Black Like Me: The Malleability of African American Political Racial Group Identification

Dissertation

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

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2014

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Abstract

Prior research in political behavior illustrates that individuals rely upon group identities in political decision-making. People who are highly identified with a particular group are likely to make choices in line with that group’s interest. Despite advancements in the literature, we still know considerably little about how identification with a certain group transforms into a salient political identification. Additionally, the existing literature does not provide or explain the mechanism that facilitates this transition? My argument is that political context significantly shapes not only the salience of the political attachment, but also the strength of that attachment. I use experimental methods to establish the malleability of political attachment to a group. In particular, I focus on Black Americans as the main test case due to the strong empirical evidence that demonstrates that their Black political attachment with the racial group, or linked fate, is fundamental to explaining political decisions and behavior.

In my first study (Chapter 2), I test the contextual effects of racialized political discourse by varying explicit racial messages about which segments of the Black community are defined as a part of the broader “Black” interest. I find that Blacks that are not chronically included or excluded in political discourse—moveable Blacks—show significant increases in their linked fate when their interests are being framed as the main interest for the group.
In the second study (Chapter 3), I argue that Blacks rely upon their political attachment with the racial group when they are exposed to a political context in which there is a conflict between their simple self-interest and the group-interest as a means to manage the cognitive dissonance. I conduct an experiment in which personal incentives are only received by opting out of the expected group norm of behavior. I find that Blacks respond with increases in their expressions of linked fate.

In the third study (Chapter 4), I argue that self-reports of linked fate are significantly influenced by the presence of explicitly racial information in survey instruments. I test the effect of survey context by varying the location of explicitly racial information in a survey. I find that explicitly racial survey introductions did not lead to changes in linked fate attitudes but, the placement of the linked fate question in the survey instrument resulted in significant variation.

Finally, in my last chapter, I discuss the implications of my results on our understanding of linked fate politics and future directions to consider in this line of research.
Dedication

For Adassah
Acknowledgments

I owe my deepest gratitude to the many individuals that made this dissertation possible. I am heartily thankful to my dissertation committee in the Department of Political Science. The unwavering support, mentorship, guidance and encouragement from my co-chairs Ismail White and Corrine McConnaughy served as my foundation through the dissertation process. Tom Nelson offered critical questions throughout the process that encouraged me to think through major concepts and arguments. I also want to thank my former advisor Harwood McClerking. You saw potential in me as an undergraduate that I was capable of being professor.

My department colleagues played a pivotal role in providing both emotional and professional support throughout my years of graduate school. Nyron Crawford was and continues to be my academic partner in the struggle and fervent advocate for my success. Julian Wamble deserves a million thank you’s for his dedicated efforts in not only serving as my dissertation guidance counselor but also formatting editor and chief. Without his commitment, my dissertation document could not exist. Erin Graham our regular lunch dates offered stability and substantial support often in the midst of chaos. Sarah Bryner you have always been one of my loudest cheerleaders and study buddies. Jason Keiber has been the best office mate and friend. Thank you to the advance graduate students that helped to guide me through graduate school including Lakeyta Bonnette, Carla Jackson, Roneka Matheny, and Ray Block.
I am indebted to the Ralph Bunche Summer Institute and the Ronald E. McNair Post-Baccalaureate Program. It is because of these programs that I learned about and was able to attend graduate school. The tireless work that individuals like Paula McClain and Nthekona Peko have done for students of color is extraordinary. My McNair and undergraduate thesis advisor, Jessica Gordon Nembhard, has continued to serve as a mentor to me throughout graduate school. Additionally, the relationships I made with many students in those programs have proven to be invaluable. The Bunche Class of 2004 are some of the most brilliant people that I know. You guys continue to inspire me with your accomplishments. Porsha Cropper, from applying to graduate school to writing our dissertations you have always been there for me and I am forever grateful for our friendship.

Thank you to the late Linda Faye Williams. You were my inspiration to pursue my doctorate. You had an amazing ability to make everyone of your students feel like they were special to you. It was an honor to have been able to learn, listen and grow under tutelage and mentorship. We all miss you.

Lastly, I would like to thank my family for their encouragement to stay the course over the years. My mother, Adassah Laird, has been my strength and role model throughout my life. I know you sacrificed so much for me to have a life full of opportunities. I have accomplished one of my biggest goals and it would not have been possible without your unconditional love and support.
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Chapter 1: Introduction

Is political connectedness with the racial group static for African Americans? How is this connectedness maintained? What factors can cause the malleability in political connectedness with the racial group for African Americans? Which African Americans are susceptible to movement in their political attitudes about the racial group? Why does malleability in political attachment with racial matter for politics?

The goal of this dissertation is to provide a framework for understanding how political connectedness with the racial group is influenced by short-term contextual factors. This goal is driven by concern about how common assumptions about the stability of this connectedness may be underestimating the role of the political environment in shaping how much group based attitudes inform an individual’s attitudes.

To understand group-based political attachments I focus on the political behavior and attitudes of African Americans. African Americans are an ideal group to examine because research has demonstrated a strong connection between their often unified political behavior and commonly held strong political attachment with their racial group. However, minimal work has been done to investigate if this attachment is truly chronic or if there are instances where we would be able to observe malleability. Moreover, due to their extensive history as a stable political group, Black Americans offer a difficult test of

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1 Linked fate, political attachment with the racial group, political connectedness with the racial group, political identification with the racial group, linked fate identification and political connectedness will be used interchangeably throughout this document.

2 African Americans, Blacks and Black Americans are used interchangeably throughout the document.
my theoretical framework. My ability to find changes in their political connectedness with their racial group would indicate that these findings should hold for groups where, the strength of connectedness is not as strong or stable.

In this research, I explicitly challenge the common notion that political attachment to the racial group among Blacks, also known as linked fate, is static and crystalized due to historical and group socialization. While I do not dispute that the development and formation of the political attachment has a strong basis in socialization, I contend that Black Americans’ understanding of the political world can vary dramatically as a function of social and political context. Contextual factors can increase or decrease the likelihood that particular racial considerations including political attachment with the racial group are activated as well as the strength of the attachment that is expressed.

**What We Know So Far: Linked Fate and Black Consciousness**

*Group Identification*

Group identity is foundational to the understanding of Black political connectedness and the influence this connectedness has on Black support for the racial group interest in politics. Thus far, the literature on racial group identification focuses on understanding the psychological attachment that an individual has with the group. Underlying this line of scholarship is that the racial group is defined in the same way by all group members. My contention is that there are the commonly shared experiences that influence the connection and individual experiences by group members that inform their definition of the group.

Group identity moves beyond simply being identified as a member of the group based on physical and phenotypic characteristics such as those defined by the U.S.
Instead, group identity offers a significantly more autonomy to the individual and a psychological understanding of how they perceive their connection to a group. Group identification refers to an individual’s awareness of being a member of the group and their psychological attachment to the group based on a perception that they have shared beliefs, feelings and interest with other members of the group (Conover 1988; Gurin, Miller, and Gurin 1980; Miller, Gurin, Gurin, and Malanchuck 1981). Literature on group identification, in particular Social Identity Theory (SIT), has extensively examined the influence that groups can have on how an individual defines his or her own identity, even when group distinctions have been minimally defined (Rabbie and Horwitz 1969 and Tajfel, Billig, and Bundy 1971).

In examining group identification beyond the abstract “minimal groups” model work on racial group identification among African Americans has become a central focus. Research on racial identity has presented a variety of perspectives on how Black identity is defined and expressed. Early perspectives often took a constrained approach to defining racial group identification, such as Matthews and Prothro’s (1966) argument that racial group identification is an awareness of identity for Blacks as well as the closeness that Blacks feel to the racial group. More recent work has emphasized the importance of a multi-dimensional approach to understanding Black identity.

Allen, Dawson and Brown (1989) argue that African American identity is made up of five cognitive schemata: Black autonomy, closeness of Black elites, closeness to

3 The “minimal group” paradigm is a social psychological approach to examining group-based behavior. Prior research asserted that group bias stemmed out of personal interest of group members or a form of conflict (Sherif 1966). Tajfel et al (1971) argued that conflict was not a sufficient condition for conflict. They asserted that competition is important but that before people will discriminate people must be categorized as members of an in-group and an out-group. The act of placing people into these categories on its own will produce conflict and discrimination. The group classifications can be arbitrary but will be sufficient enough for people to discriminate against the out-group in favor of their own in-group.
the Black masses, the propensity to adopt positive stereotypical beliefs about African Americans, and the propensity to adopt negative stereotypical beliefs about African Americans. Based on this approach African American who identify with the racial group are dealing with a system of schemata that are distinct but vary in intensity based on the individual. Demo and Hughes (1990) assert the importance of socialization in a multi-dimensional approach to understanding racial identification. From this view childhood and adult socialization serve as space in which information about values, norms, and beliefs related to the racial group are transmitted. While receiving this information, African Americans are imbuing it into their understanding of themselves. This suggests that interpersonal experiences are profoundly influential in the development of racial identity.

Psychological attachment to a group is core to group identity but multiple components in African American society inform this attachment. Experiences, beliefs, awareness of group condition, and socialization all shape how close African Americans feel to the racial group. However, the missing piece in this literature is that it doesn’t focus on how the individual defines the group itself. Assumed across the literature is that individuals are defining the racial group in the same way. Essentially, Blacks have the same understanding of how Blackness is defined and situate themselves within the group based on this definition. In this dissertation, I focus on the importance of understanding how the individual constructs the racial group, including variability in that construction. I go into further detail about my argument and why this matters later in this chapter.

**Group Consciousness**

Group consciousness is an extension of group identification. Group identification
is a precondition for group consciousness (Conover 1988). Group consciousness is inclusive of group identification in that individuals have to have a psychological attachment to the group. In addition to the group identification individuals must have political awareness or ideological beliefs about the group’s social standing along with a commitment to collective action as a means to improve the status of the group and realize its interest (Conover 1988; Miller et al. 1981; Gurin et al. 1980). Based on this definition, in theory, any group that is in a subordinate societal status (ex: Blacks and women) are in a position to develop a group consciousness. The racial consciousness that has been observed in the African American community has resulted in significant literature exploring how it develops and how it is utilized by Blacks in politics.

Scholarship attempting to define group consciousness in the Black community can be seen in early work about the Black condition in society. Brown (1931) argues that Blacks who exhibit racial consciousness have a “tendency towards the sentimental and ideological identification with the racial group” (90). A notion of a common fate between Black individuals is detailed. Brown asserts that due to the race consciousness Blacks believe that “their status and welfare as persons are associated with the status and welfare of their race” (97).

Ferguson (1938) describes racial consciousness as a “collective sentiment in which race becomes the object of loyalty and idealization” (32). She contends that for oppressed groups, like African Americans, racial group consciousness is essential in order for them to be a historic group, be aware of their present condition, and work and

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4 The subordinate status of women in American society has not resulted in a level of gender consciousness that is comparable to that found among African Americans. Gurin (1985) argues that although gender inequality is persistent it is not as striking as racial inequality. Additionally, women have frequent contact with outgroup members—men—and not as much contact solely with ingroup members.
aspire towards an improved future. In comparison to the consciousness observed in immigrants, Blacks stand as unique because they are not able to benefit from physical assimilation in society due to their skin color. Blacks are American but yet find themselves outside of American society. Consequently, within their racial spaces Blacks have developed a culture that runs parallel to American society.

The growth of consciousness in these spaces can also be seen in the seminal work *Black Metropolis*. Drake and Cayton (1945) case study work on segregated Black Chicago during “The Great Migration” details the growth in a group consciousness and strengthened identification due to the social, political and economic limitations that Blacks were facing due to their race. The sense of group improvement as a way to uplift the race and the individual was essential for this environment. Black elites like businessmen, professionals, and politicians that found themselves barred by their color from competing in the market in the Midwest were often frustrated by the fact that their own destiny was linked with the growth of the Black Metropolis. Although outside the institution of slavery and far removed from some of the most restrictive racial laws in the Jim Crow South, the external prohibitions on opportunities for Blacks served as an impetus for a collective approach based on race for success.

By working for the improvement of the racial group as whole, individuals were able to gain leverage on their individual outcomes. Additionally, the isolation of Blacks in segregated communities served to heighten their sense of group consciousness and attentiveness to the treatment of racial group members across the country. Black institutions including the press, churches, and communities in both the North and the South created a Black social network that separate and insulated from Whites. The
notion that group uplift or repression was very much intertwined with opportunities for a Black individual was engrained into African American life.

Brown (1931), Ferguson (1938) and Drake and Cayton (1945) provide substantial evidence that the isolation of the Blacks outside of mainstream society based on their race resulted in the development of a consciousness. Group consciousness was vital for group members to deal with subordination and create their own opportunities in their communities. The creation of institutions and resources centered on the racial group came out of a need created by societal constraints. This line of research utilizes a qualitative approach in understanding Black consciousness. The scholars are able to provide details on particular Black communities, authors, media, and organization but the research is limited in terms of the empirical leverage it is able to provide.

Quantitative approaches that have investigated racial consciousness have relied heavily on public opinion and attitudinal surveys that have large African American samples. Verba and Nie (1972) use a survey with a large number of African-American respondents to understand how African Americans engage in politics and how they are able to do this despite being generally deprived of resources. They find in their empirical work that racial group consciousness serves as a significant resource for Blacks that allows them to participate in politics at levels that are on par with their White counterparts. They operationalize group consciousness as “the number of times that Black respondents referred to race in answers to a series open-ended questions about the groups that were in conflict within their community, and on the problems they faced in personal life, in the community and in the nation” (158).

Similarly, Shingles (1981) utilizes the same measures as Verba and Nie (1972) to
establish that Black consciousness also serves to inform other attitudes that heighten political participation like a sense of internal efficacy and political mistrust. This framework provides details about the tangible political benefits of group consciousness for Blacks. Subsequent measures have developed that approach group consciousness for Blacks from alternative perspective.

Miller et al. (1981) view group consciousness as multi-dimensional which differs from the Verba and Nie (1972) approach. These dimensions rely heavily on how Black group members view the status of the group in references to the dominant group. They contend that work from other models that clump together key aspects of group consciousness overlook the moving parts including structural conditions and varying motivations. They contend that group consciousness is made up of four parts: group identification, polar affect, polar power and individual vs. system blame. Polar affect is the preference held by an individual for their own group and a dislike that they have for out-groups. Polar power is the satisfaction or dissatisfaction that a group member expresses about the current status of the group in relation to the out-group. Individual v. system blame is the belief by an individual that the low status of the group is due to either individual failings or inequities in the social system.

Using an interactive model that incorporates all these measures they test for group consciousness across a variety of subordinate groups including Blacks. They find the strongest empirical evidence that, relative to any other subordinate groups, Black mobilization in politics (electoral and non-electoral) is based on group consciousness. Recent extensions on the Miller et al. (1981) conceptions of consciousness have expanded their measure to incorporate other dimensions, like the importance Blacks place
on their racial identity as well as indicators that capture the “Dubosian two-ness” that Blacks face as an American and a Black person (Harris-Lacewell & Jumm 2007). Although the Miller et al. (1981) approach reveals significant nuance within group consciousness each dimensions is treated, individually instead of as an overarching concept.

In an effort to offer a measure of racial group identity that more accurately captures the significant political attachment that Blacks have with the racial group researchers explored a concept known as common fate. Gurin, Hatchett and Jackson (1989) argue that common fate is made up of two components: interdependence and centrality of group membership. Interdependence is the recognition by Blacks that what happens to Blacks generally also affects one’s own life and that the Black rights movement had an effect on one’s own life. Centrality of group membership is the individual’s opinions about being Black and what they have in common with other Black people. To measure common fate they used three questions that tapped into the two components of common fate. They find that belief in a common fate with other Blacks serves as a major predictor for other attitudes. Blacks who reported a strong common fate with the racial group were more discontented with the group’s political influence and economic status; favored large government programs to help disadvantage groups; were active in political activities that were electoral and non-electoral; believed that racial discrimination was a serious problem; and attributed disparities in status due to race to

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5 W.E.B. DuBois (1903) argued in his work The Souls of Black Folks that Blacks have a double consciousness in which they have to reconcile that they are both American and Black. However, society doesn’t want to accept them as American because they are Black and yet they don’t want to rid themselves of their Blackness to be accepted by white society. This two-ness creates a dissonance for Blacks between to cultural identities that they are trying to resolve.
systemic causes.

Tate (1993) also demonstrates that common fate is a predictor of numerous political attitudes for African Americans. In her work, common fate is defined as similarly to the concept of interdependence where Blacks are asked how what happens to Blacks will shape their individual lives. Common fate perception is associated with political liberalism in Blacks, major basis for political party support for Blacks, positively associated with campaign activism and Black voter turnout in presidential elections, and support for Jesse Jackson’s presidential bids. Common fate perception was the most consistent and strongest influence on Black attitudes towards programs that were race-specific and social services from the government.

Dawson (1994) offers a concept that he calls linked fate, which stems out of the common fate approach to group consciousness. Dawson (1994) argues that linked fate is a measure of politicized group identification. Linked fate is based on two bodies of literature. The first is from social identity and self-categorization theory (Turner et al. 1987). He argues that “social identity allows for multiple self-concepts, prompted by different contexts, but key to understanding the self-categorization process for African Americans is the fact that the social category ‘Black’ in American society cuts across multiple boundaries” (76).

Linked fate stems out of the common fate framework from the group consciousness literature. Dawson contends that linked fate differs from our previous understanding of group consciousness (interdependence and common fate) because it explicitly links the perceptions of self-interest of the individual to perceptions of the interests for the group. Measures of common fate and interdependence focus on the in-
group and out-group status as well as a Black individuals’ discontent with illegitimate social inequities. The mechanism for linked fate attitudes is that “the historical experiences of African Americans have resulted in a situation in which group interests have served as a useful proxy for self-interest.” Although Dawson asserts that his concept is distinctively different, others have contended that linked fate, interdependence, and common fate have negligible differences and that under most circumstances they are interchangeable (McClerking 2001).

Linked fate is measured by a two part question. Blacks are asked, “Do you think what happens generally to the Black people in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?” If Blacks indicate the affirmative to this question then they are asked if it will affect them a lot, some or not very much. The majority of Blacks in Dawson’s study (60-65 percent) report that they feel some or a lot of linked fate. Dawson emphasizes that linked fate is an essential component for the Black Utility Heuristic. It will be the most efficient for Blacks to use their perceptions of the group interest as a proxy for their own self-interest in politics as long as they their life chances are shaped by their race. Linked fate has shown significant predictive power as well for understanding Black political behavior. Linked fate is a significant predictor of support for racialized government policies, positive feelings towards Jesse Jackson, and support for redistributive economic policies.

Linked fate’s perceived stability, reporting consistency, and measurement simplicity has led to significant utilization of measure as an indicator of Black group consciousness in subsequent studies on Black political behavior. Relative to other measures that are viewed as common beliefs that shape political opinion like partisanship
and liberal/conservative ideology linked fate identification matters most to Black opinion formulation (Allen, Dawson and Brown 1989; Kinder and Sanders 1996; Tate 1993). However, even with the substantial work that has been done to understand linked fate and common fate there seems to be limited information on how contextual factors could shape linked fate identification. Essentially, what are the conditions in which linked fate should matter? Additionally, can contextual factors influence the level of linked fate expressed by an individual?

Context is important because it expands the possible factors that inform attitudes. As it stands, the work that has examined group consciousness among African Americans has made a number of strong assumptions about the nature and origins of African American group consciousness. One of the strongest assumptions is that the group status in society is clearly understood and how the individual situates their own self as a member of the group is also the same. Underlying this literature is that within any given context or circumstance a Black individual who reports that they have a strong racial group consciousness will report that consciousness at the same strength. What if the context is not explicitly racial? What if they are conflicted between their self-interest and the group-interest? Are racial considerations always the go to consideration when assessing the political world? A determining factor in how individuals are going to feel about their connectedness to the group is going to be dependent on the political environment and how the individual understands the information relative to one’s own self and to the group. Recent work as examined the importance of context and under what conditions is linked fate a primary consideration for African Americans.

Gay (2004) investigates the role of context on linked fate attitudes by examining
the role of neighborhood context. Gay finds that African Americans who reside in neighborhoods that are well-tended, desirable, and where they have access to resources (public or private) are less likely to believe that race will determine their life chances. African Americans that live in areas where they socially engage with a large concentration of college-educated African Americans are much more pessimistic about the severity of anti-Black discrimination. This research shows that contextual factors play a significant role shaping political attitudes. In this study, racial saliency in social context is an important factor for the activation of a dimension of group consciousness. In this case racial consciousness for African Americans is strongest among Blacks that are engaging in a predominantly African American environment.

White (2007) forwards a similar argument utilizing African American cues in the media. African American linked fate attitudes are activated by explicit racial cues in political communication. In the absence of explicit racial cues, African Americans rely on mainstream predispositions like partisanship and ideology to form their political attitudes. Both of these studies provide insight into our understanding of linked fate and racial saliency. These studies challenge the argument that racial group identification is chronically salient and always accessible for African American attitude formation (Higgins 1996, Price and Tewksbury 1997). Instead, they argue that African American racial group identification and attitudes are influenced by explicit racial cues in various spaces like residential and media contexts.

The literature on group identification and group consciousness for African American politics is substantial. There is a lot of variation in how it is measured and what comprise the components of consciousness but there are key aspects of the literature that
I am drawing from. Group consciousness has been described as a multi-dimensional concept that is informed by a number of different factors. For the purposes of this dissertation I am going to examine one of the many dimensions of group consciousness—political connectedness with the racial group. On its own, political connectedness with the racial group—linked fate—is a very important political measure due to its predictive power with regards to Black political behavior and opinion. Linked fate is one clear political manifestation of a strong group consciousness amongst African Americans. From the literature we know several things about linked fate.

Political connectedness with the racial group is much more than a psychological attachment. As a part of this politicized attachment Blacks have to be aware of the status of the group in society and feel that they are in a subordinate status relative to the dominant racial group. They also must feel that they have a lot in common with other Blacks. This political attachment with the racial group serves as a significant predictor of a number of opinions and engagement in politics including support for race-based policies, increased political participation, support for Black candidates, and support for redistributive policies. The presence of linked fate is comparable in shaping opinions like other predispositions like partisanship and ideology. Recent literature has demonstrated that contextual factors, particularly those that are explicitly racial (Black neighborhoods or racialized political communication) activate linked fate considerations. Linked fate is not chronically accessible but heavily dependent on the presence of explicitly racial information in a context.

I contend that there are two things missing from our understanding of linked fate is: 1) the way in which context can vary an individual’s politicized identification with the
racial group and 2) the way that the individual perceives their own self as being a part of the group interest based on contextual cues. It is assumed in most of the literature that individuals who express a linked fate with the racial group are chronically taking into account their political connectedness with the racial group in politics and that this connectedness will be at the same strength regardless of context. I contend that the treatment of linked fate as a predisposition does not account for the contextual factors that can inform an individual’s attachment and result in a change in their expressions of said attachment. Furthermore, researchers have also assumed that all Black group members view the group interests for the Black community as the same. That an individual group member will view those issues advocated as broader group interests as issues that are important to their current circumstances. Both of these factors focus significantly more on the perception of the individual that is much more nuanced than previously studied.

**Theoretical Framework**

*Predispositions and Attitudes*

The research questions I presented earlier examine the idea that linked fate is much more dynamic based on the individual’s perceptions than previously understood. For the purpose of this dissertation I operationalize political attachment with racial group using the commonly used linked fate measure due to the predominance of its usage in the study of Blacks politics as a measure of group consciousness and racial political identification for African Americans. I also use this measure because when asked, most African Americans indicate that they have a high linked fate (some or a lot) with the
racial group. Again, I contend that the treatment of the measure as a stable construct overlooks the dynamic nature of this political attachment with the racial group. I argue that in most scholarship that discusses the political connectedness exhibited by African American treats linked fate like it is a predisposition. As a result of this treatment, aspects of linked fate that should be much more fluid due to changes in the political environment and how the individuals perceives their own self with respect to group are not examined. To begin to unpack linked fate we must have a clear understanding about why linked fate has been viewed as a predisposition.

Sears (1993) argues that within the attitudes and opinion literature symbolic predispositions are at one of end of the attitude continuum while non-attitudes (Converse 1969) comprise the opposing pole. Sears asserts that these predispositions can be identified based on three criteria. First, relative to all other attitudes symbolic predispositions are the most stable attitudes over time. Second, when individuals are presented with similar attitude objects symbolic predispositions yield the most consistent responses. Third, they are the most influential over attitudes towards other objects. Individuals acquire their symbolic predispositions fairly early in life but they persist throughout. A common predisposition discussed in the politics literature is a partisanship in terms of its stability.

Based on the literature, linked fate would be classified as a symbolic predisposition. Linked fate is believed to be fairly stable overtime. When presented with similar attitude objects, for instance racialized policy, a belief in linked fate seems to result in a consistent response in support of said policies. Linked fate stands out as the most influential attitude towards other objects relative to other attitudes like partisanship
within an explicitly racialized context. Additionally, scholars would contend that this attitude is acquired early in life for Blacks and persist throughout life (Dawson 1994). I contend that absent in this assessment is a closer look at the factors that inform this attitude on a regular basis. Aspects of linked fate demonstrate that part of this Black political identification makes the attitude, at least in part, a predisposition. Our understanding of linked fate should not be limited due to these characteristics because day to day political experiences serve an important part in informing this attitude as well as how Black individuals view themselves as a part of the Black racial group in politics.

*Personal Experiences*

Linked fate is informed by a Black individual’s knowledge of the Black experience in the United States but it is also informed by their personal experiences as well as how the group experience is defined in political world. Dawson (1994) argues in his book that his interest in seeing why group based politics has maintained in the Black community is due to the diverging Blacks experiences in the post-Civil Rights environment. In particular, the growth in the Black middle class but their continued commitment to the improvement and advancement of the group seemed counterintuitive. By acknowledging this difference Dawson is also demonstrating that although there has been a clear historical narrative for the African American community the Black experience is changing and evolving. I think that the difference in experience and how the individual knows the views the group outside a space like the Jim Crow south in which race limited your life chances socially, economically, and politically. This is not to say that linked fate is somehow going to diminish overtime because there are still common experiences among Blacks due to their skin color. It does mean that variation
that has always been within the Black community is going to be much more salient to how they view the Black experience.

