Anti-White Attitudes Neither Structure Nor Follow From PoC Identity: Evidence from a Panel Study of 3,536 Black, Latino, and Asian Adults

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Demographic shifts are remaking America's racial hierarchy, with stigmatized outgroups sharing an identity as *people of color* and White Americans supporting political backlashes against teeming racial diversity. Given this acrimony, do anti-White attitudes inform one's sense of PoC identity? We tackle this by analyzing a three-wave survey of Black, Latino, and Asian adults (N=3,546). Synthesizing insights from social identity theory and related work, we evaluate the interface between anti-White attitudes and PoC identity from a *within*-person perspective. We find, first, that stronger anti-White attitudes are positively but weakly correlated with PoC ID per wave ($r_{\text{avg.}}$ = .081). Capitalizing on the rich variances of these variables, we then show that within-person increases in anti-White attitudes are unrelated to later rises in PoC identity over time. We also find that within-person increases in PoC identity are unconnected to later changes in anti-White sentiment. This null pattern between both variables does not appear driven by unmodeled moderators: neither belief in structural racism nor a preference for intergroup equality strengthen the link between anti-White attitudes and PoC ID. We conclude that even in this racially divisive political era, anti-White attitudes are a weak component of one's sense of identity as a *person of color*.

Keywords: *people of color* identity (PoC ID); 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 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 (Pérez et al. 2024). And the continuities? With intensifying racial diversity and PoC's discernible political gains (Tesler, 2016), many White Americans are once again lashing out politically at people of color (Abrajano & Hajnal, 2015; Sides et al., 2022), fervently alleging *reverse-racism* (Knowles et al., 2022). Does this mean one's identity as a *person of color* is structured by anti-White attitudes?

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) without also formulating 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 attitudes inform their collective identity (or whether this identity facilitates the expression of anti-White sentiment); and *how much* anti-White sentiment contributes to one's sense of PoC ID?

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 these conceptual, theoretical, and methodological tracks to provide new evidence about the relation between expressions of anti-White sentiment and PoC identity. Our synthesis of insights from *social identity* and related research yields several competing hypotheses, which we test with a rich three-wave panel survey of Black (n = 1,200), Latino (n = 1,200), and Asian American (n = 1,000) adults. Using extensive measures of anti-White attitudes and PoC identity, our pre-registered analyses reveal that higher levels of anti-White attitudes are positively but modestly associated with stronger PoC ID levels per wave ($r_{avg.}$ = .081). After we isolate *between*-person variance in our measures of these constructs (Hamaker, 2015; Rohrer, 2025), we then show that *within*-person increases in anti-White sentiment are unrelated to later increases in PoC identity over time. We also find null evidence for the opposite pathway from stronger PoC identity to later increases in anti-White attitudes. Finally, this null relation between anti-White attitudes and PoC ID levels is unmoderated by two key postures shared by individuals who self-identify as a *person of color*: a) belief in structural racism and b) preferences for intergroup equality (Pérez, 2021). We conclude that, even in this racially divisive era, anti-White attitudes are a weak component of PoC identity. We then discuss theoretical implications of these null results for ongoing research on U.S. intergroup politics and the nature of PoC ID.

Anti-White Attitudes → PoC Identity? Theory and Hypotheses

Our objective is to explain and evaluate the interface between anti-White attitudes and one's sense of 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* meaningful relationship 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.

Yet 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 heavily depends on the content of an ingroup's identity, as scholars of Black, Latino, and Asian politics have regularly shown (e.g., Masuoka 2006; Barreto 2010; White and Laird 2020; Wamble et al. 2022; Anoll 2025). For example, in-depth interviews with Black, Latino, and Asian adults reveals that their articulation of PoC ID's meaning to them is anchored in a belief in structural racism (BSR) and a strong preference for greater intergroup equality (Pérez 2021), with respondents making minimal references to White Americans or their attitudes toward

them. Our first hypothesis, then, is that attitudes toward Whites are unrelated to one's sense of identity as a *person of color* (H1).[1]

