REASONS FOR THE EMERGENCE OF RACE-RELATED SOCIAL

MOVEMENTS BASED ON INGROUP-OUTGROUP COMPARISON AND

RELATIVE DEPRIVATION THEORY

by

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An Undergraduate Thesis Submitted to

The University Honors Program

Auburn University at Montgomery

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Bachelor of Interdisciplinary Studies in the College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences

April 2023

ABSTRACT

Social movements are often driven by a force that creates a sense of solidarity among movement participants. More salient factors such as racial grouping often facilitate the informal creation of these groups. In the case of the Black Lives Matter (BLM) and White Lives Matter (WLM) movements, research suggests that there is a sense of fear and anger at the core of the emergence of these movements. Relative deprivation may often create a feeling of fear and anger among a social population when individuals perceive they are being deprived of a resource. Evidence of negative race relations and a lack of social justice has been named as one of the driving influences for the BLM organization's emergence. Other aspects such as a diminished hand in governmental and social power due to social justice protests hosted by the BLM movement likely influenced the WLM movement's emergence. The anger associated with perceived deprivation may foretell negative events between the two organizations as it is likely that relatively deprived individuals, and thus the social grouping they belong to, may resort to risky behavior. This paper further analyzes findings from researchers who have noted connections between relative deprivation and risky behavior such as violence outside of the United States.

RELATIVE DEPRIVATION

When one looks at social movements occurring in society, one may not be aware of the many layers of social and psychological theories that contribute to the successful workings of these movements. In sociology, a social movement is defined in many different ways depending on the purpose or group of people mobilizing the cause. Out of the many definitions of a social movement, I would like to focus on one that successfully represents the ideas of the social movements that will be discussed: "Individuals banding together in collective efforts to create social change by presenting demands for justice and pressuring authorities to respond" (Staggenborg, 2022, p.2). In this definition, the idea of collective efforts is mentioned. It is understood that the collective efforts of the group have developed from a common problem upon which movement has been framed. My research proposes that this common issue that causes the emergence of social movements such as these stems from the theory of relative deprivation. This theory is well defined as the instance where "People feel dissatisfied with their situation relative to what they think they deserve, and they assess what they deserve by comparing their progress to that of other groups" (Staggenborg 2022, p.19). Other sociological and psychological factors that contribute to the movement's cause include social identity, ingroup and outgroup comparison, and outgroup degradation. From my research, I plan to provide a synthesis of the many factors that lead to the feeling of deprivation and then to further analyze whether the deprivation is occurring in society for the BLM and WLM movements and how this contributes to their emergence.

SUBSTANTIATED DEPRIVATION VS PERCEIVED DEPRIVATION

The conceptual definition of relative deprivation theory implies a subjective perspective of one's status compared to those around them. I would like to provide alternate perspectives on the theory to provide a better understanding of the selected groups' relationships to their relative status in society. In social movements, I propose two perspectives of deprivation seen in society: substantiated deprivation and perceived deprivation. Substantiated deprivation would be defined as a perceived deprivation that comes as a result of social events that incite fear and anger and provide plausible examples of actual resource deprivation and *group harm*. In comparison, perceived deprivation, similar to relative deprivation, would be associated with a sense of loss in a society where the feeling of fear has not been supported by plausible evidence in society or is seen as less serve by comparison. These examples can be well identified in race-related social movement groups. For this research, I will observe two social movement groups that may be juxtaposed. I have selected the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement and the White Lives Matter (WLM) movement.

PREVIOUS FINDINGS ON SOCIAL MOVEMENT EMERGENCE

This research will serve as an extension of a previous project I conducted about the Black Lives Matter (BLM) and White Lives Matter (WLM) movements and their connections to the relative deprivation theory. In my initial research, some data on the emergence of the organizations were collected. The Black Lives Matter movement emerged after the acquittal of Trayvon Martin's murderer in the year 2013, and the White Lives Matter movement emerged soon after in 2015. My research focused on the timeline of emergence between these two movements and focused on the short time difference.

The dates show a close correlation in time of emergence which may suggest that the WLM organization was a countermovement of the BLM movement. I concluded that the White Lives Matter movement was seemingly influenced by the Black Lives Matter movement as suggested by the name and similar usage of hashtags. In my research, I noted inconsistencies in the assumed purpose of the organizations and the forms of collective action that were associated with the purposes.

