

Disentangling Race and Individualism

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Paper Prepared for the 2018 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association

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Introduction

Many observers have emphasized that individualism defines American political culture (deTocqueville 1831; Lipset 1960; McCloskey and Zaller 1984). While there are myriad definitions of individualism, we define individualism straightforwardly as a belief in hard work, self-reliance, and the perception of an open opportunity structure. Previous work has found that individualism predicts attitudes toward social welfare policies (Feldman 1983), candidate evaluations (Markus 2001), and opposition to welfare (Feldman and Zaller 1992). Yet despite agreement that individualism looms large in the American political tradition, its role with respect to another prominent feature of American political life—race relations—is not fully understood. Public opinion scholars have both under-theorized individualism and have, in many instances, underestimated the extent to which individualism is implicated in matters of race.

Even when some scholars have acknowledged that individualism is implicated in matters of race, they argue that this relationship only exists because conservatives (who tend to strongly endorse individualism) are more likely to oppose particularistic policies, including those policies that are race-targeted. According to this line of thinking, a relationship between support for individualism and opposition to race-targeted policies exists because conservatives are generally opposed to any policy—race-related or not—that targets any particular subset of society. For example, a commitment to the value of individualism is often cited as an explanation for why many White Americans oppose racial policies such as affirmative action (Sniderman and Piazza 1993). Thus, for some scholars, race and individualism are only connected because of principled conservatism, and not because of prejudice.

Another group of scholars suggest a very different and prominent role for individualism in accounts of race and politics, arguing that individualism and prejudice have become entangled such that many White Americans oppose racial policies not due to their commitment to individualism, but because “individualism is *in* prejudice” (Kinder and Mendelberg 2000, pp.44-45). In other

words, some scholars contend that “today prejudice is expressed primarily in the language of individualism” (Kinder and Mendelberg 2000, pp. 73), such that it is virtually impossible to invoke individualism in the American context, without race also being implicated in the conversation. While we are not in the position to adjudicate this debate in the present paper, we do think that individualism is implicated in significant ways with respect to race that previous work has not addressed.

In this paper we test the extent to which racial attitudes and individualism are interrelated for Blacks. While previous work has explored the relationship between racial attitudes and individualism for White Americans (DeSante 2013; Federico 2006), we know far less about the extent to which racial attitudes are interrelated for Blacks. Previous studies that address differences in individualism along racial lines, tend to focus on Blacks being less individualistic than Whites, but do not explore the consequences of these differences in support for individualism (Hunt 2007; Kluegel and Smith 1986). We test the political import of individualism for African Americans, relative to their White counterparts. Similar to previous studies, we find that based on commonly used measures of individualism, African Americans tend to appear less individualistic than whites, but we also argue that *support for individualism among Blacks manifests itself differently than it does among Whites*. White support for individualism, for example is largely tied to racial attitudes, and subsequently to racial policies. In the case of White Americans, their ideas about ideas about individualism—self-reliance, hard work, and the perception of an open opportunity structure are closely linked to their ideas about Blacks and the perception that Blacks are unwilling to work hard and “play by the rules.”

On the other hand, Black support for individualism is only weakly tied to support for racial policies. Similar to Whites, however, Blacks also have their ideas about individualism tied up with race, such that when individualistic messages are invoked, African Americans perceive their ingroup as implicated in those messages, even if African Americans are not explicitly mentioned.

However, unlike Whites, for African Americans, exposure to individualistic rhetoric has psychological consequences, such that African Americans may feel that others regard their group negatively when individualistic messages are invoked, subsequently resulting in decreased levels of internal political efficacy and collective racial self-esteem. We use a survey experiment to test these hypotheses, as well as to further explore how the political preferences of African Americans and Whites are influenced by African American elites who invoke individualistic appeals, relative to equivalent appeals made by White American elites. We also measure the degree to which White and Black Americans adhere to individualism over time, relying on survey data from the American National Election Study. We find, that there are racial differences in the degree to which people simultaneously endorse individualistic and structural explanations for racial inequality. White Americans are less likely to simultaneously endorse structural and individualistic explanations for racial inequality, while these beliefs are far more likely to exist in tandem among African Americans.

In sum, this paper examines the extent to which African Americans adhere to individualism, relative to their white counterparts, and how Black and White public opinion are influenced by individualistic rhetoric. The paper proceeds as follows: First we discuss the use of the racial resentment scale as a proxy for individualism, followed by an exploration of the correlation between race and individualism over time for African Americans. Subsequently, we rely on a survey experiment to test the effect of individualistic messages on Black policy preferences, followed by a discussion of the implications of our findings.

Racial Resentment as a Proxy for Individualism

Despite the importance of individualism to American politics, surveys have failed to consistently capture the degree to which Americans adhere to individualism. The American National Election Study, for example, has not asked a battery of questions that were specifically designed to capture support for individualism since 1986. Therefore, in order to measure support

for individualism over time, we use the racial resentment scale, relying on American National Election Study (ANES) data from 1986-2018. While the racial resentment scale was developed by Kinder and Sanders (1996) to distinguish between white Americans who harbor resentment or hostility toward African Americans and white Americans who are racially sympathetic, similar to recent scholarship (Kam and Burge 2017), we argue that the racial resentment scale captures structural and individual attributions for Black Americans' economic and social status. In short, we use the racial resentment scale as a proxy for the extent to which Americans belief in hard work, self-reliance, and the perception of an open opportunity structure, albeit with respect to a specific racial group, African Americans. We part ways with Kam and Burge (2017), however, by allowing for the simultaneous endorsement of structural and individual attributions for Black Americans' social status. While Kam and Burge (2017) argue that these dimensions represent opposite ends of the scale, we entertain the possibility that people can simultaneously endorse individual and structural attributions for racial inequality. We hypothesize that for many Americans, but especially for African Americans, these beliefs exist in tandem.

The racial resentment scale is constructed using four items on the basis of the following statements:

- “Irish, Italian, Jewish, and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors.” (rr1)
- “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.” (rr2)
- “Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve.” (rr3)
- “Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.” (rr4)

Respondents who endorse items on the scale that emphasize individual motivation and will, such as “Irish, Italian, Jewish, and other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors” (rr1) and “It’s really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if Blacks would only try hard they could be just as well off as Whites” (rr2) are typically treated as high on racial resentment. Conversely, those people who endorse items that emphasize structural explanations for racial inequality, such as, “Over the past few years, Blacks have gotten less than they deserve” (rr3), and “Generations of slavery and discrimination have made it difficult for Blacks to work their way out of the lower class” (rr4) are typically treated as low on racial resentment. Numerous studies show that those White Americans who are high on racial resentment behave very differently from those who are low on racial resentment. White Americans who are high on racial resentment are consistently more likely to oppose racialized policies, such as welfare and affirmative action, while those individuals who are low on racial resentment are more likely to support racialized policies.

Yet, by focusing on the remarkable predictive value of the racial resentment scale, scholars have tended to overlook another value of the scale—its ability to capture two different dimensions—individualist beliefs and structuralist beliefs, which we argue can exist in tandem. Individualist beliefs are the belief in hard work, self-reliance, the perception of an open opportunity structure. The individual is regarded as the sole proprietor of his own capacities, owing nothing to society for them. The second dimension, structural beliefs, are encompassed by the idea that social forces and institutional features help to explain social phenomena, including racial inequality. While we tend to look at the racial resentment scale solely as a measure of racial animus, in effect, the racial resentment scale is capturing individualism, which is not surprising, considering that in addition to capturing anti-Black affect, the scale was also designed to capture a commitment to the traditional American work ethic.

Two items on the racial resentment scale capture individualist beliefs : “Irish, Italian, Jewish, and other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors “(rr1) and “It’s really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if Blacks would only try hard they could be just as well off as Whites” (rr2). Endorsement of the other two items, “Over the past few years, Blacks have gotten less than they deserve” (rr3), and “Generations of slavery and discrimination have made it difficult for Blacks to work their way out of the lower class” (rr4) is indicative of structural beliefs.

