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Which Race Card? Understanding Racial Appeals in U.S. Politics

DISSERTATION

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in Political Science

by

Maneesh Arora

Dissertation Committee:
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2019

DEDICATION

To

My Parents

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Which Race Card? Understanding Racial Appeals in U.S. Politics

By

Maneesh Arora

Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science

University of California, Irvine, 2019

Professor Michael Tesler, Chair

The recent rise in explicitly prejudicial campaign messaging, along with the complementary rise in rhetorical appeals to pro-minority sentiments, have not been fully explained by current scholarship. What factors have caused this transition in political messaging? What role do social norms play in determining the acceptability of these appeals? How can the effects of overtly prejudicial appeals be neutralized? This dissertation seeks to answer these questions by providing a comprehensive understanding of the use of appeals to pro- and anti-minority sentiments by elites and the reception of these messages by the public in contemporary U.S. politics. Section one details the factors that have transformed electoral incentives of the Democratic and Republican Parties to include explicit signaling of their stances on racial issues and provides evidence from survey experiments that, under certain conditions, using explicit appeals can be an effective electoral strategy. Section two provides a theoretical framework for the role social norms play in determining whether explicit appeals are accepted or rejected. Then, using an original measure of social norms adherence, findings from regression analyses show that norms of acceptable rhetoric vary by the group being targeted and the political party purveying the message. Finally, section three develops and tests strategies to neutralize the

effects of overt prejudice on candidate and policy evaluations. These findings improve our understanding of racial appeals and specifies the central power of norms in conditioning evaluations of prejudice.

INTRODUCTION

In *The Race Card*, Mendelberg's path-breaking book, she argued that the 1988 presidential election was known as the "Willie Horton election" (3). The infamous Willie Horton ad, which used racial code words and visual pairings to disguise the racial intent of the message, has come to be synonymous with implicit racial appeals. This period of U.S. politics was characterized by a stable racial equilibrium; Republicans relied on dog-whistles to activate anti-black sentiment while Democrats largely remained silent on race. Indeed, Republicans were careful to disguise racial intent and not be branded the party of explicit racism. Donald Trump seemed to shatter this equilibrium with a racial bullhorn during the 2016 presidential election. But the seeds of disruption had been planted long before Trump's foray into electoral politics; the use of explicitly racialized rhetoric was not isolated to Trump and had been on the rise for at least a decade prior to 2016. Moreover, Democrats were also more explicit in signaling their stances on racial issues in 2016 than they had been in previous election cycles. While there has been a noted increase in overtly prejudicial rhetoric from the American Right, the Left has seen a corresponding shift towards use of explicit appeals to *pro*-minority sentiments.

Though many scholars, pundits, and media elites have analyzed the burgeoning use of explicitly racial messaging in U.S. politics, many questions remain. What factors have caused this transition in electoral incentives? How much do these appeals benefit, or harm, candidates? What predicts support for candidates who use these appeals and what predicts rejection of these candidates? Importantly, what strategies can be used to neutralize the effects of overtly prejudicial messaging? The three articles in this dissertation seek to provide a comprehensive understanding of the use of appeals to pro- and anti-minority sentiments by elites and the reception of these messages by the public in contemporary U.S. politics.

The first paper argues that electoral temptations of the Democratic and Republican parties have transformed. For decades, the Republican Party relied almost exclusively on racial code words, or "dog-whistles" to activate racial resentment. Party elites are now increasingly using overtly prejudicial messaging to activate anti-minority attitudes due to the secular partisan realignment, heightened racial environment, and burgeoning perceptions of group status threat among white Americans. Meanwhile, the Democratic Party is in the midst of a transition from silence on race and racial issue to overtly signaling racially liberal stances and support for minority groups to activate pro-minority sentiments because of the partisan realignment combined with growing racial and ethnic diversity of the Democratic base, reactions to perceived prejudice and bigotry in society, the growing salience of racial and gender group identity, and the growing prominence of identity-based social movements. A series of fictional candidate experiments in primary elections show that Republican candidates who overtly appeal to prejudice are supported in most scenarios, while Democratic candidates who appeal to racial and ethnic equality are supported in all scenarios. However, in fictional general election matchups, the Democratic candidates who remained silent about race garnered more support than candidates who used explicit racial appeals.

After detailing the factors that have led to changing electoral incentives, the second paper analyzes the role of social norms in determining the reception of these messages from the public. My *theory of differential norms* argues that norms of acceptable rhetoric vary by the group being targeted and the party relaying the message. Racial appeals that target groups for whom a norm of equality has been developed are likely to be rejected, while appeals targeting groups for whom this norm has not been developed are likely to be accepted by the public. Moreover, norms vary by party; Republican voters are more receptive of appeals to anti-minority sentiments and

Democrats are more receptive to appeals to pro-minority sentiments. Fictional candidate experiments show that candidates who explicitly derogate Mexicans and Muslims are largely supported by Republican respondents, but candidates who explicitly attack African Americans are rejected. Using an original measure of social norms, the *social norms index*, regression analysis demonstrates that individuals who adhere to inegalitarian norms are substantially more likely to support candidates who overtly appeal to prejudice. Respondents who adhere to egalitarian norms are more likely to reject these candidates and more likely to support candidates who overtly appeal to pro-minority sentiments. Thus, the findings provide support for the theory, showing that norms of acceptable rhetoric vary by group and party.

The upshot is that general elections will be increasingly racially polarized and racially charged. Moreover, overt prejudice in political messaging is having dire effects on society including heightened anxiety and fear in classrooms (SPLC 2016), activation of prejudice in the American public (Schaffner 2018), and even increases in violent hate crimes (Feinberg, Branton, and Martinez-Ebers 2019). As such, an increasingly important questions in American politics is: what are effective strategies to counter, or neutralize, explicitly prejudicial rhetoric? To answer this, the third paper develops and tests strategies to neutralize the effects of appeals to prejudice. Results from five survey experiments indicate that an anti-racist counterstrategy and bi-partisan condemnation may be effective in neutralizing the effects of appeals to anti-minority sentiment. Strategies such as media condemnation and raising awareness of the harmful effects of explicit prejudice have mixed results.

In sum, the three articles demonstrate that the acceptance or rejection of racial appeals is dependent on social norms. Moreover, there is no one norm that guides all racialized messaging. Instead, norms vary by the group being targeted and the party purveying the message. Thus,

Democrats are supportive of candidates who use explicitly pro-minority appeals, while Republicans support candidates who use explicitly anti-Mexican and anti-Muslim appeals, but not those who use anti-black appeals. Finally, it would behoove Democrats, and other groups, to mount an anti-racist counterstrategy to defuse overt prejudice and, when possible, to team up with Republicans to provide bi-partisan condemnations of appeals to prejudice.

CHANGING TEMPTATIONS: THE EVOLUTION OF RACIALIZED MESSAGING IN THE OBAMA AND TRUMP ERAS

Abstract

The rise of explicit racial language in U.S. election campaigns marks a sharp change from decades of implicit racial cues from Republicans and "racial silence" from Democrats and runs contrary to prominent arguments that racial appeals must be implicit to be effective. Though a plethora of scholarly and media attention has been devoted to this transition in party messaging strategies, the factors that caused it are poorly understood. I argue that the partisan realignment, heightened racial environment, and burgeoning perceptions of group status threat among white Americans have incentivized use of explicit appeals to prejudice among the GOP. Concurrently, the Democratic Party is in the midst of a transition from silence on race to overtly signaling racially liberal stances because of the partisan realignment combined with growing racial and ethnic diversity of the Democratic base, reactions to explicit prejudice, the growing salience of racial and gender group identity, and growing prominence of identity-based social movements. Combined, these factors have altered the two parties' longstanding electoral temptations. Moreover, findings from a series of fictional candidate experiments to show that candidates who explicitly signal their stances on racial issues garner substantial electoral support.

Introduction

"The deep reservoir of resentment and the artful way elites have learned to draw upon it are central ingredients in what we will call the electoral temptations of race"
– Kinder and Sanders (1996, p. 198)

For decades leading up to the elections of Obama and Trump, Democrats and Republicans found themselves locked in a racial equilibrium that Kinder and Sanders (1996) adroitly termed "the electoral temptations of race." Democratic politicians needed to maintain their non-white voting base without alienating racially conservative whites. Hence, their electoral temptation was to remain silent on issues of race. Meanwhile, Republicans needed to mobilize racially conservative swing voters without appearing to violate the norm of equality. Hence, their electoral temptation was implicit appeals such as racially coded language or "dog whistles". Implicit appeals cue race by pairing visual images of African Americans with social problems such as crime, or employing racially coded language such as "inner city," "poverty" or "welfare" (see Valentino 1999; Mendelberg 2001; Valentino, Hutchings, and White 2002). But these electoral temptations have been evolving in recent years, as exemplified by the 2016 election.

During the 2016 presidential election, a myriad of explicitly prejudicial rhetoric was levied at various groups, most notably Muslims and Latinos. Indeed, a recent analysis of racial rhetoric from 1984 to 2016 found that campaign stories in 2016 contained many more explicit racial appeals and significantly more negative commentary of racial and ethnic minority groups than prior election cycles (Valentino, Newburg, and Neuner 2018). The share of all group-based stories that include direct negative commentary about at least one racial group increased from 30% in 1984 to more than 45% in 2012, and then spiked sharply to 70% in 2016 (ibid). Not coincidentally, racial attitudes were more strongly connected to vote choice in 2016 than any other election on record (Sides, Tesler, and Vavreck 2018).

Yet even before the 2016 election, explicit appeals to anti-minority sentiments were on the rise (Valentino, Neuner, and Vandenbroek 2018). For many years, anecdotal evidence has suggested changing norms about the acceptability of explicitly prejudicial rhetoric. After the election of Barack Obama in 2008, explicitly racist posters began regularly appearing at Tea Party rallies (Parker and Barreto 2013). In 2011, an e-mail was leaked from Marilyn Davenport, an elected member of the Orange County Republican Central Committee, which pictured then-President Obama's face on the body of a chimpanzee. These instances of explicit prejudice run counter to the more common and expected use of racially coded rhetoric. This increase in explicit prejudice in politics coincides with scholarship indicating that explicit prejudice may not be as strongly rejected as previously thought (Huber and Lapinski 2006; Reny, Valenzuela, and Collingwood 2017; Valentino, Neuner, and Vandenbroek 2018).

At the same time, explicit appeals to racial and ethnic *equality* (or pro-minority appeals) are also on the rise. Hillary Clinton discussed racial liberalism more explicitly than other Democratic presidential nominees in recent history, invoking concepts such as white privilege, implicit bias, and systemic racism during her campaign (Sides et al. 2018). Clinton's mention of systemic racism, and the effects felt by African Americans and Latinos, in her speech at the Democratic National Convention marked a clear departure from the Democrat's earlier temptation of racial silence. During a speech in Harlem, Clinton again discussed systemic racism, this time calling on white Americans to do their part to end racial inequality. The transformation in racialized rhetoric within the Democratic Party is not isolated to Hillary Clinton. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, Ayanna Pressley, Ilhan Omar, and others emphasized such issues as criminal justice reform and structural racism in their successful primary election campaigns in 2016 and 2018, and numerous Democratic House and Senate candidates are calling

for defunding Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE).[1] A growing number of progressive Democratic candidates post-2016 appear comfortable explicitly signaling their stances on racial issues, buoyed by growing racial liberalism among Democratic voters and successful efforts from racial justice groups such as Launch Progress and Run for Something.[2]

This paper seeks to explain the shift in electoral temptations to understand the growing use of both pro- and anti-minority campaign appeals. I first argue that three major factors explain the growing prevalence of explicit anti-minority appeals: the secular partisan realignment that has moved racial conservatives almost exclusively into the GOP; the heightened racial and ethnocentric environment ushered in by the election of Barack Obama; and the rise in perceived group status threat among white Americans. I then posit that four related factors have led to the use of explicit pro-minority appeals: the partisan realignment and growing racial and ethnic diversity of the Democratic base; reactions to perceived prejudice and bigotry in society; the growing salience of racial and gender group identity; and the growing prominence of identity-based social movements.

The rest of the article proceeds as follows. In the following sections I will detail the factors which have led to the current evolution in electoral incentives regarding racial appeals and specify the hypotheses. Subsequent sections will discuss the data and methodology used to test the hypotheses and present the findings from several original survey experiments. I will conclude with a discussion of the results, limitations, and areas for future research.

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[1] "The Rising Liberalism of Democratic Voters" by Sean McElwee.
https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/23/opinion/democrats-race.html.
[2] "The Rising Liberalism of Democratic Voters" by Sean McElwee.
https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/23/opinion/democrats-race.html.

Rise of Explicit Appeals to Prejudice

On July 1, 2015 Kathryn Steinle was shot and killed in San Francisco, allegedly by an undocumented immigrant named Juan Francisco Lopez-Sanchez. This became a flashpoint in the ongoing GOP presidential primary for multiple reasons. Immigration was already becoming a major topic in the primary election, largely due to Donald Trump and his strongly anti-immigrant rhetoric. The killing of a young woman by an undocumented immigrant only added fuel to the already burning anti-immigrant environment. Additionally, the incident occurred in San Francisco, a liberal hotbed and sanctuary city that had refused to comply with federal Immigration and Citizenship Enforcement (ICE) agents. Donald Trump made this event a major talking point in his speeches and interviews over the coming weeks particularly during the highly televised Family Leadership Summit just a few weeks after the incident. Over that same time period, Donald Trump's poll numbers almost doubled from 11.1% on June 29th (two days before the shooting) to 20.4% on July 19th (the day after the Summit).[3] This is one of many examples of campaign rhetoric that explicitly expressed hostility towards out-groups and appeared to be met with enthusiasm from voters.

The conventional wisdom is that appeals to race must be implicit to effectively activate out-group sentiment without being rejected by the public (Kinder and Sanders 1996; Mendelberg 2001). The Implicit-Explicit (IE model) of racial priming suggests that when race is subtly cued, the effect of racial attitudes on evaluations of political elites and policies is heightened. By contrast, explicit racial appeals ought to be ineffective. This theory has held up to several empirical tests in the last two decades (Mendelberg 1997; Mendelberg 2001; Valentino, Hutchings, and White 2002; White 2007; Winter 2008; Tokeshi and Mendelberg 2015).

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[3] See pollster at the Huffington Post for more information on the polling data.
https://elections.huffingtonpost.com/pollster/2016-national-gop-primary

However, recent literature has suggested that explicit appeals may also be effective at galvanizing support for racial conservatives (Huber and Lapinski 2006; Reny, et al. 2017; Valentino, Neuner, and Vandenbroek 2018). It has so far been unclear what accounts for the failure to replicate the IE model (Valenzuela and Reny forthcoming). I argue that it is due to changing political trends caused by a variety of factors which have transformed the electoral incentives of the Republican Party and led to greater acceptance of explicit appeals to prejudice from Republican voters.

In particular, four related factors have driven the emergence of explicitly prejudicial racial rhetoric. First, a secular partisan realignment has moved racial conservatives into the GOP and racial liberals into the Democratic Party stemming from national and sub-national differences in support for Civil Rights initiatives (Carmines and Stimson 1989; Edsall and Edsall 1992; Schickler 2016). Race has played a central role in the organization of party politics in the United States for at least half a century. By the early 2000s, the partisan realignment had sorted racially resentful whites into the GOP (Valentino and Sears 2005). This process has intensified since 2008. There has been a significant 'white flight' away from the Democratic Party since Obama's election, especially among lower educated whites high in racial resentment (Tesler 2016). Indeed, the Republican advantage among whites who attribute racial inequality to blacks' lack of effort increase from 15 percentage points in 2004 to 39 percentage points in 2012 (Sides et al. 2018).

Trump's presidency has only exacerbated party differences. Sides, Tesler, and Vavreck (2018) show that, "the alignment between partisanship and attitudes about issues like race and immigration have only increased, and with it the likelihood of even more divisive politics." (p. 203). Trump activated hostility and prejudice towards racial, ethnic, and religious minority

groups. Meanwhile, Democrats have shifted decidedly in favor of racially liberal policies and have become more favorable of these same minority groups in response to Trump's rise to power moving partisans as far apart on issues of race than they have ever been.

For decades, Republicans were careful to avoid being branded the party of explicit racism. Racial code words, or 'dog whistles', were the perfect tool because they were able to effectively activate anti-black sentiment while allowing the Republican Party to maintain plausible deniability. This strategy was largely in place because Republicans wanted to avoid appearing to violate the norm of racial equality, which would have led to backlash from racial liberals (Mendelberg 2001). But as the Republican base grows increasingly homogenized on racial issues, elites face fewer costs in explicitly signaling opposition to government support of racial and ethnic minorities. The costs of Republican elites explicitly derogating underrepresented minority groups is lower due to the near absence of racial liberals in the party base.

Second, the election of Barack Obama ushered in a heightened racial environment in which racial attitudes were more strongly brought to bear on political evaluations than any other time in modern U.S. politics (Piston 2010; Tesler and Sears 2010, Tesler 2016). The election of a black man to the highest office in the land caused anxiety among whites that they were losing political power (Parker and Barreto 2013). Relatedly, growing numbers of racial and ethnic minorities and the resulting demographics changes have increased anxiety among many whites about the future of the United States (Abrajano and Hajnal 2015; Parker and Barreto 2013).

Obama's Presidency activated old-fashioned racism (opposition to interracial relations and belief in black intellectual inferiority) and Islamophobia, attitudes that were unrelated to partisan preferences prior to 2008 (Tesler 2013; Tesler 2016). In the decades prior to Obama's

presidency, use of overt appeals to segregation and white supremacy had all but disappeared from mainstream political debate (Kinder and Sanders 1996; Mendelberg 2001). Debates over racial policy shifted away from emphasis on segregation and white racial dominance to an equality of outcomes framework, evoking anti-black ideas about lack of work ethic and cultural inferiority (Virtanen and Huddy 1998). Consequently, old-fashioned racism became uncorrelated with partisan preferences and most political evaluations. From 1987 to 2007, there was essentially no relationship between old-fashioned racism and partisanship (Tesler 2013). Yet old-fashioned racism persisted among a large proportion of whites. Several cross-sectional and panel studies indicate that, "over two-thirds of white respondents expressed some hesitancy about intimate interracial relations" (Tesler 2013, 114).

Obama's rise to power, and the resulting strong cognitive association that was created between Democrats and African Americans, has caused old-fashioned racism to again play a role in politics. Not only did old-fashioned racism have major influence in opposition to Obama in 2008 and 2012, but it has become a strong predictor of white partisanship in the years since (Tesler 2013). Given the growing relationship between subscribing to old-fashioned racism and identification with the Republican Party, explicit racial appeals, at least from Republican elites, are likely to be more accepted than in previous election cycles.

Islamophobia also became a significant predictor of partisan preference and vote choice during the Obama years (Tesler 2016) and only strengthened its influence in 2016 and beyond (Tesler 2018; Sides et al. 2018). In June 2015, when Donald Trump announced his presidency, fewer than half of Republicans said they would vote for an otherwise qualified Muslim presidential candidate.[4] Abrajano and Hajnal (2015) argue that fears of immigration strongly

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[4] See: http://www.gallup.com/poll/183713/socialist-presidential-candidates-least-appealing.aspx.

influence the core political beliefs and identities of white Americans. The immigrant rights march of 2006, and the broader immigrant rights movement, also contributed to anti-Latino and anti-immigrant backlash leading to increased public hostility and the introduction and passage of punitive immigration laws in many states (Zepeda-Millan 2017). Importantly, these fears have become largely partisan, as the two major political parties have diverged in their stances on immigration policy with nativist immigration bills being passed primarily in Republican-majority locals (Ramakrishnan and Wong 2010) and through Republican controlled state legislatures (Wallace 2014). Moreover, DeSipio (2011) found the immigrant rights protests crystallized positions on all sides of the debate making comprehensive immigration reform less likely to be passed at the national level.

Old-fashioned racism, Islamophobia, and anti-immigrant sentiments are likely to be further activated by use of explicitly prejudicial rhetoric. As fears of immigration and Islamic extremism becomes increasingly salient and old-fashioned racism continues to regain prominence in Americans' partisan preferences, Republican elites are incentivized to activate these sentiments in electoral campaigns.

Obama's election, in combination with rapidly changing demographic patterns helped create the Tea Party movement (Parker and Barreto 2013). The rise to power of the Tea Power has had a dramatic effect on American society in general, and Republican stances on race and racial issues in particular. The stated focus of the Tea Party is on conservative economic issues such as reduction of the government's budget and lowering taxes (Bailey, Mummolo, and Noel 2012). However, the movement has been characterized by attacks on the rights of African Americans, undocumented immigrants, and the LGBTQ community (Barreto, Cooper, Gonzalez, Parker, and Towler 2011). As such, Tea Party supporters have strongly held out-group anxiety

and "a concern over the social and demographic changes in America" (Barreto et al. 2011). Participant observations of Tea Party members found they viewed underrepresented minorities (URM) as receiving unfair amounts of government subsidies and supported abolishing these programs (Williamson, Skocpol, and Coggin 2011). Consequently, support for the movement can be largely explained by perceptions of threat to the relative standing of whites in society, and resulting racial animus of these perceptions (Willer, Feinberg, and Wetts 2016). The Tea Party in many ways helped pave the way for Trump's election (Rohlinger and Bunnage 2017), including transforming conservative discourse to include far more fear-inducing, racialized, and conspiratorial rhetoric (Elliot 2017). The movement is also emblematic of the reaction from conservative whites to changing racial demographics and the perception that the status of whites as a racial group is diminishing in society.

Relatedly, rapidly changing racial and ethnic demographics have activated feelings of threat among white Americans. According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2012), the national population of non-whites will be greater than that of whites before 2050. This is particularly important because many whites view any status gains by non-whites groups as a detriment to their own racial group (Wilkins and Kaiser 2014) and can lead to "defensive political reactions" (Bai and Federico 2019, 1). Trump supporters in particular are prone to the belief that whites as a group are losing out to racial and ethnic minority groups (De Jonge 2016).

Group status threat is experienced when a group feels that its relatively higher status in the social hierarchy is being threatened by other groups (Major, Blodorn, and Blascovich 2016). Similarly, integrated threat theory posits that whites are threatened by increased diversity due to perceptions that minorities represent a threat to the resources and values of whites (Stephan and Stephan 2013). Both group status threat and integrated threat theory predict increased

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discrimination against out-groups (Morrison, Fast, and Ybarra 2009; Stephan and Stephan 2013). Numerous studies have found that population increases of minority groups can activate out-group hostility among whites and lead to support for anti-minority candidates and policies (Arora 2019; Enos 2017; Hopkins 2010; Newman 2013). Feelings of threat and fear activated by perceived loss of group status among white Americans likely contributes significantly to supporting candidates who espouse anti-minority hostility through rhetoric and proposed policies.

Moreover, group status threat has contributed to group identity and group consciousness becoming more prevalent and stronger predictors of political preferences. Scholars have found a significant increase in white racial identity and beliefs that whites are being discriminated against in society due to their race (Knowles and Peng 2005; Jardina 2019). Jardina (2019) demonstrates that the rise in white racial identity has largely occurred due to perceptions of threat and the belief that the status of white Americans is waning. Moreover, white racial identity plays a powerful role in determining political preferences and was an unusually strong predictor of support for Donald Trump (Sides et al. 2018). In turn, GOP party leaders have greater incentives to make explicit appeals to prejudice to mobilize white voters high in racial identity.

In many respects these factors are interrelated. The election of Barack Obama, the nation's first black president, contributed to perceived status loss of whites. The creation, and success, of the Tea Party Movement was a direct reaction to the 2008 election, which further activated Islamophobia, xenophobia, and old-fashioned racism. All of this was ushered along by the partisan realignment which began more than half a century ago. But each factor has contributed to current social norms regarding racial and out-group political rhetoric which has incentivized Republicans to utilize, in certain circumstances, explicitly anti-minority campaign

appeals. Republicans, who for more than half a century faced incentives to mobilize racially conservative whites while being careful to avoid appearing racist, are now able to more overtly signal their racial conservatism. Thus, I expect that…

> Hypothesis 1: *Explicit appeals to prejudice will successfully galvanize support from Republican voters.*

Racial animus as an alternative explanation

An alternative explanation for the rise in explicitly prejudicial campaign messaging is that racial animus has increased among the American public. It may be that voters are more supportive of candidates who explicitly derogate social groups simply because anti-minority sentiment is higher than it was in the past.

There are several reasons that this is unlikely to be the case. Tesler (2016) uses data from the General Social Survey and American National Election Study to shows that levels of racial resentment and anti-black stereotyping did not chang in any significant way from 1992-2012 (27). In fact, Hopkins and Washington (2019) find that anti-black prejudice has actually *decreased* since 2009, including among Republican voters. Moreover, anti-minority attitudes have been high throughout the history of the United States (Kinder and Sanders 1996), yet anti-minority campaign rhetoric has not always been explicit (Mendelberg 2001). Thus, it is unlikely that explicitly anti-minority campaign appeals are driven by levels of racial animus.

<div align="center">Rise of Explicit Appeals to Racial Equality</div>

In the days following Hillary Clinton's defeat in the 2016 Presidential Election, the *New York Times* published an article entitled, "The End of Identity Liberalism," written by Columbia

Professor Mike Lilla.[5] In it, Lilla argued that Clinton's explicit advocacy of minority interests and overt appeals to minority mobilization distracted from her economic message and alienated working-class whites. Lilla's perspective was that Clinton's adoption of identity politics had doomed her campaign, and that further adoption of identity politics would ultimately doom the Democratic Party. He was not alone in this diagnosis of American politics. indeed, similar articles were published in *Real Clear Politics[6], Daily KOS[7], and National Review*[8] among others.

Hillary Clinton did talk more explicitly about race and racial issues than previous Democratic Presidential nominees. In campaign speeches she invoked concepts such as white privilege, implicit bias, and systemic racism during her campaign (Sides et al. 2018). Many other Democratic politicians, particularly young women of color who have recently been elected to Congress, have explicitly, and forcefully, advocated for minority rights in the years since 2016.

Yet the future direction of the Democratic Party remains unclear. Most Democratic candidates are not emphasizing racial liberalism in their campaigns, and even those who do are often doing so tepidly or cloaked in color-blindness. Should the Democratic Party adopt a post-identity liberalism that "appeal(s) to Americans as Americans" as instructed by Lilla and others? Or should it continue its transformation into a party that explicitly signals its support for minority interests and even backs this rhetoric up with policy responsiveness?

Charles Hamilton (1977), one of the chief advocates for deracialization of the Democratic Party in the 1970s, argued that national conditions and the political climate should determine

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[5] Lilla, Mike. (Nov. 18, 2016). "The End of Identity Liberalism." *The New York Times*. Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/20/opinion/sunday/the-end-of-identity-liberalism.html.
[6] Hanson, Victor David. (Feb. 20, 2017). "The End of Identity Politics." *Real Clear Politics*. Retrieved from https://www.realclearpolitics.com/2017/02/20/the_end_of_identity_politics_403131.html.
[7] Casey and Miranda. (Mar. 20, 2017). "The End of Identity Politics." Retrieved from https://www.dailykos.com/stories/2017/3/20/1645464/-The-End-of-Identity-Politics.
[8] Williamson, Kevin D. (Nov. 27, 2016). "An End of Identity Liberalism?" *National Review*. Retrieved from http://www.nationalreview.com/article/442476/identity-politics-liberals-do-math.

whether a deracialized strategy should be utilized. Given these changing political conditions, Democratic voters in 2020 and beyond are likely to respond more positively than in past elections to elites who explicitly advocate for minority interests. I argue that four factors in particular have combined to push the Democratic base to the Left on racial issues; homogenization of racial attitudes among the Democratic base resulting from a partisan realignment on racial issues, growing explicit prejudice from the American Right, increased salience of group identity in political evaluations, and growing prominence of identity-based movements such as Black Lives Matter and the Women's March.

A major factor in the Democratic Party's electoral temptation of racial silence was fear of alienating racially conservative whites (Kinder and Sanders 1996). Democrats felt that wading in to debates on racial policy and racial equality was a losing battle. Republicans were effectively able to activate anti-black animus through racial codewords without appearing to violate norms of racial equality and Democrats had no counter-punch. Democrats felt that they could maintain support from African Americans due to past support for Civil Rights, while keeping racially conservative whites for whom government action to address racial inequality was anathema. Indeed, much of the prognosis after the 2016 election was that Hillary Clinton had lost the campaign because her emphasis on "identity politics" had alienated working class white voters.

But by the early 2000s, the partisan realignment had already sorted racially resentful whites into the GOP (Valentino and Sears 2005). This process has intensified since 2008. There has been a significant 'white flight' away from the Democratic Party since Obama's election, especially among lower educated whites high in racial resentment (Tesler 2016; Sides et al. 2018). Democrats, at least at the national level, no longer need to fear alienating racially

conservative whites because those voters have already abandoned the party. There are fewer

negative electoral consequences to be paid for explicitly signaling support for URM.

Relatedly, the Democratic Party base has grown increasingly diverse, with 43% of

registered Democrats identifying with a racial category other than non-Hispanic white, almost

double the proportion of just two decades prior (Pew 2016). Democrats are now much more

reliant on people of color than in the past and do not have to build their electoral strategy around

the racial attitudes of whites. Moreover, the shifting electoral college map provides even more

incentive for the party to switch to a more racialized electoral strategy. Democrats are highly

unlikely to win, and no longer need to win, any of the former Confederate states. Alienating

voters in those states through campaign appeals to racial equality is not a stiff penalty because

Democrats are not winning races there at the national level anyway.

Democrats are also moving to the left on racial issues, largely in response to explicit

prejudice from the Right. The heightened racial environment ushered in by the elections of

Obama and Trump have also made Democratic voters more cognizant of racial issues and the

prejudice that exists in the country. Since Trump's election, public opinion has become more

negative towards the policies central to his campaign and more positive towards the groups

central to his rhetorical attacks (Sides et al. 2018). Support for the border wall and opposition to

immigration have both decreased, while Muslims and immigrants are now viewed more

favorably than in the past (ibid). Four polls conducted from November 2015 to October 2016

indicate a strong increase in favorability of Muslims and Islam among Democrats.[9] Favorable

attitudes toward Muslims improved from 67 percent to 81 percent while favorable attitudes

toward Islam increased from 51 percent to 66 percent among Democrats (Telhami 2017).

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[9] Anwar Sadat Chair for Peace and Development Polls and University of Maryland Critical Issues Poll.

Democratic House and Senate candidates across the country are being held to more stringent standards on racial issues. Formerly safe incumbents are facing fierce primary challenges from more racially progressive opponents, while racial justice advocates are finding success in down-ballot races.[10] An important, albeit under analyzed, aspect of the Trump era is growing liberalization of citizen attitudes on racial issues in response to explicit prejudice. Indeed, a 2017 study by *Pew Research Center* found that an overwhelming 81 percent of Democrats agree that the "country needs to continue making changes to give blacks equal rights with whites," up from 57 percent in 2009, while the proportion of Democrats who agree that racism is a "big problem" increased from 58 to 76 percent in just two years.[11]

This is at least partially due to the important work of the Black Lives Matter movement which, among other achievements, has increased public recognition of racial inequality and its violent consequences. Public concerns about racial inequality as an important problem in society have increased significantly in recent years at least in part due to police shootings and increased attention to these racialized issues on liberal media outlets (Engelhardt 2019).

Along with the rise of movements such as BLM, media attention on racial inequality and prejudice have increased significantly (Arora, Phoenix, and Delshad 2019; Stout 2019). Looking at media headlines from 2004 to 2016, Stout (2019) found that terms such as racial inequality, racial prejudice, racism and others were much more prevalent from 2013 onward than they were in previous years. Moreover, public interest in these topics followed a similar pattern with dramatic increases in Google searches for these same terms from 2013 to 2016 (ibid). As public

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[10] "The Rising Liberalism of Democratic Voters" by Sean McElwee.
https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/23/opinion/democrats-race.html.
[11] "Views of racism as a major problem increase sharply, especially among Democrats" by Samantha Neal.
http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/08/29/views-of-racism-as-a-major-problem-increase-sharply-especially-among-democrats/.

interest in, and media attention to, racial inequalities and prejudice grow, politicians are pressured to address the concerns of the public. Democratic candidates face increasing pressure to discuss racism and prejudice and provide plans to alleviate these societal concerns.

The activation of explicit forms of prejudice (old-fashioned racism, Islamophobia, and anti-immigrant sentiments) has led to a reaction from the political Left. For example, Donald Trump's so called 'Muslim ban", executive order 13769 which prohibits individuals from seven predominantly Muslim countries from entering the United States for 90 days, has been met with vocal and widespread backlash. Protests against the executive order, and subsequent media attention of the protests and criticism of the Muslim ban, helped decrease support and increase opposition for the policy (Collingwood, Lajevardi, and Oskooii 2018). This is particularly notable because Muslim Americans have not traditionally been a major part of the Democratic base and issues affecting Muslim communities have not been a part of the Democratic platform or mobilization for constituencies of either party.

Recent activism around immigration reform has also contributed to growing racial liberalization of the Democratic Party. In 2006, in an unprecedented demonstration of pro-immigrant sentiment, millions of American took to the streets across the United States to protest severe racialized legislative attacks on undocumented immigrants. The immigrant rights marches succeeded in stopping the extremely punitive Sensenbrenner Bill, also known as *The Border Protection, Anti-terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005* (H.R. 4437), from passing the Senate (Zepeda-Millan 2017). Although the movement has not succeeded in passing comprehensive immigration reform, it has succeeded in fundamentally altering the debate. Numerous local and national organizations are now pushing for permissive immigration reform, and Democratic elites have incorporated this issue into their platforms. Moreover, an enduring

organizational structure has developed from the 2006 protests, though it is unclear how effective this coalition can be (DeSipio 2011). Anti-immigrant and anti-Latino discrimination has also activated racial group consciousness and linked fate among the Latino community (Zepeda-Millan and Wallace 2013; Zepeda-Millan, Street, and Jones-Correa 2016). This shared identity has resulted in greater motivation among members of the community to apply for citizenship as well as register to vote and turn out to vote (Zepeda-Millan 2017). Moreover, more than ten years after the immigrant rights marches, linked fate continues to highly predictive of support for immigrant rights activism (Wallace and Zepeda-Millan 2018).

Numerous studies have elaborated on the important role of group identity in the political evaluations and behaviors of racial and ethnic minorities (Dawson 1994; Tate 1994; Lien, Conway, and Wong 2004; Masuoka and Sanchez 2010). For African Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans, three integral constituencies of the Democratic Party, group identity plays an important role in determining each community's partisan identification. Furthermore, recent studies indicate that, at least among Latinos and Asian Americans, group identity is growing stronger in the Trump era (Schaffner 2017; Le, Arora, and Stout 2018). This is particularly relevant as the strength of group identity has been found to moderate the effectiveness of identity-based mobilization strategies (Valenzuela and Michelson 2016). Indeed, White (2007) found that explicitly racial cues were most reliable, compared to implicitly racial and nonracial cues, in activating in-group identification among African Americans. Democratic Party leaders are therefore incentivized to overtly signal their support for racial justice and equality to mobilize these groups.

Democratic elites now face fewer costs in explicitly signaling support for racial and ethnic minorities. For decades Democrats have maintained racial silence in part to not alienate

white racial conservatives. Now that white racial conservatives have fled to the Republican Party, Democratic elites no longer face the same incentives to build their messaging strategy around this bloc of voters. Moreover, given dramatic demographic shifts and partisan polarization on racial attitudes, Democrats who advocate for URM likely gain electorally. Indeed, Tesler and Sears (2010) found that many progressive Democrats are supportive of candidates who advance the interests of URM. Recent data from the 2019 VOTER Survey found that an overwhelming majority, 91 percent, of Democrats believe that advocating for racial and ethnic minority is an important characteristic in the next president.[12]

Democrats who faced incentives to be silent on racial issues to maintain their large racially conservative voting bloc are now being incentivized to talk more explicitly about inclusion and social justice in order to mobilize their mostly non-white and racially liberal base. Thus, I expect that…

> Hypothesis 2: *Explicit appeals to racial equality will successfully galvanize support from Democratic voters.*

Data & Methodology

To test whether, and to what extent, electoral temptations have transitioned, I conducted a series of surveys using Lucid Fulcrum Spectrum. The first Lucid sample includes 1,010 respondents and was collected July 10-11, 2018 and the second survey includes 1,010 respondents and was conducted October 31 – November 1, 2018.[13] Lucid constructs a nationally representative sample by matching national census demographics based on age, gender, ethnicity, Hispanic identification, and region.[14] Recent tests of the Lucid platform find that

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[12] See report by Robert Griffin (May 2019). https://www.voterstudygroup.org/publication/two-years-in.
[13] Additional Lucid samples are used for robustness checks. These samples are described in greater detail in subsequent articles.
[14] Information obtained based on private correspondence with Lucid representative.

demographic and experimental findings are similar to those using nationally representative probability samples (Coppock and McClellan 2019). Appendix table A1 shows that each of the samples are similar to the U.S. population on several key demographics.

Included in the survey are several embedded experiments. Experimental design is an ideal way of measuring the effectiveness of campaign messaging because the design allows for isolation of the key variable(s) of interest. For example, the designs used in this study present respondents with a choice between two candidates who are similar in every way except that one candidate uses an explicit pro- or anti-minority appeal while the other candidate does not. Thus, support for one candidate over the other can be directly attributed to the use or absence of an explicit campaign appeal.

