The Measurement of Racial Resentment: Conceptualization and Content

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Abstract: There is an ongoing debate about the nature and measurement of contemporary racial attitudes. This dialogue is shaped around the degree to which new racism measures actually tap negative racial beliefs. Racial resentment is one construct that has been criticized on such grounds. To date, Kinder and Sanders (1996) have proposed the most common measure of racial resentment, which is largely based on similar construct, symbolic racism. We enter this discussion by proposing an alternative racial resentment measure, one that is more *explicit* (EXR). We analyze data from two convenience samples of college students collected at different time points and locations. We find the explicit measure to have strong face, construct, convergent, and criterion validity, and strong reliability. The EXR measure is significantly related to other known correlates of racial attitudes, and significantly predicts affect toward, and voting behavior for, Barack Obama, an African American political figure. The results suggest our EXR measure shows strong promise as an indicator of underlying racial resentment, and may have promise both as an alternative or supplementary measure of racial resentment.

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Introduction

Few areas of research have been more intensely debated than that of race and racial attitudes. As a result of the attention, we now know a great deal about racial perceptions and how complex they are (Bobo, Kluegel, and Smith, 1997; Duckitt, 1994; Mendelberg, 2000; Hurwitz and Peffley, 1997; Sears, Sidanius, and Bobo, 2000; Sniderman and Piazza, 1993). However, the changing nature of racial attitudes has brought about some controversies regarding the measurement of newer forms of racism (Feldman and Huddy, 2005; Henry and Sears, 2002; Sniderman, Crosby, and Howell, 2000).

One of the more contested conceptualizations of *new* racism is racial resentment. Racial resentment is very similar to other racism concepts—modern racism and symbolic racism—in that it is hypothesized to consist of a blend of negative affect towards blacks, and beliefs related to blacks' illegitimate claims to special consideration from government, employers, or educational institutions (Kinder and Sanders, 1996). While researchers have shown many forms of new racism to have robust effects on racial policy, even when controlling for ideology or individualism (Kinder and Mendelberg, 2000; Kinder and Sanders, 1996; Sears et al., 1997), there remains some skepticism regarding racial resentment's core measures (Feldman and Huddy, 2005). The main argument is that racial resentment (and symbolic and modern racism) measures are strongly correlated with ideology and principled positions on politics because it contains strong language related to individuals (Schuman, 2000). Moreover, recent analyses suggest current racial resentment measures tap racial prejudice among liberals, but are more strongly associated with ideology and individualism than racial prejudice among conservatives (Feldman and Huddy, 2005).

Our goal is not to debate the importance of racial resentment—we agree it is both important and real—rather we are interested in identifying ways to refine its measurement. Many of the existing items measuring racial resentment (see the Appendix of this paper) tap feelings related to government (e.g., welfare, government officials) and beliefs about individualism (i.e., hard-work, self-sufficiency). While resentment may underlie some of these beliefs, its relevance in the measurement scale is implicit. Moreover, resentment is not a static belief. Many of the social origins of racial resentment—rationales for being resentful—fluctuate over time. Thus, the measurement should be more general, working across many political, social, and economic settings. Conceptually, new racism concepts such as resentment assume that individuals are already racist and measures are designed to tap the levels of racism. Yet, resentment is more aptly thought of a as feelings about the process of the redistribution of resources in society. Thus, resentment is not necessarily prejudice but may lead to prejudicial attitudes and behaviors. Finally, and most importantly, we believe the measurement of resentment needs to be centered on a more explicit set of statements connecting the feelings of *resentment* with race. Thus, it is our goal to present a set of items that may help identify the chief source(s) of the animosity that whites attribute to blacks.

In the following sections we describe the traditional conceptualization and measurement of racial resentment, introduce our proposed measures of explicit racial resentment, discuss the studies we undertook to validate the new items, describe our data and variables, and then examine the validity and reliability of our measure relative to traditional measures of resentment. As a further

test of validity, we examine the correlations among our racial resentment measures and other known correlates of racial attitudes found in the literature (Sears, Sidanius, and Bobo, 2000) including social dominance (Sidanius and Pratto, 2003), authoritarianism (Altemyer, 1981), dogmatism (Rokeach, 1960), negative affect (Hughes, 1997), interracial friendships (Sigelman and Welch, 1991), and stereotypes (Bobo and Kluegel, 1997). We also evaluate the concurrent predictive validity of our explicit resentment measure by examining its effects on evaluations of black political figures. We end with a discussion of our findings, and some conclusions about the importance of racial resentment in political psychology.

Racial Resentment

Kinder and Sanders (1996) operationalize the notion of racial resentment and attempt to "distinguish between those whites who are generally sympathetic toward blacks and those who are unsympathetic (p. 106)." The Kinder and Sanders racial resentment measures are said to tap into the broader cognitions that promote the expression of subtle racial hostility without violating democratic norms of racial antipathy. Descriptively, the racial resentment questions are stated as assertions (i.e., the extent of agreement or disagreement with an assertion), and focus on blacks as a whole, have a strong evaluative component designed to reveal racial antipathy without referencing white supremacy, and focus on character (e.g., effort, determination, and enterprise) rather than racial superiority.

Kinder and Sanders (1996) propose that levels of racial resentment hang on the contention that "blacks do not try hard enough to overcome the difficulties they face and they take what they have not earned (1996, 105-106)." Thus, according to Kinder and Sanders, racial resentment differs from old-fashioned racism in that it raises questions about effort and determination on the part of African Americans, as opposed to references regarding genetic or biological differences. Racial resentment features annoyance and fury as its central emotional theme, and these emotions are provoked by the sense that "blacks Americans are getting and taking more than their fair share (p. 293)." That is, black Americans are undeserving of special considerations on the basis of race. This is a strong and direct conceptualization of racial resentment, and it provides clear referents for its measurement.

Measurement of Racial Resentment

The original racial resentment scale relied on a set of items conceptualized around the sense that blacks have been handed advantages, that government has provided these advantages and special favors, and that hard work, personal responsibility and sacrifice, along with self-discipline, no longer matter. Yet, none of the existing Kinder and Sanders items seem to explicitly connect the basis of resentment with both blacks and the underlying notion of unfairness or special consideration. More importantly, the items do not explicitly measure the sentiment of racial resentment. Rather the items give the implication that the source of the response is resentment.

