

President Obama and the Growing Polarization of Partisan Attachments by Racial Attitudes and Race

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Abstract

Our previous research shows that the unusually large effects of race and racial attitudes on public evaluations of Barack Obama have spilled over into multiple facets of mass political decision making. This study tests whether that spillover of racialization has extended all the way into partisan attachments. The results presented suggest that mass partisan attachments are indeed more polarized by both racial attitudes and race than they were before Obama became the Democratic nominee for president. We show, for example, that party affect was significantly more influenced by racial resentment in 2008 than it was in both 2004 and in earlier survey years. Moreover, and unlike prior panel studies, racial resentment strongly predicted changes in party identification among 2006-2008 panelists who were re-interviewed after Obama clinched the nomination. Our evidence indicates that Obama activated older and more blatant forms of racial prejudice like old fashioned racism and anti-black affect even more powerfully. While both of these outdated attitudes were unrelated to party identification in the years and decades preceding the 2008 election, we show that they have become significantly linked to white partisanship in the age of Obama. Finally, we show that Obama substantially increased the black-white racial divide in both macro partisanship and in strength of Democratic identification.

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It is now apparent that racial attitudes have an unusually strong impact on evaluations of Barack Obama (Tesler and Sears 2010; Piston 2010; Jackman and Vavreck 2010). Indeed, the effect of these attitudes on both general election vote preference in 2008 and presidential approval in April 2009 were considerably greater than they had been at any other time in the preceding decades (Tesler and Sears 2010). The extraordinary effects of liberal and conservative racial attitudes on assessments of Barack Obama continued throughout his first year in office, leading us to conclude elsewhere that racial predispositions are chronically accessible in the public's evaluations of him (Tesler and Sears 2010). In other words, the associative link between racial attitudes and Obama's position as the first black president is so strong that it may well ensure that these attitudes about African-Americans will influence the public's assessments of him regardless of how hard he tries to deactivate the salience of race.

Aside from this polarization of the electorate by racial attitudes, our first African-American president also appears to be driving the political opinions of blacks and whites farther apart. Figure 1A, for instance, shows that by the end of Obama's first year in office, black and white Americans were separated by 50 percentage points in their presidential approval ratings—a distance already significantly larger than the racial polarization at any time during Ronald Regan's and George H.W. Bush's presidencies (Tate 1994, 133). Much of this greater racial polarization in presidential approval ratings was the product of Obama's extraordinary support from African-Americans. As can be seen in the display, President Obama's black approval rating hovered consistently around 90 percent throughout his first year-and-a-half in office. By comparison, President Clinton, whose popularity among African-Americans was considered at the time to be "exceptionally strong" (Tate 1994, 207), received a low-70s approval rating in three national surveys of black Americans commissioned during the first two years of his

presidency.¹ As a result of Obama's unprecedented support from African-Americans, Figure 1 shows that the black-white divide in presidential approval ratings is nearly twice as big now as it was at the same time in Bill Clinton's presidency.

With evaluations of Barack Obama considerably more polarized by both race and racial attitudes than public opinion about his presidential predecessors, mass political evaluations could become correspondingly divided by these factors during his presidency. Our previous work has uncovered strong evidence in support of this *spillover of racialization* hypothesis (Tesler and Sears 2010; Tesler 2010). Racial attitudes, for example, became an increasingly strong predictor of mass assessments of John McCain as his campaign against Obama intensified in the fall of 2008 (Tesler and Sears 2010). The impact of racial resentment on white Americans' opinions about health care and taxes has also grown considerably since Barack Obama's positions on these issues received heavy scrutiny in 2008 and 2009 (Tesler and Sears 2010; Tesler 2010); and racial predispositions were significantly more connected to opinions about policies attributed to President Obama than they were in a set of survey experiments framing the exact same policies as President Clinton's former proposals (Tesler 2010). This profound spillover effect is not just limited to the impact of white Americans' racial attitudes, either. The black-white opinion gap in support of President Obama's health care reform legislation was roughly 20 percentage points greater in 2009-2010 media polling than it was during President Clinton's 1993-1994 reform efforts (Tesler 2010).²

¹ President Clinton registered a 74 percent approval rating in the 1993-1994 National Black Politics Study of 1206 African-Americans fielded from December 4, 1993 to February 13, 1994; he registered a 70 percent approval rating in Time/CNN's national survey of 503 African-Americans fielded February 16-17, 1994, and obtained a 71 percent approval rating in Gallup/CNN/USA Today's national survey of 400 African-Americans fielded August 23-24, 1994.

² This growing racial divide also occurred among CCAP panel respondents interviewed in March 2008 and November 2009. The white-black opinion gap in the percentage of CCAP panel respondents who said health care should be voluntary grew from 23 percentage points in March 2008 to 33 points in November 2009 (Tesler 2010).

This prior research suggests that the presence of President Obama in a political conflict increases the importance of racial considerations in mass political decision making. Yet, those results tell us little about whether the spillover of racialization from President Obama into the broader political landscape will have a lasting influence on American politics. Take, for example, the spillover of racial attitudes into public assessments of John McCain. As mentioned above, racial resentment became an increasingly strong predictor of positive evaluations of John McCain by Cooperative Campaign Analysis Project panel respondents (CCAP, Jackman and Vavreck 2009) over the course of the 2008 campaign. When we re-interviewed these same CCAP panelists one year after the 2008 election, though, the powerful association of racial resentment with evaluations of McCain had almost returned to its pre-nominee levels (Tesler and Sears 2010, figure 4.5). We found an analogous pattern with Democrats' evaluations of Hillary Clinton: Racial resentment strongly predicted favorable ratings of Senator Clinton at the peak of her primary campaign against Obama in March 2008, but by November 2009, these racially conservative attitudes were associated with Democrats' *negative* assessments of Secretary Clinton (Tesler and Sears 2010, figure 4.5).³

The changing impact of racial resentment on evaluations of Hillary Clinton and John McCain from early 2008 to late 2009 is highly suggestive of the polarizing effect of Obama's presence along the lines of racial attitudes. The activation of racial resentment during their campaigns against Obama, along with its deactivation as these contests became increasingly distant political memories, indicates that the effect of racial attitudes on political evaluations can be substantially altered by how closely those assessments are related—either positively or

³ A report by the Pew Research Center (2010) shows a similar pattern for the impact of race on Hillary Clinton's favorability ratings. Clinton had a favorability rating in the high 80s among African-Americans in 2007, which dipped below 60 percent during the height of her primary contest against Barack Obama. In November 2009, though, Secretary Clinton was rated favorably by 93 percent of African-Americans in a large oversample survey of blacks commissioned by Pew.

negatively—to Barack Obama. They also beg the question, however, of whether the spillover of racialization into mass political decision making during Obama’s presidency will spark a renewed organization of American politics around race and racial attitudes or if these effects are simply fleeting responses to a black president that will vanish once he leaves office.

It is particularly important, therefore, to examine whether the spillover of racialization extends all the way in to party identification itself. Americans’ positions on most political issues are often unstable from year to year and vary depending on the context in which they are assessed (Converse 1964; Zaller 1992; Kinder 1998). In contrast, party identification persists rather stably through life (see Sears and Levy 2003 for a review). As a result of that persistence, any increased polarization of mass partisanship by race and racial attitudes would likely leave a lasting imprint on American politics.

On the other hand, party identification—a predisposition repeatedly shown to be the most stable of all political attitudes (Campbell et al 1960; Converse and Markus 1979; Green, Palmquist and Shickler 2002)—should be much more difficult for Obama to racialize than the public’s positions on less-crystallized issues like taxes and health care. In fact, the spillover of racialization mechanism is premised in large part on the fact that most Americans do not have well-developed political belief systems, but instead formulate their opinions about public policy from cues provided by groups and politicians who share their political views (Tesler 2010; Converse 1964; Sears 1969; Sniderman, Brody and Tetlock 1991; Zaller 1992; Lupia 1994; Berinsky 2009). Mass cue-taking based upon the president’s policy positions should polarize issue opinions by race and racial attitudes, since these factors are so strongly connected to opinions about Obama. Party identification, however, is much less susceptible to short-term influences like affect toward specific presidential candidates and presidents (Campbell et.

al1960; Green et al. 2002). As such, we would expect the spillover of racialization into partisanship to be less pronounced than it is for mass policy preferences.

Party identification's well-documented individual-level stability and slow systematic changes should limit the spillover of racialization into mass partisanship. Nevertheless, there is reason to suspect that President Obama's presence would enhance the impact of race and racial attitudes on partisan attachments. Green et al. (2002) argue that partisanship is not inherently stable; instead, "Party attachments tend to be stable because the social group imagery associated with the parties tends to change slowly over time. Once a person's party attachments take root, they are seldom disrupted by new conceptions of the partisan groups and the social coalitions that they comprise" (141). One way to alter this social group imagery is to change the composition of party leadership. The Republican Party, for instance, effectively altered its public persona by putting Southerners into top party positions throughout the 1980s and 1990s, paving the way for Southern party realignment (Green et al. 2002, 13). Even more relevant for our purposes, Sears, Citrin and Kosterman (1987) show that the increased association between the Democratic Party and African-Americans, which resulted from Jesse Jackson's 1984 presidential campaign, *immediately* accelerated the growing polarization of Southern partisanship by both racial attitudes and race.

