

NOTES

PREFACE

1. AFP, "Obama fury over Clinton backer Ferraro's race remark," *Yahoo! News*, March 11, 2008, <http://news.yahoo.com/>.
2. Key Jr., *The Responsible Electorate*, 7.
3. Hero, *Racial Diversity*.
4. Riker, *The Theory of Political Coalitions*.
5. Elazar, *The American Federalism*; Putnam, *Bowling Alone*.

CHAPTER 1

1. Obama, "Full Text of Senator Barack Obama's Acceptance Speech for President."
2. West, *Air Wars*, 31.
3. Sidoti, "Campaign for the Ages."
4. *The Economist*, "It's Time."
5. Steele, "Identity Card," 46–47.
6. Steele, *Bound Man*, 133–34.
7. Wright, "2008 Election Coverage," *ABCNews*, February 19, 2008.
8. Duffy, "Race Spells Trouble for the Dems."
9. Obama, "We Are Who We Have Been Waiting for."
10. Corsi, *Obama Nation*.
11. Corsi, *Obama Nation*, xv.
12. Freddoso, *Case against Barack Obama*.
13. *Ibid.*, xii.
14. *Ibid.*, 56–57.
15. Steele, *A Bound Man*, 133–34.
16. Kinder and Sears, "Prejudice and Politics."
17. Sniderman and Piazza, *Scar of Race*.
18. Ceaser, Busch, and Pitney Jr., *Epic Journey*, 27.
19. Ceaser, Busch, and Pitney Jr., *Epic Journey*, 27.
20. Lewis-Beck, "The Economy, Obama, and the 2008 Election," 457–65.
21. See Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, for an early racial liberalism assertion about "the guilt conscience of the white man"; see Collins, *Whither Solid South?* for an early work on racial conservatism and white interests.

22. Ong, *Impacts*.
23. Katznelson, *When Affirmative Action Was White*, 175.
24. Frymer, *Uneasy Alliances*.
25. King and Smith, "Racial Orders," 75–92; McClain and Stewart Jr., *Can We All Get Along?*
26. Kaufmann, *Rethinking Ethnicity*.
27. Cain, "Racial and Ethnic Politics," 45–66.
28. Winant, "Behind Blue Eyes," 3–16; Swain, *The New White Nationalism*; Kaufman, *The Rise and Fall of Anglo-America*.
29. Kurtz, "Barack Obama's Lost Years."
30. See, especially, Olson, "The Failure of Multiculturalism and Color Blindness," 95–124; Omi and Winant, *Racial Formation*; Hero, *Latinos and the US Political System*.
31. Frymer, *Uneasy Alliances*, 179.
32. Kaufmann, *Rethinking Ethnicity*.
33. See Wu, *Yellow*. That process, arguably, is likely to continue as more minorities, especially Asians, become socially constructed as "white" or the so-called the model minority. The model minority myth, according to Frank Wu, has harmed Asian Americans' quest for racial equality. It not only inaccurately describes the Asian racial group, but also enhances the perception of Asian threat and the lack of effort of non-Asian minorities, especially African Americans, to achieve higher social economic status.
34. Browning, Marshall and Tabb, *Protest Is Not Enough*; Behr, *Race, Ethnicity, and Politics of City Redistricting*; Jennings, "Racial Hierarchy and Ethnic Conflict."
35. Hajnal, *Changing White Attitudes*.
36. Liu and Vanderleeuw, *Race Rules*, 208–28; Behr, *Race, Ethnicity, and the Politics of City Redistricting*.
37. Liu and Vanderleeuw, *Race Rules*. Behr, *Race, Ethnicity, and Politics of City Redistricting*.
38. Hajnal, *Changing White Attitudes*; Liu, "Whites as a Minority."
39. For example, in the 1990s, white opponents defeated David Dinkins and Wilson Goode in New York and Philadelphia. In Chicago, according to a *New York Times*/WBBN-TV poll, more than three-quarters of the whites who had voted for a black candidate, Harold Washington in 1983, voted for a white candidate, Richard M. Daley, in 1989.
40. Thernstrom and Thernstrom, *America in Black and White*.
41. Hajnal, *Changing White Attitudes*; Swain, *Black Faces*; Bullock, "Racial Cross-over Voting."
42. Liu, "Deracialization and Urban Racial Context," 572–91.
43. Wright and Middleton, "The 2001 Los Angeles Mayoral Election," 692–703.
44. Obama's early deracialization approach met a public challenge when he faced the controversy surrounding his longtime pastor, Rev. Jeremiah Wright.
45. Reeves, *Voting Hopes or Fears?* 24, 45.
46. Liu, "Whites as a Minority," 69–76; Howell, "Racism, Cynicism, Economics, and David Duke," 190–207.

