Race, Prejudice and Attitudes toward Redistribution:

A Comparative Experimental Approach

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Abstract: Past work suggests that support for welfare in the US is heavily influenced by citizens' racial attitudes. Indeed, the idea that many Americans think of welfare recipients as poor Blacks (and especially as poor Black women) has been a common explanation for Americans' comparatively lukewarm support for redistribution. Here, we draw on a new online survey experiment conducted with national samples in the US, UK and Canada, designed to extend research on how racialized portrayals of policy beneficiaries affect attitudes toward redistribution. Analyses focus on a series of survey vignettes, experimentally manipulating the ethno-racial background (Asians, Hispanics, South Asians and Native Americans) of beneficiaries for various redistributive programs (welfare, benefits for low-income seniors, unemployment insurance, parental leave benefits, and disability benefits). In so doing, we provide cross-national, cross-domain, and cross-ethno-racial extensions of the American literature on the impact of racial cues on support for redistributive policy. The results demonstrate that race clearly matters for policy support, yet this support varies by context and by the racial group under consideration.

Racial attitudes have long played an important role in American politics, and race continues to be a salient underpinning of policy debates (Hutchinson 2009; Banks 2013). This is especially true for programs designed to address poverty, in particular, "welfare." There is a considerable body of work suggesting welfare is "race-coded," i.e., Americans tend to think welfare recipients are disproportionately Black, and support for welfare is significantly lowered among people who hold negative attitudes toward blacks (Iyengar 1990; Gilens 1995, 1996a, 1996b, 1999; Mendelberg 2001; Nelson 1999; Federico 2005; Lee and Roemer 2006; Schram et al. 2003; Winter 2006, 2008).

In this paper, we provide the first test of this racial bias in a cross-national context. We extend the analysis to multiple racial groups and a variety of social welfare programs across a range of liberal welfare states. Drawing on a unique parallel online experiment conducted in the US, Canada and the UK in 2012-2013, we address two research questions: (1) How do racial cues and racial attitudes influence policy support for welfare state policies, and (2) Does racial prejudice amplify the effect of racial cues on policy support?

Our findings suggest that support for redistribution continues to be racialized – not only in the U.S., and that the role of racial cues is particularly powerful for individuals with pre-existing racial prejudice. Unlike most past research that focuses primarily on Blacks in the US, we show that racialization of welfare attitudes extends beyond this racial minority, the US context, and to welfare policy specifically. Our evidence indicates that relative to the US, recipient race affects support for social programs equally if not more so in the UK, and to a lesser extent in Canada as well; and that the effects are evident for different races/ethnicities, and hold across a range of welfare state policies. Subsequent tests make clear that the impact of racial bias has both powerful direct effects as well as moderating effects on our experimental treatments, – both for the amount

of money allocated to specific recipients, and on support for social programs more generally. (Results given in an appendix further demonstrate that our findings hold across different measures of racial bias.) The end result is a powerful demonstration of the relevance of racial bias for understanding attitudes toward social policy, that extends well beyond the case of Blacks the US.

Race and Welfare

One of the recurring themes in the debate around support (or rather lack of support) for welfare in the US concerns the racial composition of the beneficiary groups. Unlike programs like social security that promoted integration among White middle class (male) workers through a national, universal program structure; programs for the poor like the AFDC targeted an increasingly feminized and disproportionately Black underclass (Lieberman 1998; Williams 2004). Public support for welfare in the US is thus inextricably inter-twined with the racial cleavage between whites and Blacks (Gilens 1995, 1996a, 1999; Mendelberg 2001; Schram et al. 2003; Winter 2006).

When whites associate welfare benefits with race (by identifying beneficiaries as Black) they tend to be less generous toward welfare recipients and to view them as less deserving (Iyengar 1991; Gilens 1999). The reason for this association is two-fold. First is an underlying intergroup dynamic. Work in social psychology has consistently pointed to people's tendency to favor their own group members and to express hostile and negative attitudes toward out-group members (Allport 1958; Blumer 1958; Sherif et al. 1961; Tajfel and Turner 1986). When recipients of welfare are viewed as representing an out-group, evaluations of their need and eligibility are colored by feelings and stereotypes about that out-group (Nelson 1999). When it comes to welfare, we know that citizens tend to overestimate the number of Blacks on welfare

(Gilens 1999: 68). We also have extant evidence that outgroup prejudice towards Blacks is correlated with less support for welfare (Gilens 1995; 1996b; 1999; Nelson 1999; Federico 2005; Lee and Roemer 2006; Winter 2008).

In addition to the ingroup-outgroup dynamic is a more program-specific discourse about deservingness that intersects with the racial divide. Work on social welfare in the US has identified deservingness as a dominant discourse about welfare recipients, and in particular the tendency to perceive recipients as able but unwilling to work (Golding and Middleton 1982; Katz 1989; Gilens 1996; Clawson and Trice 2000; Misra et al 2003; Somers and Block 2005; Kluegel and Smith 1986). As Katz (1989, 10) notes, "The issue [in poverty discourse] becomes not only who can fend for themselves without aid, but more important, whose behavior and character entitle them to the resources of others." The issue of deservingness is further exacerbated because welfare is also seen as a program that creates perpetual welfare recipients by creating perverse incentives not to work (Somers and Block 2005).

Racial perceptions, at least in the US context, come into play when deservingness arguments are evoked. While old-fashioned racial stereotypes often focused on Blacks' perceived biological differences, related to capacity (e.g. lower intelligence), more recent forms of racism tend to focus on cultural components, such as work ethic (e.g. laziness). When asked to explain economic inequalities between Whites and Blacks, citizens often reject structural explanations in favor of individualistic ones (Kleugel 1990, Bobo 2001). And individualistic explanations tend to cite Blacks' lack of motivation or willingness to work hard, rather than their innate ability (Bobo 2001, 282-283), reflecting a shift away from (at least overt) expressions of old-fashioned racist attitudes.

Recipient deservingness is thus often derived through the use of racial schemas that

activate underlying predispositions about-group characteristics. According to Winter (2008, 37-40), racial schemas in the US – in keeping with the underlying distinction between in and out-groups – characterize the Black out-group as "lazy, dependent and poor," in comparison with hardworking Whites (38). For Gilens (1999), these stereotypes are key in understanding low levels of support for welfare. Because Americans think welfare recipients are overwhelmingly Black, and because they tend to view Blacks as lacking in work ethic, they tend to be hostile to welfare programs.

The racialization of welfare argument thus relies on the perpetuation of racial stereotypes, alongside a continued over-representation of Blacks in news media coverage of welfare programs. Gilens (1996a; 1999) shows that when it comes to media portrayals of the poor, Black recipients are substantially overrepresented compared to their actual program usage. Furthermore, Blacks are overrepresented in the least sympathetic stories: stories about unemployed adults and the cycle of welfare dependency (Gilens 1996; Clawson and Trice 2000; Misra et al 2003). This is in contrast to stories that focus on groups that tend to be viewed as more deserving, such as the elderly and the working poor (Iyengar 1990; Cook and Barrett 1992), which tend to underrepresent Black recipients in contrast to their overrepresentation more generally in stories about welfare.

Work on race and policy attitudes in the US extends beyond social assistance. There are related literatures focusing on, e.g., affirmative action (e.g., Bobo and Kleugel 1993; Krysan,; 2000; Feldman and Huddy 2005), health care (Tesler 2012), and on crime (e.g., Peffley et al. 1997; Hurwitz and Peffley 1997; Mendelberg 2001; Peffley and Hurwitz 2002; Gilliam et al. 2002; Federico and Holmes 2005). As with welfare, media coverage of crime paints it as a disproportionately Black problem; and consistent evidence suggests that when Blacks are portrayed as criminals, whites support harsher punishments (Gilliam and Iyengar 2000).

Racial attitudes are likely related to a host of policy domains, then, especially when they are activated by racial cues. So while the literature on welfare points to how racial attitudes intersect with assessments of deservingness, other literatures point toward the pervasiveness of racial attitudes in making policy judgments. The comparative literature – across policy domains, or across countries – has nevertheless been relatively silent on the role of racial attitudes in support for social policy. Other explanatory factors have been studied in some detail: for instance, self-interest and political predispositions have been shown to be powerful drivers of attitudes about redistributive policy (Hasenfeld and Rafferty 1989; Bobo 1991; Cook and Barrett 1992; Feldman and Zaller 1992; Sniderman and Carmines 1997), those who espouse more egalitarian values also tend to be more supportive of the welfare state (Bobo 1991). But we thus far know very little about how racial biases affect policy support cross-nationally, even though the intergroup dynamic that underpins this relationship is broadly generalizable.

Data and Methods

Our analyses explore how racial cues and racial attitudes influence policy support for welfare state policies. In the first case, we examine the direct effect of a racial cue on support for redistribution across five policy domains. Consistent with research on stereotypes and intergroup dynamics, we expect that a beneficiary perceived as a member of a racial minority will be awarded lower levels of cash benefits as compared to a white beneficiary, especially when dominant stereotypes associated with that group contain negative characteristics related to the work ethic, such as is the case with Blacks in the US. "Model" minority groups, therefore may not receive as harsh a penalty as other groups. In the second case, we measure directly the effect of racial stereotypes on redistributive policy attitudes as well as the extent to which racial prejudice interacts with

recipient race. We expect those with higher levels of racial bias to be less willing to dispense cash benefits in general and that the effects of the racial cue will be stronger among respondents with higher levels of racial bias.

