From ignorance to intolerance: Perceived intentionality of racial discrimination shapes preferences for colorblindness versus multiculturalism

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ABSTRACT

Colorblindness and multiculturalism offer divergent prescriptions for reducing racial tensions. Colorblindness encourages looking beyond racial differences, whereas multiculturalism encourages recognizing them. We introduce a new construct, perceived intentionality of racial discrimination (PIRD)—individuals' beliefs about how intentional discrimination is—to help explain when and why colorblindness versus multiculturalism will be preferred, and potentially more effective, for improving race relations. We first establish the distinctiveness of the PIRD construct and assess its stability over time and across intergroup contexts (Studies 1–2). We then observe that greater PIRD predicts beliefs that colorblindness versus multiculturalism will improve race relations (Studies 2–5), in part because unintentional (versus intentional) discrimination is perceived to stem from ignorance and misunderstanding versus knowingly treating racial groups unequally (Studies 4, 5b). Evidence also suggests that PIRD may shape the actual merits of colorblindness and multiculturalism for improving race relations via encouraging donations (Study 6), positive interracial interaction intentions (Study 7), and comfort with discussing race following the widely-publicized shooting of a Black teen (Study 8). Taken together, our empirical findings demonstrate the usefulness of PIRD for understanding, predicting, and influencing individuals' preferences for colorblindness versus multiculturalism.

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1. Introduction

A series of widely-publicized violent transgressions against African Americans in the U.S. has once more thrust race to the fore of public discourse. Erstwhile claims of a post-racial era are belied by evidence that racial minorities generally remain disadvantaged in domains ranging from housing and employment to pay and incarceration rates (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2014, 2015; NAACP, 2015; U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2012). Indeed, there is growing consensus among Americans that discrimination is a significant problem (Pew Research Center, 2015). While it is not yet clear how to improve race relations, strategies boil down to fundamental questions of whether we should recognize or look beyond racial differences.

The tension between these ideological approaches has been well-documented in research comparing *multiculturalism*—a pluralistic approach associated with acknowledging and appreciating racial group membership and distinctions (Berry, 1984; Takaki, 1993)—with *colorblindness*—an approach associated with downplaying and looking beyond such differences in lieu of a focus on individuals and their commonalities (Apfelbaum, Norton, & Sommers, 2012; Plaut, 2002; Schofield, 1986). Efforts to pinpoint the "best" intergroup relations approach suggest more support for multiculturalism

than colorblindness, but this finding has increasingly been called into question (Apfelbaum, Stephens, & Reagans, 2016; Apfelbaum, Sommers, & Norton, 2008; Morrison, Plaut, & Ybarra, 2010; Purdie-Vaughns, Steele, Davies, Ditlmann, & Crosby, 2008; Ryan, Hunt, Weible, Peterson, & Casas, 2007; Wolsko, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2000). Mixed results dispute the existence of a one-size-fits-all approach to improving race relations, and highlight the need for a more nuanced framework. To date, however, little is known about what factors may moderate the effectiveness of these approaches for improving intergroup relations.

Mindful that debate about discrimination may now revolve less around whether it exists, and more around why, and in what form, it exists, we introduce one construct that may provide insight into whether advocating for colorblindness or multiculturalism is preferable. Specifically, we introduce *perceived intentionality of racial discrimination* (PIRD) as individuals' belief about the motives underlying racial discrimination, from intentional and deliberate to unintentional and accidental. We propose that PIRD colors the inferences people make regarding why discrimination occurs—whether it stems from racial intolerance or from ignorance regarding the potential for racial differences to contribute to unequal treatment—and consequently, whether colorblindness or multiculturalism is best-suited to improve race relations.

2. Race relations and discriminatory intent

Perceptions of intentionality develop in infancy (Carpenter, Akhtar, & Tomasello, 1998) and represent one of the quickest and

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most basic social inferences people make (Malle & Holbrook, 2012). The perceived intentionality of actions is often highly consequential as well, shaping perceptions of morality (Greene et al., 2009), harm (Ames & Fiske, 2013, 2015), and responsibility (Malle, 2004). Even for identical actions, intent heightens perceptions of harm and accountability (Ames & Fiske, 2015). In the legal system, for instance, perceptions of an individual's intent underlie critical distinctions between crimes (e.g., murder versus manslaughter), and consequently, the appropriate punishment. Here, we suggest that just as perceptions of intent regarding a criminal act influences judgments about appropriate recourse, so too can PIRD influence beliefs about how to improve race relations.

PIRD does not represent the amount of racial bias an individual harbors (McConahay, 1983; Nosek, 2007; Sears, 1988), but rather an individual's belief about the motives underlying racial discrimination in a particular context, or in society, more generally. This construct broadly overlaps with other beliefs tapping individuals' understanding of inequality—for instance, whether societal outcomes are just (Lerner, 1980; Tyler, 2006), meritocratic (Kluegel & Smith, 1986), and driven by hard work (Weber, 2002). However, rather than assessing the perceived *extent* of discrimination in society, PIRD reflects perceptions of whether racial discrimination, all else equal, is intentional versus inadvertent. This theoretical distinction is important because whereas concerns about the prevalence of discrimination may prompt more support for *any* intergroup relations approach, perceptions of the intentionality of discrimination may influence people's qualitative understanding of why and how discrimination occurs, and consequently, which *type* of approach they believe will improve race relations.

We suggest that when individuals perceive racial discrimination in society to be relatively intentional, they believe that discrimination stems from knowingly and willfully treating groups unequally versus from ignorance and misunderstanding regarding unequal treatment between groups. From this view, the perceived source of discrimination is racial antipathy and conflict in which individuals and institutions, when left to their own devices, will consciously use racial differences as a basis for unequal judgment, treatment, and access to resources. Therefore, when PIRD is high, we expect that people will see the prescriptive value in colorblindness (versus multiculturalism) for improving race relations. We expect this to be the case because colorblindness decreases the salience of racial group membership and differences (Brewer & Miller, 1984), and increases self-other overlap (Inzlicht, Gutsell, & Legault, 2012), often by promoting a common ground and basis of shared values (Gaertner et al., 1993; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). Though racial categorization does not *cause* discrimination (see Park & Judd, 2005 for a review), it is a necessary precursor to such acts, and thus we expect that people will see the value in blurring and diluting the very distinctions that are the basis for intentional acts of discrimination. Moreover, some evidence indicates that such lay beliefs may be accurate: past work has found colorblindness to be relatively beneficial in high-conflict intergroup settings (Correll, Park, & Smith, 2008; Thomas & Plaut, 2008). By contrast, because multiculturalism increases the salience of racial group membership and differences—even if only with respect to their importance and positive qualities—promoting it when PIRD is high may not only be ineffective, but equate to "pouring gasoline on the fire." As Park & Judd (2005) caution and question:

> …there is a danger in pushing for the multicultural ideology because it too has a negative version…we would not want to foster an approach that enables those with a more malicious agenda to use group differences as a means for justifying inequitable treat-

ment of sectors of the population…Is it the case that multiculturalism might work well during times of relative harmony and abundant resources, but when we enter periods of conflict and competition over scarce resources, because the group boundaries are firmly in place, conflict will all the more readily occur along group lines? (p. 125)

On the other hand, when PIRD is low, we expect that people will more strongly believe that discrimination stems from ignorance and misunderstanding regarding unequal treatment between groups. From this view, racial discrimination emerges because individuals and institutions are not mindful of the importance of racial differences and how they can contribute to unequal judgment, treatment, and access to resources (e.g., unconscious biases or subtle forms of institutional disadvantage; Light, Roscigno, & Kalev, 2011). Therefore, when PIRD is low, we expect that people will see the prescriptive value in multiculturalism (versus colorblindness) for improving race relations. We expect this to be the case because, unlike colorblindness, multicultural messages implicitly presume that individuals and institutions *want* to be egalitarian—that they are not intentionally discriminating, and that they would act to rectify their biases if made aware of them. Accordingly, multiculturalism is likely to be preferred for its focus on educating actors regarding the benefits of diversity and the ways in which institutional processes can disproportionately impact members of different racial groups. Some evidence indicates that such beliefs may be accurate as well: multiculturalism has been shown to attenuate implicit racial biases (Lai et al., 2014; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Wolsko et al., 2000), increase perspective taking (Todd, Hanko, Galinsky, & Mussweiler, 2010), and sharpen detection of ambiguous forms of discrimination (Apfelbaum, Pauker, Sommers, & Ambady, 2010)—outcomes that would be expected to decrease the likelihood that inequalities are perpetuated or legitimized (Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000). By contrast, when PIRD is low, we expect colorblindness to be viewed as a less effective tool for improving race relations. We expect this to be the case because colorblindness does not celebrate, discuss, much less acknowledge, racial distinctions, and thus is not well-suited to help individuals and institutions appreciate their merits and potential disparate impacts.

3. Study 1

Study 1 had two primary goals. The first goal was to establish the reliability and discriminant validity of PIRD by examining whether it is conceptually distinct from racial prejudice and other measures of ideological worldviews in the intergroup relations literature (i.e., implicit theories of prejudice, social dominance orientation, and right-wing authoritarianism). The second goal was to assess the stability and convergent validity of PIRD. To do so, we examined the stability of PIRD over time (i.e., collecting data from the same participants separated by two weeks) and the equivalence of PIRD to versions of the PIRD tailored to specific racially discriminatory contexts (i.e., policing and the workplace) and to the perceived intentionality of other forms of discrimination (i.e., gender discrimination and age discrimination).

We expect PIRD to show relatively strong associations with related inferences of the intentionality of other forms of discrimination (e.g., based on gender and age), but to be empirically distinct from other ideological intergroup beliefs. The PIRD captures individuals' *descriptive beliefs about why there is racial inequality* whereas related constructs in the intergroup literature tend to focus on *prescriptive preferences for unequal social arrangements and policies* (e.g., social dominance orientation and right-wing authoritarianism: Pratto,

Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994; Zakrisson, 2005). Because PIRD reflects descriptive beliefs about other people, and is influenced by a multitude of social perception processes (e.g., Ames, Weber, & Zou, 2012), it is likely to be shaped, in part, by the social context and targets of these perceptions. Hence, though we expect the PIRD to be relatively stable over time and across specific contexts of racial discrimination, we expect the PIRD to be more situationally-dependent, and thus sensitive to experimental manipulation, than for instance, personality traits or deeply-rooted ideological worldviews.

