

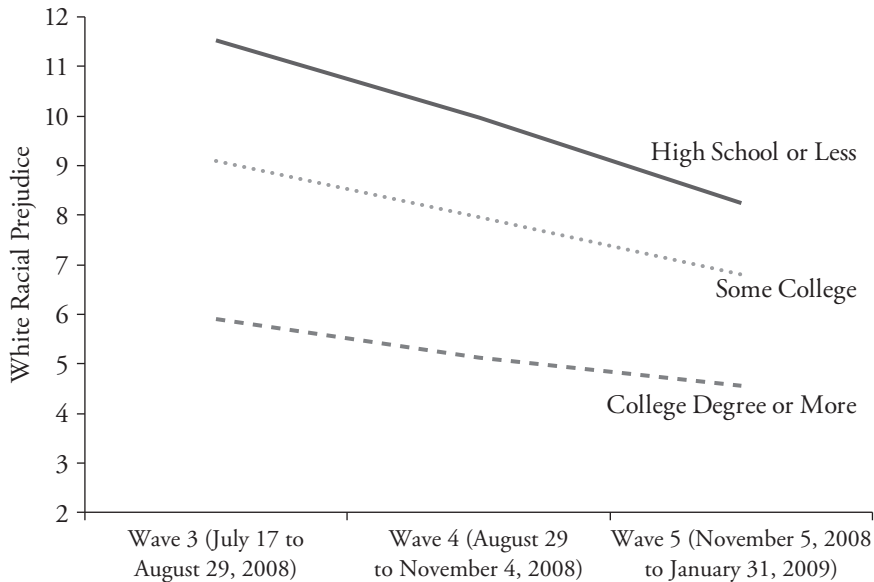
Figure 1.1 Aggregate Change in White Racial Prejudice During the 2008 Presidential Campaign



Source: 2008 NAES Panel Survey.

Note: Range is 0 to 100, where 0 indicates an absence of prejudice and higher positive values indicate higher levels of prejudice, although within each wave 95 percent or more of the values fall within a range of 0 to 40. Data are smoothed by fourteen-day prior moving average and are unweighted. For statistical tests of whether whites changed their racial attitudes significantly, we analyzed the data as a three-wave panel in a fixed-effects model of within-person change. The model predicts change in white racial prejudice based on time—that is, dummy variables for waves 4 and 5, with wave 3 as the excluded reference category—and controls for the order in which the racial groups (in-group and out-group) were asked about. The model shows significant within-person change from wave 3 to wave 4 ($-1.07, p < 0.001$) and from wave 3 to wave 5 ($-2.08, p < 0.001$) ($N = 2,636$). The means and standard deviations for waves 3, 4, and 5 are 8.16 (15.01), 7.10 (14.57), and 6.09 (13.20) ($N = 2,636$).

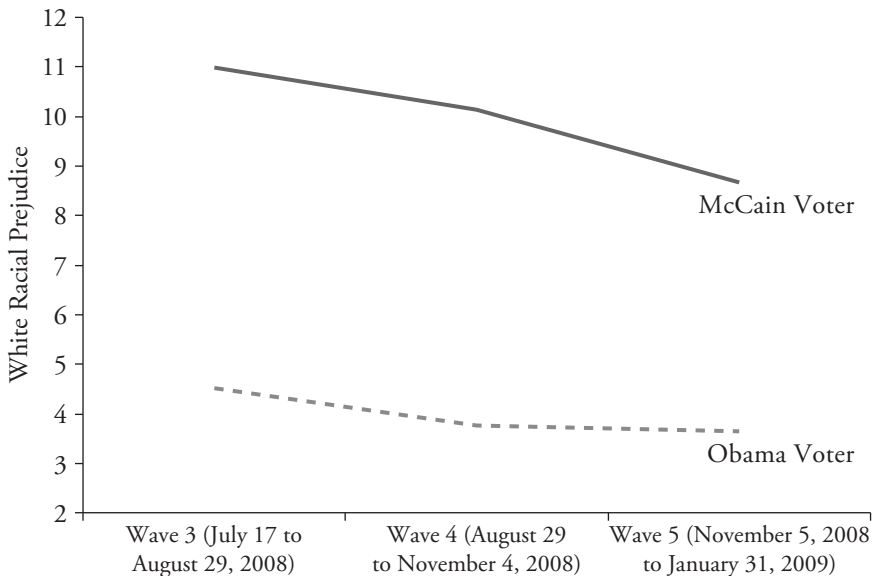
Figure 2.1 Change in White Racial Prejudice, by Level of Education, July 17, 2008, to January 31, 2009



Source: 2008 NAES Panel Survey.

Note: A fixed-effects analysis predicting within-person change in prejudice from the wave 4 and 5 dummy variables (with wave 3 as the excluded reference category) and their interactions with education (in years) shows a positive and significant interaction between education and the wave 3 to 5 dummy variable (0.22, $p < .05$, $N = 2,636$), indicating a steeper decline among those with lower levels of education.

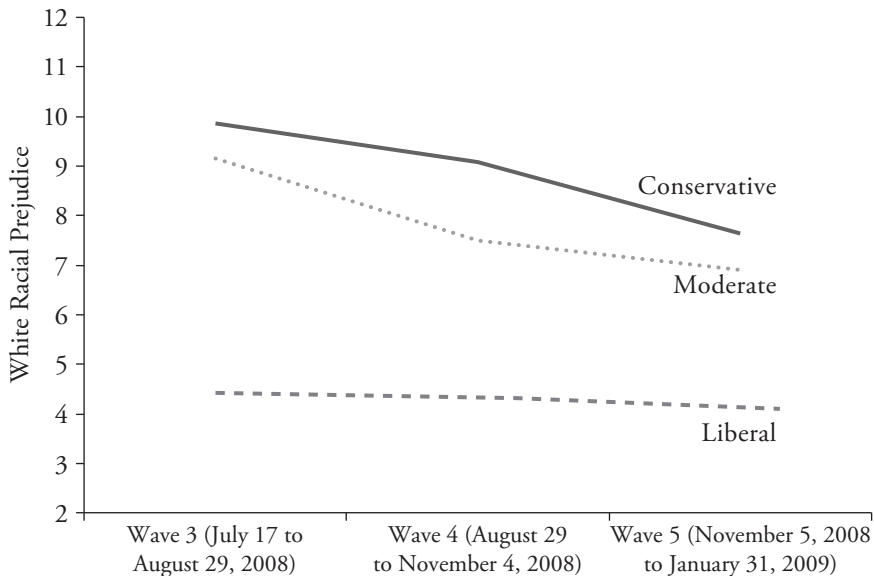
Figure 2.2 Change in White Racial Prejudice, by Vote Intention



Source: 2008 NAES Panel Survey.

