Are People of Color Anti-White? Evidence from a Panel Study of 3,536 Black, Latino, and Asian American Adults

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Demographic shifts are remaking America's racial hierarchy, with stigmatized outgroups sharing an identity as people of color (PoC) and White Americans supporting backlashes against teeming racial diversity. Have PoC developed anti-White attitudes in return? We analyze a three-wave survey of Black, Latino, and Asian American adults (N=3,546) straddling the 2024 presidential campaign. Drawing on *social identity* and *social dominance* theories, our pre-registered analyses reveal that stronger PoC identity is positively, but weakly, correlated with anti-White sentiment per wave ($r_{avg.}$ = .081). Moreover, within-person increases in anti-White sentiment modestly bump up PoC identity strength over time (d~.10), but not vice versa, which clarifies a causal direction between these constructs. Finally, compared to anti-White sentiment, belief in structural racism is a substantially stronger predictor of PoC identity. The impact of anti-White attitude on PoC ID is unmoderated by either belief in structural racism or preferences for inter-group equality.

Keywords: people of color (PoC) identity; anti-White sentiment; racial hierarchy; social identity theory; random intercept, cross-lagged panel models (RI-CLPM)

"Hating people because of their color is wrong and it doesn't matter which color does the hating."

-Muhammad Ali

When the famed professional boxer and social activist, Muhammad Ali, spoke these words, he was addressing an allegation of *reverse-racism* – the notion that racially oppressed groups are just as prejudiced against their oppressors (Bonilla-Silva, 2003). Mr. Ali's rebuke arrived at a time when Black Americans were visibly achieving greater equality for racially stigmatized groups via the 1960s Civil Rights Movement and the many federal laws it birthed (Lee, 2002), including the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the Civil Rights Act of 1968 (Piereson & Schickler, 2024). These palpable transformations in U.S. race relations created political backlash among many Whites who wished to keep racial minorities "in their place" (Azari 2025).

Fast forward half a century later and this kind of racial tumult has reappeared with both changes and continuities. The changes? In 1960, racial minorities were just 11.4% of the U.S. population, with Black people comprising the vast majority of non-Whites (U.S. Census, 1961). Today, racial minorities no longer merit this diminutive label, as they comprise more than 40% of the U.S. population (Pérez, 2021). Indeed, many Black, Latino, Asian, and other non-Whites often collectively identify as *people of color* (PoC) in a quest for greater racial equality (Rogbeer et al., 2025; Kim et al., 2025). And the continuities? With intensifying racial diversity and PoC's discernible political gains (e.g., Tesler & Sears, 2010; Tesler, 2016), many White Americans are once again lashing out politically at people of color (Sides et al., 2019; Sides et al., 2022), fervently alleging *reverse-racism* (Knowles et al., 2022). But are PoC actually anti-White?

This question is timely as U.S. race relations become increasingly divisive amidst profound demographic shifts (Craig & Richeson, 2014; Craig et al., 2018; Sirin et al., 2021; Rucker & Richeson, 2021). Yet efforts to study PoC's attitudes toward Whites are beset by conceptual, theoretical, and methodological challenges. Conceptually, it is fundamentally essential, we think, to distinguish racial prejudice from racism. Racial prejudice is the degree of (un)favorability one expresses toward outgroup(s) (Kinder & Kam, 2009). It is steeped in personal, negative feelings toward outgroups. To paraphrase the seminal psychologist, Gordon Allport (1954), racial prejudice is rooted in antipathy toward a group, which one generalizes to all group members.

Racism, in contrast, is the systematic organization of society based on arbitrary attributes, like race (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Racism is the brainchild of a dominant racial group in society, aided and abetted by its members (Omi & Winant, 1986; Marx, 1998; Bonilla-Silva, 1997, 2010). Whereas racial prejudice is a feature of individuals and the intergroup settings they navigate (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner et al., 1987), racism is structural, meaning it involves institutions, laws, and norms that exclude and oppress others based on racialized attributes (King, 2002; Katznelson, 2005; Wilkerson, 2020; Kraus et al., 2025). Thus, while PoC can, in principle, express prejudice toward Whites (which is what we investigate here), PoC in the U.S. are not racist since the existing system of oppression is organized around keeping *them* in unequal social, political, and economic stations relative to Whites (Craig & Phillips, 2023; Pérez & Vicuña, 2023).

Still, even with greater conceptual clarity, a thicket of theoretical problems stands in the way of better understanding people of color's prejudice toward Whites. Two of

them merit closer attention. The first is the sheer number of racial outgroups, each with its own unique history of being discriminated against in the U.S. (Zou & Cheryan, 2017; McClain & Johnson, 2017; Sirin et al., 2021). This situation risks developing specialized theories about specific groups (e.g., Black Americans, Latinos) at the expense of unified explanations that speak to a range of cases (i.e., people of color). Alas, a broad theory of anti-White sentiment among PoC must explain *why* racially stigmatized groups express prejudice toward Whites; *whether* anti-White sentiment informs their collective identity (or whether their collective identity facilitates the expression of anti-White sentiment); and *how much* self-identification as people of color contributes to anti-White prejudice (or the degree to which anti-White sentiment shapes one's PoC identity)?