The data used for this analysis are drawn from the Race, Gender and the Welfare State (RGWS) survey, which was fielded online in July 2012 in the US, Canada, and the UK (n=1200 per country). An additional subsample of 600 respondents was collected in the US in May 2013,[1] and we are also able to include 509 "incompletes" from the US, bringing that sample up to 2309 for some analyses.[2] Each survey was fielded by YouGov-PMX, which uses a matching methodology for delivering online samples that mirror target populations on key demographics. For details on the sampling procedures and composition of the YouGov online panels, see Vavreck and Iyengar (2011).

The selection of these three countries reflects a "most similar systems" design. All three are considered liberal welfare states, each has significant levels of racial and ethnic diversity, and each has experienced significant economic retrenchment (albeit to varying degrees) in recent years. These countries also have the practical commonality of having large English-speaking populations, meaning that the survey instrument can be conducted in a common language in each country, minimizing the risk of inter-country differences resulting from survey instrument

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[1] The additional US sample was identical to the original, except Asian and Native American beneficiaries in the vignettes were replaced with Hispanics, allowing for an additional ethno-racial cue for the US.

[2] The vignettes (described below) were early in our survey, so for most of our analyses even the "incompletes" (those who did not finish the survey) have provided the responses we need.

translation. (That said, in Canada the survey was conducted in both English and French to ensure national representativeness.)[3] In addition, there is reason to believe that negative attitudes toward the poor are prevalent in all three nations, although most of the evidence derives from the US (see, though, Golding and Middleton 1982; Harell, Soroka and Mahon 2008; Harell, Soroka and Ladner 2013).

Measuring Racism

The literature suggests that racial attitudes are an important factor in understanding support for redistribution. Yet, measuring racial prejudice is not an easy task. There are numerous approaches to defining and operationalizing racial prejudice, and associated debates over its causes and consequences. (For an overview see Bobo and Fox 2003.) While a detailed review of the relevant literature is beyond the scope of this paper, we note that all of these approaches view racial prejudice as resulting from an underlying inter-group dynamic. An out-group is viewed as a collectivity rather than a set of individuals, and the group is attributed negative characteristics in relation to one's in-group. Simply cuing group identity, in many cases, is sufficient to activate out-group hostility (Sherif et al., 1961, Tajfel and Turner, 1986).

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[3] Approximately 22% of Canadians have French as their mother tongue, concentrated primarily in the province of Quebec. Three graduate students at the Université du Québec à Montréal conducted the French translation. A single student translated each section, and then language and equivalence to the English survey were checked by two other students. In case of disagreement in word choice or phrasing, coder discussion ensued to see if agreement could be reached. Any case where the three coders were not unanimous after discussion was brought to the principal researcher who made a final decision.

In the US, one of the most contentious debates in the racial attitudes literature addresses whether prejudice against Blacks has decreased over time, or – alternatively – whether their public expression has simply become more subtle (e.g. McConahay and Hough 1976; Kinder and Sears 1981; Schuman et al. 1997; Pettigrew and Meertens 1995). Blatant forms of racism, such as the expression of explicitly negative racial stereotypes, may be less evident, not because the stereotypes have changed, but because it has become socially unacceptable to express them. In response to changed norms, Whites have adopted "modern" or "symbolic" forms of prejudice based on beliefs that Blacks violate mainstream American values such as individual achievement and the work ethic (Henry and Sears 2002).

There is ongoing debate about whether indicators of modern racism are valid measures of prejudice (Sniderman and Carmines 1997; Carmines et al. 2011). While we take no position on this issue, the debate highlights the importance of measuring racism in all its forms. For the sake of parisimony, we begin with just one measure of "overt" racism here. An Appendix includes a replication of our findings using three different measures of racism (overt, modern and implicit); the evidence given there suggests that, at least for the effects on which we focus here, the various measures of racism all point in the same direction.

"Overt" or "blatant" racism is measured here using a 0-1 scale based on two questions that tap negative racial stereotypes. Using the example of Canada, the questions are worded as follows

1. Where would you rate each of the following groups in Canada on a scale of 1 to 7, where 1 means HARDWORKING and 7 means LAZY?

2. Where would you rate each of the following groups in Canada on a scale of 1 to 7, where 1 means DEPENDENT and 7 means SELF RELIANT?

These items are a subset of the standard racial stereotypes battery used in the General Social Survey and the American National Election Surveys. We rely here on two traits that the race and welfare literature (as well as the modern racism literature) identify as particularly important to the link between Blacks and welfare due to their relationship to the deservingness frame. These overt racism questions also have the benefit that we are able to target different racial groups of interest: Aboriginals/Native Americans,[4] Asians (e.g. Chinese), Blacks, South Asians (e.g. Indians, Pakistanis), and Hispanics.

Experimental Vignettes

To examine the effects of racial cues and racial attitudes on support for redistributive policy, we developed seven experimentally-manipulated policy vignettes, using a factorial design (Rossi and Nock 1982). Each vignette is treated as the unit of analysis in a repeated, or within-subject, experimental design. In total, we have as many as 32,963 respondent-vignette pairs (4709 respondents* 7 vignettes each), and 21,082 respondent-vignette pairs when we limit the analyses to White, non-foreign born respondents (with non-missing data on the variables of interest).

The vignettes are short stories about individual policy recipients, including a photo, that describe the fictional recipients' personal situation and the amount they would be eligible to receive as cash benefits. The eligible amount is calculated as the average amount of support for a

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[4] Note we use these terms interchangeably. Aboriginal is the term most often used in the Canadian context, while Native Americans is used in the US (and our surveys reflect these differences in terminology.) Both refer to descendants of the peoples that populated the continent prior to European settlement. To simplify the tables, we use the term Aboriginal in both the US and Canada.

person in the described situation, based on actual benefits in place in each country as of 2012.[5] Following presentation of the vignette, the respondent is asked what level of benefits the target recipient should receive on a scale ranging from $0 to twice the eligible amount, where the starting point for the slider is the middle of the scale, so that respondents can drag benefit levels either up or down from the midpoint representing the present amount received. For the analyses below, we focus on the percentage change in support based on the amount offered in the vignette, allowing us to combine and compare results across countries and domains on a similar metric.

The vignette approach provides a useful alternative to establish attitudes compared to traditional survey items, despite its less common use in political science. Vignettes allow people to make specific judgments that are often easier to report compared to feelings about abstract values (Alexander and Becker 1978). They have the added benefit of being ideally suited to experimental manipulation because respondents can be randomly assigned to different versions of the scenario (as well as randomly assigned to the order of presentation to minimize sequence effects). This is especially important when racial attitudes are considered. As we have noted, overt racial animosity has decreased over time, yet people continue to express more subtle forms of racism (Kinder and Sears 1981). Given increasing social pressure to refrain from overt forms of racism, asking directly about racial attitudes can induce social desirability bias in responses. The online vignette

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[5] Note that for parental leave in the US, no comparable public program exists. Here, we rephrase the vignette to say the recipient is eligible for a new parental leave benefits based on the approximate levels available under temporary disability benefits in the five states in the US that offer such programs.

has the additional advantage of allowing us to take advantage of visual cues not normally available in traditional survey methodology.

Our seven vignettes (presented in a random order to each respondent) focus on five policy domains: welfare, benefits for low-income seniors, unemployment insurance, parental leave benefits, and disability benefits. Each vignette experimentally manipulates the race of the recipient. In the US and Canada, we include White, Black, Asian, and Native recipients. The US study also included Hispanic recipients. In the UK, we included White, Black, Asian, and South Asian recipients.[6] White is treated as the control category in all the analyses.

We cue the race of the recipient in two ways. First, using a face-morphing program (FaceGen Modeler), we start with a base photo and then blend in prototypical ethnic morphs.[7] The resulting photos are further edited to add in age characteristics, hair and clothing that are identical across morphs. We rely on morphed photos because it is important that we control for other facial characteristics (such as attractiveness) that are known to affect social judgments (see, for example, Eberhardt et al. 2004; Eagly et al. 1991). By beginning with the same base face, blending this face with identical morphs, and adding other identical features, we largely eliminate the influence of

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[6] To be clear, we use "Asian" here to refer to, e.g., Chinese, Vietnamese, and Korean immigrants; and "South Asian" with reference to, e.g., Indians, Pakistanis, Sri Lankans.

[7] Note that an ethnic note for Native Americans/Aboriginals is not available in FaceGen. The authors used a combination of morphs to achieve a stereotypical Native recipient.

these potential confounds.[8] In addition to race, several of the vignettes also vary the gender of the recipient, so models include controls for the gender of the recipient.

In addition to the non-verbal manipulation, the vignettes vary the name of the recipient, using common ethnicized male and female names associated with the different ethno-racial groups.[9] For instance, one vignette uses the following male names: Jay Smith (White), Jamal Williams (Black), and Jiang Lee (Chinese); and the following female names: Laurie Smith (White), Latoya Williams (Black), and Lian Lee (Chinese). We examine the independent effects of the race manipulations – both verbal and visual – on respondents' level of generosity toward the target recipients. We are also able to assess the joint effects of racial cues and racial attitudes by interacting the racial manipulations with our indicators of prejudice. The bulk of this latter analysis uses the measure of overt racism, since it was asked of each racial group in all countries. Parallel analyses of symbolic and implicit measures of racism are available in the Appendix.