The Relationship Between Racial Attitudes and Individualism (1986)

We begin by estimating four regression models. In each model, the dependent variable is one of the four items from the racial resentment scale. We control for standard demographic variables and individualism, using data from the 1986 American National Election Study—the last time that the survey included measures of individualism and racial resentment. We first measure individualism using the two items proposed by Stanley Feldman on the 1986 ANES. The first item asks respondents the extent to which they agree or disagree that “most people who don’t get ahead should not blame the system; they have only themselves to blame.” The second question asks respondents whether they agree or disagree that “any person who is willing to work hard has a good chance at succeeding.” We scaled these items together into a single measure of individualism.

The results from our analysis indicate that among *Whites*, individualism predicts endorsement of every item in the racial resentment scale (see Table 1).² These include items related to structuralist beliefs as well as items related to individualist beliefs , or individual motivation and will.

² The racial resentment scale has been validated as a measure of anti-Black predisposition (Kinder and Sanders 1996; Tarman and Sears 2005) and has been proven to be a powerful predictor of opposition to policies and candidates viewed as pro-Black (Kinder and Sanders 1996; Mendelberg 2001; Valentino, Hutchings, and White 2002).

Table 1: The Impact of Individualism on Racial Attitudes (White Respondents)

	rr1	rr2	rr3	rr4
Individualism	0.335*** (0.075)	0.470*** (0.074)	0.291*** (0.067)	0.191** (0.082)
Education	-0.599*** (0.074)	-0.689*** (0.075)	-0.276*** (0.067)	-0.549*** (0.083)
Party ID	-0.002 (0.032)	0.017 (0.032)	0.038 (0.028)	-0.004 (0.035)
Ideology	0.236*** (0.064)	0.131** (0.063)	0.174*** (0.057)	0.145** (0.070)
Male	0.001 (0.022)	0.016 (0.022)	-0.003 (0.020)	0.006 (0.024)
Income	0.017 (0.056)	0.105* (0.056)	-0.009 (0.050)	0.028 (0.061)
Age	-0.116** (0.050)	-0.045 (0.049)	0.081* (0.045)	-0.112** (0.054)
Constant	0.801*** (0.075)	0.786*** (0.076)	0.543*** (0.068)	0.688*** (0.083)
Observations	707	713	708	717
R-squared	0.119	0.152	0.080	0.068

Key:

rr1: "Blacks can get along without special favors."

rr2: "Blacks would succeed if they tried harder."

rr3: "Over the years, Blacks have NOT gotten less than they deserve."

rr4: "Generations of slavery have NOT made it difficult for Blacks."

However, as indicated by Table 2, for African Americans, the relationship between individualism and these racial constructs is less robust. Individualism is only a predictor of racial attitudes for Blacks when those attitudes measure individualist beliefs, but not structural beliefs. In other words, the individualist items on the racial resentment scale have a strong relationship with the Feldman (1986) measure of individualism. Individualism is a predictor of Blacks' endorsement of the statements, "Irish, Italian, Jewish, and other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors" (rr1) and "It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if Blacks would only try hard they could be just as well off as Whites" (rr2). In fact, the coefficients are actually higher in the case of African American respondents, relative to their white counterparts.

Table 2: The Impact of Individualism on Racial Attitudes (Black Respondents)

	rr1	rr2	rr3	rr4
Individualism	0.597** (0.281)	0.906*** (0.274)	0.125 (0.264)	-0.207 (0.232)
Education	-0.126 (0.305)	-0.190 (0.297)	-0.236 (0.285)	0.200 (0.252)
Party ID	-0.099 (0.163)	-0.132 (0.159)	-0.162 (0.151)	0.157 (0.135)
Ideology	0.076 (0.239)	-0.148 (0.233)	-0.243 (0.222)	0.014 (0.197)
Male	-0.093 (0.085)	0.000 (0.083)	-0.051 (0.079)	-0.073 (0.070)
Income	-0.039 (0.187)	-0.015 (0.183)	-0.164 (0.186)	-0.103 (0.155)
Age	-0.045 (0.199)	-0.390** (0.194)	-0.119 (0.183)	0.122 (0.164)
Constant	0.310 (0.256)	0.274 (0.250)	0.611** (0.240)	0.197 (0.212)
Observations	83	83	80	83
R-squared	0.085	0.164	0.055	0.037

Key:

rr1: "Blacks can get along without special favors."

rr2: "Blacks would succeed if they tried harder."

rr3: "Over the years, Blacks have NOT gotten less than they deserve."

rr4: "Generations of slavery have NOT made it difficult for Blacks."

But where the two groups part company, is with respect to the role of discrimination and institutional racism, as individualism is not a predictor of statements related to the role of

institutions, such as “Over the past few years, Blacks have gotten less than they deserve” (rr3), and “Generations of slavery and discrimination have made it difficult for Blacks to work their way out of the lower class” (rr4). The implications of this are that racial resentment is more likely to be a consistent predictor of opposition to policies such as welfare and affirmative action for Whites. However, for Blacks, they are more likely to be ambivalent about such policies, despite their endorsement of individualist beliefs . We contend that the political science literature has not disentangled these underlying constructs of individualism, with respect to Blacks, which helps to explain why Blacks appear individualistic on some measures, but egalitarian on other measures in some surveys. While scholars have developed theories to account for why many Whites in the post-civil rights era endorse both the principles of racial equality and self-reliance, yet reject policies to ameliorate racial inequality, less attention has been devoted to why African Americans endorse individualism at high rates (albeit lower than their White counterparts), while simultaneously endorsing race-targeted social policies that are in apparent conflict with their support of individualism.