47. Howell, "Racism, Cynicism, Economics, and David Duke," 190–207; see Davidson, *Biracial Politics*, 273–75, for his early study of biracial politics in the Houston metropolitan area where he argues that a biracial coalition between whites and blacks should be based on the redistribution of income, opportunity, and power that should attract more lower-class whites in the long run. A biracial coalition may be "radical" in the sense that it "would constitute significant departures from the elitist liberalism of the 1950s and 1960s."
48. Steele, *Bound Man*.
49. Eisinger, *The Politics of Displacement*.
50. *Ibid.*, 162–82.
51. *Ibid.*, 183.
52. Liu and Vanerleeuw, *Race Rules*.
53. Sniderman and Piazza, *The Scar of Race*, 178, 13.
54. Herring and Forbes, "The Overrepresentation of a White Minority," 432.
55. *Ibid.*, 431–45.
56. Kinder and Sanders, *Divided by Color*; Kinder and Sears, "Prejudice and Politics," 414–31.
57. Browning, Marshall, and Tabb, *Racial Politics*; Browning, Marshall, and Tabb, *Protest Is Not Enough*.
58. Sonenshein, *Politics in Black And White*, 134–35.
59. Kaufmann, *The Urban Voter*; Judd and Swanstrom, *City Politics*.
60. Ifill, *The Breakthrough*, 1.

CHAPTER 2

1. Earvin "Magic" Johnson, interview by John King, *CNN*, February 15, 2009, before the 2009 NBA All-Star Game in Phoenix, Arizona.
2. Riker, *The Theory of Political Coalitions*, 39.
3. *Ibid.*, 47–76.
4. *Ibid.*, 55.
5. *Ibid.*, 55.
6. Downs. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*.
7. For an elaboration of Down's theory and its development, see Merrill and Grofman, *A Unified Theory of Voting*; for a critique of Downs based on racial relations, see Frymer, *Uneasy Alliances*; Kim, *The Racial Logic of Politics*.
8. Mayhew, *Congress*.
9. Philpot, *Race, Republicans*, 37.
10. Black and Black, *The Rise of Southern Republicans*, 210.
11. Goodwin, *Team of Rivals*, 142.
12. Riker, *The Theory of Political Coalitions*, 56–57.
13. *Ibid.*, 66.
14. Carmines and Stimson, *Issue Evolution*.
15. Davidson and Grofman, *Quiet Revolution in the South*.
16. Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*.
17. Clymer, "Republican Party's 40 Years of Juggling on Race."

18. Lowndes, *From the New Deal to the New Right*, 6.
19. Philpot, *Race, Republicans*; Fauntroy, *Republicans and the Black Vote*.
20. Philpot, *Race, Republicans*, 47–48.
21. Fauntroy, *Republicans and the Black Vote*, 156.
22. Sanchez, *Les Republicanos*.
23. Mayer, *The Divided Democrats*.
24. Philpot, *Race, Republicans*, 163.
25. Lowndes, *From the New Deal to the New Right*, 7.
26. See Bartels, *Unequal Democracy*, chap. 3 to 4. Bartels's own explanation is that the white working class's support for the GOP was mainly "a Southern phenomenon." As far as the presidential votes, whites gave disproportional support for the Republican candidates because the Republican presidents were successful in increasing the tangible economic gains for the individual voters only in the year prior to their reelections.
27. Lowndes, *From the New Deal to the New Right*, 7.
28. *Ibid.*, 7.
29. Liu and Vanderleeuw, *Race Rules*.
30. Dawson, *Behind the Mule*.
31. Key, *Southern Politics*.
32. Hero, *Faces of Inequality*.
33. Elazar, *American Federalism*; Putnam, *Bowling Alone*.
34. Philpot, *Race, Republicans*, 61.