3.1. Method

3.1.1. Participants

At Time 1, we recruited 300 participants (133 female, 167 male; 235 White, 16 Black, 27 Asian, 15 Hispanic, 7 other; M_{age} = 35.9 years, SD = 12.4) via Amazon's Mechanical Turk (www.mturk.com) for an online study about U.S. race relations in exchange for payment and the opportunity to earn an additional $1 for completing a follow-up survey two weeks later. Of these 300 participants, 263 completed the survey at Time 2 (87.7% return rate; Time 2 demographics: 103 female, 160 male; 203 White, 15 Black, 26 Asian, 14 Hispanic, 5 other; M_{age} = 36.5 years, SD = 12.5). Given that return rates at Time 2 were uncertain, we chose to over-recruit at Time 1 beyond the sample that would be necessary to detect smaller-sized relationships between variables.

3.1.2. Procedure

3.1.2.1. Time 1

Participants completed measures of PIRD, perceived intentionality of gender discrimination, perceived intentionality of age discrimination, racial prejudice, implicit theories of prejudice, and social dominance orientation.[1] The order of measures was fully randomized. Finally, they provided demographic information.

3.1.2.2. Time 2

Two weeks later, we re-contacted the same participants. They completed measures of PIRD, perceived intentionality of gender discrimination, perceived intentionality of age discrimination, PIRD with respect to policing, PIRD with respect to the workplace, and right-wing authoritarianism. The order of measures was fully randomized. Finally, they provided demographic information. We report all measures, manipulations, and exclusions in Study 1 and the studies to follow.

3.1.3. Materials and measures

We present Cronbach α reliability coefficients for all variables at Time 1 and 2 on the diagonal in Table 1 (range: 0.87 to 0.95).

3.1.3.1. PIRD

Participants indicated their agreement with four items that assessed PIRD in the U.S. today on 7-point response scales (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). The items were: "Most racial discrimination today is intentional", "Most incidences of racism are accidental (R)", "When someone acts in a racist way, it is usually on purpose", "Usually, when people discriminate based on

race, they are doing so deliberately."[2] We averaged these items to form a composite measure.

3.1.3.2. Perceived intentionality of gender and age discrimination

Using the same response scale, participants indicated their agreement with two four-item measures that were identical to the PIRD, except for changes to the particular social group referenced. The items were: "Most discrimination based on [sex/age] today is intentional", "Most incidences of [sexism/ageism] are accidental (R)", "When someone acts in a [sexist/ageist] way, it is usually on purpose", "Usually, when people discriminate based on [sex/age], they are doing so deliberately." We averaged each set of four items to form composite measures of the perceived intentionality of gender and age discrimination.

3.1.3.3. PIRD with respect to policing and the workplace

Participants were asked to "Think about interactions [between the police and citizens/in work organizations] in the U.S." before indicating their agreement with two four-item measures that assessed PIRD with respect to policing and the workplace. The items were: "Most racism in [the context of policing/organizations] is intentional", "Most incidences of racism by [the police/organizations] are accidental (R)", "When the police/organizations act in a racist way, it is usually on purpose", "Usually, when police/organizations discriminate based on race, they are doing so deliberately." Participants responded using the same response scale and we averaged each set of four items to form composite measures of PIRD with respect to policing and the workplace.

3.1.3.4. Racial prejudice

Using the same scale, participants indicated their agreement with the eight-item Symbolic Racism 2000 measure (Henry & Sears, 2002). Sample items include: "It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if Blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as Whites", "Blacks are responsible for creating much of the racial tension that exists in the United States today", "There is considerable discrimination against Blacks in the United States today, limiting their chances to get ahead (R)." We averaged these items to form a composite measure.

3.1.3.5. Implicit theories of prejudice

Using the same scale, participants indicated their agreement with the six-item Theories of Prejudice measure reported in Carr, Dweck, and Pauker (2012). Sample items include: "People have a certain amount of prejudice and they can't really change that", "No matter who somebody is, they can always become a lot less prejudiced (R)." We averaged these items to form a composite measure. Higher scores on this measure reflect the belief that prejudice is fixed rather than malleable.

3.1.3.6. Social dominance orientation

Using the same response scale, participants indicated their agreement with the 16-item measure of Social Dominance Orientation

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[1] Due to a programming oversight, the social dominance orientation scale was included twice at Time 1. We only analyzed the first of the two social dominance orientation measures.

[2] For all perceived intentionality items (PIRD, PIRD in policing, PIRD in organizations, and perceived intentionality of gender and age discrimination), we also included two additional items relevant to how overt participants perceived discrimination to be. We do not include these items in the main text because they are not central to our theorized focus on intentionality. See Supplemental Online Materials for the text of these items and analyses that employ these 6-item scales. We generally observe the same pattern of results when using the 6-item measures.

Table 1
Means, standard deviations, and correlations between measures (Study 1).

Variable (time of measurement)	Mean (SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Perceived intentionality of racial discrimination (1)	4.99 (1.28)	α = 0.91											
2. Perceived intentionality of racial discrimination (2)	4.75 (1.40)	0.57**	α = 0.92										
3. Perceived intentionality of racial discrimination in organizations (2)	4.41 (1.50)	0.49**	0.71**	α = 0.92									
4. Perceived intentionality of racial discrimination in policing (2)	4.85 (1.43)	0.41**	0.54**	0.55**	α = 0.91								
5. Perceived intentionality of gender discrimination (1)	4.68 (1.31)	0.71**	0.47**	0.51**	0.33**	α = 0.90							
6. Perceived intentionality of gender discrimination (2)	4.66 (1.37)	0.52**	0.69**	0.67**	0.50**	0.61**	α = 0.91						
7. Perceived intentionality of age discrimination (1)	4.56 (1.30)	0.40**	0.32**	0.38**	0.31**	0.50**	0.35**	α = 0.92					
8. Perceived intentionality of age discrimination (2)	4.58 (1.37)	0.35**	0.47**	0.48**	0.46**	0.35**	0.45**	0.47**	α = 0.91				
9. Symbolic racism (1)	3.45 (1.52)	− 0.21**	− 0.20**	− 0.25**	− 0.38**	− 0.14*	− 0.23**	− 0.04	− 0.01	α = 0.92			
10. Implicit theories of prejudice (1)	2.88 (1.47)	− 0.14*	− 0.11	− 0.11	− 0.21**	− 0.11	− 0.12*	− 0.09	− 0.03	0.27**	α = 0.95		
11. Social dominance orientation (1)	2.83 (1.00)	− 0.21**	− 0.19*	− 0.21*	− 0.37**	− 0.20**	− 0.25**	− 0.01	− 0.07	0.61**	0.32**	α = 0.87	
12. Right-wing authoritarianism (2)	2.89 (1.28)	− 0.14*	− 0.07	− 0.03	− 0.27**	− 0.01	− 0.09	− 0.03	0.02	0.52**	0.23**	0.45**	α = 0.93

Note. Number in parentheses indicates when each variable was measured (1 = Time 1, $N = 300$; 2 = Time 2, $N = 263$). Time 1 and Time 2 were separated by two weeks. The diagonal presents Cronbach reliabilities for each variable.

* $p < 0.05$.

** $p \leq 0.001$.

(SDO; Pratto et al., 1994). Sample items include: "Some groups of people must be kept in their place", "We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups (R)". We averaged these items to form a composite measure.

3.1.3.7. Right-wing authoritarianism

Using the same response scale, participants indicated their agreement with the 15-item measure of Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA; Zakrisson, 2005). Sample items include: "Our country needs a powerful leader, in order to destroy the radical and immoral currents prevailing in society today" and "Facts show that we have to be harder against crime and sexual immorality, in order to uphold law and order". We averaged these items to form a composite measure.

3.2. Results

Table 1 reports means, standard deviations, and correlations between all variables measured at Time 1 and Time 2. These measures generally showed high reliability. Moreover, we observed several relationships consistent with established research findings from the intergroup relations literature, for instance, significant positive relationships between racial prejudice and SDO ($r = 0.61$, $p < 0.001$) and between racial prejudice and RWA ($r = 0.54$, $p < 0.001$).

PIRD showed a moderate test-retest relationship over the two-week span ($r = 0.57$, $p < 0.001$), indicating that it was reasonably stable. We also observed moderate-to-strong positive correlations between PIRD and other social inferences focusing on intentionality: the perceived intentionality of gender discrimination, the perceived

intentionality of age discrimination, PIRD in policing, and PIRD in organizations (range: 0.47 to 0.71). These relationships thus provide convergent validity for our construct. Further, the weak negative correlations between PIRD and prejudice, implicit theories of prejudice, SDO, and RWA (range: − 0.14 to − 0.21), provide discriminant validity for our construct. That the relationships between PIRD in policing and these same established measures were similarly negative, but somewhat stronger, suggests that tailoring PIRD to the discriminatory context in question may be useful for developing targeted interventions to improve race relations in specific contexts.

3.3. Discussion

Overall, the pattern of findings that emerged across the two waves of data collection in Study 1 supports the reliability, convergent validity, stability, and discriminant validity of the PIRD measure. The moderate test-retest relationship between PIRD at Time 1 and 2 suggests that while this construct is relatively stable over time, it is more malleable than typical individual difference measures of personality or ideological worldviews. This modest variability over time is consistent with our expectation that PIRD is shaped, in part, by fluctuations in perceivers' personal experiences and social contexts (e.g., media coverage of race-related issues and conflicts), and is therefore likely to be responsive to experimental manipulation. Overall, Study 1 suggests that perceived intentionality is a distinct construct that may be important for a variety of bases of discrimination (race, gender, age), and may be meaningfully applied to elucidate perceptions of the motives underlying discrimination in specific institutional settings (e.g., in policing and organizations).

4. Study 2

Study 2 had two primary goals. First, we sought to further examine the discriminant validity of PIRD by examining its relationship to additional measures of ideological worldviews as well as measures of racial identification and the perceived status of social groups in the U.S. These measures capture complementary aspects of race, intergroup relations, and worldviews, but we expected them to be theoretically distinct, and empirically distinguishable, from PIRD. Second, we sought to conduct an initial test of our main prediction: that PIRD predicts which approach—colorblindness or multiculturalism—individuals prefer and believe will improve race relations.