The first set of experiments test the effect of explicitly prejudicial appeals and explicit advocacy of equality in primary election formats. Primary elections are the platform in which explicit racial appeals are most likely to be used by both Democratic and Republican candidates because they are speaking directly to their party base. Therefore, the manipulation in the experiment in Lucid survey July 2018 (and re-tested in October 2018 for robustness) mimicked primary elections. Survey respondents were first asked which state they reside in and which political party they identify with.[15] In the July 2018 survey, 463 respondents identified as Republicans while 547 identified as Democrats, while in the October 2018 survey, there were 476 Republicans and 534 Democrats. Republican respondents were then shown multiple Republican primary elections in which they "vote" between two candidates, while Democratic

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[15] About 67% of respondents identify as either a Democrat or Republican after the first question. Respondents who identify as "Independent", "Other", or "Not sure" are asked a follow-up question about which party (Democrats or Republicans) they feel closest to. After the follow-up, 83% of respondents identify with one of the two major political parties. The remaining respondents are then forced to choose in a third question which asks, "If you had to choose, which party do you prefer?" See the Supplemental Appendix for experimental results using only self-identified partisans. The results are largely similar to those presented in the main text.

respondents voted in Democratic primaries. Each vignette consists of a media excerpt about two fictional candidates who are running for either the U.S. House of Representatives from the respondent's state, or for a State Assembly position.

In each of the experiments, Republican respondents first read a media excerpt about the fictional candidates who were presented as having the same stances across a range of mainstream Republican policies. In the House election, respondents were randomly assigned to one of two experiments. The first involved use of an *implicit* racial appeal in which candidate Anderson states that "the United States is being destroyed by criminal gang members." The second involved use of an *explicit* anti-black appeal in which candidate Anderson states that "the United States is being destroyed by black gang members."

Republican respondents were again randomly assigned to one of two experimental groups in the State Assembly election scenario. One experiment involved use of an explicitly anti-Mexican appeal, while the other included an explicitly anti-Muslim appeal. In the former, candidate Dawson promised to "empower law enforcement agencies to crack down on violent Mexican immigrants," while in the latter Dawson promised to "empower law enforcement agencies to crack down on violent Muslim extremists."

Democratic identifiers were randomly assigned to one of two experimental conditions; an "implicit appeal" condition and an "explicit pro-black condition". All respondents were shown a media excerpt about two fictional primary election candidates and asked to "vote" in a U.S. House of Representatives Democratic primary election from their state. In the first experiment, respondents chose between two candidates, one of whom used an *implicit* appeal to racial equality (end "discrimination" in the criminal justice system) while the other candidate did not mention race. In the second experiment, respondents chose between two candidates, one of

whom used an *explicit* appeal to racial equality (end "systemic racism" in the criminal justice system) while the other candidate did not mention race. In both experiments, the two candidates are reportedly similar across a range of Democratic policy positions to isolate the racial appeal.[16]

Later in the survey, Democratic identifiers were asked to vote in a second election, this time a State Assembly primary election. Respondents were again randomly assigned to one of two experiments. In the first experiment, candidate Dawson used an explicitly pro-Latino appeal ("protect vulnerable Latino communities"), while in the second experiment Dawson used an explicitly pro-Muslim appeal ("protect Muslim American communities from hate crimes"). As in the earlier experiments, respondents are asked to vote between two candidates after reading a media excerpt about them. Table 1 presents each experimental group in the fictional Republican primaries along with response options, while Table 2 does the same for the fictional Democratic primary election formats.[17]

Table 1. Experimental groups for fictional Republican primary elections in Lucid survey July 10-11, 2018.

		Experiment	**Control**		
(1)	Implicit appeal candidate	No appeal candidate	Neither Candidate	N = 240
(2)	Explicit anti-black candidate	No appeal candidate	Neither Candidate	N = 236
(3)	Explicit anti-Mexican candidate	No appeal candidate	Neither Candidate	N = 236
(4)	Explicit anti-Muslim candidate	No appeal candidate	Neither Candidate	N = 240

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[16] See Appendix for full question wording of all the vignettes used in this study.

[17] Republican experiments 1 and 4 consist of 240 respondents, while experiments 2 and 3 consist of 236 respondents. Democratic experiment 1 has 266 respondents while subsequent experiments have 268, 262, and 272 respondents. Random assignment deemed most imbalances between each of the experimental groups insignificant according to multiple chi-square tests.

Table 2. Experimental groups for fictional Democratic primary elections in Lucid survey July 10-11, 2018.

	Experiment	**Control**		
(1)	Implicit appeal candidate	No appeal candidate	Neither Candidate	N = 266
(2)	Explicit pro-Black candidate	No appeal candidate	Neither Candidate	N = 268
(3)	Explicit pro-Latino candidate	No appeal candidate	Neither Candidate	N = 262
(4)	Explicit pro-Muslim candidate	No appeal candidate	Neither Candidate	N = 272

In each experiment, both for Democratic and Republican identifiers, respondents were asked to evaluate the candidates after reading the vignette. Respondents were first asked who they would vote for: the candidate using the racial appeal (1), the opponent who *does not* use the racial appeal (0), or neither candidate (0.5).[18] This serves as the primary dependent variable used in the analysis. In addition, respondents were asked how likely they would be to vote for the candidate they chose, how much that candidate represents their interests, and then rate both candidates on a favorability scale.[19]

The second set of experiments in Lucid survey October 2018 (and re-tested in February 2019 for robustness) test the response to explicit appeals in general elections. General elections are increasingly likely to pit candidates against each other who are sharply polarized on racial issues and who are incentivized to explicitly signal their stances on racial issues. Yet it is unclear how these messages will impact voting. Will Democratic and Republican "leaners" change their vote in response to explicit signaling of stances on racial issues? How will independents behave?

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[18] Respondents who say they would not vote for either candidate are grouped with those who said they would vote for the non-racial appeal candidate because they are similar in that, in this election, they would not vote for the candidate who used the racial appeal.

[19] Respondents who choose "neither" are asked to explain in 1-2 sentences why they would not vote for either candidate.

Respondents in the second Lucid sample are randomly assigned to vote in five out of twelve possible general election matchups. All sixteen vignettes portray two fictional candidates in a U.S. House of Representatives race. Each matchup pits a Republican candidate who uses an explicit appeal to prejudice against a Democratic candidate who either uses an explicit appeal to equality or does not mention race at all. Table 3 presents each of the twelve experimental groups and response options in the fictional general election contexts.[20]

Table 3. Experimental groups for fictional general elections in Lucid survey October 31 – November 1, 2018.

	Republican Candidate	Democratic Candidate		
(1)	Explicit anti-Black	Explicit pro-Black	Neither Candidate	N = 341
(2)	Explicit anti-Black	Explicit pro-Latino	Neither Candidate	N = 331
(3)	Explicit anti-Black	Explicit pro-Muslim	Neither Candidate	N = 343
(4)	Explicit anti-Black	Non-racialized	Neither Candidate	N = 332
(5)	Explicit anti-Mexican	Explicit pro-Black	Neither Candidate	N = 335
(6)	Explicit anti-Mexican	Explicit pro-Latino	Neither Candidate	N = 332
(7)	Explicit anti-Mexican	Explicit pro-Muslim	Neither Candidate	N = 338
(8)	Explicit anti-Mexican	Non-racialized	Neither Candidate	N = 339
(9)	Explicit anti-Muslim	Explicit pro-Black	Neither Candidate	N = 339
(10)	Explicit anti-Muslim	Explicit pro-Latino	Neither Candidate	N = 336
(11)	Explicit anti-Muslim	Explicit pro-Muslim	Neither Candidate	N = 339
(12)	Explicit anti-Muslim	Non-racialized	Neither Candidate	N = 335

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[20] Experimental groups in the general election format contain the following number of respondents in order from group one through twelve; 341, 331, 343, 332, 335, 332, 338, 339, 339, 336, 339, and 335. Random assignment deemed most imbalances between each of the experimental groups insignificant according to multiple chi-square tests.

The results are reported as mean support for each candidate (and neither candidate) across each treatment group. Mean support is reported relative to 50%. Given that the two candidates reportedly have the same stance on a range of policy positions and the only difference is the use of a prejudicial appeal from one of the candidates, we would expect that if there was no treatment effect, the two candidates would receive roughly the same number of votes.

<div align="center">Results</div>

Republican Primary Election Results

Figure 1 presents mean differences in candidate support across all four experimental conditions for Republican respondents. Two major patterns are evident from the figure. First, Republicans are significantly more likely to vote for a candidate who uses an implicit racial appeal than the opponent, with the implicit appeal candidate receiving 38 percentage points higher vote share than the opponent. Although the implicit appeal candidate garners a higher percentage of the vote than any other candidate (57%), it is only three percentage points higher than the candidate who uses an explicitly anti-Muslim appeal (54%). This is difference is not statistically significant. In other words, using an implicit racial appeal is not substantially more effective than using a more overtly anti-minority campaign message.

Second, there is a range of support for candidates who use explicit appeals depending on the group being targeted. The Republican candidate that used an explicitly anti-Muslim appeal received more than 50 percent of the vote (54%) and about 28 percentage points more than his opponent. Similarly, the candidate who used an explicitly anti-Mexican appeal also received just over 50 percent of the vote (50.4%), 21 percentage points more than his opponent. Both results indicate that explicitly prejudicial appeals can have a strong mobilizing effect on Republican voters. However, the candidate who used an explicitly anti-black appeal received only 29 percent

of the vote, and, in an election, would have been soundly defeated by his opponent by 13 percentage points. Explicit appeals targeting some groups, notably Muslims and Mexicans, can be mobilizing for Republican voters, but using an explicitly anti-Black appeal does not appear to have the same galvanizing effect.[21]

Figure 1. Percentage of Republican identifiers who support the candidates who use the implicit or overt prejudicial appeal ("Appeal") and percentage who support the non-racialized opponent ("No appeal") in four fictional Republican primary elections. Data comes from Lucid survey July 10-11, 2018.
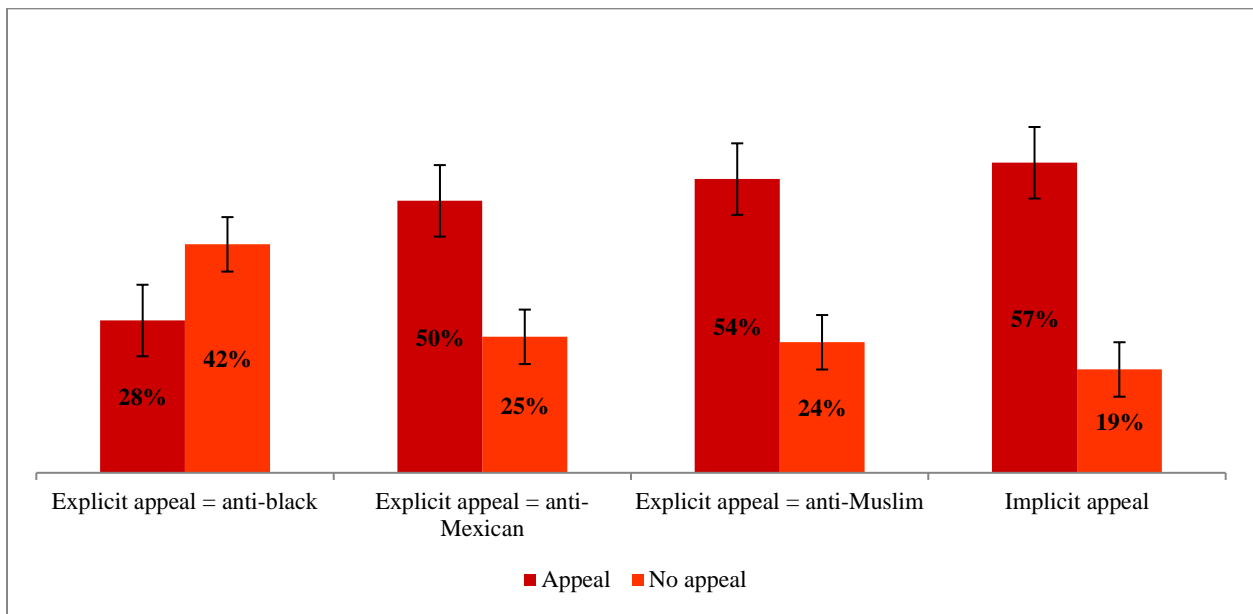
Table 4 presents results from two-sample t-tests. The control group is measured as mean support for the candidate who does not use the racial appeal and the treatment is the candidate who uses the anti-minority appeal. The mean difference between treatment and control is

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[21] The results hold when restricting the analysis to "strong" Republicans. Support for the candidate who uses the explicitly anti-black appeal rises only slightly to 31%. Support for the candidates who use the anti-Mexican, anti-Muslim, and implicit appeals remains high. See Appendix Figure A5.

statistically significant in each of the four experimental groups. Whether the candidate uses an implicit racial appeal, explicitly anti-Mexican appeal or an explicitly anti-Muslim appeal, mean support for the candidate talking about race is substantially higher. However, when the candidate utilizes an explicitly anti-black appeal, mean support is lower than for the opponent who does not mention race. Mean support for the candidate who uses the explicitly anti-black appeal is lower than for every other candidate who utilizes a prejudicial appeal. The results provide no evidence for mean differences between candidates using implicit, explicitly anti-Mexican or explicitly anti-Muslim appeals. All three have similar galvanizing effects on Republican voters. Republican voters continue to respond positively to racial code words, but more overt hostility targeted at certain minority groups appears to have largely similar effects on voters.

Table 4. Results of two-sample T-tests comparing mean scores in candidate support across all four treatment groups from fictional Republican primary elections (Republican identifiers only). Data comes from Lucid survey July 10-11, 2018.

Experiment 1: Implicit Appeal							
	Mean		Mean		Mean		Mean
Implicit	57.4%	Implicit	57.4%	Implicit	57.4%	Implicit	57.4%
Control	19.4%	Anti-Black	28.8%	Anti-Mex	50.4%	Anti-Mus	53.6%
Difference	**38.4*****		**28.6*****		**6.9**		**3.7**
Experiment 2: Explicit Anti-Black Appeal							
Anti-Black	28.8%	Anti-Black	28.8%	Anti-Black	28.8%	Anti-Black	28.8%
Control	42.0%	Implicit	57.4%	Anti-Mex	50.4%	Anti-Mus	53.6%
Difference	**-13.3*****		**-28.6*****		**-21.7*****		**-24.9*****
Experiment 3: Explicit Anti-Mexican Appeal							
Anti-Mex	50.4%	Anti-Mex	50.4%	Anti-Mex	50.4%	Anti-Mex	50.4%
Control	29.1%	Implicit	57.4%	Anti-Black	28.8%	Anti-Mus	53.6%
Difference	**21.3*****		**-7.0**		**-21.7*****		**-3.2**
Experiment 4: Explicit Anti-Muslim Appeal							
Anti-Mus	53.6%	Anti-Mus	53.6%	Anti-Mus	53.6%	Anti-Mus	53.6%
Control	25.7%	Implicit	57.4%	Anti-Black	28.8%	Anti-Mex	50.4%
Difference	**27.9*****		**-3.7**		**24.9*****		**3.2**

Note: each cell contains the percentage of respondents expressing a willingness to vote for the candidate. * $p < .1$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$.

The influence of explicitly prejudicial appeals is important outside of campaign contexts as well. Political messaging does not just influence voters' opinions of candidates, but also effects policy positions and attitudes towards the minority groups who are being targeted by these appeals.

To test the effect of an explicitly prejudicial appeal on policy views and attitudes towards out-groups, I included an embedded experiment in a survey conducted May 29-30, 2019 which consisted of 1,000 adult U.S. residents. Respondents were randomly assigned to one of three experimental groups. The control group was shown a short biography of Representative Ilhan Omar with basic information taken directly from her campaign website. The treatment 1 group read the same biography and then watched a video that was created by Republican opponents of Omar and posted to Donald Trump's Twitter account. The video coupled footage of the September 11, 2001 attacks on the Pentagon with out of context comments from Omar about the attacks. In the aftermath of the video, a man was arrested for threatening to kill Omar[22] and cybersecurity experts found hundreds of online death threats against Omar.[23] The treatment 2 group read the same biography, watched the video, and then read an excerpt of an article condemning the video. Only the results of the control and treatment 1 groups will be discussed here. The results from the treatment 2 group will be discussed in article 3. Respondents in all three experimental groups were asked to rate their favorability of Ilhan Omar, the Republican Party, and the Democratic Party. They were also asked how much they support or oppose the travel ban Trump proposed which would block migration from several Muslim-majority countries and asked to evaluate the level of threat they perceive from Muslims.

Favorability of Omar drops roughly five percentage points in treatment 1 ($p<.1$). This decrease is driven by Republican respondents for whom favorability drops 13 percentage points ($p<.01$). Democrats and Independents are unaffected by watching the video. The next variables of interest are favorability of the Republican and Democratic Parties. There are no statistically

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[22] https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2019/04/05/ilhan-omar-death-threat-leads-to-arrest-of-new-york-man/3379387002/.

[23] https://www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2019/04/16/he-easily-found-hundreds-death-threats-against-rep-ilhan-omar-he-wants-twitter-stop-them/?utm_term=.82939107055c.

significant effects for either party, so it appears that watching the video does not influence voters views of political parties. This is unsurprising given how deeply embedded our opinions of political parties are. However, it is worth noting that favorability of the GOP increased by 4.5 percentage points among Independents (p=.22) and favorability of the Democratic Party decreased by 3.1 percentage points (p=.51). Neither result is statistically significant, but this may be driven by the fact that the control and treatment 1 groups have 71 and 69 Independents, respectively.

Respondents were then asked, "How serious a threat do you think Muslims pose to the United States?" Respondents could say the group poses an immediate and serious threat, somewhat serious threat, minor threat, or no threat at all. The variable is then coded to lie on a zero to one scale with higher values indicating greater perceptions of threat. Among all respondents, there is a small but statistically insignificant bump in perceptions of threat (4 percentage points, p=.25), but there is a substantial increase among Republicans (13 percentage points, p<.05). The final outcome variable of interest, support or opposition to the travel ban, shows a similar effect: a small and statistically insignificant increase in support among all respondents (3 percentage points, p=.37), but a substantial increase in support among Republicans (7.6 percentage points, p<.1).

Watching the explicitly Islamophobic video targeting Representative Ilhan Omar activates opposition to Omar and support for the GOP among Republican respondents. It also increases perceptions of Muslim threat and support for the travel ban that targets people coming from Muslim majority nations. Watching the video has very little effect on Democrats and Independents, except for a potential increase in GOP support among Independents. The effect of explicitly anti-minority campaign appeals on candidate evaluations is clear and consistent.

However, more work needs to be done to understand the effect of these appeals on policy positions and views of out-groups.

Democratic Primary Election Results

Figure 2 presents mean support for candidates across all four treatment conditions for Democratic identifiers. Two categories of support are displayed: support for the candidate that used the racial appeal (appeal) and support for the candidate that did not use a racial appeal (no appeal).[24] The results show that Democrats are much more likely to support candidates who use *pro*-minority appeals than those who do not, which provides evidence that racial appeals function much differently by party. What the figure makes clear is that Democratic respondents were substantially more likely to support the candidate that used the racial appeal in every treatment condition. Indeed, mean support for each candidate who used a pro-minority appeal is over 57 percent, while mean support for candidates who do not appeal to equality is 21 percent or less. In a real election, each of these candidates would have handily won the primary election in their respective races.The candidate who garnered the highest percentage of the vote is the candidate who used the implicit racial appeal. But the candidates who explicitly advocated for racial and ethnic minorities were highly supported by Democratic voters as well.

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[24] See Appendix for percentage of respondents who said they would not vote for either candidate.

Figure 2. Percentage of Democratic identifiers who support the candidates who use implicit or explicit pro-minority appeals ("Appeal") and percentage who support the non-racialized opponents ("No appeal") in four fictional Democratic primary elections. Data comes from Lucid survey July 10-11, 2018.
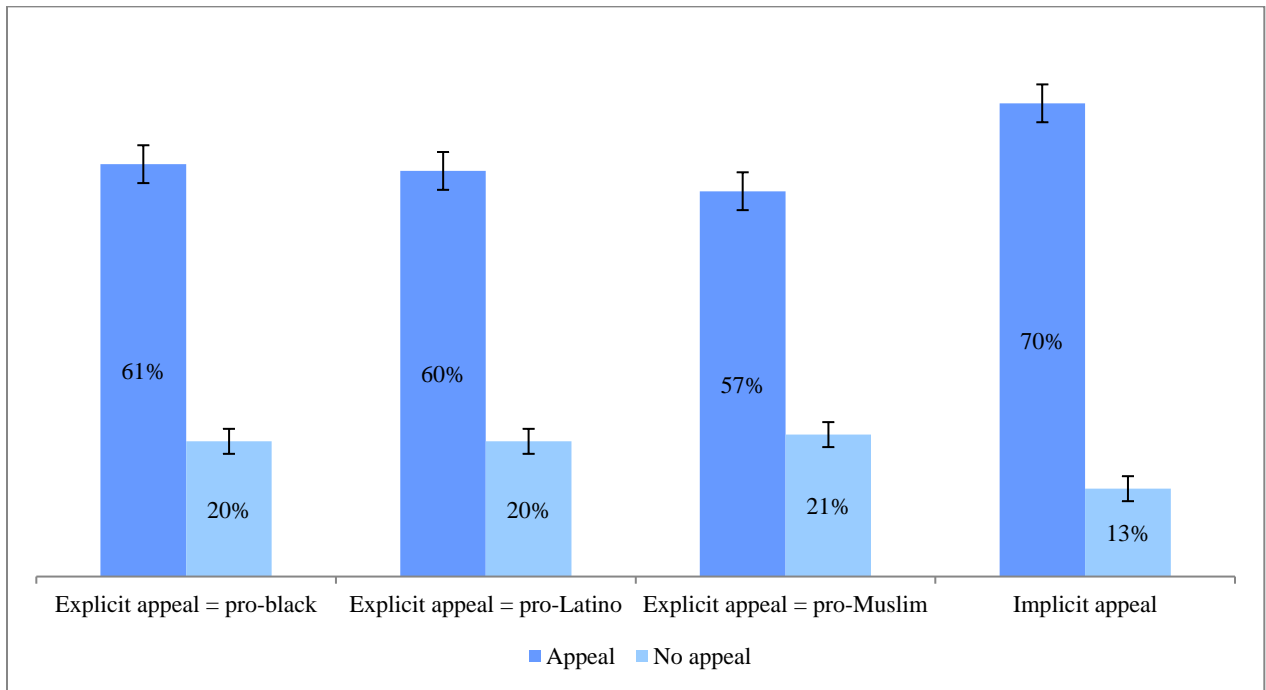
Table 5 presents the results of two-sample t-tests. In this analysis, the control group is measured as mean support for the candidate who does not use the racial appeal and the treatment is the candidate who uses the racial appeal. If there was no treatment effect, the expected outcome in each treatment group would be that both candidates would receive roughly the same number of votes. In each treatment condition the mean difference between the racial appeal candidate (treatment) and the candidate who stays silent about race (control) is statistically significant and differences range from 36 to 57 percent. In other words, Democrats are substantially more likely to support candidates who talk about race than those that are silent on racial issues.

Table 5. Results of two-sample T-tests comparing mean scores in candidate support across all four treatment groups from fictional Democratic primary elections (Democratic identifiers only). Data comes from Lucid survey July 10-11, 2018.

Experiment 1: Implicit Appeal								
Implicit	Mean 70.0%	Implicit	Mean 70.0%	Implicit	Mean 70.0%	Implicit	Mean 70.0%
Control	12.5%	Pro-Black	61.4%	Pro-Mex	60.0%	Pro-Mus	56.9%
Difference	**57.5*****		**8.6***		**10.0***		**13.1****
Experiment 2: Explicit Pro-Black Appeal								
Pro-Black	61.4%	Pro-Black	61.4%	Pro-Black	61.4%	Pro-Black	61.4%
Control	13.9%	Implicit	70.0%	Pro-Mex	60.0%	Pro-Mus	56.9%
Difference	**47.5*****		**8.6***		**1.4**		**4.5**
Experiment 3: Explicit Pro-Mexican Appeal								
Pro-Mex	60.0%	Pro-Mex	60.0%	Pro-Mex	60.0%	Pro-Mex	60.0%
Control	23.9%	Implicit	70.0%	Pro-Black	61.4%	Pro-Mus	56.9%
Difference	**36.1*****		**-10.0***		**-1.4**		**3.1**
Experiment 4: Explicit Pro-Muslim Appeal								
Pro-Mus	56.9%	Pro-Mus	56.9%	Pro-Mus	56.9%	Pro-Mus	56.9%
Control	21.3%	Implicit	70.0%	Pro-Black	61.4%	Pro-Mex	60.0%
Difference	**35.6*****		**-13.1****		**-4.5**		**-3.1**

Note: each cell contains the percentage of respondents expressing a willingness to vote for the candidate. * $p < .1$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$.

Table 5 also displays the results of t-tests between each treatment group. Notably, the implicit appeal candidate received a larger proportion of the vote than any of the candidates who used explicit appeals. Mean differences between the three explicit appeal conditions are small and not statistically significant. It appears that Democratic voters are supportive of candidates

who overtly advocate for minority groups but are most supportive of candidates who do so using racial code words.

To provide further evidence that Democratic voters are supportive of candidates who overtly advocate for URM, an additional experiment was conducted in the Lucid February 2019 survey that tests the effects of an explicitly pro-minority campaign appeal on support for Elizabeth Warren. The benefit of this test is that it examines the effects of pro-minority campaign appeals on a real-world Democratic Presidential primary candidate. The results in Figure 3 indicate that Democratic voters are somewhat (6 percentage points, $p<.1$) more supportive of Warren when she acknowledges that the government has "systematically discriminated against black people in this country" and promises to do something to fix it. Though the increase in support is modest, it is important because support for Warren was already so high.

Figure 3. Percent support for Elizabeth Warren among Democrats when Warren overtly advocates for African American interests (Racial condition) versus when she does not (Non-racial condition). Data comes from Lucid February 2019.
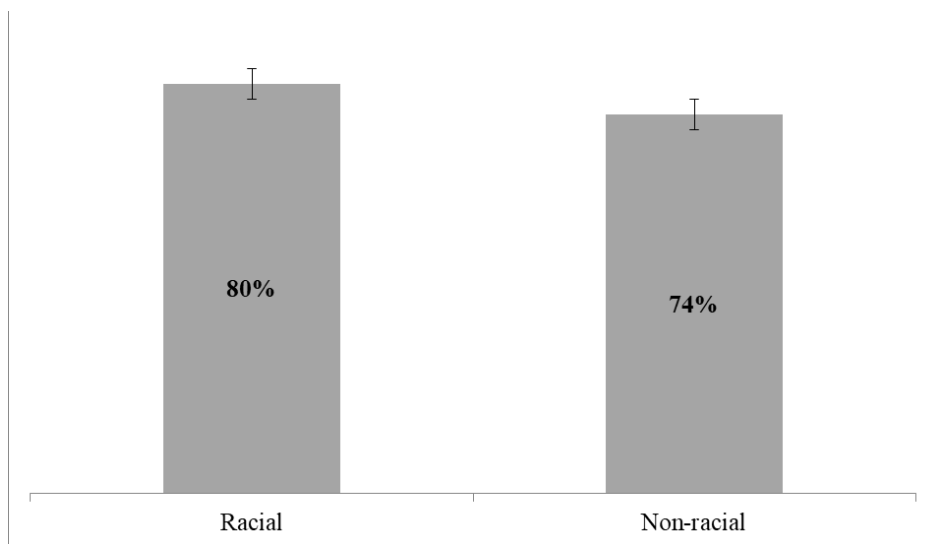
Growing racial liberalism among the American Left, and its importance in political decision-making is also supported by results from the American National Election Study (ANES) and the 2018 Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES). A question in the ANES asks respondents to indicate how "racially liberal" they perceive the Democratic presidential candidate to be. As shown in Figure 4, perceptions of the candidates as racially liberal in every election cycle from 1996-2012 have either predicted decreased support for the candidates or no statistically significant effect. However, 2016 is a notably exception. Perceptions of Hillary Clinton as racially liberal predicted a substantial *increase* in support for her. Relatedly, Latinos who viewed Clinton as caring for the group were substantially more likely to support her in the election (Barreto 2017). Thus, being perceived as racially liberal appears to be transitioning from being an electoral liability to an electoral benefit.

Figure 4. The relationship between Democratic voters' perceptions of how racially liberal the Democratic presidential candidate is and support for the candidate. Data comes from the American National Election Studies 1996 – 2016.

Perceptions of Racial Liberalism on Candidate Support
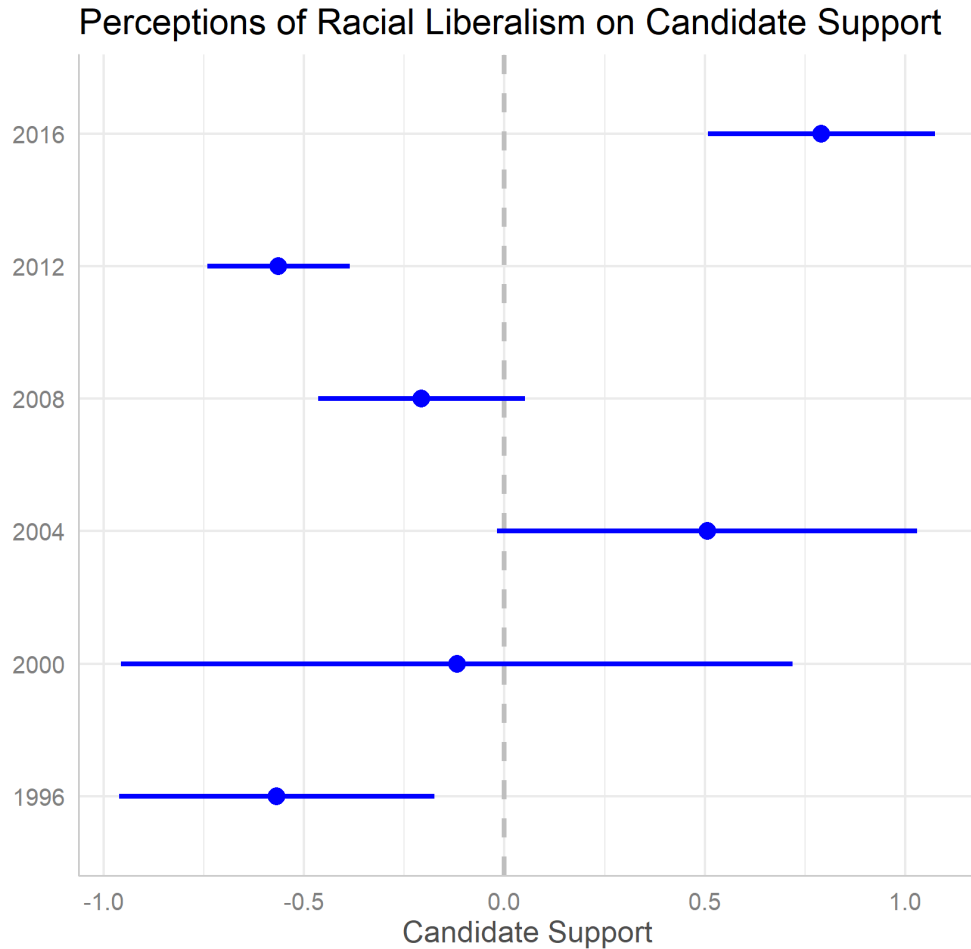
Source: American National Election Studies

In the 2018 CCES I included an original experiment in which Democratic respondents were randomly assigned to one of four treatment groups. Each group was asked how likely they would be to vote for a fictional candidate in a race for the U.S. House of Representatives. The four treatment groups consisted of either a white, black, Muslim, or Hispanic candidate.[25] Figure 5 shows that support for the black, Muslim, and Hispanic candidate is substantially higher than

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[25] The four treatment groups consist of 75, 78, 80, and 86 Democratic respondents, respectively.

for the white candidate. Indeed, 85% of Democrats say they would vote for the Muslim candidate, while only 73% indicate they would vote for the white candidate. The different levels of support for the white candidate compared to the other three candidates are statistically significant according to two-sample t-tests. The differences in support for the black, Hispanic, and Muslim candidates are not statistically significant. In sum, Democratic voters are equally more supportive of each of the three minority candidates than the white candidate. This is a shocking transformation of the Democratic base, particularly given that in the 2016 CMPS 45% and 39% of Democrats reported that a Muslim woman and Muslim man congressional candidate would represent their interests.

Figure 5. Percentage of Democratic respondents who would vote for a white, black, Muslim, and Hispanic candidate if they were the Democratic candidate for a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives in 2018. Data comes from the 2018 Cooperative Congressional Election Study.
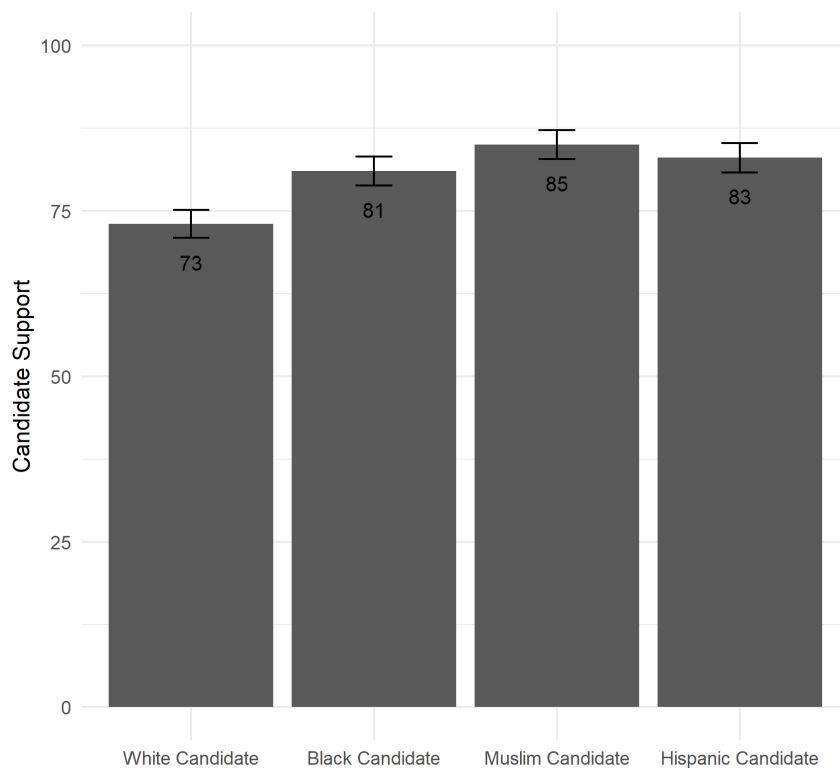
Source: Cooperative Congressional Election Study 2018

In addition to candidate support, explicitly advocating for minority interests may influence policy positions of Democratic voters. To test this, the Lucid May 2019 study included an embedded experiment. Respondents were randomly assigned to one of three experimental groups.[26] The control group was simply asked two questions that measured their support for reparations. They were first asked, "Would you support or oppose policies designed to reduce racial wealth gaps caused by slavery and Jim Crow, such as offering compensation or tax benefits to the descendants of slaves?" Then, they were asked, "As a way to make up for the harm caused by slavery and other forms of racial discrimination, do you think the United States should or should not pay reparations, that is, should or should not pay money to African-Americans who are descendants of slaves?"[27] The treatment 1 group first read an excerpt of an article in which Senator Kamala Harris indicated support for government reparations to "address the legacies of slavery and discrimination" and then answered the same questions as the control group did. The treatment 2 group read the same excerpt, but this time the comments were attributed to Senator Elizabeth Warren, and then answered the same two questions. The excerpt in treatment 1 mentioned that Harris is black[28] and the excerpt in treatment 2 mentioned that Warren is white.

Among all respondents, support for reparations increased after reading Warren's comments (5.6 percentage points, $p<.05$), but not after reading Harris's comments (2.3 percentage points, $p=0.48$). Democrats are influenced by both, with Warren's comments increasing support by 11 percentage points ($p<.01$) and Harris's comments increasing support by

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[26] The three groups consist of 329, 336, and 335 respondents, respectively. Random assignment deemed most imbalances between each of the experimental groups insignificant according to multiple chi-square tests.

[27] The two questions have a correlation score of 0.7811 and a Cronbach's alpha of 0.8898.

[28] Harris has an Indian mother and a Jamaican father. In an interview in February 2019 she stated that, "I am black and I am proud of it." For additional information see, https://www.politico.com/story/2019/02/12/kamala-harris-2020-black-race-1167030.

8.4 percentage points (p<.1) though support is higher after Warren's overt support for reparations. Support for reparations among Republicans and Independents is unchanged in treatment 1 or treatment 2. It is possible the different effects are driven by Democrats simply liking Elizabeth Warren more than Kamala Harris. Favorability measures of the two candidates, which were evaluated prior to the treatment, find that 66 percent of Democrats rate Warren as somewhat or very favorable compared to 57 percent for Harris. But mean favorability is almost the same; 0.66 out of 1 for Warren and 0.65 for Harris. It is unlikely that the difference in treatments is driven by differences in favorability ratings but more data needs to be gathered to be confident.