Finally, even with sharper conceptualization and more precise theory, the large-scale data needed to evaluate a strong claim of anti-White sentiment among people of color is sparse. Social scientists are increasingly collecting data quickly and reliably via online platforms (Freese & Jin, 2025). Researchers often match these samples to demographic benchmarks for a target population (e.g., education, age, gender), leading many to claim that they are representative of a target population (Freese & Jin, 2025). Regrettably, they are not. No matter the size of these online samples, they are typically generated via an *opt-in* rather than *probabilistic* sampling procedure (Groves et al., 2010). Only a probabilistically yielded sample will, in expectation, be truly representative of a target population with some degree of error (Freese & Jin, 2025). If psychologists wish to confidently, validly, and reliably test for anti-White attitudes among people of color, then they require large, representative sample(s) of different racially stigmatized groups

(N~1,000 per target group) to detect even small effects that can be generalized to these populations. Such data are expensive, difficult to generate, and currently uncommon.

We innovate along each of these tracks—conceptual, theoretical, and methodological—to provide dispositive evidence about the relations between identifying as a person of color and expressions of anti-White sentiment. Our synthesis of insights from *social identity* and *social dominance* theories yields several competing hypotheses, which we evaluate with a unique, three-wave survey of Black (n = 1,200), Latino (n = 1,200), and Asian American (n = 1,000) adults. Using extensive measures of PoC identity and anti-White sentiment in this panel, our pre-registered analyses indicate that stronger PoC identity is positively, but modestly, associated with anti-White sentiment in each wave ($r_{avg.}$ = .081). Once we isolate between-person factors among our respondents, within-person increases in anti-White sentiment modestly bump up PoC identity strength over time (d~.10), but not vice versa, thereby clarifying a causal direction between these key constructs. Finally, in comparison to anti-White attitudes, belief in structural racism is a substantially stronger predictor of PoC identity than anti-White attitude. Belief in structural racism, we find, does not moderate the relationship between anti-White sentiment and PoC identity. We discuss several implications of these results for ongoing research on U.S. intergroup politics.

Theory and Hypotheses

Our objective is to explain, and corroborate, the relationship between hostility to Whites and PoC identity. Based on a synthesis of insights from social identity (SIT) (Tajfel and Turner, 1986) and self-categorization theories (SCT) (Turner et al., 1987), one

line of thinking is that there is *no* relationship whatsoever between these constructs. These research streams imply that individuals self-identify with an ingroup when a specific axis of comparison against an outgroup emerges in a setting (Tajfel, 1981). The formation of an ingroup and outgroup hinges on salient attributes that define membership into the respective groups (Tajfel et al., 1971; Turner et al., 1987; Chandra, 2012), yielding an "us" (ingroup) and "them" (outgroup). This psychological process creates a homogenous ingroup and perceived distance from the outgroup (McGarty et al., 1992), which yields ingroup favoritism. But as Marilynn Brewer (1999) reminds us, ingroup favoritism is not automatically tied to outgroup derogation. "Loving" one's ingroup does not require "hating" an outgroup, an outcome that partly depends on the content of an ingroup's identity (e.g., Pérez, 2021; Anoll et al., 2024).

In the context of people of color, PoC ID is steeped in a belief that structural racism places all racially stigmatized groups in a disadvantaged position and that solidarity between them is required to improve their respective stations (Pérez, 2021; Pérez et al., 2024). In this rendering, PoC ID does not expect group members to express hostility toward Whites, whom they perceive as responsible for their subordinated station. Rather, the fundamental nature of PoC ID, according to this work, revolves around reducing and dismantling racial inequalities (Pérez and Vicuña, 2023; Craig and Phillips, 2023), instead of replacing them with a new oppressive hierarchy where people of color are at the helm; a situation that some Whites already believe is unfolding (Abrajano and Hajnal, 2015; Jardina, 2019; Knowles et al., 2022). Thus, our first

hypothesis is that self-identification as a *person of color* is weakly related to anti-White

attitude (H1).

While, in general, ingroup identification and outgroup derogation may be

trivially related, the specific contexts and memories defining relations between various

peoples of color and Whites in the U.S. is pock-marked with lynchings of Black people,

deportations of Mexican and Chinese immigrants, internments of Japanese families, and

genocides of various indigenous populations (e.g., McClain and Carew, 2017;

Wilkerson, 2020; García Bedolla and Hosam, 2021; Kim, 2023). Each of these episodes,

and many others that have affected other racially stigmatized groups, have cemented

PoC's subordination with respect to Whites (Marx, 1998; Zou and Cheryan, 2017). To be

sure, this relative positioning of people of color varies depending on whether one

focuses on Black Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans or another racially stigmatized

group (Masuoka and Junn, 2013). Yet research still shows that despite these nuances,

various PoC feel a sense of shared discrimination at the hands of Whites (Pérez et al.,

2024), which encourages PoC to engage in collective action against their disadvantages

(Chin et al., 2023). From this angle, then, the fact that PoC recognize and appraise White

people as generally responsible for their disadvantaged stations (Pérez, 2021) suggests

many PoC possess the cognitive "material" to rationalize their expression of hostility

toward Whites. An alternative hypothesis, then, is that self-identification as a person of

color produces higher levels of anti-White prejudice (H2).

Nevertheless, if PoC ID in fact does not generate greater anti-White prejudice, it

is still plausible that how individual people of color feel about Whites, as a group,

informs their development of a PoC mega-identity. The basis of this claim is the aftermath of experiencing discrimination and exclusion at the hands of Whites. Whether a person of color experiences blatant discrimination or more subtle micro-aggressions, one consequence is that a target feels insecure, excluded, and often uncertain about how to react (Branscombe et al., 1999; Franklin et al., 2006; Nadal et al., 2014). These consequences can be physically and mentally debilitating (Brown et al., 2000; Berger & Sarnyai, 2015). But research suggests that identification with a group comprised of similar others can boost one's sense of security, belonging, and purpose (Brewer 1991; Branscombe et al., 1999; Hogg 2005; Chin et al. 2023).

