White Perceptions of Black Social Movements

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ABSTRACT

Racial justice movements such as the Civil Rights Movement (CRM) and Black Lives Matter movement (BLM) have historically been perceived as contentious by whites in American society. This study explores white perceptions of Black social movements such as the Civil Rights Movement and Black Lives Matter movement utilizing survey research with a random sample size of 5,000 University of Wisconsin-La Crosse undergraduate students. Through an analysis of the variable police response and media involvement, the collected data will explore how these factors influence white college students' perceptions. By using Eduardo Bonilla-Silva's frames of colorblind racism (abstract liberalism, naturalization, cultural racism, and minimization of racism), I will examine how covert racism is still an underlying factor in the current 'post-racial society.' This study's findings both supported and contradicted previous literature.

INTRODUCTION

Racial injustice and inequality are not new phenomena. The United States has a long and arduous history of injustice that spans back to the foundation of the country. One major social movement that worked to combat these injustices was the Civil Rights Movement (CRM), which arose in 1954. Decades later, in 2013, the birth of the Black Lives Matter movement (BLM) arose to once again address racial injustices and police brutality. BLM assembled together to demand justice and equal treatment, mirroring the Civil Rights era platforms.

Vital events contributed to sparking the CRM; including the Montgomery bus boycott and freedom rides throughout the south ("Montgomery" 2010). Shortly after Martin Luther King, Jr. was imprisoned, he went on to give his "I Have a Dream" speech in front of the Lincoln Memorial. Five years later, Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated in Memphis (Bullard 1993). The CRM created lasting change and paved the way for future generations to come together and continue the fight.

Forty-five years later, three African American women, two of which identify as queer, founded the Black Lives Matter movement (Rickford 2015). This movement began after Trayvon Martin was murdered and his killer was acquitted by the courts ("Timeline" 2016). In the words of the founders themselves, "Black Lives Matter is an ideological and political intervention in a world where Black lives are systematically and intentionally targeted for demise" ("Guiding Principles" n.d.). Names such as Eric Garner, Michael Brown, and Sandra Bland are just a few of hundreds of African Americans murdered by police officers. Today, this intersectional movement has disrupted white spaces to call out systemic racism and violence toward their community. They have accomplished this through "die-ins," blocking highways, capital buildings, and protest marches (Garza n.d.). In this era of Trump, BLM in addition to organizing protests has focused on joining with other like-minded movements and organizations for support and solidarity (Ross 2017). However, BLM continues to be a controversial organization for the white majority.

Two important factors that shape white perceptions of black social movements such as CRM and BLM include police responses and the impact of media involvement. The escalated police force that disproportionately targets Black people exacerbates the notion that Black people are dangerous and should therefore be surveyed and sanctioned. The rise of media involvement contributes to this phenomenon. It also serves as a tool to raise awareness of police brutality. On various social media sites, faceless names of victims of police shootings rise and fall along with the circulation of captured images and videos of the incident.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Police Response

Past studies show that African American protestors have a higher chance of attracting police officers to an event than white protestors (Davenport, Soule, and Armstrong 2011). "Protesting While Black" is a phenomenon that illustrates how African American protestors are viewed as dangerous and threatening to authorities. When police show up to these events, it increases the likelihood they will make arrests and use excessive force and violence with civilians. When there is violence, vandalism, and/or counter-protesters, police officers are almost

always employed to take action to diffuse the situation (Davenport et al. 2011). Ratliff makes the argument that history shows that any time African Americans gather together to fight for change, a white majority interrupts them with some form of harassment. This finding is important because it shows that white protestors have enjoyed a greater democratic privilege of protesting and freedom of speech.

Police brutality is allowed to happen in our society; the people in power who fail to hold police accountable to their actions tolerate it. As long as there are 'results,' police may violate the law and overstep their bounds (Williams 2004). According to Williams, the police system fails to enforce the law equally for all people. Their attention is predominately focused on marginalized groups of people: the poor, racial minorities, and other subordinate identities whom they often target (2004).

