

Racial and Political Dynamics of an Approaching “Majority-Minority” United States

Maureen A. Craig¹, Julian M. Rucker², Jennifer A. Richeson^{2,3}

¹Department of Psychology, New York University

²Department of Psychology, Yale University

³Department of Psychology & Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University

Draft: June 15, 2017

*Please send correspondence to Jennifer A. Richeson, Department of Psychology, Yale University, Box 208205, New Haven, CT 06520-8205 (e-mail: jennifer.richeson@yale.edu).

Abstract

Ongoing and projected demographic shifts in the racial composition of the United States have been heralded as necessitating, if not promoting, positive change in the racial dynamics of the nation. Although change in response to this growing diversity is likely, its direction and scope are less clear. The present review integrates the emerging social scientific research on the psychological, social, and political implications of making projected changes in the racial/ethnic demographics of the United States salient. Specifically, we review recent empirical research examining how exposure to information that the United States is becoming a “majority-minority” nation affects racial attitudes and several political outcomes (e.g., ideology, policy preferences), and the psychological mechanisms that give rise to them, focusing primarily on the reactions of members of the current dominant racial group (i.e., White Americans). We then consider important implications of these findings and propose essential questions for future research.

Keywords: Demographic Changes, Diversity, Intergroup Threat, Racial Attitudes, Political Attitudes, Political Psychology

Author Biographies

Maureen A. Craig is an assistant professor of psychology at New York University. Her research focuses on how increasing diversity and stigma shape intergroup relations and political ideology.

Julian M. Rucker is a doctoral student in the social psychology program at Yale University. His research examines the psychological factors that influence perceptions of, and motivations to address, intergroup inequality across a variety of societal domains.

Jennifer A. Richeson is the Philip R. Allen professor of psychology and faculty fellow at the Institution for Social and Policy Studies at Yale University. Her broad research interests include the social and political dynamics of diversity, intergroup contact, and inequality.

Racial and Political Dynamics of an Approaching “Majority-Minority” United States

Shortly after the 2012 Presidential election, pundits, strategists, and elected officials alike remarked that shifting societal racial demographics may have changed the electorate in favor of the Democratic party for the foreseeable future (Center for American Progress, 2012; Phillips, 2016). Senator Lindsay Graham even commented that Republicans are “not generating enough angry White guys to stay in business for the long term” (Helderman & Cohen, 2012), and the Republican party autopsy on the election once again emphasized the need to reach out to racial and ethnic minority communities (Rubin, 2013). Just four years later, of course, Donald Trump—the Republican nominee—largely rejected the recommendations of the autopsy, instead making fairly direct and clear appeals to White American voters (Cheney, 2016). Although Trump’s election was certainly multiply-determined, it was perhaps due in part to largely unrecognized (at the time) social and political dynamics stemming from the very demographic shifts that engendered such enthusiasm among Democrats and such pessimism among Republicans; namely, the increasing racial minority share of the national population.

The purpose of this review is to integrate the burgeoning social scientific literature on the psychological, social, and political implications of making salient projected changes in the racial/ethnic demographics of the United States. Specifically, we first summarize the empirical research conducted thus far, examining how exposure to information suggesting that White Americans are projected to become less than 50 percent of the national population sometime mid-century—the so-called “majority-minority” racial shift— affects racial attitudes and several political outcomes (e.g., ideology, policy preferences), focusing primarily on the reactions of members of the current dominant racial group; namely, non-Hispanic White Americans.¹ We then consider important implications of these findings and propose essential future directions.

Shifting Racial Demographics & Perceived Group Threat

The racial and ethnic diversity of the United States has been increasing for the past several decades (Pew Research Center, 2015), a trend that is expected to continue. Indeed, recent US Census projections suggest that, somewhere between 2040 and 2050, the percentage of non-White Americans² in the United States will *surpass* that of White Americans—that is, White Americans will comprise less than 50 percent of the population (US Census Bureau, 2015). Since the late 1990s, media reports of this demographic shift and noteworthy milestones reflective of it—for instance, the year that the US infant population became “majority-minority” (US Census Bureau, 2012)—have proliferated (see also Day, 1996). It is in the wake of this deluge of information documenting what seems to be an inexorable march towards a “majority-minority” country that social scientists began to explore what (if any) effects this information may be having on the racial dynamics of the nation.

