

Chapter 5

When Prejudice Matters: The Impact of Racial Stereotypes on the Racial Policy Preferences of Democrats and Republicans

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More than any other issue, race has divided the modern Democratic party. Roosevelt's original New Deal Democratic coalition was successful largely because it brought together large groups of voters—workers, recent European immigrants to the North, southerners—who had been most adversely affected by the Great Depression and looked to the national government for relief. When substantial numbers of equally desperate but hopeful blacks began voting for Roosevelt in the 1936 presidential election, the party had assembled a truly impressive cross-race, class-oriented electoral coalition (Weiss 1983; Sitkoff 1976; Kirby 1980). But this coalition was inherently unstable because it included two groups, blacks and southern whites, that had diametrically opposed preferences on civil rights. FDR was able to hold the coalition together because the country was focused on economic and class issues during the 1930s and because he assiduously avoided dealing directly with racial issues, including not taking a stand on the federal anti-lynching bill before the Congress (Brinkley 1995).

Subsequent Democratic administrations, however, have not been so fortunate. The first rupture occurred in the 1948 presidential election campaign when a group of southern segregationist delegates bolted the Democratic convention and formed a third party, the State's Rights Democrats, in response to a relatively mild civil rights plank adopted by the convention's delegates. After simmering during the 1950s—at least as far as Democrats were concerned—the divisive effects of race reappeared with a vengeance during the early 1960s. During the latter part of the Kennedy administration, as race rose to the top of the political agenda, open warfare between white racial liberals and blacks on the one side and southern conservatives and segregationists on the others side became the focal point of internal Democratic party conflict (Carmines and Stimson 1989). In time, this stage in the struggle for the racial soul of the party was resolved; the national Democratic party became firmly committed to equal rights for African-Americans. As a result, blacks became the most loyal group in the Democratic coalition while the most conservative southern whites turned to the GOP (Carmines and Stanley 1990; Black and Black 1987).

Guaranteeing equal rights for African Americans did not, however, eliminate racial differences

from American society. On the contrary, it merely shifted the focus from political and legal rights to social and economic conditions. For it became almost immediately clear that in spite of the great civil rights victories embodied in the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, large and persistent differences in the socioeconomic circumstances of blacks and whites would continue; in effect, relegating many of the former to the bottom of the American economic order.

Two different racial policy agendas emerged in response to this situation (Sniderman and Piazza 1993). The first, initiated during Johnson's Great Society War on Poverty, was intended to improve the condition of the worst-off blacks by improving the situation of the worst-off, black or white. Job training programs, improved medical care for children, increased educational opportunities—such programs were designed to aid those from disadvantaged economic backgrounds, whether they were black or white. Yet it was clear that these programs would disproportionately benefit African-Americans, so they were quickly seen as social welfare for blacks. The second, and more controversial, post-civil rights policy agenda focused explicitly on race-conscious programs designed to aid only blacks and other minorities. These policies, collectively often referred to as affirmative action, encourage and sometimes force government, business, industry, and professions to include qualified minorities in their workforce. In addition, affirmative action programs also apply to admission to public institutions of higher education.

I. Prejudice, Partisanship, and Racial Policy Preferences

The emergence of these two new racial policy agendas poses a severe challenge to the Democratic party. Both sets of policies are widely supported by blacks and white racial liberals but lack broad white support. Affirmative action is especially unpopular among whites, often disparagingly characterized as racial quotas for minorities. Thus, the question we pursue in this chapter is whether Democrats are now divided over these new racial issues, just as they were divided earlier over the issue of equal rights for black Americans. We posit that racial prejudice does indeed have a much more powerful influence on the racial policy preferences of white Democrats than it does among white Republicans. Prejudice, we argue, shapes the political thinking of ordinary Democrats to a much greater extent than it does that of Republicans. It is not that white Democrats are more racially prejudiced than white Republicans. By our measure, the correlation between partisan identification and racial prejudice is less than .01, and the mean scores of white Democrats and Republicans are less than one-half a point apart on a 50 point scale. In other words, there is virtually no difference in the frequency with which prejudice is found among white Democrats and Republicans.

Although racial prejudice is no more frequent on one side of the partisan divide than the other, it should affect the racial policy preferences of Democrats to a far greater extent than it affects those of

Republicans. The reason for this differential impact is not difficult to understand, once the different political perspectives of Republicans and Democrats are taken into account. Whether Republicans are prejudiced or not, they are united by a commitment to the principle of limited government—at least when it comes to the social welfare and economic role of the national government. As a consequence, precisely because they are simply being good Republicans, even unprejudiced Republicans should see no compelling reason why blacks should receive any special treatment or even significant welfare assistance from the government. After all, Republicans oppose a major role for the national government in providing for the general welfare of the citizenry, and this opposition ought to apply to blacks and other minorities just as it does to whites. Thus, in following long-accepted and practiced Republican ideology, unprejudiced Republicans just like their more prejudiced fellow partisans, should oppose government aid to minorities. Moreover, this decision ought to be relatively easy for Republicans, even unprejudiced Republicans, because it derives so directly and straightforwardly from their deeply-held Republican ideology (Carmines and Stimson 1980).

The situation should be very different among Democrats. Given their general support for activist government and the increased contribution that blacks have made to the Democratic electoral coalition in recent presidential elections, their natural inclination should be to support government aid to various groups, including most especially African-Americans. But, of course, racially-prejudiced Democrats should not share this outlook. Instead, they should take exactly the opposite position—opposing government assistance and special treatment for blacks. In other words, racial issues should be hard issues for racially-prejudiced white Democrats because they are vulnerable to being pulled in opposing directions depending on their feelings toward blacks, inclined to support government programs to assist blacks because of their commitment to New Deal government activism but tempted to oppose them because of their dislike of blacks. In other words, some white Democrats are susceptible to cross-pressures in a way that Republicans are not. Their big-government philosophy flies in the face of their racial prejudice. Thus, our contention is not that racial prejudice is more rampant among white Democrats than Republicans but that it is more consequential for them. It has the capacity to shape their racial policy preferences to a much greater extent than those of Republicans. In sum, prejudice should play a major role in shaping the political thinking of Democrats, a minor one in shaping the thinking of Republicans.

II: The Impact of Prejudice Among Democrats and Republicans

Our central concern is the comparative impact of racial prejudice in shaping the political thinking of Democrats and Republicans, and our principal hypothesis—that contemporary racial policies are less divisive and tend to represent an easier choice for Republicans than for Democrats—suggests that prejudice

will have a greater impact on the racial policy preferences of Democrats than on those of Republicans. In order to examine this possibility, we employ the battery of questions about racial stereotypes contained in the Race and American Politics Survey. The survey covered five negative stereotypes commonly attributed to blacks: “aggressive or violent,” “lazy,” “boastful,” “irresponsible,” and “complaining.” Given the desirability of avoiding either-or choices which require unconditional acceptance or rejection of a stereotype, respondents were instead asked to indicate how good a description of blacks each of these characterizations were; the higher the score, which could range from 0 to 10, the more accurate they believed the negative characterization to be. Responses to the five negative stereotypes have been summed to form our measure of prejudice: the Index of Negative Stereotypes (INS).¹

Table 5.1 presents the results of an initial test of the hypothesis of differential impact. It shows the correlations between racial prejudice—the Index of Negative Stereotypes—and positions on five racial policy issues—government spending for jobs for blacks, fighting discrimination against blacks in jobs, welfare spending, racial employment quotas for companies that have discriminated in the past, and preferential admissions to universities for black students—for (self-identified) Democrats, Independents, and Republicans. Welfare spending is a three-category variable with scores of zero indicating “decrease,” scores of .5 indicating “keep about the same,” and scores of 1 indicating “increase.” The other four policy variables are dichotomous with scores of zero indicating opposition and scores of one indicating support.

