Corruption in Latin America: Stereotypes of Politicians and their Implications for Affect and Perceived Justice

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Word count: 4960

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Abstract

Latin America has experienced a series of recent corruption scandals, resulting in an unprecedented uncertainty in political leadership across the whole region. Within this context, we have conducted a survey study comprising 9 countries in Latin America (*n*=1,250) examining the stereotype content of politicians. We tested a dual effects model in which the stereotypes of politicians were predicted to shape perceptions of justice directly and indirectly through the activation of affect. Our findings revealed that politicians tended to be stereotyped with negative morality traits and with a certain degree of negativity across other stereotype dimensions. Results supported a positive direct effect of morality on perceived justice and a positive indirect effect through the activation of affect. We discuss the implications of these findings for the current political context in Latin America and also for our understanding of perceptions about politicians and their relationship with leader and power legitimacy.

Corruption in Latin America: Stereotypes of Politicians and their Implications for Affect and Perceived Justice

Countries in Latin America have prospered despite the financial crisis striking both the U.S. and Europe in 2008. The growing demand and high international prices of commodities have allowed the countries in this region to grow 4.2% in the last decade (PNUD, 2013). Due to socio-economic successes, charismatic leaders such as Venezuela's president Hugo Chavez have gained popularity and influenced social movements in Western Democracies (Errejon, Mouffe, & Jones, 2016). However, as oil and commodities prices have fallen, most governments in this region have started to collapse (CNN, 2016a) with their leaders being charged with or convicted for corruption. Although Latin America throughout its history has been fertile ground for corruption (Manzetti, 2014; Moriconi, 2013), association of politicians with corruption has recently been brought to the fore, leading to demonstrations involving hundreds of thousands of citizens against most governments in Latin America (Infolatam, 2016). The present climate is one of unprecedented regional uncertainty in political leadership where around 15 presidents have faced corruption charges (Semana, 2017).

To further understand this new political context, we have examined how citizens in Latin America perceive politicians and how these perceptions have shaped the motivation to support existing social and political arrangements. Our study is situated in 2015, a year that has been considered by some as the "the year Latin Americans got angry by corruption" (Vice News, 2016; see also CNN, 2016b). Within this context, we examined the content of stereotypes targeting politicians and how these might impact perceptions of justice, with affective reactions of people as a mechanism. By departing from extant macro-level analysis featured in political and sociological analyses, our

work breaks new ground by providing a social psychological perspective focusing on the implications of these processes for individuals.

Stereotypes of politicians and perceived justice

The stereotypes prescribed to groups in society, among other functions, serve to reinforce and justify the power of some groups over others (Jost & Kay, 2005; Kay & Jost, 2003), whilst communicating a sense that society as whole is legitimate, justifiable, and fair (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost & Hunyady, 2002). For example, Kay and Jost (2003) in four studies demonstrated that exposure to complementary stereotypes (e.g., poor but happy) led individuals to score higher on a system-justification measure. The idea underpinning these findings is that of a compensation effect (i.e., despite the financial hardship endured by the poor, they are happy) creating an illusion of equality and fairness. This approach to the study of stereotypes has produced a growing literature associating stereotypes with attitudes toward existing political institutions (Glick & Fiske, 2001; Kay, Czaplinski, & Jost, 2009; Oldmeadow & Fiske, 2007).

Moreover, perceptions of group deservingness are crucial for peoples' sense of justice and fairness (e.g., Jost & Burgess, 2000; Jost & Thompson, 2000) and a just system should be one where honest and hardworking people are rewarded with happiness and success (e.g., Crandall & Beasley, 2001; Heider, 1958; Lerner, 1980). Thus, stereotyping politicians positively should reinforce their status and the notion that society is orderly and just, in addition to increasing public support for their leadership, strengthening their ability to exert their power. Indeed, when people perceive the procedures by which leaders exercise their authority as fair, they tend to attribute greater legitimacy to those leaders and become more willing to follow them (Tyler, 2003, 2006).

Despite the importance of these stereotypes, research focusing on this topic is scarce and the rare pieces that reflect on this area have been conducted uniquely in the U.S. in work examining the stereotypes of specific subgroups such as female (Bauer, 2015; Schneider & Bos, 2014) or Black politicians (Schneider & Bos, 2011). The study of these stereotypes has been overlooked so far and it may prove to be critical, especially in the current context of Latin America where a citizen's sense of societal justice should be disrupted because the high status associated with a political career may not be met by society's view of this particular group.

To understand how politicians are stereotyped, we drew upon the stereotype content model (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002), which posits that *competence* and *warmth* are two central dimensions of social perception underlying the stereotypes of social groups. Whilst *competence* is typically characterized by traits such as 'intelligent' and 'independent'; *warmth* is typically characterized by traits such as 'sociable' and 'honest'. This theorizing has received extensive empirical support (e.g., Abele & Wojciszke, 2007; Cuddy et al., 2008; Yzerbyt, Provost, & Corneille, 2005) and has been replicated across multiple groups and cultural contexts (Cuddy et al., 2006; Fiske & Cuddy, 2006). However, in discussing the content of warmth, recent scholarship has suggested that this dimension comprises both *morality* and *sociability* traits (e.g., Brambilla & Leach, 2014; Brambilla, Rusconi, Sacchi, & Cherubini, 2011; Leach, Ellemers, & Barreto, 2007). These scholars distinguish between s*ociability*, which is thought to refer to cooperation and social connections (e.g., friendly, good-natured), and *morality* that pertains to the correctness of individuals and groups (e.g., sincere, trustworthy). These two dimensions have been found to be distinct both at the individual (Anderson & Sedikides, 1991; De

Raad & Peabody, 2005) and at the group level (Brambilla et al., 2011, 2012; Leach et al., 2007).