Although research on this topic is still quite young, this growing body of work finds clear evidence that White Americans (i.e., the current racial majority) experience the impending “majority-minority” shift as a threat to their dominant (social, economic, political, & cultural) status. For instance, Whites for whom a “majority-minority” future is made salient, compared with Whites exposed to control information, express greater concern that their racial group’s societal status in the country will decline compared with that of racial minorities (e.g., Outten, Schmitt, Miller, & Garcia, 2012; replicated in Craig & Richeson, 2014a, 2014b, 2017a; Schildkraut & Marotta, 2017). Making this demographic shift salient can also trigger more cultural threats, such as the concern that Whites will no longer represent the prototypical “American” (Craig & Richeson, 2017b; Danbold & Huo, 2015; Zou & Cheryan, 2017). In other words, salient information regarding a coming era in which Whites are no longer more than 50

percent of the national population (despite remaining the largest single racial group) increases concern that the group may lose its place “at the top” of the societal racial socio-economic and political status hierarchy and/or concern that the group will cease to be centered culturally.

Shifting Racial Demographics & Intergroup Relations

Initial research examining the effects of making the “majority-minority” racial demographic shift salient focused on the potential consequences for Whites’ intergroup attitudes and emotions. Given classic research noting the role of perceived threat from increasing racial/ethnic diversity in the promotion (or expression) of intergroup hostility (e.g., Blalock, 1967; Blumer, 1958), and research finding that White Americans who (mis)perceive greater national racial diversity tend also to hold more negative racial attitudes (e.g., Alba, Rumbaut, & Marotz, 2005), it is perhaps of no surprise that salient *anticipated* societal demographic changes like the “majority-minority” shift also affect Whites’ intergroup attitudes. Indeed, experiments reveal that exposure to these anticipated changes results in increased feelings of anxiety and negative affect among White Americans (Burrow, Stanley, Sumner, & Hill, 2014; Myers & Levy, 2017). Additional research finds, further, that making anticipated national racial demographic changes salient leads White Americans and White Canadians to express more anger and fear towards ethnic minorities and more sympathy for Whites, compared with Whites not exposed to these demographic shifts (Outten et al., 2012).

We (Craig & Richeson, 2014a) replicated and extended this work, finding that White Americans exposed to the racial shift information (relative to a number of control conditions) express greater preference for racial homophily in their social settings and interpersonal interactions, as well as more negative evaluations of racial minority groups on both self-report and reaction-time measures (see also Schildkraut & Marotta, 2017; Skinner & Cheadle, 2016).

Building on this work, Zou and Cheryan (2017) found similar effects among Whites who are informed that their neighborhood will become “majority-minority” in the near future.

Specifically, compared with Whites who expected their neighborhood to stay majority–White, those who thought that another racial group (i.e., Black, Latino, or Asian Americans) would become the majority reported being significantly more likely to move. Further, as alluded to previously, concerns about group status statistically mediated the effects of the future White minority (i.e., racial shift) information on Whites’ intergroup emotions, explicit racial attitudes, and desire to exit “majority-minority” neighborhoods (Craig & Richeson, 2014a; Outten et al., 2012; Zou & Cheryan, 2017).

In addition to perceived threat the socio-economic and/or political status of the group, cultural threats in response to the declining White majority also engender racially exclusionary sentiments. Danbold and Huo (2015) found, for instance, that exposure to the projected racial demographic shift triggered fear that what it means to be the “prototypical American” will change. This cultural threat, in turn, reduced perceptions that ethnic diversity is valuable to American society and increased support for the idea that racial minorities should assimilate to mainstream American customs and practices. Similarly, Zou and Cheryan (2017) found that Whites’ intention to move out of their current neighborhood if it becomes majority Asian American (but, not majority Black) was mediated by cultural threat—namely, the concern that foreign cultural practices will overtake White American practices in the community.

Interestingly, cultural threat also seems to underlie Whites’ tendency to be more concerned about Whites facing discrimination in a future “majority-minority” US when the demographic shift is made salient, compared with control information (Craig & Richeson, 2017b).