One foundation of perceived commonality with other racially stigmatized individuals, we think, is the experience of being on the receiving end of discriminatory actions and words by White Americans (i.e., *similarity principle*; see Cortland et al. 2017; Craig & Richeson, 2016; Pérez et al., 2023). Insofar as one's reaction to such infractions is personally harmful, negative attitudes toward White people might encourage PoC to develop a sense of community with others who have encountered a comparable experience(s) (Perez, 2021; Zou and Cheryan, 2017). This will produce commiseration, inclusion, and a sense of direction (i.e., anti-racist attitudes and behaviors; see Hogg, 2005). Our third hypothesis (H3), then, is that unfavorable attitudes toward Whites produce stronger levels of self-identification as a person of color.

We conclude with our two last hypotheses, which speak to the possibility of moderated relationships between our focal variables, anti-White sentiment and PoC ID. Inasmuch as we find a weak relationship between prejudice toward Whites and PoC

identity (regardless of the relation's direction), it is plausible that such a trivial pattern might stem from "hidden" or under-theorized moderators, which may amplify this link. It is especially important to investigate this prospect given the sheer heterogeneity of the mega-group, people of color (Pérez, 2021). We consider two defining attributes of PoC that might serve as moderators: 1) belief in structural racism (BSR) and egalitarian preferences (EP) in intergroup settings.

Qualitative research indicates that BSR is a key attitude held by people of color (Pérez, 2021). But like all attitudes, there is meaningful variation in the strength of this belief. Although all people of color are likely to possess it—since it facilitates membership in the category, PoC (Chandra, 2012)—some group members will have extremely strong levels of it, while others will have extremely weak levels of it, and many others somewhere in between. These individual differences, we think, qualify the connection between self-identification as a person of color and the expression of anti-White attitude. In particular, the more one believes in the role of structural racism's bearing on PoC's life chances, the more likely is one's appraisal of Whites as the outgroup primarily responsible for this lived condition. This lends itself to two competing predictions. One is that stronger BSR levels strengthen the influence of PoC ID on expressions of anti-White attitudes (H4a). Alternatively, higher BSR levels might strengthen the impact of anti-White attitudes on levels of PoC ID (H4b).

A similar line of reasoning motivates our remaining moderation hypothesis, which involves egalitarian preferences (EP) in intergroup settings (Kteily et al., 2017; Lucas & Kteily, 2018). Extensive research on *social dominance orientation* (SDO) indicates

that systems of racial oppression are upheld by both the oppressors (Whites) and some of the oppressed (e.g., people of color) (Pratto et al. 1994; Sidanius and Pratto 1999; Ho et al., 2015; Ho et al., 2025). In plain terms, this means that hierarchy-enhancing preferences exist among members of a racial majority and some minorities, with the former displaying higher levels of these preferences than the latter (see also Jost, 2019).

Nevertheless, while most SDO research has focused on the higher end of this orientation—i.e., a preference for hierarchical intergroup relations—newer research is finding that the lower end of this construct – i.e., egalitarian preferences for intergroup relations—is just as meaningful and impactful, with lower SDO levels associated with selective attention to inequalities, predicting support for beliefs and policies that weaken hierarchies and collective action to achieve these goals (Ho & Kteily, 2020; Ponce De Leon & Kay, 2021; Waldfogel et al., 2021; Kay et al., 2023). These patterns align with other insights on people of color, which suggest that another defining characteristic of this mega-group is its members' preference for more equal racial relations in the U.S. (Pérez, 2021). Thus, we hypothesize that stronger egalitarian preferences (EP) strengthen the relation between PoC ID and anti-White attitudes (H5a). Alternatively, stronger EP might bolster the link between anti-White attitude and stronger PoC ID (H5b). Table 1 catalogs our full set of hypotheses.

Table 1. Hypotheses about the Relation between PoC ID & Anti-White Prejudices

(H1)	Higher PoC identity levels are weakly related to anti-White attitude.
(H2)	Higher PoC identity levels produce greater anti-White prejudice.
(H3)	Greater anti-White sentiment produces stronger levels of PoC identity.
(H4a)	Greater belief in structural racism (BSR) moderates PoC identity's influence on stronger anti-White attitudes.
(H4b)	Greater BSR levels moderate the influence of anti-White attitudes on higher PoC identity levels.
(H5a)	Stronger preferences for egalitarianism moderate the relation between stronger PoC identity levels and anti-White attitudes.
(H5b)	Stronger preferences for egalitarianism moderate the link between anti-White attitudes and higher PoC identity levels.

Research Design

We evaluate our pre-registered hypotheses by leveraging all three available waves of the 2024-2025 Survey Panel of People of Color (SPPoC), which interviewed the same Black, Latino, and Asian adults, for a total sample of N = 3,267. SPPoC interviews occurred in June 2024 (Wave 1), December 2024 (Wave 2), and July 2025 (Wave 3). We undertook this original panel study in partnership with the National Opinion Research Center (NORC), which manages AmeriSpeak—a probability-based panel of respondents selected via stratified random sampling to enhance representativeness of a commissioned population(s). Our pre-registration for our hypotheses and analyses is reported in section 1 of our online appendix (OA.1).