Note: Vote intention was assessed on wave 3, where 0 equals support for Obama and 1 equals support for McCain. A fixed-effects model of within-person change reveals a negative and statistically significant interaction between vote intention and the wave 3 to 5 dummy variable ($-1.72, p < 0.001, N = 2,192$).

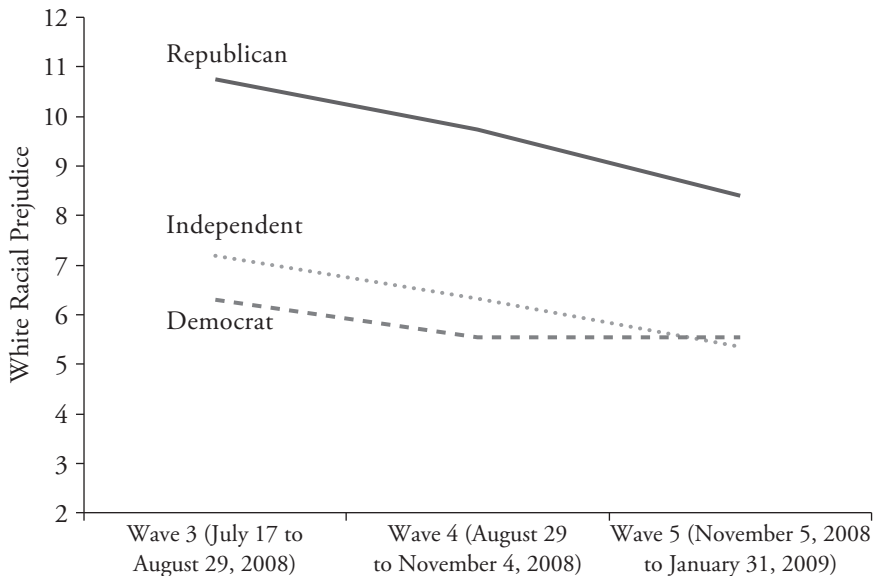
Figure 2.3 Change in White Racial Prejudice, by Political Ideology



Source: 2008 NAES Panel Survey.

Note: Political ideology was measured on wave 3 or in a previous wave. A fixed-effects model of within-person change with dummy variables for moderates and conservatives (with liberals as the excluded category) yields negative and significant interactions between the moderate and conservative dummy variables and the wave 3 to 5 dummy variable (-2.14 and -2.13 , respectively, $p < 0.001$, $N = 2,583$).

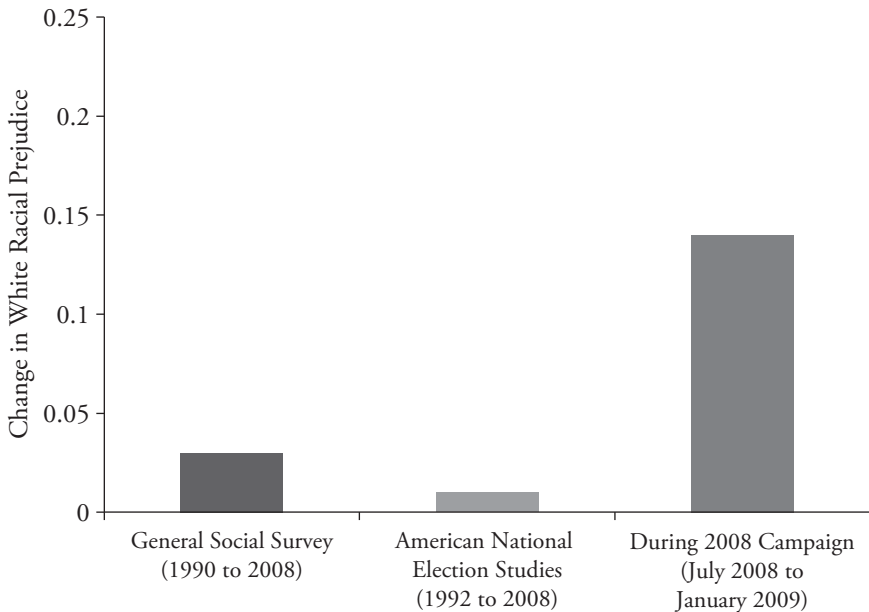
Figure 2.4 Change in White Racial Prejudice, by Party Identification



Source: 2008 NAES Panel Survey.

Note: Party identification was measured on wave 3 or in a previous wave. A fixed-effects model of within-person change yields negative and significant interactions between dummy variables representing Republicans and independents (with Democrats as the excluded reference category) and the wave 3 to 5 dummy variable ($-1.90, p < 0.01$ and $-1.26, p < 0.05$, respectively, $N = 2,636$).

Figure 2.5 Standardized Change in White Racial Prejudice per Six-Month Period, 1990 to 2008 and During the 2008 Campaign



Source: 1990–2008 General Social Surveys, 1992–2008 American National Election Studies, 2008 NAES Panel Survey.

Table 2.1 White Racial Prejudice by Panel Wave and Population Subgroup

	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Change from Wave 3 to Wave 5
Overall sample	8.16	7.10	6.09	-2.07***
Education				
High school or less	11.54	9.98	8.25	-3.29***
Some college	9.10	7.96	6.81	-2.29***
BA degree or more	5.91	5.13	4.56	-1.35***
Age				
Youngest third	7.82	6.70	5.98	-1.84***
Middle third	7.32	6.37	5.33	-1.99***
Oldest third	9.14	8.01	6.81	-2.33***
Region				
South	9.82	9.27	8.23	-1.59**
Non-South	7.54	6.27	5.27	-2.27***
Gender				
Male	8.69	7.64	6.88	-1.81***
Female	7.69	6.60	5.37	-2.32***
Income				
Lower half	9.24	8.12	7.31	-1.93***
Upper half	7.45	6.42	5.27	-2.18***
Vote Intention				
McCain voter	10.97	9.95	8.19	-2.78***
Obama voter	4.56	3.66	3.52	-0.90***
Party Identification				
Republican	10.70	9.48	7.87	-2.83***
Independent	7.19	6.15	4.98	-2.21***
Democrat	6.25	5.34	5.34	-0.91*
Ideology				
Conservative	9.83	8.89	7.16	-2.67***
Moderate	9.14	7.18	6.47	-2.67***
Liberal	4.26	4.07	3.81	-0.45

Source: 2008 NAES Panel Survey.