Blacks that live in a society where racial hierarchies are still used as an identifying characteristic and are often associated with negative connotations have a shared experience of dealing with racial discrimination. Racial discrimination prior to the Civil Rights Movement was clear because regardless of other social identities (class or gender) or characteristic (income or age) Black individuals were denied access and resources categorically based on race. With the removal of some institutional barriers Blacks still cope with discrimination based on their race but the experience can diverge significantly.

Hoschild (1995) argues that Blacks who have achieved the “American Dream” and have made their way into the middle and upper-class through attainment of white collar or corporate jobs deal with significant racial discrimination. The type of discrimination experienced is one in which Blacks have somewhat assimilated to mainstream middle-class values but still find that they are not accepted by their white middle-class counterparts. They are still on the outside of the white social circles in corporate America. This is a very different experience from Blacks that are dealing with racial discrimination from White authorities in the urban setting.

Weaver and Lerman (2010) argue that Black contact with the carceral state—criminal justice system—is disproportionately higher for Blacks and is even more concentrated amongst young Black men and low-income Blacks. They argue that police surveillance and high rates of incarceration are concentrated in urban areas where there are large populations of people of color. In both of these cases, Blacks are experiencing
racial discrimination (shared commonality) but the experiences are distinctive (personal experiences). Blacks inform their understanding of the “Black experience” based on not only their knowledge of the group’s racial history but an awareness of what their personal experiences. There are actual differences between what Blacks group members are thinking of when they are asked to indicate their belief in a linked fate with Blacks.

In the self-categorization literature scholars describe how the in-group becomes part of the individual self (Turner et al 1987). In the case of Blacks, they use racial group characteristics to define themselves as the prototypical in-group member. This may be a difficult task because how does one determine which characteristics are salient in a particular context beyond racial skin color. Individuals in the same group may use some of the characteristics to define the prototypical member (ex: common racial history, skin color, etc.) but it is impossible for the standard prototype to include every possible characteristic. As a result, individuals engage in a process of self-anchoring in which they use their own individual characteristics and attributes to define their representation of the group when there are cognitive gaps.

Otten and Epstude (1996) assert that cognitive gaps are applicable to well-established groups like African Americans. Black individuals can be presented with a context in which they are unsure about which characteristics are applicable to the group but they have to choose. Otten and Epstude contend that in these situations individual will resolve the conflict through self-anchoring in which they use themselves as a heuristic to fill in cognitive gaps with regards to their in-group representation. A Black individual’s linked fate will be heavily dependent on how the individual defines the prototypical member or members of the racial group. This distinction in how the group is
defined by the individual will not only factor into their sense of a linked fate with the group but it will also be shaped by the salient information provided by the context in which Blacks are asked to report this attitude. I argue that how an individual is going to define the racial group to be more similar to them than some abstract understanding of all that comprises Blackness.

**Political Context**

The political context will also shape the accessibility of information for Blacks about the Black community. Recent research has demonstrated that racial considerations are not chronically salient for Blacks in every political context (White 2007). White (2007) finds that linked fate attitudes can be activated when race is explicitly discussed such as in racialized political communication (White 2007). I push beyond the notion that linked fate is simply activated by explicitly racial spaces. I contend that the amount and level of linked fate expressed can be influenced by the ways in which the racial group is evoked within a given context. Black identity and racial group interest can vary in how they are defined in politics. The Black racial group can be framed as a political racial group in political discourse that can be inclusive or exclusive of certain group members. When Blacks are discussed as a political group in communication the “common” group interests are often defined in a way that certain people are included as a part of the group and others may find themselves on the outside of the broader group interest.

Cohen (1999) argues that in politics, African American group interests are defined in a constrained manner so that certain segments of the Black community are not included. Due to the standing of the political racial group in mainstream society, many Blacks pursue a discourse in intra-group politics that that often presents an unfavorable
image of certain group members. Cohen cites vulnerable communities within the Black population like homosexuals and intravenous drug users who are in need of group resources but are unable to receive them because their lifestyles are inconsistent with mainstream values. Strolovich (2007) also asserts that Black interests groups often pursue policies and agendas that are limited in that they focus on goals that are disproportionately beneficial to the Black status quo.

Although Cohen and Strolovich are primarily focused on those Blacks that comprise the marginalized, I contend that Blacks who are not part of the Black elite echelon (low income or working class Blacks) are often in a space in which the political racial group may not be inclusive of the issues that they cope with on a regular basis. These individuals may demonstrate support for a policy like college based affirmative action because it is framed as a Black issue but they also may not ever benefit from the policy due to their socioeconomic status. I contend that individuals like this are in a space in which their linked fate is more malleable because the way Blackness is framed in a political context can shape this political attitude.

Political context can also create an environment in which the Black group interest may be in conflict with an individual’s self-interests. The argument from Dawson (1994) is that linked fate is foundational for Blacks group-based politics and is an important part of what he calls the “Black Utility Heuristic.” Dawson defines the Black Utility Heuristic as a decision making strategy in which it is more efficient for Blacks to use the group interest as a proxy for their own self-interest. From his view, it is easier for Blacks to determine what is best for the group than what is best for them as an individual. I believe that there are conditions in which Black interests may not be consistent with a
Black individual’s interest and that they can have personal incentives that may pit them against the perceived group interest. In this case this is another example in which linked fate attitudes would be susceptible to change based on context. Information provided by an environment in which the group interests and the self-interests are in conflict will result in Blacks having to reassess their connectedness with the racial group.

Engaging the notion that context is important to our understanding of linked fate does not diminish the stability of the group-based behavior we observe among Blacks but it does require us to expand our assertion. There are aspects of linked fate that make it very much like a predisposition but I contend that the dynamics that can affect this attitude indicate that we should think about linked fate attitudes as a distribution where contextual factors can shape they ways in which the attitude is expressed.

Zaller and Feldman (1992) argue in their work that people deal with multiple considerations when they are evaluating public policy. Due to the dearth of factors to be considered individuals tend to not have a fixed or true attitude. Instead, they have collection of considerations that they could utilize to evaluate the political world but at any given time all of these considerations are no salient for the individual. Individuals may have numerous considerations that they have collected overtime but they have short-term recall when asked to express their attitude. As a result, people give responses off of the “top of their head” (Taylor and Fiske 1978). Within a given context individuals are expressing an attitude that reflects aspects that were salient at the time. I think that this is applicable to linked fate attitudes.

Linked fate is an attitude that is learned overtime but I also argue that information in a context can make other considerations salient for Black individuals and influence the
likelihood that these considerations are accessible when they evaluate their linked fate. Consequently, individuals hold a distribution of linked fate attitudes where anyone can be pulled upon based on the salient considerations in a given context. I think that assessment made by individuals about their linked fate attitudes based on salient considerations also helps to maintain the stability of the linked fate attitude among Blacks.

William Cross (1971: 1991) argues that for Blacks their understanding of racial group identification and group consciousness stems from a process called nigrescence. As Blacks go through life (from childhood to adulthood) they have experiences in which they learn more about their Black identity through experiences. They go through stages in which their identity with the group is heightened due to an encounter or exposure to information. After a period of this heightened sense of Black identification attitudes will taper off but due to this experience individuals have gone through they will be more connected and highly identified with the group. Linked fate attitudes are similar in that various factors in politics can serve as an impetus to re-evaluate one’s attitude about the racial group. This attitude is informed not only by the knowledge that Blacks have about this history of the race but also by information that is made salient in the day to day political environment. The process of reassessing based on salient considerations not only allows for the individual to express their linked fate to the group based on a given context but it also allows for repetition in thinking about the importance of this political identification. So for the Black individual, the attitude continues remain relevant in politics because it is an attitude that is frequently being assessed.
What Does This New Approach Provide?

Using a framework that expands linked fate attitudes beyond the predisposition classification provides a more nuanced approach to understanding African American group-based politics. This approach enables explanation of the dynamics of intra-group politics. It gives empirical relevance for politics to the fact that there are significant differences in in-group members’ understandings of what it means to be Black. In an era in which race is not as prohibitive in constraining life chances we need to utilize a more critical lens at a Black experiences that are becoming more diverse. This framework helps explain how Black Americans use these increasingly divergent experiences and information to assess their consciousness and political connection with the racial group.

Black group-based behavior in politics is often manifested in ways in which it seems like all Blacks think about politics in the same way. This framework challenges this argument and asserts that there are other factors that are being engaged that shape Black attitudes and the political attachment that Blacks have with the racial group. We need to consider these factors and what it does to linked fate attitudes since previous research has demonstrated that linked fate is a significant predictor of numerous things like policy preferences, opinions, political participation, and even political empowerment. Blacks who think that their issues are being excluded from how the racial group is being defined may show a decrease in their engagement in politics on behalf of the group. It may be difficult to mobilize these individuals in politics based on the group interest alone. You may see changes in support for policies that seem to not be beneficial to the Black individual even though they are being defined as a group interest. A more malleable linked fate attitude means we need to be cognizant as scholars of how we
utilize linked fate in our work and also the implications of treating linked fate attitudes like the context or Black individual’s experience does not influence the attitude.

**Methodological Approach and Justification**

To evaluate my theory about linked fate I conduct a set of experimental studies. This is a methodological departure from the work that has been done thus far on political connectedness with the racial group, which has relied heavily on survey research. The findings from this previous work have been insightful, but are somewhat limited in ability to pin down answer to questions of causality. The causal effects that personal experiences or context can have on linked fate attitudes cannot be rigorously assessed from the currently available data. As the political context and diversity in the Black group composition changes there will be diverging perceptions of the racial group and racial group interest in politics. Can this increased diversity result in a dilution of the “group-ness” that is essential for Black group-based politics? Using experimental methods will allow for empirical test that assess the effect of this increased diversification.

**Road Map of Dissertation**

My research questions and analysis take on a variety of aspects that should inform Black’s political connectedness with the racial group. To adequately speak to all the questions of interest I have opted to do three papers that each are comprised of an experimental design that test, a particular aspect of my overarching theory about linked fate attitudes being informed by personal considerations as well as political context.
In the first paper, Chapter 2, I engage the argument that the context created by racialized political communication will have effects on linked fate attitudes. Using an experimental design, I examine how expressions of linked fate will vary based on which segments of the Black community (Blacks and Low–Income Blacks) are being defined as a part of the broader “Black” interest. I find that Blacks who are responsive to this variation are those that fall into the middle of the socioeconomic distribution, what I call “moveable Blacks.” “Moveable Blacks” are not chronically included or chronically excluded in the broader racial group interest. There is a significant change in their strength of linked fate with the racial group when their interests are being framed as the major interest for the group.

In Chapter 3, I argue that when Blacks are presented with conflict between their racial group interests and their self-interests they experience a cognitive dissonance due to their understanding of group norms of behavior in politics. I investigate how Blacks navigate their linked fate attitudes when they are in a political context that pits the racial group interest and their simple self-interests. Using the 2012 presidential election, as a context, I designed a study that incentivizes Blacks (self-interest) at the cost of not maximizing the group-interest.⁶ I empirically test difference in expressions of linked fate

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⁶The study was designed and conducted in collaboration with Dr. Ismail White and Dr. Troy Allen. In the experiment, two empirical tests were being conducted. The first test was designed to see if Blacks would defect from group norms of behavior when presented with a clearly defined self-interest. Furthermore, will racialized group pressure (reputational sanctions) decrease the likelihood that Blacks will defect from the expected group norm? To assess these questions analysis of campaign donations were assessed across the experimental treatments. The findings from campaign donations analysis presented in a co-authored between White, Allen and I that is currently under review at an academic journal. The second test from this experimental design is the focus of my second paper (Chapter 3). In this paper, the focus is on variation in linked fate attitudes and the influence of the political context created by the experimental treatments has on linked fate attitudes. I argue that Blacks are conflicted when they have to choose between their self-interest and group-interest. This conflict increases the likelihood that they experience cognitive dissonance. I conducted an empirical analysis of changes (pre and post-treatment) in expressions of linked fate attitudes.
between the pre-questionnaire and the post-treatment questionnaire. I find that Blacks alter their expressions of linked fate to minimize the inconsistencies in the political context. Blacks attempt to reaffirm their political connectedness to the racial group.

In the third paper, Chapter 4, I argue that political context created by survey instruments can substantially influence expressions of linked fate by Blacks. Much of the data that has been used to look at linked fate and other measures of group consciousness have been done in surveys in which there are explicit cues and questions about race. The presence of racialized information can result in a priming effect that heightens the salience of racial identification for an individual leading to changes in their expressions of connectedness. Using an experimental design, I test the effect that explicitly racial survey introductions can have on expressions of linked fate. I also test the effect that a question delay (a question block that does not explicitly reference race) has on linked fate. Does the placement of the linked fate measure in a survey effect the strength of the identification? I find that the presence of an explicitly racial survey introduction does not have a significant effect on linked fate attitudes. I also find that exposure to the question delay results in lower levels of linked fate.

In the final chapter, I review all of the findings across the three papers and discuss the broader implications of the research. One implication of my research relates to the effects of linked fate variability on other attitudes. Research has shown that linked fate has significant predictive power for support of race-based policy attitudes and support of co-ethnic electoral candidates. I contend that the malleability in expression of linked fate demonstrated in my research should lead to observable short-term changes in policy.
attitudes for Blacks. Linked fate variability will also have major implications for the types of electoral appeals or communication that is used to mobilize Blacks in support of co-ethnic electoral candidates or race-based policies.

The findings from my research also have significant implications for understanding other group-based phenomenon observed in politics. I assert that the application of the commonly used linked fate framework to other minority groups (ex: Latinos) does not account for diverging experiences in the group or how political context informs group members about how the group is defined. Malleability in political connectedness with the group is common. Differences in experiences should not be seen as a limitation for a group-based politics but as an aspect that needs to be understood so that political messages and information that are utilized account for who is being defined as a part of the group. I also discuss the questions that are left unanswered about linked fate and Black group consciousness.
Chapter 2: Black Like Me: How Political Communication Changes Racial Group Identification and Its Implications

Introduction

On July 13, 2013, George Zimmerman, a neighborhood watch volunteer, was found “not guilty” in a Florida court for the death of an unarmed young Black man, Trayon Martin. Protest and deliberation over the racial meaning of Martin’s death and Zimmerman’s acquittal ensued. Into this contested landscape came the comments of President Barack Obama, who addressed the matter in a press conference. Obama connected Martin’s death and the anguish over the trial to a universal description of the challenge of being a Black man in the United States. “There are very few African American men in this country who haven't had the experience of being followed when they were shopping in a department store. That includes me.” Obama thus painted the loss of Trayvon Martin as a symptom of a challenge faced by the African American community. He was a loss to all because his fate could have been that of any Black man—even the President. Obama’s statements made an average Black male’s fate linked with the entire group’s.

Obama’s remarks are an example of what I call an inclusive message. Inclusive messages are messages that heighten belief among a subset of the Black population that their interests are significantly linked to comprehensive group interest. In this example, racial profiling experienced by Black males is framed as a salient and prominent racial
group interest. His rhetoric is inclusive of their condition in a way that clearly acknowledges experiences of Black men but places the blame for these circumstances on systemic racial biases rather than their behavior. This attempt to explicitly discuss the practice of racial profiling by Obama is exceptional. This kind of inclusive political discourse is explicit in publicly recognizing the plight of all Black men. Obama’s public acknowledgement of racial profiling brings an issue that disproportionately victimizes a politically overlooked subset of the Black community (Black men) to the forefront of the mainstream discourse as a broader Black interest. My argument is that exposure to this type of political communication will result in heightened belief among Black men that their individual interest is significantly linked to the comprehensive group interest.

My investigation into the effect of political communication that frames segments of the political racial group as included or excluded from the broader Black interest on political attachment with the group (i.e linked fate) is a departure from previous work on linked fate. The focus of the research has been on the development of a linked fate with the racial group due to a shared historical experience (Dawson 1994; Gurin, Hatchett and Jackson 1989) and the strength and stability of the group-based attitude in the face of economic polarization within the racial group (Dawson 1994). Thus, linked fate has been treated as a static predisposition—not an attitude that moves with context.

More generally, despite advances in our understanding of how foundational linked fate is to Black politics in which group interests are often prioritized over self-interest (Dawson 1994) and the role that political communication has on activating these racial group considerations (White 2007) the dynamic nature of linked fate has yet to be examined. Most studies do not include data or analysis that accounts for the malleability
of linked fate attitudes. They also do not consider the contextual factors that influence expressions of this attachment with the political racial group. What effect do these more inclusive messages have on political attitudes for segments of the racial group that find their concerns passed over when the broader racial group interest are formed? Does the inclusivity of political communication about Black interest shape the way in which Black individuals see their own fate tied to that of the racial group?

The purpose of this article is to advance our understanding of the effects of political communication on group-based politics by answering the previous questions. To answer these questions I engage literatures on Black politics, political communication and framing. I offer and test a theoretically based model that seeks to comprehend the effect of racially inclusive political communication on expressions of linked fate. This research seeks to distinguish the types of inclusive political messages that should result in greater variability in political identification with the racial group and seeks to isolate which members of the political racial group are more likely to be susceptible to malleability in their linked fate attitudes. I challenge the conventional wisdom that linked fate is a static predisposition by arguing instead that political context, in this case political communication, shapes the way group members see their own interests as connected with those of the group. Furthermore, by examining a political group that has demonstrated a consistent pattern in their prioritization of group interest, this study contributes to a broader understanding of group-based politics and the intra-group differences that can result in differences in expressions of political attachment.
The Effect of Political Communication on Strength of Political Identification with a Racial Group

African Americans as a political racial group present an ideal case to for examining the influence of political communication on the political connectedness that one has with a particular group. African Americans, in general, have been shown to have a strong connection with the group as the result of their shared experiences in politics on the basis of race (Dawson 1994; Gurin, Hatchett, and Jackson 1989). This political experience has resulted in political decision-making in which many Blacks tend to prioritize the group interest above self-interest. Linked fate is commonly used to describe the political attachment that Blacks have with the racial group.

Blacks who have a strong political attachment with the group tend to believe that what happens to the group has some effect on them as an individual. African Americans who would be expected to utilize other factors in their political decision making due to higher class and socioeconomic status (SES) continue to express a strong political attachment with the racial group that is higher relative to other Blacks (Dawson 1994). This variation has yet to be well explained. Some have argued that these differences in linked fate within the Black racial group are due to variation in understanding of the economic status of the racial group (Dawson 1994).

Blacks of higher economic status are more likely to believe in the economic subordination of Blacks. I argue that the economic subordination argument does not delve deep enough to understanding this particular pattern in Black political behavior. I contend that lower levels of linked fate expressed by some Blacks is importantly connected to a sentiment that they are not included in the “we” that is Black political
identity since they are to blame for their circumstances. Patterns of political communication establish some members of the community as marginal and others as more centrally seen as the embodiment of the political identity or the “Blackness” that we are talking about when the political racial group is invoked. Political communication for the purposes of this paper is discourse or information about politics that is disseminated through the news media. This political communication is essential to informing and reinforcing one’s standing in the political group. The discourse provides clear cues as to how the mainstream society views the group’s status as well as who is able to include themselves in the political identification. Thus, if the discourse were changed then more Blacks would see themselves as connected to the group.

In making this argument, I draw on the political identification literature and the
way in which the political identity shapes a group member’s political lens. Which Blacks are going to be prone to movement in their linked fate attitudes based on messages received from political communication? I argue that the subset of Blacks that are neither those that are chronically included in group representations and those that are chronically excluded from group representations are the most susceptible to increases in their linked fate attitudes when short run political messages shape the broader racial group interest as including their interest. I refer to these individuals as” moveable Blacks.” Figure 1 provides a visual explanation of my framework. For the purposes of this framework, the line in Figure 1 is representative of the Black population. This line representation is not meant to imply that there is singular dimension of Black people. It is designed to represent groups within racial group. I contend that there are significant differences among Blacks in the ways that they receive messages from political communication. I define the broader group interest to be the issues that are prioritized as political goals for the improvement of the political racial group as a whole. Additionally, these broader interests are defined so that the condition and social standing of the racial group are attributed to institutional failings rather than individual shortcomings (Gurin, Miller and Gurin 1980; Miller, Gurin, Gurin and Malanchuk 1981).

In making this argument, I am drawing on a body of work that establishes that there are certain Blacks that chronically included as a part of the political racial group. Chronically included Blacks are those Blacks whose interests are habitually used to

7 Part of the intra-group discourse entails Blacks legitimizing their group standing in society in a specific manner. African Americans that express a strong identification with the political racial group also tend to express a strong belief that the condition of the group is due to a racially unequal system. They believe that the fault of the condition faced by Blacks is due to a system that is unjust with matters that are tied to race. System blame legitimizes the Black condition. (Gurin, Miller and Gurin 1980; Miller, Gurin, Gurin and Malanchuk 1981).
define the broader group interest. In Figure 1, chronically included Blacks are on the right side. Dawson (1994) argues that Blacks with high socioeconomic status report the highest levels of linked fate. He contends that these individuals report high levels of linked fate because they have a clearer awareness and understanding of the subordinate status of Blacks in American society. This justification is lacking because many Blacks, beyond those that are of high socioeconomic status, are aware of the subordinate status of Blacks. Many Blacks across the socioeconomic spectrum go through experiences and live in conditions where their race can limit opportunities. I contend that Blacks with high socioeconomic status have high levels of linked fate because they are able to influence what gets defined as the broader group interests. In the process of defining what interests are going to be important to the political racial group they favor those interests that will benefit Blacks that are high SES or the Black elites. What allows for elite Blacks to determine the broader group interests? Elite Blacks have two advantages that allow for them to frame the broader group interests for the political racial group: 1) resources to engage in the intra-group politics where the group interests are defined and 2) the ability to strictly define who is a part of the political racial group.

The subset of Blacks that are chronically included have the resources, means and time to engage in intra-group politics in terms of defining the broader group interest (Strolovich 2007). They comprise the majority of the Black political interest groups and are the most active members in these organizations (Strolovich 2007). As a result, certain interests that will be the most beneficial for elite Blacks or those Blacks that are likely to become a part of this subset get prioritized. For example, affirmative action policy is presented in politics as a policy that will be beneficial for creating racial and gender
equality in the academic and job arenas. Although prioritized by Black elites as a broader group interest, Blacks that will be able to benefit from this policy are those that are already part of the group’s elite or are likely to be individuals that will become a part of this elite subset. The consequence of this prioritization is that many individuals that feel connected with the political racial group may not see their issues or interest reflected into the broader group interest. I contend that prioritization of interests that favor Black elites not only defines what is “politically Black” but will also shape the effectiveness of group based appeals that attempt to politically mobilize or influence racial group members. Who is defined as “politically Black” or as a part of the broader group interest will also be dependent on concerns that Black elites have about how the group is perceived by mainstream society.

Due to the negative images and connotations that have been assigned to Black identity in mainstream political discourse Black elites are very cognizant of how “political Blackness” is represented. Cohen (1999) argues that in the American political environment Blackness is constrained. Simply being a member of the racial group because of skin color does not mean that when the broader racial group interests are invoked in politics that they will be inclusive of all Blacks. There are segments of the Black community whose interests and issues are relegated outside of the boundaries of political racial group. Cohen argues that segments of the Black community that live lifestyles that appear to be in conflict with middle-class mainstream values are not only ostracized by the mainstream society but also by Black elites. This isolated segment of the Black community comprises those Blacks that are marginalized or chronically excluded. I argue that they are chronically excluded because in the defining the broader
group interest their interest are not included. Figure 1 shows examples on the left hand side of groups that are cited as being excluded in political Blackness like Black intravenous drug users and Black LGBTQ (Cohen 1999). The apprehension by Black elites is that the marginalized subsets of the Black community present a problematic image of the community that will be looked down upon by the dominant White society and used to represent that political racial group as a whole. To ensure that the image of the political group is positive Black elites push interests that demonstrate that Blacks are trying to be in-line with mainstream values. Chronically excluded Blacks are less likely to report high levels of linked fate (Dawson 1994). They report low levels of political attachment because they are repeatedly informed through means like political communication that they are not a part of the broader racial group interests in politics. Attempting to increase their political attachment would require a significant change in the way in which Blackness is evoked in politics that would demonstrate a continuous effort to incorporate their issues into the broader group interest.

The current literature provides substantial details on certain segments of the Black community. Chronically included Blacks who tend to have high levels of political attachment with the racial group play an integral role in how the broader group interests are defined. I contend that their high levels of linked fate reported by chronically included Blacks is because the broader group interest typically encompasses interests that are important to Black elites. Chronically excluded Blacks find their interest frequently defined outside of the political racial group interest due to the concern by Black elites that the lifestyle of marginalized Blacks is in conflict with mainstream political values. To maintain a positive image of the political racial group the interest of the marginalized
will not be prioritized by the Black elite. Missing in the literature is an explanation for Blacks that are neither chronically included nor chronically excluded. They are the Blacks that are leftover. These Blacks are what I call *moveable Blacks*.

Moveable Blacks make up middle region of Figure 1. Moveable Blacks are not a monolith. In fact, they are not a clearly defined group. They are any and all Blacks that are not those that chronically included and chronically excluded. Within the moveable Black collective are smaller sets of definable groups like Black union workers, Blacks with some college, and lower middle class Blacks. These segments of the Black community are attentive to how the racial group engages in politics but in many cases they find that appeals made to the racial group in politics do not include their interest.

Moveable Blacks face issues and concerns that differ from those that are chronically included, yet they get overlooked in the political discussion. Subsets of moveable Blacks are not as active with interests groups and organizations that work on behalf of the political racial group. However, most subsets of moveable Blacks are not in a space in which they seem to be in conflict with the image of the Black community desired by Black elites like those Blacks that chronically excluded. These Blacks are knowledgeable enough that they are aware of racial appeals in politics but they also recognize that these appeals about the political racial group are not always inclusive of their interests. When their interests are discussed in political communication they want their circumstances to be framed and legitimized with the same “institutional failings” narrative that is applied to the broader group interests. Blame for their societal position shouldn’t be presented as an individual failing but as the result of systemic problems due to society’s racial hierarchy. Thus, I argue that specific subsets of moveable Blacks will
be show movement in their linked fate attitudes based on the targeting of inclusive messages they receive from racialized political communication. Moveable Blacks will redefine their understanding of the political racial group and express higher levels of linked fate when political messages are targeted to them. The broader interest of the political racial group is defined in terms of their interests.