Individuality remains a key component in police departments. The "Rotten Apple" theory, explains that police who use excessive force, should not be compared with all officers. The theory states that citizens should not generalize the actions of one person to the rest of the officers. This idea shifts society's attention away from blaming the system as a whole, and onto only those few rogue police officers (Williams 2004). From lynching to modern-day governmental slavery, institutionalized brutality by the state has been around for hundreds of years, and to this day rarely are police officers held responsible to their crimes (Davis 2017). Police brutality in American society is nothing new. However, in this day and age, as Williams points out, camera phones, other recording devices, and social media platforms have made it easier to capture and document such events when they occur (2017).

Media Involvement

Media involvement has helped draw national attention to the injustices that disproportionately target black people. Issues such as the removal of confederate statues, kneeling during the national anthem, the phrase "all lives matter" etc. have been highlighted to address racism. No longer do racial matters remain invisible to American society but involves itself in the daily news.

The rise of social media outlets has become widely accessible for communities of color to document their experience and finally give them a voice after being silenced for years. By capturing pictures, videos, and other evidence, it raises attention to the event, and demands that law enforcement be held responsible (Altman, White 2015). Often times the mainstream news is reported by people in power who are disproportionately white, however, by using social media outlets marginalized people have a chance to present their own narrative and not be subject to stereotypes (Bonilla, Rosa 2015).

White Perceptions

According to Pew Research roughly four in ten Americans support BLM, while 57% of Americans oppose the movement (Horowitz and Livingston 2016). This may be due in part to white America viewing this as a disruptive, counterculture movement that repeatedly highlights and exposes racial discrimination, and how the criminal justice courts are flawed. White people rarely enter into conversations of race for fear of causing offense, which keeps them from educating themselves (Trepagnier 2010). For them, it brings up feelings of discomfort and shatters their view of meritocracy. White people do not want to upset the status quo; they have grown accustomed to being on the top of the social hierarchy. Williams states that history shows white U.S. citizens have been on the winning side of democracy (2004). The people that are trying to enact change are often seen as deviant and disruptive of the social norms of society (Taylor 2016). A common argument paints the present as a much better time than during slavery or the Jim Crow laws (Bonilla-Silva 2014). Many justify their beliefs by stating that America is living in a post-racial society after the election of a Black president, and how they "don't see color" (Taylor 2016).

The term 'white fragility' is used to describe someone who gets uncomfortable and/or defensive whenever the topic of race is brought up. There was no outcry of 'all lives matter' or 'blue lives matter' before 'black lives matter' became a chant; this shows that white people try to hold on to the power of the narrative and fail to see the disproportionate injustice towards the black community (Kirabo 2017). An example of white fragility is when whites do not see themselves as racist but look at themselves as part of the solution and not the problem. They hold this 'good and bad' binary when it comes to racism, and since they see themselves as 'good people' they cannot be racist (Doane and Bonilla-Silva 2003). When there is a BLM event on the news, people can either look at it as an unlawful riot, or justified uprisings and demonstrations. These two frames bring to mind very different perceptions on the same movement (Hooker 2016). Due to this white fragility, white people cannot acknowledge how their freedom depended on the oppression of black bodies (Lebron 2017).

Kennedy analyzes the thought process of when white people think back to the CRM, they are looking at that era and its events through a rearview mirror that distorts the truth and romanticizes the past (2015). This romantic narrative "reinforces a distorted view of both U.S. racism and black politics" (Hooker 2016:10). Today, the

majority of people would say that the CRM was a positive and necessary change to society (Randall 2015). This may be in large part because white Americans learn the watered-down version of what took place during the movement by those who want to make it more digestible for white citizens to swallow. Those who hold power selectively omit crucial events and violence towards the African American community (Doane and Bonilla-Silva 2003). During the Civil Rights era, more than 60% of Americans held hostile views on the movement, marches, sit-ins, and other protest tactics ("Public Opinion on Civil Rights" 2015). CRM and BLM came together to protest racial injustice and police brutality in a similar manner and both have been met with comparable responses.