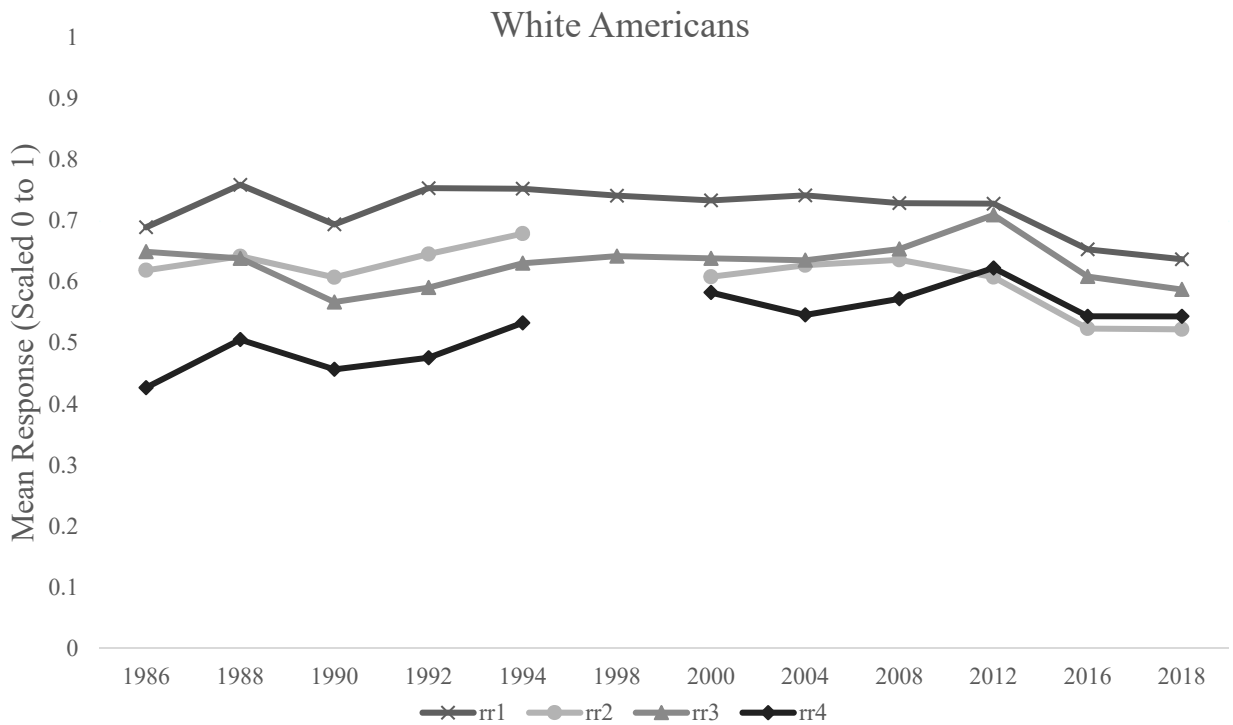
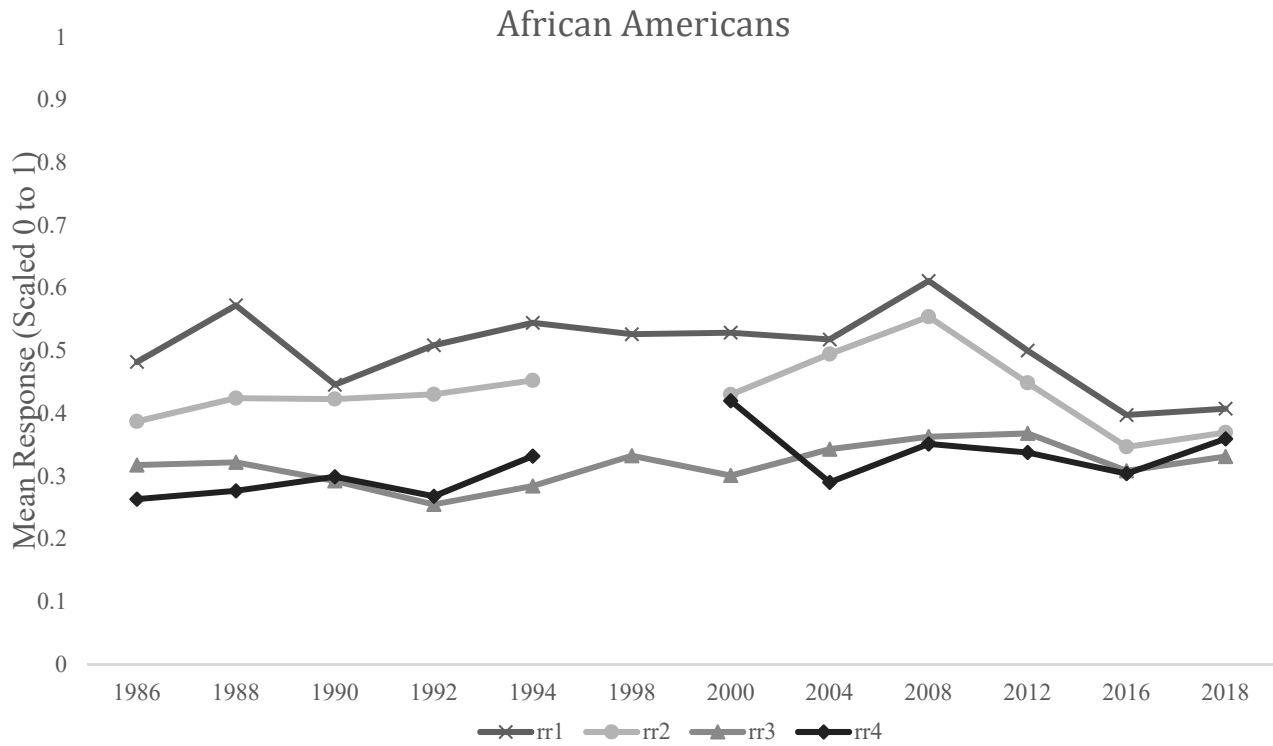
The Relationship Between Racial Attitudes and Individualism (1986-2008)

Aside from examining the relationship between individualism and racial attitudes, we also explore how adherence to individualism has changed over time for African Americans and Whites. Documenting whether and how Black and White Americans’ beliefs have changed since the 1980s adds valuable knowledge to our understanding of race as a social cleavage shaping public opinion and American politics (Manza and Brooks 1999). We draw from data from the American National Election Study (ANES) between 2018 and 1986, the first year that The American National Election Study began asking the racial resentment questions. This is the best metric that we have of individualism over time, since prominent surveys such as the ANES and the General Social Survey do not consistently measure individualism. Although the racial resentment scale is not traditionally

thought of as a measure of individualism, for our purposes, we argue it is effective at capturing both individualist beliefs and structuralist beliefs.

As indicated by Figure 1, Blacks are more likely to support explanations for racial inequality in which motivation and will play a prominent role (individualist beliefs), while they are less likely to support explanations for racial inequality that emphasize the role of institutions such as slavery (structural beliefs). At first glance, this may seem surprising, since Blacks are frequently stereotyped as “complainers” who do not want to take personal responsibility for themselves. However, African Americans, just like other Americans, are socialized in an American context in which individualism looms large. More importantly, however, is that post 2008, there is a convergence in individualist and structuralist beliefs, as individualist beliefs among Blacks declined in the past several years. We posit that African Americans, who saw a loss in material gains during Obama’s tenure, likely became disillusioned with the degree to which hard work and individual effort could be used to overcome racial inequality. Of course, the usual caveats with respect to cross-sectional data apply, but we think that this is a trend that is worth exploring further in future work with experimental data.

Figure 1: Mean Level Support of Support for Racial Resentment Items on the ANES (1986-2018)



Source: ANES Time Series Cumulative File and 2018 ANES Pilot Study. Values are mean response to questions, which have five response options ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Responses have been rescaled from zero to one. Analysis employs survey weights and combines ANES Internet and face-to-face samples when both samples are available.

Also of note, is that the two points at which mean support for individualist beliefs peaked among Blacks were in 1988 and 2008—both years in which there were prominent Black candidates running for U.S. President, who were both popular among Blacks. While this relationship is by no means definitive, and is suggestive at best, it does highlight the need to further explore the role of elites in accounts of Black public opinion. We explore this relationship in the next section via our discussion of a survey experiment.

Similar to African Americans, White Americans were also more likely to support explanations for racial inequality in which motivation and will play a prominent role, while they were less likely to support explanations for racial inequality that emphasized the role of institutions such as slavery and institutional racism. It is worth noting, however, that Whites were more individualistic than Blacks, routinely endorsing individualistic explanations for racial inequality at rates that were higher by more than one-fifth of the scale. White Americans' endorsement of possessive individualism was also more stable over time, relative to their Black counterparts.

Survey Experiment: The Impact of Individualistic Rhetoric from Black and White Elites

Given the relatively high support for individualist beliefs among both Black and White Americans over time, we hypothesize that Black and White Americans alike will be more supportive of a candidate who espouses an individualistic message, regardless of the race of the messenger. We also hypothesize that for those respondents who are high on individualism, exposure to individualistic message from a politician, will in some instances have a conservatizing influence, such that they will be less likely to think that Blacks and Hispanics experience discrimination. They should also be more likely to oppose welfare and federal aid to Blacks. In some instances, however, there are likely to be ceiling effects, such that individualistic rhetoric will not further increase opposition to policies to which, people who are high on individualism are already like to be opposed. We suspect that those respondents with individualist beliefs will be far

less likely to think that Blacks and Hispanics experience discrimination, as well as be much more warm toward candidates with an individualistic message than their non methodological individualist counterparts.

Hypotheses

Therefore, in light of the previous questions, we test the following hypotheses:

H1: Respondents who are high on individualism will be more supportive of candidates who deliver an individualistic message, relative to the candidate in the control condition.

H2: Respondents who are methodological individualists (i.e. low on the structural dimension of racial resentment) will be less supportive of candidates who deliver an individualistic message.

H2a: Respondents who are low on methodological individualism will be more likely to think that Blacks and Hispanics experience discrimination.

Experimental Design

We administered a pilot study via Amazon Mechanical Turk in March of 2015. Our sample includes 145 Black and 160 White adult U.S. citizens over the age of 18, each of whom was randomly assigned to one of three experimental conditions, including one control condition.³ Before assignment to a particular condition, each subject completed a pre-test survey, which included questions intended to assess a number of attitudes, predispositions, and demographic characteristics including endorsement of racial identity, racial attitudes, egalitarianism, and of course, individualism. Individualism was measured in a variety of ways. We used the Feldman measure from the ANES, a measure of self-reliance, as well as the possessive and methodological individualism subscales from the racial resentment battery.

