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# Predictors of racial prejudice : a meta-analysis of the influence of religion and political orientation

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PREDICTORS OF RACIAL PREJUDICE: A META-ANALYSIS OF THE  
INFLUENCE OF RELIGION AND POLITICAL ORIENTATION

An Abstract of a Thesis  
Submitted  
in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts

Kristin Ann Broussard  
University of Northern Iowa  
July 2015

## ABSTRACT

The effects of religion and political orientation on racial prejudice are frequently studied yet, to date, no research has compared these effects using meta-analysis. One theory of prejudice that may help to predict outcomes is sociocultural theory (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981), which posits that social identities provide norms and values that promote cultural stereotypes. Strong social identities such as religion or political orientation may differentially promote outgroup stereotyping and prejudice. The purpose of this study was to determine the impact of religion and political orientation on anti-Black racial prejudice through meta-analysis. 153 independent samples were analyzed with a random effects model using the *robumeta* package in R (Fisher & Tipton, 2013) and Pearson's correlation coefficient  $r$  effect sizes. Religious constructs (i.e., religious ethnocentrism, religious fundamentalism, religious identity, religiosity) had an overall negligible relationship with racial prejudice, whereas political orientation constructs (i.e., political conservatism, political orientation, SDO, RWA) had an overall small-magnitude relationship with anti-Black prejudice. Conservative political orientation and party identification were significantly related to anti-Black prejudice. Affirmative action opposition as a measure of anti-Black prejudice was significantly related to conservative ideologies, whereas implicit measures of anti-Black prejudice were significantly related to more liberal ideologies. Religion constructs and political orientation constructs showed a small correlation with each other. The effects of religious constructs and political orientation constructs on racial prejudice were not moderated by year, but political orientation effects on racial prejudice were moderated by regional differences. In the

West, the average correlation between political orientation and racial prejudice was higher than all other regions, whereas Northeast samples and in national samples, the average correlation was negative. Political orientation had a greater effect on racial prejudice than did religious constructs, but there were no differences between the magnitude of the average  $r$  when correlations between political orientation and religion were accounted for, indicating that the effects of religion and political orientation on racial prejudice may be interrelated. These results have implications for decreasing racial prejudice among political conservatives through increased intergroup contact.

Conservative political groups in America (i.e., Republicans) tend to be highly insular and are predominantly White; increased intergroup contact may increase individuating information and humanization of Blacks (Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner, & Christ, 2011) and may reduce reliance on negative stereotypes.

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This Study by: Kristin Ann Broussard

Entitled: Predictors of Racial Prejudice: A Meta-Analysis of the Influence of Religion and Political Orientation

has been approved as meeting the thesis requirement for the  
Degree of Master of Arts in Psychology

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## DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Laura and Reed Johnson. Thank you for everything.



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I would like to thank all of the people who have assisted me in completing my thesis, especially my thesis chair, Helen C. Harton, and my thesis committee members, Ariel Aloe, Andy Gilpin, and Nicholas Schwab. I also thank all of those who have supported and encouraged me throughout my education.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Strong social identities tend to promote ingroup cohesion, social exclusion, and competition between groups. From the artificial groups seen in the minimal intergroup paradigm (Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971) and the Robber's Cave study (Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, & Sherif, 1961) to broader social identities (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), extensive evidence supports the idea that social identities can have negative influences on intergroup relations, particularly relations between dominant and minority racial groups. Perhaps two of the most influential and salient social identities for Americans are those of religion and political orientation.

The majority of adults in the United States (83.1%) are affiliated with an organized religion, and 29% report that their religious beliefs determine their perceptions of moral absolutes (Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, 2008). Religion tends to promote messages such as "love thy neighbor" and goodwill towards others, yet prejudice towards outgroup members (i.e., women, the LGBT community, and ethnic minorities) may actually be higher among some religious people (e.g., Burn & Busso, 2005; Johnson, Rowatt, & LaBouff, 2012; Poteat & Meriesh, 2012). Members of religions that focus on maintaining traditional values (e.g., Catholicism; Hall, Matz, & Wood, 2010) tend to be more prejudiced than those belonging to less strict religions (e.g., Buddhism; Hall et al., 2010). Additionally, the religious constructs of religious fundamentalism and religious orientation positively correlate with racial prejudice in prior literature (e.g., Laythe, Finkel, Bringle, & Kirkpatrick, 2002).

Political orientation is another influential social identity for Americans. In 2014, 36% of the general public reported a strong identity with either highly partisan conservative or liberal political typologies, and 54% strongly identified with more moderately conservative or liberal political typologies (Pew Research Center, 2014, June). Political orientation is related to several types of prejudice, including sexism (Wilson & Sibley, 2013), anti-gay prejudice (Poteat & Meriesh, 2012), and racial prejudice (Hall et al., 2010). Specifically, conservatives are more likely to report modern racism, the justification and reframing of prejudicial attitudes towards ethnic minorities that allow for the open expression of prejudice (Harton & Nail, 2008; Nail, Harton, & Decker, 2003). Liberals tend to show aversive racism: genuine prejudicial reactions that are suppressed or readjusted for, often by overcompensating and reporting favoritism towards ethnic minorities (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998; Harton & Nail, 2008; Nail et al., 2003). The conservative concept of right-wing authoritarianism -- the amenable following of an authority figure and internalization of that figure's values (Hall et al., 2010; Johnson, LaBouff, Rowatt, Patock-Peckham, & Carlisle, 2012; McCleary, Quillivan, Foster, & Williams, 2011) -- is also associated with increased racial prejudice (Rowatt & Franklin, 2004).

Although most previous meta-analyses have treated religion and political orientation separately, the dependency of these social identities is strong enough to be identified by individuals in self-reports (i.e., Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, 2008). In addition, greater numbers of Mormons and Evangelicals identify as conservative or as members of the Republican party, whereas Jewish, Hindu, Buddhist,

and secular individuals are more likely to classify themselves as liberal in their political views (Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, 2008). Furthermore, even psychological constructs related to religion and political orientation are not completely separate. Right-wing authoritarianism and social dominance orientation are often used as operational definitions of both religion and political orientation and have repeatedly been shown to relate to both social identities (e.g., Altemeyer & Hunsberg, 1992; McCann, 2010; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994; Sidanius, 1985). Taking this into consideration, the dependency of religious and political constructs appears unavoidable and should be a key factor in the analyses of religious and political variables. The sociocultural theoretical framework may help to elucidate how these dependent constructs may function differently in relation to racial prejudice.

In this paper, I discuss a theoretical framework that provides possible explanations for the impacts religion and political orientation have on prejudice, give a brief literature review of the research on religion and political orientation and racial prejudice, and then describe a meta-analytic study of these effects. The meta-analysis assessed constructs related to religion and political orientation, examining which has the larger effect on racial prejudice. Additionally, I evaluated the dependency of these effects (i.e., religion and political orientation on prejudice) by comparing the correlated correlation coefficients. I also considered the moderating effects of year of data collection of religious and political constructs in relation to prejudice, and compared the effects of religious and political constructs on racial prejudice across different regions of the United States.

### Theory

Sociocultural theory (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981; Katz & Braly, 1933) posits that culture provides roles and scripts for how to behave, which can inform “cultural stereotypes.” People are socialized to follow the social norms and values of their culture and in an effort to gain social approval, cultural stereotypes are maintained and perpetuated. There are two perspectives of sociocultural theory: the structural-functional perspective and the conflict perspective (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981). The structural-functional perspective assumes that culture is derived from social consensus, wherein individuals act in accordance with socially-determined norms and values. Stereotypes serve a functional purpose by delineating and characterizing groups and the expected behaviors of members of that group. An individual’s expression of stereotypes about another group reaffirms membership and belonging to her culture. The conflict perspective posits that different social groups have disparate norms and values, which breed intergroup conflict. Stereotypes characterize an internalization of the values of an individual’s cultural subgroup that promote the superiority of the ingroup (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981).

In prejudice research, sociocultural theory is often applied to socialization processes that help to encourage stereotypes and prejudice (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1976). Children with strong identification with their parents show similar attitudes toward African Americans as their parents; highly identified children showed greater implicit prejudice if their parents reported higher explicit prejudice toward African Americans, suggesting that children internalize the attitudes of their parents through socialization



(Sinclair, Dunn, & Lowery, 2005). Socialization of prejudicial attitudes can also occur in adulthood. European American adults show increased belief in negative African American stereotypes and increased prejudice after relocating to the Southern United States (Dixon & Rosenbaum, 2004; Pettigrew, 1986).

Sociocultural theory has also informed other theories of prejudice, such as symbolic racism (Sears, 1988), as the sociocultural learning of prejudice helps to explain the moralistic justification for prejudice based on values such as the Protestant work ethic (Kinder & Sears, 1981). Culture and social identity tend to emphasize social categorization. The beliefs, values, and attitudes of the ingroup provide guidelines for including and excluding people from the ingroup and define “correct” behaviors for each group; because religion and political orientation are dominant social identities, the group socialization process related to these identities may promote prejudicial attitudes.

Sociocultural theory is the broad theoretical basis for this meta-analysis; however, several other theories, explained in the following sections, address the development of religious and political identities and how those identities relate to prejudice. Indeed, as will be seen in the following sections, religion and political orientation are often associated with, and even predict, racial prejudice.

### Racial Prejudice Predictors

#### Religion

Evolutionary function of religion. Evolutionary psychology posits that the emergence of religion and a belief in God was likely a function of fast-growing societies and that the function of religion was to promote cooperation among strangers in large communities

(Baumeister, Bauer, & Lloyd, 2010; Norenzayan & Shariff, 2008). The cooperative morals infused in religion, along with the mentalization of an ever-present and ever-watchful God, reduce freeloading, stealing, other activities detrimental to social health (Norenzayan & Gervais, 2013; Paul, 2009; Weeden & Kurzban, 2013). Religion may also promote self-control; priming religious constructs increases self-control for subsequent tasks and even replenishes depleted self-control (Rounding, Lee, Jacobson, & Ji, 2012). The influence of religious primes on self-control may lead to the necessary willpower to act in a morally cooperative manner, propagating the social functionality of religion.

The understanding of the cooperative function of religion is widespread, but antithetical to evidence of religious prejudice. If religion fosters cooperation among strangers in large-scale societies, why would prejudice toward racial outgroups -- particularly those of the same general religion -- exist? Possible explanations include responses to existential insecurity, religious transmission, morality, religious orientation motivations, and perceived religious threat.

Existential insecurity. Religion can serve as a means of buffering against existential threats, including threats to feeling in control. Perceptions that events are random and beyond the control of the individual bring negative affect and attempts to restore control (Kay, Gaucher, McGregor, & Nash, 2010). Suffering and poor socioeconomic conditions may also activate threat from perceptions of lack of control and randomness (Paul, 2009). One common and adaptive attempt to restore control, meaning, and predictability is through religion or a belief in God, termed compensatory control (Kay et al., 2010).

Emergence of religion may have originally been a response to the dangerous, impoverished lives of hunter-gatherers. Conditions of socioeconomic dysfunction continued, and in the Middle Ages, the creation of priest castes and organized religion retained the reliance on religion as a means of coping with otherwise unstable social conditions (Paul, 2009). This notion is supported by multinational comparisons of socioeconomic function correlated with religiosity versus secularism, showing that highly religious first-world societies tend to have significantly more dysfunctional socioeconomic functioning than more secular first-world societies (Paul, 2009). Dysfunctional societal functioning may not only predispose people to seek comfort from God and religion, but also to place blame on outgroups for society's ills (e.g., scapegoating; Rothschild, Landau, Sullivan, & Keefer, 2012), and create stereotypes and justifications for prejudice towards those groups (e.g., belief in a just world; Furnham, 1993; Lerner, 1980). Reliance upon religion to restore a sense of control in uncertain or threatening environments, paired with perceptions that outgroups are threatening to ingroup values and resources, may lead to both passive and active harmful intentions toward outgroups (Johnston & Glasford, 2014).

Religious transmission. Religious transmission – the passing on of religious culture to the next generation – occurs through both direct and indirect socialization (Güngör, Fleischmann, & Phalet, 2011). The values of a religious culture are learned by children through explicitly being taught and also through watching the behaviors of parents and other adults in the religious community. Additionally, there are cultural learning motivations for belief in God and organized religion: conformist bias and prestige bias

(Henrich & Boyd, 1998; Henrich & Gil-White, 2001). Conformist bias refers to the tendency for people to imitate beliefs that are seen as normative in their culture or society, whereas prestige bias refers to imitating the beliefs expressed by high-status persons. Both cultural learning motivations propagate and stabilize religious beliefs where religiousness is common or endorsed by high-status individuals (Norenzayan & Gervais, 2013). Cultural learning motivations may also lead people to blindly accept the attitudes of religious authority figures and leaders, including those that derogate outgroups. Motivations for religious belief also influence morality, which in turn may determine responses to outgroup members not conforming to ingroup moral standards.

Religion and morality. Religion fosters a sense of binding morality, the formation of an entitative group with a shared sense of morality and trust and loyalty to the ingroup (Graham & Haidt, 2010). Binding moral foundations include three dimensions: ingroup/loyalty, authority/respect, and purity/sanctity, which underlie most religions. The ingroup/loyalty dimension of morality functions to maintain self-sacrifice and service toward the religious ingroup over all religious outgroups. The second dimension of morality inherent in religion is authority/respect (Graham & Haidt, 2010). This dimension reflects a moral obligation to adhere to rules and commandments, obey authority figures, and maintain the traditions of the religious ingroup. The purity/sanctity dimension of morality is apparent in religious institutions in the restrictions of food (e.g., not eating pork), sexual behavior (e.g., abstinence), or appearance (e.g., wearing hijabs or modest clothing, not cutting hair). Many of these practices include aspects of purity; however, such restrictions also serve the purpose of costly signaling — the expression of

signals indicating group membership that are costly and thus hard to mimic (Bulbulia, 2007). The creation of costly signals of ingroup membership make it easier to identify ingroup members (and outgroup members), but also serves to sanctify ordinary social actions (Graham & Haidt, 2010).

Together, religious traditions and institutions that foster ingroup loyalty, respect for authority, and sanctified practices serve to bond religious members together in a cooperative and trustful community. Conversely, ingroup loyalty and adherence to the values of authority figures can also promote negative attitudes and even violence towards outgroups (Carnes, Lickel, & Janoff-Bulman, 2015).

Religious orientation motivations. The concept of intrinsic and extrinsic religious orientations (Allport & Ross, 1967) was created to help elucidate the relationship between religiosity and prejudice. People with extrinsic religious orientation participate in religion as a means to serve instrumental goals (i.e., enhancing social status, social-identity enhancement), whereas people with intrinsic religious orientation internalize religious teachings and use them to guide other aspects of their lives (Allport & Ross, 1967). Religious orientation also plays a role in the coping strategies employed to manage a threat to religious identity. Although both intrinsics and extrinsics affectively respond to threat with anger, those with intrinsic orientations subsequently cope with that anger through peaceful confrontation and understanding, whereas those with extrinsic orientations react only with anger and do not use coping strategies to reduce that anger (Ysseldyk, Matheson, & Anisman, 2011).

Furthermore, both extrinsic and intrinsic religious orientations are associated with racial prejudice (Duck & Hunsberger, 1999; Hall et al., 2010; McFarland, 1989). Those with extrinsic orientations tend to be prejudicial toward all outgroups (e.g., racial, religious; McFarland, 1989), whereas those with intrinsic orientation tend to endorse prejudices matching those of religious leaders and to derogate outgroup members on the basis of moral violations (Duck & Hunsberger, 1999)

Perceived religious threat. When an individual's religious institution or religious identity is threatened, religious persons tend to respond with anger, regardless of their religious orientation (Ysseldyk et al., 2011). Threats to religious identity target the individual, the group, the institution, or the belief system on which religious identity is founded. For example, in reaction to 9/11, Christians who perceived the event as a "spiritual attack" were angrier and more in favor of violent attack responses (Cheung-Blunden & Blunden, 2008). It is possible that those with strong religious identities also protect their identity through the exclusion of religious outgroups, ethnic outgroups, or ethnic outgroups that are stereotypically associated with a religious outgroup (e.g., Arab-Muslim ethnodoxy; Karpov, Lisovskaya, & Barry, 2012), such that negative attitudes, and possibly hostility, towards outgroups serves to bolster ingroup esteem and cohesion.

Summary. Several separate factors may help explain why religion is associated with outgroup prejudice. Belief in God and organized religion may have emerged in response to existential crises, randomness in the environment, and societal dysfunction exacerbated by rapid growth of societies as a form of compensatory control (Kay et al., 2010; Paul, 2009). The emergence of religion as a social adhesive and protective institution likely

contributes to the salience of religion as a social identity that people are motivated to uphold, protect, and enhance the value of (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). People with high group self-esteem and those who strongly value their group identity may respond to threats to their group identity with anger directed at outgroups (Martiny & Kessler, 2014; Ysseldyk et al., 2011), which is demonstrated by the association of religious fundamentalism, religious identity, and religiosity with racial prejudice. The next section examines the research linking specific religious constructs with racial prejudice.

### Religion and Racial Prejudice

The relationship between religion and racial prejudice has been well-established (e.g., Jacobson, 1998; Perkins, 1992; Rowatt, LaBouff, Johnson, Froese, & Tsang, 2009; Shen, Yelderman, Haggard, & Rowatt, 2013). Several religious constructs, including religious fundamentalism (Hill, Cohen, Terrell, & Nagoshi, 2010; Kirkpatrick, 1993; Laythe et al., 2002), religious ethnocentrism (Altemeyer, 2004), religious identity (Jacobson, 1998; Perkins, 1992), and religiosity (Johnson, Rowatt, & LaBouff, 2012), relate to racial prejudice.

Altemeyer (2003) proposed that the counterintuitive tendency for fundamentalist Christians to report racial prejudice may stem from learning to categorize people into “us” versus “them” through early religious teachings. Emphasizing the importance of religion and that those religious teachings provide the “one truth” (i.e., fundamentalism) may establish a foundation for prejudice towards a variety of groups classified as “thems” (Rowatt, Franklin, & Cotton, 2005). This foundation for discrimination lies in religious ethnocentrism, or religious racism, the tendency to make ingroup-outgroup distinctions

based on religious beliefs and religious group identity (Altemeyer, 2003; Hall et al., 2010). Religious ethnocentrism is highly correlated with religious fundamentalism, although religious ethnocentrism is more highly correlated with racial and anti-gay prejudice than religious fundamentalism, for both students and their parents (Altemeyer, 2003). Fundamentalist Christians report a strong emphasis on religious identity in their childhood, which includes the shunning and disparaging of other religious groups and atheists. These lessons in outgroup prejudice may generalize to classifying others based on any group identity attribute that is different from their own (i.e., race, sexual orientation, religion) and viewing outgroup members as morally inferior or wrong (Altemeyer, 2003). Religiosity, even when controlling for fundamentalist beliefs, is also associated with racial prejudice towards Black and Arabs (Shen, Yelderman et al., 2013).

Constructs associated with religion, including religious fundamentalism, religious ethnocentrism, religious identity, and religiosity are associated with racial prejudice, indicating that certain social identities may influence negative attitudes toward outgroups. Religion, however, is only one important social identity that influences racial attitudes; another prominent and salient social identity to consider is political orientation.

### Political Orientation

Political conservatism is often characterized by resistance to change, defense of the status quo, and preference for hierarchical social status among groups (Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski, & Sulloway, 2003). These characteristics may build on one another; traditional social structures tend to embody inequality, and resisting changes to traditional values means maintaining the dominance of some groups over others. Conservative



ideologies also tend to emphasize personal responsibility and place attributional judgments on others, holding them responsible for their situation (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003).

Additionally, a more nuanced approach to prejudicial attitudes indicates that specific outgroups elicit different patterns of emotion, which are in turn associated with different actions (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005). For European Americans, African Americans elicit emotions of fear, anxiety, and pity, and increased prejudice (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005). Furthermore, intergroup emotions theory (Mackie, Devos, & Smith, 2000) suggests that the link between social dominance orientation (SDO) and racial prejudice may be motivated by negative emotions toward African Americans (Mackie, Smith, & Ray, 2008). Social identities include emotional valence as part of their group categorization and when an outgroup is perceived as threatening to the ingroup, emotions such as fear and anger become part of the perceived outgroup identity and shape attitudes toward that group (Mackie et al., 2008). Individuals high in SDO perceive African Americans as challenging the social hierarchy in which Whites dominate over other racial groups and show greater negative emotions (i.e., fear, anger, resentment) and less positive emotions (i.e., sympathy, pride) toward African Americans, leading to increased prejudice (Mackie et al., 2008). Several theories help to explain reasons for the relationship between political orientation and prejudicial attitudes, including Protestant work ethic (Weber, 1958), system justification (Jost & Banaji, 1994), the justification-suppression model (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003), and the integrated model of prejudice (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998).