President Obama's position as the de facto figure head of the Democratic Party could similarly reinvigorate the party's longstanding association with African-Americans in the voters' minds. As discussed in greater detail below, racial symbolism may have been losing its centrality in the two parties' images during the decade preceding Obama's presidential victory when morality and national security issues dominated the partisan discourse. A black president from the Democratic Party, however, once again situates race at the forefront of the party's

persona. This renewed and widespread cognitive association of the Democratic Party with African-Americans may have increased the impact of both racial attitudes and race on party identification from before to after Barack Obama became the Democratic nominee for president. At the very least, we expect that affect toward the parties, which is less stable than party identification (Green et al 2002), will be more polarized by racial considerations than it was before Obama's ascension to the top position within the party.

Race and the Contemporary Partisan Alignment

Race has occupied a central location in the partisan alignment for nearly half a century. Carmines and Stimson (1989) convincingly argue that this organization of partisan politics around racial issues stemmed largely from elite-level differences in the two parties' support for 1960s civil rights initiatives. In particular, the enactment of Civil Rights legislation by the Democratic Kennedy and Johnson administrations, opposed by Barry Goldwater, the 1964 Republican candidate for the presidency, generated a new race-based divide between the parties. These authors go on to show that mass partisan polarization along the lines of such racial policy attitudes emerged in the 1970s: Older citizens who came of age before the parties diverged so sharply on racial issues were gradually replaced by incoming partisans whose party attachments were formed after that new racial schism. These differences in the two parties' racial stances also solidified the widespread Depression era transition of African-Americans' from the "Party of Lincoln" to the "Party of Roosevelt" (Weiss 1983; Carmines and Stimson 1989; Tate 1994; Dawson 1994; Kinder and Sanders 1996). Racially charged issues such as busing, affirmative action, welfare and crime remained salient in American politics through the post-civil rights era and into the 1990s (Edsall and Edsall 1991; Kinder and Sanders 1996; Mendelberg 2001). Not surprisingly, then, racial attitudes and racial policy preferences became increasingly tied to party

identification during the last half of the twentieth century (Valentino and Sears 2005; Laymen and Carsey 2002).

These racialized issues, however, have lost much of their political prominence since Bill Clinton's second term in office. By the end of the 1990s, Supreme Court rulings and/or state ballot initiatives had severely limited the reach of busing and affirmative action. Similarly, the enactment of welfare reform in 1996—a policy that powerfully evokes racial predispositions (Gilens 1999; Mendelberg 2001; Winter 2008)—effectively neutralized this longstanding partisan wedge issue. Democratic passage of the 1994 Crime Bill and plummeting crime rates during the Clinton administration also seem to have removed crime policy—another highly racialized issue (Hurwitz and Peffley 1997)—from the partisan landscape.

Along with the declining visibility of racial issues, moral and defense issues have increasingly shaped the partisan discourse since the start of Bill Clinton's second term. Clinton's affair with Monica Lewinsky and the growing influence of the Religious Right within the Republican Party have situated family values, abortion, and gay rights at the heart of the partisan political divide. Needless to say, national defense issues have also affected partisan politics at the elite-level in the aftermath of 9/11 and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.

With racial issues largely receding from the political scene, there were some indicators of a declining significance of race in Americans' partisan attitudes before Barack Obama became the Democratic nominee for president. Elsewhere we presented evidence showing that the partisan attachments of white youths who came of voting age from 1997 to 2008 were significantly less influenced by racial attitudes than the party identifications of both their older counterparts and white youth respondents from the 1988 and 1992 American National Election

Studies (Sears and Tesler 2009).⁴ Kinder and Drake (2009) similarly argue that the increased focus on terrorism and national security after 9/11 reduced the impact of white racial prejudice on public opinion. And Hajnal and Lee (forthcoming, 153) show that “in the last few decades—at least until the successful candidacy of Barack Obama—African Americans have been slowly but surely moving away from an exclusive relationship with the Democratic Party.”

Barack Obama’s presidential candidacy and victory most likely breathed new life into the flagging association in the mass public between the Democratic Party and African-American symbolism, though. If, as we suspect, a black president from the Democratic Party once again situates race at forefront of the party’s image, the logical upshot would be a renewed organization of mass partisan attachments around race and racial attitudes.

Method

Data

The empirical strength of this study resides in its ability to marshal several sources of survey data to test our primary hypothesis that Barack Obama’s presidency has increased the influence of race and racial attitudes on mass partisan attachments. The majority of our analyses rely on data from the American National Election Study (ANES) and the General Social Survey (GSS)—surveys that are widely considered the gold-standard in social science research. Our ANES and GSS analyses utilize these benchmark surveys’ familiar cross-sectional time series of face-to-face interviews. We also use ANES and GSS panel studies that interviewed the same respondents in 2000-2002-2004 (ANES), 2004-2006 (ANES) and 2006-2008 (GSS). These ANES and GSS analyses are augmented throughout the paper with survey data that we describe upon presentation.

⁴ We refer to this generation as the post-retrenchment cohort because they came of voting age after the retrenchment efforts to roll back racially liberal policies had largely run their course. See also Luks and Elms (2005) for an analysis of the declining role of race in youth partisanship.

Racial Attitudes

We utilize multiple measures of racial attitudes in this study. Our focal explanatory variable, though, is Kinder and Sanders's (1996) racial resentment scale. Racial resentment, like its closely related predecessor, symbolic racism, posits that a new form of racial animus—one that was distinct from the overt “old fashioned racism” of the pre-civil rights era—best explains contemporary white opposition to black candidates and racially remediating governmental policies. Unlike old fashioned racism, symbolic racism and racial resentment do not embrace the tenets of black biological inferiority. Instead, the racial resentment battery taps into subtle hostility towards African-Americans with four questions about black work ethic, the impact of discrimination on African-American advancement, and notions of black people getting more than they deserve⁵--themes thought to undergird the symbolic racism belief system (Sears and Henry 2005). With old fashioned racism no longer an acceptable form of political rhetoric (Mendelberg 2001), symbolic racism and racial resentment have become the focal constructs for explaining the role of racial attitudes in contemporary American politics (see Hutchings and Valentino 2004 and Tesler and Sears 2010 for reviews).

Because only one of the Kinder and Sanders (1996) items is asked in the GSS (WRKWAYUP), we follow Kinder and Kam (2009) and constructed a racial resentment index from that item and two additional questions asking respondents about the role of societal discrimination and black motivation in racial inequality (RACDIF 1, RACDIF 4, see appendix

⁵ The racial resentment items are presented as assertions, with respondents given five response choices ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The assertions are: 1) Irish, Italian, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors. 2) Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class. 3) Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve. 4) It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites. Items are then coded from 0 to 1, by .25 (1 being the most resentful response), summed and divided by the number of questions to provide an easily interpretable 0-1 scale.

for exact wordings). We enhanced our index's reliability by adding one additional item to the GSS racial resentment scale—a three-category variable indicating whether respondents rated whites more, less or equally hardworking than blacks on 7 point stereotype scales (WORKBLKS, WORKWHTS). That 4-item GSS resentment index closely approximates the Kinder and Sanders battery in both substance and in endorsement by Americans (mean = .62 in the 2008 ANES, mean = .65 in the 2008 GSS), but also constitutes a less reliable additive scale ($\alpha = .74$ in the 2008 ANES, compared to $\alpha = .56$ in 2008 GSS). We augment our racial resentment analyses with more blatant forms of prejudice like old fashioned racism and anti-black affect that will be discussed in greater detail when presented below.

Control Variables

In order to effectively determine whether the Obama candidacy and presidency have increased the influence of racial attitudes on partisan attachments, it is imperative to distinguish the impact of racial resentment from the effects of non-racial factors such as moral traditionalism, economic conservatism, and foreign policy hawkishness (Tarman and Sears 2005; Sears and Henry 2005).⁶ We operationalize moral conservatism in our ANES analyses with that survey's standard 4-item moral traditionalism battery (Conover and Feldman 1985), and economic conservatism with the difference score between respondents' 0-100 thermometer ratings of big business and labor unions. Thermometer ratings of the military serve as our proxy for hawkish foreign policy attitudes. Five ANES surveys contain all four measures of racial, moral, economic, and foreign policy conservatism (1988, 1992, 2000, 2004 and 2008). Since

⁶ As Hutchings and Valentino (2004) point out, though, including racial resentment in a model with economic conservatism introduces a conservative bias into the resentment coefficients because racial attitudes are thought to heavily influence support for redistributive policies (Sears and Citrin 1985). Similarly, including hawkishness in the same model with racial resentment may be an over-control since foreign policy positions after 9/11 have been increasingly shaped by ethnocentrism—a predisposition that may be a cause of racial resentment (Kinder and Kam 2009).

none of the surveys employed in this study besides the ANES include these same three non-racial conservatism variables, we include ideological self-placement in our models when contrasting ANES results with those yielded from other surveys.