**Racialized Political Communication Experiment**

Because I take political communication and discourse to be central to the construction and use of political attachment with racial group, I test my argument with an experiment that varies political communication about the political racial group by reframing which segments of Blacks are being used to define the broader group interests. Using this type of experimental research is empirically valuable because it holds constant confounding factors (such as media content) that threaten direct causality between political communication and political attachment with the racial group as well as provide a clear comparisons to a baseline or control condition. Here I create differences in how the political racial group is framed (broader group or subset of moveable Blacks) in the political communication in order to present targeted inclusive messages to specific segments of the Black community. Again, inclusiveness of these targeted messages should result in changes in linked fate attitudes for segments of the political racial group.

I expect that the reframing of the broader group interest will be important to the linked fate attitudes held by the subset of moveable Blacks that often perceive that their interest are not incorporated. When a subset of moveable Blacks observes that their interests are being defined as part of the broader group interest they will not only redefine
their political attachment to racial group but they will report increased levels of linked fate due to these “Black Like Me” appeals. The levels of linked fate reported by this subset of moveable Blacks will be comparable to the linked fate reported by chronically included Blacks. I also expect that Blacks that are chronically included (ex: high SES Blacks) will consistently express the strongest levels of linked fate regardless of how the political racial group is framed in political communication because their interests embody the broader group interests. Their chronic inclusion in the broader racial group interests makes them less susceptible to episodic change.

For the experimental design I use a post-test only design, where subjects were randomly assigned to be exposed to racialized political information in mainstream communication about African American performance in higher education or no such political information. The use of the mainstream press in the experiment was twofold. First, research on the influence of racialized political communication on African American political identity has primarily focused on communication that occurs in indigenous sources (Harris-Lacewell 2004). Missing from the literature is how mainstream media informs the development of a political attachment based on racial group identification. Second, mainstream political communication plays a significant role in informing political attachment with the racial group due to the frequent exposure that African Americans have with this content and the negative bias that this communication tends to have in its coverage of the racial group (Gilens 1996; Gilliam, Iyengar, Simon and Wright 1996). Mainstream political communication in this study is several fictitious New York Times articles about the achievement and failures of various Blacks in higher education.
Higher education was used as the main issue area in the experiment for a number of reasons. Collegiate performance is a political issue in which the Black community has had difficulty matching levels of achievement similar to that of their white peers. But, achievement in higher education is often framed in the mainstream discourse as an issue that is based on an individual’s ability and merit rather than a systemic success or failure. I contend that varying the inclusivity of messages about Black collegiate performance (a broader group interest) will create targeted messages that can appeal to a subset of moveable Blacks. The framing of the issue by using language about racial disparities for Black achievement in college also defines the issue as a group problem. These messages will also employ a systemic justification and acknowledgement for Black collegiate performance regardless of if it is good or bad. The subset of moveable Blacks that see themselves reflected in the targeted inclusive message (i.e. Black Like Me appeals) will not only redefine their identification with the political racial group but they will report higher levels of linked fate as a result. In this case the subset of moveable Blacks of interest is Blacks with some college education as shown in Figure 2.
This subset of Blacks is of particular interest because they are Blacks that have attempted to be part of the chronically included by moving up in socioeconomic status through academic attainment but for some reason they were unable to finish. They are also not a part of the chronically excluded because they are not in extreme conflict with middle class values of meritocracy and hard work. However, these individuals are in a situation in which they are dealing with a problem that is unique to their subset. The mainstream political communication that discusses educational attainment in higher education with regards to the political racial group tends to focus on Blacks who have graduated from college or Blacks that struggle to enter college. Additionally, those individuals who were not able to finish college aren’t typically engaged in the discourse in a way that frames their circumstances like the broader group interest, where institutional failings are to
Experiment Conditions

In the study, I designed five conditions in which participants were randomly assigned after completing a brief set of demographic questions in the pre-questionnaire. Table 1 offers a general description of the experimental conditions.\(^8\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conditions</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Control</td>
<td>Facebook Technology (N=103)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaguely Inclusive Message (1)</td>
<td>Increase in College Graduation Rates for Blacks (N=100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Targeted Inclusive Message (2)</td>
<td>Increase in College Graduation Rates for Low Income Blacks (N=104)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Targeted Inclusive Message (3)</td>
<td>Decrease in College Graduation Rates for Low Income Blacks (N=104)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaguely Non-Inclusive Message (4)</td>
<td>Decrease in College Graduation Rates for Blacks (N=102)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Description of Experiment Conditions

In four of the conditions I vary the targeted inclusive messages in fictitious *New York*

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\(^8\) The complete experimental treatments are available in the appendix.
Times articles based on subset of moveable Blacks that I am interested in—Blacks with some college education. I contend that these targeted inclusive messages will result in changes in linked fate attitudes for moveable Blacks. In the first treatment participants receive a “vaguely inclusive message” as shown in Figure 3. This article discusses an increase in college graduation rates for Blacks. This message is identified as vaguely inclusive because it is highlighting that the broader group has done well but it is not excluding any members that have not moved into the chronically included. It is simply stating information about the group without signaling to Blacks with some college that in acknowledging the achievement of the broader group they are also being excluded. The article also includes a quote from a fictional elite that is a representative from the U.S. Department of Education acknowledging the increase in college graduation rates for Blacks. The elite’s recognition of the achievement provides an acknowledgement of success by the system that caused a lot of the racial disparities in college education.
In the second and third treatment Blacks are exposed to “targeted inclusive messages.” In the second treatment the targeted inclusive message is about low income Blacks having an increase in college graduation rates. The second treatment uses the same language as the first treatment except the framing of the group is specific to lower income Blacks. I contend that this is a targeted message because a sizeable portion of Blacks with some college will also be low-income. I argue that their low-income status will in part be due to the fact they were not able to complete college so they may find themselves working low wage jobs and industries.  

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9 Contingency tables that show the income categories of “Blacks with some college education” from the experiment survey can be found later in the chapter. Most Blacks in the sample that have some college
should be a “Black Like Me” appeal where they are receiving an inclusive message where they are being defined as a part of the broader group interest.

In the third treatment the article discusses a decrease in college graduation rates for low-income Blacks. Like the other targeted inclusive message, the emphasis is on a specific subset of moveable Blacks—Blacks with some college. Since the message is about low-income Blacks and focuses on African Americans who have not finished college that they will also see this message as an appeal that is reflective of their circumstances. Additionally, the quote from the fictitious elite from the Department of Education also framed the issue so that the system is somewhat to blame for decrease in graduation rates for low-income Blacks rather than the individual. In this case, low income Blacks who have not finished college are given the same framing in political discourse that is applied to broader group interest for the political racial group. I expect that Blacks with some college will also be responsive to this “Black Like Me” appeal.

The final treatment is an article about graduation rates except it is focused on the college dropout rates for Blacks as a whole. This treatment details that college graduation rates have gone down for Blacks and that based on the quote from the political elite in the Department of Education the system is to some degree responsible for the situation. This condition is therefore “vaguely non-inclusive.” Although the treatment legitimizes the circumstances that Blacks are facing in college based on an institutional failing, a subset of Blacks is not specified hence, it is a vague message. Additionally, the message does not signal that any more Blacks are becoming a part of the chronically included. It also isn’t very different from many of the numerous messages that Blacks

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education also had a family household income of $34,999 or less in 2011.
receive from the mainstream media about racial group underperforming in education. Without the targeted frame of the “Black Like Me” appeal I expect that this message will be ineffective at moving linked fate attitudes for Blacks with some college. In the control condition participants were exposed to a non-racial article about Facebook technology.

Immediately following the treatments participants were asked about their linked fate, along with several questions about their racial and policy attitudes. Individuals were asked to report their views on affirmative action policy in higher education and hiring practice. Respondents were also asked their opinions on policies like federal spending on various programs as well as approval ratings for the President and Congress.

The experiment was conducted online using a national (although not random) sample of five hundred and thirteen self-identified Black/African American adults. The study was conducted between March 13, 2012 and March 15, 2012. Participants in the study were 18 years of age and older. The participant pool was acquired through Qualtrics, a survey research company. The online survey was also administered using the Qualtrics survey software. The experiment took about twenty-five minutes for the subjects to complete. In order to empirically test the effects of the treatments I needed sizeable samples across the manipulations and my three Black categories of interest: the chronically included, moveable Blacks, and the chronically excluded. This level of variation in addition to the size of the sample would have been more difficult to obtain through a conventional convenient sample. Conducting the survey online also allowed ease of access for the respondents.
Hypotheses

First, because the control condition did not expose respondents to racialized political communication, they will report a baseline linked fate attitude.

In the three inclusive conditions (vaguely inclusive, targeted inclusive-low income Blacks increase, and targeted inclusive-low income Blacks decrease) I expect a subset of moveable Blacks—those with some college--will show increases in their linked fate attitudes to levels comparable to that of high SES Blacks. The political message about an increase in college graduation rates for low-income Blacks shows moveable Blacks that they are improving and becoming a part of the chronically included. I expect that Blacks with some college will view that political message positively because they will see themselves reflected in the message. They will also seem themselves being presented as a part of the broader group interest. As a result, they will redefine how they perceive the group and in turn report a higher political connectedness with the racial group comparable to chronically included Blacks.

H2: Blacks with some college exposed the targeted inclusive message of conditions (2) and (3) will increase their linked fate attitudes.

H2a: Chronically included Blacks exposed to the targeted inclusive messages of conditions (2) and (3) will not have increases in their linked fate attitudes.

H3: Blacks with some college exposed to the vaguely inclusive message of condition (1) will increase their linked fate attitudes.

H3a: Chronically included Blacks exposed to the vaguely inclusive message of condition (1) will not increase in their linked fate attitudes.
Blacks with some college will not show increases in their linked fate attitudes when they are exposed to the vaguely non-inclusive message. Although the message is referencing an issue that they can identify with (not completing college) the message is not specifically targeted. Additionally, there is nothing in the message that signals to Blacks who are not chronically included that they are now a part of political racial group. It is not exclusive but it isn’t inclusive either.

*H4: Blacks with some college exposed to the vaguely non-inclusive message of condition (4) will have no change in their linked fate attitudes.*

Chronically included Blacks—high SES Blacks—will express high levels of linked fate with the racial group across all the treatments because their interest embody the broader group interest. They will also express the highest levels of linked fate across all of the conditions because of their chronic inclusion as a part of the broader group interest. Regardless of the messages are targeted or vague they are less likely to be susceptible to episode change.

*H5: Chronically included Blacks exposed to racialized political messages of conditions (1) to (4) will show no change in their linked fate attitudes*

*H6: Across all conditions, chronically included Blacks will express the highest levels of linked fate relative to other Blacks.*
Results

In the experiment, linked fate is measured in the standard way--by asking respondents to indicate the extent to which they believe that what happens to Blacks in this country has something to do with what happens in their own lives (Dawson 1994). 10 The strength of this attitude is then measured on a four point scale of none, not very much, some, and a lot. Linked fate is asked immediately following exposure to the experimental treatments. To assess my hypotheses, I simply conducted difference of means tests comparing the mean levels of linked fate being expressed in the treatments to the mean linked fate reported in the control.11 The linked fate variable was also standardized to range from 0 to 1 to allow for clear assessment of the effect size of each treatment on the attitude.12 A significant difference between the condition mean and the treatment mean would indicate that the treatment has had an effect on linked fate attitudes.13 The differences in means across the experimental conditions are displayed in Table 2.

10 Linked fate is asked as a two part question in the survey. In the first part of the question participants are asked: “Do you think what happens generally to Black people in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?” They are then given the option of indicate “yes” or “no.” If they respond “yes” then they are given the second part of the question. In the second part of the question they are asked: “You indicated that what happens generally to Black people in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life. Will it affect you a lot, some, or not very much?” They are given three answer responses: “a lot,” “some,” or “not very much.”
11 These are tests between two sample means using a t-statistic. In this case the sample means are each of the linked fate means in the treatment and control conditions. To test for significance, the mean from each treatment is being compared to the control mean.
12 Linked fate ranges from 0 to 1 where 0 equals “no” linked fate, .333 equals “not very much”, .667 equals “some”, and 1 equals “a lot.”
13 The conventional level of significance is a p-value that is less than or equal to .05.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conditions</th>
<th>Means</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Control</td>
<td>.511 (.04)</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaguely Inclusive Message (1)</td>
<td>.603* (.037)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase in College Graduation Rates for Blacks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Targeted Inclusive Message (2)</td>
<td>.571 (.034)</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase in College Graduation Rates for Low Income Blacks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Targeted Inclusive Message (3)</td>
<td>.577 (.035)</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decrease in College Graduation Rates for Low Income Blacks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaguely Non-Inclusive Message (4)</td>
<td>.520 (.038)</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decrease in College Graduation Rates for Blacks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Differences of Means Test: Linked Fate Means and Standard Errors

Table 2 shows the data with Blacks aggregated as one category. The findings show that overall Blacks report an increase in their linked fate attitudes when they receive political messages about the aggregate racial group improving in higher education. The racialized political communication indicates that more Blacks are not only graduating from college but that they are also becoming a part of the chronically included which leads to higher expressions of political attachment with the racial group ($M=.603$, $p<.05$ (one-tailed)) relative to the control ($M=.511$). These initial findings establish that strength of political connectedness with a racial group is significantly influenced by racialized political communication. How Black group interests are framed in the news

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14 *$=p<.05$ (one-tailed test). Treatment means are compared to the control mean to test significance. Linked fate is coded to range from 0 to 1 where 0 equals “no linked fate,” .333 equals “not very much”, .667 equals “some” and 1 equals “a lot of linked fate. Participants were randomly assigned to treatments.
media is vital because it determines the power that it will have on transitioning racial
group identification into a meaningful political attachment to a racial group. Yet, these
basic findings do not provide a lot of information on the intra-group politics that are at
play in the framing of political racial group interest. Dawson (1994) has argued that
Blacks of higher SES are more likely to express higher political attachment with the
racial group. I contend that other Blacks, specifically moveable Blacks, will actually
report higher levels of linked fate when the broader group interests have been defined in a
way that is more inclusive of their interests. Also of importance is the framing of their
issues in such a way that is legitimizes their circumstances in the same manner that is
applied to the broader group interest (i.e. system blame). The next part of the results
provide the disaggregated results based on salient group categorizations: chronically
excluded, moveable Blacks, and chronically included.

In the second part of the analysis, I disaggregated the sample based on my
categorizations of chronically excluded, moveable Blacks, and chronically included. The
subset of moveable Blacks that are of interest in this analysis are those Blacks that have
some college education. For the purposes of this paper, “some college” is defined as
individuals that have started college but have not completed a bachelor’s degree from a
four year institution. I use a conventional education measure in which I ask participants
to indicate the highest degree that they have earned. Those participants who were
considered having “some college” are those that indicated that they either have some
college or that they have completed an associate’s degree from a junior or community

15 To determine education level subjects were asked: “What is the highest degree that you have earned?” They were then offered six answer responses: grade school or less (0-8 grades), high school (12 grades or fewer, including non-college training if applicable), some college (13 grades or more but no degree), junior or community college (associate degree), college (Bachelor’s degree), advanced degree.
college. Although those with an associate’s degree have received a collegiate degree I contend when collegiate graduates are typically discussed in political discourse they are referring to those individuals that have completed a bachelor’s degree. Chronically excluded Blacks and chronically included Blacks are also defined based on educational level.

Chronically excluded Blacks in this context are those Blacks that have not attended college at all. Based on the education question asked, chronically excluded Blacks were classified as those Blacks that have earned a high school diploma or less. Chronically included Blacks are those Blacks that indicated that they had earned a college degree, graduate degree, or a professional degree. These Blacks are high SES due to their educational attainment. Table 3 provides further justification for the categorization breakdown by also examining the importance of income distribution across the three categories of Blacks.
Table 3 is a contingency table for education and income for the experiment sample. Income was determined using a conventional measure in which participants were asked to indicate their total family income based on a five different income categories. Due to the small percentage of Blacks that made $70,000 or more the last two categories for income ($70,000-$119,000 and $120,000 or more) were collapsed into one category in Table 3. Table 3 shows that a significant amount of moveable Blacks with some college are not only without bachelor’s degrees but that they are also low-income. Approximately forty-nine percent of moveable Blacks have family incomes that are less than $34,999, forty percent with family incomes of $35,000-$69,999, and eleven percent with incomes of $70,000 or more. This is substantially different from the income distribution found for Blacks that are chronically included and Blacks that are chronically

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Chronically Excluded</th>
<th>Moveable Blacks</th>
<th>Chronically Included</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High School or Less</td>
<td>Some College/ Junior College</td>
<td>College or More</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34,999 or less</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35,000-69,999</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70,000 or more</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Contingency Table of Education and Income for Experiment Sample

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The number in each cell is the number of participants that fall into that intersecting income and educational category.

To determine income levels participants were asked: “Which of the income groups listed below best describes the total income of all members of your family living your house in 20011 before taxes? This figure should include salaries, wages, pensions, dividends, interest and all other income. (IF UNCERTAIN: what would be your best guess)” Participants were then given five income categories: less than $16,999, $17,000-$34,999, $35,000-$69,999, $70,000-$119,999, and $120,000 or more.
excluded. Sixty-five percent of chronically excluded Blacks are a part of the low-income category while the chronically included are distributed across each income category at roughly thirty percent per category. However, the chronically included have the largest percentage (37.12%) of individuals in the high-income category ($70,000 or more). This contingency table shows that the political messages in the treatments designed to target low-income college students are relatable to those Blacks with some college education. The appeals in the targeted conditions are “Black Like Me” appeals because they not only discuss their circumstances on an educational dimension but it is also targeted to their circumstances based on income.
Table 4 provides significant support for my hypotheses. The results in the control condition are consistent with previous work on linked fate attitudes. Dawson (1994) shows that high SES Blacks report the highest levels of linked fate relative to other Blacks. This is demonstrated in the control. Chronically excluded Blacks ($M=.466$) and moveable Blacks ($M=.455$) report lower levels of linked fate relative to chronically

**=p<.05 (two-tailed test). Treatment means compared to control means to test significance. Linked fate is coded to range from 0 to 1 where 0 equals “no linked fate,” .333 equals “not very much”, .667 equals “some” and 1 equals “a lot of linked fate. Participants were randomly assigned to treatments.

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Table 4: Difference of Means Test of Linked Fate Across Conditions Controlling for Group Categorization

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Message Type</th>
<th>Chronically Excluded</th>
<th>Moveable Blacks</th>
<th>Chronically Included</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High School or Less</td>
<td>Some College/</td>
<td>College or More</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control</td>
<td>.488</td>
<td>.455</td>
<td>.667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(28)</td>
<td>(52)</td>
<td>(23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaguely Inclusive Message</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase in College Graduation</td>
<td>.580</td>
<td>.625**</td>
<td>.571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rates for Blacks</td>
<td>(23)</td>
<td>(56)</td>
<td>(21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Targeted Inclusive Message</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase in College Graduation</td>
<td>.487</td>
<td>.521</td>
<td>.675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rates for Low Income Blacks</td>
<td>(26)</td>
<td>(39)</td>
<td>(39)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Targeted Inclusive Message</td>
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<tr>
<td>Decrease in College Graduation</td>
<td>.405</td>
<td>.659**</td>
<td>.615</td>
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<tr>
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<td>(44)</td>
<td>(32)</td>
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<td>Rates for Blacks</td>
<td>(19)</td>
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<td>(31)</td>
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</table>
included Blacks \((M=.667)\). Chronically included Blacks have a strong political attachment with the racial group due to the consistent incorporation of their issues as the broader group based issues. Chronically included Blacks report a high level of political connectedness with the racial group across all of the conditions in the third column of Table 4. Chronically included Blacks report high levels of linked fate regardless of the racialized political context due to their issues chronically shaping those of the political racial group (H5). In fact, their levels of linked fate are consistently the highest relative to chronically excluded Blacks and moveable Blacks (H6). The stability of the linked fate attitudes among the chronically included reiterates the effect that framing of the broader group interests can have on the strength of political connectedness that a Black individual has with the racial group.

The results show that moveable Blacks are very responsive the framing of the broader group interest in racialized political communication. There is significant support that the framing of messages towards moveable Blacks indicating that they are included in the broader group interests leads to increases in their linked fate with the political racial group. Consistent with the third hypothesis, moveable Blacks that were exposed to the vaguely inclusive message about an increase in Black graduation rates reported significantly higher levels of linked fate \((M=.625, \ p<.05 \ \text{(two-tailed)})\) relative to the control. Additionally, the level of linked fate reported by moveable Blacks is statistically comparable in strength to the level of linked reported by chronically included Blacks in the same treatment \((M=.571)\). Moveable Blacks reported higher levels of linked fate in this article because although the article discusses Blacks that have achieved more education than they have it does not problematize the circumstances of moveable Blacks.
Moveable Blacks are not stigmatized because they have not finished college. The article also provides an indication that low-income Blacks are moving into the chronically included because many of them comprise portion of the Blacks in the article who have now graduated from college.

Targeted messages are also effective at heightening political attachment to the racial group among moveable Blacks. In the treatment in which moveable Blacks are presented with a targeted inclusive message about decreases in college graduation rates for low income Blacks they report high levels of linked fate ($M=.659, p<.05$ (two-tailed)) relative to the control ($M=.455$). Moveable Blacks in this treatment also report levels of linked fate that are statistically comparable to chronically included Blacks ($M=.615$). Both of these findings provide support for the second hypothesis (H2). The effectiveness of this political message on the strength of political attachment expressed by moveable Blacks is its framing as a “Black Like Me” appeal.

In this context, the circumstances of moveable Blacks are being framed in politics as defining the broader group interest. There is acknowledgment that many low income Blacks are not completing college but the attribution of blame for this situation is that there seems to be some sort of external systemic factor. It is not the failings of moveable Blacks but that there are institutional failings that are responsible for this outcome. This political message does not stigmatize moveable Blacks for not graduating from college but it acknowledges the issues that they are facing with in higher education. As a result, moveable Blacks redefine the political racial group based on this message. The political message signals that the group’s broader based interests are much more reflective of their issues and in turn they report a stronger political attachment with the racial group. The
findings from the vaguely inclusive treatment and this targeted inclusive treatment both demonstrate that there are segments of the Black community besides high SES Blacks can have high levels of linked fate. The levels of linked fate that are reported by moveable Blacks are highly influenced by the political context and messages that they receive. Those messages that show that they are being included as a part of the broader interest of the political racial group will shape the way they view group and their strength of linked fate.

The targeted inclusive message about increases in college graduation rates among low income Blacks leads to different results than those hypothesized. I hypothesized that this targeted message would appeal to moveable Blacks because this would be a “Black Like Me” appeal like the targeted inclusive message about decreases in college graduation rates for low income Blacks (H2). In the target inclusive message treatment that discusses increases in college graduation rate for low-income Blacks moveable Blacks report a level of linked fate ($M=.521$) that is not statistically different from the control mean ($M=.455$). Although this is not consistent with my expectation I contend that the alternative finding can be explained by considering aspects of the political message that prevents it from being a “Black Like Me” appeal and to some degree problematizes the circumstances of moveable Blacks with some college education.

The emphasis on the success of low-income Blacks in the targeted inclusive message is not received as a “Black Like Me” appeal by moveable Blacks with some college education. The political message is indicates to them that there are low-income Blacks that have been able to complete college but within that same frame it also indicates there is a problem with those that have not. The article is sending a message
that there doesn’t seem to be a valid reason for Blacks with some college to be struggling because there is a clear example of low-income Blacks that have been able to achieve without any hindrance by the system. Instead of moveable Blacks with some college seeing themselves reflected in the political messages it seems that the news frame is stigmatizing of their circumstance. The article does not provide any further information on why other low-income Blacks who start college may not be able to finish college. The low-income Blacks in the article that are able to graduate from college are also praised by the government institution on their accomplishment and used to define the broader group interest. The government acknowledgment does not include any commentary on the difficulties that low-income Blacks who have not finished college may be facing. I contend that although this appeal is positive this appeal is actually received as a negative. The framing of the political message about a specific set of moveable Blacks becoming part of the chronically included does not lead to a redefining of the political racial group for Blacks with some college. In fact, by highlighting that some low income Blacks have received college degrees and become part of the chronically included problematizes the circumstances of low-income Blacks who have not been able to finish college.

The results also provide support for my hypothesis regarding the effectiveness of vaguely non-inclusive messages on moveable Blacks with some college education (H4). In the condition in which Blacks with some college were exposed to a vaguely non-inclusive message there was no significant difference in their linked fate attitudes ($M=.513$) relative to the control ($M=.455$). Receiving a political message about the decrease in graduation rates for Blacks did not create a “Black Like Me” appeal because it was not targeted. It is a very general statement about the Black community. The
message does not provide any signals that moveable Blacks with some college are becoming anymore a part of the political racial group. It does not signal that that any set of moveable Blacks is becoming a part of the broader group interest. It is a not an exclusive message but it is also not inclusive either. It is a non-inclusive message. Consequently, the treatment does not lead to any significant increases in political attachment with the racial group for Blacks with some college education.

**Conclusion and Implications**

The importance of political context on the framing of political attachment for African Americans is part of linked fate narrative that has been overlooked in the literature. Thus far linked fate attitudes among Blacks have been treated as a static construct that is foundational for much of their group-based political behavior. The underlying assumption in this work is that African Americans are monolithic in their perception of the political racial group. The findings from this study demonstrate that there is much more variation in perception within the Black community than previously understood.

Linked fate identification is malleable. In this study I demonstrate that a key mechanism for moving linked fate is political communication. The framing of political messages about the racial group can have significant consequences on linked fate attitudes. This movement occurs because the political racial group defines the broader group interest in such a way that certain segments of the Black population are not chronically included. There are those Blacks that find themselves regularly outside the boundaries of political Blackness (i.e. the chronically excluded). There are also those
Blacks that are not chronically included and chronically excluded who I define as moveable Blacks. I demonstrate that moveable Blacks are uniquely susceptible to changes in their linked fate attitudes because they sit outside of both the chronically included and chronically excluded in political discourse. When political messages about the broader group interest are defined in terms of the interest of moveable Blacks they report higher levels of linked fate. These “Black Like Me” appeals signal to moveable Blacks that they are a part of the broader group interest and the political racial group has been redefined to be more inclusive of their issues. These “Black Like Me” appeals demonstrate to moveable Blacks have the ability to report levels of linked fate that are comparable to Blacks that are chronically included but it is highly influenced by the how the political racial group is defined in the political context.