In addition to the stereotype content model, the distinction between morality and sociability is critical to our research for two reasons. The first being that morality concerns should be highly relevant in contexts of political corruption and we want to account for this possibility. Another reason is that morality has a dominant role in social perception compared with competence and sociability (Schwartz & Bardi, 2001) and should be crucial in determining individual perceptions of justice. Further support for this notion can be found in work showing that morality traits are more important than sociability and competence traits in positive ingroup evaluations (Leach et al., 2007) and for outgroup impression formation (Brambilla et al., 2012). It is thus not surprising that, in intergroup relations, morality is more desirable than competence and immorality less desirable than incompetence (Phalet & Poppe, 1997). Given the central role of morality, it is plausible that appraisals about politicians' morality should dominate and channel the effects of stereotypes on perceived justice; rendering the competence and sociability dimensions irrelevant. We thus expect that in the recent political context in Latin America, politicians should be perceived as having low morality and such views should be associated with a certain level of disbelief about justice in these societies, irrespective of stereotyping in the dimensions of competence and sociability.

The role of emotions in the psychological processes associating stereotypes with perceived justice

Previous work has suggested that examining the affective reactions to the ways in which politicians are stereotyped should further our knowledge of how these stereotypes impact perceived justice. For example, Fiske and colleagues (2002) posit that combinations of competence and warmth predict emotional reactions toward the

members of groups perceived in those dimensions. These emotions are often activated by situational appraisals of the potential benefit or harm posed by other groups (Mackie, Devos, & Smith, 2000). According to Fiske et al. (2002), whilst univalent combinations of warmth-competence lead to univalent emotional responses (e.g., high-warmth/high-competence elicits admiration, an upward, but not competitive social comparison), ambivalent combinations lead to more ambivalent emotions (e.g., low-warmth/high-competence elicits envy, a contrastive and upward social comparison, Smith, Parrott, Ozer, & Moniz, 1994).

In addition, there is evidence suggesting that politicians' perceived morality should activate strong affective reactions. For example, classical work in sociology has argued that emotions emerge when people either break or meet moral expectations (Durkheim, 1973). This is also in accordance with recent research showing that there is a close link between moral judgments and emotions (Cheng, Ottati, & Price, 2013). In fact, a wealth of recent studies has associated morality with emotions (e.g., Cameron, Payne, & Doris, 2013; Chapman & Anderson, 2014), suggesting that the way in which moral (or immoral) politicians are evaluated should elicit emotional reactions.

Multiple studies have found that emotions mediate the effects of cognitions on behavior (Cuddy et al., 2007; for a review see Zajonc, 1998) which is important for our reasoning because, when compared to stereotypes, emotions more strongly and directly predict both discrimination and intent (e.g., Schütz & Six, 1996; Talaska, Fiske, & Chaiken, 2008). This is perhaps why participants focusing on emotions (rather than thoughts) while viewing an anti-racism video increased willingness for intergroup contact (Esses & Dovidio, 2002). Taken together, these studies suggest that emotions resulting from the stereotyping of politicians should elicit intent and behavior that is consonant with these same perceptions and emotions. We propose that in the recent

Latin American context, stereotypes of politicians, and emotions resulting from these stereotypes should be aligned with concerns about the legitimization of extant economic, social, and political arrangements. Thus, perceiving politicians as low in morality should activate negative emotions, which in turn should be associated with perceived injustice.

The present study

In a survey study targeting nine countries geographically spread throughout Latin America, we examined a dual effects model with both direct and indirect effects as outlined in Figure 1. We advance extant knowledge by testing a model explaining how citizens' views of politicians may impact their perceptions of justice and how emotions assessed in terms of positive and negative affect may channel these processes[1]. Our primary hypothesis is that politicians should mainly be stereotyped in terms of (low) morality and less so in the dimensions of competence and sociability (H1). Perceived justice should be predicted by morality either directly (H2) or indirectly through the activation of affect (H3). It is an integral part of our reasoning that, due to the central role of morality, competence and sociability should have no effects on perceived justice (H4). Our model should explain these effects across countries in Latin America.

[1] Emotions and affect have been described as two distinct but related concepts. Whilst emotions are differentiated states (e.g., anger, fear, surprise) with specific conceptual qualities, affect is often considered as a more basic state characterized by valence (positive vs. negative) and arousal (high vs. low; Barret, 2006). We examined affect (instead of discrete emotions) as this provided a more parsimonious test to our hypothesis. Moreover, the approach followed here has recently been argued to be the most accurate for measuring associations between morality and emotions. A recent review of 85 studies (Cameron, Lindquist, & Gray, 2015) revealed no clear evidence of specific correspondence between moral content and different discrete emotions (e.g., anger, fear). Drawing upon constructionist models of emotion (e.g., Barrett, 2013; Lindquist, 2013), Cameron and colleagues (2015) highlighted the significance of domain-general processes and argued that morality and emotions are associated by overlapping global characteristics such as general feelings (affect). For these reasons, we measured affect expressed in terms of valence.