Insert Table 5.1 About Here

As an examination of the results makes plain, it is flatly wrong to conclude that prejudice has been reduced to a minor force in shaping the views of ordinary Americans about contemporary issues of race merely because the zero order correlation between prejudice and racial policy preference is so low (the mean correlation for these five policies is .12). If prejudice plays only a minor role in the public as a whole, it is a major factor in shaping the thinking of white Democrats. On the issue of government spending for black jobs, for example, the correlation between issue positions and prejudice is .34 for Democrats. Indeed, across most of these racial issues, including fighting racial discrimination in employment ($r=.29$), welfare spending ($r=.28$), and preferential treatment for blacks in university admissions ($r=.22$), the role of prejudice in shaping the political thinking of Democrats is striking. Not only are these correlations substantial—the mean correlation for these four policies is .28—they are also

¹ The construction of the Index of Negative Stereotypes, in addition to that of all other variables used in this analysis, is discussed in the appendix. A principal component factor analysis of the five items provides strong evidence that they form a single dimension. The first factor has an eigenvalue of 2.7 and explains 54.7 percent of the variance in the items; the second factor is well below 1.0 (.72) and explains only 14 percent of the variance. The reliability of the scale is .79 (alpha), and its validity is indicated by a

highly statistically significant ($p < .01$). In contrast, the comparable correlations between issue positions and prejudice among white Republicans are for all intents and purposes negligible. The largest is .13, the mean is .04, and only one of these correlations is statistically significant. The evidence clearly indicates that prejudice plays little or no role in shaping the racial policy preferences of Republicans. Not surprisingly, the correlations for Independents tend to fall between those for Democrats and Republicans, but it is the striking differences between the latter two groups that is impressive.

This asymmetry between prejudice and partisanship suggests that it is the interaction between these variables that affects support for racial policies. Table 5.2 undertakes a more rigorous test of this hypothesis. It shows the results of a series of logistic regressions (ordered logit for the three-category welfare variable) in which each of the racial policies is a function of party identification (a seven point scale ranging from strong Republican to strong Democrat), prejudice (the Index of Negative Racial Stereotypes ranging from most to least prejudiced), and their interaction created by multiplying partisanship and prejudice (Policy Liberalism = $b_0 + b_1\text{Partisanship} + b_2\text{Prejudice} + b_3(\text{Partisanship} * \text{Prejudice})$). The table shows that there is indeed a noticeable interaction between prejudice and party identification in determining support for racial policies. This interaction term has a statistically significant ($p < .05$, and in most cases $p < .01$) effect on support for all five of the racial policies. In short, it is the interaction of greater attachment to the Democratic party and less prejudice that is associated with more liberal positions on racial policy issues.

Because the logit model is nonlinear, the effect of any explanatory variable is specific to a particular point on the probability distribution of the dependent variable. This means, in turn, that the coefficients for explanatory variables must be evaluated with respect to the dependent variable's distribution as well. In order to demonstrate the substantive effect of the coefficients from the logistic regressions in Table 5.2, Figure 5.1 shows the probabilities—predicted across the full range of the Index of Negative Stereotypes by these logit models—of taking the liberal position on each of the five racial issues for those at the extremes of the partisan continuum—strong Republicans and strong Democrats. The figures clearly show the asymmetrical effects of prejudice on the racial policy attitudes of these two groups of committed partisans. For Republicans, the lines depicting the predicted probabilities are relatively flat and are always below .50, indicating that Republicans tend to oppose these racial policies regardless of their level of prejudice. Conversely, the lines depicting the predicted probabilities of strong Democrats reveal a marked steepness; their degree of support for these liberal racial policies is strongly affected by prejudice. When prejudice is high, strong Democrats display no more support for these policies than do

significant correlation with an Index of Anti-Semitism (.39).

strong Republicans. But as prejudice declines, Democrats show an increasing tendency to support these policies, and this support reaches its highest level for those expressing no racial prejudice. In sum, the figures show graphically the much greater impact that prejudice has on the racial policy preferences of Democrats than on those of Republicans.

Insert Figure 5.1 About Here

The political implications of the greater impact of prejudice among Democrats than among Republicans are important to underscore. Thus, Table 5.3 examines not only the differential impact of prejudice for Democrats and Republicans, but also the changes in the actual levels of support of both parties' supporters that result as a function of increasing prejudice. It shows the mean level of support for each racial policy by the combined effects of party identification (divided here into only the three categories) and racial prejudice (divided here into equal thirds).² Again, the asymmetrical effects of prejudice are evident. Among Democrats, prejudice has a marked effect on support for these racial policies. For example, whereas 70 percent of white Democrats who are low in prejudice (the bottom third of the Index of Negative Stereotypes) support an increase in government spending to promote black employment, only 32 percent of Democrats with high levels of prejudice (the top third of the Index of Negative Stereotypes) do so.³ Similarly, while 65 percent of low-prejudiced Democrats favor government efforts to fight discrimination against blacks in employment, only 37 percent of high-prejudiced Democrats support such efforts.

In contrast, the differences are much smaller among Republicans. For example, 48 percent of Republicans who are low in prejudice support efforts to fight discrimination against blacks in jobs, while 46 percent of Republicans who are high in prejudice do so. While the differences between Democrats who are racially prejudiced and those who are not are highly significant ($p < .01$) on all of the policies except job quotas, the differences among Republicans do not reach statistical significance for any of the issues.

Insert Table 5.3 About Here

This has clear consequences for both racial policy programs and electoral politics. The division of the Democratic coalition and the unity of the Republican coalition mean that majority support for ameliorative racial policies may be impossible to garner. On issues of race, the Republican party enjoys its own undivided support plus a portion of the Democratic party's. This also means that focusing on racial

² The cut-points were established, of course, taking into account the distribution of whites as a whole regardless of their ideological orientation.

³ Since, with the exception of welfare spending, the measures of racial policies are dichotomous and scored 0 for opposition and 1 for support, these means can be interpreted as percentages from 0 to 100 percent. Thus, for example, a mean of .79 can be interpreted as 79 percent of the given category

issues should be a very successful electoral strategy for Republican candidates. While racial matters have long been employed in the South to hinder the development of left-leaning electoral coalitions (Key 1949; Havard 1972; Huckfeldt and Kohfeld 1989), Republican candidates throughout the country now may find it advantageous to stress conservative racial themes. They do not appear to risk losing any of their own partisan support from this strategy and they may attract a significant portion of the Democratic coalition. Since blacks play a central role in the Democratic coalition (Huckfeldt and Kohfeld 1989), Democratic candidates are severely constrained in their ability to maintain the support of prejudiced Democrats when racial issues move to the forefront of a campaign.

Due to the divisive political nature of prejudice within the Democratic coalition, the rest of this chapter devotes most of its attention to the political consequences of race prejudice for the Democratic party. However, before proceeding with this, we examine the lack of a cleavage in the Republican party along the lines of race-prejudice a bit more closely. The finding that prejudice has little political importance for Republicans contradicts the commonly-held view that prejudice plays its largest role on the political right, with contemporary racial politics being defined by the “conjunction” of conservatism and antiblack affect (Kinder and Sears 1981). Given the divergence of this finding from the conventional wisdom, it seems appropriate to subject it to a rigorous counter-argument: that the lack of cleavage among white Republicans may be illusory. It may be illusory because Republicans who take conservative positions on racial issues even though they claim to be unprejudiced may not be so. Their seeming lack of prejudice may be misleading, created by a mere veneer of racial sympathy.

III. Unity Among Republicans: Sincere or Superficial?

The questions we seek to answer here regard what can and should be said about Republicans who say they feel positively about blacks, or at least display no overt racial prejudice. Are they only saying what they think they ought to say, or is there reason to believe that they are being sincere? For that matter, may Republicans with positive feelings conform to a Republican line on racial issues, not because their positive feelings toward blacks are a sham, but because their feelings are superficial and lack the power to influence their behavior? The “government dependency” experiment was designed to determine whether Republicans who say they have a positive regard for blacks in fact respond positively if they are provided with a socially acceptable excuse to respond negatively. It comprises three experimental conditions. In the first—or “poverty”—condition, a (randomly selected) set of respondents is asked to respond to the following statement:

“Most poor people these days would rather take assistance from the government than make it on

supporting that particular policy.

their own through hard work.”

In the second—or “race”—condition, one third of respondents is asked to respond to the statement:

“Most blacks these days would rather take assistance from the government than make it on their own through hard work.”

Finally, in the third—or “combined”—condition, the final third of respondents is asked to respond to the statement:

“Most poor blacks these days would rather take assistance from the government than make it on their own through hard work.”

It should be emphasized that the three statements are exactly alike but for the variation in the description of recipients.