Protestant work ethic. Protestant work ethic (PWE; Weber, 1958) describes the belief that success is the product of hard work. For some individuals and in many Western cultures, this belief also justifies the hardship of oppressed groups, explaining disparities between advantaged and disadvantaged groups as a consequence of individuals from disadvantaged groups not working hard enough (Rosenthal, Levy, & Moyer, 2011). PWE can be conceptualized as a lay theory held by many individuals, particularly those in countries with high power distance and high economic disparities (Furnham, 1987).

PWE is associated with conservative ideologies (Feather, 1984; Furnham et al., 1993), Republican party membership (Tang & Tzeng, 1992), authoritarianism (Esses & Hodson, 2006; Furnham, 1987, Furnham et al., 1993), social dominance orientation (Esses & Hodson, 2006; Levy, West, Ramirez, & Karafantis, 2006; Rosenthal et al., 2011), and prejudice toward African Americans (Kinder & Sears, 1981; Levy et al., 2006). Perhaps most importantly, PWE is often used to rationalize prejudiced attitudes (Levy et al., 2006), justify racist beliefs (Esses & Hodson, 2006), and warrant opposition to policies designed to aid disadvantaged groups (Rosenthal et al., 2011).

System justification theory. System justification theory (Jost & Banaji, 1994) describes the process through which the current social system, or social order, is endorsed and legitimized, even by disadvantaged groups that may be oppressed by the system (Jost & Banaji, 1994). Integrated into system justification are group justifications, which posit that individuals are motivated to insulate their ethnocentric ingroup and its members from outgroups (e.g., racial segregation), and are motivated to justify the interests of their

group over other groups (e.g., prejudice, discrimination; Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004). Rather than taking steps towards racial inclusion or the reduction of racial disparities, system justification provides a means for endorsing the current (unequal) situation (Jost et al., 2004). System justification focuses on the positive attitudes and support people have toward the status quo: for disadvantaged groups, rationalization of the current social system may serve to protect individual self-esteem, guilt, and dissonance (Jost, 2001; Jost & Burgess, 2000; Jost & Hunyady, 2003).

System justification ideology is associated with other ideologies including political conservatism (Jost et al., 2004), right-wing authoritarianism (Jost et al., 2003), social dominance orientation (Levin, Sidanius, Rabinowitz, & Federico, 1998; Oldmeadow & Fiske, 2007; Sidanius, Pratto, Van Laar, & Levin, 2004), Protestant work ethic (Kay & Jost, 2003), and just-world beliefs (Jost & Andrews, 2011; Oldmeadow & Fiske, 2007). Each of these ideologies includes a component of rationalization for the current system, through resistance to change (political conservatism), maintenance of social hierarchy and ingroup dominance over outgroups (RWA, SDO), and justification for social disparities through victim-blaming (PWE, just-world beliefs).

Justification-suppression model. Unlike PWE and system justification, which provide insight into the underlying mechanisms through which prejudice and stereotypes are formed, the justification-suppression model (JSM; Crandall & Eshleman, 2003) describes how such prejudices are expressed (or not expressed). JSM assumes that people acquire and hold “genuine” prejudices toward outgroups, especially racial outgroups, but that the explicit expression of such prejudices is generally not socially acceptable

(Crandall & Eshleman, 2003). As people mature and become more socialized, they become practiced at suppressing prejudicial expressions that are not condoned by social norms (i.e., expressions of explicit racial prejudice). Conversely, prejudice may be outwardly expressed and internally condoned without penalty if it can be justified. Suppression is a cognitively-involved, attentive process motivated by social norms and personal values or ideologies. Justification requires that some motivation for suppression exists - if there is no sanction for expressing prejudice, then no justification is necessary – and because suppression is cognitively taxing, people are motivated to seek out justifications that allow for the expression of their prejudices (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003). Justifications for prejudice often involve ideologies such as RWA (justification through fear and anxiety), SDO (support of social hierarchies), system justification (reification of the status quo), PWE (the disadvantaged are lazy), belief in a just world (people get what they deserve) conservatism (emphasis on tradition and resistance to change), and religion (violations of morality).

Integrated model of racism. Based on the integrated model of racism (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998), political conservatives tend to show modern racism: the justification of racist beliefs and stereotypes. For example, conservatives are more likely to endorse negative stereotypes about African Americans, such as that they are lazy or predisposed to criminality, which justify prejudice toward African Americans (Harton & Nail, 2008). Similarly, conservative values such as Protestant work ethic serve to rationalize negative attitudes toward racial outgroups and contribute to justifications for racial prejudice (Esses & Hodson, 2006; Levy et al., 2006). Additionally, conservatism has been linked to

“principled objections” of affirmative action policies (Federico & Sidanius, 2002a; Federico & Sidanius, 2002b; Sidanius, Pratto, & Bobo, 1996; Williams et al., 1999), where opposition to such policies is framed as a political issue rather than a racial issue, justifying the reinforcement of group hierarchies and dominance (Federico & Sidanius, 2002a; Nail, MacDonald, & Levy, 2000). Tests of such “principled objections” show correlations between political conservatism and racial prejudice that increase with educational attainment, likely because principled arguments can be justified more coherently as education increases (Federico & Sidanius, 2002a; Federico & Sidanius, 2002b; Sidanius, Pratto et al., 1996).

Conservatives tend to oppose affirmative action policies that benefit racial minorities to a greater degree than affirmative action programs that support women (Reyna, Henry, Korfmacher, & Tucker, 2005), suggesting that policy-based arguments may be biased against certain groups. Conservatives may view Blacks as undeserving beneficiaries based on the stereotype that they are lazy, whereas they support women benefitting from affirmative action policies because women are viewed as more hard-working (Reyna et al., 2005). Some evidence suggests that conservatives and liberals alike make personal attributional explanations for others’ behavior and problems; however, the motivated reasoning utilized by conservatives and liberals tends to be based on political ideologies, resulting in support for the policies that best fit their ideological values (Skitka & Washburn, in press).

Contrary to conservatives, liberals tend to show aversive racism, expressed through favoritism towards African Americans as an over-adjustment of automatic

negative responses to them. Aversive racism stems from people holding egalitarian self-views but also holding negative attitudes toward certain groups, generally due to socialization processes or from social categorization biases (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). The conflict between these biased attitudes and egalitarian values causes cognitive dissonance, which can be resolved through justifying prejudicial attitudes and allowing for the expression of subtle prejudice, or through overcompensation favoring the outgroup (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998; 2000). Indeed, liberals show heightened physiological responses in the presence of African Americans, suggesting that they are experiencing cognitive dissonance between their automatic prejudicial responses and their desire to not appear racist (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998; Nail et al., 2003). Liberals with aversive racism also show favoritism toward Blacks when there is no justification, but will show greater disfavor when provided a justification for their negative attitudes (Nail, Harton, & Barnes, 2008).

Summary. Conservative political orientations and ideologies tend to endorse a resistance to change in the social system, which in turn leads to an endorsement of social inequality and the dominance of certain groups over other groups (Jost et al., 2003). Conservatives also tend to oppose affirmative action policies benefitting African Americans, possibly due to (1) racial prejudice masquerading as policy-based arguments (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), or (2) the endorsement of stereotypes about African Americans that make them seem like unworthy beneficiaries (Reyna et al., 2005). Furthermore, conservatives and liberals express very different types of racial prejudice; conservatives tend to show modern racism, whereas liberals tend to show aversive racism

(Nail et al., 2003). The following section addresses the specific political orientation constructs related to racial prejudice and theoretical explanations for the association between political orientation and racial prejudice.

### Political Orientation and Racial Prejudice

Politically conservative ideologies are consistently linked to racial prejudice (Brandt & Reyna, 2014; Henry & Sears, 2002; McFarland, 2010; Sears & Henry, 2003), across time and across regions of the United States (Carter, Corra, Carter, & McCrosky, 2014). Political conservatives tend to score higher than liberals on symbolic or modern racism measures (e.g., Brandt & Reyna, 2012; Henry & Sears, 2002; Sears & Henry, 2003), as well as on measures of old-fashioned or traditional racism (e.g., Federico & Sidanius, 2002a; Sidanius, Pratto, & Bobo, 1994; Sidanius, Levin et al., 1996), and measures of anti-Black affect (e.g., Cokley et al., 2010; Roof & Perkins, 1975; Sidanius, Pratto et al., 1996). Several political orientation constructs, such as social dominance orientation and right-wing authoritarianism, are associated with conservatism. Some researchers suggest that these constructs are not only related to conservatism, but are foundational aspects of social conservatism (Jost et al., 2003).

Social dominance orientation (SDO; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), the motivation to maintain the superior status of one's group over other groups, has repeatedly been shown to be positively associated with political conservatism (Jost et al., 2003; von Collani & Grumm, 2009; Wilson & Sibley, 2013). Motivation to maintain the ingroup's status over outgroups predisposes high-SDO individuals to utilize stereotypes to denigrate outgroups, leading to prejudicial attitudes (Whitley, 1999). SDO relates to prejudice against African

Americans (Jost & Thompson, 2000; Kteily, Sidanius, & Levin, 2011; Quist & Resendez, 2002), gay men (Whitley & Lee, 2000), and women (Sibley, Wilson, & Duckitt, 2007). Individuals high in SDO tend to oppose equal rights and equality enhancement programs (Federico & Sidanius, 2002a; Sidanius, Pratto et al., 1996), and tend to hold false consensus beliefs that their attitudes toward African Americans are widely held by others (Strube & Rahimi, 2006).

Right-wing authoritarianism (RWA; Altemeyer, 1988) -- the unquestioning adherence to the values of an authority figure -- is also associated with political conservatism (Wilson & Sibley, 2013), the restriction of human rights (Cohrs, Maes, Moschner, & Kielmann, 2007), preservation of the status quo (Caravacho et al., 2013), and prejudice toward outgroups (von Collani & Grumm, 2009). The relationships between RWA and prejudice toward various groups often reflect expressions of prejudice by ingroup authority figures. Indeed, high-RWA individuals show more explicit prejudice toward gay men and lesbian women (openly derogated by many religious authorities) than toward African Americans, but still endorse negative stereotypes regarding African Americans (Whitley, 1999).

### Religion and Political Orientation

Religion and political orientation are not mutually exclusive social identities, nor are they independent in their relation to racial prejudice. Religious Americans report that their religious beliefs influence their political preferences (Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, 2008), and religious fundamentalism is associated with RWA (Osborne & Sibley, 2014; Wylie & Forest, 1992), SDO (Altemeyer, 2003) and conservatism (Brint &



Abrutyn, 2010; Layman & Carmines, 1997). Furthermore, religious fundamentalism, religiosity, and religious identity are associated with conservative political ideologies, and the combination of religious and conservative identities are associated with racial prejudice (Brandt & Reyna, 2014; Johnson et al., 2011; Laythe, Finkel, & Kirkpatrick, 2001; Rowatt et al., 2005). In the United States, religious constructs and political orientation constructs are often related to racial prejudice; however, religion and political orientation are often conflated in social research and the effects of one are not assessed while controlling for the effects of the other. It is difficult to ascertain whether the effects of religion and political orientation on racial prejudice are driven by one identity (e.g., religion has a greater effect than political orientation on racial prejudice) or whether religion and political orientation function in tandem.

### Summary

Religious fundamentalism, religious ethnocentrism, and extrinsic religious orientation (all stemming from high religiosity or religious identity) are associated with racial prejudice. Strict adherence to moralistic values, the blind following of authority figures, and lack of intergroup contact within religious groups may contribute to a tendency to categorize people into “us” versus “them” groups and to derogate outgroups as morally inferior. Similarly, political conservatism is associated with Republican Party identification, social dominance orientation, and right-wing authoritarianism, which are associated with prejudice. Conservative values emphasize inequality, preservation of hierarchies, and commitment to traditional values, often leading to outgroup prejudice and discrimination.

### Previous Meta-Analyses

Several relevant meta-analyses have been conducted on predictors of prejudice: two examining religious constructs, one examining political orientation, and one that confounded religion and political orientation (see Table 1 for summary of previous meta-analyses). Hall et al. (2010) examined the effect of religious constructs (i.e., religious fundamentalism, religious identification/religiosity, religious orientation, Christian orthodoxy) on racial prejudice (i.e., modern and symbolic racism, social distance, racial prejudice). The meta-analysis included studies conducted in the United States from 1964-2008, using one effect size per study. Hall et al. performed the analysis twice, once using a fixed effect model and again using a random effects model, and assessed changes in religious racism and religious attitudes over time through a meta-regression analysis using 1986 as the cut-off point.

Table 1

*Summary of Previous Meta-Analyses Assessing Religion or Political Orientation and Prejudice*

Authors, Publication Year	Years	Country	No. of Studies	Political/Religious Construct(s)	Prejudice Construct(s)	Method	Effect Sizes ( <i>r</i> )
<b>Religion Constructs</b>							
Hall, Matz, & Wood, 2010	1964- 2008	USA	55	Religious identification/religiosit y; Religious orientation; Religious Fundamentalism; Christian Orthodoxy	Anti-Black modern/symbolic racism; social distance from racial minorities	Fixed and Random effects	<i>Random Effects:</i> Religious Identity: .12 Extrinsic: .17 Intrinsic: -.05 Quest: -.07 RF: .13 Christian Orthodoxy: .03
<b>Political Orientation Constructs</b>							
McCleary, Quillivan, Foster, & Williams, 2011	1973- 2008	USA, Canada, England, Northern Ireland, Korea	28	Religious Fundamentalism/Relig ious Quest Orientation	Authoritarianism; Ethnocentrism; Militarism; Prejudice;	Random effects	RF: .33 to .89 Quest: -.23 to -.40
Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski, & Sullo way, 2003	1958- 2002	Australia, Canada, England, Germany, Israel, Italy, New Zealand, Poland, Scotland, South Africa, Sweden, USA	88 samples	Political identification; Conservative ideology; Resistance to change; RWA; SDO; SJT*;	Preference for inequality; Ethnocentrism/Preju dice (fear/threat)		Fear/Threat/Loss – Conservatism: .18
<b>Religion and Political Orientation Constructs</b>							
Terrizzi, Shook, & McDaniel, 2013	2004- 2012		24	Social Conservatism	Behavioral Immune System; Disgust; Avoidance	Hunter- Schmidt; Random effects	.24 to .31

\*SJT = System justification theory

Small to moderate effect sizes were found for the relationship between religious constructs and racial prejudice. With the exception of Christian orthodoxy, most effects did not differ greatly between the fixed and random effects models. Higher religious fundamentalism, higher religious identification, and extrinsic religious orientation were associated with greater racism, whereas intrinsic and quest (seeking the truth in religion, remaining skeptical of any one absolute truth, and continuously reevaluating religious beliefs) religious orientations were associated with less racism (Hall et al., 2010). Christian orthodoxy was not reliably related to racism. As assessed through meta-regression, the relations between extrinsic religious orientation and racism, and religious fundamentalism and racism decreased from pre-1986 to post-1986, as did religious identity in general. The associations between racism and religious fundamentalism, religious identity, and extrinsic religious orientation support the conception of religious racism as an ingroup-versus-outgroup phenomenon. Hall et al. (2010) suggested that racial segregation in congregations and ethnocentric representations of religious figures may contribute to racial outgroup discrimination among highly religious persons.

The second meta-analysis examining the influence of religious constructs on prejudice (McCleary et al., 2011) compared religious fundamentalism and quest religious orientation in relation to authoritarianism, ethnocentrism, prejudice, and militarism. In this meta-analysis, ethnocentrism and prejudice were closely related (both constructs were defined as unfavorable attitudes towards outgroups, and the outgroups included in the studies were women, African Americans, communists, and gay men (which were analyzed together as generalized prejudice). Studies conducted in five countries (i.e.,

United States, Canada, England, Northern Ireland, and Korea) from 1973-2008 were included in the analysis. Five measures of religious fundamentalism and three measures of quest orientation were included, using a random effects model and  $r$  effect sizes. The results show a large effect for religious fundamentalism correlating with higher prejudice and with greater ethnocentrism, although the largest effect of religious fundamentalism was in association with negative attitudes toward homosexuality. A moderate effect was found for quest orientation correlating with less prejudice across all four target groups, although most of the studies included measured anti-gay prejudice (McCleary et al., 2011).

A third meta-analysis by Jost et al. (2003) examined the social-cognitive motivations of political conservatism, measuring constructs that have previously been shown to relate to ethnocentric prejudice, specifically right-wing authoritarianism and social dominance orientation. Jost et al. (2003) analyzed 88 studies from 12 countries over the span of 44 years (1958-2002) examining the influence of death anxiety (e.g., Terror Management Theory) and need for closure on social conservatism (i.e., right-wing authoritarianism, social dominance orientation), and their relation to prejudice and ethnocentrism.

Social dominance orientation and right-wing authoritarianism together were the strongest predictors of prejudice and ethnocentrism, accounting for more than half of the variance, as compared to other motivational factors such as fear or threat. There was an overall moderate relationship between political conservatism and perceived threat from outgroups. The motivations for prejudice appear to differ for RWA and SDO individuals;

those high in RWA tended to express prejudice motivated by fear that secure social structures are eroding, whereas high SDO individuals tend to express prejudice as a means of asserting dominance over other groups to gain a competitive edge in resource acquisition (Jost et al., 2003).

The fourth meta-analysis, which confounded religious and political orientation constructs (Terrizzi, Shook, & McDaniel, 2013), combined religious and political orientation constructs into a broader construct of social conservatism and examined the relationship between behavioral immune system strength (BIS) and social conservatism (i.e., religious and political conservatism). BIS is defined as a collection of psychological mechanisms for avoiding contamination from disease, including avoiding outgroup members who evolutionarily may have been a disease threat. People avoid sensory stimuli that elicit disgust and avoidance responses and should similarly avoid outgroup members because they may be contaminated (Curtis & Biran, 2001; Faulkner, Schaller, Park, & Duncan, 2004; Schaller, 2006). This ingroup preference translates into negative attitudes and prejudice toward outgroups such as people with physical disabilities, gay men, and racial outgroups (Schaller & Park, 2011). Social conservatism was operationally defined as belief systems promoting social exclusivity and adherence to ingroup norms, such as right-wing authoritarianism, social dominance orientation, and religious fundamentalism.

Studies published between 2004 and 2012 were included, utilizing effect sizes from only one measure of BIS and social conservatism per study and using a random effects model. Overall, positive correlations with moderate effect sizes were found

between BIS and social conservatism (i.e., right-wing authoritarianism, social dominance orientation, religious fundamentalism; Terrizzi et al., 2013). Social conservatives promoted social exclusion and dominance beliefs and showed an avoidance of outgroup members. Moderation analyses assessed whether BIS strength and measures of political conservatism (i.e., single-item versus multi-item political attitudes) differentially impacted the effects, but no significant differences were found, indicating that the relationship between BIS and social conservatism was consistent across both levels of BIS and measures of social conservatism (Terrizzi et al., 2013). Although this meta-analysis examined both religious constructs and political constructs as they relate to intergroup relations, religious and political constructs were not analyzed separately, and measures of BIS are not necessarily equivalent to racial prejudice, indicating that a meta-analysis of the direct impact of religious and political constructs on racial prejudice is needed.

### Current Study

To date, most researchers have examined religion and political orientation separately, and no published meta-analyses comparing the influence of religion and political orientation on racial prejudice exist. This study compared the relationships of religion and political orientation with racial prejudice as dependent constructs, through comparing the correlated correlation coefficients. The current study seeks to disambiguate the effects of religion and political orientation.

I conducted an inclusive meta-analysis assessing the effects of the related constructs of religion and political orientation on racial prejudice, and also examined the

individual relationships of fundamentalism, religious ethnocentrism, and religious identity (religion constructs), and political conservatism, political orientation, SDO, and RWA (political orientation constructs) with racial prejudice. Racial prejudice was operationally defined as any interval-level measure of anti-Black prejudice, racism, or attitudes (e.g., modern/symbolic racism, feeling thermometers, social distance, support for affirmative action policies exclusively benefitting Blacks). I only included United States samples, as the attitudes and values associated with political orientations (i.e., liberal, conservative) may differ by country (Greenberg & Jonas, 2003; Jost et al., 2003). Core constructs of conservatism (i.e., traditionalism, promotion of inequality) differ between Europe and the United States, as well as between Western and Eastern Europe (Thorisdottir, Jost, Liviatan, & Shrout, 2007).

### Moderators

Several factors may further influence the expression of racial prejudice. First, shifts over time exist in the underlying aspects of religious racism (e.g., religious orientation, religious fundamentalism). In recent years, the relationship between extrinsic religious orientation and racism decreased, as did the relationship between religious fundamentalism and prejudice (Hall et al., 2010). Hall and colleagues (2010) found that prior to 1986, correlations between extrinsic religious orientation and racial prejudice and between religious fundamentalism and racial prejudice were higher than after 1986. These changes were attributed to changes in social norms and the social acceptability of racism; because extrinsic and fundamentalist attitudes are based on a desire for social conformity and social acceptance, current societal norms that oppose racism should



motivate those with extrinsic religious orientation and fundamentalist beliefs to express less racial bias (Hall et al., 2010). Similarly, research indicates shifts toward greater political polarization over time (Pew Research Center, 2014, July). The year the data were collected for each study was included, and if no year of data collection was reported, the year of publication was used. The dates of collection/publication ranged from 1959-2014, and 1986 was used as the midpoint cut-off year, based on a prior metaregression by Hall et al. (2010) which used the midpoint of their data (also 1986) as the cutoff.