Participants

After consenting to participate in SPPoC's Wave 1, NORC sampled and interviewed 1,292 African American, 1,296 Latino, and 1,039 Asian American adults, for a total sample of N = 3,627. This sample size allows us to uncover an effect size of $d\sim.10$ or higher, with statistical power set at 80%. Each wave fielded a short 12-interview, which asked questions about people of color and their politics. Within this brief questionnaire, participants completed items measuring their (un)favorability toward Asian, Black, Latino, and White people, their degree of identification as a person of color, their belief in structural racism, and their preferences for egalitarian intergroup relations, which we describe in detail below. Wave 1 also gathered data on participants' race/ethnicity, nativity, political partisanship, education, gender, and age, which we use as covariates in our statistical analyses. We describe their coding in the next section. We note that 36%, 29%, 36% of our sample is Black, Asian, and Latino, respectively. 60% of the sample self-identified as Democrats, with the percentage of Republicans at 19%. The average age of our respondents is 49 years. An estimated 49% of our participants are college-educated, 40% are male, and 70% are U.S.-born.

Measures

Each wave measured participants' degree of self-identity as a person of color with two validated and highly correlated items (r = .639, $p<.001$) (Pérez, 2021; Leach et al. 2008). The first of these asked participants to use a 7-point strongly (dis)agree scale to complete the statement, "The fact that I am a person of color is an important part of my identity." Participant used the same response options to answer, "I often think of myself

as a person of color." We combine replies into an averaged index ($M_{w1:\ pocID}$ = 5.044, SD

= 1.704; $M_{w2:\ pocID}$ = 4.885, SD = 1.756; $M_{w3:\ pocID}$ = 5.001, SD = 1.729).

Our second focal variable is anti-White attitude. Drawing on Kinder and Kam's

(2009) psychometric strategy, we use participants' favorability ratings of various (non-)

White groups, which we presented in randomized order, to create two measures. Our

primary measure focuses on anti-White sentiment in an absolute sense. Here, we rely on

self-reported evaluations of White people, which participants expressed on a scale from

1 - a very favorable feeling to 10 - a very unfavorable feeling (with 5 - no feeling at all)

($M_{w1:\ anti\text{-}white}$ = 3.875, SD = 2.376; $M_{w2:\ anti\text{-}white}$ = 3.963, SD = 2.405; $M_{w3:\ anti\text{-}white}$ = 3.915, SD

= 2.387). Prior work establishes that these self-reports yield meaningful and highly

predictive variance in hostility toward outgroups among Whites *and* non-Whites

(Kinder & Kam, 2009). This measure also aligns with recent recommendations by some

psychologists to use self-reports as a simpler tool to rigorously and efficiently capture

negative attitudes toward outgroups (Corneille & Gawronski, 2024). Our confidence in

this self-reported item is further bolstered by careful work documenting the significant

weakening of social norms around public expressions of racialized attitudes, which this

measure taps into (Valentino et al. 2018).

Besides this measure, we also gauge anti-White attitude by creating an index of

ethnocentrism, where outgroup "hate" is subtracted from ingroup "love" (Kinder &

Kam, 2009). Using the previously described 10-point (un)favorability scale, we take

participants' mean rating of people of color—i.e., their averaged favorability ratings of

Blacks, Latinos, and Asians—and subtract from this quantity a participant's rating of

Whites. Positive scores on this relative measure indicate favorability toward PoC *in comparison* to Whites, while negative scores indicate favorability toward Whites in comparison to people of color. This scale indicates a mildly pro-PoC stance across waves among our Black, Latino, and Asian participants ($M_{W1:pro-PoC}$ = .916, SD = 2.178; $M_{W2:pro-PoC}$ = .918, SD = 2.163; $M_{W3:pro-PoC}$ = .905, SD = 2.153), which aligns with prior work on this measurement strategy (Kinder & Kam, 2009). Critically, prior work finds this approach also produces meaningful and highly predictive variance in hostility toward outgroups among Whites and PoC (Kinder & Kam, 2009).

Next, we measure each of our moderators with 2-3 items each. To tap belief in structural racism (BSR), participants used a scale from 1-strongly disagree to 7-strongly agree to complete three statements about "discrimination targeted at people of color, which includes Black, Asian, and Latino individuals in U.S. society." These statements were 1) "Live in neighborhoods that are located close to polluting and waste facilities;" 2) "Have their votes rejected due to various questionable practices;" and 3) "Have poorer health outcomes because of racially biased medical practices." These items are highly correlated (r_{w1} < .710, p<.001), so we combine them into an averaged index, left in its 7-point metric, where higher values reflect greater BSR ($M_{w1: BSR}$ = 4.561, SD = 1.596).

We then appraise our remaining moderator, egalitarian preferences (EP) for intergroup relations, with two social dominance orientation (SDO) items (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). One of these asked participants to report their (dis)agreement with the statement "Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups" (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree). A second reverse-worded item asked participants to

report their (dis)agreement with "Groups at the bottom are just as deserving as groups at the top." We code these items so that higher values reflect stronger EP. This item pair is also correlated (ρ=.308, *p*<.001), so we fold replies into an averaged index left in its raw metric ($M_{W1: egal.}$ = 4.633, SD = 1.835).

In terms of our covariates, we leave partisanship in its raw 7-point scale, with higher values reflecting stronger Democratic identification ($M_{Democrat}$ = 4.967, SD = 1.821). We capture participants' race/ethnicity with two "dummy" variables where 1 = a Black or Asian participant, while Latinos = 0. College education is coded 1 = bachelor's degree or higher, 0 = all others. Female is coded 1 = female, 0 = all others. Foreign born is coded 1 = born outside the U.S., 0 = U.S.-born. We code age in years.