It is not, we have suggested, that Republicans who report positive feelings toward blacks are insincere but rather that these feelings are, insofar as they are committed Republicans, largely irrelevant to the positions they take on racial policy issues. After all, from the perspective of a person on the right, the social welfare role of government should be narrow whether the group to benefit is blacks or women or whoever. But if this reasoning is correct, then even though Republicans with positive attitudes toward blacks should not deviate on issues of public policy from a Republican line, they should respond markedly more positively to blacks outside of the context of the government’s agenda than their fellow Republicans who dislike blacks. In terms of the “government dependency” experiment, the prediction then follows that Republicans with relatively positive feelings toward blacks should be less likely than those with relatively negative feelings toward blacks to agree that blacks “these days would rather take assistance from the government than make it on their own through hard work.” For if they are not less likely to stigmatize blacks in this manner, it must be accepted that they do not mean what they say when they say they are unprejudiced toward them. In addition, and more subtly, if Republicans who have seemingly more positive feelings toward blacks are opposing government assistance for blacks out of political conviction and have not merely simulated a positive regard for blacks, then they should manifest these convictions by characterizing the “poor” who avail themselves of government services as people who “would rather take assistance from the government than make it on their own through hard work;” and, indeed, in the identical circumstances, they should respond more negatively to a person who is poor than to one who is black.

Figure 5.2 graphically displays white Republicans’ levels of agreement with attributions of welfare dependency to blacks, poor blacks, and poor people, depending on whether their feelings toward blacks are positive—the bloc of columns to the left—in the middle—the bloc of columns in the middle—or negative—the bloc of columns on the right. The higher the bar, the greater the agreement with the attribution of

welfare dependency.

Insert Figure 5.2 About Here

Two aspects of the results deserve to be underlined. First, Republicans whom we have scored as having positive attitudes toward blacks are indeed less likely to respond negatively to blacks than are Republicans whom we have scored as having negative attitudes toward them. That is, Republicans classified as having a positive regard for blacks in general are significantly ($p < .001$) less likely to say that blacks would “rather take assistance from the government ... than make it on their own.” Second, as we predicted, Republicans who say they like blacks do respond more positively to blacks than to people who are poor. Republicans scoring low in prejudice are significantly ($p < .01$) more likely to believe that the poor take advantage of government assistance than that blacks do so.

Even so, it could be argued that the results of the government dependency experiment show not that Republicans who say they like blacks should be taken at their word, but rather that such Republicans are sensitive to social desirability pressures. They are indeed consistent: they express a positive view of blacks when asked to describe what blacks are like, and they are less inclined to endorse a negative one. But perhaps they do both of these things to present a socially desirable image of themselves.

Arguments invoking considerations of social desirability are notoriously difficult to assess empirically, but the “government dependency” experiment was designed to provide an honest check on impression management. It contrasts three conditions—the beneficiaries of government help are described as “poor people,” “blacks,” and “poor blacks,” respectively. It is therefore crucial to notice that, in Figure 5.2, unprejudiced Republicans are as likely to say that poor blacks take advantage of government assistance as they are to say that poor people do. They are thus not unwilling to express negative reactions to blacks. As Republicans, they identify with a party that is apprehensive about the abuse of government assistance and they express this apprehension as readily when blacks are involved as when they are not—as long as they are poor. In short, the trigger that leads to increased apprehension among unprejudiced Republicans is “poor,” not “black.”

A final line of argument merits attention. According to our argument, Republicans who have a positive attitude toward blacks nonetheless oppose an array of racial policies to assist blacks because to do otherwise would conflict with their partisan and ideological commitments. But, if this is indeed so, then we should expect that these same Republicans, presented with a policy that is intended to help blacks and that does not conflict with their own and their party’s views, should support it.

The “integration” experiment, by presenting unprejudiced Republicans with an opportunity to help blacks that does not involve government activism, is designed to assess whether this expectation is valid or

not. In the experiment, three different (and randomly selected) sets of respondents were asked three different questions about programs to encourage blacks to buy houses in white suburbs. One set was asked how it felt about

“programs set up by religious and business groups that encourage blacks to buy homes in white suburbs.”

Another set was asked how it felt about

“the government putting its weight behind programs to encourage blacks to buy homes in white suburbs.”

A final set was asked how it felt about

“government subsidized housing to encourage blacks to buy homes in white suburbs.”

Table 5.4 reports mean white responses to the housing question broken down in three ways: by respondents’ partisan identification, by their positions on the trichotomized Index of Negative Stereotypes, and by the framing of the issue.

Insert Table 5.4 About Here

The crucial distinction between the three forms of the integration proposal is that the first specifies the involvement of only private organizations, while the second and third specify government involvement. If unprejudiced Republicans really do have positive attitudes toward blacks and oppose government programs to assist them not because of well-hidden negative racial feelings but because of their ideologically motivated aversion to government involvement in private affairs and particularly to government spending, then they should give significantly greater approval to a program to help blacks that involves only private organizations than to ones that involve the government. In other words, if unprejudiced Republicans really do like blacks, then given an opportunity to help them that does not run counter to their partisan and ideological bearings, they should take it.

Table 5.4 shows that, in fact, they do. First, Republicans with positive attitudes toward blacks are significantly ($p < .05$) more likely to support integration under the aegis of religious and business groups than are Republicans with negative attitudes toward blacks. In contrast, the differences between the levels of support for prejudiced and unprejudiced Republicans on either of the two versions of the policy involving government are not statistically significant ($p > .10$). Second, while unprejudiced Republicans are no less likely than unprejudiced Democrats to support housing programs set up by religious and business groups, they are significantly ($p < .01$) less supportive than unprejudiced Democrats of government subsidized housing. Moreover, Republicans who like blacks are less supportive than Democrats who like blacks to support even the much milder form of government involvement indicated by “government putting

its weight behind it,” and the difference comes very close to standard levels of statistical significance ($p < .06$). Finally, and perhaps most importantly, unprejudiced Republicans are significantly ($p < .01$) more likely to favor housing programs set up by religious and business groups than they are to favor either of the programs in which the government is involved.

In short, unprejudiced Republicans respond exactly as they should if they really have positive attitudes toward blacks but are committed Republicans. They support efforts to help blacks when the government is not involved, displaying levels of support no lower than those of unprejudiced Democrats, but do not support such efforts when they are directed by the government, showing levels of support indistinguishable from those of prejudiced Republicans. All the various lines of evidence, then, converge. All run against the suggestion that Republicans who score low on the Index of Negative Stereotypes are saying not what they think but what they think they should say.

IV. Division Among Democrats: Political and Electoral Consequences

The policy and electoral consequences of the divisive role played by racial prejudice in the Democratic coalition are closely connected. Advocates of government programs directed toward blacks may find it quite difficult to build majority support for these policies. Since Republican identifiers are opposed to these programs regardless of their feelings toward blacks, Republican legislators are likely to be united in opposition to ameliorative racial policies. The enthusiasm of Democratic legislators for such programs also may be less than overwhelming. Although blacks are an integral part of Democratic electoral coalitions, Democratic elected officials may stand to lose a significant portion of their white support if they promote liberal racial policies. The remainder of this chapter thus examines the electoral implications of the division of the Democratic coalition along the lines of racial prejudice. First, we assess the extent to which the Democratic party stands to lose electorally because of prejudice. Second, we attempt to denote the groups in the Democratic coalition from which this electoral loss is most likely to come. Finally, we consider the possibility that the potential electoral losses accruing to the Democratic party because of its racial liberalism may in fact be overstated. Prejudiced Democrats may, in fact, be Democrats in name only: identifying themselves as Democrats due to traditional group ties, but, opposing the party's ideology on a whole range of issues, both racial and non-racial.

Racial Prejudice and the Potential for Democratic Electoral Loss

While prejudiced Democrats may be as strongly attached to the Democratic party as non-prejudiced Democrats,⁴ they may be less likely to support the party's candidates at the polls, particularly

⁴ In fact, evidence from the Race and American Politics Survey shows that prejudiced Democrats are only slightly less attached to the party than are non-prejudiced Democrats. The correlation between prejudice

when racial issues are a salient issue in the campaign. Unfortunately, the timing of the Race and American Politics Study—during a year, 1991, in which no federal elections and only a few statewide elections were held—did not allow for many questions regarding electoral choice. However, the survey did ask respondents to rate the incumbent president, George Bush, on a feeling thermometer ranging from zero (least warm) to 10 (most warm), and these ratings of Bush may provide some indication of whether racial prejudice divides the Democratic electoral coalition. Although Bush was not involved in an electoral campaign in 1991, he clearly aligned himself with conservative stances on racial issues in his 1988 campaign and during his presidency. Previous research indicates that such affective evaluations of presidential candidates are a very strong predictor of individual voting behavior (Page and Jones 1984).

