

AMPing Racial Attitudes: Comparing the Power of Explicit and Implicit Racism Measures in 2008

Running Head: *Comparing Explicit and Implicit Racism Measures in 2008*

Keywords: implicit associations, symbolic racism, public opinion, 2008 election

October 15th, 2012

Tessa M. Ditonto
Rutgers University
tditonto@rci.rutgers.edu

Richard R. Lau
Rutgers University
ricklau@rci.rutgers.edu

David O. Sears
University of California, Los Angeles
sears@issr.ucla.edu

The 2008 presidential election was an historic moment in American politics for many reasons, not least of which was the Democratic Party selecting an African American as its nominee. Speculation about how racial prejudice might affect Barack Obama's candidacy was widespread, and varied from proclamations that we now live in a "post-racial society" to condemnations that race would cost him the election. For scholars interested in the possible implications of racism for American politics, Obama's candidacy and eventual victory present a unique opportunity to investigate the impact of racism on vote choice and public opinion in the context of the nation's highest national office. More specifically, we can now begin to answer questions about the extent to which racism affects citizens' willingness to vote for a black president, their evaluations of his character, and attitudes toward his abilities as a leader. Further, the combination of lingering racism within the electorate and a black candidate (and eventual winner) for president may have had an unusual effect on Americans' attitudes toward racial policy.

Just as we are currently presented with a unique political context in which to study race and racial bias, scholars now have more tools at their disposal than ever to contribute to the study of racism in American politics. Along with widely accepted explicit racism measures (such as feeling thermometers and acceptance of racial stereotypes) and "new racism" scales (Sears and Kinder 1970; Sears et al, 1997), relatively new, *implicit* measures of prejudice -- unintentional and often unconscious mental associations -- offer a different approach for identifying racial prejudice. Their reliance on automatic mental associations, as opposed to conscious attitudes, has meant that these implicit measures have simultaneously been subject to interest and excitement, as well as strong criticism, on multiple fronts (e.g. Tetlock and Mitchell 2008).

This paper has several goals. First, we examine the ways in which racism affected various aspects of public opinion in the 2008 presidential election. Using the 2008 American National Election Studies (ANES) survey, we consider the effects of multiple measures of racial attitudes on evaluations of Barack Obama and a black president, in general, as well as attitudes toward racial policy issues. Second, this paper attempts to determine which racial attitude measures are most politically influential as predictors of public opinion. By including and comparing multiple explicit measures of racism, along with a new implicit measure included in the 2008 ANES, we evaluate the strength and appropriateness of each predictor in the context of the 2008 presidential election. Finally, because the 2008 ANES includes an over-sample of Latino and African American respondents, we are able to broaden our examination of the effects of racism on political behavior beyond exclusively white samples.

“New Racism”

The study of racism in American politics has evolved considerably since the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s. As legal barriers to racial equality disappeared, so did explicit support for discriminatory public policy among the mass electorate. While egalitarian goals of racial equality were gaining approval in national surveys, however, de facto segregation and resistance to the implementation of many policies designed to help obtain those goals created a paradox for public opinion researchers. Racism seemed still to be at play, but the ways in which individual-level racial attitudes were affecting national policy and politics was unclear (Sears 1988). “Old-fashioned” forms of racism, including support for a formally segregated society, became harder and harder to locate, but a continued resistance to political change in favor of policies that benefited African Americans and lack of support for black candidates, led many scholars to consider the possibility that racism had changed rather than disappeared.

Because traditional measures of racism, including subscribing to racial stereotypes and expressing negative feelings toward blacks, have become increasingly weak predictors of political attitudes, scholars have developed a variety of “new racism” measures in an attempt to parse the changing role of racial prejudice in American politics. These measures have been used in both survey and experimental research and include “symbolic racism” (Sears and Kinder 1970), “modern racism” (McConahay 1986), “subtle racism” (Pettigrew and Meertens 1995), “racial resentments” (Kinder and Sanders 1996; Feldman and Huddy, 2005), “ambivalent racism” (Katz, Wackenhut and Hass 1986), and “aversive racism” (Gaertner and Dovidio 1986). Each is slightly different, but most assume two things: (1) that race is still a major variable in determining individual-level political attitudes and behavior and (2) that a general societal acceptance of egalitarian values somehow confounds this relationship.

Symbolic racism—the first and best known of these new racism measures and the one included in this analysis—relies on the theory of symbolic politics and consists of items that combine a rejection of beliefs that blacks still suffer from discrimination with beliefs that blacks somehow violate American values such as individualism and self-reliance (Sears and Kinder, 1981). Symbolic racism has been shown to be a significant predictor of both racial policy beliefs such as crime, busing, affirmative action, and welfare (Kinder and Sears 1981; Kluegel and Smith 1983; Sears and Allen 1984; Sears and Citrin 1985; Sears, Lau, Tyler, and Allen 1980; Gilens 1995; Kinder and Sanders 1996; McConahay 1992; see Sears and Henry, 2005, for a recent review) and evaluations of black political candidates (Kinder and Sears 1981; Sears et al 1985; McConahay and Hough 1976; Howell 1994; Sears et al 1997). Further, Sears, Van Laar, Carillo and Kosterman (1997) directly compare symbolic racism to other, older measures of racism—including black stereotypes, negative affect toward blacks, and “old-fashioned” support

for Jim Crow-type policies—and find symbolic racism to be the strongest predictor of attitudes toward various black policy issues and evaluations of black candidates.

Implicit Measures

A newer approach to the study of racial attitudes in American society has been to look for evidence of implicit (that is, automatic) racial prejudice. Proponents of implicit attitude measures posit that direct measures of prejudice may be unreliable due to egalitarian norms within society that discourage respondents from admitting to such attitudes (Rudman, Greenwald, Mellott and Schwartz 1999). One can consciously avoid appearing to be racist by carefully monitoring responses to explicit questions involving race, always providing politically “correct” responses. While new racism measures like symbolic racism seek to avoid this self-monitoring phenomenon by incorporating conceptual confounds into the explicit survey items such as language referring to “American values,” implicit racial attitude measures circumvent the need for self-reporting altogether. Implicit measures identify cognitive associations between out-group members and negative evaluations that may occur without an individual’s conscious awareness. By asking subjects to perform cognitive tasks that seemingly have little to do with race or prejudice, researchers are able to identify automatic connections in long-term memory that point to the existence of prejudice. Individuals who demonstrate these associations are often unaware that they exist, so implicit associations are thought to be conceptually distinct from explicit racism, and may influence attitudes and behavior without an individual’s recognition (Greenwald and Banaji 1995).

A number of implicit attitude measures have been developed, including the Implicit Association Test (IAT: Greenwald, McGhee and Schwartz 1998), evaluative priming (Fazio, Sanbonmatsu, Powell, and Kardes 1986), and the Affect Misattribution Procedure (AMP: Payne,

et al 2005). While many measures of implicit prejudice rely on response times when completing cognitive tasks to identify the existence of negative associations, the AMP uses the concept of misattributed affect by showing subjects a Chinese pictograph for 250 milliseconds preceded by a brief flash (75 milliseconds) of a picture of either a white or black man's face. Subjects are asked to evaluate each pictograph as either 'pleasant' or 'unpleasant,' while avoiding any influence from the pictures, with the assumption that feelings toward the people in the pictures influence evaluations of the otherwise meaningless pictographs. Those subjects who find the pictographs paired with African American faces more unpleasant than those paired with white faces are said to possess negative implicit associations with African Americans.¹

Using these implicit measures of prejudice, scholars have found substantial evidence for both the existence of implicit associations and their ability to predict various social behaviors. Dovidio, Kawakami and Gaertner (2002), for example, find that more negative implicit associations predict more hostile non-verbal communication in inter-racial group settings, while Ziegert and Hanges (2005) find implicit racial attitudes to influence decisions made in mock hiring scenarios. Kam (2007) also finds that, in the absence of party cues, subjects with implicitly negative attitudes toward Hispanics are less likely to support a Hispanic candidate.

Despite much evidence in support of implicit measures of prejudice, however, critics of these techniques have raised several concerns with this line of research. Arkes and Tetlock (2004) question whether the results of these tests are truly indicative of prejudice, or whether these automatic associations may instead be the result of cultural stereotypes or other negative

¹ The AMP is thus an implicit measure of affect both in the sense that it is indirect, and in the sense that any lingering influence from the photos exists only in direct opposition to explicit instructions to ignore it. An online demonstration of the AMP procedure can be found at <http://www.millisecond.com/download/samples/v3/AMP/> Much related material about the AMP is available from Keith Payne's home page, <http://www.unc.edu/~bkpayne/>

emotions/cognitions that are not necessarily prejudicial in nature. Others have questioned the external validity of these tests, expressing doubt that results found with convenience samples of undergraduates in a laboratory setting are representative of real-world prejudice (Payne, et al 2010). Further, some scholars have argued that implicit measures of racial prejudice predict different kinds of social behavior than explicit attitudes, and are weaker predictors of overt attitudes and behavior such as answering survey questions, than already established explicit measures (e.g. Dovidio, Kawakami and Gaertner 2002). Inclusion of the AMP in the 2008 ANES, then, presents researchers with a unique opportunity to test its performance both in a large-N nationally representative sample and in direct comparison to other, more traditional explicit measures of racial prejudice.