Second, people in certain regions of the United States tend to endorse racial stereotypes more and have greater expressions of prejudice towards stereotyped groups. Historically, racial antagonism toward African Americans has been more strongly endorsed by people in the South, and although Jim Crow racism has declined since the 1960s, residents' endorsement of modern and symbolic racism has remained relatively stable in Southern states (Valentino & Sears, 2005). People in Southern regions of the United States tend to endorse African American stereotypes more than those in Northern regions, and African Americans tend to be discriminated against more often in this region (Dixon & Rosenbaum, 2004). Indeed, recent analyses of Southerners compared to non-Southerners matched on political orientation suggests that Southerners are considerably different in their political view than non-Southerners (White, 2013), in part because of the influence of born-again Christianity (White, 2013) and partly due to the history of racial disharmony in the South (Kruse, 2013; Valentino & Sears, 2005). However, over the last few decades, conservatives from non-Southern regions have been shown to

express greater prejudice toward African Americans than Southern conservatives (Carter et al., 2014). Therefore, the histories of racial prejudices toward different target groups may differentially influence motivated reasoning, stereotype endorsement, and policy opposition for conservative and liberals, varying based on region of the United States.

Additionally, racially-segregated religious congregations may foster ethnocentric views of religious ingroups (Hall et al., 2010) and promote religious ethnocentrism (Altemeyer, 2003). Areas with a high number of historically Black churches may indicate more racially-segregated (versus racially integrated) religious congregations, and the number of historically Black churches varies by region of the United States. The majority of members of historically Black churches reside in the Southern United States (60%), compared to 19% of members living in the Midwest, 13% in the Northeast, and only 8% in the West (Pew Religion & Public Life Project, 2013a). In Western and Midwestern states, the percentage of the population affiliated with historically Black churches ranges from 0-5%, whereas the population of most Southern states that are affiliated with historically Black churches is around 30-40% (Pew Religion & Public Life Project, 2013b). Segregated religious congregations reduce the opportunity for positive intergroup contact within religious traditions, and may promote the inclusion of race in interreligious prejudice (Altemeyer, 2003). Region of the United States was divided into four regions, classified as West, Midwest, South, and Northeast by the U.S. Census Bureau (United States Census Bureau, 2013). When the region from which the data were collected was not reported, the location of the first author's institution was used to determine region.

The individual-constructs (i.e., religion and political orientation) meta-analyses were conducted with year of study and region of sample as moderators to assess the whether there are differences in the relationship between religious or political constructs and racial prejudice based on chronological time or region of the country. Both moderator analyses were conducted as random-effects analyses using the robumeta package in R (Fisher & Tipton, 2013).

### Rationale and Hypotheses

The unique contributions of this meta-analysis are that the correlated coefficients of religion and political orientation are analytically compared as dependent variables (i.e., controlling for the correlation between constructs), a longer span of publication (1959 to 2014) is included, a greater number of studies are included, and more variables (i.e., religious fundamentalism, religious ethnocentrism, religious identity, religiosity, political orientation, party identification, RWA, SDO) are assessed in both the basic meta-analysis and the moderator analyses.

The structural-functionalist perspective of sociocultural theory (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981) would suggest that religion generally has stricter norms and requires an adherence to more structured beliefs and values than political orientation. The hypothesis that religious constructs would have a larger average correlation with anti-Black prejudice than political orientation constructs (H1) was tested in two separate meta-analyses to determine which group identity (i.e., political orientation or religion) has the greatest effect on racial prejudice. Due to the interdependency of religion and political orientation, the correlated correlation coefficients of religious constructs and political

orientation constructs were also analyzed at the meta-analytic level. This study also investigates the research questions: Does year of data collection (RQ1) or regions of the US (RQ2) moderate the relationships of religion and political orientation with racial prejudice?

## CHAPTER 2

### METHOD

#### Inclusion Criteria

The inclusion criteria for the meta-analysis were that at least one of the dependent variables was anti-Black racial prejudice (with equal-interval or higher level of measurement), with a United States sample. Religious fundamentalism, religious ethnocentrism, religious identity, religiosity, political orientation, political conservatism, RWA, or SDO must have been at least one of the variables (with equal-interval or higher level of measurement). Because many of the constructs of interest were not proposed until the mid-sixties (e.g., religious fundamentalism, right-wing authoritarianism), I set the publication date for inclusion from 1964 to 2014; however, unpublished data from the American National Electoral Survey (ANES) included measures of political orientation and racial prejudice from 1959, which were included in the meta-analysis.

#### Collection of Studies

To obtain the studies, a literature search was conducted using the PsycINFO database and Google Scholar. Based in part on the terms utilized in previous meta-analyses (e.g., Hall et al., 2010; Jost et al., 2003; McCleary et al., 2011; Terrizzi et al., 2013), the search terms used were: relig\*, religious orient\*, Christian\*, Catholic\*, religious ethnocentrism, religious racism\*, religious prejudice\*, religious fundamental, right-wing authoritari\*, political orient\*, conservat\*, liberal\*, social dominance orient\*, political dogmat\*, racial prejudice\*, racism\*, prejudice\*, racial attitude\*, authorit\*, dominan\*, and ideolog\*. Studies were also located using backwards reference searching

from the reference sections of relevant articles found through the database searches and forward searching from included articles as well as from previous meta-analyses.

To attempt to address the issue of publication bias, unpublished studies were obtained from researchers. Authors who specialize in research pertaining to racial prejudice, religion, and political orientation were contacted via email to request any unpublished data they had. A “call for data” was also posted on the Society for Personality and Social Psychology and Social Psychology Network online forum and a handout was left at the registration desk of the Midwestern Psychological Association’s 2014 conference, requesting relevant, non-published data from researchers. In instances where insufficient data were reported, an email was sent to authors requesting this information.

Publicly-available data sets using relevant variables and those utilized in published studies were downloaded and analyzed by the researcher, and the published studies using those datasets were excluded from the analysis. The publicly-available data sets included as unpublished data (i.e., analyzed by the researcher) were the American National Election Survey, General Social Survey, Baylor Religion Survey (Association of Religion Data Archives; ARDA, 2013), and Project Implicit Race Implicit Association Test (Xu, Nosek, & Greenwald, 2014).

### Coding

Based on prior meta-analyses of the effects of religion and political orientation on prejudice (Hall et al., 2010; Jost et al., 2003; McCleary et al., 2011), the coding scheme included methodological information from the study such as scale used to measure

variables, sample sizes, sample population (e.g., student, community), data collection method (e.g., in-person survey, mail survey), sample demographics, year of data collection or publication, and sample location. Statistical information, such as tests utilized, types of analysis performed, reliabilities of measures, and effect sizes or specific statistical values needed to calculate effect sizes for each independent analysis were collected (see Table A1 for coding rubric), and the reported correlation between religion and political orientation variables. Interrater agreement was obtained from two secondary coders who each coded half of the data; discrepancies were resolved through discussion and referencing of the articles in pairs. The initial interrater agreement was 88.6%.

#### Data Management

The variable for location of the sample (i.e., region of the United States) was based on the United States Census four-region map (West, South, Midwest, Northeast), with additional coding for data collected from multiple regions (but combined in the analyses) and for data collected online (e.g., mTurk) from various regions of the country. When reported, the actual location of the sample was coded. If the location the sample was drawn from was not reported, I used the location of the first author's university.

Additionally, if the year in which the data were collected was not reported, the publication year was recorded. For the moderator analyses, year of data collection was used both as a continuous variable and again as a categorical variable divided at 1986, per the suggestion of Hall et al. In addition to conceptual evidence from Hall et al.'s (2010) meta-analysis for creating a categorical variable for the year of study, there is statistical reason to do so. Because several studies assessing various types of prejudice, religious

constructs, and political constructs were not available for every year included in the analyses, certain areas of the matrix were heavily populated by zeros, and thus could not be inverted. Converting the year of data collection variable into a categorical variable corrected this issue.

To differentiate dependent sample from independent samples, each independent sample (i.e., different researchers, regions, year, or sample type) was designated an identification number. Thus, dependent effect sizes (e.g., effect sizes for unique variables, but from the same participants) were grouped together under one sample identification number. This identification number was used as the independent sample factor in all analyses. The type of measure used for prejudice, religious constructs, and political orientation constructs was also categorized based on conceptual similarity. Prejudice measures were grouped into 14 categories, religious measures were grouped into four categories, and political orientation measures were grouped into seven categories (see Table A1 for coding rubric).

Based on Field and Gillett's (2010) instructions for conducting meta-analysis, effect sizes were calculated using Pearson's correlation coefficient  $r$ , and analyses utilizing  $t$ ,  $z$ ,  $\chi^2$ , or  $F$  were converted to  $r$ . One study (two effect sizes total) reported  $F$ -statistics and two studies (eight effect sizes total) reported chi-square analyses. These statistics were transformed into  $r$  effect sizes using the `compute.es` package in R (Del Re, 2014). Sensitivity analyses were conducted with and without these studies, which did not alter the results in either the religion or political orientation analyses. Four studies (ten total effect sizes) used a measure of allophilia or positive attitudes toward racial



outgroups wherein higher scores indicate less prejudice, rather than a traditional racial prejudice measure wherein higher scores indicate greater racial prejudice. Effect sizes for allophilia-type scales were reversed in order for all effect sizes in the meta-analysis to be in a consistent direction (i.e., higher numbers indicate greater racial prejudice in relation to greater religious/political constructs). Sensitivity analyses were also conducted without these studies, which did not alter the results for either analysis.

Per the suggestion of Aloe (2015), the coded data were split into two separate data sets for analysis: one with  $r$  effect sizes and computed  $r$  effect sizes, and another with semi-partial effect sizes. Additional predictors included in regression models increase the likelihood of suppression or collinearity in semi-partial effect sizes, which may increase, decrease, or reverse semi-partial effects, as compared to bivariate correlation effect sizes (Aloe, 2015). In the literature used for this meta-analysis, it was uncommon for authors to report semi-partial effect sizes; more often  $\beta$  was reported for the relationship between variables. In order to calculate the semi-partial correlation from  $\beta$ , at least one of several other statistical metrics must be reported (e.g., standard error of  $\beta$ ,  $t$ -value, confidence intervals for  $\beta$ , number of predictors in the regression model,  $R^2$ ). Unfortunately, many authors did not report sufficient statistics to calculate the semi-partial correlations, leaving only six independent samples (29 effect sizes) that could be transformed into semi-partial correlations. However, these six samples could not be used in meta-analysis because all but one sample did not report the total  $R^2$  needed to compute the variance and inverse variance for the meta-analysis. Twelve independent samples (49 effect sizes) reporting  $\beta$  or semi-partial effect sizes were excluded from the analyses.

For the  $r$  effect sizes data set, corrected effect sizes were computed to adjust for the reliability of measures (Borenstein, Hedges, Higgins, & Rothstein, 2009):

$$\text{Corrected } r = \frac{r}{\sqrt{\alpha_{\text{prejudice}} \alpha_{\text{construct}}}}$$

When reliabilities for scales were not reported, the reliability for that scale was imputed from a social psychology scale manual (e.g., Kline, 2013; Reifman, 2014; Robinson & Wrightsman, 1991). Several measures consisted of only a single item (e.g., religiosity, political orientation, party identification, feeling thermometers). For the single-item measures, a conservative estimate of reliability, 1.0, was used.

## CHAPTER 3

### RESULTS

Data were analyzed using the random-effects model, which assumes that the populations that studies draw from have heterogeneous average effect sizes. Random-effects models are recommended for studies in the social sciences because it is unlikely that the populations from which each sample was drawn are homogenous (Field & Gillett, 2010). The meta-analyses were conducted using the robust variation estimation method (RVE; Hedges, Tipton, & Johnson, 2010) in the *robumeta* package in R (Fisher & Tipton, 2013). Robust variance estimation (RVE; Fisher & Tipton, 2013) is a procedure designed to manage dependency in meta-analysis. Dependency in meta-analysis can occur when multiple effect sizes are obtained from the same sample, or when separate samples have been obtained from the same researchers or lab (Hedges et al., 2010). This method also includes corrections for measurement error and estimates the population effect size by weighting the mean of the effect size by the sample size (Borenstein et al., 2009).

The parameter  $I^2$  represents the amount of variance in the observed effects on a relative scale, or the proportion of the variance that is spurious versus due to actual variation (Borenstein et al., 2009). A small number (e.g., closer to zero) would indicate that most of the observed variance is spurious, whereas a large  $I^2$  value (e.g., 75-100) indicates real variation that needs to be explained. The parameter  $\tau^2$  represents the variance of the true effect sizes that could be found given an infinite number of samples, each with an infinite sample size (Borenstein et al., 2009). Such true effects cannot

feasibly be determined, thus the parameter  $T^2$  represents the estimate of  $\tau^2$  using the observed effects included in the meta-analysis, or the variance of the observed effects.  $T^2$  uses the same metric of the observed effect sizes ( $r$ ), and thus represents absolute variation within the  $r$  scale, ranging from 0 to 1.0 (Borenstein et al., 2009). The parameter  $R^2$  represents the proportion of the total variance explained by a covariate or moderator (Borenstein et al., 2009). The purpose of including covariates or moderators is to discover the possible causes for variation between or within the observed effects; a higher proportion of the total variance explained by a given covariate or moderator indicates that the variable helps explain the variability. Conversely, a negative  $R^2$  indicates that the covariate or moderator is not useful in explaining the variance, and  $R^2$  should be truncated to zero (Borenstein et al., 2009).

In both the religious construct analyses and in the political orientation construct analyses, sensitivity analyses were conducted to test whether the overall models were robust for different  $Rhos$ . In the *robumeta* package,  $Rho$  specifies the within-study (i.e., one independent sample) effect size correlation and is used to estimate  $\tau^2$  in order to determine efficient weights for the model (i.e., additional weight is not assigned to studies with a larger number of effect sizes; Fisher & Tipton, 2013). Both overall models (religion and political orientation) were robust against differing  $Rhos$ , and so a  $Rho$  of 0.8 was used for all subsequent analyses (Fisher & Tipton, 2013).

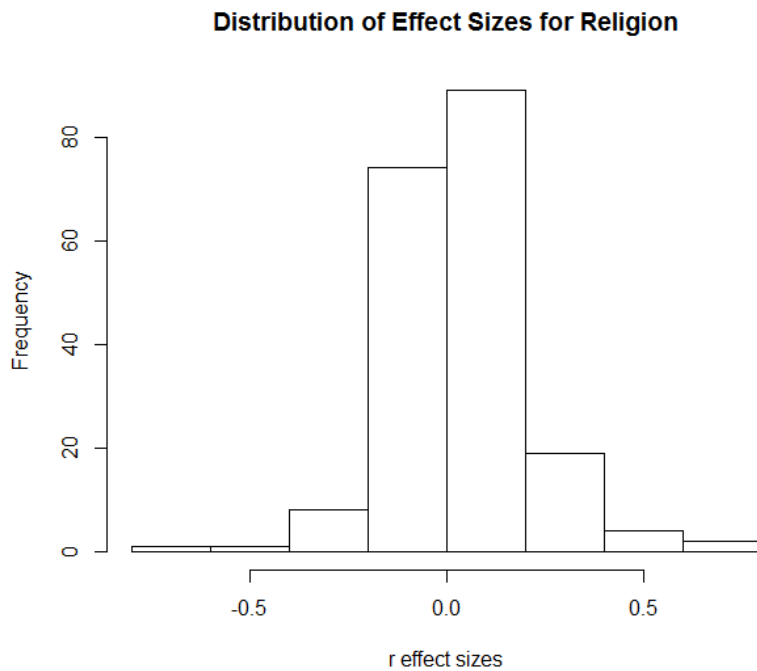
The current meta-analytic study assessed the relationship between religious constructs and racial prejudice for 75 independent U.S. samples (198 effect sizes), and

between political orientation constructs and racial prejudice for 136 independent U.S. samples (371 effect sizes), with year of data collection ranging from 1959-2014.

### Religion Constructs

#### Overall Model

Overall, 75 independent samples were included in the analysis for the religion constructs, totaling 198 effect sizes (see Table B1 for summary of included studies). Two effect sizes were omitted because each effect size represented the only single effect size using the dependent variable ‘opposition to affirmative action’ or ‘perceptions of threat from outgroups’ measures of prejudice. When only a single effect size is included in a categorical factor (i.e., type-of-measure variable), the model does not run due to the inability to invert the matrix when one column or row contains mostly zeroes. The number of effect sizes per independent sample ranged from one to six, with an average of 2.64 effect sizes per sample. All effect sizes reported represent the corrected  $r$  (corrected for scale reliability). The weighted average effect size of religious constructs and racial prejudice was  $r = .05$  (see Figure 1 for histogram of effect sizes).



*Figure 1.* Histogram of Religion Effect Sizes

The majority of studies assessing religious constructs and racial prejudice were from national samples (146 effect sizes; see Table 2) and collected from non-students by telephone survey (99 effect sizes). About two-thirds of the effect sizes for religious constructs and prejudice were unpublished (62%), and 72% of the effect sizes were collected post-1986.

Table 2

*Frequencies of Study Characteristics for Religion Constructs*

	N (effect sizes)	%
<b>Location</b>		
West	3	1.5
Midwest	21	10.5
South	24	12.0
Northeast	3	1.5
National Sample	146	73.0
More than one region	3	1.5
<b>Sample Type</b>		
Students - online	5	2.5
Students - in-person	57	28.5
Students - phone	NA	NA
Non-students - online	21	10.5
Non-students - in-person	14	7.0
Non-students - phone	99	49.5
Mail	1	.5
More than one sample type	3	1.5
<b>Convenience Sample</b>		
Convenience	101	50.5
Representative	99	49.5
<b>Published/Unpublished</b>		
Published	76	38.0
Unpublished	124	62.0
<b>National Survey</b>		
General Social Survey	20	10.0
LA County Social Survey (published)	NA	NA
American National Election Survey	70	35.0
Baylor Religion Study	8	4.0
Race IAT	NA	NA
<b>Categorical Year</b>		
Pre-1986	46	23.0
Post-1987	154	77.0
<b>Sample Characteristics</b>		
Average percent female		53.9
Average percent male		45.9
Average percent White		97.7
Mean age		41.2

The overall model included the corrected effect sizes,  $r$ , without the moderator variables of year, region, or types of measures (i.e., prejudice measures, religion measures). The overall model indicated that most of the observed variance in effect sizes was not due to chance,  $I^2 = 99.95$ , and that there was considerable variation between the studies,  $T^2 = 0.43$  (Borenstein et al., 2009). However, for this meta-analysis, the overall model was not sufficient for explaining the variance in effect sizes, as the intercepts varied significantly between samples,  $r = .05$ ,  $t(74) = 2.75$ ,  $p = .008$ ,  $CI_{95}[0.0141, 0.0885]$ . Therefore, each variable of interest as a predictor (i.e., prejudice measure type, religious construct type) that might account for the variance was run in a moderator analysis model to assess the amount of the overall variance explained by that moderator. Both moderator variables — prejudice measure type and religious construct type — accounted for adequate amounts of the variance to be included in the final model, as determined by  $R^2$  estimates computed from  $T^2$  (Borenstein et al., 2009).

The moderator model for prejudice measures included the categorical prejudice measures as a factor in the overall model. In this model, corrected effect sizes,  $r$ , were included, along with the prejudice measures factor. Seventy-five independent samples and 198 effect sizes were included in the model, and the model indicated that approximately 93% of the variance in effect sizes was explained by the type of prejudice measure,  $R^2 = 0.932$ ,  $I^2 = 98.40$ ,  $T^2 = 0.029$ . Several types of prejudice measures had slopes significantly different than zero, indicating that studies that used these prejudice measures as their criterion variable were associated with increased religion-prejudice effect sizes compared to studies utilizing other measures, when accounting for sample



dependency and number of effect sizes included. Measures of anti-Black prejudice or racism were significant,  $r=.13$ ,  $t(18.24)= 2.95$ ,  $p= .008$ ,  $CI_{.95}[0.0370,0.2190]$ . Measures of modern or symbolic racism were also significant ( $r=.11$ ,  $t(16.70)= 2.50$ ,  $p= .02$ ,  $CI_{.95}[0.0177,0.2088]$ ), as were measures of social distance or behavioral prejudice, ( $r=.09$ ,  $t(17.84)= 2.42$ ,  $p= .03$ ,  $CI_{.95}[0.0125,0.1772]$ ). The remaining prejudice measure types (i.e., affirmative action support, feeling thermometers, race-IATs, traditional or old-fashioned racism, negative stereotypes, affirmative action and racial policy opposition, White privilege, perceptions of threat or competition toward Blacks, support for xenophobic groups) did not have slopes significantly different from zero, suggesting these measures of prejudice were not related to religious constructs.