In addition to these outcomes for intergroup emotions, attitudes, and perceptions, information about changing national racial demographics can even elicit racial discrimination. Specifically, Whites for whom the growth in the Hispanic population was made salient donated more money to an unknown White recipient, compared with an unknown Black recipient (Abascal, 2015). If non-racial information was made salient (i.e., iPhone market share growth), however, White participants donated equal amounts of money to Black and White recipients. Taken together, this growing body of research suggests that communications about the changing racial demographics of the nation (or, even one's local community) readily trigger multiple concerns about the status, standing, and potential vulnerabilities of one's racial group among Whites that, in turn, promote increased favoritism toward the racial ingroup and derogation of relevant outgroups (i.e., racial minorities). In the next section, we explore the effects of these group status concerns on political outcomes.

Shifting Racial Demographics & Political Ideology, Preferences, & Behavior

Although the research on Whites' reactions to anticipated racial diversity understandably began with explorations of intergroup attitudes and emotions, studies quickly moved to consider whether political ideology and behavior may also be shaped by this information. Given the rise in group status threat in response to exposure to the "majority-minority" shift information reviewed previously, and the known influence of group status threat on political identity (e.g., Giles & Hertz, 1994) and support for racial exclusionary policies designed to protect Whites' political, economic, and social privileges (Blumer, 1958; Bobo, 1998; Parker & Barreto, 2013), it is, again, unsurprising that making the shift salient affects Whites' political behavior (see also, Enos, 2016). Indeed, Whites for whom the impending racial demographic changes of the nation are salient 1) endorse more conservative positions on a variety of policy issues (Craig &

Richeson, 2014b, 2017b; Myers & Levy, 2017; Schildkraut & Marotta, 2017), 2) express more support for the Tea Party— a relatively extreme version of political conservatism (Willer, Feinberg, & Wetts, 2016), and 3) report greater support for Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump (if they also have high levels of ethnic identification; Major, Blodorn, & Blascovich-Major, 2016).

Moreover, studies have confirmed the mediating role of group status threat in engendering each of these outcomes. In one such experiment (Craig & Richeson, 2014b), White participants were randomly assigned to be exposed to information about the projected racial demographic shift information alone (the typical racial shift treatment) or they were exposed to this information but it was followed by a statement designed to assuage participants' status threat. Specifically, participants in this *assuaged threat condition* were told that the societal status of groups—i.e., their relative hierarchical position—is unlikely to change in a significantly more racially diverse United States, given group differences in educational attainment, access to resources, etc. (see Craig & Richeson, 2014b for specifics). The responses of participants in these two conditions were compared to those of participants in a control condition in which shifting racial demographics were not made salient, but, rather, changes in geographic mobility among Americans (control condition).

Please insert Figure 1 about here

As shown in Figure 1, participants in the standard US racial shift condition expressed greater endorsement of conservative ideology, compared with participants in the control condition, as well as compared with participants in the assuaged threat condition. That is, White

participants in the assuaged threat condition endorsed conservative ideology *less* than participants who were exposed to the racial shift information alone. Indeed, those in the assuaged threat condition supported conservative ideology no more (or less) than did control participants. This experiment suggests, in other words, that information about the “majority-minority” racial demographic shift increases Whites’ sense that their racial group’s societal status is in jeopardy, which, in turn, leads to greater support for politically conservative parties, policies, and candidates.

Although most of the research conducted thus far has understandably focused on White Americans, the dominant majority racial group, recent work finds similar effects among racial minority participants. Specifically, Craig and Richeson (2017c) examined the effects of making salient the growth in the Hispanic population in the United States on the political ideology and policy preferences of non-Hispanic racial minorities (i.e., Black, Asian, Native Americans). Similar to the findings for White Americans, members of these non-Hispanic racial minority groups, on average, also endorsed politically conservative policies more strongly and identified as more conservative (or, qualitatively, less liberal) after exposure to the Hispanic growth, rather than control, information. Although the mechanism underlying these findings is not yet known, they suggest that the impacts of salient shifting demographics are not unique to Whites—i.e., members of dominant societal groups. They also highlight the need to examine how racial minorities are responding to the omnipresent information regarding the changing demographics of the nation (see also, Abascal, 2015).

Nevertheless, considered in tandem with the findings outlined previously, these results suggest that making salient significant growth in any racial minority *outgroup* may be perceived as threatening to individuals’ own racial group and, thus, promote ingroup favoring or, otherwise

group defensive and/or even system protective behavior, including greater endorsement of conservative ideology (Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski, & Sulloway 2003).