Even for a policy that has historically been widely unpopular in the U.S.[29], explicit advocacy can cause relatively substantial increases in support among Democrats. However, it appears that the policy positions of Democrats are more likely to be influenced by a white messenger than a black messenger showing that the characteristics of the messenger matter. Future work can further interrogate this idea to analyze the effects of race, gender, class and other salient characteristics.

For decades Democrats have adhered to the electoral temptation of racial silence. For so long the narrative has been that in order to maintain the base, the party needs to avoid controversial racial issues. Demographic change and partisan realignment have changed the make-up of the party base. The rise of explicit prejudice has also shifted Democrats' views on racism and discrimination. A 2017 study by *Pew Research Center* found that 81 percent of Democrats agree that the "country needs to continue making changes to give blacks equal rights with whites," up from 57 percent in 2009. We saw some semblance of a change in strategy in

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[29] https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/what-americans-think-about-reparations-and-other-race-related-questions/.

2016 with Hillary Clinton mentioning systemic racism in her DNC acceptance speech and in a separate speech in Harlem. The results from this analysis provide evidence in support of Hypothesis 2 that Democratic candidates will be rewarded for talking about race, whether implicitly or explicitly.

General Election Results

The findings from the study suggest that Democratic and Republican elites are incentivized to move in opposite directions in primary elections on racial issues and rhetoric. General elections will, therefore, increasingly pit candidates against each other who are sharply polarized on racial issues. The country is moving towards a more explosive brand of politics as exemplified by racially charged comments made by 2018 midterm candidates on both sides of the aisle. The results demonstrate that Republican candidates who utilize explicitly prejudicial messaging targeting Muslims and Latinos are more likely to make it through a primary than those who do not. But how will they fare in a general election?

To test this question, the November 2018 Lucid survey included a series of general election matchups which respondents were asked to vote in. Respondents are asked to vote in four different general elections and in each election are randomly assigned to one of four groups; a general election scenario in which a Republican candidate is running against a Democratic candidate who made a pro-black, pro-Latino, pro-Muslim appeal, or no racial appeal at all. The first election pitted an "anti-black" candidate (i.e. a Republican candidate who made an explicitly anti-black appeal) against one of the four Democratic candidates. Subsequent elections pitted an "anti-Mexican" candidate (a Republican candidate who made an explicitly anti-Mexican appeal) against one of the four Democrats, and then an "anti-Muslim" candidate (a Republican candidate who made an explicitly anti-Muslim appeal) against one of the four Democrats.

Figure 6 displays the results of all twelve general election matchups. The results indicate that the Democratic candidate is preferred in all twelve matchups. Support is highest for the non-racialized Democrat, the candidate who does not appeal to minority interests.

Figure 6. Percentage of respondents who support the Republican and Democratic candidates across all twelve fictional general election matchups. Data comes from Lucid survey October 31 – November 1, 2018.
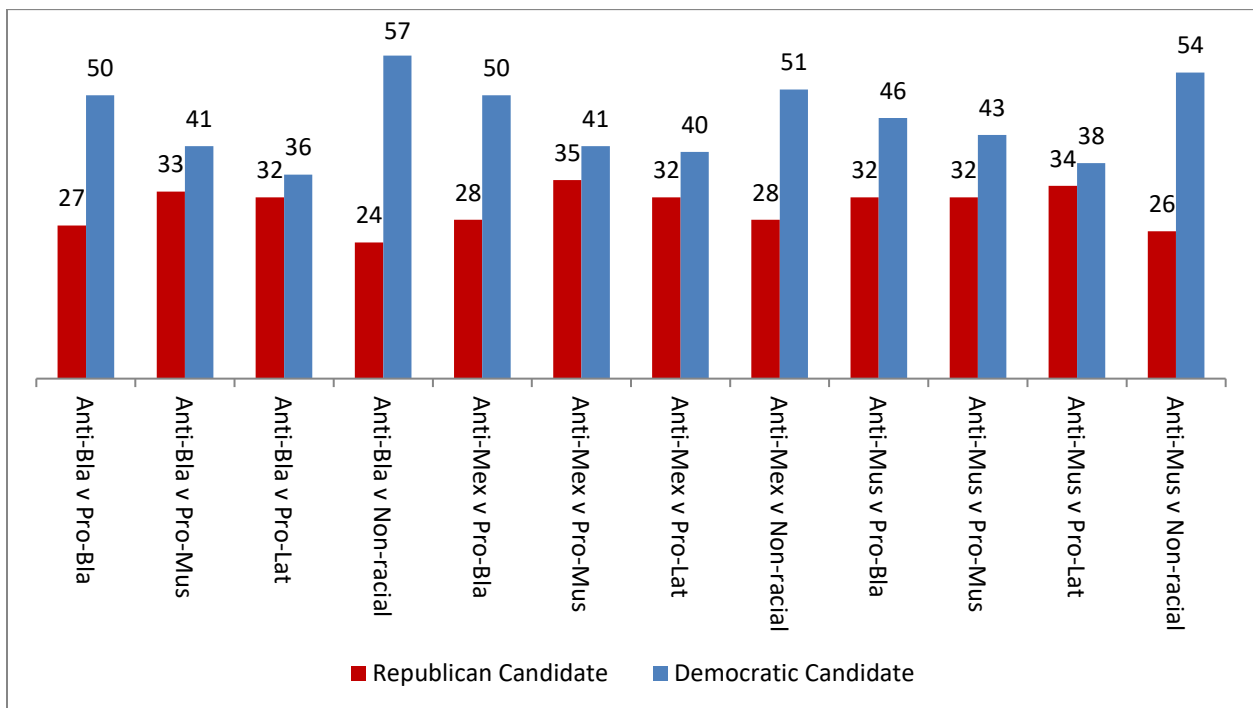
Figure 7 reports the results as mean support for the Republican candidates averaged across all conditions among Republicans, Democrats, and Independents. In the survey, 329 respondents identified as Republicans, 376 as Democrats, and 252 as Independents. Figure 6 displays the percentage of overall support for the Republican and Democratic candidates. The results for each candidate are averaged across all four of their matchups. For example, the anti-

black candidate appears in four separate general election matchups. The percentage of voter support the anti-black candidate receives is the mean score across all four of these matchups.[30]

The results show that Republicans are roughly 13 percentage points more likely to support the anti-Mexican candidate and 16 percentage points more likely to support the anti-Muslim candidate than the anti-black candidate, averaged across all four experimental groups. These differences are statistically significant according to two sample t-test results.[31] In other words, Republican candidates who make overtly anti-Mexican and anti-Muslim comments will have greater support among their base in general elections matchups than a Republican candidate who explicitly disparages blacks. However, all three fictional Republican candidates had very little support among Independents and Democrats, providing further evidence that norms of acceptable rhetoric vary by party.[32]

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[30] See Appendix for results of all twelve general election matchups.
[31] See Table A_ in the Supplemental Appendix for t-test results.
[32] See Figure A_ in the Supplemental Appendix for full results for Democrats and Independents.

Figure 7. Percentage of Republican, Independent, and Democratic identifiers who support the anti-black, anti-Mexican, and anti-Muslim general election candidates across several fictional general election matchups. Data comes from Lucid survey October 31 – November 1, 2018.
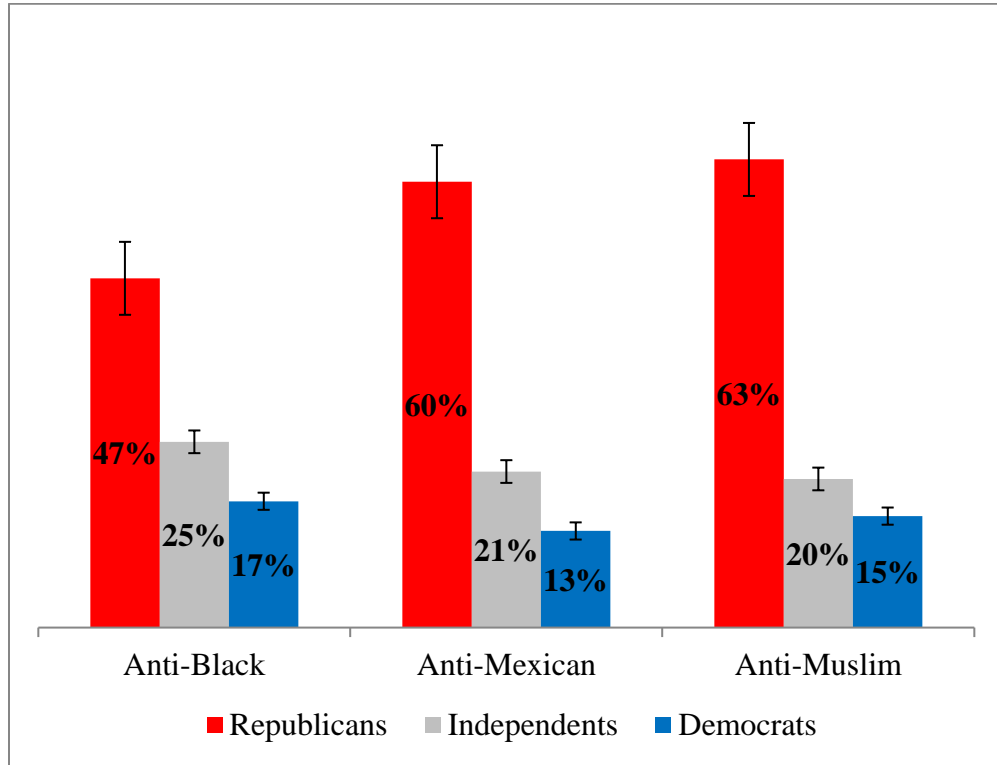
Conclusion

The results indicate that Republican voters are accepting of explicitly anti-minority campaign messaging and are supportive of candidates who use such appeals. In both primary and general election contexts, Republican voters were generally supportive candidates who use these campaign appeals. Yet Republican support for candidates who used anti-minority appeals was dependent on the group being targeted. GOP candidates who explicitly derogated Mexicans and Muslims, and candidates who *implicitly* derogated blacks garnered support from voters. But candidates who utilized explicitly anti-black appeals were largely rejected in both primary and general election formats. This idea will be further interrogated in subsequent articles.

The results also show that Democrats are generally supportive of candidates who explicitly advocate for minority interests, suggesting that the two major political parties are incentivized to move in opposite directions in their racialized messaging strategies. This is true in primary and general election formats and is seemingly consistent regardless of the group being advocated for. Beyond fictional candidate experiments, there is some evidence that Hillary Clinton benefited from being perceived as racially liberal, and that Democratic candidates in 2020 will likewise benefit if they are perceived as racially liberal.

The upshot is that primary elections will increasingly be characterized by overtly racialized messaging and general elections will increasingly feature racially polarized candidates. The period of American politics in which racism bubbled under the surface and Democrats and Republicans were locked into electoral temptations of racial silence and racial code words seems to have come to an end. Instead, race and racial issues have more explicitly come to the forefront of U.S. politics transforming the electoral incentives for the Democratic and Republican Parties.

However, this will not be the case in all circumstances. The results come from nationally representative survey samples. Though the secular partisan realignment has led to the Republican and Democratic Party bases being increasingly homogenous on racial attitudes, geographic variation in the party remains. Moreover, even though attitudes are largely homogenous, not all Republican voters are mobilized by anti-minority sentiments to the same extent, and not all Democrats will be mobilized by pro-minority appeals. For example, Ed Gillespie, the Republican candidate for Governor in Virginia in 2017, used numerous explicitly anti-Latino and anti-immigrant campaign appeals. But the Virginia election demonstrated that explicit appeals to prejudice may not be an effective strategy even among whites in general elections. Polls indicate that anti-immigrant advertisements run by the Gillespie campaign produced a net -23 points in

enthusiasm among whites in Virginia. Among every racial/ethnic group that reported seeing anti-immigrant ads or discussions of Gillespie as the anti-immigrant candidate there was overwhelming support for Northam: 89 percent of African Americans, 82 percent of Latinos, 73 percent of AAPI, and 57 percent of Whites voted for Northam (Latino Decisions 2017).[33]

Moreover, Ralph Northam, Gillespie's Democratic opponent, used Gillespie's anti-minority messaging to his advantage. Northam ran numerous advertisements attacking Gillespie, and Trump for the explicitly hostile rhetoric they were using. Turnout in Virginia, particularly among minority communities was large and Northam won the race in a landslide. A poll conducted by Latino Decisions and the African American Research Collaborative (AARC) suggests that explicitly hostile rhetoric played a role in Democratic mobilization. Among minority respondents, those who were aware of the comments made by Ed Gillespie were less likely to vote for him and more likely to support Northam (Latino Decisions 2017). To more fully understand the changing electoral temptations of political parties, future work can analyze heterogeneity in responses to racial appeals by region, gender, class, and other salient party cleavages.

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[33] Among people who did not report seeing Gillespie's anti-immigrant ads support for Northam was lower: 88 percent among African Americans, 57 percent among Latinos, 66 percent among AAPI, and 29 percent of Whites (Latino Decisions 2017).

Appendix Table A1. Summary statistics of the Lucid July 10-11, 2018 sample.

	Democrats	Republicans	Full Sample	U.S. Pop.
Age	43.2	47.1	45.0	37.9
Bachelor's	39.3%	39.1%	39.2%	30.3%
Female	53.6%	46.9%	50.5%	50.8%
White	55.6%	79.5%	63.8%	60.7%
Black	17.2%	5.0%	11.6%	13.4%
Hispanic	20.9%	7.1%	17.5%	18.1%
AAPI	5.9%	5.0%	5.5%	6.0%
Northeast	18.5%	17.5%	18.0%	17.3%
Midwest	18.5%	19.9%	19.1%	20.9%
South	35.1%	41.9%	38.2%	38%
West	28.0%	20.9%	24.7%	23.8%

Appendix Table A2. Summary statistics of the Lucid October 31 – November 1, 2018 sample.

	Democrats	Republicans	Full Sample	U.S. Pop.
Age	45.5	47.6	46.5	37.9
Bachelor's	37.5%	35.1%	36.3%	30.3%
Female	57.0%	48.4%	53.0%	50.8%
White	62.5%	80.5%	71.0%	60.7%
Black	16.7%	5.3%	11.3%	13.4%
Hispanic	13.7%	9.5%	11.7%	18.1%
AAPI	6.6%	4.8%	5.7%	6.0%
Northeast	20.8%	17.4%	19.2%	17.3%
Midwest	20.0%	17.6%	18.9%	20.9%
South	34.1%	42.4%	38.0%	38%
West	25.1%	22.5%	23.9%	23.8%

Appendix A3. Full question wording for each of the fictional Republican primary elections in Lucid survey July 10-11, 2018.

Opening statement (used in all fictional elections)

The following is an excerpt of a media article written about a Republican Primary Election to fill a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives from your state. After reading the excerpt you will be asked to evaluate the candidates in the election.

Anti-black primary election

Kyle Anderson and Peter Miller, the two candidates in the Republican primary election, have similar views on most important policy issues. Both have promised to repeal Obamacare, simplify the tax code, and decrease entitlement spending. The two candidates differ slightly in their policies and rhetoric on law enforcement. While both candidates want to increase spending for law enforcement, Anderson has made it a central campaign promise, saying that the United States is being destroyed by "black gang members."

If you lived in this district, which candidate would you vote for?

Anti-Mexican primary election

Jake Dawson and Steve Combs are the frontrunners in the Republican primary. Both candidates are strongly pro-life, have A ratings from the National Rifle Association, and have promised to balance the state budget. Dawson and Combs are both supportive of law enforcement, but Dawson has made it a central campaign promise to "empower law enforcement agencies to crack down on violent Mexican immigrants."

If you lived in this district, which candidate would you vote for?

Dustin Maxwell and Steve Combs are the frontrunners in the Republican primary. Both

candidates are strongly pro-life, have A ratings from the National Rifle Association, and have

promised to balance the state budget. Johnson and Combs are both supportive of law

enforcement, but Maxwell has made it a central campaign promise to "empower law

enforcement agencies to crack down on violent Muslim extremists."

If you lived in this district, which candidate would you vote for?

Appendix A4. Full question wording for each of the fictional Democratic primary elections in

Lucid survey July 10-11, 2018.

Opening statement (used in all fictional elections)

The following is an excerpt of a media article written about a Democratic Primary Election to fill

a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives from your state. After reading the excerpt you will be

asked to evaluate the candidates in the election.

Pro-black primary election

Henry Matthews and Tucker Banks, the two candidates in the Democratic primary election, have

similar views on most important policy issues. Both have promised to protect and expand the

Affordable Care Act, protect a woman's right to choose, and increase funding for public

education. Both candidates are supportive of reforms to the criminal justice system, but

candidate Matthews has made it a central campaign promise saying that, "We as a nation must

end systemic racism in the criminal justice system"

If you lived in this district, which candidate would you vote for?

<u>Pro-Latinx primary election</u>

Tanner Johnson and Luke Davis are the frontrunners in the Democratic primary. Both candidates have worked to expand early childhood education, and have promised to enact fairer labor and housing policies to protect the working and middle class. Williams and Davis have both voiced support for immigration reform, and Johnson has made it a central campaign promise to "to protect vulnerable Latino communities."

If you lived in this district, which candidate would you vote for?

<u>Pro-Muslim primary election</u>

Connor Williams and Luke Davis are the frontrunners in the Democratic primary. Both candidates have worked to expand early childhood education, and have promised to enact fairer labor and housing policies to protect the working and middle class. Williams and Davis have both voiced support for protecting the community from hate crimes, and Williams has made it a central campaign promise to "protect Muslim American communities from hate crimes."

If you lived in this district, which candidate would you vote for?

Appendix Figure A5. Percentage of Republican identifiers who support the candidates who use the implicit or overt prejudicial appeal ("Appeal") and percentage who support the non-racialized opponent ("No appeal") in four fictional Republican primary elections. Results are restricted to only strong Republican identifiers. Data comes from Lucid survey July 10-11, 2018.
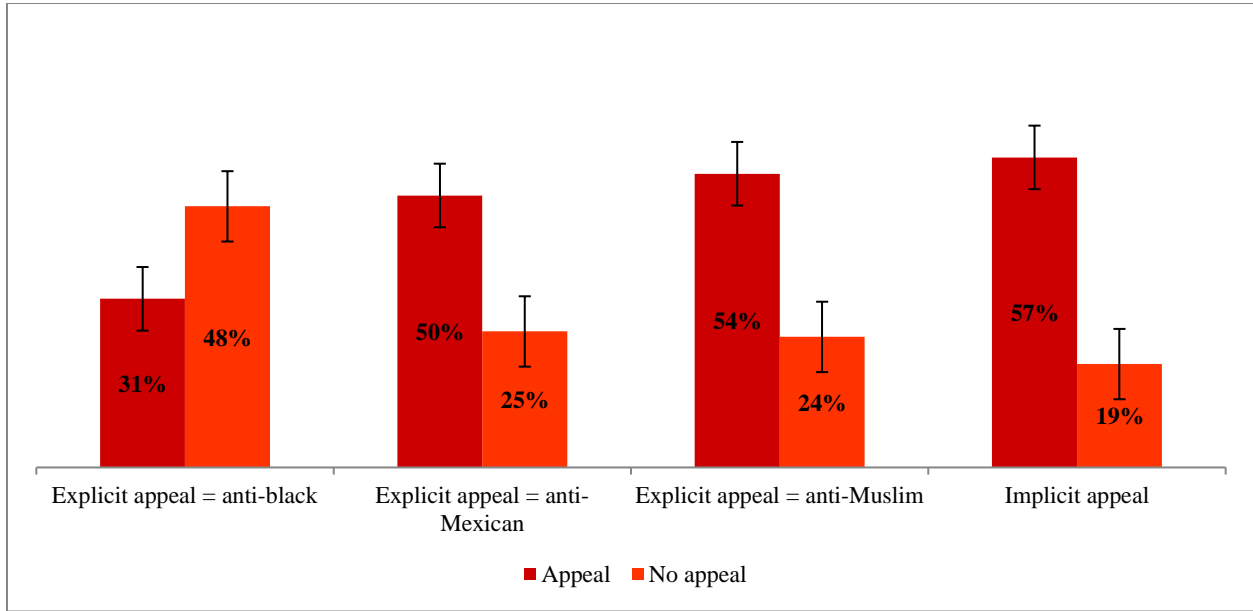
Appendix Figure A6. Percentage of Democratic identifiers who support the candidates who use implicit or overtly pro-minority appeals ("Appeal") and percentage who support the non-racialized opponents ("No appeal") in four fictional Democratic primary elections. Results are restricted to only strong Democratic identifiers. Data comes from Lucid survey July 10-11, 2018.
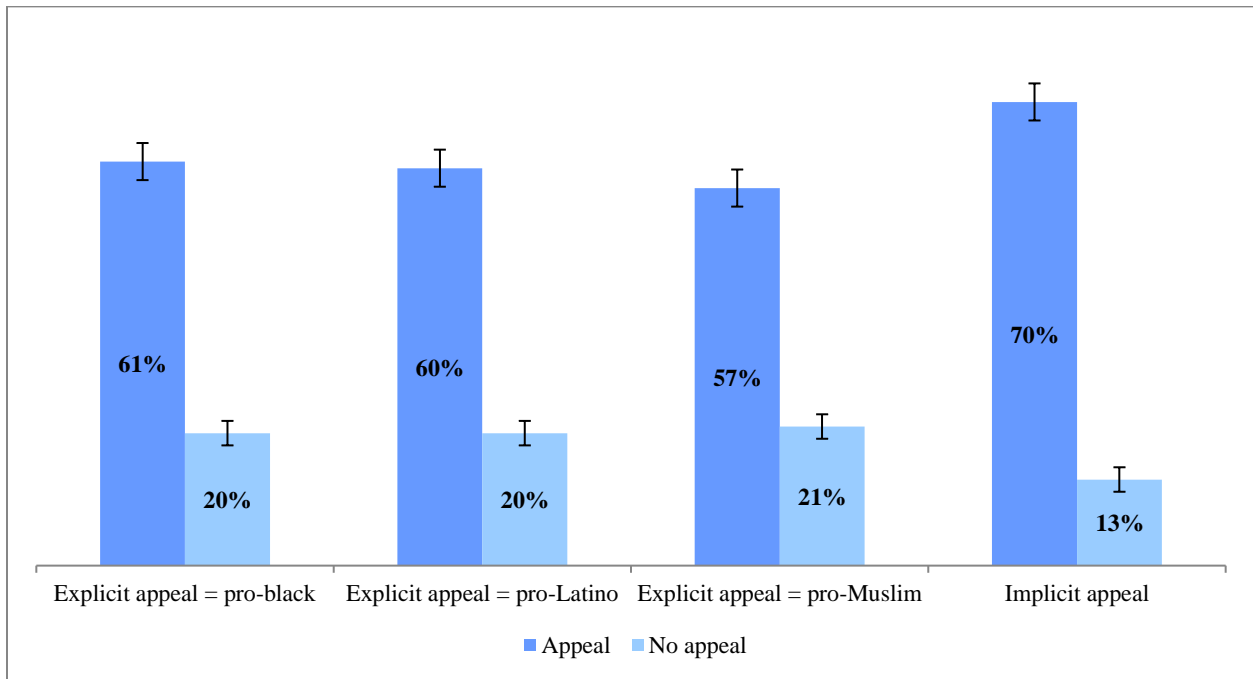
Appendix Figure A7. The marginal effect of the social norms index on support for Elizabeth Warren in the non-racialized and racialized treatment conditions, controlling for ideology. Data comes from Lucid survey January 31 – February 4, 2019.
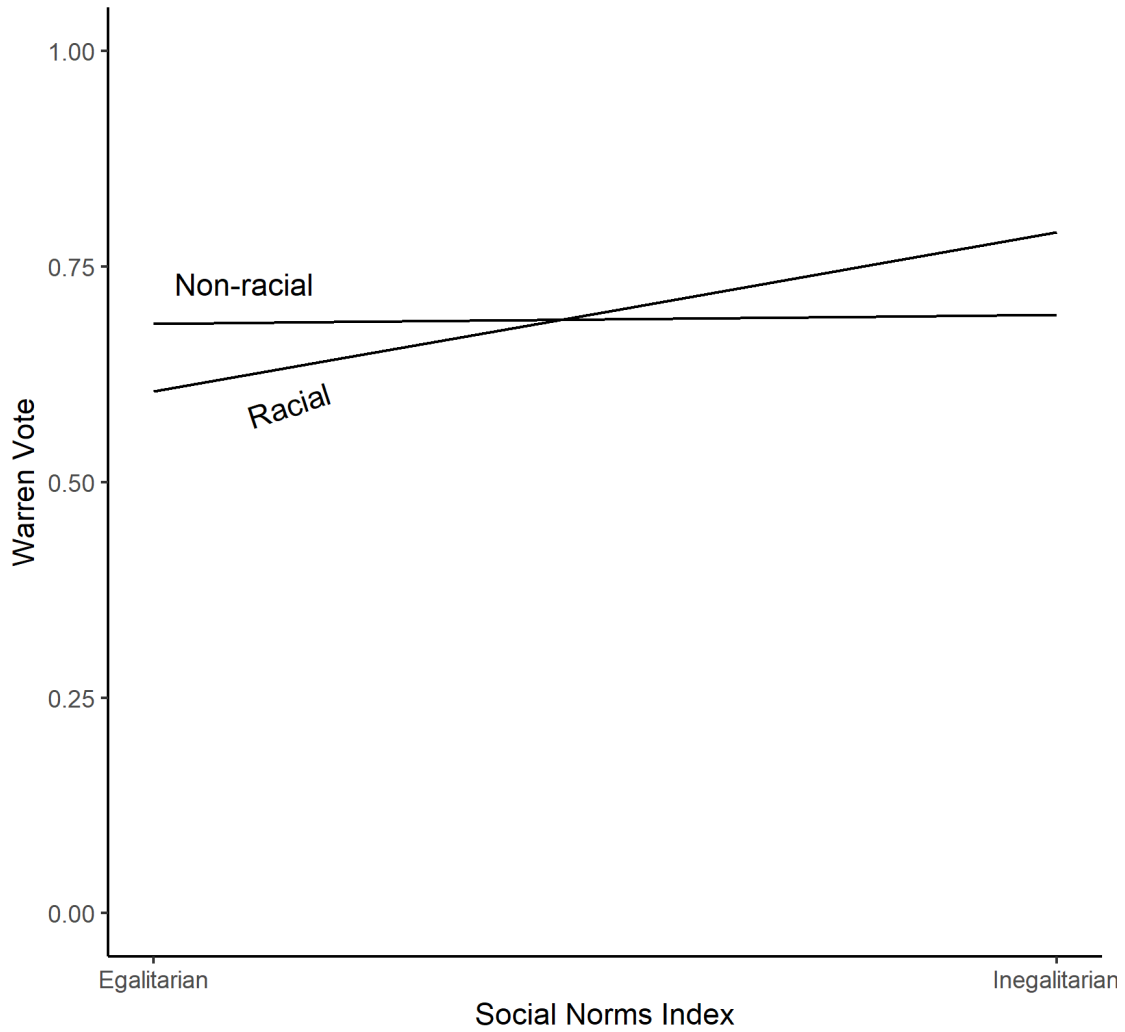
Source: Lucid Survey February 2019, Note: Relationships control for ideology

WHICH RACE CARD? HOW NORMS OF ACCEPTABLE POLITICAL RHETORIC VARY BY GROUP AND PARTY

Abstract

Contrary to the implicit-explicit model of racial priming, recent studies show that the effects of racial appeals may no longer depend on the implicit or explicit nature of appeals to racial prejudice. Yet little is still known about public responses to explicit appeals targeting groups other than African Americans. This study fills that void by proposing a *theory of differential norms*, arguing that multiple factors have led to different norms of acceptable rhetoric towards blacks, Latinos, and Muslims. The results strongly support the theory. Drawing on several nationally representative survey experiments, I show that the effectiveness of explicit racial appeals varies systematically according to group targeted: explicit appeals to prejudice increase support for Republican candidates who target Latinos and Muslims but not blacks. Moreover, adherence to inegalitarian norms predicts support for candidates who use explicitly prejudicial appeals. Finally, experimentally assigning norms of equality leads whites to reject Islamophobic messages.

Racial Priming Theory suggests that subtle appeals to race can increase the effects of racial attitudes on public opinion and voting behavior. Explicit racial appeals, however, should be ineffective because they clash with strong societal norms of equality (Mendelberg 2001). Several pre-Obama studies supported this implicit-explicit model, helping make it the prevailing wisdom in political science (Mendelberg 1997; Mendelberg 2001; Valentino, Hutchings, and White 2002; White 2007; Winter 2008; though see Huber and Lapinsky 2006). Yet explicit appeals to anti-minority sentiment came to the forefront of American politics in the 2016 Presidential election. Donald Trump's successful campaign, and first term of office, was characterized by incendiary comments about many groups, most prominently Latinos, Muslims, and undocumented immigrants. Current political rhetoric is a far cry from the coded language, or "dog whistles", that characterized political campaigns in prior decades.

Consequently, more recent literature suggests that explicit racial appeals are becoming increasingly acceptable (Valentino, Neuner, and Vandenbroek 2018). Across a series of survey experiments, Valentino et al. found no substantial difference in the impact of implicit versus explicit racial appeals on candidate evaluations or support for health care policy. They conclude that due to changing norms of acceptable racial political rhetoric, "the substantial power of racial attitudes in mainstream American politics no longer varies according to the ways in which race is discussed" (p. 6). Moreover, article 1 detailed several factors that have transformed electoral temptations of the GOP to include overt appeals to prejudice.

In addition to the growing use of explicit campaign appeals, there are several other important open questions in the racial priming literature. First, a central assumption for why implicit appeals are more effective than explicit appeals in priming racial attitudes in support of

candidates and policies is the existence of a norm of equality. When messages violate this norm, they should be rejected. In other words, the primary mechanism for determining whether campaign appeals are accepted or rejected is adherence to social norms. To my knowledge, no study has explicitly tested this assumption. Second, racial priming scholarship has existed in a black-white dichotomy; testing the effects of anti-black appeals on white audiences. Little is known about how the public responds to messaging that targets other racial, ethnic, and religious groups. Third, empirical tests have generally included only prejudicial appeals and not messaging that appeals to *pro*-minority sentiments.

This study attempts to answer these open questions through development of a novel theory and construction of an original measure of social norms to explicitly test the mechanism that undergirds racial priming theory. I propose the *theory of differential norms*, which argues that the power of racial and ethnic appeals varies based on the group being targeted and the party relaying the message. Mendelberg (2001) finds that a set of conditions led to a transformation from inegalitarian to egalitarian norms guiding rhetoric and behavior towards African Americans. But it is unclear whether these conditions are present for other groups.

Moreover, the American public is increasingly receiving two-sided information flows regarding racial issues: racial conservatism from the American Right and racial liberalism from the American Left. Thus, norms of acceptable rhetoric are likely to be different for Republicans and Democrats. Consequently, Republican elites are increasingly using explicitly *prejudicial* appeals to galvanize voters, while Democratic elites are, to an extent, using appeals to *racial equality*.

In this context, the present article makes two major contributions to the racial priming literature. First, it puts forth and tests a new account of how the target group and mass

partisanship interact to condition the acceptability of explicit appeals to prejudice. Across three nationally representative surveys, I find that Republican voters are more supportive of candidates who utilize explicitly anti-Mexican and anti-Muslim appeals than those who use explicitly anti-black messaging. Second, it empirically tests the conditional effect of adherence to inegalitarian racial norms on individual responses to prejudicial appeals. Using an original measure of norms, called the *social norms index* (SNI), I show that adherence to inegalitarian norms strongly predicts support for candidates who use prejudicial appeals.

<div align="center">Theory of Differential Norms</div>

The role of social norms

Mendelberg's (2001) seminal work on racial priming argues that two elements give power to implicit racial appeals: "Powerful egalitarian norms about race, and a party system based on the cleavage of race." (p. 6). The transformation of racial appeals from explicit to implicit was predicated on inegalitarian norms being "displaced by an ideology of racial equality" (Mendelberg 2001, p. 67). As norms transitioned from inegalitarian to egalitarian in the mid-1900s, she argued, we saw a corresponding shift from explicit to implicit racial appeals. Norms play a powerful role in understanding the use and effectiveness of racial messaging.

Relatedly, almost a century of scholarship in social psychology has demonstrated that social norms can have a large influence on individual opinions (for a review, see Morris, Huang, Chiu, and Liu 2015). Social norms influence individual opinions and decision-making through two important mechanisms. First, the presence of a social norm "trigger[s] a transient judgmental bias leading to norm compliance as long as these norms are salient" (Germar and Mojzisch 2019, 11). When individuals are aware of the norm, the criteria they use to process information and make decisions shifts in favor of the response option(s) that is congruent with the norm. Second,

the presence of social norms "evoke[s] a persistent perceptual bias leading to lasting norm adherence" (11). An individuals' perception of information shifts towards information that is congruent with the norm. Essentially, social norms have a strong cognitive effect on the acquisition and processing of information which then influences individual opinions and attitudes. As norms change, it is likely that the opinions and decision-making processes of the public will change in a corresponding fashion.

Therefore, social norms perform two important functions in society. First, norms help us understand "that particular behavioral responses are warranted in situations that are sufficiently similar to each other" (Bicchieri 2017, 30). Second, norms "express social approval or disapproval of such behaviors – they tell us how we ought to act" (30). In the context of racialized political messaging, social norms help voters understand how they ought to react to campaign messaging across a range of similar messages. Voters respond to these messages largely based on their perception of the societal expectation.

Thus, voters are responding to societal norms when reacting to campaign messaging or other political stimuli. If voters adhere to a norm of racial equality, then a campaign message that is deemed racist is likely to be rejected, along with the messenger. But if a norm of *inequality* exists, or even if a norm of equality simply has not been established, then that same racist message may be accepted along with the messenger. Essentially, social norms help determine how much campaign messaging about minority groups is accepted or rejected.

How Norms Develop

Mendelberg provides a roadmap for how a norm of equality can be established, asserting: "The most effective way to combat an old norm and establish a new one is to pass landmark legislation, to issue momentous judicial rulings, and to engage in other highly salient signals of

commitment to the new norm" (p. 17). Mendelberg identifies three factors in particular which contribute to the creation of a norm of equality; elite signals, institutions, and social movements.

Social norms influence behavior due to our normative expectations of what we believe others approve of or disapprove of (Bicchieri 2017). We adjust our behavior in accordance to fit the expectations of others. But not everyone has the power to influence our behavior. Our expectations of those who we trust, those who are part of what Bicchieri (2017) refers to as our "reference network", have this power. Our reference networks can include family members, friends, co-workers, and, most importantly for understanding norms of acceptable rhetoric, elites. Political, societal, and media elites have enormous influence over the opinions, behaviors, and decision-making of individuals (Zaller 1992; Berinsky 2009; Levendusky 2009). If trusted elites reject messages and behaviors that discriminate against minorities, then the public will see these messages and behaviors as violations of a norm of equality. But if elites appear to accept discriminatory actions, then a norm of inequality will likely develop.

Likewise, institutions play an important role in the development of social norms (Tankard and Paluck 2017). For example, *Loving v Virginia*, the 1967 Supreme Court decisions which legalized interracial marriage, contributed to the dramatic shift in support for interracial marriage from under 25 percent to well over 80 percent (Marshall 1987; Newport 2013; Schacter 1989). Other work has likewise shown the important role of institutions in shifting social norms. Tankard and Paluck (2017) demonstrate that a 2015 Supreme Court ruling in favor of same-sex marriage increased individual perceptions of a social norm that favors gay marriage. In other words, the Supreme Court helped develop social norms of equality for African Americans and the LGBT+ community by displaying strong signals of commitment to protecting the rights of these communities.

Social movements are another effective way to mobilize and activate support for norms of equality from the public. Indeed, Mendelberg (2001) shows that an important contributing factor to the creation of the norm of racial equality was collective efforts by African Americans to "shift the norm of public discourse" (p. 68). This was done through a variety of mobilization efforts including protests, lobbying, and organizational work by groups such as the NAACP. Allies within the mass media, in conjunction with intellectuals, artists, and other public figures exerted their influence against racism.

The efforts of the Civil Rights Movement led the mass media, politicians from both major political parties, and the public to increasingly reject the ideology of white supremacy (Lee 2002; Mendelberg 2001; Schuman, Steeh, Bobo, and Krysan 1997). This, in turn, led to fear of alienating white voters who may be repelled by explicitly racist appeals. Largely due to the Civil Rights Movement, monumental legislation and judicial rulings in pursuit of racial equality such as *Brown v Board of Education,* the Civil Rights Act, and the Voting Rights Act were achieved. As racial norms changed, beliefs about biological inferiority were relegated to the fringes of society and both major political parties strived to align themselves against this ideology. Over the years there has been growing recognition that it is no longer acceptable for citizens or elites to seem like they are racist (Schuman et al. 1997; Van Dijk 2015). Of course, these efforts did not eliminate racial conflict and racial appeals were not altogether abandoned; rather, there was a transition to using racial codes to activate racial resentment without appearing to violate the newly constructed norm of equality (Kinder and Sanders 1996; Mendelberg 2001).

Though much has changed since then, it appears that political messaging targeting African Americans is still guided, at least to an extent, by a norm of racial equality. For example, Steve King, a Republican Representative from Iowa, made comments about white supremacy in

a recent interview with the *New York Times* which were strongly condemned. King said, "White nationalist, white supremacist, Western civilization — how did that language become offensive? Why did I sit in classes teaching me about the merits of our history and our civilization?" King was heavily criticized for his comments and subsequently stripped of his committee assignments and the House voted 424-1 to approve a measure rebuking him.[34] Many of his Republican colleagues even called for his resignation. Yet, other similarly prejudicial comments about Muslims, Latinos, undocumented immigrants, and others made by conservative elites, including King himself, have not been met with similar consequences. We know relatively little about how the development of norms for African Americans applies to other groups in society who have very different historical trajectories in the United States.

