

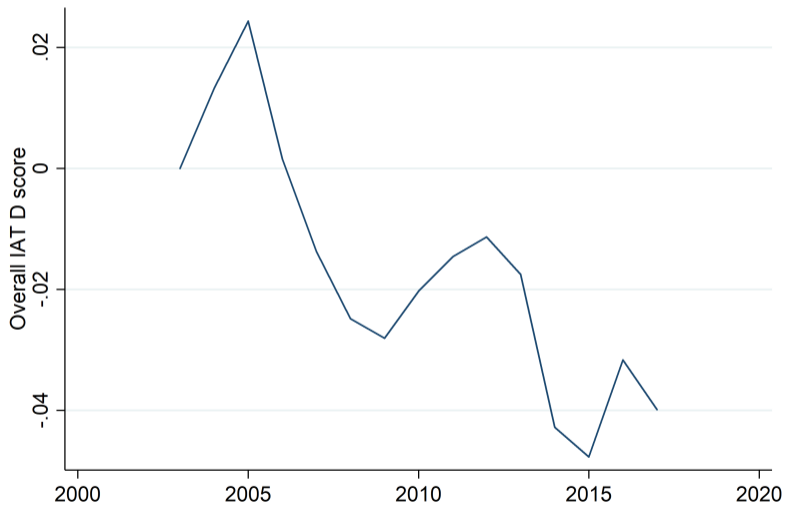
# The Obama Effect: Effect of Black Electoral Victory on Racial Prejudice and Inequality

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These views do not necessarily reflect those of the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago or the Federal Reserve System

## Rebound in Racial Bias: "Obama effect"



# Overview

- Literature on Obama election → racial prejudice (stereotype & affect; “taste for discrimination”)
  - (−) Dispel stereotype (Beaman et al. (2009); Beaman et al. (2012))
  - (+) Racial threat hypothesis (Blalock (1967); Eitle et al. (2002))
  - (+) Moral self-licensing (Monin and Miller (2001); Effron et al. (2009))
- In close **local** elections, does black electoral victory affect white-on-black racial bias?
- This paper:
  - Describe implicit association test (IAT)
  - Describe local election data
  - Close election RD: Effect on prejudice
  - Effect on economic racial gaps

$$\begin{aligned} X_{it} \\ Z_{it} \\ EX_{it} = \gamma Z_{it} \\ EY_{it} = \beta X_{it} \end{aligned}$$

# Roadmap of Talk

Introduction

IAT Database

$X_{it}$

Local Election Data

$Z_{it}$

Close election RD: Prejudice

$$E X_{it} = \gamma Z_{it}$$


Economic gaps

$$E Y_{it} = \beta \hat{X}_{it}$$

# Implicit Association Test (IAT)

Press "B" for  
**Bad**  
or  
Black people

Press "I" for  
**Good**  
or  
White people



If you make a mistake, a red X will appear. Press the other key to continue.

Press "B" for  
**Bad**  
or  
Black people


Press "I" for  
**Good**  
or  
White people

**Fabulous**

If you make a mistake, a red X will appear. Press the other key to continue.

Press "B" for  
**Bad**  
or  
White people

Press "I" for  
**Good**  
or  
Black people



If you make a mistake, a red X will appear. Press the other key to continue.

