INDEX

Abdelal, Rawi, 50
Adorno, Theodor W., 24, 112
affirmative action, 19, 159, 190, 205, 264, 267
groups, 202–5
and privilege, 134
and racial solidarity, 45, 188, 191, 205, 214
and white opinion, 33, 189
AFL-CIO, 209
African Americans, see blacks
age, 95, 115
and Civil Rights movement, 247
and economic competition, 141
and federal welfare spending, 200
and immigration opinion, 172, 176
and legacy policies, 206
and national identity, 126
and presidential vote choice, 223, 236, 241, 242, 250, 253
and privilege and guilt, 134, 136
and public opinion, 88
and racial identity and consciousness, 93, 114
and racialized policies, 194, 198
and Tea Party support, 230
and whiteness, 139
agreeableness, 110, 111, 109n27
Alba, Richard D., 299n1
alienation, racial, 13, 18, 99, 139–44, 145–8, 262
Allport, Gordon Willard, 302n13
alternative right (alt-right), 8, 276, 278
ambivalence, white, 148–51, 168
American culture, 118, 122, 152, 159, 160, 172, 273
American identity, see national identity
American Party (Know Nothing Party), 10, 41
American Recovery and Reinvestment Act, 316n18
Anglo-Protestant heritage, 106, 118, 263, 279
Anglo-Saxon heritage, 11, 92, 119, 139, 156, 166, 184
anti-elitism, 240, 242
anti-immigrant politics, 266
anti-Semitism, 24, 112, 276
Aristotle, 108
Asian Americans, 28, 227, 271
vote choice, 269
Asian immigrants, 10, 11, 175, 263
Asians, 26, 42, 80, 144, 147, 163, 277
federal spending for, 200, 214
vote choice, 218
Austria, 266
authoritarianism, 18, 24–5, 112, 113, 114, 309n30
and education level, 94–5, 114, 115
and immigration opinion, 163
and support for Trump, 235, 240, 241, 242
and vote choice, 242
Baker, Donald G., 37
Baker, Russell, 139
Baldwin, James, i, 155
Barreto, Matthew, 229
biblical inerrancy, 107
Bierstedt, Robert, 299n9
“big events,” and group identities, 41–3
“Big Five” personality, 109–11, 115, see also personality
agreeableness, 110, 111
conscientiousness, 110, 111
emotional stability, 110, 111
extraversion, 110, 111
openness to experiences, 110, 111
bilingualism, 159
birther movement, 232
birthright citizenship, 168
black identity, 64
blacks, 22, 80, 107, 140, 144, 161, 192, 227, see also non-whites
attitudes toward, 26, 141, 197, 247, 250, 253, 301n10
discrimination against, 145
federal spending for, 214
government aid to, 189
identity, 302n19
linked fate, 84
political influence, 142, 143
population growth, 98, 100
racial identity, 34
vote choice, 269
Blalock, Hubert M., 301n12
blue-collar, 9, 91, 101, 103, 104, 113, 114, 116, 261
Blumer, Herbert, 32, 33, 36–7, 41, 44
Bobo, Lawrence D., 26, 95, 145, 146, 147, 148, 300n1, 301n10, 311n19
Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo, 151
Brader, Ted, 163
Brewer, Marilyn B., 33, 34
Brexit, 266
Buchanan, Patrick J., 45, 177, 208, 221, 252–5, 258
Bush, George H.W., 208
Bush, George W., 255, 269
Byrd, Robert, 157
Canada, 208, 209
Canadian immigrants, 156, 157
Carson, Ben, 234
Carter, Asa Earl, 248
Carter, Jimmy, 250
caste system, 9
Catholicism, 10, 106
Caucasian identity, 279
Census regions, 99–100
centrality of white identity, 56–7, 174
Chin, Gabriel J., 300n17
Chinese immigrants, 161
Cho, Grace E., 30, 31, 230
Christian identity, 106, see also religious identity
citizenship, 2, 9, 119, 123, 155, 156, 159, 160, 168, 262
Citrin, Jack, 56, 163, 300n3, 310n4, 310n8
Civil Rights Act of 1964, 14
Civil Rights movement, 11, 26, 31, 42, 93, 139, 157, 249, 250, 269, 270, 300n20
and group identity, 13, 222
and presidential candidate choice, 246–7
and racial sympathy, 14
threats, 37
and white hegemony, 12
Civil War, 41
class, 117
blue-collar, see blue-collar
and income level, 103
middle class, see middle class
working class, see white working class
Clinton, Bill, 208, 252, 278
Clinton, Hillary, 91, 239
collective orientation, 60, 67–9
color-blind racism, 28, 47, 150–1, 153
commonality, 3, 56, 58, 65–6
competing factors, 114
competition, 140–3, 146
conscientiousness, 110, 111
consciousness, see group consciousness
conservatism, 14, 107, 134
construct validity, in identity and consciousness measurement, 73–5
Converse, Philip, 187, 313n1
Cramer, Katherine, 99, 115
Croll, Paul R., 308n3, 311n26
Cruz, Ted, 234, 238, 239
cultural identity, 163, see also American culture
cultures, 160, see also American culture; multiculturalism
darkest side of white identity, 275–7
dawson, michael c., 84, 85, 86, 303n3
deep South, 99, 270
democrats, democratic party, 218,
221, 271
anti-immigrant sentiments, 172
and black identity, 107
ideology, 250, 270, 272
presidential candidates choice, 235,