Analysis Plan

We analyze our panel data in three ways. First, we examine the raw bi-variate association between identifying as a person of color (PoC ID) and anti-White attitudes, thus benchmarking this connection in a parsimonious way. Second, we model the links between these variables in a more intensive manner via a random intercept cross-lagged model (RI-CLPM) (Mulder & Hamaker, 2021; Osborne & Little, 2024). This will illuminate the substantive nature and direction of PoC ID's connection with anti-White attitudes, free from key threats to confounding (i.e., time-invariant factors, between-person factors). Having established the flow of influence between PoC ID and anti-

White attitudes, we then test the degree to which this linkage is moderated by belief in structural racism (BSR) and/or egalitarian preferences (EP).[1]

Result 1: PoC ID and Anti-White Attitudes are Positively but Weakly Related

Is there a relationship between identifying as a person of color and hostility to White people? We answer this by documenting the degree of correlation between these focal variables. Looking at SPPoC's wave 1, we find a positive and very modest correlation between these variables in our pooled sample of observations ($r = .062$, $p<.001$, $d \sim .12$), which aligns with (H1) (see table 1). This pattern is repeated when we look at the same bivariate relation between both variables in wave 2 ($r = .098$, $p<.001$, $d \sim .20$) and wave 3 ($r = .099$, $p<.001$, $d\sim.10$). Thus, higher levels of PoC ID are positively correlated with anti-White hostility, but weakly so. Averaging across all three waves, this association is always substantively small ($d_{avg.} = .173$). In fact, it falls short of the conventional threshold for small effect sizes ($d = .20$) (Cohen 1992). Despite its modesty, however, we still think this is a meaningful pattern, since even small expressions of prejudice can cause psychological and emotional distress (e.g., micro-aggressions).

We rush to underscore that this small pattern is not an artifact of estimating this correlation in a pooled sample. Without making any claims about directionality, we estimate the association between anti-White attitudes and PoC ID, moderated by whether participants were Asian or Latino (relative to Black participants). We do this for each wave. In no instance can we reject the null hypothesis that these interactive

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[1] (OA.2) reports an attrition analysis.

relations are reliably different from zero. This means the association between both variables is statistically similar across racial/ethnic groups in our panel, which further reaffirms our pooling of observations across race/ethnicity (Wave 1: $F_{(2, 3557)}$, Prob > F = .137; Wave 2: $F_{(2, 2574)}$, Prob > F = .251; Wave 3: $F_{(2, 2629}$, Prob > .124).

Besides our absolute measure of anti-White attitude, we also examined a *relative* measure that quantifies favorability toward PoC in comparison to Whites.[2] This measure provides insight into ingroup favoritism (toward PoC), net of how one feels toward the outgroup (i.e., White people) (Kinder & Kam, 2009). When we substitute our measure of anti-White attitude for this gauge on relative pro-PoC sentiment, we yield another well-fitting model RI-CLPM with informative estimates (CFI = .998, TLI = .995; RMSEA [90%CI] = .024 [.011, .038]; SRMR = .013). We report these estimates in (OA.3) but discuss them below in detail.

Specifically, this RI-CLPM indicates that prior PoC ID levels are uncorrelated with later levels of pro-PoC sentiment in both periods (W1 → W2 and W2 → W3)(.041, SE = .034, *p*<.232). In other words, one's self-identification as PoC *does not* drive one's favorability toward Black, Latino, and Asian people. Instead, it is one's favorable attitudes toward PoC that structures one's self-identification as a person of color. That is, positive attitudes toward Black, Latino, and Asian people (net of attitudes toward Whites) are reliably and positively associated with subsequent increases in PoC identity (W1 → W2 and W2 → W3)(.101, SE = .032, *p*<.001, *d*~.20). This pattern is especially

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[2] We pre-registered the decision to use alternate, but complementary, measures of anti-White attitude. See pre-registration in (OA.1).

informative because it indicates that one's sense of PoC ID is more informed by how

one feels toward other people of color, rather than how one feels about Whites. This

relative weight given to ingroup members over an outgroup aligns with classic (Tajfel,

1981) and newer work (Brewer, 1999) on ingroup favoritism (see also Pérez, 2015).

Figure 1. Key Components in RI-CLPM of PoC ID and Anti-White Attitude
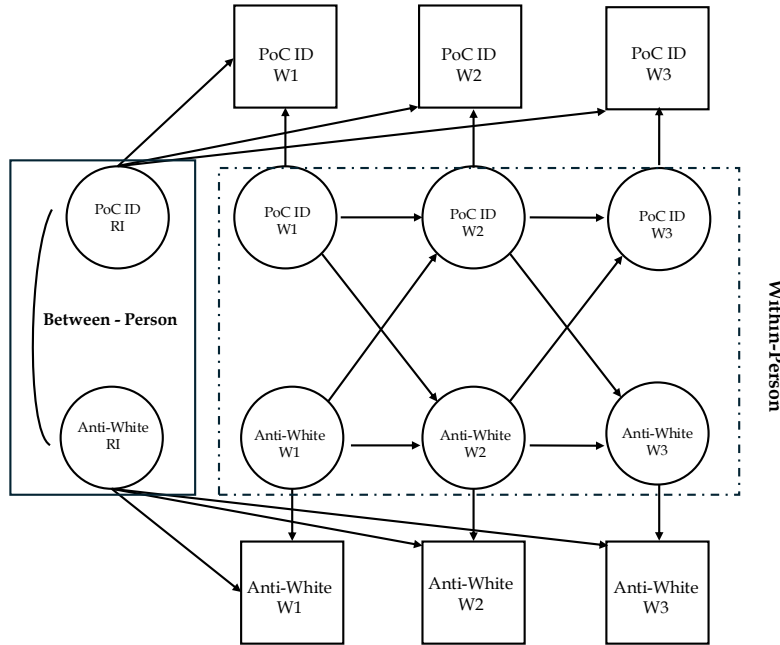
Note: For parsimony's sake, we only focus here on the main paths of interest (i.e., auto-regressive effects, cross-lagged effects). We omit some correlations between our variables and their error variances. Our model relies on manifest variables for each construct (i.e., PoC ID and anti-White attitudes). W = wave, RI = random intercepts.