The political implications for this study are numerous. First, moveable Blacks comprise a significant portion of the Black population which means that they are doing a lot of the work that goes in the linked fate politics. They also recognize that their interests are not always a priority when defining the broader group interest. It will be important for Black political elites and interest groups to be attentive to the types of appeals that they give about the racial group. Those appeals will be very influential for not only the activation of political attachment with the racial group but the strength of the linked fate for moveable Blacks.

Linked fate has also been shown to have significant predictive power in Black political life including mobilization, policy attitudes, and support for African American candidates. High levels of linked fate increases the likelihood that Black individuals will act on behalf of the political racial group. Dawson (1994) shows that high SES Blacks
are the most committed to racial group interest because they report the highest levels of linked fate relative to other Blacks but I demonstrate that they are not the only ones with a strong political attachment to the racial group. Moveable Blacks will also report high levels of linked fate when they see their issues are reflected in the broader group interest. My work is limited in that I have not demonstrated that these short-term changes in linked fate attitudes will also lead to changes in their linked fate. Testing for policy change would have been difficult due to the limited sample size of each category of Blacks (chronically included, chronically excluded and moveable Blacks). The treatment was also a very conservative test of the theoretical framework which seemed to have minimal effects on policy attitudes. In future work, I would want make the political messages stronger and explicitly policy oriented. I have preliminary experimental design that I would want to test in the next study.

The findings from this study also show that political communication also maintains linked fate. Previously, linked fate has been understood as a construct that is informed by the shared historical experiences of African Americans. This study demonstrates that political communication also serves an important role of informing and shaping linked fate. Individuals are updating their linked fate based on contemporary information like political communication. Political communication can in fact alter the distribution of linked fate for the political racial group. The levels of linked fate expressed by a Black individual will be influenced by the messages received from political communication. The repetitive nature of political communication also maintains linked fate. Black individuals have to repeatedly assess their political connectedness to the racial group based on the varying political context. For instance, in a campaign seasons
Black individuals may be repeatedly exposed to messages that appeal to their political connectedness with the racial group. The messages can shape the strength of that connection and the process of assessing one’s linked fate maintains the salience of this attitude in politics for Blacks. Further work is needed to be done on how linked fate is maintained over time.
Chapter 3: In Whose Best Interest?: How African Americans Reconcile Cognitive Dissonance with Linked Fate Attitudes

Introduction

The findings in Chapter 2 show that certain political contexts can influence how African Americans identify with the political racial group. This chapter seeks to understand the malleability of linked fate when the political context presents them with an internal conflict. The motivating question for this chapter is: How do African Americans manage their belief in a linked fate with the racial group within a political context that creates a conflict between their simple self-interest and their racial group interest? Previous literature examined linked fate as a predisposition held by African Americans that what happens to the racial group will have an effect on what happens in their individual lives. If the notion of linked fate is in fact a static attitude as scholars purport, we should expect one’s linked fate not to vary based on political context. However, in Chapter 2 I demonstrate that there are mechanisms, like racialized political communication, that can lead to variation in linked fate attitudes, which signals that linked fate is not a predisposition.

In this chapter, I present another political context in which we should find that there is more nuance to the conception and measurement of linked fate than previous works have understood. I argue that a political context that presents a conflict between a simple self-interest and the racial group interest creates a cognitive inconsistency for Blacks. To test my model of how Blacks modify linked fate with the racial group as
process to minimize the dissonance, I use an innovative experimental design that allows individuals to report their linked fate before and after exposure to treatments that vary incentives for going against the group interest in favor of a personal incentive. I find that Blacks who opt to pursue the self-interest at a cost of maximizing the group interest will resolve their cognitive dissonance through modifying their expressions of linked fate with the racial group in an effort create consistency between the conflicting interest and their identification with the racial group. I conclude by discussing the implications of my findings.

**Linked Fate & The Black Utility Heuristic**

Group-based politics have been essential to understanding African American political behavior. Previous research in the area of Black politics has determined that African American assessment of the political landscape is reliant upon their understanding of racial group interests and how this group interest will be maximized in politics. Michael Dawson (1994) argues that in order to navigate the complicated political landscape Blacks utilize a race-based shortcut—the Black Utility Heuristic— in which the socio-political interests of the Black community are used as a proxy for a Black individual’s self-interests. Furthermore, Dawson posits that a sense of linked fate is foundational to the efficacy of this heuristic.

According to Dawson, the belief in a linked fate amongst Blacks derives from the shared historical experience that Blacks have had in the U.S. where their lives have been greatly shaped by race. African Americans’ utilization of the Black Utility Heuristic, like other political heuristics, allows them to determine what is best for them on an individual level within a complex political environment by using the racial group’s interest as a
proxy for their own. Linked fate has been shown to have strong predictive power for African American political behavior in reference to both policy and candidate attitudes, but is limited because of its focus on Blacks within in a low information environment (Gurin, Hatchett and Jackson 1989; Tate 1992; Dawson 2004; White 2007).

What is lacking in the research about the dynamics of African American political decision making is how Blacks will respond to political contexts in which they have full information about the gains they make for themselves at the cost of the potential gains made for the group based on their political decision making. Furthermore, we have little understanding of how Blacks will behave when the self-interest and the group-interest are in conflict with each other. To understand how Blacks deal with this conflict it is necessary to parse out the mechanisms that are at the core of the strong group-based political behavior we observe in the Black community.

**Group Norms of Behavior and Conformity**

The argument centered on a shared historical experience (Dawson 1994) is limited in explaining the consistency in group-based oriented political behavior that we have observed among Blacks. While Dawson’s assertion that many Blacks in the United States have a shared a common history of oppression and subjugation, he also argues that the status of Blacks in society has changed over time, which has implications for how African Americans currently live despite a shared history. A prime example can be found in the considerable growth of Black middle class. Despite these socioeconomic changes within the Black community, which some assumed would lead to a deterioration of group consciousness for African Americans, the strength of this group-based political phenomenon has remained strong. Dawson (1994) argues that despite the growing
socioeconomic stratification within the Black community, the societal factors of oppression and institutionalized racism affect all Blacks, even those in the upper echelons of society and as such the cohesion of the African American community remains intact. I argue that adherence to group-based norms of behavior serves as a mechanism that is used by a racial group to maintain conformity and continued support for the group based interests.

Highly crystallized norms have proven vital in maintaining group conformity in political behavior in the Black community. The importance of these norms will also influence how much people are willing to comply with the expectations. Crystallized norms that are of low in intensity will be less effective at ensuring group conformity than high intensity norms. The norms that are deemed high intensity are those that are most vital for the functioning of the group. Sanctions for a lack of compliance with a group norm will be most effective for norms that are both highly crystallized and high in intensity. In the case of African Americans, there a number of political norms of behavior within the group that can be categorized as highly crystallized and highly intense (White, Laird, and Allen 2013).

There are clear and strong in-group expectations about how African Americans are supposed to behave in politics that stem in major part from the shared history of many within the African American community. Chong (1991) argues that during the Civil Rights Movement African Americans were willing to participate in the high-risk activism because they didn’t want to be seen by group members as free-riders who enjoy the benefits of the movement without participating. Due to the strength of these norms,

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19 The social psychology literature stipulates that crystallization is the degree to which expectations of behavior, or norms, are understood as agreed upon by group members (Cialdini, Reno, and Kallgren 1990).
compliance with certain expectations through the use of social pressure and group sanctions should occur even in cases where the group-interest is in conflict with the self-interest. One contemporary norm of behavior among Blacks has been their support for Democratic candidates (White, Laird, and Allen 2014). African Americans have demonstrated consistent and disproportional support for Democratic candidates in presidential elections since the mid-century party realignment.

Even with a larger segment of the racial group falling into the middle class, where one would expect their political decision to be based on economic interests, many African Americans continue to refrain from supporting Republican candidates and strongly favor Democratic candidates. The norm of strongly supporting the Democratic Party stems from supporting political parties and organizations that assists in furthering the economic and political advancement of the Black community (Dawson 1994). As such, the unwavering support for the Democratic Party, which is seen by many Blacks as the party that provides the most support for the Black community, is deeply ingrained for Black individuals. Consequently, individuals that do not comply with this norm of behavior (ex: Black Republicans) often experience reputational sanctions. Epithets like “Uncle Tom” and “Sell-Out” are often used to describe individuals that defect from the expected norms. Blacks that are concerned about their perception within the community will be fearful of these reputational sanctions (Starkey 2010).

Social pressure and the utilization of reputational sanctions can serve as an effective mechanism by the group to ensure compliance. Given the strong amount of cohesion found in the African American community, we can surmise that the expectations of sanctions are imbedded in the minds of the group through socialization
and lived experiences. As such, I argue that while there are political contexts in which the norms of the group can be in direct conflict with a clearly defined self-interest, social pressure can be used as a means to ensure conformity. However, in the absence of explicit social pressure, Black individuals will likely experience considerable internal conflict between self-interest and group-interest. Moreover, in an effort to resolve this inconsistency Blacks may re-evaluate their linked fate with the racial group.

Cognitive Dissonance and Linked Fate

Due to their awareness of highly crystallized and intense group norms of political behavior and the potential for sanctions, African Americans will seek consistency in their political identification with the racial group—linked fate—within a political context that creates conflict between one’s simple self-interest and the group interest. I argue that engaging the conflict between two clearly defined interests (the self and the group), in the absence of social pressure, will result in variation in expressions of linked fate with the racial group. Blacks will show variation in their linked fate because they will try to reconcile the political context that challenges the highly crystallized and intense norms of group behavior by varying their connection to the racial group.

African Americans rely on their understanding of the group interests and the group norms to inform their political behavior. Utilizing cognitive shortcuts allows them to make determinations about what would be best for themselves by maximizing what is best for the group. Our tests and scholarship thus far on the predictive nature and stability of linked fate have been highly dependent on a political space that is low information. However, there are numerous instances in political environment in which Blacks can have full information on the individual benefits that they may receive, and the potential
conflict that this creates with group interest. In these instances, Blacks are exposed to
spaces that not only create conflict with the group norms but it also creates discomfort
because it challenges the linked fate identification that is central to the group-based
politics.

Festinger (1957) argues that cognitive dissonance occurs when there is an
existence of non-fitting relations among one’s knowledge, opinion, or belief about the
environment, about oneself, or one’s behavior. This dissonance can be created by
exposure to new information, a new event, or during everyday decision-making. Any of
these circumstances can create at least a momentary dissonance with existing knowledge,
opinion or cognition concerning behavior (Festinger 1957). Individuals are motivated to
resolve the psychological discomfort by reducing the dissonance by achieving
consonance or by actively avoiding the situation or information that would likely increase
the dissonance (Festinger 1957). Dissonance reduction processes that allow for people to
either reduce the dissonant elements or increase the consonant elements comes in a
number of forms. One process is that the individual can opt to change their attitude,
beliefs, or behaviors in order to create consistency. Another process is for the individual
to seek out agreeable information and avoid discrepant information (Festinger 1957).

African Americans in a political context that creates a conflict between their self-
interest and their group interest are more likely to experience cognitive dissonance.
African Americans have clear knowledge about the benefits they would gain if they
choose to pursue their self-interest, but they also are aware of the highly crystallized
group norms that heavily dictate group political behavior. This dissonance is the result of
their strong commitment to the racial group interest as well as their desire to pursue a
personal benefit. I argue that in order to cope with the possibility of choosing self-interest over the group interest, Blacks will attempt to increase the number of consonant elements as a tool of dissonance reduction in which they change individual attitudes and beliefs about their identification with racial group. This change will manifest in their expressions of linked fate with the racial group. This alteration of linked fate will occur because linked fate is a core attitude to be compliant with the group’s norms of political behavior.

In order for cognitive dissonance to occur, Blacks have to feel a strong and integral connection with the group and linked fate is an expression of this connection.

Linked fate is salient in this body of work because it not only embodies identification with the racial group, but it also asserts a belief that the individual sees the benefits gained for the group as being important to their individual lives. I contend that changes in linked fate attitudes are going to most likely occur in circumstances in which there is an absence of an explicit social pressure to conform to the group norms but Blacks have full information about the their self-interest and the conflicting group interest. I expect that the presence of the self-interest/group-interest conflict and racial group social pressure will reduce the likelihood of cognitive dissonance because the salience of the group norm will be made more accessible when the social pressure is made explicit. Blacks will experience a reduction of dissonant elements in the context where social pressure is present because the intensity of the conflict between the self-interest and the group-interest will be mitigated by their awareness of the potential sanctions they could incur for defecting from the expected group behavior.

**Methodology**

To test my arguments, I designed an experiment that allowed me to observe
tradeoffs Blacks make between their racial group interest and simple self-interest under different social pressure constraint. The aim of this experiment was to establish the causal effects between the type of political context that would lead to dissonance for Blacks and how they then would reconcile the internal conflict. The internal validity of the study is upheld due to the laboratory setting in which it is administered but it based in reality in that it utilized a real world scenario—the 2012 presidential election. In the experiment, I juxtapose self-interest in the form of instant monetary gain with the crystallized group-interest norm of supporting Barack Obama, a political candidate that the Black community almost unanimously endorsed. In order to mitigate any confounding variables in the experimental design, self-interest and the racial group social pressure were independently manipulated. The laboratory design of the experiment also enabled me to observe the traits of those Blacks that are experiencing the dissonance due to the political context created by the treatments.

The subject pool in the study was comprised of college students at a historically Black college. This was a deliberate decision for a number of reasons. First, Black institutions serve a vital role in their ability to apply sanctions against defecting group members. Using students from a historically Black college was an opportunity to leverage the role of the Black institution in a realistic way and also obtain a large African American student population.

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20 The study was designed and conducted in collaboration with Dr. Ismail White and Dr. Troy Allen. In the experiment, two empirical tests were being conducted. The first test was designed to see if Blacks would defect from group norms of behavior when presented with a clearly defined self-interest. Furthermore, will racialized group pressure (reputational sanctions) decrease the likelihood that Blacks will defect from the expected group norm? To assess these questions analysis of campaign donations were assessed across the experimental treatments. The findings from campaign donations analysis presented in a co-authored between White, Allen and I that is currently under review at an academic journal. The second test from this experimental design is the focus of this chapter. In this chapter, I investigate variation in linked fate attitudes and the influence of the political context created by the experimental treatments on these attitudes. I argue that Blacks will attempt to reconcile the cognitive dissonance by adjusting their linked fate attitudes.

21 Study was conducted at Southern University in Baton Rouge, LA.
American sample. Second, by limiting the study to college students I was able to diminish heterogeneous treatment effects due to differences in socioeconomic locations and status. In short, I expect that the basic inferences about cognitive dissonance and the dissonance resolution process due to the conflicting interests will be generalizable to understanding broader African American political behavior. I also draw on the logic of external validity provided by Druckman and Kam (2009), who examine the generalizability of student populations, where they conceive of external validity as not simply “whether a specific study, if re-run on a different sample, would provide the same results [but]…whether “conceptually equivalent” (Anderson and Bushman 1997) relationships can be detected across people, places, times, and operationalizations.” As Druckman and Kam argue, ensuring that the experiment is believable, subjects perceive that their choices are consequential, and that the experience closely replicates that of actual political decision making help to meet this conceptual equivalence criterion. Our design choices were made with considerable attention to these conditions. Furthermore, comparisons of our student subjects to a national random sample revealed a good deal of similarity across a range of political and social variables

**Experimental Design**

The political context in the experiment is the candidacy of Barack Obama in the 2012 election. The Black norm-conforming action for participants was donating to the Obama campaign. The study included 110 African American participants. The study took place approximately two months prior to the general election. Upon agreeing to

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22 In the complete study conducted at Southern University with White and Allen there were a 148 self-identified African American students. Of that sample only a 110 students answered the linked fate question in both the pre-test and the post-test.
participate in the study subjects first filled out a pre-test questionnaire and were then instructed that they would participate in a five minute one-on-one interview about the upcoming presidential election. Subjects were then randomly assigned to one of three messages during the interview sessions. At the beginning of all the interviews subjects were instructed that they were to participate in a study conducted by researchers from the Ohio State University who had received a grant from an organization called the Voter Turnout Project. Participants were told that the money from the grant was being used to provide young people with an opportunity to contribute to presidential elections. They were then asked if they wanted to participate in the study. Once the participant agreed to participate they were told that they would be provided with $100 to contribute to the campaigns supporting Barack Obama and Mitt Romney. They were also told that they could split the money any way they wanted, and that these campaign donations can have on election results. In the control condition, subjects only received the information described above before the interview directed their attention to a webpage on a nearby laptop where the donation amounts were to be entered.

In the two of the experimental conditions, once a participant (regardless of condition) had determined how much they wanted to donate, the interviewer then entered the amount online, asked the subject if they were sure of their decision and then the contribution was submitted. Due to concerns about election laws that prohibit state money from being donated to political candidates, no contributions were actually made to the campaigns. This deception was deliberately designed for the study to create realism. Once the study was complete all participants were informed of the deception in the study. Following the donation submission participants were asked to complete a brief post-test.
| Control  
(N=37) | Incentive Only Condition  
(N=37) | Incentive + Newspaper  
Condition  
(N=36) |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Asked to donate $100</td>
<td>• Asked to donate $100</td>
<td>• Asked to donate $100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Money can go to Obama or Romney campaigns or split across campaigns</td>
<td>• Money can go to Obama or Romney campaigns or split across campaigns</td>
<td>• Money can go to Obama or Romney campaigns or split across campaigns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• $1 for every $10 donated to Romney</td>
<td>• $1 for every $10 donated to Romney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Told contribution and name would appear in school newspaper</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Description of Experiment Conditions

Table 5 provides general descriptions for the two experimental conditions. Column 2 of the table details the first treatment, which is called the “Incentive Only” condition. In this condition subjects are not only told about their $100 to contribute to the campaigns of the candidates but also told that there may be an incentive to contribute to one of the candidates. It was explained that in order to ensure a fair application of the incentive the computer program was set-up to randomly assign which candidate’s campaign received the incentive. However, the incentives were not randomly assigned, and subjects in either of the conditions in which there was an incentive received it by donating to the Romney campaign. The goal of the “Incentive Only” condition was to create a circumstance in which African Americans would have a simple self-interest incentive in the form of immediate cash to deviate from the expected racial group norm of behavior, which would be to fully support Obama. Additionally, this condition helped
ensure that participants would not suspect that the monetary incentives were being driven by partisan incentives.

To properly incentivize contributing to the campaign, Participants were told that for every $10 they donated to the Romney campaign that they would receive a personal payout of a $1. The maximum personal payout a participant could receive was $10 by donating $100 to the Romney campaign. If the participants’ campaign donations resulted in a personal payout then they would be paid in cash within the experiment. I expect that participants in this condition would experience significant cognitive dissonance due to the conflict between their individual self-interest for receiving for their contribution and their awareness of the group interest in supporting the Obama campaign over the Romney campaign.

The second treatment is described in Column 3 of Table 5 as the “Incentive + Newspaper” condition. This treatment examines the role of social pressure on restraining an individual’s desire to pursue an incentivized self-interest that would result in them defecting from the expected group norm of behavior. The procedure in this condition is the same as the “Incentive Only” condition, but in this condition participants are informed prior to being offered the donation incentive that campaign laws dictate publicly disclosure of their name in the university newspaper. I expect that, because institutions like Historically Black College/University reinforce the norms of the Black community, the norms regarding which candidate should be supported by African Americans are readily accessible in the minds of the students in this sample. As such, by conducting the study at an HBCU, the publicizing of information is designed to create a social pressure on the participant because the norm of supporting Barack Obama are
undoubtedly widely accepted by the wider student body, and the publicizing of any
development from the norm could reasonably result in public shame. I posit that the
inclusion of this social pressure will reduce the likelihood of cognitive dissonance
because the conflict created between the incentivized self-interest and the group interest
is minimized because individuals are going to be concerned about the social
consequences that may be applied to them if other group members are aware of their
defection from the expected group norm of behavior.

Hypotheses

In the absence of an incentive to deviate or social pressure to conform to the racial
group norm participants in the control condition should not experience cognitive
dissonance and donate the majority of the campaign money to the Obama campaign due
to their awareness of the highly crystalized and intense group norm (H1).

H1: Most participants will donate their funds to Obama in the absence of a personal
incentive to defect from the group norm.

The introduction of the monetary incentive (self-interest) to defect from the
understood group norm of supporting Obama should lead to a decrease in contributions to
Obama (H2). The effect that the personal incentive will have on the decision-making
process of the participants will be tempered by the inclusion of the public disclosure in
the university paper (Incentive + Newspaper condition), which will serve as a
mechanism of racial group social pressure to conform with the expected group norm of
behavior (H3).
H2: Obama donations will decrease among participants when an incentive is offered for donating to the Romney campaign.

H3: Donations to Obama campaign will increase when participants are offered and incentive for donating to the Romney campaign and told that their decision will be publically disclosed.

I expect that the inclusion of a mechanism to create group social pressure in conjunction with the personal monetary incentive will decrease the likelihood of cognitive dissonance and temper the likelihood of defecting from the group norm (H4). Due to the two conflicting interests in the Incentive Only condition and the absence of group social pressure participants are more likely to experience cognitive dissonance and will be more likely to defect from the expected group norm (H5).

H4: The likelihood of cognitive dissonance will decrease in the “Incentive + Newspaper” condition in which participants are incentivized to contribute to the Romney campaign and told that their decision will be disclosed in the newspaper.

H5: The likelihood of cognitive dissonance will increase in the “Incentive Only” condition in which participants are only incentivized to contribute.

There are two key expectations regarding the cognitive dissonance that will be experienced by the participants and the effect that it will have on their political identification with the racial group—linked fate. If participants do not experience
cognitive dissonance in the condition then they should not exhibit any changes in their linked fate identification between the pre-test and the post test (H6). In the conditions in which participants experience cognitive dissonance should result in them exhibiting changes in their linked fate identification between the pre-test and the post-test (H7).

H6: The likelihood of change occurring in linked fate attitudes will decrease if individuals do not experience cognitive dissonance

H7: The likelihood of change occurring in linked fate attitudes will increase if individuals experience cognitive dissonance.

Results

Figure 4: Mean Obama Contributions by Experimental Treatments (95% CI)
Figure 4 presents the basic results from the experiment. The mean differences in the allocation of campaign money across the experimental conditions allow me to assess several of my hypotheses (H1, H2, and H3). In the control condition, participants are not exposed to a conflict between pursuing the group interest and their personal interest. Additionally, participants are aware of the highly crystallized and intense group norms of Black political behavior, and as a result, it is expected that even in the absence of social pressure their understanding of the expected group norm will compel them to behave in a way to maximize the group interest. In other words, participant contributions should be extremely high. In this case, the mean contribution to the Obama campaign is $94.48. Most of the participants allocated all of the money that was provided to the Obama campaign (70.27%). Approximately 80% of the participants in the control gave $90 or more to the Obama campaign. Only one participant gave a contribution of $50 to the Obama campaign in the control. The results demonstrate how clear and crystallized the group norms for supporting Obama are in the Black community. The control will serve as a baseline to compare the treatment conditions.

In the “Incentive Only” condition participants were offered a clearly defined personal incentive by way of getting cash immediately based on which candidate they choose to support with their contribution. For every $10 of the $100 grant they donated to the Romney campaign they would receive a personal payout of $1. In a full information political environment with conflicting interest I expect to observe more Blacks defecting from the expected group norms of behavior (H2). Figure 4 shows a significant drop in Obama contributions relative to the control. The mean contribution in the “Incentive
Only” condition is $70.94. This is a $24 decrease in Obama campaign contributions compared to the control. More individuals chose to pursue their self-interest without being strongly influenced by the threat of the reputational sanctions from for defecting from the group norm. In terms of individuals that accepted payouts 18.92% of participants in the “Incentive Only” condition decided to donate all of the $100 to Romney campaign allowing them to receive a full $10 payout. Many participants decided to split the campaign money in half to both campaigns (18.92%) allowing for them to provide some money for Obama campaign and receive a portion of the personal payout ($5). In this treatment only 59.46% of the participants donated all the campaign money to the Obama. This is 10% less than the control condition.

The existence of social pressure in a political environment should play a vital role in the decision-making process of those participants who are in the experimental condition. If social pressure serves as a mechanism to prevent defection from the racial group norm then there should be a minimal difference between the campaign contributions in the “Incentive + Newspaper” treatment relative to the control (H3). Figure 4 shows that the mean contribution in the “Incentive + Newspaper” condition is more than $17 higher than the “Incentive Only” treatment. Relative to the control the Obama contribution in the “Incentive Only” condition are statistically the same with no significant difference between the two means. Thus I conclude social pressure, which in this condition is the public disclosure of contribution in the newspaper, was an effective tool at increasing the likelihood of group conformity to the understood norms when faced with a personal incentive to defect. These results also indicate that being an active member of a racial group institution, like an HBCU, makes those that may decide to
diverge from the group norm more susceptible to conformity due to social sanctions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Control</th>
<th>Incentive Only</th>
<th>Incentive + Newspaper</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Increased Linked Fate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2.70%)</td>
<td>(13.51%)</td>
<td>(2.78%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(91.89%)</td>
<td>(75.68%)</td>
<td>(91.67%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decreased Linked Fate</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(5.41%)</td>
<td>(10.81%)</td>
<td>(5.56%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Linked Fate (Dichotomous) Differences by Treatments

Table 6 presents the results from expressions of linked fate by treatment. The findings reported allow me to assess several of my hypotheses. I measure the change in linked fate for a participant between their reported attitude in the pre-test and the post-test. Linked fate was operationalized using the common measure in the literature (Dawson 1994): “Do you think what happens generally to Black people in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?” Participants were then given the answer responses of “Yes” and “No.” If respondents reported that they believed in a linked fate they were then asked to indicate if the strength of their attitude (“not very much,” “some,” and “a lot”). Change in linked fate attitudes in this study are considered an attitude shift from not having any linked fate to affirming that one has linked fate with the racial group or vice versa.23 Consistent with my expectation for the control (H1) subjects did not experience cognitive dissonance due to the lack of dissonant elements.

23 Increased Linked Fate means going from “No” to “Yes.” Decreased Linked Fate means moving from “Yes” to “No”
(inconsistency between self and group interest) in the treatment. As a result, few individuals exhibit change in their linked fate attitudes (H6). More than 91% of the sample reported that they believed in a linked fate with the racial group between the pre-test and the post-test.