Differential norms

Countless studies have examined the effects of anti-black appeals, but little attention has been paid to the use of Islamophobic or anti-Latino rhetoric in political communication (though see Reny, Valenzuela, and Collingwood 2017). The 2016 Presidential election was characterized by hostility towards many groups, but especially towards Muslims and Latinos. Correspondingly, attitudes towards these groups were strong predictors of vote choice in 2016 (Sides, Tesler, and Vavreck 2018). Morever, Tesler (2018) argues that attitudes towards Muslims have emerged as a significant determinant of partisanship due to the powerful effect of Islamophobia on opposition to Barack Obama, while Abrajano and Hajnal (2015) suggest that attitudes towards immigrants in general, and Latinos in particular, are increasingly shaping U.S. politics. Thus, our understanding of racial priming in U.S. politics must include campaign appeals that target these groups.

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[34] See https://www.cnn.com/2019/01/15/politics/steve-king-pressure-to-resign/index.html for the full story. The one Representative who voted against the measure did so because it did not go far enough in condemning his comments.

Case study 1: Anti-Latino Appeals

The conditions for developing a norm of equality for Latinos and Muslims appears to be absent. Latinos are generally portrayed in unfavorable roles in media and popular culture and are often characterized by, "limited intelligence, inarticulate speech, laziness, and verbal aggression" (Mastro, Behm-Morawitz, and Kopacz 2008, p. 2). Perez (2016) demonstrates that negative and threatening media coverage of Latinos have led white Americans to implicitly and explicitly associate the group with illegality, and illegality has developed as a justification for out-group hostility (Sidanius and Pratto 2001). Consequently, hostility towards Latinos is highest when the group is paired with salient stereotypes of foreignness and illegality.

Recent work has demonstrated that immigration has had a fundamental impact on American politics (Abrajano and Hajnal 2015). Huge increases in the immigrant population have influenced white attitudes and altered partisan attachments (ibid). Demographic changes have activated racial and cultural threat (Hopkins 2010; Newman 2013; Enos 2017) and increased support for anti-immigrant policies (Abrajano and Hajnal 2015). Massey (2014) demonstrates that threatening framing of Latinos by political and media elites has moved native whites to support restrictive immigration policies. The 2006 immigrant rights marches, while emboldening liberals, also "push[ed] conservatives in Congress further to the right" (Zepeda-Millan 2017, 193), increasing support for restrictive immigration policy.

Overall, the salience of anti-immigrant sentiment in American politics is growing rapidly. Among Trump supporters, immigration was reported as the second most important issues to their vote, after the economy (PEW 2016b). Among all voters, 70% reported immigration as an issue important to their vote, up from 41% in 2012. Anti-Latino appeals, particularly when framed as immigrants, effectively prime racial attitudes without being rejected by voters (Reny,

Valenzuela, and Collingwood 2017). These frames were used pervasively and effectively during the 2016 election.

Donald Trump's candidacy, and time in office, was largely based on policies to block undocumented immigrants from entering the country. The major policy proposal of the Trump campaign, which has now transitioned to the Trump administration, is building a wall on the Mexico border. Ann Coulter, one of the earliest and most bullish Trump surrogates, wrote a column soon after the election with a plan for Trump's first hundred days in office. Day one read "Start building the wall", days two through ninety-nine read "Continue building the wall", and ended at day one hundred with, "Report to American people about progress of wall. Keep building the wall" (Coulter 2016). A PEW Research Center poll conducted shortly after the election found that 79% of Trump supporters were in favor of the border wall (PEW 2016a). Essentially, the border wall was, and continues to be, one of the primary reasons for Trump's loyal base.

Anti-immigrant sentiments are also nothing new to the GOP. Pete Wilson, Pat Buchanan and others were representative of the simmering of anti-immigrant sentiments in the Republican Party. Consequently, explicitly anti-Latino appeals have been on the rise in U.S. politics for years (McIlwain and Caliendo 2011). Increases in the Latino population, along with negative media coverage and political rhetoric, have heightened racial fears among the American public (Abrajano and Hajnal 2015). In sum, political rhetoric targeting Latinos is unlikely to be guided by a norm of equality.

Case Study 2: Anti-Muslim Appeals

On January 4, 2007 Keith Ellison became the first Muslim American to be sworn into the U.S. House of Representatives. That he did so using a Koran garnered significant attention, both

praise and criticism. Roy Moore, the former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in Alabama and Senate candidate in 2017, wrote an op-ed eviscerating Keith Ellison for his decision to be sworn in on a Koran and insinuated that Muslims are unable to swear allegiance to the U.S. Constitution.

> "Islamic law is simply incompatible with our law," he wrote. "In 1943, we would never have allowed a member of Congress to take their oath on 'Mein Kampf,' or someone in the 1950s to swear allegiance to the 'Communist Manifesto.' Congress has the authority and should act to prohibit Ellison from taking the congressional oath today!" [35]

Moore's comments highlight the growing Islamophobia that has become interwoven in the Republican Party. While prejudice towards most groups in the United States has been on the decline over the last few decades, Muslims have continued to be viewed unfavorably relative to most other out-groups (Kalkan, Layman, and Uslaner 2009). The percentage of Americans who say that Muslims "do not at all agree with my vision of American society" is similar to that for atheists and the LGBT community and significantly higher than for other groups including Asian Americans, Hispanics, Jews, African Americans, and whites (Edgell, Gerteis, and Hartmann 2006, 218). Similarly, Sides and Gross (2007) find in an examination of stereotype evaluations that Muslims are rated more negatively on trustworthy-untrustworthy and peaceful-violent scales.

Kalkan and his co-authors (2009) differentiate between two types of out-groups; those that are defined by ethnic, racial, and religious characteristics, and those that are defined by "behaviors or values that many find unusual or offensive" (848). Behaviorally defined out-groups may be different for a variety of reasons. Citizens in the mainstream are more likely to avoid contact with members of these groups. Similarly, members of these groups may be more

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[35] The quote comes from an opinion editorial written by Roy Moore and published by World Net Daily in December of 2006. The op-ed can be found here: http://www.wnd.com/2006/12/39271/.

likely to isolate themselves from mainstream society. When contact does occur, it often reinforces perceptions of incompatible values and behaviors. Muslims are distinct in that they are viewed by mainstream society as both a racial and religious out-group, as well as a behavioral out-group (ibid). Therefore, prejudice towards Muslims is structured differently than other out-groups.

Muslim Americans have long faced hate crimes, discrimination, and general distrust from the American public (Lejavardi 2017). Abdo (2005) notes that negative attention paid to the group, particularly regarding supposed links to terrorism, continues the cycle of fear, distrust, and alienation. Those negative portraits of Muslims have increasingly shaped partisan preferences in recent years. Attitudes about Muslims were one of the strongest predictors of vote choice in the 2008, 2012, and 2016 Presidential elections (Sides et al. 2018; Tesler 2018). Moreover, rank-and-file Republicans are quite comfortable expressing overtly negative opinions of Muslims. Republican respondents in the 2016 American National Election Study (ANES) gave Muslims a score of 35 on feeling thermometer ratings, compared to a 52 rating for African Americans. In a June 2015 Gallup Survey, less than half of Republicans reported that they would vote for an otherwise qualified Muslim Presidential candidate.

There is also growing concern of Islamic extremism in the US. According to another 2014 survey conducted by PEW Research Center, 62% of Americans report being "very concerned" about rising Islamic extremism (PEW 2014a). When first asked in 2007, the share was only 48%. This is particularly true for Republicans among whom 82% are concerned about Islamic terrorism. Given the growing importance of Islamophobia on partisan preferences and vote intentions (Tesler 2018), it follows that explicitly anti-Muslim appeals are unlikely to be

rejected by the Republican base and have potential to be effective in activating out-group prejudice.

Moreover, popular discourse post 9/11 have constructed Latinos and Middle Eastern Muslims as threats to society. This "Brown Threat" now permeates the public imagination (Rivera 2014). Chavez (2013) argues that the media frames immigrants as potential criminals and terrorists. Indeed, Latinos have been imbued with illegality and criminality which means, in public discourse, that they are illegitimate members of society. Muslims are similarly viewed as national security threats and destructive to American culture. Politicians can take advantage of these frames and build support for policies that restrict immigration. Though many minority groups are viewed negatively and face public hostility, pervasive threatening frames constructed for Latinos and Muslims make these groups more effective 'boogeymen' in U.S. society. As such, Republican candidates, and sometimes Democratic candidates, are incentivized by their constituencies to overtly express their hostility to these groups. In sum, lack of salient signals of commitments to norms of equality from elites, institutions, and social movements, along with narratives of threat that have been constructed, have led to rhetoric and behavior targeting these two groups to be guided by norms of *inequality*.

To be sure, black Americans are generally thought to occupy the bottom rung of the American racial hierarchy (Masuoka and Junn 2013). And discrimination against African Americans remains strong. So why would the American public be more accepting of overtly prejudicial appeals targeting Latinos and Muslims than appeals targeting blacks? It is because of the power of social norms. Mendelberg (2001) defines norms as, "an informal standard of social behavior accepted by most members of the culture and that guides and constrains behavior" (p. 17). Moreover, the function of following the norm is, "to avoid social censure or the pangs of

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conscience" (p. 17). It is not necessary that people who are acting in accordance to a norm have internalized it. Put another way, an individual who adheres to the norm does not *necessarily* believe that the action is problematic (though, of course, often they do), merely that the individual understands that it is socially unacceptable to perform this action and wants to indicate acceptance of the norm. Therefore, norms do not always reflect the publics' true feelings. An individual may privately hold negative views about a group but be unwilling to express them publicly. Thus, explicitly prejudicial appeals targeting certain groups are effective not because of the position of the groups in the racial hierarchy but because of the absence of a norm of equality.

Empirical expectations

Drawing on these insights from the literature on norms of racial equality, I argue that explicitly prejudicial appeals about *Latinos and Muslims* will be more effective in galvanizing support among Republicans than explicitly prejudicial appeals about *blacks*. Put more formally,

Hypothesis 1: *Explicitly prejudicial appeals targeting Latinos and Muslims will earn more support from Republican voters than explicit appeals targeting African Americans.*

Moreover, support for candidates who utilize prejudicial appeals should be highest among individuals who adhere to inegalitarian rather than egalitarian norms. In other words, norms are the mechanism that determines approval or disapproval of a given candidate.

Hypothesis 2: *Respondents who score high on the Social Norms Index (i.e. adhere to inegalitarian norms) are most likely to support candidates who use explicitly prejudicial appeals, while those who score low on the SNI (i.e. adhere to egalitarian norms) are least likely to support these candidates.*

The previous section established that the acceptance or rejection of prejudicial appeals depends on the absence or presence of egalitarian norms. Appeals that target groups that have egalitarian norms attached (e.g. white Americans) are likely to be rejected, while appeals targeting groups with *in*egalitarian norms attached (e.g. Latinos and Muslims) are more likely to be accepted. However, it is unlikely that this is a dichotomous construct. There are not simply egalitarian or inegalitarian norms; rather, there is a spectrum of norms for each group ranging from egalitarian to inegalitarian. It may be that behavior and rhetoric targeting Latinos and Muslims is guided by inegalitarian norms, but the specific norms for each group vary based on their placement on the social norms spectrum.

One way to examine this is through feeling thermometer scores of groups. Though clearly not a perfect measure, feeling thermometer scores provide some indication of the public's views of various groups. Figure 1 displays feeling thermometer scores over time for blacks, Hispanics, Muslims, whites, and undocumented immigrants from the American National Election Study (ANES). Respondents are asked to evaluate each group on a scale from 0 (cold feelings toward the group) to 100 (warm feelings toward the group). Over time, Hispanics and blacks have similar scores which are only lightly lower than scores for whites, but Muslims and undocumented immigrants are rated much colder.

Figure 1. Feeling thermometer scores of various racial and ethnic groups over time. Data from the American National Election Studies 1992 - 2016.
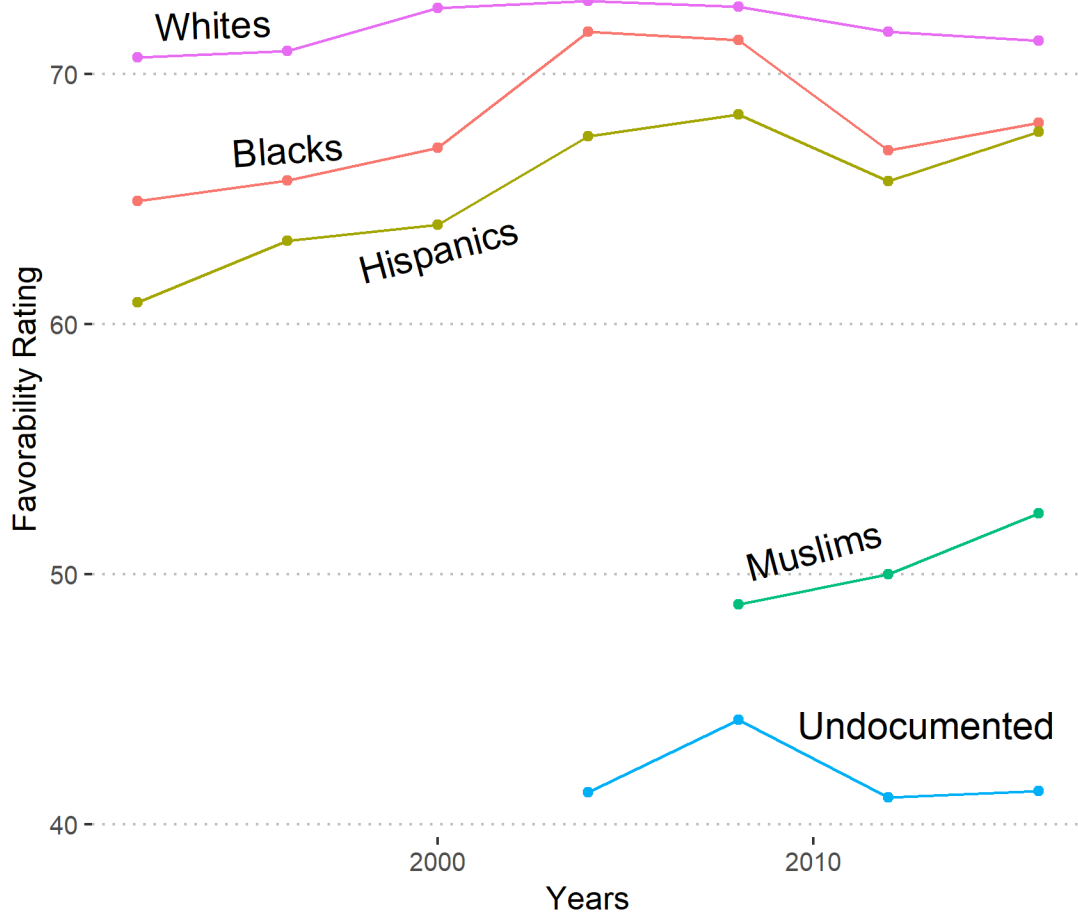
Source: American National Election Study

Figure 2 displays feeling thermometer scores for each group by party. Republicans have significantly lower scores for blacks and Hispanics than do Democrats but, within party, there is very little difference in the way the two groups are evaluated. However, Republicans rate Muslims and undocumented immigrants substantially colder than Democrats and where they rate blacks and Hispanics. Survey respondents do not appear to feel social pressure in rating Muslims and undocumented immigrants colder than other groups.

Figure 2. Feeling thermometer scores of various racial and ethnic groups over time by party (Democrat and Republican). Data from the American National Election Studies, 1992 - 2016.
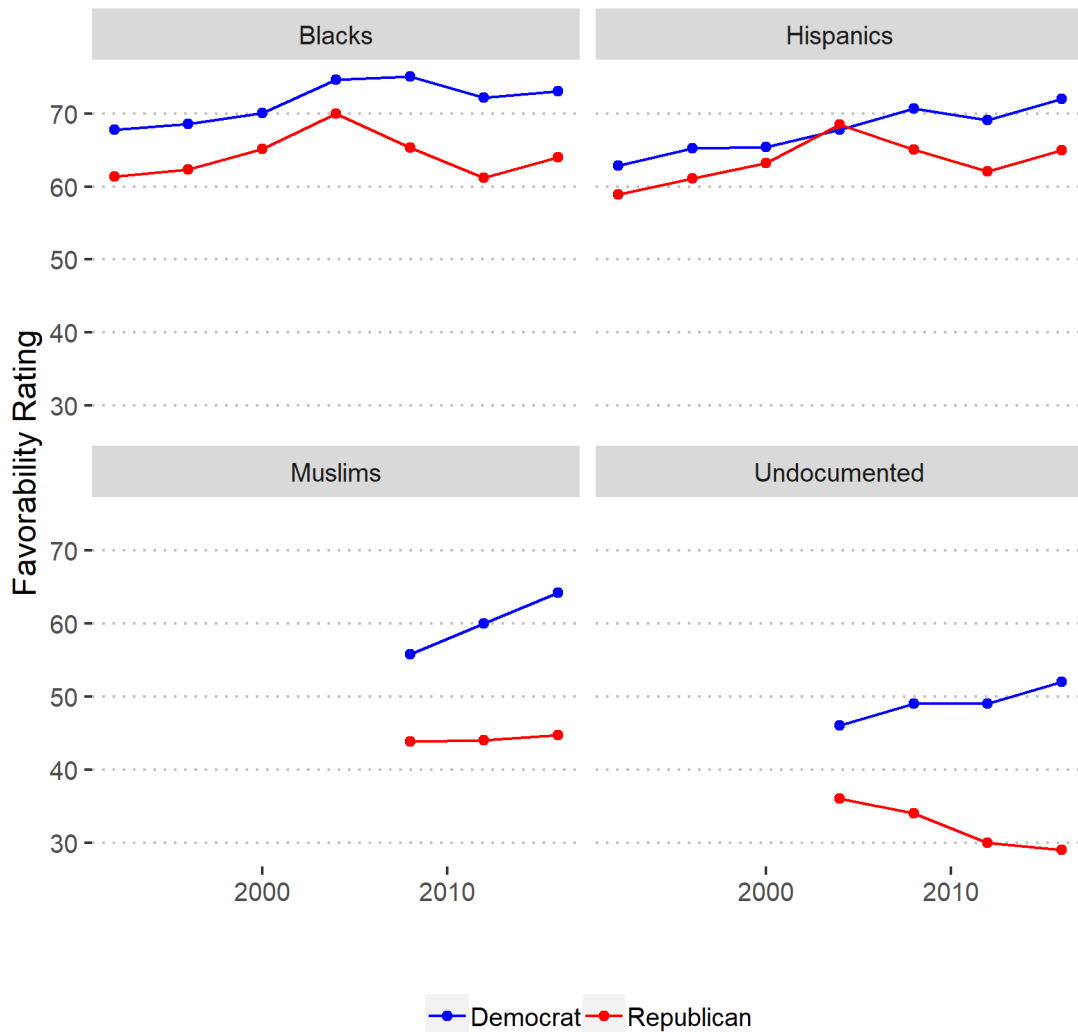
The results from a favorability grid included in a July 2018 survey show similar results. Republican respondents find Muslims to be significantly less favorable than blacks and Hispanics. Only 40% of Republicans rate Muslims as somewhat or very favorable compared to 74% and 73% respectively for blacks and Hispanics. Another measure of differential norms is a question that asks about candidate acceptability: "If your party nominated a generally well-

qualified person for President from the following groups, would you vote for that person?"

Again, we see a substantial difference between the way Republicans views Muslims versus other

groups. Only 37% of Republican respondents say they would probably or definitely vote for a

Muslim candidate compared to 75% and 67% respectively for a black or Hispanic candidate.[36]

These findings track with past scholarship that shows people are less hesitant to express negative

feelings about Muslims than other groups. For example, Tesler (2016) shows that a substantially

larger portion of the American public admitted they were less likely to vote for Barack Obama

because of his religion (presumably believing him to be Muslim) than because of his race.

But is it that norms of equality do not extend to Latinos in the same way as blacks if the

two groups are rated similarly across each of these different measures? This is because of the

strong association that many white Americans make between Latinos and illegality (Perez 2016).

Figures 1 and 2 show that undocumented immigrants are rated lower, particularly among

Republicans, than every other group. Thus, elites can more overtly denigrate Latinos, and

particularly Mexican immigrants, than groups like blacks under the pretense of critiquing

undocumented or "illegal" immigration. To illustrate this point, only 13 percent of GOP

respondents in a February 2019 survey rated "illegal immigrants" very or somewhat favorable.

Another way of looking at this is how much people believe their interests will be

represented by candidates depending on their racial characteristics. In the 2016 Collaborative

Multi-racial Post-election Study (CMPS), respondents are asked how much each congressional

candidate represents their interests; a Hispanic man, Hispanic woman, African American man,

African American woman, Muslim American man, and Muslim American woman. Figure 3

below shows that respondents are similarly likely to see their interests represented by Hispanic

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[36] See Appendix for more detailed results.

and African American candidates. But people are much less likely to believe their views are

represented by Muslim American candidates.

Figure 3. Percentage of respondents who believe the following Congressional candidates
represent their interests. Data comes from the 2016 Collaborative Multi-racial Election Study
(CMPS).

Do you think the following congressional
candidates would represent your interests?

| Black Woman | Black Man | Hispanic Woman | Hispanic Man | Muslim Woman | Muslim Man |
| 60% | 57% | 56% | 50% | 35% | 30% |
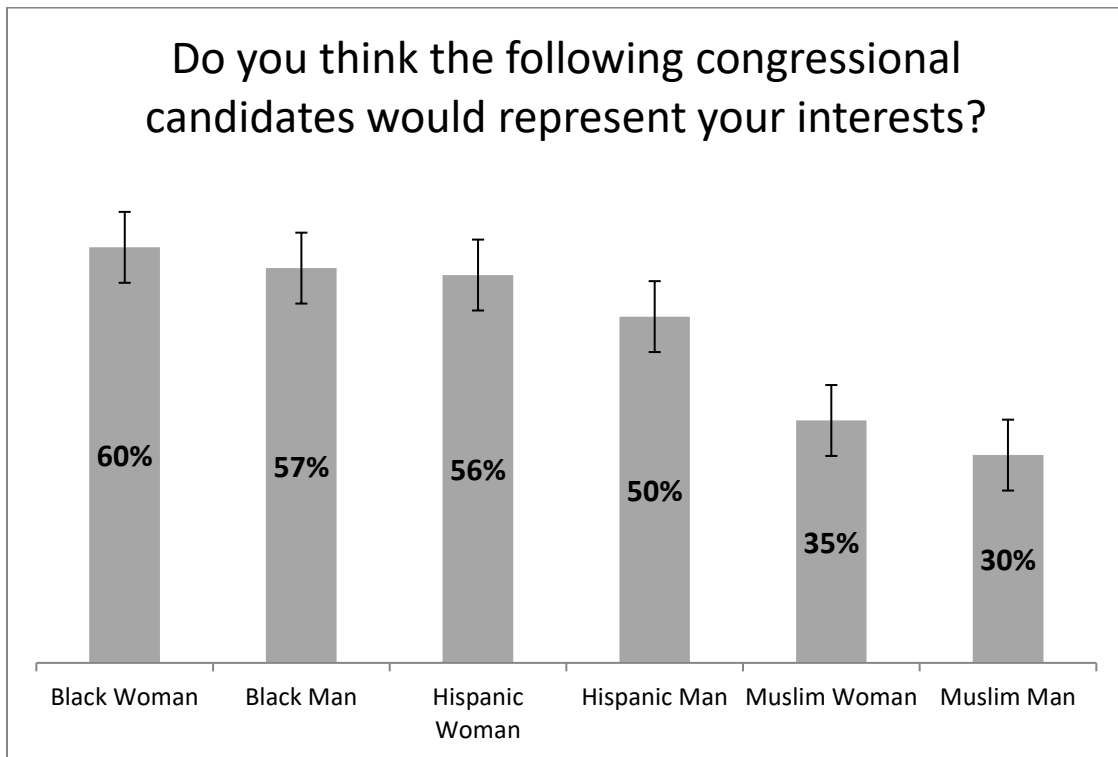
Figure 3 displays the partisan breakdown of interest representation. A similar pattern

appears. Both Democrats and Republicans are less likely to see their interests represented by

Muslim Americans than by Hispanics and African Americans. The figure also makes clear that

Republican respondents are substantially less likely to view their interests represented by any of

the groups. Thus, the results indicate that norms may vary by both group and party.

Figure 4. Percentage of Republican and Democratic respondents who believe the following Congressional candidates represent their interests. Data comes from the 2016 Collaborative Multi-racial Election Study (CMPS).

Do you think the following congressional candidates would represent your interests?

	Black Woman	Black Man	Hispanic Woman	Hispanic Man	Muslim Woman	Muslim Man
Republicans	45%	42%	49%	45%	29%	26%
Democrats	61%	56%	60%	54%	45%	39%
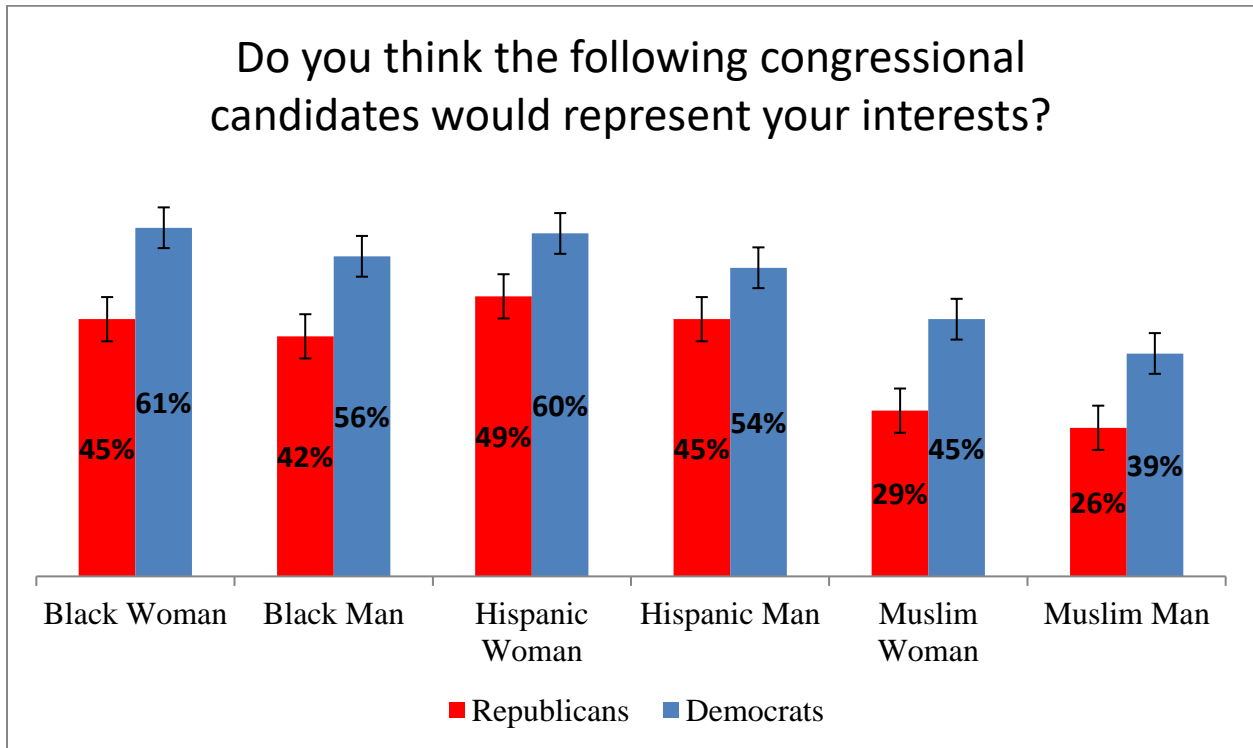
Every social group will land somewhere on the spectrum from inegalitarian to egalitarian norms. In this paper I examine the placement of three groups – blacks, Latinos, and Muslims – on the spectrum but future research can (and should) expand to include other groups.

The Role of Partisan Polarization

Mendelberg (2001) shows that in the 19th and early 20th centuries, when a norm of racial *in*equality existed, Democratic and Republican elites alike utilized explicit racial appeals. It was only when this norm subsided, and a new norm of equality took its place, that both parties stopped using explicit appeals. If a norm of equality has not been created for Muslim Americans and Latinos, why don't these groups face explicit appeals from both sides of the aisle?

I argue that this is because U.S. politics are far more polarized than in the past, particularly on race and racial issues. A secular partisan realignment has moved racial conservatives into the GOP and racial liberals into the Democratic Party stemming from national and sub-national differences in support for Civil Rights initiatives (Carmines and Stimson 1989; Edsall and Edsall 1992; Schickler 2016). By the early 2000s, the partisan realignment had sorted racially resentful whites into the GOP (Valentino and Sears 2005). This process has intensified since 2008. There has been a significant 'white flight' away from the Democratic Party since Obama's election, especially among lower educated whites high in racial resentment (Tesler 2016; Sides et al. 2018). Indeed, partisan identities have grown so strong that they are powerful influencers of our "human judgement, emotion, and behavior" (Mason 2018, p. 140). In this highly polarized environment, norms of acceptable rhetoric depend not only on the social group being targeted, but also vary by the party purveying the message.

Trump's presidency has only exacerbated party differences. Sides, Tesler, and Vavreck (2018) show that, "the alignment between partisanship and attitudes about issues like race and immigration have only increased, and with it the likelihood of even more divisive politics." (p. 203). Trump activated hostility and prejudice towards racial, ethnic, and religious minority groups. Meanwhile, Democrats have shifted decidedly in favor of racially liberal policies and have become more favorable of these same minority groups in response to Trump's rise to power. Therefore, hate crimes against groups that Trump attacks have surged since he took office (McCarthy 2016; McCarthy 2017), while favorability ratings of those same groups have also increased (Sides, et al. 2018).

Data from the ANES and Pew Research Center polls show that evaluations of blacks, immigrants, Islam, and Muslims among Democrats and Republicans have sharply widened in

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recent years, and particularly after the 2016 Presidential elections (Sides, et al. 2018). Democrats have become significantly more likely to believe that racial discrimination has impacted opportunities for black people, that immigrants strengthen society, and that Islam does not encourage violence than Republicans. [37] Moreover, recent data from the 2019 VOTER Survey finds that 69 percent of Democrats believe that racial equality is a "very important" issue compared to only 24 percent of Republicans. [38] Meanwhile, Republican voters are much more concerned with immigration (68 to 39 percent) and terrorism (69 to 40 percent). Democrats are also substantially more likely to believe that advocating for racial and ethnic minorities is an important characteristic in the next president (91 percent) than Republicans (44 percent).

The large partisan differences in views of minority groups and issues affecting these groups is particularly important in determining social norms. In discussing the power of social norms, Bicchieri (2017) argues that it is an individual's normative expectations of the behaviors and opinions of those in their reference network that impacts the individual's adherence to norms. This network is generally comprised of those who the individual trusts. As the public becomes increasingly stratified by political party, it is likely that our reference groups are comprised of people within our party and so our perception of norms regarding acceptable rhetoric and behavior targeting out-groups is largely developed by the party we identify with.

Mendelberg (2001) states that, "During the nineteenth century, the norm dictated conformity to the basic precepts of white superiority and black inferiority." (p. 28). Thus, Democrats used explicit appeals that overtly derogated African Americans, rather than simply appeal to states' rights. Republicans also used explicitly racial appeals derogating African Americans rather than appealing to equality. Essentially, Mendelberg argues that a norm existed

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[37] See Figure 9.4 in Sides, Tesler, and Vavreck (2018).
[38] See report by Robert Griffin (May 2019). https://www.voterstudygroup.org/publication/two-years-in.

which members of both major political parties conformed to. In our highly polarized environment, one would be hard-pressed to find issues that both parties can agree on. This is particularly true of racial issues. As such, I argue that Republicans conform to a norm of *in*equality regarding Muslims and Latinos, while Democrats conform to a norm of equality. It can be beneficial for Republican elites to appeal to Islamophobic and anti-immigrant sentiments of voters, while it is likely political suicide for Democrats to do the same. Rather, Democratic elites are incentivized, in some cases, to overtly signal their support of these same groups. In other words, Democrats and Republicans are guided by two different sets of norms regarding racialized rhetoric which leads to the final formal hypothesis.

>Hypothesis 3: *Republican voters are more supportive of candidates who use explicitly prejudicial appeals than candidates who don't, while Democratic voters are more supportive of candidates who use explicitly pro-minority appeals than those who don't.*

Data & Methodology

In the previous article, I showed direct treatment effects from a series of fictional candidate experiments. These experiments isolated the effects of pro- and anti-minority campaign messages and found that Republicans are supportive of candidates who use overtly anti-Mexican and anti-Muslim appeals while Democrats are supportive of candidates who explicitly advocate for the interests of African Americans, Latinos, and Muslims. In this article I will test the effect of the social norms index (hereafter referred to as SNI) on support for these candidates. The purpose is to discover whether social norms is the mechanism that helps explain support for pro- and anti-minority campaign appeals.

In addition to the Lucid samples collected in July 2018 and October-November 2018, I conducted a third study from January 31 – February 4, 2019 which consists of 1,039 respondents

(see previous article for descriptions of the past Lucid studies). Lucid constructs a nationally

representative sample by matching national census demographics based on age, gender,

ethnicity, Hispanic identification, and region.[39] Recent tests of the Lucid platform find that

demographic and experimental findings are similar to those using nationally representative

probability samples (Coppock and McClellan 2019). Appendix table B1 shows that each of the

samples are similar to the U.S. population on several key demographics.

The results in the previous article were reported as mean support for each candidate (and

neither candidate) across each treatment group in Republican and Democratic primary elections,

as well as general election formats. In addition to testing direct treatment effects, in this article I

conduct linear and logistic regression analysis. One benefit of this analysis is to analyze

predictors of support for candidates who utilize various prejudicial appeals and appeals to

equality. It is not enough to understand which messages voters respond to. We must also

understand who responds positively (though increased support for candidates using the

messages) and who respondent negatively (through decreased candidate support). An original

measure of norms, along with ideology, a racial resentment scale, and, when applicable, a

measure of party identification are included as covariates. All variables are coded on 0 to 1

scales.[40]

A secondary benefit of linear regression analysis is to ensure that imbalances in key

variables are not influencing treatment effects. While random assignment means that the

treatment variables are balanced in expectation,[41] conducting linear regression that includes

controls and a full list of treatment $\times$ covariate interaction terms ensures this is the case

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[39] Information obtained based on private correspondence with Lucid representative.
[40] See Appendix for more details on the construction of scales and coding of covariates.
[41] Imbalances between key variables are deemed insignificant by multiple chi-square tests.

conditional on all observed covariates, and while also ensuring that coefficient on the treatment

variable can be interpreted as the average treatment effect (Lin 2013).[42]

Measuring social norms

The cornerstone of much of the research on racial priming is the idea of social norms

guiding the use of racialized messages. Indeed, the very idea that explicit racial appeals should

be rejected is based on the assumption that a pervasive norm of equality has been developed in

the United States. Yet, to my knowledge, this theory has not been tested using any empirical

measure of social norms. This is particularly important because it is highly unlikely that every

individual in society adheres to one universal norm. A great deal of variation likely exists for two

important reasons. First, for a subset of society, moral codes will outweigh pressure from social

norms and play a larger role in guiding decision-making (Bicchieri 2017). Even if a norm of

inequality exists for a minority group, some people will always reject that norm because it is

counter to their moral codes. On the other end, some people will reject a norm of equality

because of their own moral codes. Second, the power of social norms comes from people's

expectation that most individuals in their *reference network* will follow, and believe they ought

to follow, those norms (Bicchieri 2017). So, it is our expectations of the behaviors of the people

we trust that matters rather than the expectation of society as a whole. Because each individual in

society has a different reference network and because some people are more strongly guided by

moral codes than others, there is likely to be variation in adherence to social norms.

One of the main reasons this theory has not been explicitly tested is because there are so

few empirical measurements of social norms, particularly those that measure adherence to

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[42] To test for imbalances, the Appendix includes regression models in which a wider assortment of covariates is included such as a racial resentment scale, old-fashioned racism scale, political ideology, education, gender, race, and type of residence (rural, urban, or suburban).

egalitarian norms that underly racial priming theory. Blinder, Ford, and Ivarsflaten (2013) use two questions – "I aim to be nonprejudiced towards immigrants due to my own convictions" and "I feel guilty when I have a negative thought about immigrants" to measure adherence to egalitarian norms. This is a valuable measurement, but the measure is obtrusive and likely does not accurately measure people's true feelings. It also only includes prejudice towards immigrants and no other minority groups. Social psychology studies ask respondents about the societal acceptability of prejudice directed towards various groups (e.g. Crandall, Eshleman, and O'Brien 2002), but this measure is not appropriate for understanding an individual's own adherence to norms.