For example, Kinder and Sanders (1996) pose the following question: "Over the past few years blacks have gotten less than they deserve." Disagreement with this question is presumed to indicate racial resentment. However, the item itself only indicates resentment if one believes that blacks have gotten more than they deserve. One could have disagreed with the question—a

prejudiced response—and still feel as though blacks have gotten exactly what they deserve, which is not necessarily resentful or racist. In another question, respondents are asked, "Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class." Disagreement with this question presumably indicates resentment; however, one could disagree with this statement, but still believe that some other structural conditions, other than slavery and discrimination, have made it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class. Moreover, similar to the first item mentioned, the resentment is implied not explicit. Finally, another measure on the resentment scale asks respondents the extent to which they agree/disagree with the following statement, "Government officials usually pay less attention to a request or complaint from a black person than from a white person." Disagreement with this item also presumably indicates resentment. However, once again, the resentment seems implicit, in that one must first believe that government officials pay more attention to a request or complaint from a black person than a white person, and then must be angry about it. One could disagree with this statement, yet either be angry at government officials, or believe that whites and blacks receive the same treatment. Thus, there is some ambiguity about the nature of the underlying source and meaning of resentment with these items.

These observations about the racial resentment items are not new. Sniderman et al. (2000) and colleagues (Sniderman and Carmines, 1997) argue that the racial resentment items have very little to do with racism, and instead mainly reflect an ideological preference related to government. These concerns are further noted by Feldman and Huddy (2005) who actually find that racial resentment is particularly associated with ideology among conservatives, and only weakly associated with measures of overt prejudice. While Kinder and colleagues (e.g., Kinder and Mendelberg, 2000) have responded to much of this criticism through various analyses of the data using a multivariate approach, the debate over the measurement of racial resentment with the original items has not gone away. Thus, we seek to extend the discussion on contemporary racial attitudes by offering a more explicit measure of racial resentment.

Our goal is not to denounce the measurement or effects of past new racism scholarship. In fact, we are highly agreeable with the notion that these measures were effective in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s because of the political context of the periods. Instead, we seek to take a more direct approach to measuring racial resentment through more explicit statements about the central emotion of "indignation" (Kinder and Sanders, 1996), and the racial basis of the resentment: beliefs about undeservingness.

Measurement of Explicit Racial Resentment (EXR)

Before we get into the measurement details, it is important to explain our conceptualization of racial resentment. At the most basic level, *resentment* is an explicit feeling of animosity or antipathy toward a person or group of people who are perceived to be unfair or unjust recipients of some benefit. While resentment can emanate from a variety of different sources, it departs from simple envy or jealousy by including a sense of injustice originating from judgments about the deservingness of some other individual or group (Feather and Sherman, 2002). Applying this to racial perceptions, *racial resentment* may also encompass anger, bitterness, or concern related to white's beliefs about the deservingness of special considerations on the basis of race. The

racially resentful person is offended by claims of racism and racial discrimination because they believe that racism and discrimination are events of the past, and attempts to use them are simply excuses for not being tough enough or working hard enough.

Based on this conceptualization, racial resentment is clearly different from the actual benefits or advantages blacks are perceived to receive because of their race. It is this conceptualization of resentment that we seek to measure.

Similar to Kinder and Sanders (1996) each of the items in our scale are posed as assertions, and for three of the four items respondents are asked the extent to which they agree (disagree) with each based on a 4-point scale (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree). On a fourth item, respondents are asked their level of "concern" with a situation.

The *explicit racial resentment* (EXR) items mainly differ from past resentment measures in their explicit connection between resentful feelings and race. As mentioned in previous conceptualizations, racial resentment is not overt racial prejudice (Kinder and Sanders, 1996); rather it is a general annoyance and anger due to race. Observe the first EXR question presented to respondents.

> *I resent all of the special attention/favors that African Americans receive; other Americans like me have problems too.*

This item explicitly considers resentment in terms of what African-Americans get relative to oneself (a non-African American). Agreement with the item acknowledges that African Americans receive special advantages, and that this is an unfair situation. However, the item does imply that African Americans do have problems [too]; it's just that these problems are no different than those of non-African Americans. This subtle suggestion fits most with the modern racism suggestion that racial discrimination is no longer a major problem; and, it gauges the belief that while all races have problems, African Americans are getting more attention and support for their problems relative to other races. Thus, stronger agreement on this item indicates that the respondent believes they are placed at a disadvantage because of African Americans.

> *African Americans should not need any special privileges when slavery and racism are things of the past.*

This item assesses the basis of special privileges for African Americans. It requires the respondent to consider two ideas, 1) that African Americans shouldn't need special privileges, and 2) that slavery and racism are not currently relevant to the situation of African Americans. Stronger agreement with this item indicates that today African Americans have virtually no excuse by which to claim special considerations.

> *How concerned are you that the special privileges for African Americans place you at an unfair disadvantage when you have done nothing to harm them?*

This item measures the extent to which individuals view special privileges for African Americans as unfair because they place the individual in a disadvantaged position for something the individual is not responsible for. The statement also asserts that African Americans already receive undeserved special privileges. This is an important feature of resentment because it reverses the blame from the past behavior of whites, to the current behavior of African Americans. Thus, it is because African Americans are making such a big deal of race that contemporary whites are blamed for the past sins of their race. Notice the response options for this item are very concerned, concerned, not concerned, or not al all concerned. More concern implies that the respondent is aware of their current racial group position and that their position is affected by what African Americans potentially get (in terms of special considerations).

For African Americans to succeed they need to stop using racism as an excuse?

This item taps into the beliefs about the prevalence of racism and its affect on African American success. Agreement assumes 1) the individual believes that African Americans use racism as a reason for their social position in society, and 2) the individual does not believe that racism is a valid reason for the position of African Americans. An underlying premise of this question is the stereotype that blacks use racism when it's convenient, rather than when it's real.

Together these items form our EXR scale. We hypothesize that this scale is aptly suited for the measure of racial resentment because the items are well descriptive of the content of the racial resentment concepts, and because they explicitly state the nature of the resentment toward blacks. Thus, the EXR on its surface has strong face validity, and contains suitable content as a parsimonious measure of racial resentment. Importantly, the items do not contain any references to government programs or politics, nor is there ambiguity in the meaning of agreement with the items.