CHAPTER 3

1. Democrats had 49 senate seats and Republicans 49 based on the 2006 midterm election outcomes. Two independents, Bernie Sanders of Vermont and Joseph Lieberman caucused with the Democrats, however, giving Democrats effective senate control.
2. Sanchez, *Los Republicanos*.
3. Obama, *The Audacity of Hope*, 232.
4. McClain and Stewart, "Can We All Get Along?"; Lien, *The Making of Asian America*; Alvarez and Bedoll, "Similar Yet Different"; Hero, *Latinos and the US Political System*.
5. Obama, "Full Text of Senator Barack Obama's Announcement for President."
6. Wong, *Democracy's Promise*; Leighley, *Strength in Number?*
7. Liu and Darcy, "The Rising Power of Minorities, 146–64.
8. Wong, *Democracy's Promise*; Lien, Conway and Wong, *The Politics of Asian Americans*.
9. Gimpel, *Separate Destinations*.
10. Philpot, *Race, Republicans*; Fauntroy, *Republicans and Black Vote*; McClain and Stewart, "Can We All Get Along?"
11. Liu and Vanderleeuw, *Race Rules*.
12. See Epatko, "Planners Consider the Future of New Orleans."

13. It is important to note that Hispanics are of all races. Many from Mexico are of Native American descent; many from the Caribbean have African ancestors. Many more are white.
14. McClain and Stewart, "*Can We All Get Along?*"; Liu and Vanderleeuw, *Race Rules*.
15. Ifill, *The Breakthrough*, 11.
16. Before Deval Patrick, L. Douglas Wilder won a statewide election as the first black elected governor in Virginia (1990–1994).
17. Lien, *The Making of Asian America*.
18. Brown, "Minority Politics," 107–18.
19. Liu and Darcy, "The Rising Power of Minorities."
20. McCormick and Jones, "The Conceptualization of Deracialization," 66–84; Liu, "Deracialization and Urban Racial Context," 572–91.
21. Abrajano, "Who Evaluates a Presidential Candidate by Using Non-Policy Campaign Messages?" 55–67.
22. Sanchez, *Los Republicanos*.
23. Nakanishi and Lai, *Asian American Politics*.
24. Liu, Austin, and Orey, "Church Attendance," 576–92.
25. See Kim, "The Racial Triangulation of Asian Americans," 105–38, a thesis on racial triangulation thesis that focuses on the interracial relationships between Asian Americans and other racial groups.
26. Liu and Vanderleeuw, *Race Rules*.
27. Szep, "Democrat May Be First Black Massachusetts Governor."
28. *Ibid.*
29. Trachtman, *The Supremes' Greatest Hits*.
30. Kommers, Finn, and Jacobson, *American Constitutional Law*.
31. Jost, "School Desegregation," 173–97.
32. Obama, "Foreword," 11.
33. *Ibid.*, 9.
34. Winant, "Behind Blue Eyes," 3–16.
35. Obama, "Foreword," 9–10.
36. Sanchez, "For Hispanics, Poverty Is Relative," B07.
37. Liu and Darcy, "The Rising Power of Minorities." American Indians see their opportunities through tribal sovereignty, especially tribally operated gambling facilities outside the limits of state regulation.
38. Garcia and Sanchez, *Hispanics and the U.S. Political System*.
39. Reimers, *Unwelcome Strangers*.
40. Wu, *Yellow*.
41. Obama, "Forword," 9.
42. McClain and Tauber, "Black and Latino Socioeconomic and Political Competition," 101–16; McClain and Karnig, "Black and Hispanic Socioeconomic and Political Competition," 535–45.
43. Obama, "Full Text of Senator Barack Obama's Announcement for President."

CHAPTER 4

1. Page, "Polls."
2. Steinem, "Right Candidates, Wrong Question."
3. Nagourney, Rutenberg, and Zeleny, "Near-Flawless Run."
4. Klein, "Obama's Victory Ushers in a New America."
5. Balz, Kornblut, and Murray, "Obama Wins Iowa's Democratic Caucuses," A01.
6. Nagourney, Rutenberg and Zeleny, "Near-Flawless Run."
7. Ifill, *The Breakthrough*, 55–56.
8. Cornish, "Race Matters."
9. The red-phone television advertisement stated, "It's 3 a.m. and your children are safe and asleep. But there's a phone in the White House and it's ringing. Something's happening in the world. Your vote will decide who answers that call."
10. AFP, "Obama fury over Clinton backer Ferraro's race remark,"
11. Tolbert and Squire, "Reforming the Presidential Nomination Process," 27–31.
12. Tolbert and Squire, "Reforming the Presidential Nomination Process."
13. Patterson, *The American Democracy*, 384.
14. Sorauf, *Inside Campaign Finance*.
15. Soule and Clarke, "Issue Conflict and Consensus," 64–88.
16. Kirkpatrick, *The New Presidential Elite*.
17. Ladd and Hadley, *Transformations of the American Party System*.
18. Carmines and Stimson, *Issue Evolution*; also, see Inglehart, *Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society*.
19. Burden, "The Nominations: Rules, Strategies, and Uncertainty," 22–44.
20. Burden, "The Nominations: Rules, Strategies, and Uncertainty," 26.
21. Green and Guth, "The Christian Right," 150–65.
22. Mayer, *The Divided Democrats*, 13.
23. See Keefe, *Parties, Politics, and Public Policy in America*. Also, see Wayne, *The Road to the White House 2008*.
24. Sorauf, *Inside Campaign Finance*.
25. West, *Air War*.
26. Putnam, *Bowling Alone*.