However, an alternative, theoretically-informed perspective implies that greater anti-White prejudice does, in fact, significantly inform one's sense of PoC identity. The basis for this claim is the aftermath of experiencing discrimination and exclusion at the hands of Whites, which is a regular occurrence among PoC (e.g., Oskooii 2016; Hopkins et al. 2016; Peñaloza & Wang, 2025; Aleaziz, 2026). Whether a person of color experiences blatant discrimination or more subtle micro-aggressions, one effect 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 are physically and mentally debilitating (Brown et al., 2000; Berger & Sarnyai, 2015). Yet research suggests that identification with a ingroup comprised of similar others can boost one's sense of security, belonging, and purpose in light of discrimination (Brewer 1991; Branscombe et al., 1999; Hogg 2005; Chin et al. 2023).

One pillar of perceived commonality with other racially stigmatized individuals is experiencing discriminatory actions and words from White Americans (i.e., *similarity principle*; Cortland et al., 2017; Craig & Richeson, 2016; Pérez et al., 2023). Insofar as one's reaction to racist infractions is personally harmful, negative attitudes toward White people might encourage PoC to develop a deeper sense of community with

[1] In conventional hypothesis-testing (Gill 1999), (H1) is the null hypothesis we seek to reject. We also pre-registered a hypothesis that higher PoC ID levels will generate anti-White attitudes (H1b), i.e., the opposite flow of influence between these variables stipulated by (H1). We footnote (H1b) here to keep our paper's focus clear and parsimonious but highlight evidence for it in the results section.

others who have encountered a comparable negative experience(s) (e.g., Pérez, 2021; Craig et al., 2022; Zou & Ngum 2025). If so, this will produce commiseration, inclusion, and a sense of direction (e.g., dismantling racial inequalities; Hogg, 2005), deeply informed by what one thinks about Whites as an outgroup and their role in the racism that PoC experience (e.g., Acuña, 1972; Carter, 2019; Kim, 2023). Thus, we hypothesize (H2) that stronger anti-White attitudes produce a stronger *person of color* identity.

Still, it is plausible that the pathway from anti-White attitudes to identity as a person of color is moderated by third variables (Baron and Kenny 1986; Hayes 2022). It is especially important to investigate this prospect given the sheer heterogeneity and contours of the superordinate group, *people of color* (Pérez, 2021). We consider two defining attributes of PoC that, in theory, should serve as moderators: 1) belief in structural racism (BSR) and preferences for egalitarian intergroup relations.

Qualitative research indicates that BSR is a key belief held by people of color (Pérez, 2021). But like all beliefs, there is meaningful variation in BSR's strength. Although all PoC are likely to possess it to some degree—since it facilitates membership in the superordinate group, *people of color* (Chandra, 2012)—some ingroup members will have extremely strong levels of it, while others will have very weak levels of it, and many others in between. These individual differences, we theorize, could qualify the connection between anti-White attitudes and one's sense of PoC ID. Specifically, the more one believes in structural racism's bearing on PoC's life chances, the more likely it is that appraisal of Whites as the outgroup responsible for this condition will inform

one's sense of PoC identity. Thus, we hypothesize that stronger BSR levels will strengthen the influence of anti-White attitudes on PoC identity (H3).[2]

A similar line of theoretical reasoning motivates a moderation hypothesis involving preferences for egalitarian intergroup relations (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).

While most SDO research focuses on the higher end of this orientation—i.e., a preference for unequal intergroup relations—newer research finds that the lower end of this construct – i.e., preference for equal intergroup relations—is just as meaningful, with lower SDO levels associated with selective attention to inequalities and predicting support for beliefs and policies that weaken hierarchies (Ho & Kteily, 2020; Ponce De Leon & Kay, 2021; Waldfogel et al., 2021; Kay et al., 2023). These patterns align with specific insights on people of color, which suggest that another defining characteristic of this superordinate group is its members' preference for more egalitarian race relations in the U.S. (Pérez, 2021; Pérez et al., 2024). Thus, we predict that stronger egalitarian

[2] We also pre-registered a prediction that higher BSR levels strengthen a pathway from PoC ID levels to anti-White attitudes (H3b). We footnote it here to keep our narrative's flow concise.

preferences will moderate the influence of anti-White attitudes on PoC identity (H4).[3] For convenience, table 1 catalogs our four hypotheses.