249, 271
from south, 192
in south, 270
vote choice, 223, 270, 272
demographic changes, 1, 11, 17, 19,
23, 31, 41, 42, 46, 49, 265–6,
271, 275
demographic characteristics, 92–3
age, 93
education, 94–7
gender, 93–4
DeWitt, Larry, 313n2
discriminant validity, in identity and
consciousness measurement,
75–6
discrimination, perceptions of, 66–7
diversity, 2, 7, 16, 42, 117
attitude toward, 265
in Europe, 265
and group identity, 26, 115
and immigration, 1, 2, 105, 152,
185, 220
and in-group identity, 8
and politics, 7, 91
threats, 126, 139, 188, 253, 260,
271, 281
Doane, ashley, 29, 35
dole, Bob, 252
dominance, threat to, 39, 159, 160–1
dominant group identity, 5, 12, 17, 23,
43, 52, 118, 152
behaviors of, 43
and education, 94, 95, 97
ideology and status, 95, 97, 113, 128
and personality, 109
power and privilege, 268, 274
symbolic interests, 39
two of, 34–6
and threats, 36, 40, 41, 43, 44,
184, 263
whiteness, 152–4
double consciousness, 12
Dowd, Maureen, 219
Du Bois, W.E.B., 12, 117
Duckitt, John H., 112, 301n6
Duff, Brian. 56
Duke, David, 276, 277, 300n12
Dyer, richard, 118
economic circumstances and evaluations,
see also income levels
and Civil Rights movement, 247
and economic competition, 141
and federal welfare spending, 200
and immigration opinion, 176
and national identity, 126
and outsourcing, 210
political candidate choice, 227
and presidential vote choice, 223, 236,
250, 253
and privilege and guilt, 134
and racialized policies, 194, 198
and Tea Party support, 230
and whiteness, 139
economic competition, 140–2, 152, 154
economic evaluations and
circumstances, 100–5
economic mobility, 11, 105
economic self-interest, 86, 87, 101,
116, 117, 154, 172,
208, 242
education, 95, 115, 256, 261, 308n5
and authoritarianism, 94–5
and Civil Rights movement, 247
and dominant group identity, 97
and economic competition, 141
and federal welfare spending, 200
and identity and consciousness, 84,
94–7
and immigration opinion, 172, 176
and legacy policies, 206
and national identity, 126
and outsourcing, 210
and political participation, 257
education (cont.)
and presidential vote choice, 223, 236, 241, 250, 253
and privilege and guilt, 134, 136
and public opinion, 88
and racial solidarity, 88, 115
and racialized policies, 194, 198
and Tea Party support, 230
and white privilege, 136
and whiteness, 139
effect of white identity, estimation of, 86–9
elites, 8, 191
black elites, 46
and Civil Rights movement, 26
and conservatism, 106
and liberalism, 249
and politics, 16, 20, 43, 109, 191, 192, 209, 216, 274
and populism, 240
and rural consciousness, 99
voice of, 278–9
and welfare programs, 192
and working class, 9
emotional stability, 110, 111
employment status, 114, 116
and immigration opinion, 164, 167, 176
and legacy policies, 206
and national identity, 126
and outsourcing, 209, 210
and political candidate choice, 227
and political participation, 256
and presidential vote choice, 223, 236, 241
and racialized policies, 194, 198
and Tea Party support, 230
and vote choice, 101
English immigrants, 156, 157
Ervin, Sam, 157
ethnic identity, 35, 56, 64, 118, 119, 239, 277
ethnocentrism, 24, 25, 33, 112, 307b42, 316n15
and immigration, 163
Europe, immigration to, 266
European identity, 119, 265–6
European immigrants, 10, 11, 118, 159, 164
Evans, Arthur S., 37, 189, 301n12
exclusionism, 125
extraversion, 110, 111
fascism, 24
feeling thermometer, racial identity measurement, 80–2
attitude toward Hispanics, 145, 165, 176
attitude toward KKK, 80, 241
attitude toward Tea Party, 229
in-group attitude, 174, 175, 193, 247
and linked fate, 85
support for Buchanan, 233
support for Trump, 235, 241
white consciousness, 239
Feldman, Stanley, 95
Fitzgerald, F. Scott, 10
food stamps, 188, 193, 196
Ford, Gerald, 252
France, 266
Frankenburg, Ruth, 118
free trade, 209, 211, 214, see also imports; North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)
French immigrants, 157
Gabennesch, Howard, 95
Gaertner, Samuel L., 279
Gay, Claudine, 85
gender, 95, 115
and Civil Rights movement, 247
and economic competition, 141
and federal welfare spending, 200
and legacy policies, 206
and national identity, 126
and outsourcing, 210
and presidential vote choice, 223, 236, 241, 250, 253
and privilege and guilt, 134
and public opinion, 88
and racial identity and consciousness, 93–4
and racialized policies, 194, 198
and Tea Party support, 230
and vote choice, 242
and whiteness, 139
German immigrants, 157, 311n2
Gilens, Martin, 197, 314n8
Giles, Michael W., 37, 189, 301n12