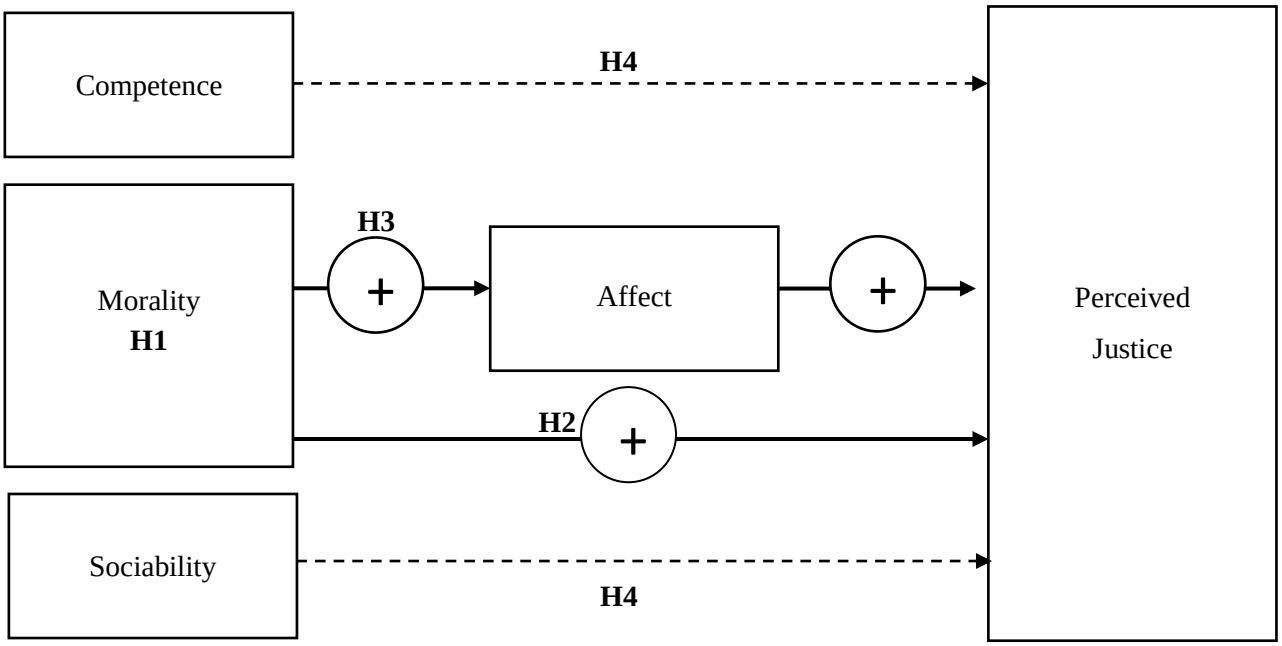

Figure 1. Predicted relationships between politicians' stereotypes, affect, and perceived justice. H1-H4: Hypotheses 1 to 4. The solid lines represent statistically significant relationships, whilst the dashed lines indicate no expected relationship.

Method

Participants. Using a conservative criterion (*f*=.15; power=.95) for testing our measurement model with 6 latent variables and 28 observed variables (see Analytical Approach below), power analysis suggested a sample size of 1,095 (Cohen, 1988; Soper, 2014). We recruited a total of 1,250 participants (659 females, 33 did not specify) who responded to our survey in 2015. Their ages ranged from 17 to 86 years old (*M*=34; SD=13.68) and they were nationals from Argentina (*n*=257), Brazil (*n*=105), Chile (*n*=81), Colombia (*n*=140), Ecuador (*n*=93), Mexico (*n*=136), Paraguay (*n*=98), Peru (*n*=99), Uruguay (*n*=241). There were no data exclusions. We reported all conditions and measures included in the research project. Table 1 summarizes the key demographic characteristics.

Table 1. Key demographic variables divided by country.

	Latin American Countries								
	ARG (n=257)	BRA (n=105)	CHL (n=81)	COL (n=140)	ECU (n=93)	MEX (n=136)	PRY (n=98)	PER (n=99)	URY (n=241)
Education									
Primary education	1%	3%	3%	1%	1%	-	-	-	1%
High-school	37%	43%	12%	76%	25%	6%	18%	18%	39%
Undergraduate degree	31%	37%	37%	16%	51%	72%	51%	60%	39%
Postgraduate degree	29%	16%	47%	7%	23%	21%	30%	21%	20%
Monthly salary									
Under $250	11%	14%	7%	43%	28%	29%	9%	18%	8%
From $251 to $400	11%	12%	9%	16%	8%	18%	4%	12%	5%
From $401 to $600	13%	19%	7%	9%	12%	8%	8%	7%	6%
From $601 to $800	16%	11%	12%	5%	2%	5%	9%	9%	10%
From $801 to $1000	11%	9%	10%	3%	8%	4%	7%	6%	13%
From $1001 to $1200	11%	7%	7%	4%	7%	7%	6%	9%	9%
From $1201 to $1500	11%	7%	7%	4%	3%	6%	5%	8%	13%
From $1501 to $2000	10%	16%	15%	1%	5%	8%	20%	3%	15%
From $2001 to $3000	2%	-	10%	7%	8%	6%	16%	8%	12%
From $3001 to $5000	1%	-	9%	1%	9%	4%	3%	7%	5%
$5001 or more	-	-	4%	1%	9%	2%	8%	4%	3%
Gender									
Male	47%	50%	56%	37%	48%	40%	40%	36%	48%
Female	52%	49%	44%	58%	51%	59%	56%	60%	49%
Age	M=37 SD=13	M=28 SD=9	M=38 SD=13	M=20 SD=4	M=32 SD=12	M=26 SD=7	M=35 SD=10	M=32 SD=13	M=45 SD=14

Note: ARG = Argentina; BRA = Brazil; CHL = Chile; COL = Colombia; ECU = Ecuador, MEX = Mexico; PRY = Paraguay; PER = Peru; URY = Uruguay. Percentages do not add to 100% due to rounding of scores and missing data.

