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**AMERICAN  
GOVERNMENT**Section C

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## Navigating the Black Public Identity: How it Shapes Political Marginalization and Sympathy Towards Blacks

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### Abstract

A plethora of social scientists have affirmed the political force of public identities. Public identities are opportunistically used to shape collective perceptions about individuals, groups, and entities. This thesis strives to analyze the public identity of African-Americans among various lenses of social coalitions in America. Different groups, such as: females, blacks, Generation X, Millennials, conservatives, Republicans, and college educated Americans will be examined in relation to how they perceive the black public identity. The methodology of this thesis accounts for the enumerated groups as control variables in linear regression models. Ultimately, this thesis aims to investigate how black and white Americans presently feel about a catalogue of divisive issues. These issues include the following: how much sympathy the American electorate feels towards blacks, if blacks *still* face a great amount of discrimination, if blacks are lazy, if blacks are violent, and if blacks should receive special government assistance due to the repercussions of slavery. Race continues to be a divisive force in American politics and this thesis aims to shed light on how public identity affects the American consensus of the black race. This thesis aims to contribute to the academia of race relations, regarding how African-Americans are perceived by various entities in America, and what observable differences account for attitudinal changes, as well as lower affective filters, towards blacks. © 2018 California State Polytechnic University; Pomona. All rights reserved

Keywords: Public Identity; Race

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## 1. Introduction

Despite the fact that America has always prided itself as being a nation built on virtue, liberty, freedom, and equality for all, it was essentially built on a paradox (Morgan 1972). This paradox being: despite the fact that Americans vowed to instill these very, enumerated values into their country; they built the country off the hard work and labor of black slaves (Morgan, 1972). Essentially, this is what created the historical framework for the racial caste of America (Kilson and Cottingham, 1992). A nation that gave privileges solely to white male landowners, could not live up to the mainstream narrative of ensuring an American Dream for all. The American Paradigm was used as a pull factor throughout the Western hemisphere in order to attract cheap, immigrant labor. Although immigrants were met with xenophobic and nativist resistance, blacks are the most resented racial entity in American history.

Blacks have commonly been referred to as the least successful race in American society. Further, they have been continually ostracized, as well as systemically placed in the outskirts of American society. A litany of articles in academia focus on the relationship of race and the nature of the times; but, one aspect of race that remains consistent, is that a variety of social groups have consistent, preconceived notions about blacks. This thesis analyzes how different social groups perceive the black community, which contributes to various characterizations of the black public identity and a division among sympathy towards blacks in America.

In 2018, the political paralysis of America continues. Pertaining to race, this is still one of the most profound ethical dilemmas America confronts. Although America is considered a postmodern society; how can the nation really move forward if they have yet to fully come to terms with their scorned, racist past? In effect, this has systematically put blacks at a socially reinforced, racial disadvantage. As demonstrated by the 2016 election, racial stereotypes and white nationalism have continued to be a divisive force in politics. As such, it is important

to research how blacks are viewed by the American public, since they experience conditions that are the direct antithesis of whites.

The main questions this paper investigates is: how does the black public identity differ among various groups in America, and what do present perceptions of the black public identity ultimately demonstrate? Various academic journals, such as: *Race, Gender & Class* and the *Political Science Quarterly*, will be utilized to present relevant literature. This paper will also utilize quantitative data to gage how present perceptions of the black community are perceived by traditionally anti-black entities, such as: Republicans and conservatives.

This thesis is divided into a multitude of sections, in order to strategically provide an organized, cohesive perspective of the present topic. First, in the literature review, the paper will analyze how prominent groups in America gage the black public identity. The literature review will examine how the underlying perception of the black public identity changes, in terms of what group is being researched. It will further act as the case study portion of this paper, by providing a catalogue of examples that analyze how different groups in the U.S. perceive the black public identity. Next, the hypothesis will be stated, in order to provide a foundation for the methodology. The methodology will be discussed in the third section of this paper in order to give an appropriate explanation for the statistical tests that were performed in this thesis paper. Afterwards, the results will be analyzed to reveal the strength of the relationship between Americans' level of sympathy towards blacks, and the corresponding rating of the black public identity among multiple groups. These groups are as follows: females, blacks, college educated people, Millennials, Generation X, Republicans, moderates, Independents, and conservatives. Finally, this paper will end with a conclusion section, which will aim to pose questions about the modern black public identity. It will identify the need for future scholarship, in order to address the relationship between the following: politics, the black public identity, and sympathy towards blacks.

### 1.1 Argument

As the research questions in the previous section stated, this thesis project intends to understand the relationship between the black public identity and various social group coalitions. It will examine how past historical repercussions within various groups, such as: Republicans and conservatives, contribute to a negative evaluation of the black public identity. The crux of this thesis's argument is: many Americans *ultimately* still lack empathy towards blacks, which creates a negative black public identity. The argument made discerns that, even in 2018, blacks continue to have a negative public identity, which is perpetuated by various social group coalitions and a lack of sympathy.

### 1.2 Defining Public Identity

In order to progress with the thesis paper, it is important to begin by defining public identity, which is the dependent variable of interest in this project. The definition of public identity entails the following: a public identity is a complex collection of attributes and attitudinal beliefs, which are schematically encoded to form a judgement about a given entity. Typically, negative public identities are created to further a political agenda and lower the public's affective filters towards a given entity, in order to create policies that are detrimental against these entities; while avoiding fierce resistance and backlash. Ange-Marie Hancock (2003) also summarized the definition of public identity. In her own words, she called public identities "a constellation of stereotypes and moral judgments of various group identities ascribed ...[that] are generally based upon non-group members' perceptions...for the advancement of ... public policy goals" (Hancock, 2003). Hancock further catalyzes the process of forming a public identity as an accumulation of the following: trait stereotypes, behavior stereotypes, value conformity judgements, identity salience, identity centrality, affective orientation towards identity, and level of exposure to political culture (Hancock, 2003). Compared to traditional stereotypes, public identities produce a stronger effect because they lower people's affective filters.

### 1.3 Defining Sympathy

Also, it is further important to define sympathy, which will be measured by various independent variables in this thesis. Sympathy can best be defined as the ability to mutually understand other people and feel compassionate towards their misfortunes. Taylor (1999) defined sympathy as the epitome of moral life; the phenomenon of being emotionally moved by other human beings. Bennett (2016) further examined the effects of sympathy as "having the power to disrupt prejudices, heal antagonisms, and render explicit the common ground between groups separated." Bennett (2016) also defined sympathy as: being the basic pillar of the human soul; the spirit of mankind, captured in a single emotion. Feather and Sherman (2002) observed sympathy implies the feeling of empathy and care towards other human beings; acknowledging their misfortunes, rather than feeling resentment, and wanting to help them overcome injustices in society.

## 2. Literature Review

The purpose of this literature review is to create a clear, accurate portrayal of the black public identity, from the perspective of various social coalitions. The social coalitions that will be analysed, in regard to their evaluation of the black public identity, are: blacks, Republicans, conservatives, Millennials, Generation X, females, and educated people. The first section will provide a historical foundation for the literature review, contextualizing how past events have affected peoples' present perceptions of the black public identity. Afterwards, white privilege will be discussed in order to explain the racial privilege that blacks lack access to, which leads to many of their dilemmas in American society. Further, factors that affect white and black Americans' perception of the black public identity will be listed and explained. Following this, partisanship among Republicans and conservatives that contribute to a negative evaluation of the black public identity will be highlighted. Millennials and Generation X will also be

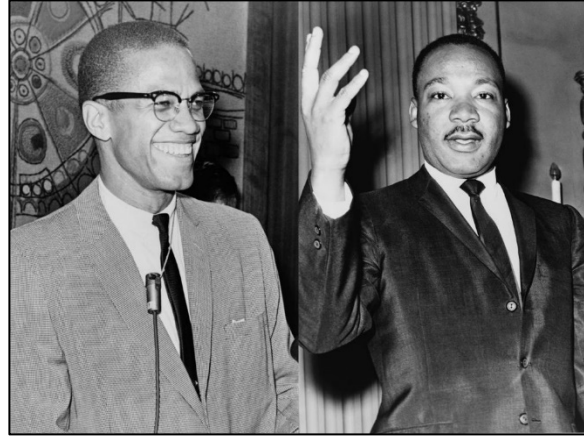
accounted for in the proceeding section, which will investigate if there are substantial generational differences in racial resentment towards blacks. Education, as a means of explaining a more positive evaluation of the black public identity, will also be explained. Finally, women's level of sympathy towards blacks will be discussed, with respect to the consistent subjugation they have experienced (alongside blacks in American society). It is important to note, there was not much scholarship on how Millennials, Generation X, educated people, and women gage the black public identity. As such, I utilized the present literature to the best of my ability in order to provide a substantive foundation of literature for the proceeding quantitative analysis.

### *2.1 Historical Context of the Emerging Black Public Identity*

Following the Civil War, the state of the union was incredibly perplexed and dysfunctional. The Civil War essentially brought the question of slavery to a national platform. Essentially, the precarious case of the black identity also became a national debate. The Reconstruction Era characterized blackness as the counter narrative to whiteness. What could have been a hopeful future for blacks, turned into a rude awakening. However, one dominant theme re-emerged: while blacks were on the outskirts of society, whites would go to great lengths to uphold their racial dominance in American society.