We expect our EXR scale to be characterized by strong validity and reliability, that is has similar origins are other measures of racial resentment, and that it is predictive of political judgments related to race, such as evaluations of black political candidates. To test these expectations we conducted two studies at two universities.

Research Design and Methods

Study 1

Study 1 was designed as an initial test of the EXR items. The data utilized in Study 1 come from a series of surveys administered to an Integrative Studies (Social Differentiation and Inequality) course at Michigan State University in the Fall of 2006.[1] Over a 15-week period, at the beginning of each class, students were administered a short questionnaire (8 to 10 questions) pertaining to their racial beliefs, social environment, socialization experiences, psychological batteries, and demographic background. By breaking-up the monotony of asking a long list of

[1] As a required course, Integrative Studies Courses, intended to expose entering college students to multidisciplinary treatment of social inequality, drew from a cross-section of students and majors.

questions and to keep the goal of the survey somewhat hidden, this approach was thought to minimize the extent of response set bias and social desirability effects.[2]

Of 208 students enrolled throughout the semester, at least 60 majors were represented, and 74 percent were freshmen, 18 percent sophomores, 4 percent juniors, and 1 percent seniors.The sample contained 129 (62%) whites, 11 (5.3%) blacks, 11 (5.3%) Asians, and 3 (1.4%) Latinos. Pacific Islander and American Indian each had 1 respondent from their respective groups, and 6 respondents (2.9%) said they belonged to some "other" race not listed. Finally, 46 (22.1%) respondents did not provide their racial background when asked. We removed self-identified blacks and those who did not provide a race (assuming they may have been black also). Additionally, there were 98 (65%) females and 51 (34%) males; 2 (1.3%) respondents provided no gender. Our final sample size is 151.

Study 2

Study 2 was designed to further test the validity of our EXR items, as well as test their ability to predict political judgments. The data utilized in Study 2 come from a convenience sample of students who volunteered to participate in a mode of data collection experiment at the University of Delaware. Participants were solicited campus wide, and had the option of choosing one of three consecutive days in October 2007, to take part in the survey. On each day of the survey, different groups of students arrived in a large auditorium and selected a random number which was pre-assigned to a data collection mode: web, paper-pencil, and clicker.[3] Then students were taken to three separate locations to take their surveys. The survey included all items from Study 1, plus the web and paper-pencil versions of the survey included a number of items about Senator Barack Obama, and other "African American" public figures.

The final sample consisted of 622 respondents, including 230 (37%), 262 (42%), and 130 (21%) who were surveyed through the paper-pencil, clicker, and web modes respectively. In terms of racial backgrounds of the sample, 520 (85%) were white, 28 (5%) black, 23 (4%) Asian, and 25 (4%) Latino. Pacific Islander and American Indian each had 3 (.5%) respondents from their respective groups, and 12 respondents (2%) said they belonged to some "other" race not listed. Finally, 8 (1%) respondents did not provide their racial background when asked. Again, we removed self-identified black respondents and those who did not provide a race bringing the final working sample to 574. Of this group, 393 (69%) were females and 175 (31%) males; 6 (1%) respondents provided no gender.

The three modes have roughly the same expected proportion of respondents (χ^2(df=8)=7.5, n.s.), however, men were more likely than women to be assigned to the paper-pencil mode (χ^2(df=2)=8.5, $p<.05$). This result may be due to the larger sample's effect on the statistical test. A Lambda measure of association statistic measuring the relationship between sex and mode was

[2] At the same time, however, the items might have a tougher time cohering without the benefit acquiescence.

[3] The pre-assigned numbers were weighted to match the proportion of available seats in each setting (i.e., computer lab for web (50 or 20%), auditorium for clicker (100 or 40%), and classroom for paper-pencil (100 or 40%). Thus, the student assignment to a mode was random, but the probability of participating in the clicker or paper-pencil mode was higher.

non-significant (λ=.029, n.s.). A final validation check was run on a 7-point ideology scale, and the results reveal no significant differences in self-reported ideology across mode of data collection ($F(2,555)$=.16, n.s.). Based on these three tests we are confident that the three mode data sets can be combined to form a single file. When dealing with our racial resentment measures below we provide additional validation tests.

Variables

Our main variables in the analyses are the Kinder and Sanders racial resentment scale (RRS), the McConahay (1986) modern racism scale (MRS), and the EXR scale. We discuss the properties of these scales in more detail below. Our independent variables are diverse, and include demographics, psychological beliefs and orientations, stereotypes, affect, and interracial relationships. The exact wording and descriptive statistics for all measures can be found in the Appendix; otherwise they are stated within the text.

We collected set demographic information from the students including race, sex, and self-reported political ideology. The exact wordings of the questions can be found in the Appendix section at the end of this paper. After removing African Americans from the sample, we dummy coded race to indicate Whites (1) versus non-Whites (0). We also dummy coded sex to indicate males (1) and females (0). Political ideology was measures by a 7- point scale self-report which ranged from 1 (Extremely Liberal) to 7 (Extremely Conservative).

We also include a number of psychological constructs that have been previously found to correlate with whites' racial attitudes. We measure social dominance orientation (SDO) using a set of items reported in Sidanius and Pratto (2003). Authoritarianism is measured using Altemyers (1981) items. Dogmatism is measured using a sub-set of items from Rokeach's D-scale (Christie, 1991). We also take account of the stereotypical reasons for Black-White socio-economic differences using five items. All of the above mentioned variables were rescaled to range from zero to one, with higher values indicating more influence by the underlying construct. We also consider a measure of racial affect: a 10-point feeling thermometer question asking students to indicate the extent to which they like (dislike) blacks. We call this "Black affect". In addition, we tapped social distance with other races by asking students to indicate what percentage of close friends and associates belong to different racial/ethnic groups. We call this variable "interracial friendships."