Procedure. Our survey was advertised on social media, at hospitals, NGOs, universities, and governmental institutions in the target countries. It was accessible both online and in a paper-and-pencil version to maximize participation and target different groups in society. Participants were informed in our instructions that society holds different views about its groups and that the study seeks to understand how politicians, as a group, are portrayed in society. We reminded our participants that categorizing individuals into groups is a common process and then invited them to write down three

adjectives that best describe how politicians are seen in society. This was an unobtrusive method of assessing the valence of these traits and to ascertain whether morality would emerge more frequently than competence and sociability traits.

Participants then turned the page and were asked to rate politicians using a list of traits diagnostic of competence, sociability, and morality; followed by a list of emotions where they had to express how their ratings of politicians made them feel. The survey also included a measure of system-justification assessing perceptions of the existing economic, social, and political institutions and arrangements (Jost & Banaji, 1994) and a question about political orientation so we could provide a control for these views in our analyses. Although we did not expect a strong social desirability bias in this context, we dealt with this possibility by asking throughout the survey what "people in general think of politicians", rather than asking about the individual endorsement of stereotypes (e.g., Garcia-Marques, Santos, & Mackie, 2006).

Measures. Our survey was available in each country's native language (see Online Appendix B).

Stereotype content. We asked participants to rate, on a scale ranging from "-3" (not at all) to "+3" (very much), the extent to which they thought that society views politicians according to a number of different attributes – honest, sincere, trustworthy, and moral (diagnostic of morality); friendly, nice, affectionate, and sociable (diagnostic of sociability); and competent, capable, efficient, and intelligent (diagnostic of competence). All attributes were selected according to two pilot studies examining their diagnosticity (as morality, sociability, or competence indicators) and valence[2]. These attributes formed

[1]The first pilot study comprised 38 participants who rated the extent to which each attribute (from a list of 220 attributes commonly used in stereotype research) was seen in society as typically describing morality, sociability, and competence. In the second pilot study, 40 participants rated the valence of the most consensual attributes identified in the previous pilot. The attributes that were more similar in valence were selected for this study.

reliable measures ($\alpha_{morality}$=.88, $\alpha_{sociability}$=.82, $\alpha_{competence}$=.81) and a multi-group confirmatory factor analysis (MGCFA) confirmed that our proposed three-factor model of stereotype content fitted the data better than Fiske et al.'s (2002) two-factor model (see Online Appendix A).

Affect. We assessed participants' positive and negative affect with a shorter version of the Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988)[3]. We asked participants to rate on a scale ranging from "-3" (very slightly) to "+3" (very much) the extent to which these emotions expressed how they felt about the way politicians are perceived by society. The items tapped into positive (proud, inspired, excited, and enthusiastic; $\alpha_{positive\ affect}$=.78) and negative affect (distressed, upset, hostile, and ashamed; $\alpha_{negative\ affect}$=.79). A factorial analysis with oblimin rotation supported the expected 2-factor structure with a positive affect factor with an Eigenvalue of 3.48 explaining 44% of the total variance. The negative affect factor had an Eigenvalue of 1.55 and explained 19% of the total variance.

Perceived justice. We used an 8-item measure developed by Kay and Jost (2003) that assesses participants' perceptions of the existing social system as legitimate and fair (e.g., "In general, you find society to be fair", "In general, my country's political system operates as it should"; α=.74). Responses were registered on a 7-point scale.

Political orientation. We assessed this variable by asking participants to specify their political orientation on a scale ranging from "1" (left-wing) to "7" (right-wing), with "4" as the center.

Demographic variables. We also asked about participants' age, gender, education measured on a 6-point scale ranging from "primary school" to "postgraduate degree", and

[3] We used a factor analysis from our previous data to inform our shorter version (*names of the authors omitted for the review process*, 2015). This previous work was conducted in the same languages as this study. It focused on the effects of corruption on well-being, providing a similar context.

monthly income assessed using an 11-point scale ranging from “under $250” to “$5001 or more”.

Results

Analytical approach

Our first hypothesis was that politicians should be stereotyped mainly in terms of (low) morality and less in the dimensions of competence and sociability (H1). To test this, we coded the qualitative data to examine the valence and frequency of the selected traits. The quantitative data was analyzed with structural equation modeling to test the hypothesis that politicians’ perceived morality is directly and positively associated with perceived justice (H2) and indirectly via affect (H3). It is worth noting that our hypotheses were designed for positive affect, so we expected the opposite pattern when examining negative affect. Competence and sociability should not predict perceptions of justice (H4). Note that due to missing values, degrees of freedom may change throughout the analyses.

Preliminary analyses and descriptive statistics

Initial screening tests indicated that our data were missing completely at random, so we used *listwise* deletion in all analyses (Little, 1998). Tests of metric equivalence ensured that correlations between latent variables can be compared across countries (Meuleman & Billiet, 2011; see Online Appendix A).

Means, standard deviations, and correlations are presented in Table 2. Across countries, the average scores of the perceived competence and sociability of politicians were around the midpoint of the scale, whilst perceived morality was below the midpoint. Overall, participants expressed some negative affect and little positive affect following on from their evaluation of politicians. Perceived justice was below the midpoint of the scale, whilst their political orientation was around the midpoint. Correlations showed that the different dimensions of stereotype content are highly

correlated between them. These dimensions were associated with positive affect and perceived justice, and negatively associated with negative affect. In line with these correlations, perceived justice was associated with positive affect, with this effect reversed for negative affect. Interestingly, political orientation tended to be uncorrelated with the study's variables.