CHAPTER 5

1. Tolbert and Squire, "Reforming the Presidential Nomination Process," 27–31.
2. Bartels, *Presidential Primaries*.
3. Burden, "The Nominations: Rules, Strategies, and Uncertainty," 41.
4. Tolbert and Squire, "Reforming the Presidential Nomination Process," 27.
5. Burden, "The Nominations: Technology, Money, and Transferable Momentum," 19.
6. Mayer and Busch, *The Front-Loading Problem*.
7. Donovan and Hunsaker, "Beyond Expectations"; Lewis-Beck and Squire, "Iowa," 42.45–52.

8. Donovan and Hunsaker, "Beyond Expectations," 49.
9. Morton and Williams, *Learning by Voting*, 124.
10. Lewis-Beck and Squire, "Iowa," 39–44.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., 42.
13. Tolbert and Squire, "Reforming the Presidential Nomination Process," 27.
14. Ibid., 29.
15. Donovan and Hunsaker, "Beyond Expectations"; Keeter and Zukin, *Uninformed Choice*.
16. Bartels, *Presidential Primaries*; Popkin, *The Reasoning Voter*.
17. Mutz, "Mechanisms of Momentum," 104–25; Aldrich, *Before the Convention*.
18. Balz, Kornblut, and Murray, "Obama Wins Iowa's Democratic Caucuses."
19. Ibid., A01.
20. Tolbert and Squire, "Reforming the Presidential Nomination Process."
21. The media started the discussion of Hillary Clinton's lack of chance to win the nomination in late April after the Pennsylvania election. But the serious call for the end of Hillary Clinton's nomination did not come until May 20 when Obama's delegate lead seemed to be insurmountable. Even after May 20, Hillary Clinton continued to push for the delegate counts of Michigan and Florida. Obama, on the other hand, continued his campaign until June 3 when the final election result was announced in South Dakota.
22. Tolbert and Squire, "Reforming the Presidential Nomination Process."
23. Morton and William, *Learning by Voting*.
24. Ibid., 124.
25. Balz, Kornblut, and Murray, "Obama Wins Iowa's Democratic Caucuses"; Tolbert and Squire, "Reforming the Presidential Nomination Process."
26. Orren and Polsby, *Media and Momentum*, 3–4.
27. Donovan and Hunsaker, "Beyond Expectations," 51
28. Ibid., 50, Table 7.
29. Key Jr., *The Responsible Electorate*, vii.

CHAPTER 6

1. Burden, "The Nominations: Rules, Strategies, and Uncertainty," 22–44.
2. Note that Obama was not on the ballot of Michigan primaries, so there was no "place of finish" in Michigan for him.
3. Morton and Williams, *Learning by Voting*.
4. Barreto et al., "'Should They Dance with the One Who Brung 'Em?'" 757, estimated that the Latino support for Obama was more than 50 percent in six states. Three of these states (i.e., North Carolina, Wisconsin, and Washington, DC), however, did not have exit poll data concerning the Latino votes. Barreto et al. also estimated the Latino support "based on ecological inference using precinct level results and Latino voting age population," Ecologic Inference (EI) estimation based on this procedure may be problematic since the

voting age population data may not show the racial composition of the 2008 Democratic primaries in these three states.