Conservative Shift or Racial Resentment?

One question that is generated by the findings reviewed thus far is whether they are actually separable outcomes or, rather, the findings for political conservatism actually reflect racial attitudes.³ There is certainly some reason to expect that there could be shared variance in the two seemingly different outcomes (Zigerell, 2015). For instance, as mentioned previously, exposure to the racial shift, compared with control, information increased the extent to which White Republicans with higher levels of ethnic identification expressed support for Donald Trump in the Republican primary (Major et al., 2016). Given that Trump was not the most traditionally conservative candidate in the primary contest at the time the data were collected, regularly engaged in explicit anti-minority language and appeals, and garnered the very public support of several White supremacist groups, it is certainly likely that support for Trump's candidacy may reflect racial attitudes rather than support for conservative principles. The same could be argued of Tea Party support (Parker & Barreto, 2013; Tope, Pickett, & Chiricos, 2015). In other words, some of the political outcomes that have been examined thus far may have a racial component, be it racial minority (outgroup) animus or White racial ingroup concern.

There is, however, also reason to believe that the conservatism findings and racial attitudes outcomes are distinct. Most notably, research examining how exposure to the racial demographic shift (compared with control) information affects policy support (e.g., Craig & Richeson, 2014b, 2017b) has found effects on both policies that are clearly race-related (e.g., affirmative action, immigration) and those that are race-neutral (e.g., oil and gas drilling, tax rates), as well as those that are somewhat in-between (e.g., health care; defense spending; Tesler,

2012). Indeed, some work has found effects of exposure to the shifting demographics on Whites' support for race-neutral (taxation & public spending), but not race-related (immigration), policies (e.g., Myers & Levy, 2017). Moreover, in addition to policy support, salient racial shift information also results in greater identification with conservative ideology among Whites and non-Hispanic racial minorities and, even predicts the tendency for White self-described political Independents to report that they "lean Republican" when considering living in a "majority-minority" region of the country (Craig & Richeson, 2014b). Taken together, then, there is good reason to assert that considering the increasing racial diversity of the nation results in both racial and political outcomes, although both sets of outcomes are likely to have important implications for societal racial equality.

Implications & Future Directions

For those most committed to progressive racial politics, the findings of recent research examining how people are responding to information about the changing racial demographics of our nation are quite sobering. This work suggests that Whites experience greater concern regarding their racial group's societal rank and cultural status that, in turn, can lead to a host of negative intergroup outcomes, as well as yield greater support for politically conservative policy positions, including on policies most relevant to societal racial equity (e.g., affirmative action, immigration policy, harsh criminal justice policies). The findings of this growing body of work also suggest that Whites are increasingly likely to embrace an assimilative, rather than multicultural, ideology regarding racial/ethnic diversity in the United States and promote the social, political, and economic interests of Whites—the racial ingroup. In other words, White identity politics (Knowles & Marshburn, 2010) are likely to re-emerge as the racial diversity of the nation increases (see also Richeson & Craig, 2011; Schildkraut, 2017). Indeed, perhaps they

already have. As mentioned previously, support for Donald Trump's candidacy for president—a candidate embraced by White nationalist and supremacist groups—was strongly predicted by concerns about the so-called “majority-minority” shift (Pew Research Center, 2016) and racial resentment (Tesler, 2016).

So, what could be done to avoid the likelihood of increased racial tension, discrimination, and perhaps violence in the wake of the increasing diversity of the nation? One possibility is that altering the way the demographic change information is framed could reduce its most divisive effects. Consider, for instance, the “majority-minority” construct. Is there any compelling reason to think of all Americans who are not in the “non-Hispanic White” category as one group to be contrasted against non-Hispanic Whites? This “us vs. them” framing is certain to facilitate the zero-sum thinking that promotes racial conflict. Similarly, it may be useful to re-think who is counted as “White” in these estimates (Alba, 2016). Indeed, recent research suggests that creating a definition of White that includes, rather than excludes, anyone who identifies as having a White parent can alleviate some of the social and political effects typically found when the growing diversity of the nation is made salient (Myers & Levy, 2017). Future research is, of course, needed to understand the varied effects of employing this or other more inclusive constructions of the White category and, further, whether they will be accepted by members of the American public (see e.g., Peery & Bodenhausen, 2008).