The “Incentive + Newspaper” condition also provides support that the introduction of social pressure from the racial group in an environment with conflicting self-interest and group-interest alleviates cognitive conflict and minimizes the possibility of dissonance (H3 and H4). In the “Incentive + Newspaper” condition 91.67% of the participants report a belief in a linked fate in the pre-test and the post-test. Approximately 8% of the sample had a change in their linked fate attitudes. I contend that fewer people are experiencing cognitive dissonance in the control and the “Incentive + Newspaper” treatment because racial group social pressure is tempering the dissonant elements in the condition. Individuals are aware the group would know if they diverged from the expected group norm of behavior, and as such the participants know of the potential reputational sanctions that would be applied if they defect from the highly crystallized norms. The conflict between interests is diffused as a result of the social pressure reducing the level of dissonant elements. The social pressure re-emphasizes the group expectations based on the political group norms and their awareness of the group’s desire for members’ compliance negates the appeal for seeking the self-interest incentive.

The “Incentive Only” condition provides significant support for my expectation about the cognitive dissonance created by the treatment and the process people use to resolve that inconsistency. The “Incentive Only” condition presents a conflict between the personal incentive offered for supporting the Romney campaign for immediate
monetary gain and the understood group interest of supporting the Obama. As expected, Blacks in this treatment are experiencing cognitive dissonance due to the inconsistency in information (H5). To reduce the dissonant elements in the environment individuals re-evaluate their linked fate attitudes (H7). Re-evaluation occurs because the competing group interest and self-interest are a challenge to the strength of individual’s identification with the racial group. In Table 6, 24.32% of the participants in the “Incentive Only” condition report a change in their political identification with the racial group. Thirteen percent move from expressing that they do not have a linked fate with the racial group in the pre-test to reporting a belief in a linked fate in the post-test. Approximately eleven percent of Blacks expressed a linked fate in the pre-test and then reported that they do not have a linked fate with the racial group in the post-test. Further analysis shows the degree of shifting that occurred in linked attitudes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Change in Linked Fate</th>
<th>No Linked Fate</th>
<th>Not Very Much</th>
<th>Some</th>
<th>A lot</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Increased Linked Fate</td>
<td>5 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same</td>
<td>5 (17.86%)</td>
<td>1 (3.57%)</td>
<td>12 (42.86%)</td>
<td>10 (35.71%)</td>
<td>28 (100.00%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decrease Linked Fate</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Change in Linked Fate (Incentive Only) Pre-Test

Table 7 shows a strong expression of linked fate among those Blacks that reported linked fate in the pre-test that then diminishes in the post-test. One hundred percent of
the individuals that exhibited a change in their linked fate attitude (Yes to No) reported that they had “some” linked fate in the pre-test.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Change in Linked Fate</th>
<th>No Linked Fate</th>
<th>Not Very Much</th>
<th>Some</th>
<th>A lot</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Increased</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linked Fate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(80.00%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(17.86%)</td>
<td>(7.14%)</td>
<td>(28.57%)</td>
<td>(46.43%)</td>
<td>(100.00%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decreased</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linked Fate</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(100.00%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8: Change in Linked Fate (Incentive Only) Post-Test

Table 8 shows that for those that had a heightened level of linked fate between the pre-test and the post-test (No to Yes) express a strong identification with the group. Eighty percent of these individuals express “some” linked fate. Twenty percent went from expressing “no linked fate” in the pre-test to expressing “a lot” of linked fate in the post-test.
The findings in Table 7 and 8 demonstrate the significance of the movement in-group identification because the changes between the pre-test and the post-test are large. Individuals view the actions towards the group as important to their individual lives. When presented with inconsistency between a personal incentive and the group interest they re-assess their connection to the group. This can occur regardless of which interest they decide to purse or defect from. Table 9 and 10 show that when the sample was
broken down by those that defected from the group norm (contributing to the Obama campaign) and those that maximized the group interest. In the “Incentive Only” condition in Table 9 and Table 10 participants show change in their linked fate attitudes relative to the control and the “Incentive + Newspaper” condition. Simply being exposed to the dissonant environment with the conflicting group-interest and self-interest can result in an attitudinal re-assessment. Individuals do not have to defect from the group norm in order to experience dissonance.

**Conclusion and Implications**

The malleability of linked fate is not only important to understanding how the belief is maintained among African Americans, but what contextual circumstances lead to these changes, and why and how they occur. The results from this study demonstrate that in high information environments, when there is a clearly defined self-interest and group-interest, the predictive power of linked fate for explaining Black political behavior becomes constrained as individuals attempt to create consistency between their belief in the group interest and an opportunity to make gains for the self. Highly crystallized and intense norms of expected behavior in the racial group are known and understood by group members. In instances in which the group norms are in conflict with one’s self-interest individuals go through a process of re-assessing their identification with the racial group. The cognitive dissonance experienced by the individual due to the conflicting interests can occur regardless of whether or not the individual opts to defect from the racial group norms. Furthermore, social pressure serves as a mechanism that can minimize the dissonant elements for an individual that has to decide between these
conflicting interests. The knowledge that a reputational sanction may be applied if the individual decides to go against the group interest reduces the dissonant elements by creating consistency between the expected norm of behavior and the pressure from the group to comply with the norm.

In everyday decision-making African Americans are presented with situations in which there can be a conflict between personal gains and potential gains for the racial group. An individual’s belief in linked fate is integral for Blacks to maintain their group-based politics. This study indicates that African Americans are explicitly weighing the cost and benefits when offered an opportunity to defect from the group norms. It suggests that the expected norms of behavior are significant enough that there is a clear cognitive process that Blacks undergo when determining if they will defect. The cognitive constraint created by the strength of the group’s norms also demonstrates that the incentives need to be significant in order for defection to occur or else most African Americans will comply with the group expectations. However, situations in which opting for one’s self-interest over the group-interest are often unavoidable. As a result, most Blacks may find themselves in a circumstance in which they have to “sell-out” the group. This defection for them may be situational or limited in that it won’t be a recurring behavior. These individuals recognize that they are strongly linked to the group and that their one time defection does not embody their connection to the race. To cope with the defection they may try to overcompensate in other ways, such as an increase in linked fate, that demonstrate their commitment to racial group norms. As this chapter shows, linked fate is one way for these individuals to re-assert their commitment.

The variation in expressions of linked fate at different time points after exposure
to differing political context also provides significant evidence for how the belief of linked fate is maintained. Blacks are regularly updating and assessing their linked fate which is often dependent on the information within the political context. In this case of this study, the presence of social pressure from the group served as a mechanism that mitigated the dissonance experienced by the individual and thus minimized the changes in lined fate attitudes. Individuals are using information in the environment to inform their attitudes indicating that linked fate is not a crystallized construct.

In fact, people seem to have a distribution of linked fate attitudes and the political context will significantly shape the strength or weakness of their belief. The repeated updating does help to reinforce the attitude for Blacks over time and the importance of it in their political decision-making. Although the predictive power of linked fate in this study in was not significant to decision-making for campaign contributions the attitude still served an important role for racial group members. The likelihood that the attitude will deteriorate overtime due the changing economic standing of Blacks or because of increased discussion about a post-racial society is unlikely. Blacks regularly deal with conflicts between their self-interest and the expected group norms and as long as this tension exists then linked fate will serve a role to reconcile the inconsistencies.
Chapter 4: Order Matters: How Survey Instruments and Question Order Effects Expression of Linked Fate Attitudes

Introduction

Empirical research on African American political behavior and attitudes has grown extensively due to the development of public opinion surveys that have large African American samples. The benefits of these surveys have been substantial since large representative African American samples are not frequently captured in national survey studies. Additionally, these surveys have provided an opportunity for researchers to delve into issues, topics, and concerns that may be specific to the African American experience in American society. I contend that survey instruments that are designed to assess African American opinions about politics, intentionally or unintentionally, prime the importance of racial identification for the respondent. This heightened salience of race can have substantial effects on the responses to survey questions. Previous research on the role that race can have on survey context for African

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24 Large African American samples are sample sizes that have 500 or more African American respondents.
25 One of the difficulties with studying minority opinions has been the size of African American samples in mainstream public opinion surveys. It is difficult to capture a sizable amount of African Americans because the surveys are nationwide random samples. Oversampling of minority communities has not been incorporated in to public opinion survey research in order to increase the sample size and allow for more generalizability about African American attitudes.
26 Many of the large African American surveys that are conducted during elections seasons or inquire about opinions related to current events, public figures, issues and/or policies that are specific to the African American community.
27 Priming is when considerations are made accessible by a stimulus and then these considerations are used when making evaluations. Priming is frequently studied in the areas of media and politics. Iyengar and Kinder (1987) demonstrated that priming can also occur in a survey instrument due to question-order effects. They find that questions asked in a survey can prime certain considerations for respondents as the answer subsequent questions like presidential approval.
Americans examined the race of interviewer effect (Davis 1997; Davis and Silver 2003). However, what has yet to be investigated is the effect that the actual survey instrument can have on reported attitudes for African Americans.

The purpose of this chapter is to answer the research question: What effect does a racialized survey context have on linked fate identification?

Survey instruments are designed to assess the public’s attitudes and opinions about the political environment but they also provide respondents with information on what is important in politics. By emphasizing particular issues, topics or events the survey instrument can heighten the salience of this information for respondents. This emphasis on certain aspects of politics increases the likelihood that respondents will use the information learned from the survey context to inform their evaluations and opinions. In the case of African Americans, surveys that emphasize the importance of racial identification (explicitly racial information) increases the likelihood that individuals will consider their race when they are evaluating and reporting certain opinions. The design of the survey instrument indicates to the respondent that not only is their racial identification important within the context of this survey but that it should inform some of their opinions. Utilizing these racial considerations should affect the Black participant’s assessments when presented with an explicitly racialized survey instrument compared to survey responses in which the importance of one’s racial identification is not stressed.

Linked fate is one of the attitudes that I expect to be influenced by an explicitly racial survey instrument’s heightened salience of racial group identification. As argued in previous chapters, linked fate attitudes are not only informed by the shared historical experience of African Americans, but also by short-term information that is provided by a
particular political context. In survey research, the political context is created and defined by the survey instrument. The survey, through a variety of means (such as introductions, instructions, etc.), indicates to respondents what viewpoints are important when reporting their attitudes thus priming what considerations will be used when making evaluations during the survey. A survey instrument that is designed to emphasize the importance of racial identification will heighten racial considerations when reporting linked fate attitudes.  

Using an experimental design, I test my argument about the context created by the survey instrument. In the study, I examine the role that explicitly racial survey introductions can have on linked fate attitudes for Blacks. I contend that using introductions that are explicitly racial will heighten the salience of race for the respondent and result in an increase in their linked fate attitudes because they emphasize the importance of respondent’s racial identity. Additionally, I investigate the effect that question order has on linked fate identification. In this portion of the experiment, I vary the placement of the linked fate question in the survey instrument with the expectation that delaying the question in the survey can also result in changes in linked fate attitudes. The delay created in this study was the insertion of questions prior to the linked fate measure that did not make any explicit references to race. Explaining the exact mechanism that led to this effect is limited due to the survey design however, I expected that survey information that was not explicitly racial will lessen the likelihood that racial considerations are utilized by Black respondents.

28 Racial Consideration: When one views the socio-political context through the lens of their racial group.
I find that using a racialized introduction in a survey instrument did not lead to changes in linked fate identification. Though this portion of the experiment did not yield significant effects the findings provide some insight into racial lens that Blacks view the politics. The findings do not mitigate the potential effects of a racialized survey context since it is a test of only one aspect of a survey. Despite the lack of significance with the survey introductions, I find that delaying when linked fate is reported in a survey does lead to a change in the level of linked fate that is expressed by respondents. The shift in reported linked fate demonstrates the dynamic nature of linked fate identification. It also shows that survey context can significantly influence political connectedness for African American respondents. The strength of a respondent’s linked fate influenced by the short-term context created by the survey instrument.

Researchers conducting work on African American samples must be mindful of how their survey instruments define the political context for respondents. Although surveys serve as a relatively short-term context, scholars need to think critically about their research question and the consequences of their survey design on responses. Scholars use survey instruments as a means to draw inferences about how individuals feel about certain politicians and issues, which have long lasting influence on what we know about political behavior. The findings of this study are particularly important since attitudes like linked fate are often used as predictors for other opinions and political behavior for African Americans.

**Theoretical Framework**

*Race of Interviewer Effects*

The goals of public opinion surveys are to understand what shapes the mass
public’s attitudes about political issues and policies. In most cases, the emphasis on issues of race within a questionnaire is intentional. In surveys in which the participants being questioned are African American, the focus on racial issues and policy is done to understand opinions that are specific to this racial group. These attitudes and opinions are distinctive because race relations within the United States have played a significant role in shaping African American opinions and views on politics (Dawson 1994). However, what has not been considered in this racial public opinion literature is the potential effect that survey instruments can have on attitudes amongst African Americans. Scholars have found that the design of questionnaires can have exceptional influence on response attitudes (Tourangeau, Rips, and Rasinski 2000). For example, the wording of the question in a survey can influence attitudinal responses in surveys. Bradburn and Danis (1984) find that responses to foreign policy questions, for instance the United States’ decision to go to war, can be significantly influenced by the wording of the question. Question wording also has an effect on attitudes related to domestic policy like support for government spending or welfare policy (Rasinski 1989; Smith 1987).

Significant research has been conducted on how survey context can affect the survey response of African Americans. Davis (1997) argues that African Americans shape their responses to survey questions based on the race of the interviewer. When African Americans are interviewed by a White interviewer they are more likely to give opinions that they believe will satisfy the White interviewer, and will try to disassociate themselves from the African American community. Black survey participants are more submissive when dealing with a White interviewer because they are masking their true attitudes due to the context having a White interviewer introduces.
Davis and Silver (2003) argue that the perceived race of the interviewer by African Americans can cause a “stereotype threat” that can alter their performance on factual political questions. African Americans who perceived the interviewer as White answered fewer political knowledge questions correctly than Blacks who perceived the interviewer was a co-ethnic. The findings from these studies demonstrate that there are substantial empirical implications based on the design of the survey instrument as well as the race of the individual conducting the survey interviews. Despite these contributions, extant literature lacks an understanding of how a racialized survey context can be created by more than just the interviewer. I argue that the design of the survey instrument can alter the importance of race identity for respondents, which will have consequences for their racial attitudes including their linked fate identification.

Similar to other racial or policy attitudes that can be influenced by the survey context, I posit that expressions of linked fate are susceptible to variation based on the context created by the survey. A survey instrument that primes the importance of the respondents’ racial identification creates a context in which racial considerations will be utilized as part of their assessment. The effects of racialized priming on African American attitudes can be seen in recent research on political communication.

*Racialized Priming and Racial Considerations*

White (2007) argues that racial considerations are not chronically salient to African Americans when assessing political situations and reporting policy attitudes. White defines racial considerations as linked fate attitudes. Linked fate considerations are activated when making policy assessments when Blacks are exposed to explicit racial
cues in political communication. Additionally, non-racial cues in political communication are not effective at activating linked fate attitudes. White’s findings provide evidence that the utilization of racial considerations for Blacks when reporting their public opinion can vary significantly based on political context.

This framework is applicable to the political context created by the survey instrument. For the purposes of this study racial considerations are made when one views the socio-political context through the lens of their racial group. This differs from White (2007) because in this work, racial considerations are not limited to linked fate. Racial considerations take into account racial identification when evaluating politics but considerations can be numerous. Black individuals can be considering day-to-day personal experiences that they believe are related to their racial identification. These considerations could be knowledge that Blacks have about the racial group, or be related to how Blacks think the racial group is being defined within a political context. The common thread between the argument made in this work and that of White is that racial considerations are tied to the group identity and this will inform Blacks assessments of politics.

Racial considerations for African Americans are not chronically salient for them when responding to survey questions. However, if explicitly racial information is provided in the survey instrument then racial considerations will be primed and used as a lens to respond to questions. *Explicitly racial information* is a clear and overt reference to racial identity in a context. Within the survey context explicitly racial information can be emphasizing the importance of racial identification prior to respondents making their assessments via question responses. The racialized information provided by the political
context should not only heighten racial considerations but also increase the strength of
connectedness with the racial group—linked fate. The connection that Blacks feel with
the racial group is informed by both knowledge of the shared historical experiences and
the interpretation of short-term information provided by the political context. The
explicitly racial context created by the survey instrument heightens the importance of
race for Black respondents, and activates racial considerations in which their racial
experiences and knowledge are accessible during their assessments about politics. These
considerations then shape the sense of political connectedness that Blacks have the racial
group.

Explicitly Racial Survey Introductions and Linked Fate Identification

Explicitly racial information can be found in a number of African American
surveys. In African American surveys the introduction used to screen respondents
provides a substantial amount of explicitly racial information. Entry into the 1996 NBES
required several explicit confirmations of the participant’s racial identity. In the 1996
National Black Election Study (NBES) individuals were asked at the beginning of the
study if they fit the demographic profile in order to participate. Below are the three
questions asked prior to participating in the survey:

Q1: Because we are interested in the opinions of different demographic
groups in the country, the first question I need to ask is: Is there an adult
18 years or older living in your household who is a Black American?

Q2: Before I can begin the survey, I need to ask about the people who live
at this residence SO we can identify the correct person to interview. May I
please speak with an adult Black American who is a citizen of the United
States and who celebrated the most recent birthday?

Q3: First, let me just confirm that you are of (some) African-American
background?
Although this pre-survey introduction is followed by a statement about how the study is about the upcoming election and political campaigns it is clear at the beginning of the survey that racial identification is going to be an important consideration for this study. Participants are deliberately being selected because they are African American, and they have to confirm more than once that they fit the demographic profile of being an African American who is 18 years or older. These introductory questions indicate to the participant that this study is about race and makes racial identity relevant and more likely to be accessible in the minds of the participants.

Once subjects have been filtered through based on racial identification and standard demographic questions, other Black surveys begin their study with an introduction indicating to the participants that the interview will be focused on issues that are important to African Americans. In the 1993 National Black Politics Study (NBPS), participants received this introduction:

In this interview, we will be asking questions about a number of issues of importance to Black Americans. We are interested in opinions and attitudes on a variety of topics, including opinions about the performance of President Clinton, the economic conditions of Black Americans, the role of religion in Black politics and what Black Americans think ought to be done to improve the conditions of Black people.

29 Statement that followed racial confirmation in the 1996 National Black Election Study: “This interview is completely voluntary. If we should come to any questions you do not want to answer, just let me know and we’ll go on to the next question. In this interview, I will be talking with you about the upcoming elections, as well as a number of other things. First, I have some questions about the political campaigns which are taking place this election year?”

30 The respondent demographic questions asked prior to the explicit racial introduction included: number of adults in household, number of adults related to respondent in household, breadwinner, number of children in household, number of children related to respondent in household, number of female children, number of male children, sex of respondent, birthdate, birthplace, and parent’s birthplace,
This introduction explicitly focuses the individual on their experiences beyond just an American but as a Black American. It cites to various aspects of social, political and economic life but the emphasis is on the African American perspective. Furthermore, this introduction asserts an assumption about African Americans. The interviewers indicate to participants that they want to know about “what Black Americans think ought to be done to improve the conditions of Black people.” Although there is significant evidence demonstrating the disparities between Blacks and Whites race relations in the United States may have not been something that the participant was considering before they were primed with this information. Introductions like that of the NBPS can create a significant effect on expressed attitudes by the participants since certain information is made more relevant and increases the likelihood that racial information is accessible.

Effect of Question Order on Linked Fate Attitudes

Question order can also play a significant role in shifting attitudes about racial group identification. Tourangeau et al. (2000) argue that contextual effects are created due to question order in surveys. They contend that “context can alter how respondents map their attitude judgments onto response scale…” (213). Torangeau et al. specifically pinpoint two types of effects that can occur. The first is correlational effects in which considerations from a previous question can inform a later question. Since responses are based on these intersecting considerations one would expect the correlation between them to be higher than under ordinary circumstances. The second type of effect, which is typically referenced in the literature, is directional effects. Directional effects occur when answers to the target question shift one way or the other as a function of the context in
which they are surrounded. In this study, directional effects are the most applicable.

Respondents in African American survey studies are frequently presented with questions that explicitly refer to race, racial situations, and/or racial policy. Throughout the survey they are being primed with information about the importance and salience of their racial identity considerations prior to giving their attitude judgments about their linked fate. Additionally, African Americans frequently participate in survey in which the questions in the survey instrument are implicitly racial and/or ostensibly non-racial. The inclusion of questions that do not make explicit references to race could potentially have an effect on linked fate attitudes because it means that racial considerations have not been primed and more than likely will not inform that respondent’s assessment.

In the 1984-1988 National Black Election Study participants were asked to provide responses on a series of questions regarding their attitudes about their racial identification. These questions included linked fate as well as several measures of racial in-group closeness and racial salience. Although the linked fate was the first question in the question block the location of the question was in the middle of the survey. Participants had received numerous questions prior that had created a context in which race was highly salient. The questions that occurred prior included:

Would you say that over the past year the economic position of Blacks has gotten better, stayed about the same or gotten worse?

[Do you disagree or agree with the following statement] If enough Blacks vote, they can make a difference in who gets elected president.

Do you think Blacks should form their own political party?

These questions not only reference to race but several emphasize on the effectiveness of collective action by the group. Another block prior to the racial group identification
attitude questions there was a battery of questions regarding respondents’ views about the Reverend Jesse Jackson’s presidential campaign. The Jackson campaign was a highly racialized battle due to Jackson’s race, his past work during the Civil Rights Movement, and the large amount of support he was able to garner from the African American community. The positioning of these questions before the reported attitudes increased the importance of racial consideration. This can result in directional effect due to context created by prior questions about race, which can influence attitudes reported later on in the survey.

The 2008 American National Election Study included an African American oversample. Attitudinal questions that were specifically targeted towards the oversample were embedded in the survey instrument including the linked fate question. Questions that appeared prior to the linked fate question were non-racial. Directly before the linked fate question respondents receive a question block about their organizational membership including questions about their organizational meeting attendance, number of organizational membership, and time committed to volunteer work. The questions in the survey prior organizational question block cover a variety of policy issues and attitudes including investment in social security, outsourcing, abortion, immigration, limits on imports, fair employment for Blacks, income inequality, U.S. foreign policy goals, and the federal budget. Although the survey instrument includes question blocks prior to the racial group identification question that explicitly mention race, the majority of the questions before and after this question block are not explicitly racial. If explicitly racial information is not provided by the survey context then racial considerations should not inform the attitudes reported by Black respondents.
Methodology

In this study, I employ an experiment to test my hypotheses about the effects of survey design on importance of racial considerations and linked fate attitudes. Experiments are an ideal tool for examining the effects of survey design on assessments of politics and policy questions. By assigning participants to different treatments and control conditions I can observer and isolate the causal effects of the manipulations on respondents.

The experiment was completed as an online survey experiment using a national (although not random) sample of one hundred eight-four Black/African American adults. The study was conducted between August 22, 2012 and August 26, 2012. Participants in the study were 18 years of age and older. The participant pool was acquired through Qualtrics, a survey research company. The online survey was also administered using the Qualtrics survey software. The experiment took about fifteen minutes for the subjects to complete.

The survey experiment in this study examines two things. First, the effect that survey introductions explicitly racial survey introductions has on linked fate identification. Second, the effect of delaying the linked fate question in the survey on levels of linked fate reported by respondents. The delay in the survey was created by a series of questions that did not make any explicit references to race. Ideally, I would have wanted to conduct this experiment using two different surveys that examine the effect of the introduction and the question order effect separately. However, due to limitations in funding, one questionnaire is utilized to test my research questions. Combining the test into one survey experiment ensures that I have enough African
Americans in each experiment cell to conduct empirical testing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>Age Introduction</strong></th>
<th><strong>Racial Introduction</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Racial Introduction</td>
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<td>(N=39)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Delay</strong></td>
<td>Age Introduction</td>
<td>Racial Introduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>with Delay</td>
<td>with Delay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(N=47)</td>
<td>(N=54)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5: Experimental Design

Figure 5 provides a visual representation of the survey experiment design. The experiment is a 2x2 factorial design. Respondents were randomly assigned into one of the four conditions. The first two conditions are designed to test the effect of explicitly racial information in the survey introduction. At the beginning of the survey African American survey respondents would receive one of the two survey introductions. Table 12 presents the two types of survey introductions.
In this survey we are interested in a number of issues of importance to Black Americans. We are interested in a variety of topics including opinions about U.S. political policy, economic conditions in the Black community, and what Black Americans think ought to be done to improve conditions for Black people. Because we are interested in opinions that are specific to Black Americans we need to know your racial identity. Are you Black and/or African American?

In this survey we are interested in a number of issues of importance to people all over the United States. We are interested in a variety of topics including opinions about U.S. political policy, economic conditions in the United States and what you think ought to be done to improve conditions for Americans. Because we are interested in opinions that are specific to voting age adults we need to know if you are an adult over the age of 18. Are you an adult over the age of 18?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial Introduction</th>
<th>Age Introduction (control)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In this survey we are interested in a number of issues of importance to Black Americans. We are interested in a variety of topics including opinions about U.S. political policy, economic conditions in the Black community, and what Black Americans think ought to be done to improve conditions for Black people. Because we are interested in opinions that are specific to Black Americans we need to know your racial identity. Are you Black and/or African American?</td>
<td>In this survey we are interested in a number of issues of importance to people all over the United States. We are interested in a variety of topics including opinions about U.S. political policy, economic conditions in the United States and what you think ought to be done to improve conditions for Americans. Because we are interested in opinions that are specific to voting age adults we need to know if you are an adult over the age of 18. Are you an adult over the age of 18?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11: Survey Introductions

The *racial introduction* was designed to mimic the introductions that are commonly found in African American politics surveys. The introduction emphasizes importance of race in the study to the respondent and that the goal of the study is to understand African American opinions about politics. The respondent is explicitly informed that they participation in the study is contingent on their racial identity and how that racial identity shapes their views on politics. Additionally, the racial introduction asserts that the conditions in the African American community are in need of improvement. Again, this type of assertion about the current condition of African American community is commonly presented in African Americans surveys. This type of statement primes African American respondents that racial identity is salient in the survey context.