According to author Robin D.G. Kelley (1994), racism in the South was systemically established by local authorities. Essentially, this made it harder for blacks to push back against Southern communities. And, since blacks did not legally procure the official right to vote until 1965, they held no political power to help establish policies that were beneficial to their community. The bulk of the problem thus lied in blacks' lack of political prowess and influence in state government. Blacks could not control local government, which is intended to be the most basic and transparent

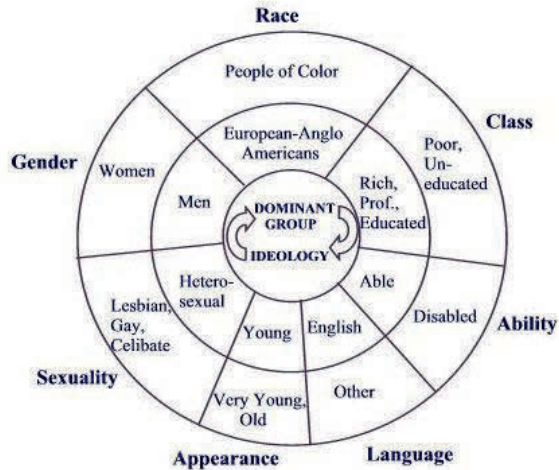
level of government, making it near impossible to gain descriptive representation in their state.



Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. asserted that educational advancements and growing a healthy, black middle class, were the solutions to blacks' dilemmas. His approach to combatting racism, was indicative of The Talented Tenth by W.E.B. DuBois. But, not every member of the black community agreed with Dr. King and DuBois. In the 1960's, a rift was created in the African-American community, which was mainly perpetuated by social cleavages. This could definitely be attributed to the historical consequences of the white schema on the black identity. Ultimately, this led to misconceptions and racial stereotypes about blacks, within their respective community. Malcom X, who was a part of the black underclass, strongly disagreed with King's tactics of non-violent protest and resistance. This is due to the fact that the socioeconomic backgrounds of these two men were starkly different. King was raised in a southern, middle class family; Malcom X was raised in the ghettos, learning to engage in hustling, as a means of survival (Kelley 1994). Ultimately, the separation among the black underclass and the black middle class, created present socioeconomic rifts within the African-American community.

## 2.2 The Societal Reinforcement of White Privilege

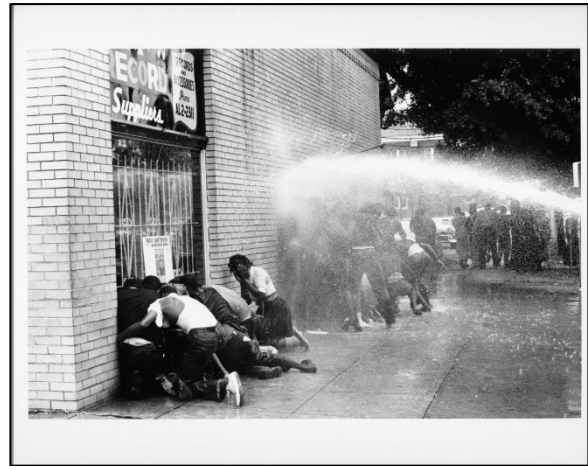
In order to understand the privileges that blacks lack access to, it is important to contextualize the racial privilege whites have. Some of the effects of lacking white privilege have created a huge impact on the black community, such as: lacking access to government provided services, not being given the rights to due process, and not being treated fairly by authorities. All of these circumstances are in direct, glaring juxtaposition to the conditions experienced by white Americans, which is essentially how the mechanism of white privilege works.



**Diagram 1A:** Diagram Documenting Mechanism of Matrix of Domination

McIntosh (1988) held in an unfiltered, unwarranted speech, that she can count on many privileges, simply because of her skin color. On the other hand, she concluded that her “African-American co-workers, friends, and acquaintances ...cannot count on most of these conditions” (McIntosh 1988). Although McIntosh speaks solely from her own perception in her speech, she addresses many of the most pedestrian accesses to privileges that whites enjoy, which blacks cannot count on. Essentially, these socially reinforced behaviors illustrate whiteness as a norm, while blackness is the antithesis of American society. And regardless of their

socio-economic status, whites are able to access the privilege their skin color yields; this is referred to as the matrix of domination. McIntosh gently references this concept in her speech, by saying that her people have access to a catalogue of privileges, which she holds are “unconscious[ly]” prescribed as self-evident to the white race (McIntosh 1988). While white heterosexual males have access to the greatest amount of privileges, black women are on the outer most circle of the matrix of domination for race and gender (this can be further seen in diagram 1A above). Black women have access to the least amount of privileges; not only do they lack gender privilege, but they also lack racial privilege.



Besides having restricted access to everyday rights of accessibility, blacks have also faced social reinforcement of their inferior status in the American criminal justice system (Rose 2002). Rose (2002) traces the cycle of blackness not necessarily to the end of slavery, or rise of the Jim Crow era; instead, he believes that blackness was always cemented in the subjugation and racial injustice of colonization and capitalism. This is what the author cites as the Negro problem in America, in which black “is the antonym of white. As the color white is associated with everything good... so black... [is associated] with all that is bad and low” (Rose 2002). As a result of this socially prescribed racial

subjugation blacks encounter, Rose holds that “the use of ‘profiles’ by law enforcement officials is not only accepted but understood as good policing” (2002).

Critical antiracism affirms that white privilege is further systemically reinforced by disproportional representation in positions of power. In fact, Howard (2004) claims that “Critical antiracism insists that the phenomenon of racism is a structural one ... about the way that power is distributed along racial lines”. In other words, from the perspective of critical antiracism, white privilege is bolstered by the fact that whites have an overwhelming representation in politics, law enforcement, and positions of power, which negatively impacts blacks (Reese 2006). Essentially, this contributes to political marginalization within the black community.

### *2.3 Blacks’ and Whites’ Perception of the Black Public Identity*

The reason why whites have consistently undermined blacks is because of the perceived social and political threat they pose. In fact, Evans and Giles (1986) suggested that Southerners would discriminate against blacks in order to minimize blacks’ perception of the power they yield in great numbers, as well as to maintain dominance in society. Evans and Giles (1986) asserted that research has shown that being aggressive towards blacks is whites’ way of “increas[ing] their social distance from blacks by discriminating against them.” Thus, in the southern part of the U.S., whites have constructed a negative black public identity in order to minimize the threat of blacks and increase social distance. The study also found that among large concentrations of blacks, there are higher levels of ethnocentrism; this creates more black hatred towards whites (Evan and Giles 1986). Thus, in the south, blacks and whites have cultivated negative public identities of each other, in order to maintain respect towards their ethnic groups, while asserting strength and control over the perceived threats they pose to one another. In whites’ perception, a greater concentration of blacks can

definitely lead to a more negative evaluation of the black public identity (Evan and Giles 1986).

Another study by Tuch and Hughes (1996) found that while whites were becoming more supportive of racial equality, generally speaking, they still were opposed to pro-black measures. As such, they were content with making America equal, in terms of opportunities based on race, but did not want blacks to have any racial advantages. In fact, Tuch and Hughes (1996) asserted that whites viewed pro-black “programs [such] as encouraging preferential treatment, hiring, promotion, or admission quotas, as nearly unanimously reject[ing] ... whites.” So, while whites thought it was permissible to increase racial equality, they were not in favor of the federal government taking steps towards readdressing slavery. As such, they did not favor increasing government spending in programs and policies designed to lift blacks out of poverty. This study also demonstrated the obliviousness whites had towards their own racial privilege; as they were unwilling to level the racial playing field of America. Thus, white privilege, and obliviousness whites have towards their racial privilege, plays a role in their evaluation of the black public identity; as they do not believe blacks deserve, nor need, extra governmental assistance to match whites’ progress.

Kleugel and Smith (1982) also found that whites perceived opportunities for blacks to be readily available and accessible. In particular, the study posited that the “white American public tends to deny structural limits to blacks’ opportunity.... due to reverse discrimination” (Klugel and Smith, 1982). Reverse discrimination is the belief that whites are discriminated against because they are a part of the dominant racial group of America (Silverman, 1975). This is especially interesting, considering that whites perceived blacks to have a racial advantage; although, they undeniably lack white privilege. As such, the perceived level of sympathy towards blacks can be lower due to the notion of reverse discrimination, which blacks do not encounter in whites’ perspective (Silverman 1975). This also corresponds to a higher rating of blacks’ projected levels of: laziness and inability to pull themselves up from the roots of their



ancestors. Thus, whites who believe in the notion of reverse discrimination are likely to have a more negative evaluation of the black public identity. Moreover, this group of whites believes they have it tougher than blacks.