The average weighted  $r$  effect sizes for each prejudice measure type are mostly negligible, suggesting very little relation to religion constructs overall (see Table 3). However, anti-Black prejudice and racial attitude measures had a small average effect with religious constructs, as did allophilia-type measures (reversed) – although not significant - , indicating that some religious constructs seem to be associated with anti-Black prejudice.

Table 3

*Descriptive Statistics for Prejudice Measure Types in Religion Model*

	N (effect sizes)	Weighted Average <i>r</i> (moderator model)	Weighted Average <i>r</i> (final model)
Anti-Black prejudice/racial attitudes	36	.13***	.13***
Allophilia-type	3	-.18	-.12
Modern/symbolic racism	39	.11**	.07**
Negative stereotypes	3	.10	.14
General prejudice/racial attitudes	10	.09	.10
Social distance/behavioral prejudice	21	.09***	.13***
Race IAT	9	-.02	.02
Traditional/old-fashioned racism	9	-.03	-.05
Affirmative action support	25	-.01	-.05
Feeling thermometer	43	-.00	.01

\*Slope significantly different from zero, \*\* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

The model of religion constructs as moderators included all 75 independent samples and 198 effect sizes, with an average of 2.67 effect sizes per sample. The model indicated that the variance in effect sizes is not likely due to chance,  $F^2 = 99.90$ , and that there is variation between samples,  $T^2 = 0.50$ ,  $CI_{.95}[-0.531, 0.561]$ . However, slopes for the type of religious construct (i.e., religious fundamentalism, religious ethnocentrism, religious identity, religiosity,) were not significantly different than zero, indicating that no measure of religion was associated with greater effect sizes than another measure, (controlling for dependency and number of studies), and did not explain variance in the overall model,  $R^2 = 0$ . The average weighted effect sizes for each religious measure type

were mostly close to zero with the exception of religious ethnocentrism (see Table 4), which had a small average effect with racial prejudice, consistent with the purpose of the construct: making ingroup-outgroup distinction based on religious beliefs, leading to outgroup derogation. However, only three effect sizes for religious ethnocentrism were included in the analyses, so this effect should be interpreted with caution.

Table 4

*Descriptive Statistics for Religious Construct Measures in Religion Model*

	N (effect sizes)	Weighted Average $r$ (moderator model)	Weighted Average $r$ (final model)
Religious ethnocentrism	3	<b>.39</b>	<b>.58</b>
Religious fundamentalism	64	.09	.09
Religious identity/group	8	.02	.00
Religiosity	123	.01	.01

\*Slope significantly different from zero, \*\* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

Note: Bold fonts indicate moderate magnitude effect.

### Final Model

The final model assessed the corrected  $r$  values including the categorical factor for prejudice measure type and the categorical factor for type of religious construct. Although the type of religion measure did not explain a meaningful amount of the variance in the previous moderator model, the inclusion of this factor in the final model

reduced the  $T^2$  more than when only type of prejudice measure was included in the model, indicating that the type of religion measure does account for some of the total variance when included with type of prejudice measure. Most of the observed variance represents actual differences,  $I^2 = 92.51$ , and this model reduced between-study variance from the overall model to  $T^2 = 0.006$  (compared to  $T^2 = 0.43$  in the overall model). As in the overall model, measures of anti-Black prejudice or racism ( $r=.13$ ,  $t(18.24)= 2.95$ ,  $p=.008$ ,  $CI_{.95}[0.0370,0.2190]$ ), measures of modern or symbolic racism ( $r=.07$ ,  $t(16.70)= 2.50$ ,  $p< .02$ ,  $CI_{.95}[0.0177,0.2088]$ ), and measures of social distance or behavioral prejudice, ( $r=.13$ ,  $t(17.84)= 2.42$ ,  $p< .03$ ,  $CI_{.95}[0.0125,0.1772]$ ) had slopes significantly different than zero. As indicated by the moderator model for religious constructs, none of the religion constructs were associated with increased effect sizes (i.e., they are not related to anti-Black prejudice).

This model explains approximately 99% of the variance found in the overall model ( $R^2 = 0.985$ ), indicating that moderating variables may not be present; however, moderator analyses were conducted for both region and data year in order to answer the corresponding research questions.

### Moderator Analyses

The first moderator analysis was conducted for data year, by adding the data year variable to the overall model. The moderator analysis was run twice, once using the continuous variable for data year and again using the categorical variable of data year (i.e., pre-1987 versus post-1987). For the year of data collection, all 75 independent samples and 198 effect sizes were included in the model. Year of data collection did not

have much influence on the model either as a continuous variable,  $R^2 = 0$ ,  $T^2 = 0.44$ , or as a categorical variable,  $R^2 = 0$ ,  $T^2 = 0.44$ .

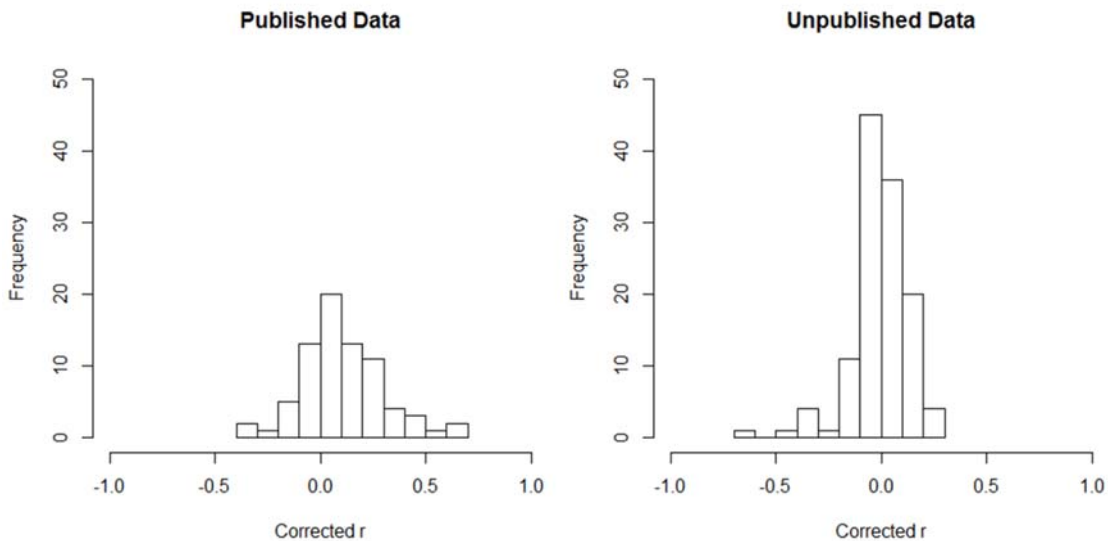
The second moderator analysis was conducted for region of the country. All 75 samples and 198 effect sizes were included in the moderator model for region of the country. Region of the country did not explain much of the variance in the model,  $R^2 = 0$ ,  $T^2 = .50$ , nor were the slopes for any region significantly different from zero.

### Publication Bias

Because standard funnel plot and trim-and-fill procedure software (e.g., metaphor package in R; Viechtbauer, 2010) do not account for the dependency within samples, publication bias was assessed using the method suggested by Egger and colleagues (Egger, Smith, Schneider, & Minder, 1997) of regressing the weighted effect sizes against the standard error of the effect sizes. To assess the existence of publication bias, an RVE meta-analysis model was run using the  $r$  effect sizes and adding the standard errors into the model as a continuous moderator; a slope significantly different from zero indicates some degree of publication bias in the data (A. Aloe, personal communication, April 6, 2015). The Egger's test model shows a slope for the standard error of effects that is significantly different from zero ( $p = .001$ ), indicating that there is some publication bias in these data (A. Aloe, personal communication, April 6, 2015).

To further investigate differences between the published and unpublished data, a moderation analysis was conducted using published versus unpublished data as a moderator variable in the overall model. The slopes for both published ( $r = .13$ ,  $t(30) = 3.54$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $CI_{.95}[0.0542, 0.2025]$ ) and unpublished data ( $r = -.13$ ,  $t(64.5) = -3.33$ ,  $p =$

.001,  $CI_{.95}[-0.2089, -0.0523]$ ) were significantly different from zero, indicating both data sources are associated with increased effect sizes. However, including the data source as a moderator increased the  $T^2$  ( $T^2 = .48$ ; versus .43 in the overall model), and explained only 0.19% of the variance ( $R^2 = .0019$ ), suggesting that the data source does not moderate the effects of religious constructs on anti-Black racial prejudice.



*Figure 2* Histograms of Religion and Prejudice Effect Sizes by Data Source

### Sensitivity Analyses

Transformed effect sizes. The first sensitivity analysis replicated the final model, excluding effect sizes that were transformed into  $r$  from either  $t$  or Chi-square statistics. This excluded five independent samples ( $k = 70$ ) and 12 effect sizes (186 included). The

model remained robust in terms of the true variance,  $I^2 = 92.53$ , and the between-studies variance was not reduced,  $T^2 = 0.006$ , compared to the final model, indicating that the final model is unaltered when transformed effect sizes are excluded.

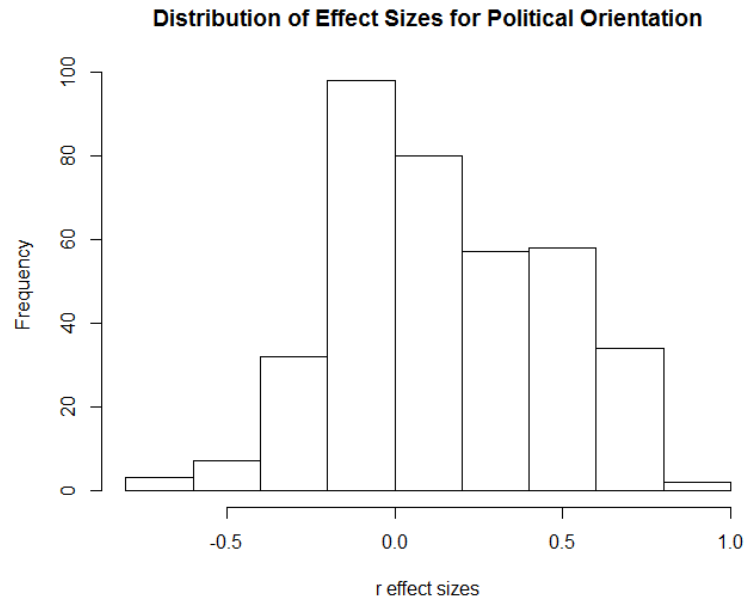
Allophilia-type measures. This model replicated the final model, excluding allophilia-type prejudice scales (i.e., allophilia scale, racial tolerance scale, religious proscription scale, contact tolerance scale). Allophilia describes positive regard and acceptance of groups other than one's own (Pittinsky & Simon, 2007), and the effect sizes for allophilia-type measures were reversed prior to analysis, such that all effect sizes indicate the relationship with prejudice (the opposite of allophilia). Because these measures were statistically altered, it is important to assess whether or not they are influencing the final model. However, excluding allophilia-type scales unbalanced the factor matrix, and the matrix could not be inverted. The model was run without including religion measure types as a moderator on the basis that the different types of religion constructs did not explain variance and were dividing the variance in the current model into too many factors. Excluding allophilia-type measures left 74 independent samples and 195 effect sizes in the model ( $I^2 = 98.39$ ), and increased the between-studies variance,  $T^2 = 0.03$ . Although types of religion constructs did not account for much variance, it is possible that the increase in  $T^2$  in this model excluding allophilia is in part due to the removal of the religious constructs factor from the model.

## Political Orientation Constructs

### Overall Model

Overall, 136 independent samples were included in the analysis, totaling 371 corrected effect sizes (see Table B2 for summary of included studies). The number of effect sizes per independent sample ranged from one to eight, with an average of 2.73 effect sizes per sample. The weighted average effect size for political orientation and prejudice was  $r=.17$  (see Figure 2 for histogram of effect sizes). The overall model included only the corrected  $r$  effect sizes, without the moderator variables of year, region, or type of measure (i.e., prejudice measure, political orientation measure). The overall model indicated that most of the observed variance in effect sizes was not due to chance,  $I^2 = 98.80$ , and that there was some variation between the studies,  $T^2 = 0.07$  (Borenstein et al., 2009). The intercepts varied significantly in the overall model,  $r=.17$ ,  $t(135)= 6.67$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $CI_{.95}[0.0117,0.215]$ , indicating that the overall model may be insufficient for explaining the variance in effect sizes. In order to assess which additional variables (i.e., type of prejudice measure, type of political orientation construct) may explain the between-studies variance, each additional variable was run in a moderator model to assess the amount of the overall variance explained by that variable. Prejudice measure type, and political orientation construct type had adequate explanatory power and were included in the final model.





*Figure 3.* Histogram of Political Orientation Effect Sizes

Most of the effect sizes for political orientation constructs were relatively evenly distributed across study characteristics (see Table 5). About half of the effect sizes were from national samples (52.3%), with the remaining half dispersed across the four census regions of the United States. The majority of samples were non-students, collected via telephone survey (39.4%). About half of the effect sizes came from unpublished studies (54.4%), and the majority of effect sizes were from data collected post-1986 (81.7%).

Table 5

*Frequencies of Study Characteristics for Political Orientation Constructs*

	N (effect sizes)	%
<b>Location</b>		
West	50	13.5
Midwest	49	13.2
South	55	14.8
Northeast	18	4.9
National Sample	194	52.3
More than one region	3	.8
<b>Sample Type</b>		
Students - online	29	7.8
Students - in-person	79	21.3
Students - phone	4	1.1
Non-students - online	80	21.6
Non-students - in-person	12	3.2
Non-students - phone	146	39.4
Mail	3	.8
More than one sample type	15	4.0
<b>Convenience Sample</b>		
Convenience	218	58.8
Representative	152	41.0
<b>Published/Unpublished</b>		
Published	169	45.6
Unpublished	202	54.4
<b>National Survey</b>		
General Social Survey	32	8.6
LA County Social Survey (published)	20	5.4
American National Election Survey	78	21.0
Baylor Religion Study	8	2.2
Race IAT	4	1.1
<b>Categorical Year</b>		
Pre-1986	66	17.8
Post-1987	303	81.7
<b>Sample Characteristics</b>		
Average percent female		56.6
Average percent male		43.4
Average percent White		90.7
Mean age		37.0

The model for prejudice measures as moderators included 136 independent samples and 371 effect sizes,  $I^2 = 98.29$ ,  $T^2 = 0.05$ , and indicated that approximately 27% of the variance in effect sizes was explained by the type of prejudice measure,  $R^2 = .27$ . Several types of prejudice measure slopes were significantly different from zero, suggesting that studies using these types of measures as criterion variables were associated with increased effect sizes (accounting for dependency of samples and number of studies) compared to studies using other types of measures. Measures of anti-Black prejudice or racism ( $r = .20$ ,  $t(9.80) = 3.14$ ,  $p = .01$ ,  $CI_{.95}[0.0583, 0.34636]$ ), general prejudice or racial attitudes ( $r = .35$ ,  $t(11.53) = 3.81$ ,  $p = .003$ ,  $CI_{.95}[0.1476, 0.54716]$ ), modern or symbolic racism ( $r = .28$ ,  $t(9.81) = 4.61$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $CI_{.95}[0.1445, 0.41562]$ ), and measures of opposition to racial policies or affirmative action, ( $r = .36$ ,  $t(10.71) = 6.09$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $CI_{.95}[0.2323, 0.49657]$ ), perceived threat or competition from African Americans ( $r = .32$ ,  $t(5.65) = 4.36$ ,  $p = .005$ ,  $CI_{.95}[0.1378, 0.50382]$ ), and support for xenophobic groups (e.g., KKK, neo-Nazis),  $r = .46$ ,  $t(7.20) = 15.40$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $CI_{.95}[0.3911, 0.53205]$  were significant.

The average weighted effect sizes for measures of White privilege, affirmative action opposition, threat or competition, general prejudice, modern or symbolic racism, anti-Black prejudice, and allophilia-type measures (reversed) were moderate and positively correlated with conservatism (see Table 6). Support for xenophobic groups (e.g., KKK, neo-Nazis) had a large average effect size, as did White privilege (not significant), although there were few effect sizes utilizing these types of prejudice measures, so these effects should be interpreted with caution.

Table 6

*Descriptive Statistics for Prejudice Measure Types in Political Orientation Model*

	N (effect sizes)	Weighted Average <i>r</i> (moderator model)	Weighted Average <i>r</i> (final model)
White privilege	6	<b>.51</b>	<b>.29</b>
Support for xenophobic groups	4	<b>.46***</b>	<b>.23***</b>
Affirmative action opposition	9	<b>.36***</b>	<b>.34***</b>
General prejudice/racial attitudes	31	<b>.35***</b>	.14
Threat/competition	10	<b>.32***</b>	.18
Modern/symbolic racism	68	<b>.28***</b>	.13
Anti-Black prejudice/racial attitudes	67	<b>.20**</b>	.02
Negative stereotypes	12	.17	-.04
Allophilia-type	7	.16	-.13
Traditional/old-fashioned racism	28	-.09	-.14**
Race IAT	29	-.08	<b>-.24***</b>
Feeling thermometer	70	-.08	-.11**
Affirmative action support	20	.04	<b>.27***</b>
Social distance/behavioral prejudice	10	-.01	-.16**

\*Slope significantly different from zero, \*\* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

Note: Bold fonts indicate small magnitude effects, bold-italic fonts indicate moderate magnitude effects.

For political orientation constructs as moderators, 136 independent samples and 371 effect sizes were included,  $I^2 = 98.23$ ,  $T^2 = 0.05$ . Approximately 28% of the variance appears to be explained by political orientation constructs,  $R^2 = 0.282$ . Three types of political orientation measures were also significant: RWA ( $r = .29$ ,  $t(36.46) = 7.93$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $CI_{.95}[0.2186, 0.369]$ ), political orientation (e.g., conservative-liberal) measures ( $r =$

-.30,  $t(64.81) = -6.60$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $CI_{.95}[-0.3874, -0.207]$ ), and political party identification measures ( $r = -.25$ ,  $t(58.42) = -5.26$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $CI_{.95}[-0.346, -0.155]$ ).

The average weighted effect sizes for RWA, political orientation, and party identification associated with racial prejudice were moderate, indicating that increases in these constructs were associated with greater prejudice (see Table 7).

Table 7

*Descriptive Statistics for Political Orientation Measure Types in Political Orientation Model*

	N (effect sizes)	Weighted Average $r$ (moderator model)	Weighted Average $r$ (final model)
RWA	67	<b>.29***</b>	<b>.29</b>
Party identification	60	<b>-.25***</b>	<b>-.22***</b>
Political orientation (liberal-conservative)	113	<b>-.30***</b>	<b>-.23***</b>
Liberalism/egalitarianism	4	.16	-.01
Conservatism	32	.09	.08
SDO	83	.03	.01
F-scale	12	-.01	.02

\*Slope significantly different from zero, \*\* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

Note: Bold fonts indicate small magnitude effect.

Final Model

The final model assessed the corrected  $r$  effect sizes and included a categorical factor for type of prejudice measure and a categorical factor for type of political

orientation construct. The model included 136 independent samples and 371 effect sizes, with an average of 2.73 effect sizes per sample. Most of the observed variance is not spurious,  $I^2 = 97.39$ , and this model reduced between-study variance from the overall model,  $T^2 = 0.03$  (compared to  $T^2 = 0.07$  in the overall model).

Several prejudice measure types had slopes significantly different from zero, in addition to the significant prejudice measure types indicated by the prejudice measure moderator model. Measures of support for affirmative action policies (reversed;  $r=.27$ ,  $t(14.46)= 4.28$ ,  $p= .001$ ,  $CI_{.95}[0.13404,0.4018]$ ); feeling thermometer measures ( $r=-.11$ ,  $t(10.19)= -2.88$ ,  $p= .02$ ,  $CI_{.95}[-0.19553, -0.0254]$ ); race-IAT measures ( $r=-.24$ ,  $t(18.01)= -3.41$ ,  $p= .003$ ,  $CI_{.95}[-0.38597, -0.0915]$ ); traditional/old-fashioned racism ( $r=-.14$ ,  $t(13.86)= -2.48$ ,  $p= .03$ ,  $CI_{.95}[-0.25499, -0.0181]$ ); and measures of social distance ( $r=-.16$ ,  $t(14.85)= -2.58$ ,  $p= 0.02$ ,  $CI_{.95}[-0.29404, -0.0281]$ ) became significant in the final model. Conversely, measures of perceived threat or competition from African Americans ( $r=.18$ ,  $t(5.97)=1.88$ ,  $p= .10$ ); measures of anti-Black prejudice or racism ( $r=.02$ ,  $t(13.77)= 0.34$ ,  $p= .74$ ); measures of general prejudice or racial attitudes ( $r=.14$ ,  $t(16.83)= 1.39$ ,  $p= .18$ ); and measures of modern or symbolic racism ( $r=.13$ ,  $t(11.84)= 2.11$ ,  $p= .06$ ) were no longer significant in the final model. It is possible that the types of political orientation measures are acting as a suppressor variable; when included in the model with prejudice measure types, previously insignificant measures became significant and vice versa. These findings may be indicative of the influence of political orientation on certain types of anti-Black prejudice. Namely, more implicit measures of racial prejudice (e.g., IAT) and behavioral or emotional measures of prejudice (e.g., social distance, feeling

thermometers) may be heavily influenced by liberal political ideologies, as suggested by the negative correlation between these measures of prejudice and political orientation. Indeed, the integrated model of racism suggests that liberals are more likely to have aversive racism (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998), wherein their innate prejudices are only captured by implicit or behavioral measures (Harton & Nail, 2008; Nail et al., 2003), not through self-report-type measures. Conversely, more conservative political ideologies were significantly associated with more explicit attitudinal measures of prejudice (i.e., support for xenophobic groups, affirmative action opposition), as well as having a small average correlation with measures of White privilege (although not significant).