The *age introduction* does not include explicitly racial information and is designed as a control. The treatment emphasizes that participation in the survey is based
on the respondent being an adult of voting age in the United States. Like the African American surveys, this introduction is not only used as a filtering process for the respondents to participate in the study, but also serves as a manipulation check. Respondents are required to respond to the prompt with a “yes” or “no” answer. With this design we can be sure that the individuals have received the information presented in the introduction and thus their answers are informed by the manipulation.

In the first part of the study (row 1 in Figure 5), respondents received the linked fate question immediately following the introduction. The linked fate question was: “Do you think what happens generally to Black people in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?” If respondents indicated “yes” they were then asked a follow up question in which they indicated if what happens to Blacks will affect them a lot, some or not very much.

In the second part of the study (row 2 in Figure 5), respondents received one of the survey introductions (age or racial). Following exposure to a survey introduction was a delay before respondents were asked to report their linked fate. The delay in the experiment was a block of political questions that did not make any explicit references to race. The questions included inquiries about government’s responsibility to improve economic conditions for Americans, views about 2012 Presidential Election, as well as general questions about equality and individualism.

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31 An African American adult (18 and older) sample was requested from Qualtrics. Individuals are also being filtered using the introductions however the race of the respondents was known to prior participation in the study.
32 Respondents received the linked fate immediately after the introduction in the two conditions in the top row of the 2x2 design in Figure 5.
33 See appendix for exact question wording of the linked fate measure.
34 See appendix for the specific questions that were used in the question delay.
Hypotheses

I have several hypotheses based on my theoretical framework and experimental design.

**H1:** Respondents exposed to a survey introduction that is explicitly racial will report higher levels of linked fate.

**H2:** Respondents exposed to a survey introduction that is explicitly racial and a question delay will report higher levels of linked fate.

Explicitly racial information within the survey instrument should increase the availability of racial considerations for respondents. In turn, I expect to see increases in their linked fate identification. I expect to see increases in reported linked fate relative to the control (*age introduction* condition) in the *racial introduction* and the *racial introduction with delay* conditions. In the *age introduction with delay* condition, I expect that the survey context will not increase the salience of race for the respondents because there are not any explicit references to race. Therefore, I will not see an increase in expressions of linked fate by the respondents.

**H3:** Respondents exposed to a survey introduction that is explicitly racial and a question delay should report lowers levels of linked fate relative to those respondents that only received the explicitly racial introduction.

In the *racial introduction with delay* condition, I expect that racial identity will
be salient due to the racial introduction at the beginning of the survey emphasizing the importance of race. This should then result in an increased level of linked fate identification reported by respondents. However, I expect that there will also be an interaction effect in the *racial introduction with delay* condition. Relative to the *racial introduction* condition I expect that reported linked fate will be lower. The delay created by the question block can diminish the effect of the racial introduction due to the space between the manipulation and the linked fate measure. The heightened salience of race should increase the likelihood that racial considerations will inform responses and result in an increase in linked fate identification for the respondents.
Results

To test my hypotheses about effect of racialized survey introductions on linked fate attitudes I conducted a difference of means test. I compared the average level of linked fate reported in each condition to the control. The control in the analysis is the age

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35 Linked fate is coded to range from 0 to 1 where 0 equals “no linked fate,” .333 equals “not very much”, .667 equals “some” and 1 equals “a lot of linked fate.” “95% CI” means 95% confidence intervals. This is the conventional confidence standard in political science to establish statistically significant differences.

36 A difference of means test is a statistical method that tests if there significant differences between two sample means using a t-statistic. In this case the sample means are each of the linked fate means in the treatment and control conditions. To test for significance the mean from each treatment is being compared to the control mean.
Linked fate is coded to range from 0 to 1 where 0 equals “no linked fate,” .333 equals “not very much”, .667 equals “some” and 1 equals “a lot of linked fate. Figure 6 depicts the results for all four conditions. Relative to the control ($M=.628$) the racial introduction did not lead to an increase in linked fate identification ($M=.624$). I did not find support for my first hypothesis (H1). On average in both the control and the racial introduction condition Blacks are reporting on average that they have “some” linked fate with the racial group. Based on Dawson (1994) and White (2007), Blacks in both of these conditions are reporting high levels of linked fate regardless of their exposure to explicitly racial survey information.  

The results from the first empirical test of H1 (racial introduction compared to age introduction) seem to allude to a couple of implications that should be explored. The lack of a difference between the means in each condition could indicate that the racial introduction manipulation may have not been a strong enough treatment to elicit an increase in linked fate identification. Explicitly racial information in a survey context could influence linked fate identification but a racialized survey introduction may be too subtle.

The results from this test could also be an indicator about salience of race for Blacks even in context in which explicitly racial information is not primed. The age introduction emphasized the importance of being a voting age adult rather than race. However, Blacks may not make a distinction between being a voting age adult and being Black. These two concepts could just be intertwined because African Americans

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Both scholars argue that Blacks who have “high levels” of linked fate are those Blacks that report that they have “some” or “a lot” of linked fate. Low levels of linked fate would be those that either report “no” or “not very much.”
experience a socio-political environment in which their racial identification may be salient without explicit mentions of racial identity. The emphasis in both manipulations on the political opinions may have been enough to make race salient for Blacks.

In the condition in which respondents were exposed to a racial introduction that was then followed by a question delay (*racial introduction with delay*) reported significantly lower levels of linked fate (*M*=.463; *p*<.05; two-tailed) relative to the control (*M*=.628). This does not provide support for H2. Blacks in this condition reported levels of linked fate that were closer to “not very much” category while those in the control condition reported levels that were closer to the “some” category. Similar to the test for H1, the explicitly racial introduction does not seem to have an effect on linked fate attitudes. Testing the differences in means between the control and the *age introduction with delay* condition demonstrate that neither of the survey introductions seemed to have an effect on linked fate attitudes. Blacks in this condition also report significantly lower levels of linked fate (*M*=.454; *p*<.05; one-tailed) relative to the control. Neither one of the survey introductions seemed to have an effect on linked fate identification.

To test for an interaction effect of both the question delay and explicitly racial information (H3) I compare the means in the *racial introduction* condition and the *racial introduction with delay* condition. The results show that the linked fate reported is higher in the *racial introduction* condition (*M*=.623; *p*<.05; two-tailed) relative to the condition with both the introduction and the delay (*M*=.462). Although significantly different this is not due to an interaction effect. As previously noted, the survey introductions did not have a significant effect on linked fate identification. The
differences in means between the *racial introduction with delay* condition (M=.628; p<.05; two-tailed) and the control (M=.462) statistically significant. The size of the difference is also relatively the same compared to the differences observed in the interaction analysis.

To thoroughly examine the effects of the question delay on linked fate identification I conducted differences of means analysis where I collapsed the four conditions into two conditions. The two conditions were if respondents answered the linked fate question immediately following a survey introduction or reported their linked fate after the question delay. The introductions don’t result in a significant difference or an interaction effect. By collapsing the conditions for further analysis I increase the power of my analysis due to the increased sample size in each condition. Figure 7 shows the results of this analysis.
Comparing the collapsed conditions shows the effect of the question delay on expressions of linked fate. Blacks expressed significantly higher levels of linked fate when reported at the beginning of the survey ($M=.627$; $p<.01$; two-tailed) relative to those that reported their linked fate after the delay ($M=.459$). Those Blacks that received the delay report levels of linked fate that are closer to the “not very much” category indicating low linked fate. Blacks who reported their linked fate following either survey introduction reported levels closer to the “some” category indicating high linked fate. The increased sample size of the conditions allow for clear assessment about the amount of linked fate.

Figure 7: Linked Fate Means by Exposure to Question Delay (95% CI)  

Linked fate is coded to range from 0 to 1 where 0 equals “no linked fate,” .333 equals “not very much”, .667 equals “some” and 1 equals “a lot of linked fate.” “95% CI” means 95% confidence intervals. This is the conventional confidence standard in political science to establish statistically significant differences.
variation in that is occurring in linked fate attitudes.

Figure 8 presents the distribution of linked fate identification based on exposure to a question delay. In the condition where there was no question delay 73 percent of respondents reported high levels of linked fate (“a lot” or “some”). Approximately 23 percent of Blacks in this condition reported that they have no linked fate. When respondents were exposed to the question delay 54.45 percent of participants reported a high level of linked fate. The delay also resulted in an increase in more respondents reporting that they have no linked fate (37.62 percent).

The effect of question order is intriguing but the due to limitations within design of the study the mechanism that is causing this effect cannot be determined. It is unclear if the presence of the delay itself is causing the decrease in linked fate identification or if
it is related to the type of delay. If another type of delay is presented in the survey (ex: a task, racial policy questions, or news article) I expect to get similar effects. I am unable to determine that with certainty. There one framework that I would want to test to see if it is the mechanism causing the effect.

Response Attitudes as a Distribution

Zaller and Feldman (1992) assert in their analysis of response instability of public opinion that the lack of true attitudes and measurement error are not overwhelming indicative of the absence of true attitudes or an issue caused by measurement error. Instead they argue that participants do not carry around attitudes in a form that is consistent with the specificity of the questions asked in surveys. Participants have more amorphous attitudes in which they have in mind information and considerations that are somewhat consistent but they can only access a partial amount of this information at any given time. Participants average across considerations that are salient at the moment they are expected to respond (response axiom). The saliency of a particular consideration is dependent on which considerations have been recently thought about. Those considerations that have been thought about the most recently are the ones that are more likely to be accessed (accessibility axiom). Based on the response and accessibility axioms the considerations that an individual utilizes when responding to a question vary significantly based on the considerations that can be accessed and used. Information can become salient for the respondent through various avenues including current events or the information that has been made salient due to the questionnaire. Zaller and Feldman’s model for survey response presents a theoretical framework in which individuals have a distribution of attitudes about an issue or policy instead of one true attitude.
In the racial politics literature, the attitude held by many African American’s about their connectedness to the racial group—linked fate—is treated as predispositions. Predispositions are attitudes that form in early adulthood and remain stable for the lifetime of an individual (Sears and Funk 1999). Predispositions are consistent with other related attitudes but they can also shape the formation of attitudes towards new targets (Sears and Funk 1999). Linked fate seems to hold some aspects that have resulted in it being defined as a predisposition. What makes linked fate different from a predisposition is that it does not remain static over an individual’s lifetime.

Zaller and Feldman (1992) demonstrate that holding true attitudes is an assumption in the literature that does not account for how people actually think about attitudes. On average, individuals do not think about their attitudes based on the way they are asked in survey but instead keep in mind considerations and information about a particular attitude and refer to this when they are asked for a response. Attitudes about racial group identification should be viewed in the same way.

White (2007) also demonstrates that ostensibly non-racial cues in political communication did not activate racial considerations like linked fate. From this view, race is not chronically salient for Blacks. Is it possible that if non-racial considerations are made salient by the survey context will this result in reports of lower levels of linked fate identification. The accessibility of racial considerations has been minimized by the non-racial information emphasized in the survey. In future work, I would like to investigate if non-racial information can have this type of effect on linked fate attitudes.
Conclusion and Implications

The findings from these studies demonstrate that linked fate is not as static as previously thought. Linked fate identification is much more fluid and can be informed by short-term political context. The presence of explicitly racial information in a survey context can have effects on linked fate identification. The findings from this study demonstrate that explicitly information from survey introductions does not have a significant effect. The study did not test the effect of explicitly racial questions on expressions of linked fate, but future research will investigate this phenomena. My previous chapters show that the political context (racialized political communication and conflicting interest between the racial group and the self) can alter the linked fate expressed by an African American. The most significant finding from this study is that delaying the linked fate question in a survey results in African American reporting a weaker sense of linked fate and in some cases no linked fate at all. The implications from this study are noteworthy.

Scholars of survey methodology should to be more attentive to how we measure and examine the linked fate question. Linked fate attitudes that are reported from various surveys, with different context, are often discussed as being the same. I assert that there are differences in linked fate attitudes that are not be assessed or observed. This is a major flaw in our analysis, and by not recognizing the dynamic nature of linked fate we may also be overemphasizing or underemphasized its importance in predicting political behavior among African Americans. Linked fate’s assumed static nature is flawed, and we need to consider not only the external political factors that can influence this political connectedness but also the contextual effects in the survey instruments.
This means that we may need to use multiple measures of linked fate in a survey and observe the change that may have occurred, and assess the way we design our surveys because blocking questions based on themes, issues, or topics can result in an alteration of the considerations that are available when expressing linked fate attitudes. Depending on the research question(s) of interest this could be problematic or beneficial to their findings. Linked fate is a vital measure for understanding African Americans in low information environments (White, Laird, and Allen 2013). However, to rely on the measure so heavily in racial politics research we must have a better understanding of it and the factors that influence an African American’s belief in a linked fate.
Chapter 5: Conclusion

A New Framework for Linked Fate

In the preceding chapters, I engaged a series of questions related to Black racial political identification and its susceptibility to variation. I argue that although racial political identification—operationalized here as linked fate—has been treated as a symbolic predisposition the attitude is much more dynamic and is also informed by two factors that have been overlooked in the literature: personal experiences and political context.

A large portion of our comprehension of linked fate stems from our understanding of predispositions. Black group members acquire their linked fate attitude early in life, and as such linked fate is viewed as an attitude that is fairly stable over time with most Blacks report having a linked fate with the racial group. When presented with similar attitude objects, for instance questions about racial policy or issues on Blacks societal status, individuals report consistent responses based on their linked fate attitudes. Dawson’s (1994) major assertion about linked fate attitudes is that we still observe them because Blacks have knowledge of the historical experience of the racial group and recognize that history’s role in the current socio-political arena within the United States. Even though Blacks in contemporary America may not be living through a system of Jim Crow or slavery they are aware of the racial past and believe that race continues to shape their life chances.
I argue that linked fate is not as static as it has been previously theorized. Instead, I contend that linked fate is informed and influenced by more than knowledge of this shared history, but also by information created by personal experiences and political context. Consequently, I view linked fate as malleable. An individual’s experience as a Black person along with the political context in which race is explicitly discussed informs how “linked” they are to the group.

The removal of institutional barriers that limited opportunities for all Blacks regardless of other social, economic and political characteristics has allowed for some divergence in the contemporary experience. For instance, African Americans still experience discrimination but with the more significant movement of Blacks across socioeconomic classes there are differences in the type of discrimination that Blacks may encounter. What it means to be Black can vary much more significantly at an individual level. So although there may be a broad understanding of certain characteristics that define “Blackness” (ex: descendants of slaves, Jim Crow, experiences with racism) growing diversity within the Black community has left room for a myriad of unknowns.

When a Black individual is asked about their linked fate with the racial group they are not only using the information that they have gleamed about Blacks due to socialization in the community, but they are also filling in salient characteristics or information that are unknown about the racial group based on their personal experience as a Black individual. It would be difficult for a racial group member to think of every Black experience or Black characteristics that may be salient to their racial political identification in a given context, thus they use themselves (self-anchoring) to fill in that information. This creates ease for the individual but also means that there could be
substantial variation between what is considered the “prototypical” racial group member. Due to this, when Blacks are asked to indicate their linked fate then they are describing their connectedness to a group that is more like themselves than a more abstract concept of the group. Engaging this aspect of linked fate that incorporates the personal experience will have a substantial effect on our understanding of how Blacks perceive and interpret group-interests in politics. The influence that personal experiences have on linked fate attitudes will also serve an important role in how Blacks perceive messages and discourse about the racial group in politics.

Accounting for individual experiences provides a dynamic explanation for how African Americans will respond to racialized political information. Black individuals situate themselves within the racial political group based on cues and information beyond skin color. How the racial group is framed to be inclusive of interests that they believe are salient to Blacks that are similar to themselves has a significant effect on their belief in a linked fate with the racial group. The framing of the racial group in politics does not always speak to the issues or interests that are salient to segments of the racial group. As other scholars have noted, certain interests are often overlooked by Black elites or the issues that are prioritized as group interests seems to favor the Black status quo (Cohen 1999; Strolovich 2007). There are group members that don’t always see themselves reflected in how the politicized racial group is being defined. I demonstrate that they are more responsive to framing of the racial group that explicitly speaks to interests that are important to segments of the Black community that reflect their own Black experience.

Political context can also create a situation where the clearly defined group interest can be in conflict with an individual’s self-interest. In this explicitly racial
context, African Americans may defect from maximizing the group interests in politics (electing a Black candidate) in favor of accepting some personal gain (monetary incentive). When this occurs I contend that conflict between self-interest and the group-interest creates a condition of cognitive dissonance for the individual. As a member of the political racial group there are expectations on how one is to behave in politics. These expectations are based on maximizing the interest of the group. At the core of this behavior is a belief in linked fate in which the individual believes that what happens to the group will have some influence on their lives. However, the inclusion of self-interest incentive creates an inconsistent political space between self-interest and group-interest. I demonstrate that Blacks who exposed to this conflicting political context attempt to reconcile the dissonance by adjusting their linked fate attitudes.

The survey instrument that we use to understand linked fate attitudes also forms a political context that can shape the strength of the attitude. African American public and policy opinions have been examined through the use of survey research methods. In these surveys, researchers have been interested in African American opinions on various aspects of politics. In many cases (ex: National Black Election Studies), the questions have been framed where race is explicitly referenced throughout the instrument. I contend that presence of explicitly racial information in a survey will not only vary the likelihood that linked fate attitudes are activated but it will vary the level of linked fate that is expressed. The variation should occur due to the increased salience of racial identification.
Broader Implications for My Research

Though the research presented in this project primarily focuses on the malleability of linked fate attitudes the implications of this research are numerous. First, this has significant implications for research being conducted on other minority groups to understand if they also express a group consciousness and behavior that promotes a group-based politics. Measures of linked fate are being used to investigate group consciousness for these groups but I recommend that scholars take into consideration the various factors that can affect these attitudes.

Second, linked fate has also served as a significant predictor of racial policy attitudes. I contend that by accounting for variation in linked fate we should also observe variation in these policy attitudes as well. Change in policy attitudes as a result of linked fate malleability will affects how we interpret findings in our research. It also indicates that there are context in which politicians and political elites can strengthen or weaken support for policy amongst Blacks. This could have substantial effects on motivating Black behavior on behalf of the group interests in politics.

Finally, the post-racial discourse in politics would be detrimental to linked fate politics and Black leaders need to remain attentive that explicit references to racial identity are vital for the activation and strength of linked fate attitudes. Without explicit racial cues in the political context African Americans will be less likely to utilized racial considerations.

Analysis of Group Consciousness for other Racial Minority Groups

With the significant changes happening in the demographic make-up of the United States more research has moved beyond a Black and White racial paradigm and is
investigating how other racial and ethnic communities may be developing a group consciousness. The scholarship particularly on Latinos has shown that a group consciousness does exist for group members but it is complicated by how the group is defined and the shared experiences across the group. Recent work has shown that a number of factors seem to influence linked fate attitudes among Latinos but, the findings are not uniform.

Masuoka (2006) argues in her analysis on the formation of group consciousness amongst Asian Americans and Latinos that there isn’t a uniform framework for how consciousness develops in these communities. Experiences and perceptions of racism stand out as significant factors that dictate if members of these groups will express a group consciousness. She notes that consideration of socio-contextual factors will be important to understanding how these identities are cued in politics.

Sanchez (2006) employs the group consciousness framework established by Miller et al. (1981) to investigate the potential influence of Latino group consciousness on political participation for Latinos. He finds a contextualized story in his analysis. Latino consciousness is the most influential for Latino-specific participation. Latino-specific participation is a context in which the direct effect of political participation would be for the betterment of the Latino community. This type of participation includes attending meetings or working on campaigns based on Latino issues or donating money to Latinos running for office.

Sanchez and Masuoka (2010) find that linked fate among pan-ethnic Latinos is dependent on social integration into American society. Strong linked fate attitudes for Latinos stems out of the experiences based on their economic status and immigration
status. When the distance increases between a Latino individual and these experiences they also move away from perceiving a linked fate with Latinos.

The Latino group consciousness scholarship has relied heavily on the framework that has been used to understand Black group consciousness. The frameworks application has created some difficulty due to some significant differences between the two groups. Latino identification is based on an ethnic affinity rather than a racial one. Latino identification has significant variation when trying to establish a common experience. I contend that understanding when these differences in experiences are not only salient but should continue to be examined in our investigation of group-based politics.

The literature previously outlined indicates that Latino consciousness is heavily influenced by a number of contextual factors. I have also argued that context matters for a political dimension of Black consciousness--linked fate. Specifically, defining lines for who will see themselves as a part of the group will be vital to a sense of consciousness. The findings in my research shows that context not only increases the likelihood that linked fate will be present for Blacks it also indicates that Blacks use contextual cues and personal experiences to define their perception of Blackness. They also determine if they feel a fate that is connected to the group based on how inclusive the group interests are when distinguishing them in politics. This will also be vital for gaining leverage on the function of group consciousness for Latinos in politics. Latinos will use their personal experience as a means to fill in unknowns about the abstract definition of the political group.

Additionally, contextual cues will serve an important role in shaping how
individuals perceive Latino identity but also how they situate themselves within this definition of the ethnic group. In analyzing and trying to appeal to Latino political consciousness individuals have to be cognizant of group boundaries. Sanchez and Masuoka’s (2010) conclusions on Latino identity demonstrates there is not only a need for explicit cues in politics to Latino identity but that these messages need to be broadened to include those that may be part of the political group but are less likely to feel a connected based on how the political ethnic group has been defined. Commonalities for group members would need to be broadened so that people will see themselves reflected in the group’s politics. That means that group appeals by Latino elites in politics need to be expanded and more nuanced to engage those Latinos that may believe that they are linked with group. Explicit group interests should engage a politics that is more inclusive of the concerns and issues of second generation Latinos or those that are removed from the immigration experience.

Implications for Policy Attitudes and Political Behavior

Why does the malleability of linked fate attitudes for African Americans matter? What are the political implications beyond the existence of a political group consciousness for Blacks? Research like Verba and Nie (1972), Gurin et al (1989), Dawson (1994) has shown that group consciousness is a significant resource that allows Blacks to engage in politics. Black mobilization in politics (both electoral and non-electoral) is heavily reliant a belief in a linked fate with the racial group. Linked fate is also a significant predictor of policy attitudes held by Blacks in a number of areas including race-based policy, redistributive economic policy, and support for African American officials. I contend that variation in linked fate attitudes based on contextual
factors and personal experiences should also have effects on attitudes towards these policies and mobilization for Blacks. With this predictive power in mind, Black elites should be more cognizant of the fact that their framing of Black political issues can significantly influence how African American voters act in certain context. In this time of “color-blind politics,” it may be less beneficial for Black elites to remove explicitly racial rhetoric from their appeals because there is no guarantee that Black voters will continue to support them without an activation of their linked fate attitudes.

In political rhetoric, appeals and communication it will be important to engage linked fate attitudes so that people see that their interests are being included in the overarching group interest. There needs to be reflection of self and their experiences. This is more than including Blacks that are severely marginalized as argued by Cohen (1999) and Strolovich (2007). It is taking into account that Blacks that are in the middle of the SES distribution are dealing with Black experiences that may be common for group members, like racism, but find themselves on the outside of the discourse in the types of racism that they are facing. The racial group may be dealing with issues related to race in higher education but for Blacks in the middle of the SES distribution their issues in higher education may stem more from issues with retention rates rather than affirmative action policies that increases entry into elite institutions. The framing of the policies issues in the political context will be important for mobilizing Black voters. The more they are able to see that their circumstances are being defined as part of the broader group interest the increased likelihood that their racial considerations will be salient to their political decision-making.

An important political context to examine with regards to linked fate will be the
environment of political campaigns. In the course of a political campaign the electorate receives numerous appeals and rhetoric about the candidates. Campaign money and resources are utilized to mobilize the electorate based on the policy position of the candidates and how well they represent the interest of the constituents. In this context, a Black individual can receive many messages in political communication that they use to inform their linked fate attitudes and how they use this attitude to assess the candidate. Campaigns and elites who are utilize group-based appeals for mobilization efforts need to be aware of the framing of the appeal to a broader base of Black constituents.

For African Americans, this type of campaign information will be of particularly importance in electoral politics at the state and local level. In those spaces you not only have an higher level of Black political incorporation in state and local institutions but, elections are decided on a smaller portion of votes from the electorate. In many of these races African Americans may even be choosing between two Black candidates that may be employing racial appeals. Linked fate will serve as an important mechanism for engaging this environment.

In future research, I would like to examine the policy, political, and campaign implications of linked fate malleability. I want to examine the direct effect of variation in linked fate attitudes on race-based and redistributive policies for African Americans. My research agenda would also look at the repeat exposure to political communication and campaign messages on linked fate attitudes and the effect that has on mobilization effort for Blacks. Further work will also look at the importance of linked fate attitudes as a means to manage dissonance in a political context in which individual self-interest is in conflict with a group-interest. Within this context, Blacks may opt for their self-interest
knowing that they may not be maximizing the interests of the group however, they still feel strongly identified and a sense of group consciousness with the racial group. How do linked fate attitudes help an individual to reaffirm their commitment to the group while coping with the conflict? If we do not engage linked fate attitudes by examining the importance of political contexts, we lose the nuance of the ever-evolving state of the Black experience. If we, as scholars, do not evolve with this understanding of the Black political landscape our scholarship will be severely lacking.
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Appendix A: Experiment Questionnaires and Treatments for Chapter 2
Experiment Questionnaire
Q1 Welcome to the survey! To begin the survey, we would like you to answer a series of demographic questions.
Q2 How old are you? Please type the two digit number.

Q3 Please indicate your gender:
 □ Male
 □ Female

Q4 Which of the income groups listed below best describes the total income of all members of your family living in your house in 2011 before taxes? This figure should include salaries, wages, pensions, dividends, interest and all other income. (IF UNCERTAIN: what would be your best guess)?
 □ less than $16,999
 □ $17,000-$34,999
 □ $35,000-$69,999
 □ $70,000-119,999
 □ $120,000 or more

Q5 Do you consider yourself primarily White or Caucasian, Black or African American, American Indian, Asian, Hispanic or Latino, or something else?
 □ White or Caucasian
 □ Black or African American
 □ Asian or Asian Pacific Islander
 □ Native American or American Indian
 □ Hispanic or Latino/a
 □ Other _________________

Q6 What is the highest degree that you have earned?
 □ Grade school or less (0-8 grades)
 □ High school (12 grades or fewer, including non-college training if applicable)
 □ Some college (13 grades or more but no degree)
 □ Junior or Community College (Associate degree)
 □ College (Bachelor's degree)
 □ Advanced degree

Q7 What is your zip code?