5. The exit poll data were retrieved from the CNN web site at <http://www.cnn.com/Election/2008/result>. The state-level election outcome data were obtained from <http://www.uselectionatlas.org>. It is estimated that only 419 Latino votes were cast for Obama in Nevada based on the exit poll and election returns.
6. King and Smith, "Strange Bedfellows?" 686–703; also, see King and Smith, "Racial Orders," 75–92.
7. Huckfeldt, *Politics in Context*.
8. Taylor, "How White Attitudes Vary with Racial Composition of Local Populations"; Longoria, "The Impact of Office on Cross-Racial Voting"; Glaser, "Back to the Black Belt"; Herring and Forbes, "The Overrepresentation of a White Minority"; Giles and Buckner, "David Duke and Black Threat."
9. Key Jr., *Southern Politics*.
10. Hero, *Faces of Inequality*; Taylor, "How White Attitudes Vary with Racial Composition of Local Populations."
11. Huckfeldt, *Politics in Context*; Welch et al., *Race and Place*, however, have used the social interaction theory to propose the positive impact of black density. White voting behavior in general reflects the way that whites interact with the other racial group, such as blacks. Contrary to the black threat thesis, the studies done in this social context indicate that black density has a positive impact on whites' crossover voting and racial attitudes. In Carsey, "The Contextual Effects of Race," 221, and Welch et al., *Race and Place*, 434–58, the empirical works of social interaction theory, however, tended to rely on data analysis roughly at smaller units such as the neighborhood level, rather than state level.
12. Putnam, *Bowling Alone*, 298–99.
13. In Putnam, *Bowling Alone*, 664–65, the author also indicated the so-called dark side of social capital that suggests that the individuals who are involved in racially homogeneous communities may in fact develop more racial resentments. Few previous studies, nevertheless, empirically link social capital with vote choices in biracial elections. Thus, this study takes an important step in filling the gap.
14. In Putnam, *Bowling Alone*, and Field, *Social Capital*, one focus of the debate is the empirical operation and theoretic significance of the differences between bonding and social capital, as far as the white social capital and the minority interests are concerned. Bonding social capital ties exist between individuals from homogenous racial, class, or religious groups. Bridging social capital networks are those that "bridge" diverse social groups and allow them to find common ground and common cause. While it is important to emphasize the distinction between bonding and bridging, it should also be noted that bonding and bridging, as Putnam puts it, "are not 'either-or'" categories into which social networks can be neatly divided, but 'more or less' dimensions along which we can compare different forms of social capital."
15. Hero, *Racial Diversity*, 17.
16. de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*; Elazar, *American Federalism*.

17. Elazar, *American Federalism*.
18. *Ibid.*, 120.
19. Hero, *Racial Diversity and Social Capital*; Tolbert and Hero, "Dealing with Diversity."
20. Hero, *Racial Diversity and Social Capital*, 73; Putnam, *Bowling Alone*, 487.
21. The high correlations between explanatory variables may cause a multicollinearity problem that prevents models from being effectively tested through statistical means.
22. The exit poll data were retrieved from the *CNN*, <http://www.cnn.com/Election/2008/result>. The state-level election outcome data were obtained from <http://www.uselectionatlas.org/>.
23. See Branton, "Voting in Initiative Elections"; Hero, *Faces of Inequality*; Rae, *The Political Consequences*; and Campos and Kuzeyev, "On the Dynamics of Ethnic Fractionalization," for the discussion of this measure in the U.S. elections. Diversity is the difference between 1 and the sum of squared population shares of whites, blacks, Latinos, and Asians (i.e., $D = 1 - \sum_i S_i^2$, where S_i is the share in total population belonging to group i).
24. I use the following measure for the political culture variable, where 8 = moralistic, 7 = moralistic individualistic, 6 = individualistic moralistic, 5 = individualistic, 4 = individualistic traditionalistic, 3 = traditional moralistic, 2 = traditional individualistic, and 1 = traditionalistic.
25. See Putnam, *Bowling Alone*, 487.
26. Hero, *Faces of Inequality*.
27. King, Keohane, and Verba, *Designing Social Inquiry*, 122–23.
28. Stevens, *Applied Multivariate Statistics*; Guadagnoli and Velicer, "Relation of Sample Size to the Stability of Component Patterns"; MacCallum, Zhang, and Hong, "Sample Size in Factor Analysis."
29. The advantage of ArcView GIS map is that it allows readers to quickly see the spatial distribution patterns of a quantity of interest. In our case, we would like to know how racial tension is geographically distributed.
30. de la Garza and DeSipio, *Ethnic Ironies*, 29, 42, commented on Bill Clinton's successful campaign in 1992 among the Latino communities and argued that "campaigning on issues of concern to Latinos such as educational reform and job training, but describing those issues in terms that appealed to all Americans, proved to be a win-win strategy [for Bill Clinton in 1992] . . . from the Latino perspective, this approach in no way diminished the ability of Hispanics to make demands regarding issues that most concerned them, since these were at the core of Clinton's agenda."
31. Burden, "The Nominations: Rules, Strategies, and Uncertainty," 24.