INGROUP-OUTGROUP COMPARISON

To separate social movements into their respective groups, there must be a reason. Research conducted by Olson & Fazio (2003) suggests that people quickly evaluate those around them based on a multitude of contextual evidence and "pre-existing associations," with the outgroup. This quickly facilitates group categorization. Because one's ingroup is more valued by comparison to outgroups, the contextual evidence that is used in group categorization is often diminished to more superficial cues such as race (Van Bavel, p. 332). This is one of the most obvious forms of separation, as hinted at in the names of the organizations. Race is one of the main aspects by which we categorize people with minimal cognitive effort. This process of division usually occurs instantly based on the visual aspects of those around us. "Race, in particular, affects categorization within milliseconds" (Van Bavel, p. 322). When categorizing those around us we tend to use cognitive shortcuts such as stereotypes to reach these conclusions of separation. This thought process tends to ignore any individualizing evidence that may be presented, thus leading to a generalization and grouping of persons with the social group our mind believes them to be a part of. When making this separation, two groups are created:

ingroups and outgroups. Ingroups can most closely be defined as a small group in society with which we share the same or similar identities or interests. Outgroups are categorized as any groups in society that we do not belong to. It has been concluded in research that there is a positive implicit bias for those who belong to our ingroups, especially groups based on salient cues such as race. Simply stated, there exists a preference for those who we associate ourselves with. This preference for ingroup members is often evaluated immediately, as well as the indifference or aversions to those we do not associate ourselves with. Research explains that in a controlled intergroup context, White participants were more positively evaluated overall in comparison to Black participants. This finding suggested that while evaluators considered contextual evidence such as the two races belonging to the same ingroup, race-related cues outweighed group membership. Therefore, the strength of "automatic racial bias" is considered more when evaluating *racially* outgroup members despite intergroup memberships based on less salient factors (Van Bavel, pp. 331-332).

INTERGROUP COMPETITION

Research tells us that outgroup degradation is more likely to occur in a context where the values of outgroup and ingroup members compete for. In the context that outgroup members and ingroup members share values, outgroup degradation is less likely to occur if these shared values or goals are seen as less valuable to in-group members. If these aspects are seen as equally valuable to both groups, the ingroup will seek to define "positive distinctiveness" from the outgroup (Brewer, p. 437). Positive distinctiveness is a form of social comparison that helps differentiate one social group from the next. When

the groups compete to be associated with this distinctiveness, it is likely because these aspects define the identity and worth of the group as a whole. Because these aspects may be closely related to the identification of one's ingroup, fighting for distinctiveness is vital. It is likely that ingroup members' favoritism results from associating themselves with this distinctiveness and may feel threatened when outgroup members fight to compete for the resource, such as political superiority. This leads to intergroup competition and outgroup degradation of both groups (Brewer, p. 437).

MOVEMENT MISSION AND MOBILIZATION

The mission of the The Black Lives Matter movement is stated on the organization's website

> To eradicate white supremacy and build local power to intervene in violence
>
> inflicted on Black communities by the state and vigilantes. By combating and
>
> countering acts of violence, creating space for Black imagination and innovation,
>
> and centering Black joy, we are winning immediate improvements in our lives
>
> (Black Lives Matter, n.d.).

To mobilize the organization as a response to evident deprivation, collective action forms that are utilized by this organization include rallying and protest, community outreach, and informational events for the public. Once analyzed, the usage of collective action is aligned with the goals of the organization's mission, this also aligns with the definition of social movements as provided in Staggenborg's 2022 book *Social Movements*. Because of this congruence, the topic used in the framing of the organization's purpose, a fight for

social justice, raises the possibility of substantiated deprivation as a means to the origin of the organization.

However, when we consider the purpose of emergence for the White Lives Matter movement, hints at deprivation are less obvious. When analyzing the context of the organization's website, as done with the BLM, we can notice key features that hint at there being more to the organization's purpose. One statement that sticks out on the organization's web page is a quote stating, "EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL NO MATTER THE COLOR" (Whites Lives Matter, n.d.). This statement is jarring considering the title of the organization web page seems to directly contradict the stated purpose of the WLM movement. Without nuance, the initial verbiage of the web page seems contradictory. The page goes on to express,

"All our lives we've been taught to stay within the lines, color within the lines, drive within the lines, get in line or follow the line. We hope you can see through our eyes as we fight to transcend beyond those lines. We hope we can bring hope into everyone's life no matter the shade, the tone, or color of your skin. All you need is a little light" (White Lives Matter, n.d.).