Our analyses of variation in benefits awarded to the target recipients include several control variables. We control for the order in which the respondent sees the vignettes (numbered 1

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[8] We confirmed the equivalence of the facial images by having a sample of 50 individuals rate the attractiveness and stereotypicality of each face. (Respondents were drawn from Mechanical Turk). The results showed no significant variance across photos on either dimension. Note the Hispanic faces in the US were collected later and were not included in the ratings.

[9] Common names were primarily selected from US Census data based on popularity and racial group, and supplemented, when necessary, by other online databases.

to 7),[10] as well as a set of dummy variables for each of the seven vignettes. These variables soak up whatever effects are attributable to policy domains and other sources of cross-vignette variance. The result is that the coefficients for all other variables capture their within-vignette impact. Finally, in the US, we add an additional dummy variable (Wave) to separate the respondents who completed the study in May 2013.[11]

We present a pooled analysis in which each respondent-vignette combination is a separate case. This allows for a panel estimation that is ideally suited for capturing the impact of racial cues, alongside other factors, averaged across vignettes.

Analysis

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[10] We do not include variables capturing module order, corresponding to whether the vignettes appeared at the beginning of the survey (0), before the other survey questions and an Implicit Association Test were completed, between the survey items and the IAT (1) or at the end of the survey (2). The first wave of the survey included some randomization in this regard; the second wave module order was completely randomized. Preliminary results suggest that including a randomization variable makes no difference to our results.

[11] We have in some past work (e.g., Harell et al. 2013) included measures of support for government action and views of recipients - two indices intended to capture general attitudes relating to welfare state support. These are useful in accounting for variance in support for individual recipients. As the modern racism literature suggests, however, they are heavily influenced by racism, particularly in the US. Given that our focus here is on the impact of race, we do not include these variables. It is worth considering in future work whether there are general measures of support for redistributive policies that do not partly capture the impact of racism.

We include the full results of all estimations in the Appendix. Here, we focus on the most important (for our purposes) results — the impact of racial cues, both alone and alongside measures of overt racial bias.

In Figure 1, we present the effect of the racial cues for each country separately. The Figure shows the average percentage change in financial support awarded to the target recipient, where 0 represents the actual level of support received, derived from a basic model including no measures of racial bias. Our expectation is that recipients representing racial minorities will be treated as less deserving of support than Whites. Based on the literature, this should be particularly true for Black recipients in the US context.

[Figure 1 about here]

In fact, we find very little difference across recipients in the United States based on recipient ethnicity. While the estimated percentage change in financial support awarded is highest for Whites (who receive a slightly positive increase in support), none of the differences across racial groups are significant. US respondents, on average, tend to give recipients amounts very similar to current levels, no matter the ethnicity of the recipient.

Unexpectedly, Canada and Britain both provide stronger evidence of race-based judgments of deservingness. The effect is clearest in the UK where Black, Asian and South Asian recipients all receive significantly less in relation to the White baseline condition. The White recipient's benefits are cut by about four percent, the recipients representing the three racial minorities are cut by between seven and ten percent less support, with Blacks receiving the lowest levels of support. In contrast to the UK, Canadian respondents are more generous to recipients across the board, with all recipients receiving higher levels of support than the current level received. Nonetheless, we do

see some evidence of racial bias (smaller increases over the current benefit) for Asian recipients and to a lesser extent for Aboriginal Canadians.[12]

The results in Figure 1 thus provide some support for the hypothesis that White respondents are less supportive of welfare assistance directed at racial minorities. However, contrary to expectations, racialization of social welfare benefits is generally absent in the US, but clearly present in the UK, and to a lesser extent in Canada.

[Table 1 about here]

This is not to say that race does not matter to welfare attitudes in the US. Table 1 shows the mean scores on our measure of overt racism by country. Recall that this measure consists of two questions tapping the extent to which each minority group is perceived to have two negative qualities (lazy and dependent) that have traditionally been associated with Blacks in the US. On this measure, racism is clearly strongest for Blacks in the US (mean = .45), and weakest for Asians (mean = .19). South Asians, Hispanics and Native Americans receive overt racism scores in between. Thus, the racial hierarchy in the US clearly places Blacks at the bottom when it comes to explicitly negative stereotypes.

The UK overt racism scores exhibit a similar pattern: on average, Blacks receive almost an identical score as in the US (.45); South Asians and Asians are rated more favorably than Blacks, although they are viewed somewhat more negatively than in the US. In Canada, Blacks elicited more favorable trait ratings than in either the US or the UK (.36), but the racial hierarchy vis-a-vis

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[12] Note that only the Asian estimate is significantly different than for Whites. The Aboriginal estimate is similar to Asians, but the large margin of error around the estimate - due to the fact that we have a much smaller sample size (n=393) for Aboriginal vignettes - is quite large.

Asians and South Asians remained intact, i.e. Asians and South Asian stereotypes are less negative. As our own past research has suggested (Harell, Soroka and Ladner, 2013), Aboriginal peoples in Canada face significant prejudice. They are, in fact, the only group across the three countries for whom the mean overt racism score is above .5.

As expected, there is considerable individual-level variance in these measures of prejudice. It follows that the impact of racial cues on support for welfare policies might be particularly strong for some (overtly racist) respondents, but weak for other (less-racist) respondents. Overt racism may also have a direct impact on policy support. We explore both possibilities using estimations that interact the racial cues in the policy vignettes with respondents' overt racism scores. Recall that we have overt racism scores for each racial category. We thus interact particular racial cues with the relevant racism score. Full results are included in the Appendix. Table 2 speaks just to the first issue: what is the direct impact of overt racism on policy support?

[Table 2 about here]

The table shows the coefficients for overt racism, drawn from the full estimation in the Appendix. First, let us consider the American case. Table 2 makes clear the significant relationship between overt racism and policy support: those who express overt prejudice consistently award less support across the five redistributive policy domains. In the US, the effects of overt racism hold for both Black and Native American recipients and the impact is strongest for Blacks. This is exactly as we should expect given the literature: there is a link between racism toward Blacks and Americans' support for redistributive policies, even independent of whether the target recipient is perceived as Black. (Note that the coefficients are easily interpreted: a move across the scale in overt racism toward Blacks is associated with an average 45-point decrease in the percentage change in support offered by respondents.) In the UK

too, there is a powerful negative effect for overt racism toward Blacks, and a smaller one for South Asians. In Canada, it is only overt racism toward Aboriginals that affects policy support.

The impact of both racial cues and overt racism are clearer still when we take the interaction effects into account. Figures 2 through 4 show results for the US, UK and Canada, respectively. Each figure graphs the estimated percentage change in support based on the race of the recipient (as compared with White recipients) interacted with the respondents' overt racism (toward the relevant race). The solid line represents respondents with a high level of overt racism, and the dashed line represents those with low overt racism scores.

[Figures 2 through 4 about here]

The pattern for Black recipients in the US sets out the expected relationships clearly. There is a direct, negative impact of overt racism (toward Blacks) on amount of benefits awarded. In addition, when presented with a Black recipient, those with lower overt racism tend to increase benefits above and beyond current levels, while those with higher levels of racism tend to cut benefits. This results in a widening of the gap between Black and White recipients by nearly 30 points. This result is not contingent on our measure of racism, either. When similar analyses are run using a modern racism scale or an implicit measure of bias against Blacks, the results are similar.[13]

A similar dynamic is evident for Native recipients. For Asians, however, the results are rather more complex. We skipped over the positive coefficients for Asians in Table 2 — they are a little misleading, but Figure 2 helps clarify this relationship. Those who are openly prejudiced against Asians give markedly more money to Whites, but less to Asians. We suspect this reflects

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[13] These results are provided in the Appendix.

the perceived different economic position of Asians vis-a-vis the other ethnic groups — concerns about Asian economic success leads respondents to give Whites more money. Those who express low levels of overt racism toward Asians treat White and Asian recipients no differently. Nor are the benefits awarded to Hispanic recipients moderated by expressed racism toward Hispanics, though a small (but insignificant) direct effect of racism is evident here. (This may be a function of a smaller sample size; it may also suggest something unique about the impact of racial bias toward Hispanics.)