To address this shortcoming, Lucid studies in October 2018, February 2019, and May 2019 include four vignette questions to measure adherence to egalitarian norms.[43] Each question presents respondents with a scenario in which an individual's behavior is potentially prejudicial. Respondents are then presented a 5-point Likert scale in which they judge the individual's behavior on a range from "completely unacceptable" (1) to "completely acceptable" (0), with lower scores indicating adhere to *egalitarian* norms while higher scores indicating adherence to *inegalitarian* norms. Respondents' answers to the four questions are then combined to create a unique measure of social norms I call the *social norms index* (SNI).

The four questions ask about behavior targeting Muslims, African Americans, Latinos, and immigrants. In each vignette, an individual's behavior references a stereotype (i.e. violence, laziness, foreignness, and criminality) and matches it with the salient group. For example, the vignette targeting African Americans involves the stereotype of laziness while the vignette targeting Muslims invokes the stereotype of violence.

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[43] See Appendix for complete question wording. Also included are factor analyses, Cronbach's alpha, correlation, and other statistical tests of the scale's validity.

The benefit of SNI is that it is a subtle measure which simply asks respondents to evaluate the behavior of others. This is key because the concept of a norm of equality is that the norm, when it has been internalized, provides an incentive for individuals to avoid appearing prejudiced even if they personally harbor prejudice. Thus, simply judging the behavior of others identifies how much, or how little, the norm of equality has been internalized by each respondent. If respondents believe the behavior to be acceptable, it is a proxy for adherence to inegalitarian norms. Conversely, believing the behavior to be unacceptable is a proxy for adherence to egalitarian norms.

Though four different groups are asked about, a series of statistical tests indicate high scale reliability suggesting that the index is measuring an underlying construct of adherence to norms of acceptable behavior and rhetoric targeting URM.[44] Three studies conducted on samples of more than 1,000 respondents returned Cronbach's alpha scores of 0.86, 086, and 0.88, respectively, indicating consistently high scale reliability. Another potential concern would be that the scale is too similar to other standard measures of racial attitudes such as the racial resentment or old-fashioned racism scales. As such, Table 1 presents correlations between the social norms index and these other constructs, in addition to party identification, ideology and Trump vote. These measures are aggregated across three Lucid surveys: October 2018, February 2019, and May 2019 and include 3,051 respondents. SNI is weakly correlated with Republican identification, conservativism, and support for Donald Trump. This is to be expected given the theoretical expectation that Republicans are less likely to adhere to egalitarian norms than are Democrats. Racial resentment and old-fashioned racism are more significantly correlated with SNI which is also to be expected. One would expect that those who are least likely to adhere to

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[44] See Appendix.

social norms of equality are also most likely to hold personally prejudicial beliefs as well.

However, given that the highest correlation is only 0.37, the social norms index is not the same

construct as either of these measures of racial animus.

Table 1. Pairwise correlation coefficients with the social norms index are displayed. Data comes

from Lucid surveys October 2018, February 2019, and May 2019.[45]

	Pairwise correlation coefficient	Significance level
Racial Resentment	0.26	$p < 0.00$
Old-Fashioned Racism	0.37	$p < 0.00$
Party ID [Republican]	0.18	$p < 0.00$
Ideology [Conservative]	0.06	$p < 0.01$
Trump Vote	0.21	$p < 0.00$

Source: Aggregated Lucid Surveys October 2018, February 2019, May 2019

Moreover, distribution of the scale provides evidence that norms vary by political party.

Figure 5 shows that a substantially higher percentage of Democratic respondents adhere to

egalitarian norms than Republicans. The mean score for Republican respondents is twelve

percentage points closer to inegalitarian than Democratic respondents.

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[45] See Appendix for pairwise correlations from each of the three Lucid samples. The results are similar to Table 1 for each measure.

Figure 5. Distribution of the social norms index by party (Democratic and Republican identifiers). The blue dotted line indicates the mean score for Democratic respondents and the red dotted line is the mean score for Republican respondents. Data comes from Lucid surveys October 2018, February 2019, and May 2019.[46]
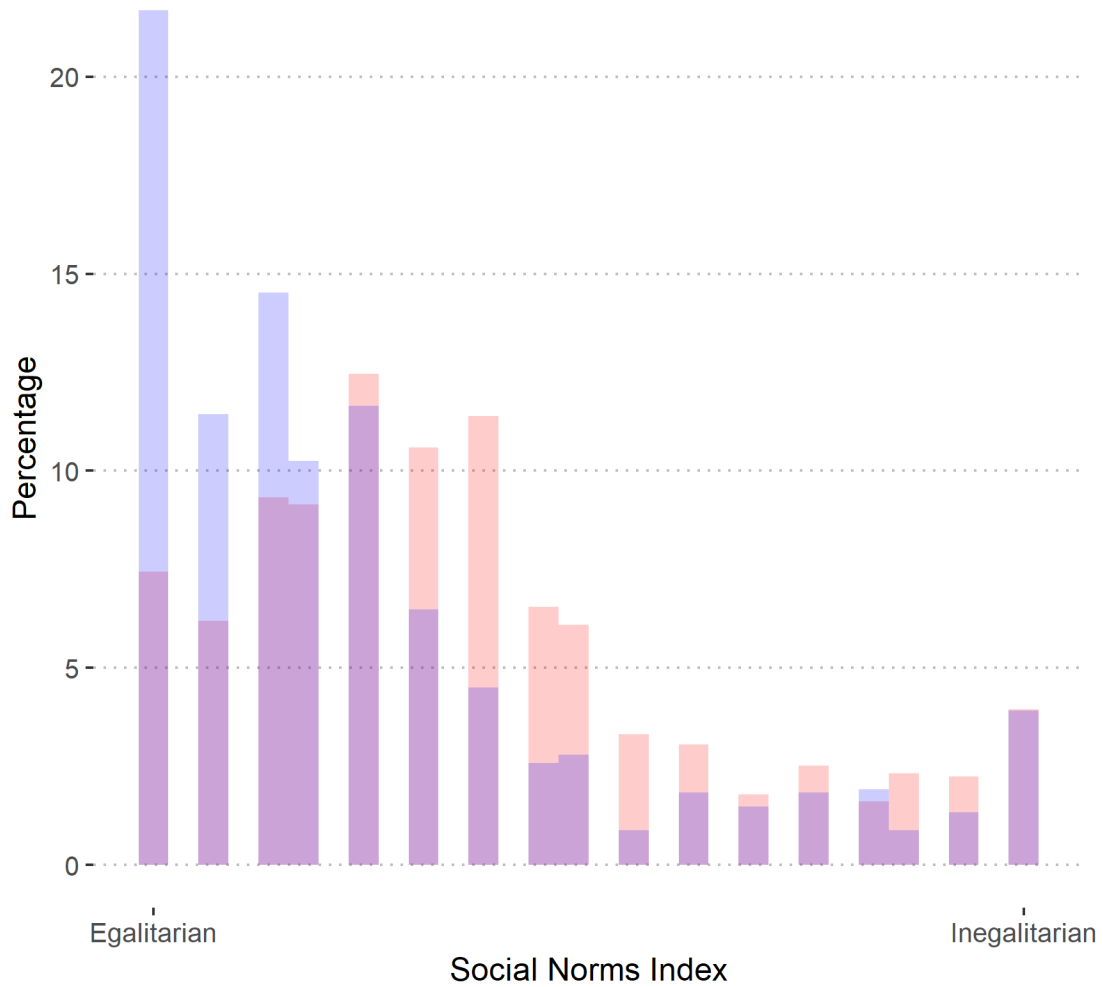
Source: Aggregate Lucid Surveys October 2018, February 2019, May 2019

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[46] See Appendix for distributions of the social norms index for overall samples and by party identification from each of the three Lucid samples. Distributions from each individual survey are similar to Figure 5.

To measure the proposed mechanism (social norms), the SNI is included as a covariate in the regression models used in the analysis. Blinder, Ford, and Ivarsflaten (2013) propose that political behavior is based on what they refer to as a "dual process." Essentially, the political choices made by an individual depend on, "both their personal level of motivation to control prejudice and the extent to which the contest of choice triggers this motivation" (842). I build upon that by measuring each individual's motivation to control their potential prejudice through the social norms index, and then present a series of election scenarios to see how people's internalization of social norms manifests in candidate choice and policy preferences.

<div align="center">Results</div>

Primary election results

The previous article showed direct treatment effects from a series of fictional candidate primary election scenarios. The results indicated that Republican respondents were supportive of GOP candidates who used explicitly anti-Mexican and ani-Muslim campaign appeals. Support for these candidates was substantially higher than for their opponents. However, Republicans were not supportive of the GOP candidate who used an explicitly anti-black appeal. The analysis in this section seeks to explain the different levels of candidate support using the social norms index.

Figure 6 presents results of logistic regressions that analyze the effect of covariates on support for the Republican primary candidates who utilized explicitly prejudicial appeals. In each of the three models, the dependent variable is a dummy variable in which 1 represents choosing to vote for the candidate who used the prejudicial appeal and 0 represents choosing *not* to vote for this candidate (either choosing the other candidate or neither candidate). The graphs

display the predicted probability of the social norms index (SNI) on candidate support for each of the three candidates, controlling for ideology.[47]

Figure 6. Predicted probabilities of Social Norms Index on support for the racial and non-racial candidates across three fictional Republican primary elections, controlling for ideology (Republican identifiers only). Data from Lucid survey October 31 – November 1, 2018.
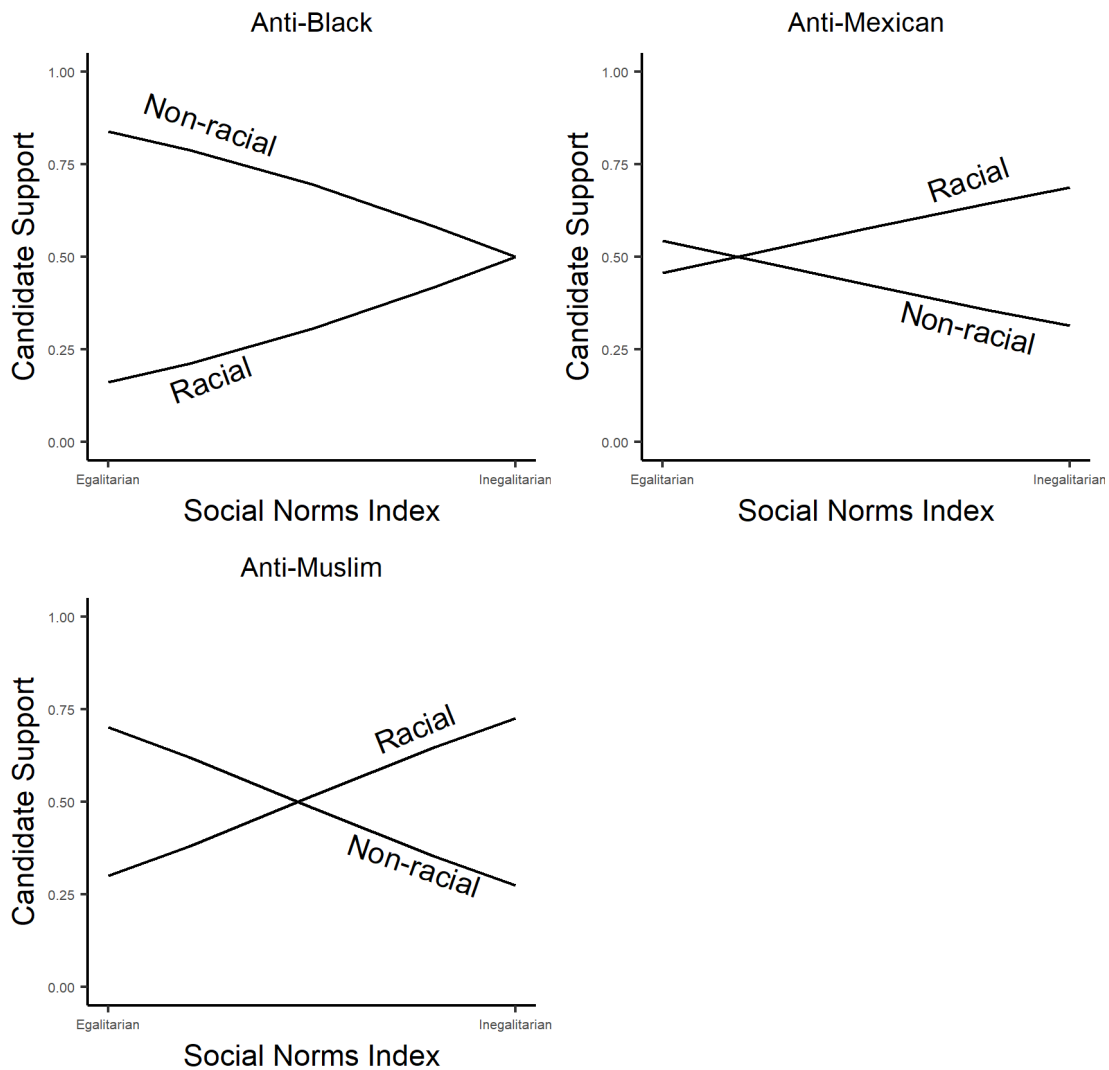
[47] See Appendix for full model results. In addition, see Appendix for a model with additional control variables. Covariates included in the models are a racial resentment scale, an old-fashioned racism scale, political ideology, and dummy variables for female, having a bachelor's degree, identifying as white, and living in a rural environment, as well as a full list of treatment × covariate interaction terms.

Inegalitarian norms predict an increase in support for all three candidates. Moving from most egalitarian to most *in*egalitarian on the SNI leads to a 42 percentage point increase in likelihood of voting for the anti-Muslim candidate, controlling for ideology and racial resentment. Republicans who are most egalitarian are only 30% likely to support the candidate while those who subscribe to the most inegalitarian norms are roughly 72% likely to support the candidate. Moving from egalitarian to inegalitarian norms predicts a 15 percentage point increase in support for the anti-Mexican candidate and a 28 percentage point increase for the anti-black candidate. Interestingly, Republicans who subscribe to egalitarian norms are unlikely to vote for the anti-Muslim and anti-black candidates but have a roughly 48% likelihood of voting for the anti-Mexican candidate. This result needs to be further interrogated as it relies on a relative low sample size. Only about six percent of Republican respondents subscribe to full egalitarian norms.

The results from Figure 6 indicate that adherence social norms explain why individuals accept or reject explicit appeals to prejudice and the candidates who use these appeals. Relatively low levels of support for the anti-black candidate among respondents on both ends of the SNI explain why explicit anti-black appeals are not as effective in garnering support for candidates as are explicitly anti-Mexican and anti-Muslim appeals.

In addition to group differentiation, the theory of differential norms posits that Democrats and Republicans should react differently to racial appeals. In the same Lucid survey conducted October 31 – November 1, 2018, Democratic identifiers were asked to "vote" in a series of fictional Democratic primaries. The results, discussed in article 1, indicated that Democratic respondents are supportive of Democratic candidates who use explicitly pro-black, pro-Latino, and pro-Muslim campaign appeals. Support for these candidates were substantially higher than

that of their opponents. The analysis conducted in this section seeks to explain the high levels of

support for candidates who advocate for minority groups using the SNI.

Figure 7 displays predicted probabilities of the SNI on support for each of the racial and

non-racial Democratic candidates. The results come from logistic regression models which

control for ideology.[48] Similar to figure 6, the dependent variable in these models is a dummy

variable in which 1 represents choosing to vote for the candidate who used the pro-minority

appeal (racial candidate) and 0 represents choosing *not* to vote for this candidate (either choosing

the other candidate or neither candidate). Across each of the three primary election scenarios,

predicted support among Democrats who most adhere to egalitarian norms is above 70 percent.

Predicted support for these same candidates drops below 50 percent among Democrats who most

adhere to inegalitarian norms. Indeed, predicted support for the non-racial opponents surpasses

support for the pro-Latino and pro-Muslim candidates among the most inegalitarian Democrats.

Thus, adherence to norms helps explain why candidates who overtly signal their support for

minority groups receive high levels of electoral support from Democratic voters. If adherence to

egalitarian norms was lower among the Democratic base, these candidates would likely receive

much lower levels of voter support. Moreover, the results provide evidence that racial appeals

function much differently by party.

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[48] See Appendix for full model results. In addition, see Appendix for a model with additional control variables.
Covariates included in the models are a racial resentment scale, an old-fashioned racism scale, political ideology,
and dummy variables for female, having a bachelor's degree, identifying as white, and living in a rural environment,
as well as a full list of treatment × covariate interaction terms.

Figure 7. Predicted probabilities of Social Norms Index on support for the racial and non-racial candidates across three fictional Democratic primary elections, controlling for ideology (Democratic identifiers only). Data from Lucid survey October 31 – November 1, 2018.
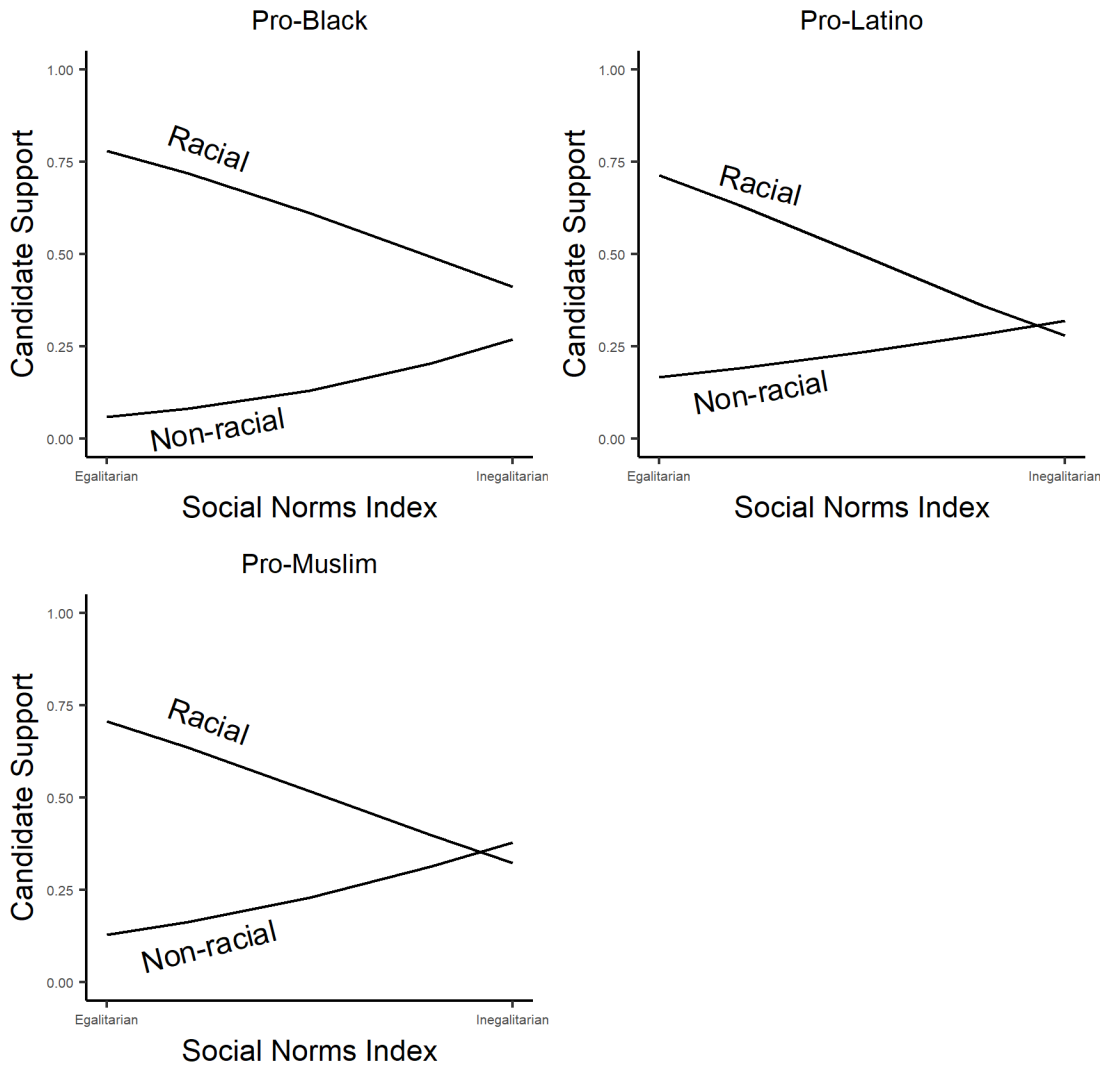
General election results

In addition to primary elections, article 1 showed mean support for Republican and Democratic candidates in a series of fictional general election matchups. In each election, the Republican candidates used either an anti-black, anti-Mexican, or anti-Muslim campaign appeal.

These candidates were matched up against a Democrat who used either a pro-black, pro-Latino, or pro-Muslim appeal, or did not use any pro-minority appeal. The anti-black Republican candidate received a substantially lower proportion of the vote from the full sample and from Republican respondents. Figure 8 seeks to explain the difference in support using the SNI. Figure 8 displays predicted probabilities of the SNI on support for the anti-black, anti-Mexican, and anti-Muslim general election candidates. The results come from logistic regression models which control for party and ideology.[49] Similar to the models in the primary election contexts, the dependent variable in these models is a dummy variable in which 1 represents choosing to vote for the prejudicial candidate and 0 represents choosing *not* to vote for this candidate (either choosing the other candidate or neither candidate).

Similar to the primary election races, Figure 8 shows that social norms have a strong effect on candidate support across all three GOP candidates. Moving from most egalitarian to most *in*egalitarian leads to a 43 percentage point increase in likelihood of voting for the anti-Muslim candidate, controlling for ideology and racial resentment. Those who are most egalitarian are only 19% likely to support the candidate while those who subscribe to the most inegalitarian norms are roughly 63% likely to support for the candidate. Moving from egalitarian to inegalitarian norms has similarly large effects on likelihood of supporting the anti-Mexican and anti-black candidates of 38 percentage points and 25 percentage points, respectively. Respondents who adhere to egalitarian norms have a similar likelihood of supporting all three candidates, but those who subscribe to inegalitarian norms are least likely to support the anti-black candidate relative to the anti-Mexican and anti-Muslim candidates. The decrease in support

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[49] See Appendix for full model results. In addition, see Appendix for a model with additional control variables. Covariates included in the models are a racial resentment scale, an old-fashioned racism scale, political ideology, and dummy variables for female, having a bachelor's degree, identifying as white, and living in a rural environment, as well as a full list of treatment × covariate interaction terms.

for the anti-black candidate among the most inegalitarian respondents explains why this

candidate receives a substantially lower proportion of the vote than the other GOP candidates.

Figure 8. Marginal effects of the Social Norms Index on support for the anti-Mexican, anti-Muslim, and anti-black candidates, controlling for ideology among all respondents. Data from Lucid survey October 31 – November 1, 2018.
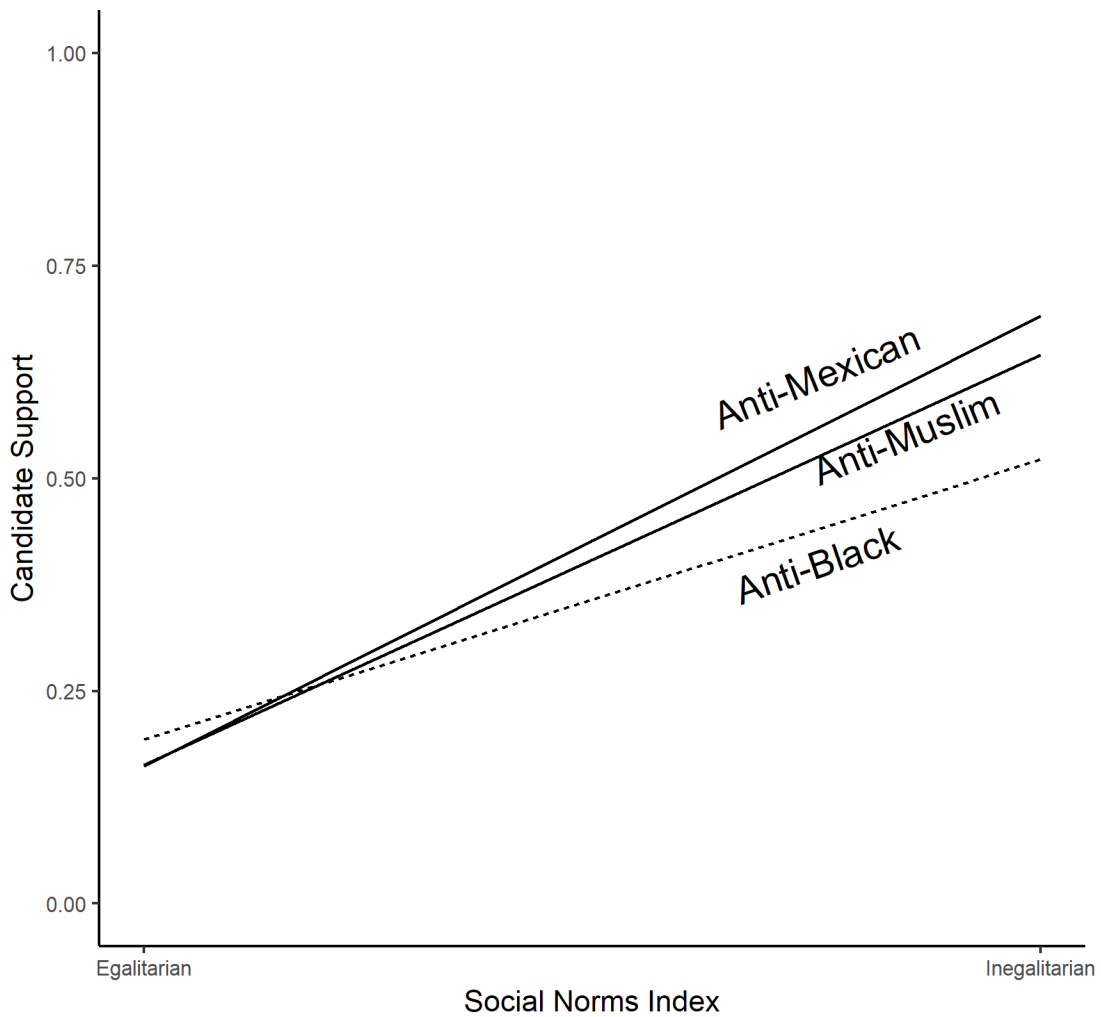
Non-partisan elections

The results so far have demonstrated that Republican voters at the national level are supportive of candidates who use particular prejudicial campaign messaging (i.e. messaging that targets Muslims and Mexicans) and Democratic voters are supportive of candidates who advocate for the interests of URM. The reason Republican and Democratic identifiers are not shown the same campaign appeals in these experiments is that in real national elections, Republican candidates are much more likely to use prejudicial messaging while Democratic candidates are much more likely to use pro-minority campaign appeals.

It is possible, however, that if given the opportunity, Democratic voters may also be supportive of candidates who use explicitly prejudicial campaign appeals. This conjecture would have to be tested in a non-partisan election or in some format in which respondents did not receive partisan cues. As such, I collected a sample of 1,220 adult U.S. residents from August 24-25, 2017 using Amazon's Mechanical Turk (hereafter referred to as MTurk).

MTurk has been criticized due to its opt-in nature but it provides several advantages to this study. Recent research has demonstrated that treatment effects from MTurk studies are comparable to those found in nationally representative surveys (Mullinix, Leeper, Druckman, and Freese 2015, Buhrmester, Kwang, and Gosling 2011). Studies of MTurk respondents also indicate that they are more representative of the population than other convenience samples (Huff and Tingley 2015, Buhrmester et al. 2011). Some scholars have argued that the selection process used by MTurk invalidates studies of many of the central political science topics. However, recent work by Clifford, Jewell, and Waggoner (2015) show that liberals and conservatives in MTurk samples "closely mirror" those in the mass public. The results of their

study indicate that MTurk is a valid tool for recruitment of survey participants for questions regarding political ideology.

In this study, respondents were randomly assigned to one of three experimental conditions. Each group was shown a biography of a fictional candidate running for a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives and then asked how likely they would be to vote for the candidate. The biography describes Mark Williams as a moderate who wants to "rebuild crumbling infrastructure" and "bring jobs back to the district". Each treatment group reads the biography with one of the following explicit appeals added in: "Candidate Williams will work hard to protect the community by increasing spending for law enforcement to crack down on…" (1) "violent Muslim extremists", (2) "violent illegal immigrant gangs", or (3) "violent black crime". Then, respondents in each treatment group answer a series of questions about Mark Williams to gauge support for the candidate.

Figure 9 compares mean support for candidate Mark Williams across all three treatment groups. Candidate Williams garnered more than 50 percent of the overall vote when using an explicitly anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim appeal. However, when using an explicitly anti-black appeal, support dropped to only 20 percent. Respondents have a clear preference for explicitly anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim messaging over explicitly anti-black rhetoric. The results are further evidence of differing levels of acceptable rhetoric for various societal groups, providing additional support for the theory of differential norms.

Figure 9. Mean support for candidate Mark Williams across all three treatment groups. Data comes from Amazon's Mechanical Turk survey conducted August 24-25, 2017.
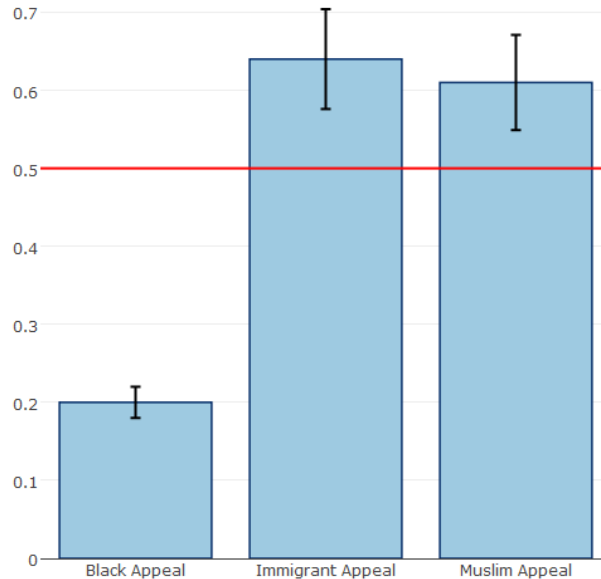
Figure 10 then examines mean support for Mark Williams across treatment groups and by party identification. As we would expect, Republican identifiers are highly supportive of the candidate when he uses explicitly anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim campaign appeals (above 75 percent support in both treatment conditions). When the candidate uses an anti-black message, support for the candidate drops by about 25 percentage points among Republicans, though support does remain just above 50 percent. Interestingly, Democratic identifiers are also supportive of the candidate in the anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim treatment conditions with slightly above 50 percent support in both instances. This shows that Democrats may be supportive of explicitly prejudicial candidates. Support for the candidate in the anti-black scenario drops precipitously to around 15 percentage points among Democrats. More work needs to be done to understand the conditions under which Democrats would support candidates who use prejudicial campaign appeals.

Figure 10. Mean support for candidate Mark Williams across all three treatment groups among Democrats, Independents, and Republicans. Data comes from Amazon's Mechanical Turk survey conducted August 24-25, 2017.
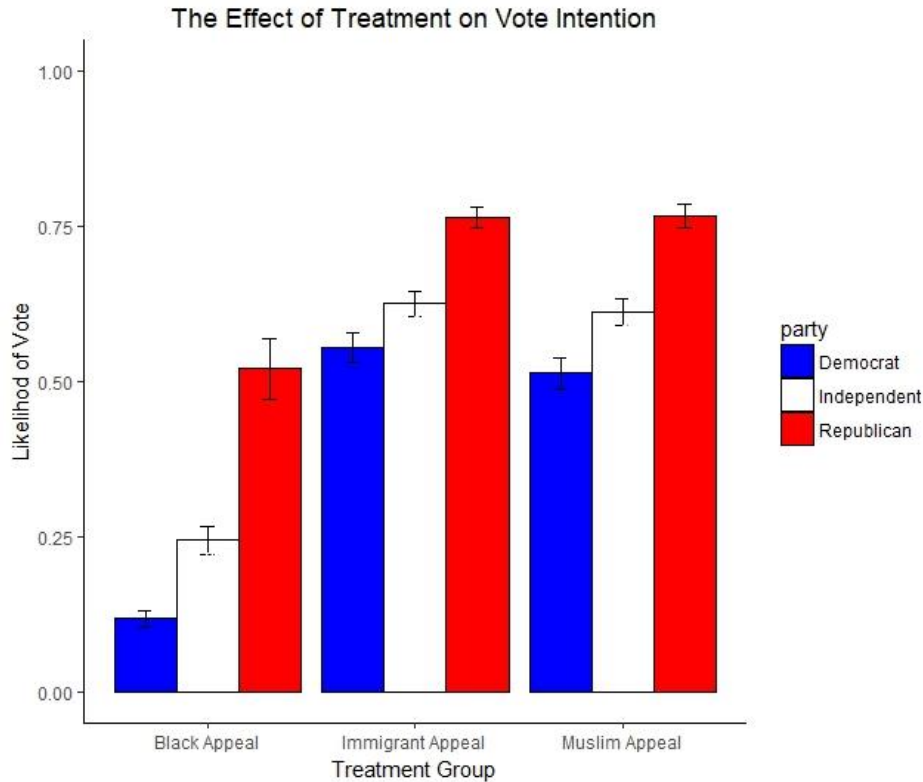
Conclusion

We currently live in a political climate in which salient minority groups are being targeted more explicitly, and the major political parties are more polarized than ever before. Appeals to prejudice are increasingly prominent in the political system and, due to differential norms and two-way information flows, these appeals are increasingly explicit. Meanwhile, pro-minority appeals from Democratic elites have become more prevalent.

The *theory of differential norms* helps us understand this phenomenon by showing that norms of acceptable rhetoric vary by group and party. Experimental results provide evidence for this theory, showing that Republicans are substantially more supportive of candidates who

overtly derogate Muslims and Mexicans, than candidates who explicitly appeal to anti-black sentiments. The results hold across primary and general elections. Moreover, respondents who adhere to inegalitarian norms are substantially more likely to support candidates who utilize explicit prejudice than those who adhere to egalitarian norms. Consistent with past scholarship on racial priming, the empirical evidence provided in this study show that social norms are the mechanism which determine whether racial and prejudicial appeals are accepted or rejected. There is also evidence that Republicans and Democrats are guided by different sets of norms given that Republicans are supportive of candidates using appeals to prejudice, while Democrats are supportive of candidates using appeals to equality.

The norm of equality, though superficially held, appears to be dictating norms of acceptable rhetoric towards African Americans. However, this norm has not yet been created for Latinos and Muslims. Moving forward, racial priming literature will have to contend with differential norms in determining the effects of racial appeals and understanding the changing racial environment. It is important to note than this norm can be developed. Mendelberg (2001) noted that norms are not fixed, but rather "they respond to social and political conditions." (p. 29). Norms regarding Muslims and Latinos can also change to become more equal.

However, even as norms shift towards equality for some groups, it is unclear in this sharply polarized environment how the development of a norm of equality will impact Republican rhetoric. It used to be that development of a norm of equality for a social group (e.g. the norm of equality created regarding African Americans) helped dictate the rhetoric both parties used. With the parties as far apart as they have ever been, a new norm of equality for some groups may not extend to the American Right.

Moreover, though Republicans remain less supportive of explicitly anti-black messages, and politicians who use them face public censure, it appears this norm of equality may be destabilizing. Negative media articles about black Americans were more prevalent in 2016 than other recent election years (Valentino, Newburg, and Neuner 2018). In addition, recent survey data shows that Republicans find the n-word less offensive than they did ten years ago (Tesler 2018). The results of this study suggest that Republican voters are not supportive of candidates who are overtly anti-black. However, given the direction of public opinion and growing racial resentment among the American Right, this may change in the near future.

There are important limitations to the evidence provided in support of the theory of differential norms. First, the results of the MTurk study show that there are instances in which Democrats are also supportive of candidates who utilize appeals to prejudice. When given the opportunity it is possible that Democrats will also accept appeals to prejudice. However, the MTurk study did not include an opponent so it is unclear whether Democratic respondents would have chosen to vote for candidate Williams if given another option. Second, the Democratic candidate who did *not* use a pro-minority appeal garnered the highest vote across all general election matchups, more than any of the candidates who used pro-minority appeals. Thus, even though candidates who explicitly signal support for minority groups are likely to be favored in primaries, these candidates may not be as well suited for general elections. Though there are important limitations, the results from this study provide strong evidence in favor of the theory of differential norms and to the power of social norms in determining the effectiveness of anti- and pro-minority campaign messaging.

Future research can push these findings in new directions, focusing on geographic variation, message type, and respondents' racial views. The findings presented above are from a

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nationally representative sample, which suggests that these results are likely to hold for national level races. However, there is a great deal of geographic variation in ideologies, preferences, and racial attitudes—even within the two major political parties. It is likely that the power of differential norms depends on geographic, candidate, and temporal context. Future studies can work to understanding racialized messaging strategies and electoral temptations at more localized levels, with a variety of messages, varying candidate traits, and in different elections.

Moreover, the evidence presented in this study identifies partisan identity as an important cleavage within which norms function differently. There are other important cleavages which have not been explored such as racial and gender identity. The distribution of the SNI provides some evidence that norms may function differently by racial and gender identity, especially when interacted with partisan identity. For example, Democratic women are 23 percentage points more egalitarian than Republican men, much larger than the difference between Democrats and Republicans. Though sample sizes are small, the difference between black female Democrats and white male Republicans is even larger. Future work can interrogate these differences and analyze the differential effect of pro- and anti-minority campaign appeals by race, gender, and party.

