# RIGHT-WING AUTHORITARIANISM AND PREJUDICE: A META-ANALYSIS

# A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

FOR THE DEGREE

MASTER OF ARTS

BY

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**JULY 2011** 

# Acknowledgements:

I wish to thank Drs. Bernard E. Whitley, Linh Nguyen Littleford, and Mary E. Kite for their advice and guidance through the stages of my thesis: The Resource Desk Staff at Bracken Library at Ball State University for their assistance with finding research databases: The Interlibrary Loan Staff at Bracken Library for helping me find publications.

#### Right-Wing Authoritarianism and Prejudice: A Meta-Analysis

Researchers have identified a large number of individual difference variables that play important roles in the development and maintenance of prejudice (see review in Whitley & Kite, 2010). One of the most powerful predictors of prejudice is right-wing authoritarianism (RWA). A large body of research spanning more than 60 years has shown that people who are high in RWA tend to be prejudiced against a wide variety of groups, including feminists (Duncan, Peterson, & Winter, 1997), lesbians and gay men (Whitley & Lee, 2000), Native Americans (Alterneyer, 1998), Arabs (Siegman, 1961), immigrants (Quinton, Cowan, & Watson, 1996), and the obese (Crandall, 1994). Although one of the forms of prejudice that has been most frequently studied in relation to RWA has been racial/ethnic prejudice, evidence has been mixed on the extent to which people high in RWA exhibit racial/ethnic prejudice. For example, early studies tended to find rather strong correlations between RWA and prejudice against African Americans (e.g., McDill, 1961) but more recent studies have found smaller correlations (e.g., Laythe, Finkel, and Kirkpatrick, 2001). This pattern suggests that the relationship between RWA and racial prejudice may have changed over time. The purpose of the current research was to test the hypothesis that such change has, in fact, occurred.

### **Right-Wing Authoritarianism**

In the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century, Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, and Sanford (1950) proposed the existence of a concept they called the *authoritarian personality*. They postulated the existence of this personality type as one explanation for rise of fascism in

Europe and the popularity of fascist movements in the United States during the 1930s. The authoritarian personality consisted of nine characteristics, five of which were hypothesized to be related to prejudice: *conventionalism* (strict adherence to traditional middle class values), *authoritarian submission* (submissive attitude toward moral authorities), *authoritarian aggression* (a tendency to condemn, reject, or punish people who violate conventional values), *stereotypy* (a tendency to think in rigid categories), and *projectivity* (a tendency to attribute one's own negative characteristics to members of outgroups).

However, after a period of popularity, enthusiasm for the concept of the authoritarian personality began to die down (Whitley & Kite, 2010). One reason for this change was the growing negativity in psychology toward psychoanalytic theory, which was the basis of Adorno et al.'s (1950) theory. A second reason for the change involved the measurement of authoritarianism; the psychometric quality of the F-scale that Adorno et al. developed to assess authoritarianism was problematic. One problem with the F-scale was that it was vulnerable to acquiescence response bias because all the items were worded so that agreement indicated an authoritarian attitude (Christie, 1991). In an attempt to correct this problem, researchers wrote item "reversals" in which disagreement indicated authoritarian tendencies. However, Christie, Havel, and Seidenberg (1958) criticized the wording of these reversals as being as unqualified and dogmatic as the original items; that is, the reversals were not written in language compatible with the ideology of a liberal low scorer. In addition, Edwards (1957) argued that some of the

items on the F scale reflected negative aspects of the self, which may have caused participants to deny that the negative trait could be attributed to themselves.

Interest in the construct of authoritarianism was rekindled in the 1980s when Altemeyer (1981, 1988, 1996) re-conceptualized the construct and developed an improved measure of it. Altemeyer changed the name of the concept from *the authoritarian personality* to *right-wing authoritarianism*. Instead of viewing RWA as a personality trait with nine covarying components, Altemeyer conceptualized RWA as an attitude cluster consisting of three of the components (authoritarian aggression, authoritarian submission, and conventionality) identified by Adorno et al. (1950). Altemeyer believed that these three components are thoroughly intertwined and so wrote the items for his scale without trying to create separate sets of items for each component (Altemeyer, 1996).

Altemeyer (1994) described the components this way:

Authoritarian submission [reflects] a high degree of submission to the authorities who are perceived to be established and legitimate in the society in which one lives. Authoritarian aggression is general aggressiveness that is directed against various groups that are perceived to be sanctioned by established authorities. Conventionalism [reflects] a high degree of adherence to the social conventions that are perceived to be endorsed by society and its established authorities (p. 133).