In study 2, we were interested in testing the extent to which the resentment measures were associated with evaluations of black political figures. Thus, we asked respondents to evaluate—on a scale from zero (cold/dislike) to ten (warm/like)—a number of black public figures, including Barack Obama, Jesse Jackson, Al Sharpton, and Colin Powell. Also, since at the time of the study, Obama was in the process of running for the Democratic nomination, we asked respondents the following: "*Here are explanations some people give why other people might not feel comfortable voting for Illinois Senator Barack Obama for the Democratic presidential nomination. How about "some are afraid he'll help Black people more than whites."* Respondents could choose from "not a reason" (coded 1), "a small reason" (coded 2), and "a big reason" (coded 3). We were curious about this judgment because it explicitly states a position consistent with racial resentment in that whites may perceive blacks as getting an unfair

advantage.[4] In this case, the unfair advantage is a black candidate potentially giving special attention to blacks over whites.

The descriptive statistics for many of the variables listed above are presented in the Appendix section of this paper.

Analyzing Racial Resentment: Construct Validity and Reliability

Validity and Reliability of the Racial Resentment Scales

To assess the validity and reliability of the EXR, RRS, and MRS, we ran exploratory principal components analysis (PCA) and confirmatory (CFA) factor analysis, and calculated reliability (Chronbach Alpha (α)) statistics. The PCAs were estimated using oblique rotated (Promax) factor structures, and our interpretations were based on the estimated "structure" matrices (Tabachnick and Fidell, 2006). In cases where all items loaded on a single factor, no rotation was needed. With the PCA analyses, we are looking for a single factor solution with factor loadings greater than .500 (Comrey and Lee, 1992). Sufficient reliability is indicated by an alpha statistic of .600 or higher (Tabachnick and Fidell, 2006). Adequate fit of CFA models is indicated by a non-significant chi-square ($\chi 2$)[5], confirmatory (CFI) and normed (NFI) fit indices of $\geq$ .95 and $\geq$ .90 respectively, and a root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) of .08 or less (Tabachnick and Fidell, 2006). The PCA and reliability results of these analyses are shown in Tables 1, 2 and 3, and the CFA results are provided in the text below.

[Table 1 about here]

[Table 2 about here]

[Table 3 about here]

Study 1

The factor analyses reveal that the MRS and EXR have relatively good internal consistency (Chronbach's alpha > .60) and loadings (factor loading > .50) with the underlying constructs, but the six racial resentment (RRS) items (α = .627) from Kinder and Sanders (1996) actually produced two factors, with lower reliability scores (factor 1 α = .589; factor 2 α =.487) and eigenvalues (factor 1=2.18, explained %=36.3; factor 2=1.19, explained %=19.9). The EXR items formed a single factor (eigenvalue=1.95, variance explained=48.7%) and produced a adequate alpha (α=.644). Five of the seven MRS items formed a single factor (eigenvalue=2.53, variance explained=36.2%), with adequate reliability (α=.669). The remaining two items in the MRS scale had loadings less than .500.

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[4] We also asked respondents to evaluate the following beliefs about why people might not be willing to vote for Obama: "There's still too much racial prejudice in America," "He doesn't have enough political experience," "People don't know enough about him," "He wouldn't be able to win," and "American is not ready for a Black president."

[5] The Chi-square (χ^2) fit statistic is sensitive to sample size, and thus more likely produce statistically significant results; thus, test results should be interpreted in conjunction with other fit indices.

We found the EXR ($\chi2$ = 1.48, df = 2, p=.48; NFI = .98, CFI = 1.00, and RMSEA = .00) and MRS ($\chi2$ = 6.26, df = 14, p=.96; NFI = .97, CFI = 1.00, and RMSEA = .00) models adequately fit the data, but the fit was not as strong for the Kinder and Sanders racial resentment items ($\chi2$ = 20.8, df = 9, p=.01; NFI = .82, CFI = .88, and RMSEA = .093). Thus, our initial examination of the three resentment measures reveals that our EXR items and the established MRS scale both have a slightly stronger validity and reliability as a measure of resentment than the Kinder and Sanders racial resentment items.

Study 2

Before establishing validity and reliability for Study 2, we ensured the data are comparable across mode of data collection. To rule out mode effects we ran a comparison of means across each of the resentment measures. None of the scales—RRS (F(2,545)=.74, n.s.), MRS (F(2,531)=1.1, n.s.) or EXR (F(2,551)=.71, n.s.)—show statistically significant differences across the mode of data collection.

In study 2, the EFA reveal that all three resentment measures have relatively high internal consistency, and strong factor loadings with the underlying constructs. This time the EFA for the Kinder and Sanders racial resentment scale produced a single factor with good reliability (factor 1=2.82, explained %=46.9; α=.772), an improvement from Study 1. However, CFA of the racial resentment items indicates poor fit ($\chi2$ = 69.5, df = 9, p<.001; NFI = .91, CFI = .92, and RMSEA = .108). The EFA for the MRS items reveals a single factor with good reliability (factor 1=3.2, explained %=45.1; α=.787), but the CFA reveals moderate fit at best ($\chi2$ = 71.3, df = 14, p<.001; NFI = .92, CFI = .94, and RMSEA = .085). Finally, the EFA for the EXR items shows a single factor with good reliability (factor 1=2.35, explained %=58.7; α=.761), and the CFA shows good to moderate fit ($\chi2$ = 11.5, df = 2, p<.01; NFI = .98, CFI = .98, and RMSEA = .091). Taken together, all three resentment measures have good reliability statistics, but the EXR measure provides a stronger fit to the data than the racial resentment and MRS measures. This is mainly due to the stronger correlations among all the items of the EXR relatively to those on the racial resentment and MR metrics.

Origins of Racial Resentment: Convergent Validity

Convergent validity indicates that the effects of the measure are consistent with one's theory. Since racial resentment is theorized to stem from early pre-adult attitudes and beliefs about race, along with a blend of traditional values and conservatism, we expect that individuals who are more close-minded or dogmatic, more authoritarian, more conservative, hold negative racial stereotypes, have lower affect toward blacks, have fewer interracial friends, and have a stronger social dominance orientation, will have higher racial resentment scores (Kinder and Sanders, 1996; McConahay, 1986; Sears, 1988; Sears and Henry, 2003; Sears and Kinder, 1971). To test these hypotheses, we calculated bivariate correlations (Pearson's r), which are shown in Table 4.