Note: The total sample size is 2,636, except for the analyses involving vote intention (N = 2,192) and ideology (N = 2,583). To assess whether the means in waves 3 and 5 differ significantly within subgroups we used paired *t*-tests (two-tailed).

****p* < 0.001; ***p* < 0.01; **p* < 0.05

Table 2.2 Within-Person Change in White Racial Prejudice, Attitudes Toward Blacks, and Attitudes Toward Whites

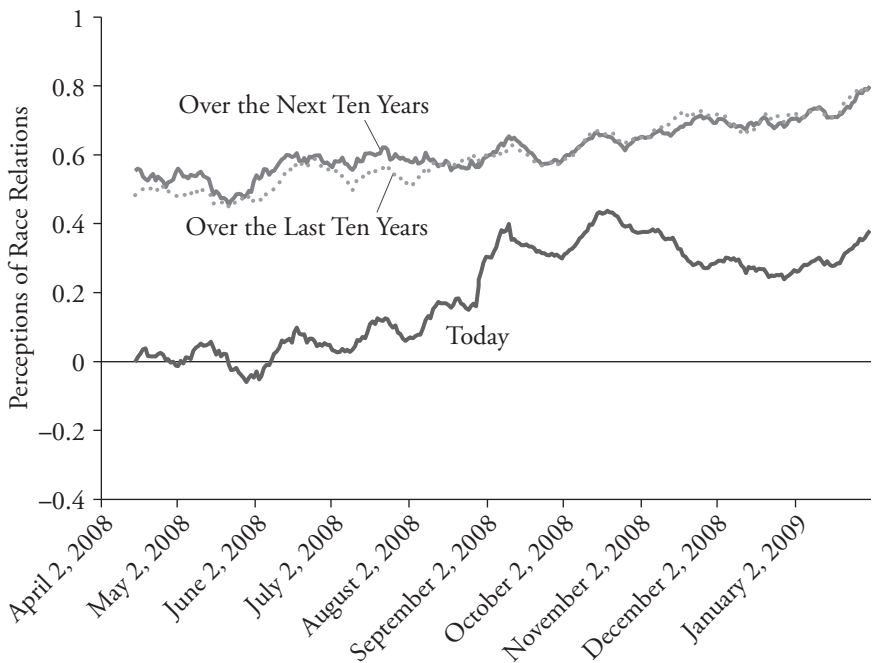
	White Racial Prejudice	Attitudes Toward Blacks	Attitudes Toward Whites
Time			
Wave 3 to wave 4	-1.07*** (0.22)	2.28*** (0.35)	1.53*** (0.34)
Wave 3 to wave 5	-2.08*** (0.22)	1.74*** (0.35)	-0.09 (0.34)
Constant	9.54*** (0.35)	3.04*** (0.57)	11.53*** (0.56)
Sample size	2,636	2,636	2,636

Source: 2008 NAES Panel Survey.

Note: The table presents unstandardized fixed-effects regression coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses. Each column presents a different fixed-effects model and also controls for the order in which the racial groups (in-group and out-group) were asked about.

*** $p < 0.001$

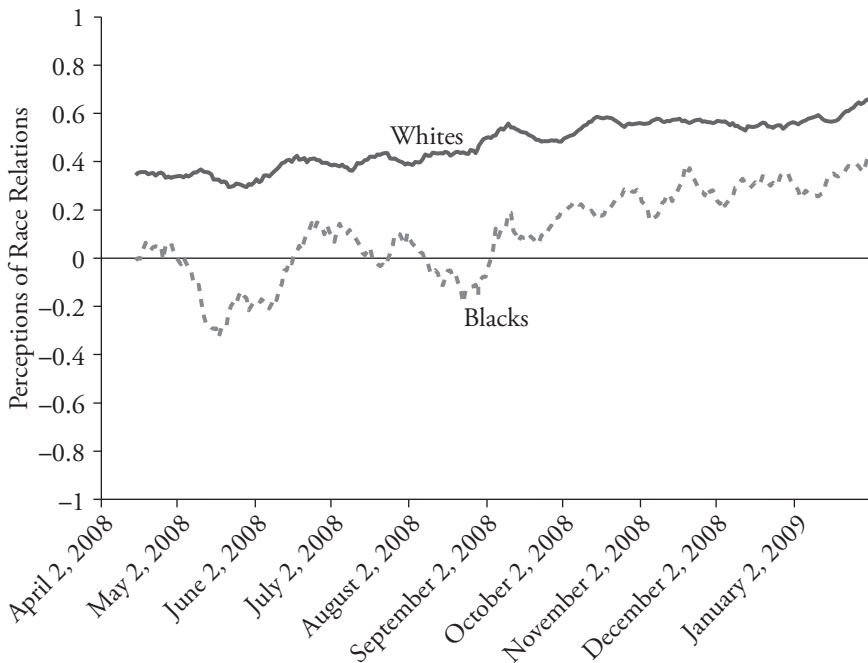
Figure 3.1 Change in White Perceptions of Race Relations over the Last Ten Years, Today, and over the Next Ten Years



Source: 2008 NAES Panel Survey.

Note: Each measure of perceptions of race relations relies on a five-point scale that ranges from -2 to 2, where negative values indicate a pessimistic view, 0 equals a neutral view, and positive values indicate an optimistic view of race relations. The sample sizes for perceptions of race relations over the last ten years are 15,699 for wave 3, 15,247 for wave 4, and 15,300 for wave 5. The sample sizes for perceptions of race relations today are 15,727 for wave 3, 15,295 for wave 4, and 15,313 for wave 5. The sample sizes for perceptions of race relations over the next ten years are 15,665 for wave 3, 15,219 for wave 4, and 15,278 for wave 5.