In addition to re-conceptualizing the authoritarianism construct, Altemeyer (1981, 1988, 1996) developed a new scale to assess it. Since then, his scale has gained great popularity. For example, the *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences* named it a state-of-the-art instrument in psychology today (Feldman, 2001) and Christie (1991) made special note of the strong evidence for the RWA scale's validity. A strength of the scale is that it makes the measurement of the authoritarianism construct less complex. Whereas Adorno et al. (1950) conceptualized authoritarianism as being composed of nine traits, Altemeyer has reduced them to three (Funke, 2005). However, one shortcoming of the scale is that it does not provide separate scores for the three components of the construct and so does not permit fine-grained analyses of the relationships between RWA and other variables (Duckitt, Bizumic, Krauss, & Heled, 2010; Funke, 2005).

#### **Authoritarianism and Prejudice**

As noted earlier, people high in right-wing authoritarianism tend to be prejudiced against members of outgroups. Why does this relationship exist? One explanation lies in the three components of RWA. One component is authoritarian submission: high RWA individuals submit to authority figures they see as legitimate. This submission leads people high in RWA to unquestioningly adopt authority figures' positions on issues. However, as I will discuss shortly, a major premise underlying my research is that authority figures' endorsement of prejudice has declined in the U.S since the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century. A second component of RWA is authoritarian aggression. This characteristic

leads people high in RWA to act aggressively toward outgroups condemned by authority figures. This aggression can be physical, such as in the case of attacks on group members, or symbolic, as in the case of discrimination and oral expressions of prejudiced attitudes. The third component, conventionalism, means that individuals high in RWA tend to hew closely to what they perceive as the current social norms and look down on people and groups they see as contravening those norms.

Although not much research has been conducted on the roles of components of RWA play in prejudice, one study stands out. Peterson and Dietz (2000) conducted a study that illustrates the importance of the role of authority figures in authoritarian prejudice. The authors had college students from the former West Germany participate in an exercise in which they played the role of a department head in a fast-food chain. In a memo that was part of the materials used in the exercise, the president of the fast food chain asked participants to hire more applicants. Some of the applicants were from the former West Germany whereas others were from the former East Germany, a group that was a target of prejudice in the former West Germany at the time the study was conducted. In the experimental condition the president asked that the new hires be West German to maintain the homogeneity of the department. In the control condition, the president only asked that the new hires be competent in solving department problems. Participants who were high in RWA were less likely to recommend hiring an East German for the position if their company president had emphasized demographic homogeneity. However, participants who were low in RWA did not discriminate on the

basis of regional background regardless of the version of the president's message that they read.

Changes over Time in the Strength of the Relationship Between RWA and Prejudice
The nature of the factors that link RWA to racial prejudice suggest that the strength of the
relationship between RWA and racial prejudice may be decreasing over time. There are
two related reasons why this change may be occurring. The first is authority figures'
changing attitudes toward racial prejudice. People high in RWA discriminate against
groups that authority figures condemn but do not discriminate against other groups
(Whitley & Kite, 2010). However, they will not show hostility unless it is sanctioned by
authority figures (Altemeyer, 1988). Therefore, if authority figures change their attitudes
toward a group and people high in RWA perceive that authorities no longer sanction
aggression toward that group, then they should inhibit their prejudice-related behaviors.

The second reason why the link between RWA and racial/ethnic prejudice may have decreased over time is because of the change in social climate that has made racial/ethnic prejudice non-normative. After the U.S. civil rights movement, main stream society has tried to promote tolerance of minority groups. For example, in Western democracies it is a taboo to openly express racist sentiments (Augoustinos & Every, 2007) and many colleges and universities require students to attend diversity courses to lower racial and other forms of prejudice (Hogan & Mallott, 2005). Thus, many authority figures now promote tolerance toward outgroups, especially racial groups.