While the mission of the organization clearly states its focus on diversity and inclusion, the organization's title connotes the opposite: White Lives Matter (WLM). In my previous findings, I concluded that the few resources supported by the organization provided little substance. The sole resource provided on the web page to mobilize the organization's mission led to a donation account on *Fundly* which states that a total of only $90 US Dollars (USD) has been donated (Fundly.com, n.d.). Despite the large influence of the organization, the support of its members seemed unequivocally

non-existent. Because the donation page has not been updated to show the actual earnings of the organization, a question arises about transparency surrounding the organization's funding, which has not been updated since my initial discovery of the donation page in December of 2022. These questions have raised a concern about the reason for the emergence of the organization and the validity of its mission. If the organization was created to solely spread awareness about the importance of inclusivity of all races, this may explain the lack of mobilization within the organization. However, when we take a look into the forms of collective action used by the organization's participants, we are then faced with evidence that the members of the organization are seemingly mobilizing for an alternate mission. Once again, the question of perceived deprivation at the core of the organization's founding is raised.

In comparison to the Black Lives Matter web page, the BLM title and purpose of the organization are aligned. Considering it is an organization named, Black Lives Matter, it is reasonable to deduce that the title relates to the lives and equal treatment of Black people in society. Additionally, the mission of the organization explicitly states its interest in the support of the welfare of Black people. By comparison, the conceptual purpose of the WLM organization seems implicit. Because of this inconsistency, a search for a more plausible reason for emergence may be weighed. Hence, the proposed link between the two organizations and their emergence is the relative deprivation theory.

POSSIBILITIES FOR THE EMERGENCE OF BLM

When we think of relative deprivation, we may not understand that the feeling of deprivation can result from an array of influences. Brewer explains that "Ingroup

cohesion and outgroup hostility may be limited to conditions in which groups compete for physical resources or political power" (p.435). The Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement has been transparent in its fight for social justice in the present day. As mentioned before, it can be inferred that the White Lives Matter movement's mission is based on the equality and inclusive treatment of not one race, but all races and *tones*. Based on these assertions, the two organizations have associated themselves with social justice and racial concerns. When considering the date of emergence of the Black Lives Matter movement in 2013, it is reasonable to deduct that the movement could not have emerged as a response to perceived deprivation caused by the White Lives Matter movement's emergence in 2015. Therefore, as mentioned in the BLM "about" page, the main reason for its emergence would be related to the recognition of police brutality in the United States. Here, the substantiated deprivation is a result of the lack of social justice and human rights. Data gathered from the analysis of police brutality events was conducted by DeGue (et al):

> Victims were majority White (52%) but disproportionately Black (32%) with a fatality rate 2.8 times higher among Blacks than Whites. Most victims were reported to be armed (83%); however, Black victims were more likely to be unarmed (14.8%) than White (9.4%) or Hispanic (5.8%) victims."

The disproportionate killing of Black Americans suggests reasonable fear as a result of the substantiated deprivation of human rights through police brutality.

POSSIBILITIES FOR THE EMERGENCE OF WLM

When compared to the possible options for the emergence of the WLM movement, we would refer to the organization's website. As previously mentioned, the website focuses on equal treatment and inclusivity for all races and ethnicities. As suggested by the connotation of the organization title, White Lives Matter may have been created as a tongue-in-cheek title to bring attention away from the widespread media coverage of the Black Lives Matter Movement and onto a broader topic. A way to succeed in this fight for the superiority of social justice, the WLM organization may have decided to bring attention to other racial groups. This decision is prominent in the mission of the organization. While this is a plausible reason for its emergence, resources provided by the WLM website suggest that the mission of the organization lacks mobilization. My research argues that while the BLM organization has emerged from a substantiated deprivation as marked by history and media, the WLM organization has emerged from a sense of perceived deprivation. This sense of perceived deprivation may stem from anger due to a lack of importance or relevance as a social, racial, and political group. Many members of the WLM organization belong to more than one of these social categorizations. Associated fear fuels the need for the mobilization of a group of people, hence the emergence of the WLM movement as a response to those perceptions (2022, p. 352). An article by Gleen Lee Starks suggests that the perceived sense of fear results from an imagined evolved society where racially White people (ingroup) may lose their positive distinctiveness. Starks described the distinctiveness of this group as, "the historical dominance of White males in government, private sector leadership roles, and in the general societal hierarchical perspective of superiority and dominance" (2022, p. 346). These are aspects that have been ever-present in society. It can be inferred that the

