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The Effect of Diversity Ideology on the Perception of Political Candidates Varying By Race

Karyne Nichelle Williams
College of William and Mary

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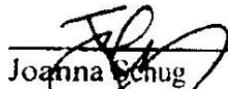The College of William and Mary

by

Karyne Nichelle Williams

Accepted for _Honors_

Cheryl Dickter, Director

Joanna Schug

Marcus Holmes

Williamsburg, VA
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Karyne Williams

College of William & Mary

Email: knwilliams01@email.wm.edu

College of William & Mary, Department of Psychology

Abstract

Previous research on person perception has examined how stereotypes can affect people's judgments of outgroup members. Research has also shown that ideology is related to prejudice and judgments about outgroups. In the current study, we examine how judgments of outgroup members are affected by a colorblind ideology versus a multicultural ideology. In Study 1, we had a national sample of participants recruited via Amazon Mechanical Turk (n = 107) rate a fictional Black and White candidate on judgments related to political qualities and personal traits and complete explicit attitude measures. Results indicated that colorblind attitudes led to more negative political quality ratings of Black candidates. In Study 2, participants (n = 117) were randomly assigned to read a colorblind prime, a multicultural prime, or no prime (control condition). The diversity ideology manipulation in Study 2 had no effect on Black candidate ratings, but explicit attitudes toward blacks did have an effect. Promoting and endorsing political messages that minimize or undervalue the differences of outgroup members and holding unfavorable attitudes toward Blacks create more obstacles for Black candidates to overcome.

The Effect of Ideology on the Perception of Political Candidates Varying By Race

Previous research on person perception has examined how stereotypes can affect people's judgments of outgroup members. Research has also shown that ideology is related to prejudice and judgments about outgroups. In the current study, we examine how judgments of outgroup members are affected by a colorblind ideology versus a multicultural ideology. We focused on politics because there is not enough research examining the effects of cultural ideologies that people hold on how they evaluate Black political candidates. This study is important because it will shine more light on some of the obstacles that Black politicians must overcome when trying to win over White voters.

Person Perception, Explicit Attitudes, and Racial Stereotypes

Person perception can be described as a perceiver's ability to distinguish the traits and states of others (Bruner & Tagiuri, 1954). When the perceiver receives sensory signals from social targets and contextual stimuli, they are converted into meaningful representations (Fiske & Macrae, 2012). An attitude is a positive or negative summary evaluation of a percept that is linked to a memory of the object of evaluation (Fazio, 1986; Fazio, Chen, McDonel, & Sherman, 1982; Fiske & Macrae, 2012, p.166). The present study will be examining the effects of explicit attitudes, or attitudes which are derived from intentional reflective processes (Strack & Deutsch, 2004), on person perception.

Stereotypes have been described as cognitive components of prejudiced attitudes (Harding Proshansky, Kutner, & Chein, 1969; Secord & Backman, 1974), thus attitudes and stereotypes are two distinct cognitive structures with overlapping features (Devine, 1989). According to a theoretical dissociation model presented in Devine's (1989) research, racial stereotypes are more accessible than racial attitudes because of their longer history of activation.

There is ample research showing that stereotypes are established in memory from a young age, before they are able to be critically evaluated (e.g. Proshansky, 1966; Porter, 1971). In order to establish personal beliefs or attitudes, one is required to assess the congruence or conflict of an already established stereotype, then either accept or reject it. When presented with a target of some particular group or race, that group membership primes or activates the corresponding stereotype in the memory of the perceiver (e.g. Smith & Branscombe, 1984; Wyer & Srull, 1981). The activated stereotype can then impact how the target is perceived based on his group membership.

Effects of Racial Stereotypes and Attitudes in Politics

The election of the first Black president allowed for an opportune chance for researchers to study the effects of stereotypes and explicit attitudes on voting behavior and the perception of a Black political candidate. Research analyzing the effects of negative racial stereotypes on voting behavior and political preferences has shown that the 2008 Obama campaign was most affected by these stereotypes, where other prominent democratic candidates were unaffected (Piston, 2010). Racist attitudes were also studied to determine their effects on the Obama elections and the years between them. Tesler (2012) found that old fashioned racist attitudes, characterized by overt hostility, derogatory beliefs, and social distance (Devine, Plant, & Blair, 2001, pg. 201), did not affect party identification or partisan voting behavior for years prior to the 2008 elections, but they were able to predict partisanship, presidential vote intention, and congressional vote intention in the years immediately following the election. Counterintuitively, the election of the first African American president allowed for outdated modes of prejudiced attitudes to resurge and have an effect on people's political preferences (Tesler, 2012). Pasek et al. (2014) also determined that levels of explicit prejudiced attitudes rose between 2008 and

2012, but that evaluations of Obama became disconnected from attitudes towards Blacks as time went on.

When examining how the perception of Black candidates affects their evaluations by voters, Jacobsmeier (2014) showed that white participants tend to perceive Black candidates as more liberal than White candidates with similar policy positions. This can create an indirect impact on voting decisions because these race-based misperceptions. Similar work has confirmed that the race of a candidate affects how their ideologies are perceived (McDermott, 1998; Terkildsen, 1993), even when the Black candidate is identical to a White one (Sigelman, Sigelman, Walkosz, Nitz, 1995). In addition to political ideology, the perception of political qualities associated with a candidate can be manipulated based on his race, where Black candidates are perceived as less experienced than their White opponent when explicit bias is higher (Weaver 2012).

Diversity Ideologies

According to Rattan and Ambady (2013), diversity ideologies are defined as "people's beliefs and practices regarding diversity." They present colorblindness and multiculturalism as diversity ideologies which can be used to understand intergroup bias and conflict. The colorblind ideology argues that group distinctions should be downplayed in order to foster equality. The focus is on treating people the same, as individuals, instead of assigning them to a certain outgroup. On the other hand, multicultural ideology does the opposite. Here, group membership should be recognized and valued in order to foster equality and diversity (Rattan & Ambady, 2013; Sasaki & Vorauer, 2013).