However, it is important to note that not all whites have negative perceptions of blacks. In fact, Sigelman and Welch (1993) held that a negative black public identity is ultimately affected by the availability-based interpretation of blacks. The availability-based interpretation of blacks highlights that when whites have more interpersonal contact with blacks, they are able to gauge issues the African-American community confronts; as well as elicit more positive feelings towards this race (Sigelman and Welch, 1993). But, this is only possible if whites are able to decrease their social distance in order to share interpersonal communication with blacks. Adding to this and reversing the scenario, the same holds true for blacks; when they have a white friend, they tend to have higher positive attributions of whites, as well as a higher overall rating of the white public identity (Sigelman and Welch, 1993). Thus, this study reveals that interpersonal communication between blacks and whites create a more positive evaluation of one another's ethnic groups (Sigelman and Welch, 1993).



In regard to blacks' perception of their community's public identity, there are many factors to consider. First, as mentioned in the opening section of the literature

review, it is important to pay special attention to the socioeconomic rift within the black community. The emerging black leaders of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcom X, had very different perceptions of how to advance the black race. Today, according to Dr. Renford Reese, this rift still exists (R. Reese, personal communication, January 25, 2018). While middle class blacks are involved with the NAACP, the black underclass is extremely visible in the Black Lives Matter Movement (R. Reese, personal communication, January 25, 2018). Blacks have varying opinions on their race's public identity, which can be attributed to socioeconomic classes.



Johnson (2014) stated the implicit association tests revealed: "when blacks are asked about their predilections, they express a solid preference for their group over whites." Ultimately, this reveals that blacks have a high favorability, or overall rating of their own public identity. Johnson (2014) also held that the prevalent phenomenon of racism is overlooked as being exhibited by blacks, towards blacks, but happens far too often to ignore. Johnson (2014) highlighted this by explaining the following: "Negative associations thrust upon black people and black culture can color how black people view each other...there will be an observable impact on black intragroup perceptions."

Another explanation that evidences a more negative evaluation of the black public identity, by a member of this racial cluster, is the gender divide within the black community. While African-American men still have access to male privilege, African-American women lack access to gender privilege. Black women account for a *much* larger percentage of the black community than black men (King and Allen, 2009). The overall evaluation of the black public identity can thus vary from African-American women, to African-American men; as black men can view black women as sexual objects because of their inferiority status in America (King and Allen, 2009). This can be denoted by the double minority status black women are synonymous with. On the other hand, black women can rate their community's public identity lower because of their male counterparts. Overall, King and Allen's study (2009) held that often times, African-American women were found to be overqualified to date members of their own race; since black men are frequently incarcerated, and not making significant gains, in comparison to African-American women. This could affect black women's evaluation of the black public identity because it could be perceived as lower, as a result of many black men not being able to match the success of black women.

#### *2.4 The Black Public Identity: From the Lens of Republicans and Conservatives*

Traditionally, blacks have been a consistent, reliable voting block for Democrats, while offering little support to the Republican Party. This is because blacks' beliefs tend to be more aligned with the left side of the ideological spectrum; which is consequently aligned with Democrats. Republican elites have created a negative black public identity in their use of the Southern Strategy, which was implemented to attract low socioeconomic class, white constituents to vote with the Republican Party. However, since 1992, Republicans have noted the importance of blacks' support in maintaining their strength and numbers in the GOP and the White House (Bolce, De Maio, and Muzzio 1992).

However, Republicans and conservatives tend to deny blacks' lack of opportunities and the overall dilemmas that plague the black community. Overall, Bolce, De Maio, and Muzzio (1992) said "The single most important voting issue for blacks was problems of the poor, the modal response of blacks at all income and education levels." And since Republicans, as well as conservatives, tend to favor less government spending, and intervention in Americans' lives, blacks have not been a steady voting coalition for the Republican Party. Thus, from the perspective of Republicans and conservatives, the black public identity is arguably less favorable; as they have never been able to fully win over this racial cleavage.

Specifically regarding conservatives, black support for this political cluster has been historically small. And, this is primarily attributed to the fact that "American conservatives have often embraced freedom movements elsewhere in the world, but never the civil rights movement in America" (Kilson, 1993). As such, American Conservatives did not see a need for the Civil Rights Movement, and tended to favor white domination, while being extremely critical of blacks' perception of their subjugation in American society (Kilson, 1993). Overwhelmingly, Kilson (1993) further claimed that conservatives "claim a nearly zero track record in constructive programs [for blacks] in the private or the public sector." As such, conservatives tend to have a more negative perception of the black public identity because they do not see the need for increased government support, or intervention, towards supporting the advancement of this ethnic group.

#### *2.5 Generational Effects on the Black Public Identity*

There is an unarguably small amount of scholarship, on the issue of: how different generations perceive the black public identity. Interestingly enough, Cohen (2017) held that cross-culturally millennials did not agree that racism was America's biggest problem. However, millennials categorized racism as one of the three biggest problems in America today (Cohen 2017). Nonetheless, Clement (2015) found that Millennials are



not more tolerant than their parents. In fact, Clement observed that regarding work ethic “31 percent of Millennials rate blacks as lazier than whites, compared to 32 percent of Generation X whites and 35 percent of Baby Boomers” (2015). Thus, the notions that Millennials are the most tolerant generation yet, posits no strong relationships among the General Social Survey data, which is analyzed in the present article; as there is only a one percent decrease between how Millennials perceive blacks’ laziness, in comparison to Generation X (Clement 2015). And, there is only a three percent decrease in how Millennials rate blacks’ laziness, in comparison to Baby Boomers (Clement 2015).

### *2.6 Why Education Affects People’s View of the Black Public Identity*

The school of thought that explains why education affects a given person’s perception of the black public identity is as follows: through education, people tend to become both historically and politically knowledgeable. This was further contended by Beard (1934), when he claimed that history is instrumental because it is a viable record of knowledge, which is taught through education. Typically, more historical and political knowledge tends to liberalize individuals; helping them form stable opinions. This would affect a given person’s perception of the black public identity because blacks’ wretched history would, ideally, be accounted for in their evaluation of blacks. And, educated peoples’ abilities to have fair, stable evaluations of groups, while maintaining them over time, would also affect their perception of blacks’ public identity. Further, as Beard (1934) noted, indeed there is a political role among teachers: “educators and historians... strive...to throw light upon the political role of American education.” Education is not only the path in which people can form more stable, fair opinions about issues, but it is also involves becoming more politically knowledgeable and aware of one’s civic duties. In this case, perhaps a civic duty of an educated, American citizen would involve: giving blacks the benefit of the doubt and showing empathy towards this community of color.

### *2.7 Women’s Evaluation of Blacks*

While women are the historically undermined gender, blacks are the historically undermined race. As such, it is only natural to draw a comparison between the two communities, in regards to how women are more likely to sympathize with blacks. Smith and Kleugel (1984) observed that: a comparison can be drawn between competitive self-interest and group membership, among females and blacks. While for females, it is in terms of men and upholding male privilege, whites would like to maintain racial group stratification, as well as racial privilege over blacks. Essentially, the same notion exists among men striving to delegitimize females’ attempts of professional successes, as whites attempting to undermine blacks’ Civil Rights Movement successes (Smith and Kleugel, 1984). Thus, these two clusters of minorities should be able to sympathize with one another, due to: social group stratification, being excluded from certain privileges, and continually being denied the fair chance to progress, among other races and sexes. As such, the prediction that females would feel more warmly towards blacks is logical.

## **3. Hypothesis**

Relevant to the present literature review and scholarly articles cited, it is clear that the public identity of African-Americans is evaluated differently among various social groups. The quantitative research portion of this thesis, will test how various social coalitions feel towards the following notions: that blacks are lazy and violent, that blacks do not deserve governmental assistance, and that blacks still face a great deal of discrimination. Doing so, sympathy will be measured to predict a change in the evaluation of the black public identity. The following control variables will be accounted for, in order to test for correlation and statistical significance: Republicans, conservatives, Independents, moderates, Millennials, Generation X, females, blacks, and educated respondents. The body of

literature suggests that there will be more negative evaluations of the black public identity among: Republicans, conservatives, Millennials, and Generation X. On the other hand, there should be a more positive evaluation of the black public identity among: blacks, females, and educated respondents. Ultimately, these differences can be accounted for among: partisanship, ideology, and similar struggles these groups have encountered that help them sympathize with blacks. As a result, it is fair to say that social stratification beliefs exist, which affect the amount of overall sympathy these groups feel towards blacks. However, ultimately the amount of sympathy a given respondent feels towards blacks, should influence their perception of the African-American public identity. Moreover, the amount of sympathy a given respondent feels towards blacks, is affected by the stratification beliefs that their social groups are prejudice towards. *As such, the following hypothesis was constructed accordingly:*

**H1: The amount of sympathy that the American public feels towards blacks contributes to a negative black public identity.**

*Paradoxically, the null hypothesis for the paper would be: the amount of sympathy the American public feels towards black does NOT contribute to a negative black public identity.*

## 4. Methodology

### 4.1 Content of Datasets/Expectations

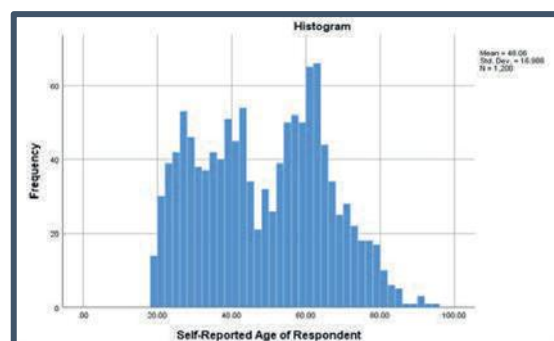
In order to appropriately test the hypothesis at stake, I will use a quantitative research design. While I will not be conducting my own survey, I will be using the 2016 dataset provided by the American National Elections Study (ANES). The American National Election Study is respectively curated every four years, during US presidential elections. The study was conducted in 2016, through an internet survey that ranged from January 22<sup>nd</sup> to January 28<sup>th</sup>. The main goal of ANES is to appropriately measure public opinion before a given

presidential election, and to enrich the field of social science with high quality data. The population of this sample is voting age and above; it is limited to US citizens. There were two waves in this study, which were pre-2016 election and post- 2016 election. This sample was strategically created to be representative of the voting population in the US. Respondents were directed to take the panel survey on the Internet, after being contacted with a mail invitation. While for the pre- 2016 election interview, participants responded from February 1, 2016, to May 27, 2016, during the post-2016 election interview, participants responded from April 6, 2016 to May 27, 2016. The subsequent dataset I worked with had a total of 1200 observations and 180 variables.