Racial Resentment and White Americans' Party Attachments

Cross-Sectional Time Series Analyses

We begin our empirical analysis by comparing the effect of racial resentment, moral traditionalism, economic conservatism, and support for the military on white Americans' party identifications from 1988 to 2008. Table 1 presents the coefficients for these four attitudes, which are all coded from 0 to 1—with 1 representing the most conservative position. Consistent with previous research (Valentino and Sears 2005; Laymen and Carsey 2002), the table reveals a notable increase in the effects of racial resentment on white partisanship from 1988 to 2000. Racial resentment was not an independent predictor of party identification in either 1988 or 1992, but they were significantly linked by 2000. Even with economic, moral, and military attitudes held constant, Table 1 indicates that a change from least to most resentful was associated with nearly a 1 point change on the 7-point party identification scale in the 2000 ANES. The coefficients presented in Table 1, however, suggest that this upward trend in resentment effects stalled in 2004 when moral traditionalism and support for the military became more closely linked to both the elite partisan discourse, as discussed above, and mass party identification, as evidenced by the results in the table.

The final column in Table 1 shows that the impact of racial resentment on white party identification reached its apex in 2008, growing by 75 percent of its 2004 size. With that enhanced effect, a change from least to most racially resentful now independently increased Republican partisanship by 20 percent of the party identification scale's range. The larger

influence of racial resentment in 2008 is both substantively interesting and entirely consistent with our main hypothesis that Barack Obama's candidacy increased the impact of racial attitudes on white party attachments. It is important to note, however, that the coefficient for racial resentment in the 2008 column of Table 1 is *not statistically different* from its effect size in 2004 ($p = .19$).⁷ At least from this cross-sectional time-series data, then, we cannot be fully confident that white partisan attachments became increasingly organized by racial attitudes during the fall campaign in response to Barack Obama's presidential candidacy.

A clearer picture emerges for the spillover of racial resentment into mass partisan affect. As touched upon above, party affect is less stable than party identification and thus more likely to be influenced by short-term political forces (Green et al. 2002). So, while affect towards the two major parties exhibits strong stability relative to other political attitudes, it should still be more susceptible to the influence of Obama's candidacy than mass partisanship. At the same time, the spillover of racialization into party affect could have important implications for the future partisan alignment. Indeed, Carmines and Stimson (1989) demonstrate that a shift in affect toward the parties is an intervening step to mass change in party identification.

Table 2 shows how the effect of racial resentment on party affect changed from 2000 to 2008. The coefficients for racial resentment in the table denote the impact of a change from least to most resentful on white respondents' thermometer ratings of the Democratic Party, and their Democratic minus Republican Party evaluations in the 2000, 2004, and pooled 2000-2004 ANES. The interaction term, "Resentment*2008," represents the difference between racial resentment's impact in 2008 and its baseline effects in 2000, 2004 and 2000-2004. For example, the first column in Table 1 tells us that with moral, economic, and military attitudes

⁷ That result comes from a model that included interaction terms for 2008 and for the four explanatory variables in Table 1.

held constant, changing from least to most resentful decreased white respondents' thermometer ratings of the Democratic Party by about 12 thermometer degrees in 2000 (coefficient on racial resentment), and 19 degrees in 2008 (coefficient on racial resentment + coefficient on resentment*2008)—a difference that is not quite statistically significant ($p = .12$), as shown by the standard error below the resentment*2008 interaction term.

The five remaining columns of Table 2, however, all display substantively and statistically significant increases in the effects of racial resentment on party affect in 2008. Columns 3 and 4 indicate that racial resentment's influence on Democratic-Republican Party thermometer ratings doubled from 2004 to 2008 and that its impact on affect toward the Democratic Party nearly tripled over that same four year period. Taken together, a change from least to most racially resentful was associated with 10 and 19 degree decreases in white Americans' respective thermometer ratings of the Democratic Party and their Democrat-Republican evaluations in the pooled 2000-2004 ANES. These effects ballooned to 19 and 34 points respectively in 2008. It most certainly appears, then, that Barack Obama's presidential candidacy increased the influence of racial resentment on white Americans' partisan attachments, at least as measured by party affect.

Racial Resentment and White Partisan Change in Panel Data (2000-2008)

We are quite fortunate in our ability to augment these overtime analyses of the effects of racial resentment on white partisan attachments with a series of panel studies. Panel re-interviews of the same respondents at two or more points in time offer a number of advantages over the repeated cross-section design in determining the impact of racial resentment on partisan change. For starters, we need not worry about differences in sample compositions between repeated surveys because these changes are taking place within the same individuals. Panel

surveys also mitigate concerns about reverse causality by allowing us to test the effect of earlier-measured attitudes on dependent variables measured in later panel waves. In other words, we can be confident that racial resentment is causing changes in partisan attachments rather than party identification changing respondents' underlying levels of racial resentment.⁸ Finally, and perhaps most importantly, we can include a lagged measurement of partisanship from the first wave of the panel in our models predicting party identification in later panel waves. Including that measure of prior party identification in our regression models allows us to estimate the impact of the remaining predictors on the *change in party identification* from Wave 1 to Wave 2 of the panel.

Table 3, for example, estimates the impact of Wave 1 measures of racial resentment, ideology, and party identification on Wave 2 measures of partisanship in 6 panel studies from 2000 to 2008. This is a model of partisan change, as the coefficients on racial resentment and ideology obtained here are the same as those yielded from a difference-score dependent variable of Wave 2 – Wave 1 party identification. Both our earlier discussion about the diminished salience of racial issues in the decade prior to Obama's victory, and the Table 2 results suggesting that the growing effects of racial resentment on party attachments stalled after 2000, would lead us to expect racial resentment *not* to predict partisan change from 2000 to 2006. That expectation is borne out in the first three columns of Table 3. Those coefficients indicate that racial resentment was almost entirely unrelated to the partisan shifts of white respondents in the 2000-2002, 2000-2004, and 2004-2006 ANES.

With Barack Obama becoming the face of the Democratic Party after winning the presidential nomination, we suspect that racial resentment might thereafter significantly predict

⁸ Reverse causality is less of a concern for our purposes, though, because racial resentment is highly stable at the individual-level (Kinder and Sanders 1996; Henry and Sears 2009), and remained stable at both the individual and aggregate levels in response to the 2008 campaign (Tesler and Sears 2010).

changes in white partisanship over time. The 2006-2008 GSS panel study presents a fortuitous quasi experimental test of that hypothesis. The 2008 re-interviews for this study were divided rather evenly before and after Barack Obama clinched the Democratic nomination on third of June. That victory, of course, essentially made the Democratic Party the Party of Obama. We, therefore, expect racial resentment to be a more powerful predictor of 2006-2008 partisan change among panelists interviewed *after* Obama secured the nomination.

The coefficients for racial resentment in columns 4 and 5 of table 3 strongly support that expectation. Racial resentment did not significantly predict partisan change from 2006 to 2008 among white panelists re-interviewed before Barack Obama clinched the Democratic nomination. Partisan change from 2006 to 2008, however, was powerfully influenced by racial resentment among panelists re-interviewed after Obama became the presumptive presidential nominee. All else being equal, the resentment coefficient in column 5 indicates that the most racially resentful panelists interviewed after Obama secured the nomination became about 1 point more Republican on the 7-point identification scale than their least resentful counterparts between 2006 and 2008. The difference in the pre and post nomination impact of resentment on partisan change is statistically significant, too ($p = .04$: see interaction term on Resentment*Nominee in Table A1). Propelled by these large post-nomination effects, the final column of Table 3 shows that racial resentment was also a highly significant predictor of white partisan change in the full 2006-2008 GSS panel.

A Renewed Role for Old Forms of Prejudice in White Americans' Party Identifications

We previously referenced the fact that the Democratic and Republican Parties splintered over 1960s civil rights legislation. Democrats and Republicans may have been sharply divided during the civil rights era on matters of policy, but elites from both political parties had fully

embraced the norm of racial equality by the late 1960s (Mendelberg 2001). Unlike the racial strategy of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, then, which explicitly utilized claims of black biological inferiority for electoral gain, politicians in the contemporary era employ more subtle appeals to racial stereotypes and racial resentment (Mendelberg 2001; Kinder and Sanders 1996). With the Democratic and Republican Parties eschewing the overt racism of the Jim Crow era, survey questions assessing old fashioned racist sentiments like opposition to inter-racial relations and beliefs about biological inferiority were uncorrelated with political attitudes like party identification and assessments of presidential candidates in the post-civil rights decades before Obama became president (Valentino and Sears 2005; Sears et al. 1997; see results below too). Instead, new forms of racial conservatism such as symbolic racism and racial resentment have become the focal constructs for explaining the role of racial attitudes in the current partisan alignment (Valentino and Sears 2005; Hutchings and Valentino 2004).

These large differences between the respective roles of old-fashioned and newer forms of anti-black prejudice in the current party system should have important implications for our analyses. The incorporation of racial resentment into the contemporary partisan alignment during the post-civil rights era most likely put a ceiling effect on the Obama candidacy's immediate potential for further racializing mass party identification. As just mentioned, however, more blatant forms of anti-black attitudes like old-fashioned racism were rarely found in the elite partisan discourse during the era just prior to Obama. Since neither party offered a mouthpiece for adherents of this racist ideology, it makes sense that old fashioned racism was also unrelated to mass party identification—even at the bivariate level—during this time period.