Continued research has shown that explicit racial bias, in terms of preference for Whites over Blacks, is significantly greater in participants endorsing colorblind ideologies (Richeson &

Nussbaum, 2004). In-group positivity is also higher in this condition when compared to the

multiculturalism condition (Ryan, Hunt, Weible, Peterson, & Casas, 2007). Similarly,

multiculturalism endorsement has predicted less in-group bias and ethnocentrism (Ryan et al.,

2007), but more stereo-typicality only when perceived threat to group values is high (Morrison,

Plaut, & Ybarra, 2010). However, Whites with lower in-group identification are less prejudiced

in response to multiculturalism (Morrison, Plaut, &Ybarra, 2010). Because the multiculturalism

ideology emphasizes valuing the characteristics that make outgroup members different, group

differences are stressed and stereotyping increases. However, in-group positivity and

ethnocentrism decrease with the endorsement of this ideology because the things that make

other's group membership unique is valued relative to one's own. While stereotyping may

increase in this condition, it brings more positive evaluations of outgroups (Wolsko, Park &

Judd, 2006). The colorblind ideology stresses the minimization of group differences, resulting in

less stereotyping as outgroups are perceived as more similar to in-groups. In fact, when there is

high intergroup conflict, colorblind ideologies reported lower levels of prejudice (Correll, Park,

& Smith, 2008). At the same time, because group differences are not valued, there will be a bias

toward ethnocentrism and White in-group preferences (Richeson & Naussbaum, 2004) as the

importance of diversity is not stressed.

Research has demonstrated that colorblind ideology can be manipulated and can affect

judgments about other individuals. For example, exposure to the multicultural ideology reduced

bias when responding towards minority outgroups (Richeson & Nussbaum, 2003). In Wolsko's

et al. (2000) ideology manipulation, participants were assigned to one of three conditions. In the

first, participants were presented with information in support of colorblind ideals. The second

condition had a multicultural emphasis, and the last was a control condition. Wolsko, Park, Judd,

and Wittenbrink (2000) found that participants in the colorblind ideology condition showed a reduction in in-group positivity and low levels of explicit stereo-typicality of Blacks when compared to the control. Participants in the multicultural condition showed lowered in-group positivity and higher levels of expressed stereo-typicality of Blacks. It is important to note that while stereo-typicality was higher in the multicultural condition, there was also an increase in the recognition of positive traits of Blacks (Wolsko et al. 2000).

Gutierrez and Unzueta (2010) examined the effect of interethnic ideologies on the likability of stereotypic and counter-stereotypic minority targets. For their study, they assigned participants to one of three ideology manipulation conditions, similar to Wolsko et al. (2000). Participants were then shown a Facebook profile of either a stereotypic or counter-stereotypic Black male where the target was rated on likability. The researchers found that participants on the multicultural ideology condition liked the counter-stereotypic target more than the stereotypic target. In the colorblind condition the reverse was true; the counter-stereotypic target was liked more than the stereotypic target. Gutierrez and Unzeta (2010) reasoned that ideology confirmation affects the likability of targets based on their stereo-typicality.

The Current Research

The present study will examine how the perception of a fictional Black male candidate affects how he is rated on various attributes compared to an identical white male candidate, and whether the difference in ratings depends on one's level of explicit racial ideology and racial bias. For Study 1, participants were asked to rate fictional candidates. Two of the candidates were identical except for their names, which determined their race. Based on the presented literature, we expected to find that participants higher in a colorblindness ideology and in explicit

bias would rate the Black candidate more than those endorsing a multicultural ideology and less explicit bias.

In Study 2, we manipulated participants' exposure to two diversity ideologies, colorblindness and multiculturalism in order to determine a causal relationship between ideology and perceptions of a fictional Black candidate. Participants in study two were randomly assigned to one of three ideology manipulations which included colorblindness, multiculturalism, and a control. The manipulation was the same as the one used in Wolsko et al (2000). After completing the ideology manipulation, participants were asked to rate fictional candidates and respond to explicit bias and ideology measures. Here we expected to find that those in the multicultural condition would have ratings of the Black candidate that are similar to the control group, but would make more positive judgments about the Black candidate than participants in the colorblind condition. We hypothesized that those in the colorblind condition would have less positive ratings of the black candidate, because of his counter-stereotypicality.

Study 1

Method

Participants

For Study 1, 287 participants between the ages of 18 and 69 completed the study for monetary compensation using Qualtrics Panels and Amazon Mechanical Turk. A Qualtrics Panel is a way to distribute surveys or studies to participants we recruited and compensated via Amazon Mechanical Turk. Participants from various locations within the United States completed the study online. Only two participants were not legally allowed to vote in the United States. All procedures were approved by the Protection of Human Subjects Committee at the College of William and Mary.

Materials

Each participant was shown ten political profiles of fictional politicians (see Appendix A for example profile). Eight of the profiles were used as fillers and not used in the analysis. Each profile gave the candidate's age, their professional background, and at least three of their political stances. For example, part of a profile would read: "Governor Andrew Collins of Nevada is a former tech CEO determined to put the US back on its economic path to glory. A strong advocate for technology and education, Collins feels that more training in career, technical, and trade education will fill the employment gap and get more money flowing in the economy…"

Out of the ten fictional candidates, two of the profiles were identical, differing only in names. One profile had a stereotypically African American name (Hakim Jackson), and the other had a stereotypically white name (Walter Anderson). These names were pulled from a list of the most common surnames based on the United States 1990 census, separated by race. A manipulation test determined whether participants were able to correctly match the name to its supposed race. Only participants who passed this manipulation test were used for analysis. The two profiles were randomized so that one would appear somewhere within the order of the first three profiles and the other would appear among the last three profiles. Participants' responses for these two candidates alone would be used for analysis. The other eight profiles differed from each other in terms of political ideology, political stances, level of experience, age, and name. One out of the eight other profiles had stereotypically black names.