Figure 3 presents results for the UK, where we find a pattern with Black recipients that is similar to the US. Again, when confronted with a Black recipient, non-racist individuals increase the level of support, whereas racists withhold support. As we have already seen, the measure of prejudice has a powerful direct effect as well. Also in keeping with the US results, the moderating effects of prejudice are weaker for the two other racial minority groups. For Asians and South Asians, the racial cue matters only for racists; those with low racism scores make no distinction between White and Asian/South Asian recipients. Canada is unlike the US and the UK in that Canadians do not discriminate against Black recipients. Nor is there any apparent bias against Asian recipients. The solitary case of Canadian prejudice is directed toward Aboriginal recipients; overtly racist attitudes toward Aboriginals have a substantial effect on the support awarded to an Aboriginal recipient. The 65-point gap in support is the largest penalty incurred by any minority group across the three countries — although roughly the same as the reduction in support for Blacks in the US and UK. In other words, while Canadians appear to behave in an egalitarian

manner when supporting redistribution for immigrant racial minorities, they are by no means benevolent and unprejudiced when we consider their attitudes toward Aboriginal peoples.[14]

From Individual Recipients to Generalized Support for Social Policy

Do the results obtained above matter for general attitudes towards redistribution, or are they particular to attitudes directed towards (hypothetical) individual recipients? Our use of vignette-based experiments gives us a good deal of leverage over the specific characteristics of recipients, and it allows us to be very precise in our description of benefits as well. We regard the vignettes as a particularly powerful way of getting at the impact of race on welfare-state attitudes. But it is reasonable to ask whether the connections between racial bias and support for social policy evident in these experimental data also apply at a more general level. This is relatively easily tested.

One simple test is to use measures of overt racial bias – the same ones used as moderators in our experimental analyses – as independent variables in models of general support for social programs. We capture general support for social programs here using a scale based on five questions capturing the general orientation of the respondent toward state intervention:

Which statement comes closest to your own view?:

1. The free market can handle today's problems without government being involved (0)/ or, We need a strong government to handle today's complex economic problems (1).

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[14] This finding replicates a previous finding with based on the Canadian Election Study, 2011 (Harell, Soroka, and Ladner, 2013).

2. Less government is better (0)/ There are more things that government should be doing

(1).

3. We should cut government spending (0)/ We should expand government services (1)

4. The government should see to it that everyone has a decent standard of living (1)/ The

government should leave it to people to get ahead on their own (0).

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

5. Government should redistribute income from the better-off to those who are less well

off (0 strongly disagree, 1 strongly agree)

All five questions are equally weighted; the measure is scaled from 0 to 1 where higher scores
indicate intervention; the Cronbach's alpha on the scale is .72. And the model used to predict
support for government action includes basic demographics (gender, where female=1; age, in
years; education, in three categories: high school or less (0), more than high school (1), and
completed university (2); and income, in quartiles (1-4)), alongside each of the measures of overt
racial bias examined above.[15]

[Table 3 about here]

The full models are included in Appendix Table A4. Table 3 provides just the most
important results: the coefficients for each measure of overt racial bias, capturing the estimated
mean impact on our 0-1 measure of support for government action that is a consequence of
moving across the entire range of the racial bias scale (from 0 to 1). The table has a structure
entirely parallel to Table 2, which reported the direct impact of the same overt racism measures on

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[15] We run separate models for each measure of racial bias rather than include them all in the same
model. To the extent that the measures of bias are positively correlated, using each individually
increases slightly the estimated effect of racial bias. The impact is very slight, however; and the
nature of the two-part US sample precludes our including racial bias for Aboriginals and
Hispanics in the same model in any case.

the allocation of benefits in our vignettes. Coefficients in Table 3 are on a rather different scale, of course (from 0 to 1, rather than in dollar amounts); even so, we can easily compare the magnitude of coefficients estimated from our experimental treatment with the magnitude of coefficients estimated from our models of government intervention. Figure 5 does exactly this – it plots the coefficient for the former on the x-axis, and the coefficient for the latter on the y-axis. Results for all countries, across all available racial groups, are included in Figure 5.

[Figure 5 about here]

The figure suggests that the estimated relationships found in the vignettes translate easily onto much more generalized attitudes about social programs. In fact, there is a remarkably strong relationship between the two sets of coefficients; a dashed line shows the plotted relationship between the two; the correlation between them is .87. Dots to the bottom left of the figure indicate cases in which there are particularly powerful negative effects of overt racism on support (both for individuals, and generalized social programs). The case in which race has the most powerful negative effect is Blacks in the US, as we might expect. But this is by no means the only case in which racial bias has a negative impact. Dotted lines on the x- and y-axes indicate the 0-points – all cases to left and bottom of these lines are ones in which the impact of racial bias is systematically negative. Only racism towards Asians, across all three countries (though, nearly, racism towards Blacks in Canada) is not systematically related to decreased support. Clearly, the characteristics of racism towards Asians are quite different than the characteristics of racism towards the other groups investigated here.

We cannot easily explore the "contents" of racism towards each racial group in these data; but the main purpose of this analysis is to link results focused on individual recipients to broader welfare-state attitudes. In this regard, our findings make very clear the relationship between the

two. Just as overt racial bias has a direct impact on the allocation of resources to (hypothetical) Black recipients, for instance, so too does it push downwards support for redistributive policy more generally. But, as we have seen in our vignette-based analyses, the direct impact of overt racism is only part of the story. Overt racism increases, markedly, the impact of racial cues on attitudes about social policy recipients. The racialization of social policy attitudes has both direct and indirect consequences.

Conclusions

Race matters when it comes to public support for redistribution. Yet, as our analysis clearly demonstrates, the influence of racial cues and racial prejudice varies by context, and by which particular racial minority is under consideration.

In the US, we find that racial cues directly affect support for redistribution to individual recipients; Black recipients are penalized. This "racialization" effect is conditional on respondents' pre-existing racial biases; higher levels of racism dramatically enlarge the effects of the racial cues. Blacks are not the only group subject to discriminatory treatment, though; White respondents with high levels of prejudice also display bias against Native American and Asian American welfare recipients.

We find parallel evidence in the UK and, to a lesser extent, in Canada. Those in the UK tend to be less generous than their American counterparts, especially toward racial minorities, and this support is especially low when prejudiced individuals are confronted with a minority recipient. In Canada, citizens tend to be relatively generous in their support to immigrant-based racial groups, although their generosity does not extend to Aboriginal recipients.

This study has several implications for understanding the relationship between group attitudes and identity, on the one hand, and support for welfare state policies, on the other. Most

importantly, our results suggest that the largely American literature about the racialization of welfare attitudes is more generalizable than past work tends to suggest. While the relationship between welfare attitudes and racial attitudes in the US is certainly tied in part to its unique history, our evidence suggests that other racial groups in other nations are stereotyped similarly and subject to the same form of discrimination. The magnitude of that discrimination clearly varies across countries, policy contexts, and racial groups. The most powerful evidence of racial discrimination in the allocation of financial support is for Blacks in the US and UK; although discrimination against Aboriginals in Canada, and to a lesser extent to Native Americans in the US is marked as well.

Immigration is clearly changing the racial and ethnic composition of North American and European populations, and this has raised serious debates about social solidarity in diverse societies (Crepaz, 2007, Koopmans 2010). Redistributive policies are one of the key ways in which the state addresses economic inequality, yet this study suggests that racial bias is a major impediment to public support for such programs, and this is not just limited to social assistance programs, nor specifically to the unique history of slavery and racial discrimination that characterizes race relations in the US. Our work clearly shows that portraying policy recipients as racialized minorities decreases support for the amount of cash transfers, especially among citizens with pre-existing racial prejudice. While there is some evidence that such overt prejudicial attitudes are becoming less common, at least in the US, such attitudes continue to be important moderators of public opinion in this domain, and furthermore, we find that these results hold across different measures of racism.

These findings are important because media coverage of redistributive policy domains tends to be both personalized and racialized (Iyengar 1991). The evidence is especially clear in

terms of media coverage of welfare in the US (Gilens 1999). We suspect that such racialized coverage is not limited to this context or to this particular group, though. Issues around immigration and the welfare state in the European context also tend to draw on racialized discourses around deservingness. The results presented here show the extent to which simply cuing the racial background of recipients can influence public support for an essential component of the welfare state. The variation observed in this study, across groups, policies and countries may in part be explained by how dominant such associations are between each group and policy across these three liberal welfare states. Explaining this variation will be the focus of future work.

Appendix

This appendix includes a number of supporting tables for the preceding text, as well as a discussion of (and analyses using) alternative measures of racism.

Supporting Tables

[Appendix Tables A1-A4 about here]

Alternative Measures of Racism

Analyses above focus on just one measure of overt racism. The RGWS survey includes several measures, however. And as we have noted above, there is some debate about which measure of racism captures racism most directly. This appendix accordingly revisits our results using additional measures of both modern and implicit racism.

Modern racism is measured using a 0-1 scale based on four agree-disagree items drawn directly from the symbolic racism measure as developed by Sears and colleagues (for a recent overview, see Henry and Sears 2002). The four items include:

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

2. Over the past few years, Blacks have gotten less than they deserve. [*reversed in the index]

3. It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if Blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as other Americans.

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

One of the drawbacks of this scale for cross-national research is that it is rather specific to the US context and Blacks. Although our survey included a version adapted for Aboriginals in Canada, in this appendix, we examine modern racism only in the US.

Our final measure of prejudice is inspired by research in cognitive psychology about automatically activated attitudes. Psychologists view racial prejudice as a deeply ingrained attitude that develops early in life that has both automatic and controlled components (Devine 1989). While citizens may actively try to regulate explicitly-held negative attitudes, as modern or subtle racism scholars suggest, some social psychologists maintain that prejudice can function at a subconscious level (Greenwald et al. 1998; Dovidio et al. 2002; Olson and Fazio 2003, 2004; Gawronski and Bodenhausen 2006). Implicit racial bias, as measured by Implicit Association Tests (IATs), captures unconscious associations between racial groups and positive or negative affect toward these groups using differences in reaction time to stereotypically congruent and incongruent pairings of racial groups and affective terms.[16] As with the modern racism scale, this item was only run for Blacks (versus Whites) and is limited to the US survey.