But a black man is now the face of the Democratic Party. The heightened association between the Democratic Party and African-Americans that we believe occurred as a result of

Barack Obama's ascension to the top position within the Party may well have activated long-dormant old fashioned racism, causing some white Americans who still subscribe to this outdated racist ideology to leave the Democratic Party. In that event, old fashioned racism could once again become a significant factor in American partisan politics after a half century of quiescence.

The results in Figure 2 suggest that Obama's presidency has, in fact, opened the door for old fashioned racism to influence white partisanship. The display graphs the bivariate correlations between Democratic Party identification and white Americans' racial attitudes in the thirteen Pew Values Surveys (PVS) conducted from 1987 to 2009. One of these items—disagreeing with statement, “We should make every possible effort to improve the position of blacks and other minorities, even if it means giving them preferential treatment” —is used here as a proxy for racial resentment because opinions about affirmative action are so closely tied to that form of racial conservatism (Kinder and Sanders 1996; Sears et al. 1997). Figure 2 shows that the correlation between Democratic partisanship and support for affirmative action noticeably increased over the 1990s, paralleling the increased association of racial resentment with party identification shown in Table 1. We also witness a slight reversal in this trend after 9/11, followed by an uptick in 2009, just as in the results for racial resentment shown in Table 1.

The increased correlation from the 2007 to the 2009 PVS between Democratic partisanship and support for interracial dating is much more dramatic, though. The display shows that old fashioned racism, as measured here with the desire to prevent blacks from dating whites,⁹ was not significantly correlated with Democratic partisanship in any of the twelve PVSs conducted between 1987 and 2007 (much like the 1996 GSS results presented by Valentino and

⁹ The interracial dating item is a good proxy for old fashioned racism because that ideology is premised in part on the desire for social distance between the races.

Sears 2005). In fact, old fashioned racists were slightly more likely to be Democrats in many of those surveys, including the 2003 and 2007 waves. Yet, there was a highly significant correlation ($p < .001$) between Democratic partisanship and saying it is all right for blacks and whites to date each other in April 2009. It appears from these results, at least, that the election of a black president Democratic Party caused some old fashioned racists to sever their longstanding partisan attachment to the Democrats.

The percentages of white Democratic identifiers in Figure 3 are consistent with that interpretation. The display plots the percentage of Democrats in five Pew Research Center polls conducted from 2007 to 2009, by feelings about interracial dating. Despite the national conditions that made 2008 a pro-Democratic year, Figure 3 shows a slight decrease in Democratic partisanship between January 2007 and October 2008 among white Americans who disagreed that, “I think it is all right for blacks and whites to date” (about 20 percent of white population). We then witness a sharp 7-point decline in Democratic partisanship between the fall of 2008 and April 2009 among this group of old-fashioned racists—a predictable upshot of electing a black president from the Democratic Party.

By our account, the Obama candidacy and presidency activated old-fashioned racism more powerfully than they enhanced the impact of opposition to affirmative action on white partisanship in Figure 2 because newer forms of racial conservatism such as symbolic racism and racial resentment were implicated in the contemporary partisan alignment well before Barack Obama became president. Older forms of prejudice, on the other hand, were not a significant component of partisanship during that time period. Thus, old fashioned racists simply had more realigning left to do than racially resentful whites.

With that possibility in mind, we return to our earlier analysis of the impact of racial, economic, moral, and foreign policy conservatism on white partisanship from 1988 to 2008. Only now we use anti-black affect—an older, more blatant form of prejudice than racial resentment—as our measure of racial conservatism. Anti-black affect is operationalized with the difference in ANES thermometer ratings targeting whites and blacks. These thermometer ratings are far from an ideal measure of racial attitudes. Indeed, social desirability pressures to rate all racial groups equally have introduced considerable error into this measurement in recent years (Sears and Savalei 2009). That artificial evenhandedness in group thermometer ratings is less problematic for our purposes here because we are particularly interested in the effects of more overt forms of prejudice such as rating whites higher than blacks despite strong social norms to evaluate all racial and ethnic groups equally.

With that being said, we turn our attention to the coefficients presented in Table 4. The four predictor variables in that table are once again coded 0-1, with 1 being the most conservative position possible. We interpret the anti-black affect coefficient in standardized units, however, because almost nobody takes the most racially conservative position possible of rating blacks 100 thermometer higher than whites and no white respondent in any of the ANES surveys utilized rated his or her own group 100 points lower than blacks. Consistent with our theoretical expectations about the slight role of older forms of racial prejudice in the pre-Obama partisan alignment, anti-black affect did not significantly increase identification with the Republican Party from 1988 to 2004. Holding economic, moral, and foreign policy

conservatism constant, anti-black affect was actually *negatively* associated with Republican partisanship in all five of these ANES surveys.¹⁰

However, in the 2008 ANES anti-black affect now had a significant *positive* impact on Republican identification. All else being equal, a two-standard deviation change in anti-black affect increased Republican partisanship by over 10 percent of the 7-point party identification scale's range in that survey. This influence of white minus black thermometer ratings on party identification in 2008 was statistically different from its impact in previous ANES surveys, too. The difference between the anti-black affect coefficients presented in Table 4 for 2004 and 2008 was marginally significant ($p = .08$), and the impact of anti-black affect on Republican partisanship in 2008 was significantly greater than its effects in the pooled 2000-2004 ANES ($p = .03$; see Table A2 for the interaction terms on anti-black affect*2008).¹¹

All told, the results in Figure 2 and Table 4 strongly suggest that Obama's rise to prominence within the Democratic Party increased the influence of more blatant forms of racial prejudice like old-fashioned racism and anti-black affect on white partisanship. After decades of being unrelated to the contemporary partisan alignment, these attitudes have once again become significantly linked to party identification in the age of Obama.

Barack Obama and the Growing Black-White Racial Divide in Macro Partisanship

The Obama presidency marks a potential turning point in the well-documented black-white racial divide in party identification. As referenced above, the percentage of African-Americans who identified with Democratic Party gradually declined by roughly 20 percentage points from 1968 to 2004 (Hajnal and Lee forthcoming; Luks and Elms 2005). Moreover, Luks

¹⁰ At the same time, anti-black affect was positively correlated with Republican partisanship in every bivariate analysis from 1988 to 2008, although none of these correlations before 2008 was statistically significant at the $p < .05$ level.

¹¹ As shown in Table A2, anti-black affect also had a statistically different effect on party identification in 2008 than it had in the pooled 1988-2004 ANES.

and Elms (2005, 737) argue that the increased willingness of young African-Americans to identify as Republicans and Independents from 1973 to 1994 stemmed in part from the reluctance of recent Democratic administrations to intervene on behalf of racial progress the way their presidential predecessors did during the Civil Rights era. That conclusion suggests the ongoing generational replacement of older African-Americans who came of age when the party leadership was more active in support of racial equality, by younger blacks whose experience was different, may accelerate this black exodus from the Democratic Party in the decades ahead.

Hajnal and Lee (forthcoming, 203), however, conclude their trend analysis of black partisanship by posing the question, “Does a black president mean the end of the decline in African American attachment to the Democratic Party”? We believe that it does. The evidence presented above strongly suggests that the increased association between the Democratic Party and African-Americans, which presumably resulted from Barack Obama’s presidential candidacy, further polarized white partisan attachments along racial-attitude lines. Obama’s suspected revival of the Democratic Party’s image as the party of black interests should have even greater implications for African-American partisanship. After all, group consciousness is one of the most important determinants of black public opinion and political behavior (e.g., Gurin, Hatchett and Jackson 1989; Dawson 1994, 2001; Tate 1994; Kinder and Sanders 1996; Sears and Savalei 2006; Sniderman and Piazza 2002; Harris-Lacewell 2004). The upshot of such a movement of African-Americans to the Democratic Party induced by the Obama era would almost certainly be a growing black-white racial divide in macro partisanship.

Figure 4 offers some early evidence that Obama has, in fact, increased the racial divide in party identification. The display graphs the quarterly percentages of black and white Americans who indentified with the Democrat Party in 68 Pew Research Center polls conducted from the

first quarter of 2006 through the first quarter of 2010. As can be seen, the percentage of African-Americans who called themselves Democrats was consistently in the low-to-mid 60s throughout 2006 and 2007. White identification with the Democratic Party was also constant during this time period at about 30 percent. Beginning in the first quarter of 2008, though, there was a steady increase in black Democratic identification, culminating at 74.3 percent in the final quarter of the election year, during which Obama was elected.¹² With white Democratic identification holding relatively stable at about 30 percent during this same time period, the black-white racial divide in Democratic partisanship grew from roughly 35 percentage points in 2006 and 2007 to 45 percentage points. To be sure, Figure 4 also reveals a noticeable decrease in black Democratic identification during the first two quarters of 2009. Yet, the once stable 35 percentage point divide in black-white Democratic identification appears to have settled in at around 40 percentage points during the Obama presidency.