For each fictional candidate, participants were asked to read the brief profile and rate the candidate based on the information provided. Participants rated each of the candidates on their likelihood of receiving the participants' vote, whether they are a capable leader, if they would

show compassion towards the participants' political beliefs, whether they show care, whether they are underqualified, and whether they are out of touch. Participants also evaluated traits of each candidate which included determination, passion, confidence, humility, intelligence, coldness, incompetence, and whether they are indistinct. Each item was measured using a continuous sliding scale from zero to ten (for the traits) and zero to 100 (for the political qualities). All items were grouped into four categories: positive or negative political qualities and positive or negative traits. Each of these aggregate variables had alpha levels above 0.8 for both of the candidates of interest.

Each participant completed the Attitudes towards Blacks Measure (Brigham, 1993) and the Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (Neville et al, 2000) to measure their level of explicit bias. The ATB is measured on a 7-point Likert scale from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree." Some items from the measure include: "I would rather not have Blacks living in the same building as I do (reverse scored)," and "Black and White people are inherently equal." The ATB is designed so that higher scores denote equalitarian or favorable views of Blacks. The ATB had a Cronbach's alpha of .941 for the present study. The CoBRAS, Cronbach's alpha = .929, is measured on a five point Likert Scale from "not at all appropriate or clear" to "very appropriate or clear." The scale is divided into three factors: awareness of racial privilege, institutional discrimination, and blatant racial issues. Some items include "White people in the US have certain advantages because of the color of their skin (reverse scored)," and "racial problems in the US are rare, isolated situations."

Procedure

Participants were directed to an online informed consent in which they provided their consent in lieu of a signature. Participants then viewed each candidate's profile and rated each

candidate on the measures described above. They then provided responses for explicit racial bias measures. Next, participants were asked for some demographic information. Participants also identified the race of each candidate based on the name provided; this served as a manipulation check. Last, participants identified themselves on a Liberal-Conservative slider scale and provide the political party that they consider themselves to follow.

Results

180 participants were excluded from the analysis due to failing one of the manipulation tests (n=156), having a duplicate attempt for the study (n=24), failing to complete the study, or some combination of the three. Of the 107 participants included in the analysis, there were 70 males and 37 females with an average age of 35.85 years (SD = 9.70). The sample was liberal leaning with 47 participants identifying with the Democratic Party, 30 who were Independent, 19 Republican Party identifiers, and 11 of other parties.

In order to look at the effect of race, valence, and attribute, a 2 (race: black, white) x 2 (valence: positive, negative) x 2 (attribute: trait, political quality) repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted. There was a main effect of valence, $F(1, 105) = 103.10$, $p < .001$, such that the positive ratings ($M = 32.73$, $SE = 1.15$) were higher than the negative ratings ($M = 12.66$, $SE = 1.01$). There was also a significant main effect for attribute, $F(1, 105) = 85.70$, $p < .001$, showing that traits ($M = 4.531$, $SE = .08$) were not rated as strongly as political qualities ($M = 40.86$, $SE = .84$). These effects were qualified by a 3-way interaction, $F(1, 105) = 85.70$, $p < .001$. In order to investigate this interaction, two 2-way interactions were conducted, one for the positive effect and one for negative effect. The interaction for positive effect was not significant, $F(1, 105) = .72$, $p =$ ns. The 2-way interaction for the negative effect was also not significant, $F(1, 105) = .36$, $p =$ ns (see Figure 1).
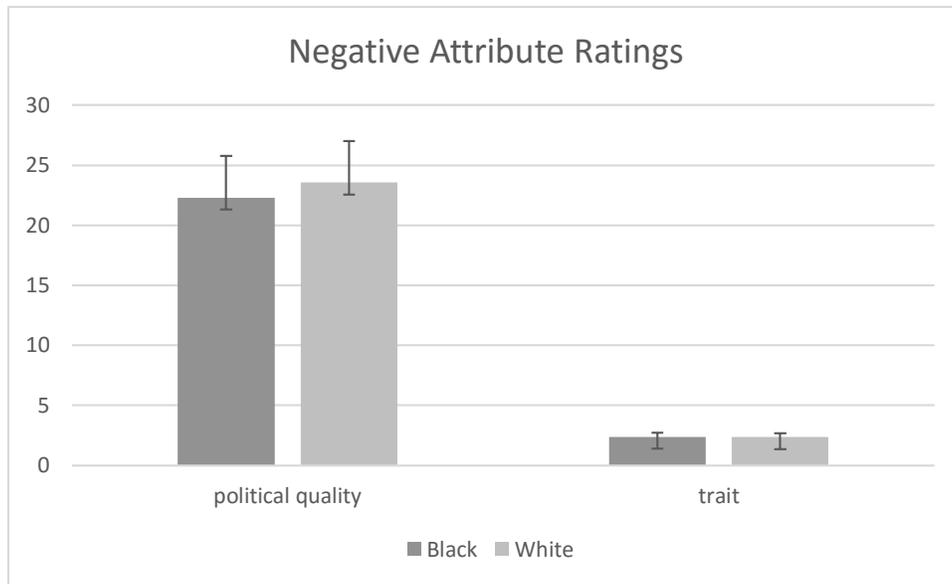
Figure 1: Negative candidate rating means are graphed showing that there was no significant difference between the Black and White candidate ratings or attribute variable means.