Q8 Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, or Independent?
 □ Republican
 □ Democrat
 □ Independent

Q9 Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?
 □ Strong Democrat
Weak Democrat

Q10 Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?
☐ Strong Republican
☐ Weak Republican

Q11 Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic Party?
☐ Republican
☐ Democratic
☐ No Preference

Q12 We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Where would you place yourself on the scale below?
☐ Very liberal
☐ Liberal
☐ Slightly liberal
☐ Moderate, middle of the road
☐ Slightly conservative
☐ Conservative
☐ Very Conservative

[PARTICIPANTS WERE RANDOMLY TO ONE OF THE FIVE CONDITIONS IN THE EXPERIMENT AT THIS POINT IN THE SURVEY]

Q15 What racial group was discussed in the article?
☐ Whites or Caucasians
☐ African Americans or Blacks
☐ Asians or Asian Pacific Islanders
☐ Native Americans or American Indians
☐ Hispanics or Latinos

Q16 Was the information about African Americans positive or negative?
☐ Positive
☐ Negative

Q27 The article you read was about which social media website?
☐ MySpace
☐ Facebook
☐ Twitter
☐ Tumblr

Q35 Do you think what happens generally to Black people in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?
☐ Yes
☐ No
Q36 You indicated that what happens generally to Black people in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life. Will it affect you a lot, some, or not very much?

- A lot
- Some
- Not very much

Q37 To overcome past discrimination, do you favor or oppose affirmative action programs which give special preferences to qualified Blacks in education?

- Favor Strongly
- Favor Somewhat
- Neither Favor nor Oppose
- Oppose Somewhat
- Oppose Strongly

Q38 If you had a say in making the federal budget this year would you want financial aid for college students to be increased, kept the same, decreased or cut entirely?

- Increased
- Kept the Same
- Decreased
- Cut Entirely

Q39 Some people say that because of past discrimination, Blacks should be given preference in hiring and promotion. Others say that such preference in hiring and promotion of Blacks is wrong because it gives Blacks advantages they haven’t earned. What about your opinion—are you in favor or against preferential hiring and promotion of Blacks?

- Strongly in Favor
- Somewhat in Favor
- Neither Favor nor Against
- Somewhat Against
- Strongly Against

Q40 Would you say that Black people's failures make you feel...

- Very ashamed
- Somewhat ashamed
- Not very ashamed
- Not at all ashamed

Q41 Would you say that Black people's accomplishments make you feel...

- Very proud
- Somewhat proud
- Not very proud
- Not at all proud

Q42 All in all, do you think affirmative action programs designed to increase the number of Black and minority students on college campuses are fair or unfair?
Q43 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: We should make every possible effort to improve the position of Blacks and other minorities, even if it means giving them preferential treatment during college admissions.

Q48 Do you favor or oppose preferential hiring and promotion of BLACK AMERICANS?

Q49 Do you think that federal funding for food stamps should be increased, kept the same, decreased, or cut entirely?

Q50 Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statement: Equal opportunity for Blacks and Whites to succeed is important but it’s not really the government’s job to guarantee it.

Q75 To overcome past discrimination, do you favor or oppose affirmative action programs to help Blacks get better jobs?
Experiment Treatments

Facebook’s Photo Archive Can Identify People in Real Life

By DAVID SMITH

Facebook has had its share of problems over face recognition—a feature that connects a photo of a person’s face with their Facebook profile, making it easier to tag people in photos—but researchers from Heinz College, Carnegie Mellon University, recently proved that Facebook’s vast photo archive can be used to identify people on the street, too.

The authors of the study titled “Faces of Facebook: Privacy in the Age of Augmented Reality”, Alessandro Acquisti, Ralph Gross and Fred Sturman, demonstrated it at the Black Hat technical security conference, which was held from July 30 to August 4 in Las Vegas. They used publicly available data—photos from Facebook profiles of students—and then used face recognition technology to recognize these students as they look into a web camera.

The results? Using a database of 25,000 photos taken from Facebook profiles, the authors’ face recognition software correctly identified 31 percent of the students after less than three (on average) quick comparisons. In another test, the authors took photos from 277,978 Facebook profiles and compared them against nearly 6,000 profiles from an unnamed dating Web site, managing to identify approximately 10 percent of the site’s members.

Figure A1: Control
College Graduation Rates Increase Dramatically Across the Country for African Americans

By DAVID SMITH

WASHINGTON, DC - New data released by the Department of Education show that college graduation rates have increased dramatically for African American students across the nation. The percentage of African Americans graduating from U.S. colleges and universities has increased from 41 percent in 2007 to 60.5 percent in 2011. This is an all-time high for African American students and the greatest increase that has been observed over a four year period. African American college students have been viewed in the past as a group that is often struggling in higher education. Many observers believe that this increase is a major step forward for improving racial disparities. "By most measures we've seen substantial improvement in recent years toward the goal of equitable minority participation and success in higher education," said Robert Williams, the U.S. Deputy Secretary for the Department of Education.

Figure A2: Vaguely Inclusive Message
College Graduation Rates Increase Dramatically Across the Country for Low-Income African Americans

By DAVID SMITH

WASHINGTON, D.C.-New data released by the Department of Education show that college graduation rates have increased dramatically for low-income African American students across the nation. The percentage of low-income African Americans graduating from U.S. colleges and universities has increased from 41 percent in 2007 to 60.5 percent in 2011. This is an all-time high for low-income African Americans and the greatest increase that has been observed over a four year period. Low-income African American college students have been viewed in the past as a group that is often struggling in higher education. Many observers believe that this increase is a major step forward for improving racial disparities. "By most measures we've seen a substantial improvement in recent years toward the goal of equitable minority participation and success in higher education," said Robert Williams, the U.S. Deputy Secretary for the Department of Education.
College Graduation Rates Decrease Dramatically Across the Country for Low-Income African Americans

By DAVID SMITH

WASHINGTON, DC: New data released by the Department of Education show that college graduation rates have decreased dramatically for low-income African American students across the nation. The percentage of low-income African Americans graduating from U.S. colleges and universities has decreased from 41 percent in 2007 to 25.2 percent in 2011. This is an all-time low for low-income African American students and the greatest decrease that has been observed over a four-year period. Low-income African American college students have been viewed in the past as a group that is often struggling in higher education. Many observers believe that this decrease is a major step backward for improving racial disparities. “By most measures we’ve seen a substantial backslide in recent years toward the goal of equitable minority participation and success in higher education,” said Robert Williams, the U.S. Deputy Secretary for the Department of Education.

Figure A4: Targeted Inclusive Message- Decrease in Low Income Graduate Rates
College Graduation Rates Increase Dramatically Across the Country for African Americans

By DAVID SMITH

WASHINGTON, DC- New data released by the Department of Education show that college graduation rates have increased dramatically for African American students across the nation. The percentage of African Americans graduating from U.S. colleges and universities has increased from 41 percent in 2007 to 68.5 percent in 2011. This is an all-time high for African American students and the greatest increase that has been observed over a four year period. African American college students have been viewed in the past as a group that is often struggling in higher education. Many observers believe that this increase is a major step forward for improving racial disparities. "By most measures we've seen substantial improvement in recent years toward the goal of equitable minority participation and success in higher education," said Robert Williams, the U.S. Deputy Secretary for The Department of Education.

Figure A5: Vaguely Non-Inclusive Message
Appendix B: Summary Statistics and Policy Analysis for Chapter 2
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>Vaguely Inclusive</th>
<th>Targeted Inclusive Increase Low Income</th>
<th>Targeted Inclusive Decrease Low Income</th>
<th>Vaguely Non-Inclusive</th>
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<td>48%</td>
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Table B1: Summary Statistics

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Table B2: Favoring Affirmative Action Programs for Better Jobs
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Table B3: Favoring Affirmative Action Programs in Education

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Table B4: Favoring Preferential Hiring and Promotion

39 Q39 Some people say that because of past discrimination, Blacks should be given preference in hiring and promotion. Others say that such preference in hiring and promotion of Blacks is wrong because it gives Blacks advantages they haven’t earned. What about your opinion—are you in favor or against preferential hiring and promotion of Blacks? Coded to range from 0 to 1 where 0=strongly against and 1=strongly in favor on a 5 point scale.

40 ^=p<.10(one-tailed); *= p<.05 (one-tailed); **=p<.05 (two tailed)
<table>
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<th>Chronically Excluded HS or less (N)</th>
<th>Moveable Blacks Some College/JC (N)</th>
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Table B5: Fair to Increase the Number of Black and Minority on College Campuses

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<td>.641 (32)</td>
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Table B6: Support for Preferential Treatment During College Admissions

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^p<.10(one-tailed); *= p<.05 (one-tailed); **=p<.05 (two tailed)

Q42 All in all, do you think affirmative action programs designed to increase the number of Black and minority students on college campuses are fair or unfair? Coded to range from 0 to 1 where 0=very unfair and 1=very fair on a 4 point scale.

Q43 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: We should make every possible effort to improve the position of Blacks and other minorities, even if it means giving them preferential treatment during college admission. Coded to range from 0 to 1 where 0=agree strongly and 1=disagree strongly on a 5 point scale.
<table>
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<th>Chronically Excluded HS or less (N)</th>
<th>Moveable Blacks Some College/JC (N)</th>
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Table B7: Favor Preferential Hiring and Promotion of Black Americans

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<th>Moveable Blacks Some College/JC (N)</th>
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<td>Low Income Decrease</td>
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<td><strong>.886^ (44)</strong></td>
<td>.916 (32)</td>
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Table B8: Increase Financial Aid for College Students

45 ^=p<.10 (one-tailed); *= p<.05 (one-tailed); **= p<.05 (two tailed)
46 Q38 If you had a say in making the federal budget this year would you want financial aid for college students to be increased, kept the same, decreased or cut entirely? Coded to range from 0 to 1 where 0= cut entirely and 1=increased on a 4 point scale.
Pre-Test Questionnaire

Q1 Thanks for participating in the Politics and Group Loyalty Study. Here we will ask you a series of questions about your political views. The questionnaire should take about 10 minutes to complete.

Q2 Which of the income groups listed below best describes the total income of all members of your family living in your house in 2011 before taxes? This figure should include salaries, wages, pensions, dividends, interest and all other income. (IF UNCERTAIN: what would be your best guess)? If you are a student who is still supported by your parents, report your parents' income.

- less than $16,999 (1)
- $17,000-$34,999 (2)
- $35,000-$69,999 (3)
- $70,000-$119,999 (4)
- $120,000 or more (5)

Q3 What is the highest degree that you have earned?

- Grade school or less (0-8 grades) (1)
- High school (12 grades or fewer, including non-college training if applicable) (2)
- Some college (13 grades or more, but no degree) (3)
- Junior or community college (Associate degree) (4)
- College (Bachelor's degree) (5)
- Advanced degree (6)

Q5 How old are you? Please type the two digit number.

__________________

Q6-Q8 Please enter the month, day and year of your birth

_________________/_________________/______________

Q9 What is the zip code of the place where you grew up?

__________________
Q10 Do you consider yourself primarily White or Caucasian, Black or African American, Asian or Asian Pacific Islander, Native American or American Indian, Hispanic or Latino/a, or something else?
- White or Caucasian (1)
- Black African American (2)
- Asian or Asian Pacific Islander (3)
- Native American or American Indian (4)
- Hispanic or Latino/a (5)
- Other (6) ____________________

Q4 Please indicate your gender:
- Male (1)
- Female (2)

PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING TWO QUESTIONS IF YOU ARE FEMALE.

Q152 My family and friends would be more supportive of my involvement in Black organizations than my involvement in women’s organizations.
- Strongly Disagree (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Agree (4)
- Strongly Agree (5)

Q154 I sometimes worry that being Black detracts from my female identity.
- Strongly Disagree (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Agree (4)
- Strongly Agree (5)
Q11-14 Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, or Independent?
- Strong Democrat
- Weak Democrat
- Independent leaning Democrat
- Independent
- Independent leaning Republican
- Weak Republican
- Strong Republican
- Other _______________________

Q15 We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Where would you place yourself on the scale below?
- Very Liberal (1)
- Liberal (2)
- Slightly Liberal (3)
- Moderate, Middle of the Road (4)
- Slightly Conservative (5)
- Conservative (6)
- Very Conservative (7)

Q16 Are you registered to vote?
- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q17 Do you plan on voting in the November 2012 Presidential election?
- Yes (1) (Go to Q18)
- No (2) (Go to Q19)

Q18 Who do you plan on voting for?
- Barack Obama (1)
- Mitt Romney (2)
- Someone Else (3) ____________________
Q300 What is your best guess of the percentage of Black people that are going to vote for Barack Obama in the November election?

_____________________%

Q19 Some people don't pay much attention to political campaigns. How about you? Would you say that you have been VERY MUCH interested, SOMewhat interested or NOT MUCH interested in the political campaigns so far this year?

☑ Very much interested (1)
☑ Somewhat interested (2)
☑ Not much interested (3)

Q20 How interested are you in information about what's going on in government and politics?

EXTREMELY INTERESTED, VERY INTERESTED, MODERATELY INTERESTED, SLIGHTLY INTERESTED, or NOT INTERESTED AT ALL?

☑ Extremely interested (1)
☑ Very interested (2)
☑ Moderately interested (3)
☑ Slightly interested (4)
☑ Not interested at all (5)

Q21 Do you care who wins the upcoming presidential election?

☑ Yes, I care very much (1)
☑ I care a little (2)
☑ No, I don't really care at all who wins (3)

Q22 Do you think what happens generally to Black people in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?

☑ Yes (1) (Go to Q23)
☑ No (2) (Go to Q24)

Q23 You indicated that what happens generally to Black people in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life. Will it affect you a lot, some or not very much?

☑ A lot (1)
☑ Some (2)
☑ Not very much (3)

Q25 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Being Black is not a major factor in my social relationships.

☑ Strongly Agree (1)
☑ Somewhat Agree (2)
☑ Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
☑ Somewhat Disagree (4)
☑ Strongly Disagree (5)
Q26 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Being Black is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am.
- Strongly Agree (1)
- Somewhat Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Somewhat Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q27 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: I have a strong attachment to other Black people.
- Strongly Agree (1)
- Somewhat Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Somewhat Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q28 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Being Black is an important reflection of who I am.
- Strongly Agree (1)
- Somewhat Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Somewhat Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)
Q29 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Overall, being Black has very little to do with how I feel about myself.
- Strongly Agree (1)
- Somewhat Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Somewhat Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q30 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: I have a strong sense of belonging to Black people.
- Strongly Agree (1)
- Somewhat Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Somewhat Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q31 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: My destiny is tied to the destiny of other Black people.
- Strongly Agree (1)
- Somewhat Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Somewhat Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q32 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: In general, being Black is an important part of my self-image.
- Strongly Agree (1)
- Somewhat Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Somewhat Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q33 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: What happens to Black people in this country has a lot to do with what happens to me.
- Strongly agree (1)
- Somewhat agree (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Somewhat disagree (4)
- Strongly disagree (5)

Q34 People differ in whether they think about being Black—what they have in common with Blacks. What about you? Do you think about this a lot, fairly often, once in a while, or hardly ever?
- A lot (1)
- Fairly often (2)
- Once in a while (3)
- Hardly ever (4)
Q35 Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every possible effort to improve the social and economic position of Blacks. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help Blacks because they should help themselves. What about your opinion—are you in favor or against government efforts to improve the social and economic position of Blacks?
- Strongly in Favor (1)
- Somewhat in Favor (2)
- Neither in Favor nor Against (3)
- Somewhat Against (4)
- Strongly Against (5)

Q37 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: 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 whites.
- Agree strongly (1)
- Agree somewhat (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Disagree somewhat (4)
- Disagree strongly (5)

Q38 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Being Black is more important to determining how you are treated in this country than how much money you have.
- Agree strongly (1)
- Agree somewhat (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Disagree somewhat (4)
- Disagree strongly (5)

Q39 Will Blacks in this country ever achieve full social and economic equality?
- Yes (1)
- No (2)
- No Opinion (3)

Q40 Some people say that because of past discrimination Blacks should be given preferences in hiring and promotion. Others say that such preference in hiring and promotion of Blacks is wrong because it gives Blacks advantages they haven’t earned. What about your opinions—do you favor or oppose preferential hiring and promotion of Blacks?
- Favor Strongly (1)
- Favor Somewhat (2)
- Neither Favor nor Oppose (3)
- Oppose Somewhat (4)
- Oppose Strongly (5)

Q41 To overcome past discrimination, do you favor or oppose affirmative action programs which give special preferences to qualified Blacks in education?
- Favor Strongly (1)
- Favor Somewhat (2)
- Neither Favor nor Oppose (3)
Oppose Somewhat (4)  
Oppose Strongly (5)  

Q42 How important is it to you that BLACK people turnout to vote in the upcoming election this November?  
☑ Very important (1)  
☑ Fairly important (2)  
☑ Not very important (3)  
☑ Not at all important (4)  

Q43 How important is it to you that WHITE people turnout to vote in the upcoming election this November?  
☑ Very important (1)  
☑ Fairly important (2)  
☑ Not very important (3)  
☑ Not at all important (4)  

Q44 How important is it to you that DEMOCRATS turnout to vote in the upcoming election?  
☑ Very important (1)  
☑ Fairly important (2)  
☑ Not very important (3)  
☑ Not at all important (4)  

Q45 How important is it to you that REPUBLICANS turnout to vote in the upcoming election?  
☑ Very important (1)  
☑ Fairly important (2)  
☑ Not very important (3)  
☑ Not at all important (4)  

Q47 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: If enough Black people vote, they can make a difference in who gets elected president.  
☑ Strongly Agree (1)  
☑ Somewhat Agree (2)  
☑ Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)  
☑ Somewhat Disagree (4)  
☑ Strongly Disagree (5)
Q48 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Most Black people are just out for themselves and don’t care much about helping other Blacks.
- Strongly Agree (1)
- Somewhat Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Somewhat Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q49 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: The fact that some Blacks don’t believe race is important hurts the efforts of those Blacks who do.
- Strongly Agree (1)
- Somewhat Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Somewhat Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q50 Black people have often used the terms “sellout” and/or “uncle tom” to refer to those Blacks who support the causes of White Americans at the expense of causes supported by other Black Americans. Do you think the use of these terms (“sellout” and/or “uncle tom”) is ever appropriate?
- Never appropriate (1)
- Sometimes appropriate (2)
- Very often appropriate (3)

Q51 During slavery, slave masters often had slaves spy on other slaves to prevent slave rebellions and escape attempts. Do you think it would be appropriate to call those Blacks who spied on other slaves for their masters “sellouts” and/or “uncle toms”?
- Yes, this would be an appropriate use of these terms (1)
- No, this would not be an appropriate use of these terms (2)
- The use of these terms is never appropriate in any situation (3)

Q52 Some Black musicians have changed their style of music to earn more money by appealing to White audiences. Do you think it is appropriate to refer to these musicians as “sellouts” or “uncle toms”?
- Yes, this would be an appropriate use of these terms (1)
- No, this would not be an appropriate use of these terms (2)
- The use of these terms is never appropriate in any situation (3)

Q53 During the 1960’s civil rights movement, the FBI often had Black agents infiltrate Black organizations to spy on Black leaders such as Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X. Do you think it would be appropriate to call those Blacks who spied for the government on civil rights leaders “sellouts” or “uncle toms”?
- Yes, this would be an appropriate use of these terms (1)
- No, this would not be an appropriate use of these terms (2)
- The use of these terms is never appropriate in any situation (3)
Q54 Do you think it is appropriate to call a Black person who marries a White person a “sellout” or “uncle tom”?
- Yes, this would be an appropriate use of these terms (1)
- No, this would not be an appropriate use of these terms (2)
- The use of these terms is never appropriate in any situation (3)

Q55 Do you think it is appropriate to call a Black person who votes for the Republican party a “sellout” or “uncle tom”?
- Yes, this would be an appropriate use of these terms (1)
- No, this would not be an appropriate use of these terms (2)
- The use of these terms is never appropriate in any situation (3)

Q144 Have you ever been unfairly prevented from moving into a neighborhood because the landlord or a realtor refused to sell or rent you a house or apartment?
- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q145 Have you ever been unfairly discouraged by a teacher or advisor from continuing your education?
- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q146 Do you constantly feel like people are testing you?
- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q147 Have you ever been unfairly stopped, searched, questioned, physically threatened or abused by the police?
- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q148 Have you ever been followed around by workers in a store for no good reason?
- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q149 Do you ever feel like receive poor service compared with other people at restaurants or stores?
- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q150 Do you ever feel like people act as if they are afraid of you?
- Yes (1)
- No (2)
Q57 Some people are primarily concerned with doing everything possible to protect the legal rights of those accused of committing crimes. Others feel that it is more important to stop criminal activity even at the risk of reducing the rights of the accused. What about your opinion—are you in favor or against protecting the legal rights of those accused of committing crimes?
- Strongly in Favor (1)
- Somewhat in Favor (2)
- Neither Favor nor Against (3)
- Somewhat Against (4)
- Strongly Against (5)

Q58 Some people think the government should provide fewer services, even in areas such as health and education, in order to reduced spending. Other people feel that it is important for the government to provide many more services even if it means an increase in spending. What about your opinion—are you in favor or against the government providing services in the area of health and education even if it means increased spending?
- Strongly in Favor (1)
- Somewhat in Favor (2)
- Neither Favor nor Against (3)
- Somewhat Against (4)
- Strongly Against (5)

Q59 Please indicate if you think federal spending for the following programs should be increased, kept the same, decreased or cut entirely.

Q59:1 Dealing with Crime
- Increased
- Kept the Same
- Decreased
- Cut out entirely

Q59:2 Public Schools
- Increased
- Kept the Same
- Decreased
- Cut out entirely

Q59:3 Food Stamps
- Increased
- Kept the Same
- Decreased
- Cut out entirely

Q59:4 Financial Aid for College Students
- Increased
- Kept the Same
- Decreased
- Cut out entirely

Q60 Please indicate if you think federal spending for the following programs should be increased, kept the same, decreased or cut entirely.
Q60: 1 Space Exploration
○ Increased
○ Kept the Same
○ Decreased
○ Cut out entirely

Q60: 2 Defense spending
○ Increased
○ Kept the Same
○ Decreased
○ Cut out entirely

Q60: 3 Social Security
○ Increased
○ Kept the Same
○ Decreased
○ Cut out entirely

Q60: 4 Medicaid
○ Increased
○ Kept the Same
○ Decreased
○ Cut out entirely

Q61 On a scale from 0 to 10 how would you rate the following individuals? A rating of 0 means you DISLIKE the person very much, and a rating of 10 means you LIKE the person very much. Simply place the cursor on the slider and move it under the value you feel best represents your feelings towards the individual. Please write the number in the space provided.

_____ Barack Obama (1)
_____ Mitt Romney (2)

Q62 On a scale from 0 to 10 how would you rate the following groups of people? A rating of 0 means you DISLIKE the this group of people very much and a rating of 10 means you LIKE this group of people very much. Simply place the curser on the slider and move it under the value you feel best represents your feelings towards this group of people. Please write the number in the space provided.

_____ Members of the U.S. Congress (1)
_____ Democrats in Congress (2)
_____ Republicans in Congress (3)
_____ Blacks in Congress (4)

Q63 On a scale from 0 to 10 how would you rate the following groups of people? A rating of 0 means you DISLIKE the this group of people very much and a rating of 10 means you LIKE this group of people very much. Simply place the curser on the slider and move it under the value you feel best represents your feelings towards this group of people. Please write the number in the space provided.
Q64 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Money is power.
- Strongly Agree (1)
- Somewhat Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Somewhat Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q65 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: More money will make you happier.
- Strongly Agree (1)
- Somewhat Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Somewhat Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)
Q66 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Material wealth is a sign of god's blessings.
- Strongly Agree (1)
- Somewhat Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Somewhat Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q67 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Money is more important than having good friends.
- Strongly Agree (1)
- Somewhat Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Somewhat Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q68 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: People are only as successful as the amount of money they earn.
- Strongly Agree (1)
- Somewhat Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Somewhat Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q69 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: It is sometimes okay to abandon friends if they stand in the way of you making money.
- Strongly Agree (1)
- Somewhat Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Somewhat Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q70 Do you currently have a job?
- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q71 How would you characterize your current financial situation?
- Excellent (1)
- Stable (2)
- Struggling (3)
- Falling behind (4)

Q301 How much cash do you have on your person?
$__________
Appendix C: Experiment Questionnaires and Treatments for Chapter 3
Hello, we are Researchers from Ohio State University and we received a grant from an organization called the Voter Turnout Project. We are using the money from the grant to provide young people an opportunity to contribute to presidential and congressional elections. If you are ok with taking part in this project, we would like provide you with $100 to contribute to the campaigns of Barack Obama and/or Mitt Romney.
So why should you contribute? Polls show that the race for president is very close and that at this point any candidate can win. And your vote counts but your money can matter more. Research on campaign contributions shows that for every $100 a candidate receives he or she can get as many as 10 additional votes. These contributions tend to be used towards campaign ads and voter mobilization efforts.

Other reasons you should contribute is because young people, like yourself, are the least likely to contribute to political campaigns and with these contributions you can make a difference and influence the outcome of the campaign beyond your single vote.
So in a second we will give the opportunity to contribute to the campaigns. Before we do, here are a few details about what you might be offered. You may be offered a cash incentive to contribute to one of the candidates’ political action committees. These incentives can range from $0 to $20.00. In the interest of fairness, exactly which candidate you will be offered the incentive for will be determined randomly by the computer. If you choose to accept the incentive you will be paid in cash. Again, to be clear you will not have to donate ANY money of your own pocket.

[READ ONLY IF NEWSPAPER CONDITION]
One requirement of the Voter Turnout Grant is that we need to publicly disclose the donations that you make to the candidates’ political action committees. So we will be publishing your name and contribution in the “Southern Digest.”
[IF CONTROL CONDITION]  
So this is the calculator. How would you like us to allocate the $100? Keep in mind that you can split the money however you would like.
[IF INCENTIVE OR INCENTIVE OR NEWSPAPER CONDITION]
So this is the calculator. You have been offered an incentive to donate to the Mitt Romney campaign. You will receive $1.00 for every $10.00 you donate to the campaign of Mitt Romney. The maximum amount of money that you can receive is $10.00. How would you like us to allocate the $100? Keep in mind that you can split the money however you would like.