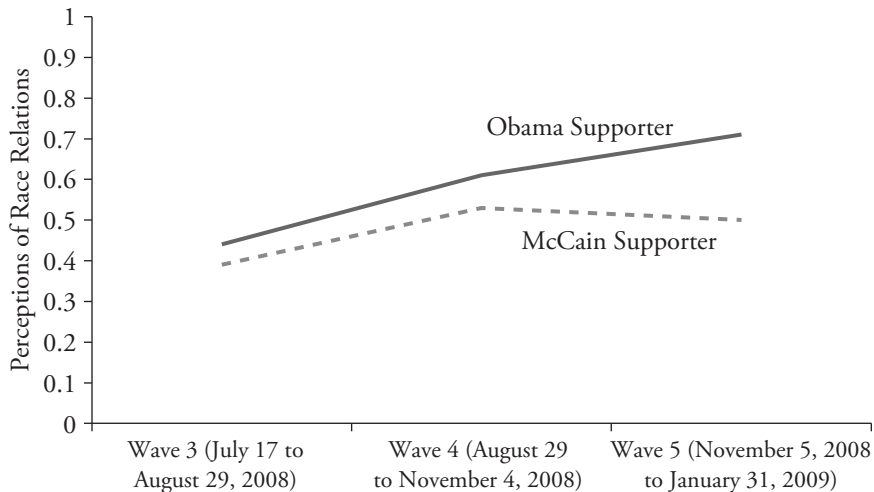
Figure 3.2 Change in White and Black Perceptions of Race Relations



Source: 2008 NAES Panel Survey.

Note: Perceptions of race relations were assessed using a scale of three items measuring perceptions of race relations today, over the last ten years, and over the next ten years. The scale ranges from -2 to 2, where negative values indicate a pessimistic view, 0 equals a neutral view, and positive values indicate an optimistic view of race relations. Among whites, the sample size for wave 3 is 15,765; for wave 4, 15,323; and for wave 5, 15,365. Among blacks, the sample size for wave 3 is 1,878; for wave 4, 1,745; and for wave 5, 1,671.

Figure 3.3 Change in White Perceptions of Race Relations, by Vote Intention



Source: 2008 NAES Panel Survey.

Note: The table presents mean levels of perceptions of race relations separately for whites based on their vote intention on wave 3 (where 0 = support Obama and 1 = support McCain). Only whites who had valid values for the three-item scale measuring perceptions of race relations today, over the last ten years, and over the next ten years on waves 3, 4, and 5 and who indicated that they planned to vote for either Obama or McCain were included (N = 9,510). The scale ranges from -2 to 2, where negative values indicate a pessimistic view, 0 equals a neutral view, and positive values indicate an optimistic view of race relations.

Table 3.1 The Impact of Within-Person Change in Perceptions of Race Relations on Within-Person Change in White Racial Prejudice

Wave 3 to 4	-0.91*** (0.22)
Wave 3 to 5	-1.95*** (0.22)
Perceptions of race relations	-0.75** (0.23)
Constant	9.90*** (0.37)
Sample size	2,601

Source: 2008 NAES Panel Survey.

Note: The table presents unstandardized fixed-effects coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses. Racial prejudice scores range from 0 to 100, where higher positive values indicate higher levels of prejudice. Perceptions of race relations scores range from -2 to 2, where negative values indicate a pessimistic view, 0 equals a neutral view, and positive values indicate an optimistic view of race relations. The analysis controls for the order in which the racial groups were asked about.

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$

Table 3.2 **The Impact of Improved and Declining Perceptions of Race Relations on Change in White Racial Prejudice**

	Coeff.	Semirobust Standard Error
Improved perceptions of race relations	-1.40***	0.40
Declining perceptions of race relations	0.09	0.46
Constant	-0.64***	0.16
Sample size	2,601	

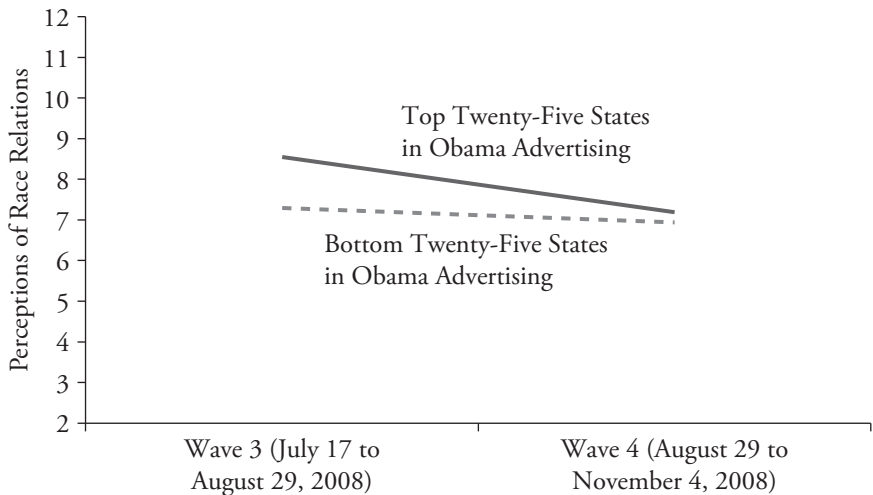
Source: 2008 NAES Panel Survey.

Note: The first column presents unstandardized fixed-effects coefficients, with standard errors in the second column. Racial prejudice scores range from 0 to 100, where higher positive values indicate higher levels of prejudice. Perceptions of race relations scores range from -2 to 2, where negative values indicate a pessimistic view, 0 equals a neutral view, and positive values indicate an optimistic view of race relations. The analysis controls for the order in which the racial groups were asked about. A test for the difference between the size of the coefficients for improvement versus decline is statistically significant (chi-square = 5.27; $p = 0.02$).

*** $p < 0.001$

Figure 4.1

Change in White Racial Prejudice in the Top Twenty-Five and the Bottom Twenty-Five States in Television Advertising Spending by the Obama Campaign



Source: 2008 NAES Panel Survey.