Table 1. Hypotheses about the Link(s) Between Anti-White Attitudes and PoC ID

(H1)	Stronger anti-White attitudes are unrelated to one's sense of PoC identity.
(H2)	Stronger anti-White attitudes are significantly related to one's sense of PoC ID.
(H3)	Belief in structural racism moderates the influence of anti-White attitudes on PoC identity.
(H4)	Preference for egalitarian intergroup relations moderates the influence of anti-White attitudes on PoC ID.

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). This structure can be organized into an electoral period (W1-W2) and post-electoral period (W2-W3). In our results section, we formally test whether our proposed dynamics are statistically similar (i.e., stationary) across these periods (Little, 2024). We undertook this panel survey in partnership with the National Opinion Research Center (NORC), which manages AmeriSpeak—a probability-based panel of respondents selected via

[3] We also pre-registered a hypothesis that stronger egalitarian preferences moderate the pathway from PoC ID levels to anti-White attitude and stronger PoC ID (H4a). We footnote it here for parsimony's sake.

stratified random sampling to enhance representativeness of a commissioned population(s). Our pre-registration is 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~.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 White people and other racial groups, 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 some 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." Participants 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 other focal variable is anti-White attitude. 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 (Valentino et al. 2018), which this measure taps into.[4]

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,

[4] Our pre-registration also stipulated a secondary measure of anti-White attitude by creating an index where outgroup "hate" is subtracted from ingroup "love" (Kinder & Kam, 2009). For parsimony's sake, we acknowledge this measure here but report its corresponding findings in the results section.

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 appraise our remaining moderator, egalitarian preferences 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 *weaker* SDO, that is, a preference for egalitarian intergroup relations. This item pair is also correlated (ρ=.308, p<.001), so we fold replies into an averaged index in its raw metric ($M_{W1: egal.}$ = 4.633, SD = 1.835).

In terms of our covariates, we create dichotomous variables for respondents who are Asian or Latino (with Black respondents as the omitted category). In turn, 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. We first examine the raw bi-variate association between anti-White attitudes and identity as a *person of color*, which provides one straightforward benchmark for the interface between these two variables. However, such correlations, while informative, conflate *between*-person and *within*-person variance (Hamaker, 2015). While between-person variance reflects the durable ordering of individuals on an attitude dimension, within-person variance captures changes in an individual's own average level of an attitude(s). The latter dynamic is what our theory focuses on, since we wish to know whether personal evaluations of White people inform one's own sense of identity as a *person of color*. Thus, we model the hypothesized links between anti-White attitudes and PoC ID levels via a random intercept cross-lagged model (RI-CLPM) (Mulder & Hamaker, 2021; Osborne & Little, 2024). This approach can illuminate the substantive nature and direction of anti-White attitudes' connection to one's identity as a *person of color*, free from key threats to confounding (i.e., time-invariant factors, between-person factors). Finally, we test the degree to which the link between anti-White attitudes and PoC ID is moderated by belief in structural racism and/or preferences for egalitarian intergroup relations.[5]

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

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

Is there a link between anti-White attitudes and identifying as a *person of color*? We answer this by first testing the degree of correlation between these variables. Looking at Wave 1, we find a positive but minor association between these variables in our pooled sample (r = .062, p<.001). While the relation here is statistically significant, it is also substantively modest, making for a soft rejection of (H1), which predicted no relation between these variables. This modest pattern is repeated when we look in Wave 2 (r = .098, p<.001) and Wave 3 (r = .084, p<.001). Thus, greater anti-White attitudes are positively correlated with higher PoC identity, but weakly so.