The emerging research on reactions to anticipated diversity also would benefit from being in conversation with the established body of research on the experiences people have in communities that are rapidly diversifying (e.g., Craig, Rucker, Richeson, 2017). For instance, it would be useful to identify the conditions under which actual local diversity and perceived or projected diversity result in similar, rather than divergent, outcomes (see Craig & Richeson,

2017a for a discussion). There is every reason to expect, further, that how individuals respond to actual diversity may shape how they respond to projected diversity. For instance, White individuals who already live in quite diverse environments may not feel particularly threatened by these projected demographic shifts and may actually push for more inclusive social policies in response to their salience (Lee & Bean, 2010, Zárate & Shaw, 2010). It is also possible, however, that the effects of status and cultural threat in response to projected racial diversity have on relevant policies and practices may actually change the trajectory of these population projections (Alba, 2016). Given that group status and cultural threat increase support for policies that generally serve to restrict diversity (e.g., citizenship rules, immigration policy and laws, etc.), for instance, the anticipation of increasing national diversity may motivate the implementation of laws, policies, and/or norms that serve to slow down, if not completely reverse, at least some of the factors that are currently giving rise to it.

Before we close, we should note that although the bulk of the research reviewed here examined the responses of White Americans to the growing racial diversity of the nation, additional research is needed to examine the effects of projected racial demographic shifts 1) in more local contexts, such as neighborhoods (e.g., Zou & Cheryan, 2017) and 2) on the intergroup attitudes and political behavior of members of various racial minority groups, especially depending on whether they are the current majority group in the locale, the group “moving in” or, rather, long-standing residents, but not in the numerical majority. In addition, research is needed to examine whether other emerging population trends that are beginning to garner attention are having similar social and political impacts as found for shifting racial demographics. For instance, in *The End of White Christian America*, Robert Jones (2016) notes that White Christian Americans are already less than 50 percent of the national population, and

asserts that this minority status has led to what he calls “nostalgia politics,” which serve to protect the interests of the ethno-racial-religious ingroup and undermine those of relevant racial and religious outgroups. Perhaps needless to say, careful examination of these dynamics and the psychology that underlies them is paramount. In general, examination of the basic social psychological component processes—for example, categorization and perceptual biases or more social processes, such as feelings of belonging and citizenship— that are influenced by increasing societal diversity may help to elucidate the mechanism(s) underlying the downstream consequences for social and political attitudes.

Conclusion

Although the research reviewed here is relatively new, scholars, journalists, and those in positions to shape policy cannot afford to ignore it. Indeed, the relevance of race and racially-motivated concerns in public opinion regarding these demographic trends is clear and the notion that America is post-racial and/or has overcome the racism of its past is incongruent with this social scientific literature. As the nation continues to diversify, the relevance of race, ethnicity, religion and identity politics are likely to increase rather than fade. Indeed, it is entirely likely that some effort to assuage the identity threat and broader concerns of White (Christian) Americans is going to be necessary; but, any efforts to do so will also need to avoid privileging the continued and guaranteed racial status superiority of Whites. Maintaining a functioning democracy in the wake of increasing racial, ethnic, and religious diversity, in other words, is likely to require the creation of an inclusive representation of America and Americans to which members of all racial, ethnic, and religious backgrounds feel connected and included.

Endnotes

¹For brevity, we refer to this group hereafter as “White.”

²Reporting on these demographic changes often compares non-Hispanic Whites to all other racial groups (“minorities”), including those who identify as White and some other racial group (e.g., as multiracial; see US Census Bureau, 2015).

³Interestingly, in some ways this is the reverse of prior arguments regarding how racial resentment and conservative ideology are related (e.g., Feldman & Huddy, 2005).