Note: To confirm that racial prejudice declined more among whites living in the top twenty-five states in television advertising spending by the Obama campaign, we conducted a fixed-effects regression analysis predicting within-person change in white racial prejudice from the wave 4 dummy variable (with wave 3 as the excluded reference category) and its interaction with a dummy variable where 1 equals living in one of the top twenty-five states in Obama advertising and 0 equals living in one of the bottom twenty-five states in Obama advertising. The analysis shows a negative and significant interaction ($-1.04, p < 0.05, N = 2,627$).

Table 4.1 The Effects of Within-Person Change in Exposure to Obama on Within-Person Change in White Racial Prejudice

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Time			
Wave 3 to 4	-.84** (0.25)	-0.64* (0.27)	-.77** (0.27)
Wave 3 to 5	-1.96*** (0.25)	-1.81*** (0.27)	-1.76*** (0.27)
Exposure to Obama			
Number of political TV shows viewed	-4.51* (1.88)		
Political interest		-2.91** (0.90)	
Self-perceived knowledge about Obama			-1.46* (0.71)
Constant	10.61*** (0.53)	12.81*** (1.01)	11.12*** (0.78)
Sample size	2,065	1,812	1,804

Source: 2008 NAES Panel Survey.

Note: The table presents unstandardized fixed-effects regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. All of the independent variables range from 0 to 1. Each model also includes the order in which the racial groups were asked about.

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$; all two-tailed

Table 4.2 The Effects of Within-Person Change in Exposure to Obama on Within-Person Change in White Racial Prejudice, by Vote Intention

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Time			
Wave 3 to 4	-0.87** (0.28)	-0.68* (0.30)	-0.83** (0.29)
Wave 3 to 5	-1.96*** (0.28)	-1.80*** (0.30)	-1.76*** (0.30)
Exposure to Obama			
Number of political TV shows viewed	-0.15 (3.24)		
Political interest		0.17 (1.62)	
Self-perceived knowledge about Obama			-1.19 (1.33)
Vote Intention × Exposure			
McCain Supporter × TV	-9.34* (4.21)		
McCain Supporter × Interest		-5.28* (2.11)	
McCain Supporter × Knowledge about Obama			-0.84 (1.65)
Constant	10.97*** (0.59)	12.22*** (0.88)	11.14*** (0.69)
Sample size	1,714	1,495	1,489

Source: 2008 NAES Panel Survey.

Note: The table presents unstandardized fixed-effects regression coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses. Vote intention was measured on wave 3 (0 equals support for Obama and 1 equals support for McCain). Each model also includes the order in which the racial groups were asked about. Note that the main effects of vote intention drop out of fixed-effects models of within-person change because it is a constant and thus does not change over time.

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$; all two-tailed

Table 4.3 **The Effects of Within-Person Change in Partisan Media Exposure on Within-Person Change in White Racial Prejudice**

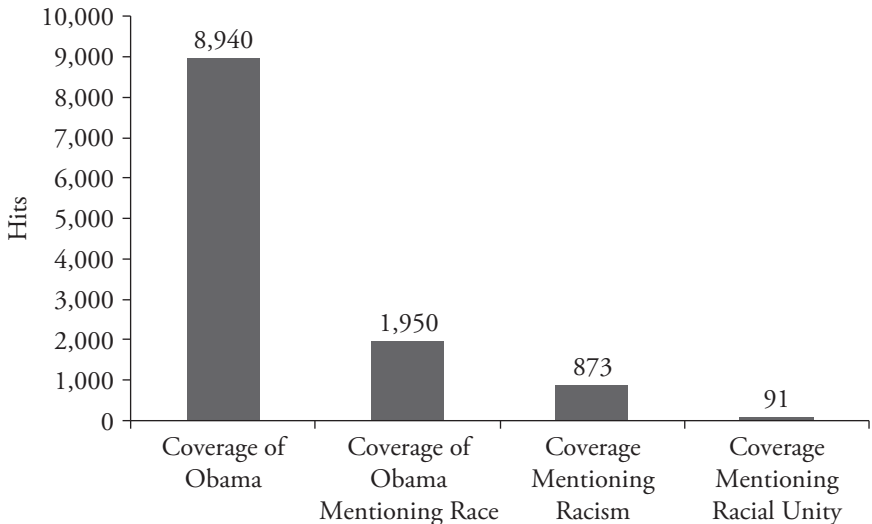
Wave 3 to 4	-0.80** (0.25)
Wave 3 to 5	-1.94*** (0.25)
Number of political TV shows viewed	-3.36# (1.98)
Proportion conservative	-2.05* (0.89)
Proportion liberal	-0.78 (0.88)
Proportion neutral	-0.75 (0.74)
Constant	11.19*** (0.62)
Sample size	2,065

Source: 2008 NAES Panel Survey.

Note: The table presents unstandardized fixed-effects regression coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses. All of the independent variables range from 0 to 1. Each model also includes the order in which the racial groups were asked about.

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$; # $p < 0.10$; all two-tailed

Figure 5.1 **The Relative Amount of Each Type of Coverage**



Source: Lexis-Nexis.

Note: The figure presents the number of hits for each type of coverage from Lexis-Nexis searches of political television shows for the period July 17, 2008, through January 31, 2009.

Table 5.1 The Effects of Change in Exposure to Coverage of Obama on Change in White Racial Prejudice, Wave 3 to Wave 5

	(1)	(2)
Wave 3 to wave 5	-1.99*** (0.28)	-1.99*** (0.28)
Number of political TV shows viewed	-11.38*** (2.77)	-6.22# (3.73)
Coverage of Obama	1.77 (1.50)	5.31* (2.27)
Number of shows × Coverage of Obama		-21.55* (10.41)
Constant	11.03*** (0.83)	10.20*** (0.92)
Sample size	1,956	1,956

Source: 2008 NAES Panel Survey.

Note: The table presents unstandardized fixed-effects regression coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses. All of the independent variables range from 0 to 1. Both models control for within-person change in the order in which the racial groups were asked about.

*** $p < 0.001$; * $p < 0.05$; # $p < 0.10$

Table 5.2 The Effects of Change in Exposure to Coverage of Obama Mentioning Race on Change in White Racial Prejudice, Wave 3 to Wave 5

	(1)	(2)
Wave 3 to wave 5	-1.99*** (0.28)	-1.98*** (0.28)
Number of political TV shows viewed	-6.22# (3.73)	-6.14 (3.95)
Coverage of Obama	5.31* (2.27)	4.63 (3.60)
Number of shows × Coverage of Obama	-21.55* (10.41)	-22.04 (15.71)
Coverage of Obama mentioning race		1.06 (3.89)
Number of shows × Coverage of Obama mentioning race		0.21 (16.56)
Constant	10.20*** (0.92)	10.29*** (0.98)
Sample size	1,956	1,933

Source: 2008 NAES Panel Survey.

