address Delivered by George Wallace

Known as the “Segregation Forever” speech, this speech was an inaugural address delivered by George Wallace at the Alabama State Capitol on January 14, 1963, following his election as Governor of Alabama. Wallace at this time in his career was an committed segregationist. As governor, Wallace challenged the attempts of the federal government to enforce laws prohibiting racial segregation in Alabama's public schools and other institutions.

This inauguration speech is most famous for the phrase “segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever,” which became a rallying cry for those opposed to racial integration and the Civil Rights Movement.

Audio Clip: Word count: 153

Audio Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v= RC0EjsUbDU>

Transcript Source: https://web.utk.edu/~mfitzge1/docs/374/wallace_seg63.pdf

Today I have stood where once Jefferson Davis stood and took an oath to my people. It is very appropriate that from this Cradle of the Confederacy this very Heart of the Great Anglo-Saxon Southland that today we sound the drum for freedom as have our generations of forebears before us done time and again down through history. Let us rise to the call of freedom loving blood that is in us and send our answer to the tyranny that clanks its chains upon the South. In the name of the greatest people that have ever trod this earth I draw the line in the dust and toss the gauntlet before the feet of tyranny. And I say segregation now. Segregation tomorrow. And segregation forever. The Washington, D.C. school riot report is disgusting and revealing. We will not sacrifice our children to any such type school system and you can write that down.

Control Condition (Total words = 278)

1963: Excerpt of Commencement Address Delivered by John F. Kennedy

The American University speech, titled "A Strategy of Peace", was a commencement address delivered by United States President John F. Kennedy at the American University in Washington, D.C., on June 10, 1963. Delivered at the height of his rhetorical powers and widely considered one of his most powerful speeches, Kennedy not only outlined a plan to curb nuclear arms, but also "laid out a hopeful, yet realistic route for world peace at a time when the U.S. and Soviet Union faced the potential for an escalating nuclear arms race."

Audio Clip: Word count: 179

Audio Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0fkKnfk4k40>

Transcript Source: <https://www.jfklibrary.org/archives/other-resources/john-f-kennedy-speeches/american-university-19630610>

And is not peace in the last analysis basically a matter of human rights. The right to live out our lives without fear of devastation. The right to breathe air as nature provided it. The right of future generations to a healthy existence. While we proceed to safeguard our national interests let us also safeguard human interests. And the elimination of war and arms is clearly in the interest of both. No treaty however much it may be to the advantage of all however tightly it may be worded can provide absolute security against the risks of deception and evasion. But it can if it is sufficiently effective in its enforcement and if it is sufficiently in the interests of its signers offer far more security and far fewer risks than an unabated uncontrolled unpredictable arms race. The United States as the world knows will never start a war. We do not want a war. We do not now expect a war. This generation of Americans has already had enough more than enough of war and hate and oppression.

Appendix C: Transcript of Video Used in Studies 3 and 5

'Greenwood and the Tulsa Race Riots' (3 minutes, 24 seconds)

Video and Transcript Source: <https://www.pbs.org/wnet/boss/video/greenwood-and-tulsa-race-riots-tbkher/>

BETWEEN THE 1870s AND THE BEGINNING OF WORLD WAR I, BLACK PIONEERS SETTLED MORE THAN 100 ALL BLACK TOWNS IN THE WEST EACH WITH THE GOAL OF ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE.

AMONG THE MOST WELL-KNOWN WAS A BLACK DISTRICT IN TULSA, OKLAHOMA KNOWN BY ITS RESIDENTS AS GREENWOOD.

If we were to go back in time to 1920 and walk up and down Greenwood Avenue, one thing that would probably strike us is the absolute variety of businesses] The numbers are astonishing.

30 restaurants, 45 groceries and meat markets.

There were dry good stores, milliners, a photography studio, dental offices, Greenwood is no longer called Greenwood.

It's now known as Black Wall Street.

This whole idea of self-containment really existed there.

The dollar would stay in that community sometimes over three to five years before it ever went outside of the community IN 1919, BLACK SOLDIERS RETURNED FROM WORLD WAR I WITH HIGH EXPECTATIONS FOR RACIAL PROGRESS AT HOME.