[Table 4 about here]

In Study 1, racial resentment (RRS) and MRS were both strongly characterized by social dominance orientation and authoritarianism, with no other variables showing a significant relationship. The EXR measure was also most strongly characterized by a social dominance orientation and authoritarianism, but it was also significantly related to lower affect towards blacks, fewer interracial friendships, and stronger self-reported conservatism. Study 1 confirms that each of the racial resentment measures is significantly related to known correlates of negative racial attitudes. Notably, the EXR measure which contains no references to politics or government is significantly related to self-reported conservatism. This is consistent with the conceptualizations of new racism which are said to contain conservative value orientations. But, the significant relationship also indicates that resentment is not simply political, but an orientation which is more likely to occur among conservatives. This is counter to the findings of Feldman and Huddy (2005).

In Study 2, the strongest relationship among each of the three measures is support for negative racial stereotypes, while the weakest relationship is for interracial friendships. Each of the resentment measures is significantly related to more than five of the origin measures. The racial resentment (RRS) measure is most strongly associated with support for negative stereotypes, lower affect toward blacks, stronger self-reported conservatism, and a higher social dominance orientation. The MRS measure is most strongly associated with support for negative stereotypes, a higher social dominance orientation, dogmatism, and authoritarianism. The EXR measure is most strongly associated with support for negative stereotypes, stronger self-reported conservatism, and a higher social dominance orientation. Study 2 confirms that each of the resentment measures stands as a consistent indicator of negative racial attitudes. Study 2 also replicates the finding that conservatism is correlated with politically neutral racial attitudes (Sidanius and Federico, 2002).

The Effects of Racial Resentment on Political Evaluations

With the validity and reliability of the EXR measure established, we sought to test its ability to predict political judgments. We decided to focus on African American political figures because of the established research on the effects of subtle racism on black electoral politics (e.g., Kinder and McConnaughy, 2006; Sears and Kinder, 1971). Respondents from Study 2 who participated via web or paper-pencil surveys were asked to evaluate African American political figures on an 11-point (from 0 to 10) feeling thermometer type scale.[6] The list of names included Senator Barack Obama (M=7.20, SD=2.2), Reverend Jesse Jackson (M=5.06, SD=2.3), Reverend Al Sharpton (M=4.97, SD=2.3), and General Colin Powell (M=6.71, SD=2.1).[7]

Unsurprisingly, we hypothesized that those higher in racial resentment would have more negative evaluations of the political figures. However, we particularly felt the older measures of resentment, such as the Kinder and Sanders resentment scale and the MRS, would have higher

[6] Due to time constraints we decided not to ask the feeling thermometer items in the clicker mode of data collection.
[7] The list also included the Entertainer 50 Cent, Baseball Player Barry Bonds, Business Executive and Talk Show Host Oprah Winfrey, The Minister Louis Farrakhan, Entertainer & Philanthropist Bill Cosby, Supreme Court Justice Clearance Thomas, Entertainment Executive Russell Simmons, Golfer Tiger Woods, NFL Hall of Famer O.J. Simpson, Secretary of State Condoleeza Rice, and NFL Player Michael Vick. We chose to examine only Obama, Jackson, Sharpton, and Powell because each have either run for president, or in Powell's case been seriously courted as a candidate.

correlations with Jackson and Sharpton, and that our explicit measure (EXR) would have a higher correlation with Obama. Our reasoning was that the underlying racial sentiment of the 1970s and 1980s which is characterized in the RRS and MRS measures is strongly associated with black leaders who openly "push" for racial equality as a political platform. Thus, words like "demands" and "government" are likely to evoke black political figures that push these concerns. Alternatively, the EXR measure does tap into resentment, but it is free of government language and an ostensibly "black political agenda."

[Table 5 about here]

We were not only interested in the bivariate effects of resentment on evaluations of African American political figures, but also its additive effect above and beyond the origin measures used to establish convergent validity. Thus, our ordinary least squares (OLS) regression models include controls for affect towards Blacks, interracial friendships, conservatism (Ideology), support for negative stereotypes, social dominance orientation, authoritarianism, dogmatism, and sex.[8] We also included a measure of social desirability in the model to control for individual levels of acquiescence.[9]

The results from the analyses are presented in Tables 5 and 6. First, Table 5 provides the bivariate correlations showing the effect of the resentment measures on evaluations of the political figures. All three measures of racial resentment are negatively correlated with evaluations of Obama, Jackson, and Sharpton, but none of the measures is correlated with attitudes toward Powell. This is consistent with the findings of Kinder and McConnaughy (2006) who note that Powell is "racial transcendent." In spite of his attempts to remain politically deracialized, evaluations of Obama are most strongly associated with EXR. Alternatively, evaluations of both Jackson and Sharpton are most strongly associated with the Kinder and Sanders racial resentment scale and the MRS. This is consistent with our expectations; yet, we must rule out that these relatively strong associations are not due to other factors associated with our measures of resentment. Thus, we turn our attention to our OLS results presented in Table 6.

[Table 6 about here]

In Table 6 we report the standardized Beta coefficients because they allow for a comparison of the effects from the bivariate analyses shown in Table 5 and presented above. In our multivariate analysis, we regressed attitudes towards each candidate on the set of "origins" variables known to be associated with racial attitudes along with sex and a social desirability measure. Then we reran the regression with an additional racial resentment predictor. We only

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[8] For brevity reasons, we do not include the effects of the control variables in the table; however, we are happy to provide these results upon request.

[9] The social desirability (a.k.a., "need for approval") scale is based on Crowne and Marlowe's (1964) conceptualization, and contains the following items: 1) I usually try to avoid new situations; 2) Once a person makes up his mind about something he should stick to his conclusion instead of repeatedly rehashing the question; 3) I try to please others as much as I can; 4) I often follow my instincts, hunches, or intuition without thinking through all the details; 5) I like tried and true ways of doing things better than trying new and improved ways; 6) In an argument, I find it easy to give in when I begin to realize that the other person may be partially right; and 7) I am reluctant to talk about politics because it creates enemies. The scale is the mean of the set of item rescaled to range from zero to one, with higher scores indicating a more acquiescing orientation.

show the effect of the resentment measure in the table. We also provide fit statistics (R^2) and change in fit (ΔR^2) statistics to show the additive explanatory power of each resentment measure on each African American political figure.