Aside from leading more African-Americans to identify as Democrats, we suspect that the Obama presence strengthened the group's attachment to the Democratic Party as well. Pew and almost every other private polling firm do not ask about strength of partisanship, so we cannot conduct a parallel analysis to Figure 4 documenting the quarterly percentage of black and white Americans who identified as "Strong Democrats." Fortunately, though, the General Social Survey assesses the 7-point party identification of every respondent, and they have interviewed at least 375 African-Americans in each of its five most recent surveys. Moreover, the 2008 GSS's field period coincided with Obama's newfound status as Democratic nominee for president and the consequent increase in the proportion of black Democrats shown in Figure 4.

¹² Consistent with these results, black Democratic identification increased from 69 percent in a CNN/ORC oversample survey of 303 African-Americans conducted from October 12-14, 2007 to 81 percent in a CNN/ORC oversample survey of 301 African-Americans conducted from November 6-9, 2008.

Figure 5A tests whether the racial divide in partisan strength has increased in the Obama era by separately plotting the percentage of black and white Americans who identified as “Strong Democrats” in General Social Surveys from 2000 to 2008. As can be seen, the rate of strong Democratic identification was stable from 2000 to 2006 among both blacks and whites. The 2008 GSS, however, produced a notable increase in the percentage of African-Americans who said they were strong Democrats. Indeed, the display indicates that the proportion of African-Americans who were strongly Democratic increased from roughly 38 percent in 2004 and 2006 to 45 percent in 2008.¹³ As was the case with overall Democratic partisanship, Figure 5A shows that the rate of strong Democratic identification remained relatively constant among white Americans over this same time period.

The first panel of Figure 5B illustrates a similar result among the black and white GSS panel respondents who were interviewed in both 2006 and 2008. Of these 212 black panelists, 36.8 percent identified as strong Democrats in 2006 compared to 47.6 percent in 2008—a statistically significant difference ($p = .03$). The second panel of Figure 5B depicts an analogous 10 point increase in strong Democratic identification among African-Americans interviewed in both the December 2007 and November 2008 waves of the Cooperative Campaign Analysis Project. In comparison, we see from these two displays that the percentage of white panelists who considered themselves strongly Democratic increased by only a few percentage points in the GSS and CCAP.

We speculated earlier that African-Americans may have become more Democratic in response to Obama’s rise to prominence within his party because his position signaled that the party would be more supportive of African-American interests. That potential change in the party’s image would be especially important for our purposes here because Hajnal and Lee

¹³ This difference in proportions between 2006 and 2008 is statistically significant ($p=.01$)

(forthcoming) found that most African-Americans did not see a clear-cut difference between the two parties in support of their group interests during the pre-Obama era. Similarly, these authors also show that linked fate—the notion that one’s personal well-being is directly affected by the well-being of the larger black community—was only a modest predictor of Democratic partisanship in the National Black Election Studies conducted during the 1980s and 1990s.

With an African-American president from the Democratic Party now in the White House, linked fate could become an increasingly important determinant of African-Americans’ party identifications. Figure 6 tests this expectation with the large oversamples of African-American respondents in both the 2004 National Politics Study, commissioned by the Center of Political Studies at the University of Michigan, and the 2008 ANES.¹⁴ The display plots the percentage of African-Americans who identified as Democrats in each of these surveys by their sense of linked fate. While there was little difference between Democratic identification in 2004 and 2008 among African-Americans with lower levels of linked fate, Figure 6 shows that respondents who said they are affected “a lot” by what happens to other African-Americans were 15 percentage points more Democratic in the fall of 2008 than they were back in the fall of 2004.¹⁵

It appears at least from this evidence, then, that the notable increase in black Democratic identification from 2007 to 2009 shown in Figure 4 was primarily brought about by African-

¹⁴ The National Politics Study (NPS) was a project undertaken by the Program for Research on Black Americans (PRBA) and the Center for Political Studies (CPS) at the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research, in cooperation with DataStat Inc., a survey research organization located in Ann Arbor, Michigan. The NPS was developed under the sponsorship of the National Science Foundation, the University of Michigan, and the Carnegie Corporation. From September 2004 to February 2005, a total of 3,339 telephone interviews were conducted throughout the United States. The sample consisted of 756 African Americans, 919 non-Hispanic Whites, 404 Caribbean Blacks, 757 Hispanic Americans, and 503 Asian Americans.

¹⁵ This difference in the proportion of high-linked fate African-Americans who identified as Democrats in 2004 and 2008 was significant at the $p < .01$ level.

Americans with strong feelings of linked fate who were responding on the basis of group consciousness to the presence of a black presidential nominee from the Democratic Party.¹⁶

Concluding Remarks

This evidence strongly suggests that party attachments have become increasingly polarized by both racial attitudes and race as a result of Obama's rise to prominence within the Democratic Party. While the enhanced effects of racial resentment on white party identification from 2004 to 2008 were not quite statistically significant, the influence of racial resentment on partisan affect increased significantly over that time period. Moreover, racial resentment strongly predicted changes in white party identification among 2006-2008 GSS panelists who were re-interviewed after Obama clinched the nomination, whereas no such changes were shown in the 2000-2002-2004, and 2004-2006 ANES panel studies. Our results indicate that Obama activated old fashioned racism and anti-black affect even more powerfully. After at least two full decades of being unrelated to party identification, both old fashioned racism and anti-black affect have once again become significantly linked to white partisanship in the age of Obama. Party identification has also become more divided by race. With African-Americans who score high in group consciousness becoming more Democratic in response to Obama's candidacy, the black-white racial divide in macro partisanship has gotten noticeably wider since 2006.

These findings on the growing polarization of partisan attachments by racial attitudes and race are not quite as strong as our prior findings on the spillover of racialization into candidate evaluations and policy preferences. We think the results in this study may be even more important, nonetheless. Previous research has shown that party identification typically persists

¹⁶ Unlike overall Democratic identification, there was no difference in the proportion of African-Americans who considered themselves strong Democrats in the 2004 NPS and the 2008 ANES (49 percent in both). More work, therefore, is required to determine both the robustness of the results in Figure 6 as well as the role of group consciousness in any increased strength of black Democratic partisanship induced by Obama's presidency.

rather stably throughout the life cycle. The enhanced polarization of mass partisanship by race and racial attitudes in response to Obama documented above should therefore leave a lasting mark on American politics.

That imprint will be even greater if, as we suspect, the Obama presence is also influencing the party attachments of young Americans who are currently in their formative adolescent and early adulthood partisan years. Prior research suggests that before Obama became president, racial attitudes and race were losing some of their influence on the party identifications of younger Americans whose partisan attachments crystallized after racial issues became less prominent in the political discourse (Sears and Tesler 2009; Luks and Elms 2005). With Barack Obama now the Democratic face of partisan politics in America, though, the party identifications of the next cohort entering the electorate could be much more racialized. If the effect of Obama's prominence is, in fact, to racialize this generation's partisan attachments, the logical consequence would be a renewed alignment of party identification around race and racial attitudes the years ahead.

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Figure 1A:

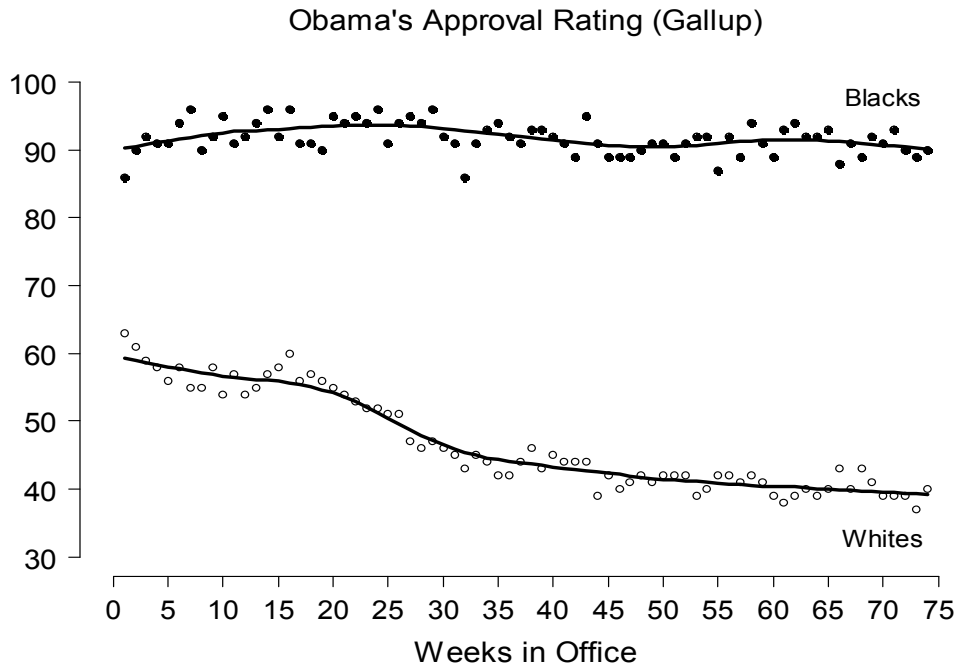


Figure 1.1B:

