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# The American Electorate in Black & White: A Measure of Candidate Selection and Policy Preferences

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The American Electorate in Black & White: A Measure of Candidate Selection and Policy
Preferences


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Submitted in Partial Completion of the

Requirements for Commonwealth Honors in Political Science


Bridgewater State University


May 10, 2016


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**Introduction**

  In American society various social and antipoverty policies remain highly controversial among American voters. As one might expect, the relevance of race in relation to such policies can also be quite controversial. Incorporated within this research is an investigation of political attitudes and policy preferences of American voters. Using a variety of dependent variables, I gauge the effects of respondents' race, ideology and party identification on policy preferences and other behavior patterns as they relate to political preferences. This measure of attitudes will contribute to a further understanding of race, social and antipoverty policies, and the ways in which these variables interact within the American political system.

  Both affirmative action and welfare spending are hot-button political topics among both white and black Americans, though not necessarily for the same reasons. Affirmative action programs tend to lack the support of white voters, as a vast majority of white Americans believe that preferential treatment of minorities is unfair to whites (Swain, 2006). In opposition, as beneficiaries, black voters are more likely to be supportive of such policies. Overall, blacks also tend to be more favorable of redistributive programs than whites; this means that there exists a higher likelihood that black voters will be supportive of social initiatives that include efforts such as increasing state welfare spending than will white voters (Swain, 2006).

  In addition to further understanding policy preferences, Americans' overall perceptions on candidate electability are also worth additional investigation when attempting to gauge the effects of race on political processes. Not only are racial differences significant in terms of their impact on formal political participation within the American political system, but these differences are also closely intertwined with the distribution of power in the United States (Dalton & Klingemann, 2007). Therefore, I conduct further analyses regarding the likelihood of

white voters to display racial resentment attitudes and assign positive traits to minority candidates for office.

**Literature Review**

*Affirmative Action*

There are many Americans who agree that hiring and other personnel actions should be based exclusively on individuals' qualifications or merit relevant to the given position (Nigro & Kellough, 2013).  This could perhaps be one reason why affirmative action policies themselves help to embody racist assumptions about minorities (MacDonald, 1993). When policies become entangled with race, individuals may begin to feel more strongly about those policies as individual opinions on race are typically more tenaciously held, along with being more difficult to alter (Kinder & Sanders, 1996).

Policies which provide for preference in hiring and recruitment practices often lead to racial resentment as non-beneficiaries feel cheated and thus lose motivation (Heilman, 1996). Additionally, the fact that affirmative action gives priority to race over class has only seemed to exacerbate white racism (Kahlenberg, 1995). That is to say that there is a strong belief among whites that if affirmative action policies should exist, the policies should be based on class or income, rather than race or ethnicity (Kahlenberg, 1995). Inevitably, this leaves room for resentment to fester among whites who feel that they are being unduly disadvantaged by the policies.

Other studies regarding the general public's support for affirmative action have found that whites oppose affirmative action policies designed to benefit blacks more than they do affirmative action policies designed to benefit women and individuals with physical or mental disabilities (Wilkins & Wenger, 2014). Despite the fact that a majority of whites endorse racial

equality in principle, they do not support public policies in which their main premise is to reduce racial inequality (Banks & Valentino, 2014). Support for federal efforts to improve the socioeconomic status of blacks is already lackluster to begin with, but when a policy explicitly provides for special "breaks" for black Americans, white support crumbles (Kinder & Sanders, 1996). Whites typically lack support for such policies and are reluctant to support measures to provide more resources to blacks due to resentment (Kinder & Sanders, 1996).

**H1) White Americans will be less supportive affirmative action policies**

Black Americans seem to be attached to affirmative action programs and feel that the policies have been somewhat beneficial to blacks (Kinder & Sanders, 1996). However, blacks also believe that they continue to be discriminated against, and they also largely do not believe that they would be hired or promoted while an equally qualified white person is denied a position or promotion (Kinder & Sanders, 1996). Given this interpretation of their current conditions, blacks are more supportive of government policies to reduce racial inequities and otherwise enhance opportunities for blacks in America (Kinder & Sanders, 1996). Additionally, as blacks believe that racism still impedes the process of finding work in America, they are more likely to support government regulation of discriminatory practices in hiring and promotion processes (Kinder & Sanders, 1996).

Prior to the implementation of affirmative action programs, the black middle class was much smaller, consisting of insignificant numbers of businessmen and other professionals (Steinberg, 1996). However, the number of black Americans now living in the middle class has since arisen, an increase that can be directly attributed to the implementation of affirmative action policies (Steinberg, 1996). As black Americans wish to see a continued rise in the number of black business professionals, it is logical that they would support government initiatives meant

to assist in increasing that number. Black voters are more supportive of these types of procedures because they feel that the policies are directly related to their race (Kinder & Sanders, 1996).

**H2) Black Americans will be more likely to support affirmative action policies**

*State Welfare Spending*

Welfare policies remain quite controversial among American voters today as well. A major reason for this controversy stems from the "stereotype of blacks being lazy [which] has a long history in American culture and is [still] implicated in both media portrayals and public attitudes toward poverty and government antipoverty policy" in American society today (Gilens, 2000). Welfare policy remains heavily associated with blacks, despite the fact that most welfare recipients are not black (Gilens, 2000). Americans do not like the idea of able-bodied individuals getting assistance from the government when they could be working, and since welfare remains linked to blacks, the policies continue to be frowned upon by a large number of white Americans.

Many whites accept the racist assumption of blacks being lazy due to the fact that they believe that the American economic system is fair. In this belief, the fact blacks remain far behind whites on nearly all wealth indicators is assumed to be due to their work ethic, or lack thereof (Gilens, 2000). White Americans specifically perceive blacks as being the most significant minority group among welfare recipients and their attitudes toward welfare are far more strongly influenced by negative perceptions of blacks than by perceptions of other ethnic groups in the U.S. (Gilens, 2000).  This assumption of blacks being lazy also appeals to whites' justification of the remaining economic advantages that whites have in American society today.

Whites' opposition to welfare and other social policies also plays an important role in how politicians work toward addressing these issues. For example, when party leaders believe that their support of social policies designed to integrate blacks into American society will lead to a loss of votes among key white voters, their support for the social policy at hand all but diminishes (Frymer, 1999). Party leaders have an incentive to appeal solely to the majority group of whites, thus keeping the minority group in a position in which they are denied effective access to power and other forms of fundamental decision-making (Frymer, 1999). Instead of creating a nonracial political system, our current system legitimates an agenda that is reflective of the preferences of white voters (Frymer, 1999). This means that the association of certain policies with minorities will also be associated with a lack of support from white voters.