I expect to find significance, a strong correlation, and a relationship between a given respondent's internalized amount of sympathy towards blacks, and their subsequent overall rating of blacks, while controlling for social group identifications. Since the black public identity is the constant dependent variable of the tests, there is control in the aspect of repetition and routine procedure, in the operationalization of the dependent variable. The sample is representative; thus, controlling extraneous variables that derive from a limited, narrow sample.

### 4.2 Analysis of Anes Sample

**Figure 1A**



**Figure 1A** notes the frequency of the given amount of times a single age group appears. Thus, the higher the frequency, the more the given age group respectively appears in the ANES sample. This histogram exemplifies that the most common age for a respondent ranges in the 60's.

The sample in the American National Election Study appears to be representative, especially since it is a random sample. Regarding age, the youngest respondent was 19 years old; the oldest respondent was 95 years old. Thus, the range of the sample was 76. On the other hand, the mean age of the sample was 48 years old. The standard deviation of the sample was 16.9. For a more visualized perspective of the sample's age, please refer to figure 1A (on page 20). Regarding the generations of the sample, the generation to most frequently participate in the survey was Baby Boomers. There were 341 Millennials, 303 Generation X respondents, 437 Baby Boomers, and 119 Silent Generation respondents. The appendix can also be referred to for figure 1C, which contains a bar graph with the frequencies of the four generations. Concerning the ethnic makeup of the ANES sample, there were: 113 Hispanic respondents (9.4%), 23 Asian respondents (1.9%), 875 white Respondents (72.9%), and 135 black respondents (11.3%). Further, in terms of gender, among the 1200 respondents, the breakdown is as follows: 630 females (52.5%) and 570 males (47.5%). To see a visual representation of the gender breakdown, see figure 1B in the appendix. The education of the sample is as follows: 102 respondents have no high school diploma (8.5%), 411 respondents are high school graduates (34.3%), 257 respondents have attended some college (21.4%), 106 respondents have a 2-year degree (8.8%), 202 respondents have a 4 year degree (16.8%), and 122 respondents have attained post-graduate education (10.2%). Thus, the majority of respondents are high-school educated, while college educated respondents account for less than half of the sample. Figure 1E in the appendix can also be referred to see the education distribution of the sample. In terms of income, the most common income bracket is \$20,000 to \$29,000. 14.3% of the population makes over \$100,000 annually. Figure 1D in the appendix shows the

income distribution of the sample. The party identification and political ideology of the sample also varies; 17.1% of population is independent. The breakdown among the two major parties is as follows: while Republicans make up 34.9% of the sample, Democrats make up 48.5% of the sample. The most common, specific label for party identification is: strong Democrat, which 300 respondents chose as their party identification.

#### 4.3 Measures

The black public identity is my dependent variable that will remain constant throughout my statistical tests. I will use the black thermometer score to operationalize the dependent variable. The thermometer score involved a respondent's overall, perceived favorability of blacks (from 0-100). While a score of "0" signified very cold feelings towards blacks, a score of "50" signified no feelings, and "100" signified very warm feelings towards blacks. I decided to use this particular variable to measure the black public identity because it is interval-ratio and I intended to run regression. Linear regression is appropriate in order to test for correlation, control for social group variables, and to predict relationships between the black public identity and respondents' measured levels of sympathy. The thermometer score was an objective measure of the black public identity because it simply asks respondents to provide an overall rating of blacks; it is not framed misleadingly to trigger a subsequent response.

On the other hand, I will have a total of seven independent variables in order to appropriately measure respondents' levels of sympathy towards blacks. A series of statements measured respondents' levels of sympathy towards blacks, which required a ranked response from respondents (that was scaled from 1-5). While a score of "1" is strongly disagree, a score of "5" is strongly agree. The series of questions measured respondents' sympathy towards blacks by asking the respondents if they agreed, or disagreed, with the following: whether generations of slavery has made it

more difficult for blacks to progress, whether or not blacks should work their way up without special favors, whether or not blacks' lack of progression is because they do not try hard enough, and whether or not blacks should try harder to get ahead, to match their white counterparts. All of these questions separately composed a single, ordinal variable. Essentially, an ordinal variable is a variable that requires a ranking from a respondent. Ordinal, independent variables were also composed from the following questions: the respondent's rating of blacks being violent, the respondent's rating of blacks' laziness, and the respondent's rating of how much discrimination blacks face today.

#### *4.4 Content of Design/Procedure*

In order to control for regression appropriately, I recoded variables and added them into the list of independent variables in the regression models. Recoding involves changing old variables, into new variables, in order to appropriately separate responses to the preferred method of statistical testing. These variables are as follows: females, Millennials, Generation X, conservatives, moderates, Republicans, Independents, and college educated respondents. Among all the control variables, the variables were simply recoded as follows: a value of "0" indicated that the respondent is not from a given social group, while a value of "1" indicated that the respondent was from a given social group. For example, regarding the control variable of females, "0" was used to denote respondents who were not females, while "1" denoted the respondent was a female. Specifically regarding college educated respondents, a projected value of "0" entailed a respondent had not attended college in some form, while a projected value of "1" entailed a respondent had attended college in some form (even if they did not graduate). College education was controlled because this is where students become enlightened about America's treatment of blacks. I also decided to account for race by including black respondents as a control variable. This is appropriate because blacks were significant to the hypothesis of this project, as they were the main subject

of interest. I included Republicans and conservatives as control variables because I was interested in the significance of Conservatism and Republicanism, in terms of its influence on the evaluation of the black public identity. I also chose to control for females because they are a minority, so I would assume that they would feel naturally more sympathetic towards blacks. On the other hand, I decided to control for age by creating control variables for Millennials and Generation X because the median age of the data set was 48; while I was curious in comparing the responses of Generation X and Millennials.

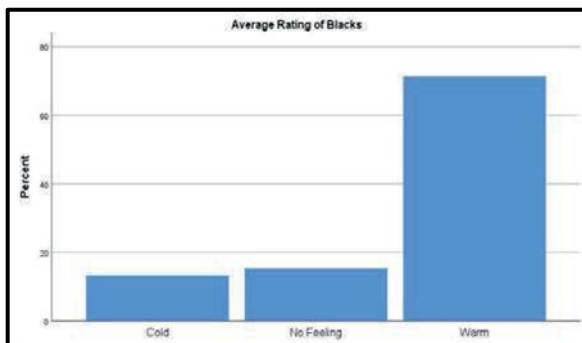
Since there is a constant interval-ratio, dependent variable, the test I will use is linear regression. Linear regression will also be able to take the enumerated social coalition variables into account. Linear regression is the correct statistical measure because many of the independent variables are ordinal, and the constant dependent variable is interval-ratio. Since linear regression is the most powerful statistical test predictor, it could take into account the control variables accordingly, while creating statistical values for the dependent variable. It outputs the following statistical measures: a significance value, an interval of confidence, a beta coefficient value, an R-squared value, and a constant value. These statistical measures will be analyzed, with respect to the dependent variable and control variables, in order to prove or disprove the hypothesis at stake.