Racism and the 2008 Presidential Elections

Several scholars have begun exploring the connections between racism and the results of the 2008 election. In terms of aggregate vote totals, several studies have used counterfactual models to explore what *would have* happened in 2008, either if the American electorate were less prejudiced or Obama had been a white candidate (Tesler and Sears 2009; Pasek, et al 2009; Jackman and Vavrek 2011). Many of these studies suggest that, because he is black, Obama did worse against McCain than he would have, had he not been black (or had the electorate not been as racially prejudiced). It is estimated that he received anywhere from 5.5% less of the vote than he otherwise would have (Lewis-Beck, Tien and Nadeau 2010) up to 12.5% less (Pasek, et al 2009).

Looking at individual voting behavior, several scholars have found that different measures of racial prejudice indeed led to different decisions on election day. Payne, Krosick, Pasek, Lelkes, Akhtar, and Tompson (2010), for example, use both the 2008 NES and an

internet-based survey to test the effects of implicit and explicit measures of prejudice on vote choice in 2008. Implicit associations were measured using the AMP, while explicit prejudice was measured using a composite of symbolic racism, affect toward African Americans, and single-item attitudes toward blacks such as sympathy and admiration. They find that individuals that score high in explicit measures were less likely to vote for Obama and more likely to vote for McCain, while those who scored high in implicit measures were less likely to vote for Obama, and more likely to abstain or vote for a third-party candidate. Using symbolic racism and the AMP as predictors of vote choice in an internet survey, these same researchers similarly find that high levels of both implicit and explicit racism correlate with respondents choosing not to vote for Obama (Pasek et al, 2009). As in the previous study, explicit racial prejudice increase the likelihood of voting for McCain, while implicit associations increase the likelihood of voting for a third party candidate.² Taken together, the findings of this research team suggest not only that racism played a role in the outcome of the 2008 presidential election, but also that implicit and explicit indicators of racism affected voter behavior in slightly different ways.

² Curiously, this research team operationalized their implicit measure in two different ways with the same AMP procedure. While Payne et al (2010) separated respondents' scores for pictographs paired with black faces from those paired with white faces and included them both as different predictors, Pasek, et al (2009) gave each respondent a single implicit association score by subtracting each individual's score for trials with African American faces from those with white faces (see also Payne et al, 2005). We follow this second procedure here, for two primary reasons. First, we followed that same procedure in constructing the explicit measures of Black Affect and Black Stereotypes, and it seemed natural to follow that same procedure here. But second, any "unusual" data gathering task has the potential to include a large amount of method variance. The AMP, particularly in the context of a pretty standard public opinion survey, would qualify as unusual. Method variance is *nonrandom* error, and its inclusion in any measure will decrease that measure's ability to correlate with other theoretically predicted measures. But this nonrandom error should be equal (on average) for every individual pictograph evaluated. Thus if we create two separate scores, one counting the number of "pleasant" evaluations of the pictographs following white faces, and the second counting the number of "pleasant" evaluations following an equal number of black faces, and subtract the second from the first, we can "subtract out" a great deal of that method variance, leaving a much more reliable summary score.

Other studies leave room for doubt about the predictive power of AMP, however. For example, in a survey of likely voters before the 2008 election, Greenwald, Smith, Sriram, Bar-Anan, and Nosek (2009) administer two implicit association tests (the IAT and the AMP) along with self-report questions measuring affect toward blacks and whites, symbolic racism and self-placement on the liberal-conservative scale. They find that both the explicit and implicit measures explain unique variance in predicting vote choice, even when all measures are entered into the same equation (though high levels of conservatism and symbolic racism were the strongest predictors). However, it is the IAT that maintains significant predictive power alongside the explicit measures, not the AMP. Finn and Glaser (2010) find that the AMP is a significant predictor of vote choice (and a stronger predictor than explicit affect toward blacks measured using a feeling thermometer), but loses significance when other covariates are added, such as emotions toward the candidates. Finally, Segura and Valenzuela (2010) directly compare explicit, “new racism” and implicit measures among white and Latino respondents in terms of predicting vote choice and attitudes toward Obama in the 2008 ANES and find that the AMP adds little explanatory power to their models.

We seek to add to this literature in several ways. First, our dependent variables of interest are different from previous studies. While most previous studies of racism—and, specifically, implicit associations—in the 2008 presidential election focus on the vote choice (and occasionally, attitudes toward Obama, specifically), we examine the influence of racism on a variety of public opinion variables, including voters’ emotions and affect toward Barack Obama, attitudes toward the possibility of a black president in general, and attitudes toward traditionally black policy issues. Second, using the Sears et al (1997) article as a model, we seek to test directly which forms of prejudice were most influential on public opinion during the 2008

election. To what extent can AMP explain differences in public opinion surrounding Barack Obama and race, given the varied results of AMP as a predictor of vote choice? Finally, we utilize the unique over-sample of Latinos and African Americans in the 2008 ANES to extend this examination to these other important social groups.

Method and Hypotheses

We use the 2008 ANES survey to investigate the role of racial attitudes in determining public opinion. Separate analyses are conducted on white, black, and Latino samples.³ Our analysis includes a series of multivariate analyses in which various measures related to candidate evaluation and attitudes toward racial policy issues are regressed on a series of standard control variables and four racial attitude measures. As the AMP measure is “the new kid on the block” in the 2008 study, we pay particular attention to it, asking whether implicit attitudes add significantly to our ability to explain racially tinged public opinion in 2008.

We expect to find that racial bias plays a significant role in determining white respondents’ attitudes toward Barack Obama, toward the prospect of having a black president in general, and toward racial policy views. Further, given the results of previous studies—including Sears, et al (1997), which compares symbolic racism to other, traditional racism measures—we expect that symbolic racism will be a more potent indicator of racial prejudice than more traditional measures such as negative affect toward African Americans or acceptance of negative black stereotypes. While acknowledging the somewhat contradictory set of findings regarding implicit associations and the effects of the AMP measure, specifically, on whites’ vote choice and attitudes toward Obama, we still hypothesize that the implicit racial prejudice measure will

³ These three racial sub-groups are mutually exclusive. All those who identified as Latino were included in the Latino sub-group, regardless of racial affiliation. “White” and “Black” respondents in our analyses, then, are exclusively non-Latino respondents.

explain significant variance in the dependent variables of interest over and above the more traditional explicit measures of racial prejudice. Our optimism is based on the belief that conscious monitoring of explicit racial attitudes is likely to be particularly strong among white respondents in 2008 with the Obama candidacy, thereby giving implicit measures of racial attitudes such as the AMP an unusually strong opportunity to stand out. For Latino respondents, the expected role of race is unclear. Some scholars have posited that their often similar socio-economic positions have placed black and Latino Americans in competition for resources, thereby obstructing any “black-brown” political alliance that might otherwise emerge (Morris 2000; Kaufmann 2003; Vaca 2004; Gay 2006). Others have found significant evidence of hostile attitudes toward blacks and policies targeting blacks among Latinos (e.g. Lopez and Pantoja 2004; Gay, 2006; Kaufmann 2007; McClain 2008), and that Latinos see themselves as having more in common with whites than blacks (McClain et al 2008). On the other hand, Latinos and African-Americans have been shown to have similar policy beliefs and ideological positions (Kaufmann 2003; Hero and Preuhs 2009), and work by both Barreto, Segura, and Valenzuela (2010) and Segura and Valenzuela (2010) find that racial sentiments played little role in determining Latinos’ attitudes toward Obama and vote choice in 2008.

There is also conflicting evidence as to the role of race in the attitudes and behavior of African Americans. Based on theories predicated upon self-interest, in-group affinity and inter-group conflict, none of our racial attitude measures should predict black respondents’ attitudes toward Obama, a black president, or black policy issues. Indeed, much evidence suggests that race is a primary lens through which many African Americans view politics, using the “fate” of African Americans as a group as a proxy for their own individual interests (Dawson 1994, Tate 1993), and explicitly racialized framing of even non-racial issues has been shown to activate

racial group identification among African Americans (White 2007). Some have found that these racial considerations matter even more in determining public opinion among black respondents than party identification and liberal-conservative ideology (Allen, Dawson, and Brown 1989, Tate 1993, Kinder and Sanders 1996). All things considered, it is simply difficult to imagine many African Americans endorsing anti-black attitudes, particularly on explicit, conscious measures of racial prejudice in a public interpersonal setting such as an interview. However, system justification theory (Jost and Banaji 1994) posits a widespread impulse to justify the existing social order that may lead to internalized feelings of inferiority among members of disadvantaged groups and expressed favoritism for high-status out-groups. Further, some suggest that this phenomenon may be particularly strong at the non-conscious level (Jost and Banaji 1994, Jost, Pelham and Carvallo 2002), which means the inclusion of the AMP on the 2008 ANES is an opportunity to test system justification theory among African Americans, and is another fortuitous situation in which the AMP could prove to be particularly powerful.

Dependent Variables

Dependent variables include a number of questions regarding respondents' evaluations of Obama, attitudes toward a black president in general, and attitudes toward racial policy issues. Evaluations of Obama include a difference score between affect toward Obama and affect toward John McCain created from the standard 100-point feeling thermometer measures used on the ANES, as well as a series of questions asking respondents to indicate the extent to which Obama's victory made them feel certain emotions. These latter questions ask respondents whether they are "proud," "angry," "disappointed," "afraid," "happy," and/or "hopeful" that Obama won, with affirmative answers followed up by questions about how strongly each emotion was felt. The resulting 6 trichotomous variables were then combined into a summary

scale of emotions toward Obama.⁴ A test of reliability for this measure yields an alpha of .863. This variable was recoded so that higher scores indicate more negative (and less positive) emotions about Obama.