The two items proposed by Stanley Feldman on the 1986 ANES ask respondents the extent to which they agree or disagree that “most people who don’t get ahead should not blame the system;

³ Complete versions of the treatments are provided in Appendix A.

they have only themselves to blame” and whether they agree or disagree that “any person who is willing to work hard has a good chance at succeeding.” We scaled these items together into a single measure of individualism. Next, we measured self-reliance with two survey items, the first of which asks respondents which of the following two statements comes closest to their opinion: “people should take care of themselves and their families and let others do the same” or “people should care less about their own success and more about the needs of society.” The second question asks people to choose whether “most poor people are poor because they don’t work hard enough” or “most poor people are poor because of circumstances beyond their control.” Finally, we also rely on the possessive individualism subscale of the racial resentment scale, as well as the methodological individualism subscale.

In the control condition, subjects read an article entirely unrelated to the others, and completely devoid of any cues about race, politics, or individualism. Instead, the article described the possibility of targeted ads being delivered on cellphones. The point of this ad is simply to give the subjects a similar experience of reading a news article in between answering questions.

In the treatment conditions, subjects read a fabricated news article about a speech given by fictitious a congressional candidate. The article was designed to look as if it appeared on the website of a (fabricated) local newspaper called the *River County News*. The article describes the very individualistic message delivered by the fictitious candidate, Michael Stevens, and the headline read, “Michael Stevens to Americans: ‘Pull Yourself Up By Your Bootstraps!’” The text of the article describes Stevens’ economic vision for the future and includes quotes about hard work, self-reliance, and individual initiative. The two treatment articles were completely identical to each other, save for one important change. In the first treatment condition, the accompanying photograph with the podium included a White man, approximately in his 40s, in a suit and standing behind the microphone. The second treatment condition swapped out the White man with a Black man of

similar age, but we used Photoshop to keep the image absolutely identical except for the head and hands of the individual in the picture.

Upon exposure to the different news articles, subjects were directed to a post-test survey that asked a variety of questions about political attitudes, including whether the subject endorsed the fictitious political candidate, and support for a range of policies. We asked about attitudes toward social welfare policies, perception of discrimination, and warmth toward the candidate.

Results

In order to test our hypotheses, we estimated several regression models, where the various treatment conditions were interacted with the racial resentment scale, as well as different metrics of individualism. The dependent variables were support for Michael Stevens, support for welfare, support for federal aid to Blacks, and the perception that Blacks and Hispanics experience discrimination. Our intent was to determine whether a message about individualism would prime racial resentment among Blacks such that they were more likely to bring their racial attitudes to bear on their policy preferences.

As indicated by Table 3, Black respondents who were high on racial resentment were more likely to support Michael Stevens, regardless of whether he was depicted as a Black candidate or a White candidate. However, it is worth noting that the coefficient representing the interaction of exposure to the Black candidate and racial resentment is 1.025 ($p < .01$), whereas the coefficient for the interaction of racial resentment and the White candidate was .738 ($p < .01$), suggesting that Blacks liked the Black candidate with the individualistic message more than his White counterpart. These results support H1, which stated, “Respondents who are high on racial resentment will be more supportive of candidates who deliver an individualistic message, relative to the candidate in the control condition.”

Table 3. The Impact of Racial Resentment on Attitudes across Experimental Conditions

	Support for Stevens (FT Eval.)	Support for Welfare	Support for Fed. Aid to Blacks	Blacks Experience Discriminati on	Hispanics Experience Discriminati on
Racial Resentment	-0.165 (0.130)	-0.614*** (0.178)	-0.597*** (0.095)	-0.304** (0.118)	-0.098 (0.131)
White Candidate Treatment	-0.382*** (0.092)	-0.087 (0.126)	-0.013 (0.067)	-0.001 (0.083)	-0.065 (0.093)
Black Candidate Treatment	-0.257*** (0.086)	-0.047 (0.118)	0.003 (0.063)	0.138* (0.078)	0.281*** (0.087)
Resentment * White Candidate	0.738*** (0.204)	0.211 (0.279)	0.075 (0.149)	-0.192 (0.184)	-0.100 (0.206)
Resentment * Black Candidate	1.025*** (0.202)	0.024 (0.277)	-0.048 (0.147)	-0.357* (0.183)	-0.806*** (0.204)
Constant	0.537*** (0.059)	0.926*** (0.081)	0.916*** (0.043)	0.899*** (0.054)	0.715*** (0.060)
Observations	144	145	145	145	145
R-squared	0.327	0.143	0.402	0.259	0.237

Source: 2015 MTurk Race & Individualism Pilot Study. All variables coded to range from zero to one.

Standard errors in parentheses. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Also of note, is that exposure to the treatments with the individualistic message did not seem to influence support for welfare or federal aid to Blacks. We argue that due to their simultaneous support of the individualistic and structural explanations for racial inequality, Blacks are more likely to be ambivalent about implicit racial policies, such as welfare. However, we expect Blacks to be more supportive of political attitudes that unambiguously speak to structural explanations for racial inequality. Therefore, we turn our focus to the endorsement of the idea that Blacks and Hispanics experience discrimination. As indicated by the results in Table 3, respondents who were high on racial resentment and exposed to the Black candidate were less likely to say that Blacks and Hispanics experience discrimination. Conversely, respondents who were low on racial resentment and exposed to the Black candidate with the individualistic message were actually more likely to state that Blacks and Hispanics experience discrimination.

Next, Table 4 enables us to take a more granular approach to the impact of racial resentment on our dependent variables of interest. Specifically, we focus on what we term the “possessive individualism subscale” of the racial resentment scale. The possessive individualism subscale consists of two questions: “Irish, Italian, Jewish, and other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors” (rr1) and “It’s really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if Blacks would only try hard they could be just as well off as Whites” (rr2). As indicated by Table 4, respondents who were low on possessive individualism were less likely to support Michael Stevens regardless of race, whereas those respondents who were high on possessive individualism were much more receptive to the individualistic message delivered by the fictitious candidate. The coefficient of .861 ($p < .01$), representing the interaction of exposure to the Black candidate and the highest possible endorsement of possessive individualism suggests that Black respondents felt especially warm to the Black candidate with the individualistic message. Similarly, the albeit lower coefficient of .572

($p < .01$) representing the interaction of exposure to the White candidate and the highest possible endorsement of possessive individualism suggests that Black respondents also felt warm to the White candidate with the individualistic message, relative to the control condition. However, a significant relationship does not emerge between exposure to the individualistic message and endorsement of the possessive dimensions of individualism, when it comes to support for welfare and support for federal aid to Blacks. We contend that due to their simultaneous support of individualistic and structural explanations for inequality, Blacks are more ambivalent about policies such as welfare. Also of note, is that respondents who are high on possessive individualism were less likely to state that Hispanics experience discrimination, whereas respondents who did not endorse possessive individualism were more likely to state that Hispanics experience discrimination.

Table 4. The Impact of the Possessive Individualism Subscale on Attitudes across Experimental Conditions

	Support for Stevens (FT Eval.)	Support for Welfare	Support for Fed. Aid to Blacks	Blacks Experience Discrimination	Hispanics Experience Discrimination
Possess. Individualism Subscale	-0.118 (0.119)	-0.666*** (0.159)	-0.483*** (0.094)	-0.230** (0.114)	-0.083 (0.127)
White Candidate Treatment	-0.355*** (0.094)	-0.128 (0.125)	-0.026 (0.074)	-0.051 (0.090)	-0.072 (0.100)
Black Candidate Treatment	-0.264*** (0.088)	-0.061 (0.117)	0.007 (0.070)	0.122 (0.084)	0.195** (0.094)
Possess * White Candidate	0.572*** (0.182)	0.325 (0.243)	0.133 (0.144)	-0.034 (0.174)	-0.063 (0.195)
Possess * Black Candidate	0.861*** (0.178)	0.127 (0.237)	0.020 (0.140)	-0.217 (0.170)	-0.442** (0.190)
Constant	0.523*** (0.059)	0.968*** (0.079)	0.888*** (0.047)	0.878*** (0.056)	0.712*** (0.063)
Observations	144	145	145	145	145
R-squared	0.320	0.180	0.289	0.164	0.136

Source: 2015 MTurk Race & Individualism Pilot Study. All variables coded to range from zero to one.

Standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Next, we examine what we term the “methodological individualism subscale” of the racial resentment scale which is measured by the following two items: “Over the past few years, Blacks have gotten less than they deserve” (rr3), and “Generations of slavery and discrimination have made it difficult for Blacks to work their way out of the lower class” (rr4). Thus Table 5 displays the results of several regression models that interact exposure to the treatments with endorsement of the methodological individualism subscale. Respondents who endorse methodological individualism eschew the role of institutions in explanations for racial inequality. Recall H2 states, “Respondents who are methodological individualists (i.e. low on the structural dimension of racial resentment) will be less supportive of candidates who deliver an individualistic message,” whereas H2 states, “Respondents who are high on the structural dimension of racial resentment will be more likely to think that Blacks and Hispanics experience discrimination.” Again, we expect ambivalence with regard to support for welfare and support for federal aid to Blacks.

As indicated by Table 5, the methodological individualists or the respondents who do not endorse institutional racism are more supportive of the candidates with the individualistic message, relative to the control condition. Conversely, the respondents who agree that, “Over the past few years, Blacks have gotten less than they deserve,” and “Generations of slavery and discrimination have made it difficult for Blacks to work their way out of the lower class,” were less supportive of the candidates with the individualistic message. They were also more likely to state that Blacks and Hispanics experience discrimination. Perhaps not surprisingly, methodological individualists were less likely to state that Blacks and Hispanics experience discrimination, but this relationship was most robust when the candidate was Black, which may speak to the conservatizing influence of individualistic messages from Black elites.

Table 5. The Impact of Methodological Individualism Subscale on Attitudes across Experimental Conditions

	Support for Stevens (FT Eval.)	Support for Welfare	Support for Fed. Aid to Blacks	Blacks Experience Discrimination	Hispanics Experience Discrimination
Method Individualism Subscale	0.153 (0.124)	0.347** (0.168)	0.499*** (0.087)	0.270*** (0.103)	0.078 (0.114)
White Candidate Treatment	0.363** (0.143)	-0.017 (0.194)	-0.043 (0.101)	-0.321*** (0.119)	-0.188 (0.132)
Black Candidate Treatment	0.646*** (0.146)	-0.081 (0.198)	-0.093 (0.103)	-0.270** (0.121)	-0.671*** (0.134)
Method * White Candidate	-0.673*** (0.203)	-0.005 (0.275)	0.054 (0.143)	0.341** (0.169)	0.116 (0.187)
Method * Black Candidate	-0.747*** (0.198)	0.045 (0.267)	0.076 (0.139)	0.366** (0.164)	0.902*** (0.182)
Constant	0.374*** (0.087)	0.464*** (0.117)	0.362*** (0.061)	0.607*** (0.072)	0.627*** (0.080)
Observations	144	145	145	145	145
R-squared	0.249	0.069	0.379	0.302	0.295

Source: 2015 MTurk Race & Individualism Pilot Study. All variables coded to range from zero to one.

Standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

In table 6, we examine whether individualism, as measured with the Feldman measures, moderates the relationship between the treatment and each of our five independent variables of interest. We can see from table 6 that in the control, whites who are higher on this measure of individualism are less supportive of welfare and federal spending on aid to blacks. They are also less likely to believe that blacks and Hispanics experience discrimination. Receiving the treatment does not make whites more or less likely to bring this attitude to bear on these political evaluations. The treatments do, however, influence the relationship between individualism and evaluations of the fictitious candidate making the individualistic appeal. Whites who score higher on individualism rate Stevens much more positively when he gives the individualistic appeal, regardless of Stevens' race. It is worth noting, however, that the magnitude of the effect is greater when Stevens is white than when he is black.

Table 6. The Impact of Individualism on Attitudes Across Experimental Conditions among Whites

	Support for Stevens (FT Eval.)	Support for Welfare	Support for Fed. Aid to Blacks	Blacks Experience Discriminatio n	Hispanics Experience Discriminati on
Individualism	0.117 (0.141)	-0.858*** (0.186)	-0.565*** (0.154)	-0.462*** (0.170)	-0.473*** (0.159)
White Candidate Treatment	-0.557*** (0.121)	0.049 (0.159)	0.006 (0.132)	0.189 (0.146)	0.077 (0.136)
Black Candidate Treatment	-0.311** (0.119)	-0.092 (0.157)	0.008 (0.130)	0.016 (0.143)	-0.010 (0.134)
Individ. * White Cand. Treatment	0.858*** (0.180)	-0.059 (0.238)	-0.007 (0.197)	-0.319 (0.218)	-0.160 (0.203)

Individ. * Black Cand. Treatment	0.659*** (0.184)	0.106 (0.243)	-0.046 (0.201)	-0.070 (0.222)	-0.014 (0.208)
Constant	0.414*** (0.093)	1.134*** (0.123)	0.897*** (0.102)	0.895*** (0.112)	0.861*** (0.105)
Observations	159	158	158	158	158
R-squared	0.443	0.352	0.275	0.264	0.239

Source: 2015 MTurk Race & Individualism Pilot Study. All variables coded to range from zero to one.

Standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

In table 7, we replicate the analysis from table 6, but swap out our individualism measure with our measure of self-reliance. The results are similar to those in table 6. In the control, self-reliance is associated with less support for welfare and aid to blacks, as well as lower endorsement of the belief that blacks and Hispanics experience discrimination. In the treatment conditions, self-reliance is also associated with evaluations of Stevens. Interestingly, however, we do see that the appeal has an effect on the relationship between self-reliance and the belief that blacks and Hispanics experience discrimination. Whites who are exposed to Stevens' bootstrap message are even less likely to endorse the belief that blacks and Hispanics experience discrimination, but only when Stevens is white.

Table 7. The Impact of Self-Reliance on Attitudes Across Experimental Conditions among Whites

	Support for Stevens (FT Eval.)	Support for Welfare	Support for Fed. Aid to Blacks	Blacks Experience Discrimination	Hispanics Experience Discrimination
Self-reliance	0.116 (0.078)	-0.635*** (0.097)	-0.454*** (0.083)	-0.217** (0.098)	-0.188** (0.090)
White Candidate Treatment	-0.255*** (0.065)	-0.010 (0.082)	-0.023 (0.068)	0.113 (0.081)	0.105 (0.074)
Black Candidate Treatment	-0.161** (0.069)	-0.041 (0.087)	-0.009 (0.073)	0.081 (0.086)	0.080 (0.079)
Self-reliance * White Cand. Treatment	0.508*** (0.105)	0.011 (0.131)	0.037 (0.111)	-0.274** (0.131)	-0.282** (0.120)

Self-reliance * Black Cand. Treatment	0.391*** (0.107)	0.164 (0.134)	0.090 (0.113)	-0.123 (0.134)	-0.111 (0.123)
Constant	0.430*** (0.048)	0.911*** (0.061)	0.763*** (0.051)	0.711*** (0.060)	0.656*** (0.055)
Observations	159	158	158	158	158
R-squared	0.464	0.440	0.358	0.251	0.258

Source: 2015 MTurk Race & Individualism Pilot Study. All variables coded to range from zero to one.

Standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

In tables 8 and 9, we replicate the estimations presented in tables 6 and 7, but this time we also include controls for racial resentment. In table 8, we see that controlling for racial resentment completely eliminates the effect of individualism among white respondents. Instead, racial resentment largely drives the observed effects. The story is, however, somewhat different in table 9, where we control for both self-reliance and racial resentment. Here, we see that even after controlling for racial resentment, whites who received the individualistic appeal from the white candidate and were high on self-reliance were less likely to indicate that blacks and Hispanics experience discrimination. There is no observed effect, however, when it comes to the relationship between self-reliance and evaluations of Stevens.