Of course, it is impossible to ever "prove" a null hypothesis within a Null Hypothesis Significance Testing framework like ours (Gill, 1999). But we can further support an inference of a negligible effect by looking at the substantive significance of these results. Following Rainey's (2014) advice, we inspect the 90% confidence bands for each correlation between these variables per wave. These "two one-sided tests" allow researchers to more rigorously appraise whether these weak correlations are inconsistent with substantively meaningful effects. To facilitate this, we converted our correlations into d values (i.e., standardized mean differences), which are widely used to gauge effect sizes (Cohen, 1992). Conventionally, d values around .20 are deemed substantively small. Across waves, the *strongest* correlation within each 90% confidence band is small (W1: d~.179; W2: d~.262, W3: d~232). These patterns are inconsistent with a substantively strong correlation between anti-White attitudes and PoC ID.

We also note that these modest patterns are 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 identity, moderated by whether participants are 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 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)).

Taken as a whole, these patterns suggest that anti-White attitudes and PoC identity are generally weakly correlated among people of color. But it is important not to over-interpret this modest relation. That is because the observed correlations here conflate *between*-person and *within*-person variance in our measures of anti-White attitudes and PoC identity. Between-person variance, in this context, reflects the durable orderings of people on each attitudinal dimension (e.g., individuals with high versus low PoC ID levels). Consistent with this durability, the test-retest correlations for anti-White attitudes and PoC identity reflect two fairly stable, slow-moving variables over time, with PoC ID displaying greater stability than anti-White attitudes, in line with prior work on this identity (Engelhardt et al. 2025) ($r_{\text{anti-White, W1-W2}} = .500$, $p<.001$; $r_{\text{anti-White, W2-W3}} = .542$, $p<.001$) and PoC ID levels ($r_{\text{PoC ID, W1-W2}} = .635$, $p<.001$; $r_{\text{PoC ID, W2-W3}} = .676$, $p<.001$). What is still needed, however, is clearer evidence about whether *within*-person changes in one of these variables today has lasting effects on the other variable

later. This is a matter of *structural* relations between these variables (Little 2024), and it requires a more exacting test that differentiates *between*-person from *within*-person variance in anti-White sentiment and PoC identity. We address this critical matter next.

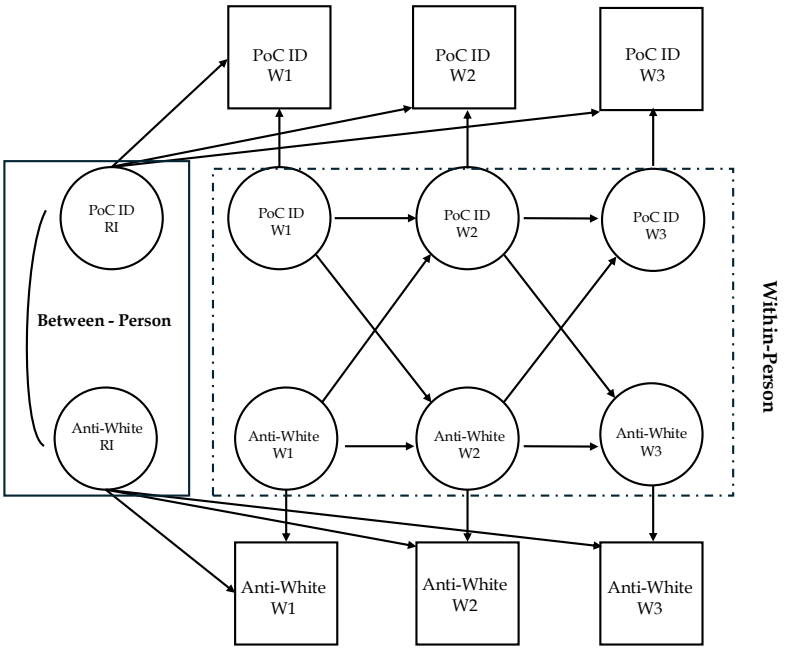
Result 2: Within-Person Changes in Anti-White Attitudes are Generally Unrelated to Within-Person Change in PoC ID – and Vice Versa