To determine whether either of the individual difference variables, or the interaction between the two, predicted ratings of the Black candidates, a series of regression analyses were conducted. Each of the variable mean correlations are reported in Figure 1. For each of the ratings, a multiple regression analysis was completed examining CoBRAS, ATB, and the interaction between the two as predictors. The two individual difference variables were entered on the first step of the model, with the interaction term entered on Step 2. For positive political quality ratings of the Black candidate, the first step of the model was significant, $F(2, 104) = 4.29, p = .016, R^2 = .076$. There was a significant effect of COBRAS, $B = -.36, t = -2.47, p = .015$, such that higher CoBRAS scores were associated with less positive ratings of this candidate. ATB was not a significant predictor. For negative political quality ratings of the Black candidate, the first step of the model was also significant

Table 1

Correlations Between Rating Variables and Attitude Measures

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1 ATB	—										
2 CoBRAS	-.760**	—									
3 CoBRAS F2	-.685**	.912**	—								
4 Black pos pol	.148	-.264**	-.259**	—							
5 Black neg pol	-.135	.241*	.253**	-.654**	—						
6 Black pos trait	.295**	-.257**	-.208*	.774**	-.514**	—					
7 Black neg trait	-.287**	.278**	.282**	-.531**	.726**	-.588**	—				
8 White pos pol	.112	-.179	-.146	.601**	-.411**	.562**	-.426**	—			
9 White neg pol	-.184	.219*	.162	-.348**	.469**	-.391**	.578**	-.608**	—		
10 White pos trait	.190	-.124	-.078	.488**	-.275**	.648**	-.353**	.775**	-.545**	—	
11 White neg trait	-.239*	.193*	.193*	-.421**	.547**	-.466**	.673**	-.559**	.765**	-.595**	—

Table 1: * p < ,05, ** p , .01
The abbreviations pos and neg represent positive and negative valance. Pol and trait represent political quality and personal trait ratings.

$F(2, 104) = 3.54$, $p = .033$, $R^2 = .064$. Again, there was a significant effect of CoBRAS, $B = .33$, $t = -.571$, $= .027$, such that higher COBRAS scores were associated with more negative ratings of this candidate, but no effect of ATB. The interaction terms were not significant for either model.

Due to the significant relationships between CoBRAS and ratings of the Black candidates, exploratory analyses were conducted to examine whether any of the CoBRAS subscales were independently predictive of the dependent variables. A second series of multiple regression analyses were completed. CoBRAS facet 2 (institutional discrimination) yielded interesting significant results which are reported here. Institutional discrimination, ATB and the interaction between the two were used as predictors. Much like the first regression analysis, the first step of the model for the positive political quality ratings of the Black candidate was significant, $F(2, 104) = 3.84$, p = .025, $R^2 = .069$. There was a significant effect of CoBRAS facet 2, B = -8.23, t = -2.89, p = .024, where higher COBRAS facet 2 scores were associated with lower positive political quality ratings of this candidate. For negative political quality ratings of the Black candidate, the model was also significant $F(2, 104) = 3.71$, p = .028, $R^2 = .067$. The CoBRAS facet 2 showed a significant effect, B = 7.61, t = 2.32, p = .022, such that higher CoBRAS facet 2 scores were associated with more negative political quality ratings of the Black candidate. Last, the model for positive trait ratings of the Black candidate was significant, $F(2, 104) = 4.97$, p = .009, $R^2 = .087$. ATB showed a significant effect, B = .46, t = 2.236, p = .028, such that higher ATB scores were associated with more positive trait ratings of this candidate. This finding is expected, as higher ATB scores denote more favorable views of Blacks.

Discussion

The results of Study 1 determined that colorblind attitudes were significantly associated with less positive and more negative political quality ratings of the Black candidate. These relationships were even stronger for the Institutional Discrimination subscale of the CoBRAS, which represents a lack of awareness or acknowledgement of the implications of institutional forms of exclusion and racial discrimination (Neville et al., 2000). ATB scores were significant predictors of positive trait ratings of the Black candidate, but only when Institutional Discrimination scores were controlled for.

Although CoBRAS scores predicted political quality ratings for the Black candidate, they did not predict positive or negative trait ratings of the Black candidate. The CoBRAS may have failed to significantly predict trait ratings because it contains items that ask about attitudes that pertain to groups of people instead of Black individuals. This could be especially true for the items in the Institutional Discrimination subscale. At the same time, the ATB scale could contain items that tap into a view of Blacks that is more individual than group based, thus affecting the personal trait ratings of candidates and not the political qualities.

One important limitation of the study was the number of participants that were eliminated from the analysis because of the failure to pass the manipulation check. The manipulation check asked participants to correctly identify the races of the candidates of interest given only each candidate's name. For this study, we chose to use names instead of photos to convey the race of the targets because they are more racially covert; indeed, this method has been successfully used in similar studies (Smith, Paul, & Paul, 2008). In the present study however, it appears that the use of names suggesting the candidates' race were not racially overt enough for participants to correctly assign them to a specific race. Given the smaller sample that we were able to include in this study for because of the limitations of our manipulation, each of the fictional candidates

was assigned a photo corresponding to his race in Study 2 to ensure that participants would accurately identify the race of the target politicians.

Study 2

In addition to addressing the limitations of study 1, study 2 will manipulate the colorblindness and multicultural diversity ideologies in order to determine their effects on the ratings of the Black candidate. We hope to establish a causal relationship explaining the effects of the explicit attitudes on the candidate ratings.

Method

Participants

120 participants between the ages of 21 and 69 completed the study for monetary compensation using Qualtrics Panels and Amazon Mechanical Turk. Participants from various locations within the US completed the study online. Only one participant was not legally allowed to vote in the United States. All procedures were approved by the Protection of Human Subjects Committee at the College of William and Mary.

Materials

Materials for the ideology manipulation were identical to those used in Wolsko et al. (2000). Each participant was randomly assigned to one of three conditions: the colorblind ideology, the multicultural ideology, and the control condition. In the first two conditions, participants are asked to read a brief essay about either multiculturalism or colorblindness (see Appendix B). They are then asked to reflect on the essay and list five reasons about how either multicultural or colorblind ideologies could strengthen the United States.

After the ideology manipulation, participants were asked to rate ten fictional candidates, similar to Study 1. The profiles were identical to those in Study 1 with the exception that, in the

present study, each candidate profile featured a picture of the fictional candidate. Each picture was similar in attractiveness and age ratings and features the face from the neck up on a neutral background. The pictures were used from a database of Black and White males (Eberhardt et al., 2004). Candidate ages were excluded from the profiles in this study to minimize incongruence between the profile text and the profile image. All other materials used were identical to study 1. Participants were asked to read each profile and rate the candidates on all of the same factors as in Study 1. Again, each participant completed the Attitudes towards Blacks Measure (Brigham, 1993) and the Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (Neville et al, 2000) to measure their level of explicit bias.