Attitudes toward having a black president in general were measured using a summary scale composed of 4 questions: “Does the respondent hope for a black president?,” “Is the US ready for a black president?,” “Does a black president make the respondent feel uncomfortable?” and “Does a black president make the respondent feel pleased?” Questions were recoded so that higher values indicate more negative attitudes toward having a black president, and the 4 items were then averaged together into a single summary measure (alpha = .66).

Attitudes toward racial policy issues include questions regarding respondents’ views on government aid to blacks, the government ensuring fair job opportunities for blacks, and affirmative action. These variables were combined into a summary scale in which higher values indicate more negative attitudes toward helping blacks. A reliability analysis yields an alpha of .628.

Measures of Racial Prejudice

The independent variables of primary interest include four separate measures of racial prejudice, three tapping explicit racial attitudes and one measuring implicit associations. Explicit measures include negative affect toward African Americans, acceptance of stereotypes of blacks

⁴ As a random manipulation in the post-election survey, half of the sample was asked to answer six questions about their emotions after Obama won the Democratic nomination, while the other half was asked these same questions about their emotions after Obama won the presidency. We made summary “Negative Emotional Reaction” summary scales from these six items, subtracting the 3 positive emotions from the 3 negative emotions. Preliminary analysis indicated that it did not matter whether the emotions were in response to Obama getting the nomination or winning the presidency, and for parsimony we simply combined the two into a single measure. We understand that combining distinct emotions into summary scales can be misleading, and first ran the analysis with each emotion as a separate dependent variable, and then created two summary scales—one for positive emotions and one for negative—but received much the same results as we did in our analysis using the single summary scale.

as lazy and unintelligent, and symbolic racism. Negative affect toward African-Americans is measured by subtracting the feeling thermometer evaluation of blacks from the mean feeling thermometer evaluation of all groups, such that higher values indicate more negative affect toward blacks.⁵ The stereotype measure is a summary scale of two 7-point questions asking respondents the extent to which they feel blacks are lazy and unintelligent.⁶ Higher scores indicate greater acceptance of these negative stereotypes.⁷ This 2-item scale had a reliability (alpha) = .706.

Symbolic racism is a summary scale of the 4 symbolic racism measures included in the 2008 NES: “Blacks should work their way up the ladder without special favors;” “Past slavery makes situation more difficult for blacks;” “Blacks have gotten less than they deserve;” and “Blacks should try harder to get ahead.” Alpha = .742 for the symbolic racism scale, with higher values indicating higher levels of anti-black prejudice.

Implicit associations are measured using the AMP questions included in the 2008 NES. Respondents were shown a series of 20 Chinese pictographs preceded by a picture of either a white or black male’s face. Each pairing of pictographs and faces was then rated by each respondent as either ‘pleasant’ or ‘unpleasant.’ We took the mean pleasantness-unpleasantness rating for all pictographs paired with white faces (alpha = .901), and then for all paired with

⁵ Such a procedure is recommended by Brady (1985) to control for inter-subject incompatibility – different people using the same scale in a different manner. No matter what each respondent’s mean thermometer rating, then, the difference score represents how far above or below this mean that blacks, specifically, are evaluated. We also ran all analyses using an alternative version of this variable in which respondents’ thermometer scores for blacks were subtracted just from their evaluations of whites. This alternative configuration made very little difference and did not change the overall pattern of results for any racial group.

⁶ Question wording for dependent and independent variables is abbreviated in the text to save space. The full text of each question is included in the Appendix.

⁷ Similar to the feeling thermometer questions, the mean scores for both the intelligence and laziness questions were first computed for all racial/ethnic groups included in the survey, which was then subtracted from the score for blacks on each question.

black faces (alpha = .916), and subtracted the black score from the white score to create our implicit measure of racial attitudes. Higher scores again indicate more negative associations with African Americans.

Control Variables

Traditional measures of party identification, self-placement on the 7-point liberal-conservative scale, level of education, and income, as well as a dummy variable for a respondent identifying as male were included as control variables in the public opinion models. Following Sears et al (1997), summary scales were also created to measure certain non-racial values that may have had an effect on the dependent variables in question. *Belief in equality* is comprised of 6 questions asking respondents their attitudes on equal opportunity, treating people fairly, and pushing equal rights. Alpha = .687, and higher scores indicate more support for social equality. *Traditional Morality* includes four questions asking respondents to indicate their attitudes about adjusting to a changing world, tolerance of others' moral standards, new lifestyles, and traditional family ties. Alpha = .778 and higher scores indicate higher levels of traditional morality. *Authoritarianism* is made up of four questions asking respondents which of two traits are more important in children: independence or respect, curiosity or good manners, self-reliance or obedience, and being considerate or well behaved. Alpha = .603 and higher scores indicate higher levels of authoritarianism. *Support for social welfare programs* combines two questions, one asking respondents their level of support for government spending, and another asking their level of support for government-funded healthcare. Alpha = .600 and higher scores indicate stronger support for social welfare programs.

Results

To begin the analysis, Figures 1 through 3 show frequencies for each of the crucial independent variables by racial/ethnic subgroup. A look at these histograms reveals some patterns that require explanation. Several of the distributions show a clustering of cases right at point 0. Recall that the negative affect and stereotypes measures were constructed as the difference between the ratings of blacks and the mean ratings of all other groups. The clusters of cases around the 0-point indicates that most respondents (in all three racial subgroups) were loath to rate blacks any differently from all other groups, which is exactly what we would expect if respondents were consciously editing their responses to these explicit racial measures so that they would not appear (to the interviewer, or to themselves) to be racially prejudiced. The AMP also appears to have significant clustering at the 0-point of the scale, but here the figures (particularly in the largest subgroup, whites) are a bit misleading as the y axis changes from measure to measure. There is actually much less clustering at the middle point of the distribution for the AMP, and thus relatively more respondents displaying some level of group favoritism, with the implicit measure of racial attitudes where conscious editing of responses is much less likely. Only the symbolic racism measure does not appear to have any inordinate clustering of cases in the center of the scale.

<<<Figures 1 - 3 about here>>>

We can also see mean differences across some of these histograms, but here we are better off with the greater precision provided by descriptive statistics. Table I reports the mean, standard deviation, and minimum and maximum values of each of the four measures, along with the bivariate correlations between them, separately for each of the three subgroups. All variables are coded so that higher values signify more anti-black attitudes. Comparing the mean levels of

each racial attitudes measure for each group presents some surprising results. As expected, blacks as a group had the lowest (that is, most pro-black) mean scores on all 4 of our racial attitudes measures but, unexpectedly, the Latino sample has the highest (most anti-black) mean scores for all measures but symbolic racism. In terms of negative affect toward blacks, acceptance of black stereotypes, and implicit prejudice, Latinos score higher than non-Hispanic whites. One-way ANOVAs confirm that these simple group differences are statistically significant for all four racial attitudes measures, $p < .001$.⁸

<<<Table I about here>>>

A look at the bivariate correlations between the variables shows statistically significant, though relatively weak, relationships between all four racial attitudes measures. Constraint among the four measures is relatively low in all three subgroups, however (alpha reliability between .3 and .4, depending on the group), indicating that respondents high in one form of prejudice are not necessarily high in others. That said, all four measures have sufficient variance in each subsample – even the traditional racism measures among blacks – to make exploring how well they predict political attitudes and behavior an interesting proposition.

As a first cut, bivariate correlations were calculated for each pair of dependent and independent variables. Table II shows these correlations for each subsample of respondents. This table, which already reports 16 correlations in three different samples, actually summarizes a much larger set of preliminary analyses, including 4 distinct measures of feelings toward a black president, 6 different emotion measures, 4 separate policy items, and the differences

⁸ Post-hoc tests reveal that for black affect, acceptance of black stereotypes, and symbolic racism, all three groups' means are statistically significantly different from one another. For the AMP, blacks were significantly different from whites and Latinos, but these latter two groups were not different from each other.

between the feeling thermometer evaluations of McCain and Obama. For parsimony, this rather large number of individual analyses been reduced to a single summary measure in each domain. For whites, correlations range from approximately .10 to .44, and all are statistically significant. The consistently highest correlations are between symbolic racism and the four dependent variables, while the three other independent variables have weaker, though statistically significant, relationships with the dependent variables of interest.

For African American respondents, correlations are much weaker, overall, though many are still statistically significant (significant r values range between .12 and .33). In particular, all four racial attitudes measures are significantly correlated with both the difference between McCain's and Obama's feeling thermometer scores, and attitudes toward black policy issues. Affect toward blacks is the only one of our racial attitudes measures that is significantly correlated with all four dependent variables.

For Latinos, we again see statistically significant relationships between all of our independent and dependent variables, with r values that range between .166 and .300. Patterns of relationships between our independent and dependent variables are harder to determine for the Latino sample, however, as no one racial attitudes measure seems to produce consistently stronger correlations than another.