globalization, 7, 9, 207–13, 246

backlash to, 3

consequences of, 19, 91, 101, 264

issue positions related to, 191

outsourcing and imports, 207–12

Goldwater, Barry, 249, 270

government

aid to blacks and other groups, 33, 189, 190, 198–202, 264, see also welfare programs

scope of, 76, 88, 165, 172, 176, 198, 200, 210, 241

size of, 85, 176, 194, 230, 242

Great Depression, 192

group conflict, 13, 24, 25, 110, 280, see also racial conflict

group consciousness, 5, 39–41, 46, see also white consciousness

group favoritism/love, 136, 264

group identity, 7, 13, 21, 50, 92, 113, 187–8, see also dominant group identity

and commonality, 65–6

and political attitudes, 59, 159

and political behavior, 38–9

and pride, 64–5

survey measures, 51

group identity measurement, 55–6

assessment of, 69–82

bias, 69–71

construct validity, 73–5

discriminant validity, 75–6

extremism, 81–2

feeling thermometer, 82–3

group evaluations, 57–8

identity centrality, 56–7

in-group love, 78–81

interdependence, 83–6

out-group hate, 78–81

race of interviewer effects, 71–3

single-item measure, 58–9

group position theory, 27, 29, 33, 35, 36–7, 140

group threat, 36–7, 43

groups, 29, 262, see also in-group; out-group

affirmative action, 202–5

attitudes, 211–15

cohesion of, 304n15

collective action, 39, 40, 159

collective guilt, 18, 154

collective interests, 7, 16, 23, 36, 38, 41, 43, 188, 190, 221, 261

collective racial guilt, 132

collective self-esteem, 128

grievances, 39, 40, 44, 46, 116, 119, 139–44, 145, 147, 262, 278

isolationism, 211–13

legacy admissions, 205–6

Medicare, 193–6

privileged status, 44

racialized policies, 192–3

opposition to, 196–202

Social Security, 192–3

stereotyping, 82

white prejudice and public opinion, 187–8

Hainmueller, Jens, 162

Helms, Janet E., 47, 48, 309n27

Higham, John, 160

Hiscox, Michael J., 162

Hispanic identity, 64, 273

Hispanics, 80, 81, 88, 140, 141, 144, 163, 165, 238, 253, 273

affirmative action, 203

attitudes toward, 141, 167, 172, 173, 185, 227

discrimination against, 144, 145

federal spending for, 200, 214

heritage, 2

immigrants, 173

and immigration opinion, 176

political influence, 142, 143

discipline, 184, 269

Hochschild, Arlie, 100

Hochschild, Jennifer, 85

Hofstadter, Richard, 12

home ownership, 103, 113

Hooper, Michael, 56, 304n14

Huddy, Leonie, 304n15

Hungarian immigrants, 273

Hungary, 265

Huntington, Samuel, 159

Hutchings, Vincent L., 145, 147, 301n10, 302n23, 311n19
identity centrality, 56–7, 174
identity salience, 29, 36, 89, 178, 233, 260, 275, 280
and threat, 37–8
ideological identity, 76, 87, see also political ideology
illegal immigrants, 159
illegal immigration, 175, 233
Immigration Act of 1924, 10, 11, 13, 153–6
Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, 119
Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 (Hart-Cellar Act), 11, 157–8
immigration(s)/immigrants, 1, 7, 18, 42, 44, 91, 156, 263, 264
attitude toward, 313n28
beliefs about the consequences of, 168–72
challenges, 156–60
and demographic changes, 179–84
dominance threat, 160–1
economic burdens, 161
and ethnocentrism, 163
from Europe, 11
hostility toward, 163–4
illegal immigration, 175, 233
legislations, 2
opinion
measurement, 164–74
over time, 173–7
postcolonial waves of, 9
preference for decreasing levels of, 165–7
and status of children, 168
status threat, 185
symbolic attitudes, 163
threats, 178–84
welfare state burdens, 161
and white consciousness, 173
white opposition to, 161–4
and white solidarity, 173
imports, 207–12
income levels, 93, 104, 110, 114, 116, see also economic circumstances and evaluations
and class, 103, 104
and political participation, 256
and racial solidarity, 103
and vote choice, 101
individual oriented theories, intergroup relations, 24–6, 29, 32
individuals, see also blacks; non-whites; white identifiers; whites
authoritarianism, 112
competing factors, 114
demographic characteristics, 92–3
age, 93
education, 94–7
gender, 93–4
economic evaluations and circumstances, 100–5, 163, 165, 235
geographical characteristics across America, 99
rural America, 99–100
South, 97–9
personality, 108–9
traits, 109–11
political ideologies, 187
religious identity, 105–7
social dominance orientation, 112–14