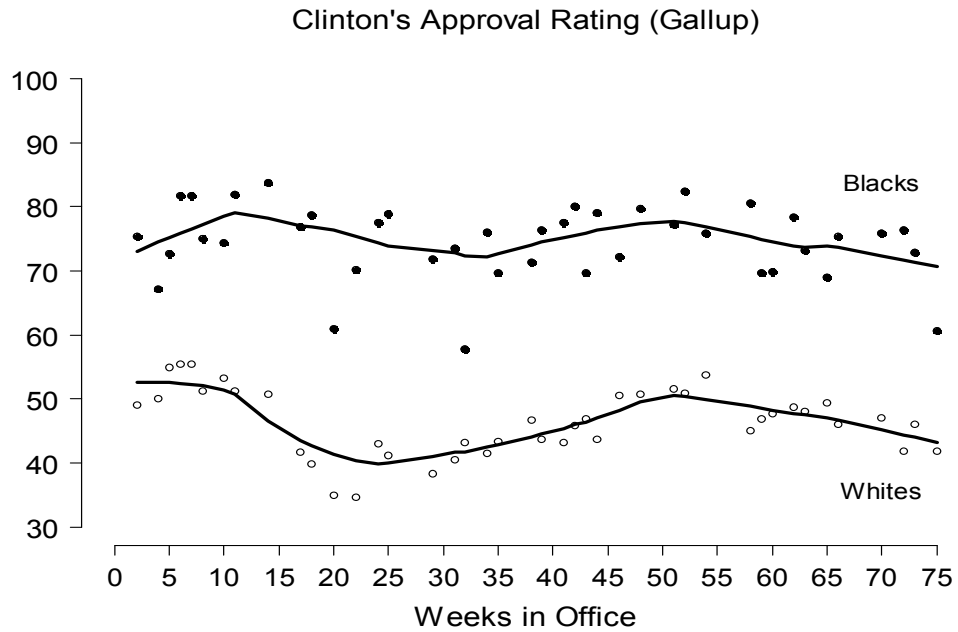


Figure 1.1: Presidential Approval Ratings by Race. President Obama's weekly approval ratings by race were accessed from <http://www.gallup.com/poll/121199/Obama-Weekly-Job-Approval-Demographic-Groups.aspx>. President Clinton's approval ratings among black and white Americans were calculated from Gallup datasets archived at the Roper Center.

Table 1: Predictors of White Partisanship (OLS Regression)

	1988	1992	2000	2004	2008
Racial Resentment	.019 (.042)	.052 (.036)	.142 (.042)	.117 (.050)	.205 (.044)
Moral Traditionalism	.295 (.044)	.323 (.037)	.339 (.045)	.509 (.052)	.298 (.044)
Economic Conservatism	.698 (.056)	.659 (.053)	.817 (.063)	.788 (.073)	.689 (.061)
Military Support	.065 (.046)	.071 (.042)	.012 (.048)	.107 (.057)	.172 (.051)
Observations	1248	1576	1066	714	1005

Note: Dependent variable is 7-point party ID, recoded from 0 (Strong Democrat) to 1 (Strong Republican)
 All explanatory variables are coded from 0-1, with 1 being the most conservative position

Source: ANES Cumulative File

Table 2: Predictors of Party Affect among White Americans (OLS Regression)

	<u>2000 Baseline</u>		<u>2004 Baseline</u>		<u>2000-2004 Baseline</u>	
	Dem Party	Dem-Rep	Dem Party	Dem-Rep	Dem Party	Dem-Rep
Racial Resentment	-11.56 (3.06)	-19.52 (4.89)	-6.88 (3.76)	-17.28 (6.13)	-9.88 (2.36)	-19.23 (3.79)
Racial Resentment*2008	-7.07 (4.52)	-14.64 (7.23)	-11.76 (4.96)	-16.88 (8.09)	-8.76 (4.04)	-14.93 (6.50)
Moral Traditionalism	-22.25 (3.23)	-41.27 (5.15)	-28.50 (3.86)	-64.31 (6.29)	-23.7 (2.45)	-50.05 (3.93)
Moral Traditionalism*2008	1.82 (4.64)	2.34 (7.40)	8.01 (5.04)	25.38 (8.21)	3.31 (4.10)	11.13 (6.57)
Economic Conservatism	-41.05 (4.51)	-83.06 (7.24)	-42.80 (5.43)	-93.31 (8.86)	-41.30 (3.46)	-87.36 (5.56)
Economic Conservatism*2008	-10.42 (6.44)	-10.99 (10.30)	-8.67 (7.03)	-0.73 (11.47)	-10.18 (5.70)	-6.68 (9.15)
Military Support	6.54 (3.49)	-14.92 (5.60)	3.59 (4.29)	-20.55 (7.00)	3.30 (2.64)	-19.48 (4.24)
Military Support*2008	-6.36 (5.23)	-10.91 (8.38)	-3.41 (5.72)	-5.29 (9.34)	-3.12 (4.66)	-6.35 (7.49)
2008	9.55 (4.91)	24.60 (7.84)	9.59 (5.11)	6.27 (8.33)	8.71 (4.29)	15.16 (6.88)
Observations	2041	2033	1703	1699	2751	2741

Note: The dependent variable in model 1 is the 0-97 thermometer rating of the Democratic Party; the dependent variable in model 2 is the 0-97 thermometer rating of the Democratic Party minus the 0-97 thermometer rating of the Republican Party.

Source: ANES Cumulative File

Table 3: Predictors of White Partisanship (OLS Regression)

	2000-2002	2000-2004	2004-2006	2006-2008 (Pre-Nom)	2006-2008 (Post-Nom)	2006-2008 (Full Sample)
Lagged Racial Resentment	.016 (.020)	-.000 (.034)	.026 (.042)	.040 (.036)	.157 (.044)	.091 (.028)
Lagged Ideology	.116 (.029)	.172 (.035)	.248 (.053)	.166 (.045)	.126 (.056)	.149 (.043)
Lagged Partisanship	.805 (.022)	.839 (.026)	.795 (.034)	.820 (.030)	.752 (.038)	.793 (.061)
Observations	821	626	485	425	285	710

Note: Dependent variable is 7-point Party ID, recoded from 0 (Strong Democrat) to 1 (Strong Republican); dependent variables are from the latter survey year, and explanatory variables were measured in the earlier survey wave of the 6 panel cases presented in the top row of the table. All explanatory variables are coded from 0-1, with 1 being the most conservative position. The 2006-2008 GSS is partitioned into interviews conducted before and after Obama clinched the Democratic nomination on June 3, 2008.

Source: 2000-2002-2004 ANES Panel; 2004-2006 ANES Panel; 2006-2008 GSS Panel.

Correlation with Democratic Identification (1=Democrat, 0 = Everyone Else)

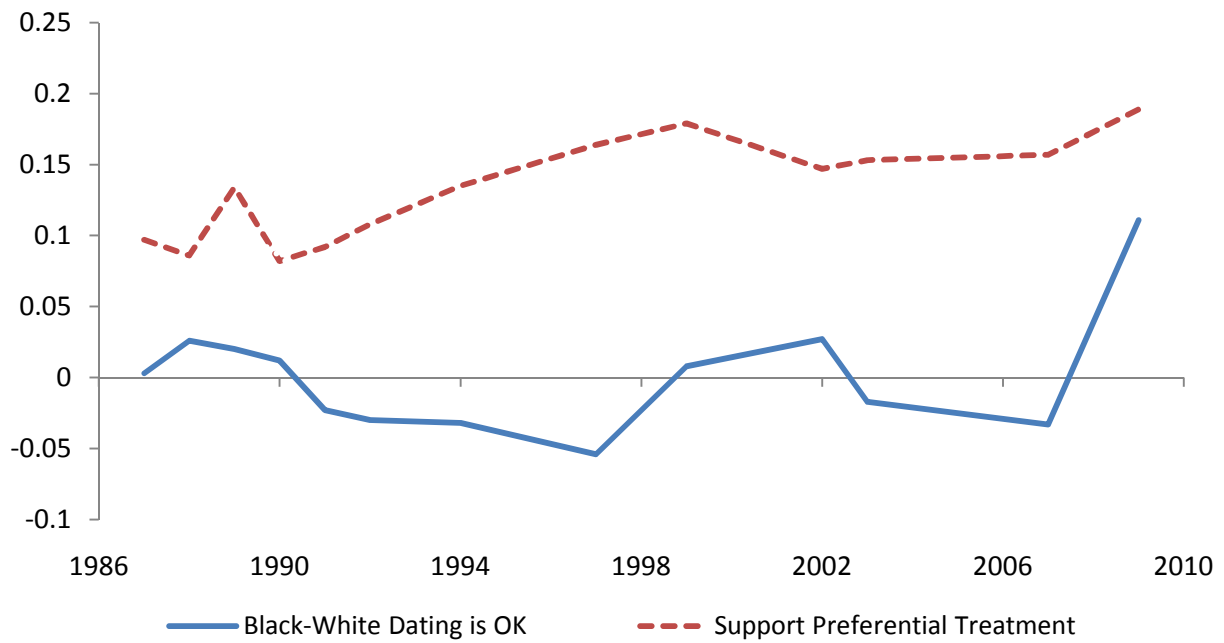


Figure 2: Bivariate Correlations between Racial Attitudes and Democratic Party Identification. Analysis includes only white respondents. Source: Pew Values Study Merged File accessed from the Roper Center Data Archive.