4.1. Method

4.1.1. Participants

We recruited 238 participants (129 women, 109 men; 185 White, 17 Black, 12 Hispanic, 24 other) via Amazon's Mechanical Turk for an online study about U.S. race relations in exchange for payment. We targeted 120 participants per cell (considering high- and low-PIRD as separate cells for the purposes this estimation) to provide 80% power to detect smaller-sized effects (Cohen's $f^2 = 0.05$). All power calculations in this article were conducted using G*Power (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007). Participants ranged in age from 18 to 75 ($M = 35.15$, $SD = 12.24$). In Study 2 and all subsequent studies, we prevented Mturk participants who completed a previous study from participating in subsequent studies.

4.1.2. Procedure

Participants completed measures of PIRD, racial identification, perceptions of the state of race relations and progress, procedural and distributive justice, and the perceived status of various racial groups in the U.S. After completing these measures, we asked participants to read and evaluate two approaches for improving race relations, one advocating colorblindness and one advocating multiculturalism. Par-

ticipants viewed these messages side-by-side (left/right presentation randomized across participants). Participants selected the message they preferred, rated the perceived effectiveness of both messages, and finally, completed demographic items.

4.1.3. Materials and measures

We present Cronbach α reliability coefficients for all variables, except for single-item perceived status measures, in Table 2 (range: 0.54 to 0.92).

4.1.3.1. PIRD

Participants indicated their agreement with the same four items employed in Study 1 on a 7-point response scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). We averaged these items to form a composite measure.

4.1.3.2. Racial identification

Participants indicated their agreement with six items that assessed the importance of their racial identity (Morrison et al., 2010) on a 7-point response scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). Items included: "I have a strong attachment to other members of my racial/ethnic group", and "Being a member of my racial/ethnic group is an important reflection of who I am." We averaged these items to form a composite measure.

4.1.3.3. Perceptions of current state of race relations and racial progress

Four items assessed perceptions of the current state of race relations and racial progress (Brodish, Brazy, & Devine, 2008). The perceptions of the current state of race relations items were: "How would you describe race relations in the U.S. today?" (1 = *very warm*, 7 = *very cold*), and "How hostile do you think race relations are in the U.S. today?" (1 = *not at all hostile*, 7 = *very hostile*). The perceptions of racial progress items were: "How much progress has been made toward equality for racial minorities in the U.S.?" (1 = *very little*

Table 2
Means, standard deviations, and correlations between measures (Study 2).

Variable	Mean (SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Perceived intentionality of racial discrimination	4.46 (1.21)	α = 0.92										
2. Racial identification	3.65 (1.30)	0.11	α = 0.91									
3. Current state of race relations	4.08 (1.03)	0.10	0.04	α = 0.79								
4. Racial progress	4.07 (1.21)	− 0.18*	0.04	− 0.40**	α = 0.54							
5. Procedural justice	3.46 (1.54)	− 0.14*	− 0.01	− 0.28**	0.65**	α = 0.88						
6. Distributive justice	3.311 (1.42)	− 0.06	0.03	− 0.26**	0.62**	0.88**	α = 0.87					
7. Perceived status of Whites	6.14 (0.97)	0.14*	− 0.07	0.10	− 0.20*	− 0.27**	− 0.22**					
8. Perceived status of Blacks	3.50 (1.42)	− 0.03	0.01	− 0.23**	0.10	0.33**	0.31**	− 0.20*				
9. Perceived status of Asians	4.94 (1.13)	− 0.15*	− 0.15*	− 0.13*	0.24**	0.22**	0.22**	0.20*	0.15*			
10. Perceived status of Latino	3.28 (1.91)	− 0.01	0.08	− 0.12	0.22**	0.36**	0.34**	− 0.21**	0.49**	0.29**		
11. Perceived status of Native Americans	3.24 (1.41)	0.04	0.16*	− 0.15*	0.19*	0.33**	0.29**	− 0.30**	0.50**	0.14*	0.50**	

Note. The diagonal presents Cronbach reliabilities for each variable except for Perceived Status items, which are single-item measures. $N = 238$.

* $p < 0.05$.

** $p \leq 0.001$.

progress, 7 = *a lot of progress*), and "How much further do you think the U.S. has to go to create equality for racial minorities in the future?" (1 = *not much further*, 7 = *much further*). We averaged these items to form composite measures.

4.1.3.4. Procedural and distributive justice

Four items assessed perceptions of procedural and distributive justice (Folger, 1977) on a 7-point response scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). The two procedural justice items were: "In general, people of different races receive the same treatment", and "In general, people of different races have the same access to opportunities" (α = 0.88). The two distributive justice items were: "Outcomes for people of different races are generally equitable", and "Overall, resources are fairly allocated between people of different races." We averaged these items to form composite measures.

4.1.3.5. Perceived status of racial groups

Participants indicated the perceived status of White, Black, Asian, Latino/Hispanic people, and Native American individuals in the U.S. on a 7-point scale (1 = *low status*, 7 = *high status*).

4.1.3.6. Preference for colorblindness versus multiculturalism

We created two versions of a message that outlined ways to improve race relations in the U.S. Both messages were organized around advice for three subcategories: social interactions, job evaluations and promotion, and teamwork and productivity. The messages were designed to be as similar as possible, except for one key point of distinction: how they recommended handling racial group differences—either by encouraging individuals to "look beyond differences between people" (colorblindness message) or to "recognize the ways in which people are different" (multiculturalism message). We used a forced choice measure to assess which of the two approaches participants prefer. See Appendix A for the full text.

4.1.3.7. Perceived effectiveness for improving race relations

Participants subsequently indicated their agreement with the same set of six items regarding each approach's effectiveness for improving race relations on a 7-point response scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). The items were: "This approach will be effective in improving race relations", "I can envision this approach working", "I would feel comfortable using this approach", "This approach would be burdensome for individuals to follow" (R), "This approach empowers individuals to improve race relations", and "This approach will help society." We averaged these items to form a composite measure of perceived effectiveness (α = 0.93).

4.2. Results

4.2.1. Relationships with PIRD

To further assess the discriminant validity of PIRD, we examined its relationship to the measures of justice perceptions, racial identification, and the perceived status of social groups in the U.S. As displayed in Table 2, only a few weak relationships emerged. There were weak negative relationships between PIRD and perceptions of progress toward racial equality, $r = -0.18$, $p = 0.009$, and between PIRD and procedural justice, $r = -0.14$, $p = 0.044$, such that greater PIRD was associated with less perceived progress toward racial equality and less perceived procedural justice. There was also a significant positive relationship between PIRD and the perceived status of Whites, $r = 0.14$, $p = 0.030$, and a significant negative relationship between PIRD and the perceived status of Asian Americans,

$r = -0.15$, $p = 0.015$, such that greater PIRD was associated with the perceptions that Whites are of higher status and Asian Americans are of lower status in the U.S. None of the other measures were significantly correlated with PIRD. These few weak relationships, together with the findings from Study 1, provide further evidence that PIRD is a distinct construct.

4.2.2. Optimal intergroup relations approach

The majority of the sample (56%) preferred colorblindness. Next, we used logistic regression to test our prediction that the more intentional discrimination was perceived to be, the more likely individuals would be to prefer a colorblind versus multicultural approach to improving race relations. We regressed approach preference onto scores on the PIRD measure, and results supported this prediction, $β = -0.37$, $p = 0.006$, 95% CI = [−0.64, −0.11].[3]

4.2.3. Perceived effectiveness

We then explored differences in the perceived effectiveness of the colorblind and multicultural messages we presented. Overall, there was a nonsignificant trend indicating that participants tended to perceive the colorblind message as more effective ($M = 4.64$, $SD = 1.31$) than the multicultural message ($M = 4.39$, $SD = 1.35$), paired $t(237) = 1.64$, $p = 0.102$. Next, we used linear regression to examine whether PIRD predicted ratings of effectiveness for each message. The more intentional participants perceived societal discrimination to be, the more effective they believed colorblindness would be, $β = 0.21$, $p = 0.001$, 95% CI = [0.08, 0.33]. Similarly, the more intentional participants perceived discrimination to be, the less effective they believed the multicultural approach would be, $β = -0.11$, $p = 0.08$, 95% CI = [−0.24, 0.02], though this effect was only marginally significant.

4.3. Discussion

Study 2 extended our findings from Study 1 indicating that PIRD is a distinct psychological construct vis-à-vis a different set of constructs relevant to race, intergroup beliefs, and worldviews. Importantly, consistent with our main prediction, Study 2 also provided initial evidence that PIRD predicts the type of intergroup relations approach individuals prefer and believe will improve race relations. Specifically, greater PIRD predicted stronger preference for colorblindness (versus multiculturalism), and the belief that colorblindness would improve race relations.

5. Study 3

The primary goal of Study 3 was to replicate and extend Study 2 by examining the causal effect of PIRD on preferences for colorblindness versus multiculturalism. To do so, we presented participants with an experimental manipulation of PIRD: three societies that

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[3] Due to the small number of racial minorities in this sample, we do not have sufficient statistical power to meaningfully interpret whether this relationship differed by participant race. When we run a model that includes, PIRD, participant race (White vs. non-White), and the interaction between PIRD and participant race, we observe an effect of PIRD on preference for colorblindness versus multiculturalism, $β = -0.60$, $p = 0.057$, 95% CI = [−1.27, −0.009], and neither participant race, $β = -0.03$, $p = 0.933$, 95% CI = [−0.66, 0.62], nor the interaction between participant race and PIRD are significant, $β = 0.29$, $p = 0.416$, 95% CI = [−0.38, −1.009]. Thus, we do not find evidence that participant race (White vs. non-White) moderates the effects of PIRD, but also, we do not have enough non-White participants to reliably detect such an interaction. We consider this important question in the General Discussion.

differed according to whether discrimination was described as intentional versus unintentional. We expected that greater PIRD would encourage a relative preference for colorblindness (versus multiculturalism) as a strategy for improving race relations.

5.1. Method

5.1.1. Participants

We recruited 138 participants (59 women, 79 men; 112 White, 8 Black, 3 Hispanic, 11 Asian, and 4 other) online via Amazon's Mechanical Turk to answer questions about their perceptions and opinions of race relations in the U.S. in exchange for payment. Given that Study 3 employed a within-subjects design with three levels, we targeted 40 participants per cell to provide us with 80% power to detect smaller-sized effects (Cohen's f = 0.12). Participants ranged in age from 19 to 65 (M = 35.62, SD = 11.40).