The results of studies from different time periods seem to indicate that the correlation between RWA and racial/ethnic prejudice has indeed changed over time. For example, in one early study McDill (1961) examined the relationship between authoritarianism and prejudice in a sample of 266 White, non-Jewish adults. He used an authoritarian measure developed by Campbell, Gurin and Miller (1954) and assessed prejudice using the California Ethnocentrism Scale (Adorno et al. 1950). The results showed a positive correlation between authoritarianism and prejudice, r = .64. The relationship between RWA and prejudice seems to have gotten a little smaller by the 1990s. For example, McFarland and Adelson (1996) studied the responses of 438 Kentucky students and 283 nonstudent adults on 22 measures, including a measure of RWA and a measure of prejudice against African Americans. They found that RWA was positively correlated with prejudice, r = .47. More recently, Laythe, Finkel, and Kirkpatrick (2001) found an even smaller correlation. They administered Altemeyer's (1996) RWA scale and his Manitoba Prejudice Scale to 140 undergraduate students finding a correlation of r = .30.

Additional, albeit indirect, evidence for change over times comes from the results of Hall et al.'s (2010) meta-analysis of the relationship between endorsement of fundamentalist religious beliefs and prejudice. They found that the mean correlation between the variables decreased from r = .28 in studies conducted before 1986 to r = .09 for studies conducted after 1986. Because fundamentalism and authoritarianism are

highly correlated (Hall et al. found a mean r = .68), it is possible that a similar decline has occurred for the RWA-prejudice relationship.

# **The Current Research**

The current research is a meta-analysis of studies of the relationship of RWA to racial/ethnic prejudice. The studies were grouped by the year data was collected (e.g., 1950s, 1960s, etc.) to establish the relationship (if any) between the time the studies were conducted and the mean size of the correlations between prejudice and RWA. In addition to examining the relationship between RWA and prejudice, I conducted two control/comparison analyses. The first examined the relationship between RWA and attitudes toward homosexuality over the same time period as the racial/ethnic prejudice analysis. RWA is strongly correlated with anti-gay attitudes (Whitley & Lee, 2000); however, unlike the normative change that has made racial/ethnic prejudice socially unacceptable, there has been less change in attitudes toward homosexuality (e.g., Kite, in press). Lesbians and gay men are still condemned as deviants by some authority figures, especially religious authorities (e.g. Duck & Hunsberger, 1999), and many people still see homosexuality as violating traditional social norms (Whitley & Kite, 2010; Kite, in press). Therefore, because authority and social norms still support anti-gay prejudice, I hypothesized that, contrary to the case of racial/ethnic prejudice, there will have been no decline in the relationship between RWA and anti-gay prejudice over time. An additional set of control analyses will involve social dominance orientation.

#### **Social Dominance Orientation**

Social dominance orientation (SDO) is "the extent to which one desires that one's ingroup dominate and be superior to outgroups" (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994, p. 742) and is made up of two components, *group-based dominance* and *opposition to equality* (Jost & Thompson, 2000; Kugler, Cooper, & Nosek, 2010). Group-based dominance is the belief that one's own group should be placed on top of the social ladder and other groups should be subordinate to it; it is associated with hostility toward outgroups and concerns about intergroup competition (Kugler et al., 2010). Opposition to equality reflects the belief that groups at the bottom of the social ladder should stay there and no help should be provided for these groups; it is associated with attitudes toward giving more resources to outgroups, political conservatism, and a lack of humanitarian compassion for the disadvantaged (Kugler et al., 2010).

Social dominance orientation and prejudice. As in the case of RWA, researchers have found that people high in SDO hold negative attitudes toward a variety of groups. Individuals high in SDO are prejudiced against members of groups that challenge the legitimacy of social inequality, including African and Asian Americans (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), Native Americans (Altemeyer, 1998), and lesbians and gay men (Whitley & Lee, 2000). Several characteristics of individuals high in SDO may predispose them to be prejudiced. For example, Duckitt (2001) has shown that high SDO individuals see the world as a competitive jungle in which ruthlessness and amorality are rewarded. Also, people high in SDO have the tendency to see resources as being in short

supply and feel that their ingroups will lose out if resources were allocated to other groups. Therefore, individuals high in SDO deny resources to members of outgroups and try to keep outgroups from gaining any power that might force the sharing of resources. They justify this behavior by denigrating other groups, implying that these groups they do not deserve these resources.

Social dominance orientation and right-wing authoritarianism. Although both RWA and SDO are related to prejudice, they are relatively independent constructs (Altemeyer, 1998; Roccato & Ricolfi, 2005) and so make independent contributions to intergroup attitudes (Duckitt, 2006). RWA makes its contribution through a focus on maintaining and defending ingroup norms and values whereas SDO does so through a focus on maintaining existing social hierarchies (Thomsen, Green, & Sidanius, 2008). Unlike the situation with RWA, however, there have been no time-related societal changes that would reduce the relationship between SDO and prejudice. Therefore, in contrast to the case of RWA, I hypothesized that that there would be no time-related changes in the relationship between SDO and either racial/ethnic or anti-gay prejudice over the time during which both constructs have been studied.