increased level of resource competition of political and social power between ingroups and outgroups is directly related to the perceived level of relative deprivation in this example (See Figure 1.).
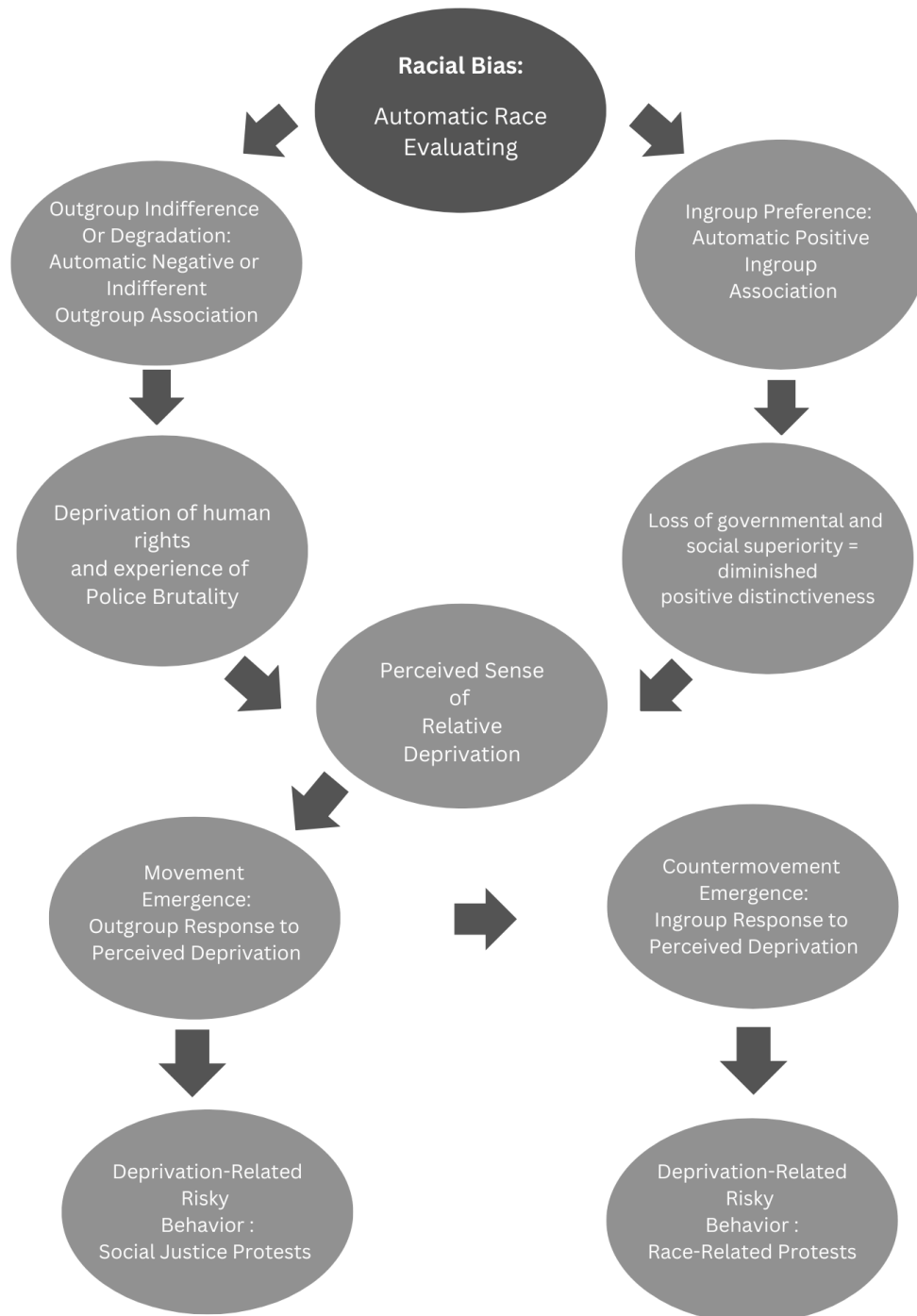
Figure 1. Proposed Process of Social Movement Emergence
Based on Ingroup Outgroup Comparison and Relative Deprivation Theory