We find a pattern similar to what is shown in the bivariate table, however, the results are much clearer. Now, MRS (*Beta*=-.077, *n.s.*) and RRS (*Beta*=-.077, *n.s.*) have no significant impact on evaluations of Obama, but EXR (*Beta*=-.144, $p<.05$) continues to show a significant negative relationship even when controlling for the entire set of origin measures. Conversely, the MRS and RRS have a significant impact on evaluations of both Jackson and Sharpton, but the EXR measure shows no significant effects these two figures. Consistent with our previous findings, none of the resentment measures are related to evaluations of Powell.

Because there is a slight chance we have found a spurious relationship with our evaluation measures and the mode of data collection (i.e., the evaluations were only assessed in web and paper-pencil modes), we decided to take our hypothesis one step further. All three modes of data collection in Study 2 were asked whether or not some people might be afraid to vote for Obama because he might help blacks more than whites (exact wording can be found in the "Variables" section of this paper under "Research Design and Methods"). Approximately 69 percent of respondents felt Obama helping blacks more than whites was either "not a reason" or "a small reason," while 31 percent felt it was "a big reason." Those who indicated it was a "big reason" were coded one, while those who said it was a "small" or "not a reason" were coded zero. Thus, we replicated the OLS regression approach used above, but this time we used logistic regression analysis to predict the chances of an individual saying "a big reason." To show these effects, we estimated unstandardized coefficients (*B*) and their standard errors (*SE*), as well as adjusted odds ratios (*OR*). The results are shown in Table 7.

Again, the EXR measure was the only significant version of resentment, as both the RRS and MRS measures failed to reach significance. After controlling for the full set of controls, the higher the EXR score, the more likely one was to report that "some other people" may have a problem voting for Obama because he would help blacks more than whites. These results suggest that the EXR measure has the ability to tap into an underlying sense of contemporary resentment that other new racism measures might miss.

Discussion and Conclusions

The study of racial attitudes over the last 30 years has led to the conclusion that racism has "changed" to be more subtle and covert (Kinder and Sanders, 1996; Sears, 1988; Sniderman and Piazza, 1993). While there is little disagreement over the general premise of "new racism" conceptualizations, there is large disagreement over how to best gauge its presence and understand its origins. Current measures of racial resentment are criticized for their content and validity (Feldman and Huddy, 2005; Sniderman and Piazza, 2000); yet, the theoretical arguments regarding the need for a better understanding of the newer forms of racism are not questioned (Sears, Sidanius, and Bobo, 2000). Thus, in our opinion the progress of the study of racial attitudes will largely depend on improving the operationalization and measurement of these

concepts. Accordingly, we place our research in the realm of this discourse by proposing an alternative means of measuring racial resentment.

We propose that the measure of racial resentment needs to be more explicit. By making the measurement more explicit, we believe the construct of resentment becomes more pronounced and has the ability to detect non-politically based racial attitudes, and avoid many of the criticism levied against more traditional measures of resentment. Although we are somewhat limited by our student population, our findings indicate that EXR has strong internal consistency and validity and is quite robust—significantly related to factors known to be associated with negative racial attitudes. These numbers signal to us that measures of new racism should continue to undergo analysis with the goal of improving our understanding of the content, origins, and effects of racial attitudes.

While we are hopeful about the ability to offer an alternative measure of racial resentment, there are a number of caveats and limitations to our findings. As reported in the "Origins of Racial Resentment" section, Study 2 found more factors to be significantly related to resentment than Study 1. The main differences between the mixed results between Study 1 and Study 2 could be due to the method of data collection (clicker vs. three modes combined), the sample of respondents (MSU vs. University of Delaware), the sizes of the samples, or the design differences (e.g., collected over the course of a semester vs. collected in a single setting). Future studies examining the resentment scales might randomize the scale offered to respondents to reduce common method problems, or likely question order effects dues to increased accessibility of racial cognitions.

Other practical limitations focus directly on the generalizability of the resentment scales. First, the research on these items is preliminary and none of the items has been tested in a national survey. Second, the fact that our items form a single factor does not mean they are a separate construct from traditional new racism measures. It is possible that the EXR items could be used in conjunction with the existing symbolic and modern racism scales, as well as the Kinder and Sanders (1996) racial resentment scale to form a multi-dimensional measure of government based racial resentment. Third, and related to the previously mentioned point, none of the items in the EXR scale are expressly political. This is intentional, so as to identify the general source of racial resentment; however, the exclusion of political references may take away from the theory related to the new racism theses.

Conclusions

A refocus on the concept of resentment helps to bring about new questions related to racial attitudes. The racial resentment term was applied to what is symbolic racism, yet resentment is something much more explicit. We have defined resentment as a general feeling related to notions of deservingness for racial groups. Such a conceptualization brings about many questions related to the connection of political science and psychology.

Because of social identity concerns, resentment may result from seeking pleasure in another's misfortune (i.e., schandenfreude) (Feather and Sherman, 2005). The perceived competitive nature of racial differences in society (i.e., equality can only be gained if whites give up some of

their prerogatives to blacks) may heighten group identities, with in-groups becoming more protective of their prerogatives by "cutting down" out-groups. Whites with lower self-esteem may gain pleasure in seeing Black Americans loose out on various issues so as to not gain an advantage over their in-group. Their internal rationale is that Blacks are undeserving of anything they get that they have not presumably worked hard to get.

Another thought is that resentment may act as a reducer of dissonance in the minds of subtle racists. Many whites may believe that blacks are undeserving of special considerations or favors based on race, while simultaneously believing that equality is important in American society. Instead of accepting cognitions that blacks should receive positive special considerations because of the negative special considerations of the past, they instead alter their thinking to believe that no one should receive anything special. This allows their racial and egalitarian beliefs to become balanced. By being resentful of any special favors, especially those based on race, the subtle racist can hold anti-black cognitions without being "anti-black."

In general, we believe the new racism models have renewed importance with the presidential candidacy of Barack Obama. Obama's popularity has both altered stereotypes about black candidate, and increased racial resentment through the subtle framing of Obama as a person who's receiving "special treatment" by the media. Some of the events of the campaign are a sad commentary on racial thinking in America, but most of the strength in Obama's message is that resentment is natural, we just need to know when it is being used instead of understanding. This is why the measurement of such a concept is so important. Without accurate measures of resentment, we may miss the opportunity to understand the racial politics of this years election, and more importantly miss the opportunity to understand the dynamic nature of racial attitudes in America.