Table 8. The Impact of Individualism on Attitudes Across Experimental Conditions among Whites (with Racial Resentment)

	Support for Stevens (FT Eval.)	Support for Welfare	Support for Fed. Aid to Blacks	Blacks Experience Discrimination	Hispanics Experience Discrimination
Individualism	0.169 (0.162)	-0.289 (0.209)	0.052 (0.140)	0.111 (0.164)	-0.155 (0.173)
Racial Resentment	-0.064	-0.701***	-0.781***	-0.725***	-0.404***

	(0.123)	(0.158)	(0.109)	(0.128)	(0.135)
White Candidate Treatment	-0.505*** (0.111)	0.001 (0.142)	-0.060 (0.095)	0.117 (0.111)	0.020 (0.117)
Black Candidate Treatment	-0.301*** (0.108)	-0.093 (0.139)	-0.001 (0.093)	0.006 (0.109)	-0.020 (0.115)
Individ. * White Cand. Treatment	0.306 (0.223)	-0.074 (0.287)	0.063 (0.192)	-0.137 (0.225)	0.104 (0.237)
Individ. * Black Cand. Treatment	0.194 (0.222)	-0.032 (0.285)	-0.052 (0.191)	0.012 (0.224)	0.237 (0.235)
Rac. Res. * White Cand. Treatment	0.627*** (0.177)	0.078 (0.228)	0.008 (0.155)	-0.124 (0.182)	-0.253 (0.191)
Rac. Res. * Black Cand. Treatment	0.575*** (0.179)	0.169 (0.230)	0.025 (0.156)	-0.084 (0.183)	-0.300 (0.193)
Constant	0.414*** (0.085)	1.125*** (0.109)	0.892*** (0.073)	0.890*** (0.085)	0.858*** (0.090)
Observations	159	158	158	158	158
R-squared	0.548	0.500	0.634	0.583	0.454

Source: 2015 MTurk Race & Individualism Pilot Study. All variables coded to range from zero to one.

Standard errors in parentheses. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Table 9. The Impact of Self-Reliance on Attitudes Across Experimental Conditions among Whites (with Racial Resentment)

	Support for Stevens (FT Eval.)	Support for Welfare	Support for Fed. Aid to Blacks	Blacks Experience Discriminatio n	Hispanics Experience Discriminati on
Self-Reliance	0.223** (0.102)	-0.389*** (0.129)	-0.125 (0.089)	0.257** (0.103)	0.118 (0.109)
Racial Resentment	-0.200 (0.136)	-0.460*** (0.173)	-0.637*** (0.121)	-0.918*** (0.139)	-0.590*** (0.148)
White Candidate Treatment	-0.409*** (0.072)	-0.012 (0.091)	-0.042 (0.063)	0.069 (0.073)	0.066 (0.077)
Black Candidate Treatment	-0.290*** (0.074)	-0.055 (0.094)	-0.026 (0.065)	-0.003 (0.075)	0.060 (0.080)
Self-Reliance * White Cand. Treatment	0.086 (0.141)	0.070 (0.179)	0.092 (0.123)	-0.242* (0.142)	-0.291* (0.151)
Self-Reliance * Black Cand. Treatment	0.046 (0.136)	0.185 (0.173)	0.147 (0.119)	-0.209 (0.138)	-0.068 (0.146)
Rac. Res. * White Cand. Treatment	0.749*** (0.187)	-0.070 (0.238)	-0.032 (0.165)	0.037 (0.190)	0.075 (0.202)
Rac. Res. * Black Cand. Treatment	0.680*** (0.184)	-0.076 (0.234)	-0.139 (0.162)	0.137 (0.188)	-0.110 (0.199)
Constant	0.477*** (0.054)	1.017*** (0.069)	0.914*** (0.048)	0.929*** (0.055)	0.796*** (0.059)
Observations	159	158	158	158	158
R-squared	0.567	0.532	0.637	0.597	0.465

Source: 2015 MTurk Race & Individualism Pilot Study. All variables coded to range from zero to one.

Standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

In tables 10-13, we again estimate the same series of models, but this time among black respondents in our sample. We turn first to table 10, where we examine the relationship between our variables of interests and individualism among subjects in the treatment and control conditions. First, we see that unlike for whites, individualism is not consistently related to most of the variables of interest among blacks, with the exception of welfare. In the control condition, blacks who are higher on individualism are less supportive of welfare. Individualism also, to some extent, moderates responses to the treatments. Blacks higher on individualism are more supportive of Stevens, regardless of whether he's white or blacks, although the effect is more powerful when he is black.

In table 11, we see that self-reliance is somewhat more consistently related with opinion in the control condition. Blacks who score high on self-reliance are less supportive of welfare and federal spending on aid to blacks, which is ideological consistent. Unlike for whites, however, self-reliance is not associated with blacks' beliefs about whether their group of Hispanics experience discrimination. And again, blacks who score high on self-reliance evaluate Stevens more positively, regardless of his race, although the effect is again stronger when Stevens is black.

Table 10. The Impact of Individualism on Attitudes Across Experimental Conditions among Whites

	Support for Stevens (FT Eval.)	Support for Welfare	Support for Fed. Aid to Blacks	Blacks Experience Discrimination	Hispanics Experience Discrimination
Individualism	0.079 (0.129)	-0.410** (0.179)	-0.123 (0.116)	0.003 (0.128)	-0.094 (0.141)
White Candidate Treatment	-0.377*** (0.125)	-0.071 (0.173)	0.053 (0.112)	-0.005 (0.124)	-0.125 (0.137)
Black Candidate Treatment	-0.271** (0.124)	0.017 (0.171)	0.082 (0.111)	0.177 (0.122)	0.087 (0.135)
Individ. * White Cand. Treatment	0.449** (0.194)	0.140 (0.268)	-0.055 (0.174)	-0.120 (0.192)	0.040 (0.212)
Individ. * Black Cand. Treatment	0.582*** (0.189)	-0.002 (0.261)	-0.100 (0.169)	-0.240 (0.187)	-0.124 (0.206)
Constant	0.429*** (0.079)	0.919*** (0.110)	0.754*** (0.071)	0.780*** (0.079)	0.730*** (0.087)
Observations	144	145	145	145	145
R-squared	0.292	0.078	0.043	0.064	0.059

Source: 2015 MTurk Race & Individualism Pilot Study. All variables coded to range from zero to one.

Standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 11. The Impact of Self-Reliance on Attitudes Across Experimental Conditions among Blacks

	Support for Stevens (FT Eval.)	Support for Welfare	Support for Fed. Aid to Blacks	Blacks Experience Discriminatio n	Hispanics Experience Discriminat ion
Self-reliance	-0.008 (0.096)	-0.323*** (0.123)	-0.214*** (0.079)	-0.084 (0.090)	-0.050 (0.099)
White Candidate Treatment	-0.228*** (0.083)	-0.039 (0.106)	0.033 (0.068)	-0.012 (0.078)	-0.039 (0.086)
Black Candidate Treatment	-0.080 (0.081)	0.020 (0.103)	-0.021 (0.066)	0.007 (0.075)	0.051 (0.083)
Self-reliance * White Cand. Treatment	0.272** (0.135)	0.073 (0.174)	-0.033 (0.111)	-0.129 (0.128)	-0.130 (0.141)
Self-reliance * Black Cand. Treatment	0.393*** (0.135)	-0.083 (0.173)	0.055 (0.110)	0.031 (0.126)	-0.109 (0.139)
Constant	0.477*** (0.057)	0.846*** (0.074)	0.789*** (0.047)	0.823*** (0.054)	0.701*** (0.060)
Observations	144	145	145	145	145
R-squared	0.237	0.139	0.134	0.084	0.082

Source: 2015 MTurk Race & Individualism Pilot Study. All variables coded to range from zero to one.

Standard errors in parentheses. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Finally, we see in tables 12 and 13 that the effects are attenuated when we control for racial resentment.