Figure 5.3 shows the mean thermometer ratings given to President Bush by white Democrats, Independents, and Republicans in all three categories of the trichotomized index of negative stereotypes. Not surprising, since Bush's approval ratings were at record highs during the time period of the survey, is the fact that whites in all three partisan categories and in all three prejudice categories give relatively favorable ratings to Bush. More interesting is the differential impact of prejudice on the ratings given to Bush by white Republicans and white Democrats. Just as prejudice has little effect on the racial policy attitudes of Republicans, there is no difference ($p > .10$) between the most prejudiced Republicans and the least prejudiced Republicans in their evaluations of Bush. Both groups rate the ex-president very highly. In contrast, prejudice divides the Democratic coalition here just as it does with regard to racial policies. Prejudiced Democrats are significantly ($p < .01$) more supportive of Bush than are non-prejudiced Democrats.

Insert Figure 5.3 About Here

Racial prejudice does appear to have some electoral costs for the Democratic party. As is evidenced by the near unanimous support of Republicans across the range of the index of negative stereotypes for George Bush, Republican candidates can stake out conservative positions on racial issues without much risk of losing the support of white Republicans—even those who feel positively toward blacks. At the same time, these conservative racial stances may allow the Republican to seize a portion of the Democratic coalition—those racially-conservative Democrats, particularly if the Democratic candidate espouses liberal positions on matters of race.

The Locus of Democratic Electoral Loss: Levels and Impact of Prejudice
Among Groups in the Democratic Electoral Coalition

Since racial prejudice has a deleterious effect not only on the support of the Democratic coalition

and the strength of attachment to the Democratic party is -.10 among white Democrats.

for liberal racial policies, but also on Democratic electoral support, the logical next question is where is this race-based loss in support likely to be greatest? In other words, where in the Democratic party can Democratic candidates expect to lose and Republican candidates expect to gain when race moves to the forefront of a campaign? Answering this question involves asking two more specific questions? First, what types of white Democrats are more prejudiced toward blacks and are thus in greater conflict with their party? Second, where in the Democratic party are divisions among whites most severe? Does prejudice have more of an impact on policy preferences among some groups in the Democratic coalition than among others?

In order to ascertain where prejudice is greatest in the Democratic party, Table 5.5 shows whites' mean scores on the index of negative stereotypes by party identification and four different demographic traits: region (southern and border states versus non-southern states), yearly income (\$0 to \$30,000, \$30,000 to \$50,000, and \$50,000 and greater), education (no college, some college but no degree, and Bachelor's and advanced degrees), and religion (Protestants, Catholics, and those who have no religious ties). The table shows that prejudice is greater among southern Democrats than among Democrats in the non-South, greater among Democrats with relatively low incomes than among Democrats with high incomes, and greater among Democrats with no college than among college graduates. Catholic Democrats are also slightly more prejudiced than Democratic Protestants, but the difference is not statistically significant. In other words, racial prejudice, and thus the potential for conflict with the Democratic party, is greatest among those groups that, in addition to racial minorities, traditionally have formed the core of the Democratic coalition (Axelrod 1972). It is thus no wonder that race and racial attitudes have played a principal role in bringing about the disintegration of that coalition (Huckfeldt and Kohfeldt 1989; Carmines and Stimson 1989).

Insert Table 5.5 About Here

At the same time, an agenda of racial liberalism may appeal to those without religious ties who are coming to constitute an increasing proportion of the Democratic coalition (Green, Guth, and Fraser 1991). Democratic secularists have significantly ($p < .01$) more positive attitudes toward blacks than do non-secular Democrats. Such an agenda may also attract those independents with high education and income levels as these groups appear to be quite likely to reject negative stereotypes of blacks. However, the possibility that Democratic gains from secularists and upper-status independents may offset the loss of key portions of its traditional coalition is quite unlikely.

Racial prejudice is thus highly damaging to the Democratic party. Not only does it lead white Democrats to diverge from their party's policy stances and to support Republican political figures, it is also

most prevalent among those groups that traditionally have constituted the core of the Democratic electoral coalition. However, prejudice may be more damaging among some groups than among others. Certain groups of white Democrats may be more likely to defect from the party's policy and electoral coalitions not only because they have higher levels of prejudice but also because prejudice has more of an impact on their political decisions than on those of other groups of Democrats. This is likely to be particularly true in comparisons between white Democrats in the South and in the non-South. Due to the heavier concentration of blacks in the South and the related tendency of conservative politicians in the South to appeal to the racial prejudices of southern whites, race traditionally has been a more salient issue in the South than in the states outside of the South, and in fact has been the overriding issue in all of southern politics (Key 1949; Havard 1972; Black and Black 1987; Bartley and Graham 1975; Huckfeldt and Kohfeld 1989). Because southern whites are more likely to come into contact with blacks than are whites outside of the South and because they long have been encouraged by conservative southern politicians to act on these prejudices, how white Democrats feel about blacks may have more impact on their evaluations of racial policies in the South than in the non-South. Southern Democrats who dislike blacks may be even more opposed to policies directed toward blacks than are prejudiced whites outside of the South.

In order to assess whether racial prejudice has more of an impact on the racial policy preferences of some groups in the Democratic coalition than on those of others, Table 5.6 shows the correlation between whites' positions on the five racial issues and their levels of prejudice by their party identification and their traits on several demographic variables. Although there are a few exceptions, the table demonstrates that the key finding of this chapter largely holds across demographic categories. For the most part, prejudice has more of an impact on the policy preferences of Democrats than on those of Republicans regardless of demographic traits. Table 5.6 also shows that there is a clear distinction between the impact of prejudice on the racial policy attitudes of white Democrats in the South and the non-South. On all five of the racial issues, prejudice is more highly correlated with the policy preferences of southern Democrats than with those of non-southern Democrats. Racial prejudice is more important politically in the South than in the states outside of the South.

Insert Table 5.6 About Here

There are some distinctions with regard to other demographic variables. For instance, with regard to attitudes toward government spending for programs to help blacks get more jobs, prejudice has more of an impact for those Democrats with high income levels than for those with low income levels, and prejudice has more of an impact for Democratic Catholics than for Democratic Protestants. Prejudice has more of an impact on the attitudes toward welfare spending of low-income Democrats than on those of high-income

Democrats. Prejudice has more of an effect on the attitudes toward preferential admissions to universities for blacks of Protestant Democrats than on those of Catholic Democrats. However, none of these differences are consistent across the range of racial policy issues.

The finding of a greater impact of prejudice on the policy preferences of southern Democrats than on those of non-southern Democrats deserves more attention, particularly with regard to its political consequences. The cause of the higher correlation in the South has clear political implications. If the correlation is higher in the South because non-prejudiced Democrats are more supportive of liberal racial policies in the South than in the non-South, the Democratic party actually may find it easier to build coalitions for these racial programs in the South and, especially given the larger black population in the South, may find it more advantageous electorally to advance an agenda of racial liberalism in the South than in the non-South. If, as is more likely the case, the correlation is higher among southern Democrats because prejudiced Democrats are more opposed to liberal racial policies in the South than in the non-South, the Democratic party may find it more difficult to garner support for these programs in the South and may find the electoral risks to stressing racially-liberal themes greater in the South than in the non-South.

In order to determine which of these two scenarios is a better explanation of the higher correlation between racial prejudice and racial policy attitudes in the South than in the non-South, Table 5.7 shows whites' mean levels of support for the five racial policies by their region, their party identification, and their position on the trichotomized index of negative stereotypes. The table shows that non-prejudiced Democrats in the South are more supportive of the two affirmative action programs—job quotas for blacks and preferential admissions for blacks—than are non-southern Democrats who like blacks. It may be that the greater contact southern whites have with blacks causes those Democrats who like blacks to be more supportive of efforts to promote their climb up the social and economic ladder. However, on the other racial issues, there is no difference between the levels of support of non-prejudiced southern Democrats and non-prejudiced Democrats outside of the South. Both groups are unusual in their overall support for these liberal racial policies. Instead, the higher correlation between prejudice and racial policy preferences among southern Democrats is due to the fact that prejudiced southern Democrats are considerably less supportive of ameliorative racial programs than are prejudiced non-southern Democrats. Indeed, prejudiced southern Democrats tend to be the most racially-conservative group in the electorate—even more conservative than prejudiced Republicans and Independents in the South or non-South. Perhaps because of the greater concentration of blacks in the South or because of the important role of racial attitudes in southern political culture, racial prejudice is most strongly associated with opposition to liberal

racial policies among southern Democrats.