Table 2. Means, standard deviations, and correlations for all variables divided by country.

Argentina		**M**	**SD**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**
1.	Competence	-0.34	1.27	-						
2.	Sociability	0.45	1.20	.43**	-					
3.	Morality	-1.85	1.04	.63**	.28**	-				
4.	Positive affect	-1.28	1.39	.40**	.19**	.44**	-			
5.	Negative affect	0.52	1.48	-.24**	-.07	-.23**	-.37**	-		
6.	P. Justice	2.83	1.02	.33**	.25**	.39**	.41**	-.38**	-	
7.	Pol. Orient	3.53	1.36	.02	-.01	.06	.02	.10	-.08	-
Brazil		**M**	**SD**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**
1.	Competence	-0.47	1.17	-						
2.	Sociability	0.41	1.35	.49**	-					
3.	Morality	-2.06	1.00	.52**	.26**	-				
4.	Positive affect	-1.54	1.29	.32**	.17	.46**	-			
5.	Negative affect	1.30	1.52	-.19	-.15	-.24*	-.51**	-		
6.	P. Justice	2.44	0.81	.28**	.18	.29**	.27**	-.13	-	
7.	Pol. Orient	3.73	1.57	.07	.16	.05	.11	-.04	-.08	-
Chile		**M**	**SD**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**
1.	Competence	-0.80	1.32	-						
2.	Sociability	0.06	1.56	.60**	-					
3.	Morality	-1.90	1.07	.50**	.31**	-				
4.	Positive affect	-1.48	1.25	.30**	.23*	.42**	-			
5.	Negative affect	0.69	1.42	-.35**	-.40**	-.12	-.23*	-		
6.	P. Justice	2.75	0.89	.52**	.32**	.40**	.49**	-.20	-	
7.	Pol. Orient	3.25	1.52	-.09	-.13	.03	.10	.09	.07	-
Colombia		**M**	**SD**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**
1.	Competence	-0.40	1.20	-						
2.	Sociability	0.46	1.22	.44**	-					
3.	Morality	-1.84	1.11	.69**	.40**	-				
4.	Positive affect	-1.45	1.12	.37**	.21**	.58**	-			
5.	Negative affect	0.42	1.44	-.18*	-.06	-.16	-.29**	-		
6.	P. Justice	2.77	0.72	.29**	.21*	.43**	.25**	-.18*	-	
7.	Pol. Orient	3.71	1.37	.02	.11	.06	.06	.13	.05	-
Ecuador		**M**	**SD**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**
1.	Competence	-1.03	1.14	-						
2.	Sociability	-0.09	1.25	.34**	-					
3.	Morality	-2.03	1.01	.71**	.28**	-				
4.	Positive affect	-1.80	1.09	.44**	.30**	.37**	-			
5.	Negative affect	0.38	1.58	-.27**	-.09	-.20	-.35**	-		
6.	P. Justice	2.57	0.99	.35**	.18	.30**	.32**	-.26*	-	
7.	Pol. Orient	3.22	1.65	.09	.09	.01	-.01	-.17	.43**	-
Mexico		**M**	**SD**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**
1.	Competence	-1.22	1.19	-						
2.	Sociability	-0.10	1.39	.58**	-					
3.	Morality	-2.21	0.81	.50**	.39**	-				
4.	Positive affect	-1.88	1.11	.18*	.32**	.33**	-			
5.	Negative affect	0.83	1.25	-.09	-.20*	-.22*	-.29**	-		
6.	P. Justice	2.58	0.98	.19*	.27**	.31*	.49**	-.36**	-	
7.	Pol. Orient	3.72	1.36	.13	.20*	.09	.14	-.22*	.36**	-
Paraguay		**M**	**SD**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**
1.	Competence	-0.95	1.11	-						
2.	Sociability	0.11	1.29	.65**	-					
3.	Morality	-2.00	0.96	.61**	.38**	-				
4.	Positive affect	-1.81	1.16	.27**	.27**	.27**	-			
5.	Negative affect	0.40	1.38	-.34**	-.20	-.29**	-.51**	-		
6.	P. Justice	2.81	0.87	.43**	.28**	.27**	.29**	-.36**	-	
7.	Pol. Orient	3.68	1.34	.14	.10	-.05	.08	-.04	.47**	-
Peru		**M**	**SD**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**
1.	Competence	-1.29	1.23	-						

2.	Sociability	-0.25	1.46	.49**	-					
3.	Morality	-2.12	1.02	.61**	.28**	-				
4.	Positive affect	-2.00	1.08	.22*	.13	.44**	-			
5.	Negative affect	0.97	1.57	-.06	.02	-.23	-.24**	-		
6.	P. Justice	2.37	0.87	.31**	.15	.38**	.16	-.26*	-	
7.	Pol. Orient	3.51	1.47	-.17	.12	-.17	-.16	-.05	.26*	-
Uruguay		**M**	**SD**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**
1.	Competence	0.28	1.13	-						
2.	Sociability	0.71	1.10	.35**	-					
3.	Morality	-0.37	1.33	.68**	.28**	-				
4.	Positive affect	-0.64	1.38	.48**	.34**	.51**	-			
5.	Negative affect	-0.13	1.44	-.28**	-.17**	-.35**	-.37**	-		
6.	P. Justice	3.48	0.97	.41**	.26**	.43**	.49**	-.29**	-	
7.	Pol. Orient	2.40	1.20	-.08	.06	-.05	-.07	.07	-.08	-
Total sample		**M**	**SD**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**
1.	Competence	-0.54	1.30	-						
2.	Sociability	0.29	1.31	.51**	-					
3.	Morality	-1.67	1.25	.66**	.34**	-				
4.	Positive affect	-1.41	1.33	.44**	.29**	.52**	-			
5.	Negative affect	0.50	1.50	-.27**	-.16**	-.32**	-.39**	-		
6.	P. Justice	2.82	0.99	.41**	.28**	.47**	.45**	-.35**	-	
7.	Pol. Orient	3.33	1.47	-.08**	.02	-.16**	-.08**	.08*	-.01	-