5.1.2. Design and procedure

Study 3 used a within-subjects experimental design. We informed participants that they would be asked to consider race relations in three different societies. We then presented the following instructions:

> Racial discrimination can take a variety of forms. On the one side of the spectrum, racial discrimination can be intentional, deliberate, and obvious. On the other side of the spectrum, racial discrimination can be unintentional, accidental, and subtle.

> Imagine there are 3 different societies: Society A, Society B, and Society C. **All societies have the same amount of discrimination**. However, the **typical form of discrimination is different** in each of these societies (in terms of how intentional vs. unintentional it is). Below, we present a visual representation of where each of these 3 societies falls on the spectrum from **discrimination always being intentional** to **discrimination always being unintentional**. Please carefully review this image and be prepared to answer questions about it later in the study.

To visually represent this intentionality spectrum, we then presented participants with a horizontal line, anchored by two labels—on the far left, "discrimination is always intentional," and on the far right, "discrimination is always unintentional." An arrow marked where Society A, B, and C fell on this spectrum. Society A was on the far left, Society C was on the far right, and Society B was at the midpoint. Importantly, the three societies differed in the degree to which racial discrimination was described as intentional versus unintentional, but not in how much discrimination existed.

Next, participants advanced to a screen where they read that there are two fundamentally different approaches that these three societies could take to improve their race relations. We then presented the same colorblind and multicultural messages, side-by-side (left/right presentation randomized across participants), as in Study 2. Participants then responded to four questions about the optimal intergroup relations approach in Society A, B, and C (order counterbalanced). Finally, participants responded to a manipulation check and demographic items.

5.1.3. Measures

5.1.3.1. Optimal intergroup relations approach

Participants responded to four questions regarding the optimal approach to intergroup relations in each society. The questions were: "If you lived in Society [A/B/C], which approach would you prefer?",

"If you lived in Society [A/B/C], which approach would make you feel more comfortable?", "Which approach will be more likely to help Society [A/B/C]?", and "Which approach will be more effective in improving race relations in Society [A/B/C]?" For each question, they chose either the colorblind (0) or multicultural approach (1). We summed responses to these items to form composite measures for Society A, B, and C (all αs > 0.84). We then subtracted 2 from each composite to create a range from − 2 to 2, where "− 2" indicated the maximum preference for colorblindness and "2" indicated the maximum preference for multiculturalism.

5.1.3.2. Manipulation check

To assess the effectiveness of our intentionality manipulation, participants indicated the form of discrimination in Society A, B, and C, using a 7-point response scale (1 = *discrimination is always intentional*, 7 = *discrimination is always unintentional*).

5.2. Results

5.2.1. Manipulation check

Repeated-measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) confirmed that perceptions of intentionality varied by society in line with our PIRD manipulation, F(1.18, 162.40) = 505.57, p < 0.001, η_p^2 = 0.787.[4] Discrimination was perceived to be most intentional in Society A (M = 1.78, SD = 1.29), neutral in Society B (M = 4.07, SD = 0.56), and least intentional in Society C (M = 6.28, SD = 1.18). Pairwise comparisons confirmed that PIRD in Society A significantly differed from Society B, M_{diff} = − 2.28, p < 0.001, 95% CI = [− 2.50, − 2.07], and PIRD in Society B significantly differed from Society C, M_{diff} = − 2.12, p < 0.001, 95% CI = [− 2.43, − 2.01]. These results indicate that the manipulation was effective.

5.2.2. Optimal intergroup relations approach.

Participants in this sample tended to prefer colorblindness overall (M = − 0.18, 95% CI = [− 0.35, − 0.03]). A repeated-measures ANOVA indicated that as the form of racial discrimination shifted from intentional (Society A), to neutral (Society B), to unintentional (Society C), so too did relative preferences for colorblindness versus multiculturalism, F(1.65, 225.44) = 9.08, p < 0.001, η_p^2 = 0.062. When discrimination was described as intentional, participants showed a strong preference for colorblindness (M = − 0.56, SD = 1.66), but this preference for colorblindness declined when discrimination was described as neutral (M = − 0.31, SD = 1.64), though not significantly, M_{diff} = − 0.25, p = 0.159, 95% CI = [− 0.59, 0.098]. Notably, however, when discrimination was described as unintentional, this pattern further shifted in favor of multiculturalism (M = 0.30, SD = 1.78) to a degree that differed significantly from both the neutral, M_{diff} = − 0.62, p = 0.002, 95% CI = [− 0.99, − 0.24], and intentional conditions, M_{diff} = − 0.86, p = 0.001, 95% CI = [0.37, 1.36].

5.3. Discussion

Study 3 replicates and extends Study 2 by showing that manipulating PIRD shifts relative preferences for colorblindness and multiculturalism. Participants in this sample generally preferred colorblindness, and particularly when discrimination was portrayed as in-

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[4] Mauchly's Test of Sphericity was significant, indicating unequal variance in the differences between conditions, thus we apply Greenhouse-Geisser correction.

tentional, but this preference shifted toward multiculturalism when discrimination was unintentional.

However, Study 3 is not without limitations. First, including the descriptors "obvious" (intentional condition) and "subtle" (unintentional condition) in the manipulations potentially conflated the construct of intentionality with the related construct of overtness of discrimination. Second, our within-subjects design potentially raises concerns about demand characteristics. We address both of these concerns in Study 4.

6. Study 4

Study 4 was designed to test the causal effect of PIRD on preferences for colorblindness and multiculturalism. We employed a between-subjects experimental design and more precise operationalization of intentionality to address the limitations of Study 3. Study 4 also provided an initial test to explore whether PIRD shapes individuals' beliefs about the motives underlying racial discrimination—namely, whether greater PIRD lead individuals to infer that discrimination occurred because people placed too much (versus too little) emphasis on racial differences.

6.1. Method

6.1.1. Participants

We recruited 245 participants (121 women, 124 men; 201 White, 16 Black, 10 Hispanic, 12 Asian, and 6 other) online via Amazon's Mechanical Turk to answer questions about race relations in exchange for payment. Given that Study 4 employed a between-subjects design with two levels, we targeted 120 participants per cell to provide us with 80% power to detect smaller sized effects (Cohen's d = 0.36). Participants ranged in age from 18 to 69 ($M = 34.64$, $SD = 11.60$). Participants were randomly assigned to either an intentional or unintentional discrimination condition.

6.1.2. Procedure

The lead-in to Study 4 was the same as Study 3 with two exceptions. First, when outlining the different forms that discrimination can take, we removed the terms "obvious" and "subtle" to isolate the key construct of intentionality. The revised portion of the instructions thus read:

Racial discrimination can take a variety of forms. On the one side of the spectrum, racial discrimination can be intentional and deliberate. On the other side of the spectrum, racial discrimination can be unintentional and accidental.

The second modification was that, instead of presenting three different societies (in a within-subjects experimental design), participants were randomly assigned to consider a single society along the same visual PIRD spectrum used in Study 3. For half of the participants, an arrow indicated that discrimination was primarily intentional, whereas for the other half of participants, an arrow indicated that discrimination was primarily unintentional. Participants then advanced to a new screen where they responded to items regarding the perceived source of discrimination in this society. Next, we presented the same colorblind and multicultural messages (side-by-side, counterbalanced) and four-item measure assessing the optimal intergroup relations approach used in Study 3. Finally, participants responded to a manipulation check and demographic items.

6.1.3. Measures

6.1.3.1. Perceived emphasis on racial differences

Participants responded to three items that examined whether they perceived racial discrimination to result from too much, or too little, emphasis on differences between racial groups. Participants viewed the statement, "The source of discrimination in Society X is…" and then were asked to complete the statement by responding to three 7-point response scales anchored by the following labels: (a) "1 = *too little focus on differences between racial groups*, 7 = *too much focus on differences between racial groups*"; (b) "1 = *too little attention paid to race*, 7 = *too much attention paid to race*"; and (c) "1 = *too little awareness of race-based differences*, 7 = *too much awareness of race-based differences*." We averaged responses to these items to form a composite measure ($\alpha = 0.87$). Lower scores on this measure reflect the belief that ignorance about racial differences underlies racial discrimination whereas higher scores on this measure reflect the belief that overemphasizing racial differences underlies racial discrimination.

6.1.3.2. Optimal intergroup relations approach

As in Study 3, participants chose either the colorblind or multicultural approach for each of four items, which we then summed and centered at 0 to form a composite measure ($\alpha = 0.92$) from -2 to 2 where "-2" indicated the maximum preference for colorblindness and "2" indicated the maximum preference for multiculturalism.

6.1.4. Manipulation check

To assess the effectiveness of our intentionality manipulation, participants rated the intentionality of racial discrimination in the society in question, using a 7-point response scale (1 = *always intentional*, 7 = *always unintentional*).

6.2. Results

6.2.1. Manipulation check

Confirming the effectiveness of our manipulation, participants in the intentional condition indicated that discrimination in the society in question was significantly more intentional ($M = 2.26$, $SD = 1.09$) than did participants in the unintentional condition ($M = 5.62$, $SD = 1.17$), $t(243) = 23.38$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.692$.

6.2.2. Perceived emphasis on racial differences.

We then examined whether participants perceived racial discrimination to result from too much versus too little emphasis on differences between racial groups. Overall, participants perceived that discrimination stemmed from relatively too much of an emphasis on racial differences ($M = 4.71$, 95% CI = [4.53, 4.89]. However, further analysis demonstrated that PIRD shaped participants' perceptions. Participants in the intentional condition possessed a particularly strong belief that discrimination stemmed from an overemphasis on differences between racial groups ($M = 5.59$, $SD = 1.20$) as compared with participants in the unintentional condition, ($M = 3.83$, $SD = 1.64$), $t(211.08) = 9.50$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.276$.[5]

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[5] Levene's Test for Equality of Variances was significant for the perceived source of bias and preferred diversity approach measures, thus we correct for unequal variances between conditions.

6.2.3. Optimal intergroup relations approach

As in Study 3, the sample displayed a general preference for colorblindness ($M = -0.47$, 95% CI = [-0.68, -0.26]. We again assessed whether our experimental manipulation of PIRD in the target society influenced this preference. Replicating the pattern observed in Study 3, participants in the intentional discrimination condition showed greater relative preference for colorblindness versus multiculturalism ($M = -1.01$, $SD = 1.54$) than participants in the unintentional discrimination condition ($M = 0.07$, $SD = 1.79$), $t(229.66) = 5.02$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.095$.[6]

6.3. Discussion

Study 4 replicated the effect of PIRD on preferences for colorblindness and multiculturalism observed in Studies 1 and 2 using a between-subjects experimental design and sharper operationalization of our intentionality construct. It also demonstrated that when discrimination is portrayed as intentional (versus unintentional), people infer that discrimination stems from placing relatively too much (versus too little) of an emphasis on racial group differences.