**H3) White Americans will not be supportive of increased state welfare spending**

Unemployment disproportionately affects blacks in America, with labor statistics frequently showing the black unemployment rate to be as much as triple the rate of their white counterparts (Swain, 2006). With the disparate number of black Americans living under such conditions, blacks will be more likely to be supportive of social policies designed to help individuals who live at or below the poverty line in America. Minority groups tend to hold more supportive views of government assistance and redistributive policies than do whites (Bowler & Segura, 2012). Additionally, citizens' personal experiences with welfare tend to affect their political attitudes and behavior (Dalton & Klingemann, 2009). As many blacks remain fiscally disadvantaged, their support for antipoverty policies could be due to an association with their own past or present experiences, or even the personalization of the experiences of someone they know. In any event, blacks tend to hold consistently liberal positions with regards to redistributive policies (Bowler & Segura, 2012).

As blacks fall behind whites with regards to access to wealth across a variety of indicators, it makes sense that black voters would be supportive of policies which may ultimately contribute to the overall well-being of black Americans. Additionally, it should also be noted that black and white Americans have yet more differences when gauging whether the economic situation of blacks has changed in America, whether there exist more opportunities for blacks, and whether racism in America has declined (Swain, 2006). Furthermore, blacks tend to feel that the government is morally obligated to provide entitlement programs and are thus more supportive of a government-ensured standard of living (Swain, 2006).

**H4) Black voters will be more supportive of increased state welfare spending**

*Affirmative Action - Representation*

As previous studies have found, many white Americans feel that AA policies are a harm to the interest of whites (Kinder & Sanders, 1996). A majority of whites also agreed that they believe that AA programs meant to benefit blacks have been detrimental to whites by reducing chances for jobs and promotions, and that it has negatively impacted admissions into training programs and schools (Kinder & Sanders, 1996). These perceptions of racial group threat have not been found to be connected to actual circumstances, but rather that these perceptions are closely tied to harbored feelings of racial resentment (Kinder & Sanders, 1996). This means that, despite a lack of data proving that AA is a detriment to whites' chances at success, many white Americans still harbor negative feelings about programs that are designed to promote upward mobility for black Americans (Kinder & Sanders, 1996). Due to this resentment, AA policies have continually been politicized, hampered with, or otherwise resisted by groups who feel that the policies have the potential to adversely impact them (DiTomaso, 2013).

In opposition, blacks have tended to be supportive of programs designed to help them move up in socioeconomic status. Since the goal of AA is to expand existing opportunity and end current practices of discrimination, blacks see the programs as both necessary and beneficial (DiTomaso, 2013). Black Americans are more understanding of the necessity of AA programs, as antidiscrimination mandates did not lead to any significant changes in discrimination against blacks by employers (DiTomaso, 2013). This could perhaps be one reason that black Americans still believe that schools and businesses favor whites, nearly thirty years after federal legislation made it illegal to discriminate on the basis of race (Kinder & Sanders, 1996). Due to the fact that a large percentage of whites continue to adamantly oppose AA policies, it is likely that they will believe that a black candidate running for office would best represent the Democratic Party's stance on AA.

**H5) Respondents will believe that black candidate will best represent the Democratic Party's stance on AA**

*African Americans - Representation*

When public officials respond to constituency service requests, they are most responsive to members of their own racial group (Butler, 2014). That is, white officials are less responsive to minority constituents and the same holds true for black officials' responsiveness to white constituents. However, since most legislators are white, blacks (and other minorities) are more likely to be discriminated against. Not only are response levels to service requests varied by race, but public officials have been found to give better advice to constituents of the same racial background (Butler, 2014). Additionally, these findings have held true across party lines, meaning that white Democrats are as likely to discriminate against minority constituents as white Republicans (Butler, 2014).

Since previous studies suggest that government officials are best fit and most likely to represent constituents who are descriptively like themselves, it is safe to say that minority constituents are not best represented by white legislators. The preferences that legislators have shown in favor of members of their own race appear to be the result of their own personal decisions with regards to which constituents are most important to them, not partisan preferences (Butler, 2014). Descriptive representation can help mitigate bias here because legislators are more responsive to constituents from their own racial and ethnic groups (Butler, 2014). Since white voters have found white officials to best represent them in office, it is likely that people will also agree that a black candidate for office will best represent black citizens.

**H6) Participants will believe that the black candidate will best represent African Americans**

*Candidate Trait Assignment*

As noted in many forms of research and literature, there still exist many negative stereotypes associated with blacks in America. For example, it has proven easy for many whites to blame the socioeconomic status of blacks to their own laziness, poor work ethic, or their failure to work toward changing their situations (Gilens, 2000). That is to say that, rather than admit that there exist remaining roadblocks and discrimination that make it harder for blacks to move up the social and economic ranks, it is easier to further marginalize and stereotype black Americans. In fact, many negative and often unfounded stereotypes about blacks still influence whites' perceptions of them, even in instances where individuals seem to consciously attempt to reject such stereotypes (Gilens, 2000).

In-group favoritism also impacts perceptions of members of the out-group. By associating negative qualities with members of the out-group, members of the in-group can think of themselves as possessing more valuable skills and qualities than the members of other group.

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In other words, if whites believe that blacks are lazy, then they also likely believe that members of their own group are hard-working. That is, they are the exact opposite of the out-group, which they believe accounts for the differences in living conditions and other socioeconomic indicators (Gilens, 2000). Also, as seen in the realm of politics, white officials tend to be more responsive to members who share their own racial makeup (Butler, 2014).

**H7) Respondents who receive the black/white treatment will be more likely to assign positive traits to white candidate**

*Racial Resentment*

There exists much evidence to suggest that, despite purporting to believe in equality for all, many whites still harbor racial resentment attitudes toward black Americans (Kinder & Sanders, 1996). Some reasoning for lingering resentment could perhaps be that, though people claim that everyone is deserving of a chance, white Americans do not see a connection between inequality for blacks and their own use of social capital for personal gains for themselves, and for others who are descriptively like them (DiTomaso, 2013). Furthermore, those white Americans who harbor racial resentment attitudes are more likely to believe that they and their families are threatened by policies meant to further integrate blacks into American society (Kinder & Sanders, 1996). While this resentment is very real, there have been virtually no findings to suggest that these whites are in fact more threatened by such policies (Kinder & Sanders, 1996)

However, this is not to say that all white Americans harbor racial resentment attitudes. In fact, those whites who are sympathetic to the living and social conditions of blacks are far less likely to express these types of attitudes (Kinder & Sanders, 1996). Additionally, it is important to note that while racial resentment is often large in scope, it can sometimes be modest (Kinder

& Sanders). For example, when being asked questions aimed at detecting racial resentment, white Americans have been found to be far less likely to express negative views in the presence of blacks, though they will express such attitudes when they are only among other members of the same racial group (Kinder & Sanders, 1996). Overall, there seemingly still exists a large amount of resentment toward black Americans in the U.S.