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Appendix

Demographics

Gender

Are you male or female? (Male=1, Female=0)

Political Ideology

We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Where would you place yourself on this scale? (Extremely Liberal=1, Liberal, Slightly Liberal, Moderate, Slightly Conservative, Conservative, Extremely Conservative=7)

Racial Resentment

The Kinder and Sanders (1996) Racial Resentment Scale
(Study 1: n=111, *M*=.64, *SD*=.10, α=.627)
(Study 2: n=593, *M*=.64, *SD*=.13, α=.772)

1. Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors? (agreement)
2. Over the past few years blacks have gotten less than they deserve. (disagreement)
3. It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites. (agreement)
4. Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class. (disagreement)
5. Government officials usually pay less attention to a request or complaint from a black person than from a white person. (disagreement)
6. Most blacks who receive money from welfare programs could get along without if they tried. (agreement)

The McConahay (1986) Modern Racism Scale
(Study 1: n=88, *M*=.56, *SD*=.08, α=.669)
(Study 2: n=573, *M*=.50, *SD*=.11, α=.787)

1. It is easy to understand the anger of black people in America
2. Blacks have more influence upon school desegregation plans than they ought to have
3. Blacks are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights?
4. Over the past few years blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve
5. Over the past few years the government and news media have shown more respect to blacks than they deserve
6. Blacks should not push themselves where they are not wanted
7. Discrimination against blacks is no longer a problem in the United States

Explicit Racial Resentment Scale

(Study 1: n=116, *M*=.62, *SD*=.13, α=.644)
(Study 2: n=599, *M*=.63, *SD*=.15, α=.761)

1. I resent all of the special attention/favors that African Americans receive, other Americans like me have problems too.
2. African Americans should not need any special privileges when slavery and racism are things of the past.
3. How concerned are you that the special privileges for African Americans place you at an unfair disadvantage when you have done nothing to harm them?
4. For African Americans to succeed they need to stop using racism as an excuse?

Correlates of Racism

The Sidanius and Pratto (2003) Social Dominance Orientation Scale
(Study 1: n=95, *M*=.49 , *SD*=.10, α=.777)
(Study 2: n=577, *M*=.48 , *SD*=.11, α=.815)

1. Some groups of people are simply not the equal of others.
2. Some people are just more worthy than others.
3. This country would be better off if we cared less about how equal all people were.
4. Some people are just more deserving than others.
5. It is not a problem is some people have more of a chance in life than others.
6. Some people are just inferior to others.
7. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on others.
8. If people were treated more equally we would have fewer problems in this country.
9. We should treat one another as equals as much as possible.
10. It is probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.
11. Inferior groups should stay in their place.

Dogmatism Scale
(Study 1: n=88, *M*=.54, *SD*=.10, α=.666)
(Study 2: n=582, *M*=.57, *SD*=.09, α=.495)

1. There are two kinds of people in this world: those who are for the truth and those who are against it.
2 A group which tolerates too many differences of opinions among its members cannot exist for long.
3. To compromise with our political opponents is dangerous because it usually leads to the betrayal of our own side.
4. Of all the different philosophies that exist in the world there is probably only one that is correct.
5. In the long run the best way to live is to pick friends and associates whose tastes and beliefs are the same as one's own.
6. Most of the ideas that get printed nowadays aren't worth the paper they are printed on.

7. In this complicated world of ours the only way we can know what's going on is to rely on leaders or experts who can be trusted.
8. There are a number of people I have come to hate because of the things they stand for.

Authoritarianism Scale
(Study 1: n=86, *M*=.59 , *SD*= .09, α=.525)
(Study 2: n=590, *M*=.61 , *SD*= .09, α=.474)

1. America is getting so far from the true American way of life that force may be necessary to restore it.
2. No matter how they act of the surface, men are interested in women for only one reason.
3. Human nature being what it is, there will always be war and conflict.
4. What this country needs is fewer laws and agencies, and more courageous, tireless, devoted leaders whom the people can put their faith in.
5. What the youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determination, and the will to work and fight for your family and country.
6. People can be divided into two distinct classes: the weak and the strong.

Racial Stereotypes Scale
(Study 1: n=102, *M*=.73, *SD*=.10, α=.614)
(Study 2: n=591, *M*=.58, *SD*=.12, α=.706)

1. On the average Blacks have worse jobs, income, and housing than white people. Do you think these differences are mainly due to discrimination? (disagree)
2. Because most blacks don't have the chance for education that it takes to rise out of poverty. (disagree)
3. Because most blacks just don't have the motivation or will power to pull themselves up out of poverty. (agree)
4. Because most blacks enjoy or have no problems with being where they are in life. (agree)
5. Because most blacks irresponsible in their daily lives. (agree)

Anti-Black Affect
(Study 1: n=138, *M*=7.43, *SD*=1.7)
(Study 2: n=615, *M*=7.23, *SD*=2.0)

On a scale from 0 to 10, with 0 being cold (I really dislike this group) and 10 being warm (I really like this group), how would you rate your feelings towards black people?

Interracial Friendships
(Study 1: n=130, *M*=22.1, *SD*=25.8)
(Study 2: n=574, *M*=24.1, *SD*=24.1)

What percentage of your close friends and associates (people with whom you normally hang-out - including friends back home) are from a different racial or ethnic group?

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics and Scale Metrics for Racial Resentment

	Study 1	Study 2	Study 1		Study 2
Racial Resentment	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Loadings Factor1	Loadings Factor2	Loadings Factor1
resent01 Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors?	2.90 (.69)	2.85 (.79)	.663	-	.722
resent02 Over the past few years blacks have gotten less than they deserve	2.70 (.69)	2.68 (.69)	.571	-	.722
resent03 Its really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites	2.33 (.72)	2.33 (.76)	-	.799	.716
resent04 Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class	2.35 (.69)	2.41 (.77)	.785	-	.714
resent05 Government officials usually pay less attention to a request or complaint from a black person than from a white person	2.74 (.76)	2.56 (.74)	.687	-	.610
resent06 Most blacks who receive money from welfare programs could get along without it if they tried	2.57 (.69)	2.46 (.70)	-	.753	.614
Eigenvalues			2.18	1.19	2.82
Extracted Variance			36.3	19.9	46.9
Alpha (α)			.589	.487	.772
N			126	119	593

Notes. White students only. All items have been recoded so that higher values indicate a more resentful response. Empty cells under the factor loading columns indicate factor loading is <.50. The reliability statistic for all six items in Study 1 is .627 (N=111).