<<<Table II about here>>>

One of the standard criticisms of the AMP and related measures of implicit affect is that their evidential base comes almost entirely from convenience samples of college undergraduates, and thus provide little evidence that can be confidently generalized to "real world" prejudice. The data presented above in Table II should put an end to that criticism. The ANES studies generally set the gold standard for representative public opinion surveys, and the various

dependent variables with which all four racial attitudes measures (including the AMP) are shown to correlate represent a broad swath of standard indicators of racial prejudice. All 4 of the bivariate correlations in the white and Latino samples, and 2 of the 4 in the black sample, are statistically significant ($p < .01$), thus providing substantial construct validity for the implicit measure.

While bivariate correlations provide preliminary evidence for a relationship between racial bias and our dependent variables of interest, a multivariate analysis is required in order to better understand the nature of these relationships. The results of the full multivariate model for each subgroup are reported in Tables III-V.

To facilitate comparisons across variables, all prediction in the regression models have been rescaled to have a 1-point range. As seen in Table III, for white respondents, symbolic racism is a significant predictor of all of our dependent variables, and for all but expressing negative attitudes regarding a black president, has the largest regression coefficient (b ranges from .150 for negative feelings toward a black president to .283 for attitudes regarding black policy issues). Affect toward African Americans significantly predicts the difference between affect toward Obama and McCain with a regression coefficient of .317 and emotions toward Obama with a coefficient of .301. Further, acceptance of black stereotypes predicts negative feelings toward a black president with a regression coefficient of .393 and the difference in affect between Obama and McCain with a coefficient of .272. Surprisingly, the AMP measure is only a significant predictor for one dependent variable—negative feelings toward a black president ($b=.273$). For all other dependent variables, explicit measures of racial attitudes seem to be much more influential.

<<<Table III about here>>>

For African Americans (shown in Table IV), we find that the measure of negative affect toward blacks is significantly correlated with two of our dependent variables—the feeling thermometer difference score ($b=.611$), and the summary scale of emotions toward Obama ($b=.114$). Symbolic racism is a significant predictor of the policy-related dependent variables, only ($b=.398$). Neither acceptance of stereotypes nor the AMP variable is ever significant for any of the dependent variables.

<<<Table IV about Here>>>

The full model for the Latino sample (Table V) shows that symbolic racism is a significant predictor of three out of four dependent variables (emotions toward Obama with a regression coefficient of .126, the feeling thermometer difference score with a coefficient of .219, and attitudes toward black policy issues, where $b=.319$). Surprisingly, affect toward African Americans predicts two out of four dependent variables—negative attitudes toward a black president ($b=.322$) and the difference between affect toward Obama and McCain ($b=.667$). Interestingly, implicit associations are the only independent variable that significantly predicts all four dependent variables ($b=.261$ for negative feelings toward a black president, $b=.280$ for emotions about Obama, $b=.333$ for the feeling thermometer difference score, and $b=.225$ for attitudes toward black policy issues). Our results seem to indicate, then, that racial prejudice did play a role for some Latinos in 2008. Further, Latinos are the only sample for which we found a consistent significant effect of implicit prejudice⁹.

⁹ To explore this further, we conducted additional analyses, adding a dummy variable to indicate subjects who identified as nonwhite and Latino and interacting it with each of our racism variables. These interactions were never significant predictors of our dependent variables, however, leading us to conclude that Latino respondents' attitudes toward race-related public opinion measures were not systematically different for those who consider themselves to be white compared to those who do not.

<<<Table V about Here>>>

It is clear, then, that racial prejudice had a role to play in public opinion during the 2008 election. What remains unclear is the relative importance of the implicit association measure as a predictor of political attitudes. In order to test this directly, we completed a usefulness analysis of the AMP measure for all three of our samples. This analysis compares the baseline model, a model which adds the three explicit racial measures, and the full model including all four racial attitudes predictors. Statistical “usefulness” is determined by calculating the difference in R^2 between a model which excludes the variable(s) of interest (in our case, the AMP measure) and a model which includes it. Table VI shows the results of this analysis for each subgroup of respondents.¹⁰ For white respondents, R^2 for the baseline model for each dependent variable ranges from .173 for negative feelings toward a black president, to .551 for the Obama-McCain feeling thermometer difference score. For each dependent variable, the R^2 is increased significantly by adding the three explicit measures—now ranging from .249 for negative attitudes toward black policy issues to .568 for the feeling thermometer difference score. The average increase in R^2 is almost .05. For three of our four dependent variables, adding the AMP measure to this model does not explain any additional variance whatsoever (to three decimal places!) compared to what has already been accounted for by the three explicit measures. The exception is the measure of negative feelings toward a black president, for which the AMP measure adds .021 to the R^2 value over and above the three explicit measures, a change that is statistically significant at $p < .001$.

<<<Table VI about here>>>

¹⁰ The unique contribution of each of the four racism predictors (i.e. a usefulness analysis for each of the independent variables) was conducted and is available in an online appendix.

For black respondents, the results are very similar to those for whites, though R^2 values are much lower, overall, undoubtedly due to a restricted range of responses from this subgroup. Baseline R^2 values range from .006 for emotions toward Obama to .118 for the feeling thermometer difference score. Adding the explicit racial attitudes measures boosts R^2 for each of the variables—ranging from .023 for emotions about Obama to .202 for the feeling thermometer difference score. Adding the implicit measure adds a slight increase to the R^2 value for attitudes toward black policy, only (an increase of .005, which is not statistically significant).

We see a slightly different trend for Latino respondents. Baseline R^2 values range from .064 for attitudes toward black policy issues to .299 for the feeling thermometer difference score. Once explicit measures are added to the equation, R^2 values range from .149 for negative feelings toward a black president through .339 for the feeling thermometer difference score. Interestingly, adding the AMP measure to the equations for our four dependent variables yielded small but consistent and statistically significant increases in R^2 for each dependent variable. Increases in R^2 range from .015 ($p < .05$) for negative feelings toward a black president to .024 ($p < .001$) for emotions toward Obama. Surprisingly, then, implicit associations seem to be more consequential for attitudes toward Obama, a black president, and black policy issues among Latinos than among either whites or blacks.

Discussion and Conclusion

This analysis suggests that racism indeed played a role in the 2008 election. For all three sub-samples, at least two measures of racism significantly predicted many of the public opinion dependent variables. For white respondents, symbolic racism is by far the strongest predictor, as it is significantly correlated with every dependent variable in the analysis. For black respondents, black affect predicts questions related to emotions toward Obama, while symbolic racism

predicts the one policy-related variable. For Latinos, implicit racial attitudes predict all four dependent variables, while symbolic racism predicts three and both the affect and stereotype measures predict two. Additionally, our analysis of the AMP measure yields decidedly mixed results. Interestingly, though the AMP is intended to measure implicit associations among whites and blacks, the usefulness analysis presented in Table VI suggests that implicit prejudice consistently adds significant explanation of variance only for Latino respondents, while explaining additional variance for only one of the dependent variables for white respondents, and none at all for the black sample. It is also worth reiterating, though, that the statistically significant bivariate correlations between the AMP measure and our dependent variables confirm AMP's generalizability to real world (non-student, non-laboratory) settings.

Given the results of the multivariate analysis, however, and if you were only looking at the responses of the white sample—the group for which racial prejudice is most widely considered to be a factor—one might question the efficacy of devoting so many resources to gathering the AMP measure on future nationally-representative, face-to-face surveys such as the ANES (since it requires bringing laptop computers into respondents' homes, and a good deal of interview time) when the AMP fails to explain additional variance for three of the four summary scales. On the other hand, gathering an implicit measure of racial attitudes on an internet-based survey would not seem to require an extraordinary expenditure of resources, and would therefore seem to be a much more efficient venue for further exploration of these issues. Regardless of these measurement questions, racism is clearly still a powerful force in American politics for white voters.

While the effects of racism on black and Latino voters are less clear, our analyses show that racial prejudice is not inconsequential for these groups. Among the black sample, affect

toward African Americans as a group predicted two measures of affect/emotion toward Barack Obama. Black respondents who reported feeling colder toward Blacks as a group, then, also felt less positive about Obama. Also, symbolic racism was a significant predictor of our policy-related dependent variable, showing that African Americans high in symbolic racism express more negative attitudes toward government aid to blacks and affirmative action. These are all measures that are scored for blacks in exactly the same manner as they are scored for whites – that is, generally showing preference for whites over blacks. While we can only speculate as to the reasons for this, it seems possible that internalization of social hierarchies, as suggested by System Justification Theory, may play a role (Jost and Banaji 1994). There is no evidence, however, that implicit measures of racial attitudes are a particularly efficacious way to get at these internalized beliefs among African Americans, as we had hoped.

Latinos present an equally complex picture and provide perhaps the most surprising results. First, we were surprised that simple means tests for our four racial attitudes measures yielded higher average levels of racism among Latino respondents than among non-Hispanic whites for all but the symbolic racism scale. Because we were unsure whether racial prejudice would play a role in Latino public opinion, let alone such a significant one, these simple descriptive statistics were enough to give us pause. Bivariate correlation and multivariate regression analyses further show that our racial attitudes measures were often just as highly correlated with Latino public opinion as they were for the white sample, if not more so. Evidence of hostile attitudes toward African Americans and traditionally black policy issues has certainly been found among Latino survey respondents in the past (Lopez and Pantoja 2004; Gay, 2006; Kaufmann 2007; McClain 2008), but this direct comparison with a sub-sample of white

respondents shows the extent to which Latino public opinion may mirror that of whites when it comes to these issues.