Procedure

Like in study 1, participants were directed to an online informed consent in which they provided their consent in lieu of a signature. They were then directed to one of the ideology manipulation conditions. Next, participants viewed each candidate's profile and rated each candidate on the measures described above and in Study 1. They then provided responses for explicit racial bias measures. Next, participants were asked for some demographic information. Participants also identified the race of each candidate based on the name and photo provided; this served as a manipulation check. Last, participants identified themselves on a Liberal-Conservative slider scale and provide the political party that they consider themselves to follow. These questions were open ended. Finally, participants were shown a debriefing screen which explained the purpose of the study.

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Study 2 Results

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Three participants were excluded from the analysis due to failing the manipulation tests. Of the 117 participants included in the analysis, there were 58 males and 59 females with an

average age of 34.41 years (SD = 11.10). The sample was liberal leaning with 54 participants

identifying with the Democratic Party, 28 were Independents, 21 identified with the Republican

Party, and 14 were with other parties.

In order to look at the effect of race, valence, and attribute, a 2 (race: black, white) x 2

(valence: positive, negative) x 2 (attribute: trait, political quality) x 3 (condition: control,

colorblind, or multicultural) mixed-model analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted with

repeated measures on the first three factors. There was a main effect of valence, $F(1, 114) =$

157.57, $p < .001$, such that the positive ratings ($M = 34.49$, $SE = 1.02$) were higher than the

negative ratings ($M = 12.03$, $SE = .94$). There was also a significant main effect for attribute, $F(1,$

$114) = 2379.66$, $p < .001$, showing that traits ($M = 4.58$, $SE = .07$) were not rated as strongly as

political qualities ($M = 42.07$, $SE = .79$). These effects were qualified by a 4-way interaction,

$F(1, 114) = 123.39$, $p < .001$. In order to investigate this interaction, two 3-way interactions were

conducted, one for the positive effect and one for negative effect. The interaction for positive

effect was not significant, $F(2, 114) = .85$, $p =$ ns. The 3-way interaction for the negative effect

was marginally significant, $F(2, 114) = 2.39$, $p = .096$ (see figures 2a, 2b, and 2c).

Next, two race x condition interactions were conducted for negative trait and negative

political quality. The interaction for negative political trait was not significant, $F(2, 114) = .48$, p

= ns, while the 2-way interaction for negative political quality approached marginal significance,

$F(2, 114) = 2.09$, $p = .13$. Simple main effects analyses were conducted showing that the

negative political quality effect was not different between the control (M = 27.44, SE = 3.27),

colorblind (M = 21.58, SE = 3.40), and multicultural (M = 19.72, SE = 3.54) conditions, F(2,

114) = 1.44, p = ns for the White candidate. The black candidate's ratings for negative political

quality also do not differ significantly between the control (M = 22.52, SE = 3.21),
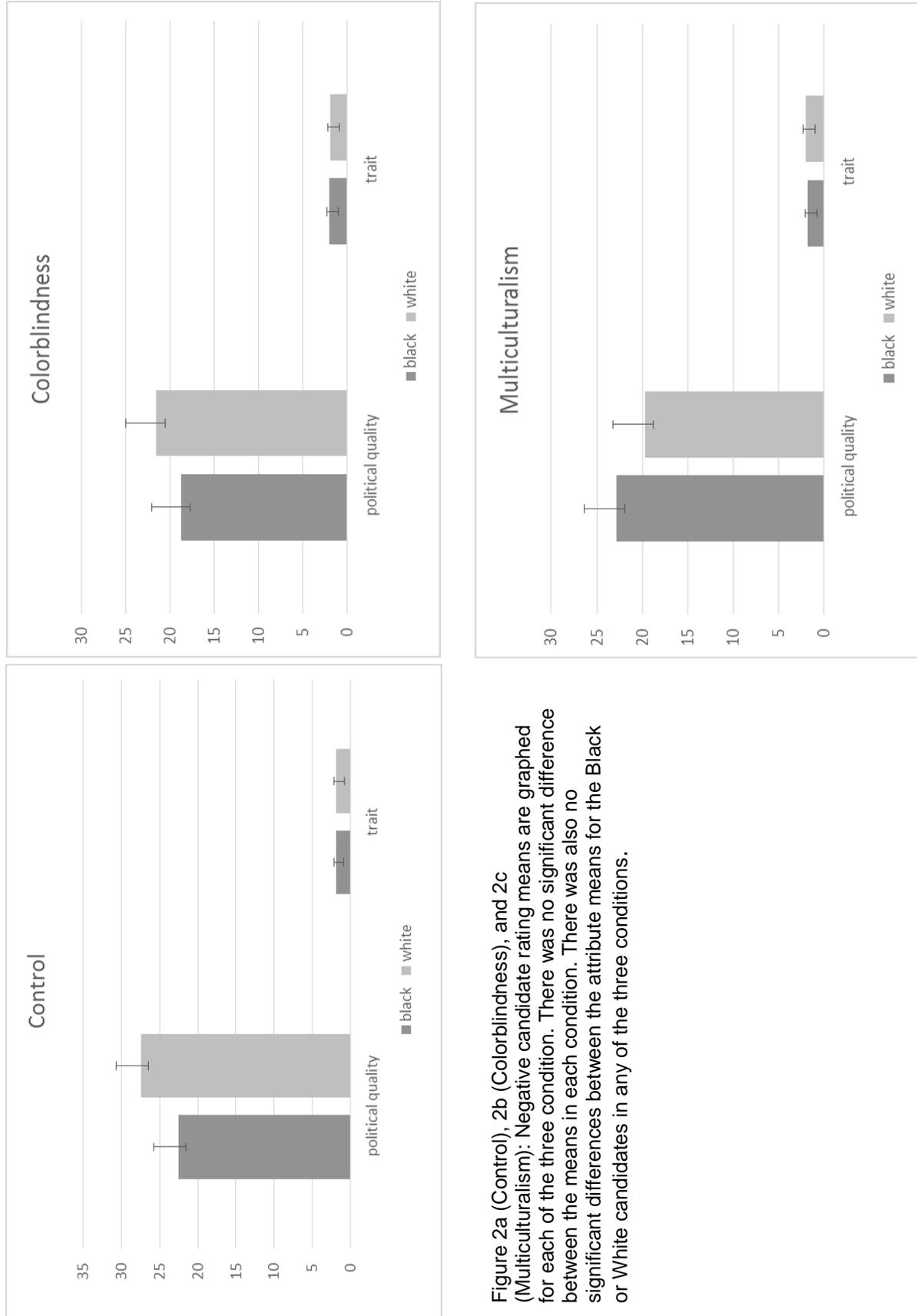
Figure 2a (Control), 2b (Colorblindness), and 2c (Multiculturalism): Negative candidate rating means are graphed for each of the three condition. There was no significant difference between the means in each condition. There was also no significant differences between the attribute means for the Black or White candidates in any of the three conditions.