Result 2: Anti-White Sentiment Informs PoC ID, Not Vice Versa

Having established a link between PoC ID and anti-White attitudes, we now

evaluate its direction. (H2) and (H3) stipulate competing predictions about the link

between PoC ID and anti-White attitudes. We model our trio of measurements for each

focal variable in an RI-CLPM context. The virtue of RI-CLPMs are their ability to

establish whether and in what way two variables are related over time, while isolating

stable between-subjects variance that can undermine inferences about within-person

changes in two variables. Figure 1 sketches our basic model. As this visual indicates,

once we account for stable variance related to between-person factors (solid rectangle),

we can more confidently evaluate whether within-person changes in PoC ID (anti-

White sentiment) inform within-person changes in anti-White attitudes (PoC ID).

Table 2 displays the key results from our main RI-CLPM, which include

stationary paths (Little, 2024). This simplifies the estimation by assuming that the

model's auto-regressive and cross-lagged paths are similar in both time periods under

analysis. By all indications, this model fits our data quite well, with a CFI and TLI near

their maximum of 1.00 (.998 and .994, respectively), as well as an RMSEA [90%] = .023

[.010, .037], which indicates a parsimonious fit, and a general absence of large residuals

(SRMR = .015). Given these diagnostics, we evaluate the model's coefficients.

As table 2 shows, prior levels of PoC ID are statistically unrelated to subsequent

expressions of anti-White attitudes at both time intervals (i.e., W1 →W2 and W2→W3).

Specifically, in each of these periods, a one-point increase in self-identification as a

person of color trivially and insignificantly reduces reports of anti-White hostility (-.020,

SE = .031, p<.520). These patterns contradict (H2). Although, in a generic sense, one

might expect previous values of a variable to highly correlate with its current values, it

is important to recall that the variable in question, here, is PoC identity. And, like most

identities, the salience of this one varies context to context (Tajfel 1981; Turner et al.

1987). From this perspective, the lack of cross-lagged effects here for PoC ID can be

accounted for by changes in interview setting. Simply put, PoC ID at a prior wave can

be uncorrelated with subsequent PoC ID levels if simple features of the context are not

the same (e.g., different time) (Zaller, 1992; Tourangeau et al., 2000).[3]

Table 2. Path Coefficients from a RI-CLPM Estimating the Longitudinal Relations
Between PoC Identity and Anti-White Attitudes

Outcome$_t$	Predictor$_{t-1}$	RI-CLPM (no covariates)	RI-CLPM (with covariates)
PoC identity			
	PoC identity	.038 (.040)	.021 (.036)
	Anti-White	.063*** (.032)	.076*** (.030)
Anti-White			
	Anti-White	.090*** (.036)	.088*** (.035)
	PoC identity	-.020 (.031)	-.017 (.029)
CFI/TLI		.998/.994	.997/.965
RMSEA [90% CI]		.023 [.010, .037]	.031[.019, .045]
SRMR		.015	.009
N		3,627	3,537

Note: Estimates are ML coefficients with standard errors in parentheses, with stationary auto-regressive and cross-lagged paths. These estimates were produced in a full-information maximum likelihood (FIML) framework. Covariates are partisanship, race/ethnicity, nativity, college education, gender, and age. We omit them here to highlight key results related to our hypotheses (see table 1). ***p<.001, two-tailed

In turn, we uncover clear evidence favoring (H3), which predicted that prior

levels of hostility toward Whites would inform later expressions of PoC ID. In both time

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[3] It also bears reminding readers that an RI-CLPM isolates stable, between-subjects variance, leaving us with more malleable, within-subjects variance to investigate (Osborne & Little, 2024).

periods (W1 →W2 and W2→W3), a one-point increase in anti-White hostility modestly, but significantly, increases PoC ID levels (.063, SE = .032, $p<.049$, $d\sim.12$). This is another small effect that we describe as socially meaningful, given that prejudiced feelings can cause individuals some psychological and emotional distress. Still, we find it remarkable that this connection is not stronger, given the assumption of many White adults that people of color are colluding against them (e.g., Knowles et al., 2022; Abrajano & Hajnal, 2015; Jardina, 2019).

Of course, given our sample's heterogeneity, it is plausible that this pattern vanishes once we account for key political and social factors that distinguish Black, Latino, and Asian adults from each other. Accordingly, the second set of findings in table 2 are estimates from an RI-CLPM that accounts for the influence of six (6) covariates on each indicator of our two focal variables, anti-White attitudes and PoC ID (Mulder & Hamaker, 2021). These covariates are participants' partisanship, race/ethnicity, gender, age, education, and nativity.

This model also fits our panel data very well (CFI = .997, TLI = .965, RMSEA [90%CI] = .031 [.019, .045], SRMR = .009). In interpreting its coefficients, we find that our substantive inferences about the relation between anti-White attitudes and PoC ID remain identical, although the estimated coefficients are more precise. For example, we again find that prior levels of PoC ID have no bearing on subsequent levels of anti-White attitudes in either period (W1 →W2 and W2→W3) (-.017, SD = .029, $p<.549$). In contrast, in these same intervals, we again find that a 1-point increase in anti-White sentiment modestly increases the strength of PoC identity (.076, SE = .030, $p<.012$,

d~.16). Thus, regardless of whether we estimate this bi-variate relationship with a parsimonious or more saturated model, we arrive at the same conclusion: Higher levels of anti-White attitude bump up levels of PoC identity, but there is no relationship between stronger PoC ID levels and the expression of anti-White hostility.