Insert Table 5.7 About Here

This has clear implications for Republican candidates in the South. Republicans in both regions can espouse an agenda of racial conservatism with little risk of losing much support from white Republicans. However, because both racial prejudice and the antipathy of prejudiced Democrats toward liberal racial policies is greater in the South than in the non-South, Republicans in the South should find it even more advantageous to emphasize conservative racial themes in the South than in the non-South. The large black population in the South should offer little constraint on the tendency of Republicans to focus on race in the region since only a small percentage of blacks votes for Republican candidates.

The implications are less clear for Democratic leaders and candidates in the South. Democrats advocating liberal racial policy programs should find greater opposition from whites in the South than in the non-South. However, the heavier concentration of blacks in the South may encourage Democrats to pursue these programs despite strong opposition from whites in their own party. Democratic candidates may emphasize liberal racial themes and these policies may be enacted in southern states or localities in which blacks and non-prejudiced white Democrats constitute a majority. Although white opposition may be somewhat less in southern states or localities with fewer blacks (cf. Key 1949; Wright 1977; Huckfeldt and Kohfeldt 1989), Democratic candidates and officials may be less likely to pursue liberal racial policies since there may not be enough blacks to form a majority coalition in favor of these policies.⁵

Division Among Democrats: Race-Based or More Broadly Ideological?

It is possible that we have placed too much emphasis on the Democratic electoral loss related to intraparty divisions along the lines of race-prejudice (Abramowitz 1994). It may be the case that prejudiced Democratic identifiers are not really a group upon whom the party can count for any degree of electoral support. They may oppose not only Democratic racial policies, but also the party's whole orientation with regard to the role of government in society. In other words, the divisions between

⁵ In fact, the relationship between black population density and policy responsiveness to black interests in the South may be curvilinear (Keech 1969; Black 1976). When black concentration is low, white opposition to liberal racial policies may be relatively small, so that increases in black density are associated with increases in the responsiveness to blacks by Democratic candidates and policy-makers. However, white opposition to political and social gains for blacks also rises along with increases in the black share of the electorate (Keech 1969; Key 1949). At a certain point, the opposition of prejudiced Democrats may be great enough to outweigh further electoral gains from blacks in the minds of Democratic candidates and officials. At this point, further increases in black density may be associated with less responsiveness. As black density becomes large enough that a coalition of blacks and non-prejudiced white Democrats approaches majority status, the interests of blacks may begin to outweigh the protests of prejudiced white Democrats. At this point, further increases in black density may be associated with increases in the

Democrats who like blacks and Democrats who dislike blacks on racial issues may be part of a broader ideological division within the Democratic party. As recent election results indicate, a large portion of the American electorate is becoming increasingly disenchanted with government activism, and this is particularly true among key groups in the Democratic coalition such as blue-collar workers and southern whites (Ladd and Hadley 1975; Carmines and Stanley 1991). Although many white Democrats may have become disillusioned with their party's commitment to liberal ameliorative programs, the forces of tradition and loyalty may continue to connect them to the Democratic label (Campbell et al. 1960). As a consequence, the intra-party cleavage we have denoted may be less a function of attitudes toward blacks as we have argued and more a function of support for and opposition to government activism more generally. In other words, Democrats who dislike blacks may be Democrats in name only, opposed not only to policies designed to help blacks but to the whole philosophy of social welfare liberalism favored by the Democratic party at least since the New Deal.

In order to examine this possibility, we compare the positions of more and less prejudiced Democrats on mainstream social welfare issues. Table 5.8 shows the mean position of whites on four social welfare issues—providing medical insurance for the unemployed, repealing tax breaks for the rich, government spending to reduce unemployment, and narrowing the gap between rich and poor—depending on their feelings toward blacks and their party identifications, and it shows this separately for the South and the non-South. The results are striking and consistent. In both regions, there are no systematic differences between the positions of the most prejudiced Democrats and those of the least prejudiced Democrats on any of these issues. Democrats who dislike blacks are as likely as Democrats who like blacks to believe that government should increase spending to reduce unemployment, to favor narrowing the gap between rich and poor, and to get angry over special benefits like tax breaks going to the richest people and biggest businesses and the lack of affordable medical care for people who do not have jobs. In short, on bread-and-butter social welfare issues, Democrats who dislike blacks are just as liberal as Democrats who like blacks; they are not Democrats in name only. At the same time, in both regions, prejudiced as well as unprejudiced Democrats are more supportive of these social welfare policies than their Republican counterparts.

Insert Table 5.8 About Here

This creates a substantial dilemma for Democratic leaders. When the focus is on traditional social welfare issues, the party's activist agenda receives substantial support from all segments of the Democratic coalition. However, when the focus moves to social welfare and affirmative action programs on behalf of blacks—a group crucial to Democratic electoral hopes—a notable cleavage along the lines of race-

responsiveness of Democratic candidates and policy-makers to black interests.

prejudice emerges among white Democrats. In other words, it is racial attitudes—not social welfare liberalism generally—that drive a wedge through the Democratic coalition.

IV. Conclusion

Our findings indicate that racial prejudice remains a politically powerful force, but its influence is now most pronounced exactly where it is least expected. It is not in the Republican party—the new home of racial conservatism—where prejudice finds its most consequential expression. Republicans, whatever their level of prejudice, are committed to a limited role for the national government in the social welfare domain. This leads unprejudiced Republicans—who we show have a genuinely positive regard for African-Americans—to be virtually as limited in their support for government aid to minorities and special treatment for blacks as more prejudiced Republicans. In the contest between subjective personal attitudes and political party philosophy, unprejudiced Republicans have no trouble following the latter rather than the former. Presumably, the reason why racially tolerant Republicans do not translate these sentiments into support for government activism is because they believe that the national government is an inappropriate vehicle for this purpose. For, at the same time, they are significantly more likely to support private initiatives in civil rights than their more prejudiced co-partisans.

Prejudice has its most powerful influence on white Democrats. Prejudiced Democrats are not only more conservative in their racial policy preferences than unprejudiced Democrats but are virtually indistinguishable from Republicans. Unlike those of non-prejudiced Republicans, the attitude these Democrats hold toward blacks are translated directly into racial policy preferences, into opposition to government efforts to overcome racial inequality. As we have seen, these prejudiced Democrats are committed to an activist role for the national government in social welfare generally; they are not Democrats in name only. But this commitment does not extend to providing government aid and support to African-Americans. They are social welfare liberals but racial conservatives—a mix that has significant electoral as well as policy implications.

Racial prejudice among ordinary Democrats divides the Democratic coalition not only with regard to racial policy preferences, but also with regard to electoral choice. Whereas Republican support for George Bush did not vary along the lines of racial prejudice, white Democrats who dislike blacks were significantly more supportive of Bush than their less-prejudiced fellow partisans. This indicates that, by espousing conservative racial themes, Republican candidates may be able to attract a significant number of Democratic votes with relatively little risk of losing support from Republican identifiers. Republican gains from racial conservatism are most likely to come in the South. Contributing to a large body of literature denoting the important role of racial attitudes in the South (Key 1949; Black and Black 1987; Havard

1972), this chapter has shown that white Democrats are not only more prejudiced in the South than in the non-South, but race-prejudice also has more of an impact on the racial policy preferences of Democrats in the South than in the non-South. Prejudiced Democrats in the South are considerably less supportive of ameliorative racial programs than are prejudiced Democrats outside of the South.

The political implications of the differential impact of prejudice on the political thinking of Democrats and Republicans are clear and profound. Republicans stand mostly united in their opposition to major government responsibility for the social welfare of the citizenry, including that of black Americans. White Democrats, however, are sharply divided in their racial policy preferences with a sizable number favoring limited government activity. Thus, Republicans have not only their own political support but that of some Democrats as well. It is not surprising, then, that when it comes to race, not only do Democrats continue to be divided against themselves, but the nation itself also lacks the will and capacity to resolve this most long-lasting American dilemma.

Chapter 5 References

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Chapter 5 Appendix

Question Wording and Variable Coding

Negative Stereotypes - 5 Items Relating to Blacks:

(1) Aggressive/Violent - “How about ‘aggressive or violent’?” (On a scale of 0 to 10, how well do you think it describes most blacks?)