We can only speculate as to the reasons, but if Latinos and African Americans do see themselves as being in competition with each other for resources (as has been suggested by Morris 2000; Kaufmann 2003; Vaca 2004 and Gay 2006, e.g.) then perhaps racial animosity among Latino respondents is a result of such perceptions. Alternatively, the theory of racial triangulation (though originally applied to the experience of Asian Americans; Kim 1999) may offer some insight into this phenomenon. According to Kim, race relations within the US at any given time can be conceptualized as a plane consisting of two axes: superior/inferior and insider/foreigner. Kim hypothesizes that Asian Americans have been “racially triangulated” vis-à-vis whites and African Americans, meaning that they are simultaneously valorized as being “superior” to blacks and ostracized because of their “innate foreignness.” While Latinos in the United States clearly have a unique and very different history from Asian Americans and other racial/ethnic groups, this system of simultaneous white valorization/ostracism of non-black minorities could conceivably apply to them as well, leading to racial hostility and prejudice.

Perhaps even more surprising, Latinos are the only sub-sample for which implicit racial associations consistently predict multiple public opinion measures more strongly than explicit measures of racial attitudes. We are hard pressed to come up with any plausible explanation for this finding. Should Latino respondents be even more attuned to social desirability considerations than are whites, when they do not have the same long and sordid history of anti-black discrimination in this country? This seems unlikely. We can only suggest that possibly both the (not obviously Hispanic) white faces and the black faces employed in the AMP measure were viewed as “out-groups” by many of the Latino respondents, and this somehow changed the

nature of what the procedure is measuring. Alternatively, it may be that a phenomenon akin to racial triangulation (Kim 1999) or system justification theory (Jost and Banaji 1994) has led to the internalization of anti-black attitudes among Latinos without their conscious awareness, but this is ultimately a question for future research.

Looking at our data across sub-samples, the evidence suggests that symbolic racism continues to be the most consistently politically influential measure of racism among the U.S. mass public (especially when the dependent variable in question is policy-related) since it is a significant predictor of all four variables for white respondents, three of the four for Latino respondents, and the summary scale of policy issues for black respondents. Measures of implicit associations, on the other hand, seem to add little to our ability to predict explicit survey questions for either black or white respondents. Not only is symbolic racism almost always a stronger predictor for black and white samples, but the explanatory power gained from adding the implicit measure to an analysis already including the explicit measures is almost always nil for these two social groups.

An explanation for this finding may be found in evidence from scholars such as Dovidio, et al (2002) and Fazio, et al (1995) that implicit prejudice tends to be a stronger predictor of subtle, non-verbal behaviors like eye contact than conscious behaviors like answering a survey question or making a vote choice. While understanding the role of implicit associations in interpersonal social situations provides unique insight into how individuals of different races interact in a one-on-one setting, the extent to which measures of negative implicit associations are applicable to survey responses about political behavior is not at all apparent. Perhaps when political candidates are the possible targets of racism, they are too abstract, too distant, too

removed from the current life space, to be affected by implicit attitudes. This, also, is ultimately a question for future research.

Clearly, the relationship between racial prejudice and political behavior is complex and contingent on many factors. Measurement issues remain—even our best measures of prejudice are muddled by social desirability effects and conceptual confounds—and as American society becomes ever more diverse, traditional analyses restricted to white-black relations exclusively are increasingly anachronistic. One thing that is clear from analyses of the 2008 presidential election, however, is that race still matters in American politics, and social scientists are right to continue their pursuit of reliable measures of racial prejudice.

Appendix A: Measures

Independent Variables

“Implicit Racism” is measured using “AMP” (Affect Misattribution Procedure), which shows respondents a series of Chinese pictographs preceded by a picture of either a white or black male’s face. Each pairing of pictographs and faces was then rated by each respondent as either ‘pleasant’ or ‘unpleasant.’ The variables for pairings of pictographs with black faces are variables v085311 through v085334. The variables for pairings of pictographs with white faces are variables v08335 through v08358. The internal consistency (coefficient alpha) of the ratings of the pictographs preceded by the black and white faces were .916 and .901, respectively. We took the mean pleasantness-unpleasantness rating for all pictographs paired with white faces and then for all paired with black faces and subtracted the black score from the white score to create our implicit associations independent variable. Respondents who score high on this variable preferred the pictographs preceded by white faces over those preceded by black faces, and thus are implicitly racist.

“Symbolic Racism” is a summary scale of the 4 traditional symbolic racism items included in the 08 ANES, in which respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed/disagreed with the following statements: v085143 'Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors;' v085144 (reversed) 'Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class;' v085145 (reversed) 'Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve;' and v085146 '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.' This 4-item scale had a reliability (coefficient alpha) of .742. Respondents who score high on this scale are higher in symbolic racism.

“Black Affect” is our measure of affect toward blacks. Respondents’ feeling thermometer score for blacks (v085064y) was subtracted from their mean feeling thermometer score for all racial groups (whites, blacks, Latinos and Asian-Americans). Thus, respondents who score high on this variable evaluate blacks more negatively than they do these other racial/ethnic groups. The higher the score, the bigger the difference between their ratings of African Americans and their average rating of all groups.

“Black Stereotypes” measures the extent to which respondents accept stereotypes of blacks as lazy and unintelligent. This combines 2 NES questions—v083207b “Where would you place blacks on this scale (between “hard-working and “lazy”) and v083208b “Where would you place blacks on this scale (between “intelligent” and “unintelligent”). Each is coded on a 1 through 7 scale, where 1 = hard-working and intelligent, respectively, and 7 = not hardworking and not intelligent, respectively. Similar to the computation for “blacktherm,” the mean scores for both the intelligence and laziness question were first computed for all groups (whites, blacks, latinos, Asian-Americans), then subtracted from the score for blacks on each question. “Blkstereo” is the mean of these two new variables, alpha = .706. Respondents who score high on this variable believe blacks are less intelligent and less hard-working than are members of these other groups.

“Belief in Equality” measures respondents’ level of belief in social equality. It is a summary scale of 6 NES measures. Respondents were asked to agree/disagree with the following statements: V085162 ‘Our society should do whatever is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed;’ v085164 ‘One of the big problems in this country is that we don't give everyone an equal chance;’ and v085167 ‘If people were treated more equally in this country we would have many fewer problems.’ Items were recoded to be on a 1 through 5 scale where 1 = disagree strongly and 5 = agree strongly. V085163 ‘We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country;’ v085165 ‘This country would be better off if we worried less about how equal people are.’ and v085166 ‘It is not really that big a problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others.’ These items are coded so that 1 = agree strongly and 5 = disagree strongly. Higher scores on this measure indicate more support for social equality. This scale has a reliability coefficient of .687.

“Traditional Morality” measures respondents’ levels of traditional morality and is a summary scale of 4 NES measures. V085139, ‘The world is always changing and we should adjust our view of moral behavior to those changes’ and v085141, ‘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’ are coded so that 1 = agree strongly and 5 = disagree strongly. V085140 ‘The newer lifestyles are contributing to the breakdown of our society.’ and V085142 ‘This country would have many fewer problems if there were more emphasis on traditional family ties’ were recoded so that 1 = disagree strongly and 5 = agree strongly. Higher scores indicate higher levels of traditional morality. Alpha = .778.

“Authoritarianism” measures respondents’ authoritarianism and is a combination of 4 NES measures which ask respondents to indicate which trait is more important for a child to have: V085158 “independence or respect,” v085159 “curiosity or good manners,” v085160 “self-reliance or obedience,” and v085161 “considerate or well-behaved” were all recoded so that authoritarian responses (respect, good manners, obedience, and well-behaved, respectively) are high. Higher scores indicate higher levels of authoritarianism. Alpha = .603

“Social Welfare” measures respondents’ social welfare beliefs using NES measures of support for social spending and for government healthcare. Each of these items is asked in 2 different ways. Half of the sample received v083108x “NEW position on government spending,” recoded so that 1 = a lot fewer and 7 = a lot more, while the other half received v083105 “position on government spending and services” coded so that 1 = many fewer services and 7 = many more services. For the government healthcare question, half of the sample received v083119 “opposition to government healthcare,” while the other half received v083124x “NEW position on government healthcare. Both were recoded so that 1 = oppose government healthcare and 7 = favor government healthcare. These items were combined into one summary scale where higher values indicate stronger support for social welfare spending. Alpha = .600.

The other control variables: age, Party ID, liberal-conservative rating, gender, education levels, and income are all coded in the traditional ways.

Dependent Variables

Feelings toward Obama: NES asks a series of affect questions about Obama. Half of the sample was asked how they felt about Obama winning the nomination, while the other half was asked about Obama winning the presidency. The items are:

V085233 ‘At the time, did you feel proud?’

V085233a ‘If you felt proud, did you feel this strongly or not so strongly?’

V085234 ‘At the time, did you feel angry?’

V085234a ‘If you felt angry, did you feel this strongly or not so strongly?’

V085235 ‘‘At the time, did you feel disappointed?’

V085235a ‘If you felt disappointed, did you feel this strongly or not so strongly?’

V085236 ‘At the time, did you feel afraid?’

V085236a ‘If you felt afraid, did you feel this strongly or not so strongly?’

V085237 ‘At the time, did you feel happy?’

V085237a ‘If you felt happy, did you feel this strongly or not so strongly?’

V085238 ‘At the time, did you feel hopeful?’