Press "B" for  
**Bad**  
or  
White people

Press "I" for  
**Good**  
or  
Black people

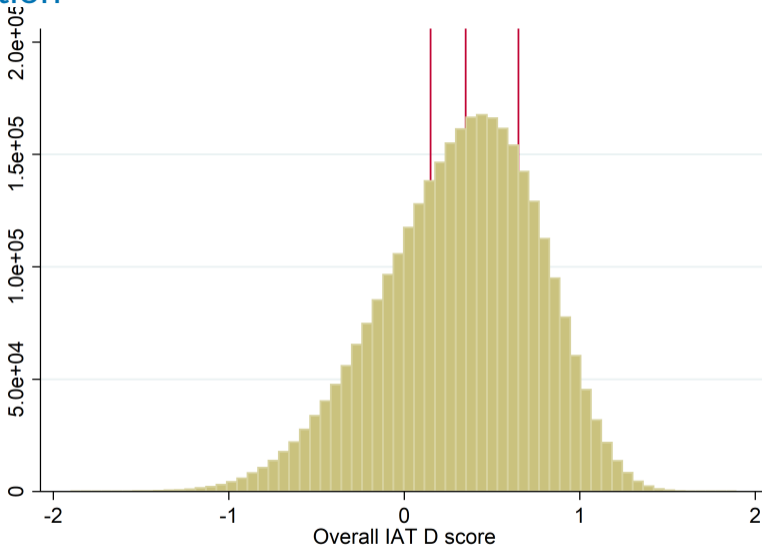
**Angry**

If you make a mistake, a red X will appear. Press the other key to continue.

# IAT database: Project Implicit

- Project Implicit (Xu et al. (2014))
  - Online IAT test
  - 2003-2017
  - quarter million completed tests / year
- Other variables
  - Demographic variables: age, sex, race, education
  - Political ideology & religion
  - Explicit racial bias questions
- Geography: county (zip code available with IRB)

# IAT distribution

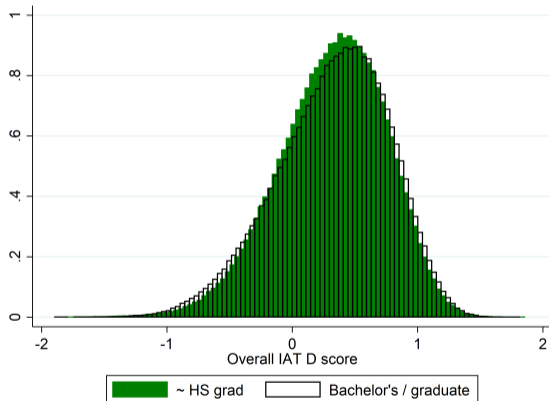


possible range of -2 to +2

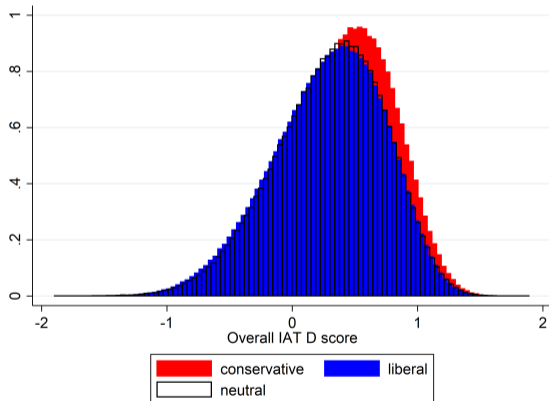
Break points for 'slight' (.15), 'moderate' (.35) and 'strong' (.65)

# IAT distribution by demographic

## By education



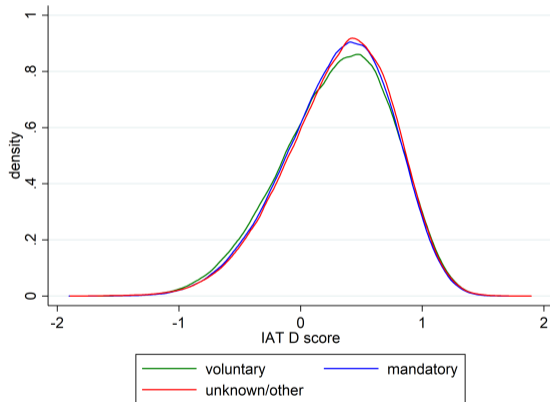
## By political ideology



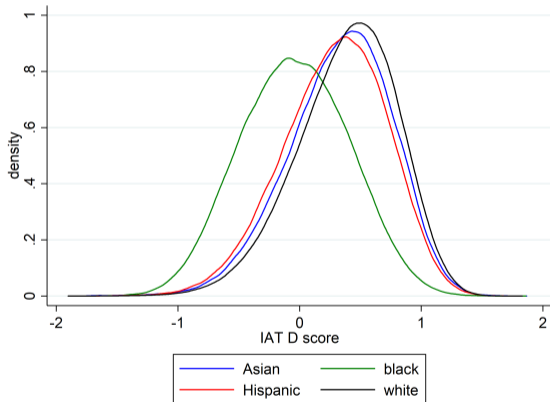


# IAT distribution by demographic (continued)

## By voluntary/mandatory test-takers



## By race



## IAT main measure

- IAT D score
- Whites only
- Re-weigh by demographic to be representative (age, education, sex)
- Main robustness using the mandatory-response subsample