As in the moderator model for political orientation constructs, political orientation measures ( $r = -.23$ ,  $t(65.73) = -4.22$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $CI_{.95}[-0.34314, -0.1227]$ ), and political party identification measures ( $r = -.22$ ,  $t(62.84) = -4.36$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $CI_{.95}[-0.33059, -0.229]$ ) remained significant. Right-wing authoritarianism was no longer significant in the final model, which may indicate prejudice measures are acting as suppressors on these effects.

This model explains approximately 83% of the variance found in the overall model ( $R^2 = 0.827$ ), indicating that moderating variables may be present, such as the predicted moderators of data year and region on the country.

#### Moderator Analyses

Each of the proposed moderators were analyzed in moderator models. For the year of data collection, the moderator analyses were conducted twice: once using the year of data publication as a continuous variable and once as a categorical variable (i.e., pre-1986 versus post-1987). One hundred and thirty-five independent samples and 369 effect

sizes were included, as one unpublished study (two effect sizes) did not report the year of data collection. Data year did not account for any of the variance in the overall model as either a continuous variable ( $R^2 = 0$ ) or as a categorical variable ( $R^2 = 0$ ). For the region of the country, the same unpublished sample did not report location of data collection or the institution at which the researchers conducted the study; 135 independent samples and 369 effect sizes were included. The region moderator model ( $I^2 = 97.41$ ,  $T^2 = 0.033$ ) explained approximately 54% of the variance,  $R^2 = 0.535$ . Three regions also had slopes significantly different than zero, indicating that those regions meaningfully explained the variance in the model: West samples ( $t(17.72) = 5.036$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $CI_{.95}[0.208, 0.506]$ ), Northeast samples ( $t(10.75) = -3.69$ ,  $p = .004$ ,  $CI_{.95}[-0.619, -0.156]$ ), and national samples ( $t(27.54) = -4.54$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $CI_{.95}[-0.492, -0.186]$ ). Samples from the Western United States had the largest average correlations between political orientation and racial prejudice ( $r = .36$ ), indicating that in Western regions, greater anti-Black prejudice is associated with more conservative ideologies. Northeastern samples ( $r = -.38$ ) and national samples had an average negative correlation ( $r = -.34$ ), suggesting that anti-Black prejudice is associated with more liberal ideologies. Midwestern samples ( $r = .01$ ) and Southern samples ( $r = .01$ ) had negligible average correlations between political constructs and racial prejudice. These results indicate that region of the country moderates the effects of political orientation on prejudice.

### Publication Bias

Publication bias was assessed using the Egger test (Egger et al., 1997), regressing the effect sizes on their standard error, so that the dependency of samples is accounted



for. An RVE model was conducted for the  $r$  effect sizes, using the standard errors as a continuous moderator. The slope of the standard errors was significantly different from zero ( $p < .001$ ), indicating there is some degree of publication bias in the data (A. Aloe, personal communication, April 6, 2015).

To further investigate the influence of the data sources on the models, a moderation analysis was conducted using published versus unpublished data as a moderator variable in the overall model. The slopes for both published ( $r = .35$ ,  $t(66) = 10.57$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $CI_{.95}[0.286, 0.419]$ ) and unpublished data ( $r = -.37$ ,  $t(132) = -9.44$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $CI_{.95}[-0.443, -0.289]$ ) were significantly different from zero, indicating both data sources are associated with increased effect sizes. Including the data source as a moderator slightly reduced the  $T^2$  ( $T^2 = .03$ ; versus  $.07$  in the overall model), and explained 54% of the variance ( $R^2 = .54$ ), suggesting that the data source may moderate the effects of political orientation constructs on anti-Black racial prejudice.

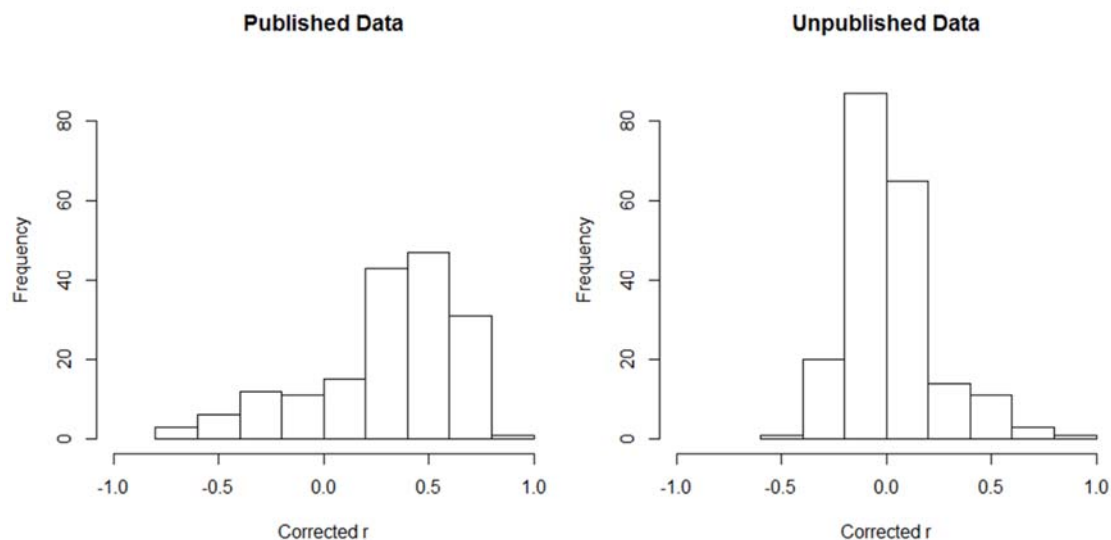


Figure 4 Histograms of Political Orientation and Prejudice Effect Sizes by Data Source

### Sensitivity Analyses

Transformed  $r$  effect sizes. There were no effect sizes in the political orientation data that were transformed from a different statistical metric into  $r$ .

Allophilia-type measures. This model was intended to replicate the final model, excluding allophilia-type prejudice scales (i.e., allophilia scale, racial tolerance scale, religious proscription scale, contact tolerance scale). As in the religion models, the effect sizes for allophilia-type measures were reversed prior to analysis, and because these measures were statistically altered, their influence on the model should be assessed. However, excluding allophilia-type scales unbalanced the factor matrix, and thus could not be inverted. The model could not be assessed without also removing several other prejudice measure types and political orientation constructs.

### Comparisons of Religion and Political Orientation Effects

To assess the difference between prejudice and religion or political orientation effects, and to account for the dependency of religion and political orientation on one another, an analysis of correlated correlation coefficients was conducted using the method suggested by Meng, Rosenthal, and Rubin (1992). This method uses Fisher  $z$  transformed correlation coefficients of variable  $X$  and  $Y$  on variable  $Z$ , first as a contrast of the effects of  $X$  and  $Y$ , and then in a formula that accounts for the correlation between  $X$  and  $Y$ . In my analysis, the mean weighted correlation for religion and prejudice and the mean weighted correlation for political orientation and prejudice were used as variables  $X$  and  $Y$ . For 128 out of 572 religion or political orientation effect sizes, a correlation between religion and political orientation within the sample was reported. These correlations were weighted using the same procedure as the meta-analysis effect sizes and the average weighted coefficient was used in the formula.

In the contrast between religion and prejudice effects and political orientation and prejudice effects (not accounting for the dependency of religion and political orientation), there was a significant difference,  $p(\text{two-tailed}) < .001$ , where political orientation and racial prejudice ( $r = 0.17$ ) had a significantly larger mean effect than religion and racial prejudice ( $r = 0.05$ ). When the computation was run accounting for the correlations between religion and political orientation ( $r_{xy} = .08$ ), it was not significant,  $p(\text{two-tailed}) = .98$ ,  $CI_{(.95)}[0.116464, -0.11644]$ , suggesting that religion and political orientation are intercorrelated in relation to their effects on prejudice (i.e., explain some of the same variance; Meng et al., 1992). However, these results should be interpreted with some

caution as correlations between religion and political orientation constructs were not reported for all samples (27% of independent sample reported). Thus, it is possible that the average correlation of religion and political orientation is not representative of the true relationship.

## CHAPTER 4

### DISCUSSION

The current meta-analytic study assessed the relationship between religious constructs and anti-Black prejudice and between political orientation constructs and anti-Black prejudice across 55 years of data, using effect size  $r$ . Overall, the average correlation between religious constructs and racial prejudice was negligible, whereas the average correlation between political orientation constructs and racial prejudice was small. These results suggest that there is a tendency for prejudice towards African Americans to increase as conservative ideology increases. Additionally, religion and political orientation have a small average correlation with each other. Direct comparisons of mean religion and racial prejudice effects versus mean political orientation and racial prejudice effect indicated that the relationship between political orientation and prejudice was significantly larger than the relationship between religion and racial prejudice. However, when the correlation between religion and political orientation was accounted for, the differences in the average relationships with racial prejudice became non-significant, suggesting that religion and political orientation may be interrelated.

#### Religion and Racial Prejudice

The relationship between religious constructs and anti-Black racial prejudice was negligible, indicating that, overall, religious constructs were essentially unrelated to anti-Black racial prejudice. Studies using one type of religious construct measure were not associated with increased effect sizes for religion-by-prejudice relationships compared to studies using another type of religious construct measures, likely due to the fact that the

individual religious constructs had negligible average effect sizes. However, the relationship did differ by the type of prejudice measure: anti-Black prejudice or racism measures, modern or symbolic racism measures, and social distance measures were associated with increased effect sizes for religious constructs and prejudice (accounting for sample dependency and number of studies), compared to studies utilizing other measures of prejudice. Studies using prejudice measures of affirmative action support, feeling thermometers, traditional or old-fashioned racism, and negative stereotypes did not have significantly different effect sizes (accounting for dependency and number of studies) compared to each other. Although measures of anti-Black prejudice had the highest average effect sizes in relation to religious constructs, the effect was small, indicating that there may be a tendency for religious constructs to be associated with increased anti-Black prejudice; however, the overall relationship between religious constructs and racial prejudice is trivial.

Prior meta-analyses examining religious constructs and racial prejudice found greater average effects than were found in the current meta-analysis. McCleary et al. (2011) found correlations between  $r = .33$  to  $r = .89$  for religious constructs and prejudice, but they included studies from multiple countries, assessed more general racial prejudice (rather than only anti-Black racial prejudice), included authoritarianism correlations with religious constructs, and included far fewer studies or samples (including fewer unpublished studies). In contrast, the current study operationally defined authoritarianism as a political orientation construct, which did have a moderate average effect size in relation to racial prejudice.

Other studies have also defined RWA as an individual difference variable, independently associated with prejudice, as well as associated with religious constructs (e.g., Duck & Hunsberger, 1999; Johnson, et al., 2011; Laythe et al., 2001). The effects found in studies examining the relationship between religion and prejudice that have included RWA may reflect the relationship between RWA and racial prejudice. Indeed, the current study found small average effect sizes for RWA (as a political orientation construct) and racial prejudice. Religious orientation may also be more highly correlated with racial prejudice (e.g., Batson, Schroenrade, & Ventis, 1993; Duck & Hunsberger, 1999; Hall et al., 2010; Ysseldyk et al., 2011) than religiosity or religious identity, but it was not included in the current meta-analysis.

Similarly, Hall et al. found correlations around  $r = .10$  for religious identity and racial prejudice, as well as religious fundamentalism and racial prejudice (as opposed to ethnocentrism, used in McCleary et al.'s meta-analysis as a measure of prejudice), using only United States samples from a span of 44 years (1964-2008). However, Hall et al. included only two types of racial prejudice measures (i.e., modern/symbolic racism, social distance), one of which was directed toward any racial minority group, not only African Americans. The current meta-analysis found that modern racism and social distance measures of prejudice had negligible average effect sizes in relation to religious constructs.

Additionally, Hall et al. included fewer studies overall, particularly unpublished studies, which they pointed out resulted in a moderate publication bias. It is likely that the file-drawer problem is in effect: the relationships between religion and anti-Black racial

prejudice tend to be overestimated in the published literature because significant results are more likely to be published than non-significant and low-magnitude results. Thus, moderate-to-large correlations between religious constructs and racial prejudice are shown in some individual samples, but overall there is little effect of the combined religious constructs (i.e., religious fundamentalism, religious ethnocentrism, religious identity, religiosity) on anti-Black prejudice currently and across the past 50 years. Indeed, the distribution of effect sizes for religious constructs and racial prejudice suggests that in the tails of the distribution (Figure 1), there is a relatively equal frequency of positive and negative correlations, which when averaged, would show an effect close to zero. However, the majority of the studies included in this meta-analysis showed small, insignificant correlations between religious constructs and racial prejudice.

Additionally, it could be that religious constructs are more highly correlated with other types of prejudice than with anti-Black prejudice. Religious constructs have been shown to relate to sexism (Burn & Busso, 2005), anti-gay prejudice (Blogowska, Lambert, & Saroglou, 2013; Herek, 1987; Rowatt et al., 2009), prejudice toward other racial groups (Shen, Yelderman et al., 2013), prejudice toward other religions (Cimino, 2005; Streib, Hood, & Klein, 2010), and prejudice toward atheists (Gervais, 2013; Gervais & Norenzayan, 2013; Swan & Heesacker, 2012). Religion may be more strongly associated with anti-gay or religious outgroup prejudice based on value conflict (Seul, 1999) or morality (Graham & Haidt, 2010). A key component of organized religions is moral values, which often include standards for living, such as restrictions on food, beliefs about pre-marital sex and sexuality, or adherence to traditional social roles (Graham &



Haidt, 2010). Religious individuals who strongly adhere to the moral values of their religion may view others who hold conflicting values as morally inferior or as a threat to their moral institutions.

There were not any moderator effects of region of the country or year of data collection, indicating that the relationship between religion and racial prejudice is not significantly different in different areas of the United States and has remained relatively stable across time. However, where the current analyses did not find a moderating effect of year of data publication, Hall et al. (2010) found that correlations between religious constructs and prejudice were significantly lower post-1986 than pre-1986. The differences in findings appear to be due to the amount of unpublished data included in the meta-analyses. To assess how the exclusion of unpublished data influenced the moderating effects of data year (as a categorical variable), the moderator analysis was conducted again without the unpublished data. This analysis resulted in a moderation pattern similar to what Hall et al. (2010) found: the average corrected effect size for religious constructs and prejudice was significantly larger pre-1986 than post-1987, indicating a reduction in the religion-prejudice relationship over time. Thus, the conflicting findings are likely due to the fact that the current meta-analysis included a large amount of unpublished data (43 independent samples), whereas Hall et al.'s (2010) meta-analysis included far less unpublished data (22 samples).

#### Political Orientation and Racial Prejudice

The relationship between political orientation constructs and anti-Black racial prejudice was small, suggesting that conservatism is related to anti-Black racial

prejudice, although the strength of the relationship varies depending on the type of prejudice measure and the type of political orientation measure. Measures of political conservatism, authoritarianism, RWA, and SDO were associated with increased prejudice towards Blacks, but the average effect was small.

For political orientation constructs, measures of prejudice and measures of political orientation constructs explained about equal amounts of the variance in the model, meaning that differences between samples in the meta-analysis can be accounted for by both the fact that different measures of prejudice were used and that different political orientation constructs were assessed. When prejudice measure type and political orientation construct types were entered into the model together, the implicit and behavioral types of prejudice measures were more predictive of the relationship between political orientation and racial prejudice, whereas when type of prejudice measure was entered into the model alone, several more affective, attitudinal measures of prejudice were better predictors of the relationship between political orientation and prejudice. This finding may indicate that some of the effects for affective or attitudinal measures of racial prejudice (i.e., modern racism, perceived threat, general racial prejudice/racism, anti-Black racism) are related to specific measures of political orientation, which may be acting as suppressor variables.

Somewhat surprisingly, measures of RWA and SDO were not associated with increased effect sizes in relation to racial prejudice. When sample dependency and number of effect sizes were accounted for, RWA and SDO were not significant in the final model. However, measures of political orientation and political party identification

were associated with increased racial prejudice in the final model. These findings may indicate that measures of political orientation and party identification are more consistently related with anti-Black racial prejudice than measures of RWA or SDO. It is possible that conservative political orientation and party identification are more consistently related to opposition to policies benefiting African Americans specifically (e.g., affirmative action; Reyna et al., 2005; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), whereas RWA or SDO may be related to general prejudice or prejudice toward other groups.

The average effect sizes for RWA and SDO may be somewhat biased because the majority of the effect sizes associated with these measures are from published studies (RWA: 60% published data; SDO: 66% published data). Conversely, the majority of unpublished effect sizes were for measures of political orientation (49%) or party identification (22%). Thus, it is possible that the average effect sizes for measures of RWA and SDO in relation to racial prejudice are more influenced by publication bias than are measures of political orientation or party identification.

The relationship between political orientation and racial prejudice was moderated by the region of the country. Western, Northeastern, and national samples all had large magnitude average effect sizes, although the relationship was positive only for Western samples. Samples from the Western United States had the statistically largest average correlations between political orientation and racial prejudice. These findings may represent lasting endorsements of the racial discrimination historically prevalent in Western (anti-Hispanic/Latino/a) regions of the United States (Dixon & Rosenbaum, 2004; Martinez, 1993; Valentino & Sears, 2005), which influence prejudicial

conservative rhetoric and policy decisions regarding minority racial groups.

Conservatives tend to oppose racial policies (Federico & Sidanius, 2002a; Federico & Sidanius, 2002b), justified by negative racial stereotypes (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) which may be more easily endorsed in regions with histories of racial oppression because institutionalized racism and racial segregation provide confirmation bias of those stereotypes (e.g., Blacks are criminals, are economically disadvantaged because they are lazy; Harton & Nail, 2008). In regions with both greater numbers of conservatives (about 50% in the West; Gallup, 2009) and histories of racial oppression or predominantly White, segregated populations, rhetoric justifying racial prejudice (i.e., justification-suppression model; Crandall & Eshleman, 2003), may be more prevalent, leading to increased racial prejudice in the population.

Conversely, Northeastern samples and national samples had a small negative correlation for political constructs and racial prejudice, suggesting that increased anti-Black prejudice was associated with more *liberal* ideologies. It is possible that these effects are largely influenced by implicit (i.e., IAT) and behavioral (i.e., social distance) measures of prejudice. The integrated model of racism (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998) suggests that liberals hold implicit prejudices toward racial outgroups, but are highly motivated to suppress the outward expression of their prejudices. However, implicit or behavioral measures of prejudice expose the innate prejudicial attitudes and beliefs held by liberals (Harton & Nail, 2008; Nail et al., 2003). Indeed, 12% of the effect sizes from national samples utilized a race-IAT measure as their criterion variable, all of which were unpublished data. Furthermore, the unpublished IAT data has sample sizes in the

thousands, which may increase their influence on the models due to weighting. For Northeastern regions, only 18 effect sizes were included, and 28% of those effect sizes were from data utilizing IAT measures or social distance measures.

The year of data collection did not moderate the relationship between political orientation and racial prejudice, indicating that the relationship has remained relatively stable across time.

#### Comparison of Religion and Political Orientation Effects

There was a statistically significant difference in the magnitude of effect between prejudice and religion versus political orientation constructs when the dependency of religious and political constructs was not accounted for. However, when the correlations between religion and political orientation constructs were accounted for, the significance of the differences disappeared, indicating that religion and political orientation constructs likely share some of the explanatory variance in relation to racial prejudice. Thus, it may appear that political orientation constructs have a stronger relationship with racial prejudice than religious constructs, but the overlap between political orientation and religion negates the statistically significant difference in those relationships with prejudice. Indeed, recent survey research suggests that when political ideologies are controlled for, religiosity is unrelated to prejudice; however, political ideologies are related to prejudice even when religiosity is controlled for (Roth & Herbstrith, 2015). It appears that political orientation and religion are not mutually exclusive social identities and both contribute to increased racial prejudice.