Table 2
Correlations Between Rating Variables and Attitude Measures

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1 ATB	—											
2 CoBRAS	-.533**	—										
3 CoBRAS F2	-.506**	.812**	—									
4 Black pos pol	.281**	-.115	-.116	—								
5 Black neg pol	-.342**	.068	.103	-.631**	—							
6 Black pos trait	.334**	-.024	-.036	.725**	-.587**	—						
7 Black neg trait	-.425**	.118	.097	-.593**	.668**	-.622**	—					
8 White pos pol	.296**	-.104	-.136	.629**	-.393**	.390**	-.402**	—				
9 White neg pol	-.398**	.185*	.194*	-.481**	.631**	-.399**	.541**	-.582**	—			
10 White pos trait	.288**	-.047	-.034	.497**	-.414**	.542**	-.420**	.767**	-.494**	—		
11 White neg trait	-.383**	.153	.124	-.483**	.464**	-.437**	.687**	-.558**	.595**	-.568**	—	
12 Condition	.132	-.144	-.122	.023	.003	.011	-.022	.112	-.150	-.005	.029	—

Table 1: * p < .05, ** p , .01
The abbreviations pos and neg represent positive and negative valance. Pol and trait represent political quality and personal trait ratings.

colorblindness (M = 18.71, SE = 3.33), or multicultural conditions (M = 19.72, SE = 3.54), F(2, 114) = .48, p = ns (see figures 1a, 1b, and 1c).

In order to examine whether either of the individual difference variables predicted ratings of the Black candidates over and above the manipulation, a series of regression analyses were conducted. The correlations for each of the variable means are reported in Table 2. For each of the ratings, a multiple regression analysis was completed examining CoBRAS, ATB, and the manipulation condition as predictors. The two individual difference variables were entered on the same step of the model with the manipulation condition. For positive political quality ratings of the Black candidate, the model was significant, F(3, 113) = 3.30, p = .023, R^2 = .08. There was a significant effect of ATB, B = 6.73, t = 2.88, p = .005, such that higher ATB scores were associated with more positive political quality ratings of this candidate. CoBRAS was not a significant predictor. For negative political quality ratings of the Black candidate, the model was also significant F(3, 113) = 5.97, p = .001, R^2 = .14. Again, there was a significant effect of ATB, B = -8.76, t = -4.16, p < .001, such that higher ATB scores were associated with less negative ratings of this candidate, but no effect of CoBRAS. The manipulation condition was not significant for either model.

For positive trait ratings of the Black candidate, the model was significant, F(3, 113) = 6.38, p < .001, R^2 = .145. There was a significant effect of ATB, B = .77, t = 4.36, p < .001, such that higher ATB scores were associated with more positive trait ratings of this candidate. CoBRAS was also a significant predictor, B = .49, t = 2.06, p = .042, such that higher CoBRAS scores were associated with less positive trait ratings. For negative trait ratings of the Black candidate, the model was also significant F(3, 113) = 9.28, p < .001, R^2 = .198. Again, there was a significant effect of ATB, B = -.94, t = -5.09, p < .001, such that higher ATB scores were

associated with less negative ratings of this candidate, but there was no effect of CoBRAS. Again, the manipulation condition was not significant for either model.

In order to investigate why the hypotheses were not supported for the manipulated variables, one-way ANOVAs were conducted with the explicit measures as dependent variables and with condition as the independent variable. For the CoBRAS, while the means of the colorblind ($M = 2.65$, $SE = .12$) and multicultural manipulation ($M = 2.66$, $SE = .13$) groups were lower than that of the control ($M = 2.92$, $SE = .12$), the differences were not significant, $F(2, 114) = 1.68$, ns. For the ATB, while the means of the colorblind ($M = 5.76$, $SE = .16$) and multicultural manipulation ($M = 5.79$, $SE = .17$) groups were higher than that of the control ($M = 5.47$, $SE = .16$), the differences were not significant, $F(2, 114) = 1.22$, $p = $ ns. Thus, there is no supporting evidence demonstrating that the manipulation had any significant effects on explicit bias scores.

Discussion

The goal of Study 2 to was to determine whether the ratings of the Black candidates would be moderated by priming participants with a multicultural or colorblind approach. However, the results demonstrated that the manipulation had no effect on the ratings of the candidates. Instead, the results of the study showed that higher ATB scores were associated with more positive and less negative political quality ratings of the Black candidate, independent from which manipulation condition participants were in. In contrast to Study 1, the CoBRAS, as measured after the ratings of the candidates, was not a significant predictor for either of these ratings. Higher ATB scores also predicted more positive and less negative trait ratings of the Black candidate. For positive trait ratings, higher CoBRAS scores were associated with less

positive trait ratings. Again, the manipulation condition was not a significant predictor for trait ratings either.