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics and Scale Metrics for Explicit Racial Resentment

Explicit Racial Resentment	Study 1 Mean (SD)	Study 2 Mean (SD)	Study 1 Loadings Factor1	Study 2 Loadings Factor1
resentd07 I resent all of the special attention/favors that African Americans receive, other Americans like me have problems too	2.35 (.76)	2.47 (.77)	.718	.805
resentd08 African Americans should not need any special privileges when slavery and racism are things of the past	2.53 (.72)	2.61 (.78)	.592	.798
resentd09 How concerned are you that the special privileges for African Americans place you at an unfair disadvantage when you have done nothing to harm them?	2.05 (.85)	2.24 (.92)	.702	.725
resentd10 For African Americans to succeed they need to stop using racism and slavery as excuses?	2.95 (.70)	2.84 (.76)	.768	.735
Eigenvalues			1.95	2.35
Extracted Variance			48.7	58.7
Alpha (α)			.644	.761
N			116	599

Notes. White students only. All items have been recoded so that higher values indicate a more resentful response.

Table 3. Descriptive Statistics and Scale Metrics for Modern Racism Scale

Modern Racism	Study 1 Mean (SD)	Study 2 Mean (SD)	Study 1 Loadings Factor1	Study 2 Loadings Factor1
modern01 It is easy to understand the anger of black people in America	2.49 (.69)	2.50 (.72)	.715	.503
modern02 Blacks have more influence upon school desegregation plans than they ought to have	2.04 (.55)	2.02 (.58)	.654	.621
modern03 Blacks are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights?	2.13 (.56)	2.09 (.70)	.726	.810
modern04 Over the past few years blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve	1.95 (.50)	1.99 (.62)	.627	.728
modern05 Over the past few years the government and news media have shown more respect to blacks than they deserve	2.03 (.61)	1.81 (.56)	.661	.752
modern06 Blacks should not push themselves where they are not wanted	1.78 (.51)	1.78 (.61)	-	.645
modern07 Discrimination against blacks is no longer a problem in the United States	3.16 (.75)	1.87 (.68)	-	.595
Eigenvalues			2.53	3.2
Extracted Variance			36.2	45.1
Alpha (α)			.669	.787
N			88	573

Notes. White students only. All items have been recoded so that higher values indicate a more resentful response. Empty cells under the factor loading columns indicate factor loading is <.50. The reliability statistic for study 1's factor with only those items loading higher than .500 is .752 (N=95).

Table 4. Origins of Racial Resentment for Study 1 and Study 2

	Study 1		
	Racial Resentment	*Modern Racism*	*Explicit Racial Resentment*
Affect towards Blacks	-.179	.031	-.204*
Interracial friendships	-.164	-.139	-.214*
Conservatism (Ideology)	.163	.076	.200*
Support for Negative Stereotypes	.071	.002	.136
Social Dominance Orientation	**.424****	**.537****	**.417****
Authoritarianism	.315**	.323*	.359**
Dogmatism	.227	.146	.201
	Study 2		
	Racial Resentment	*Modern Racism*	*Explicit Racial Resentment*
Affect towards Blacks	-.326**	-.198**	-.271**
Interracial friendships	-.108*	-.077	-.089*
Conservatism (Ideology)	.329**	.311**	.347**
Support for Negative Stereotypes	**.715****	**.611****	**.638****
Social Dominance Orientation	.361**	.536**	.343**
Authoritarianism	.280**	.391**	.308**
Dogmatism	.263**	.396**	.312**

Notes. **p<.01, *p<.05

Table 5. Racial Resentment and Evaluations of Black Political Figures

	Racial Resentment	Modern Racism	Explicit Racial Resentment
Senator Barack Obama	-.289**	-.284**	-.327**
Reverend Jesse Jackson	-.327**	-.272**	-.260**
Reverend Al Sharpton	-.325**	-.254**	-.247**
General Colin Powell	.067	.030	-.019

Notes. **p<.01, *p<.05

Table 6. Multivariate Model of Racial Resentment and Evaluations of Black Political Figures

	Standardized Beta Coefficients			
	Obama	Jackson	Sharpton	Powell
Racial Resentment (RRS)	-.077	-.219**	-.250**	.119
R^2	.15	.16	.16	.128
ΔR^2	.00	.024**	.032**	.007
Modern Racism (MRS)	-.077	-.205**	-.201**	-.006
R^2	.149	.16	.15	.12
ΔR^2	.00	.02**	.02**	.00
Explicit Racial Resentment (EXR)	-.144*	-.139	-.139	-.026
R^2	.16	.15	.14	.12
ΔR^2	.01*	.01	.01	.00

Notes. **p<.01, *p<.05. The standardized Beta coefficients and fit statistics (R^2) are the final model estimates controlling for Affect towards Blacks, Interracial friendships, Conservatism (Ideology), Support for Negative Stereotypes, Social Dominance Orientation, Authoritarianism, Dogmatism, Social Desirability, and Sex (male=1). Each resentment measure was run independent of the others. The change in ΔR^2 statistics are the effect of adding each racism measure to the model.

Table 7. Multivariate Model of Racial Resentment and Political Support For Barack Obama.

	A "big reason" why people may not vote for Obama is they fear he will help blacks more than whites.	
	B (SE)	*OR*
Racial Resentment (RRS)	1.2 (1.2)	3.4
R^2	.04	
ΔR^2	.00	
Modern Racism (MRS)	2.9 (.1.5)	17.9
R^2	.05	
ΔR^2	.00	
Explicit Racial Resentment (EXR)	4.2 (1.0)**	68.0
R^2	.10	
ΔR^2	.05**	

Notes. **p<.01, *p<.05. The logistic regression B coefficients, Adjusted Odds Ratios (OR), and fit statistics (R^2) are the final model estimates controlling for Affect towards Blacks, Interracial friendships, Conservatism (Ideology), Support for Negative Stereotypes, Social Dominance Orientation, Authoritarianism, Dogmatism, Social Desirability, and Sex (male=1). Each resentment measure was run independent of the others. The change in ΔR^2 statistics are the effect of adding each racism measure to the model.