Note that while measures of overt, modern and implicit racial bias are all expected to contribute to lower levels of support for redistribution, they may influence this support to varying degrees, and in distinct ways. Research suggests that controlled responses (which here are responses that are measured through survey responses from respondents, e.g. overt and modern racism) may have different effects on discriminatory behavior than automatic responses (e.g. implicit racial bias) (Fazio and Dunton 1997; Dovidio et al. 1997, 2002). As it becomes less socially acceptable to express racial prejudice, we might expect a divergence between measures of

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[16] For a review, see Gawronski and Bodenhausen (2006).

explicit racial attitudes and policy support due largely to the fact that these measures differ in citizens' motivation to control the expression of their attitudes. The pressure to "under-report" prejudice should be especially true for overt racial bias, whereas the modern racism measure poses a more subtle violation of social norms. We expect that implicit (or automatic) racial bias will prove a stronger predictor of policy support than either indicator of explicit racial attitudes because it is relatively immune to conscious suppression.[17] We have no a priori assumptions, however, about the relative strength of these different measures across countries or policy domains.

Most findings in the literature, as well as in this paper, are based on the measure of overt racism. Given the normative pressures facing respondents in democratic, multi-racial societies, blatant prejudice is increasingly being replaced by more subtle forms of racism. And, as we have noted, racial animus also operates at the sub-conscious or implicit level. Table A4 shows correlations between our measures of overt, modern, and implicit racism.

[Appendix Table A5 about here]

The three clearly capture some common element of racial prejudice. The correlations are statistically significant, though the strongest link is between the two survey-based measures. Implicit racism appears to be more strongly correlated with modern than with explicit racism (Note the smaller sample sizes for the correlations involving implicit racism. This is because just

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[17] It should be noted that we often treat controlled measures of racial attitudes within political science as more susceptible to survey response bias. Yet, social psychological research suggests that the very fact that such attitudes can be controlled means that the consequences of such attitudes (such as discriminatory behavior) are also open to intervention.

one half of the first-wave sample took the race IAT. Sample sizes for the models that follow are affected accordingly.)

Figure A1 shows the moderating effects of each measure vis-à-vis our manipulations of racial cues. We do not include all interactions simultaneously, of course – rather, we run three separate models, each of which includes one of the three measures of racism. The full estimates are included in the Appendix. Note that because we have three measures of racism only for Blacks, we use a somewhat simpler model here: we include the direct effect of other minority recipients, alongside a variable capturing Black recipients, prejudice toward Blacks (measured three different ways), and an interaction between the two (alongside the other control variables, discussed above).

[Figure A1 about here]

Both the measure of overt prejudice toward Blacks and the modern racism scale work similarly in moderating the impact of recipient race. Results in Appendix Table 4 make clear that our results are remarkably similar using either measure: each has a powerfully negative direct impact on policy support, and a moderating effect on the experimental treatment.

The implicit measure of racial bias, as measured by the IAT, is much weaker in both its direct impact on policy support, and its moderation of treatment effects. Both coefficients point in the right direction, but fail to reach statistical significance. Since the implicit measure is based on response latency rather than the selection of survey response categories, it is not surprising that the two survey-based measures are more highly correlated with support for the target recipients. Moreover, the IAT has no policy component whereas the modern racism measure explicitly taps into questions of ideology that are highly predictive of policy preferences (see, e.g., Carmines et al. 2011). It may be that the IAT is better at capturing an element of raw racism that is group

specific and independent of policy preferences. This clearly is an avenue for further work. In the meantime, it is clear that the preceding results were not a function of our reliance on the overt racism measure. Modern racism produces nearly identical results; and implicit racism points, at least, in the same direction.

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Table 1: Mean Overt Racism Scores

	US	UK	CA
Black	0.450	0.445	0.363
Hispanic	0.320		
Asian	0.188	0.247	0.202
Aboriginal	0.376		0.511
S Asian	0.239	0.312	0.299

Based on unweighted RWGS. Cells contain mean scores for a 0-1 measure combining responses to questions on whether groups are (a) hardworking/lazy and (b) dependent/self-reliant.

Table 2: Direct Impact of Overt Racism on Recipient Support

	US		UK		CA	
Black	-42.591***	(6.105)	-37.436***	(4.974)	.371	(5.760)
Hispanic	-11.633	(10.972)				
Asian	22.405***	(6.744)	15.448*	(6.583)	1.189	(5.901)
Aboriginal	-27.833***	(6.237)			-26.136***	(5.041)
South Asian			-13.271*	(6.091)		

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001. Cells contain multilevel mixed-effects linear regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. Based on white, non-foreign born respondents only (unweighted). Full models are included in the Appendix.

Table 3: The Impact of Overt Racism on Support for Government Action

	US		UK		CA	
Black	-.645***	(.044)	-.248***	(.038)	-.095*	(.044)
Hispanic	-.364***	(.102)				
Asian	.153*	(.061)	.008	(.043)	.025	(.050)
Aboriginal	-.455***	(.059)			-.246***	(.040)
South Asian			-.097*	(.039)		

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001. Cells contain linear regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. Based on white, non-foreign born respondents only (unweighted). Full models are included in the Appendix.

Appendix Table A1: Treatment Effects on Support

	US		UK		CA	
Recipient: Black	-1.334	(.997)	-5.690**	(1.854)	-1.227	(1.061)
Recipient: Hispanic	-1.273	(1.665)				
Recipient: Asian	-2.080	(1.310)	-3.465*	(1.359)	-3.925**	(1.230)
Recipient: Aboriginal	-.526	(2.697)			-3.220	(2.593)
Recipient: S Asian			-3.812**	(1.231)		
Vignette order	-.172	(.501)	.215	(.224)	-.388	(.210)
Survey Wave	-2.879	(2.402)				
Constant	-3.847	(2.023)	7.666***	(2.058)	15.139***	(2.110)
N	8866		6567		5649	
N (individuals)	1411		1027		892	

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001. Cells contain multilevel mixed-effects linear regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. Based on white, non-foreign born respondents only (unweighted). Models include controls for other manipulations across vignettes, i.e., recipient deservingness, gender, as well as dummy variables for each vignette. These are not shown here, but are available upon request.

Appendix Table A2: Treatment Effects on Recipient Support, Interacted with Overt Racism

	US				UK		CA	
	Combined		Second Wave Only					
Recipient: Black	7.736**	(2.406)	4.748	(4.092)	5.627	(3.552)	.719	(1.949)
Overt Racism: Black	-42.591***	(6.105)	-47.713***	(9.123)	-37.436***	(4.974)	.371	(5.760)
Interaction	-20.194***	(4.499)	-8.314	(7.572)	-25.640***	(6.697)	-6.253	(4.551)
Recipient: Hispanic			-.947	(3.297)				
Overt Racism: His			-11.633	(10.972)				
interaction			2.784	(8.553)				
Recipient: Asian	1.155	(1.815)			-1.067	(2.021)	-3.810*	(1.715)
Overt Racism: Asian	22.405***	(6.744)			15.448*	(6.583)	1.189	(5.901)
Interaction	-17.936**	(6.450)			-10.221	(6.132)	-1.220	(5.865)
Recipient: Aboriginal	5.176	(5.207)					17.946***	(5.439)
Overt Racism: Abor	-27.833***	(6.237)					-26.136***	(5.041)
Interaction	-13.900	(11.085)					-40.817***	(9.273)
Recipient: S Asian					-.437	(2.000)		
Overt Racism: SA					-13.271*	(6.091)		
interaction					-11.021*	(5.060)		
Vignette order	-.411	(.517)			.225	(.226)	-.374	(.211)
Constant	22.608***	(3.690)	21.116***	(5.389)	25.009***	(3.099)	27.994***	(3.400)
N	6076		2514		6444		5551	
N (individuals)	966		391		1008		877	

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$. Cells contain multilevel mixed-effects linear regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. Based on white, non-foreign born respondents only (unweighted). Models include controls for other manipulations across vignettes, i.e., recipient deservingness, gender, as well as dummy variables for each vignette. These are not shown here, but are available upon request.

Appendix Table A3: Treatment Effects on Support, Interacted with Various Measures of Racism

	US					
	w/ Overt Racism		w/ Modern Racism		w/ Implicit Racism	
Recipient: Black	6.634**	(2.055)	15.574***	(3.590)	1.350	(1.461)
Overt Racism	-54.015***	(4.504)				
Interaction	-16.612***	(3.830)				
Modern Racism			-113.894***	(6.515)		
Interaction			-28.840***	(5.898)		
Implicit Racism					-4.563	(3.994)
Interaction					-4.335	(3.224)
Recipient: Hispanic	-1.091	(1.677)	-1.440	(1.663)	-1.463	(1.711)
Recipient: Asian	-1.914	(1.318)	-2.136	(1.308)	-3.479	(1.932)
Recipient: Aboriginal	-.831	(2.719)	-.627	(2.697)	-5.532	(3.876)
Vignette order	-.463	(.510)	-.393	(.491)	.618	(.942)
Wave	-2.686	(2.293)	-.924	(2.147)	-3.563	(2.853)
Constant	22.073***	(2.898)	62.292***	(4.260)	.160	(2.892)
N	8659		8813		5036	
N (individuals)	1369		1398		792	

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001. Cells contain multilevel mixed-effects linear regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. Based on white, non-foreign born respondents only (unweighted). Models include controls for other manipulations across vignettes, i.e., recipient deservingness, gender, as well as dummy variables for each vignette. These are not shown here, but are available upon request.