#### *4.5 Descriptive Statistics of Dependent Variable*

In order to perform frequencies and descriptive statistics on my dependent variable, black's thermometer score, I had to recode the variable. I recoded the original variable, into a new variable, to separate the responses accordingly; a score of "0" (very cold feelings towards blacks) became "1", a score of "50" (no feelings towards blacks) became "2", and a score of "100" (warm feelings towards blacks) became "3." This was the correct procedure to follow, in order to see the distribution of the dependent, interval-ratio variable accordingly; it filters out irrelevant responses that were between "0",

“50”, and “100.” Recoding also helped account for the data labeled system missing. When I recoded the dependent variable, it became an ordinal variable; thus, the appropriate measures of central tendency to analyze are: mode, standard deviation, and range. The mode, or most frequent response from respondents, was a score of “3.” Again, a score of “3” signifies a given respondent has a very warm rating of blacks. The standard deviation of the responses for the black thermometer score was “.71.” The range of the responses was 2. In order to accurately gage the frequency distribution of the dependent variable, I organized the respondent’s ratings on a bar graph. A bar graph was the appropriate, graphical representation because the recoded variable is a categorical, ordinal variable. Below, is the graph of the frequency and distribution of the dependent variable. As one can see, the tallest bar on the graph is denoted by a warm rating of blacks. Out of the 1200 respondents, 192 (16.0% of the sample) had responses that were missing; while, a whopping 720 respondents (60% of the sample) indicated they had a warm feeling towards blacks. 155 respondents (12.9% of the sample) indicated that they had no feeling towards blacks. Finally, 133 respondents (11.1% of the sample) indicated that they had cold feeling towards blacks.

**Figure 2A**



**Figure 2A** visually summarizes the distribution of the dependent variable: black’s overall rating. The percent in the present graph refers to the overall frequency percentage that these responses appeared. While for people feeling warmly towards blacks, this occurs well over 60%; people feeling coldly towards blacks accounts for less than 20% of responses.

#### 4.6 Limitations of this Research Design

While indeed there are limitations to every method of research in the social sciences, I would like to address the limitations of my quantitative research design. First, for my dependent variable, which was blacks’ thermometer score, there was a chunk of data missing. 192 respondents (16% of the sample) either skipped, or refused to answer the question. Further, ANES accounted for, and noted, their usage of resentment framing in two of my independent variables, such as asking respondents to rate the following statements: it’s just a matter of blacks not trying hard enough and blacks should work their way up without special favors. The racial resentment framing of these questions may have very well affected the subsequent measures of sympathy towards blacks. Also, I would like to note that although racial resentment and sympathy are not the same, I did use some racial resentment questions to measure sympathy. But, as the literature review noted, the more sympathy someone exhibits, the less likely they are to feel resentment towards a given entity. As such, the independent variables of: blacks don’t try hard enough and blacks should pull themselves out of the lower class without special favors are not perfect measures of sympathy. Nonetheless, I do believe that ranking the amount of discrimination blacks face, rating how violent a respondent perceives blacks to be, and rating how lazy a respondent perceives blacks to be are valid measures of sympathy. And, this is because they measure how much empathy (or lack thereof) respondents have towards the African-American community. While the control groups were substantial, since not all of the variables were interval-ratio, to an extent that could also impact the results of the linear regression. However,

since my dependent variable is interval-ratio, it was still appropriate to use regression.

## 5. Results

Since I am testing seven different independent variables, and a catalogue of control variables, in order to discuss the results in a strategic manner, I will group them and discuss them accordingly. Again, for every independent variable, the dependent variable was constant; the black thermometer score was always used to measure and operationalize a respondent's rating of the black public identity. Further, I will mention the control variables used, and the control variables that were significant, in terms of the hypothesis at stake.

### 5.1 Black Support Variables

The first set of independent variables that were used to measure sympathy were various survey questions that asked respondents if blacks should receive governmental support and whether or not blacks try hard enough to succeed. Specifically, these questions asked respondents if they believed the following statements: that blacks tried hard enough, that blacks should pull themselves out of the lower class without special favors, that blacks have a harder time progressing because of slavery, and if blacks get as much (or less) than they deserve.

#### Table 1A (top right)

**Table 1A** documents results of respondents' agreement with the following statement: blacks should work their way up without special favors.

Independent Variable Label	B value	Significance Value	Standard Error
Constant	82.756	.000	2.524
Blacks should work their way up without special favors	-3.798	.000	.565
Black respondent	12.276	.000	2.195
Female respondent	3.456	.009	1.322
Conservative respondent	-4.940	.018	2.087
Independent respondent	-4.850	.013	1.955
Respondent who attended college	3.958	.004	1.369
Respondent in Generation X	-4.105	.012	1.632
Respondent is Millennial	-6.996	.000	1.598

Beginning with the first variable, which asked respondents if blacks should pull their own way out of the lower class without special favors, the R-squared value was .165. This means that the regression model explains 16.5% of the variation in respondents' overall rating of blacks. The beta coefficient is -3.798, which indicates that on average, for every increase in a respondent's agreement with the statement that blacks shouldn't expect special favors, there was a -3.798 decrease in blacks' rating. Next, the significance value is .000; thus, there is a 0% probability that the relationship between a respondent's feelings towards blacks receiving special treatment and a respondent's rating of blacks is due to chance. In regard to the constant value, we can conclude that when the value of blacks receiving special favors is zero, and when blacks' overall rating is zero, the corresponding constant value of blacks' rating is 82.756. The results of this variable can also be seen in the table labeled 1A.

Regarding the control variable results, for whether or not blacks should work their way up without special favors, the following were significant: black respondents, females, conservatives, Independents, college educated respondents, Millennials, and Generation X. The beta coefficient value for blacks was 12.276; for every increase in black respondents, there was a subsequent 12.276 increase in blacks' overall rating. The significance value was .000; thus, there is a 0% probability that the relationship between black respondents and blacks' overall rating is due to chance. For females, the beta coefficient value was 3.456; on average, for every increase in female respondents, there was a 3.456 increase in blacks' overall rating. The significance value was .009; thus, there is a 0.9% probability that the relationship between females and blacks' rating is due to chance. Conservatives had a beta coefficient value of -4.940; so, for every increase in conservatives, there was a -4.940 decrease in blacks' rating. The significance value for conservatives was .018; thus, there is a 1.8% probability that the relationship between conservatives and blacks' overall rating is due to chance. For Independents, the beta coefficient value was -4.850; thus, for every increase in Independents, there was a corresponding -4.850 decrease in blacks' rating. The significance value of Independents was .013; there is a 1.3% probability that the relationship between Independents and blacks' rating

is due to chance. College educated respondents had a beta coefficient of 3.958; as the number of college educated respondents increased, there was a 3.958 increase in blacks' rating. The significance value for college educated respondents was .004; there is a 0.4 % probability that the relationship between blacks' rating and college educated respondents is due to chance. For respondents in Generation X, the beta coefficient value was -4.105; as the number of respondents in Generation X increased, there was a corresponding -4.105 decrease in the overall rating of blacks. The significance value for Generation X was .012; as such, there is a 1.2% probability that the relationship between respondents in Generation X and blacks' overall rating is due to chance. Millennials had a beta coefficient value of -6.996; for every increase in Millennials, there was a corresponding -6.996 decrease in blacks' rating. For Millennials, the significance value was .000; thus, there is a 0% chance that the relationship between Millennials and blacks' rating is due to chance.

**Table 2A**

**Table 2A** documents the results of the second black support variable which asks respondents the following question: has generations of slavery made it difficult for blacks to progress out of the lower class?

Independent Variable Label	B value	Significance Value	Standard Error
Constant	59.530	.000	2.511
Slavery has made it difficult for blacks to progress	3.367	.000	.524
Black Respondents	11.975	.000	2.212
Females	3.421	.010	1.324
Conservatives	-6.349	.002	2.041
Independents	-4.325	.029	1.974
College Educated Respondents	5.040	.000	1.348
Generation X	-4.329	.008	1.636
Millennials	-7.847	.000	1.608



For the next independent variable, the respondent was asked to indicate if they agree with the statement that slavery has made it harder for blacks to progress out of the lower class. The R-squared value was .163; explaining 16.3% of the variation in respondents' ratings of blacks. The beta coefficient was 3.367; indicating that on average, for every increase in a respondent's belief that slavery has made it difficult for blacks to progress, there was a corresponding 3.367 increase in the favorability of blacks. The significance value is .000; thus, there is a 0% probability that the relationship between a respondent's agreement with the statement that slavery has made it hard for blacks to progress, and their subsequent rating of blacks, is due to chance. Evaluating the constant value, when the value of blacks' thermometer score is zero and a respondent's rating of the statement that slavery has made it hard for blacks to progress is zero, the corresponding constant value is 59.530. Pictured on the previous page, table 2A also summarizes the data for this independent variable, including the control variable results.

Among the control variables, the following were significant: if a respondent was black, if a respondent was conservative, if a respondent was female, if a respondent was an Independent, if the respondent had attended college, if the respondent was from Generation X, and if the respondent was a Millennial. For black respondents, the b value was 11.975; indicating that as the number of black respondents increased, there was an 11.975 increase in blacks' overall rating. The significance value for black respondents was .000; there is a 0% probability that the relationship between black respondents and blacks' overall rating is due to chance. Females had a beta coefficient value of 3.421; thus, as the number of females increased, blacks' thermometer score also increased by 3.421. The significance score for females was .010; thus, there is a 1.0% probability that the relationship between females and blacks' overall rating is due to chance. Conservatives had a beta coefficient value of -6.349; as the number of conservatives increased, there was a corresponding -6.349 decrease in blacks' thermometer score. The significance score for conservatives was .002; there is a

0.2% probability that the relationship between conservatives and blacks' thermometer score is due to chance. Independents had a beta coefficient value of 4.325; thus, as the number of Independents increased, there was a subsequent 4.325 decrease in blacks' overall rating. The significance value was .029; so, there is a 2.9% probability that the relationship between Independents and blacks' overall rating is due to chance. For Generation X, the beta coefficient value was -4.329; as the number of Generation X respondents increased, there was a corresponding -4.329 decrease in the overall rating of blacks. Continuing, the significance value for Generation X was .008; there is a 0.8% chance that the relationship between blacks' rating and Generation X is due to chance. For Millennials, the b value was -7.847; there was a -7.847 decrease in blacks' rating, as the number of Millennials increased. The significance value for Millennials was .000; thus, there is a 0% probability that the relationship between Millennials and blacks' overall rating is due to chance. For college educated respondents, the b-value was 5.040; as the number of college educated respondents increased, there was a corresponding 5.040 increase in blacks' overall rating. Also, the significance value for college educated respondents was .000; there is a 0% probability that the relationship between college educated respondents and blacks' overall rating is due to chance.