[ENTER AMOUNT USING KEYBOARD.]
Are you sure that is what you want to give?
[SUBJECT CONFIMS THEN THANK SUBJECT FOR PARTICIPATING]
Post-Test Questionnaire
Q1   Thanks for participating in the Politics and Group Loyalty Study. Here we will ask you a series of questions about your political views. The questionnaire should take about 10 minutes to complete.

Q2   Currently the Obama and Romney campaigns are looking for volunteers to assist with campaign activities. Would you be willing to be considered as a volunteer?
   ☒ No, I would not like to be considered as a volunteer for either campaign
   ☒ Yes, I would like to be considered as a volunteer for the Obama campaign
   ☒ Yes, I would like to be considered as a volunteer for the Romney campaign

Q11-14 Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, or Independent?
   ☒ Strong Democrat
   ☒ Weak Democrat
   ☒ Independent leaning Democrat
   ☒ Independent
   ☒ Independent leaning Republican
   ☒ Weak Republican
   ☒ Strong Republican
   ☒ Other _______________________

Q15   We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Where would you place yourself on the scale below?
   ☒ Very Liberal (1)
   ☒ Liberal (2)
   ☒ Slightly Liberal (3)
   ☒ Moderate, Middle of the Road (4)
   ☒ Slightly Conservative (5)
   ☒ Conservative (6)
   ☒ Very Conservative (7)
Q17 Do you plan on voting in the November 2012 Presidential election?
  ○ Yes (1) (Go to Q18)
  ○ No (2) (Go to Q19)

Q18 Who do you plan on voting for?
  ○ Barack Obama (1)
  ○ Mitt Romney (2)
  ○ Someone Else (3) ____________________

Q300 What is your best guess of the percentage of Black people that are going to vote for Barack Obama in the November election?
  _________________%

Q22 Do you think what happens generally to Black people in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?
  ○ Yes (1) (Go to Q23)
  ○ No (2) (Go to Q24)

Q23 You indicated that what happens generally to Black people in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life. Will it affect you a lot, some or not very much?
  ○ A lot (1)
  ○ Some (2)
  ○ Not very much (3)

Q25 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Being Black is not a major factor in my social relationships.
  ○ Strongly Agree (1)
  ○ Somewhat Agree (2)
  ○ Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
  ○ Somewhat Disagree (4)
  ○ Strongly Disagree (5)

Q26 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Being Black is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am.
  ○ Strongly Agree (1)
  ○ Somewhat Agree (2)
  ○ Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
  ○ Somewhat Disagree (4)
  ○ Strongly Disagree (5)

Q27 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: I have a strong attachment to other Black people.
  ○ Strongly Agree (1)
  ○ Somewhat Agree (2)
  ○ Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
Q28 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Being Black is an important reflection of who I am.
- Strongly Agree (1)
- Somewhat Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Somewhat Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q29 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Overall, being Black has very little to do with how I feel about myself.
- Strongly Agree (1)
- Somewhat Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Somewhat Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q30 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: I have a strong sense of belonging to Black people.
- Strongly Agree (1)
- Somewhat Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Somewhat Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q31 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: My destiny is tied to the destiny of other Black people.
- Strongly Agree (1)
- Somewhat Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Somewhat Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q32 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: In general, being Black is an important part of my self-image.
- Strongly Agree (1)
- Somewhat Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Somewhat Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q33 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: What happens to Black people in this country has a lot to do with what happens to me.
- Strongly agree (1)
Q34 People differ in whether they think about being Black--what they have in common with Blacks. What about you? Do you think about this a lot, fairly often, once in a while, or hardly ever?
- A lot (1)
- Fairly often (2)
- Once in a while (3)
- Hardly ever (4)

Q35 Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every possible effort to improve the social and economic position of Blacks. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help Blacks because they should help themselves. What about your opinion—are you in favor or against government efforts to improve the social and economic position of Blacks?
- Strongly in Favor (1)
- Somewhat in Favor (2)
- Neither in Favor nor Against (3)
- Somewhat Against (4)
- Strongly Against (5)

Q37 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: 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 whites.
- Agree strongly (1)
- Agree somewhat (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Disagree somewhat (4)
- Disagree strongly (5)

Q38 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Being Black is more important to determining how you are treated in this country than how much money you have.
- Agree strongly (1)
- Agree somewhat (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Disagree somewhat (4)
- Disagree strongly (5)

Q39 Will Blacks in this country ever achieve full social and economic equality?
- Yes (1)
- No (2)
- No Opinion (3)

Q40 Some people say that because of past discrimination Blacks should be given preferences in hiring and promotion. Others say that such preference in hiring and promotion of Blacks is wrong because it gives
Blacks advantages they haven’t earned. What about your opinions—do you favor or oppose preferential hiring and promotion of Blacks?

- Favor Strongly (1)
- Favor Somewhat (2)
- Neither Favor nor Oppose (3)
- Oppose Somewhat (4)
- Oppose Strongly (5)

Q41 To overcome past discrimination, do you favor or oppose affirmative action programs which give special preferences to qualified Blacks in education?

- Favor Strongly (1)
- Favor Somewhat (2)
- Neither Favor nor Oppose (3)
- Oppose Somewhat (4)
- Oppose Strongly (5)

Q42 How important is it to you that BLACK people turnout to vote in the upcoming election this November?

- Very important (1)
- Fairly important (2)
- Not very important (3)
- Not at all important (4)

Q43 How important is it to you that WHITE people turnout to vote in the upcoming election this November?

- Very important (1)
- Fairly important (2)
- Not very important (3)
- Not at all important (4)

Q44 How important is it to you that DEMOCRATS turnout to vote in the upcoming election?

- Very important (1)
- Fairly important (2)
- Not very important (3)
- Not at all important (4)
Q45 How important is it to you that REPUBLICANS turnout to vote in the upcoming election?
☑ Very important (1)
☑ Fairly important (2)
☑ Not very important (3)
☑ Not at all important (4)

Q47 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: If enough Black people vote, they can make a difference in who gets elected president.
☑ Strongly Agree (1)
☑ Somewhat Agree (2)
☑ Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
☑ Somewhat Disagree (4)
☑ Strongly Disagree (5)

Q48 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Most Black people are just out for themselves and don’t care much about helping other Blacks.
☑ Strongly Agree (1)
☑ Somewhat Agree (2)
☑ Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
☑ Somewhat Disagree (4)
☑ Strongly Disagree (5)

Q49 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: The fact that some Blacks don’t believe race is important hurts the efforts of those Blacks who do.
☑ Strongly Agree (1)
☑ Somewhat Agree (2)
☑ Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
☑ Somewhat Disagree (4)
☑ Strongly Disagree (5)
Q50 Black people have often used the terms “sellout” and/or “uncle tom” to refer to those Blacks who support the causes of White Americans at the expense of causes supported by other Black Americans. Do you think the use of these terms (“sellout” and/or “uncle tom”) is ever appropriate?

- Never appropriate (1)
- Sometimes appropriate (2)
- Very often appropriate (3)

Q51 During slavery, slave masters often had slaves spy on other slaves to prevent slave rebellions and escape attempts. Do you think it would be appropriate to call those Blacks who spied on other slaves for their masters “sellouts” and/or “uncle toms”?

- Yes, this would be an appropriate use of these terms (1)
- No, this would not be an appropriate use of these terms (2)
- The use of these terms is never appropriate in any situation (3)

Q52 Some Black musicians have changed their style of music to earn more money by appealing to White audiences. Do you think it is appropriate to refer to these musicians as “sellouts” or “uncle toms”?

- Yes, this would be an appropriate use of these terms (1)
- No, this would not be an appropriate use of these terms (2)
- The use of these terms is never appropriate in any situation (3)

Q53 During the 1960’s civil rights movement, the FBI often had Black agents infiltrate Black organizations to spy on Black leaders such as Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X. Do you think it would be appropriate to call those Blacks who spied for the government on civil rights leaders “sellouts” or “uncle toms”?

- Yes, this would be an appropriate use of these terms (1)
- No, this would not be an appropriate use of these terms (2)
- The use of these terms is never appropriate in any situation (3)

Q54 Do you think it is appropriate to call a Black person who marries a White person a “sellout” or “uncle tom”?

- Yes, this would be an appropriate use of these terms (1)
- No, this would not be an appropriate use of these terms (2)
- The use of these terms is never appropriate in any situation (3)

Q55 Do you think it is appropriate to call a Black person who votes for the Republican party a “sellout” or “uncle tom”?

- Yes, this would be an appropriate use of these terms (1)
- No, this would not be an appropriate use of these terms (2)
- The use of these terms is never appropriate in any situation (3)

Q59 Please indicate if you think federal spending for the following programs should be increased, kept the same, decreased or cut entirely.

Q59:1 Dealing with Crime

- Increased
- Kept the Same
- Decreased
- Cut out entirely
Q59:2 Public Schools
- Increased
- Kept the Same
- Decreased
- Cut out entirely

Q59:3 Food Stamps
- Increased
- Kept the Same
- Decreased
- Cut out entirely

Q59:4 Financial Aid for College Students
- Increased
- Kept the Same
- Decreased
- Cut out entirely

Q60 Please indicate if you think federal spending for the following programs should be increased, kept the same, decreased or cut entirely.

Q60:1 Space Exploration
- Increased
- Kept the Same
- Decreased
- Cut out entirely

Q60:2 Defense spending
- Increased
- Kept the Same
- Decreased
- Cut out entirely

Q60:3 Social Security
- Increased
- Kept the Same
- Decreased
- Cut out

Q60:4 Medicaid
- Increased
- Kept the Same
- Decreased
- Cut out entirely

Q60:4 Medicaid
- Increased
- Kept the Same
- Decreased
- Cut out entirely
Q66 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Material wealth is a sign of god's blessings.
- Strongly Agree (1)
- Somewhat Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Somewhat Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q67 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Money is more important than having good friends.
- Strongly Agree (1)
- Somewhat Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Somewhat Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q68 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: People are only as successful as the amount of money they earn.
- Strongly Agree (1)
- Somewhat Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Somewhat Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q69 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: It is sometimes okay to abandon friends if they stand in the way of you making money.
- Strongly Agree (1)
- Somewhat Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Somewhat Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)
Appendix D: Summary Statistics for Experiment Data in Chapter 3
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<th>Control</th>
<th>Incentive &amp; News paper</th>
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<td>%Female</td>
<td>75.68%</td>
<td>72.22%</td>
<td>78.38%</td>
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<td>Slightly Liberal</td>
<td>Moderate, Middle of the Road</td>
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<td>22.59 yrs.</td>
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<td>% Registered to vote</td>
<td>89.19%</td>
<td>88.89%</td>
<td>83.78%</td>
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<td>% Plan to Support Barack Obama in 2012</td>
<td>97.22%</td>
<td>100%</td>
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Table D1: Summary Statistics
Appendix E: Experiment Questionnaire and Treatments for Chapter 4
Experiment Questionnaire and Treatments
Q1 In this survey we are interested in a number of issues of importance to Black Americans. We are interested in a variety of topics including opinions about U.S. political policy, economic conditions in the Black community, and what Black Americans think ought to be done to improve conditions for Black people. Because we are interested in opinions that are specific to Black Americans we need to know your racial identity. Are you Black and/or African American?
○ Yes (1)
○ No (2)

Not Explicitly Racial Introduction
Q2 In this survey we are interested in a number of issues of importance to people all over the United States. We are interested in a variety of topics including opinions about U.S. political policy, economic conditions in the United States and what you think ought to be done to improve conditions for Americans. Because we are interested in opinions that are specific to voting age adults we need to know if you are an adult over the age 18. Are you an adult over the age of 18?
○ Yes (1)
○ No (2)
Explicitly Racial Questions
Q3 Do you think what happens generally to Black people in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?
   ☐ Yes (1)
   ☐ No (2)

Q4 You indicated that what happens generally to Black people in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life. Will it affect you a lot, some or not very much?
   ☐ A lot (1)
   ☐ Some (2)
   ☐ Not very much (3)

Q6 Being Black is not a major factor in my social relationships.
   ☐ Strongly Agree (1)
   ☐ Agree (2)
   ☐ Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
   ☐ Disagree (4)
   ☐ Strongly Disagree (5)

Q7 Being Black is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am.
   ☐ Strongly Agree (1)
   ☐ Agree (2)
   ☐ Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
   ☐ Disagree (4)
   ☐ Strongly Disagree (5)

Q8 I have a strong attachment to other Black people.
   ☐ Strongly Agree (1)
   ☐ Agree (2)
   ☐ Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
   ☐ Disagree (4)
   ☐ Strongly Disagree (5)
Q10 Overall, being Black has very little to do with how I feel about myself.
- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q11 I have a strong sense of belonging to Black people.
- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q12 My destiny is tied to the destiny of other Black people.
- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q13 In general, being Black is an important part of my self-image.
- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q14 What happens to Black people in this country has a lot to do with what happens to me.
- Strongly agree (1)
- Somewhat agree (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Somewhat disagree (4)
- Strongly disagree (5)

Q15 People differ in whether they think about being Black--what they have in common with Blacks. What about you--Do you think about this a lot, fairly often, once in a while, or hardly ever?
- A lot (1)
- Fairly Often (2)
- Once in a while (3)
- Hardly ever (4)

Q16 Do you think Blacks should form their own political party?
- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q17 Are you a member of any organization working to improve the status of Black Americans?
- Yes (1)
- No (2)
Q18 Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every possible effort to improve the social and economic position of Blacks. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help Blacks because they should help themselves. What about your opinion—are you in favor or against government efforts to improve the social and economic position of Blacks?

- Strongly in Favor (1)
- Somewhat in Favor (2)
- Neither Favor nor Against (3)
- Somewhat Against (4)
- Strongly Against (5)

Q20 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 whites.

- Agree strongly (1)
- Agree somewhat (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Disagree somewhat (4)
- Disagree strongly (5)

Q21 Over the past few years Blacks have gotten less than they deserve.

- Agree strongly (1)
- Agree somewhat (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Disagree somewhat (4)
- Disagree strongly (5)

Q22 Being Black determines a lot how you are treated in this country more than how much money a person earns.

- Agree strongly (1)
- Agree somewhat (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Disagree somewhat (4)
- Disagree strongly (5)

Q23 Your opportunities to get ahead aren’t affected much by how other Blacks are generally treated in this country.

- Agree strongly (1)
- Agree somewhat (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Disagree somewhat (4)
- Disagree strongly (5)

Q24 If Blacks, other minorities, the poor and women pulled together, they could decide how this country is run.

- Agree strongly (1)
- Agree somewhat (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Disagree somewhat (4)
- Disagree strongly (5)

Q25 In this country people judge you more on the content of your character than on your race.

- Agree strongly (1)
○ Agree somewhat (2)
○ Neither agree nor disagree (3)
○ Disagree somewhat (4)
○ Disagree strongly (5)
Q26 Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should to do the same without any special favors.

- Agree strongly (1)
- Agree somewhat (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Disagree Somewhat (4)
- Disagree Strongly (5)

Q27 Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for Blacks to work their way out of the lower class.

- Agree strongly (1)
- Agree somewhat (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Disagree somewhat (4)
- Disagree strongly (5)

Q28 In the past few years, we have heard a lot about improving the position of Black people in this country. How much real change do you think there has been in the position of Black people in the past few years: a lot, some or not much at all?

- A lot (1)
- Some (2)
- Not much at all (3)

Q29 Will Blacks in this country ever achieve full social and economic equality?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q30 Some people say that because of past discrimination Blacks should be given preferences in hiring and promotion. Others say that such preference in hiring and promotion of Blacks is wrong because it gives Blacks advantages they haven’t earned. What about your opinions—are you in favor or oppose preferential hiring and promotion of Blacks?

- Favor strongly (1)
- Favor not strongly (2)
- Neither Favor nor Oppose (3)
- Oppose not strongly (4)
- Oppose strongly (5)

Q31 To overcome past discrimination, do you favor or oppose affirmative action programs which give special preferences to qualified Blacks in education?
Q32 If you had a say in making up the federal budget this year, should federal spending for aid to Blacks be increased, decreased, or kept about the same, or cut entirely?
- Favor Strongly (1)
- Favor Somewhat (2)
- Neither Favor nor Oppose (3)
- Oppose Somewhat (4)
- Oppose Strongly (5)

Q33 We'd also like to get your feelings about some individuals and groups in American society. We'd like you to rate each with what we call a feeling thermometer. Ratings between 50 degrees to 100 degrees mean that you feel favorably and warm toward the individual/group; ratings between 0 to 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorably towards the individual/group and that you don't care too much for that individual/group. If you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward an individual or group you would rate them at 50 degrees. INSTRUCTIONS: Click on the grey marker on the slider and move it from left to right to select your ratings. Your rating will appear on the right side of the slider. If you are selecting a 0 rating you still need to move the marker to 0 on the thermometer.
- Barack Obama (1)
- Blacks (2)
- Jesse Jackson (3)
- Clarence Thomas (4)
Q94 We'd also like to get your feelings about some individuals and groups in American society. We'd like you to rate each with what we call a feeling thermometer. Ratings between 50 degrees to 100 degrees mean that you feel favorably and warm toward the individual/group; ratings between 0 to 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorably towards the individual/group and that you don't care too much for that individual/group. If you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward an individual or group you would rate them at 50 degrees. INSTRUCTIONS: Click on the grey marker on the slider and move it from left to right to select your ratings. Your rating will appear on the right side of the slider. If you are selecting a 0 rating you still need to move the marker to 0 on the thermometer.

- _____ Congressional Black Caucus (1)
- _____ Condolezza Rice (2)
- _____ Cory Booker (3)
Not Explicitly Racial Question Block

Q34 Some people feel that the government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living. Others think the government should just let each person get ahead on his/their own. What is your opinion—are you in favor of or against the government in Washington seeing to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living?

- Strongly in Favor (1)
- Somewhat in Favor (2)
- Neither Favor nor Against (3)
- Somewhat Against (4)
- Strongly Against (5)

Q35 So far as you know now, do you expect to vote in the national elections this coming November or not?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q36 Who do you think you will vote for in the election for President?

- Barack Obama (1)
- Mitt Romney (2)
- Other (3) ____________________

Q37 If you were going to vote, who do you think you would vote for in the election for President?

- Barack Obama (1)
- Mitt Romney (2)
- Other (3) ____________________
Q38 We'd also like to get your feelings about some individuals and groups in American society. We'd like you to rate each with what we call a feeling thermometer. Ratings between 50 degrees to 100 degrees mean that you feel favorably and warm toward the individual/group; ratings between 0 to 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorably towards the individual/group and that you don't care too much for that individual/group. If you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward an individual or group you would rate them at 50 degrees. INSTRUCTIONS: Click on the grey marker on the slider and move it from left to right to select your ratings. Your rating will appear on the right side of the slider. If you are selecting a 0 rating you still need to move the marker to 0 on the thermometer.

☐ ______ Mitt Romney (1)
☐ ______ Paul Ryan (2)
☐ ______ Joe Biden (3)
☐ ______ Hillary Clinton (4)
Q93 We'd also like to get your feelings about some individuals and groups in American society. We'd like you to rate each with what we call a feeling thermometer. Ratings between 50 degrees to 100 degrees mean that you feel favorably and warm toward the individual/group; ratings between 0 to 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorably towards the individual/group and that you don't care too much for that individual/group. If you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward an individual or group you would rate them at 50 degrees. INSTRUCTIONS: Click on the grey marker on the slider and move it from left to right to select your ratings. Your rating will appear on the right side of the slider. If you are selecting a 0 rating you still need to move the marker to 0 on the thermometer.

- ______ George W. Bush (1)
- ______ Democrats (2)
- ______ Republicans (3)

Q39 Some people are primarily concerned with doing everything possible to protect the legal rights of those accused of committing crimes. Others feel that it is more important to stop criminal activity even at the risk of reducing the rights of the accused. What about your opinion—are you in favor or against protecting the legal rights of those accused of committing crimes?

- Strongly in Favor (1)
- Somewhat in Favor (2)
- Neither Favor nor Against (3)
- Somewhat Against (4)
- Strongly Against (5)

Q40 Do you favor or oppose laws to protect homosexuals against job discrimination?

- Favor Strongly (1)
- Favor Not Strongly (2)
- Oppose Not Strongly (3)
- Oppose Strongly (4)
- Neither Favor nor Oppose (5)
Q41 Please indicate if you think federal spending for the following programs should be increased, kept the same, decreased or cut entirely.

Q41.1 Dealing with Crime
○ Increased
○ Kept the Same
○ Decreased
○ Cut out entirely

Q41.2 Public Schools
○ Increased
○ Kept the Same
○ Decreased
○ Cut out entirely

Q41.3 Aid to Poor/Poor People
○ Increased
○ Kept the Same
○ Decreased
○ Cut out entirely

Q41.4 Financial Aid for College Students
○ Increased
○ Kept the Same
○ Decreased
○ Cut out entirely

Q42 Please indicate if you think federal spending for the following programs should be increased, kept the same, decreased or cut entirely.

Q42.1 Foreign Aid
○ Increased
○ Kept the Same
○ Decreased
○ Cut out entirely

Q42.2 Welfare Programs
○ Increased
○ Kept the Same
○ Decreased
○ Cut out entirely
Q42.3 Social Security
☐ Increased
☐ Kept the Same
☐ Decreased
☐ Cut out entirely

Q42.2 Border Security
☐ Increased
☐ Kept the Same
☐ Decreased
☐ Cut out entirely

Q43 Some people think the government should provide fewer services, even in areas such as health and education, in order to reduced spending. Other people feel that it is important for the government to provide many more services even if it means an increase in spending. What about your opinion—are you in favor or against the government providing services in the area of health and education even if it means increased spending?
☐ Strongly in Favor (1)
☐ Somewhat in Favor (2)
☐ Neither Favor nor Against (3)
☐ Somewhat Against (4)
☐ Strongly Against (5)

Q45 Our society should do whatever is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity so succeed.
☐ Agree strongly (1)
☐ Agree somewhat (2)
☐ Neither agree nor disagree (3)
☐ Disagree somewhat (4)
☐ Disagree strongly (5)

Q47 If people were treated more equally in this country we would have many fewer problems.
☐ Agree strongly (1)
☐ Agree somewhat (2)
☐ Neither agree nor disagree (3)
☐ Disagree somewhat (4)
☐ Disagree strongly (5)
Q46 The newer lifestyles are contributing to the breakdown of our society.
- Agree strongly (1)
- Agree somewhat (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Disagree somewhat (4)
- Disagree strongly (5)

Q48 We should give up on the goal of equality, since people are so different to begin with.
- Agree strongly (1)
- Agree somewhat (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Disagree somewhat (4)
- Disagree strongly (5)

Q49 Our society should do whatever is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed.
- Agree strongly (1)
- Agree somewhat (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Disagree somewhat (4)
- Disagree strongly (5)

Q50 Some people are just better cut out than others for important positions in society.
- Agree strongly (1)
- Agree somewhat (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Disagree somewhat (4)
- Disagree strongly (5)

Q51 Some people are better at running things and should be allowed to do so.
- Agree strongly (1)
- Agree somewhat (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Disagree somewhat (4)
- Disagree strongly (5)
Q52 All kinds of people should have an equal say in running this country.
- Agree strongly (1)
- Agree somewhat (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Disagree somewhat (4)
- Disagree strongly (5)

Q53 One of the big problems in this country is that we don’t give everyone an equal chance.
- Agree strongly (1)
- Agree somewhat (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Disagree somewhat (4)
- Disagree strongly (5)

Q54 Any person who is willing to work hard has a good chance of succeeding.
- Agree strongly (1)
- Agree somewhat (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Disagree somewhat (4)
- Disagree strongly (5)

Q55 Hard work offers little guarantee of success.
- Agree strongly (1)
- Agree somewhat (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Disagree somewhat (4)
- Disagree strongly (5)

Q56 Most people who don’t get ahead should not blame the system; they really have only themselves to blame.
- Agree strongly (1)
- Agree somewhat (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Disagree somewhat (4)
- Disagree strongly (5)

Q57 Even if people are ambitious, they often cannot succeed.
- Agree strongly (1)
- Agree somewhat (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Disagree somewhat (4)
- Disagree strongly (5)

Q58 If people work hard, they almost always get what they want.
- Agree strongly (1)
- Agree somewhat (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Disagree somewhat (4)
- Disagree strongly (5)
Q59 Even if people try hard, they often cannot reach their goals.
- Agree strongly (1)
- Agree somewhat (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Disagree somewhat (4)
- Disagree strongly (5)

Q60 Which of the income groups listed below best describes the total income of all members of your family living in your house in 2011 before taxes? This figure should include salaries, wages, pensions, dividends, interest and all other income. (IF UNCERTAIN: what would be your best guess)?
- less than $16,999 (1)
- $17,000-$34,999 (2)
- $35,000-$69,999 (3)
- $70,000-119,999 (4)
- $120,000 or more (5)

Q61 What is the highest degree that you have earned?
- Grade school or less (0-8 grades) (1)
- High school (12 grades or fewer, including non-college training if applicable) (2)
- Some college (13 grades or more but no degree) (3)
- Junior or Community College (Associate degree) (4)
- College (Bachelor's degree) (5)
- Advanced degree (6)
Q62 Please indicate your gender:
- Male (1)
- Female (2)

Q63 How old are you? Please type the two digit number.___________

Q64 What is your zip code? ______________

Q65 Do you consider yourself primarily White or Caucasian, Black or African American, American Indian, Asian, Hispanic or Latino, or something else?
- White or Caucasian (1)
- Black or African American (2)
- Asian or Asian Pacific Islander (3)
- Native American or American Indian (4)
- Hispanic or Latino/a (5)
- Other (6) ______________

Q66 Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, or Independent?
- Republican (1)
- Democrat (2)
- Independent (3)

Q67 Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?
- Strong Democrat (1)
- Weak Democrat (2)

Q68 Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?
- Strong Republican (1)
- Weak Republican (2)

Q69 Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic Party?
- Republican (1)
- Democratic (2)
- No Preference (3)
Q70 We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Where would you place yourself on the scale below?
- Very Liberal (1)
- Liberal (2)
- Slightly Liberal (3)
- Moderate, middle of the road (4)
- Slight Conservative (5)
- Conservative (6)
- Very Conservative (7)
Appendix F: Summary Statistics for Chapter 4
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Table F1: Summary Statistics for Survey Introduction Treatments

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Table F2: Summary Statistics for Question Delay Treatment

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