BUT IN ONE CITY AFTER ANOTHER, WHITE MOBS ERUPTED IN VIOLENCE, TARGETING BLACK VETERANS, CITIZENS, AND BUSINESSES.

HUNDREDS DIED.

ON TULSA'S BLACK WALL STREET AFRICAN AMERICANS, INCLUDING ARMED VETERANS, WATCHED NERVOUSLY, AND PREPARED FOR WHAT MIGHT COME.

Countering this white militancy is very much an African American spirit of we're going to defend ourselves.

If the mob comes, we're not going to run, we've got our guns and we're going to protect ourselves, and that was especially important and valuable and potent in Greenwood.

ON MAY 30TH, 1921, THE MOB CAME TO GREENWOOD.

This white woman is in an elevator and this Black teenager allegedly whistles at her or talks to her.

He is taken to jail, a mob gathers of whites and Blacks and Blacks in Tulsa are armed.

They take their Second Amendment rights seriously and they come with guns and this is a threat.

Someone fires into the crowd and the riot is born.

This was not about the whistling boy in the elevator.

This was about Blacks becoming too economically powerful and showing that wealth in a way that anyone would by creating buildings and constructing churches and having property.

There was a whistle that blew and then the mass invasion and the destruction of Greenwood began.

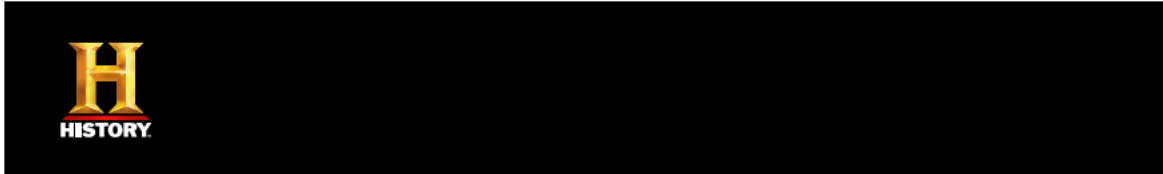
WHEN THE SMOKE CLEARS IN THE EARLY MORNING OF JUNE 1ST, 1921, THE BLACK WALL STREET" LAY IN RUINS.

This is by far the largest single incident of racial violence in all of American history.

Appendix D: Study 4 Article Manipulation of Critical Versus Celebratory Black History

Note. Words or sections that are italicized and underlined highlight the words or sections that are meaningfully unique to each particular article condition.

Celebratory Black History Condition (643 words)



HISTORY STORIES



Historic Maps/ullstein bild/Getty Images

Before the Tulsa Race *Riots* where the city's black district of Greenwood experienced two days of bloodshed and destruction, the area had been considered one of the most affluent African American communities in the United States for the early part of the 20th century.

The Greenwood District, with a population of 10,000, had thrived as the epicenter of African American business and culture, particularly on bustling Greenwood Avenue, commonly known as Black Wall Street.

Developed on Indian Territory

Founded in 1906, Greenwood was developed on Indian Territory, which encompasses much of modern-day Eastern Oklahoma. Some African Americans who had been former slaves of the Native American tribes, and subsequently integrated into tribal communities, acquired allotted land in Greenwood through the Dawes Act, a U.S. law that gave land to individual Native Americans. And many black sharecroppers fleeing racial oppression relocated to the region as well, in search of a better life post-Civil War.

“Oklahoma begins to be promoted as a safe haven for African Americans who start to come particularly post emancipation to Indian Territory,” says Michelle Place, executive director of the Tulsa Historical Society and Museum.

The largest number of black townships after the Civil War were located in Oklahoma. Between 1865 and 1920, African Americans founded more than 50 black townships in the state.

O.W. Gurley, a wealthy black landowner, purchased 40 acres of land in Tulsa, naming it Greenwood after the town in Mississippi.

Built 'For Black People, by Black People'

“Gurley is credited with having the first black business in Greenwood in 1906,” says Hannibal Johnson, author of *Black Wall Street: From Riot to Renaissance in Tulsa’s Historic Greenwood District*. “He had a vision to create something for black people by black people.”