## Higher IAT correlated with:

- Other measures of racial prejudice
  - Responses on General Social Survey
  - More Google searches for racial slur & "KKK"
  - Higher likelihood of spanking black students vs. white students (in states where allowed)
  - Higher white-on-black crimes in intimidation, simple assault & vandalism
- Historical slavery (Acharya et al. (2016))
  - Slavery intensity in 1860
  - Cotton suitability
- Higher black-white economic gap in
  - Labor earnings
  - Mortgage rejection rate
- Also note
  - Less likely to have voted for Barack Obama in 2008
  - Higher black population shares
  - Slightly lower income

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## Local election data

- Literature:
  - Focus on mayors & federal legislators
  - Identify race with National Roster of Black Elected Officials
- For more power:
  - Go more local
    - State legislators
    - City council
    - County government (e.g. president, assessor)
  - Our Campaigns  $\approx$  Wikipedia for elections
  - Identify race
    - Tags supplied on Our Campaigns (if available)
    - Last names
    - Facial recognition
- Minor contribution: Local election data with race identified

## Why go so local?

- Advantage

- Power: Number of elections post-2002

	Total	Black-white race	Black winner
Mayor	2,755	166	74
US Rep	2,933	111	78
Local offices	55,803	2,886	996

- Disadvantage

- Salience
  - Outcome data not always that fine

## Salience: Chicago Magazine Power 100 (2014)

Rank	First name	Last name	Position
1	Rahm	Emanuel	Mayor, City of Chicago
2	Mike	Madigan	Speaker, Illinois House
14	Steve	Koch	Deputy mayor, City of Chicago
17	Dick	Durbin	US senator
39	Ed	Burke	Alderman, 14th Ward
50	Pat	Quinn	Governor, State of Illinois
64	John	Cullerton	President, Illinois Senate
86	Luis	Gutiérrez	US representative
91	Joe	Berrios	Assessor, Cook County
93	Elaine	Nekritz	State representative, 57th District

# Our Campaigns

## Ward 05

### INCUMBENT



Party [Nonpartisan](#)  
Name [Leslie A. Hairston](#)  
Won [02/24/2015](#)  
Votes 5,851 (52.51%)  
Margin 3,670 (+32.94%)  
Term 05/18/2015 - 05/20/2019

### City Council DETAILS

Parents > [United States](#) > [Illinois](#) > [Counties](#) > [Cook](#) > [Chicago](#) > [City Council](#)  
Established 00, 0000  
Disbanded Still Active  
Contributor [Thomas Walker](#)  
Last Modified [Thomas Walker](#) May 17, 2005 03:01pm  
Description

### Sub-Races

% Of Total Votes	Office	Ward 05 Winner	Yr	Ward 05 Votes	% of Sub	% Vs. Full Race
2.20%	Mayor	<a href="#">Rahm Emanuel</a>	15	7,142	54.88%	-1.36%

### MAPS





# Our Campaigns: Election history

RACES [Show Primaries]								
Date	Type	Results						
Feb 24, 2015	General Election	Leslie A. Hairston(I) 5,851 52.51%	Anne Marie Miles 2,181 19.57%	Tiffany N. Brooks 891 8.00%	Jocelyn Hare 821 7.37%	Jedidiah L. Brown 792 7.11%	Robin Boyd Clark 599 5.38%	Write-In (W) 8 0.07%
Date	Type	Results						
Feb 22, 2011	General Election	Leslie A. Hairston(I) 7,217 61.77%	Anne Marie Miles 2,489 21.30%	Glenn Ross 826 7.07%	Carolyn Hightower Chalmers 701 6.00%	Michele A. Tankersley 451 3.86%		
Feb 27, 2007	General Election	Leslie A. Hairston(I) 6,748 74.67%	Oscar Worrill 1,769 19.58%	Sylvester "Junebug" Hendricks 520 5.75%				
Feb 25, 2003	General Election	Leslie A. Hairston(I) 6,355 71.93%	Oscar Worrill 1,073 12.14%	Carolyn Hightower Chalmers 713 8.07%	Anthony T. Blair 694 7.86%			