### Theoretical Implications

The structural-functionalist perspective of sociocultural theory suggests that stricter group norms and more structured beliefs may promote the use of stereotypes as a way to reaffirm group membership and to categorize people into groups (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981). It was hypothesized that religious constructs would have a larger average effect than political orientation because religion may require more rigid adherence to beliefs and values than political groups. In light of the findings of this meta-analysis, it seems that political orientation may be a more exclusive and racially homogenous social identity than religion. Indeed, conservatives tend to be an entitative group with shared values, group goals and ideologies, and agreement on the identity and attitudes of group members (Kruglanski, Pierro, Mannetti, & De Grada, 2006).

Kruglanski and colleagues (1993, 2006) further related conservative group identity with high need for closure; because the uniformity of opinion within the group is important for achieving group goals, those high in need for closure are more likely to abandon opinions that differ from those of the collective group or differ from a high-powered group member. In fact, the majority of conservatives report that most of their friends share their political opinions and that it is important to them live somewhere where most people share those same opinions (Pew Research Center, 2014, June).

Furthermore, the justification-suppression model of prejudice (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003) predicts that strong political identities with accordant values may promote shared justifications for racial prejudice (e.g., conservatives) or group norms that promote the suppression of prejudice (e.g., liberals). Similar predictions from the

justification-suppression model may be made for religion as well: those with strong religious identities may endorse morality-based justification for prejudice toward racial outgroups, whereas those with weaker or no religious identities may suppress racial prejudice and outwardly endorse more egalitarian racial attitudes.

Finally, public opinion polls show that across the last two decades, Democrats and Republican have become more polarized, with Democrats reporting a median political ideology that it is more liberal, and Republicans reporting median ideology that is more conservative, than in 2004 or 1994 (Pew Research Center, 2014, July). Politically active individuals also tend to perceive greater political polarization between Democrats and Republicans, overestimating the extremity of beliefs and opinions held by the opposing political party (Westfall, Van Boven, Chambers, & Judd, in press). Beyond opposing ideologies, the rift between political parties also encompasses hostility; 27% of Democrats and 36% of Republicans believe that the opposing political party “is a threat to the nation’s well-being” (Pew Research Center, 2014, July, p. 2). Political orientation seems to provide a strong, entitative social identity through strong ideologies, shared goals, and shared values and identities, but it may also promote racial prejudice through the very aspects that give political identities their “groupyness.”

Political orientation constructs (e.g., conservative political orientation, party identification) were correlated with anti-Black racial prejudice relatively consistently across time (i.e., 1959-2014). It is important to note that this finding does not imply that racial prejudice alone has not decreased over time, but indicates the *relationship* between political orientation and anti-Black racial prejudice has not changed over time.

Conservatives may endorse negative stereotypes about Blacks and use those stereotypes to help justify opposition to racial policies including affirmative action (Reyna et al., 2005) and welfare (Gilens, 1996). Furthermore, the resistance-to-change aspect of conservatism may promote beliefs in conformity and social intolerance, which have been shown to predict racial stereotypes and attitudes toward racial policies better than individualism or egalitarianism (Hurwitz & Peffley, 1992). Additionally, conservatism is strongly associated with system-justifying beliefs that motivate sustaining the status quo, which serves to increase self-esteem and ingroup favoritism among members of dominant groups (Jost & Hunyady, 2005), but functions to justify the continued oppression of minority groups, including African Americans.

#### Implications for Prejudice Reduction

These results imply that racial prejudice may be reduced by increasing intergroup contact and political party diversity. Republicans are the most segregated of the main American political parties, with 89% of the Republican Party being White and only 2% of members being Black, and this pattern has not changed much over time (Gallup, 2013). Because most conservative groups tend to be ethnically segregated (Gallup, 2013), categorizing people of a different race than the ingroup into “thems” may be justified as non-racial and solely motivated by political value differences. Conservatives may also endorse negative stereotypes about African Americans to a greater degree because they lack the individuating information about African Americans that would be gained through positive individuating contact (Dixon & Rosenbaum, 2004), helping them to justify their racially prejudicial attitudes.



By increasing positive intergroup contact among conservative Whites and Blacks, intergroup anxiety may be reduced and negative stereotypes may be dispelled (Pettigrew et al., 2011). However, intergroup contact is mediated by more tolerant group norms (Christ et al., 2014), which may indicate that conservatives would be less likely to change their attitudes regarding Blacks even with positive intergroup contact. Indeed, in 2013, 60% of Republicans reported a belief that their group is tolerant of all people, yet only 46-49% agreed that electing minority or female representatives would benefit the party (Dost & Motel, 2013). Furthermore, intergroup contact can also be negative, resulting in confirmation and reinforcement of negative stereotypes, increased intergroup anxiety, and increased prejudice toward that group (Pettigrew et al., 2011).

#### Limitations and Future Directions

The first limitation of this meta-analysis is that the studies included are limited to the United States. The effects of religion and political orientation on prejudice, specifically racial prejudice, are frequently studied internationally and excluding this body of literature from the sample may limit the results. Conservatism-liberalism, however, is not necessarily the same construct in Europe or Asia as in the United States. These differences in value constructs and definitions may misconstrue the results of a meta-analysis by adding ideologies that are labeled similarly (i.e., conservative or liberal) but are based on different value systems (Jost et al., 2003).

Furthermore, prejudice towards specific target groups may not be consistent across countries or cultures and may ultimately confound meta-analytic findings if examined together under the assumption that racial prejudice is universally expressed in

the same way. Future research may benefit from including studies from an international sample, or examining differences in the effects of religion and political orientation between nations. Because cultural norms differ from country-to-country (Schwartz, 1994; Taras, Kirkman, & Steel, 2010) and on the basis of cultural construal (Markus & Kitayama, 2003), it may be expected that the relationship between specific religious or political values would differ by cross-culturally in their relation to racial or other prejudices.

For example, collectivistic cultures may derogate outgroups without showing favoritism toward the ingroup, whereas individualistic cultures tend to favor the ingroup in social group comparisons (Cuddy et al., 2009). Group-oriented cultures (e.g., East Asian nations) also tend to stigmatize outgroups to a greater extent than individual-oriented cultures, such as Northern Europeans or North Americans (Shin, Dovidio, & Napier, 2013). Even within similar cultural groups (e.g., Western or dominant-Anglo nations), perceived norms of multicultural versus assimilative values vary considerably, resulting in different patterns of acceptance for religious and racial outgroups (e.g., Muslims, Arabs; Guimond et al., 2013). Cultural differences in the expression of prejudice and in patterns of stigmatization support the idea that while prejudice may be a near-universal phenomenon, which groups are the targets of prejudice and how prejudice is expressed vary by culture and country.

A second limitation is that religion and political orientation are interrelated and likely account for some of the same effects on racial prejudice. As mentioned previously, many researchers examining religion and prejudice operationalize RWA as a religious

construct (e.g., Duck & Hunsberger, 1999; Johnson et al., 2011; Laythe et al., 2001), whereas researchers studying politics' influence on prejudice utilize RWA as a political construct (e.g., Jost et al., 2003; McFarland, 2010; Wilson & Sibley, 2013). It is possible that religious identities and political orientation are derived from one another rather than being separate identities (e.g., political affiliation is based on religious values). Indeed, 14% of Americans report that their political orientation is determined by their religion (Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, 2008).

One possible direction would be to experimentally assess whether or not religion and political orientation are actually separate identities or if they tend to operate in tandem – as suggested by the correlated correlation coefficients test - which could possibly be assessed through cross-cultural studies where the same religious beliefs are present but political orientations differ.

Additionally, it is possible that method bias exists in the studies included in the meta-analysis that may be underestimating the corrected correlations between prejudice measures and religious or political orientation measures, and between religious and political orientation measures, because the majority of studies utilized self-report measures. Method bias can occur when common elements of the research method are shared across measures, including participant response tendencies, similar item wording or structure, item proximity within the questionnaire, and the time at which the data are collected (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, & Podsakoff, 2012). Measures that share any two or more of these elements may have bias in reliability and validity of the constructs and could bias the correlational relationship between two constructs and their effects on a

third construct. In meta-analysis, this may result in corrected correlations that underestimate the magnitude of effects due to inflated reliability estimates (Podsakoff et al., 2012).

All studies included in this meta-analysis utilized self-report for religious and political orientation measures, and the majority of prejudice measure were also self-report (85% self-report measures for religion studies; 89.5% self-report for political orientation studies). This reliance on self-report measures (versus implicit or behavioral measures) increases the likelihood that some method bias exists in the studies included in the meta-analysis. Although several procedural and statistical approaches for preventing or correcting potential method bias exist, there is no guarantee that studies included in the current meta-analysis were conducted controlling for method bias.

### Conclusion

Across 51 years of data (1963-2014), religious constructs (i.e., religious fundamentalism, religious ethnocentrism, religious identity, religiosity) overall were relatively unrelated to anti-Black prejudice. In the United States, political orientation constructs (i.e., political conservatism, political orientation, SDO, RWA) across 55 years (1959-2014) were related to anti-Black prejudice (small average effect size), and conservative political orientation and Republican party identification had the strongest relationship with anti-Black prejudice. Affirmative action opposition as a measure of anti-Black prejudice was most related to conservative ideologies, whereas implicit measures of anti-Black prejudice (i.e., IAT) was most related to liberal ideologies. The effects were moderated by region of the United States, with the West having the largest

magnitude of effect, indicating that more conservative ideologies were associated with more anti-Black prejudice. Significant, moderate magnitude effects were also found for the Northeast region and national samples, but in the opposite direction, indicating more liberal ideologies were associated with more anti-Black prejudice, likely due to the large amount of implicit (race IAT; social distance) measures included in those data sets. These findings are consistent with prior research linking conservatism, social dominance, and authoritarianism with racial prejudice. Additionally, religious constructs and political orientation constructs appear to be interrelated with each other, possibly contributing to increased anti-Black prejudice.

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## APPENDIX A: CODING MATERIALS

Table A1.

*Coding Rubric for Meta-Analysis*

<b>Variable Name</b>	<b>Variable Description</b>	<b>Value Labels</b>
Case_ID	Article or study ID number	
StudyID	Consecutive numbering of independent samples	
Effects_ID	Consecutive numbering of effect sizes per independent sample	
Author(s)	First author last name	
Published_NotPub	Published article or unpublished data	1 "Published" 2 "Unpublished"
Pub_Year	Year of article publication	
Journal	Name of journal	
Location	Location of sample/location of first author institution	1 "West" 2 "Midwest" 3 "South" 4 "Northeast" 5 "National sample" 6 "More than 2 regions combined"
Data_Year	Year data collected in if different from publication year	
National_Survey	Which national survey the sample came from	1 "GGS" 2 "LACSS" 3 "ANES" 4 "Baylor religion survey" 5 "Detroit area study"
Sample_Type	Type of sample	1 "Student online" 2 "Student in-person" 3 "Student phone" 4 "non-student online" 5 "non-student in person" 6 "non-student phone" 7 "Mail" 8 "More than 2 sample type combined"
Convenience_Sample	Convenience sample or representative sample	1 "Convenience sample" 2 "Representative sample"
Sample_Size	Total sample size	
Percent_female	Percentage of females in sample	
Percent_male	Percentage of males in sample	
Percent_Caucasian	Percentage of Caucasian in sample	
Percent_AA	Percentage of African American in sample	
Percent_Hispanic	Percentage of Hispanic in sample	
Percent_Asian	Percentage of Asian in sample	
(table continues)		

<b>Variable Name</b>	<b>Variable Description</b>	<b>Value Labels</b>
Percent_OtherEth	Percentage of Other ethnicity in sample	
Catholic	Percentage of Catholic in sample	
Christian	Percentage of Christian in sample	
Jewish	Percentage of Jewish in sample	
Muslim	Percentage of Muslim in sample	
Other_Religion	Percentage of Other religion in sample	
Atheist_Agnostic	Percentage of Atheist/Agnostic in sample	
Conservative	Percentage of Conservative in sample	
Liberal	Percentage of Liberal in sample	
Other_PO	Percentage of Other PO in sample	
Mean_Age	Mean age of sample	
Prej_Measure	Name of Prejudice/Racism measure	
Prej_Meas_Code	Prejudice/Racism measure coded	1 "Affirm action support" 2 "feeling thermometers" 3 "Anti-black prej/racism" 4 "IAT" 5 "General prej/racial attitudes" 6 "Modern/symbolic racism" 7 "traditional/old fashioned racism" 8 "social distance/behavioral prej" 9 "negative stereotypes" 10 "racial policies/affirmative action opposition" 11 "White privilege" 12 "Threat/competition" 13 "support for xeno groups" 14 "Allophilia/pos attitudes toward racial outgroups"
Reliability_Type	Type of reliability reported for prejudice measure	1 "Alpha" 2 "Kuder-Richardson 20" 3 "item-to-scale" 4 "split-half"
Reliability	Reliability of prejudice measure	
Religion_Measure	Name of religion measure	
Relig_Meas_Code	Religion measure coded	1 "Religious ID/religious group" 2 "Religiosity/religiousness" 3 "Religious fundamentalism" 4 "Religious ethnocentrism"
PO_Measure	Name of political orientation measure	
PO_Meas_Code	Political orientation measure coded	1 "RWA" 2 "SDO" 3 "Political orientation" 4 "Political/Party ID" 5 "conservatism" 6 "Liberalism/Egalitarianism" 7 "F Scale"
(table continues)		

Variable Name	Variable Description	Value Labels
Mod_Measure	Name of moderator measure	
Reliability_Type	Type of reliability reported for Religion/Political Orientation measure	1 "Alpha" 2 "Kuder-Richardson 20" 3 "item-to-scale" 4 "split-half"
Reliability	Reliability of religion/political orientation measure	
Unit_of_Analysis	Unit of analysis	1 "individual" 2 "group level"
Analysis_Type	Type of analysis	1 "correlation" 2 "regression" 3 "ANOVA" 4 "t-test" 5 "SEM"
Correlation_Sample_Size	Sample size for reported effect size	
F	F-value	
t	t-value	
Chi_Sq	Chi Square value	
z	z score	
p	p-value	
Semi_Partial_Corr	Semi-partial correlation/beta	
r	r effect size	
r_corr	Corrected r effect size $\frac{r}{\sqrt{\alpha_{\text{prejudice}} \sqrt{\alpha_{\text{construct}}}}$	
var_corr	Variance of effect size	
Covar_RWA	Covariance of religion/political orientation measure with RWA	
Covar_SDO	Covariance of religion/political orientation measure with SDO	
Covar_PO	Covariance of religion/political orientation measure with PO	
Covar_PartyID	Covariance of religion/political orientation measure with Party ID	
Covar_RF	Covariance of religion/political orientation measure with RF	
Covar_Religiosity	Covariance of religion/political orientation measure with religiosity	
Covar_ChurchAttend	Covariance of religion/political orientation measure with church attendance	
Effect_Size_Type	Type of effect size reported	1 "correlation" 2 "semi-partial correlation/regression" 3 "transformed"
Computed_r	r computed from other effect size statistic	
Comments		

APPENDIX B: META-ANALYSIS SUMMARY TABLES

Table B1

*Summary of Religion Studies Included in the Meta-Analysis*

Author(s), Publication Year	Published/ Unpublished	Sample Type	Data Year	Effect Size <i>N</i>	Prejudice Measure	Religion Measure	Reported <i>r</i>	Corrected <i>r</i>
<b>Midwest</b>								
Maranell, 1967	Published	Students - In Person	1967	140	Anti-Negro Attitudes	Church-Oriented Attitudes	.09	.10
						Fundamentalistic Attitudes	-.01	-.01
						Theistic Attitudes	-.10	-.11
Maranell, 1967	Published	Students - In Person	1967	37	Anti-Negro Attitudes	Church-Oriented Attitudes	.46	.50
						Fundamentalistic Attitudes	.21	.23
						Theistic Attitudes	.14	.15

(table continues)

Johnson, 1977	Published	Non-students - In Person	1967	1040	Social Distance	Religious Importance	.23	.24
					Index Of Racial Tolerance	Religious Importance	.19	.20
Boivin, Darling, & Darling, 1987	Published	Students - In Person	1987	104	Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory (MRAI)	Shepard Scale - Walk	.15	.21
						Shepard Scale - Belief	-.02	-.03
						Christian Conservatism Scale	.02	.02
Harton et al.	Unpublished	Students - In Person	2004	53	Modern Racism	Religious Fundamentalism	.26	.30
				54	Feeling Thermometer	Religious Fundamentalism	.13	.13
Baylor Religion Survey	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	2007	335	Social Distance	Religiosity	.06	.07
				304	Social Distance	Religious Fundamentalist	.08	.10
Aosved, Long, & Voller, 2009	Published	Students - In Person	2009	988	Old-Fashioned Racism	Religious Intolerance Scale	.84	1.00

(table continues)



					Modern Racism	Religious Intolerance Scale	.90	1.00
Leak & Finken, 2011	Published	Students - In Person	2011	429	Blatant And Subtle Racism	Religious Fundamentalism	.18	.26
						Religious Commitment	-.08	-.11
Harton, Ganesan, Broussard, & Farrell	Unpublished	Students - In Person	2013	78	Modern Racism	Religiosity	.14	.16
Kirkpatrick, 1993	Published	Students - In Person	1993	426	Discriminatory Attitudes Toward Blacks	Fundamentalism	-.02	-.03
Laythe, Finkel, & Kirkpatrick, 2001	Published	Students - In Person	2001	140	Manitoba Prejudice Scale	Religious Fundamentalism	.05	.06
Laythe, Finkel, Bringle, & Kirkpatrick, 2002	Published	Students - In Person	2002	318	Manitoba Prejudice Scale	Religious Fundamentalism	.13	.15
<b>Northeast</b>								

(table continues)

Henley & Pincus , 1978	Published	Students - In Person	1978	211	Racism	Religious Identity	-.19	-.23
				310	Social Distance	Religiosity	.13	.15
Baylor Religion Survey	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	2007	294	Social Distance	Religious Fundamentalist	.20	.24
<b>South</b>								
Feagin, 1964	Published	Non-students - In Person	1963	286	Anti-Negro Scale (E Scale)	Religious Fundamentalism	.35	.38
Feagin, 1965	Published	Non-students - In Person	1965	166	Anti-Negro Scale (E Scale)	Fundamentalism Scale	.30	.39
						Church-Oriented Attitudes	.44	.48
Maranell, 1967	Published	Students - In Person	1967	137	Anti-Negro Attitudes	Fundamentalistic Attitudes	.40	.43
						Theistic Attitudes	.30	.33
Maranell, 1967	Published	Students - In Person	1967	45	Anti-Negro Attitudes	Church-Oriented Attitudes	.27	.30

(table continues)

					Anti-Negro Attitudes	Fundamentalistic Attitudes	.35	.38
					Anti-Negro Attitudes	Theistic Attitudes	.22	.24
Roof & Perkins, 1975	Published	Mail	1968	470	Anti-Black Prejudice	Religious Salience	.04	.05
Sidanius, 1993	Published	Students - In Person	1986	3706	Racism Scale: General Racism	Religion	.19	.20
McFarland, 1989	Published	Students - In Person	1989	173	Discrimination Against Blacks (Modified Symbolic Racism)	Fundamentalism	.19	.29
Rowatt & Franklin, 2004	Published	Students - Online	2004	111	Modern Racism	Religious Fundamentalism	.13	.20
					Race-IAT	Religious Fundamentalism	.10	.12
Crownover	Unpublished	Multiple Types Combined	2007	172	Religious Proscription Scale	Religious Fundamentalism	-.17	-.22

(table continues)

					Manitoba Prejudice Scale	Faith Development Scale	-.21	-.30
						Religious Proscription Scale	-.32	-.42
Baylor Religion Survey	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	2007	400	Social Distance	Religiosity	.12	.14
				372	Social Distance	Religious Fundamentalist	.08	.10
Johnson, Rowatt, & LaBouff, 2010	Published	Students - In Person	2010	73	Racial Argument Scale	Religious Priming	.19	.22
Johnson, Rowatt, & LaBouff, 2010	Published	Students - In Person	2010	43	Negative Emotions Toward African Americans	Religious Priming	.18	.20
Johnson, Rowatt, Barnard-Brak, Patock- Peckham, LaBouff, & Carlisle, 2011	Published	Students - Online	2011	289	Subtle Racism	Religious Behaviors	.07	.09
						General Religiosity	.02	.02
						Religious Fundamentalism	.07	.09

(table continues)

West								
				326	Social Distance	Religiosity	.15	.17
Baylor Religion Survey	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	2007	300	Social Distance	Religious Fundamentalist	.18	.22
Hill, Cohen, Terrell, & Nagoshi, 2010	Published	Students - In Person	2010	199	Modern Racism	Religious Fundamentalism	.08	.09
Nationwide Sample								
				1399	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Church Attendance	-.14	-.14
ANES	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1964	1242	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Religious Fundamentalism	-.04	-.04

(table continues)

ANES	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1966	1138	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Church Attendance	-.11	-.11
				1399	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Church Attendance	-.08	-.08
ANES	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1968	1328	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Religious Fundamentalism	.04	.04
Hoge & Carroll, 1973	Published	Non-students - In Person	1970	515	Anti-Black Prejudice	Religious Devotionalism	.09	.14
						Religious Orthodoxy	.15	.23
Hoge & Carroll, 1973	Published	Non-students - In Person	1970	343	Anti-Black Prejudice	Religious Devotionalism	.08	.12
						Religious Orthodoxy	.29	.44