**H8) White respondents will be more likely to agree with RR questions**

Not long after the election of the nation's first black president, a new protest movement, called the Tea Party Movement (TPM) came about. When some of the movement's members expressed their anger with race-laden messages, many suggested that racism was a major motive for TPM activism (Tope, Pickett, & Chiricos, 2015). After investigating this issue in further detail, many scholars were able to conclude that racial resentment was indeed a contributing factor in the dissatisfaction with black leadership. In fact, it was found that racial resentment was among the strongest predictors of TPM membership (Tope, et. al, 2015). Findings in such studies have shown that highly conservative individuals and TPM members both exhibit similar attitudes in regards to race (Tope, et. al, 2015).

Ideology plays a very clear role in predicting racial resentment attitudes among white Americans and ideologically conservative whites express significantly higher levels of racial resentment (Nteta & Greenlee, 2013). Furthermore, the strongest indicator of racial resentment is embracing favorable views of the Tea Party (Nteta & Greenlee, 2013). Taking into consideration the fact that conservatives are more likely to express racial resentment attitudes, it is unlikely that when given the opportunity, they would choose to assign positive traits to a black political candidate over a white candidate running for office.

**H9) Conservative respondents will be more likely to assign positive traits to white candidate**

*CCES Survey & Attitudes*

To assess attitudes toward controversial policies, I use the Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES) to apply a variety of statistical analyses to a national stratified sample of respondents. The CCES is administered by YouGov/Polimetrix, and consists of two waves during election years. During the pre-election wave, administered late September to late October, voters answer two thirds of the questionnaire questions. Respondents are asked multiple questions about their demographics, political attitudes, assessment of roll call voting choices, and other political information during this phase. During the post-election wave, voters answer the remainder of the questions from the questionnaire, which mainly focus on the outcome of the recently passed election. This post-election wave occurs in November. Additional surveys collected in non-election years consist of a single wave, occurring in the early fall. ("Cooperative Congressional Election Study", 2015).

With access to CCES data, I run crosstabs using my dependent and independent variables of interest to assess the statistical significance of specific relationships. In the case of affirmative action, respondents were given a 4-point Likert scale with options ranging from "strongly support" to "strongly oppose" and asked to rate how they feel about affirmative action policies (see Table 1 - AA). In addition to using race as an independent variable, race was also cross-tabulated with party identification for further assessment (see Table 2 – AA/PID). With regards to state welfare spending, participants were given a 5-poing Likert scale, in which they were able to choose from options ranging from "greatly increase" to "greatly decrease", and asked what they feel their state should do about their state's current welfare spending budget (see Table 3 –

SWS). Additionally, I again take into account both race and party identification, to assess the roles and relevance of each of these independent variables relevant to the dependent variable, state welfare spending (see Table 4 – SWS/PID).

### CCES Survey Findings

#### Affirmative Action Policies

With regards to affirmative action (AA) policies, I assess replies from respondents who identified as white (N=1,827) and respondents who identified as black (N=314). After weighting the data, I found race to be a statistically significant factor ($p < 0.001$) in Americans' support for AA policies (see Table 1 below). 29% of white respondents stated that they were supportive of AA policies while the remaining 71% said they opposed such policies. In opposition, 87% of black respondents supported AA policies, while only 13% opposed the policies. This means that there does, in fact, exist a higher likelihood that white Americans will express opposition to AA policies and practices. On the other hand, it also means that there exists a higher likelihood that black Americans will be supportive of such policies. A brief explanation for the variation in support for AA policies between the two races is that black voters associate such policies with their race while white voters do not, leading to resentment from the non-beneficiaries, white voters (Kinder & Sanders, 1996).

*Table 1: Support for Affirmative Action Policies*

| Affirmative Action** | White | Black |
|---|---|---|
| Strongly support | 7% | 48% |
| Somewhat support | 22% | 39% |
| Somewhat oppose | 26% | 10% |
| Strongly oppose | 45% | 4% |
| | N=1,827 | N=314 |
| N= 2,492          p<0.001          *weighted data | | |

When party identification of white voters is taken into account, there still exists a statistically significant relationship (p <0.001). Of white Democrats, 51% were supportive of AA policies; 24% of white Independents were supportive of the policies; and only 17% of white Republicans reported that they supported AA policies. Essentially, it is notable that party affiliation is also an indicator of whether white Americans will be supportive of AA practices. I find that whites who associate themselves with the Democratic Party are the most likely to be supportive of AA, with just over half of respondents being in support of AA policies. Meanwhile, I found support from both white Independents and white Republicans to be lackluster, with less than a quarter of respondents supporting AA in either case.

Party ID was nearly a statistically significant factor in blacks' support for AA policies (p = 0.17) as well (see Table 2 below). Taking into account party ID of black respondents, I found that 85% of black Democrats were supportive of AA policies, 94% of black independents supported such policies, and a whopping 96% of black Republicans reported that they supported AA. As suspected, black voters showed more overall support for AA practices. However, it was surprising to find that blacks who identified as Republicans and Independents were the most supportive of AA policies, being more supportive than black Democrats by 9-11%. This finding is contrary to what I find among white voters when assessing attitudes toward AA and taking party ID into account.

*Table 2: Affirmative Action Support by Party Identification*

| Affirmative Action** | White | | | Black | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Democrat | Republican | Independent | Democrat | Republican | Independent |
| Strongly Support | 15% | 3% | 4% | 52% | 16% | 43% |
| Somewhat support | 36% | 14% | 20% | 33% | 80% | 51% |
| Somewhat oppose | 29% | 22% | 26% | 11% | 4% | 4% |
| Strongly oppose | 21% | 61% | 50% | 4% | 0% | 3% |
| | p < 0.001 | | | p= 0.17 | | |

### *State Welfare Spending*

In assessing attitudes on state welfare spending (see Table 3 below), I again evaluate responses from white and black voters (N= 2,178). I find that there exists a statistically significant relationship between race and attitudes toward state welfare spending (p <0.001). Of white voters, 19% stated that they believe their state should increase welfare spending; 34% said their state's welfare spending should remain the same; and, 47% believed that their state should decrease welfare spending. With nearly half of white respondents believing that their state should opt to decrease state welfare spending, there is room to speculate that some of the distaste for welfare spending is due to the belief that lazy, undeserving, and presumably black welfare recipients are the only individuals being benefitted by an increase in state welfare spending.