**Table 3A**

Independent Variable Label	B value	Significance Value	Standard Error
<b>Constant</b>	56.312	.000	2.553
<b>Have blacks gotten less than they deserve over the years?</b>	4.564	.000	.576
<b>Black Respondents</b>	10.222	.000	2.226
<b>Females</b>	3.175	.016	1.311
<b>Conservatives</b>	-5.644	.005	2.025
<b>Independents</b>	-3.998	.041	1.952
<b>Respondents who attended college</b>	4.986	.000	1.335
<b>Generation X</b>	-4.205	.010	1.621
<b>Millennials</b>	-8.096	.000	1.595

Regarding the results of the control variables, the following were statistically significant: blacks, college educated respondents, females, Generation X, Millennials, Independents, and conservatives. For blacks, the b-value was 10.222; as the number of blacks increased, there was a subsequent 10.222 increase in blacks' overall rating. The significance value for blacks was .000; there is a 0% probability that the relationship between blacks and blacks' overall rating is due to chance. For college educated respondents, the b-value was 4.986; as the number of college educated respondents increased, there was a corresponding 4.986 increase in blacks' overall rating. The significance value for college educated respondents was .000; there is a 0% probability that the relationship between college educated respondents and blacks' overall rating is due to chance. For females, the b-value was 3.175; as the

**Table 3A** summarizes the results of respondents' answers to the following question "have blacks gotten less than they deserve over the years?" The results are discussed below.

The next independent variable asked respondents if they believe blacks have gotten less than they deserve over the years. The R-squared value was .177; this regression model explains 17.7% of the variation in blacks' overall rating. Continuing, the b-value was 4.564; as respondents agreed with the statement that blacks have gotten less than they deserve over the years, there was a subsequent 4.564 increase in blacks' overall rating. The significance value was .000; thus, there is a 0% probability that the relationship between a respondent's agreement with the statement that blacks have gotten less than they deserve over the years, and blacks' overall rating, is due to chance. The constant value is 56.312; so, when blacks' thermometer score is zero, as well as a respondents' rating of whether blacks have gotten less than they deserve, blacks' overall rating is 56.312.

number of females increased, there was a corresponding 3.175 increase in the overall rating of blacks. The significance value for females was .016; there is 1.6% probability that the relationship between females and blacks' overall rating is due to chance. Generation X had a b-value of -4.205; as the number of Generation X respondents increased, there was a corresponding -4.205 decrease in blacks' overall rating. The significance value for Generation X is .010; there is a 1.0% probability that relationship between Generation X and blacks' overall rating is due to chance. Independents had a b-value of -3.998; as the number of Independents increased, there was a corresponding -3.998 decrease in blacks' overall rating. The significance value was .041; there is a 4.1% probability that the relationship between Independents and blacks' overall rating is due to chance. Millennials had a beta coefficient of -8.096; as the number of Millennials increased, there was a corresponding -8.096 decrease in blacks' overall rating. The significance value for Millennials was .000; there is a 0% probability that

the relationship between Millennials and blacks' overall rating is due to chance. Conservatives had a beta coefficient value of -5.644; as the number of conservatives increased, there was a corresponding -

5.644 decrease in blacks' overall rating. Conservatives had a significance value of .005; there is a 0.5% probability that the relationship between blacks' rating and conservatives is due to chance.

**Table 4A**

Independent Variable Label	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value	Standard Error
<b>(Constant)</b>	82.417	.000	2.287
<b>Blacks don't try hard enough</b>	-4.282	.000	.528
<b>Females</b>	2.887	.028	1.310
<b>Black Respondents</b>	13.565	.000	2.135
<b>College Educated Respondents</b>	4.103	.002	1.347
<b>Millennials</b>	-6.417	.000	1.585
<b>Gen X</b>	-3.424	.035	1.621
<b>Conservatives</b>	-5.950	.003	2.008
<b>Independents</b>	-4.518	.020	1.937

**Table 4A** captures the data of the independent variable, which asked respondents the following: if blacks tried as hard as whites, they would be just as well off; it's simply a matter of blacks not trying. Below, the statistical results are analyzed in prose.

The next independent variable measured the respondent's rating of the following statement: if blacks tried as hard as whites, they could be just as well off. The R-squared value was .179; explaining 17.9 % of variation in respondents' feelings towards blacks. The beta coefficient is -4.282; on average for every increase in the belief that blacks don't try hard enough, there was a subsequent -4.282 decrease in blacks' overall rating. The significance value is .00; thus, signaling there is a 0% probability that the relationship between a respondent's agreement with the statement blacks don't try hard enough and blacks' overall rating is due to

chance. The constant value holds that: when the value of blacks' thermometer score is zero, and when respondents' ratings of blacks not trying hard enough is zero, the corresponding constant value of blacks' thermometer score is 82.417. On the previous page, a visual summary is provided on table 4A.

For the results of the control variables, the following had statistical significance: blacks, college educated respondents, females, Generation X, Independents, Millennials, and conservatives. Beginning with blacks, their b-value was 13.565; thus, as the number of black respondents increased, there was a corresponding increase of 13.565 in blacks' overall rating. The significance value for blacks was .000; there is a 0% probability that the relationship between blacks and blacks' overall rating is due to chance. College educated respondents have a b value of 4.103; as the number of college educated respondents increased, there was a

subsequent 4.103 increase in blacks' overall rating. The significance value of college educated respondents was .002; there is a 0.2% chance that the relationship between college educated respondents and blacks' overall rating is due to chance. For females, the beta coefficient was 2.887; as the number of females increased, blacks' overall rating increased by 2.887. The significance value for females was .028; there is a 2.8% probability that the relationship between females and blacks' overall rating is due to chance. Generation X had a beta coefficient value of -3.424; as the number of respondents in Generation X increased, there was a corresponding -3.424 decrease in blacks' overall rating. The significance value for Generation X was .035; there is a 3.5% probability that the relationship between respondents in Generation X and blacks' overall rating is due to chance. Independents had a beta coefficient value of -4.518; as the number of Independents increased, there was a corresponding -4.518 decrease in blacks' overall rating. The significance value for

Independents was .020; there is a 2.0% probability that the relationship between Independents and blacks' overall rating is due to chance. Millennials had a b-value of -6.417; as the number of Millennials increased, there was a corresponding -6.417 decrease in blacks' overall rating. The significance value for Millennials was .000; there is a 0% chance that the relationship between Millennials and blacks' overall rating is due to chance. Conservatives had a beta coefficient of -5.950; as the number of conservatives increased, there was a corresponding -5.950 decrease in blacks' overall rating. The significance value for conservatives was .003; there is a 0.3% chance that the relationship between conservatives and blacks' overall rating is due to chance.

### 5.2 Blacks' Attributes Variables

The following section will include the results of respondents' answers to the following questions: how well does the word "violent" describe most blacks, and how well does the word "lazy" describe most blacks. These particular regression models have extra control variables which measure the following: how well does

the word "violent" describe most whites, and how well does the word "lazy" describe most whites.

Beginning with the categorical measure of blacks being perceived as "violent", the R-squared value was .266. This means that the regression model accounts for 26.6% of variation in respondents' ratings of blacks. The beta coefficient value was: -8.228; signifying that as a respondent's rating of blacks being violent increased, there was a subsequent -8.228 decrease in blacks' overall rating. The significance value is .000; thus, there is a 0% probability that the relationship between a respondent's perception of blacks being violent, and their overall rating of blacks, is due to chance. Also, the constant is 83.482; when blacks' thermometer score is zero, and blacks' perceived level of laziness is zero, the subsequent overall rating of blacks is 83.482. The results are also summarized in table 5A on the following page.

**Table 5A**

Independent Variable Label	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value	Standard Error
<b>Constant</b>	83.482	.000	2.198
<b>Rating of blacks being "violent"</b>	-8.228	.000	.576
<b>Rating of whites being "violent"</b>	3.589	.000	.660
<b>Black Respondents</b>	12.073	.000	2.097
<b>Generation X</b>	-3.359	.030	1.545
<b>Millennials</b>	-6.593	.000	1.510
<b>Females</b>	3.033	.015	1.242
<b>Conservatives</b>	-5.121	.007	1.897
<b>Moderates</b>	-4.071	.010	1.578
<b>Independents</b>	-5.915	.001	1.828
<b>Republicans</b>	-3.574	.045	1.777
<b>College Educated Respondents</b>	3.075	.016	1.276

**Table 5A** highlights the results of the following independent variable: how well does the word “violent” characterize blacks.