7. Study 5a

Studies 1–4 explored general perceptions of societal discrimination. In Studies 5a and 5b we shifted our focus to examine the importance of PIRD in a specific context, the workplace, in response to an instance of racial discrimination. The primary goal of Study 5a was to establish that individuals naturally seek out and prioritize information regarding intentionality when evaluating a case of racial discrimination.

7.1. Method

7.1.1. Participants

We recruited 72 participants (17 women, 55 men; 61 White, 6 Black, 2 Hispanic, 2 Asian, and 1 other) online via Amazon's Mechanical Turk to answer questions about "organizational beliefs" in exchange for payment. Given past work establishing the primacy of inferences of intentionality in other domains (e.g., Malle & Holbrook, 2012), we targeted 70 participants with the expectation that we would observe small-to-medium sized effects. Participants ranged in age from 19 to 64 ($M = 32.99$, $SD = 10.22$).

7.1.2. Procedure and measures

We asked participants to imagine being a juror in a federal court case about employment discrimination. We then presented the following text to all participants.

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[6] We also explored whether a perceived over-emphasis versus under-emphasis on racial differences mediated the effect of PIRD on which intergroup relations approach was preferred. We ran bootstrapped mediation analysis with 5000 samples and bias corrected 95% confidence intervals (PROCESS macro, Model 4; Hayes, 2013). Supporting mediation, we observed a significant indirect effect of PIRD on approach preferences through perceived emphasis on racial differences, indirect effect = -0.049, $SE = 0.018$, 95% CI = [-0.087, -0.016]. We also found support for an alternative mediation model in which the mediator and outcome were reversed: specifically, we observed a significant indirect effect of PIRD on perceived emphasis on racial differences through approach preferences, indirect effect = 0.088, $SE = 0.037$, 95% CI = [0.030, 0.18]. We further assess the mechanism underlying our effects in Study 5 using more precise measures of our theorized mediator.

The plaintiff, A.J., is suing the defendant, his former employer ZTK Industries, for wrongful dismissal based on his race. A.J. worked at ZTK for several years prior to being fired. The jury has already decided that ZTK violated the law when they fired A.J., and now has to decide how much money ZTK will have to pay A.J. in compensatory damages.

Next, we informed participants that many factors may go into a jury's determination of the amount ZTK should pay A.J. and presented them with six potential factors (in a random order). The factors were: "Whether ZTK's discrimination was intentional or unintentional", "How common racial discrimination is at ZTK", "Whether other forms of discrimination (e.g., based on gender, age) exist at ZTK", "Whether A.J. was liked and valued by his coworkers", "A.J.'s job performance", "How long A.J. had worked for ZTK." Participants rated how important they felt each of these factors would be to render a decision regarding compensatory damages (1 = *not important at all*, 7 = *extremely important*), and on a separate screen, rank-ordered the same six factors (1 = most important factor, 6 = least important factor). Finally, participants completed demographic items.

7.2. Results and discussion

Repeated measures ANOVA revealed a significant effect of factor type on importance ratings, $F(5, 67) = 14.45$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.519$. Inspection of mean ratings demonstrated that the focal factor—whether ZTK's discrimination was intentional or unintentional—was rated as the most important of the six factors presented ($M = 5.71$, $SD = 1.67$). The intentionality factor was rated as more important than "Whether other forms of discrimination (e.g., based on gender, age) exist at ZTK" ($M = 5.24$, $SD = 1.56$), "Whether A.J. was liked and valued by his coworkers" ($M = 3.51$, $SD = 1.88$), and "How long A.J. had worked for ZTK" ($M = 4.61$, $SD = 1.72$), all ps < 0.019. The intentionality factor was marginally significantly more important than "A.J.'s job performance reviews" ($M = 5.19$, $SD = 1.73$), $p = 0.056$, and did not significantly differ from "How common racial discrimination is at ZTK" ($M = 5.47$, $SD = 1.58$), $p = 0.319$. Participants' rank-ordering of the same six factors yielded a very similar pattern of results, $\chi^2(5, N = 72) = 120.12$, $p < 0.001$—the intentionality factor had the lowest mean rank, with lower numbers reflecting higher importance ($M = 2.39$, $SD = 1.68$) and was ranked "1″ (i.e., the most important factor) by 48.6% of participants.

The results of Study 5a thus indicate that, at least in the present context, individuals intuitively prioritize information regarding intentionality when evaluating a case of racial discrimination. There are undoubtedly several factors that would be important to a jury's recommendation of compensatory damages when evaluating a case of discrimination, and Study 5a suggests that the perceived intentionality of discrimination is one of them.

8. Study 5b

Study 5b had two goals. First, it was designed to assess the multifaceted downstream consequences of PIRD. Specifically, we used the same instance of discrimination as in Study 5a to examine whether PIRD influences both judgments of punishment (i.e., recommended compensatory damages) and preferences for organizational approaches to minimize discrimination and improve race relations (i.e., whether to adopt a colorblind versus multicultural approach).

The second goal of Study 5b was to test the theorized mechanism underlying the effects of PIRD on preferences for colorblindness ver-

sus multiculturalism; namely, that PIRD reveals whether people believe that discrimination stems from actors knowingly treating groups unequally versus from ignorance and misunderstanding. To do so, we developed two measures of our theorized mediator. Drawing on previous theory and research showing that intergroup behavior often takes the form of "mindless discrimination" (Mummendey & Otten, 1998, 2001), the first measure (perceptions of ignorance) captured the degree to which discrimination was perceived to stem from lack of knowledge and awareness regarding racial differences and unequal treatment. Drawing on previous theory and research showing that intentionality intensifies perceptions of harm (Ames & Fiske, 2013, 2015), the second measure (perceptions of malice) assessed the degree to which discrimination was perceived to stem from racial hostility and malice.

8.1. Method

8.1.1. Participants

We recruited 262 participants (119 women, 143 men; 198 White, 17 Black, 14 Hispanic, 21 Asian, and 12 other) online via Amazon's Mechanical Turk to answer questions about "organizational beliefs" in exchange for payment. As in Study 4, we targeted a final sample of 120 participants per cell to provide us with 80% power to detect smaller sized effects. We slightly over-recruited in anticipation that a small percentage of participants would fail the manipulation check. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 71 ($M = 33.90$, $SD = 10.85$). Participants were randomly assigned to either an intentional or unintentional discrimination condition.

8.1.2. Procedure

We asked participants to imagine being a juror in a federal court case using the same text presented in Study 5a. We then administered our experimental manipulation of the perceived intentionality of the discrimination in question.

> Based on all the facts presented, the judge presiding over the trial has made it clear that ZTK's discrimination against A.J. was [intentional, deliberate, and purposeful/unintentional, accidental, and inadvertent.]

Next, participants completed the compensatory damages measure, and on a separate screen, measures of perceived ignorance and perceived malice. We then presented concise versions of the colorblind and multicultural messages (side-by-side, counterbalanced) that were tailored to the scenario in question. See Appendix B for the full text. Finally, participants completed the four-item measure assessing the optimal intergroup relations approach, a manipulation check, and demographic items.

8.1.3. Measures

8.1.3.1. Compensatory damages

We asked participants to indicate how much they think A.J. (the plaintiff) should receive in compensatory damages from ZTK. Participants responded by dragging a slider that ranged from $100,000 to $500,000 and increased by $1000 increments.

8.1.3.2. Perceptions of ignorance

Participants responded to three items that examined whether they perceived racial discrimination to result from ignorance versus full awareness of the disparate impact of racial differences. The items were: "This case of discrimination reveals ZTK's lack of knowledge regarding the experiences of different racial groups in the work-

place", "In this case, ZTK was not fully aware of their discriminatory behavior", "In this case, discrimination occurred because ZTK was misinformed about the unequal treatment of racial groups." We averaged responses to these items to form a composite measure ($\alpha = 0.76$).

8.1.3.3. Perceptions of malice

Participants responded to three items that examined the degree to which they perceived racial discrimination to result from malice and racial hostility. The items were: "In this case, ZTK maliciously used race as a basis for unequal treatment", "This case of discrimination reveals the nasty culture of racism at ZTK", "In this case, ZTK's discrimination was driven by racial hostility." We averaged responses to these items to form a composite measure ($\alpha = 0.93$).

8.1.3.4. Optimal intergroup relations approach

As in Studies 3 and 4, participants chose either the colorblind or multicultural approach for each of four items. We tailored these items to increase their relevance to the scenario described in Study 5. The items were: "Given the issues facing ZTK, which approach is preferable?", "Which approach is more likely to prevent future discrimination at ZTK?", "Which approach is more likely to reduce racial bias at ZTK?, "Which approach is more likely to improve interactions between different racial groups at ZTK?" We then summed participants' responses and centered them at 0 to form a composite measure ($\alpha = 0.92$) from -2 to 2 where "-2" indicated the maximum preference for colorblindness and "$2''$" indicated the maximum preference for multiculturalism.

8.1.3.5. Manipulation check

To assess the effectiveness of our intentionality manipulation, participants indicated whether the discrimination against A.J. by ZTK was described by the presiding judge as intentional or unintentional.

8.2. Results

8.2.1. Manipulation check

Thirty-three participants (9%) failed to correctly recall whether the discrimination was described as intentional or unintentional and were thus excluded, leaving 239 participants for analysis.

8.2.2. Compensatory damages

Consistent with past research (Ames & Fiske, 2013, 2015), participants indicated that A.J. (the plaintiff) should receive significantly more money in compensatory damages when the discrimination was intentional ($M = \$294,780$, $SD = 130,210$) as compared with unintentional ($M = \$178,310$, $SD = 93,130$), $t(231.50) = 8.04$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.205$.[7]

8.2.3. Perceptions of ignorance and malice

We then examined the extent to which the intentionality manipulation shaped participants' beliefs that discrimination stemmed from ignorance and from malice. Consistent with our theoretical framework, participants held a stronger belief that discrimination at ZTK stemmed from ignorance in the unintentional ($M = 5.21$, $SD = 1.15$) as compared with the intentional condition ($M = 3.28$, $SD = 1.39$), $t(236.95) = 11.76$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.567$. By contrast, participants

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[7] Levene's Test for Equality of Variances was significant for the measures of compensatory damages, perceived ignorance, and perceived malice, thus we correct for unequal variances between conditions.

held a stronger belief that discrimination at ZTK stemmed from malice in the intentional ($M = 5.50$, $SD = 1.15$) as compared with the unintentional condition ($M = 2.57$, $SD = 1.42$), $t(206.72) = 17.30$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.361$.