V085238a ‘‘If you felt hopeful, did you feel this strongly or not so strongly?’

Then the same series of questions is asked about Obama winning the presidency (v085241 through v085246a).

The items asking about each particular emotion for the nomination and the presidency were combined so there is one measure of pride, anger, disappointment, fear, happiness, and hopefulness toward Obama. All are trichotomous measures that were recoded so that lower scores indicate stronger positive and weaker negative emotions toward Obama. These items were then combined into one summary scale of feelings toward Obama coded in the same direction.

“Feeling Thermometer Difference Score” is the difference between Obama’s and McCain’s modified feeling thermometer scores. The mean feeling thermometer score (on a 0-100 scale) for all candidates was subtracted from Obama’s feeling thermometer score, providing a measure of the extent to which Obama’s evaluations differed from the average. The same was done with the feeling thermometer for John McCain, then the score for McCain was subtracted from the score for Obama, creating a measure reflecting the difference in respondents’ affect toward the two candidates. Higher values indicate more positive feelings toward Barack Obama.

“Negative Attitudes toward Black President” is a summary scale comprised of 4 NES items asking respondents their attitudes toward having a black president. V083172 “Generally speaking, do you personally hope that the United States has an African American president in your lifetime, or not?” V083173 ‘Do you think America is ready for an African-American president or not?’ V083170x “Does a black president make R uncomfortable?” and V083171x “Does a black president make R pleased” were all coded so that higher values indicate more negative attitudes toward having a black president. Alpha = .662.

“Against Racial Policy Issues” is a summary scale of four questions tapping respondents’ attitudes toward policy issues affecting the black community. This scale includes:

v083137 “government should give aid to blacks” coded so that 1 = government should help blacks and 7 = blacks should help themselves.

v083138a and v083138b “how important is government aid to Blacks to the respondent” coded so that 1=very important and 5 = not at all important.

v085079a “government should provide fair jobs for blacks” coded so that 1 = yes, government should provide jobs and 5 = no, government should not provide jobs.

v085157 “for or against preferential hiring/treatment of blacks” coded so that 1 = for preferential treatment and 5 = against preferential treatment.

References

- Allen, Richard L., Michael C. Dawson, and Ronald E. Brown. (1989). A Schema Based Approach to Modeling an African-American Racial Belief System. *American Political Science Review* 83(June): 421-41.
- Arkes, H. and P. Tetlock. (2004). Attributions of Implicit Prejudice, or Would Jesse Jackson 'Fail' the Implicit Association Test? *Psychological Inquiry*, 15, 257-279.
- Barreto, M., G. Segura and A. Valenzuela. (2010). Latino support for Barack Obama: Three Windows into a (Nearly) Baseless Myth. *Paper presented at the 2010 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association in Washington, D.C.*
- Brady, Henry. (1985). The Perils of Survey Research: Interpersonally Incomparable Responses." *Political Methodology*, 11, 269-291.
- Dawson, Michael C. 1994. *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African-American Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Dovidio, J., K. Kawakami, and S. Gaertner. (2002). Implicit Prejudice and Interracial Interaction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 82, 62-68.
- Fazio, R., D. Sanbonmatsu, M. Powell, and F. Kardes. (1986). On the Automatic Activation of Attitudes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 50, 229-238.
- Feldman, Stanley, and Leonie Huddy. (2005). Racial Resentment and White Opposition to Race-Conscious Programs: Principles or Prejudice? *American Journal of Political Science*, 49(January): 168-183.
- Finn, Christopher and Jack Glaser. (2010). Voter Affect and the 2008 U.S. Presidential Election: Hope and Race Mattered. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, 10(1), 262-275.
- Gaertner, S. and F. Dovidio. (1986). The Aversive Form of Racism. In *Prejudice, Discrimination, and Racism* (Dovidio and Gaertner, eds). New York: Academic Press.
- Gay, C. (2006). Seeing Difference: The Effect of Economic Disparity on Black Attitudes toward Latinos. *American Journal of Political Science*, 50 (4),982-97.
- Gilens, M. (1995). Racial Attitudes and Opposition to Welfare. *Journal of Politics*, 57, 994-1014.
- Greenwald, Anthony. and M. Banaji. (1995). Implicit Social Cognition: Attitudes, Self-Esteem And Stereotypes. *Psychological Review*.

- Greenwald, A., D. McGhee and J. Schwartz. (1998). Measuring Individual Differences In Implicit Cognition: The Implicit Association Test. *Journal of Personality And Social Psychology*, 74 (6), 1464-1480.
- Greenwald, A., Colin Tucker Smith, N. Sriram, Yoav Bar-Anan, and Brian A. Nosek. (2010). Implicit Race Attitudes Predicted Vote in the 2008 US Presidential Election. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, 9(1): 241-253.
- Hero, R., and R. Preuhs. (2009). Beyond (the Scope of) Conflict: National Black and Latino Advocacy Group Relations in the Congressional and Legal Arenas. *Perspectives on Politics* 7 (03), 501-17.
- Howell, S. (1994). Racism, Cynicism, Economics and David Duke. *American Politics Research*, 22, 190-207.
- Jackman, Simon and Lynn Vavreck. (2011). How Does Obama Match Up? Counterfactuals and the Role of Obama's Race in 2008.
- Jost, J. and Banaji, M. (1994). The role of stereotyping in system justification and the production of false consciousness. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 22, 1-27.
- Jost, J., B. Pelham and M. Carvallo. (2002). Non-Conscious Forms of Social Justification: Implicit and Behavior Preferences for Higher Status Groups. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 38(6): 586-602.
- Kam, C. (2007). Implicit Attitudes, Explicit Choices: When Subliminal Priming Predicts Candidate Preference. *Political Behavior*, 29, 343-367.
- Kim, Claire Jean. (1999). The Racial Triangulation of Asian Americans. *Politics and Society*, 27(1), 105-138.
- Kinder, Donald R., and Lynn Sanders. 1996. *Divided by Color: Racial Politics and Democratic Ideals*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Katz, I, J. Wackenhut, and R. Hass. (1986). Racial Ambivalence, Value Duality, and Behavior. In *Prejudice, Discrimination, and Racism* (Dovidio and Gaertner, Eds). New York: Academic Press.
- Kaufmann, K. (2003). Black and Latino Voters in Denver: Responses to Each Other's Political Leadership. *Political Science Quarterly*, 118 (1), 107-26.
- Kaufmann, K. (2007). Immigration and the Future of Black Power in U.S. Cities. *Du Bois Review*, 4 (1), 79-96.

- Kinder, D. and L. Sanders. (1996). *Divided by Color: Racial Politics and Democratic Ideals*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kinder, D. and D. Sears. (1981). Prejudice and Politics: Symbolic Racism versus Racial Threats to the Good Life. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 40, 414-431.
- Kluegel, J. and E. Smith. (1983). Affirmative Action Attitudes: Effects of Self-Interest, Racial Affect, and Stratification Beliefs on Whites' Views." *Social Forces*, 61, 797-824.
- Lewis-Beck, Michael S., Charles Tien and Richard Nadeau. (2010). Obama's Missed Landslide: A Racial Cost? *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 43, 69-76.
- McConahay, J. (1982). Self-Interest versus Racial Attitudes as Correlates of Antibusing Attitudes in Louisville: Is it Buses or the Blacks? *Journal Of Politics*, 44, 692-720.
- McConahay, J. (1986). Modern Racism, Ambivalence, and the Modern Racism Scale In *Prejudice, Discrimination and Racism*, Gaertner and Dovidio (eds). Orlando: Academic Press.
- McConahay, J. and J. Hough, Jr. (1976). Symbolic Racism. *Journal of Social Issues*, 32, 23-45.
- McClain, P. (2008). Presidential Address: Racial Intergroup Relations in a Set of Cities: A Twenty-Year Perspective. *Journal of Politics*, 68 (4), 757-70.
- Morris, I. (2000). African American Voting on Proposition 187: Rethinking the Prevalence of Interminority Conflict. *Political Research Quarterly* 53 (1), 77-98.
- Pasek, J., A. Tahk, Y. Lelkes, J. Krosnick, K. Payne, O. Akhtar, and T. Thompson. (2009). Determinants of Turnout and Candidate Choice in the 2008 Presidential Election. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 73, 973-994.
- Payne, K., C. Cheng, O. Govorun, and B. Stewart. (2005). An Inkblot for Attitudes: Affect Misattribution as Implicit Measurement. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 89, 277-293.
- Payne, K., J. Krosnick, J. Pasek, Y. Lelkes, O. Akhtar, and T. Thompson. (2010). Implicit and Explicit Prejudice in the 2008 American Presidential Election. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 46(2), 367-374.
- Pettigrew, T. and R. Meertens. (1995). Subtle and Blatant Prejudice in Western Europe. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 25, 57-75.