(table continues)

	Published					Church Membership	.02	.02
	Published				Negro Social Distance Tolerance	Greek Orthodox Membership	.11	.11
	Published					Orthodoxy Index (Religiosity)	.08	.08
		Non-students - In Person	1970	152				
	Published					Church Membership	.03	.03
	Published				Negro Stereotype Tolerance	Greek Orthodox Membership	.07	.07
Petropoulos, 1979	Published					Orthodoxy Index (Religiosity)	.17	.17
ANES	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1980	1338	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Religiosity	-.36	-.36

(table continues)

	Unpublished			1119	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Religious Fundamentalism	-.02	-.02
<hr/>								
				1778	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Religiosity	-.30	-.30
<hr/>								
	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1984	1457	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Religious Fundamentalism	.07	.07
<hr/>								
				1778	Symbolic Racism	Religiosity	.04	.05
<hr/>								
ANES				1457	Symbolic Racism	Religious Fundamentalism	.13	.19
<hr/>								
ANES	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1986	1668	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Religiosity	-.02	-.02
<hr/>								

(table continues)



	Unpublished			1592	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Religious Fundamentalism	-.02	-.02
	Unpublished			797	Affirmative Action Support	Religious Fundamentalism	-.04	-.04
				1668	Symbolic Racism	Religiosity	.01	.02
				1592	Symbolic Racism	Religious Fundamentalism	.09	.13
ANES	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1988	1543	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Religiosity	-.36	-.36
				1349	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Religious Fundamentalism	.07	.07
				1543	Symbolic Racism	Religiosity	-.50	-.67

(table continues)

				1349	Symbolic Racism	Religious Fundamentalism	.01	.01
		Non-students - Phone		783	Traditional Racism	Religiosity (Belief In God)	-.10	-.13
	Unpublished		1988					
General Social Survey		Non-students - Phone		764	Traditional Racism	Religious Fundamentalist Parent	-.11	-.14
				1476	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Religiosity	-.03	-.03
ANES	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1990	1426	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Religious Fundamentalism	.04	.04
				698	Affirmative Action Support	Religiosity	-.07	-.07
				681	Affirmative Action Support	Religious Fundamentalism	-.03	-.03

(table continues)

				1476	Symbolic Racism	Religiosity	-.01	-.01
				1426	Symbolic Racism	Religious Fundamentalism	.12	.18
General Social Survey	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1991	732	Traditional Racism	Religiosity (Belief In God)	-.12	-.15
				1882	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Religiosity	-.08	-.08
	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1992	1842	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Religious Fundamentalism	-.01	-.01
				1649	Affirmative Action Support	Religiosity	.00	.00
				1632	Affirmative Action Support	Religious Fundamentalism	.03	.03
ANES				1882	Symbolic Racism	Religiosity	.00	.00

(table continues)

				1842	Symbolic Racism	Religious Fundamentalism	.01	.02
General Social Survey	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1993	822	Traditional Racism	Religiosity (Belief In God)	-.11	-.14
				1403	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Religiosity	-.04	-.04
				1388	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Religious Fundamentalism	.04	.05
ANES	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1994	1339	Affirmative Action Support	Religiosity	-.08	-.08
				1331	Affirmative Action Support	Religious Fundamentalism	.03	.03
				1403	Symbolic Racism	Religiosity	-.04	-.05
				1388	Symbolic Racism	Religious Fundamentalism	.01	.01

(table continues)

General Social Survey	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1994	727	Traditional Racism	Religiosity (Belief In God)	-.06	-.08			
				1056	Legitimizing Myths	Religiosity (Belief In God)	.02	.03			
				1280	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Religiosity	-.03	-.03			
				1274	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Religious Fundamentalism	.02	.02			
		Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1996	1094	Affirmative Action Support	Religiosity	-.09	-.09		
					1092	Affirmative Action Support	Religious Fundamentalism	.03	.03		
					1280	Symbolic Racism	Religiosity	.07	.09		
					1274	Symbolic Racism	Religious Fundamentalism	-.01	-.02		
ANES											

(table continues)

Jacobson, 1998	Published	Students - In Person	1998	315	New Racism	Attendance Frequency	.05	.06
						Importance of Religion	-.04	-.05
					Social Distance	Attendance Frequency	.00	.00
						Importance of Religion	-.05	-.05
					Affirmative Action Support	Attendance Frequency	.10	.11
						Importance of Religion	-.07	-.08
Jacobson, 1998	Published	Students - In Person	1998	293	New Racism	Attendance Frequency	.08	.10
						Importance of Religion	-.03	-.04
					Social Distance	Attendance Frequency	.05	.05

(table continues)

						Importance of Religion	-.05	-.05
					Affirmative Action Support	Attendance Frequency	.01	.01
						Importance of Religion	.03	.03
					New Racism	Attendance Frequency	-.07	-.09
						Importance of Religion	-.04	-.05
	Published	Students - In Person	1998	149	Social Distance	Attendance Frequency	-.11	-.11
						Importance of Religion	-.38	-.39
					Affirmative Action Support	Attendance Frequency	.10	.11
Jacobson, 1998						Importance of Religion	.01	.01

(table continues)

						Attendance Frequency	-.06	-.08
					New Racism	Importance of Religion	-.03	-.04
Jacobson, 1998	Published	Students - In Person	1998	119	Social Distance	Attendance Frequency	.00	.00
						Importance of Religion	-.10	-.10
					Affirmative Action Support	Attendance Frequency	-.11	-.13
						Importance of Religion	.09	.10
ANES	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1998	949	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Religiosity	-.07	-.07

(table continues)



			920	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Religious Fundamentalism	-.03	-.03	
			899	Affirmative Action Support	Religiosity	-.06	-.06	
			873	Affirmative Action Support	Religious Fundamentalism	-.07	-.08	
			949	Symbolic Racism	Religiosity	.03	.03	
			920	Symbolic Racism	Religious Fundamentalism	.13	.14	
			636	Traditional Racism	Religiosity (Belief In God)	-.13	-.15	
	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1998	714	Traditional Racism	Religiosity	.05	.06
				657	Legitimizing Myths	Religiosity (Belief In God)	.11	.13
General Social Survey				739	Legitimizing Myths	Religiosity	-.05	-.06

(table continues)

				1337	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Religiosity	-.02	-.02
				1317	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Religious Fundamentalism	.07	.07
ANES	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	2000	1228	Affirmative Action Support	Religiosity	.01	.01
				1211	Affirmative Action Support	Religious Fundamentalism	.06	.06
				1337	Symbolic Racism	Religiosity	.09	.12
				1317	Symbolic Racism	Religious Fundamentalism	.04	.05
				569	Traditional Racism	Religiosity (Belief In God)	-.11	-.13
General Social Survey	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	2000	593	Legitimizing Myths	Religiosity (Belief In God)	.09	.11

(table continues)

			1182	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Religiosity	-.05	-.05
			917	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Religious Fundamentalism	.21	.22
Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	2002	848	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Religiosity	-.02	-.02
			843	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Religious Fundamentalism	.04	.04
ANES			725	Affirmative Action Support	Religiosity	-.10	-.10

(table continues)

				724	Affirmative Action Support	Religious Fundamentalism	.05	.06
				848	Symbolic Racism	Religiosity	.06	.07
				843	Symbolic Racism	Religious Fundamentalism	-.07	-.09
General Social Survey	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	2006	1432	Legitimizing Myths	Religiosity (Belief In God)	.11	.12
				1432	Legitimizing Myths	Religiosity	-.07	-.09
RaceIAT	Unpublished	Non-students - Online	2006	7672	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Religiosity	.07	.07
				7253	IAT	Religiosity	-.05	-.05
Rowatt, LaBouff, Johnson, Froese, & Tsang, 2009	Published	Non-students - Phone	2007	1588	General Racial Prejudice	General Religiousness	.08	.09

(table continues)

	Unpublished	Non-students - Online	2007	23657	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Religiosity	.08	.08
RaceIAT				22720	IAT	Religiosity	-.03	-.03
				1171	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Religiosity	-.08	-.08
ANES	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	2008	1162	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Religious Fundamentalism	-.05	-.05
				995	Affirmative Action Support	Religiosity	-.01	-.01
				988	Affirmative Action Support	Religious Fundamentalism	.04	.04
				1171	Symbolic Racism	Religiosity	.07	.08

(table continues)

				1162	Symbolic Racism	Religious Fundamentalism	.01	.01
General Social Survey	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	2008	1007	Legitimizing Myths	Religiosity (Belief In God)	.07	.08
				1008	Legitimizing Myths	Religiosity	-.11	-.12
RaceIAT	Unpublished	Non-students - Online	2008	14460	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Religiosity	.08	.08
				14148	IAT	Religiosity	-.03	-.03
RaceIAT	Unpublished	Non-students - Online	2009	25567	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Religiosity	.10	.10
				24754	IAT	Religiosity	-.03	-.03
General Social Survey	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	2010	1064	Legitimizing Myths	Religiosity (Belief In God)	.09	.11
				1063	Legitimizing Myths	Religiosity	-.11	-.13

(table continues)

RaceIAT	Unpublished	Non-students - Online	2010	21199	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Religiosity	.11	.11
				20853	IAT	Religiosity	-.05	-.05
RaceIAT	Unpublished	Non-students - Online	2011	19165	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Religiosity	.11	.11
				18731	IAT	Religiosity	-.02	-.02
General Social Survey	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	2012	971	Legitimizing Myths	Religiosity (Belief In God)	.12	.14
				966	Legitimizing Myths	Religiosity	-.08	-.10
RaceIAT	Unpublished	Non-students - Online	2012	13646	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Religiosity	.10	.10
				13073	IAT	Religiosity	-.03	-.03

(table continues)

Shen, Haggard, Strassburger, & Rowatt, 2013	Published	Non-students - Online	2013	249	Positive Attitudes Toward Ethnic/Racial Groups (Allophilia Scale With Multiple Outgroups)	Religiosity	-0.37	-0.38
Shen, Yeldermen, Haggard, & Rowatt, 2013	Published	Non-students - Online	2013	279	Social Distance Scale (African Americans)	Religiosity	-0.03	-0.03
RaceIAT	Unpublished	Non-students - Online	2013	12733	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Religiosity	0.07	0.07
				13550	IAT	Religiosity	-0.02	-0.02
Brandt & von Tongeren	Unpublished	Non-students - Online	2014	248	Negative Black Affect	Religious Fundamentalism	-0.03	-0.03

(table continues)



Brandt & von Tongeren	Unpublished	Non-students - Online	2014	350	Negative Black Affect	Religious Fundamentalism	-0.02	-0.02
Brandt & von Tongeren	Unpublished	Non-students - Online	2014	356	Negative Black Affect	Religious Fundamentalism	0.01	0.01

Table B2

*Summary of Political Orientation Studies Included in the Meta-Analysis*

Author(s), Publication Year	Published/ Unpublished	Sample Type	Data Year	Effect Size <i>N</i>	Prejudice Measure	Political Measure	Reported <i>r</i>	Corrected <i>r</i>
<b>Midwest</b>								
Maranell, 1967	Published	Students - In Person	1967	140	Anti-Negro Attitudes	Anti-Welfare Attitudes	.26	.28
						Super-Patriotic Attitudes	.29	.31
						Authoritarian Attitudes	.35	.39
						Anti-Civil Liberties	.45	.48
Maranell, 1967	Published	Students - In Person	1967	37	Anti-Negro Attitudes	Anti-Welfare Attitudes	.30	.32
						Super-Patriotic Attitudes	.47	.50
						Authoritarian Attitudes	.59	.66
						Anti-Civil Liberties	.70	.75

(table continues)

Johnson, 1977	Published	Non-students - In Person	1967	1040	Social Distance	F Scale	.15	.17
					Index Of Racial Tolerance	F Scale	-.15	-.17
Kahoe, 1977	Published	Mail	1968	142	Racial Conservatism	Authoritarianism	.27	.49
							.23	.36
Hesselbart & Schuman, 1976	Published	Non-students - Phone	1969	640	Stereotype Beliefs		-.25	-.27
					Casual Contact		.28	.30
					Intimate Contact	Punitiveness Index	.33	.35
					Potential Discrimination		.29	.31
Brandt & Reyna, 2012	Published	Multiple Types Combined	2001	237	Black Individualism	Political Ideology	.25	.30
						Party Identification	.14	.17
					Symbolic Racism	Political Ideology	.32	.40
						Party Identification	.23	.29
Opposition To Affirmative Action For Blacks	Political Ideology	.26	.27					
	Party Identification	.29	.30					

(table continues)

Nail, Harton, & Decker, 2003	Published	Students - In Person	2003	147	Modern Racism	Political Orientation	.04	.05
Schmitt, Branscombe, & Kappen, 2003	Published	Students - In Person	2003	605	Old-Fashioned & Modern Racism	Social Dominance Orientation	.60	.69
				53	Modern Racism	Political Orientation	-.08	-.08
				50	Modern Racism	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.44	.54
Harton et al.	Unpublished	Students - In Person	2004	54	Feeling Thermometer	Political Orientation	.32	.32
				51	Feeling Thermometer	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.28	.31
Baylor Religion Survey	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	2007	337	Social Distance	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.04	.05
				338	Social Distance	Political Orientation	-.19	-.22

(table continues)

<u>Harton et al.</u>	Unpublished	Students - In Person	2007	184	Modern Racism	Party Identification	.10	.11
						Political Orientation	-.05	-.06
						Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.32	.40
				183	Modern Racism	Social Dominance Orientation	.58	.70
				187	Perceived Threat (Realistic & Symbolic)	Party Identification	.02	.02
						Political Orientation	-.02	-.02
						Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.23	.28
				186	Perceived Threat (Realistic & Symbolic)	Social Dominance Orientation	.47	.58

(table continues)

Poteat & Spanierman, 2010	Published	Multiple Types Combined	2010	391	Modern Racism Scale	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.40	.49
						Social Dominance Orientation	.63	.73
Navarette, McDonald, Molina, & Sidanius, 2010	Published	Multiple Types Combined	2010	688	Explicit Racial Bias	Social Dominance Orientation	.54	.65
Poteat & Spanierman, 2012	Published	Students - In Person	2012	342	Modern Racism	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.40	.48
						Social Dominance Orientation	.63	.72
Harton, Ganesan, Broussard, & Farrell	Unpublished	Students - In Person	2013	79	Modern Racism	Political Orientation	.45	.50
				72	Modern Racism	Social Dominance Orientation	.70	.81

(table continues)

						Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.48	.60
			79	Symbolic Threat	Political Orientation		.38	.40
						Social Dominance Orientation	.55	.59
			72	Symbolic Threat		Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.52	.60
Lutterman & Middleton, 1970	Published	Students - In Person	1959	1018	Anti-Negro Sentiments	F-Scale	.40	.45
Laythe, Finkel, & Kirkpatrick, 2001	Published	Students - In Person	2001	140	Manitoba Prejudice Scale	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.30	.33
Laythe, Finkel, Bringle, & Kirkpatrick, 2002	Published	Students - In Person	2002	318	Manitoba Prejudice Scale	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.35	.41
<b>Northeast</b>								

(table continues)

						Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.10	.11
					Negative Stereotypes About Blacks			
						Social Dominance Orientation	.61	.68
	Published	Students - Online	1999	181				
						Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.01	.01
					Negative Affect Toward African Americans			
						Social Dominance Orientation	-.54	-.60
Whitley, 1999	<hr/>							
						Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.26	.29
					Negative Stereotypes About Blacks			
Whitley, 1999	Published	Students - Online	1999	182		Social Dominance Orientation	.59	.66
					Negative Affect Toward African Americans	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	-.09	-.10

(table continues)



						Social Dominance Orientation	-.65	-.72
					Modern Racism Scale	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.17	.21
Saucier & Miller, 2003	Published	Students - In Person	2003	90				
					Racial Argument Scale (RAS)	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.31	.40
				319	Social Distance	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.11	.17
Baylor Religion Survey	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	2007					
				314	Social Distance	Political Orientation	-.26	-.30
Ried & Birchard, 2010	Published	Students - In Person	2010	51	Quick Discrimination Index	Social Dominance Orientation	-.23	-.26
Levin, Matthews, Guimond, Sidanius, Pratto, Kteily, Pipitan,	Published	Multiple Types Combined	2012	299	Support For Colorblind Ideology	Social Dominance Orientation	-.22	-.27

(table continues)

& Dover, 2012

					Generalized Prejudice	Social Dominance Orientation	.36	.41
Leister & Showers	Unpublished	Students - Online	2013	156	Race IAT (Black)	Conservative Self- Identification	.00	.00
				128	Race IAT (Black)	Social Dominance Orientation	-.53	-.59
Hehman	Unpublished			113	Race IAT (Black)	Party Identification	-.15	-.17
<b>South</b>								
Rhyne, 1962	Published	Students - In Person	1962	325	Anti-Negro Scale (E-Scale)	Authoritarianism (F Scale)	.38	.43
Feagin, 1965	Published	Non- students - In Person	1965	96	Anti-Negro Scale (E Scale)	Jungle Scale (Authoritarianism)	.21	.24
Maranell, 1967	Published	Students - In Person	1967	137	Anti-Negro Attitudes	Anti-Welfare Attitudes	.38	.41

(table continues)

						Super-Patriotic Attitudes	.39	.42
						Authoritarian Attitudes	.42	.47
						Anti-Civil Liberties	.50	.53
						Anti-Welfare Attitudes	.52	.56
Maranell, 1967	Published	Students - In Person	1967	45	Anti-Negro Attitudes	Super-Patriotic Attitudes	.33	.35
						Authoritarian Attitudes	.26	.29
						Anti-Civil Liberties	.41	.44
Roof & Perkins, 1975	Published	Mail	1968	470	Anti-Black Prejudice (Racial Conservatism)	Political Conservatism	.49	.42
Sidanius, Pratto, Martin, & Stallworth, 1991	Published	Students - In Person	1986	4997	Global Racial Attitudes	Political Ideology	.39	.41
					Racial Policy Attitudes	Political Ideology	.21	.22

(table continues)

Sidanius, 1993	Published	Students - In Person	1986	3706	Racism Scale: General Racism	General Liberalism (Political Orientation)	.41	.44
					Racism Scale: Racial Policy	General Liberalism	.36	.39
Sidanius, Pratto, & Bobo, 1996	Published	Students - In Person	1986	3861	Classic Racism	Political Conservatism	.55	.61
Sidanius & Lau, 1989	Published	Students - In Person	1989	225	Racism	Local Political Deviance	.01	.01
						State Political Deviation	-.03	-.03
						Total Political Deviation	-.20	-.21
Rowatt & Franklin, 2004	Published	Students - Online	2004	111	Modern Racism	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.31	.48
					Race-IAT Effect (Log Latency)	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.20	.24

(table continues)

Crownover	Unpublished	Multiple Types Combined	2007	172	Manitoba Prejudice Scale	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.41	.46
						Social Dominance Orientation	.37	.42
Baylor Religion Survey	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	2007	404	Social Distance	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.16	.26
				405	Social Distance	Political Orientation	-.26	-.30
Umphress, Simmons, Boswell, & Triana, 2008	Published	Students - In Person	2008	79	Modern Racism	Social Dominance Orientation	.56	.69
						Authoritarianism	.27	.35
Worthington, Navarro, Loewy, & Hart, 2008	Published	Students - Online	2008	144	Color-Blind Racism: Unawareness Of Racial Privilege	Social Dominance Orientation	.20	.23

(table continues)

					Color-Blind Racism: Institutional Discrimination	Social Dominance Orientation	.53	.62
					Color-Blind Racism: Blatant Racial Issues	Social Dominance Orientation	.54	.65
					Quick Discrimination Index: Cognitive	Political Orientation	-.41	-.44
					Quick Discrimination Index: Affective	Political Orientation	-.29	-.32
	Published	Students - Online	2010	425	Quick Discrimination Index: Cognitive	Social Dominance Orientation	-.59	-.73
					Quick Discrimination Index: Affective	Social Dominance Orientation	-.44	-.56

Cokley,  
Tran, Hall-  
Clark,  
Chapman,  
Bessa,  
Finley, &  
Martinez,  
2010

(table continues)

					Quick Discrimination Index: Cognitive	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	-.27	-.32
					Quick Discrimination Index: Affective	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	-.39	-.47
McFarland, 2010	Published	Multiple Types Combined	2010	331	Generalized Prejudice	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.43	.51
						Social Dominance Orientation	.45	.53
McFarland, 2010	Published	Non- students - In Person	2010	285	Generalized Prejudice	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.59	.70
						Social Dominance Orientation	.52	.59
McFarland, 2010	Published	Non- students - In Person	2010	200	Generalized Prejudice	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.48	.58

(table continues)