FROM SUPERIOR TO EQUALS

One way to understand the psychological reasons for the emergence of race-related social movements is suggested by the change in dynamics of social and political superiority as presented by Starks (2022). An article presented by Leach et al. (2007), explains that one of the most notable emotions behind the mobilization of such countermovements can be linked to feelings of prejudice towards out-group members in association with governmental redress, or compensation for a grievance. This feeling of prejudice towards outgroup members can be used to explain the mobilization of ingroup members in movements against governmental redress. It is evident that ingroup members also referred to as "structurally advantaged groups" hold negative attitudes toward Black Americans as "conceptualized" by symbolic racism (2007, p.191). These attitudes derive from beliefs about members of the Black community in categories such as work ethic and whether Black Americans take advantage of governmental redresses, such as affirmative action and school integration (Henry & Sears, 2002; Sears & Henry, 2003). Along with these attitudes, anger is a "strong predictor of white American opposition to… other forms of governmental redress" (Leach et al., 2007, p.192). White opposition can be seen in forms of collective action such as voting for political members who support their ideas or participating in public demonstrations that refute governmental redress that may appear in laws that may affect policies on gun control or traffic stop procedures.

Leach and colleagues engaged in a study to help determine if anger is associated with the refutation of governmental redress by the structurally advantaged and if it could be connected to a willingness of advantaged group members to engage in "political action" against the redress. The study's participants consisted of a random selection from

low-income, medium-income, and high-income suburbs in the metropolitan areas of Perth, Australia. Based on demographic results, the participants were an average age of 49, were fairly educated, and were in the center of political perspectives. To determine attitudes towards intergroup relative deprivation, participants were asked "Do you think non-Aborigines are advantaged" (Leach et al., 2007, p.195) The study resulted in the majority (115) of participants either opposing governmental redress or reporting a neutral response, whereas only 43 participants reported supporting the governmental redress (Leach et al., 2007). Similar to the negative attitudes reported by White ingroup members in the United States toward Black outgroup Americans, non-aboriginal ingroup attitudes in Australia towards Aboriginal outgroup members were negative in the categories of work ethic and over usage of governmental assistance. The study confirmed that anger as a result of perceived deprivation within the ingroup of society was related to the ingroup's willingness to participate in these forms of collective action. The level of anger associated with perceived deprivation was positively correlated with ingroup participants' willingness to participate in collective action forms that opposed government redress (Leach et. al, 2007). The study further concluded that "only non-supporters of government redress showed explicit endorsement of symbolic racism and showed a willingness for political action" (Leach et al., 2007, p.198).

RISKY RESPONSE TO DEPRIVATION

In a study about relative deprivation's connection to risky behavior and wealth and social status, some important ideas on how relative deprivation is created are made. Stark (2019) explains that risk aversion is decreased when one's position, rank, and wealth are constant in comparison to those around them. When there is a noticeable change or increase in the rank and wealth status of those around an individual, risk aversion is less likely to occur. Risky behavior as a result of relative deprivation is thus more prominent.

In the case of wealth and social status, relative deprivation often results in risky behaviors such as gambling or an increase in suicide risk. It is important to acknowledge that risky behavior may be inflicted on the individual or others. In consideration of our race-related social movements, we may compare the aforementioned risks of gambling and suicide with risky behaviors implemented by the BLM and WLM movements such as the 2020 BLM protests and the January 6th insurrection on the Capitol. Subsequently, concerns for lack of access to equal treatment and diminished social status associated with feelings of relative deprivation in the BLM and WLM movements may be compared to the concerns for wealth and social status in Stark's examples.