# Our Campaigns: Race of candidates

## Hairston, Leslie A.

### CANDIDATE DETAILS

Affiliation	<a href="#">Democratic</a>
Name	Leslie A. Hairston
Address	6858 South Chappel Ave Chicago, Illinois , United States
Email	None
Website	None
Born	Unknown
Contributor	COSDem
Last Modified	RBH Jan 08, 2015 08:44pm
Tags	
Info	



## Washington, Harold

### CANDIDATE DETAILS

<b>Affiliation</b>	<u>Democratic</u>
<b>Name</b>	Harold Washington
<b>Address</b>	Chicago, Illinois , United States
<b>Email</b>	None
<b>Website</b>	None
<b>Born</b>	April 15, 1922
<b>Died</b>	November 25, 1987 (65 years)
<b>Contributor</b>	Wishful Thinking
<b>Last Modified</b>	RBH Jan 31, 2016 04:33am
<b>Tags</b>	Black - Divorced - Methodist - Harold Washington (1922-1987) was the first African-American mayor of Chicago.



# Identifying candidate race

## 1. Tags

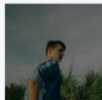
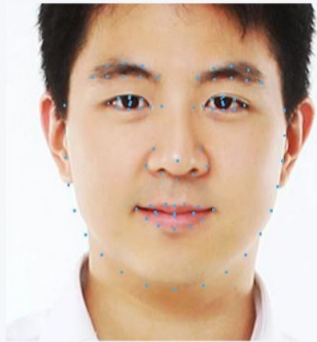
## 2. Last names

- If  $> 80\%$  of single race according to Census 2000 & 2010
- e.g. Little, Smalls for blacks
- e.g. Hansen for whites

## 3. Facial recognition

- Face++
- Classifies among { Asian, Black, White }
- Machine learning
- "Landmarks" » color

# Face++



Age 21

Gender Male

Smiling value: 29.669; threshold: 30.1



Head Pose



Emotion happiness

Ethnicity Asian

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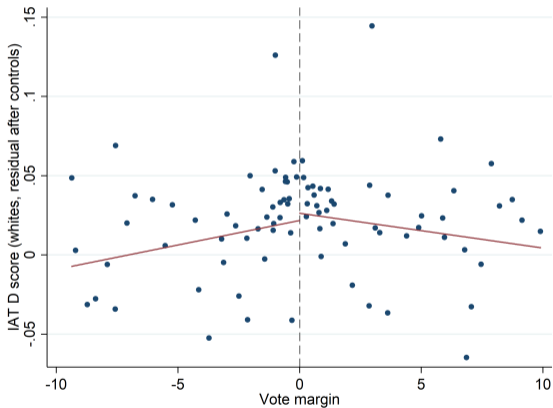
## Empirical design

- Data at election  $\times$  geography level, where geography is
  - Zip code: IAT
  - County: Economic outcomes (employment & mortgage variables)
- Regression discontinuity specification
  - Vote margin  $\equiv$  percent gap between top two candidates
  - Bandwidth:  $\pm 10\%$  (optimal bandwidth wider and yield similar results)
  - Include linear controls (Imbens and Kalyanaraman (2012))
  - In levels, without FE or controls (consistent)
  - Standard errors clustered by election  $\times$  geography  $\times$  { pre, post }
- Sample:
  - Black winner & white runner-up, OR
  - White winner & black runner-up
  - 3-year window around election
- For election  $i$ , geography  $j$  and event time  $t$  level