Percent of White Americans Identifying as Democrats

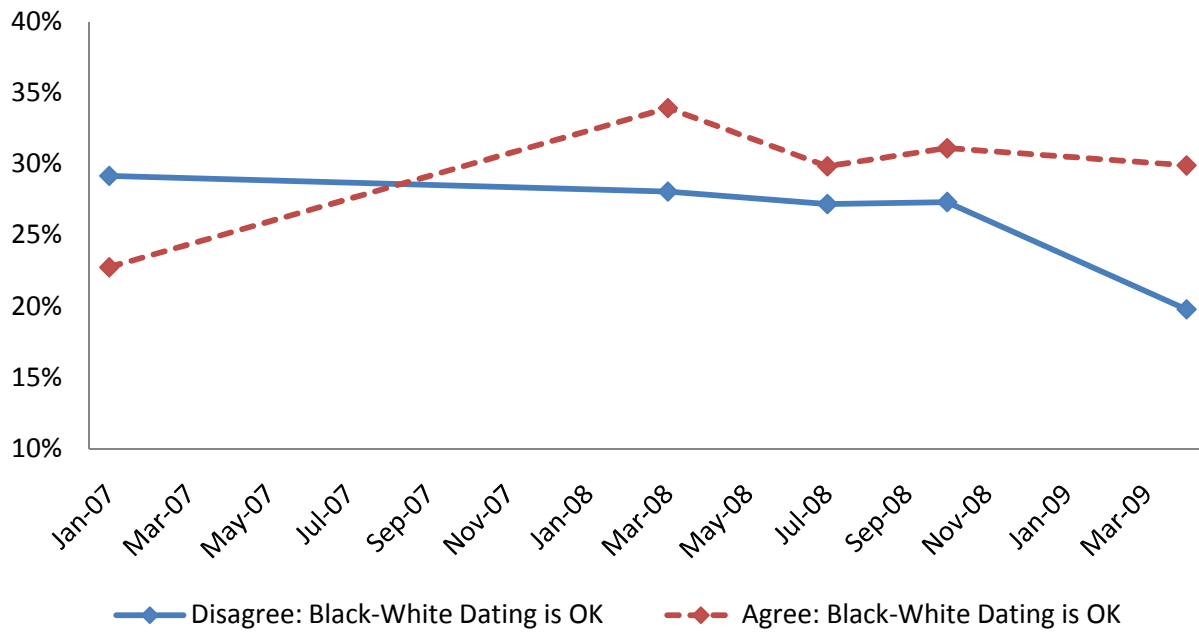


Figure 3: Democratic Partisanship by Feelings toward Interracial Dating. Analysis includes only white respondents. Source: Pew Values Study, 2007 and 2009; March 2008, July 2008, October 2008 Pew Polls

Table 4: Predictors of White Partisanship (OLS Regression)

	1988	1992	1996	2000	2004	2008
Anti-Black Affect	-.014 (.076)	-.123 (.077)	-.047 (.116)	-.011 (.098)	-.079 (.124)	.203 (.101)
Moral Traditionalism	.302 (.046)	.345 (.036)	.480 (.048)	.373 (.044)	.547 (.049)	.341 (.043)
Economic Conservatism	.699 (.055)	.663 (.052)	.829 (.070)	.847 (.062)	.821 (.071)	.732 (.061)
Military Support	.068 (.046)	.098 (.041)	.039 (.053)	.028 (.048)	.124 (.056)	.228 (.050)
Observations	1261	1591	1093	1076	722	1006

Note: Dependent variable is 7-point party ID, recoded from 0 (Strong Democrat) to 1 (Strong Republican)
 All explanatory variables are coded from 0-1, with 1 being the most conservative position possible.
 Source: ANES Cumulative File

Percent Identifying as Democrats (Quarterly Average)

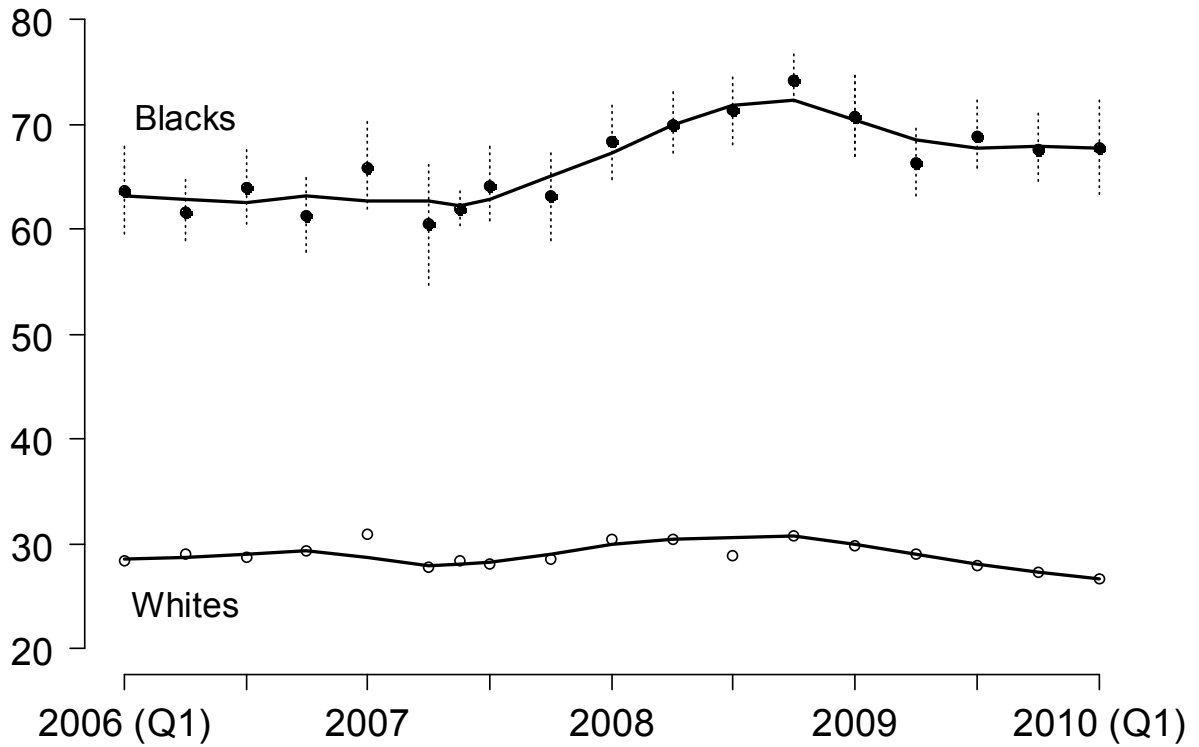


Figure 4 Quarterly Democratic Identification by race, 2006-2010. Note: Dashed lines represent the 95 percent confidence intervals for black Democratic identification. The Observation between Q2 and Q3, 2007 is for the May through August Pew Religious Landscape survey of 35,957 Americans. *Source:* 68 Pew Research Center Polls from January 2006 to February 2010.