1 - Disagree (0-4)

2 - Neutral (5)

3 - Agree (6-10)

(2) Lazy

(3) Boastful

(4) Irresponsible

(5) Complaining

- The Index of Negative Stereotypes was created by summing respondents’ scores on these five stereotypes.

- In Tables 5.1, 5.2 and 5.6, and in Figure 5.1, the index was reversed so that higher scores represented less antiblack prejudice.

- In Tables 5.3, 5.4, 5.7, and 5.8 and in Figures 5.2 and 5.3, the index was trichotomized.

Party Identification - 4 questions.

(1) Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, and Independent, or what?

(2) <If Democrat> Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

(3) <If Republican> Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

(4) <If Independent> Do you think of yourself as closer to the Democratic party or closer to the Republican party?

- In Tables 5.1, 5.3-5.8, and Figures 5.2 and 5.3, only the first question was used and party identification is coded as follows:

1 - Democrat

2 - Independent

3 - Republican

- In Table 5.2 and Figure 5.1, all 4 questions were used to construct the following seven-point scale:

- 1 - Strong Republican
- 2 - Weak Republican
- 3 - Independent, Leans Republican
- 4 - Independent
- 5 - Independent, Leans Democratic
- 6 - Weak Democrat
- 7 - Strong Democrat

Racial Policies (Tables 5.1-5.3, 5.6, 5.7, Figure 5.1)

Government Spending for Programs to Help Blacks Get More Jobs - “Some people feel that the government in Washington should increase spending for programs to help blacks get more jobs. Others feel that blacks should take care of their own problems. How do you feel—do you think the government should increase spending or do you feel blacks should rely only on themselves?”

0 - Blacks should take care of their own problems.

1 - Government should increase spending.

Fighting Discrimination Against Blacks in Jobs - “Some people feel that the government in Washington should do more to make sure that blacks are not discriminated against in getting jobs. Others feel that blacks should take care of their own problems. How do you feel—do you think the government should do more or do you feel blacks should rely only on themselves?”

0 - Blacks should take care of their own problems.

1 - Government should do more.

Welfare Spending - “Suppose you had a say in making up the federal budget, would you prefer to see more spent, less spent, or the same amount of money spent on welfare as it has been?”

0 - Less spent

.5 - Kept about the same

1 - More spent

Job Quotas for Blacks - “There are some large companies where blacks are underrepresented. Do you think these large companies should be required to give a certain number of jobs to blacks, or should the government stay out of this?”

0 - Government should stay out of it

1 - Should be required to make sure jobs go to blacks

Preferential Admissions to Universities for Blacks - “Some people say that because of past discrimination,

an extra effort should be made to make sure that qualified blacks are considered for university admission. Others say that this extra effort is wrong because it discriminates against whites. How do you feel—are you in favor of or opposed to making an extra effort to make sure qualified blacks are considered for admission to colleges and universities?”

0 - Opposed

1 - In favor

Social Welfare Policies (Table 5.8—All have been placed on a zero to one scale)

No Medical Insurance for Unemployed - “(How about) the lack of affordable medical care for people who don’t have jobs? (On a scale from zero to ten, how much does this anger you?)”

Tax Breaks for the Rich - “How about special benefits like tax breaks going to the richest people and biggest businesses? On a scale from zero to ten, how much does this anger you?”

Spend More to Reduce Unemployment - “How about more money being spent to reduce unemployment?

Are you . . .

1 - Strongly opposed

3 - Somewhat opposed

5 - Somewhat in favor

7 - Strongly in favor

Narrow Gap Between Rich and Poor - “How about narrowing the gap in income between the rich and the poor? Are you strongly in favor, somewhat in favor, somewhat opposed, or strongly opposed to these programs?”

1 - Strongly opposed

3 - Somewhat opposed

5 - Somewhat in favor

7 - Strongly in favor

Welfare Dependency (Figure 5.2—placed on a zero to one scale) - “Most (poor people/ blacks/poor blacks) these days would rather take assistance from the government than make it on their own through hard work. Do you . . .

1 - Disagree strongly

3 - Disagree somewhat

5 - Agree somewhat

7 - Agree strongly

Black Housing in White Suburbs (Table 5.4—placed on a zero to one scale) - 2 questions:

Q1: “How do you feel about blacks buying houses in white suburbs?”

Q2: “And how do you feel about (programs set up by religious and business groups that . . . / government subsidized housing to . . . / the government putting its weight behind programs to . . .) encourage blacks to buy homes in white suburbs?”

1 - “Somewhat opposed” to Q1 or Q2

3 - “Strongly opposed” to Q1 or Q2

5 - “Strongly in favor” to Q2

7 - “Somewhat in favor” to Q2

Chapter 5 Tables

Table 5.1. Correlation of Index of Negative Stereotypes and Racial Policy Preferences by Party Identification—Whites

Racial Policies	Party Identification		
	Democrat	Independent	Republican
Government Spending for Programs to Help Blacks			
Get More Jobs	.34**	.13**	.13**
Fighting Discrimination Against Blacks in Jobs	.29**	.19*	-.01
Welfare Spending	.28**	.06*	.04
Job Quotas for Blacks	.11	.26	-.14
Preferential Admissions to Universities for Blacks	.22**	-.04*	.005
**p<.01			
*p<.05			

Source: Race and American Politics Survey.

Note: The Index of Negative Stereotypes ranges from most to least prejudiced. All racial policies range from most conservative to most liberal. Entries are product moment correlation coefficients. The number of observations ranges from 167 to 488 for Democrats, from 200 to 549 for independents, and from 183 to 596 for Republicans. The exact coding of each variable is presented in Appendix B.

Table 5.2. Logits and Ordered Logit of Racial Policy Positions on Party Identification, Prejudice, and Their Interaction—Whites

Racial Policies	Independent Variable		
	Party Identification	Prejudice	Interaction (Prejudice by Party Identification)
Government Spending for Programs to Help Blacks Get More Jobs ^a	-.11 (-.96)	.002 (.08)	.01 (2.31**)
Fighting Discrimination Against Blacks in Jobs ^c	-.30 (2.77*)	-.02 (-1.26)	.01 (3.43**)
Welfare Spending ^b	-.20 (-2.92*)	-.03 (-2.28*)	.01 (4.78**)
Job Quotas for Blacks ^a	-.18 (-1.38)	-.04 (-1.69)	.01 (2.71*)
Preferential Admissions to Universities for Blacks ^a	-.15 (-1.24)	-.03 (-1.52)	.01 (2.42*)

**p<.001

*p<.05

Source: Race and American Politics Survey.

Note: Party Identification is a seven-point scale ranging from strong Republican to strong Democrat. Prejudice is the index of negative stereotypes which here ranges from most prejudiced to least prejudiced. Entries are either binomial logit coefficients or ordered logit coefficients. All independent variables were standardized prior to estimation. T-scores are in parentheses. Dependent variables are coded so that higher scores indicate more liberal positions. N-sizes range from 545 to 1620.

^a Dichotomous dependent variable - binomial logit was used.

^b Three category dependent variable - ordered logit was used.

Table 5.3. Mean Support for Racial Policies by Negative Stereotypes and Party Identification—Whites

	Index of Negative Stereotypes			T-Test
	Low	Middle	High	
Government Spending for Programs to Help Blacks Get More Jobs				
Party Identification				
Democrat	.70	.49	.32	4.96**
Independent	.49	.46	.42	
Republican	.46	.39	.31	1.61
Fight Discrimination Against Blacks in Jobs				
Party Identification				
Democrat	.65	.45	.37	3.55**
Independent	.64	.43	.40	
Republican	.48	.44	.46	.26
Welfare Spending				
Party Identification				
Democrat	.54	.35	.28	5.95**
Independent	.37	.35	.31	
Republican	.30	.31	.26	1.04
Job Quotas for Blacks				
Party Identification				
Democrat	.50	.51	.42	.76
Independent	.53	.37	.25	
Republican	.26	.35	.37	-1.05
Preferential Admissions to Universities for Blacks				
Party Identification				
Democrat	.42	.32	.21	2.83*
Independent	.23	.28	.34	
Republican	.21	.18	.23	-.32

**p<.001

*p<.05

Source: Race and American Politics Survey

Note: T-tests are between Democrats (Republicans) who are low on prejudice and Democrats (Republicans) who are high on prejudice. Higher scores on policies indicate more liberal positions. Since all racial policies are on a zero-to-one scale, these means can also be read as percentages supporting these policies. N-sizes range from 40 to 199 for mean scores in table.