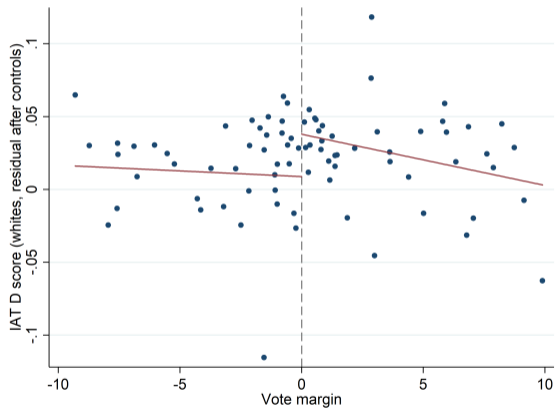
$$Y_{ijt} = 1\{\text{vote margin} > 0\}_{it} + [\text{vote margin}]_{it}^+ + [\text{vote margin}]_{it}^- + \varepsilon_{ijt}$$

# IAT over 3 years after election (level)

Before



After



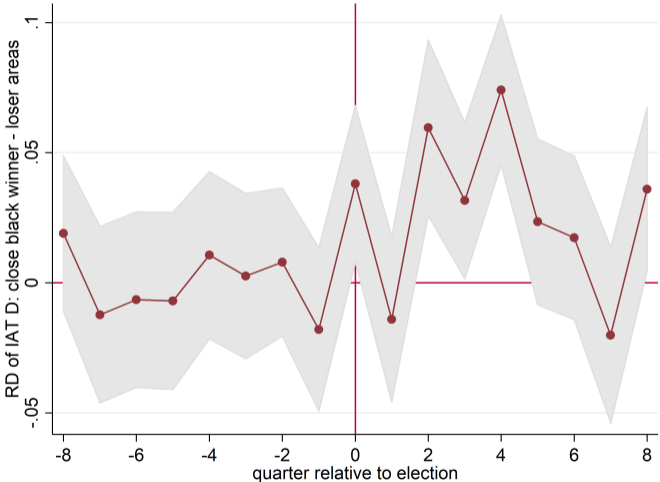


## IAT estimates

$$Y_{ijt} = \alpha + \beta_1 \mathbf{1}\{\text{vote margin} > 0\}_{it} + \gamma_0 [\text{vote margin}]_{it}^- + \gamma_1 [\text{vote margin}]_{it}^+ + \varepsilon_{ijt}$$

Post	Raw		Demo-adjusted	
Black winner	0.025 (2.50)	0.025 (2.16)	0.027 (2.22)	0.037 (2.98)
Pre				
Black winner	0.003 (0.33)	0.012 (0.97)	0.011 (1.08)	0.022 (1.58)
FE demographic			○	○
ACS weights			○	○
only mandatory		○		○

# Time series of discontinuity: IAT



## Heterogeneity

$$Y_{ijt} = \sum_k \left\{ \alpha^k + \gamma_1^k \mathbf{1} \{ \text{vote margin} > 0 \}_{it} + \delta_0^k [\text{vote margin}]_{it}^- + \delta_1^k [\text{vote margin}]_{it}^+ \right\} \\ \times \mathbf{1} \{ \text{in sub-group} \}_{ij} + \eta_{ijt}$$

	IAT		black pop		income	
	(1) ex-demo FE	(2) raw	(3) ex-demo FE	(4) raw	(5) ex-demo FE	(6) raw
Black winner	-0.013 (-1.05)	-0.007 (-0.55)	-0.000 (-0.03)	0.003 (0.24)	0.039 (2.07)	0.041 (2.13)
× High sort	0.047 (3.75)	0.043 (3.26)	0.025 (1.81)	0.024 (1.77)	-0.026 (-1.46)	-0.024 (-1.35)

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# Economic gap data

## Black-white gaps in:

- Labor market outcomes: Quarterly Workforce Indicators (QWI)
  - Unemployment transition
  - Employment to population
- Mortgage: Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) data
  - Log origination to population
  - Rejection rate
- Education, politics, crime, policing, ...