Note: The stereotype and affect dimensions range on a scale from -3 to +3. Perceived justice and political orientation range on a scale from 1 to 7. * $p < .050$; ** $p < .010$

Hypothesis 1

The qualitative data was examined with content analysis. Two coders coded each adjective according to whether it was positive or negative, and into either a morality, competence, or sociability category as per Fiske et al.'s (2002) and Leach et al.'s (2007) definitions. The coding produced a total of 3,609 adjectives with a satisfactory interrater reliability (α=.85; see Table 3 for frequencies and percentages divided by category, valence, country, and order). To test our hypothesis we used binomial tests. The binomial distribution is used for calculating the probability of dichotomous outcomes in which the two choices are mutually exclusive (Howell, 2007). Our hypothesis was anchored on morality and, as such, we considered a dichotomous outcome as we wanted to know whether there was a higher probability of choosing a morality trait versus a non-morality trait (i.e., competence or sociability). Our hypothesis would have been rejected if all traits were chosen in identical proportion, i.e., .33 of choosing a morality trait against .66 of choosing a non-morality trait. A binomial test confirmed H1 in indicating that the observed proportion of morality traits of .71 was higher than the expected .33, p<.001 (1-sided). A second binomial test examining the valence of morality traits revealed that the observed

proportion of negative morality traits .99 was higher than the expected .50, $p<.001$ (1-sided). Participants were thus more likely to choose morality over non-morality traits and more likely to choose negative over positive morality traits. As an illustration, across the three stereotype dimensions, the preferred adjective was 'corrupt' chosen by 72.86% of our total sample, followed by 'liar' (31.61%).

Hypotheses 2, 3, and 4

We tested an indirect effects model with structural equation modeling using maximum-likelihood estimation with robust standard errors in Mplus 7.4 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998–2015)[4]. Failing to account for the non-independence of observations within countries could cause underestimation of the standard errors (Hox, 2002), so we accounted for the nested structure of our data (i.e., participants nested within countries) with the Mplus command TYPE=COMPLEX (for more details, see Online Appendix A). We then tested a model with latent variables corresponding to morality, competence, sociability, negative and positive affect, and perceived justice (see Figure 2). We allowed the paths between perceived justice and all other variables to be freely estimated, as well as those between affect and the stereotype dimensions, controlling for age, sex, salary, education, and political orientation (for the Mplus code, see Online Appendix C).

The resulting structural equation model had good fit $\chi^2(443)=1579.06$, $p<.001$, RMSEA=.047 (90% CI:0.045, 0.050), CFI=.971. In support of H2, morality was positively associated with perceived justice, $B=.15$, $p<.001$, 95% CI=[0.104, 0.192]. Perceiving politicians to be moral was translated into more positive affect and lower negative affect, $B=.47$, $p<.001$, 95% CI=[0.372, 0.558] and $B=-.35$, $p<.001$, 95% CI=

[4] Model fit was assessed using the Comparative Fit Index (CFI) and Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA). Values of CFI above .90 and RMSEA up to .08 are seen as acceptable (Kline, 2005).

[-0.483, -0.223]. Both positive and negative affect following from politicians' evaluations, were inversely associated with perceived justice, *B*=.17, *p*<.001, 95% CI=[0.095, 0.239] and *B*=-.06, *p*=.006, 95% CI=[-0.093, -0.023] respectively. In support of H3, indirect path analysis showed a significant positive effect of morality on perceived justice via positive affect and via negative affect, *B*=.08, *p*=.001, 95% CI=[0.038, 0.118] and *B*=.02, *p*=.003, 95% CI=[0.009, 0.032].

Table 3. Frequencies for the number of positive and negative adjectives divided by dimension and country.