Appendix Table B1. Summary Statistics of the Lucid January 31 – February 1, 2019 sample.

	Democrats	Republicans	Full Sample	U.S. Pop.
Age	44.6	48.5	45.8	37.9
Bachelor's	49.1%	50.3%	48.8%	30.3%
Female	55.4%	51.4%	51.2%	50.8%
White	62.4%	85.9%	73.2%	60.7%
Black	19.6%	4.1%	11.4%	13.4%
Hispanic	16.3%	10.0%	13.0%	18.1%
AAPI	4.8%	4.1%	5.0%	6.0%
Northeast	22.3%	12.7%	19.4%	17.3%
Midwest	17.5%	21.2%	18.0%	20.9%
South	36.8%	44.7%	40.0%	38.0%
West	23.3%	21.5%	22.7%	23.8%

Appendix Table B2. Summary Statistics of the Lucid May 29 - 30, 2019 sample.

	Democrats	Republicans	Full Sample	U.S. Pop.
Age	42.1	46.3	43.3	37.9
Bachelor's	40.3%	37.1%	35.7%	30.3%
Female	56.5%	43.0%	51.8%	50.8%
White	56.6%	84.3%	70.2%	60.7%
Black	23.4%	3.6%	13.4%	13.4%
Hispanic	17.2%	11.0%	13.2%	18.1%
AAPI	4.3%	3.1%	3.5%	6.0%
Northeast	20.7%	17.5%	19.1%	17.3%
Midwest	19.5%	18.6%	19.2%	20.9%
South	37.0%	39.6%	38.0%	38.0%
West	22.3%	24.4%	23.8%	23.8%

Appendix B3. Question wording for all four vignettes that constitute the social norms index.

Question 1

Darren Smith is a middle manager at an accounting firm and has been working at the firm for nearly 8 years. One part of Darren's job is to supervise the new interns for the accounting firm. While Darren usually likes the interns, he does not like a new intern named Miguel. Darren regularly throws away Miguel's leftover food in the break-room fridge, claiming that "Miguel's food is greasy and smells up the fridge."

When thinking about this behavior, how acceptable or unacceptable do you find Darren's behavior to be?

Question 2

One day you overhear Brian and Mark having a discussion. Brian says, "Antoine told me that at the grocery store yesterday a security guard kept following him because he's black." Mark grimaced, "Antoine is always playing the race card."

When thinking about this behavior, how acceptable or unacceptable do you find Mark's behavior to be?

Question 3

As you are walking through your neighborhood one day, you see two high school students, one white and one black. The two are talking in raised voices as if having an argument. The white student says, "It's not your fault, laziness is just a trait among you people."

When thinking about this behavior, how acceptable or unacceptable do you find the behavior to be?

<u>Question 4</u>

You are talking to two of your friends one day. Your friend says that he is nervous about the Muslim family that moved in up the street. "Something needs to be done about the terrorism problem in America," he says, "I shouldn't need to be afraid of my kids playing outside in my own neighborhood."

When thinking about this behavior, how acceptable or unacceptable do you find the behavior to be?

Appendix B4. Scale reliability tests of the social norms index. Cronbach's alpha scores and pairwise correlation coefficients are displayed. Data comes from Lucid survey October 31 – November 1, 2018, Lucid survey January 31 – February 4, 2019, and Lucid survey May 29 – 30, 2019.

Cronbach's alpha = 0.86

	Pairwise correlation coefficient	Significance level
Racial Resentment	0.25	$p < 0.00$
Old-Fashioned Racism	0.36	$p < 0.00$
Party ID [Republican]	0.22	$p < 0.00$
Ideology [Conservative]	0.04	$p = 0.18$
Trump Vote	0.22	$p < 0.00$

Source: Lucid Survey October 2018

Cronbach's alpha = 0.86

	Pairwise correlation coefficient	Significance level
Racial Resentment	0.30	$p < 0.00$
Old-Fashioned Racism	0.39	$p < 0.00$
Party ID [Republican]	0.16	$p < 0.00$
Ideology [Conservative]	0.14	$p < 0.00$
Trump Vote	0.20	$p < 0.00$

Source: Lucid Survey February 2019

Cronbach's alpha = 0.88

	Pairwise correlation coefficient	Significance level
Racial Resentment	0.24	$p < 0.00$
Old-Fashioned Racism	0.37	$p < 0.00$
Party ID [Republican]	0.16	$p < 0.00$
Ideology [Conservative]	0.01	$p = 0.61$
Trump Vote	0.21	$p < 0.00$

Source: Lucid Survey May 2019

Appendix Figure B5. Distribution of the social norms index. The blue dotted line indicates the

sample mean. Data comes from aggregated Lucid surveys October 2018, February 2019, and

May 2019.

Distribution of Social Norms Index
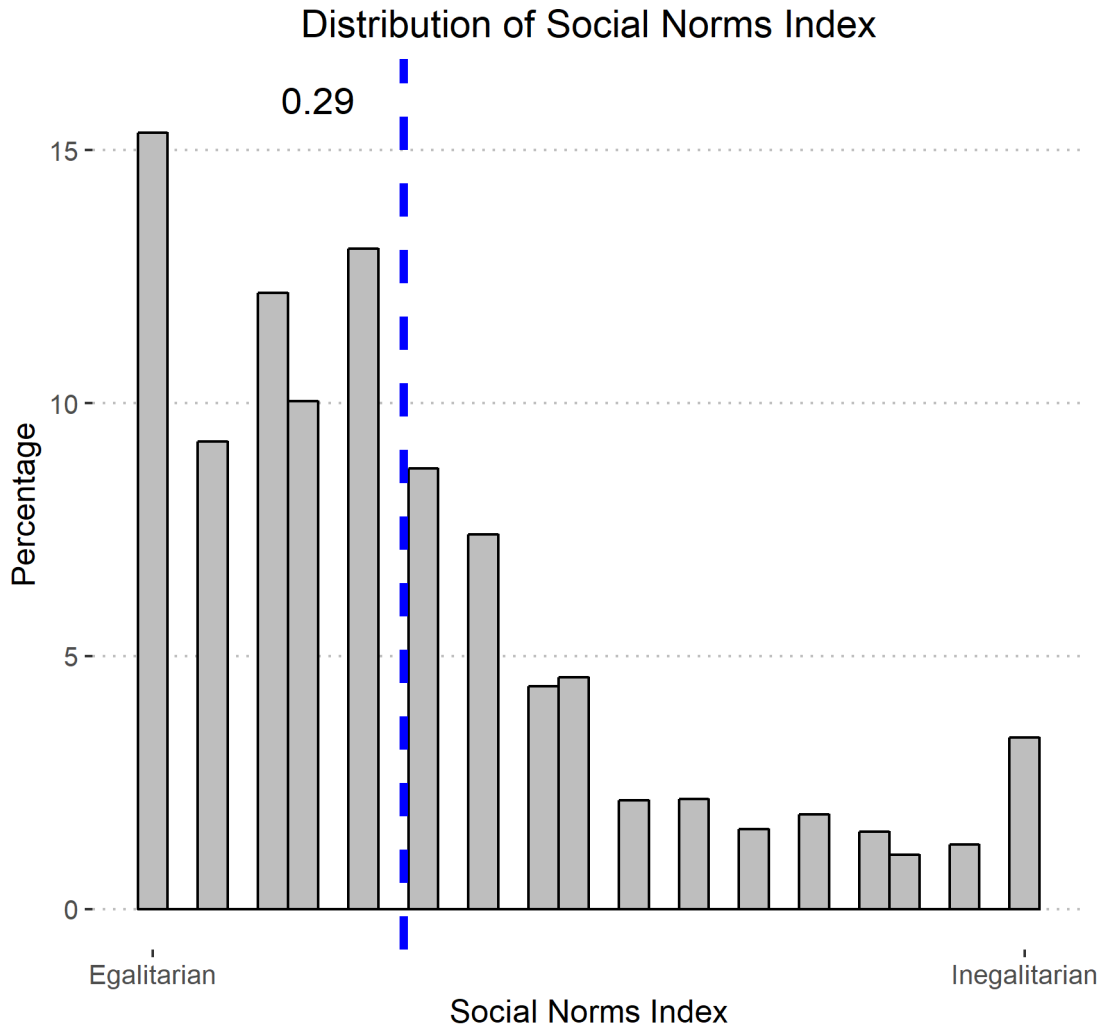
Source: Aggregate Lucid Surveys October 2018, February 2019, May 2019

Appendix Figure B6. Distribution of the social norms index. The blue dotted line indicates the

sample mean. Data comes from Lucid survey October 31 – November 1, 2018.
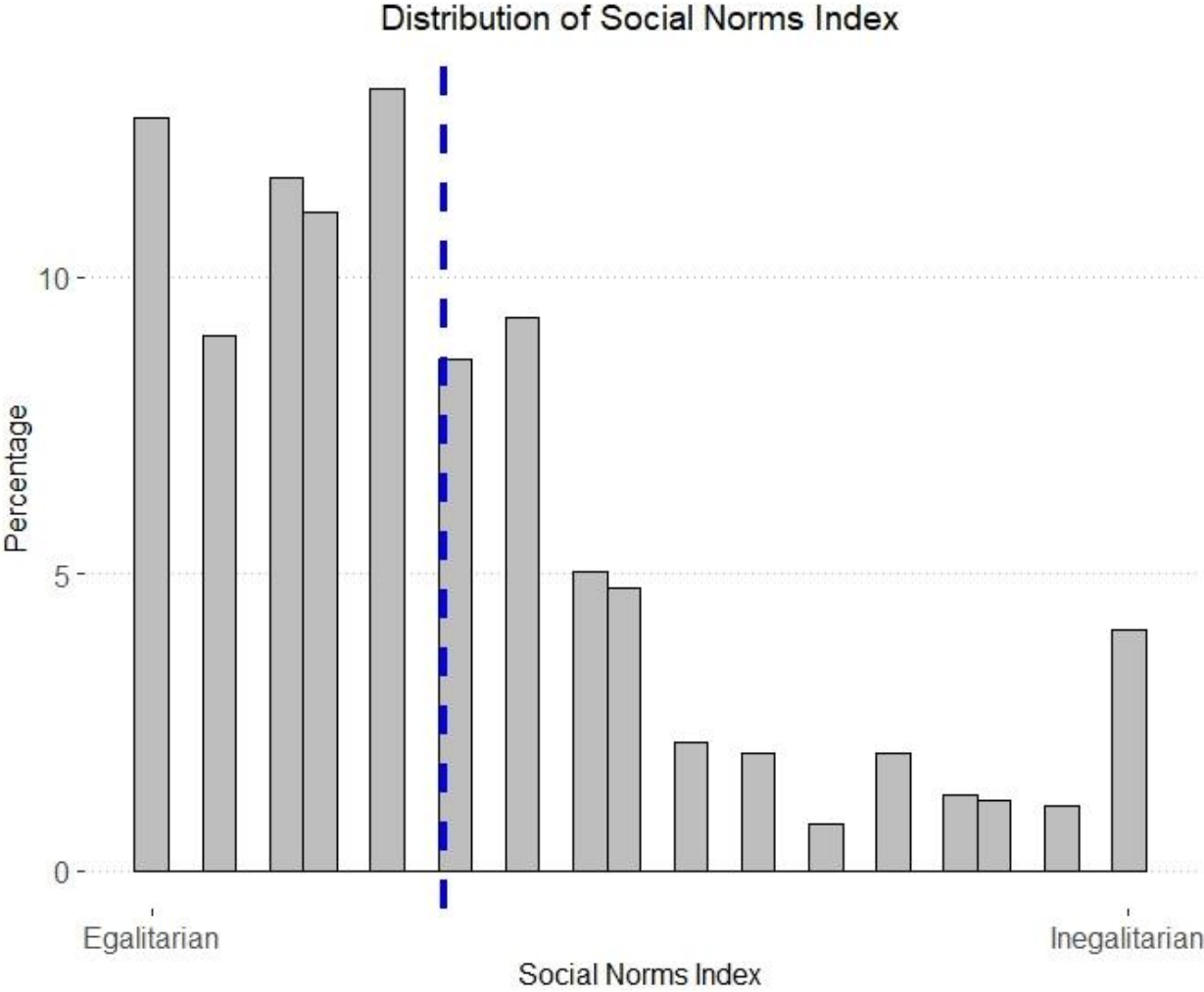
Appendix Table B7. Full regression results for all three of the fictional Republican primary elections. Data comes from Lucid survey July 10-11, 2018.

<u>Anti-black primary election</u>

	Dependent variable: Candidate Support	
	Racial	Non-racial
	(1)	(2)
Ideology	-1.21* (0.58)	1.21* (0.58)
Social Norms Index	1.64** (0.57)	-1.64** (0.57)
Constant	-0.87+ (0.47)	0.87+ (0.47)
Observations	236	236
Log Likelihood	-129.19	-129.19
Akaike Inf. Crit.	264.38	264.38
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001	

<u>Anti-Mexican primary election</u>

	Dependent variable: Candidate Support	
	Racial	Non-racial
	(1)	(2)
Ideology	0.73 (0.54)	-0.73 (0.54)
Social Norms Index	0.96+ (0.56)	-0.96+ (0.56)
Constant	-0.64 (0.46)	0.64 (0.46)
Observations	235	235
Log Likelihood	-160.22	-160.22
Akaike Inf. Crit.	326.45	326.45
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001	

Anti-Muslim primary election

	Dependent variable: Candidate Support	
	Racial	Non-racial
	(1)	(2)
Ideology	0.69 (0.50)	-0.69 (0.50)
Social Norms Index	1.82*** (0.53)	-1.82*** (0.53)
Constant	-1.29** (0.43)	1.29** (0.43)
Observations	240	240
Log Likelihood	-158.56	-158.56
Akaike Inf. Crit.	323.12	323.12
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001	

Appendix Table B8. Full regression results for all three of the fictional Democratic primary

elections. Data comes from Lucid survey July 10-11, 2018.

<u>Pro-black primary election</u>

	Dependent variable: Candidate Support	
	Racial	Non-racial
	(1)	(2)
Ideology	-2.32*** (0.58)	1.73* (0.77)
Social Norms Index	-1.63** (0.55)	1.78* (0.72)
Constant	2.15*** (0.34)	-3.45*** (0.50)
Observations	268	268
Log Likelihood	-153.97	-82.43
Akaike Inf. Crit.	313.94	170.86
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001	

<u>Pro-Latinx primary election</u>

	Dependent variable: Candidate Support	
	Racial	Non-racial
	(1)	(2)
Ideology	-1.87*** (0.51)	0.86 (0.57)
Social Norms Index	-0.36 (0.53)	0.06 (0.63)
Constant	1.00*** (0.26)	-1.63*** (0.31)
Observations	272	272
Log Likelihood	-179.42	-141.12
Akaike Inf. Crit.	364.84	288.24
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001	

Pro-Muslim primary election

	Dependent variable: Candidate Support	
	Racial	Non-racial
	(1)	(2)
Ideology	-1.69** (0.52)	2.04*** (0.61)
Social Norms Index	-1.61** (0.55)	1.42* (0.62)
Constant	1.53*** (0.29)	-2.71*** (0.37)
Observations	262	262
Log Likelihood	-164.17	-118.62
Akaike Inf. Crit.	334.33	243.24
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001	

Appendix Table B9. Full regression results for the general election results. Data comes from Lucid survey October 31 – November 1, 2019.

	Dependent variable: Candidate Support		
	Anti-Black Cand.	Anti-Mexican Cand.	Anti-Muslim Cand.
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Social Norms Index	0.33*** (0.05)	0.48*** (0.05)	0.53*** (0.05)
Ideology	0.33*** (0.04)	0.32*** (0.05)	0.37*** (0.05)
Constant	0.03 (0.03)	0.002 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)
Observations	869	870	870
R^2	0.11	0.13	0.16
Adjusted R^2	0.10	0.13	0.16
Residual Std. Error	0.38 (df = 866)	0.41 (df = 867)	0.41 (df = 867)
F Statistic	50.93*** (df = 2; 866)	65.62*** (df = 2; 867)	82.06*** (df = 2; 867)
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001		

VIOLATING SOCIAL NORMS: COUNTERING EXPLICITLY PREJUDICIAL CAMPAIGN MESSAGING

Abstract

The prevalence of explicitly prejudicial rhetoric in U.S. politics has increased in recent years. Overt prejudice harms society in numerous ways by causing racially charged elections, increasing political polarization, enflaming interracial tensions, inciting violence, and contributing to fear, anxiety, and deteriorating physical health of the communities being targeted. An increasingly essential question in American politics is; what are effective strategies to neutralize the effects of overt prejudice? This article conceptualizes and tests four strategies to do just that. Results show that bi-partisan condemnation and an anti-racist counterstrategy from Democrats are potentially useful strategies, while raising awareness of the harmful effects of such rhetoric and media condemnations have limited impact. Each of these avenues have drawbacks and feasibility concerns but serve as an important starting place for developing a framework for countering explicitly prejudicial campaign messaging.

<center>Introduction</center>

"I think the president is using language that emboldens them. He's not creating them. They're out there. That kind of language from the person who probably has the loudest microphone on the planet Earth is hurtful and dangerous and it tends to incite violence."
– Tim Kaine[50]

During his 2016 presidential campaign, Donald Trump made numerous hostile comments about groups such as Muslims, Mexicans, and immigrants. He evoked terrorism and violence when talking about Muslims and criminality and illegality when targeting Mexicans and immigrants. Explicitly prejudicial rhetoric has only increased in the years since his election. Moreover, as Democrats and Republicans, both at the elite and voter levels, become increasingly polarized on race, it seems unlikely that explicit appeals will abate any time soon. Overt prejudice targeting minority groups seems likely to remain a prominent characteristic of U.S. politics for years to come.

There are several important consequences of this rise in prejudicial speech. Firstly, general elections are increasingly pitting candidates against each other who are strongly polarized on race, leading to a more explosive brand of politics. Recent scholarship has demonstrated that public perceptions of the parties being polarized on race and racial issues is an important contributor to growing affective polarization (Valentino and Zhirkov 2018), contributing to dislike for the opposing party being at its highest ever levels (Iyengar, Sood, and Lelkes 2012). The erosion of civility, respect, and trust among the public and in politics, as well as prospects for bi-partisanship, is at least partially due to the racially charged nature of U.S. politics.

Second, overtly prejudicial campaign rhetoric is having a snowball effect in the public. Appeals to prejudice activate anti-minority sentiment among many in the American public.

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[50] https://www.politico.com/story/2019/03/17/kaine-trump-white-nationalists-klobuchar-1224199.

Schaffner (2018) finds that people who are exposed to overtly prejudicial campaign messaging are significantly more likely to use similar words and messages. People who were exposed to Trump's prejudicial remarks became more likely to make similarly hostile comments targeting not just the groups Trump targeted, but other identity groups as well. As Tim Kaine put it, Trump "has the loudest microphone on the planet Earth" and when he uses his pulpit to attack minority groups, he influences others to do the same. The prevalence of incendiary speech serves as an indicator that it is acceptable for people to be overtly hostile towards groups they dislike. In other words, it helps further shift norms of acceptable rhetoric away from equality.

Prejudicial rhetoric also has detrimental implications for society above and beyond the scope of campaigns and elections. Brenton Harrison Tarrant, a white supremacist who killed 50 people after opening fire at a mosque in New Zealand called Trump "a symbol of renewed white identity and common purpose."[51] More recently, Trump released a video associating Ilhan Omar, one of two Muslim American women in Congress, with the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001.[52] After the release of the video, death threats against Omar have increased and a man was charged with threatening to kill her because of her Muslim faith.[53]

Not only does prejudicial speech impact norms of acceptable political rhetoric, it may also influence behavior. Prejudicial rhetoric is leading to an increase in hate crimes as people become more boldened to act on prejudicial ideas. Data from the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) found that hate crimes targeting the groups that Trump attacked during his election campaign have surged since he took office (McCarthy 2017). Moreover, Feinberg, Branton, and

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[51] https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/03/18/state-nation-alleged-white-supremacist-killer-finds-inspiration-trump/?utm_term=.55537fc6538a.

[52] https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/04/13/president-trump-targets-rep-ilhan-omar-with-video-twin-towers-burning/?utm_term=.f8bc1b16f916.

[53] https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2019/apr/16/ilhan-omar-congresswoman-receives-death-threats-trump-911-tweet-video.

Martinez-Ebers (2019) found that counties that hosted a Trump campaign rally during the 2016 presidential election saw, on average, a 226 percent increase in hate crimes. It appears that overtly prejudicial campaign rhetoric can lead to violent consequences.

Finally, the health of schools and communities are being threatened. A report released by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) titled "The Trump Effect" demonstrated that campaign rhetoric from the 2016 GOP primary was "producing an alarming level of fear and anxiety among children of color and inflaming racial and ethnic tensions in the classroom" (4).[54] Many students were worried about being deported or having a family member deported. Others were emboldened by the rhetoric and lashed out at people whose identities were under attack by the Trump campaign, thereby stoking racial animosity. Another study which examined the effect of political rhetoric on the emotional responses of Mexican American youth found that exposure to hostile messages increased stress levels, worsened people's self-image and sense of well-being, and even lead to deterioration in physical health (Chavez, Campos, Corona, Sanchez, and Ruiz 2019). The effects of political rhetoric are not merely ensconced in a given election or policy debate. The impact is felt throughout the country in our communities, schools, and homes.

As such, an increasingly important questions in American politics is: what are effective strategies to counter, or neutralize, explicitly prejudicial rhetoric? This article attempts to answer this question. First, I review existing scholarship on norms transformation and countering prejudice. Building from existing scholarship, I propose four strategies that can be used to neutralize explicitly prejudicial campaign rhetoric. I test these strategies using a series of original

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[54] Costello, Maureen B. (Apr. 13, 2016). "The Trump Effect: The Impact of the Presidential Campaign on Our Nation's Schools." *Southern Poverty Law Center.* Retrieved from https://www.splcenter.org/20160413/trump-effect-impact-presidential-campaign-our-nations-schools.

survey experiments and present the results. The article concludes with implications, limitations, and numerous avenues for future research.

Theoretical Framework

Racial prejudice is among the most crystallized attitudes held by the public, making it very difficult to change an individual's stances on race and racial issues (Tesler 2015). Campaign messaging intended to activate anti-minority sentiment is effective and difficult to neutralize because of how salient and stable racial attitudes are. However, when new considerations are brought to bear on an individual's decision-making, it is possible to change their mind (Zaller 1992). This is particularly true when an individual's perception of societal norms shifts.

According to *Group Norms Theory*, since norms come from group attitudes, it is more efficient to change group attitudes than to focus on individual attitudes (Crandall, Eshleman, and O'Brien 2002). Changing the norm about the expression of prejudice can have a strong effect on people's tolerance for prejudice. Blanchard, Crandall, Brigham, and Vaughn (1994) find that when a single confederate expressed antiracist views, there was a significant reduction in tolerance for racist actions among experiment participants. Conversely, when the same confederate demonstrated acceptance of racist acts, so too did the participants. The manipulation affected attitudes when measured publicly and privately, indicating that the expressed opinions of a single confederate can strongly influence even private attitudes.

Similarly, extant scholarship suggests that the perception of norms regarding an out-group can influence the expression of prejudice (Stangor, Sechrist, and Jost 2001; Sechrist and Stangor 2001). When respondents are led to believe that their view of African Americans is more stereotypic than others, their endorsement of stereotypes was reduced. But when they are told

their views are less stereotypic than others, they become more likely to endorse harmful stereotypes (Stangor et al. 2001).

Mendelberg (2001) argued that when norms surrounding an expression of prejudice change, so too will evaluations of the message and the messenger. If a derogatory message is strongly condemned, then it loses its ability to prime racial predispositions because the message has been shown to violate the norm of racial equality. In other words, anti-minority campaign appeals lose their power when they are perceived to violate social norms.

As an example, Mendelberg demonstrated that the impact of the Willie Horton story on voters changed after Jessie Jackson charged that George H.W. Bush and the Republicans were using Horton as a racial appeal. Willie Horton, a convicted murderer, was released as part of a weekend furlough program while Michael Dukakis was governor of Massachusetts. Horton never returned and, while out, raped a woman and assaulted her fiancé. During the 1988 presidential election, Bush repeatedly brought up this story and several campaign ads were created by Bush and groups supportive of the Bush campaign that used the Horton incident to characterize Dukakis as soft on crime.

At first, when used implicitly, discussion of Horton, particularly when paired with visual cues, appeared to benefit Bush's poll numbers. During this time, messaging regarding Horton was communicated in a non-racial manner almost exclusively by the campaign and the media. After Jackson's comments about the message's racial content, the media began to frame it as a racial appeal and made racial references to the Bush campaign. Once the public was made aware of the racial content and shown that it violated the norm of racial equality, the power of the message was neutralized. As a result, Bush's poll numbers took a hit, though it was too late to affect the outcome of the race. Nevertheless, it is strong evidence that condemning campaign

messaging as racist can be effective in neutralizing the messaging and negatively impacting the messenger.

Essentially, Mendelberg theorized that awareness of the racially prejudicial content of the appeal can mediate the impact of the message. She then demonstrated this experimentally though the norms experiment. Respondents are randomly assigned to either a mainstream condition or an extreme condition. The first group is told that their views conform to the societal norm, while the second group is told that their views are close to violating the norm. A design like this could be used by either telling a group that their views, or the message itself, is in line with the views of a universally unpopular group like the Ku Klux Klan (Marcus, Theiss-Morse, Sullivan, and Wood 1995). We can then test whether the awareness that the message resembles the attitudes of the KKK helps neutralize the ability of the message to activate out-group hostility.

A second option is the counter-stereotype experiment, in which respondents read a positive message about blacks after being exposed to an implicit racial appeal (Valentino, Hutchings, and White 2002). When respondents read a counter-stereotypic message, the effect of racial priming is dampened. The authors argue that implicit appeals are effective when images are paired with an unfavorable message about blacks. Therefore, the counter-stereotypic message can counteract the implicit appeal, helping to render it ineffective.

A third test focused on the hypocrisy of stereotyping a whole group for the actions of a few, or even one, individual. Bruneau, Kteily, and Falk (2018) find that by highlighting the hypocrisy in collectively blaming Muslims for the acts of individual members of the group, but not doing so for other groups (e.g. white Americans and Christians), reduces collective blame of Muslims and has downstream effects on reducing anti-Muslim attitudes and behaviors.

Each of these tests were effective in changing attitudes about a message and either changed evaluations of the messenger or the group being targeted. Yet, the first two tests were used to neutralize implicit racial appeals and are likely not appropriate for countering explicit appeals. The third test may also not be applicable unless the explicit message is focused on a single incident. Nonetheless, these strategies serve as a jumping off point for developing strategies to neutralize the effects of explicit prejudice. As such, I build from scholarship on racial attitudes, group norms theory, and racial priming theory to develop and test four strategies to counter explicitly prejudicial campaign appeals.

Study 1

The first strategy tests the ability of bi-partisan condemnation to neutralize the effects of an explicitly Islamophobic campaign advertisement. John Zaller (1992) demonstrates that a one-sided information flow, one in which political elites are unified in support or opposition on an issue, can have a powerful effect in unifying the public's stance on the issue. Moreover, as discussed in article 2, our reference network, which is largely comprised of those within our own political party, strongly influence our perceptions of societal norms (see also Bicchieri 2017). As such, if a Republican (Democratic) voter sees that Republican (Democratic) elites are condemning Islamophobia, then it can have a potentially very strong impact on their views of the acceptability of Islamophobic campaign rhetoric. Essentially, as someone views the norm in their reference network transition to one of equality or egalitarianism, they will begin to adhere to this new norm.

This is one strategy that can create at least a temporary norm of equality for a group and neutralize an explicitly prejudicial appeal. One of the contributing factors in the development of the norm of racial equality was strong signals of commitment to this norm from political elites

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(Lee 2002). It is likely then that strong bi-partisan condemnation of Islamophobia as violating social norms can help create a norm of equality for Muslims. Of course, this would only be temporary. As discussed in article 1, Islamophobia and other prejudicial attitudes are pervasive in society, not to mention strongly engrained in individuals, so the norm is unlikely to change due to one bi-partisan message. Though there is reason to believe bi-partisan condemnation can have a lasting effect. For example, Erb, Bohner, Schmälzle, and Rank (1998) find that when individuals are aware that there is high social consensus, they are likely to process subsequent information in favor of that consensus. So, if the public receives bi-partisan messages condemning Islamophobia, it may have a downstream effect in influencing the public to process information in favor of the bi-partisan consensus (i.e. in rejecting Islamophobia).

Moreover, for the purpose of neutralizing a campaign message it can be an effective strategy because it indicates to the audience that the message is in violation of a social norm. This is especially true in low-information election contexts in which individuals have less countervailing information about the candidate in question. In other words, if an individual has little information about a candidate, then bi-partisan condemnation of the messaging of that candidate is likely to affect the individual's support of the candidate. This strategy is less effective in high-information elections in which the public is receiving copious information about the candidates and attitudes about the candidates are more stable.

To test this strategy, I collected a sample consisting of 1,010 respondents from October 31 – November 1, 2018, days before the 2018 midterm election, using Lucid Fulcrum Spectrum. Lucid constructs a nationally representative sample by matching national census demographics based on age, gender, ethnicity, Hispanic identification, and region.[55] Recent tests of the Lucid

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[55] Information obtained based on private correspondence with Lucid representative.

platform find that demographic and experimental findings are similar to those using nationally representative probability samples (Coppock and McClellan 2019). Appendix table A1 shows that each of the samples are similar to the U.S. population on several key demographics.

Respondents were randomly assigned to one of three treatment groups. The first group (Control) read a short biography of Duncan Hunter with information taken directly from his campaign website. The biography detailed his conservative credentials by mentioning his A rating from the NRA, his strong pro-life stance, and his opposition to the Affordable Care Act. The second group (Treatment 1) read the same biography and then watched an Islamophobic campaign advertisement run by the Hunter campaign. The ad described Ammar Campa-Najjar, Hunter's half-Arab half-Latino opponent, as a "security threat" working to "infiltrate Congress" with the help of the Muslim Brotherhood. The ad was strongly condemned for its explicit Islamophobia. The Washington Post's Fact Checker gave the ad four Pinocchios for its false or misleading claims and its "naked anti-Muslim bias." The third group (Treatment 2) read the biography, watched the ad, and then read an excerpt of an article in which a "bipartisan group of dozens of national security veterans" condemned the ad as a "racist and bigoted attack." Respondents were then asked how likely they would be to vote for Duncan Hunter if they lived in his district, how much Hunter represents their interests, and then rated the candidate on a favorability scale.

The expectation is that when a temporary norm of equality is created through bi-partisan condemnation of the Islamophobic campaign appeal, support for Hunter will drop sharply. In other words, a mainstream effect can be used to neutralize overt Islamophobia. Hunter is a candidate who has received very little national exposure meaning that this test was conducted in a low-information electoral context in which respondents have received very little information

about the candidate. As such, they are constructing an opinion of the candidate relying almost exclusively on the biography, campaign video, and/or bi-partisan condemnation provided in the survey.[56]

The first set of results are reported as support for Hunter across the three treatment groups, which show strong support for my hypothesis. Figure 1 displays the percentage of respondents who said they were somewhat or extremely likely to vote for Duncan Hunter if they lived in his Congressional district by party and across experimental conditions. Three important results are evident from this graph. First, watching the Islamophobic ad had no substantial effect on Republican voters' support for Hunter. The message was not rejected but it also did not appear to have a galvanizing effect, though it did increase support for Hunter among Independents. Second, Hunter faced a backlash from Democrats. Hunter enjoyed 30% support in the Control condition and only 21% from Democrats in the Treatment 1 group. Third, Hunter received only tepid support from Republican voters who watched the ad and then read a condemnation of the ad (Treatment 2). Only 44% of Republican voters, 18% of Democratic voters, and 18% of Independents supported Hunter in the condemn condition, 35, 12, and 9 percentage points lower, respectively, than the control condition. Essentially, support for Hunter remains strong after watching the Islamophobic campaign ad, but support for Hunter drops sharply after reading the bi-partisan condemnation.

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[56] At the end of the survey, respondents were asked two questions to gauge prior knowledge of Duncan Hunter. Only 55 respondents (5.33% of the sample) were able to correctly answer the questions indicating that survey respondents had very little prior knowledge of Hunter. Moreover, analysis was conducted excluding these respondents are the results do not change in any substantial way (see Appendix).

Figure 1. Percentage of respondents in full sample and percentage of Republican, Democratic, and Independent identifiers who report that they would have voted for Duncan Hunter if they lived in his district. Data comes from Lucid survey October 31 – November 1, 2018.
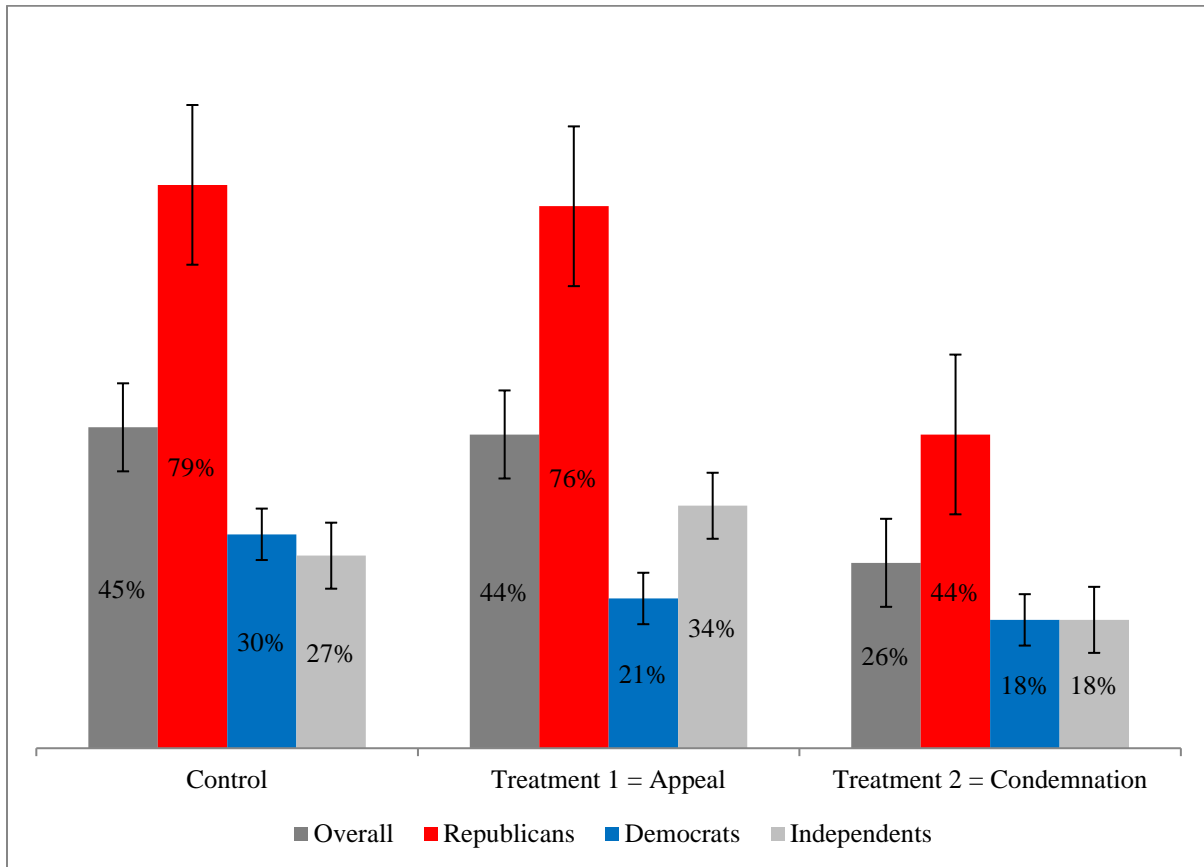
To further provide evidence that adherence to norms is driving the effects, Figure 2 displays the interactive effect of the social norms index (SNI) on Hunter support across all three experimental conditions. The graph is based on OLS regressions which control for ideology and party identification.[57] Social norms are not activated in the control condition. Those who score lowest on the SNI are only slightly less likely to support Hunter than those with the highest scores. However, social norms have a large effect on Hunter support among respondents who watch the overtly Islamophobic ad. Support for Hunter is more than 40 percentage points higher

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[57] See Appendix for full regression results.

among those high in inegalitarian norms (highest scores on the SNI) than those who adhere to egalitarian norms (lowest scores on the SNI) in the first treatment condition. The slope of the line is similar in the condemn condition, but the intercept is significantly lower. Respondents who score lowest in inegalitarian norms (or highest in egalitarian norms) are more than 20 percentage points less likely to support Hunter in the condemn condition than those with similar SNI scores in the campaign ad condition. Therefore, the bi-partisan condemnation lowers support for Hunter specifically among voters who most adhere to egalitarian norms.