Theory

According to Bonilla-Silva (2014), the new form of racism in the post-Civil Rights Era is colorblind. There are four frames that make up colorblind racism: abstract liberalism, naturalization, cultural racism, and minimization of racism. Abstract liberalism is based on the idea that there are equal opportunities for individuals to make their own choices in life. This notion "justifies" whites for having the freedom to choose to live and work in segregated communities. This particular frame is most often used to oppose affirmative action, interracial relationships and residential segregation, while supporting equal opportunity for all. This idea also rooted in the notion of meritocracy: those who work hard, and are the most qualified get the job, promotion, grade, etc.; there are no free handouts. The logic of abstract liberalism is based on the notion that government should be cautious with intervening in on social and economic matters. (2014:78-84)

According to Bonilla-Silva (2014), naturalization is based on the notion that segregation is "natural" because people of all races stick to themselves and form in-groups. By stating that it is natural for people to stick to others who are like them, it presents this as a biological phenomenon and not racism. This frame is used by those who try to explain the lack of association between whites and minorities in schools and neighborhoods. While some suggest that self-segregation is a universal phenomenon, it serves as a justification for their own racial preferences, and comfort level. An example of this is when white people say, "I'm fine with interracial relationships, but isn't it just more normal to marry within your race?" (2014:84-87).

Cultural racism is a frame that suggests that minorities are culturally inferior and that social issues can be blamed on them because of the way they were brought up (Bonilla-Silva 2014). "The essence of the American version of this frame is 'blaming the victim...'" (88) Many whites rely on stereotypes to explain why they think people from other races and cultures act the way they do. This may sound like, "The reason the police officer shot that black man is because he looked like a threat and he should have just obeyed the officer" (2014:87-90).

The last frame, minimization of racism, states that segregation and discrimination is a thing of the past and ceases to influence minorities in today's society (Bonilla-Silva 2014). This viewpoint also holds that while racial discrimination may be acknowledged, meritocracy plays a larger role. It fails to acknowledge the disadvantages of marginalized people. This can sound like, "I know black people had it rough decades ago, but that's no excuse why they can't just get a job in today's society" (2014:91-95).

Whites hold different opinions about the CRM and the BLM, and that this difference can be explained in large part by the changing political climate following the CRM, one that is rooted in post-racialism. Colorblind racism allows whites to perpetuate racist ideologies and practices while at the same time claiming they are not racist and society is post-racial, in large part due to the "triumphs" of the CRM. It is in this context that white opposition to the BLM is filtered through the frames of colorblind racism.

METHODOLOGY

Participants

In the spring of 2018, a random sample size of 5,000 University of Wisconsin-La Crosse students were randomly selected from a list of full time undergraduate students and were sent an online survey via email to participate. To measure specifically white perceptions, only students who identified as white were a valid sample size. This new sample size was thus reduced from 542 respondents, to 481. However, this still left participants who identified as white as well as another race. To avoid marring any of the results or interpretations, people who identified as only white were left in the sample size, for a final total of 441 respondents. This left the new sample size as a total of 441 white participants. A total of 152 (34.5%) males and 285 (64.8%) females completed the survey, while 3 students (7%) had missing data. The university's institutional review board approved this research study and survey. Each student gave their consent before taking the survey and was able to discontinue at any time without penalty. The majority of students identified as heterosexual (85.9 %), and participants were almost evenly divided by year in school. First year (26.4%), second year (23.9%), third year (22.7%), and fourth year (22.3%).