When considering ingroup willingness to engage in collective action against government redress, it is reasonable to substitute wealth distribution for government redress in Stark's study, as redress is more accessible to outgroup members comparatively. It is explained that one way an individual may become relatively deprived may result from an "increase in the average wealth of individuals who are wealthier than he is and a decline in his rank in the wealth distribution" (Stark, 2020, p.138). In this comparison, ingroup members would serve as individuals whose absolute wealth, which

is substituted for government redress in our comparison, remains relatively constant compared to those around them. In the case of WLM movement participants, governmental redress remains constant relative to those around them such as minority members and Black outgroup participants. Due to the relative increase in governmental resources to outgroup members, there is a decline in the rank of ingroup individuals as redress distribution is limited. This comparison provides another possibility for perceived deprivation among ingroup members.

When we analyze the findings, it is evident that people of lower social statuses may engage in risky behaviors such as gambling more often, as there is a great attraction to such behaviors (Stark, 2020). In comparison to the BLM movement, we may use this information to analyze the timeline of race-related movement emergence. Considering the emergence of the Black Lives Matter movement before the White Lives Matter movement, we can infer that reasons for perceived deprivation could not have occurred as a result of the emergence of the WLM movement. As substantially deprived outgroup members, we can deduce that outgroup members continue to experience deprivation and therefore, continue to engage in risky behavior such as protests that knowingly may be met with police brutality. Despite the risk to self, individuals may still engage in these behaviors "because relative deprivation is an aversive state, people are motivated to reduce it by engaging in various behaviors that will enable them to achieve the outcomes they feel they merit" (Stark, 2020, p.138). In this case, these forms of collective action are likely to continue to garner attention toward the disproportionate treatment of Black outgroup members relative to White ingroup members by the government and police.

While we have developed an explanation for the use of risky forms of collective action by disadvantaged outgroup members in society, an explanation is lacking for risky behaviors by individuals in society who perceive deprivation despite the lack of evidence when compared to those who are substantially deprived. Stark's research concludes that the change of status of an individual within a group is more telling of their willingness to engage in risky behavior than the change in status of one's group as a whole. A study by Daly, Wilson, and Johnson (2013) explains how interpersonal comparison with those around an individual may cause individuals to perceive deprivation despite a lack thereof. In this comparison, we may substitute the concern for income with the mentioned concerns resulting in the deprivation of the BLM and WLM movement participants. When analyzing relative "income" in a given area, it was concluded that the risky behavior of suicide risk increased as income in the area increased. It is concluded that "Individuals care not only about their own income but also about the income of others in their local area" (2013, p.139). In this comparison, Daly suggests that "income, measured by local area (county) median income, was positively and significantly correlated with suicide risk" (2013, p#). Stark explains that overall relative deprivation rather than individual concern has a stronger influence on emotions such as stress that result in engaging in risky behaviors. This was true for both high-income and low-income members, which may be compared to our ingroups and outgroup members. Ingroup members may likely engage in risky behaviors not solely because their social status is deprived more than that of outgroup members, but because the relative status in comparison to their community members is weighed highly. The increase in risky

behaviors as a result of this interpersonal comparison. This may translate into more frequent instances of risky behavior for members in both ingroups and outgroups.

VIOLENCE IN CONNECTION TO RELATIVE DEPRIVATION

In addition to the risky behaviors of engaging in dangerous collective action and demonstrations, a study by Kawachi, Kennedy, and Wilkinson (1999) found correlations between relative deprivation and violent crimes. An article that evaluated structural violence and relative deprivation was used to analyze events of "civil strife" in the African country of Sierra Leone between 1991 and 2002. The article provides many examples of how structural violence appears in society and how this violence translates into risky behaviors as a response to substantiated deprivation.

"Structural violence comprises both physically violent acts/events and psychologically harmful acts. The violence is not necessarily intentional and /or visible use of force, but the violence is often 'invisible,' taken for granted, or ignored" (Conteh-Morgan, 2018, p. 1).

This explanation of structural violence can be closely related to the systemic racism that is present in the United States in the aspects of intentionality, visibility, and pervasiveness. The violence inflicted on the communities in Sierra Leone can be seen in the decline of "political-economic and socio-cultural" structures within the country which has caused harm to the livelihood of the country's people and affected their well-being (2018, p. 1).