Figure 2. The relationship between the Social Norms Index and reported likelihood of voting for Duncan Hunter across control, treatment 1, and treatment 2 groups. Data comes from Lucid survey October 31 – November 1, 2018.
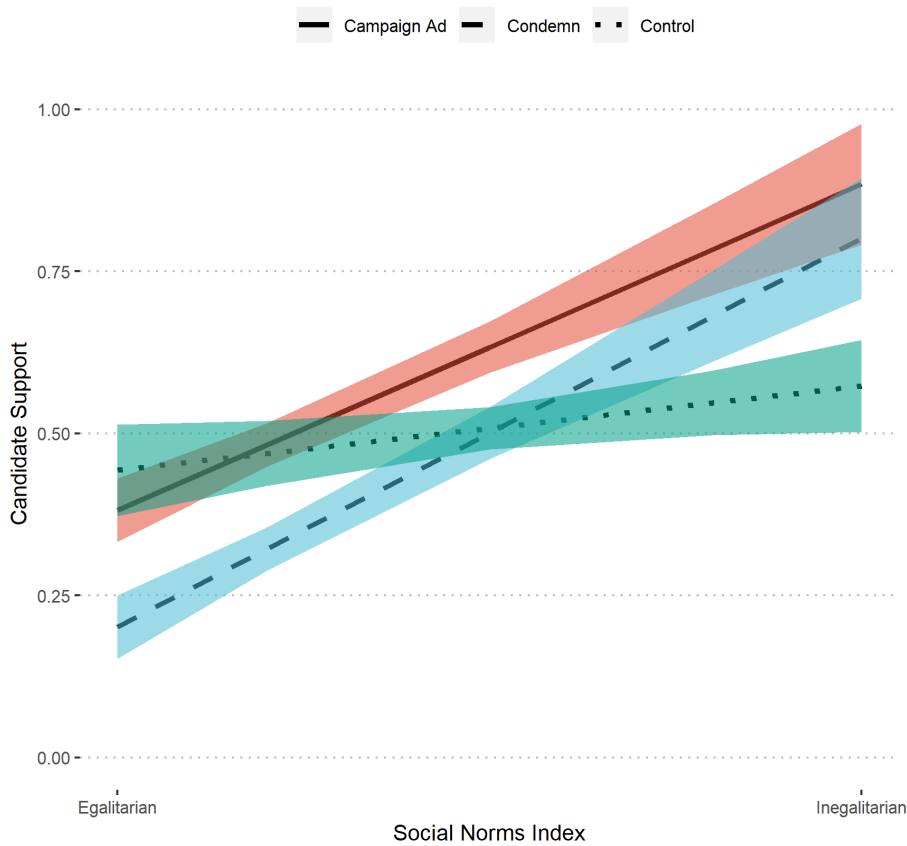
One issue with the strategy presented in study 1 is that bi-partisan messages rarely occur and, due to rising partisan polarization, are becoming increasingly scarce. It is far more likely for prejudicial messaging, which is generally used by Republicans (though not exclusively), to be condemned by the opposing party. One way that Democrats can attempt to neutralize the effects of appeals to anti-minority sentiments is to mount an anti-racist counterstrategy in which they consistently and forcefully denounce prejudicial campaign messages.

As discussed in previous articles, the electoral temptation of the Democratic Party for many decades has been racial silence in the face of racial code words from their Republican counterparts (Kinder and Sanders 1996). It has long been believed that discussing race, and calling out Republican candidates messaging as racist, is a losing strategy for the Democratic Party (Edsall and Edsall 1991; Kinder and Sanders 1996). Yet, Democrats frequently pointed out the racial connotations of Trump's messages during the 2016 election (Banks and Hicks 2018; Stout 2019). Hillary Clinton, Bernie Sanders[58], and many others[59] condemned Trump's campaign as racist, prejudiced, and bigoted. Increases in overtly prejudicial campaign rhetoric seems to have had important effects on the news media as well. So much so that the Associated Press Stylebook, a manual which is widely used by journalists, has changed its guidelines on race. The stylebook advises against using ambiguous terms such as "racially charged" and "racially motivated" and instead advocates for use of unambiguous terms such as "racist" and "racism."[60]

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[58] David Wright, "Bernie Sanders Blasts Trump Birther Statement: 'This Is Pathetic,'" CNN, September 16, 2016, http://www.cnn.com/2016/09/16/politics/bernie-sanders-donald-trump-birthers/.

[59] Mike Lillis, "Trump's 'law-and-order' gamble," *The Hill*, July 14, 2016, http://thehill.com/homenews/campaign/287635-trumpslaw-and-order-gamble.

[60] Erin Evans, "If it's racist, call it racist: Associated Press Stylebook changes guidelines for journalists," *NBC News*, March 29, 2019, https://www.nbcnews.com/news/nbcblk/if-it-s-racist-call-it-racist-associated-press-stylebook-n989056?fbclid=IwAR2hac_aNyPp_SKCDGleAt_WnQlaI8THvcLLiaFxZ3u_b365U0w_KRl6AMg.

It appears that the Democratic strategy, and potentially the strategy of the news media, is in the midst of a transformation away from racial silence to one of countering explicit prejudice by calling it out as a violation of norms of equality.

There is scholarship that supports this strategy. Racial priming theory suggests that the most effective counterstrategy to racial codes or dog-whistles is to make the audience aware of the racial content of the implicit message (Mendelberg 2001). The idea is that voters will face "social censure" which should lead to decreased support for the candidate due to the candidate violating the norm of racial equality. Mendelberg (2001) finds that racially resentful whites are most affected by this strategy, while Tokeshi and Mendelberg (2015) found that all whites were similarly influenced. More recently, Banks and Hicks (2018) have argued that racially conservative whites should *not* be persuaded by this strategy while racially liberal whites should be most persuaded because of motivated reasoning theory which suggests that individuals are motivated towards positions that are in line with their preexisting racial attitudes (2).

Previous articles have found that explicitly prejudicial appeals are on the rise and that numerous factors indicate that this increase is likely to continue. Given the partisan realignment through which racial conservatives are almost exclusively in the Republican Party and racial liberals in the Democratic Party, Republican candidates have little to fear in alienating racial liberals. Yet, the social norms index presented in article 2 shows that a large proportion of Republican identifiers still adhere to egalitarian norms. These voters may be influenced when a campaign appeal is branded as a violation of social norms. It is easier to recognize the racial or prejudicial content of an explicit message, but voters may not be aware that it is violating norms. Moreover, another potential consequence for candidates utilizing explicitly prejudicial campaign messages is that it may activate racial liberalism and mobilize the opposition. Thus, the

counterstrategy of calling out explicitly prejudicial appeals as racist and bigoted (i.e. branding the message as a violation of social norms) may be effective particularly for those who adhere to egalitarian norms. Pointing out that a message violates norms may cause decreased support for the candidate.

On November 11, 2018 Cindy Hyde-Smith was caught on camera telling one of her supporters that she would "be in the from row" of a public hanging if invited. Hyde-Smith is a white Republican who was running in a run-off election against black Democrat Mike Espy for a U.S. Senate seat from Mississippi. Democrats and the media roundly criticized Hyde-Smith's comments as racially charged and violating social norms, particularly given the violent racial history of Mississippi and the prominent role that public hangings played in that history. PowerPACPlus, a political action committee supporting her opponent, Mike Espy, seized upon her comments and released an attack ad online which showed Hyde-Smith making the controversial comments superimposed on an old photo of a white crowd attending a lynching of two black men.

The comments and subsequent video served as the basis to test the effectiveness of calling out a candidate as racist and in violation of social norms. Data for this test came from a survey conducted January 31 – February 4, 2019 using Lucid Fulcrum Spectrum and consisting of 1,039 adult U.S. residents. Respondents were randomly assigned to one of three experimental groups. The first group (control) were told that Cindy Hyde-Smith and Mike Espy had competed in a run-off election for the U.S. Senate from Mississippi and read short biographies of both candidates using information taken directly from their campaign websites. The second group (treatment 1) read the same biographies and then read a short excerpt of an article which

discussed Hyde-Smith's comment about the public hanging.[61] The third group (treatment 2) read the biographies, the excerpt, and then watched the campaign video attacking Hyde-Smith for her comments. Respondents were then asked how likely they would have been to vote for each candidate, how much each candidate represents their interests, and how favorably or unfavorably they feel toward each candidate.

The expectation is that after reading the article, there will be little change in support for Hyde-Smith among Republican voters. Simply reading about the comments without any frame will not increase or decrease support. However, Republican respondents who watch the campaign video and are told that the comments violated social norms, should be less likely to say that they would have voted for Hyde-Smith. Democrats and Independents, those who are less predisposed to support Hyde-Smith, a Republican candidate, are likely to be influenced by both treatments.

Figure 3 shows the percentage of respondents in the full sample and by party who are "somewhat" or "very" likely to have voted for Hyde-Smith if they lived in Mississippi. As indicated in the figure, 48% of the sample supported Hyde-Smith in the control condition, including 68% of Republican identifiers and 46% of Independents. In treatment 1, support for Hyde-Smith drops to 38 percentage points. Importantly, this decrease in support is largely driven by Democrats and Independents. Republican support for Hyde-Smith does not change in any significant way. But in treatment 2, Republican support for Hyde-Smith is a full ten percentage points lower than in the control condition. Only after hearing that the comments violate social norms does support for the candidate drop from her party base.

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[61] See Appendix for the full excerpt.

Figure 3. Percentage of respondents in full sample and by party identification who are somewhat or very likely to have voted for Cindy Hyde-Smith. Data comes from Lucid survey January 31 – February 4, 2019.
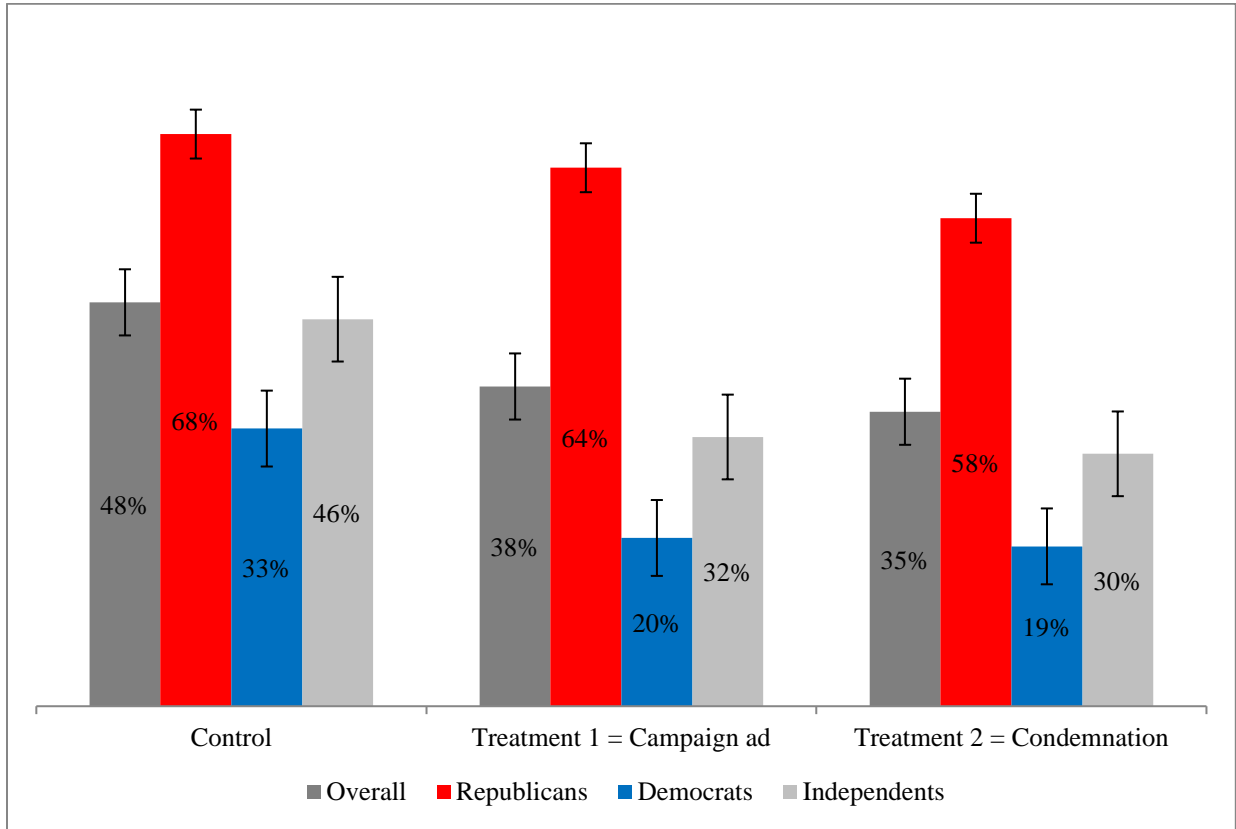
Next, Figure 4 displays the relationship between respondents' scores on the social norms index and their level of support for Hyde-Smith. Each line represents the marginal effect of the SNI on reported likelihood of voting for Cindy Hyde-Smith across all three experimental groups controlling for ideology and party identification. The figure shows that the relationship between SNI and support for Hyde-Smith is strong in each group. Moving from most egalitarian to most inegalitarian predicts a 50 percentage point increase in support among the control group. The strength of SNI as a predictor increases in treatment 1 as the same move predicts a 60 percentage point increase, and strengthens even more in treatment 2 as it predicts a 72 percentage point increase in candidate support. Notably, reading about the public hanging comments decreases

support for Hyde-Smith among respondents who scored lowest (most egalitarian) on the SNI. Roughly 35 percent of the most egalitarian respondents support Hyde-Smith in the control group compared to only 21 percent in the Treatment 1 group. But the most *in*egalitarian respondents are more likely to support Hyde-Smith after reading about her public hanging comments at 82 percent compared to 75 percent. This pattern is even starker in the Treatment 2 group with only 15 percent of the most egalitarian respondents supporting Hyde-Smith and 88 percent of the most inegalitarian respondents doing the same.

Figure 4. The relationship between the Social Norms Index and reported likelihood of voting for Cindy Hyde-Smith across control, treatment 1, and treatment 2 groups. Data comes from Lucid survey January 31 – February 4, 2019.
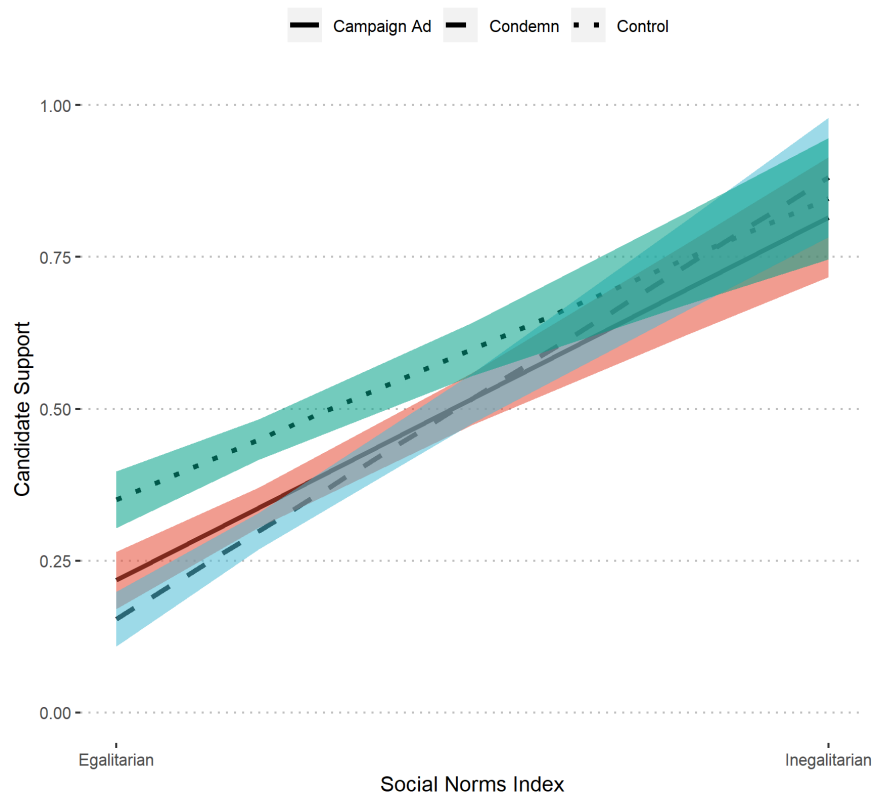
It appears that calling out prejudicial comments and indicating to the public that the comments violate social norms, can be an effective strategy in decreasing support for the candidate, particularly in a low information context in which voters are receiving very little information about the candidates. This is because egalitarian voters can be persuaded by antiracist messages to not support prejudicial candidates. The most inegalitarian voters become even more likely to support the prejudicial candidate but, as shown by the distribution of the SNI in article 2, there are substantially more egalitarian voters than inegalitarian voters, at least at the national level.

Moreover, this strategy may be effective for decreasing support even among Republican voters. Figure 3 found that Republican support for Hyde-Smith decreased in treatment 2, once respondents were told that her public hanging comments violated social norms, while Figure 4 shows that a similar pattern emerges for Republican voters in regard to the relationship between their SNI scores and reported likelihood of voting for Hyde-Smith. Namely, treatments 1 and 2 decrease support for the candidate among the most egalitarian Republican voters, though it also increases support for her among the most inegalitarian Republicans.

Study 3

The third strategy involves media condemnation. In addition to political parties, the media plays an outsized role in shaping and activating public attitudes (Iyengar and Kinder 1987; Gilliam and Iyengar 2002). As the media is neither neutral nor value-free, the way the media frames groups, issues, and events shape public attitudes. Racial bias and negative reporting about URM in the news often activates racial prejudice among viewers and solidifies negative beliefs about out-groups (Dixon 2008; Fiske 1998; Park and Judd 2005). Stereotypic portrayals of minority groups prime racial attitudes which can influence candidate evaluations (Valentino

1999) and lead to endorsement of anti-minority policy positions (Gilliam, Valentino, and Beckmann 2002; Lajevardi 2017).

Media frames can also play a role in highlighting racial inequality. Arora, Phoenix, and Delshad (2019) find that media attention to policing issues is associated with increased legislative attention to police reform. Moreover, positive media framing of Black Lives Matter activists is associated with the introduction of bills that would increase police accountability while positive framing of the police is associated with introduction of bills that increase police autonomy. Moreover, Kellstedt (2000) demonstrates that when media framing of race focuses on egalitarianism, there is greater support among the public for active government policies meant to alleviate racial inequality. Given the agenda-setting power and framing power of the news media, media attention to prejudicial messaging and framing those messages as violations of norms of equality could lead to rejection of explicitly prejudicial campaign appeals.

To test this, I use a similar experimental design as that used in study 1 using a sample of 1,000 adults collected from May 29 – 30, 2019 using Lucid Fulcrum Spectrum. Respondents are again assigned to one of three treatment groups. The control group reads the same biography of Hunter that was used in study 1, while the treatment 1 group reads the biography and watches the same Islamophobic campaign advertisement. In treatment 2, instead of reading an article about bi-partisan condemnation of the message, respondents read an excerpt of an article in which members of the media condemn the Islamophobic ad.

The first set of results are reported as support for Hunter across the three treatment groups. Figure 5 displays the percentage of respondents who said they were somewhat or extremely likely to vote for Duncan Hunter if they lived in his Congressional district by party and across experimental conditions. Three important results are evident from this graph. First,

similar to study 1, the overtly Islamophobic campaign video did not have any substantial effect on support for Hunter among Republicans. There was, however, a small backlash from Independents. Though there is no statistically significant decrease in support among Republicans, overall support for Hunter does go down slightly in treatment 1. Second, overall support for Hunter is no different in treatment 2 than in treatment 1, showing that the media condemnation was unable to neutralize the effect of the Islamophobic campaign appeal. However, support for Hunter did decrease among Republicans and Independents in treatment 2 so there is some evidence that a media condemnation can work.

Figure 5. Percentage of respondents in full sample and percentage of Republican, Democratic, and Independent identifiers who report that they would have voted for Duncan Hunter if they lived in his district. Data comes from Lucid survey May 29 – 30, 2019.
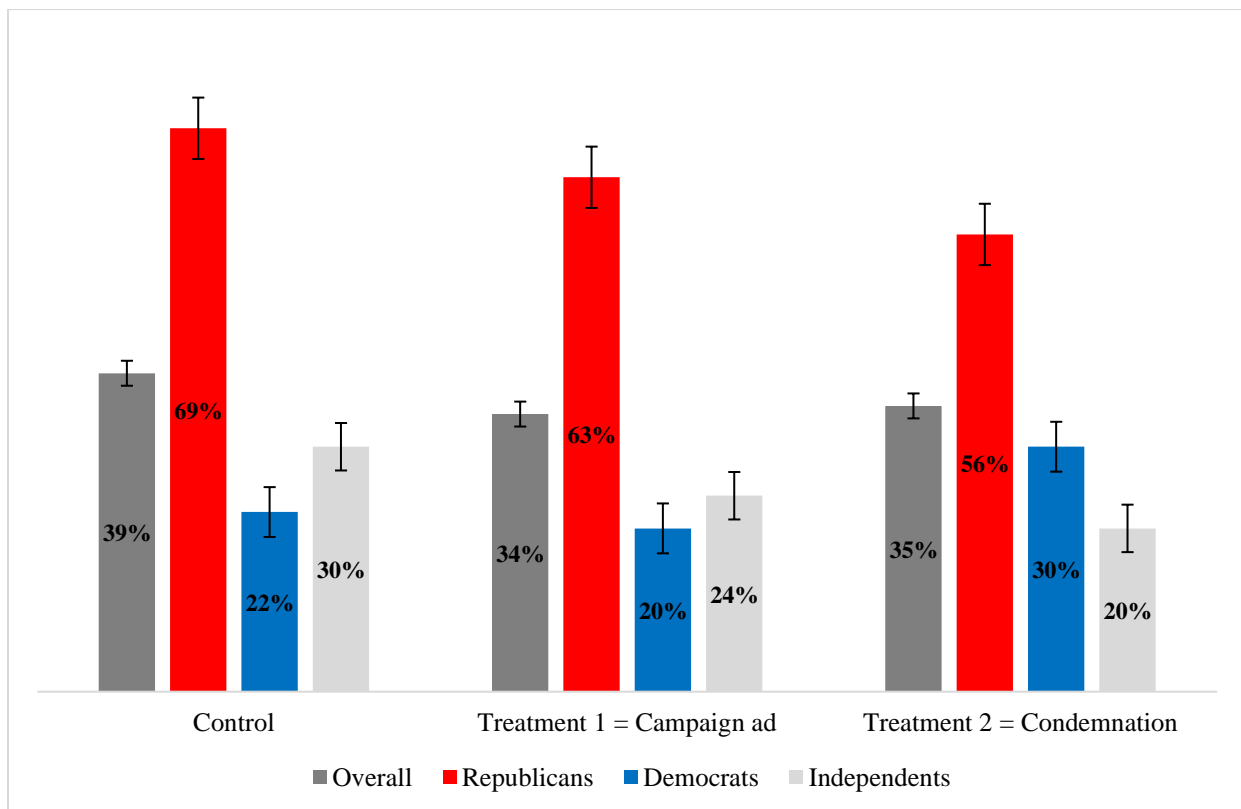
Figure 6 displays the interactive effect of social norms on Hunter support across all three experimental conditions. The graph is based on OLS regressions which control for ideology and party identification.[62] In treatment 1, the most inegalitarian respondents are about 41 percentage points more likely to support Hunter than the most egalitarian. If the media condemnation was effective, we would expect support for Hunter to drop among those who adhere to egalitarian norms. However, the effect of the SNI on Hunter support in treatment 2 is almost identical to treatment 1, with the most inegalitarian respondents being roughly 44 percentage points more likely to support Hunter than the most egalitarian respondents.

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[62] See Appendix for full regression results.

Figure 6. The relationship between the Social Norms Index and reported likelihood of voting for Duncan Hunter across control, treatment 1, and treatment 2 groups. Data comes from Lucid survey May 29 – 30, 2019.
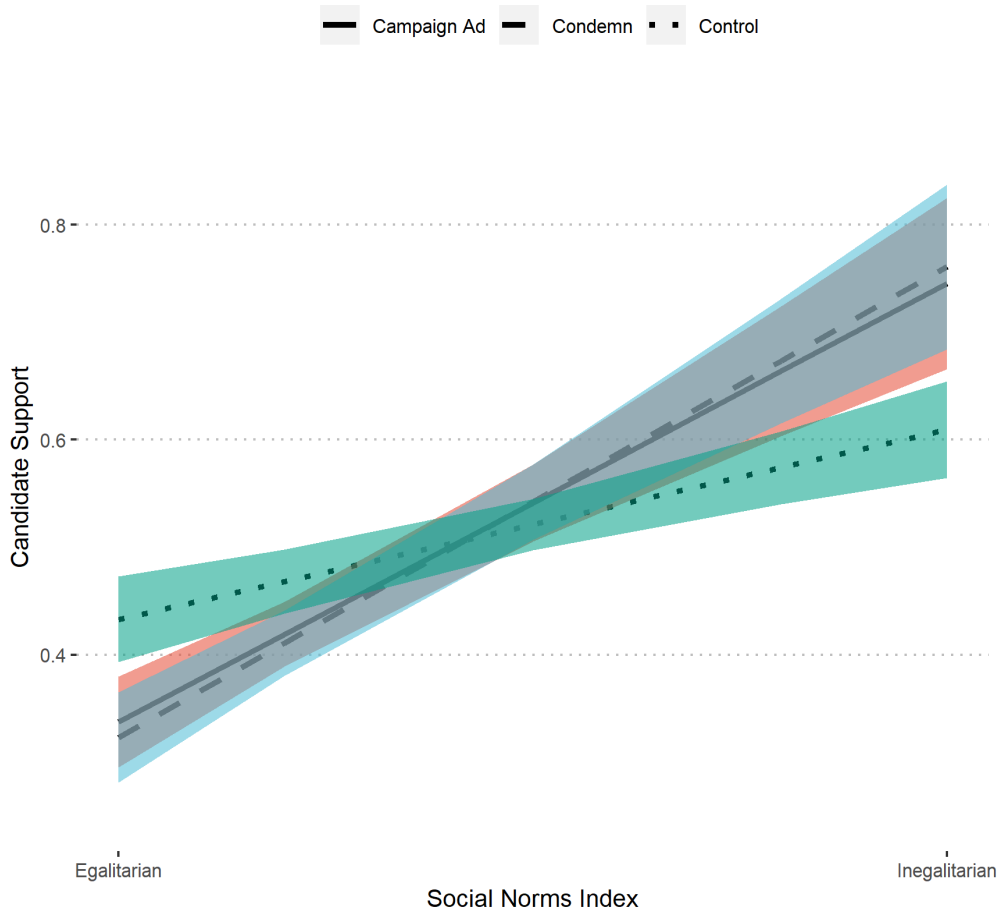
A second test of this strategy was conducted using a campaign advertisement created by Donald Trump's campaign and released days before the 2018 midterm election. About one week before election day, an ad featuring Luis Bracamontes, an undocumented Mexican immigrant, describing his murder of two police officers and blaming Democrats for letting him into the country was shared on the president's Twitter account. The ad was deemed so offensive that CNN refused to play it, and NBC and Fox News eventually pulled it off the air. In other words, it

functions as an explicitly racist appeal that was widely condemned by the media, making it an ideal test case for this strategy.

In the May 2019 Lucid survey, respondents were randomly assigned to one of three experimental groups. The control group was simply asked how favorable or unfavorable they feel about Donald Trump. The treatment 1 group watched the full campaign video and then evaluated their favorability of Trump. The treatment 2 group watched the campaign video, then read an excerpt of an article in which the video is criticized by media outlets such as Fox News, NBC, and CNN as being too "racist" and "race-baiting" to broadcast.[63] Respondents are then asked about their favorability of Trump.

Any difference in favorability levels between the control and treatment 1 group will indicate the effect of the campaign video. Meanwhile, differences between the control (treatment 1) and treatment 2 group indicate the effect of the media condemnation. If favorability is lower after reading the excerpt, then there is some evidence that media condemnation can influence attitudes towards a campaign appeal that has been deemed by the media to violate norms of racial equality.

The first set of results are reported as mean favorability of Donald Trump across the three treatment groups. Figure 7 shows that there is no substantial difference in favorability between the control and treatment 1 group. The campaign video seems to have very little effect on Trump favorability. This is what we would expect given that attitudes towards Trump are stable (Jones 2018) and already highly racialized (Sides, Tesler, and Vavreck 2018). The media condemnation presented in treatment 2 actually *increases* favorability of Trump (6.3 percentage points, $p<.05$). Not only does condemnation of the video as too racist to air not harm Trump, it benefits him.

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[63] See Appendix for the full excerpt.

Looking at this by party identification, we see that the increase is driven by Independents, who are 11.5 percentage points (p<.05) more favorable of Trump after reading an article in which the media condemns his campaign ad.

Figure 7. Favorability ratings of Donald Trump among respondents in full sample and Republican, Democratic, and Independent identifiers. Favorability rating is measured from very unfavorable (0) to very favorable (1). Data comes from Lucid survey May 29 – 30, 2019.
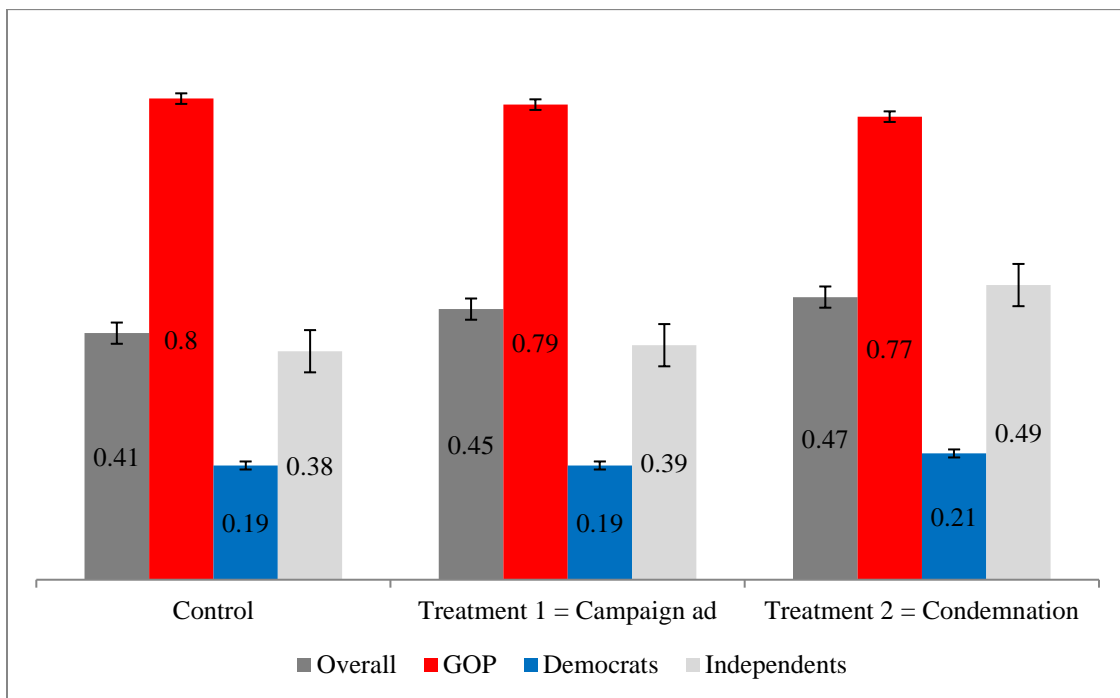
Respondents were also asked how they felt about the 2018 midterm election results. They were told that Democrats picked up 40 seats in the U.S. House of Representatives and now have a majority in the chamber. They were then asked whether they were enthusiastic (1), satisfied but not enthusiastic, neither enthusiastic nor upset, dissatisfied but not upset, or upset (0). Figure 8 shows that watching Trump's campaign video (treatment 1) led to a 5.6 percentage point decrease in enthusiasm (p<.05). The media condemnation (treatment 2) again not only did not

correct this, but further decreased enthusiasm about the midterm results (6.8 percentage points, p<.01).

Figure 8. Levels of enthusiasm regarding the 2018 midterm election among respondents in full sample and Republican, Democratic, and Independent identifiers. Enthusiasm is measured from upset (0) to enthusiastic (1). Data comes from Lucid survey May 29 – 30, 2019.
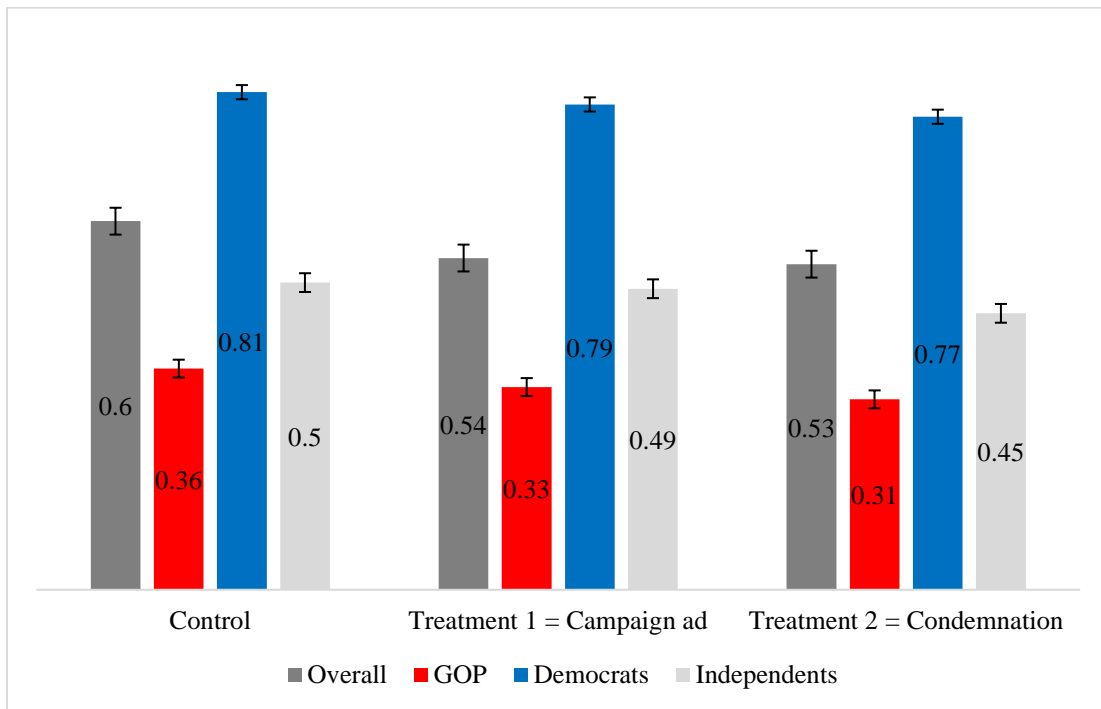
Results from the Duncan Hunter experiment and the Donald Trump experiment show mixed results for media condemnation. There is some evidence that media condemnation can neutralize the effects of an Islamophobic attack among Republicans and Independents in a low information election in which voters know very little about the candidate. However, in a high information context, with a candidate like Donald Trump who people already have stable opinions about, media condemnation can not only fail, but potentially backfire.

The failure of the media condemnation strategy to neutralize explicit prejudice may be due to trust in the media being at historic lows. Gallup Poll data shows that trust in the news media dropped from 54% in 2003 all the way to 32% in 2016.[64] A full 94% of Republicans report that their trust in the media has diminished in the last decade. Indeed, only 12% of Republicans report that they trust the information they receive from national news organizations 'a lot' (Gottfried, Stocking, and Grieco 2018). Only individuals and institutions whom the public trust tend to change public opinion. Thus, as long as people do not trust the media it is unlikely that the media will be able to effectively neutralize explicitly prejudicial campaign messaging.

<div align="center">Study 4</div>

In addition to low levels of public trust, media condemnation also has its pitfalls because of the plethora of media outlets available to consumers and the tendency for people to select media messaging that fits their existing worldviews (Iyengar and Hahn 2009). Thus, people are unlikely to view a message in the media condemning a candidate they support because they are unlikely to be exposed to a media source that would do so.

As such, I propose a fourth and final test. One of the main dangers of overtly prejudicial campaign messaging is that it can incite acts of violence (Feinberg, Branton, and Martinez-Ebers 2019) and can heighten anxiety and enflame racial tensions in classrooms (Costello 2016). Many who are unlikely to reject, and even likely to be mobilized by, overtly prejudicial campaign messaging may blanch once they realize the detrimental effects these messages have on society.

In addition to being influenced by social norms, people tend to be influenced by their own personal moral codes (Bicchieri 2017). There may be some people who feel a personal aversion to prejudicial rhetoric but, because of their partisan attachments and their normative

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[64] https://www.knightfoundation.org/reports/indicators-of-news-media-trust.

expectations of those in their party, they support candidates who use this rhetoric anyway. Making these people aware that prejudicial campaign rhetoric can have negative, and sometimes violent, consequences that go beyond a campaign, may activate the importance of moral codes such that those who would otherwise have supported candidates using prejudicial rhetoric may no longer do so.

Numerous studies in social psychology show that when people learn about racism and its' effects on URM, their feelings of racial guilt and responsibility are heightened (Kernahan and Davis 2007), and, in some circumstances, people are more likely to oppose racism (Hollinsworth 2010; Cross 2010). In the long term, people who have participated in diversity trainings are more comfortable with racial issues and increase their interactions with people of other races (Kernahan and Davis 2009). Given that racial attitudes tend to be among the most internalized and stable views that people hold, it is remarkable that raising awareness of racism and its' consequences can have such an effect.

It is possible then that a similar strategy can be used to neutralize explicitly prejudicial campaign rhetoric and influence support for candidates using that messaging, and policies related to the message. Those who support candidates who make openly hostile remarks about URM are likely unaware of the dangerous, and sometimes violent, consequences of these messages. Many who accept prejudicial rhetoric targeting a group may not wish violent harm on members of that community. As such, if they were made aware of the potentially violent consequences of an overtly prejudicial campaign message, they may reject the message and, in turn, reject the candidate using the messaging strategy. There may also be a spillover effect in which support for discriminatory policies against the group being targeted in the campaign appeal also decrease.