*Table 3: Attitudes Toward State Social Welfare Spending*

| State Welfare Spending ** | White | Black |
|---|---|---|
|  |  |  |
| Greatly increase | 6% | 23% |
| Slightly increase | 13% | 33% |
| Maintain | 34% | 33% |
| Slightly Decrease | 23% | 6% |
| Greatly Decrease | 24% | 4% |
| N= 2,178      p= <0.001      *weighted data | | |

With regards to welfare spending, 56% of black voters said that their state should increase welfare spending; 33% reported that they felt their state's welfare spending should remain be maintained as it currently is, and only 10% felt that welfare spending should decrease. In this instance, over half of all black respondents would like to see their state of residence increase its welfare spending. The higher level of support from black voters could again be due to the association of such policies with their race and the belief that an increase in welfare spending in their state could contribute to an increased standard of living for black Americans who are in need of assistance (Kinder & Sanders, 1996).

When taking party identification of white voters into account (see Table 4 below), I find that party ID plays a significant role in attitudes toward welfare policy as well (p <0.001). Of white Democrats, 35% said they felt state welfare spending should increase, 46% believe that it should be maintained as it is presently, and 19% said they thought welfare spending should decrease. Of white Independents, 18% believed welfare spending should increase, 34% felt it should stay the same, and 48% said it should decrease. Of white Republicans, just 8% said state welfare spending should increase, 22% reported that it should be maintained as it presently is, and 70% believe that it should be decreased. As previous research has revealed in the past, I too

have found that both conservatism and identification with the Republican Party contribute to

opposition to welfare policies (Gilens, 2000).

*Table 4: Support for State Social Welfare Spending by Party Identification*

| Welfare** | White | | | Black | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Democrat | Republican | Independent | Democrat | Republican | Independent |
| Greatly increase | 13% | 3% | 4% | 19% | 8% | 21% |
| Slightly Increase | 22% | 5% | 14% | 38% | 66% | 21% |
| Maintain | 46% | 22% | 34% | 33% | 11% | 47% |
| Slightly Decrease | 13% | 30% | 25% | 5% | 5% | 10% |
| Greatly decrease | 6% | 40% | 23% | 5% | 9% | 2% |
| | p<0.001 | | | p<0.10 | | |

There was a nearly significant relationship between party ID and attitudes toward welfare

spending for black voters as well (p <0.10). Of black Democrats, 57% believed that their state

should increase welfare spending, 33% believed it should be maintained, and only 10% felt it

should be decreased. Of black Independents, 42% said they felt that state welfare spending

should increase, 47% thought it should be maintained, and a meager 12% thought it should

decrease.  Of black Republicans, 74% said they believed state welfare spending should increase,

11% said the current spending should be maintained, and 14% said their state should decrease

welfare spending. Again, to my surprise, I find black Republicans to be more supportive of a

social policy that is largely associated with the Democratic Party. However, overall, blacks are

more supportive of increased welfare spending than are whites, regardless of political party

identification.

*Mechanical Turk Experimental Survey*

In an additional analysis, I assess the effects of race and ideology on positive trait assignment, as well as the association of specific policies to candidates of a particular race in a survey conducted using Amazon's Mechanical Turk (Mturk). To begin, I created an article in which two fictitious candidates were locked in a Democratic primary battle in the 6th District of the state of California. Survey participants were randomly assigned one of two treatments (see Appendix A – Treatment 1, and Appendix B – Treatment 2) and asked a series of corresponding questions about the article (see Appendix C – Survey Questions). The article and questions remained constant for all participants across treatments and candidates were evenly matched with regards to education and political experience, with the only variation being candidates' race.

Mturk has become an increasingly popular way to recruit subjects for academic studies in recent years (Clifford, Jewel, & Waggoner, 2016). Mturk allows for the rapid recruitment of diverse samples of subjects at a significantly lower cost than fees associated with professional online panels (Berinsky et al., 2013, as cited in Clifford et al., 2016). The ideological makeup of Mturk participants has been found to closely mirror the makeup of participants in other national samples (Clifford et. al 2016). This means that my sample should be reflective of responses that I would have received had I conducted a national survey using another process by which to recruit participants. Using Mturk, I was able to collect a small sample of 440 participants from across the U.S. and assess their views about my fictitious primary election.

Before being allowed to begin the survey, subjects were provided with an informed consent statement explaining that there was no discomfort associated with the research, and also describing their ability to discontinue the survey at any time should they wish to do so (see Appendix C – Survey Questions). After agreeing to participate in the survey, being randomly

assigned a treatment, and reading the corresponding article associated with the research, participants were asked to begin answering questions.

First, subjects were asked which candidate they believed would best represent the Democratic Party's stance on gun control, women's reproductive rights, climate change, and AA. While my main interest was their response in regards to AA, I hoped that participants would not hone in on that due to also being asked about other issues at the same time. Next, participants were asked which candidate would do a better job of representing the following groups, middle class, African Americans, senior citizens, law enforcement officers, families and Latinos. Again, while I asked for additional responses, my variable of interest was best representation of African Americans. The third question participants were asked was which candidate they felt best fit the individual traits of being knowledgeable, trustworthy, experienced, and likeable. With regards to this question, I was interested in determining which candidate respondents felt most likely possessed the positive traits of likeability and trustworthiness. In addition to being able to select either candidate, subjects also had the option to select "neither" or "not sure" when being asked each of the aforementioned questions.

Next, an attention check question was placed in the survey to ensure that survey subjects had read the corresponding article. Participants were asked which state, out of 4 states, the primary was held in; those who read the article would have correctly selected California as the state in which the race was occurring. Following the attention check, subjects were asked questions about party alignment, their presidential vote in 2012, and who they would vote for in the fictitious primary election. Next, two questions used to detect racial resentment (RR) attitudes were asked, to which participants were able to affirm how much they agreed with or disagreed with the statements (see Appendix C – Survey Questions). Finally, general questions

about demographic information such as sex, age, educational attainment, race, and ideology was collected.