References

- Abascal, Maria. 2015. Us and them: Black-White relations in the wake of Hispanic population growth. *American Sociological Review* 80 (4): 789-813.
- Alba, Richard. Jan 2016. The likely persistence of a White majority. How Census Bureau statistics have misled thinking about the American future. *The American Prospect*. Available from <http://prospect.org/article/likely-persistence-white-majority-0>
- Alba, Richard, Ruben G. Rumbaut, and Karen Marotz. 2005. A distorted nation: Perceptions of racial/ethnic group sizes and attitudes toward immigrants and other minorities. *Social Forces* 84 (2): 901-919.
- Blalock Jr., Hubert M. 1967. *Toward a theory of minority-group relations*. New York, NY: Capricorn Books.
- Blumer, Herbert. 1958. Race prejudice as a sense of group position. *Pacific Sociological Review* 1:3-7.
- Bobo, Lawrence D. 1998. Race, interests, and beliefs about affirmative action. *American Behavioral Scientist* 41:985-1003.
- Burrow, Anthony L., Maclen Stanley, Rachael Sumner, and Patrick L. Hill. 2014. Purpose in life as a resource for increasing comfort with ethnic diversity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 40:1507-1516.
- Center for American Progress. December 2012. *The Obama coalition in the 2012 election and beyond*. Available from <https://cdn.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/ObamaCoalition-5.pdf>
- Cheney, Kyle. 3 March 2016. Trump kills GOP autopsy. Republican elders drew up a blueprint for a kinder, more inclusive Republican Party. Trump is tearing it apart. *Politico*.

Available from <http://www.politico.com/story/2016/03/donald-trump-gop-party-reform-220222>

- Craig, Maureen A., and Jennifer A. Richeson. 2014a. More diverse yet less tolerant? How the increasingly-diverse racial landscape affects White Americans' racial attitudes. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 40:750-761.
- Craig, Maureen A., and Jennifer A. Richeson. 2014b. On the precipice of a "majority-minority" America: Perceived status threat from the racial demographic shift affects White Americans' political ideology. *Psychological Science* 25:1189-1197.
- Craig, Maureen A., and Jennifer A. Richeson. 2017a. *Majority no more? Minority group size & Whites' perceptions of racial discrimination*. Manuscript under review.
- Craig, Maureen A., and Jennifer A. Richeson. 2017b. *Information about the US racial demographic shift triggers concerns about anti-White discrimination among the prospective White "minority"*. Manuscript under review.
- Craig, Maureen A., and Jennifer A. Richeson. 2017c. Hispanic population growth engenders conservative shift among non-Hispanic racial minorities. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*. Advance online publication. doi: 10.1177/1948550617712029
- Craig, Maureen A., Julian M. Rucker, and Jennifer A. Richeson. 2017. *The pitfalls and promise of increasing diversity: Changing national racial demographics and White Americans' intergroup relations*. Manuscript under revision.
- Danbold, Felix., and Yuen J. Huo. 2015. No longer "All-American"? Whites' defensive reactions to their numerical decline. *Social Psychological and Personality Science* 6:210-218.

- Day, J. C. (1996). Population Projections of the United States by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: 1995 to 2050, U.S. Bureau of the Census. Retrieved from <https://www.census.gov/prod/1/pop/p25-1130.pdf>.
- Enos, Ryan D. 2016. What the demolition of public housing teaches us about the impact of racial threat on political behavior. *American Journal of Political Science* 60 (1):123–142
- Feldman, Stanley, and Leonie Huddy. 2005. Racial resentment and White opposition to race-conscious programs: Principles or prejudice? *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (1):168-183.
- Giles, Michael W., and Kaenan Hertz. 1994. Racial threat and partisan identification. *American Political Science Review* 88 (2): 317–326
- Helderman, Rosalind S., and Jon Cohen. 29 August 2012. As Republican convention emphasized diversity, racial incidents intrude. *The Washington Post*. Available from https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2012/08/29/b9023a52-f1ec-11e1-892d-bc92fee603a7_story.html?utm_term=.a7e80e0a6918
- Jones, Robert P. 2016. *The end of White Christian America*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.
- Jost, John T., Jack Glaser, Arie W. Kruglanski, and Frank J. Sulloway. 2003. Political conservatism as motivated social cognition. *Psychological Bulletin* 129 (3): 339–375.
- Knowles, Eric D., and Christopher K. Marshburn. 2010. Understanding White identity politics will be crucial to diversity science. *Psychological Inquiry* 21 (2):134-139.
- Lee, Jennifer, and Frank D. Bean. 2010. *The diversity paradox. Immigration and the color line in twenty-first century America*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Major, Brenda, Alison Blodorn, and Gregory Major-Blascovich. 2016. The threat of increasing diversity: Why White Americans support Trump in the 2016 Presidential Election. *Group*

Processes and Intergroup Relations. Advance online publication. doi:

10.1177/1368430216677304

Myers, Dowell, and Morris Levy. 2017—this issue. Population projections, narratives about rising racial diversity, and the political attitudes of U.S. Whites. Manuscript under review.