We test here a specific structural relationship between anti-White attitudes and PoC identity (H2): i.e., within-person changes in anti-White sentiment produce reliable within-person changes in one's PoC ID, independently of between-person differences in these variables and other confounders (Osborne & Little, 2024). We accomplish this by modeling each variable in a RI-CLPM context. The virtue of RI-CLPMs is their ability to establish whether and in what way(s) two variables are related over time, while isolating stable *between*-person variance that can undermine inferences about *within*-person changes in two variables. The longitudinal nature of these models also rule out, by design, the confounding influence of time-invariant factors (Hamaker, 2015).

Figure 1 sketches our basic model, indicating that once we account for stable variance related to between-person factors (solid rectangle), we can more confidently evaluate whether within-person changes in anti-White sentiment (PoC ID) inform within-person changes in PoC ID (anti-White attitudes). In this context, the auto-regressive and cross-lagged paths take on a different interpretation than in conventional panel models (CLPMs) (Osborne & Little, 2024). Here, the effect of one variable on itself over time (auto-regressive effect) reflects the degree to which departures from a person's mean level on that variable carry over into later assessment(s) of it. In turn, the

cross-lagged effects reflect the extent to which a shift from one's mean level on a variable today (anti-White attitudes) generates a reliable change in the mean level of another variable (PoC ID) later. These cross-lagged effects capture the within-person relations between our variables that we are most interested in.

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.

With three racial groups and three time points in our data, we begin modeling our data by first testing whether the dynamics in our RI-CLPM vary by group and period (Little, 2024). That is, are the main parameters (i.e., auto-regressive and cross-lagged effects) significantly moderated by race and/or intervals between waves? We test this by running three sequential models in a multi-group context (Brown 2012). Our

first model freely estimates our RI-CLPM for each group and period. The second model then constrains the auto-regressive and cross-lagged effects to equality across all three racial groups. If this second model yields a deteriorated fit compared to the first one, then we have moderation by race. If it does not, then we continue with the model that pools across race, which would align with work showing that a sense of PoC identity yields similar evaluative processes across racial groups when this superordinate identity is salient (Englehardt et al. 2025; Engelhardt et al. 2026). Our third model takes this racially pooled model and sets the key parameters to equality across periods (i.e., W1 = W2 = W3). If this constraint deteriorates model fit, then we default to our racially pooled model. But if these temporal constraints do not undermine our model's fit, then we settle on an RI-CLPM that pools across race *and* periods.

Table 2 reports the results of these multi-group model comparisons. Our freely estimated model yields a strong fit, which is unsurprising given that the model is differentiating *between*-person and *within*-person variances in assessments of each variable per period (Hamaker 2015). For example, this model's CFI and TLI both reach their maximum (1.00), suggesting excellent global fit. In turn, the RMSEA reaches its minimum value (0.00), indicating a parsimonious model, while the SRMR (.005) reflects a trivial degree of model residuals, further increasing faith in this model's quality.

Table 2. Assessing Moderation by Race/Ethnicity and Period: Model Fit Statistics for Freely Estimated and Constrained Multi-Group Models

	Freely estimated	Constrained (race)	Constrained (race + period)
CFI/TLI	1.00/1.00	1.00/1.00	.997/.995
RMSEA [90% CI]	.000 [.000, .041]	.005 [.000, .026]	.021 [.000, .034]
SRMR	.005	.017	.024
X^2, *df*	1.973, *3*	19.575, *19*	34.893, *23*
ΔX^2, *df*		17.602, , *16*, $p<.348$	15.408, *4*, $p<.004$

What happens when we constrain this model's auto-regressive and cross-lagged effects to equality across racial/ethnic groups? Table 2's second column suggests that very little changes, actually. The CFI and TLI for this constrained model fail to budge in comparison to the multi-group model. In turn, the RMSEA rises trivially, still reflecting a highly parsimonious model, with the SRMR value also still showing a minimal degree of residuals. Finally, the unreliable change in model chi-square (X^2) provides further evidence favoring this constrained model ($X^2 = 17.602$, $p<.348$). Thus, we conclude that there is no significant moderation by race/ethnicity and pool across groups.