in-group attitudes, 5, 29, 45, 79, see also groups
and Civil Rights movement, 247
dominant status, 112
and immigration opinion, 174, 175, 189
and Obama’s electoral success, 4
and out-group attitudes, 154, 194
and out-group bias, 34
political competition, 143
political influence, 29, 33, 55, 215, 222, 246, 257
political preferences, 211
and racial solidarity, 90
and racialized social policies, 193, 197
and social identity, 33
vote choice, 250, 255
white supremacism, 8
in-group favoritism/love, 16, 17, 33–4, 275, see also groups
affects of, 276, 279
and dominance, 35
and group identity, 78–81, 83, 113, 214
power of, 267–9
and racial solidarity, 43
and social identity, 27, 43, 126
in-group identity, 5, 37, 40, 109, 110, 112, 113, 142, 203
see also groups
in-group solidarity, 30, 37, 189, 236, 264
interdependence, 83–6
intergroup behavior, 17
intergroup conflict, 17, 22, 140, 145, 189, see racial conflict
intergroup emotions theory, 179, 182, 184
intergroup oriented theories, 24, 25, 27–8, 29, 32, 34
intergroup relations, 24
individual oriented theories, 24–6
intergroup oriented theories, see intergroup oriented theories
intolerance, 25, 112
invisibility of white identity, 29–31
Irish immigrants, 9, 157, 273, 300n14
isolationism, 211–13
Italian immigrants, 273
Italy, 265
Jackman, Mary R., 32, 95, 115, 300n19, 308n4
Jackson, Jesse, 208
Jardina, Ashley E., 175
Jim Crow racism, 26, 248, 277
Johnson, Lyndon, 157, 216, 249
Kam, Cindy D., 307n42
Kasich, John, 234
Kauffman, Eric P., 274
Kennedy, Edward, 137
Kennedy, John F., 221, 248
Kennedy, Robert F., 157
Kerry, John, 269
Key, V.O., 260, 278, 301n12
Kiewiet, D. Roderick, 87
Kim, Cindy D., 193, 316n15
Kinder, Donald R., 14, 29, 87, 163, 191, 193, 300n20, 302n17, 307n42, 314n10, 316n15
King, Martin Luther, Jr, 139
King, Rodney, 255
Klinkner, Philip A., 303n25
Know Nothing Party, see American Party (Know Nothing Party)
Knowledge Networks (KN), 53
Knowles, Eric D., 303n5
Ku Klux Klan (KKK), 8, 57, 80–1, 82, 241, 275, 276, 278
labor market competition, 162
laborers, 104
laissez-faire racism, 300n1
languages, 160, 184
Lasswell, Harold, 27
Latin American immigrants, 11
Latinos, 28, 140, 159, 227, 271
immigration, 160
population growth, 98
presidential candidate from, opposition to, 227–8
protest against restrictive immigration legislation, 2
Lee, Taeku, 281
legacy admissions, 205–6
Levy, Morris, 313n2
Lichtenstein, Nelson, 313n2
Lieberman, Robert, 192
Limbaugh, Rush, 218–19
linked fate, 83–6
Lipsitz, George, 118
Los Angeles County Social Survey (LACSS), 61
Los Angeles Times, 175, 276
managerial workers, 104
Mansfield, Edward D., 208
Marotz, Karen, 299n1
Marxism, 13
Mason, Lillian, 319n9
material interests, 95
McCain, John, 217, 269
McClain, Paula D., 39
McDermott, Monica, 91, 303n26
McGovern, George, 250
McIntosh, Peggy, 129
Medicaid, 193
Medicare, 193–6, 234, 258, 264, 272
Mexican immigrants, 2, 159, 232, 233
Mexico, 168, 173, 208, 209
middle class, 104, 116, 122, 229
militia movements, 8
Miller, Deborah L., 132, 134
Mills, Charles, 21
mistrust of experts, 240, 242
modern racism, 14, 25
Mondak, Jeffery J., 110
Morrison, Toni, 118
multiculturalism, 5, 159, 246, 253, 266, 273, see also American culture
Muslims, 80, 81, 232, 276
Mutz, Diana C., 208, 317n38
Myers, Dowell, 313n23
Myrdal, Gunnar, 32
myth of white minority, 273–4
Nader, Ralph, 208
national economic evaluations, see economic circumstances and evaluations
national identity, 12, 18, 44, 128, 154, 163, 279
boundaries, 123–6
hard boundaries, 123, 125
soft boundaries, 123, 125
and group identity, 56
and immigration threats, 105, 167
and religious identity, 106
and whiteness, 119–22, 156, 262
nationalism, 277
nationhood, 265
Native American Party, see American Party (Know Nothing Party)
nativism, 275, 276
naturalization, 9, 10, 119, 311n1
Naturalization Act of 1790, 9, 10
Nazi Party, scientific racism of, 13
neo-Nazis, 8, 57, 275, 276
neuroticism, 110
New Deal, 192
New York Times, 175
Nieli, Russell, 299n10
Nixon, Richard, 14, 45, 191, 221, 250–1, 258, 270
non-Hispanic whites, 53, 54, 55, 181, 260
non-whites, 71, 72, 233, 307n42
economic and political competition, 262, 268
immigrants, 10, 164
inequalities, guilt feeling about, 132
inferiority of, 12
negative attitude toward, 125