Note: The table presents unstandardized fixed-effects regression coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses. All of the independent variables range from 0 to 1. Both models control for within-person change in the order in which the racial groups were asked about.

*** $p < 0.001$; * $p < 0.05$; # $p < 0.10$

Table 5.3 The Effects of Change in Exposure to Coverage Mentioning Racism on Change in White Racial Prejudice, Wave 3 to Wave 5

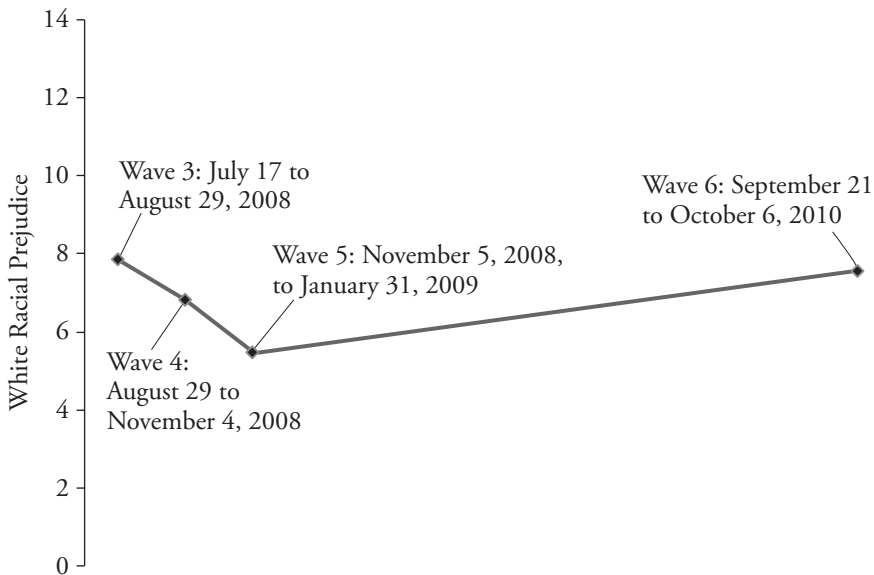
	(1)	(2)
Wave 3 to wave 5	-1.99*** (0.28)	-1.87*** (0.31)
Number of political TV shows viewed	-6.22# (3.73)	-7.55* (3.79)
Coverage of Obama	5.31* (2.27)	5.26* (2.29)
Number of shows × Coverage of Obama	-21.55* (10.41)	-22.38* (10.42)
Coverage mentioning racism		-1.18 (1.39)
Number of shows × Coverage mentioning racism		9.79# (5.32)
Constant	10.20*** (0.92)	10.33*** (0.95)
Sample size	1,956	1,974

Source: 2008 NAES Panel Survey.

Note: The table presents unstandardized fixed-effects regression coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses. All of the independent variables range from 0 to 1. Both models control for within-person change in the order in which the racial groups were asked about.

*** $p < 0.001$; * $p < 0.05$; # $p < 0.10$

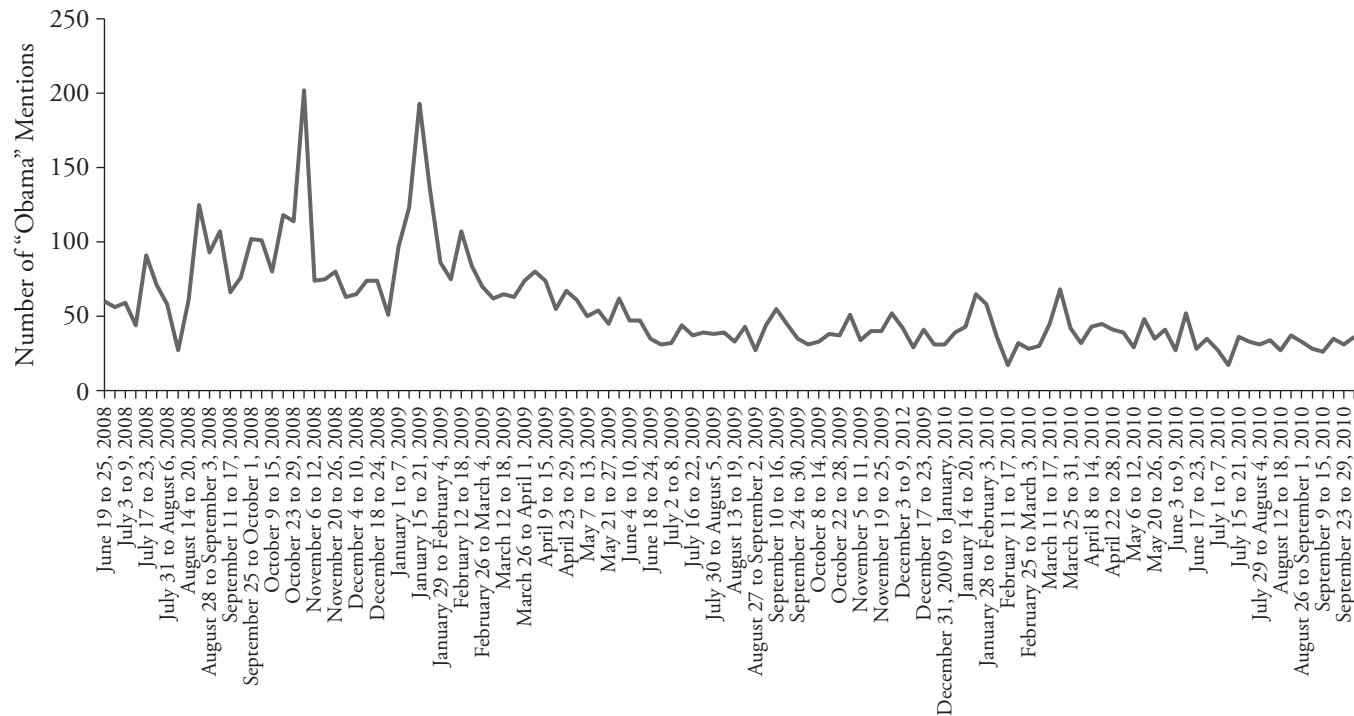
Figure 6.1 Change in White Racial Prejudice from 2008 to 2010



Source: 2008 NAES Panel Survey; 2010 RSF Recontact Study.