CHAPTER 7

1. McCain's chief economic adviser Phil Gramm unwillingly resigned after his "whiners" remark.
2. See Pomper, "The Presidential Election," 45–73. Political scientist Pomper shared a keen observation about Governor Palin's impact: "At first, choosing Palin appeared to be a brilliant stroke, the bold and unconventional choice of a woman who might appeal to former loyalists of Hillary Clinton, a conservative who would rally those on the right still skeptical of McCain's reputed moderation, and a state executive with some claims as a reformer of political ethics. Palin also cast an exotic personal figure. . . . Soon, however, the glamour faded. Televised interviews showed that Palin had little knowledge of most national issues, particularly those involving foreign policy. Admiration turned to ridicule in the news media and television comedies when, for example, she claimed expertise in international affairs because Russia is within sight of Alaska. Intensive investigations also raised questions about Palin's personal's character, including her spending of \$150,000 of party funds for campaign clothing, her use of Alaska State travel funds for days spent at home, and the possible abuse of her gubernatorial power in a dispute with her former brother-in-law" Pomper concluded, "Palin's ultimate effect on the election is uncertain, but it was probably harmful to McCain" (59)
3. *Yahoo!*, <http://news.yahoo.com/> (accessed September–November 2008).
4. Babington, "Obama Allies Warn GOP to Back Off Attacks."
5. Riker, *The Theory of Political Coalitions*.
6. Washington, "Cautious Joy as Blacks Imagine Obama Win."
7. Whitesides, "Obama Backs Recovery Plan."
8. AFP, "Black Protestors Heckle Obama at Rally."
9. Barreto et al., "'Should They Dance with the One Who Brung 'Em?'" 757.
10. See, The 80-20 Endorsement. <http://www.80-20.us/data/obama.zip>.
11. *Ibid.*
12. It is important to note that the racial tension index is derived from four contextual variables of black density, racial diversity, social capital, and political culture (see Chapter 6 for the detailed discussion on these four contextual variables).
13. It is important to note that the racial tension index created in this book is not an equivalent of racism measurement. A racially tolerant individual, for example, may perceive racial tension in his or her environment, thus makes a decision to avoid people of different races. It is also possible that a racially intolerant person may decide to "make a peace" with people of different races due to lack of racial tension in the environment. At the aggregate level, a relatively low racial tension score in Indiana, compared to Kentucky, does not suggest that there is always less racism in Indiana. In fact, Indiana was the site of the Klan resurgence in the 1920s. One of the most famous acts of lynching, captured in pictures, took place in Marion, Indiana.
14. Thoronbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era, 1850–1880*, 15.

15. Ibid., 15.
16. Ibid., 108.
17. Eaton, *A History of the Southern Confederacy*, 43.
18. Dawson, *Behind the Mule*.

CHAPTER 8

1. Katznelson, *Black Men, White Cities*.
2. Lieberman, *Shaping Race Policy*; see also Thompson, "Race and Urban Political Theory."
3. Dawson, *Behind the Mule*.
4. Burden, "The Nominations: Rules, Strategies, and Uncertainty," 36.
5. Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*.
6. Steele, *A Bound Man*.
7. Ceaser, Busch, and Pitney Jr., *Epic Journey*.
8. Riker, *The Theory of Political Coalitions*.
9. Philpot, *Race, Republicans*; see also Fauntroy, *Republicans and the Black Vote*.
10. See Key Jr., *Southern Politics*; see also Putnam, *Bowling Alone*; Elazar, *American Federalism*; and Hero, *Racial Diversity*, for the major contributions from these scholars.
11. Mayhew, "The Meaning of the 2008 Election."
12. Ceaser, Busch, and Pitney, Jr., *Epic Journey*, 107.
13. Ibid., 28.
14. Elazar, *American Federalism*.
15. Putnam, *Bowling Alone*.
16. Hero, *Racial Diversity and Social Capital*; Key, Jr., *Southern Politics*.
17. Black and Black, *Rise of Southern Republicans*.
18. Fauntroy, *Republicans and the Black Vote*; Philpot, *Race, Republicans, and the Return of the Party of Lincoln*.

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