Response options for each demographic variable were coded as, gender (*1=male, female=0*), sexual orientation (*1=heterosexual, 0=sexual minority*), mother education level (*less than high school=1, high school graduate=2, some college=3, two-year degree=4, four-year degree=5, professional degree=6, doctorate degree=7*), father education level was coded as the same as mother education level, and year in school (*first year=0, second year=1, third year=2, fourth year=3*). The descriptive statistics for these variables are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Demographics				
Gender	.35	.48	.00	1.00
Sexual Orientation	.86	.34	.00	1.00
Year in School	1.43	1.13	.00	3.00
Mother Edu.	4.40	1.30	1.00	7.00
Father Edu.	4.26	1.40	1.00	7.00
Dependent Variables				
Police Brutality	.7363	.441	.00	1.00
Media	.6918	.462	.00	1.00
CRM/BLM	0.00	1.00	-3.00	1.00
Ind. Variables				
Abstract Liberalism				
Affirmative Action	2.05	.90	1.00	4.00
Racial Equity	3.00	.79	1.00	4.00
Gov. Intervention	1.91	.83	1.00	4.00
Naturalization				
Gravitate towards same race	1.90	.70	1.00	4.00
No Bio Explanation	2.62	.83	1.00	4.00
Resident Seg.	2.66	.86	1.00	4.00
Cultural Racism				
Racial Disp. In Edu.	3.54	.77	1.00	4.00
Over-rep. among poor	3.67	.66	1.00	4.00
Violent Culture	3.49	.80	1.00	4.00
Minimization of Race				
Racism is Better Now	2.01	.78	1.00	4.00
White Discrimination	3.52	.80	1.00	4.00
Racism is more Dangerous Today	1.94	.79	1.00	4.00

Hypothesis

My proposed hypothesis is that males will be more likely to use all four frames of colorblind racism, be supportive of police brutality, and be against both media involvement and the CRM and BLM movements. Non-heterosexual respondents will be less likely to use the frames of colorblind racism, be less supportive of police brutality, and more supportive of both media involvement and Black social movements. Participants whose parents have a high level of education will be more progressive in terms of being against police brutality and supporting media involvement as well as both movements and be less likely to utilize the colorblind racism frames. Participants who are upper year students will be less likely to adopt the frames of colorblind racism, less supportive of police brutality, yet more supportive of media involvement and Black social movements compared to students in lower year students.

Independent Variables

The independent variables included the four frames of colorblind racism: abstract liberalism, naturalization, cultural racism, and minimization of racism. A factor analysis was created to measure respondents' perceptions of each frame. These variables may help to explain the reasons why participants answered the way they did.

Abstract Liberalism

To understand student's perceptions of abstract liberalism, three questions were asked to measure their beliefs on affirmative action, and government intervention: (1) "Affirmative Action policies benefit people of color at the expense of white people" (*1=strongly disagree, 4=strongly agree*), (2) "The only way to achieve racial equity in the U.S. is through government force" (*1=strongly disagree, 4=strongly agree*); and (3) "Government should not intervene in matters of racial inequality because it violates individual rights and freedoms" (*1=strongly agree, 4=strongly disagree*). However, some questions were coded differently to ensure that they would be measuring in the same direction. The factor extracted from these variables retained 54.83% (1.65 Eigenvalues) of the variance (alpha=.581).

Naturalization

Questions asked to measure naturalization varied from residential segregation, and a biological reason for socializing with others of the same race. They included (1) "When given the choice, people naturally gravitate towards others of the same race" (*1=strongly agree, 4=strongly disagree*); (2) "There is no biological explanation for why most people choose romantic partners who share their racial identity" (*1=strongly disagree, 4=strongly agree*); and (3) "The reason that residential segregation remains so high in the U.S. is because people want to live in neighborhoods with others of the same race" (*1=strongly agree, 4=strongly disagree*). The factor extracted from these variables retained 47.39% (1.42 Eigenvalues) of the variance (alpha=.440)

Cultural Racism

Questions asked to measure cultural racism looked at incarceration, education, and poverty due to the cultures of people of color. They included, (1) "Racial disparities in education wouldn't exist today if people of color valued education as much as white people do"; (2) "The reason why people of color are overrepresented among the poor is because they lack a strong work ethic.", and (3) "The reason Black and Hispanic people are more likely than white people to be incarcerated is because their culture is more violent." Response categories for all variables were on a 4-point scale ranging from, 1=strongly agree through 4=strongly disagree. The factor extracted from these variables retained 75.53% (2.27 Eigenvalues) of the variance (alpha=.833)