Result 3: BSR is a Much Stronger Predictor of PoC ID than Anti-White Attitudes

So far we have uncovered quite small effects of anti-White attitude on self-identification as a person of color. But does this modest relationship emerge because the impact of anti-White attitudes on PoC ID is moderated by other important factors? Our theoretical reasoning proposed two (2) possible moderators of anti-White attitudes—a belief in structural racism (BSR) and egalitarian preferences (EP) in intergroup settings.

In the first, left-most column of results in table 3, we show the coefficients from a linear regression predicting PoC ID levels (Wave 2) with levels of BSR, EP, and their interactions with anti-White attitude (Wave 1). This temporal spacing between predictors and outcome minimizes the incidence of false positives, while ruling out time-invariant confounders (Tesler, 2016). Like the rest of the models in table 3, this one also controls for key covariates, especially partisanship, which is a powerful and parsimonious predictor of U.S. mass politics (Bartels, 2002; Green et al., 2002).

Table 3. Predicting Levels of PoC Identity by Anti-White Hostility, Belief in Structural Racism (BSR), and Egalitarian Preferences (EP)

	PoC ID (Wave 2)	PoC ID (Wave 3)	PoC ID (Wave 2)	PoC ID (Wave 3)
Anti-White	-.003 (.007)	-.005* (.002)	.006 (.007)	.001 (.002)
BSR	.247* (.041)	.238* (.023)	.251* (.039)	.241* (.022)
EP	.001 (.033)	.024 (.017)	-.036 (.032)	.005 (.017)
Anti-White x BSR	-.026 (.086)	---	-.031 (.079)	---
Anti-White x EP	.061 (.072)	---	.108 (.069)	---
F-test (interactions = 0)	F(2, 2515) Prob > F .693	---	F(2, 2577) Prob > F .287	---
Partisanship (D)	.144* (.019)	.146* (.019)	.173* (.019)	.175* (.019)
Latino	-.195* (.014)	-.195* (.014)	-.179* (.014)	-.178* (.014)
Asian	-.107* (.015)	-.106* (.015)	-.083* (.015)	-.081* (.015)
College	-.007 (.011)	-.007 (.011)	.002 (.011)	.002 (.011)
Foreign-born	-.018 (.013)	-.018 (.013)	-.004 (.013)	-.004 (.013)
Female	.031* (.011)	.031* (.011)	.029* (.010)	.029* (.010)
Age	-.008 (.020)	-.008 (.020)	-.022 (.020)	-.022 (.020)
Intercept	.512* (.051)	.524* (.029)	.453* (.049)	.481* (.028)

Note: Entries are OLS coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. All variables are re-scaled to a 0 -1 interval, which makes the coefficients percentage-point shifts (for comparison's sake). All covariates are from Wave 1. Based on the model, N = 2,528 – 2,590. F-tests indicate whether a pair of interactions can be statistically distinguished from zero. Non-significant F-tests favor a simpler model without interactions (Kam & Franzese, 2007). *p<.01

This first set of results reveals null evidence that anti-White attitude's influence on PoC ID is moderated by BSR or EP, with each interaction term failing to reach statistical significance (BSR = -.026, SE = .086, $p < .760$; EP = .061, SE = .072, $p < .400$). Indeed, a block F-test suggests that both interaction terms cannot be collectively distinguished from zero, which favors a simpler model *without* interactions (Franzese & Kam, 2008). That simpler model's results (shaded in grey) show that compared to BSR and EP, anti-White attitude has a trivial direct impact on PoC ID. Specifically, a one unit increase in anti-White attitude reduces PoC ID by less than 1 percentage point, which is negligible. In contrast, a unit-increase in BSR significantly heightens PoC ID by nearly 24 percentage points (.238, SE = .023, $p < .001$). This pattern rivals that of partisanship (.146, SE = .019, $p < .001$). Finally, although in the expected direction, we find a statistically unreliable association between EP and PoC ID (.024, SE = .017, $p < .164$).

The previously discussed results fail to support (H4b) and (H5b), which anticipated a moderated relation between anti-White attitudes and PoC ID. But can we replicate this evidence? We address this with the two right-most columns of results in table 3. This last pair of models produces results that are similar in structure to the ones we discussed in the previous paragraph. The main change here is that, while our key predictors (anti-White attitude, BSR, EP) and covariates are still from Wave 1, we now predict PoC ID levels measured in Wave 3.

Our replication effort here is generally successful. First, BSR's and EP's interactions with anti-White attitude are once again statistically insignificant (BSR = -.031, SE = .079, $p < .695$; EP = .108, SE = .069, $p < .117$). Indeed, the block F-test for these

interactions also indicates we cannot collectively distinguish them from zero (Prob > F

.287), which favors a simpler model without interactions. These patterns, again,

contradict (H4a) and (H5a) (see table 1).

In a simpler model (results shaded in grey), we again see that anti-White attitude

has a negligible impact on PoC ID levels. More specifically, a one unit increase in anti-

White attitude insignificantly increases PoC ID levels by less than half a percentage

point (.001, SE = .002, $p<.728$). Levels of EP are also similarly uncorrelated with PoC ID

levels. As before, however, levels of BSR are strongly associated with PoC ID levels.

That is, a unit increase in BSR boosts PoC ID levels by roughly 24 percentage points

(.241, SE = .022, $p<.001$). Thus, in a substantive and statistical way, BSR levels

significantly inform self-identification as a person of color in a way that anti-White

attitude and EP do not.