Table 5.4. Mean Support for Black Housing in White Suburbs by the Nature of the Program, Party Identification, and the Index of Negative Stereotypes—Whites

Nature of the Program	Index of Negative Stereotypes			T-Test ^a
	Low	Middle	High	
Set up by religious and business groups				
Party Identification				
Republican	.58	.51	.45	2.12*
Independent	.65	.57	.56	
Democrat	.47	.52	.41	
T-Test (Party Identification) ^b	1.79			
Government puts its weight behind				
Party Identification				
Republican	.39	.43	.36	.46
Independent	.48	.44	.46	
Democrat	.53	.46	.38	
T-Test (Party Identification) ^b	-1.95			
Government subsidized housing				
Party Identification				
Republican	.35	.38	.38	-.54
Independent	.41	.44	.45	
Democrat	.51	.46	.44	
T-Test (Party Identification) ^b	-2.72**			
T-Test (Policy Type) ^c	2.73**			
T-Test (Policy Type) ^d	3.84**			
**p<.01				
*p<.05				

Source: Race and American Politics Survey

Note: Higher scores represent greater support.

^a T-test between the mean support for a particular version of the policy of Republicans who are low on prejudice and the mean support of Republicans who are high on prejudice.

^b T-test between the mean support for a particular version of the policy of Republicans who are low on prejudice and the mean support of Democrats low on prejudice.

^c T-test between the mean support of Republicans who are low on prejudice for programs set up by religious and business groups that encourage blacks to buy homes in white suburbs and the mean support of Republicans who are low on prejudice for the government putting its weight behind such programs.

^d T-test between the mean support of Republicans who are low on prejudice for programs set up by religious and business groups that encourage blacks to buy homes in white suburbs and the mean support of Republicans who are low on prejudice for government subsidized housing.

Table 5.5. Mean Levels of Prejudice by Party Identification and Sociodemographic Group—Whites

Group	Party Identification		
	Democrat	Independent	Republican
All Identifiers	27.3	25.0	26.9
Region			
South/Border	26.4	24.6	26.5
Non-South	28.8	26.1	27.7
T-Test (South vs. Non-South)	2.58*	1.54	1.46
Income			
\$0-30,000	28.2	26.6	27.7
\$30-50,000	27.3	24.5	26.4
\$50,000 +	25.1	23.3	26.6
T-Test (Lowest vs. Highest)	2.92**	3.25**	1.19
Education			
No College	28.5	26.2	28.6
Some College	25.7	25.1	25.6
College Graduate	23.6	21.5	24.8
T-Test (No College vs. College Grad.)	4.04**	4.86**	4.38**
Religion			
Protestant	27.2	24.8	26.6
Catholic	28.6	25.4	27.8
Secularist	22.1	23.9	25.2
T-Test (Protestant vs. Catholic)	-1.59	-.63	-1.37
T-Test (Secularist vs. Non-Secular)	-3.64**	-1.17	-1.17
**p<.01			
*p<.05			

Source: Race and American Politics Survey

Note: Prejudice is the index of negative stereotypes which here ranges from 0 (least prejudiced) to 50 (most prejudiced). The number of observations ranges from 37 to 490 for Democrats, from 67 to 552 for Independents, and from 26 to 602 for Republicans.

Table 5.6. Correlation of Index of Negative Stereotypes and Racial Policy Preferences by Party Identification and Sociodemographic Categories—Whites

	Sociodemographic Category							
	Region		Education		Income		Religion	
	Non-South	South	No College	Some College	0-30K	50K+	Prot.	Cath.
Spending for Jobs for Blacks								
Democrats	.28	.41	.31	.28	.30	.39	.31	.34
Independents	.18	.03	.10	.14	.23	-.18	.36	-.22
Republicans	.16	.05	.08	.21	.26	.09	.13	.04
Fighting Discrim. in Jobs								
Democrats	.26	.31	.24	.34	.16	.42	.23	.41
Independents	.22	.13	.15	.29	.11	.15	.15	.40
Republicans	-.05	.02	-.02	-.05	-.004	.05	.04	-.26
Welfare Spending								
Democrats	.24	.32	.22	.35	.29	.18	.28	.26
Independents	.08	-.002	-.04	.25	.09	-.005	.15	-.02
Republicans	.02	.06	.07	.05	.04	.06	.04	.02
Job Quotas								
Democrats	.01	.26	.17	.07	.10	.16	.29	-.14
Independents	.31	.17	.32	.19	.38	.01	.36	.34
Republicans	-.10	-.26	-.24	.13	-.16	-.01	-.12	-.41
Preferential Admissions								
Democrats	.17	.33	.14	.66	.29	.26	.28	.07
Independents	.01	-.16	-.14	.10	-.09	.01	-.06	-.12
Republicans	.02	-.03	-.001	.05	.03	.21	-.02	.06

Source: Race and American Politics Survey.

Note: The Index of Negative Stereotypes ranges from most to least prejudiced. All racial policies range from most conservative to most liberal. Entries are product moment correlation coefficients. The number of observations ranges from 44 to 332 for Democrats, from 49 to 404 for independents, and from 38 to 386 for Republicans.

Table 5.7. Mean Support for Racial Policies by Region, Party Identification, and Negative Stereotypes—Whites

Policy and Party	Non-South			T-Test	South			T-Test
	Index of Negative Stereotypes				Index of Negative Stereotypes			
	<u>Low</u>	<u>Middle</u>	<u>High</u>		<u>Low</u>	<u>Middle</u>	<u>High</u>	
Spending for Jobs for Blacks								
Democrats	.70	.53	.40	3.00**	.71	.41	.22	4.00**
Independents	.59	.45	.44		.28	.51	.38	
Republicans	.49	.38	.28	2.17*	.38	.40	.40	-.14
Fighting Discrim. in Jobs								
Democrats	.64	.48	.43	2.10*	.67	.37	.30	2.82**
Independents	.61	.45	.35		.76	.39	.52	
Republicans	.48	.50	.48	-.01	.48	.34	.43	.38
Welfare Spending								
Democrats	.52	.35	.30	4.04**	.58	.33	.24	4.53**
Independents	.40	.36	.32		.35	.32	.29	
Republicans	.28	.33	.25	.64	.34	.25	.28	.87
Job Quotas for Blacks								
Democrats	.47	.60	.54	-.49	.56	.27	.30	1.66
Independents	.54	.35	.24		.47	.44	.27	
Republicans	.25	.31	.29	-.39	.29	.44	.56	-1.62
Preferential Admissions								
Democrats	.37	.30	.21	1.84	.67	.36	.22	2.91*
Independents	.27	.21	.32		.15	.39	.38	
Republicans	.23	.19	.23	-.05	.19	.15	.23	-.40

**p<.01

*p<.05

Source: Race and American Politics Survey

Note: Higher scores on policies indicate more liberal positions. N-sizes range from 15 to 153. T-tests are between Democrats (Republicans) who are low on prejudice and Democrats (Republicans) who are high on prejudice.

Table 5.8. Mean Liberalism on Social Welfare Concerns by Region, Party Identification, and Level of Negative Stereotypes—Whites

Policy and Party	Non-South			T-Test	South			T-Test
	Index of Negative Stereotypes				Index of Negative Stereotypes			
	<u>Low</u>	<u>Middle</u>	<u>High</u>		<u>Low</u>	<u>Middle</u>	<u>High</u>	
No Medical Insurance for Unemployed ^a								
Democrats	.86	.90	.91	-1.31	.86	.89	.84	.42
Independents	.82	.77	.89		.80	.91	.79	
Republicans	.72	.77	.79		.66	.77	.81	
Tax Breaks for Rich ^a								
Democrats	.79	.88	.84	-1.34	.84	.84	.78	1.04
Independents	.86	.81	.86		.80	.76	.80	
Republicans	.73	.83	.80		.86	.83	.79	
Spend More to Reduce Unemployment ^b								
Democrats	.70	.74	.70	-.03	.76	.68	.72	.73
Independents	.68	.71	.72		.65	.68	.69	
Republicans	.60	.61	.63		.61	.59	.58	
Narrow Gap Between Rich and Poor ^b								
Democrats	.77	.75	.80	-.71	.71	.74	.75	-.70
Independents	.71	.70	.78		.66	.70	.68	
Republicans	.56	.61	.60		.50	.51	.60	

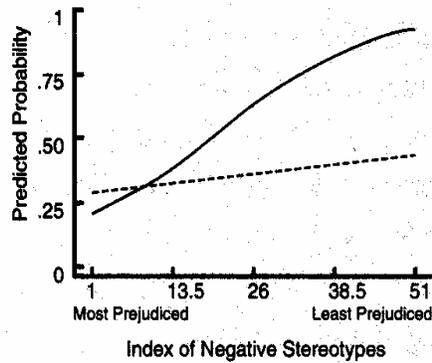
Source: Race and American Politics Survey

Note: All policy positions range from 0 (most conservative) to 1 (most liberal). T-tests are between Democrats who are low on prejudice and Democrats who are high on prejudice.