#### Method

#### **Sample of Studies**

Only published studies were included in the meta-analysis. An initial pool of studies was located by searching the PsycINFO database using the search terms authoritarian\* and (prejudic\* or ethnic\*or homosex\* or gay\* or lesbian\* or rac\*) and the terms social dominance and (prejudic\* or ethnic\*or homosex\* or gay\* or lesbian\* or

rac\*) in which "\*" is a truncation character that institutes a search for any word having the designated stem. Additional studies were identified by examining the reference lists of the articles identified in the PsycINFO search. A study was included in the meta-analysis if it reported a statistic indicating the degree of association between authoritarianism and racial/ethnic or anti-gay prejudice or between social dominance orientation and racial/ethnic or anti-gay prejudice. Included studies needed to be conducted in the United States or Canada and to include research participants who were of at least college age. The nationality restriction was imposed to avoid the influence of nationality or cultural differences in prejudices and their correlates. The age restriction was imposed so that the analyses would be based on samples with reasonably well developed social beliefs and attitudes.

#### **Coding the Studies**

All studies were coded on several variables. The first was the measure of authoritarianism and social dominance orientation used for each study. Second, the measure of racial/ethnic prejudice the investigators used was coded and also whether prejudice was assessed as a general concept, as prejudice toward African Americans specifically, or as prejudice against both African Americans and other social groups. Similarly, the measure of anti-gay prejudice was coded and also whether prejudice was assessed as prejudice toward the general category of "homosexual," as prejudice against lesbians, prejudice against gay men, or prejudice against both groups within the same measure. Other coded categories were the age group of the sample used in the research

(college students or non-college adults), sex of research participant, and year of data collection. If the source article did not specify the year of data collection, it was estimated as two years prior to the article's publication year.

#### **Statistical Analysis**

The effect size indicator used in the analyses was Hedges' d corrected for bias in estimating population effect size (Rosenthal, 1994). The d statistic represents the standardized difference in the mean prejudice scores between people high and low in authoritarianism and social dominance orientation. If a study used more than one prejudice measure, the effect sizes from the various measures were averaged to create the effect size that was used in the analysis. Effect sizes were computed so that a positive d indicated that people who scored higher on a measure of authoritarianism or social dominance held more prejudiced attitudes. Weighted mean effect sizes (d.) were calculated by using sample sizes as weights; confidence intervals were computed using the formulas in Hedges and Becker (1986). The equivalent correlation coefficient (r.) for each mean effect size was also reported.

#### **Results**

#### **Descriptive Summary**

I located 76 publications that reported 136 effect sizes that met the inclusion criteria for the meta-analysis. Table 1 shows the characteristics of these studies and their mean effect sizes organized by the hypothesis tested; note that any one study could contribute data relevant to more than one hypothesis. To provide a context for the results

presented below, it is important to note that studies testing different hypotheses covered different time spans. Thus, studies of the relationship between RWA and racial prejudice first appeared in the late 1940s, studies of the relationship between RWA and anti-gay prejudice first appeared in the late 1960s, and studies of the relationship of SDO to both forms of prejudice began with the introduction of the SDO construct in the early 1990s.

All publications were coded on several variables. The majority of the publications that measured RWA used the RWA scale developed by Altemeyer (1996). Also, an overwhelming majority of publications that assessed SDO used the SDO scale developed by Pratto et al. (1994). Most publications assessed prejudice using the California Ethnocentrism scale (Adorno et al. 1950), the Manitoba prejudice scale (Altemeyer, 1996), or a scale designed by the authors of the study. The majority of these prejudice scales examined general racial prejudice, mainly toward African Americans and people who are Jewish. When assessing anti-gay prejudice most studies used the Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay men Scale by Herek (1988). However, not all studies reported if they assessed attitudes toward lesbians and gay men separately or if they combined the two scales together to get a generalized score.

The years that the data were collected for the publications are shown in Tables 1 thru 5 based on the type of analysis. As one can see from Table 1, an overwhelming number of studies used college age participants for each analysis. Sex of participant was not recorded because many publications did not report how many males and females participated.

