

WEB APPENDIX

*US AGAINST THEM:
ETHNOCENTRIC FOUNDATIONS OF AMERICAN OPINION*

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CHAPTER 4: CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN ETHNOCENTRISM

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLES PRESENTED IN TEXT

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 4.5
ETHNOCENTRISM AND EDUCATION

	Baseline	With Demographic Controls	College Attendance	Specific Effect of College Attendance
Years of schooling	-0.21*** 0.02	-0.20*** 0.02	-0.15*** 0.03	-0.05 0.03
Any college			-0.02*** 0.01	0.14*** 0.04
Any college * Years of schooling				-0.21*** 0.05
Occupation: High Threat		0.00 0.01	-0.00 0.01	-0.00 0.01
Occupation: Low Threat		-0.03*** 0.01	-0.03*** 0.01	-0.02*** 0.01
Occupation: Out of Labor Market		-0.00 0.01	-0.00 0.01	-0.00 0.01
Income 25-50%		0.01* 0.01	0.01 0.01	0.01 0.01
Income 50-75%		0.00 0.01	0.00 0.01	0.00 0.01
Income 75-100%		0.01 0.01	0.01 0.01	0.01 0.01
Income Refused		0.01 0.01	0.01 0.01	0.01 0.01
Homeownership		0.01* 0.01	0.01* 0.01	0.01* 0.01
Age 17-29		0.01 0.01	0.01 0.01	0.00 0.01
Age 30-30		0.01 0.01	0.01 0.01	0.01 0.01
Age 50-59		0.02*** 0.01	0.02*** 0.01	0.02*** 0.01
Age 60-69		0.03*** 0.01	0.03*** 0.01	0.03*** 0.01
Age 70+		0.05*** 0.01	0.05*** 0.01	0.05*** 0.01
Female		0.01** 0.00	0.01** 0.00	0.01* 0.00
Black		-0.10*** 0.01	-0.10*** 0.01	-0.10*** 0.01
Hispanic		-0.09*** 0.01	-0.09*** 0.01	-0.09*** 0.01
1992	0.03*** 0.01	0.03*** 0.01	0.03*** 0.01	0.03*** 0.01
1996	0.03*** 0.01	0.03*** 0.01	0.03*** 0.01	0.03*** 0.01
2004	-0.02*** 0.01	-0.01** 0.01	-0.01** 0.01	-0.01** 0.01
Intercept	0.24 0.01	0.22*** 0.02	0.19*** 0.02	0.13*** 0.02
R ²	0.06	0.14	0.14	0.14

$p > F$	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	4814	4767	4767	4767

Table entry is the ordinary least squares coefficient with standard error below.

Years of schooling ranges from 0 (zero years) to 1 (17 years).

Any college is a dummy for any post-secondary educational experiences.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1992, 1996, 2000, and 2004 National Election Studies.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS REFERENCED IN TEXT

**SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: PARENTAL TRANSMISSION OF ETHNOCENTRISM,
ASSUMING A RANGE OF RELIABILITY VALUES**

	Reliability=1	Reliability=0.5	Reliability=0.4	Reliability=0.3
Parental	0.15***	0.29***	0.36***	0.49***
Ethnocentrism	0.02	0.05	0.06	0.07
Intercept	0.55	0.46	0.41	0.33
	0.02	0.03	0.04	0.05
<i>p</i> >F	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	1738	1738	1738	1738

Table entry is the errors-in-variables regression coefficient with standard error below.

****p*<0.01; ***p*<0.05; **p*<0.10, two-tailed.

Source: 1965 Political Socialization Study Cross-Section Youth & Parent File.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: IS PARENTAL TRANSMISSION OF ETHNOCENTRISM CONDITIONED BY ...

	Politically Active Parents	Frequency of Family's Political Discussion	Youth's Interest in Politics	Youth's Level of Political Information	Closeness to parents	Closeness to mother	Closeness to father
Parental E	0.64*** 0.13	0.42*** 0.19	0.73*** 0.25	0.58*** 0.20	0.38 0.25	0.32 0.27	0.24 0.22
Parental E x Characteristic	-0.51* 0.31	0.05 0.24	-0.36 0.31	-0.21 0.31	0.10 0.33	0.17 0.33	0.25 0.31
Characteristic	0.40 0.23	-0.18 0.18	-0.16 0.23	-0.26 0.23	-0.05 0.24	-0.03 0.25	-0.16 0.23
N	~1360					934	728

Columns 1-5: Table entry is the median ordered-probit regression coefficient (based on 200 replications) with median standard-error below. Unit of analysis is the youth-parent dyad.

Columns 6 & 7: Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard-error below. Unit of analysis is the mother-youth dyad for Column 6; it is the father-youth dyad for Column 7.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1965 Cross-Section Youth & Parent File.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: ESTIMATES FOR FIGURE 4.3
ETHNOCENTRISM AS A FUNCTION OF AUTHORITARIANISM

	Predicting E In 1996 with Authoritarianism	Predicting E* in 1996 with Authoritarianism
Authoritarianism, 1992	0.10*** 0.02	0.06** 0.02
Education	-0.04 0.03	-0.01 0.03
Household Economic Evaluations	-0.06** 0.03	-0.07** 0.03
Social Isolation	0.02 0.02	0.01 0.02
Increased Social Distance from Neighbors since 1992	-0.00 0.03	-0.00 0.03
Divorced since 1992	-0.01 0.04	-0.03 0.04
Disabled since 1992	-0.07 0.06	0.08 0.06
Black	-0.14*** 0.02	0.02 0.02
Hispanic	-0.12*** 0.03	-0.03 0.03
Female	0.01 0.01	0.02 0.01
Intercept	0.12*** 0.03	0.08 0.03
R ²	0.14	0.05
p>F	0.00	0.01
N	453	465

Table entry is the OLS regression coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1992-1996 National Election Study Panel.