Appendix Table A4: Support for Government Action

|	Racial Bias Variable									
	Black		Hispanic		Asian		Aboriginal		SE Asian	
US										
Racial Bias	-.645***	(.044)	.153*	(.061)	-.364***	(.102)	-.455***	(.059)		
Female	.069***	(.020)	.096***	(.022)	.084*	(.039)	.074**	(.026)		
Age	-.003***	(.001)	-.003***	(.001)	-.004**	(.001)	-.003***	(.001)		
Education	.035**	(.013)	.068***	(.014)	.057*	(.026)	.056***	(.017)		
Income	-.037***	(.010)	-.038***	(.011)	-.047*	(.019)	-.029*	(.012)		
Constant	.861***	(.048)	.492***	(.052)	.716***	(.100)	.709***	(.057)		
N	1172		1172		362		812			
UK										
Racial Bias	-.248***	(.038)			.008	(.043)			-.097*	(.039)
Female	.029	(.016)			.046**	(.016)			.044**	(.016)
Age	-.001	(.001)			-.001	(.001)			-.001	(.001)
Education	-.014	(.010)			-.004	(.010)			-.009	(.010)
Income	-.016*	(.007)			-.016*	(.007)			-.015*	(.007)
Constant	.802***	(.039)			.685***	(.039)			.726***	(.038)
N	1003				1007				1005	
CA										
Racial Bias	-.095*	(.044)			.025	(.050)	-.246***	(.040)		
Female	.069***	(.018)			.071***	(.018)	.064***	(.017)		
Age	-.002***	(.001)			-.002**	(.001)	-.002**	(.001)		
Education	.022*	(.011)			.026*	(.011)	.020	(.011)		
Income	-.044***	(.008)			-.045***	(.008)	-.040***	(.008)		
Constant	.817***	(.041)			.765***	(.039)	.895***	(.041)		
N	789				769		799			

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$. Cells contain linear regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. Based on white, non-foreign born respondents only (unweighted).

Appendix Table A5: Correlation Matrix - Racism Measures

	Overt	Modern
Modern	.618* (N=1996)	
Implicit	.199* (N=1109)	.267* (N=1130)

Based on unweighted RWGS, US data only. Cells contain Pearson correlation coefficients. * p < .01.
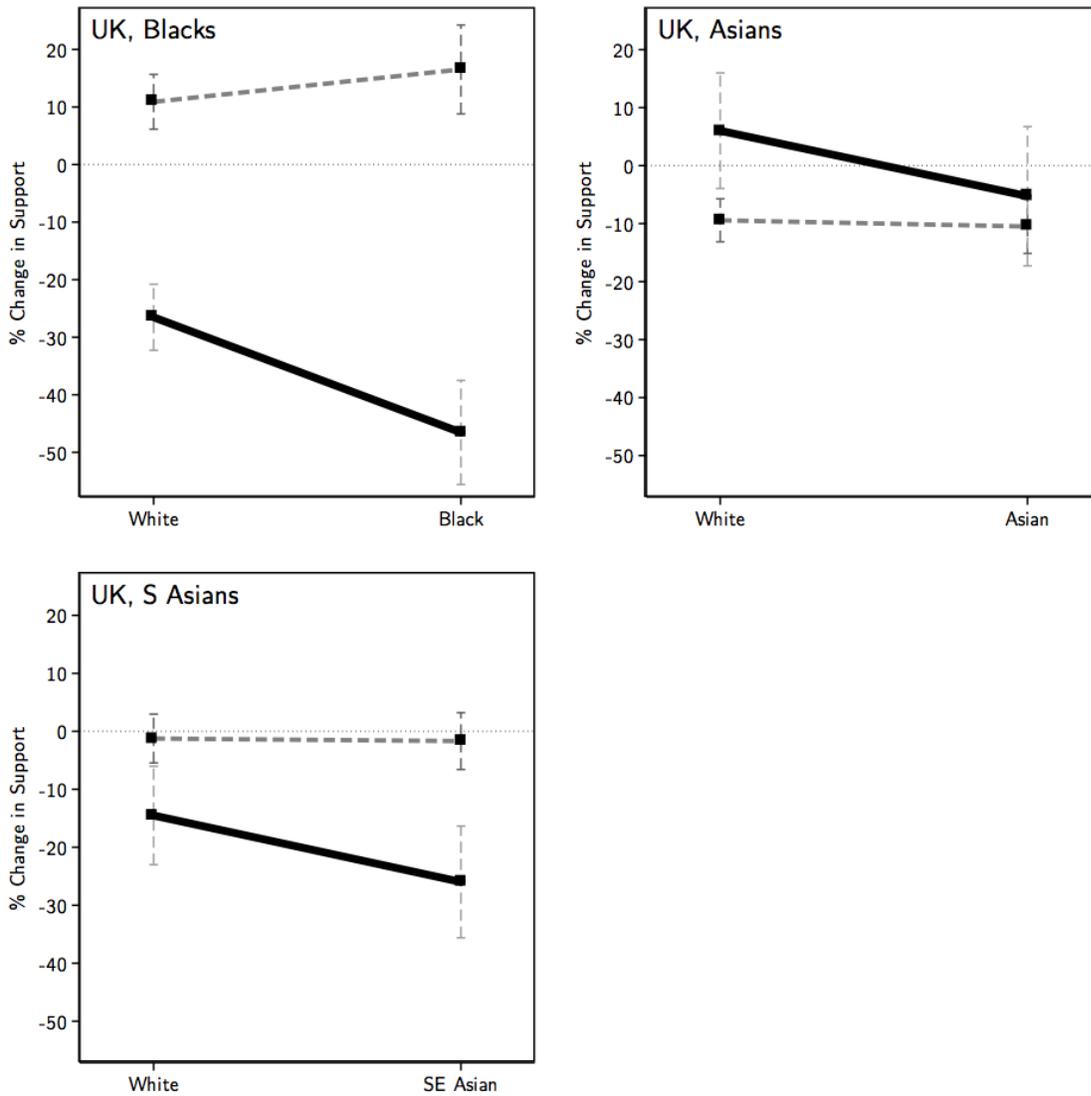
Figure 1: Mean Recipient Support, by Recipient Ethnicity
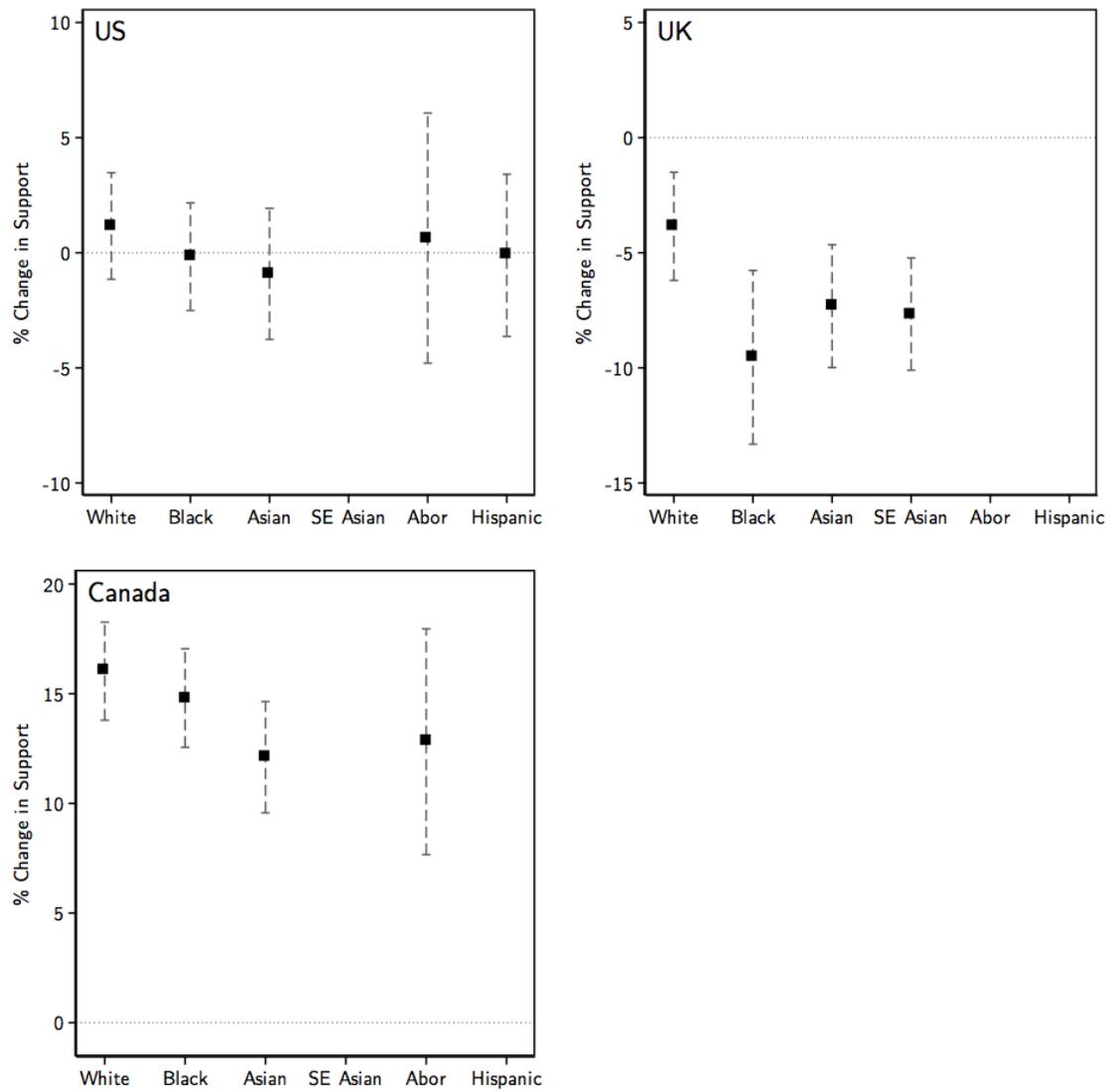
Average within-respondent, within-vignette racial effects, based on unweighted RGWS survey, all vignettes combined.