Minimization of Racism

Questions asked to measure minimization of racism measured reverse racism, post-racial society, and less racism today than in the 1950s. They included (1) "When it comes to racism in the U.S., things are better for people of color now than they were in the past" (*1=strongly agree, 4=strongly disagree*); (2) "White people in the U.S. now experience more discrimination than people of color" (*1=strongly agree, 4=strongly disagree*), and (3) "Racism in the U.S. today is more dangerous for people of color than it was in the 1950s and 1960s" (*1=strongly disagree, 4=strongly agree*). The factor extracted from these variables retained 58.96% (1.77 Eigenvalues) of the variance (alpha=.643).

Dependent Variables

The three main dependent variables in this study were police brutality, media involvement, and the Civil Rights Movement/Black Lives Matter Movement.

Police Brutality

A factor analysis was created to measure students' perceptions of police brutality. The police brutality factor consisted of six indicators. These questions include: (1) "Police officers have a history of using excessive force on Black civilians" (*1=strongly disagree, 4=strongly agree*); (2) "Police are justified in using force against Black civilians if officers believe they are in danger" (*1=strongly agree, 4=strongly disagree*); (3) "Police respond differently to white protestors than Black protestors" (*1=strongly disagree, 4=strongly agree*), "Black protests attract more police presence than white protests" (*1=strongly disagree, 4=strongly agree*); (5) "Police brutality is not as big a problem as Black people believe" (*1=strongly agree, 4=strongly disagree*), and (6) "Racial profiling is justified because Black people are more likely to commit crimes than white people" (*1=strongly agree, 4=strongly disagree*). The factor extracted from these variables retained 63.34% (3.80 Eigenvalues) of the variance (alpha=.643).

Media Involvement

The media involvement factor was created to look at how media influences respondents' perceptions of racial issues. These measures included (1) "Social media is an important tool for calling attention to racism in the U.S." (*1=strongly agree, 4=strongly disagree*); (2) "It is wrong to remove Confederate statues" (*1=strongly agree,*

4=strongly disagree); (3) "Kneeling during the National Anthem to protest police brutality is an effective protest strategy for Black NFL players" *(1=strongly disagree, 4=strongly agree)*; and (4) "It is better to say, "all lives matter" than "Black lives matter"" *(1=strongly agree, 4=strongly disagree)*. The factor extracted from these variables retained 63.34% (2.53 Eigenvalues) of the variance (alpha=.643).
Perceptions of Civil Rights Movement and the Black Lives Matter Movement

        The CRM and the BLM factor examined how participants perceived these two Black social movements. These included (1) "The Black Lives Matter Movement is an effective movement to bring attention to police brutality" *(1=strongly disagree, 4=strongly agree)*; (2) "The protest strategies used in the Black Lives Matter Movement are different from the protest strategies used in the Civil Rights Movement" *(1=strongly agree, 4=strongly disagree)*; (3) "Protestors during the Civil Rights Movement were most often peaceful" *(1=strongly agree, 4=strongly disagree)*; (4)"Protests during the Black Lives Matter Movement are most often violent" *(1=strongly agree, 4=strongly disagree)*; (5) "Black people who protest racism are doing more harm than good" *(1=strongly agree, 4=strongly disagree)*; (6) "The Black Lives Matter Movement is anti-police" *(1=strongly agree, 4=strongly disagree)*; (7) "The Civil Rights Movement was one of the most important social movements in history" *(1=strongly agree, 4=strongly disagree)*; (8); and (9) "Black Lives Matter as a social movement is just as important today as the Civil Rights Movement was in the 1950s and 1960s" *(1=strongly disagree, 4=strongly agree)*. The factor extracted from these variables retained 40.85% (3.27 Eigenvalues) of the variance (alpha=.643).