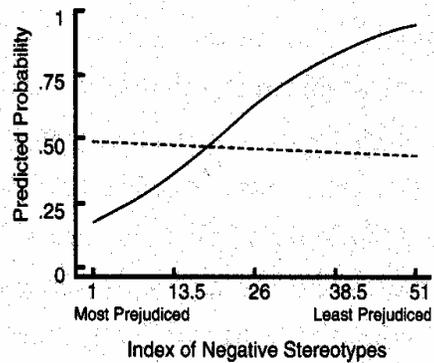
^a Degree of anger over “no medical insurance for the unemployed” and “tax breaks for the rich.”

^b Degree of support for “spending more to reduce unemployment” and “narrowing the gap between rich and poor.”

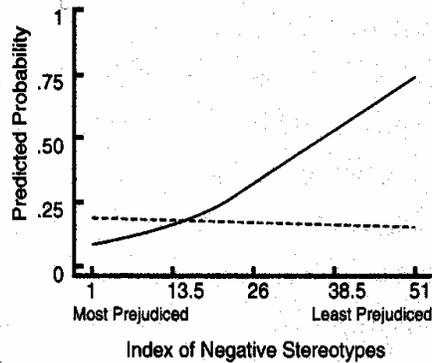
A. Government Spending for Programs to Help Blacks Get More Jobs



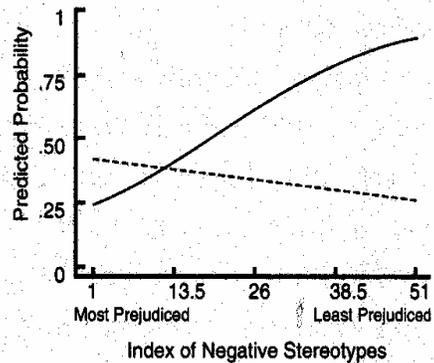
B. Fighting Discrimination Against Blacks in Jobs



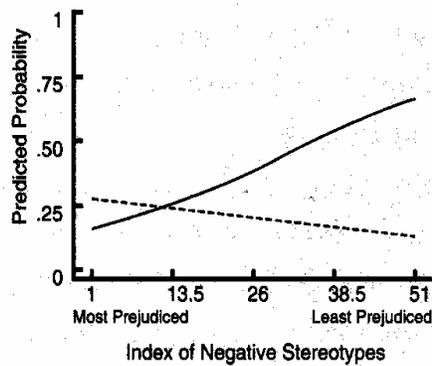
C. Welfare Spending



D. Job Quotas for Blacks



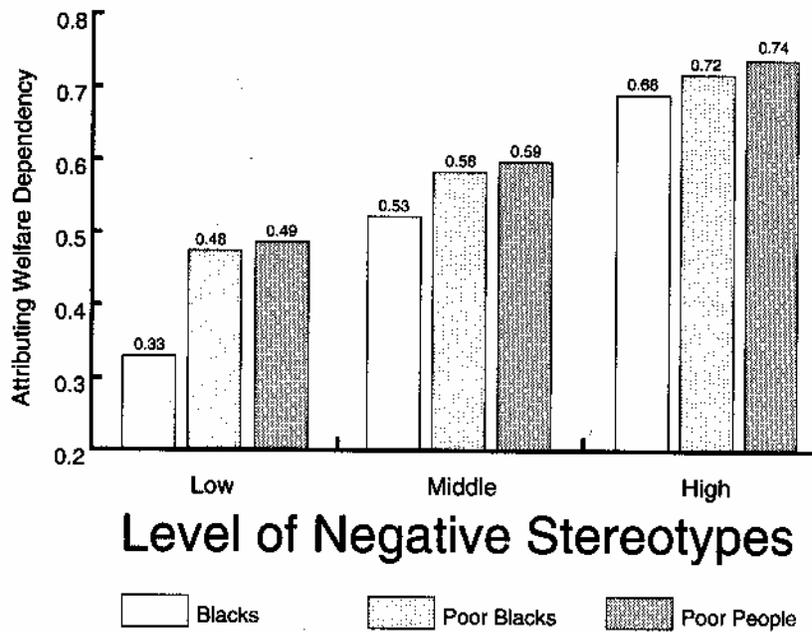
E. Preferential Admissions to Universities for Blacks



———— Strong Democrats - - - - - Strong Republicans

Source: Race and Politics Survey

Figure 5.1 Predicted Probabilities of Taking the Most Liberal Position on Racial Policies for White Democrats and White Republicans, by Prejudice



Source: Race and Politics Survey

Note: Higher scores represent agreement with the statement that “[poor people; blacks; poor blacks] would rather take government assistance than work.” Since the variable has been placed on a 0–1 scale, mean scores can be read as the percentage agreeing with such a statement.

T-Tests Between the Least Prejudiced Republicans and the Most Prejudiced Republicans on Different Versions of the Question:

Poor People: $t = -4.09, p < .001$

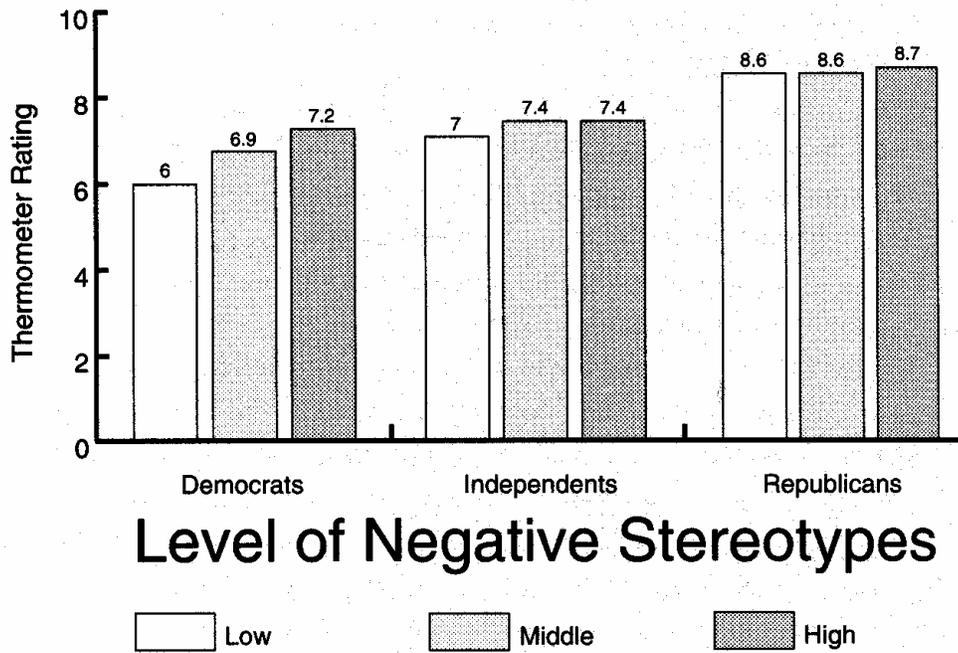
Blacks: $t = -6.72, p < .001$

Poor Blacks: $t = -4.30, p < .001$

T-Test Between the Least Prejudiced Republicans on the “Poor People” Version of the Question and the Least Prejudiced Republicans on the “Blacks” Version of the Question:

$t = 2.70, p < .01$

Figure 5.2 Mean Score on Statement Attributing Welfare Dependency to Contrasting (and Randomized) Groups by Level of Negative Stereotypes (White Republicans)



Source: Race and Politics Survey

T-Tests Between the Most Prejudiced Whites and the Least Prejudiced Whites:

Democrats: $t = 3.61, p = .0004$

Republicans: $t = .73, p = .46$

Figure 5.3 Mean Feeling Thermometer Ratings of George Bush by Party Identification and Level of Negative Stereotypes (Whites)