		Argentina (n=766)	Brazil (n=318)	Chile (n=236)	Colombia (n=400)	Ecuador (n=286)	Mexico (n=434)	Paraguay (n=263)	Peru (n=304)	Uruguay (n=602)	**All data (n=3609)**
Morality	Positive	0.73% (n=4)	1.17% (n=3)	1.15% (n=2)	0.33% (n=1)	0.48% (n=1)	0% (n=0)	0% (n=0)	0% (n=0)	5.88% (n=21)	1.25% (n=32)
	Negative	99.27% (n=542)	98.83% (n=253)	98.85% (n=172)	99.67% (n=318)	99.52% (n=206)	100% (n=298)	100% (n=191)	100% (n=222)	94.12% (n=336)	98.75% (n=2538)
	TOTAL	**71.28% (n=546)**	**80.50% (n=256)**	**73.73% (n=174)**	**79.75% (n=319)**	**72.38% (n=207)**	**68.66% (n=298)**	**72.62% (n=191)**	**73.03% (n=222)**	**59.30% (n=357)**	**71.21% (n=2570)**
Sociability	Positive	13.33% (n=8)	0% (n=0)	18.75% (n=3)	8.33% (n=3)	10.53% (n=2)	0% (n=0)	0% (n=0)	13.33% (n=2)	28.17% (n=20)	13.72% (n=38)
	Negative	86.67% (n=52)	100% (n=15)	81.25% (n=13)	91.67% (n=33)	89.47% (n=17)	100% (n=31)	100% (n=14)	86.67% (n=13)	71.83% (n=51)	86.28% (n=239)
	TOTAL	**7.83% (n=60)**	**4.72% (n=15)**	**6.78% (n=16)**	**9.00% (n=36)**	**6.64% (n=19)**	**7.14% (n=31)**	**5.32% (n=14)**	**4.93% (n=15)**	**11.79% (n=71)**	**7.68% (n=277)**
Competence	Positive	16.88% (n=27)	36.17% (n=17)	10.87% (n=5)	28.89% (n=13)	6.67% (n=4)	3.81% (n=4)	3.45% (n=2)	10.45% (n=7)	30.46% (n=53)	17.32% (n=132)
	Negative	83.12% (n=133)	63.83% (n=30)	89.13% (n=41)	71.11% (n=32)	93.33% (n=56)	96.19% (n=101)	96.55% (n=56)	89.55% (n=60)	69.54% (n=121)	82.68% (n=630)
	TOTAL	**20.89% (n=160)**	**14.78% (n=47)**	**19.49% (n=46)**	**11.25% (n=45)**	**20.98% (n=60)**	**24.19% (n=105)**	**22.05% (n=58)**	**22.04% (n=67)**	**28.90% (n=174)**	**21.11% (n=762)**

Note: Each participant provided three adjectives, so the total number of adjectives is larger than the sample size. The percentages of positive and negative traits are relative to the total number of adjectives within a stereotype dimension. The percentages of total traits per dimension (rows in bold) are relative to the total number of adjectives across the stereotype dimensions. There were a few adjectives that could not be coded into morality, sociability, or competence (e.g., millionaire, political, representative) and were thus not included in this table and analyses.

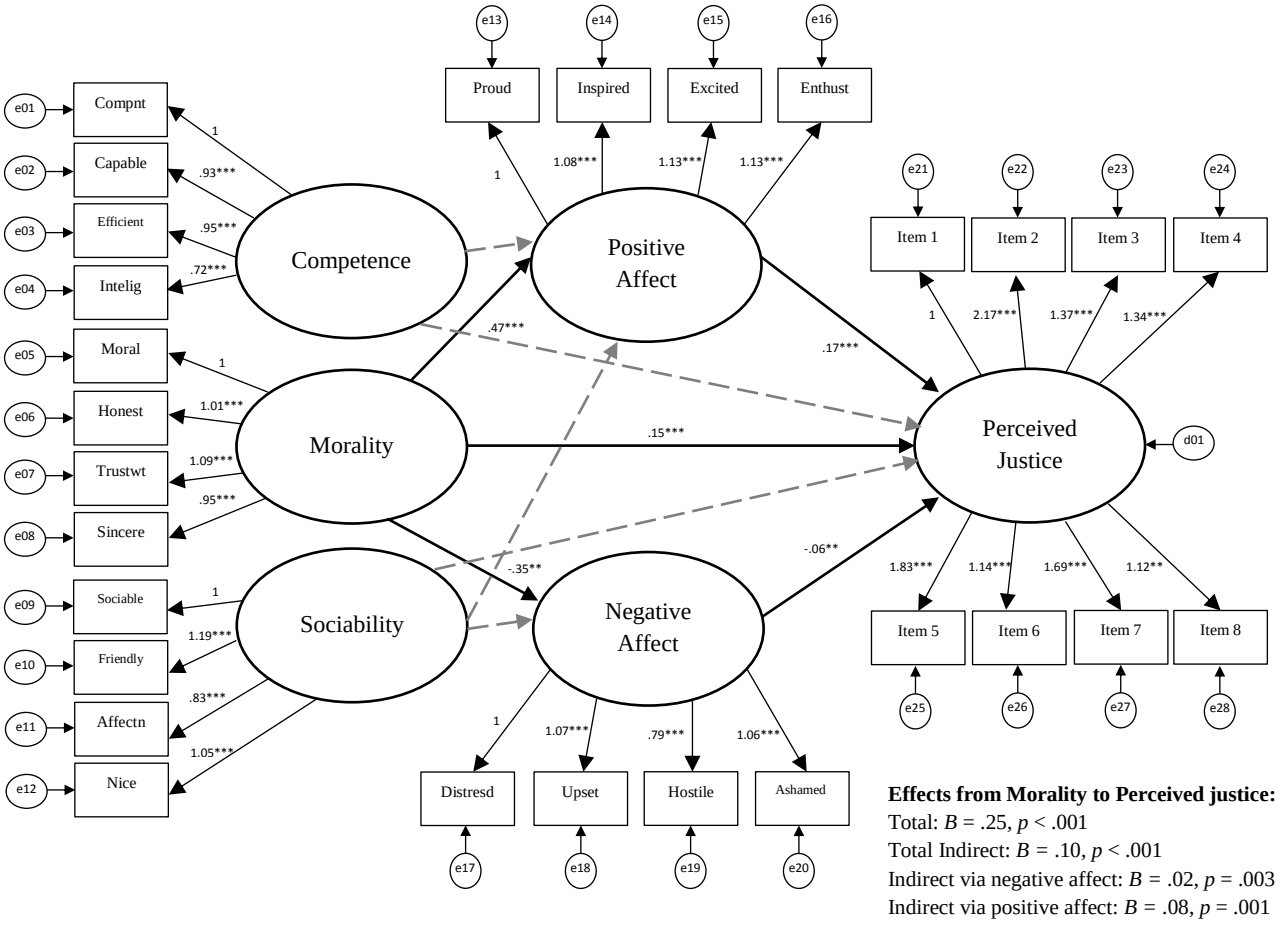

Figure 2. Structural equation model testing both direct and indirect effects. Dashed lines in grey indicate non-significant paths. All coefficients are unstandardized and effects on perceived justice were adjusted for sex, age, salary, education, and political orientation. Apart from the variable sex that is categorical, all other variables were continuous. There were no dummy or mean-centered variables. * $p < .050$; ** $p < .010$; ** $p < .001$.