Table 12. The Impact of Individualism on Attitudes Across Experimental Conditions among Blacks (with Racial Resentment)

	Support for Stevens (FT Eval.)	Support for Welfare	Support for Fed. Aid to Blacks	Blacks Experience Discriminatio n	Hispanics Experience Discriminati on
Individualism	0.170 (0.133)	-0.205 (0.189)	0.129 (0.100)	0.144 (0.124)	-0.067 (0.138)
Racial Resentment	-0.236* (0.138)	-0.529*** (0.195)	-0.651*** (0.103)	-0.364*** (0.128)	-0.070 (0.143)
White Candidate Treatment	-0.441*** (0.121)	-0.136 (0.172)	-0.014 (0.091)	-0.022 (0.113)	-0.120 (0.126)
Black Candidate Treatment	-0.339*** (0.120)	-0.052 (0.169)	0.002 (0.089)	0.147 (0.111)	0.122 (0.123)
Individ. * White Cand. Treatment	0.176 (0.215)	0.115 (0.304)	0.015 (0.160)	0.071 (0.199)	0.141 (0.222)
Individ. * Black Cand. Treatment	0.187 (0.206)	0.021 (0.291)	-0.002 (0.154)	-0.026 (0.191)	0.381* (0.213)
Rac. Res. * White Cand. Treatment	0.584** (0.233)	0.184 (0.330)	0.036 (0.174)	-0.272 (0.216)	-0.177 (0.241)
Rac. Res. * Black Cand. Treatment	0.869*** (0.227)	0.056 (0.322)	-0.075 (0.170)	-0.372* (0.211)	-1.034*** (0.235)
Constant	0.469*** (0.079)	1.008*** (0.111)	0.864*** (0.059)	0.841*** (0.073)	0.742*** (0.081)
Observations	144	145	145	145	145
R-squared	0.378	0.156	0.419	0.280	0.259

Source: 2015 MTurk Race & Individualism Pilot Study. All variables coded to range from zero to one.

Standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 13. The Impact of Self-Reliance on Attitudes Across Experimental Conditions among Blacks (with Racial Resentment)

	Support for Stevens (FT Eval.)	Support for Welfare	Support for Fed. Aid to Blacks	Blacks Experience Discriminatio n	Hispanics Experience Discriminati on
Self-Reliance	0.042 (0.095)	-0.189 (0.129)	-0.067 (0.070)	-0.005 (0.088)	-0.028 (0.098)
Racial Resentment	-0.188 (0.138)	-0.510*** (0.188)	-0.560*** (0.102)	-0.301** (0.127)	-0.082 (0.142)
White Candidate Treatment	-0.396*** (0.095)	-0.106 (0.130)	-0.006 (0.071)	0.017 (0.088)	-0.044 (0.098)
Black Candidate Treatment	-0.310*** (0.092)	-0.015 (0.124)	-0.007 (0.068)	0.113 (0.085)	0.265*** (0.094)
Self-Reliance * White Cand. Treatment	0.099 (0.138)	0.007 (0.188)	-0.070 (0.102)	-0.097 (0.127)	-0.135 (0.142)
Self-Reliance * Black Cand. Treatment	0.197 (0.134)	-0.138 (0.181)	0.036 (0.098)	0.100 (0.123)	0.059 (0.137)
Rac. Res. * White Cand. Treatment	0.644*** (0.222)	0.257 (0.303)	0.151 (0.165)	-0.111 (0.206)	0.019 (0.229)
Rac. Res. * Black Cand. Treatment	0.902*** (0.213)	0.127 (0.290)	-0.065 (0.158)	-0.420** (0.197)	-0.841*** (0.220)
Constant	0.526*** (0.064)	0.978*** (0.087)	0.935*** (0.047)	0.901*** (0.059)	0.723*** (0.066)
Observations	144	145	145	145	145
R-squared	0.368	0.206	0.421	0.272	0.251

Source: 2015 MTurk Race & Individualism Pilot Study. All variables coded to range from zero to one.

Standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Conclusion

This study adds to the ongoing discussion about race and politics in several ways. Much of the research about individualism and race has been limited to discussions of welfare and affirmative action. However, we are interested in testing whether individualism is racialized in a context of an economic downturn, in which it is arguably difficult for everyone to “pull themselves up by their bootstraps.” Our project also explores the import of individualism for African Americans, who are often excluded from studies about policy opinion and individualism. Individualism’s appeal matters greatly, because the explanations that Americans embrace for racial differences affect the policy solutions they are prepared to support.

Table 9. Blacks

	Support for Stevens (FT Eval.)	Support for Welfare	Support for Fed. Aid to Blacks	Blacks Experience Discriminatio n	Hispanics Experience Discriminat ion
selfreliance	-0.008 (0.096)	-0.323*** (0.123)	-0.214*** (0.079)	-0.084 (0.090)	-0.050 (0.099)
1.Whitetrt	-0.228*** (0.083)	-0.039 (0.106)	0.033 (0.068)	-0.012 (0.078)	-0.039 (0.086)
1.Blacktrt	-0.080 (0.081)	0.020 (0.103)	-0.021 (0.066)	0.007 (0.075)	0.051 (0.083)
1.Whitetrt#c.selfreliance	0.272** (0.135)	0.073 (0.174)	-0.033 (0.111)	-0.129 (0.128)	-0.130 (0.141)
1.Blacktrt#c.selfreliance	0.393*** (0.135)	-0.083 (0.173)	0.055 (0.110)	0.031 (0.126)	-0.109 (0.139)
Constant	0.477*** (0.057)	0.846*** (0.074)	0.789*** (0.047)	0.823*** (0.054)	0.701*** (0.060)
Observations	144	145	145	145	145
R-squared	0.237	0.139	0.134	0.084	0.082

Source: 2015 MTurk Race & Individualism Pilot Study. All variables coded to range from zero to one.

Standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 10. Whites

	Support for Stevens (FT Eval.)	Support for Welfare	Support for Fed. Aid to Blacks	Blacks Experience Discriminatio n	Hispanics Experience Discriminati on
feldman	0.169 (0.162)	-0.289 (0.209)	0.052 (0.140)	0.111 (0.164)	-0.155 (0.173)
raceres	-0.064 (0.123)	-0.701*** (0.158)	-0.781*** (0.109)	-0.725*** (0.128)	-0.404*** (0.135)
1.Whitetrt	-0.505*** (0.111)	0.001 (0.142)	-0.060 (0.095)	0.117 (0.111)	0.020 (0.117)
1.Blacktrt	-0.301*** (0.108)	-0.093 (0.139)	-0.001 (0.093)	0.006 (0.109)	-0.020 (0.115)
1.Whitetrt#c.feldman	0.306 (0.223)	-0.074 (0.287)	0.063 (0.192)	-0.137 (0.225)	0.104 (0.237)
1.Blacktrt#c.feldman	0.194 (0.222)	-0.032 (0.285)	-0.052 (0.191)	0.012 (0.224)	0.237 (0.235)
1.Whitetrt#c.raceres	0.627*** (0.177)	0.078 (0.228)	0.008 (0.155)	-0.124 (0.182)	-0.253 (0.191)
1.Blacktrt#c.raceres	0.575*** (0.179)	0.169 (0.230)	0.025 (0.156)	-0.084 (0.183)	-0.300 (0.193)
Constant	0.414*** (0.085)	1.125*** (0.109)	0.892*** (0.073)	0.890*** (0.085)	0.858*** (0.090)
Observations	159	158	158	158	158
R-squared	0.548	0.500	0.634	0.583	0.454

Source: 2015 MTurk Race & Individualism Pilot Study. All variables coded to range from zero to one.

Standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 11. Whites

	Support for Stevens (FT Eval.)	Support for Welfare	Support for Fed. Aid to Blacks	Blacks Experience Discriminatio n	Hispanics Experience Discriminati on
selfreliance	0.223** (0.102)	-0.389*** (0.129)	-0.125 (0.089)	0.257** (0.103)	0.118 (0.109)
raceres	-0.200 (0.136)	-0.460*** (0.173)	-0.637*** (0.121)	-0.918*** (0.139)	-0.590*** (0.148)
1.Whitetrt	-0.409*** (0.072)	-0.012 (0.091)	-0.042 (0.063)	0.069 (0.073)	0.066 (0.077)
1.Blacktrt	-0.290*** (0.074)	-0.055 (0.094)	-0.026 (0.065)	-0.003 (0.075)	0.060 (0.080)
1.Whitetrt#c.selfreliance	0.086 (0.141)	0.070 (0.179)	0.092 (0.123)	-0.242* (0.142)	-0.291* (0.151)
1.Blacktrt#c.selfreliance	0.046 (0.136)	0.185 (0.173)	0.147 (0.119)	-0.209 (0.138)	-0.068 (0.146)
1.Whitetrt#c.raceres	0.749*** (0.187)	-0.070 (0.238)	-0.032 (0.165)	0.037 (0.190)	0.075 (0.202)
1.Blacktrt#c.raceres	0.680*** (0.184)	-0.076 (0.234)	-0.139 (0.162)	0.137 (0.188)	-0.110 (0.199)
Constant	0.477*** (0.054)	1.017*** (0.069)	0.914*** (0.048)	0.929*** (0.055)	0.796*** (0.059)
Observations	159	158	158	158	158
R-squared	0.567	0.532	0.637	0.597	0.465

Source: 2015 MTurk Race & Individualism Pilot Study. All variables coded to range from zero to one.

Standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 12. Blacks

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Support for Stevens (FT Eval.)	Support for Welfare	Support for Fed. Aid to Blacks	Blacks Experience Discriminatio n	Hispanics Experience Discriminati on
feldman	0.170 (0.133)	-0.205 (0.189)	0.129 (0.100)	0.144 (0.124)	-0.067 (0.138)
1.Whitetrt	-0.441*** (0.121)	-0.136 (0.172)	-0.014 (0.091)	-0.022 (0.113)	-0.120 (0.126)
1.Blacktrt	-0.339*** (0.120)	-0.052 (0.169)	0.002 (0.089)	0.147 (0.111)	0.122 (0.123)
0b.Whitetrt#co.feldman	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
1.Whitetrt#c.feldman	0.176 (0.215)	0.115 (0.304)	0.015 (0.160)	0.071 (0.199)	0.141 (0.222)
0b.Blacktrt#co.feldman	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
1.Blacktrt#c.feldman	0.187 (0.206)	0.021 (0.291)	-0.002 (0.154)	-0.026 (0.191)	0.381* (0.213)
0b.Whitetrt#c.raceres	0.633*** (0.181)	-0.473* (0.256)	-0.726*** (0.135)	-0.736*** (0.168)	-1.104*** (0.187)
1.Whitetrt#c.raceres	1.218*** (0.295)	-0.290 (0.417)	-0.691*** (0.220)	-1.008*** (0.273)	-1.281*** (0.305)
0b.Blacktrt#c.raceres	-0.869*** (0.227)	-0.056 (0.322)	0.075 (0.170)	0.372* (0.211)	1.034*** (0.235)
1o.Blacktrt#co.raceres	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
Constant	0.469*** (0.079)	1.008*** (0.111)	0.864*** (0.059)	0.841*** (0.073)	0.742*** (0.081)
Observations	144	145	145	145	145
R-squared	0.378	0.156	0.419	0.280	0.259

Source: 2015 MTurk Race & Individualism Pilot Study. All variables coded to range from zero to one.

Standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 13. Blacks

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Support for Stevens (FT Eval.)	Support for Welfare	Support for Fed. Aid to Blacks	Blacks Experience Discrimination	Hispanics Experience Discrimination
selfreliance	0.042 (0.095)	-0.189 (0.129)	-0.067 (0.070)	-0.005 (0.088)	-0.028 (0.098)
1.Whitetrt	-0.396*** (0.095)	-0.106 (0.130)	-0.006 (0.071)	0.017 (0.088)	-0.044 (0.098)
1.Blacktrt	-0.310*** (0.092)	-0.015 (0.124)	-0.007 (0.068)	0.113 (0.085)	0.265*** (0.094)
0b.Whitetrt#co.selfreliance	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
1.Whitetrt#c.selfreliance	0.099 (0.138)	0.007 (0.188)	-0.070 (0.102)	-0.097 (0.127)	-0.135 (0.142)
0b.Blacktrt#co.selfreliance	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
1.Blacktrt#c.selfreliance	0.197 (0.134)	-0.138 (0.181)	0.036 (0.098)	0.100 (0.123)	0.059 (0.137)
0b.Whitetrt#c.raceres	0.714*** (0.163)	-0.383* (0.221)	-0.626*** (0.120)	-0.721*** (0.150)	-0.923*** (0.168)
1.Whitetrt#c.raceres	1.358*** (0.275)	-0.126 (0.375)	-0.474** (0.204)	-0.832*** (0.255)	-0.904*** (0.284)
0b.Blacktrt#c.raceres	-0.902*** (0.213)	-0.127 (0.290)	0.065 (0.158)	0.420** (0.197)	0.841*** (0.220)
1o.Blacktrt#co.raceres	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
Constant	0.526*** (0.064)	0.978*** (0.087)	0.935*** (0.047)	0.901*** (0.059)	0.723*** (0.066)
Observations	144	145	145	145	145
R-squared	0.368	0.206	0.421	0.272	0.251

Source: 2015 MTurk Race & Individualism Pilot Study. All variables coded to range from zero to one.

Standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Appendix A

Control



Mobile deals could drive more ads to cellphones

BY FRANK GREEN

RIVER COUNTY NEWS

Now begins the race to push more ads to your cellphone. Despite antitrust and privacy concerns expressed by consumer groups, the Federal Trade Commission late last week greenlighted Google's \$750 million acquisition of mobile ad company AdMob. Recent moves by Apple to stake out turf in the nascent mobile advertising field turned out to be a pivotal factor.

Earlier, Apple made a failed bid to acquire AdMob, then followed up by acquiring mobile ad firm Quattro Wireless for \$275 million. And last month, Apple launched a mobile advertising system dubbed iAd.



Companies will soon be able to send advertisements to cell phones.

The agency's blessing clears the way for a clash of tech titans. Google, Apple, Microsoft and Yahoo are expected to slug it out in advertising's hottest segment. Spending on mobile ads should nearly double this year to \$433 million, according to IDC.

AdMob gives Google a fast start. The search giant can offer advertisers the ability to run common ads on Google search results pages on PCs and on mobile devices, including Google Android phones, says Greg Sterling, senior analyst at Opus Research.

Apple's recent moves put it in the running. Apple has the iPhone and iPad, but lacks systems for selling and publishing ads.

Meanwhile, Microsoft is about to blend its Bing search engine with Yahoo's online ad system. Both giants have the capacity to sell mobile ads. And it would not surprise Trip Chowdhry, analyst at Global Equities Research, if they go shopping among dozens of promising start-ups. "I look for Microsoft to make acquisitions," Chowdhry says.

Consumer groups vow to remain vigilant.

"We will press the commission to ensure mobile privacy is protected," says Jeff Chester, director of the Center for Digital Democracy.

Treatment 1



Michael Stevens to Americans: "Pull Yourself Up By Your Bootstraps!"

BY FRANK GREEN
RIVER COUNTY NEWS

The 5th District Congressional race is underway, and the candidates have come out swinging. One such candidate is Michael Stevens, who last night delivered a speech before the River County Civic Association (RCCA). In front of the packed auditorium, Stevens told the audience, "Pull yourself up by your bootstraps, it's the American way."

Stevens offered his economic vision for the future:

"America is founded upon the idea that individuals through hard work and self-reliance will get ahead. So get off your duffs and WORK," he yelled. Everything I have—my career, my success, I owe to hard work. In this country it doesn't make any difference where you were born or who your parents were. In America, if you work hard and play by the rules, this country is truly open to you. So don't worry about what government is going to do for you. Pull yourselves up by your bootstraps, it's the American way!"

A recent report from the Bureau of Labor Statistics indicates unemployment is over 7 percent, and many Americans have stopped looking for work altogether.

Stevens' solution? He argues that it is individual initiative, and not government that will bring the nation's economy back:

"Americans need a refresher course on the American Dream," he boomed. "Our Founding Fathers spoke of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—not a handout."

Stevens and the other candidates are scheduled to participate in a debate tonight at the state capitol.



Michael Stevens delivered a message of individualism at last night's RCCA meeting.

Treatment 2



Michael Stevens to Americans: "Pull Yourself Up By Your Bootstraps!"

BY FRANK GREEN

RIVER COUNTY NEWS

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Stevens offered his economic vision for the future:

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A recent report from the Bureau of Labor Statistics indicates unemployment is over 7 percent, and many Americans have stopped looking for work altogether.

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