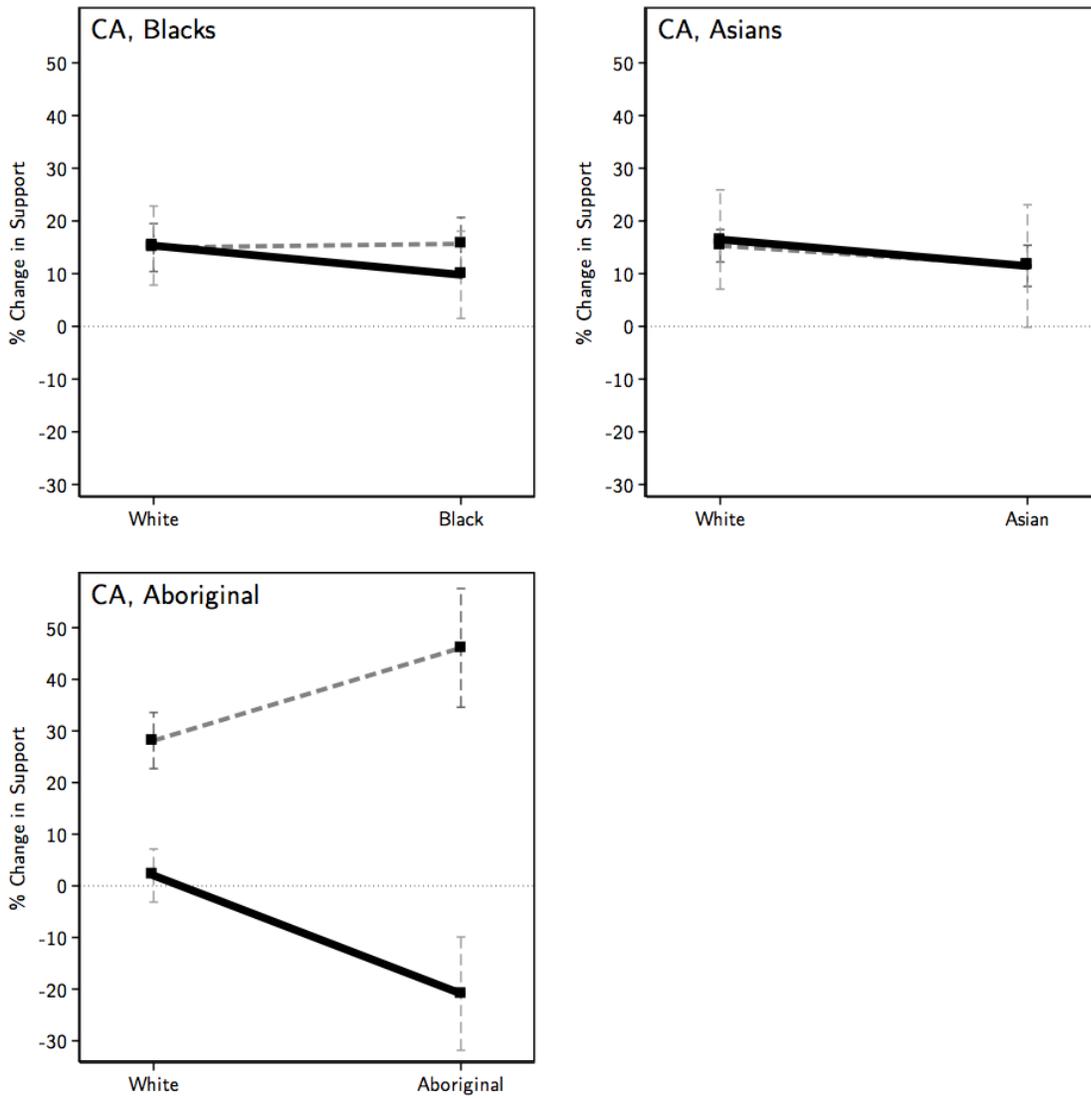Figure 2: Treatment Effects of Recipient Ethnicity Moderated by Overt Racism (US)
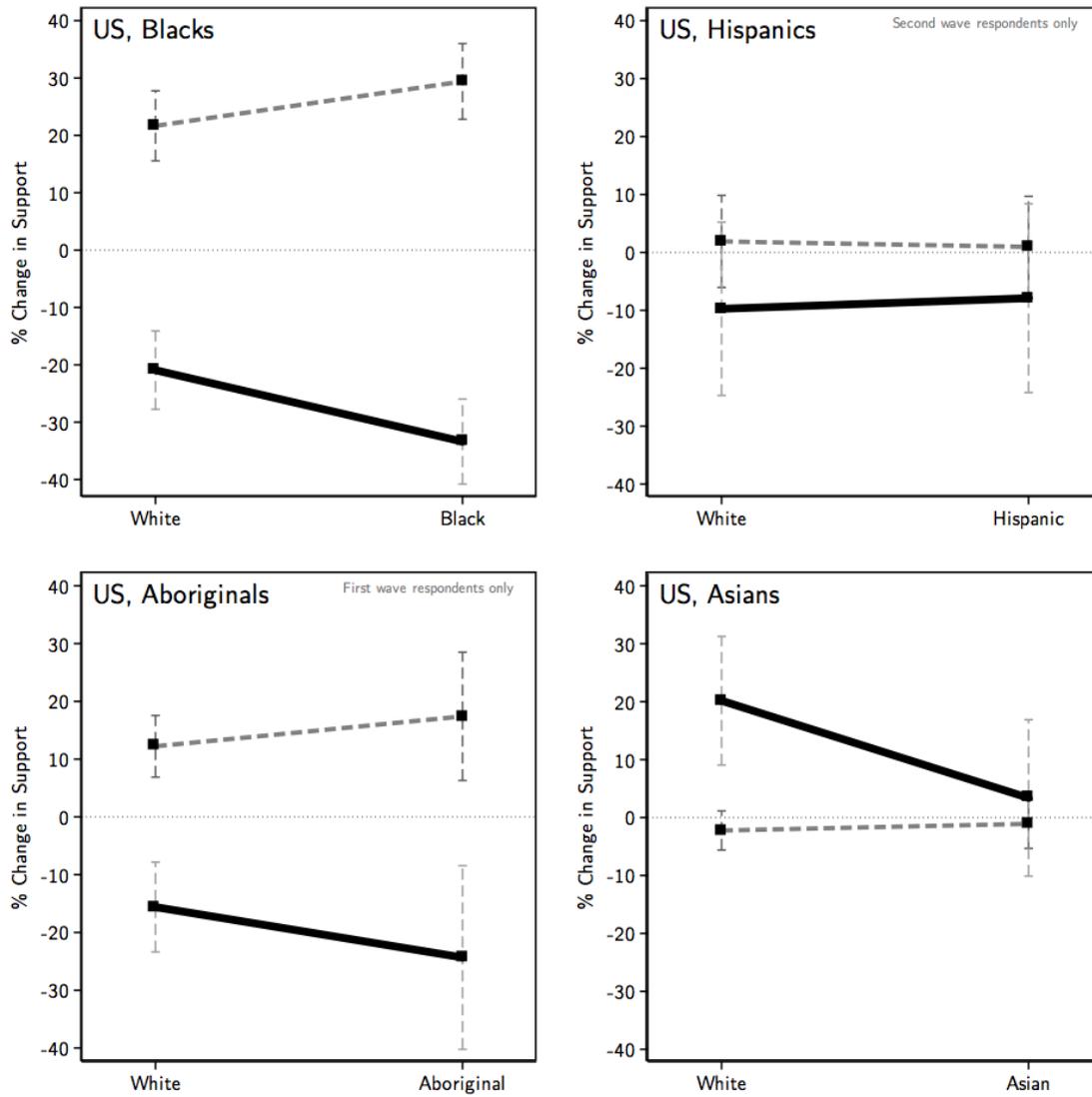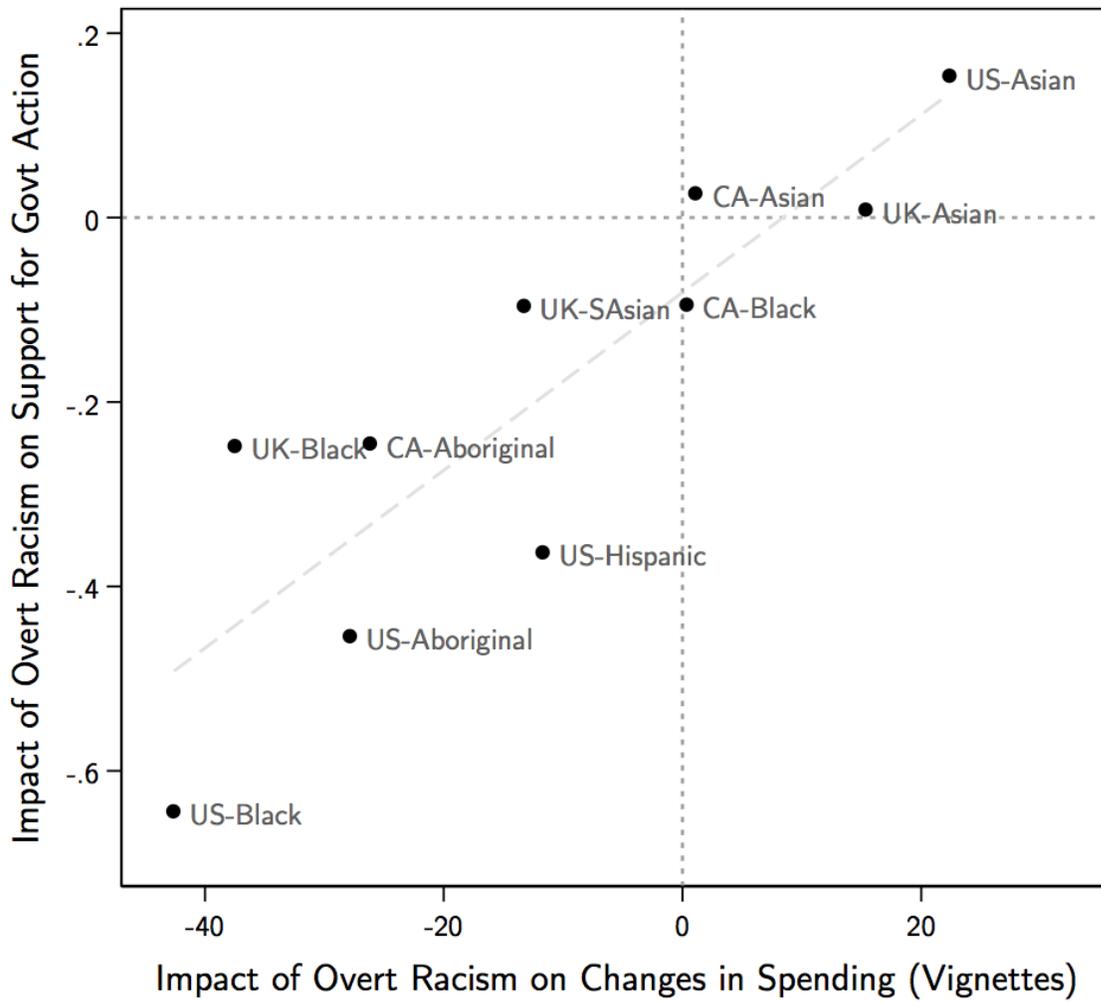