Gurley started with a boarding house for African Americans. Then word began to spread about opportunities for blacks in Greenwood and they flocked to the district.

“O.W. Gurley would actually loan money to people who wanted to start a business,” says Kristi Williams, vice chair of the African American Affairs Commission in Tulsa. “They actually had a system where someone who wanted to own a business could get help in doing that.”

Other prominent black entrepreneurs followed suit. J.B. Stradford, *born into slavery in Kentucky, later becoming a lawyer and activist, moved to Greenwood in 1898.* He built a 55-room luxury hotel bearing his name, the largest black-owned hotel in the country. An outspoken businessman, Stradford believed that blacks had a better chance of economic progress if they pooled their resources.

Greenwood Became Self-Contained and Reliant

A.J. Smitherman, *a publisher whose family moved to Indian Territory in the 1890s,* founded the *Tulsa Star*, a black newspaper headquartered in Greenwood that became instrumental in establishing the district’s socially-conscious mindset. The newspaper regularly informed African Americans about their legal rights and any court rulings or legislation that were beneficial or harmful to their community.

On Greenwood Avenue, there were luxury shops, restaurants, grocery stores, hotels, jewelry and clothing stores, movie theaters, barbershops and salons, a library, pool halls, nightclubs and offices for doctors, lawyers and dentists. Greenwood also had its own school system, post office, a savings and loan bank, hospital, and bus and taxi service.

Greenwood was home to far less affluent African Americans as well. A significant number still worked in menial jobs, such as janitors, dishwashers, porters, and domestics. The money they earned outside of Greenwood was spent within the district.

“It is said within Greenwood every dollar would change hands 19 times before it left the community,” said Place.

The Destruction of the Greenwood District

The Tulsa Race *Riots*, which began on May 31, 1921 and left hundreds of black Greenwood residents dead and 1,000 houses destroyed with millions in property damage, often overshadows the history of the respected black enclave itself.

Critical Black History Condition (691 words)



HISTORY STORIES



Historic Maps/ullstein bild/Getty Images

Before the Tulsa Race *Massacre* where the city's black district of Greenwood *was attacked by a white mob*, resulting in two days of bloodshed and destruction, the area had been considered one of the most affluent African American communities in the United States for the early part of the 20th century.

The Greenwood District, with a population of 10,000 at the time, had thrived as the epicenter of African American business and culture, particularly on bustling Greenwood Avenue, commonly known as Black Wall Street.

Developed on Indian Territory

Founded in 1906, Greenwood was developed on Indian Territory, which encompasses much of modern-day Eastern Oklahoma. Some African Americans who had been former slaves of the

Native American tribes, and subsequently integrated into tribal communities, acquired allotted land in Greenwood through the Dawes Act, a U.S. law that gave land to individual Native Americans. And many black sharecroppers fleeing racial oppression relocated to the region as well, in search of a better life post-Civil War.

The largest number of black townships after the Civil War were located in Oklahoma. Between 1865 and 1920, African Americans founded more than 50 black townships in the state.

O.W. Gurley, a wealthy black landowner, purchased 40 acres of land in Tulsa, naming it Greenwood after the town in Mississippi.

Built 'For Black People, by Black People'

“Gurley is credited with having the first black business in Greenwood in 1906,” says Hannibal Johnson, author of *Black Wall Street: From Riot to Renaissance in Tulsa’s Historic Greenwood District*. “He had a vision to create something for black people by black people.”

Gurley started with a boarding house for African Americans. Then word began to spread about opportunities for blacks in Greenwood and they flocked to the district.

Other prominent black entrepreneurs followed suit. J.B. Stradford, built a 55-room luxury hotel bearing his name, the largest black-owned hotel in the country. An outspoken businessman, Stradford believed that blacks had a better chance of economic progress if they pooled their resources.

Greenwood Became Self-Contained and Reliant

Demands for equal rights were an ongoing mission for blacks in Tulsa despite Jim Crow oppression. Greenwood itself had a railway track running through it that separated the black and white populations. Consequently, Gurley and Stradford’s vision of having a self-contained and self-reliant black economy came to be not only by desire but by logistics.