One possible reason why the ATB scores predicted ratings of the candidates in study 2, but not study 1, is that the use of images of the candidates could have made race more salient than just reading an individual's name. This choice was made for two reasons. First, we wanted to address the limitation in study 1 of the large number of participants who could not correctly identify the targets' race. Second, using both names and photos is a more realistic way to represent political candidates as voters will typically have access and exposure to an image of a candidate before casting a vote. Therefore, it may be the case that the results obtained in study 2 are more representative of what would happen in the real world, such that racial attitudes predict evaluations of political candidates.

The lack of the significant results from the manipulation could also mean that the design of the manipulation tasks are not salient enough to alter racial attitudes or political assessments. This manipulation was taken from research done by Wolsko et al. (2000), in which neither CoBRAS nor ATB scores were measured in order to determine the manipulation's effects on these individual difference measures. Instead, participants completed a percentage estimate task. They were given a list of attributes and asked to estimate what percentage of White or Black Americans possessed each attribute. The percentage estimate task assesses the dimensions of valence and stereotypicality that people hold in their beliefs of different social groups. Because Wolsko et al. (2000) did not measure CoBRAS or ATB scores, there is no evidence that their manipulation would affect these scores. In addition, although the researchers found that the manipulation condition affected participants' interethnic perceptions, they did not provide evidence that the effect would carry into politically themed racial attitudes and assessments.

General Discussion

The purpose of this research was to determine the effects of diversity ideology on the perception of a fictional Black political candidate. Study 1 determined that colorblind attitudes were significantly associated with less positive and more negative political quality ratings of the Black candidate. Therefore, those embracing colorblind attitudes rated the political qualities of the Black candidate more negatively and less positively than those low in colorblind attitudes. This supports the findings from Gutierrez and Unzueta (2010), as participants penalized the (counter-stereotypic) Black candidate because he did not display characteristics of stereo-typicality. The Institutional Discrimination subscale of the CoBRAS was an even better predictor than the complete measure. This subscale represents a lack of awareness or acknowledgement of the implications of institutional forms of exclusion and racial discrimination (Neville et al., 2000). We speculate that the aggregate or group-level nature of the political items written into the CoBRAS and its subscale allows for a significant association with political quality ratings instead of personal trait judgements.

Study 1 also determined that ATB scores were significant predictors of positive trait ratings of the Black candidate, but only when Institutional Discrimination scores were controlled for. Those with more favorable views of Blacks rated the Black candidate more positively than those with less favorable attitudes toward Blacks. This finding is intuitive, but it is interesting that the explicit attitudes measured by the ATB had no effect on the political quality ratings of the Black candidate. Again, we speculate that the individual-level nature of the items written into the ATB might allow for a significant association with personal trait judgements instead of political quality assessments.

The most glaring limitation from study 1 is the number of participants that were eliminated from the analysis because they incorrectly identified the race of the target candidates. This was addressed and corrected in study 2 by including pictures of the candidates. All but one participant passed the manipulation test in Study 2 when photos were included in the candidate profiles. We originally used only names in the first study in order to keep they are more racially covert. This method has been successfully used in similar studies (Smith, Paul, & Paul, 2008), but here it appears that this method is too racially covert.

The purpose of Study 2 was to determine whether the ratings of the Black candidates would be moderated by priming participants with a multicultural or colorblind approach. However, the results demonstrated that the manipulation had no effect on the ratings of the candidates. The manipulation also had no effect on the attitude measures. These results are especially surprising since the ideology manipulation used (Wolsko et al., 2000) was designed to specifically affect colorblind attitudes, which were measured in this study (CoBRAS). One potential reason for the lack of findings in our study, in addition to our study being focused on political figures, was the difference in the make-up of our sample. The sample used in the Wolsko et al. (2000) study was comprised of undergraduate university students. The mean age for study 2 was 34.41 years, much older than the typical college aged undergraduate population. The discrepancy found between the results of the present study and Wolsko et al. (2000) could be linked to the difference in the malleability of political views between older and younger populations. The activation of politically salient ideologies may be grounding individuals further in their attitudes as they adhere to what they believe. Although the difference in samples used in our study and Wolsko et al.'s study may have affected our results, we believe our sample is a strength rather than a limitation. According to research in voter turnout, of Americans ages 19-

29, 35% consider themselves regular or intermittent voters compared to 56% of voters ages 30-49 (Pew, 2006). This would make the sample used in the present study more representative of the American voting population. In addition to age differences, participants came from many locations in the United States. In Wolsko et al. (2000), participants all attended the same university. In summary, while the results of Study 2 might not have replicated those of Wolsko et al. (2000), the results of study 2 might have more external validity.

Results did show that ATB scores were significantly related to all four rating categories in Study 2. Higher ATB scores were associated with more positive and less negative political quality ratings of the Black candidate, independent from which manipulation condition participants were in. Higher ATB scores also predicted more positive and less negative trait ratings of the Black candidate. In other words, those with lower explicit bias towards black rated the Black candidate more positively and less negatively than those high in explicit racial bias. The condition that the participant was in had no effect on these findings. The effects of the explicit attitudes measured by the ATB in Study 2 expand on the findings from Weaver (2011). Not only did we confirm that higher explicit bias adversely affects positive ratings of a Black candidate, but we were also able to establish that these attitudes affect positive and negative, political quality and trait ratings.

Future Research

Future research could incorporate both implicit and explicit measures of racial bias to determine their effects on Black candidate ratings, and whether diversity ideologies have any effect on the relationships. The body of research predicting political preferences, opinions, and voting behavior using explicit bias measures typically includes an analysis of both implicit and explicit attitude measures (e.g., Perez, 2010; Ludndberg & Payne, 2014; Ditonto, Lau, & Sears,

2013). While there is evidence that implicit attitude measures better predict opinions of

undecided voters (Galdi , Arcuri, & Gawronski., 2008; Ludenberg & Payne, 2014), conflicting

results from further study has not been able to find the advantage of implicit attitude measures

based on voter decidedness (Berthet, Barthelemy, & Kop, 2014). In fact, there is research that

shows that explicit attitude measures outperform implicit attitude measures when predicting

voting choice (Berthet, Barthelemy, & Kop, 2014; Friese et al., 2012) and political opinions

(Ditonto, Lau, & Sears, 2013). Because implicit attitude measures have received mixed results

when predicting political responses from undecided voters, in the present study, explicit attitude

measures were used in order to determine their effects on the perception of political candidates.