politicians, 45, 159, 217, 220, 227, 257, 258
population growth, 3, 98, 100, 178, 181, 185, 249
and racial hierarchy, 280
and status threats, 29
and Tea Party sympathizers, 229
North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), 208–9, 252
Norway, 266
Obama, Barack, 1, 23, 45, 139, 257–8, 259, 264, 269, 275
birthplace controversy, 299n6
election of, 42, 216, 217
aftermath, 2
opposition to, 227–8
opposition to, 4, 145
re-election of, 218
support among whites, 218
and Tea Party, 228–30
threat of, 222–4
as threat to group interests, 225–6
vote choice, 223
Oliver, Eric, 240
Omni, M., 300n13
openness to experiences, 110, 111
oppressed minority, whites as, 46–7
O’Reilly, Bill, 219–20
out-group animosity/hate, 5, 33–4, 44, 151, 221, 275
and dominance, 43, 81
and group identity, 78–81
Hispanic feeling thermometer, 145
and immigration opinion, 164
and personality, 24, 112
power of, 267–9
and race relations, 13
and racial solidarity, 140, 190
and racialized policies, 196
and social identity, 43
and social solidarity, 44
and Tea Party, 229
and threats, 37, 43
out-group attitudes, 5, 24, 88
affirmative action, 203
and immigration, 163, 164, 176, 179, 189
and in-group attitudes, 154, 194
and linked fate, 85
and political competition, 142
political competition, 143
and racial resentment, 15, 30, 126
vote choice, 224, 255
out-group discrimination, 113
out-group identity, 17, 27, 28, 29, 144, 154, 188, 262
outsourcing, 4, 19, 91, 101, 188, 207–12, 214, 264, 272, see also globalization
Outten, H. Robert, 313n24
Parker, Christopher, 229
partisanship, 49, 56, 75, 87, 107, 110, 270
and political participation, 256
and presidential vote choice, 223, 242
party identity, 75, 76, 85, 126, 179, 242, 304n16
and Civil Rights movement, 247
and economic competition, 141
and federal welfare spending, 200
and immigration opinion, 167, 176
and legacy policies, 206
and outsourcing, 209
and presidential candidate choice, 227
and presidential vote choice, 222, 236, 241, 242, 250, 253
and privilege and guilt, 134
and racialized policies, 194, 198
and Tea Party support, 230
and whiteness, 139
party ideology, 75, 126, 179
and economic competition, 141
and federal welfare spending, 200
and immigration opinion, 167, 176
and legacy policies, 206
and presidential vote choice, 222, 236
and privilege and guilt, 134
and racialized policies, 194, 198
and Tea Party support, 230
and vote choice, 242
and whiteness, 139
party politics, future of, 269–73
Peng, Kaiping, 303n5
perceived competition, 140–3
perceptions of deprivation, 66–7
Pérez, Efrén O., 175
Perot, Ross, 208
personal and national economic evaluations, see economic circumstances and evaluations
personality, 108–9, 115, 261
authoritarianism, 112
social dominance orientation, 112–14
traits, 109–11
agreeableness, 110, 111, 309b27
conscientiousness, 110, 111
emotional stability, 110, 111
extraversion, 110, 111
openness to experiences, 110, 111
Petró, Gregory A., 227
Phinney, Jean S., 35
Piazza, Thomas L., 302n20
Poland, 265
policy preferences, 273
Polish immigrants, 273
political behavior, 4, 31, 40, 75, 87, 110, 257, 274
and group identity, 38–9, 56
and personality, 108
and racial hierarchy, 34
vote choice, see vote choice of working class, 100
political competition, 142–3, 152, 154
political consciousness, 40
political consequences of white racial identity, 29–31
of white racial solidarity, 43–5, 263–5
political elites, 192, 209, 216, 274, 278–9, see also elites
political ideology, 49, 75, 87, 107, 110, 167, 185, 187
and outsourcing, 209
and political participation, 256
and presidential candidate choice, 227
and presidential vote choice, 223, 236, 241
political knowledge, 256, 257
political mobilization, 255–7, 259, 271
political power of white identity, 30
political preferences, 4, 31, 61, 64, 75, 86, 88, 101, 257–9, 274
and group attitudes, 109, 213, 246
and linked fate, 86
and personality, 108, 109
and prejudice, 15, 36
political preferences (cont.)
and racial identity, 33, 42, 76, 86, 230
and racial solidarity, 15, 217, 245
and symbolic attitude, 25
and white consciousness, 235
of working class, 100
population displacement, 159
populism, 235, 240, 276
and support for Trump, 241
and vote choice, 242
potato blight, 9