- Rudman, L., A. Greenwald, D. Mellott, J. Schwartz. (1999). Measuring the Automatic Components of the Implicit Association Test." *Social Cognition*, 17(4), 467-469.
- Sears, D. (1988). "Symbolic Racism" in Katz and Taylor (eds.) *Eliminating Racism: Profiles in Controversy*. New York: Plenum Press.
- Sears, D. and J. Citrin. (1985). *Tax Revolt: Something for Nothing in California*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Sears, D. and D. Kinder. (1971). Racial Tensions and Voting in Los Angeles in W.Z. Hirsch (ed.) *Los Angeles: Viability and Prospects for Metropolitan Leadership*. New York: Praeger.
- Sears, D., R. Lau, Tom R. Tyler, and H. Allen. (1980). Self-Interest Vs. Symbolic Politics in Policy Attitudes and Presidential Voting. *American Political Science Review*, 74 (September), 670 - 684.
- Sears, D. C. Van Laar, M. Carillo, R. Kosterman. (1997). Is it Really Racism? The Origins of White Americans' Opposition to Race-Targeted Policies. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 61, 16-53.
- Segura, Gary M. and Ali A. Valenzuela. (2010). Hopes, Tropes and Dopes: Hispanic and White Racial Animus in the 2008 Election. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 40(3), 497-514.
- Sniderman, P. and E. Carmines. (1997). *Reaching Beyond Race*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Sniderman, P. and P. Tetlock. (1986). Symbolic Racism: Problems of Motive Attribution in Political Debate. *Journal of Social Issues*, 4, 129-150.
- Tate, K. 1993. *From Protest to Politics: The New Black Voters in American Elections*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Tesler, Michael and David O. Sears. (2010). *Obama's Race: The 2008 Election and the Dream of a Post-Racial America*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Tetlock, P. and G. Mitchell. (2008). Calibrating Prejudice in Milliseconds. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 71, 12-16.
- Vaca, N. (2004). *The Presumed Alliance: The unspoken conflict between Latinos and Blacks and what it means for America*. New York: Harper-Collins Publishers.
- White, I. (2007). When Race Matters and When it Doesn't: Racial Group Differences in Response to Racial Cues. *The American Political Science Review*, 101(2): 339-354.
- Ziegert, J. and P. Hanges. (2005). Employment Discrimination: The Role of Implicit

Attitudes, Motivation, and a Climate for Racial Bias. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 90, 553-562.

Table I.
Descriptive Statistics and Bivariate Correlations for Four Racism Measures by Racial/Ethnic Subgroup

	<u>Descriptives</u>				<u>Correlations</u>			
	<u>Min</u>	<u>Max</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Std. Dev.</u>	<u>Black Affect</u>	<u>Black Stereotypes</u>	<u>Symbolic Racism</u>	<u>AMP</u>
<i>White Respondents</i>								
Black Affect	-50.0	60.0	.328	9.61	--	--	--	--
Black Stereotypes	-1.63	4.50	.574	.805	.272***	--	--	--
Symbolic Racism	1.00	5.00	3.59	.930	.143**	.255***	--	--
AMP	-.96	1.00	.159	.305	.227***	.224***	.269**	--
<i>Black Respondents</i>								
Black Affect	-50.0	43.75	-11.01	13.12	--	--	--	--
Black Stereotypes	-4.50	3.63	-.086	.868	.193***	--	--	--
Symbolic Racism	1.00	5.00	2.91	.844	.057	.125**	--	--
AMP	-.96	.67	-.009	.235	.143**	.156**	.122**	--
<i>Latino Respondents</i>								
Black Affect	-35.0	60.0	2.28	10.52	--	--	--	--
Black Stereotypes	-1.38	4.50	.861	1.00	.274***	--	--	--
Symbolic Racism	1.00	5.00	3.39	.836	.238***	.190***	--	--
AMP	-.74	1.00	.177	.311	.187***	.298***	.189***	--

*p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

Note: N varies between 992 and 1056 for the white sample, between 476 and 506 for the black sample, and between 393 and 435 for the Latino sample.

Table II.
Bivariate Correlations between Dependent and Independent Variables

	Negative Attitudes toward Black President	Difference b/t Obama and McCain Feeling Thermometers	Emotions about Obama	Against Black Policy Issues
<i>White Respondents</i>				
Black Affect	.220***	.142***	.173***	.136***
Black Stereotypes	.277***	.144***	.173***	.124***
Symbolic Racism	.348***	.424***	.436***	.424***
Implicit Associations	.322***	.106***	.163***	.136***
<i>Black Respondents</i>				
Black Affect	.124**	.326**	.153**	.139**
Black Stereotypes	.052	.158**	.058	.207***
Symbolic Racism	.075	.136**	.086	.330***
Implicit Associations	.060	.134**	.068	.124**
<i>Latino Respondents</i>				
Black Affect	.270***	.293***	.255***	.155**
Black Stereotypes	.264***	.167***	.225***	.184***
Symbolic Racism	.194***	.225***	.241***	.300***
Implicit Associations	.264***	.248***	.272***	.204***

* p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

Table III. White Public Opinion, Full Model

	<u>Neg. Attitudes Toward Black President</u>	<u>Feeling Therm. Difference</u>	<u>Obama Emotions</u>	<u>Black Policy Issues</u>
Constant	-.167*** (.031)	-.691*** (.040)	-.239*** (.041)	.132*** (.027)
Black Affect	.317*** (.099)	.199 (.127)	.301* (.100)	.122 (.084)
Black Stereotypes	.393*** (.101)	.272* (.128)	.133 (.101)	-.039 (.086)
Symbolic Racism	.150*** (.043)	.238*** (.055)	.232*** (.043)	.283*** (.037)
Implicit Racism	.273*** (.057)	.199 (.127)	.025 (.057)	.014 (.048)
Belief in Equality	-.183*** (.053)	-.089 (.067)	-.121* (.053)	-.147*** (.045)
Traditional Morality	-.011 (.044)	.196*** (.056)	.204*** (.044)	.045 (.037)
Authoritarianism	.093** (.031)	.005 (.040)	-.027 (.032)	-.005 (.027)
Social Welfare	.063† (.036)	-.172*** (.046)	-.085* (.036)	-.075* (.030)
Age	-.023 (.039)	-.061 (.050)	-.066† (.039)	-.108*** (.033)
Party ID	.110*** (.032)	.594*** (.041)	.360*** (.032)	.043 (.027)
Male	-.012 (.017)	.010 (.021)	-.014 (.017)	-.013 (.014)
Lib-Con	-.023 (.049)	.179** (.062)	.112* (.049)	.022 (.042)
Education	-.232** (.077)	.178† (.093)	.120 (.073)	.003 (.062)
Income	-.011 (.035)	-.020 (.044)	-.037 (.073)	-.023 (.029)
<i>Adjusted R²</i>	.273	.568	.508	.248
<i>N</i>	793	787	794	788

†p<.1 * p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

Table IV. Black Public Opinion, Full Model

	<u>Neg. Attitudes Toward Black President</u>	<u>Feeling Therm. Difference</u>	<u>Obama Emotions</u>	<u>Black Policy Issues</u>
Constant	-.288*** (.044)	-.796*** (.61)	-.423*** (.027)	-.149** (.058)
Black Affect	.132 (.082)	.611*** (.114)	.114** (.049)	.110 (.106)
Black Stereotypes	.003 (.103)	.117 (.143)	.017 (.062)	.226† (.135)
Symbolic Racism	-.015 (.049)	.082 (.068)	.033 (.030)	.398*** (.064)
Implicit Racism	.039 (.081)	.021 (.113)	.035 (.049)	.180 (.106)
Belief in Equality	-.172** (.064)	-.208* (.089)	-.022 (.039)	-.146† (.084)
Traditional Morality	.085 (.056)	-.019 (.078)	.023 (.034)	.189* (.074)
Authoritarianism	-.020 (.045)	-.070 (.062)	-.026 (.027)	-.103† (.058)
Social Welfare	-.078 (.043)	-.261*** (.060)	.006 (.026)	-.035 (.057)
Age	.026 (.050)	.084 (.069)	.017 (.030)	.056 (.065)
Party ID	.048 (.047)	.139* (.066)	.074* (.029)	-.038 (.062)
Male	-.008 (.020)	.044 (.027)	.008 (.012)	.057* (.026)
Lib-Con	-.085* (.043)	.018 (.059)	.006 (.026)	.076 (.056)
Education	.032 (.089)	.103 (.123)	.036 (.054)	.236* (.116)
Income	-.131 (.060)	.82 (.083)	.010 (.036)	.043 (.078)
<i>Adjusted R²</i>	.052	.200	.022	.178
<i>N</i>	339	338	339	337

†† p<.1 * p<.05 ** p<.01 *** p<.001

Table V. Latino Public Opinion, Full Model

	<u>Neg. Attitudes Toward Black President</u>	<u>Feeling Therm. Difference</u>	<u>Obama Emotions</u>	<u>Black Policy Issues</u>
Constant	-.166*** (.050)	-.649*** (.064)	-.305*** (.045)	.041 (.049)
Black Affect	.322* (.167)	.667*** (.209)	.225 (.149)	.001 (.161)
Black Stereotypes	.353** (.138)	-.310† (.174)	-.007 (.124)	.278* (.134)
Symbolic Racism	.083 (.070)	.219** (.089)	.126* (.063)	.319*** (.069)
Implicit Racism	.261** (.093)	.333** (.117)	.280*** (.084)	.225* (.090)
Belief in Equality	-.148 (.094)	-.432*** (.118)	-.135 (.085)	-.183* (.092)
Traditional Morality	-.069 (.089)	.047 (.109)	.086 (.077)	-.086 (.084)
Authoritarianism	.027 (.063)	-.050 (.079)	.001 (.056)	-.026 (.061)
Social Welfare	-.036 (.062)	-.077 (.077)	-.029 (.055)	-.113† (.060)
Age	.030 (.071)	.052 (.089)	-.037 (.063)	-.038 (.069)
Party ID	.121* (.054)	.505*** (.069)	.347*** (.049)	.085 (.053)
Male	.008 (.028)	.080* (.035)	.026 (.025)	-.026 (.027)
Lib-Con	.059 (.074)	-.022 (.092)	.036 (.066)	-.109 (.072)
Education	-.183† (.094)	.089 (.122)	.165 (.087)	.171† (.093)
Income	-.053 (.078)	.175 (.097)	.019 (.070)	-.020 (.076)
<i>Adjusted R²</i>	.168	.355	.301	.176
<i>N</i>	312	309	310	305