Conteh-Morgan explains that an inevitable response to this deprivation of human rights and consideration of the quality of life is a counteractive response. These responses are expected to come in three forms which intensify over time as concerns are not met with acknowledgment or redress. They are referred to as "secondary violence" which starts at the individual level as seen in "drug abuse, alcohol abuse, depression, and even suicide" (2018, p. 2). Community-level violence is depicted in increased crime and violence between group members or between those who perceive to be affected by the government's structural violence. The last category includes national destruction such as nationwide riots and lastly civil war or terrorism. So far In the United States, we have seen many examples of individual and community violence. Riots in correlation to both the Black Lives Matter and White Lives Matter movements, in the year 2020 have been some of the most prominent in history. As of January 6th, 2021, perceptions of relative deprivation have resulted in forms of domestic terrorism as a riot of majority structurally advantaged ingroup participants stormed the United States Capitol.

In a society, the perception of relative deprivation is inevitable as policies in government are created to result in "winners and losers" in some relative aspect (2018, p. 2). However, the extent to which the structurally disadvantaged may lose varies. In many instances, such as in Sierra Leone, outgroup members are denied access to health care, food security, and basic resources for a more fulfilling life. While the civil strife in the United States does not equally match the state of Sierra Leone, many structurally disadvantaged members in the United States lack access to similar resources, thus resulting in substantial deprivation and a diminished quality of life. The frustration with

this outgroup membership also serves as fuel for "physical violence or civil strife because they produce intolerable inequalities that intensify and become pervasive"(2018, p. 3).

The anger associated with relative deprivation will not become a rebellion or develop into a form of collective action until the concerns are politicized. At this point of politicization, counter-movements may likely emerge as seen with the BLM and WLM movements. The politicization may serve as a lens on the structural state of the country and may result in the beginning of a relative comparison between ingroup and outgroup members as rebellions become publicized.

CONCLUSION

When considering race-related social movements and the possibility of their emergence, we must weigh a multitude of factors that are provided by an interdisciplinary approach. The sociological and psychological perspectives of the relative deprivation theory and intergroup comparison have provided new perspectives on the dynamic of race-related social movements. Relative deprivation theory is recognized as a subjective perspective of one's comparative position in society, which develops from the cognitive processing of societal events surrounding a group. Understanding the psychology behind these perceptions helps us identify the related fear and anger that results from the feeling of being deprived. Sociology helps in establishing the origin of this fear as a result of perceived deprivation and explains how this is translated into actions seen in society.

Societal events that have caused this feeling of deprivation have been noted for both the Black Lives Matter (BLM) and White Lives Matter (WLM) movements. Based on the reporting of the movements' web pages and further interpretation provided in

additional research, the relative deprivation theory has proved to be a reasonable source for the emergence of these groups. As resources become scarce and groups begin to compete for these resources, intergroup competition ensues. This competition results in ingroup bias and outgroup aversion, which is further intensified by the acknowledgment of salient race differences. With these influences on group separation and additional factors of societal pressures from resource competition, relative deprivation is not easily averted. Perceived deprivation can also be seen as a direct response to ingroup members' negative attitudes towards outgroup members' access to governmental redress. These negative attitudes in the United States, as described in symbolic racism, closely resemble attitudes held by ingroup non-Aborigine members toward outgroup Aboriginal members in Australia. It is also concluded that the perception of deprivation comes as a result of anger from the perceived disproportionate distribution of redress to outgroup members. There is a positive correlation between relative deprivation and risky behaviors that we have seen in social events in the United States, most notably in the year 2020 between BLM and WLM movement participants. Similar forms of rebellion as a result of relative deprivation have formed from the tumultuous relationships between the country's inhabitants and the government in Sierra Leone.

The process of assessing the behavior and perception of social movement participants has best been supported by an interdisciplinary approach that allows for different perspectives on the reasons for movement emergence. Understanding the cognitive and social events that influence movement emergence provides society with a better understanding of the continuous reactionary events seen in the media today. The importance of social movement emergence helps bring attention to social concerns in

both ingroups and outgroups whether these concerns are substantiated or perceived. These interdisciplinary perspectives explain the cognitive process behind movement participants and clarify why risky behaviors may occur due to these perceptions. By having a better understanding of the process of emergence of race-related social movements as interpreted by ingroup-outgroup comparison and the relative deprivation theory, we may be able to predict future times of civil unrest and violence associated with perceived deprivation.

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