## *Mechanical Turk Experimental Survey Results*

## *Affirmative Action Representation*

With regards to AA Representation, I find that white respondents who received treatment the black/white treatment did believe that the black candidate would best represent the Democratic Party's stance on AA. Of the survey participants, 57% of them stated that they believed that Anthony Thompson, the black candidate, would best represent the Democratic Party's stance on AA. Only 10% of white respondents felt that the white participant would best represent the party's position on AA. Another 31% of participants stated that they were not sure which candidate would best represent party's AA viewpoint while only 2% stated that the did not feel that either of the candidates would best represent AA policies while in office. In comparison, white participants who received the white/white treatment were more likely to say they were not sure which candidate would best represent the Democratic Party's stance on AA, with 41% of them stating that they were unsure and 10% of them saying that neither would best represent AA while in office. These findings were statistically significant (p<0.001) among white voters (see Table 5 below).

*Table 5: Assessment of Candidate's Affirmative Action Representation*

|  | White Respondents | | Black Respondents | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | B/W Treatment | W/W Treatment | B/W Treatment | W/W Treatment |
| Anthony Thompson | 56.7%** | 17.7%** | 52.9% | 23.5% |
| Richard Robinson | 9.9%** | 32.3%** | 11.8% | 23.5% |
| Neither | 2.3%** | 9.5%** | 5.9% | 11.8% |
|  | p<0.001 | | p>0.350 | |

When considering the responses of black participants who received the black/white treatment, 53% stated that they felt that Anthony Thompson, the black candidate, would best represent the Democratic Party's stance on AA. However, the findings for black respondents were not statistically significant (p>0.300). This sample contained only a small number of black participants (N=34), there was not a strong correlation between race and likelihood of selecting the black candidate.

### African American Representation

When investigating which candidate participants believed would best represent African Americans if elected, I first assess the responses of white subjects (N=331). Of white respondents who received the black/white treatment, 74% of them stated that the black candidate would best represent African Americans, while only 9% selected the white candidate as being a better representative for African Americans (see Table 6 below). Another 2% stated that neither of them would be the best representative, while 15% stated that they were unsure. When the race signal is removed, however, these numbers change dramatically.

*Table 6: Candidate Representation of African Americans*

|  | White Respondents | | Black Respondents | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | B/W Treatment | W/W Treatment | B/W Treatment | W/W Treatment |
| Anthony Thompson | 74.4%** | 15.7%** | 64.7%** | 11.8%** |
| Richard Robinson | 8.7%** | 27.7%** | 5.9%** | 5.9%** |
| Neither | 1.7%** | 17.0%** | 11.8%** | 23.5%** |
| Not Sure | 15.1%** | 39.6%** | 17.6%** | 58.5%** |
|  | p<0.001 | | p<0.015 | |

When white participants received the white/white treatment, 16% selected the first candidate and 28% selected the second candidate. However, with the race prompt no longer in affect, 17% of whites said that neither candidate would best represent African Americans. Additionally, a large 40% of the sample stated that they were not sure which candidate would best represent African Americans. The results among white voters were significantly significant ($p < 0.001$). There is a strong belief among white survey participants that a black candidate would best represent African Americans if elected to office.

In assessing the replies from black participants, I too found a statistically significant relationship ($p < 0.020$). Of black participants ($N=34$), those who received the black/white treatment 65% stated that that they believe the black candidate would best represent African Americans while only 6% of them chose the white candidate. Additionally, 12% said that neither would be a good representative of African Americans and 18% were unsure which candidate would be the best representative.

Again, when evaluating black respondents' choices when the racial implication is removed, the numbers change quite dramatically. Of blacks who received the white/white treatment, 12% selected candidate one and 6% chose candidate two. Furthermore, 24% said neither of them would be a good representative of African Americans, while a massive 59% of them became uncertain when faced with two white candidates to choose from. It appears that, when race is signaled, participants are more likely to state that a black representative would best serve the interests of African Americans. These findings are not surprising as previous research has suggested that constituents are best represented in office by members of their own racial and/or ethnic group.

### *Positive Trait Assignment – Race*

In considering the likelihood that respondents would assign a positive trait to a black candidate over a white candidate, I again first assess the replies of white participants (N=364) to the positive trait of candidate likeability (see Table 7 below). When asked which candidate they found most likeable, I found that 27% of white respondents who received the black/white treatment said that the black candidate was most likeable. Another 16% chose the white candidate while 8% were unsure. However, nearly half of respondents opted not to select a candidate with 49% of participants stating that they were not sure which candidate was most likeable.

*Table 7: Candidate Traits: Likeability*

|  | White Respondents | | Black Respondents | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | B/W Treatment | W/W Treatment | B/W Treatment | W/W Treatment |
| Anthony Thompson | 26.7%** | 24.1%** | 41.2% | 29.4% |
| Richard Robinson | 15.7%** | 28.5%** | 23.5% | 41.2% |
| Neither | 8.1%** | 9.5%** | 0.0% | 5.9% |
| Not Sure | 49.4%** | 38.0%** | 35.3% | 23.5% |
|  | P<0.030 | | p>.460 | |

When faced with the white/white treatment, white respondents were pretty much equally likely to select either candidate as being most likeable with 24% choosing candidate one and 29% selecting candidate 2. In this treatment, 10% of participants said neither of them was likeable and 38% were unsure. These results were also found to be statistically significant (p < 0.03).

While a fair percentage of black respondents (41%) said that the black candidate was most likeable, the responses from black participants were not found to be statistically significant

(p> 0.45). There does not exist a strong correlation between African Americans in this study and their likelihood to select the black candidate as most likeable. Taking into consideration the positive trait of trustworthiness, I assess responses from white participants and find a relationship that is not statistically significant ($p > 0.23$). In either treatment, large numbers of white respondents opted not to select a candidate as more trustworthy than the other. (See table 8 – Candidate traits: trustworthiness)

Black participants' responses (N=34) relevant to trustworthiness, however, did yield statistically significant results ($p < 0.06$). When black respondents received the black/white treatment, 47% selected the black candidate as more trustworthy while only 12% selected the white candidate (see Table 8 below). None of the participants stated that neither of the two candidates were trustworthy; and 41% opted not to answer, stating that they were not sure which candidate was most trustworthy.

*Table 8: Candidate Traits: Trustworthiness*

|  | White Respondents | | Black Respondents | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | B/W Treatment | W/W Treatment | B/W Treatment | W/W Treatment |
| Anthony Thompson | 19.8% | 24.5% | 47.1%** | 17.6%** |
| Richard Robinson | 20.9% | 27.0% | 11.8%** | 47.7%** |
| Neither | 12.8% | 12.85 | 0.0%** | 5.9%** |
| Not Sure | 46.5% | 46.5% | 14.2%** | 36.5%** |
|  | p>0.25 | | p<0.70 | |

When blacks received the white/white treatment, 18% chose candidate one and a very large 47% thought that the second candidate was more trustworthy. With no race que, respondents still seemed to feel that candidate two seemed more trustworthy than candidate one.