# **RWA and Racial/Ethnic Prejudice**

As predicted, the correlation between RWA and racial/ethnic prejudice has decreased over time, r = -.33, p < .05. However, the actual change over time in the RWA-racial/ethnic prejudice relationship has been approximately zigzag-shaped. As shown in Figure 1 and Table 2, between 1945 and 1964 the mean d dropped from 1.25 to 0.88, but then increased to 1.12 between 1965 and 1974. After that, it steadily declined until 1995, after which the mean d increased from 0.64 to 0.68 and increased to .96 in 2005.

# **RWA** and Anti-gay Prejudice

Although I hypothesized no change in the correlation between RWA and anti-gay prejudice over time, I found instead that the relationship increased, r = .58, p < .01. However, this relationship was approximately V-shaped. As shown in Figure 1 and Table 3, between 1965 and 1984 the mean d dropped from 1.04 to 0.70, but then increased to 0.76 between 1985 and 1994. The mean difference increased again between 1995 and 2004 to 1.29 and again between 2005 and 2010 to 1.56.

# SDO and Racial/Ethnic Prejudice

As expected, the correlation between SDO and racial prejudice did not significantly change over time, r = -.21, p > .05. However, as shown in Figure 2 and Table 4 the mean d did increase slightly in absolute terms from 0.80 in the 1990 to 1994 time period to 1.05 in the 1995 to 1999 time period. Then the mean d decreases again to 0.78 in the 2000 to 2004 time period. Finally, the mean d increases once more from 0.78 to 1.06 in the 2005 to 2010 time period.

#### **SDO and Anti-gay Prejudice**

Although I predicted no change in the correlation between SDO and anti-gay prejudice over time, I found instead a significant decrease, r = -.55, p < .05. As shown in Figure 2 and Table 5, the mean d decreased from .92 to .67 between 1995 to 2004 but decreased trivially from .67 to .62 between the years 2004 and 2010.

#### **Discussion**

As predicted, the correlation between RWA and racial/ethnic prejudice decreased between 1948 and 2008. However, this conclusion must be qualified by an upturn in the correlation in more recent years. In contrast, the correlation between RWA and anti-gay prejudice has increased between 1969 and 2008. Taken together, these findings provide partial support for the hypothesis that changing societal norms surrounding prejudice have led to a decrease in the correlation between RWA and racial/ethnic prejudice. Further support for the hypothesis comes from the finding that the SDO-racial prejudice correlation has not significantly changed over the years although the correlation between SDO and anti-gay prejudice decreased between 1995 and 2009.

#### **RWA** and **Prejudice**

**Racial/ethnic prejudice.** There are two noteworthy trends in the data regarding RWA and racial/ethnic prejudice. First there was a decline in the mean effect size from mean r = .53 in the 1945-1954 study cohort to mean r = .32 in the 1995-2004 cohort. The other trend was the increase of the mean r to .43 in the 2005-2010 cohort. Although there was also a slight increase in mean effect size for the 1965-1974 and 1975-1984 study

cohorts compared to the 1955-1964 cohort, this finding is difficult to interpret because there was only one study in each of the year groups with the larger mean effect sizes. There is a paucity of effect sizes for these time periods because they fell during the hiatus in authoritarianism research described in the introduction. In light of the small number of relevant studies conducted between 1965 and 1994, it may be best to conclude that there was a steady decline in the RWA-racial prejudice relationship from 1945 to 2004 with an increase thereafter.

Changes in social norms may explain the initial decrease in the correlation between RWA and racial/ethnic prejudice. Social justice reforms such as the civil rights movement may have helped society change its norms so that openly condoning prejudice became taboo. Because of White American society's becoming more tolerant of non-White racial groups and because people high in RWA adhere closely to social norms, those people may have become more racially tolerant, or at least less willing to openly express racially prejudiced attitudes. At the same time, religious and political figures stopped openly endorsing racial prejudice. Although people high in RWA discriminate against groups that authority figures condemn and not toward other groups (Whitley & Kite, 2010), they will not show hostility if it is not sanctioned by authority figures (Altemeyer, 1988). Therefore, because of the changing social norms (Augoustinos & Every, 2007) and authority figures' becoming less inclined to express racial prejudice openly (Chong, 1994), people high in RWA may have expressed more tolerance than they previously had.