We then take this pooled model and evaluate whether further constraining our key model parameters to equality across periods produce significant deterioration in model fit. Here, we observe some decline in model fit, as reflected in the decreases in CFI/TLI and increases in RMSEA and SRMR. Moreover, we observe a highly significant change in model chi-square (15.408, *4*, $p<.004$). Taken together, these diagnostics imply that the model with optimal fit to the data is the one that pools the main parameters across race but freely estimates them by period. That is the model we inspect next.

Table 3. 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 (W3)			
	PoC identity (W2)	.088* (.037)	.091* (.036)
	Anti-White (W2)	.016 (.022)	.013 (.022)
PoC identity (W2)			
	PoC identity (W1)	-.051 (.048)	-.061 (.049)
	Anti-White (W1)	.042 (.024)	.055* (.023)
Anti-White (W3)			
	Anti-White (W2)	.122* (.037)	.123* (.036)
	PoC identity (W2)	-.048 (.052)	-.020 (.053)
Anti-White (W2)			
	Anti-White (W1)	.049 (.042)	.046 (.042)
	PoC identity (W1)	-.093 (.072)	-.109 (.072)
CFI/TLI		1.000/1.000	.997/.995
RMSEA [90% CI]		.005 [.000, .026]	.012 [.005, .019]
SRMR		.017	.011
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

The fit statistics and parameters of interest from this model are the same as the ones in the middle column 2, but we report them here for transparency's sake. This most parsimonious version of our model contains no covariates, per our pre-registration. As the left-most entries in table 3 reveal, within-person increases in anti-

White attitudes are generally unrelated to within-person increases in one's identity as a *person of color*. More specifically, a within-person shift in anti-White attitudes (Wave 2) has no substantive or statistical carryover effect on PoC identity (Wave 3) (.016, SE = .022, p<.460). We draw a similar inference about anti-White attitudes (Wave 1) on PoC identity (Wave 2) (.042, SE = .024, p<.074). These patterns contradict (H2), i.e., that anti-White attitudes inform one's sense of PoC identity. In fact, the only meaningful patterns here are two auto-regressive effects. The first of these shows that a within-person increase in PoC identity (Wave 2) is integrated into the subsequent assessment of this concept at Wave 3) (.088, SE = .037, p<.018). This reliable pattern could be due to the Trump administration's assault on the rights and well-being of communities of color (e.g., deportation raids against Latinos; defunding institutions that support historically marginalized groups), which began unfolding in earnest during this interval (W2 – W3) (American Civil Liberties Union, 2024; Sullivan et al. 2025). *A posteriori*, our reasoning here is that these frontal attacks on people of color were sufficiently strong, psychologically, to amplify their average levels of identity as *people of color* (e.g., Branscombe et al. 1999; Doosje et al. 2002).

A second autoregressive effect also emerges for anti-White attitudes. Specifically, a within-person increase in anti-White attitudes (W2) is incorporated in PoC's average level of this trait in the next assessment of this variable (W3) (.122, SE = .037, p<.001). This pattern is also consistent with the shift in political context bracketed by this period (W2-W3), when the new Trump administration also undertook unapologetic pro-White stances, including the public pardoning of avowed White supremacists and the

dismantling diversity, equity and inclusion efforts in universities due to allegations of reverse-racism against Whites (Exec. Order No. 14173, 2025; Sullivan, 2025). From this angle, a pro-White emphasis in the Trump administration's politics could have elevated anti-White attitudes among people of color appraised Whites as broadly supporting an ideological agenda that causes visible harms to PoC (e.g., Mackie and Smith 2015; Brader and Marcus 2023).