When receiving this treatment, 6% said that neither candidate was trustworthy; and another 29% were unsure which candidate was most trustworthy.

### *Racial Resentment*

When prompted about the conditions of African Americans in my first question aimed at picking up RR attitudes, I did not find statistically significant relationships among white respondents or black respondents. Asked a questions about African Americans having to work their way up as did minorities of European descent (see Appendix C – Survey Questions), I was not able to find a strong relationship. For white participants, their responses held constant across treatments with half or more agreeing with the statement modeled in the question (see Table 9 below). While the findings were not statistically significant (p > 0.45), this does mean that race cues are not a factor when assessing the question at hand. Regardless of seeing a white or black candidate, white participants seem to have their minds made up as to how they feel about the socioeconomic status of African Americans in the U.S.

*Table 9: Racial Resentment Question 1, Group Mobility*

| | White Respondents | | Black Respondents | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | B/W Treatment | W/W Treatment | B/W Treatment | W/W Treatment |
| Agree | 50.0% | 52.2% | 29.4% | 41.2% |
| Neither Agree Nor Disagree | 12.2% | 15.7% | 23.5% | 17.6% |
| Disagree | 37.8% | 32.1% | 47.1% | 41.2% |
| | p>0.500 | | p>0.70 | |

Again, my findings among black respondents (N=34) were not statistically significant (p> 0.75). However, I again noted similar responses across treatments. When given the black/white treatment, 47% of blacks said that they disagreed with the statement and when given the white/white treatment, 41% of blacks still stated that they disagreed with the statement (see

table 9 – RR1). Once more, the images shown do not seem to change the perceptions of respondents. Black participants also see to have their minds made up with regards to the living conditions of African American citizens.

Yet again, when looking to my second question aimed at detecting RR attitudes, I find no statistically significant relationships among white or black respondents (see Table 10 below). When considering responses across treatments, however, I have again found that my race signal does not impact individual feelings about race. When asked their perspectives about the lasting implications of slavery (see Appendix C – Survey Questions), white respondents' (N=331) answers remained constant across treatments. When receiving the black/white treatment, 31% of whites disagreed with the statement and when receiving the white/white treatment, 32% of whites disagreed with the statement. While the results lacked statistical significance (p > 0.80), this does again indicate that white respondents have deeply held convictions about the conditions of blacks in America. Regardless of race prompts, more than half of white participants agreed with the RR statement.

*Table 10: Racial Resentment Question 2, History of Discrimination*

| | White Respondents | | Black Respondents | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | B/W Treatment | W/W Treatment | B/W Treatment | W/W Treatment |
| Agree | 55.8% | 56.6% | 76.5% | 76.5% |
| Neither Agree Nor Disagree | 12.8% | 10.7% | 5.9% | 5.9% |
| Disagree | 31.4% | 32.7% | 17.6% | 17.6% |
| | p>0.800 | | p>1.001 | |

Considering the replies from black subjects (N=34), their responses held perfectly constant across treatment (see table 10 – RR2). In either case, 76% of black participants agreed with the statement. Yet again, these finding lack statistical significance (p > 1.1); however, it is

indicative of the feelings that black Americans have about the socioeconomic status of black Americans. Regardless of whether they saw a minority candidate or not, they still believed at a very high rate that the lasting implications of slavery still impact African Americans in the U.S. today.

### *Positive Trait Assignment – Ideology*

In assessing responses about candidate likeability along partisan lines, I only find a statistically significant relationship among liberal respondents ($p<0.021$). When faced with the black/white treatment, 31% of liberal respondents said they believed the black candidate, Anthony Thompson, was more likeable while 16% of said they believed the white candidate, Richard Robinson best fit the trait of likeability. Another 9% neither candidate seemed likeable and 44% of all liberal respondents said they were unsure which candidate best fit the trait of likeability (see Table 11 below).

*Table 11: Candidate Traits: Likeability by Respondent Ideology*

|  | Black/White Treatment | | | White/White Treatment | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Liberal | Moderate | Conservative | Liberal | Moderate | Conservative |
| Anthony Thompson | 30.6%** | 25.5% | 31.0% | 21.8% | 33.3% | 32.7% |
| Richard Robinson | 16.2%** | 20.0% | 12.1% | 34.7% | 22.2% | 24.5% |
| Neither | 9.0%** | 1.8% | 13.8% | 7.9% | 6.3% | 8.2% |
| Not Sure | 44.1%** | 52.7% | 43.1% | 35.6% | 38.1% | 34.7% |

Among moderate respondents, I did not find a statistically significant relationship ($p> 0.320$). When presented with the black/white treatment, 53% of moderates said they were not sure who to select, 26% selected the black candidate as most likeable and 20% said they believed the white candidate was most likeable. When assessing results from conservative respondents the relationship lacked statistical significance as well. Of conservatives, 43% were unsure which

candidate was most likeable, 26% chose the black candidate and 20% chose the white candidate. However, as these results are not of statistical significance, they cannot be considered strongly correlated with participants' ideological beliefs (see also "Considerations for Mturk Findings" section below for further analysis of these results.)

When considering responses about candidate trustworthiness, I again only find a statistically significant relationship among liberal respondents (p < .080). Of liberals, 26% of those who received the black/white treatment selected the black candidate as more trustworthy while 19% chose the white candidate. Almost half of the sample, however, 45% stated that they were not sure who they viewed as more trustworthy (see Table 12 below).

*Table 12: Candidate Traits: Trustworthiness by Respondent Ideology*

| | Black/White Treatment | | | White/White Treatment | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Liberal | Moderate | Conservative | Liberal | Moderate | Conservative |
| Anthony Thompson | 26.1%** | 25.9% | 17.2% | 20.6* | 25.8% | 26.5% |
| Richard Robinson | 19.8%** | 13.0% | 24.1% | 33.3* | 30.6% | 22.4% |
| Neither | 9.0%** | 9.3% | 19.0% | 12.7* | 8.1% | 10.2% |
| Not Sure | 45.0%** | 45.0% | 45.0% | 33.3* | 35.5% | 40.8% |

Responses from conservatives lacked statistical significance (p> 0.480), though a slightly larger percentage of them did select the white candidate as most trustworthy. 24% of conservatives chose the white candidate in comparison to the 17% who selected the black candidate. However, 40% of conservatives said they were not sure which candidate was most trustworthy, and another 19% believed neither of the two candidates were trustworthy (see table 12 – Candidate Traits: trustworthiness/ideology and "Considerations for Mturk Findings" section below for additional analysis of these findings).