“As a practical matter they had no choice as to where to locate their businesses,” said Johnson. “Tulsa was rigidly segregated.”

Publisher A.J. Smitherman founded the *Tulsa Star*, a black newspaper headquartered in Greenwood that became instrumental in establishing the district’s socially conscious mindset. The newspaper regularly informed African Americans about their legal rights and any court rulings or legislation that were beneficial or harmful to their community.

On Greenwood Avenue, there were luxury shops, restaurants, grocery stores, hotels, jewelry and clothing stores, movie theaters, barbershops and salons, a library, pool halls, nightclubs and offices for doctors, lawyers and dentists. Greenwood also had its own school system, post office, a savings and loan bank, hospital, and bus and taxi service.

“It is said within Greenwood every dollar would change hands 19 times before it left the community,” said Michelle Place, executive director of the Tulsa Historical Society and Museum.

The Destruction of the Greenwood District

It wasn't long before the affluent African Americans attracted the attention of local white residents, who resented the upscale lifestyle of people they thought to be an inferior race.

With the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan, blacks in Greenwood feared racial violence. Lynchings had begun to increase across the country. In response, The Tulsa Star encouraged blacks to take up arms and to show up at courthouses and jails to make sure blacks who were on trial were not taken and killed by white lynch mobs.

Regardless, the Tulsa Race Massacre, which began on May 31, 1921 left hundreds of black Greenwood residents dead and 1,000 houses destroyed with millions in property damage. Mobs of armed, white men descended on Greenwood, looting homes, burning down businesses and shooting blacks dead on the spot. The massacre often overshadows the history of the respected black enclave itself.

Control Condition (74 words)

Note. Participants in the control condition will read the short description below and then immediately proceed to the dependent variables. After answering the dependent variables, participants will then read the Critical Black History condition.

Brief Description

Before the Tulsa Race *Riots* where the city's black district of Greenwood experienced two days of bloodshed and destruction, the area had been considered one of the most affluent African American communities in the United States for the early part of the 20th century.

The Greenwood District, with a population of 10,000, had thrived as the epicenter of African American business and culture, particularly on bustling Greenwood Avenue, commonly known as Black Wall Street.

Appendix E. Table of Correlations between Participant Demographics and Study Set 2 Outcomes by Study

	Age			Gender (0=women,1=men)			Education			Republicanism		
	S3	S4	S5	S3	S4	S5	S3	S4	S5	S3	S4	S5
Familial Ancestor Interdependence	.24***	.18***	.06	-.06	.02	.07	.02	.11*	.14**	.11	.04	-.05
Generalized Other Interdependence	.08	.11*	.04	.13	.10*	.15**	.07	.23***	.17**	.23**	.07	-.08
Perceived Temporal Distance of Massacre	-.14	-.01	.03	-.10	.11*	.00	-.04	-.03	-.16**	.18*	.29***	.14**
Massacre Impact within 1-year	.02	-.10	-.06	.13	-.03	-.03	.09	-.06	-.09	-.24***	-.15**	-.12*
Years Massacre Impact Lasted	.14	-.06	-.11*	-.01	-.15**	-.11*	-.01	-.01	-.08	-.30***	-.31***	-.28***
Massacre Impact on Wealth Accumulation	.20**	-.02	-.09	-.07	-.15**	-.15**	.13	-.01	-.08	-.31***	-.26***	-.32***
Massacre Impact on Racial Wealth Gap	.15*	-.10	-.20***	-.07	-.20***	-.13*	.16*	-.01	.06	-.37***	-.36***	-.44***
Reported Reparations Support	—	—	-.23***	—	—	-.04	—	—	.00	—	—	-.46***
Behavioral Reparations Support	—	—	-.19***	—	—	-.05	—	—	-.04	—	—	-.40***

Note. S3 = Study 3 ($N = 188$); S4 = Study 4 ($N = 411$); S5 = Study 5 ($N = 356$). *** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

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