Of course, it is plausible that our conclusions about a modestly weak interface between anti-White attitudes and PoC identity are highly dependent on the absence of any covariates, especially given the racial and political heterogeneity of our sample. To this end, table 3's right-most column re-estimates our model with a suite of pre-registered covariates added, including partisanship, nativity, education, and indicators of one's racial/ethnic self-classification. Our results here largely mirror those obtained from our model without covariates, with one exception. The inclusion of covariates increases the size and precision of most of our main coefficients, which leads to a statistically reliable connection between anti-White attitudes and PoC identity in the first period under analysis (W1-W2), before the Trump administration entered office. Specifically, a within-person increase in anti-White attitudes (W1) carries over into PoC identity levels (W2), bumping them up beyond their mean levels (.055, SE = .023, p<.017). This provides some support for (H2)—the first and only dispositive evidence for this hypothesis. But we note that, in addition to its paltry size (d~.09), this effect does not replicate in the post-electoral period, when pro-White/anti-PoC politics were more

concrete and in fuller display (Garcia, 2026; Logan, 2025). Thus, we caution against drawing strong conclusions about this one-off pattern.

Result 3: The Relation Between Anti-White Attitudes and PoC ID is Not Moderated by Belief in Structural Racism or Preferences for Intergroup Equality

So far we have mostly uncovered null effects from anti-White attitude to self-identification as a *person of color* – and the one effect that does emerge is small, fleeting, and dependent on model specification. Does this general absence of a sturdy interface between anti-White attitudes and PoC identity emerge because we have failed to consider possible moderating variables? Our theoretical reasoning proposed two (2) major possibilities here: a belief in structural racism and a preference for egalitarian intergroup relations. We now evaluate this pair of prospects.

In the left-most column of results in table 4, we report the coefficients from a linear regression (OLS) that predicts PoC identity (measured in Wave 2) with anti-White attitudes, belief in structural racism, egalitarian preferences, and their interactions (measured in Wave 1). This temporal spacing between predictors and outcome minimizes the incidence of false positives, while ruling out time-invariant confounders (Tesler, 2015). This model also controls for the same covariates as before (measured in Wave 1), which includes partisanship, a powerful and parsimonious predictor of U.S. mass politics (Bartels, 2002; Green et al., 2002).

Table 4. Belief in Structural Racism (BSR) and Egalitarian Preferences (EP) Do Not Moderate the Weak Connection Between Anti-White Attitudes and PoC Identity

	PoC ID (Wave 2)	PoC ID (Wave 3)
Anti-White	.015 (.052)	-.042 (.050)
BSR	.246* (.041)	.251* (.039)
EP	.002 (.033)	-.036 (.032)
Anti-White x BSR	-.003 (.009)	-.003 (.008)
Anti-White x EP	.006 (.007)	.011 (.007)
F-test (interactions = 0)	F(2, 2515) Prob > F .695	F(2, 2577) Prob > F .292
Partisanship (D)	.145* (.019)	.173* (.019)
Latino	-1.178* (.082)	-1.074* (.084)
Asian	-.648* (.092)	-.500* (.089)
College	-.039 (.069)	.009 (.066)
Foreign-born	-.108 (.078)	-.023 (.077)
Female	.185* (.064)	.176* (.062)
Age	-.002 (.002)	-.002 (.002)
Intercept	3.548* (.278)	3.735* (.271)

Note: Entries are OLS coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. All predictors and 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 more null evidence, this time indicating that anti-White attitude's impact on PoC ID is not significantly moderated by belief in structural racism or preferences for egalitarian intergroup relations, with each individual interaction term failing to reach statistical significance (*p*s range from .119 to .763). Indeed, a block F-test shows that both interaction terms cannot be collectively distinguished from zero in Wave 2, $F(2, 2515) = 0.36$, $p = .695$, or Wave 3, $F(2, 2577) = 1.23$, $p = .292$, which favors a simpler model *without* interactions (Franzese & Kam, 2008). These patterns fail to support (H3) and (H4). Our conclusions about these hypotheses do not change when we use PoC identity from Wave 3 as the outcome (instead of from Wave 2). Once again, neither belief in structural racism nor egalitarian preferences significantly moderate the connection between anti-Whtie attitudes and PoC identity, which means we find no support whatsoever for (H3) and (H4).