RESULTS

        Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression models were used to predict the continuous dependent variables using a number of independent variables. This type of test was appropriate to run because the dependent variables were ratio, while the independent variables were continuous. The results from the OLS analysis (Table 2) shows that 70% of the variation in the data is explained by the independent variables: gender, sexuality, mother and father's education, year in school, and colorblind racism frames. The relationship between the dependent variable: police brutality, and gender, sexuality, et. al. is a strong and positive correlation (r=.841).

Table 2. OLS Regression:
OLS Regression of Supporting Police Brutality

	Unstandardized Beta	*SE*
Constant	.114	.155
Gender	.038	.075
Sexuality	-.199*	.092
MothersEdu	-.010	.028
FathersEdu	.011	.026
YrInSchool	.021	.029
AbstractLib	-.295***	.040
Naturalization	.008	.033
CulturalRacism	.416***	.040
MinimizationRace	.275***	.042
Adjusted R^2	.699	
N	440	

* p ≤ .05, **p ≤ .01, ***p ≤.001

        Participants who identified as male were more likely to be supportive of police brutality than females. It was statistically significant (.031) that those who identified as heterosexual were less supportive of police brutality compared to those who identified as LGBTQ+ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, transgender, Queer). Respondents whose mother had a high level of education are likely to be against police brutality whereas respondents whose father had a high level of education are likely to be supportive of police brutality. Students farther along in their college career were more likely to be supportive of police brutality in comparison to students who were first or second years. Respondents who believe in the abstract liberalism frame are more likely to be against police brutality. Respondents who believe in the naturalization, cultural racism, and minimization of racism frames are likely to be supportive of police brutality. Abstract liberalism, cultural racism, and minimization of racism are presented statistical significance (.000).

The results from the OLS analysis (Table 3) shows that 65% of the variation in the data is explained by the independent variables: gender, sexuality, mother and father's education, year in school, and colorblind racism frames. The relationship between the dependent variable media involvement and gender, sexuality, et. al. is a strong and positive correlation (r=.813). It was statistically significant (.000) that male identified respondents were more likely to be against media involvement as opposed to females. There was statistical significance (.005) for participants who identified as heterosexual in regard to their support of media involvement compared to those who identified as LGBTQ+. Respondents whose mother had a high-level education are likely to be supportive of media involvement. On the contrary, it was statistically significant (.000) for respondents whose father had a high level of education to be against media involvement. Students farther along in their college career were more likely to be against of media involvement in comparison to students who were first or second years. Respondents who believe in the abstract liberalism frame are more likely to be supportive of media involvement while respondents who believe in the naturalization, cultural racism, and minimization of racism frames are likely to be against media involvement. The frames of colorblind racism including abstract liberalism, cultural racism, and minimization of racism were statistically significant (.000).

Table 3. OLS Regression:
OLS Regression of Being Against Media Involvement

	Unstandardized Beta	SE
Constant	-.337	.168
Gender	.306***	.081
Sexuality	-.282**	.100
MothersEdu	-.008	.030
FathersEdu	.102***	.028
YrInSchool	.040	.031
AbstractLib	-.392***	.043
Naturalization	.046	.036
CulturalRacism	.352***	.043
MinimizationRace	.242***	.045
Adjusted R^2	.650	
N	440	

* $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$, *** $p \leq .001$

The results from the OLS analysis (Table 4) shows that 58% of the variation in the data is explained by the independent variables: gender, sexuality, mother and father's education, year in school, and colorblind racism frames. The relationship between perceptions of the Civil Rights Movement and Black Lives Matter movement and gender, sexuality, et. al. is a strong and positive correlation (r=.794). Participants who identified as male and/or heterosexual were more supportive of the Civil Rights Movement and the Black Lives Matter movement than those who identified as female and/or LGBTQ+. Respondents whose mother had a high level of education are likely to be against the CRM and BLM, whereas those whose father had the same level of education are more likely to be supportive of both social movements. Students farther along in their college career are more likely to be against both of these black social movements compared to students who were first or second years. Respondents who believe in the abstract liberalism frame are supportive of the CRM and BLM. Respondents who believe in the naturalization, cultural racism and minimization of racism frames are likely to be against the two movements. Three out of the four frames result in statistical significance: abstract liberalism (.020), cultural racism (.013), and minimization of racism (.026).