8.2.4. Optimal intergroup relations approach

The sample did not show a significant overall preference for colorblindness versus multiculturalism ($M = -0.039$, 95% CI = [−0.27, 0.19]). However, replicating the pattern observed in Studies 3 and 4, participants in the intentional discrimination condition showed greater relative preference for colorblindness versus multiculturalism ($M = -0.35$, $SD = 1.54$) than participants in the unintentional discrimination condition ($M = 0.28$, $SD = 1.79$), $t(229.66) = 5.02$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.030$.

8.2.5. Mediation

We then examined whether differential perceptions of why discrimination occurred mediated the effect of our intentionality manipulation on which intergroup relations approach was preferred. We used bootstrapped mediation analyses with 5000 samples and bias corrected 95% confidence intervals (PROCESS macro, Model 4; Hayes, 2013) with intentionality of discrimination (intentional = 1, unintentional = − 1) as the predictor, perceptions of ignorance and perceptions of malice (both centered) as simultaneous mediators, and preferred intergroup relations approach as the outcome. The indirect effect of intentionality on approach preferences through perceptions of ignorance was significant, indirect effect = − 0.064, $SE = 0.024$, 95% CI = [−0.112, − 0.020]. The indirect effect of intentionality on approach preferences through perceptions of malice was not significant, indirect effect = 0.040, $SE = 0.031$, 95% CI = [− 0.023, 0.098]. These results indicate that when discrimination is unintentional (versus intentional), participants believe that it stems from a lack of awareness and understanding of the impact of racial differences, and in turn, they exhibit a preference for multiculturalism (versus colorblindness) as the approach that is more likely to minimize discrimination and improve race relations.

We subsequently used the same analysis to explore whether differential perceptions of the source of bias mediated the effect of the intentionality manipulation on the suggested amount of compensatory damages. The indirect effect of intentionality on compensatory damages through perceptions of ignorance was not significant, indirect effect = − 3.77, $SE = 5.61$, 95% CI = [− 15.05, 7.22]. The indirect effect of intentionality on approach preferences through perceptions of malice was significant, indirect effect = 43.92, $SE = 9.43$, 95% CI = [26.48, 63.68]. These results indicate that intentional (versus unintentional) discrimination leads participants to recommend more compensatory damages to the plaintiff because of the belief that this discrimination stems from malice and hostility.

8.3. Discussion

The results of Study 5b show that perceiving a specific instance of discrimination in a workplace context as intentional (versus unintentional) increases relative preferences for colorblindness versus multiculturalism. Consistent with past work (Ames & Fiske, 2013, 2015), participants recommended more severe punishment (in the form of compensatory damages to the plaintiff) when the discrimination was described as intentional versus unintentional.

Perhaps, the most important contribution of Study 5b, however, is evidence for the process by which PIRD shapes preferences for colorblindness versus multiculturalism. Participants' beliefs that discrimination stems from ignorance—a lack of awareness and understanding

of the effect of racial differences—explains why they prefer multiculturalism (versus colorblindness) as a means to minimize discrimination and improve race relations. This result suggests that when racial discrimination is unintentional, participants reason that multiculturalism can "educate" actors regarding the benefits of diversity and the ways in which institutional processes can disproportionately impact members of different racial groups. By contrast, when racial discrimination is intentional, participants reason that "educating" others about the benefits of diversity is unlikely to minimize discrimination and improve race relations. Perceptions of malice did not mediate the relationship between PIRD and approach preferences, but it did mediate the relationship between PIRD and recommended compensatory damages. This result may be important as it suggests that PIRD shapes both approach preferences and the degree of punishment, but through somewhat different causal pathways—an issue we consider further in the General Discussion.

8.3.1. Studies 6–8

In Studies 6–8, we seek to extend our findings by investigating whether tailoring colorblindness and multiculturalism to PIRD influences three potential indicators of their actual effectiveness for improving race relations: donations (Study 6), interracial interaction intentions (Study 7), and comfort with talking about race (Study 8).

9. Study 6

Study 6 examined whether the impact of PIRD on preferences for colorblindness and multiculturalism would persist when acting on such preferences incurs a financial cost. Specifically, we evaluated whether PIRD would affect willingness to donate money to colorblind and multicultural campaigns.

10. Method

10.1. Participants

We recruited 242 Stanford University students and staff from a dedicated participant pool (160 women, 82 men; 104 White, 11 Black, 23 Hispanic, 76 Asian, and 28 other) for a study on U.S. social issues in exchange for payment ($3). At the time of data collection, we targeted 60 participants per cell. This provided us with 80% power to detect small-to-medium sized effects (Cohen's f = 0.18). Participants ranged in age from 18 to 66 ($M = 23.52$, $SD = 6.47$).

10.2. Procedure

Participants completed an online study, which instructed them that they would first read a short description of current race relations in the U.S., and would then have the opportunity to support one of two campaigns aiming to improve U.S. race relations. On the next screen, we presented an abbreviated version of the passage used in Study 3.

> Racial discrimination can be more or less intentional. On the one side of the spectrum, racial discrimination can be intentional and deliberate. On the other side of the spectrum, racial discrimination can be unintentional and accidental.

To manipulate PIRD, we then randomly assigned participants to read one of two versions of the same statement: "According to some recent accounts, racial discrimination in this country today is almost always [intentional and deliberate/unintentional and accidental]." We then presented all participants with the same opportunity to donate real money to support one of two campaigns.

You will receive $3 from us (in addition to your payment for participating in this study).

You can choose how much of it to keep for yourself, and how much to contribute to one of two campaigns (we will use this money to print and distribute fliers in shopping centers).

Campaign A will call on people to **Look Beyond Differences.** The main message the fliers will convey is that all individuals share certain undeniable similarities, and that focusing on the commonalities we all share can help improve race relations in the U.S.

Campaign B will call on people to **Recognize Differences.** The main message the fliers will convey is that different individuals have unique backgrounds and experiences and that acknowledging the differences between us can help improve race relations in the U.S.

We then asked participants to indicate how much of the $3 bonus they would like to keep for themselves, contribute to the look beyond differences campaign, and contribute to the recognize differences campaign. Next, they answered a single question about which campaign they thought would be more effective in improving race relations in the U.S. Finally, they completed demographic information. A research assistant paid participants a base of $3 plus any proportion of the bonus they elected to keep for themselves.

10.3. Results

10.3.1. Donation behavior

On average, participants donated 12% of their endowment to the colorblind campaign, 19% to the multicultural campaign, and kept 69% for themselves. We submitted participants' relative contributions to each campaign to a 2 (PIRD: intentional vs. unintentional) × 2 (campaign type: colorblind vs. multicultural) ANOVA with repeated-measures on the latter variable. This analysis yielded a main effect of campaign type, $F(1, 240) = 9.44$, $p = 0.002$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.038$, indicating that on average, larger donations were made to the multicultural versus colorblind campaign. There was no main effect of PIRD, $F(1, 240) = 1.79$, $p = 0.183$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.007$. However, the hypothesized interaction was significant, $F(1, 240) = 3.98$, $p = 0.047$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.016$, indicating that the size of campaign donations depended on the PIRD. Decomposing this interaction revealed that, when discrimination was portrayed as intentional, there was no difference in how much participants donated to the colorblind campaign ($M = 12.5\%$ of total endowment, 95% CI = [0.083, 0.17]) versus multicultural campaign, $M = 15.2\%$, 95% CI = [0.096, 0.21]. However, when discrimination was portrayed as unintentional, participants donated significantly more to the multicultural ($M = 23.7\%$, 95% CI = [0.18, 0.29]) than colorblind campaign ($M = 10.9\%$, 95% CI = [0.067, 0.15].

10.3.2. Improve race relations

The majority of participants (62%) believed multiculturalism would be more effective for improving race relations than colorblindness. However, consistent with evidence from previous studies, the PIRD manipulation influenced relative preferences. Participants were particularly likely to select the multicultural over colorblind campaign when discrimination was portrayed as unintentional ($M = 68.1\%$) versus intentional ($M = 56.1\%$), $\chi^2 (1, N = 242) = 3.68$, $p = 0.055$, Cramer's $V = 0.12$.

10.4. Discussion

Building on Studies 1–5, Study 6 demonstrates the benefits of tailoring intergroup relations approaches to PIRD extend to actual behavior that is costly. Participants donated more of their own money to a multicultural versus colorblind campaign when discrimination was portrayed as unintentional; however, we did not observe the reverse pattern when discrimination was portrayed as intentional. This null result may stem from a difference between this sample (e.g., in terms of racial composition, political views, and/or education), which displayed an overall preference for multiculturalism, and those of previous studies (with the exception of Study 5), in which colorblindness was preferred overall. Because PIRD is a descriptive account of the motives underlying racial discrimination, it is shaped, in part, by the social context that individuals consider when reporting their perceptions (e.g., in Study 1, PIRD was higher when participants considered the context of policing than organizations; see Table 1). Thus, for instance, the fact that the majority of participants in Study 6 were racial minority group members (57%), and were embedded in a relatively liberal, international university context, may have contributed to this different pattern of results.

A second possibility is that the perceived effectiveness of distributing fliers as a tool to combat discrimination varied with PIRD such that fliers were perceived to be less effective instruments for promoting racial progress when PIRD is high than when it is low. Nevertheless, Study 6 provides behavioral evidence that PIRD may influence tangible efforts to improve race relations.

11. Study 7

Study 7 was designed to evaluate the relative effectiveness of colorblindness and multiculturalism for promoting positive interracial intentions and expectancies—important predictors of the quality and quantity of interracial interaction (Plant & Devine, 2003)—as a function of PIRD.

11.1. Method

11.1.1. Participants

We recruited 495 participants (263 women, 232 men; 339 White, 59 Black, 34 Hispanic, 19 Asian, 44 other) via Amazon's Mechanical Turk to respond to questions about race in the U.S. in exchange for payment. Study 7 included one measured independent variable and one manipulated independent variable with two levels; thus, we targeted 120 participants per cell (considering high- and low-PIRD as separate cells for the purposes this estimation) to provide 80% power to detect smaller sized effects (Cohen's $f^2 = 0.02$). Participants ranged in age from 18 to 74 ($M = 33.03$, $SD = 11.77$).