Average within-respondent, within-vignette racial effects, based on RGWS survey, all vignettes combined, white non-foreigners only. Solid line shows the impact of Race for high-racism respondents. Dashed line shows the impact of Race for low-racism respondents.

Figure 3: Treatment Effects of Recipient Ethnicity Moderated by Overt Racism (UK)

Average within-respondent, within-vignette racial effects, based on RGWS survey, all vignettes combined, white non-foreigners only. Solid line shows the impact of Race for high-racism respondents. Dashed line shows the impact of Race for low-racism respondents.

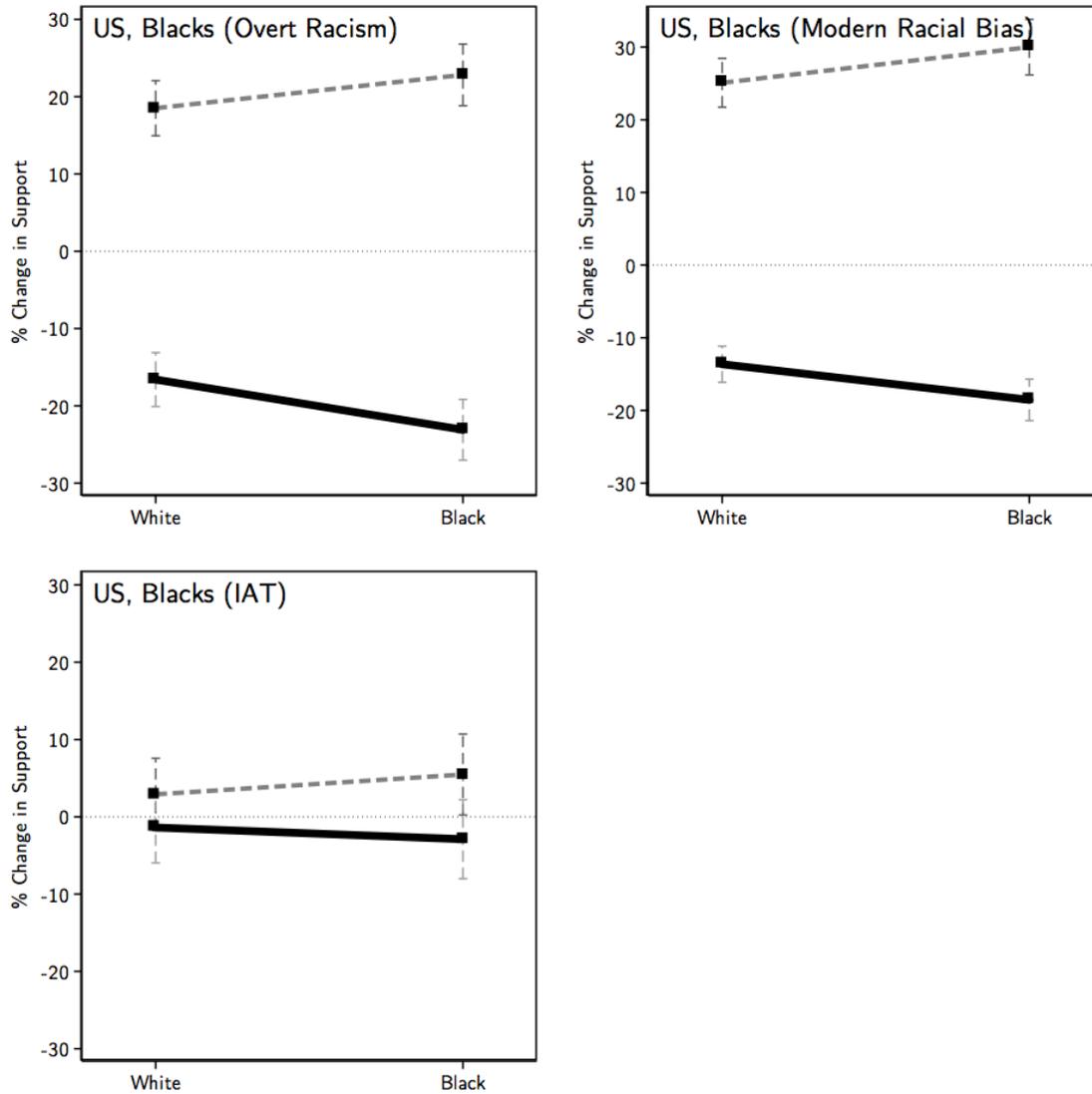Figure 4: Treatment Effects of Recipient Ethnicity Moderated by Overt Racism (CA)

Average within-respondent, within-vignette racial effects, based on RGWS survey, all vignettes combined, white non-foreigners only. Solid line shows the impact of Race for high-racism respondents. Dashed line shows the impact of Race for low-racism respondents.

Figure 5: The Impact of Overt Racism in Vignettes, and on Government Action

Appendix Figure A1: Treatment Effects of Recipient Ethnicity Moderated by Various Measures of Racism (US)

Average within-respondent, within-vignette racial effects, based on RGWS survey, all vignettes combined, white non-foreigners only. Solid line shows the impact of Race for high-racism respondents. Dashed line shows the impact of Race for low-racism respondents. In every case, low- and high-racism are defined by the 10th and 90th percentiles for the racism measures. Those measures are: (1) Explicit Racism, based on two questions on whether Blacks are (a) hardworking/lazy and (b) dependent/self-reliant; (2) Modern Explicit Racial Bias: based on four questions, described in the text; (3) results from the race IAT (completed by half the sample only).