Table 4. OLS Regression:

OLS Regression of Being Against the Civil Rights Movement and the Black Lives Matter Movement

	Unstandardized Beta	SE
Constant	.724	.352
Gender	-.358	.194
Sexuality	-.249	.224
MothersEdu	.025	.068
FathersEdu	-.099	.065
YrInSchool	.099	.069
AbstractLib	-.250*	.105
Naturalization	.071	.070
CulturalRacism	.198**	.077
MinimizationRace	.232*	.102
Adjusted R^2	.582	
N	440	

* $p \leq .05$, **$p \leq .01$, ***$p \leq .001$

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to analyze how white students perceived both past and present Black social movements by utilizing the frames of colorblind racism. Consistent with previous research, I found that respondents who believed in abstract liberalism supported individual efforts that made up both CRM and BLM movement such as calling out racism on social media. This supports their ideas of meritocracy and individualism which contradict police brutality, leading them to be against it. Those who adhered to the naturalization frame were likely to support police brutality, and media involvement is because they held to their beliefs that it is in biological nature to self-segregate and gravitate towards others who mirror them. Participants who were guided by the cultural racism frame supported police brutality, were against media involvement and both Black social movements because they blame a minority's culture to explain their status in society. For example, they may support police brutality because they believe African Americans are violent due to their culture. Individuals who adopted the frame minimization of racism, fail to see the importance of these Black social movements and thus not support them. They are likely to believe racism is in the past and no longer relevant in today's news.

There were, however, some surprising findings. For example, I found respondents who identified as male were more likely to support both the Civil Rights Movement and the Black Lives Matter movement. As this was an unexpected finding, there is little previous literature to support and explain the reasoning behind this result. I also found those who identify as heterosexual were more likely to be against police brutality, and more supportive of media involvement, and the CRM and BLM in comparison to those who do not identify as that orientation. Further, I found that respondents who had a mother with a high level of education were more likely to be against the CRM and the BLM movement compared to those who had a father with a high level of education. Respondents with an educated mother were more likely to be progressive than those with an educated father, yet by looking at the 'against media involvement' variable, it shows the opposite result. Why students whose mother is educated are against police brutality and support media involvement but not the overall black movements have not been thoroughly explored. Upper year students showed to be supportive of police brutality, and more against media involvement and both Black social movements which went against my initial hypothesis.

In sum by analyzing the extent of how colorblind racism frames affect white college students' perceptions, the current findings reflect that respondents who believe in the abstract liberalism frame are more likely to be against police brutality, and supportive of both media involvement and Black social movements. Respondents who believe in the naturalization, cultural racism, and minimization of racism frames are likely to be supportive of police brutality, and against media involvement and the Black social movements.

LIMITATIONS

While there were a number of significant findings in this study, it is not without limitations. The sample size was small (N=440) but was still able to represent the larger student population from where the sample was collected. The sample was also homogeneous consisting of primarily females and heterosexual participants. The majority of students came from small towns or suburbs where they may have been exposed to differing levels of diversity which influences how students view the BLM and CRM. Due to the quantitative method of research, there left no room for clarification, and getting in depth with the participants' answers and reasoning. The generalizability of this study is weak because it only sampled from undergraduate students at the University of Wisconsin-La Crosse. The majority of respondents who answered the survey were 18-22 years of age, which gives further evidence that this study cannot be generalized well to other populations.

Future Findings

In general, future findings would benefit from a larger and more diverse sample size. Excluding race, diversity in social economic status, age, sexual orientation, and political affiliation would add a broader perspective and interpretation to the data. Sampling populations from different regions of the country would help to analyze how geographic location influences perceptions of these social movements. Further contrasting marginalized and vulnerable populations against advantaged identities would strengthen current literature sources as well as to add to this area of study. Finally, incorporating qualitative methods to this study would generate a deeper understanding and analysis of respondents' perceptions of race and social movements.

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