11.1.2. Procedure

After providing consent, participants completed the 4-item measure of PIRD. Next, they were asked to read and compare two strategies for improving race relations. They viewed the same colorblind and multicultural messages used in Studies 2–4, side-by-side, counterbalanced across conditions. After reading both messages, participants were randomly assigned to envision that either the colorblind or multicultural message would be implemented on a large scale to improve race-relations in the U.S.[8] To encourage participants to men-

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[8] We presented both messages initially, and then introduced the manipulation, to focus participants' attention on the contrast between the approaches.

tally simulate and internalize the consequences of implementing the intergroup relations approach they were assigned, we then asked them to list three ways in which they would be personally affected by widespread adoption of the approach. Next, participants responded to a measure of interracial interaction intentions and expectancies, including a series of items representative of key constructs in the interracial interaction literature (e.g., individuals' anxiety, self-efficacy, motivation to perspective-take, and desire to interact with members of different racial groups; Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000; Trawalter, Richeson, & Shelton, 2009; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Plant, Butz, & Tartakovsky, 2008). Finally, they responded to a manipulation check that asked them to identify which approach they had been asked to envision, and demographic items.[9]

11.1.3. Interracial interaction intentions and expectations

Participants indicated their agreement with eight statements assessing their interracial interaction intentions and expectations on a 7-point response scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). The items were: "The proposed approach will make me feel anxious about interacting with someone of a different race" (R), "Because of this approach, I will seek out interactions with people from different racial backgrounds than me", "When interacting with someone of another race, this approach will make me feel motivated to understand his or her point of view", "Based on this approach, I will be unsure how to act in order to convey respect when interacting with someone of another race" (R), "Based on this approach, I am confident that I will be able to respond without prejudice when interacting with someone of another race", "Based on this approach, I will be confident in my ability to make a positive impression when interacting with someone of another race", "This approach makes me confident that people from other racial backgrounds will respect me", and "This approach makes me confident that people from other racial backgrounds will like me." We averaged these items to form a composite measure ($\alpha = 0.87$), where higher scores indicated more positive interracial interaction intentions and expectations.

11.2. Results

11.2.1. Manipulation check

Thirty-three participants (7%) failed to correctly recall which approach they had been told to envision and were thus excluded, leaving 462 participants for analysis.

11.2.2. Interracial interaction intentions and expectations

Overall, participants' interracial interaction intentions and expectations were slightly positive ($M = 4.36$, 95% CI = [4.24, 4.47]. We then regressed this measure on PIRD ($\alpha = 0.90$), approach type, and their interaction. There was a main effect of PIRD, $\beta = 0.47$, $p = 0.001$, 95% CI = [0.18, 0.75], indicating that greater PIRD was associated with more positive interracial interaction intentions and expectations. There was a main effect of approach type such that the colorblind approach tended to yield more positive interracial interaction intentions and expectations than the multicultural approach, $\beta = -0.21$, $p = 0.018$, 95% CI = [−0.39, −0.04]. As displayed in Fig. 1, we also observed a marginally significant interaction, $\beta = -0.16$,

$p = 0.077$, 95% CI = [−0.34, 0.02], indicating that the effects of colorblindness and multiculturalism on interracial interaction intentions and expectations depended on PIRD. Simple slopes demonstrated that greater PIRD was associated with more positive interracial interaction intentions and expectations in the colorblind condition, $\beta = 0.31$, $p < 0.001$, 95% CI = [0.18, 0.43]. This effect was weaker, though statistically significant, in the multicultural condition, $\beta = 0.14$, $p = 0.025$, 95% CI = [−0.02, 0.27].

11.3. Discussion

Study 7 further supports the potential merits of tailoring approaches for improving intergroup relations to individuals' level of PIRD. The more intentional participants perceived discrimination to be, the more effective the colorblind (versus multicultural) approach was in increasing interracial interaction intentions. While the evidence from Study 7 cannot definitively speak to whether matching diversity approaches to PIRD improves interracial interactions, which are interpersonal by nature, our findings do suggest that such matching improves White people's anticipated comfort in these settings. In Study 8, we build on this evidence by examining reactions to an incident that thrust race to the forefront of public discourse as this program of research was underway.

12. Study 8

The 2014 shooting of Michael Brown, a Black teenager, by a White police officer in Ferguson, Missouri, sparked nationwide protests and clashes between citizens and police. This event dominated national news coverage, and when we conducted our survey—two weeks after the shooting—91% of our sample was familiar with the events. Among the most fundamental issues raised by this incident (and the many other instances of violence that have unfolded in the two years since) was the discomfort associated with discussing race in the U.S. In the aftermath of the shooting, we investigated whether tailoring intergroup relations approaches to PIRD could instill greater comfort with discussing issues of race.

12.1. Method

12.1.1. Participants

We recruited 1086 participants (496 women, 590 men; 812 White, 93 Black, 56 Hispanic, 90 Asian, 35 other) via Amazon's Mechanical Turk to respond to questions about current events in the U.S. in exchange for payment. We employed the same design as in Study 7, but given our uncertainty regarding the proportion of respondents who would be familiar with the events that had transpired in Ferguson, and the relatively short window of opportunity to collect these time-sensitive data, we doubled our sample size (as compared to Study 7). Participants ranged in age from 18 to 82 ($M = 34.60$, $SD = 12.07$).

12.1.2. Procedure

After providing consent, we presented participants with a brief factual timeline of events that had transpired in Ferguson.

> On August 9, 2014, Michael Brown was shot and killed by Darren Wilson, an officer with the Ferguson Police Department. Brown was 18 years old, African American, and unarmed. In the subsequent days and weeks, protests over his death turned violent and police used military equipment on civilians. On August 16, Governor Nixon declared a state of emergency and implemented a curfew in Ferguson.

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[9] Participants also completed an abridged, two-item measure of the perceived effectiveness of each approach used in Study 2. Replicating Study 2, we observed a significant interaction between PIRD and approach type, $\beta = -0.26$, $p = 0.004$, 95% CI = [−0.44, −0.084]: greater PIRD predicted the belief that colorblindness would be more effective than multiculturalism for improving race relations.
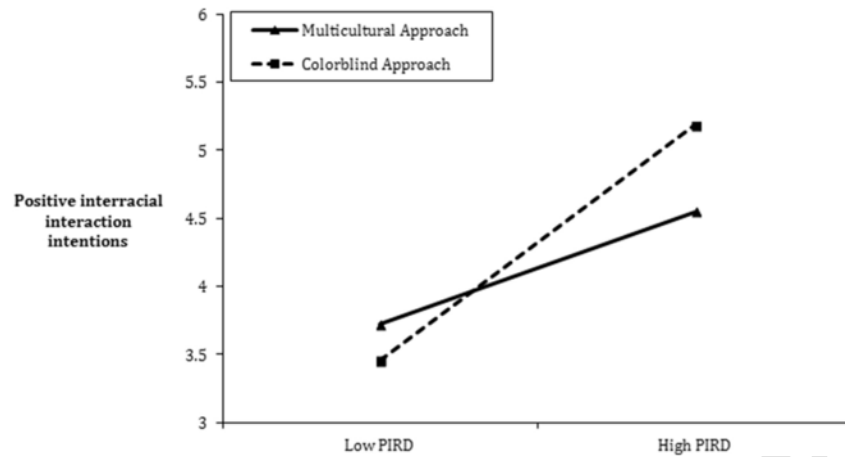
Fig. 1. Effect of colorblind versus multicultural approach on positive interracial interaction intentions by level of PIRD (Study 7).

The shooting of Michael Brown, the protests, and the government response have sparked controversy across the country. For many, these events have brought issues of race relations and racial tensions to the forefront.

Participants were then informed, "Keeping in mind the recent events in Ferguson, think about the current state of race relations in the U.S." On the next screen, they completed the PIRD measure. The study proceeded as in Study 7: they viewed the colorblind and multicultural approaches, side-by-side. However, we slightly modified the message content to increase its relevance for improving community relations and reducing racial tensions. For instance, the colorblind approach noted, "Community members should acknowledge their similarities, and the importance of receiving the same treatment, regardless of background," while the multicultural approach noted, "Community members should acknowledge their differences, and the importance of taking into account how these differences affect experiences and outcomes." After reading both messages, as in Study 7, participants were randomly assigned to envision that one approach was chosen to be implemented by a "diverse and impartial group of public policy leaders" as the best way to improve the situation. Participants then responded to three items that assessed their comfort with discussing race, a series of items for a different project (gauging emotional responses and perceptions of justice and policing), and demographic items.

12.2. Materials

12.2.1. Comfort with discussing race

Participants rated their agreement with three items assessing their comfort participating in a discussion about race on 7-point scales (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). The items were: "This approach makes me feel anxious about having a conversation about race" (R), "Because of this approach, I will seek out conversations about improving race relations", "When discussing race, this approach will make me feel motivated to understand others' points of view." We averaged these items to form a composite measure ($\alpha = 0.62$).

12.3. Results

12.3.1. Manipulation check

Seventy-two participants (7%) failed to correctly recall which approach they had been told to envision and were thus excluded, leaving 1014 participants for analyses.

12.3.2. Comfort with discussing race

Overall, participants' comfort with discussing race fell above the midpoint of the scale ($M = 4.47$, 95% CI = [4.32, 4.63]. We regressed this measure on PIRD ($\alpha = 0.91$), approach type, and their interaction. There was a main effect of PIRD, $\beta = 0.14$, $p < 0.001$, 95% CI = [0.074, 0.19], indicating that greater PIRD was associated with greater comfort with discussion of race. There was no effect of approach type, $\beta = 0.02$, $p > 0.58$. However, as displayed in Fig. 2, we observed the predicted interaction between PIRD and approach type, $\beta = 0.07$, $p = 0.036$, 95% CI = [0.0038, 0.11]. Simple slopes demonstrated that, in the colorblind condition, greater PIRD was associated with greater comfort with talking about race, $\beta = 0.21$, $p < 0.001$, 95% CI = [0.13, 0.29]. In the multicultural condition, we also observed a positive relationship between PIRD and comfort talking about race, but this effect was weaker and only marginally significant, $\beta = 0.08$, $p = 0.077$, 95% CI = [− 0.0015, 0.16].