As such, the fourth strategy involves explaining to respondents the consequences of explicitly prejudicial campaign rhetoric. A plethora of evidence shows that hate crimes have increased during Trump's first term in office, particularly against groups that he has targeted with his hostile rhetoric (McCarthy 2017) and in counties which hosted his campaign rallies in 2016 (Feinberg, Branton, and Martinez-Ebers 2019). It appears that his campaign rhetoric, and prejudicial rhetoric from other political elites, has enflamed racial tensions and contributed to violence. Informing respondents of the violent consequences may be an effective strategy in neutralizing these campaign messages because it helps respondents understand the perspective of the communities under attack, thereby increasing racial guilt (Kernahan and Davis 2007).

To test this strategy, I conducted an additional experiment using the same sample collected using Lucid Fulcrum Spectrum in May 2019. Respondents are again randomly assigned to one of three treatment groups. The first group (control) read a short biography about Ilhan Omar, a recently elected member of the U.S. House of Representatives from Minnesota, and one of two Muslim women in Congress. The treatment 1 group read the same biography and then watched a video created by the White House which explicitly associates Omar with the September 11th terrorist attacks by pairing out-of-context sentences from a speech with images of the attack. The video seemed to suggest that Omar downplayed the attacks and was strongly denounced by many politicians and community leaders as openly Islamophobic, racist, and "inciting violence."[65] The treatment 2 group read the same biography, watched the same video, and then read a short excerpt in which the potentially violent consequences of overtly prejudicial campaign messaging is discussed. The article explicitly links prejudicial campaign rhetoric with

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[65] https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/04/dangerous-trump-slammed-911-ilhan-omar-tweet-190414173455328.html.

a surge in hate crimes.[66] Respondents are then asked how favorable or unfavorable they feel towards Omar and the Democratic and Republican Parties. Further, Respondents are asked a series of questions evaluating the level of threat they feel towards Muslim Americans.[67]

Figure 9 displays mean favorability ratings of Ilhan Omar among all three experimental groups for the full sample and among partisans. Moving from control to treatment 1, favorability of Omar decreases by roughly five percentage points (p<.1). This is driven by Republican respondents among whom favorability ratings drop by 13 percentage points compared to the control group (p<.01). Favorability of Omar does not change among Democrats and Independents. The explicitly Islamophobic video substantially decreases favorability of Omar among Republicans but not among other party respondents. The condemnation in treatment 2 somewhat neutralizes this effect. Favorability of Omar among Republicans remains lower than in the control group, but it is 6.6 percentage points higher than in treatment 1 (p<.1). There is no significant difference in favorability between treatment 2 and treatment 1, or treatment 2 and control.

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[66] The condemnation stimulant is an excerpt of a Washington Post Monkey Cage article by Ayal Feinberg, Regina Branton, and Valerie Martinez-Ebers. See https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/03/22/trumps-rhetoric-does-inspire-more-hate-crimes/?utm_term=.79686d4abd93.
[67] See Appendix for full question wording.

Figure 9. Favorability ratings of Ilhan Omar among respondents in the full sample and Republican, Democratic, and Independent identifiers. Favorability rating is measured from very unfavorable (0) to very favorable (1). Data comes from Lucid survey May 29 – 30, 2019.
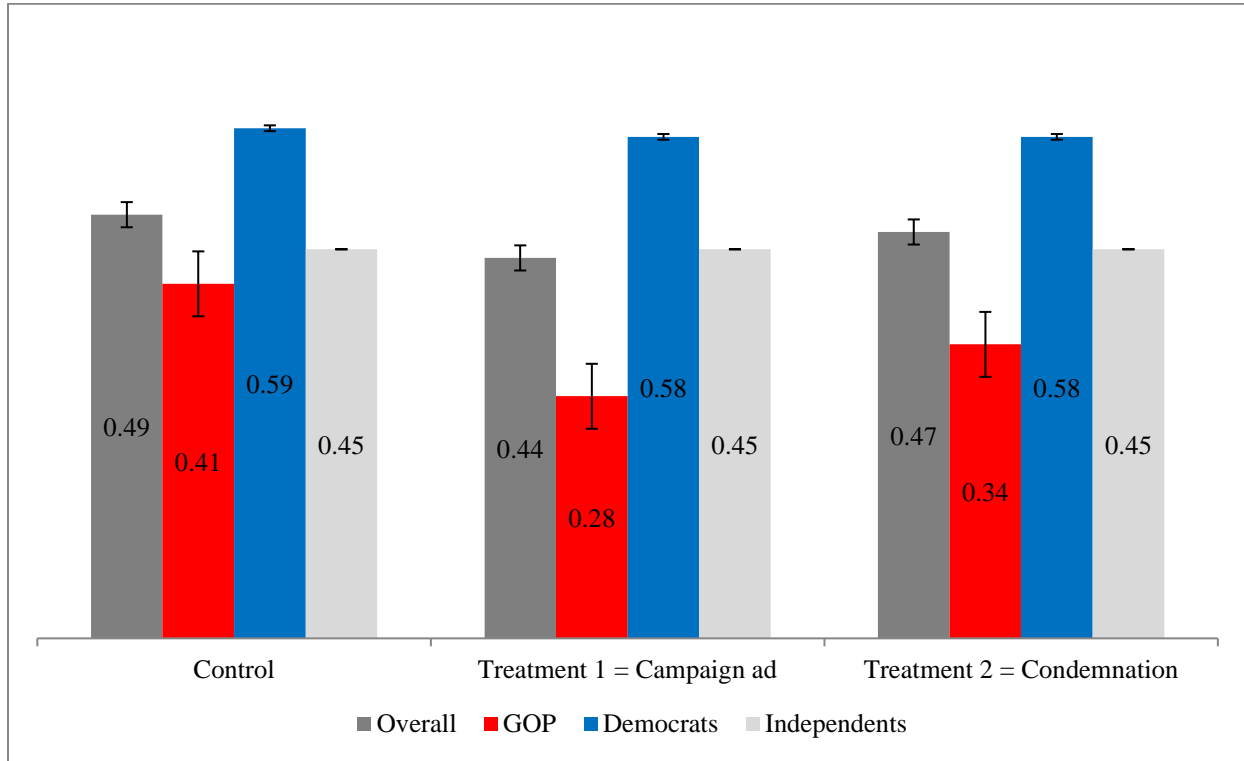
Figure 10 shows mean GOP favorability across all three experimental groups. Respondents are told that the video was created by Republican opponents of Ilhan Omar. If the condemnation, learning that explicitly prejudicial rhetoric leads to violent hate crimes, is successful in neutralizing the campaign appeal, we would expect favorability of the Republican Party to decrease in treatment 2. The results are mixed. For the full sample, GOP favorability increases from control to treatment 1, but favorability levels in treatment 2 are not significantly different than the control or treatment 1. Among Republican respondents, favorability actually increases in treatment 2. Republican favorability of their political party is seven percentage points higher in treatment 2 than the control (p<.05) and four percentage points higher than treatment 1 (p<.1). Among Democrats there is no difference between control, treatment 1, and

treatment 2. Independents are more favorable toward the GOP in treatment 1, but this increase goes away in treatment 2, providing some evidence that the condemnation can neutralize the effects of an Islamophobic appeal among this group of voters.

Figure 10. Favorability ratings of the Republican Party among respondents in the full sample and Republican, Democratic, and Independent identifiers. Favorability rating is measured from very unfavorable (0) to very favorable (1). Data comes from Lucid survey May 29 – 30, 2019.
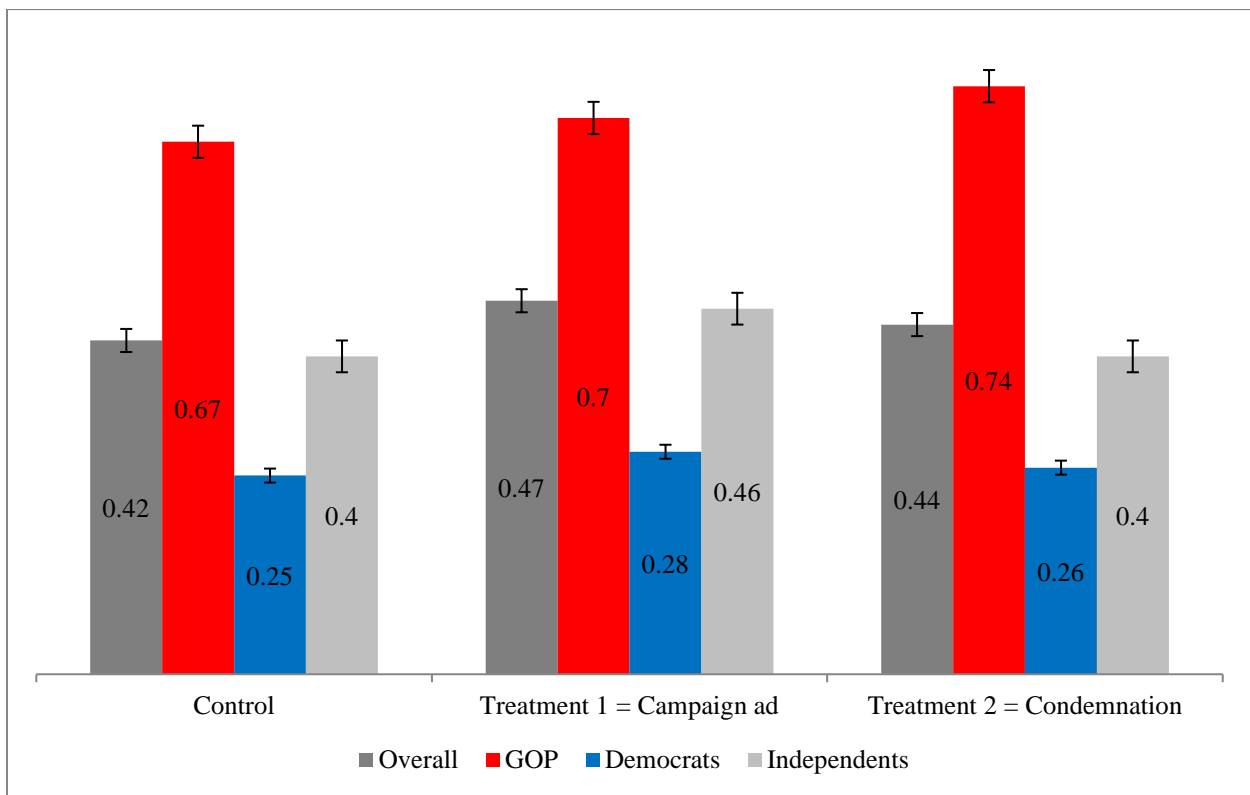

The next set of results come from questions which evaluated the level of threat respondents perceive from Muslims, and their support for Donald Trump's proposed 'Muslim ban'. As discussed in article 1, the explicitly Islamophobic video increased perceptions of Muslim threat among GOP respondents but not among Democrats or Independents. Figure 11 displays mean levels of perceptions of threat of Muslim among the full sample, Republicans,

Democrats, and Independents. The results show that the condemnation was not able to neutralize the effects of this Islamophobic appeal. Perceptions of Muslim threat from Republicans does not diminish in any statistically significant way from treatment 1 to treatment 2. Perceptions of threat among Democrats and Independents remains largely the same across all three experimental conditions.

Figure 11. Mean perceptions of threat of Muslims among respondents in full sample and Republican, Democratic, and Independent identifiers. Threat is measured from 'Not a threat to the U.S.' (0) to 'An immediate and serious threat' (1). Data comes from Lucid survey May 29 – 30, 2019.
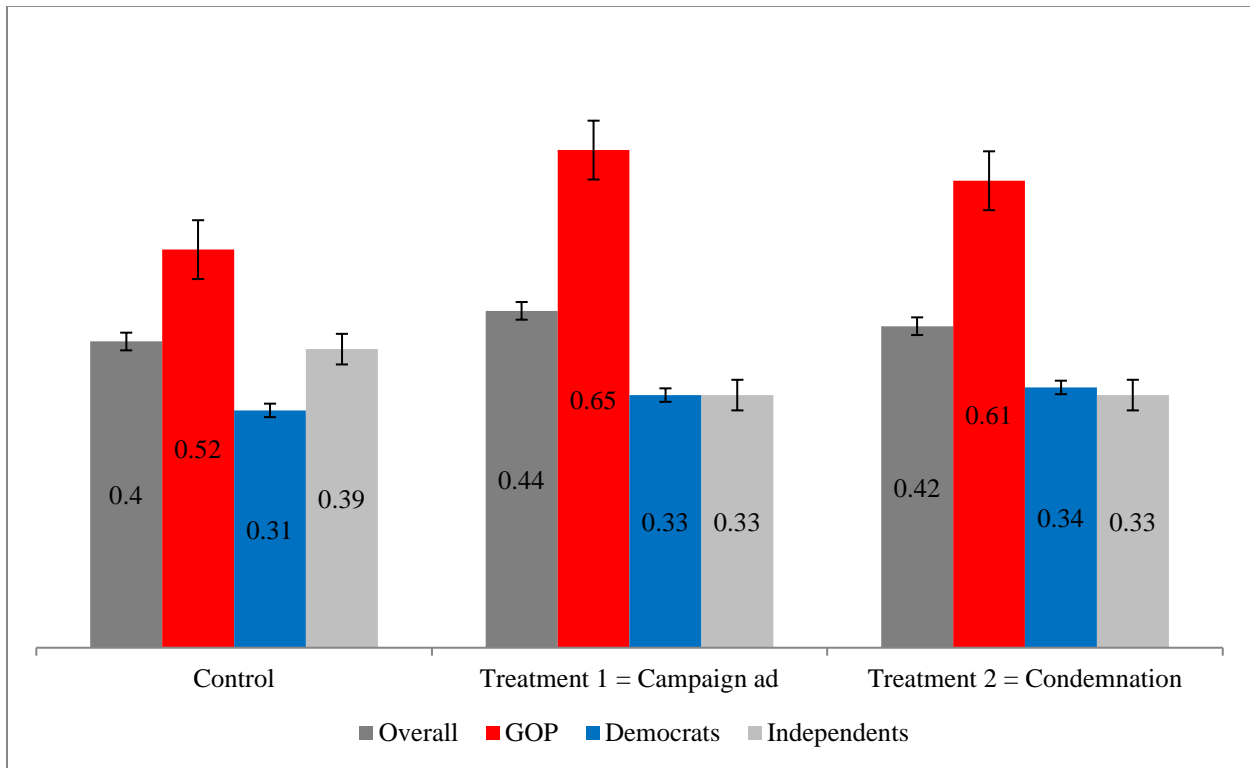
Finally, figure 12 displays mean levels of support for the proposed 'Muslim ban' which would temporarily ban immigrants from seven Muslim-majority countries until we can "figure out what is going on." Support for the policy among Republicans increased in treatment 1 and

remains elevated in treatment 2. Similar to perceptions of Muslim threat, the condemnation was unable to neutralize the effects of the Islamophobic appeal. Democrats are not affected by either of the treatments. Interestingly, support for the ban among Independents is lower in both treatment 1 and treatment 2, providing some evidence that there may be a backlash among Independents to this type of rhetoric. However, the condemnation does not appear to play a role in this decrease as support for the ban in treatment 2 is indistinguishable from treatment 1.

Figure 12. Mean support for the Muslim ban among respondents in the full sample and Republican, Democratic, and Independent identifiers. Support is measured from 'Disagree strongly' (0) to 'Agree strongly' (1). Data comes from Lucid survey May 29 – 30, 2019.
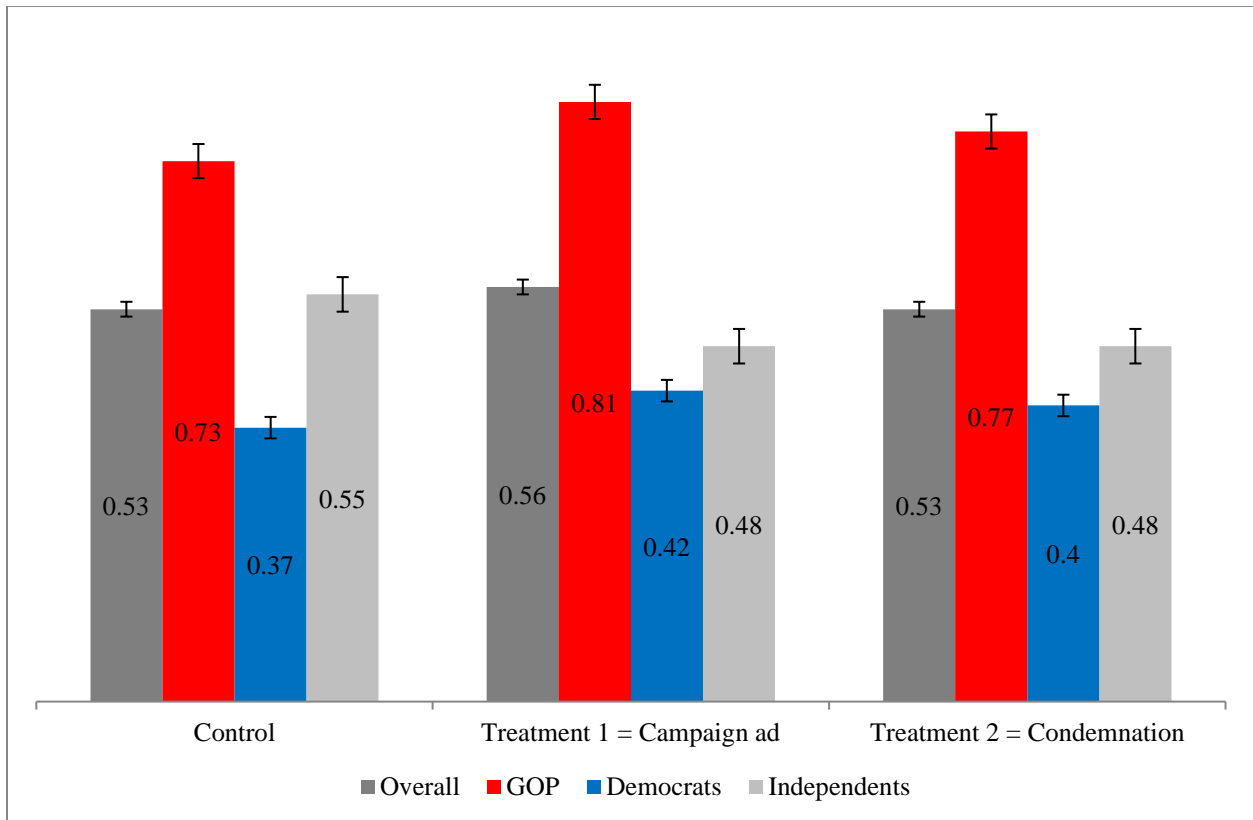
Overall, study 4 presents mixed results. The expectation was that there would be a tipping point for those who accept explicitly Islamophobic campaign messaging. That after learning the

potentially violent effects of explicitly Islamophobic rhetoric (and other overtly prejudicial campaign messaging), respondents would reject the Islamophobic appeal by becoming more favorable toward the target individual (Ilhan Omar), less favorable toward the messenger (the GOP), less threatened by the target group, and less supportive of a discriminatory policy that targets the group.

The condemnation is somewhat impactful in neutralizing the decrease in favorability of Omar but is ineffective in neutralizing the effects of the Islamophobic video on GOP favorability, perceptions of Muslim threat, or support for the Muslim ban. It appears that public attitudes toward the main target of the Islamophobic message are influenced by the condemnation. But the messenger is not affected and there is no spillover effect of the condemnation on views of the aggrieved group or policies affecting that group. There may be a tipping point in which knowledge of the effects of explicitly prejudicial rhetoric leads to rejection of the messaging but learning that it increases hate crimes does not appear to be that point.

<u>Conclusion</u>

In October 2017 I interviewed James[68], a member of the group *Life After Hate*, an organization that works with people who are transitioning away from a life of hate. Their membership consists mostly of former white supremacists, neo-Nazis, and other extreme right-wing groups. James, a former white supremacist, narrated a story about a story about a Jewish doctor who saved his life despite his swastika tattoos which caused him to transition away from that life. Moreover, he said could no longer go on hating a group when a member of that group had saved his life. He also said that most members of the group had similar experiences of

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[68] James is a pseudonym. The interviewees real name is not included to protect their identity.

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kindness and compassion from a member of a minority population. Meaningful contact is crucial to tearing down harmful stereotypes and repairing inter-group relations. Unfortunately, this is not a feasible strategy to counter prejudicial campaign appeals which are enflaming inter-group tensions (Costello 2016), harming the mental and physical well-beings of minority populations (Chavez, Campos, Corona, Sanchez, and Ruiz 2019), and inciting violence (Feinberg, Branton, and Martinez-Ebers 2019).

The four studies presented show mixed, and largely null, results. Moreover, the strategies that were effective in neutralizing the effects of prejudicial campaign appeals in experimental settings have pitfalls in the real world. Study 1 found that bi-partisan condemnations reduce electoral support for Duncan Hunter in an election for the U.S. House of Representatives. Though the effect is substantial, bi-partisan condemnation are rare and, on issues of race, almost nonexistent. The results of study 3 showed that media condemnation of prejudice can be somewhat effective in low-information election contexts but can backfire in high-information environments. Study 4 showed that informing the audience of the harmful effects of overtly prejudicial messages somewhat countered the effects of the message on candidate favorability but did not neutralize the effects on party favorability, perceptions of threat, or support for a discriminatory policy.

The effects of each of these studies hinges on the public receiving these messages of condemnation. Whether the condemnation comes in the form of a bi-partisan message, a message from media elites, or information about the consequences of prejudicial rhetoric, the message is only effective in changing group norms if the public at large receives the message. One important qualification of the results is that it is unlikely that this will happen. Moreover, even if the mass public receives the message of condemnation, it is likely that they will also

receive opposing messages as well. Zaller (1992) notes that the greater an individual's level of political awareness, the more likely they are to receive the favorable messages in a one-sided information flow. Thus, that mainstream effect is most influential to people who are political aware. But if elites are divided on the issue then the public's view will also be polarized.

Study 2, however, suggests that an anti-racist counterstrategy from Democrats and other groups may be effective in neutralizing prejudice. When informed that a candidate violated norms of equality, support for the candidate decrease substantially among Democrats and Independents, and even somewhat decreased among Republicans. The results from study 2, combined with the results from article 1, suggest that a foray into "identity politics" is not only an effective electoral strategy, but may also be the morally correct strategy because of the potential to, at least to an extent, neutralize the harmful effects of overt prejudice in politics.

The strategies tested here do not represent the full universe of potential avenues for countering explicit prejudice. Future studies can test additional ways to indicate norms violation or appeal to moral codes. Moreover, strategies that show potential, such as those in studies 1, 2, and 4, should be tested in various contexts to discover the conditions under which they are effective. For example, these strategies are likely more effective in low-information elections than high-information elections. It is likely easier to counteract prejudicial messages targeting groups that are closer to equality on the norms spectrum or coming from messengers who have been condemned in the past for violating social norms. The four strategies presented here represent a starting point for scholarship focused on neutralizing the effects of explicitly prejudicial campaign messaging.

Appendix C1. Bi-partisan condemnation of the Duncan Hunter campaign's overtly

Islamophobic campaign advertisement. The article is used in study 1. From Lucid survey

October 31 – November 1, 2018.

Your Opinions | Duncan Hunter attack ad skewered by critics near and far

Duncan Hunter leaves court as a woman holds a sign for his opponent in the race for California's 50th district, Ammar Campa-Najjar, Monday, Sept. 24. Hunter and his wife, Margaret, pleaded not guilty to charges they illegally used his campaign account for personal expenses. (AP)

By **U-T Letter writers**

OCTOBER 5, 2018, 10:00 AM

Hunter's attack ad sinks below all decency

Last Wednesday a bipartisan group of dozens of national security veterans decried the spot as a "racist and bigoted" attack. "The baseless allegation that he is somehow a 'security threat' is an affront to our professionalism as national security experts, our American values, and our collective national dignity," the group said in an open letter.

The ad accuses Campa-Najjar of being supported by the Islamist Muslim Brotherhood with no evidence, and despite the fact that Campa-Najjar is a Christian. "It's just so interesting that we live in a world where Islamophobia even extends to non-Muslims," Campa-Najjar told the Guardian.

Appendix Table C2. Full regression results of bi-partisan condemnation experiment.

Correspondents to Figure 2. Data comes from Lucid survey October 31 – November 1, 2018.

	Dependent variable: Duncan Hunter Support	
	Campaign Ad	
	Condemn	
	(1)	(2)
Social Norms Index	0.19^* (0.08)	0.15^+ (0.09)
Ideology	0.23^{***} (0.06)	0.05 (0.06)
Treatment 1	-0.07 (0.05)	
SNI*Treatment 1	0.23^+ (0.12)	
Treatment 2		-0.32^{***} (0.06)
SNI*Treatment 2		0.35^{**} (0.13)
Constant	0.51^{***} (0.06)	0.63^{***} (0.06)
Observations	319	312
R^2	0.10	0.17
Adjusted R^2	0.09	0.16
Residual Std. Error	0.27 (df = 314)	0.30 (df = 307)
F Statistic	9.02^{***} (df = 4; 314)	15.89^{***} (df = 4; 307)

Note: + p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

Appendix C3. Article excerpt summarizing Cindy Hyde-Smith's controversial public hanging

comments. The article is used in study 2. From Lucid January 31 – February 1, 2019.

Mississippi Sen. Cindy Hyde-Smith under fire over 'public hanging' comment ahead of runoff

By **KENDALL KARSON** Nov 12, 2018, 3:40 PM ET

Less than a week into Mississippi's Senate special election runoff, GOP Sen. Cindy Hyde-Smith is facing criticism from her African-American opponent and from civil rights groups over a comment she made about "a public hanging" in the days leading into Election Day.

In a video posted by the publisher of the Bayou Brief, a Louisiana blog, Hyde-Smith, who is white, embraced a supporter after he praised her and said before a cheering crowd, "If he invited me to a public hanging, I'd be on the front row."

Hyde-Smith is now coming under fire from her Democratic challenger in the upcoming Nov. 27 runoff, Mike Espy, and the greater African-American community for evoking language reminiscent of lynchings that scar Mississippi's history.

Appendix Figure C5. The relationship between the Social Norms Index and reported likelihood of voting for Cindy Hyde-Smith among only Republican identifiers across control, treatment 1, and treatment 2 groups. Data comes from Lucid survey January 31 – February 4, 2019.
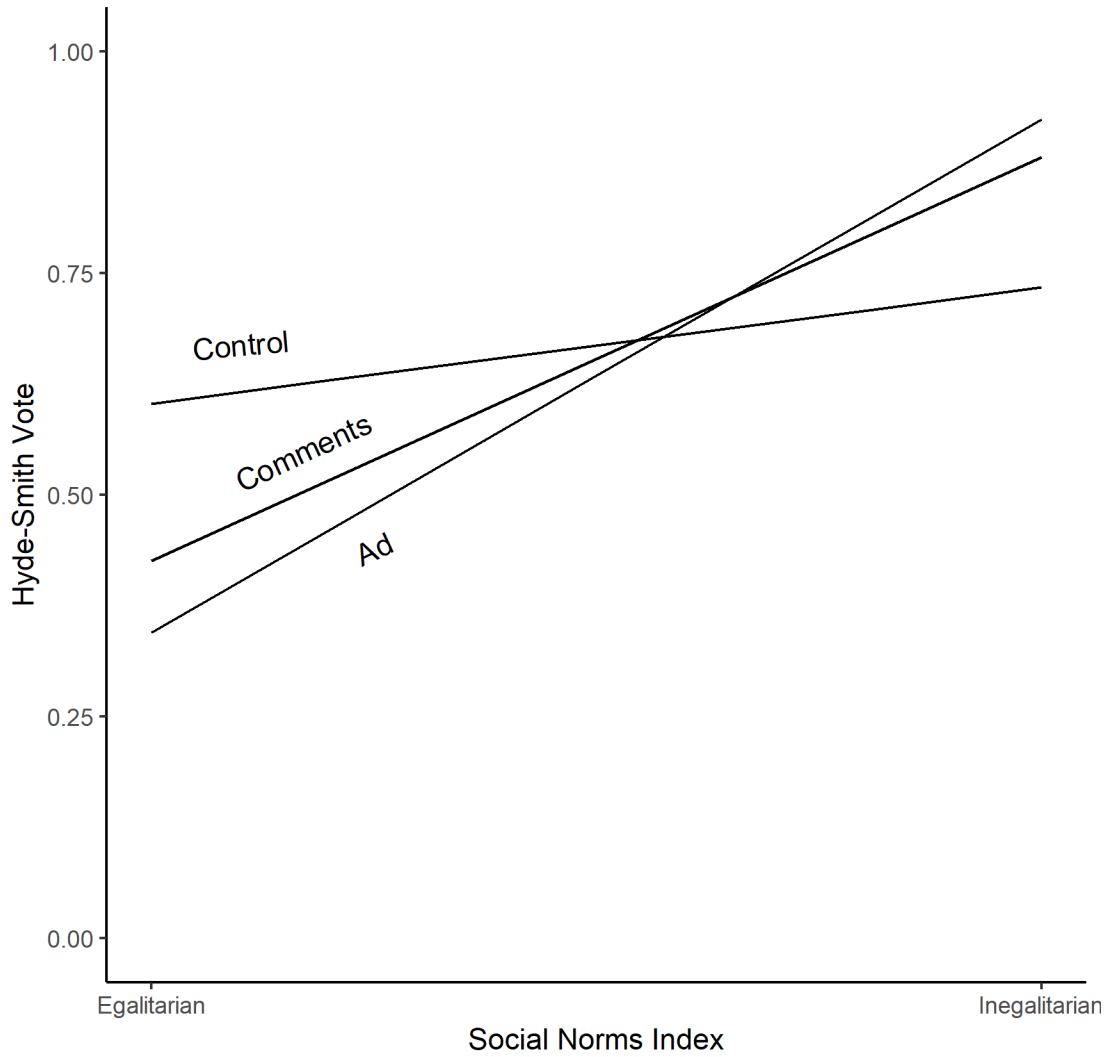
Appendix C6: Media condemnation of the Duncan Hunter campaign's overtly Islamophobic campaign advertisement. The article is used in Study 3. From Lucid January 31 – February 1, 2019.

Your Opinions | Duncan Hunter attack ad skewered by critics near and far

Duncan Hunter leaves court as a woman holds a sign for his opponent in the race for California's 50th district, Ammar Campa-Najjar, Monday, Sept. 24. Hunter and his wife, Margaret, pleaded not guilty to charges they illegally used his campaign account for personal expenses. (AP)

By U-T Letter writers

OCTOBER 5, 2018, 10:00 AM

Hunter's attack ad sinks below all decency

Re *"70 policy experts condemn Hunter's attack ad"* (Oct. 4): The new TV attack ad on Ammar Campa-Najjar has been called by Chuck Todd of NBC's "Meet the Press" the most disgusting campaign ad he has ever seen.

This ad has Duncan Hunter essentially calling Campa-Najjar a Muslim terrorist - who is trying to infiltrate the U.S. Congress. No, Campa-Najjar is not a terrorist, and no he is not a Muslim (he is a born, raised and is still a Christian).

Appendix C7: Media condemnation of Donald Trump's explicitly anti-Mexican campaign

video. The article is used in study 3. From Lucid May 29 – 30, 2019.

Fox News, NBC, and Facebook pulled Trump's racist campaign ad. He's not happy about it.

The latest controversy over Trump's final campaign ad, explained.

By Emily Stewart | Nov 5, 2018, 5:30pm EST

f   🐦   ↗ SHARE

Some networks refused to air President Donald Trump's **race-baiting campaign video** put out in the final stretch of the **2018 midterms**. CNN, for example, **refused to broadcast** the full version of it. Eventually other networks — including Fox News — pulled the ad.

And Trump's not happy about it.

The ad, created by Trump's campaign committee, features footage of Luis Bracamontes, a twice-deported unauthorized immigrant who killed two California police officers in 2014. It ties him to the migrant caravan currently hundreds of miles away from the US-Mexico border and the Democratic Party. Political experts compared it to the **infamously racist Willie Horton ad** used by George H.W. Bush, with some even saying it was worse.

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Appendix C8: Article excerpt condemning explicitly prejudicial rhetoric by raising awareness of the link between rhetoric and increased hate crimes. The article is used in study 4. From Lucid May 29 – 30, 2019.

Counties that hosted a 2016 Trump rally saw a 226 percent increase in hate crimes

There is suggestive evidence that Trump's rhetoric matters.

President Trump hugs an American flag at the Conservative Political Action Conference annual meeting at National Harbor near Washington, D.C., on March 2. (Yuri Gripas/Reuters)

By **Ayal Feinberg**, **Regina Branton** and **Valerie Martinez-Ebers**
March 22

Does Trump's political rhetoric have a measurable link to reported hate crime and extremist activity?

We examined this question, given that so many politicians and pundits accuse Trump of emboldening white nationalists. White nationalist leaders seem to agree, as leaders including Richard Spencer and David Duke have publicly supported Trump's candidacy and presidency, even if they still criticize him for not going far enough. The New Zealand shooter even referred to Trump as a "renewed symbol of white identity."

So, do attitudes like these have real world consequences? Recent research on far-right groups suggests that they do, especially when these attitudes are embraced and encourage by peers. Specifically, the quantity of neo-Nazi and racist skinhead groups active in a state leads to increased reports of hate crimes within that state.

We found that counties that had hosted a 2016 Trump campaign rally saw a 226 percent increase in reported hate crimes over comparable counties that did not host such a rally.

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CONCLUSION

This dissertation makes several complementary contributions to the literature. First, it specifies the factors that have led to changing electoral temptations. The secular partisan realignment moving racial conservatives almost exclusively into the GOP, the heightened racial environment ushered in by the election of Barack Obama, and the rise in perceived group status threat among white Americans have all contributed to the Republican Party's transition away from solely relying on racial code words to now including explicitly prejudicial appeals to activate anti-minority sentiments among the base. Similarly, the partisan realignment and growing racial and ethnic diversity of the Democratic base, reactions to perceived prejudice and bigotry in society, the growing salience of racial and gender group identity, and the growing prominence of identity-based social movements have contributed to the Democratic Party's gradual movement away from racial silence to including explicitly pro-minority appeals in its electoral messaging strategy.

Second, the dissertation develops a theoretical framework to understand when racial appeals will be accepted or rejected. The *theory of differential norms* posits that social norms play a central role in our evaluation of racial appeals but there is no one norm that guides all political messaging. Rather, norms vary based on the group being targeted by the appeal and the party purveying the appeal. For some groups, a norm of equality has been developed while messaging targeting other groups is guided by a norm of inequality. Explicit appeals targeting Mexicans and Muslims garnered greater support among Republican respondents than explicitly anti-black appeals. Moreover, the Democratic Party is guided by different norms than the Republican Party. However, even among partisans, not every individual will adhere to the same norms. As such, the third contribution is the creation of an original measure of social norms, the

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social norms index, which demonstrates substantial predictive power on the acceptance or rejection of candidates who use explicitly pro- and anti-minority appeals.

Experimental findings demonstrate that explicitly prejudicial appeals can increase support for candidates and policies and increase threat perceptions of the groups being targeted. The fourth major contribution is the development of strategies to neutralize the effects of overt prejudice. Counterstrategies such as media condemnation and raising awareness of the harmful effects of overt prejudice were largely ineffective. However, an anti-racist campaign from opposing groups such as Democrats, as well as bi-partisan condemnations, were effectively able to counter the effects of explicitly prejudicial campaign appeals in experimental settings.

There are many important qualifications and limitations to this study. First, the narrative in this dissertation focused mostly on the use of explicit racial appeals. However, implicit appeals continue to play an important role in U.S. politics as many other recent studies have demonstrated (e.g. Banks and Hicks 2019; Lopez 2015). Indeed, experimental results in article 2 showed that candidates who used implicit pro- and anti-minority appeals were strongly supported by respondents. Relatedly, not all Republican elites use anti-minority appeals and not all Democrats use pro-minority appeals. Yet, there is a growing trend on both sides of the aisle that is worth dissecting. There are also reasons to believe that this trend will continue in the future (see article 1). Explicit racial appeals have not necessarily diminished the power of implicit messaging and are far from the only avenue for elites to communicate with voters.

Second, there is important variation among racial appeals and in audience characteristics that have not been thoroughly investigated in this study. The effectiveness of appeals likely varies based on how strong the message is and what stereotypes are included in the message. Characteristics of the messenger such as their race and gender also likely influence the extent to

which the appeal will be accepted or rejection. Moreover, the gender, race, and class of the audience also likely matter in their evaluation of racial appeals. The experimental findings also only examine national level elections. Racial appeals in state and local elections likely function differently and may be evaluated differently.

Despite the limitations, this dissertation has contributed to our understanding of the use of racial appeals and the evaluation of these appeals in contemporary U.S. politics. Future work can not only examine variation in the U.S. context specified above, but also expand beyond the U.S. In recent years, Europe has witnessed a rise in far-right parties and leaders in Europe, along with corresponding use of explicitly anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant messaging. Extensions of the theory and analyses in this dissertation to the European context, and particularly cross-national or cross-regional comparisons, may be a fruitful avenue for future studies.

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