## Considerations for CCES Findings

After having conducted the necessary research to assess my hypotheses, I find that all four of my hypotheses relevant to the CCES data have held true. With regards to H1, I have found that white voters are indeed less supportive of affirmative action policies, though white Democrats are somewhat supportive to such practices. In assessing H2, I have also found that black voters are more supportive of affirmative action policies. Moving on to H3, I have also found a lack of support for increased state welfare spending among white Americans. Finally, in regards to H4, I have also found that black Americans are more supportive of increasing state welfare spending in their respective states of residence.

One potential flaw in this section of my research is that I did not take into consideration the geographic location of respondents. While I am not certain if respondents' state or region of residence would have been a statistically significant indicator as to their feelings regarding the two dependent variables, one could argue about likelihood of support variation from state to state, or region to region. Additionally, I did not formulate hypotheses about the role of party identification relevant to my dependent variables of study, though I believe that my findings with regards to party ID are consistent with what current researchers of race and politics would have expected to find in the responses of white voters.

In opposition, some of my findings are contrary to what I expected to find when assessing the responses of black voters and taking their party identification into consideration. With regards to both affirmative action and state welfare spending, I found black Republicans to be more supportive than black Democrats, a phenomena that I was unable to investigate further, and thus am unable to explain. This discovery is worth additional consideration and should be further researched to investigate what drives self-identifying black Republicans to favor social

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redistribution policies at a higher rate than their Democratic counterparts. While this finding is intriguing, analyses of this finding should also be carried out with caution. African American Republicans' responses in my CCES sample may not have been demonstrative of the broader feelings of African American Republicans relevant to American social policies.

Largely, I have found that as of the 2014 midterm election, there still exist stark differences in how black and white Americans view social policies, including affirmative action and state welfare spending. As each group views and assesses these policies differently, it is not a surprise that these controversial social policies have varied support among white and black voters, as well as along partisan lines in the United States.

## Considerations for Mturk Findings

After analyzing the responses from Mturk survey participants, I have found that some of my hypotheses have held true, while others yielded unexpected results. In regards to H5, I found that both black and white respondents believed that a black candidate would best represent the Democratic Party's stance on AA; however, responses from black respondents were not statistically significant. In assessing H6, I also found that both black and white participants believed that the black candidate would best represent African Americans. These findings are what I expected, as it has been established that constituents are best served by public officials who are descriptively like them (Butler, 2014).

Considering my findings relevant to H7, I only found a statistical significance among white voters, who surprisingly were more likely to select the black candidate as most likeable when faced with the black/white treatment. However, one of the widely expressed explanations for these types of findings is that despite non-prejudice responses on surveys, whites have still

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adopted racism in a new, symbolic form (DiTomaso, 2013). Again, with a very small number of blacks participating in the survey (N=34) it has been difficult to make an overall assessment of their feelings on candidate likeability in either treatment, though they were more likely to select the black candidate as likeable when presented the black/white treatment. Interestingly, black respondents who received the white/white treatment believed that candidate 2 was more likeable at the same levels that they believed the black candidate was more likeable in the black/white treatment. Again, however, black responses lacked statistical significance.

In my second test for H7, I did not find a statistically significant relationship among white respondents. In either treatment, over 35% of them were unsure which candidate was most trustworthy. However, the relationship was statistically significant among black respondents with nearly half who received the black/white treatment selecting the black candidate as most trustworthy. Considering again that black officials are best fit to act in the interest of black constituents, these results are not surprising. Again, for reasons I am not able to explain, when faced with the white/white treatment, blacks believed that candidate two was more trustworthy at the same levels as blacks who received the black/white treatment.

With regards to H8, I was not able to find any statistically significant results in either case. However, I was able to observe that, no matter which treatment was received, both blacks and whites either agreed or disagreed with RR questions at nearly identical levels. I am able to interpret this as individuals already having their minds made up with regards to socioeconomic positons of black Americans. Furthermore, I am able to conclude that showing an image of a black or white candidate does not impact the decision to either agree with or oppose a question aimed at detecting RR attitudes.

Finally, considering my findings for H9, I did not get the responses that I expected from conservative respondents, though I did find statistical significance in responses from liberals. However, even when considering the responses from liberals, my findings are still open to further critique because despite the ideological makeup of Mturk being similar to the ideological makeup of the general public, liberals on Mturk have been found to hold more liberal attitudes and values than liberals in the mass public (Clifford, et. al, 2016). Responses from conservatives were not statistically significant, nor did they mirror any response I expected to find in my analysis. However, I suspect that participants were prone to being dishonest during this portion of the survey. I have come to this conclusion based on a variety of reasons explained below.

Ideology has been found to be closely linked to racial resentment, meaning that conservatives should be more likely to select white candidates for positive trait assignment, though in this assessment 31% selected the black candidate as most likeable while a mere 12% selected the white candidate. Mturk conservatives have been found to share the same personality traits and values as samples of conservatives drawn from national, higher-quality samples (Clifford, et. al, 2016). This means that I should not find a dramatic difference in responses from conservatives in my sample than I would have from a higher-quality sample of conservatives, yet I do here.

The same values and personality traits that stimulate ideological differences in the mass public also divide conservatives and liberals using Mturk (Clifford, et. al, 2016). These differences should have been reflected in my findings, yet they were not. When evaluating both variables of likeability and trustworthiness, my findings were contrary to what previous studies and literature suggest should have been found when taking ideology into consideration.

Generally, the findings from my Mturk sample should be considered rudimentary. Though I believe some responses have fallen in line with what scholars would have expected to find, my sample was too small for me to make any large-scale conclusions based on my findings. The total number of survey participants began at 440; however, this number dropped to below 350 because I only sought to investigate the perspectives of white and black respondents. Additionally, participants were made aware that their responses were being used for academic study by my informed consent statement (see Appendix C – Survey Questions).

Due to social desirability, participants may not have wanted to answer all of my questions with complete honesty (Heerwig & McCabe, 2009). Confidentiality in this case was also limited to what could be kept private using the technology required to participate in the survey, meaning subjects were aware that their IP addresses could have been seen, though I did not access them. Furthermore, because subjects were aware that findings would be recorded and reported, they may have been stimulated to be dishonest in their responses.