Conclusion

      This study has shown that explicit racial attitudes have an effect on the perception of

Black political candidates. Colorblind attitudes can have a negative effect on how a Black

candidate is judged, while favorable attitudes towards Blacks reward Black candidates. The

implications of these findings is that those with unfavorable attitudes toward Blacks and who

embrace colorblind ideologies can adversely impact the campaign of a Black politician simply

because of the color of his skin. As race relations become more turbulent in the United States, it

is becoming increasingly important to monitor the diversity ideologies that are being promoted in

politics. Promoting and endorsing political messages that minimize or undervalue the differences

of outgroup members inadvertently create more obstacles for candidates of minority racial

groups to overcome.

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Appendix A

Name: Walter Andersen
Age: 57

Senator Walter Andersen is a decorated war veteran in favor of increasing military spending to ensure the protection of the American people. Andersen is a strong voice in the Congressional Anti-Terrorism Caucus, advocating for the continuation of terrorist-targeted airstrikes.

While campaigning for the Senate office, Andersen received all of his donations from small donors and is in favor of campaign finance reform. He believes that the people, not large corporations, should be the only driving force of politics. He is in favor of raising both minimum wage and taxes on the wealthy. He also feels that men and women should receive equal pay for the same work.

Andersen's concern for public safety is exemplified in his support for universal mandatory background checks for gun purchases. He also feels that genetically modified organisms (or GMOs) should be labeled for consumer safety and awareness. Senator Andersen is currently serving his second tern in government.

<center>**Appendix B**</center>

Control Condition

QUESTIONNAIRE

We are interested in people's impressions of various ethnic groups in the United States. In the following questionnaire, we will ask you various questions regarding your perceptions of two different ethnic groups. More specifically, we will ask you about BLACK/AFRICAN AMERICAN people in the United States and also about WHITE AMERICAN people in the United States. You will be asked to make these judgments using the same set of attributes for both groups. Some of these questions may seem sensitive but please understand that our only purpose is to learn more about how various groups in the United States are viewed.

Obviously there are no right or wrong answers to any of these questions. All that matters is your own opinion on these issues. Your responses are completely confidential and anonymous. There is no identifying information on this questionnaire that would link the responses to you.

You may work through the questionnaire at your own pace. Please do not skip around or look ahead. Simply answer the questions in the order they are given to you. If you have questions at any point, please ask the experimenter for help.

<center>**Please reread these instructions one time.**</center>

<center>**Thank you for your participation.**</center>

Colorblindness Condition

QUESTIONNAIRE

We are interested in people's impressions of various issues pertaining to ethnicity in the United States. In the following questionnaire, we will ask you a variety of questions regarding your perceptions of ethnic issues and ethnic groups. Some of these questions may seem sensitive but please understand that our only purpose is to learn more about how these issues that affect our society are viewed.

Sociologists, psychologists, economists, and political scientists all agree that interethnic issues are a #1 concern for the United States. At the present time, we are experiencing a great deal of conflict among various ethnic groups. Social scientists note that it is extremely important to heed our creed in the Declaration of Independence that "all men (and women) are created equal." That is, in order to overcome interethnic conflict and fighting, we must remember that we are all first and foremost human beings, and second, we are all citizens of the United States. In order to make the U.S. as strong and successful as possible, we must think of ourselves not as a collection of independent factions, but instead as parts of a larger whole. We must look beyond skin color and understand the person within, to see each person as an individual who is part of the larger group, "Americans." Currently, we are spending a great many resources on conflict between ethnic groups. If we can recognize our "sameness" we will be able to rechannel those resources to work on difficult and important other problems within our society such as poverty, caring for the elderly, and medical reform. Thus social scientists encourage us to see the larger picture, to appreciate that at our core, we really are all the same.

This questionnaire is designed to tap people's views of a variety of social groups.

Obviously there are no right or wrong answers to any of these questions. All that matters is your own opinion on these issues. Your responses are completely confidential and anonymous. There is no identifying information on this questionnaire that would link the responses to you.

You may work through the questionnaire at your own pace. Please do not skip around or look ahead. Simply answer the questions in the order they are given to you. If you have questions at any point, please email the experimenter for help.

Please reread these instructions one time.

Thank you for your participation.

Multiculturalism Condition

QUESTIONNAIRE

We are interested in people's impressions of various issues pertaining to ethnicity in the United States. In the following questionnaire, we will ask you a variety of questions regarding your perceptions of ethnic issues and ethnic groups. Some of these questions may seem sensitive but please understand that our only purpose is to learn more about how these issues that affect our society are viewed.

Sociologists, psychologists, economists, and political scientists all agree that interethnic issues are a #1 concern for the United States. We are in the unique position of having many different cultural groups living within our borders. This could potentially be a great asset. Different cultural groups bring different perspectives to life, providing a richness in food, dress, music, art, styles of interaction, and problem solving strategies. Each ethnic group within the United States can contribute in its own unique way. Recognizing this diversity would help build a sense of harmony and complementarity among the various ethnic groups. Each group has its own talents, as well as its own problems, and by acknowledging both these strengths and weaknesses, we validate the identity of each group and we recognize its existence and its importance to the social fabric. We can allow each group to utilize its assets, to be aware of its own particular problems or difficulties, and overall to live up to its potential. Thus, social scientists argue that understanding both the similarities and differences among ethnic groups is an essential component of long-term social harmony in the United States.

This questionnaire is designed to tap people's views of a variety of social groups.

Obviously there are no right or wrong answers to the questions on the following pages. All that matters is your own opinion on these issues. Your responses are completely confidential and anonymous. There is no identifying information on this questionnaire that would link the responses to you.

You may work through the questionnaire at your own pace. Please do not skip around or look ahead. Simply answer the questions in the order they are given to you. If you have questions at any point, please email the experimenter for help.

Please reread these instructions one time.

Thank you for your participation.