Discussion and Conclusions

As racial tensions escalate in U.S. politics, it is both scientifically and normatively critical to evaluate whether anti-White attitudes structure one's sense of identity as a *person of color*. This contention partly rests on the assumption that, as people of color increase their share of our country's population, they will also increase vastly in power, leading to the disenfranchisement of Whites (e.g., "Great Replacement Theory"; Ekman, 2022; Dennison & Kustov, 2025). However, despite continued racial inequalities between Whites and people of color—and despite the Trump administration's favorable

politics toward White people and overt hostility to PoC—we find very little evidence that anti-White attitudes significantly inform one's sense of identity as a *person of color*.

This consistent pattern of null evidence emerged from a battery of empirical tests that ranged in their degree of rigor, including correlational analyses, use of RI-CLPMs, and investigations of moderated effects. Each of these tests turned up paltry support for any significant connection between anti-White attitudes and PoC identity, both in a statistical and substantive sense. Here, we find our RI-CLPM results especially diagnostic, since that approach decoupled the between-person and within-person variance that inheres in the measurement of our two variables. This approach freed us from major confounding threats, thereby providing clear insight into whether within-person changes in anti-White attitudes carry over into one's sense of identity as a *person of color*. Ultimately, we found few meaningful traces of this process taking place in the period covered by our extensive panel of Black, Latino, and Asian adults.

What should researchers make of this null "sandwich" of results? The first lesson is that this null relationship stands on pre-registered hypotheses and analyses. This matters for two reasons. In terms of the pre-registered hypotheses, it means that we had *a priori* theoretical reasoning that motivated our expectations. That reasoning, we hasten to add, was not based on new or rapidly evolving theories, but rather, on a synthesis of durable psychological insights about the formation, contents, and expression of ingroup identities (e.g., Tajfel, 1981; Turner et al., 1987; Brewer, 1999)—and how these identities perform in cases where one's ingroup is socially stigmatized and in an unequal position (e.g., Cortland et al., 2017; Craig & Phillips, 2023; Pérez et al. 2024). These facts lead us

to conclude that our predictions were simply wrong, despite our synthesis of these theoretical insights. This does not mean that re-assessments of this relationship are unwarranted. But it is to suggest that experts in this field might be better served by pinpointing and evaluating other components—beyond anti-White attitudes—that define what it means to be a *person of color* and how one should think and act as a member of this superordinate group (Pérez, 2021).

The second lesson from our null results, we think, is to take them at face value and begin theorizing and evaluating the manifold processes –both psychological and systemic—that lead people of color to minimize their expression of anti-White hostility as a basis for their identity as *people of color*. Some possibilities include a) the risk(s) of expressing prejudice toward members of the dominant group in the hierarchy (e.g., Jardina, 2019), including threats of violence and bodily harm (e.g., Wilkerson 2020); b) the existence of under-theorized ingroup norms against racially prejudiced thinking among PoC (e.g., Carter, 2019); and c) the perceived futility or uncertainty of racially denigrating Whites as a group because they still hold more political and social power than non-Whites in a racially stratified polity (e.g., Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Jost, 2019). Consistent with these possibilities, we remind readers that people of color's levels of anti-White attitude in our panel survey were low-mean, high-variance – and this pattern emerged during a moment in our nation's history when anti-PoC/pro-White politics are publicly visible and palpably felt. This hints strongly at the role of motivating factor(s) in fraying the connection between anti-White attitudes and PoC identity (Kunda, 1990): a prospect that depends on the formulation of mediation

hypotheses, which require more sophisticated research designs than ours to satisfy the strong methodological assumptions required to infer mediated effects (Imai & Yamamoto, 2013). Notwithstanding these challenges, we think that the weight and gravity of intergroup politics in the U.S. in the current era requires political psychologists to oblige these pathways.

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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.