What can explain the recent increase in the correlation between RWA and racial/ethnic prejudice? Although it is not possible to determine causality, one potential explanation is that during this time period Barack Obama ran for and was elected to the office of President of the United States. RWA is not only an individual characteristic, but also a motivation that can be aroused by external circumstances (Duckitt & Fisher, 2003). Therefore, the emphasis given to President Obama's race, both before and after the election, may have increased RWA in people who saw an African American president as a threat to the traditional "American way." These feelings may have been increased by political (i.e., authority) figures who used negative racial stereotypes when referring to Mr. Obama (Zernike, 2010). This type of derogation may have indicated to individuals high in RWA that it was appropriate to express prejudice against racial groups once again. The role that RWA may have played in the election is shown by Jost, West, and Gosling's (2009) finding that people high in RWA were less likely to endorse Obama's candidacy as president even after political orientation (liberalism-conservatism) was controlled. Even among Democrats, during the primary elections people high in RWA were more likely to prefer Hillary Clinton over Barack Obama (Hetherington & Weiler, 2009).

Anti-gay prejudice. Similar to the finding for the correlation between RWA and racial/ethnic prejudice, the mean effect size for the correlation between RWA and anti-gay prejudice correlation decreased over time. The mean correlation was r = .46 in the 1965-1974 study cohort but decreased to r = .33 in the 1975 -1984 cohort. The mean

effect sizes for the correlation between RWA and anti-gay prejudice then started to increase in the 1985-1994 cohort from a mean r = .36 to a mean r = .62 in the 2005-2010 cohort.

There is not a clear explanation for the initial decline in the relationship between RWA and anti-gay prejudice. However, the 1965-1974, 1975-1985, and 1985-1994 study cohorts contained smaller sample sizes compared to the other cohorts. Therefore, these three cohorts may provide poor estimates of population effect sizes. A possible explanation for the upward trend in mean effect sizes for the RWA and anti-gay prejudice correlation is the increasing salience of gay rights as a political issue. In the 1980s the Democratic National Convention started to openly support gay rights and in the 1980s and 1990s many cities and states started to support same-sex marriage laws (Head, 2011). As with the case of racial/ethnic prejudice, these social-political events may have motivated people high in RWA to express more prejudice than reported in past studies (Duckitt & Fisher, 2003).

#### **SDO** and **Prejudice**

Racial/ethnic prejudice. As predicted there was no change over time in the mean correlation between SDO and racial/ethnic prejudice. However, there was a relatively sharp increase in the mean effect size from the 2000-2004 cohort to the 2005-2010 cohort. This situation should be monitored through future research to see if this trend continues.

Anti-gay prejudice. When looking at the mean effect size for each cohort for the correlation between SDO and anti-gay prejudice correlation, there is a significant decline in the mean effect size from 1995-1999 study cohort to 2000-2004 cohort with the mean effect size relatively staying about the same in the 2005-2010 cohort. There is no clear explanation to why the mean effect size is declining. Social dominance theory would hold that this decline reflects either a drop in group-based dominance (GBD) or in opposition to equality (OE), but there have been no social or political changes that might have led to changes in these factors. Again, future research should monitor the trend of the mean effect size to see if this situation continues. Researchers should also consider using more finely-grained analyses of SDO to explore the roles of GBD and OE.

#### **Limitations of the Current Research**

Although my research produced some interesting results, it has some limitations that should be addressed. First, many of the publications that examined the relationships of racial/ethnic prejudice to SDO and RWA used prejudice scales that simultaneously assessed attitudes of multiple groups. The mean effect size for the correlation between RWA and racial/ethnic prejudice differ for specific social groups, such as African or Asian Americans. However, there were too few studies that focused on single racial/ethnic groups other than African Americans to permit between-group comparisons.

A second limitation concerns research involving SDO. Because the SDO construct was not proposed until the early 1990s, most of the research on SDO was conducted during the 1990s and 2000s. Such a short baseline makes it difficult to discern

trends in the relationship between SDO and prejudice. As research using SDO becomes more common, any trends that exist should become clearer.

Third, as mentioned above that one shortcoming of Altemeyer's (1996) RWA scale is that it does not provide separate scores for the three components of the construct. This characteristic of the scale makes it impossible to conduct analyses of the relationships between the components of RWA and other variables (Duckitt, Bizumic, Krauss, & Heled, 2010; Funke, 2005). Therefore, it is an open question as to which component or components of RWA are linked to prejudice against racial/ethnic groups.