Regarding the control variables’ results, there was significance found among the following groups: blacks, Millennials, females, conservatives, moderates, Independents, college educated respondents, Republicans, Generation X, and a respondent’s perceived rating of whites’ violentness. For black respondents, the b value was 12.073; for every increase in black respondents, there was a subsequent 12.073 increase in blacks’ overall rating. Regarding black respondents’ significance value, it was .000; there is a 0% probability that the relationship between black respondents and blacks’ overall rating is due to chance. For Millennials, the b value was -6.593; indicating that for every increase in Millennials, there was a subsequent -6.593 decrease in blacks’ overall rating. The significance value for Millennials is .000; signaling that there is a 0% probability that the relationship between Millennials and blacks’ overall rating is due to chance. For females, the beta coefficient value was 3.033; on average, there was a 3.033 increase in blacks’ rating for every increase in female respondents. The significance value for females was .015; thus, there is a 1.5% probability that the relationship between females and blacks’ overall rating is due to chance. For conservatives, the beta coefficient was -5.121; thus, for every increase in conservatives, there was a corresponding -5.121 decrease in blacks’ thermometer score. The significance value for conservatives was .007; thus, there is a 0.7% probability that the relationship between conservatives and blacks’ overall rating is due to chance. For Independents, the beta coefficient value was -5.915; for every increase in Independents, there was a corresponding -5.915 decrease in blacks’ overall rating. The significance value for Independents was .001; thus, there is a 0.1%

probability that the relationship between blacks’ rating and Independents is due to chance. The beta coefficient for college educated respondents was 3.075; thus, for every increase in college educated respondents, there was a 3.075 increase in blacks’ overall rating. Also, the significance value for college educated respondents is .016; thus, there is 1.6% probability that the relationship between college educated respondents and blacks’ overall rating is due to chance. Generation X had a -3.359 beta coefficient value; as the number of respondents from Generation X increased, there was a corresponding -3.359 decrease in blacks’ overall rating. Pertaining to the significance value, it was .030 for Generation X; thus, there is a 3.0% probability that the relationship between Generation X and blacks’ overall rating is due to chance. For moderates, the beta coefficient value was -4.071; as the number of moderates increased, there was a subsequent -4.071 decrease in blacks’ overall rating. Also, the significance value for moderates was .010; there is a 1.0% probability that the relationship between moderates and blacks’ overall rating is due to chance. Republicans had a b value of -3.574; as the number of Republicans increased, there was a corresponding -3.574 decrease in blacks’ overall rating. The significance value for Republicans was .045; there is a 4.5% probability that the relationship between Republicans and blacks’ overall rating is due to chance. For the last control variable, which was an overall rating of whites’ perceived level of being violent, the beta coefficient was 3.589; thus, as the rating of whites’ perceived level of being violent increased, there was a corresponding 3.589 increase in blacks’ overall rating. The significance value for whites’ perceived level of being violent was .000; thus, there is 0% probability that the relationship between whites’ rating of being violent and blacks’ overall rating is due to chance.

**Table 6A**

Independent Variable Label	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value	Standard Error
Constant	83.351	.000	2.072
Respondent's rating of black's laziness	-8.904	.000	.556
Respondent's rating of white's laziness	3.666	.000	.663
Black Respondents	10.780	.000	2.006
Millennials	-5.839	.000	1.493
White Respondents	-1.835	.287	1.723
Females	2.762	.024	1.219
Conservatives	-5.375	.004	1.847
Moderates	-3.227	.038	1.550
Independents	-6.138	.001	1.792
College Educated Respondents	2.926	.020	1.252

Table 6A displays the results of blacks' rating of laziness, with respect to the control group variables.

Now, the results of the independent variable that measured how lazy respondents rated blacks will be discussed. The R-squared value was .292; thus, the regression model accounted for 29.2% of variation in respondents' ratings of blacks' laziness. The beta coefficient value was -8.904; highlighting that for every increase in the belief that blacks are lazy, there was a corresponding -8.904 decrease in blacks' overall rating. The significance value was .000; thus, there is a 0% probability that the relationship between blacks' perceived level of laziness and blacks' overall rating is due to chance. The constant value is 83.351; when the rating of blacks' laziness is zero and when blacks' thermometer score is zero, the corresponding value of blacks' thermometer score is 83.351. Please refer to table 6A (on the previous page) for a brief snapshot of the results.

The following control variables were significant, in terms of a respondent's rating of blacks'

laziness: Millennials, black respondents, females, conservatives, moderates, Independents, college educated respondents, and how lazy respondents rated whites. Millennials had a beta coefficient value of -5.839; as the number of Millennials increased, there was a subsequent -5.839 decrease in blacks' overall rating. The significance value for Millennials was .000; there is a 0% probability that the relationship between Millennials and blacks' overall rating is due to chance. Black respondents had a beta coefficient value of 10.780; as the number of black respondents increased, there was a subsequent 10.780 increase in blacks' overall rating. The significance value for black respondents was .000; there is a 0% probability that the relationship between black respondents and blacks' overall rating is due to chance. For college educated respondents, the beta coefficient value was 2.926; as the number of college educated respondents increased, there was a subsequent 2.926 increase in blacks' overall rating. The significance value for college educated respondents was .020; there is a 2.0% chance that the relationship between college educated respondents and blacks'

overall rating is due to chance. Females had a b value of 2.762; as the number

of females increased, blacks' overall rating increased by 2.762. The significance value for females was .024; there is a 2.4% chance that the relationship between females and blacks' overall rating is due to chance. Independents had a beta coefficient value of -6.138; there was a -6.138 decrease in blacks' rating, as the number of independents increased. The significance value for Independents was .001; there is a 0.01% probability that the relationship between

Independents and blacks' overall rating is due to chance. For moderates, the b-value was -3.227; as the number of moderates increased, there was a corresponding -3.227 decrease in blacks' overall rating. The significance value for moderates was .038; there is a 3.8% probability that the relationship between moderates and blacks' overall rating is due to chance. Conservatives had a b-value of -5.375; as the number of conservatives increased, there was a corresponding -5.375 decrease in blacks' overall rating. The significance value for conservatives is .004; there is a 0.4% probability that the relationship between conservatives and blacks' overall rating is due to chance. Finally, the last control variable measured respondents' perceptions of whites'

laziness. The beta coefficient value was 3.666; as whites' perceived levels of laziness increased, there was a corresponding 3.666 increase in blacks' overall rating. The significance value for whites' perceived level of laziness was .000; there is a 0% chance that the relationship between whites' perceived level of laziness and blacks' overall rating is due to chance.

5.3 Blacks' Present Discrimination Variable

In this sub-section of the results, the following variable will be statistically analyzed: how respondents rate the amount of discrimination blacks face today. This section featured an additional control variable, which asked the respondents to rate the amount of discrimination whites face today.

Table 7A

Independent Variable Label	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value	Standard Error
Constant	62.636	.000	3.161
How much discrimination do blacks face today?	3.448	.000	.638
How much discrimination do whites face today?	-2.086	.000	.589
Females	2.783	.036	1.324
Conservatives	-6.127	.003	2.048
Independents	-4.448	.024	1.972
College Educated Respondents	4.673	.001	1.357
Generation X		.017	1.636
Millennials	-6.544	.000	1.601
Blacks	11.456	.000	2.229

Table 7A represents the results of the independent variable that measures the amount of discrimination blacks presently face.

Beginning with the independent variable that measured respondents' perceptions of how much discrimination blacks presently face; the significance value was .000. Thus, there is a 0% probability that a respondent's rating of the amount of discrimination blacks face, and their overall rating of blacks, is due to chance. The R-squared value is .163; suggesting that 16.3% of variation in blacks' overall rating is accounted for in this regression model. Continuing, the constant value was 62.636; thus, when both the dependent variable (black's rating) is zero and the present



independent variable (perceived amount of discrimination blacks face) is zero, the corresponding rating of blacks is 62.636. The beta coefficient value was 3.448; for every increase in the belief that blacks face a great deal of discrimination, there was a corresponding 3.448 increase in blacks' overall rating. The results are also accounted for in table 7A on the present page.

Regarding the control variables, for the present rating of how much discrimination blacks face, the following variables were statistically significant: blacks, females, conservatives, Independents, college educated respondents, Generation X, Millennials, and a respondent's rating of the perceived amount of discrimination whites face. Blacks had a beta coefficient value of 11.456; as the number of black respondents increased, there was a subsequent 11.456 increase in blacks' overall rating. Blacks had a significance value of .000; there is a 0% probability that the relationship between black respondents and blacks' overall rating is due to chance. Females had a b-value of 2.783; as the number of females increased, there was a corresponding 2.783 increase in blacks' overall rating. Females had a significance value of .036; there is a 3.6% probability that the relationship between blacks' rating and females is due to chance. Conservatives had a beta coefficient value of -6.127; as the number of conservatives increased, there was a -6.127 decrease in blacks' overall rating. The significance value for conservatives was .003; there is a 0.3% probability that the relationship between conservatives and blacks' overall rating is due to chance. College educated respondents had a b-value of 4.673; as the number of college educated respondents increased, there was a subsequent 4.673 increase in blacks' overall rating. The significance value for college educated respondents was .001; there is a 0.1% probability that the relationship between college educated respondents and blacks' rating is due to chance. Generation X had a b value of -3.908; as the number of respondents from Generation X increased, there was a corresponding -3.908 decrease in blacks' overall rating. The significance value for Generation X was .017; there is a 1.7% probability that the relationship between Generation X and blacks' overall rating is due to chance.