The total indirect effect was positive, as well as the direct and total effects, *B*=.10, *p*<.001, 95% CI=[0.060, 0.136], *B*=.15, *p*<.001, 95% CI=[0.104, 0.192], and *B*=.25, *p*<.001, 95% CI=[0.185, 0.307] respectively. This analysis revealed that perceiving politicians to be moral was associated with positive affect (and less negative affect), which in turn was positively associated with perceived justice (for an analysis of alternative causal explanations, see Online Appendix A). Finally, we found support for H4 as sociability and competence were not associated with perceived justice, *B*=-.01, *p*=.847, 95% CI=[-0.052, 0.041], and *B*=.04, *p*=.249, 95% CI=[-0.018, 0.104]. Both

sociability and competence were not associated with positive and negative affect (*p*s>.057).

Discussion

Across Latin America, morality emerged as a key dimension of politicians' stereotype content. Morality was positively associated with perceptions of justice in these countries. We found both a direct and indirect effect through the activation of affect. Our findings supported H1 and demonstrated that morality traits tended to be negative and were the preferred dimension for stereotyping politicians. In a context of salient corruption, there was a mismatch between the high-status of political leaders and the views of their citizens.

Supporting H2, we found that the morality attributed to politicians was associated with perceived justice. This effect is supported by previous work showing that beliefs about groups can be used to support society's hierarchy and status quo (e.g., Glick et al., 2000; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). It is thus expected that politicians as a high status group in society should have virtues that legitimize their power. In a similar vein, there is a universal tendency to believe that people deserve what they get and get what they deserve (Lerner, 1980). For this reason, perceiving a high-status group such as politicians to be moral should increase the sense that their society is just and orderly.

Our analyses also revealed an indirect effect of morality on perceived justice via positive and negative affect. This finding supports H3 and is in accordance with previous work suggesting that when impressions about groups are favorable, affect and behavior toward the involved groups is also favorable (e.g., Cuddy et al., 2007; Fiske et al., 2002) and with recent studies associating moral judgments with affect (e.g., Cameron et al., 2013; Chapman & Anderson, 2014). The study's findings provide support for our argument conveying that the ways in which politicians are stereotyped

activate affective reactions consonant with a disbelief in justice. In support of H4, we found that morality was the key dimension in our model and, as with previous work, we also demonstrated the significance of morality over competence and sociability (e.g., Leach et al., 2007; Schwartz & Bardi, 2001).

It is worthwhile noting that despite the cross-country differences in the mean scores of our key variables (see Table 4), the hypothesized relationships between these variables did not change across countries. This provides support for the idea that there are specific contextual characteristics impacting our variables, but that the relationships between these variables are somewhat independent of these contextual differences. This aspect speaks to the robustness and reliability of our results, whilst suggesting that our findings may be generalized and used with reference to other countries in Latin America.

Implications of our findings

Our results unveil one critical process leading to perceived injustice in Latin American societies. They suggest that political instability may emerge not only from the corrupt structures in society but also from a lack of citizen support of the status quo. Extant work in the social sciences has already emphasized the impact that corruption has on economic and sociological variables (e.g., Chang & Chu, 2006; Warren, 2004), but our research adds to these findings by suggesting that it is vital to examine how these systems affect individuals as their actions are likely to feed back into society and perpetuate instability.

Moreover, stereotypes are beliefs that are shared within cultures (e.g., Allport, 1954; Fiske et al., 2002), so both citizens and politicians in Latin America should be cognizant of politicians' perceived low morality. This raises two important concerns. First, it is a well-known effect that individuals tend to behave according to the

stereotypes ascribed to their group (Schmader, Hall, & Croft, 2014; Steele, 1997). For this reason, politicians may be shaped in accordance with their group's stereotype. Second, there is the possibility of a self-selection bias, such that individuals with high moral standards would perhaps be less likely to opt for a political career. For these individuals, it might be difficult to deal with the dissonance of deciding to undertake a career where they will be part of a group stereotyped as immoral.

Limitations and future research

One important limitation relates to the fact that our data was correlational not allowing for causal inferences. Nonetheless, there is empirical support demonstrating that stereotypes cause emotions (e.g., Cuddy et al., 2007) and it is relevant to note that participants in our survey were asked to rate their affect following on from their evaluation of politicians. Hence, affect should have been activated in accordance with the way in which politicians were rated. Moreover, it has been demonstrated that perceptions of others impact people's propensity to perceive the existing social arrangements as legitimate and justified (Kay & Jost, 2003), providing further support for our hypothesized relationship that stereotypes may lead to perceived justice.

As a promising avenue for future research it would be interesting to test our model in countries with low levels of corruption. In those contexts, the morality of politicians is not at stake and perhaps this dimension would not emerge as the most important. Politicians could be stereotyped in terms of high competence, which should lead to more stability and political confidence than that observed in Latin America.

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