						Social Dominance Orientation	.64	.72
						Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.56	.68
McFarland, 2010	Published	Students - In Person	2010	179	MES	Social Dominance Orientation	.47	.54
						Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.61	.71
McFarland, 2010	Published	Non-students - In Person	2010	168	Generalized Prejudice	Social Dominance Orientation	.59	.67
Johnson, Rowatt, Barnard-Brak, Patock-	Published	Students - Online	2011	289	Subtle Racism	Right-Wing Authoritarianism-Aggression	.27	.38

(table continues)



Peckham,  
LaBouff, &  
Carlisle,  
2011

Right-Wing  
Authoritarianism -  
Submission .16 .25

Right-Wing  
Authoritarianism -  
Conventionalism -.10 -.13

Johnson,  
LaBouff,  
Rowatt, Patock-  
Peckham, &  
Carlisle, 2012

Published

Students -  
Online

2012

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Subtle Racism  
Toward African  
Americans (RAS)

Right-Wing  
Authoritarianism -  
Aggression .24 .33

159

Black Affect

Social Dominance  
Orientation -.31 -.35

Leister &  
Showers

Unpublished

Students -  
Online

2013

157

Modern Racism

Conservative -.03 -.04

Social Dominance  
Orientation .58 .71

(table continues)

						Conservative	.30	.41
Leister & Showers				156	Race IAT (Black)	Social Dominance Orientation	.28	.33
<b>West</b>								
Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994	Published	Students - In Person	1990	408	Anti-Black Racism	Social Dominance Orientation	.57	.76
				57	Anti-Black Racism	Social Dominance Orientation	.42	.53
Sidanius & Liu, 1992	Published	Non-students - In Person	1991	131	Racial Superiority	Political Conservatism	.51	.80
						Social Dominance Orientation	.52	.74
Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994	Published	Students - In Person	1991	144	Anti-Black Racism	Social Dominance Orientation	.49	.64

(table continues)

			49	Anti-Black Racism	Social Dominance Orientation	.61	.78	
			115	Anti-Black Racism	Social Dominance Orientation	.65	.92	
		1992	95	Anti-Black Racism	Social Dominance Orientation	.52	.65	
	Published	Non-students - Phone	1992	1897	Black Poverty Attributions: Racial Discrimination	Social Dominance Orientation (4-item)	-.27	-.33
Sidanius, Pratto, & Bobo, 1994					Black Poverty Attributions: Less Ability	Social Dominance Orientation (4-item)	.31	.37

(table continues)

Black Poverty Attributions: No Chance For Education	Social Dominance Orientation (4-item)	-.21	-.25
Black Poverty Attributions: No Motivation	Social Dominance Orientation (4-item)	.34	.41
Black Poverty Attributions: Other Races More Capable	Social Dominance Orientation (4-item)	.28	.34
Black Feeling Thermometer	Social Dominance Orientation (4-item)	-.11	-.13
Racism: Belief In Inherent Inferiority of	Political Conservatism	.13	.13

(table continues)

				Blacks				
					Social Dominance Orientation (4-item)	.33	.40	
				482	Classic Racism	Political Conservatism	.23	.33
				578	Classic Racism	Social Dominance Orientation	.47	.74
Sidanius, Pratto, & Bobo, 1996	Published	Non-students - Phone	1992	483	Anti-Black Affect	Political Conservatism	.00	.00
				579	Anti-Black Affect	Social Dominance Orientation	.09	.12
				146	Classic Racism	Political Conservatism	.23	.28
Sidanius, Pratto, & Bobo, 1996	Published	Students - In Person	1993	145	Classic Racism	Social Dominance Orientation	.37	.44
Federico &	Published	Non-students - Phone	1996	206	Classical Racism	Political Conservatism	.29	.43

(table continues)

Sidanius,  
2002a

						Social Dominance Orientation	.44	.66
						Political Conservatism	.20	.23
					Group Threat	Social Dominance Orientation	.40	.46
						Social Dominance Orientation (Q1)	-.08	-.09
Kteily, Sidanius, & Levin, 2011	Published	Students - In Person	1996	748	Outgroup Affect: African Americans	Social Dominance Orientation (Q2)	-.09	-.10
						Social Dominance Orientation (Q3)	-.11	-.13

(table continues)

						Social Dominance Orientation (Q4)	-.17	-.19
						Right-Wing Authoritarianism	-.36	-.42
Lambert & Chasteen, 1997	Published	Students - In Person	1997	36	Modern Racism	Humanism-Egalitarianism Scale (Liberal Ideology)	.33	.41
						Political Ideology	.53	.53
Henry & Sears, 2002	Published	Non-students - Phone	1997	647	Opposition To Racial Policies	Party Identification	.52	.52
						Political Ideology	.44	.44
Henry & Sears, 2002	Published	Non-students - Phone	1998	694	Opposition To Racial Policies	Party Identification	.53	.53
						Political Ideology	.27	.34
Henry & Sears, 2002	Published	Students - In Person	1999	702	Opposition To Racial Policies			

(table continues)

						Social Dominance Orientation (Q1)	-.21	-.25
						Social Dominance Orientation (Q2)	-.19	-.23
Kteily, Sidanius, & Levin, 2011	Published	Students - Phone	2000	268	Outgroup Affect: African Americans (Prejudice)	Social Dominance Orientation (Q3)	-.31	-.37
						Social Dominance Orientation (Q4)	-.37	-.45
						Conservative Self-Identification	.35	.40
Rabinowitz, Sears, Sidanius, & Krosnick, 2009	Published	Students - In Person	2001	77	Symbolic Racism	Political Party Identification	.27	.31

(table continues)



Henry & Sears, 2002	Published	Multiple Types Combined	2002	2330	Symbolic Racism	Conservative Political Predisposition	.46	.52
Nail, Harton, & Decker, 2003	Published	Non-students - In Person	2003	61	Modern Racism	Political Orientation	.56	.60
Nail, Harton, & Decker, 2003	Published	Students - In Person	2003	120	Modern Racism	Political Orientation	.42	.46
Dunbar & Simonova, 2003	Published	Students - In Person	2003	227	"New" Racism Scale	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.30	.42
Baylor Religion Survey	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	2007	326	Social Distance	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.14	.21
				318	Social Distance	Political Orientation	-.29	-.33
Aosved, Long, & Voller, 2009	Published	Students - In Person	2009	115	Intolerant Schema Scale - Racism	Social Dominance Orientation	.65	.77
<b>Nationwide Sample</b>								

(table continues)

ANES	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1964	1376	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Party Identification	.03	.03
ANES	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1966	1118	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Party Identification	-.01	-.01
ANES	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1968	1367	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Party Identification	.01	.01
ANES	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1970	1324	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Party Identification	-.02	-.02
ANES	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1972	2346	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Party Identification	-.08	-.08

(table continues)

				2346	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Political Orientation	-.29	-.29
				1365	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Party Identification	-.03	-.03
	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1974					
				1376	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Political Orientation	.04	.04
ANES								
General Social Survey	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1975	1221	Traditional Racism	Political Orientation	-.18	-.22
ANES	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1976	1863	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Party Identification	-.04	-.04

(table continues)

				1885	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Political Orientation	.06	.06
General Social Survey	Unpublished	Non- students - Phone	1976	1273	Traditional Racism	Political Orientation	-.24	-.29
General Social Survey	Unpublished	Non- students - Phone	1977	1269	Traditional Racism	Political Orientation	-.19	-.24
					Affirmative Action Programs Support	Political Party Identification	-.08	-.09
Jacobson, 1985	Published	Non- students - Phone	1978	1584	Affirmative Action Attitudes - AT&T Case	Political Party Identification	-.06	-.06
	Unpublished	Non- students - Phone	1980	1336	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Party Identification	-.11	-.11
ANES								

(table continues)

				1338	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Political Orientation	.05	.05
General Social Survey	Unpublished	Non- students - Phone	1980	1272	Traditional Racism	Political Orientation	-.19	-.24
				1181	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Party Identification	.01	.01
ANES	Unpublished	Non- students - Phone	1982					
				1190	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Political Orientation	.03	.03
General Social Survey	Unpublished	Non- students - Phone	1982	1254	Traditional Racism	Political Orientation	-.15	-.18
ANES	Unpublished	Non- students - Phone	1984	1758	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Party Identification	-.05	-.05

(table continues)

				1778	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Political Orientation	-.04	-.04
				1758	Symbolic Racism	Party Identification	-.22	-.30
				1778	Symbolic Racism	Political Orientation	-.08	-.11
General Social Survey	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1984	1200	Traditional Racism	Political Orientation	-.16	-.20
General Social Survey	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1985	1270	Traditional Racism	Political Orientation	-.12	-.15
				1654	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Party Identification	.00	.00
ANES	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1986	1668	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Political Orientation	-.01	-.01

(table continues)

				766	Affirmative Action Support	Party Identification	.14	.14
				792	Affirmative Action Support	Political Orientation	.01	.01
ANES	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1986	1654	Symbolic Racism	Party Identification	-.17	-.23
				1668	Symbolic Racism	Political Orientation	-.05	-.06
General Social Survey	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1987	1146	Traditional Racism	Political Orientation	-.07	-.08
				1535	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Party Identification	-.04	-.04
ANES	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1988	1543	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Political Orientation	-.04	-.04
				1553	Symbolic Racism	Party Identification	-.04	-.06

(table continues)

				1543	Symbolic Racism	Political Orientation	.01	.02
General Social Survey	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1988	761	Traditional Racism	Political Orientation	-.08	-.10
General Social Survey	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1989	816	Traditional Racism	Political Orientation	-.09	-.11
				1469	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Party Identification	-.03	-.03
ANES	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1990	1476	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Political Orientation	-.12	-.12
				696	Affirmative Action Support	Party Identification	.09	.09
				698	Affirmative Action Support	Political Orientation	-.03	-.03
				1469	Symbolic Racism	Party Identification	-.05	-.08

(table continues)



				1476	Symbolic Racism	Political Orientation	.00	.00
				730	Traditional Racism	Political Orientation	-.09	-.11
				728	Traditional Racism	Social Dominance Orientation (1-Item)	-.22	-.26
General Social Survey	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1990	1110	Legitimizing Myths	Political Orientation	.19	.22
				1096	Legitimizing Myths	Social Dominance Orientation (1-Item)	.20	.24
General Social Survey	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1991	786	Traditional Racism	Political Orientation	-.14	-.17
ANES	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1992	1870	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Party Identification	-.05	-.05

(table continues)

				1882	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Political Orientation	.00	.00
				1641	Affirmative Action Support	Party Identification	.09	.09
				1649	Affirmative Action Support	Political Orientation	-.03	-.03
				1870	Symbolic Racism	Party Identification	-.13	-.16
				1882	Symbolic Racism	Political Orientation	-.03	-.03
General Social Survey	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1993	852	Traditional Racism	Political Orientation	-.13	-.16
	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1994	1393	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Party Identification	-.05	-.05
ANES								

(table continues)

				1493	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Political Orientation	-.11	-.11
				1333	Affirmative Action Support	Party Identification	.15	.15
				1339	Affirmative Action Support	Political Orientation	-.02	-.02
				1393	Symbolic Racism	Party Identification	-.27	-.36
				1403	Symbolic Racism	Political Orientation	-.11	-.14
General Social Survey	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1994	1570	Traditional Racism	Political Orientation	-.16	-.19
				1126	Legitimizing Myths	Political Orientation	.11	.13
ANES	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1996	1274	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Party Identification	-.09	-.09

(table continues)

				1280	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Political Orientation	.03	.03
				1090	Affirmative Action Support	Party Identification	.19	.19
				1094	Affirmative Action Support	Political Orientation	.02	.02
				1274	Symbolic Racism	Party Identification	-.16	-.20
				1280	Symbolic Racism	Political Orientation	.02	.02
General Social Survey	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1996	1442	Traditional Racism	Political Orientation	-.13	-.16
				740	Legitimizing Myths	Political Orientation	.12	.15
ANES	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1998	941	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Party Identification	-.02	-.02

(table continues)

				949	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Political Orientation	.02	.02
				892	Affirmative Action Support	Party Identification	.16	.16
				899	Affirmative Action Support	Political Orientation	-.01	-.01
				941	Symbolic Racism	Party Identification	-.18	-.18
				949	Symbolic Racism	Political Orientation	-.07	-.07
General Social Survey	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	1998	1343	Traditional Racism	Political Orientation	-.19	-.23
				1426	Legitimizing Myths	Political Orientation	.17	.20
ANES	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	2000	1327	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Party Identification	-.05	-.05

(table continues)

				1337	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Political Orientation	-.04	-.04
				1220	Affirmative Action Support	Party Identification	.16	.16
				1228	Affirmative Action Support	Political Orientation	.04	.04
				1327	Symbolic Racism	Party Identification	-.15	-.20
				1337	Symbolic Racism	Political Orientation	.02	.02
General Social Survey	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	2000	1240	Traditional Racism	Political Orientation	-.12	-.14
				1715	Legitimizing Myths	Political Orientation	.21	.25
ANES	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	2002	1149	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Party Identification	-.01	-.01

(table continues)

				1182	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Political Orientation	-.08	-.08
				674	Traditional Racism	Political Orientation	-.16	-.19
	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	2002	705	Legitimizing Myths	Political Orientation	.11	.12
General Social Survey				1062	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Political Orientation	.09	.09
				838	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Party Identification	-.06	-.06
ANES	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	2004	848	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Political Orientation	.00	.00

(table continues)

				717	Affirmative Action Support	Party Identification	.22	.22
				725	Affirmative Action Support	Political Orientation	-.01	-.01
				838	Symbolic Racism	Party Identification	-.21	-.27
				848	Symbolic Racism	Political Orientation	.03	.03
General Social Survey	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	2004	710	Legitimizing Myths	Political Orientation	.12	.14
General Social Survey				1407	Legitimizing Myths	Political Orientation	.14	.16
	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	2006	5055	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Social Dominance Orientation	-.08	-.08
				4475	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.03	.03
RaceIAT								

(table continues)



				9617	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Political Orientation	.02	.02	
<hr/>									
				4753	IAT	Social Dominance Orientation	.02	.02	
<hr/>									
				4169	IAT	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.02	.03	
<hr/>									
				9119	IAT	Political Orientation	.00	.00	
<hr/>									
Rowatt, LaBouff, Johnson, Froese, & Tsang, 2009	Published	Non-students - Phone	2007	1588	General Racial Prejudice	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.31	.36	
<hr/>							Political Ideology	-.20	-.21
<hr/>									
RaceIAT	Unpublished	Non-students - Online	2007	12233	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Social Dominance Orientation	-.06	-.06	
<hr/>									

(table continues)

				9357	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.03	.04
				29180	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Political Orientation	.03	.03
				11582	IAT	Social Dominance Orientation	.01	.01
				8854	IAT	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	-.01	-.02
				28126	IAT	Political Orientation	-.01	-.01
ANES	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	2008	1158	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Party Identification	-.09	-.09

(table continues)

				1171	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Political Orientation	-.03	-.03
				988	Affirmative Action Support	Party Identification	.20	.20
				995	Affirmative Action Support	Political Orientation	-.02	-.02
				1158	Symbolic Racism	Party Identification	-.21	-.27
				1171	Symbolic Racism	Political Orientation	.00	.01
General Social Survey	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	2008	984	Legitimizing Myths	Political Orientation	.13	.15
RaceIAT	Unpublished	Non-students - Online	2008	7340	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Social Dominance Orientation	-.07	-.08

(table continues)

				8635	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.02	.02
				17861	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Political Orientation	.04	.04
				7057	IAT	Social Dominance Orientation	.01	.02
				8333	IAT	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	-.01	-.02
				17516	IAT	Political Orientation	-.01	-.01
RaceIAT	Unpublished	Non- students - Online	2009	11501	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Social Dominance Orientation	-.06	-.07

(table continues)

				13645	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.02	.02	
<hr/>									
				27928	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Political Orientation	.04	.04	
<hr/>									
				10949	IAT	Social Dominance Orientation	.02	.03	
<hr/>									
				12972	IAT	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	-.01	-.01	
<hr/>									
				27083	IAT	Political Orientation	-.01	-.01	
<hr/>									
Maxwell & Parent, 2013	Published	Non-students - Online	2010	3406	Symbolic Racism	Tea Party Membership	.22	.24	
						Tea Party Favor	.40	.44	
						White Ethnocentrism	Tea Party Membership	.12	.13

(table continues)

						Tea Party Favor	.14	.15
					Racial Stereotyping	Tea Party Membership	.10	.10
						Tea Party Favor	.12	.13
General Social Survey	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	2010	1043	Legitimizing Myths	Political Orientation	.15	.17
				9184	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Social Dominance Orientation	-.03	-.04
RaceIAT	Unpublished	Non-students - Online	2010	10816	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.05	.06
				22189	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Political Orientation	.05	.05

(table continues)

			8866	IAT	Social Dominance Orientation	.01	.01
			10464	IAT	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	-.05	-.06
			21858	IAT	Political Orientation	-.03	-.04
			8301	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Social Dominance Orientation	-.05	-.06
Unpublished	Non-students - Online	2011	9815	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.02	.03
			20278	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Political Orientation	.05	.05

RaceIAT

(table continues)

				7956	IAT	Social Dominance Orientation	.01	.01
				9427	IAT	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	-.02	-.02
			2011	19823	IAT	Political Orientation	-.01	-.01
Johnson, LaBouff, Rowatt, Patock-Peckham, & Carlisle, 2012	Published	Non-students - Online	2012	275	Social Distance Scale (African Americans)	Right-Wing Authoritarianism - Aggression	.24	.28
General Social Survey	Unpublished	Non-students - Phone	2012	939	Legitimizing Myths	Political Orientation	.17	.20
RaceIAT	Unpublished	Non-students - Online	2012	5986	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Social Dominance Orientation	-.06	-.07

(table continues)



				7149	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.03	.04
<hr/>								
				14689	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Political Orientation	.06	.06
<hr/>								
				5582	IAT	Social Dominance Orientation	-.02	-.02
<hr/>								
				6642	IAT	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	-.02	-.03
<hr/>								
				14064	IAT	Political Orientation	-.03	-.03
<hr/>								
Jones, 2013	Published	Non- students - Online	2013	157	Old Fashioned Racism	Social Dominance Orientation	.65	.75
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(table continues)

					Modern Racism	Social Dominance Orientation	.56	.63
					Old Fashioned Racism	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.47	.55
					Modern Racism	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.52	.59
					Support For KKK	Social Dominance Orientation	.31	.33
Jones, 2013	Published	Non-students - Online	2013	83	Support For Neo-Zi	Social Dominance Orientation	.52	.56
					Support For KKK	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.51	.55
					Support For Neo-Zi	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.51	.55

(table continues)

Chambers, Schenker, & Collisson, 2013	Published	Non- students - Online	2013	65	Modern Racism	Conservative Ideology	.38	.42
					Attitudes Toward Blacks	Conservative Ideology	.28	.30
Chambers, Schenker, & Collisson, 2013	Published	Non- students - Online	2013	144	Modern Racism	Conservative Ideology	.45	.50
					Attitudes Toward Blacks	Conservative Ideology	.33	.33
Nicol & Rounding, 2013	Published	Non- students - Online	2013	205	Racism	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.66	.73
						Social Dominance Orientation	.65	.70
Shen, Haggard, Strassburger, & Rowatt, 2013	Published	Non- students - Online	2013	249	Allophilia Scale	Right-Wing Authoritarianism - Aggression	.27	.30

(table continues)

					Right-Wing Authoritarianism - Submission	.17	.20	
					Right-Wing Authoritarianism - Conventionalism	.08	.09	
				5742	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Social Dominance Orientation	-.06	-.07
RaceIAT	Unpublished	Non- students - Online	2013	6747	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.00	.00
				13796	Feeling Thermometer (Attitude Towards Blacks)	Political Orientation	.06	.06

(table continues)

				5368	IAT	Social Dominance Orientation	.04	.04
				6322	IAT	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	-.03	-.04
				14702	IAT	Political Orientation	-.02	-.02
Brandt & von Tongeren	Unpublished	Non-students - Online	2014	248	Negative Black Affect	Political Ideology	-.10	-.10
Brandt & von Tongeren	Unpublished	Non-students - Online	2014	307	Negative Black Affect	Political Ideology	-.22	-.22
Brandt & von Tongeren	Unpublished	Non-students - Online	2014	350	Negative Black Affect	Political Ideology	-.19	-.19
Brandt & von Tongeren	Unpublished	Non-students - Online	2014	356	Negative Black Affect	Political Ideology	-.23	-.23
						Party Identification	.39	.44
Brandt & von Tongeren	Unpublished	Non-students - Online	2014	335	Symbolic Racism	Social Dominance Orientation	.51	.57

(table continues)

Broussard, Zheng, & Aladia	Unpublished	Non- students - Online	2014	62	Modern Racism	Political Orientation	0.45	0.47
					Perceived Threat	Political Orientation	0.32	0.35
<b>Unknown</b>								
Lambert & Chasteen, 1997	Published	Students - In Person	1997	90	Modern/Old- Fashioned Racism	Right-Wing Authoritarianism	-0.44	-0.50
						Humanism- Egalitarianism Scale (Liberal Ideology)	0.50	0.58