Discussion and Conclusions

As racial tensions escalate in the United States and hostile rhetoric against people

of color by many White individuals (CITE; CITE), it is critical to dissect this argument

and evaluate its validity. The crux of this perspective rests on the assumption that PoC,

when given power and status, will disenfranchise White Americans ("Great

Replacement Theory"; Ekman, 2022; Dennison & Kustov, 2025). However, despite

reasonable suspicions PoC may have of White Americans' intentions due to a history of

structural racism (Kunstman & Fitzpatrick, 2018), our paper finds that there is only a

weak association between identifying with PoC and expressions of anti-Whiteness. This

is striking considering that our data was collected before and after the 2024 election,

which is arguably a period where one would expect partisan tensions (which are racialized) to be the highest (e.g., Bartels, 2020; Sides et al., 2022).

Further, the use of a CL RIPM allows us to isolate the between-person factors, clarifying the direction between the two variables—which we find runs from anti-White sentiment to PoC ID, and not vice versa. Although there was theoretical justification to predict both directions between these two variables (H1-H3), our study provided evidence that clearly favored one of these competing views. Even though this provides some insight into the causal relationship between these two variables, in actuality, these effects are also relatively modest. When considering the link between prejudice and identification, we find that how one feels about other PoC much more strongly predicts PoC identification than their feelings about White people. Thus, when practitioners and researchers study how PoC coalition form and are maintained, it is more pertinent to think about how PoC view other PoC (their potential ingroup) as opposed to White individuals (outgroup members).

Lastly, belief in structural racism and egalitarian beliefs did not moderate the relationship between anti-White feelings and PoC identification. This is informative because it indicates that, more than one's generic feelings toward a major outgroup (Whites), self-identification as a person of color is strongly associated with beliefs in structural racism—that is, with appraisal of the *consequences* of the actions that some members of this outgroup contribute to. One implication here is that even when PoC belief in structural racism, their feelings toward Whites still do not inform one's sense of PoC ID. This should cut against public concern that teaching about diversity or "critical

race theory" will cause people of color to really dislike or discriminate against White individuals. Ultimately, rather than anti-Whiteness being the factor that organizes a sense of collective PoC identity, it is instead the acknowledgement that there are some structural failings that unite PoC. We did not find any similar effects for egalitarianism, but we do not thing this warrants the conclusion that preferences for equality do not matter for PoC. Instead, we think this null pattern could simply be due to the specifics of our research design and the brevity of our measures for all key variables in our analyses, including egalitarian preferences. Here, we urge scholars to employ other types of tests (e.g., experimental) to revisit this hypothesis.

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Online Appendix

OA.1. Pre-registration Link through As Predicted

See https://aspredicted.org/as57uv.pdf for the preregistration

OA.2. Attrition Analyses

We conducted attrition analyses predicting the completion of W2 and W3 from our main predictors (anti-White sentiment and PoC-ID) and covariates of interest (participants' partisanship, race/ethnicity, gender, age, education, and nativity) in W1. These analyses showed PoC ID (b = 0.097, SE = 0.037, p = .010; odds ratio = 1.102; 95% CI = 1.024, 1.186), egalitarianism (b = 0.070, SE = 0.031, p = .026; odds ratio = 1.072; 95% CI = 1.009, 1.140), being female (b = 0.326, SE = 0.081, p < .001; odds ratio = 1.386; 95% CI = 1.183, 1.626), and being foreign-born (b = 0.217, SE = 0.095, p = .022; odds ratio = 1.242; 95% CI = 1.031, 1.495) correlated positively with incompletion in Wave 2, while anti-White feelings (b = -0.036, SE = 0.017, p = .031; odds ratio = 0.965; 95% CI = 0.934, 0.997) and age (b = -0.093, SE = 0.025, p < .001; odds ratio = 0.911; 95% CI = 0.867, 0.957) decreased the odds of incompletion. In Wave 3, only being female (b = 0.289, SE = 0.084, p < .001; odds ratio = 1.335; 95% CI = 1.134, 1.575) and foreign-born (b = 0.211, SE = 0.097, p = .030; odds ratio = 1.235; 95% CI = 1.021, 1.492) had higher odds of incompletion, while feelings of anti-Whiteness (b = -0.049, SE = 0.017, p = .004; odds ratio = 0.952; 95% CI = 0.920, 0.984) and age (b = -0.192, SE = 0.026, p < .001; odds ratio = 0.825; 95% CI = 0.784, 0.869) decreased the odds of incompletion.

OA 3. Path Coefficients from a RI-CLPM Estimating the Longitudinal Relations Between PoC Identity and Pro-PoC Sentiment

Outcome$_t$	Predictor$_{t-1}$	RI-CLPM (without covariates)	RI-CLPM (with covariates)
PoC identity	PoC identity	.040 (.041)	.023 (.037)
	Pro-PoC Sentiment	.100* (.031)	.107*
Pro-PoC Sentiment	Pro-PoC Sentiment	.049 (.038)	.074* (.036)
	PoC identity	.040 (.031)	.035 (.031)
CFI/TLI		.998/.995	.997/.960
RMSEA		.024	.036
[90% CI]		[.011, .038]	[.024, .050]
SRMR		.009	.009
N		3,537	3,536

Note: Estimates are ML coefficients with standard errors in parentheses, with stationary auto-regressive and cross-lagged paths. This means the coefficients for these paths are similar across both time periods. These estimates were produced in a full-information maximum likelihood (FIML) framework. *$p<.05$ or better, two-tailed