Note: White racial prejudice ranges from 0 to 100, where higher positive values indicate higher levels of prejudice. The figure relies on the 1,533 white respondents who completed the prejudice measures on all four waves.

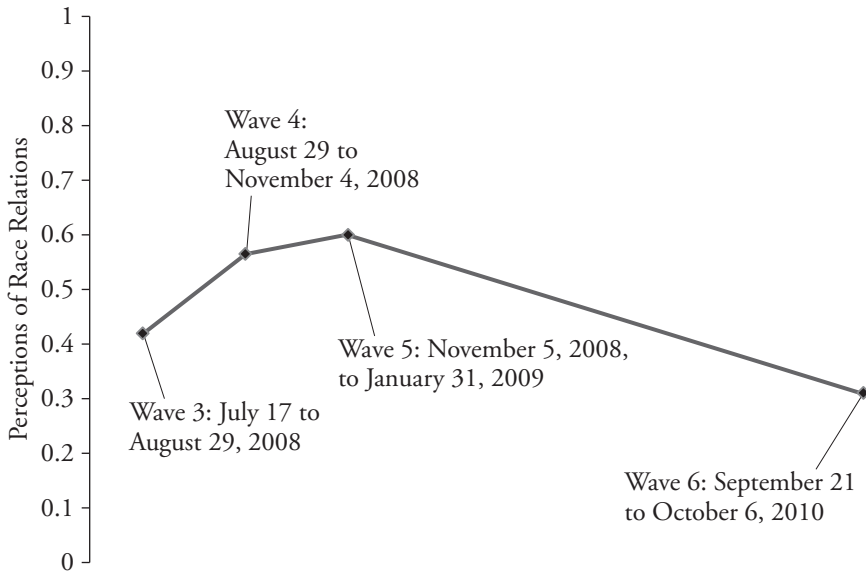
Figure 6.2 The Change in Obama Coverage from June 19, 2008 (Pre-election), to September 29, 2010 (Post-election)



Source: Lexis-Nexis transcripts.

Note: Entries represent the number of Obama mentions per week in the three network broadcast news programs.

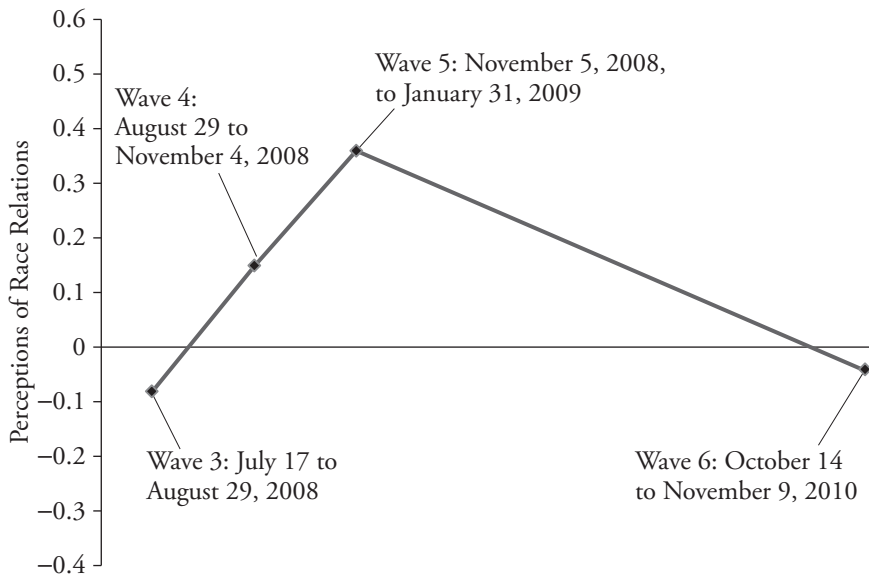
Figure 6.3 Change in White Perceptions of Race Relations, Wave 3 to Wave 6



Source: 2008 NAES Panel Survey; 2010 RSF Recontact Study.

Note: The perceptions of race relations index ranges from -2 to 2 , where negative values indicate a pessimistic view and positive values indicate an optimistic view. The figure relies on the 3,032 white respondents who completed the measures on all four waves.

Figure 6.4 Change in Black Perceptions of Race Relations, Wave 3 to Wave 6



Source: 2008 NAES Panel Survey; 2010 ISCAP Recontact Study.

Note: The perceptions of race relations index ranges from -2 to 2 , where negative values indicate a pessimistic view and positive values indicate an optimistic view. The figure relies on the 601 black respondents who completed the measures on all four waves.

Table 6.1 **The Effects of Change in Political TV Exposure on Change in White Racial Prejudice, 2008 to 2010**

	Change in Racial Prejudice
Number of political TV shows viewed	-4.41* (2.05)
Wave 5 to wave 6	1.61*** (0.21)
Constant	9.67*** (0.57)
Sample size	3,222

Source: 2008 NAES Panel Survey; 2010 RSF Recontact Study.

Note: The table presents unstandardized fixed-effects coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses. The model controls for change in the order in which the racial groups were asked about.

*** $p < 0.001$; * $p < 0.05$; all two-tailed

Table 6.2 The Effects of Increases and Decreases in Political TV Exposure on Change in White Racial Prejudice During the 2008 Obama Campaign

Number of political TV shows viewed	-4.29*	
	(2.07)	
Increases in the number of political TV shows viewed		-9.76**
		(3.11)
Decreases in the number of political TV shows viewed		1.02
		(3.19)
Constant	-0.98***	-0.64**
	(0.13)	(0.19)
Sample size	2,065	2,065

Source: 2008 NAES Panel Survey.

Note: The table presents unstandardized fixed-effects coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses. The independent variables are coded to range from 0 to 1. Each model controls for change in the order in which the racial groups were asked about. A chi-square test showed that the difference between the coefficients for increases and decreases was significant (chi-square = 5.17, $p < 0.05$).