12.4. Discussion

While the magnitude of the effects were modest, Study 8 further suggests that our framework may have the potential to benefit efforts to improve race relations, specifically by increasing individuals' comfort with discussing race during periods of heightened racial tension. It is regrettable, but nonetheless important to note that the results and setting of Study 8 have become increasingly timely as this manuscript neared completion. As recently as the Summer of 2016, the U.S. had seen escalations of violence and broadening racial unrest, thus highlighting the growing urgency of fostering open dialogue regarding issues of race in the U.S.

13. General discussion

We introduce PIRD—individuals' perceptions regarding the intentionality of racial discrimination—and investigate how and why it influences beliefs about whether colorblindness versus multiculturalism
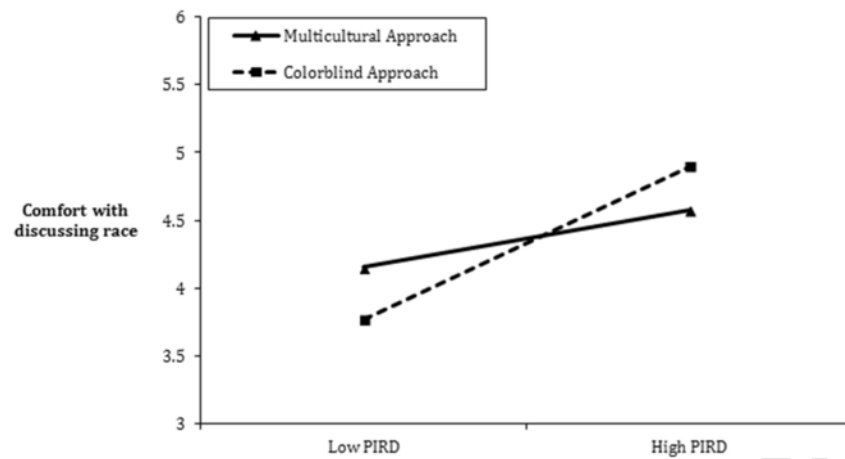
Fig. 2. Effect of colorblind versus multicultural approach on comfort with discussing race in the aftermath of the events of Ferguson, MO by reported level of PIRD (Study 8).

will improve race relations. Across nine studies, we observe evidence that PIRD is a distinct theoretical construct that is reasonably stable over time and across intergroup contexts, yet is amenable to experimental manipulation. We find that individuals prioritize information about the intentionality of discrimination, and that PIRD explains, predicts, and causally influences beliefs about the relative effectiveness of colorblindness versus multiculturalism as means for improving race relations. Finally, our evidence suggests that PIRD may shape the actual merits of colorblindness and multiculturalism for improving race relations via encouraging donations, positive interracial interaction intentions, and comfort with discussing race.

In addition to demonstrating PIRD's downstream consequences, we also provide evidence for the psychological processes that underlie PIRD's effect on preferences for colorblindness versus multiculturalism. We find that participants' beliefs that discrimination stems from ignorance—a lack of awareness and understanding of the effects of racial differences—explain, in part, why they prefer multiculturalism (versus colorblindness) to minimize discrimination and improve race relations. Thus, in participants' minds, PIRD plays a critical role in determining whether actors and institutions will be receptive to "learning" about the merits of racial diversity and how racial differences can contribute to unequal judgment, treatment, and access to resources. Indeed, in contrast to colorblindness, multicultural messages implicitly presume that individuals and institutions want to be egalitarian and that they would act to rectify biases if made aware of them. Interestingly, perceptions of malice did not mediate the relationship between PIRD and approach preferences, but did mediate the relationship between PIRD and recommended compensatory damages in Study 5b (though perceptions of ignorance did not). The fact that PIRD shaped both approach preferences and the degree of punishment, but through different causal pathways, may speak to a possibility of broader importance. It may be that perceptions of ignorance are most influential when individuals think about how to remedy the problem of racial discrimination, whereas perceptions of malice are most influential when individuals consider the appropriate punishment for the perpetrator of discrimination. That is, when it comes to the question of how to "fix" discrimination, individuals may primarily consider how responsive individuals will be to education aimed at raising awareness for the benefits and disparate impacts of racial differences; whereas when it comes to punishment and retribution for discrimination, individuals may primarily consider their beliefs regarding the out-and-out nastiness of the person or institution behind

such acts. Assessing this more general interpretation remains an important question for future research.

14. Limitations and future directions

Though the cumulative evidence supported our theoretical framework, there are noteworthy limitations to this research and nuance in the observed patterns of data, which highlight intriguing and potentially promising directions for future research. It was generally the case that effects of PIRD were larger and more symmetric in Studies 1–5 in which preferences for colorblindness and multiculturalism were the primary outcome measures. By contrast, Studies 6–8 focused primarily on the relationships between PIRD and downstream intergroup-relevant behaviors given a focus on either colorblindness or multiculturalism.

The larger and more symmetric effects in Studies 1–5 may reflect the fact that the effects of PIRD on approach preferences is more proximate than the effects of PIRD on secondary intergroup behaviors given the espousal of either colorblindness versus multiculturalism. The more modest effects observed in Studies 7 and 8 may also, or alternatively, reflect the limitations of employing a survey methodology to capture fundamentally interpersonal phenomena (i.e., interracial interaction outcomes and comfort discussing race). Hence, to more definitively evaluate the interpersonal implications of PIRD in the context of race relations, future research may employ additional behavioral methods to assess how colorblindness versus multiculturalism influence intergroup interactions under conditions of low versus high PIRD.

Another notable limitation of the current research is that the majority of our participants across the nine studies were White, which precluded us from capturing potential differences in racial minorities' perspectives. It is noteworthy that in Study 6—the only study in which the majority of participants were racial minorities—we observed an overall preference for multiculturalism, yet in almost all other studies (where the majority of participants were White), we observed an overall preference for colorblindness. We also consistently observed that PIRD influenced preferences for colorblindness more than it influenced preferences for multiculturalism. Together, these different patterns of data in Study 6 raise the possibility that baseline preferences for colorblindness and multiculturalism differ among racial groups, as well as the possibility that the degree to which PIRD influences preferences for either colorblindness or multiculturalism may depend on the baseline level of support for a given approach.

Examining these issues in future research is of particular importance given emerging evidence of the deepening racial divide between White and racial minorities in the U.S. (Pew Research Center, 2016).

15. Conclusion

The current research introduces PIRD and advances our understanding of when, how, and why individuals endorse colorblindness and multiculturalism as a means for improving race relations. While baseline preferences for colorblindness and multiculturalism varied across studies, manipulating PIRD consistently influenced relative preferences for colorblindness and multiculturalism. Our findings thus demonstrate that there is no one-size-fits-all prescription for improving race relations—the merits of colorblindness and multiculturalism depend on other contextual factors, including PIRD. Rather than ask whether colorblindness or multiculturalism is the best approach to improve race relations and minimize discrimination, our findings therefore suggest that we should ask *under what conditions* is a given approach best and why.

Uncited reference

Appendix A. Colorblind and multicultural messages employed in Study 2 (left/right counterbalanced).

Approach #1	Approach #2
Look beyond differences between people. The simple idea can improve a range of situations, from interpersonal interactions to groups in the workplace.	**Recognize the ways in which people are different**. This simple idea can improve a range of situations, from interpersonal interactions to groups in the workplace.
How this approach applies to social interactions	
When you interact with someone of a different race than you, it's important to remember that social labels like race don't matter. Try not to pay attention to these differences and keep in mind that everyone has similar thoughts and experiences. Instead, we should acknowledge that many experiences are shared by all individuals, irrespective of their background.	When you interact with someone of a different race than you, it's important to remember that social category differences matter. Try to keep these differences in mind and remember that everyone has different thoughts and experiences. We should acknowledge that all individuals have unique cultural heritages and backgrounds, and these differences can shape the way in which people understand and experience everyday situations.
How these approach applies to job evaluations and promotion	
Dealing with issues of race in the job promotion process can be challenging, but following one basic principle will help create the best outcomes for everyone, and for the organization. The principle is that everyone must get access to the same opportunities to advance their career, regardless of their background.	Dealing with issues of race in the job promotion process can be challenging, but following one basic principle will help create the best outcomes for everyone, and for the organization. This principle is that a range of experiences is beneficial to the firm. Evaluation practices should embrace differences, and perspectives that come with different backgrounds
How this approach seeks to improve teamwork and productivity	

Once teams are formed, it is important to recognize similarities that unite the group. This not only fosters a more inclusive environment, but also one that is more productive. One organization that has adopted this approach says, "While other firms mistakenly focus too much on their staff's differences, we train our diverse workforce to be respectful and embrace the commonalities they share. This approach creates a more inclusive and collaborative work environment."

Summary

Whether in everyday interactions, hiring practices, or in organizations, putting too much emphasis on issues of race simply sends the wrong message. The best way to improve race relations is to look beyond differences to the qualities that unite all people

Once teams are formed, it is important to recognize the differences that make members of the group unique. This not only fosters a more inclusive environment, but also one that is more productive. One organization that has adopted this approach says, "While other firms mistakenly try to shape their staff into a single mold, we train our diverse workforce to be respectful and appreciate their differences. Diversity fosters a more inclusive and collaborative work environment."

Whether in everyday interactions, hiring practices, or in organizations, ignoring issues of simply sends the wrong message. The best way to improve race relations is to openly acknowledge and appreciate the importance of differences.

Appendix B. Colorblind and multicultural messages employed in Study 5b (left/right counterbalanced).

Approach #1: Look beyond differences	Approach #2: Recognize differences
When employees at ZTK interact with people from different racial groups, they should keep in mind that everyone has similar thoughts and experiences. They should not put too much emphasis on racial differences. Instead, they should acknowledge that many experiences are shared by all individuals, irrespective of their background. It is important that everyone at ZTK gets equal access to the same opportunities to advance their career, regardless of their background. The best way to improve race relations at ZTK is to look beyond differences to the qualities that unite all people.	When employees at ZTK interact with people from different racial groups, they should try to keep these differences in mind and remember that everyone has different thoughts and experiences. They should acknowledge that all individuals have unique backgrounds, and these differences can shape the way in which people experience everyday situations. It is important to understand that a range of perspectives and experiences is beneficial to the firm. The best way to improve race relations at ZTK is to recognize and appreciate the importance of differences.

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