†p<.1 * p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

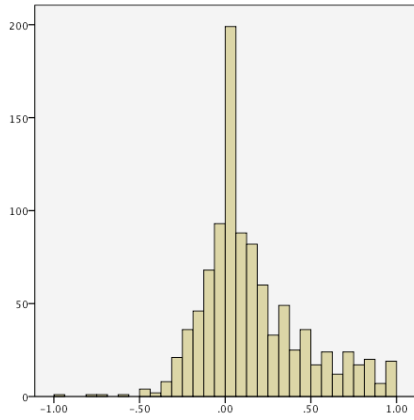
Table VI. Additional Variance Explained by Explicit and Implicit Racial Attitude Measures

	Neg. Attitudes	Feeling Therm. Difference	Emotions about Obama	Against Black Policy Issues
<i>White Respondents</i>				
Baseline R ²	.173	.551	.475	.185
R ² with Explicit Measures Added	.252	.568	.509	.249
Additional Variance Explained by	.079***	.017***	.034***	.064***
R ² for Full Model (adding AMP)	.273	.568	.508	.248
Additional Variance Explained by	.021***	.000	.000	.000
<i>Black Respondents</i>				
Baseline R ²	.054	.118	.006	.042
R ² with Explicit Measures Added	.055	.202	.023	.173
Additional Variance Explained by	.001	.084***	.017*	.131***
R ² for Full Model (adding AMP)	.052	.200	.022	.178
Additional Variance Explained by	.000	.000	.000	.005
<i>Latino Respondents</i>				
Baseline R ²	.088	.299	.256	.064
R ² with Explicit Measures Added	.149	.339	.277	.161
Additional Variance Explained by	.061***	.040***	.021**	.097***
R ² for Full Model (adding AMP)	.168	.355	.301	.176
Additional Variance Explained by	.017**	.016**	.024***	.015*
	* p<.05	**p<.01	***p<.001	

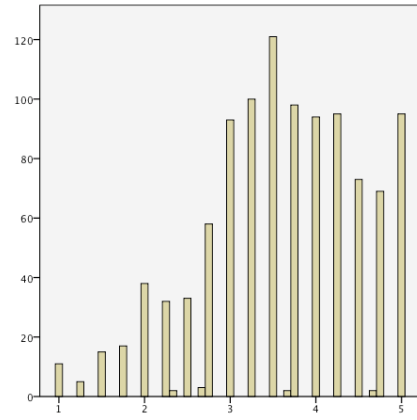
Note: Row 1 presents the R² value for the baseline model, which includes measures of party identification, liberal-conservative self-placement, education, income, gender, belief in equality, traditional morality, authoritarianism, and social welfare beliefs, but no racism measures. Row 2 presents the R² value when the three explicit racism measures are added to the equation. Row 3 presents the R² when all four racism measures are included in the model. Row 4 presents the amount of unique variance explained by adding the implicit measure.

Figure 1: Frequency Histograms for all Independent Variables - Whites

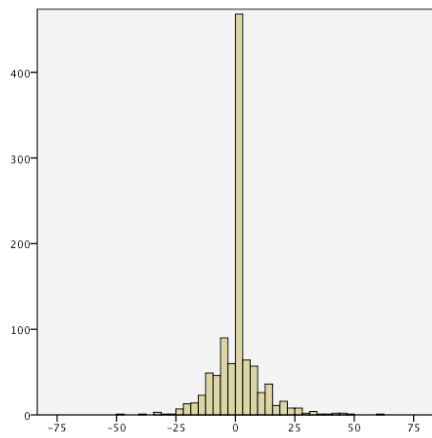
AMP



Symbolic Racism



Negative Affect



Stereotypes

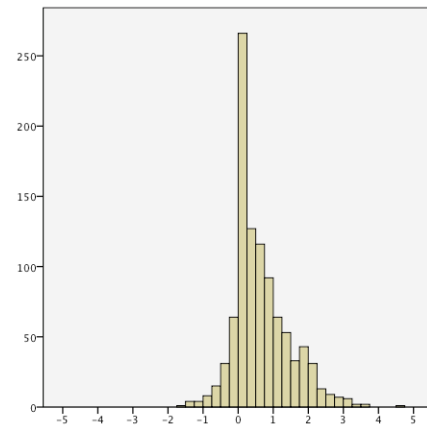
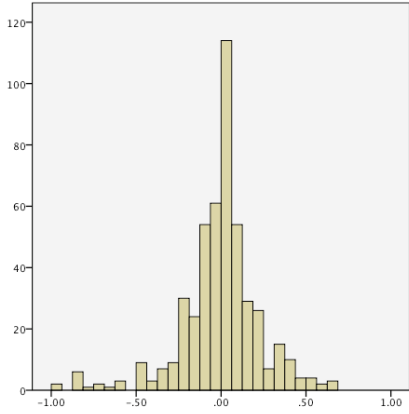
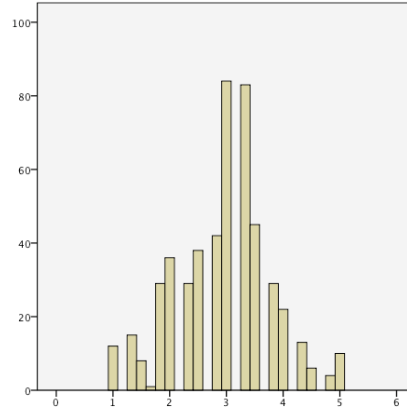


Figure 2: Frequency Histograms for all Independent Variables – Blacks

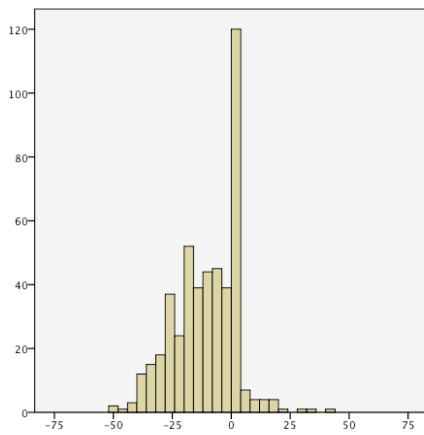
AMP



Symbolic Racism



Affect



Stereotypes

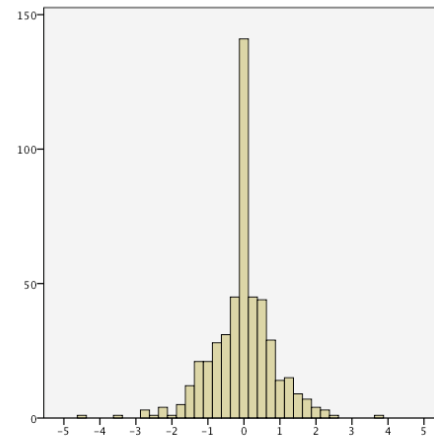
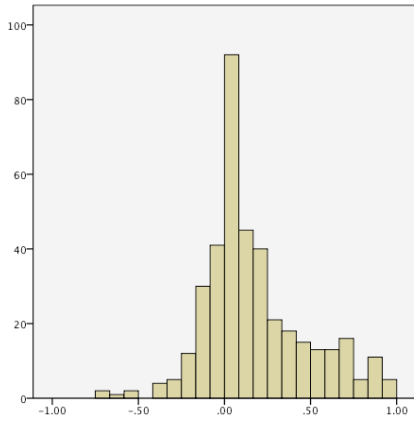
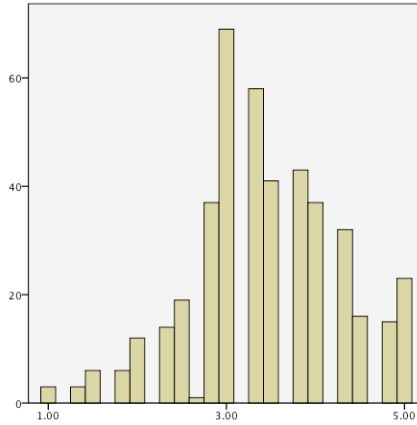


Figure 3: Frequency Histograms for all Independent Variables – Latinos

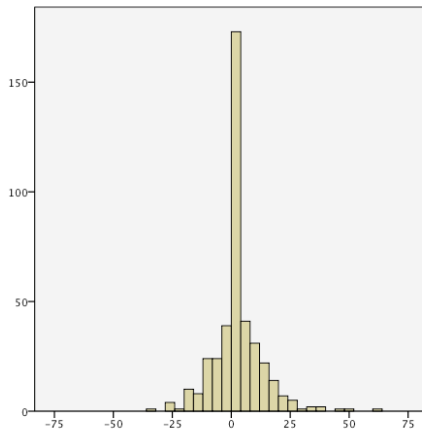
AMP



Symbolic Racism



Affect



Stereotypes