Millennials had a beta coefficient value of -6.544; thus, as the number of Millennials increased, there was a corresponding -6.544 decrease in blacks' overall rating. The significance value for Millennials was .000; there is a 0% probability that the relationship between Millennials and blacks' overall rating is due to chance. Independents had a b-value of -4.448; as the number of Independents increased, blacks' overall rating decreased by -4.448. The significance value for Independents was .024; there is a 2.4% chance that the relationship between Independents and blacks' overall rating is due to chance. Lastly, the control variable that measured whites' perceived amount of discrimination had a b-value of -2.086; thus, as whites' perceived levels of discrimination increased, there was a corresponding -2.086 decrease in blacks' overall rating. The significance value for whites' perceived amount of discrimination was .000; there is a 0% probability that the relationship between whites' perceived amount of discrimination and blacks' overall rating is due to chance.

## 6. Conclusion

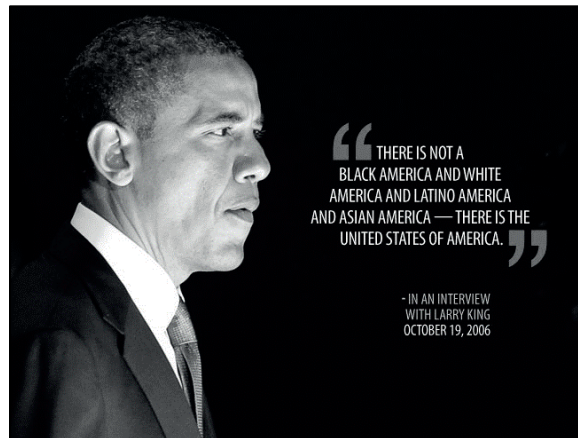
This thesis intended to analyze the relationship between Americans' level of sympathy and blacks' corresponding public identity. It posited that there may be a negative public identity caused by group stratification beliefs among: conservatives, Independents, Generation X, and Millennials. On the other hand, it further hypothesized there may be a more positive attribution of the black public identity, due to stratification beliefs, among: females, African-Americans, and college educated respondents. By investigating the relationship between blacks' public identity and various measures of sympathy, the predictions of the regression models were ultimately correct. While non-liberal entities tended to feel colder towards blacks; more progressive entities tended to feel warmer towards blacks. Controlling for the enumerated groups of: blacks, Millennials, Republicans, Generation X, moderates, conservatives, Independents, females, and college-educated respondents gave me the opportunity

to see how blacks' rating varies among social group coalitions. As social group coalitions are a huge influence and predictor of how Americans will decide their standings on key, ideological issues, this was the appropriate predictor for my given hypothesis at stake.

I am able to accept my hypothesis and conclude that there may be a relationship among Americans' level of sympathy towards blacks and the subsequent evaluation of the black public identity, with respect to a variety of social groups. As respondents perceived blacks to be: lazy, violent, not trying hard enough, and undeserving of government assistance, there was an overall lower rating of blacks' public identity. In regard to the white control variable, when respondents perceived whites to be discriminated against, blacks' public identity was also rated lower. But, there was a higher evaluation of the black public identity when sympathy was measured by the following questions: has slavery made it difficult for blacks to progress, have blacks gotten less than they deserve over the years, and how much discrimination do blacks face today. And, these questions were equally framed, so the results were not skewed in favor of a higher rating for blacks. Ultimately, further research is needed to solidify this claim. I cannot definitively say there is a relationship between Americans' levels of sympathy towards blacks and a corresponding, negative evaluation of the black public identity, with respect to various social groups. And, this is because the R-squared values of my regression models were weak. Thus, this suggests that not a substantial amount of predictive power was provided forth in the models.

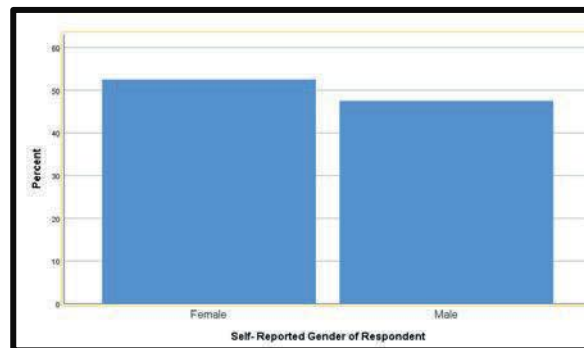
Nonetheless, I did identify the need for future research and create a formal argument, as to why it is important to investigate the black public identity and Americans' level of sympathy towards blacks. The test-retest theory holds that the more research experiments and surveys are replicated, the more the validity of the results grows. Thus, in the future, scholars should specifically research the relationship between the sympathy the American public has towards blacks, their subsequent evaluation of the black public identity, and corresponding negative policies that were legislated against this community of color. Ultimately, America is

not in a post racism era, and there is much work to be done by scholars in order to interpret how African-Americans' public identity has worked towards their political marginalization and subjugation in American society.



## 7. Appendix

**Figure 1B**



**Figure 1B** documents the frequency percentages of the sample's gender, or how great of a percentage each gender accounts for in the ANES sample. The percentage label to the left of the graph thus signifies the frequency's percentage for each respective gender. While females are well over 50% of the sample, males are below 50%, and above 40% respectively.

Figure 1C

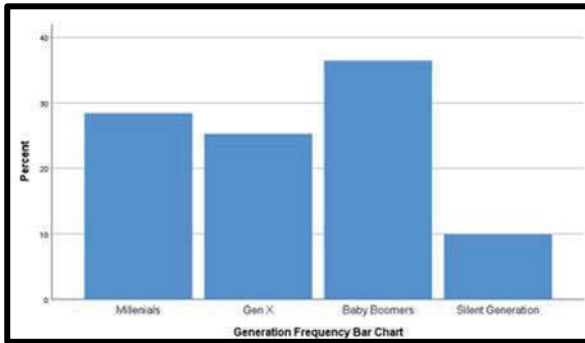


Figure 1C accounts for the frequency percentages of the generations represented in the ANES sample. The percentage label to the left of the graph thus signifies the frequency’s percentage for each respective generation. Frequency refers to how often a given generation is represented in the ANES sample. While Baby Boomers are well over 30% of the sample; Silent Generation respondents account for 10% of the given sample.

Figure 1D

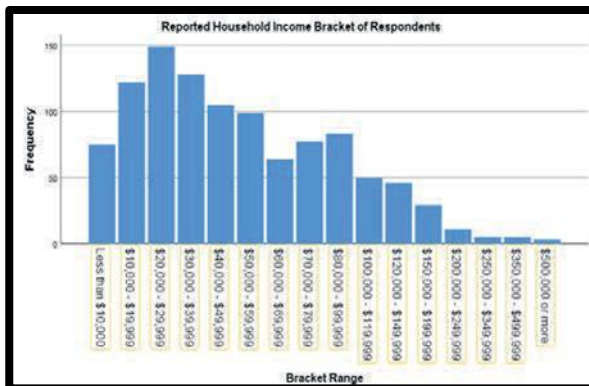


Figure 1D accounts for the frequencies in household income ranges of the ANES sample. The percentage label to the left of the graph signifies the frequency’s percentage for each respective income bracket. Frequency refers to how often a given income bracket is represented in the ANES sample. The most common income bracket has the tallest bar in the graphical model, which is \$20,000- \$29,999. Conversely, the income bracket that appears the least, the smallest bar on the graphical model, is \$500,000 or more.

Figure 1E

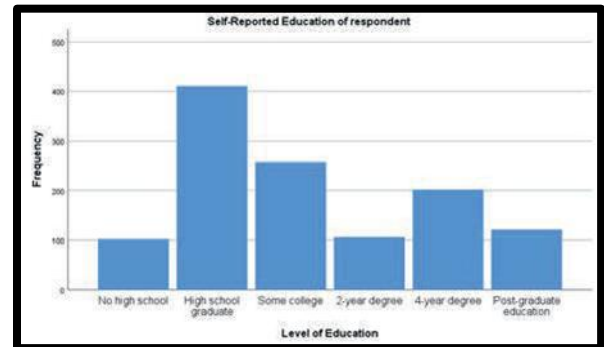


Figure 1E accounts for the various levels of education among the ANES sample. The percentage label to the left of the graph thus signifies the frequency’s percentage for each respective educational level. Frequency refers to how often a given education level is represented in the ANES sample. From the graph, it is clear that high school graduates had the tallest bar, and thus were the most frequent level of education, in the given sample.

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