**Conclusion**

Americans seem to have their minds made up as to how they feel about race and the current societal conditions of black Americans in today's society and these attitudes are not easily changed. While black and white perspectives vary dramatically for a variety of reasons, it remains imperative that researchers continue to measure and understand the reasoning behind such attitudes. While differences in opinion are likely to remain, current research and relevant literature can often be the only way for individuals of one group to encounter the reasoning behind the feelings and perspectives of individuals who belong to the other group. Whether Americans decide to actively fight against or further promote policies that continue a system of oppression that keeps minorities at a disadvantage, sound qualitative and quantitative studies are

all that exist to make sure these issues can be spotlighted and their implications acknowledged on a grand scale.

Despite the belief that the election of Barack Obama, our nation's first black president, ushered in a new post-racial era, my findings suggest otherwise. Race remains a very important factor when considering the attitudes, beliefs, and preferences of the American people. White and black Americans still hold very different attitudes about the current state of race relevant to American political processes, as well as varying attitudes on antipoverty policies and the socioeconomic conditions of different groups of people. My findings also raise additional questions as to what can be done to address the current state of race in America. Future research should consider the implications of policies that are linked to race, as well as how to increase minority representation in American politics.

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**ELECTIONS 2016**

## Thompson and Robinson Battle for the Democratic Nomination

Greg Smith, January 22, 2016

Two rising stars are locked in a primary battle for the Democratic nomination in California's 6th District. Anthony Thompson and Richard Robinson are facing off to determine which of them will represent the Democratic Party when they advance to face the district's prominent incumbent Republican Congressman. This race will be particularly difficult for 6th District voters as both Thompson and Robinson are well-known and highly commended for their contributions to the district. Both candidates attended prominent universities and have been heavily involved in local politics. When deciding which candidate is best suited to move on voters must decide which candidate has what it takes to retain Democratic leadership for the district.

### Meet the Democratic Hopefuls

| | Anthony Thompson | Richard Robinson |
|---|---|---|
| | Democrat | Democrat |
| **Age:** | 36 | 37 |
| **Education:** | B.A. Princeton Univ. | B.A. Harvard Univ. |
| | M.B.A. Yale Univ. | J.D. Harvard Law |
| **Occupation:** | C.F.O | Prosecutor |
| **Family:** | Married 8 years, Shauna | Married 9 years, Jane |
| | 2 children | 2 children |
| **Political Experience:** | | |
| | City Council Chair, 4 years | Alderman, 5 years |

**Appendix B – Treatment 2**



# ELECTIONS 2016

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| **Occupation:** | C.F.O | Prosecutor |
| **Family:** | Married 8 years, Shauna | Married 9 years, Jane |
| | 2 children | 2 children |
| **Political Experience:** | | |
| | City Council Chair, 4 years | Alderman, 5 years |

You are invited to participate in a research study about opinions on politics. This project is being conducted by Dr. Melinda R. Tarsi and Femi Stoltz, Department of Political Science, Bridgewater State University. If you agree to be part of the research study, you will take a brief survey of approximately 5 minutes in length, and which involves no risk or discomfort to you as the participant. Your responses to all questions will be confidential to the degree permitted by the technology being used, and will be used for the purposes of research. Your participation is completely voluntary; even if you decide to begin the survey, you may change your mind and stop at any time. If you withdraw early from the survey, your data will be eliminated from the database. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, or wish to obtain information, ask questions, or discuss any other concerns about this study, please contact Dr. Melinda R. Tarsi, melinda.tarsi@bridgew.edu or (508) 531-2404. If you wish to speak with someone other than the researchers, please contact the BSU Institutional Review Board, (508) 531-1242.

If you agree to participate, please click on the link below to continue to the survey. You will have the option to refuse to answer individual questions and may change your mind and leave the study at any time without penalty.

○ Yes I agree to continue

○ No, I do not agree to continue

### Q1
☐

Which candidate do you think would best represent the Democratic Party's stance on these issues?

|  | Anthony Thompson | Richard Robinson | Neither | Not Sure |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gun Control | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Women's Reproductive Rights | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Climate Change | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Affirmative Action | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |

### Q2
☐

Which candidate do you think would do a better job of representing the following groups of people:

| | Anthony Thompson | Richard Robinson | Neither | Not Sure |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Middle Class | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| African Americans | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Senior Citizens | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Law Enforcement Officers | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Families | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Latinos | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |

**Q3**
☐

Which candidate to you think best fits each trait?

| | Anthony Thompson | Richard Robinson | Neither | Not Sure |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Knowledgeable | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Trustworthy | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Experienced | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Likeable | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |

**Q4**
☐

In what state will the Congressional election take place?
○ Connecticut
○ Indiana
○ California
○ Texas

**Q5**

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a...

○ Strong Democrat
○ Not very strong Democrat
○ Independent
○ Not very strong Republican
○ Strong Republican
○ Not Sure

**Q6**

In the 2012 presidential election, who did you vote for?

○ Barack Obama
○ Mitt Romney
○ Someone else
○ Didn't vote
○ Don't recall

**Q7**

Thinking back to the article you read, which candidate would you vote for in California's 6th District Primary Race?

○ Anthony Thompson
○ Richard Robinson

**Q8**

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statement:

The Irish, Italians, Jews, and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors.

○ Strongly Agree
○ Agree
○ Somewhat agree
○ Neither agree nor disagree
○ Somewhat disagree
○ Disagree
○ Strongly disagree

**Q9**

☐ Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statement:

Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for Blacks to work their way out of the lower class.

○ Strongly Agree

○ Agree

○ Somewhat agree

○ Neither agree nor disagree

○ Somewhat disagree

○ Disagree

○ Strongly disagree

**Q10**

☐

What is your sex?

○ Male

○ Female

**Q11**

☐

In what year were you born? (Please enter a 4-digit year)

[                    ]

**Q12**

☐

Please enter your 5-digit zip code

[                    ]

**Q13**

☐

What is your highest level of education obtained?

○ Less than high school diploma

○ High school graduate/GED

○ Some college

○ Two year degree/Associate's

○ Four year degree/Bachelor's

○ Post graduate degree

## Q14

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as…

○ Very Liberal

○ Somewhat Liberal

○ Leaning Liberal

○ Moderate

○ Leaning Conservative

○ Somewhat Conservative

○ Very Conservative

## Q15

☐

Do you think of yourself as CLOSER to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party?

○ Closer to Democrats

○ Closer to Republicans

○ Neither

○ Not Sure

## Q16

☐

What is your race?

○ White

○ Black or African American

○ Native American

○ Asian

○ Middle Eastern

○ Hispanic

○ Mixed (Black & White)

○ Mixed (Other)

○ Other

## Q17

☐

This survey has asked your opinion on a variety of issues, for calibration purposes, please leave this question blank and do not select a response.

- ○ Conservative
- ○ Liberal
- ○ Moderate