power theory, 27, 29, 33
power-threat hypothesis, 309n16
Pratto, Felicia, 95
prejudice, 5, 19, 24, 27, 32, 82, 112, 140, 264, 280, 299n8, 301n8
and political preferences, 15, 36
and public opinion, 188–90
and racial solidarity, 302n13
presidential candidates
evaluations and threat, 245–6
Buchanan, Patrick, 252–5
and Civil Rights movement, 246–7
Nixon, Richard, 250–1
Obama, Barack, see Obama, Barack
Wallace, George, 247–9
presidential election
2004, 269
2012, 218, 219, 222, 223, 224, 230, 257, 264, 268, 269
2016, 2, 8, 19, 34, 91, 100, 207, 234, 241, 253, 260, 269, 271, 300n12
pride, 62–4, 138, 262
primitive self-interest, 87
privilege, 126–32, 134, 154, 263, 311n11
measurement of, 132–6
professionals, 104
Protestantism, 14, 26, 92, 106, see also
religious identity
psychological wage, 117
public opinion, 28, 49, 52
effect of white identity on, 86–9
and white prejudice, 188–90
quota system, 11, 13
abolishment of, 157
race
history of, 21
social implications of, 22
race relations, 5, 11, 13, 22, 23, 25, 26, 32, 34, 217, 281, 300n1, see also
racial conflict
and racial resentment, 26
racial and ethnic composition and
diversification, see diversity
racial and ethnic minority group
identity, 27–8
racial attitudes, 12–15, see also in-group
attitudes; out-group attitudes
framework for, 15–17
future of, 17
nature of, 7
study of, 12–15
racial commonality, 65–6
racial conflict, 6, 7, 13, 26, 267, 276, 281, see also race relations
and out-group attitudes, 5
and group attitudes, 280
nature of, 7, 23, 26, 34, 267, 268
political implications, 154
and prejudice, 5
and racialized policies, 29
study of, 12–15
racial consciousness measurement,
see also group consciousness;
white consciousness
assessment of, 69–82
bias, 69–71
construct validity, 73–5
discriminant validity, 73–6
race of interviewer effects, 71–3
race of interviewer effects, 71–3
race discrimination, 144–5
racial equality, 22, 138, 190
racial hierarchy, 5, 22, 60, 230, 273, 274, 279, 280, 300n1
Civil War, 41
immigrant groups, 273
in-group attitudes, 45
and political behavior, 35
and racial identity, 28, 48
resistance to, 281
and status, 12, 20, 23, 36, 208, 267, 272
threats to, 37, 44, 190, 208
and working class, 117
racial identity, 4, 6–7, 28, see also specific identities and concepts
importance of, 62–4
racial inequality, 5, 20
racial integration, and white hegemony, 12
racial pride, see pride
racial purity, 159
racial resentment, 5, 14, 16, 25, 81, 82, 200, 280, 301n8, 312n16
and affirmative action, 202, 203, 205, 267
criticism, 15
and discrimination, 145
and economic competition, 141
and federal welfare spending, 202, 267
and legacy policies, 206
linked fate, 85
and national identity, 126, 154
and opposition to busing, 30
out-group attitudes, 88
and prejudice, 36, 190
and presidential candidate choice, 222
and presidential vote choice, 223, 236, 241, 242
and privilege and guilt, 134, 136, 154
and public opinion, 26, 33, 144, 190
and race relations, 26
and racial alienation, 148
and racial attitudes, 241
and racial guilt, 136
and racial identity, 29, 30, 78, 79, 268
and racial solidarity, 49
and racialized political policies, 15, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198
and Tea Party support, 230, 257
and vote choice, 242, 269, 270
and white consciousness, 81, 241
white identifiers, 79, 151, 154
and whiteness, 139
racial solidarity, 3–4, 18, 30, 48–9, 88, 207, 302n13
and affirmative action, 203, 205, 214
and attitude toward Trump, 240–2
consequences of, 34
and demographic changes, 46
and economic evaluations, 105
and education, 88, 115
exploitation of, 255
and federal welfare spending, 194, 195, 198, 200, 202
future of, 279–81
and gender, 94
and globalization, 207–13
grievance and alienation, 140, 145, 148
high white identifiers, 8
and immigration opinion, 156, 168, 172, 173, 179, 184, 185, 187
and income, 103
and inequality, 48
influence of, 7
influences on political attitudes and behavior, 86
and national identity, 122, 152
national identity, 120
nature of, 5, 6, 7, 261–3
and occupation, 114, 116
and personality, 115
political consequences of, 43–5, 245, 261, 263–5
and political influence, 143
political power of, 52
and political preferences, 15, 213, 216, 217, 221, 227, 230, 246, 247, 257, 268
and politics, 42