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$; all two-tailed

Table 6.3 The Effects of Increases and Decreases in Political TV Exposure on Change in White Racial Prejudice During the First Two Years of the Obama Administration

Number of political TV shows viewed	-4.41*	
	(2.05)	
Increases in the number of political TV shows viewed		1.14 (4.24)
Decreases in the number of political TV shows viewed		-7.64* (2.98)
Constant	1.61*** (0.21)	1.33*** (0.28)
Sample size	3,222	3,222

Source: 2008 NAES Panel Survey; 2010 RSF Recontact Study.

Note: The table presents unstandardized ordinary least squares (OLS) coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses. The independent variables are coded to range from 0 to 1. Each model controls for change in the order in which the racial groups were asked about. A chi-square test showed that the difference between the coefficients for increases and decreases was not significant (chi-square = 2.24, $p = 0.13$).

*** $p < 0.001$; * $p < 0.05$; all two-tailed

Table 6.4 The Effects of Change in Partisan Media Exposure on Change in White Racial Prejudice During the First Two Years of the Obama Administration

Wave 5 to wave 6	1.63*** (0.21)
Number of political TV shows viewed	-5.46* (2.17)
Proportion conservative	0.66 (0.93)
Proportion liberal	1.32 (0.91)
Proportion neutral	0.55 (0.74)
Constant	9.30*** (0.64)
Sample size	3,222

Source: 2008 NAES Panel Survey; 2010 RSF Recontact Study.

Note: The table presents unstandardized fixed-effects regression coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses. All of the independent variables range from 0 to 1. Each model also includes the order in which the racial groups were asked about.

*** $p < 0.001$; * $p < 0.05$; all two-tailed

Table 6.5 **The Effects of Change in Economic Perceptions on Change in White Racial Prejudice**

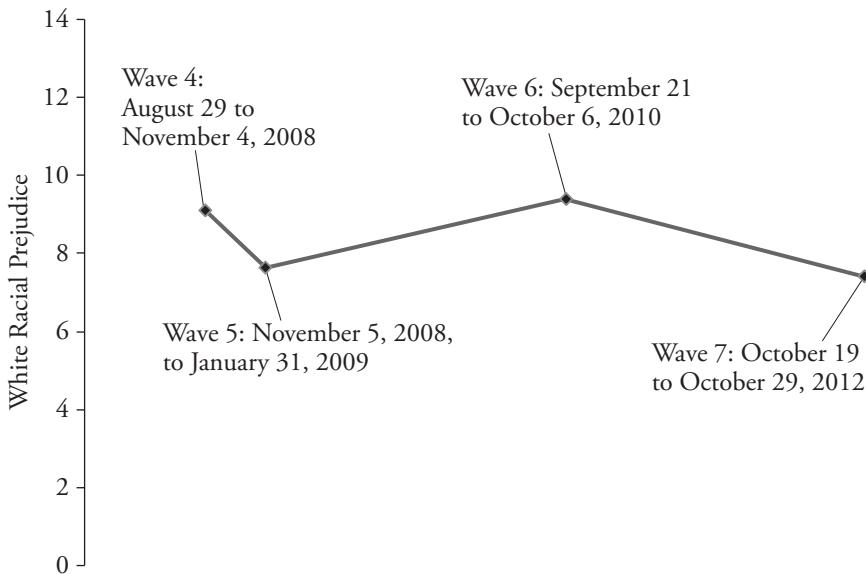
	During the 2008 Campaign	During the First Two Years of Obama's Presidency
Number of political TV shows viewed	-4.28* (1.89)	-4.61* (2.07)
Perceptions of national economy	-0.36 (0.25)	-0.55** (0.16)
Perceptions of personal finances	0.23 (0.21)	0.20 (0.19)
Wave 3 to wave 4	-0.95*** (0.26)	
Wave 3 to wave 5	-2.10*** (0.26)	
Wave 5 to wave 6		2.14*** (0.26)
Constant	10.46*** (0.61)	9.56*** (0.62)
Sample size	2,038	3,163

Source: 2008 NAES Panel Survey; 2010 RSF Recontact Study.

Note: Table entries show unstandardized fixed-effects coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses. Each model also includes the order in which the racial groups were asked about.

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$; all two-tailed

Figure 7.1 **Change in White Racial Prejudice from 2008 to 2012**



Source: 2008 NAES Panel Survey; 2010 RSF Recontact Study; 2012 ISCAP Survey.

Note: White racial prejudice ranges from 0 to 100, where higher positive values indicate higher levels of prejudice. The figure relies on the 684 white respondents who completed the prejudice measures on all four waves.

Table A.1 Appendix C: Demographics of the Survey Samples, Non-Hispanic Whites

	U.S. Census (July 2008 CPS)	NAES, Waves 3, 4, and 5 (2008)	RSF, Wave 6 (2010)
Education			
High school or less	40.3%	21.7%	23.3%
Some college	29.3	32.3	31.0
College graduate	19.9	27.3	26.3
Postgraduate work	10.5	18.7	19.4
	(N = 74,315)	(N = 2,636)	(N = 3,263)
Income			
Less than \$25,000	16.3%	13.4%	13.0%
\$25,000 to 49,999	24.6	26.4	27.9
\$50,000 to 74,999	21.6	21.8	22.7
\$75,000 to 99,999	14.6	16.6	15.7
\$100,000 or more	22.8	21.7	20.7
	(N = 60,790)	(N = 2,636)	(N = 3,263)
Age			
Eighteen to twenty-nine	17.9%	6.0%	7.1%
Thirty to forty-four	24.5	24.0	24.0
Forty-five to fifty-nine	29.9	36.9	37.4
Sixty or older	27.7	33.0	31.5
	(N = 74,315)	(N = 2,636)	(N = 3,263)

(continued)

Table A1 (Continued)

	U.S. Census (July 2008 CPS)	NAES, Waves 3, 4, and 5 (2008)	RSF, Wave 6 (2010)
Gender			
Male	48.3%	47.6%	47.3%
Female	51.7	52.4	52.7
	(N = 74,315)	(N = 2,636)	(N = 3,263)

Source: 2008 CPS; 2008 NAES Panel Survey; 2010 RSF Recontact Study.

Note: Data are unweighted.