#### **Conclusions**

To some extent, the findings of the meta-analysis supported the main hypothesis. The correlation between RWA and racial/ethnic prejudice did decline substantially for most of the time period covered by the research, although an upward trend seems to have begun. The hypothesis was also supported by the finding that the correlation between SDO and racial/ethnic prejudice had not significantly changed over a 20 year period. Furthermore, the correlation between RWA and anti-gay prejudice does not decrease like RWA and racial/ethnic prejudice but increases over the years. However, the correlation between SDO and anti-gay prejudice has significantly decreased over the years although the only large decrease took place between the 1995-1999 and the 2000-2004 study cohorts. In recent years, this effect has been leveling off.

My findings provide additional support for the importance of authority figures and social norms in shaping the social-political attitudes of people high in RWA. The

effect size of the relationship between RWA and racial/ethnic prejudice steadily decreased starting in 1965 but increased again around the time Barack Obama started his Presidential campaign. The negative racial undertones present in statements made by some political figures may have motivated individuals high in RWA to express more prejudice toward racial groups than has been seen in recent years. Similarly, the effect size of the relationship between RWA and anti-gay prejudice started to increase in the mid 1980s when gay rights legislation started receiving wide-spread publicity. Again, this may have motivated people high in RWA to express more anti-gay prejudice than in the past.

My findings also provide support for the motivational nature of RWA. Duckitt and Fisher (2003) showed that personal and social contextual factors influence someone's ideology, such as authoritarianism and social dominance orientation. My findings give further support to this phenomenon. Obama's Presidential campaign and the gay rights movement may have threatened people who are high in authoritarianism and social dominance orientation and led them to express more prejudice.

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Table 1

Descriptive Summary of Results

	N of	Total	Percent	Years	Mean d	95% CI for	Mean	95% CI	Homogeneity	Year- r
Analysis	effect	Sample	of	Covered <sup>a</sup>		Mean d	r	for Mean	of Variance	correlation
-	sizes	Size	College					r	(Q)	
			Age							
			Samples							
RWA -	44	9782	75%	1948 -2008	0.88**	0.85 to 0.90	.40**	.39 to 41	659.01**	33*
Racial										
Prejudice										
RWA -	43	9213	98%	1969 -2008	1.26**	1.23 to 1.27	.53**	.52 to .54	1263.74**	+.58**
Antigay										
prejudice										
SDO -	32	9265	72%	1990 -2008	0.93**	0.90 to 0.95	.42**	.41 to .43	540.88**	21
Racial										
Prejudice										
SDO -	17	4799	82%	1995 -2009	0.72**	0.68 to 0.74	.34**	.32 to .35	78.69***	55*
Antigay										
prejudice										

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Year in which data were collected

<sup>\*</sup> p < .05 \*\*p < .001

Table 2

Descriptive Summary of RWA-Racial/Ethnic Prejudice Relationship Across Time

Cohort <sup>a</sup>	N of	Total	Percent of	Mean d	95% CI for	Mean	Homogeneity	95% CI
	effect	Sample Size	College Age		Mean d	r	of Variance	for Mean
	sizes		Samples				(Q)	r
1945 - 1954	8	1755	75%	1.25**	1.18 to 1.29	.53**	117.75**	.51 to .54
1955 - 1964	9	1511	66%	0.88**	0.80 to 0.92	.40**	96.96**	.37 to .42
1965 - 1974	1	436	100%	1.12**	0.98 to 1.20	.49**	0.00	.44 to .51
1975 - 1984	1	101	0%	0.97**	0.68 to 1.12	.44**	0.00	.32 to .49
1985 - 1994	2	1007	100%	0.64**	0.55 to 0.69	.31**	3.78	.27 to .32
1995 - 2004	14	2743	100%	0.68**	0.62 to 0.70	.32**	214.77**	.30 to .33
2005 - 2010	9	2229	44%	0.96**	0.89 to 0.99	.43**	30.05**	.41 to .44

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Year in which data were collected

<sup>\*</sup> p< .05 \*\* p < .001

Table 3

Descriptive Summary of RWA-Antigay Prejudice Relationship Across Time

Cohort <sup>a</sup>	N of	Total	Percent of	Mean d	95% CI for	Mean r	Homogeneity	95% CI for
	effect	Sample	College Age		Mean d		of Variance	Mean r
	sizes	Size	Samples				(Q)	
1965 - 1974	3	451	100%	1.04**	0.90 to 1.11	.46**	24.01***	.41 to .49
1975 - 1984	4	433	100%	0.70**	0.57 to 0.77	.33**	17.51**	.27 to .36
1985 - 1994	4	881	100%	0.76**	0.66 to 0.81	.36**	10.59*	.32 to .38
1995 - 2004	21	4789	95%	1.29**	1.24 to 1.31	.54**	554.34***	.53 to .55
2005 - 2010	11	2659	100%	1.56**	1.50 to 1.59	.62**	393.69***	.60 to .62