power and privilege, 259
presence and prevalence of, 61–6, 90
power and privilege, 152, 214
and racial resentment, 49
and racialized political policies, 188, 192–3, 194, 197
and residence, 99, 100, 115
role of, 9
in South, 97, 99, 115
and status, 216
and vote choice, 242, 269
and whiteness, 139
and working class, 101
racial status quo, 20, 22, 23, 30, 43, 115
racialized policies, 192–3
Medicare, 193–6
opposition to, 196–202
Social Security, 192–3, 194–6
racialized social system theory, 28
Rahn, Wendy, 240
reactionary conservatism, 28
Reagan, Ronald, 14, 189, 191, 193, 272
realistic group conflict theory, 27, 39, 101, 116, 140, 189
region, and identity, 114, see also South
religious identity, 56, 91, 105–7, 114
Republicans, Republican Party, 87, 177, 219, 252, 271
anti-immigrant sentiments, 172
and Civil Rights movement, 270
conservatism, 75, 78, 106, 270
on federal welfare spending, 214
ideology, 250, 270, 272
immigration policies, 234
linked fate, 85
presidential candidacy, 2, 235, 236, 270
and Tea Party, 228
vote choice, 223, 270, 272
and white identifiers, 76, 234, 261, 269, 272
and whiteness, 107, 202, 228
reverse racism, 144
Richardson, Tina Q., 309n27
Romney, Mitt, 19, 222, 257, 264, 269
Roosevelt administration, 192
Roosevelt, Franklin D., 196
Rove, Karl, 217
Rubio, Marco, 234, 238, 239
Rumbaut, Rubén G., 299n1
rural consciousness, 99
rural residence, 99, 100, 114, 115, 116
Samson, Frank L., 91, 303n26
Sanchez, Gabriel R., 307n46
Sanders, Bernie, 238, 239
Sanders, Lynn, 14, 191, 300n20, 314n10
Santelli, Rick, 316n19
Savalei, Victoria, 61, 62, 279
Scandinavian immigrants, 157
Schickler, Eric, 139n7
Schildkraut, Deborah J., 227, 310n4
scientific racism, 12
and Nazism, 13
Sears, David O., 29, 30, 31, 61, 62, 279, 300n1, 302n17, 303n24
self-categorization theory, 55, 126, 301n11
self-esteem, 94, 128
semi-skilled workers, 104
Sidarius, Jim, 95, 115, 301n5
Sides, John, 163
Silvestri, Timothy J., 309n27
Smith, Ellison DuRant “Cotton Ed,” 153–6
Smith, Rogers M., 303n25
Sniderman, Paul M., 302n20
Social Darwinism, 12
social desirability bias, in identity and consciousness measurements, 69–71
social dominance orientation (SDO), 25, 112–14
social dominance theory (SDT), 25, 35
social identity definition of, 55
theory, 27, 29, 33, 35, 37, 43, 94, 126, 302n18
Social Security, 192–3, 194–6, 234, 258, 264, 272, 313n3
Social Security Act of 1935, 192
social welfare, see welfare programs
sociotropic information, 87, 145, 172
Sotomayor, Sonia, 299n2
South, 97–9, 247, 250, 253, 318n52
Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), 275
southern racism, 313n2
Spencer, Richard, 276
status, 94, 277
threat, 39, 43, 48
and collective action, 39
due to immigration, 185
perception of, 208, 269
and prejudice, 32
Steele, Shelby, 129
Stenner, Karen, 95, 112
stereotypes, 15, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 189, 193, 241, 264, 280
Stormfront, 320n19
Suhay, Elizabeth., 163
Sumner, William Graham, 33
Swain, Carol M., 160, 299n10
Sweden, 266
Swedish immigrants, 156
Swim, Janet K., 132, 134
symbolic interests, 38, 39, 95
symbolic politics theory, 25
symbolic racism, 14, 25, 26, 30, 301n8
criticism, 15
Tajfel, Henri, 55
Tate, Katherine, 84
Taylor, Jared, 276
Tea Party movement, 28, 220,
228–30, 257
Temporary Assistance for Needy Families
(TANF), 196
Theiss-Morse, Elizabeth, 123, 125, 310n7
threats
affirmative action, see
affirmative action
competition, 140–3, 146
demographic changes, 179–84
due to globalization, see globalization
due to immigration, see immigration(s)
and group consciousness, 39–41
group threat, 36–7, 43, see also groups
and identity salience, 37–8
nature and types of, 41–3
to status, see status
tolerance, 94, 95, 277
trade policies, 4, 264
free trade, 211, 214, see also imports;
North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)
Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), 208
Transue, John E., 227
tribalism, 275
true Americans, 123, 125, 126, 262,
see also national identity
Trump, Donald, 4, 19, 23, 165, 276, 278,
300n12, 317n37, 320n19
attitudes toward, 240–2
election of, 91, 101, 207–8, 219, 258,
265, 272, 281
exploitation of whites’ concerns, 208,
209, 221, 246–7, 255
immigration policies, 2–3
political policies, 209