Outten, H. Robert, Michael T. Schmitt, Daniel A. Miller, and Amber L. Garcia. 2012. Feeling threatened about the future: Whites' emotional reactions to anticipated ethnic demographic changes. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 38:14-25.

Parker, Christopher S., and Matt A. Barreto. 2013. *Change they can't believe in: The Tea Party and reactionary politics in America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

Peery, Destiny, and Galen V. Bodenhausen. 2008. Black + White = Black: Hypodescent in reflexive categorization of racially ambiguous faces. *Psychological Science* 19 (10):973-977.

Pew Research Center. 28 September 2015. *Modern immigration wave brings 59 million to U.S., driving population growth and change through 2065: Views of immigration's impact on U.S. society mixed*. Available from <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2015/09/28/modern-immigration-wave-brings-59-million-to-u-s-driving-population-growth-and-change-through-2065/>

Pew Research Center. 2 June 2016. *More 'warmth' for Trump among GOP voters concerned by immigrants, diversity*. Available from <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/06/02/more-warmth-for-trump-among-gop-voters-concerned-by-immigrants-diversity/>

- Phillips, Steve. 2016. *Brown is the new White. How the demographic revolution has created a new American majority*. New York, NY: The New Press.
- Richeson, Jennifer A., and Maureen A. Craig. 2011. Intra-minority intergroup relations in the twenty-first century. *Daedalus, the Journal of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences* 140 (2):166-175.
- Rubin, Jennifer. 18 March 2013. GOP autopsy report goes bold. *The Washington Post*. Available from https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/right-turn/wp/2013/03/18/gop-autopsy-report-goes-bold/?utm_term=.8091a1846673
- Schildkraut, Deborah S. 2017. White attitudes about descriptive representation in the US: The roles of identity, discrimination, and linked fate. *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 5 (1):84-106.
- Schildkraut, Deborah S., and Satia A. Marotta. 2017. *Assessing the political distinctiveness of White millennials: How race and generation shape racial and political attitudes in a changing America*. Manuscript under review.
- Skinner, Allison L., and Jacob E. Cheadle. 2016. The “Obama Effect”? Priming contemporary racial milestones increases implicit racial bias among Whites. *Social Cognition* 34 (6):544-558.
- Tesler, Michael. 2012. “The spillover of racialization into health care: How President Obama polarized public opinion by racial attitudes and race.” *American Journal of Political Science* 56 (3): 690–704.
- Tesler, Michael. 1 August 2016. *Trump is the first modern Republican to win the nomination based on racial prejudice*. Available from

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/08/01/trump-is-the-first-republican-in-modern-times-to-win-the-partys-nomination-on-anti-minority-sentiments/>

Tope, Daniel, Justin Pickett, and Ted Chiricos. 2015. Anti-minority attitudes and Tea Party movement membership. *Social Science Research* 51:322-337.

U.S. Census Bureau. 3 March 2015. *New Census Bureau Report Analyzes U.S. Population Projections*. Available from <https://www.census.gov/newsroom/press-releases/2015/cb15-tps16.html>.

U.S. Census Bureau. 17 May 2012. *Most Children Younger than 1 are Minorities*. Available from <https://www.census.gov/newsroom/releases/archives/population/cb12-90.html>

Willer, Robb, Matthew Feinberg, and Rachel Wetts. 2016. *Threats to racial status promote Tea Party support among White Americans*. Available from:

https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2770186

Zigerell, Lawrence. J. 2015. Distinguishing racism from ideology: A methodological inquiry. *Political Research Quarterly* 68 (3): 521–536.

Zárate, Michael A., and Moria P. Shaw. 2010. The role of cultural inertia in reactions to immigration on the U.S./Mexico border. *Journal of Social issues* 66 (1): 45-57.

Zou, Linda, and Sapna Cheryan. 2017—this issue. The racial position model and intergroup threats perceived by Whites. Manuscript under review.

Figure 1. Conservative political ideology endorsement (1-7 scale) after exposure to racial demographic shift information alone (US Racial Shift) and with information to reduce the status threat (Assuaged Status Threat), compared with exposure to control information. Error bars reflect 95% confidence intervals about the mean.