Figure 5A: Cross-Sectional Data

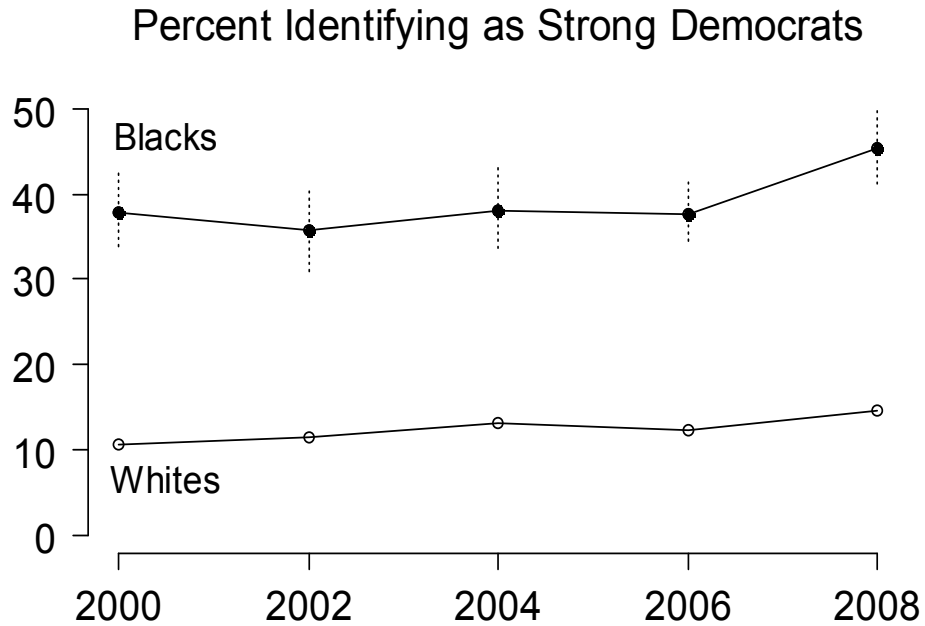


Figure 5B: Panel Data

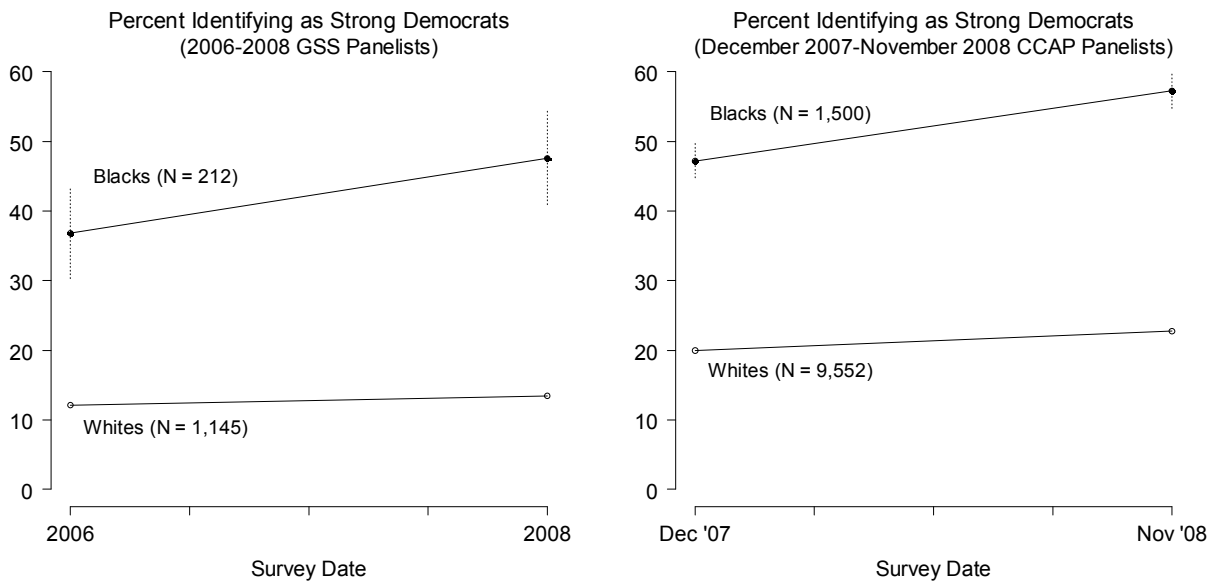


Figure 5 Strong Democratic Identification by Race, 2000-2010. Note: Dashed lines represent the 95 percent confidence intervals for strong Democratic identification. Source: GSS Cumulative File and 2008 GSS time series and panel merged file (Figure 5A); 2006-2008 GSS Panelist; 2007-2008 CCAP Panelists.

Percent of African-Americans Identifying as Democrats

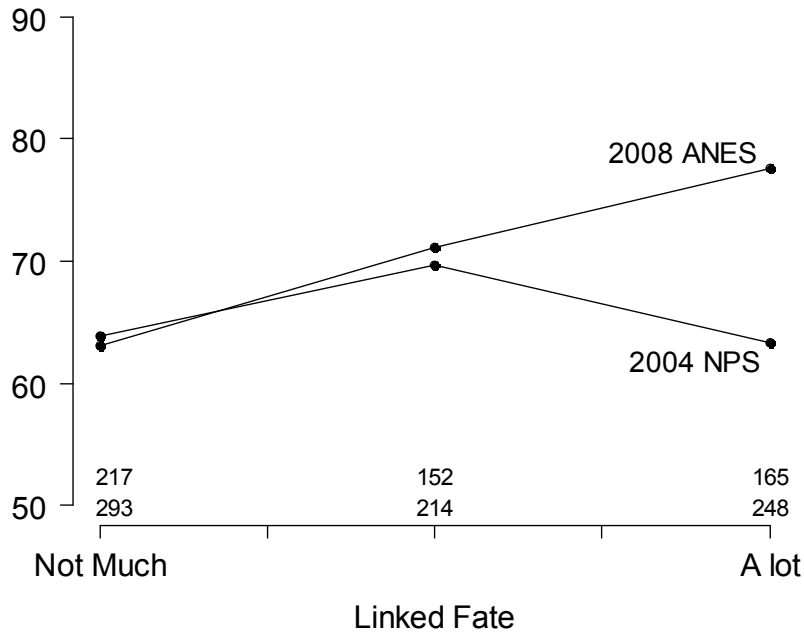


Figure 6 Black Democratic Identification by Linked Fate in 2004 and 2008. Note: Numbers represent the counts in each cell, with the top numbers for the ANES and the bottom figures for the NPS. The “not much” category combines respondents who said they are not generally affected by what happens to other African-Americans and those who said it will not affect them very much. Source: 2004 National Politics Study; 2008 ANES

Appendix

Anti-black affect: A 196-category thermometer rating scale of the difference between evaluations of whites and blacks (0-97 rating scales for each item). The scale is recoded from 0 (most pro-black response possible) to 1 (most anti-black response possible). Don't know responses were coded as 50 for both groups.

Black-White Dating is Ok: A 3-category variable recoded from 0 (completely/somewhat disagree that black-dating is all right) to 1 (completely agree that black-white dating is all right).

Economic Conservatism: A 196-category thermometer rating scale of the difference between evaluations of big business and labor unions (0-97 rating scales for each item). The scale is recoded from 0 (most pro-union) to 1 (most-pro business)

Ideology: A 7 category variable recoded from 0 (extremely liberal) to 1 (extremely conservative). Don't know responses were coded as 0.5.

Military Support: A 98-category thermometer rating scale (0-97) recoded from 0 (coldest) to 1 (warmest).

Moral Traditionalism: An additive index recoded from 0 (least traditional) to 1 (most traditional): The scale was constructed from how strongly respondents agreed or disagreed with the following assertions: 1) We should be more tolerant of people who choose to live according to their own moral standards, even if they are very different from our own. 2) This country would have many fewer problems if there were more emphasis on traditional family ties. 3) The world is always changing and we should adjust our view of moral behavior to those changes. 4) The newer lifestyles are contributing to the breakdown of our society.

Racial Resentment (ANES): An additive index recoded from 0 (least resentful) to 1 (most resentful): The scale was constructed from how strongly respondents agreed or disagreed with the following assertions: 1) Irish, Italian, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors. 2) Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class. 3) Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve. 4) It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites.

Racial Resentment (GSS): An additive index recoded from 0 (least resentful) to 1 (most resentful): The scale was constructed from responses to the following 4 items: 1) Irish, Italian, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors. 2) A 3-category variable indicating whether respondents said lack of motivation is or is not a reason for racial inequality (don't know responses are coded to the midpoint. 3) A 3-category variable indicating whether respondents said discrimination is or is not a reason for racial inequality (don't know responses are coded to the midpoint 4) A three-category variable indicating whether respondents rated whites more, less or equally hardworking than blacks on 7 point stereotype scales (don't know responses were coded as 4 for both groups).

Support Preferential Treatment: A 4-category variable recoded from 0 (completely disagree that we should make every possible effort to improve the position of blacks and other minorities, even if it means giving them preferential treatment) to 1 (completely agree).

Table A1: Predictors of White Partisanship in 2008 (OLS Regression)

2006 Racial Resentment	.040 (.036)
2006 Racial Resentment* Nominee	.116 (.057)
2006 Ideology	.166 (.045)
2006 Ideology*Nominee	-.040 (.072)
2006 Partisanship	.820 (.031)
2006 Partisanship*Nominee	-.068 (.049)
Nominee	.014 (.043)
Observations	710

Note: Dependent variable is 7-point Party ID, recoded from 0 (Strong Democrat) to 1 (Strong Republican)

All explanatory variables are coded from 0-1, with 1 being the most conservative position.

The interaction term “Nominee” is coded 0 for panelists re-interviewed before Obama clinched the Democratic nomination and 1 for panelists re-interviewed after June 3, 2008.

Source: 2006-2008 GSS Panel Study.

Table A2: Predictors of White Partisanship (OLS Regression)

	2004 Baseline	2000-2004 Baseline	1988-2004 Baseline
Anti-black Affect	-.079 (.126)	-.069 (.076)	-.057 (.040)
Anti-black Affect*2008	.281 (.161)	.272 (.128)	.260 (.114)
Moral Traditionalism	.547 (.050)	.433 (.032)	.388 (.019)
Moral Traditionalism*2008	-.206 (.066)	-.092 (.054)	-.046 (.049)
Economic Conservatism	.821 (.073)	.835 (.047)	.752 (.027)
Economic Conservatism*2008	-.089 (.094)	-.103 (.077)	-.019 (.069)
Military Support	.124 (.057)	.104 (.036)	.092 (.021)
Military Support*2008	.104 (.075)	.125 (.062)	.136 (.056)
2008	-.108 (.103)	-.145 (.085)	-.202 (.077)
Observations	1729	2806	6754

Note: Dependent variable is 7-point party ID, recoded from 0 (Strong Democrat) to 1 (Strong Republican)
 All explanatory variables are coded from 0-1, with 1 being the most conservative position possible.
 Source: ANES Cumulative File