## Reduced-form estimates

$$Y_{ijt} = \alpha + \beta_1 \mathbf{1}\{\text{vote margin} > 0\}_{it} + \gamma_0 [\text{vote margin}]_{it}^- + \gamma_1 [\text{vote margin}]_{it}^+ + \varepsilon_{ijt}$$

	labor		mortgage	
	(1) unemployment transition	(2) employment to pop	(3) log origination to pop	(4) rejection rate
Black winner	0.025 (2.24)	-0.050 (-1.55)	-0.256 (-2.32)	0.035 (2.38)

## Identifying discrimination

- Literature using observational data:

$$Y_i = \beta \text{black}_i + X_i \Gamma + \varepsilon_i$$

- Over-control, under-control
- Discrimination in \_\_\_\_\_ market relative to
- Audit study  $Y_i = \beta \hat{\text{black}}_i + \varepsilon_i$
- Charles and Guryan (2008)

$$Y_{ij} = \delta \text{black}_i + \beta \text{black}_i \times \text{prejudice}_j + \varepsilon_{ij}$$

- Cross-sectional IV: Slavery intensity 1860 (Acharya et al. (2016))
- This paper

$$Y_{ijt} = \delta \text{black}_i + \beta \text{black}_i \times \hat{\text{prejudice}}_{jt} + \varepsilon_{ijt}$$

## Identifying discrimination

- This paper

$$Y_{ijt} = \delta \text{black}_i + \beta \text{black}_i \times \hat{\text{prejudice}}_{jt} + \varepsilon_{ijt}$$

- “Since a taste for discrimination incorporates both prejudice and ignorance, the amount of knowledge available must be included as a determinant of tastes. Another proximate determinant is geographical and chronological location: discrimination may vary from country to country, from region to region within a country, from rural to urban areas within a region, and from one time period to another. Finally, tastes may differ simply because of differences in personality.” (Becker (1971))



## IV estimates

$$Y_{ijt} = \beta \hat{X}_{ijt} + [\text{vote margin}]_{it}^+ + [\text{vote margin}]_{it}^- + \varepsilon_{ijt}$$

$$X_{ijt} = \gamma 1\{\text{vote margin} > 0\}_{it} + [\text{vote margin}]_{it}^+ + [\text{vote margin}]_{it}^- + \eta_{ijt}$$

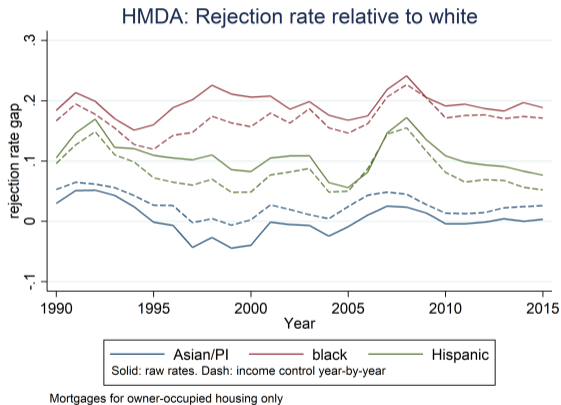
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	labor		mortgage	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	unemployment transition	employment to pop	log origination to pop	rejection rate
IAT (adj)	0.439 (1.88)	-1.224 (-1.55)	-4.367 (-1.70)	0.639 (1.80)

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# IV estimate: Back-of-envelope

- Back-of-envelope
  - Overall average IAT: .33
  - Rejection rate IV estimate: .64
  - $\rightarrow \approx .21$
- Caveat: GE, sorting, endogenous policy  
 $\rightarrow$  upper bound



# Conclusion

- In close **local** elections, does black electoral victory affect white-on-black racial bias?
- This paper:
  - IAT
  - Local election data
  - Raises whites' IAT  
Concentrated in high-prejudice areas
  - Widens black-white economic gaps in employment & mortgage

$$EX_{it} = \gamma Z_{it}$$

$$EY_{it} = \beta \hat{X}_{it}$$

# Roadmap of Talk

Extra slides

References

# Extra1

1

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# Roadmap of Talk

Extra slides

References

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