positive evaluations before primaries, 235–9
racial hierarchy, 45
rise of, 230–5
alternative explanations for, 240–2
supporters of, 91, 101, 245, 267, 269
unemployed persons, 87, 103, 141,
165, 242
union membership, 104, 114, 210
United Kingdom, 266
Brexit, 266
US Naturalization Law of March 26,
1790, 311n1
Valentino, Nicholas A., 175, 303n24
Vance, J.D., 100
Vargas, Edward D., 307n46
Vercellotti, Timothy, 227
vote choice/voting behavior, 19, 222,
224, 225, 241, 242
Asians, 218
blacks, 269
Hispanics, 218
and linked fate, 86
and racial identity, 222, 223, 224, 257,
264, 269
and racial resentment, 223, 269
and racial solidarity, 15, 269
and Tea Party support, 230
and white consciousness, 242
Voting Rights Act of 1965, 14, 216
Wallace, George C., 39, 45, 191, 221,
247–9, 258
Wand, Jonathan, 310n8
Warren, Robert Penn, 50
Washington Post, 175
welfare programs, 19, 30, 190, 264, 267
and racial solidarity, 45, 191
racialized policies, 196–202
spending on, see government, aid to
blacks and other groups
Western civilization, 275
Western European immigrants, 156
white consciousness, 17, 29, 239, 242,
see also group consciousness
and affirmative action, 19
collective orientation, 67–9
and extremism, 81–2
and gender, 114
geographic differences, 98
and immigration opinion, 173
and legal policies, 206
measurement, 51, 54, 59–61, 241
perceptions of deprivation, 66–7
white consciousness (cont.)
and political attitudes, 6
and presidential vote choice, 242
and privilege, 129
and status, 260
and support for Trump, 241
and vote choice, 242
and welfare programs, 19
and white identity, distinction between, 40
and whiteness, 90
white dominance, 6
threat to, 160–1
white ethnic identities, 118
white group consciousness, see groups;
white consciousness
white guilt, 128–32, 134
measurement of, 132–6
white hostility, 27, 32, 33, 36, 267
white identifiers, 95, 115, 238, 268, 272, 274, see also individuals
attitudes, 18, 90, 152
competing factors, 114
concerns, 209, 220
diversity, 261
geography, 99, 100
group favoritism, see group favoritism/
love
group identity, see groups
high, 8, 18, 81, 103, 111, 165, 227,
236, 310n2
home ownership, 103, 113
identity defense, 137
and KKK, 80, 81
low, 96, 121, 310n2
middle class, 104
and national identity, 44, 123–6, 262
opposition to globalization, 208
opposition to immigration, 167,
168, 173
opposition to welfare program aid,
213, 214, 264
political choice, 76, 107, 202, 222,
227, 234, 245, 257, 258, 274
political marginalization, 19
political mobilization, 39
pride, 74, 138, 262, 263
privileges, 44, 130, 131, 134, 136
professional occupation, 104
and racial resentment, 79
religious identification, 106, 125
and response to threats, 38
semi-skilled, 104
social identity, 119
in South, 18
and stereotyping, 82
and supremacism, 81
threats due to demographic change, 179–84
union membership, 103
working class, 91, 104
white minority, 181, 182, 249, 273–4
white nationalism, 8, 160, 275, 276,
see also national identity
white privilege, 47–8
White Racial Attitude Identity Scale
(WRAIS), 47
white racial consciousness, 160, see also
white consciousness
white racial solidarity, see racial
solidarity
white supremacist, 8, 52, 81, 90, 118,
275, 276, see also white identifiers
attitude toward, 275
insidious groups, 8, 57, 80
and racial identity, 276
support to Trump, 232
and white identity and consciousness, 149
white working class, 8–9, 91, 100, 101,
103, 104, 116, 117, 209, 235
White, Ariel, 85
whitewashed, 6, 9, 11, 47, 57, 152–4, 279,
303n27
ambivalence, 148–51, 168
celebration of, 136–8
grievance and alienation, 139–44
and guilt, 128–32
and national identity, 119–22
boundaries, 123–6
and president’s office, 217–22
and privilege, 126–32
and racial discrimination, 144–5
visibility of, 36–7, 118
whites, see also groups; individuals;
white identifiers
in-group attitudes, see in-group attitudes
majority status, erosion of, 3–4
out-group attitudes, see out-group attitudes
Winant, Howard, 300n13
Winter, Nicholas J.G., 30, 192, 193
Wong, Cara J., 30, 31, 56, 230, 310n7
working-class whites, see white working class

World War II, 13
Wright, Matthew, 310n8
xenophobia, 266, 275
Zaller, John R., 307n51
zero-sum competition, 140, 141, 145, 172
economic, 141, 152
political, 143, 152