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Year in which data were collected

<sup>\*</sup> p < .05 \*\*p < .01 \*\*\* p < .001

Table 4

Descriptive Summary of SDO-Racial/Ethnic Prejudice Relationship Across Time

Cohort <sup>a</sup>	N of	Total	Percent of	Mean d	95% CI for	Mean r	Homogeneity	95% CI
	effect	Sample	College Age		Mean d		of Variance	for Mean
	sizes	Size	Samples				(Q)	r
1990-1994	12	3483	75%	0.80**	0.75 to 0.82	.37**	214.82**	.35 to .38
1995-1999	7	2387	71%	1.05**	0.99 to 1.08	.46**	112.23**	.44 to .47
2000-2004	4	716	100%	0.78**	0.67 to 0.83	.36**	7.67	.32 to .39
2005-2010	9	2679	44%	1.06**	1.00 to 1.09	.47**	137.59**	.45 to .48

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Year in which data were collected

<sup>\*</sup> p < .05 \*\* p < .001

Table 5
Descriptive Summary of SDO-Antigay Prejudice Relationship Across Time

Cohort <sup>a</sup>	N of	Total	Percent of	Mean d	95% CI for	Mean r	Homogeneity	95% CI
	effect	Sample	College Age		Mean d		of Variance	for Mean
	sizes	Size	Samples				(Q)	r
1995-1999	6	1402	100%	0.92**	0.84 to 0.96	.42**	7.72	.39 to .43
2000-2004	4	1292	25%	0.67**	0.59 to 0.71	.32**	7.84	.28 to .33
2005-2010	7	2105	100%	0.62**	0.56 to 0.66	.30**	27.47**	.27 to .31

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Year in which data were collected

<sup>\*</sup> p < .05 \*\* p < .001

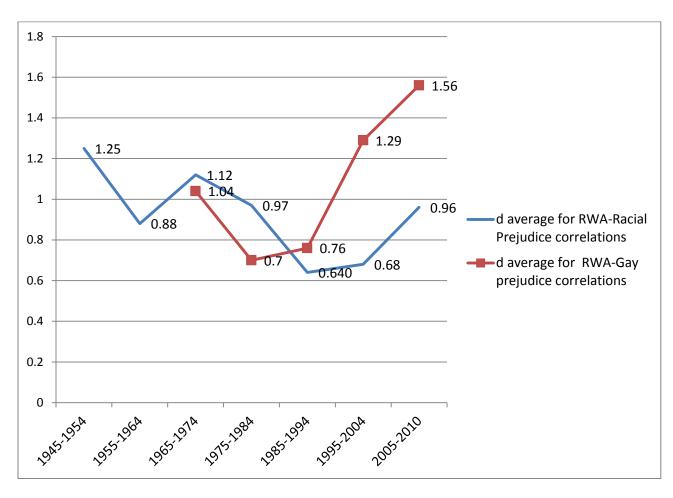


Figure 1. Changes over time in the relationships of RWA to racial/ethnic and anti-gay prejudice.

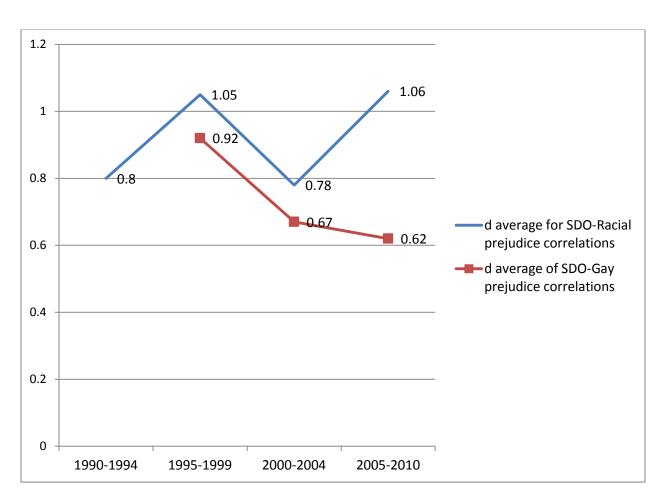


Figure 2. Changes over time in the relationships of SDO to racial/ethnic and anti-gay prejudice.