CHAPTER 5: ENEMIES ABROAD
Dependent Variables: Full Question Text and Distributions

Dependent Variables: War Without End

	% of sample
War on Terrorism (v025111y)	
<i>Should federal spending on the War on Terrorism be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?</i>	
Increased	65.7%
Kept the Same	26.1
Decreased	8.1
Homeland Security (v025111x)	
<i>Should federal spending on homeland security be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?</i>	
Increased	66.0
Kept the Same	28.6
Decreased	5.4
Border Control (v025118x)	
<i>Should federal spending on tightening border security to prevent illegal immigration be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?</i>	
Increased	70.0
Kept the Same	23.8
Decreased	6.2
Spending on Defense (v025114x)	
<i>Should federal spending on defense be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?</i>	
Increased	59.2
Kept the Same	33.3
Decreased	7.4
War in Afghanistan Worth it? (v023120)	
<i>After the September 11 terrorist attacks, President Bush declared a War on Terror. A first step was to launch air strikes against the Taliban government of Afghanistan that was providing aid and protection to Osama bin Laden and the Al-Qaeda terrorists responsible for the September 11 attacks. Taking everything into account, do you think the U.S. war against the Taliban government in Afghanistan was worth the cost or not?</i>	
Worth it	79.9
Not worth it	20.1
Military Action in Iraq (v023123x)	
<i>As you may know, President Bush and his top advisers are discussing the possibility of taking military action against Iraq to remove Saddam Hussein from power. Do you favor or oppose military action against Iraq -- or is this something you haven't thought about? [Strongly or not strongly?]</i>	
Support strongly	42.1
Support not strongly	13.4
Haven't thought about it	19.1
Oppose not strongly	7.4
Oppose strongly	17.9

	% of sample
Bush Approval (v023006x)	
<i>Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president? [Strongly or not strongly?]</i>	
Approve strongly	46.8
Approve not strongly	23.0
DK	2.9
Disapprove not strongly	10.0
Disapprove strongly	17.4
Bush Approval on War on Terrorism (v023119y)	
<i>All things considered, do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the War on Terrorism? [Strongly or not strongly?]</i>	
Approve strongly	53.5
Approve not strongly	18.9
DK	1.5
Disapprove not strongly	9.3
Disapprove strongly	16.7
Bush Approval on Responding to 9/11 (v023119z)	
<i>All things considered, do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush has responded to the terrorist attack of September 11? [Strongly or not strongly?]</i>	
Approve strongly	65.9
Approve not strongly	17.6
DK	0.9
Disapprove not strongly	4.7
Disapprove strongly	10.9

Source: 2000-2002 National Election Study Panel, weighted analysis

Dependent Variables: Desert Storm

	% of sample
Proud (v912516/7)	
<i>We are interested in the feelings you might have had during the Persian Gulf War – not the feelings you have now, but how you felt then, during the war. During the War, did you ever feel: proud? [Strongly or not strongly?]</i>	
No	26.2%
Yes, not strongly	13.8
Yes, strongly	60.0
Angry (v912524/5)	
<i>We are interested in the feelings you might have had during the Persian Gulf War – not the feelings you have now, but how you felt then, during the war. During the War, did you ever feel: angry at Saddam Hussein? [Strongly or not strongly?]</i>	
No	7.1
Yes, not strongly	6.0
Yes, strongly	86.8
Military Force over Diplomacy (v912500)	
<i>Now, turning to the troubles in the Middle East before the war in the Persian Gulf started, Congress debated whether to continue economic sanctions or to give President Bush the authority to use military forces to get Iraq out of Kuwait. At that time, were you for continuing to rely on sanctions, or were you in favor of authorizing the President to use military force, or didn't you have an opinion on this?</i>	
Continuing sanctions	27.1
Neither/both/other/DK	1.2
Use of force	71.7
Sending Troops Was Right (v912408)	
<i>Do you think we did the right thing in sending U.S. military forces to the Persian Gulf or should we have stayed out?</i>	
Did the right thing	79.9
Depends/DK	1.3
Should have stayed out	18.8
Should Have Kept Fighting (v912556)	
<i>Some people think that the U.S. and its allies should have continued to fight Iraq until Saddam Hussein was driven from power. Others think that the U.S. was right to stop fighting after Kuwait was liberated. What do you think? Should the war have continued or should it have stopped?</i>	
Should have continued	42.5
DK/neither/both	2.4
Should have stopped	55.0
Bush Approval (v912115)	
<i>Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president? [Strongly or not strongly?]</i>	
Approve strongly	49.4
Approve not strongly	31.0
Disapprove not strongly	8.2
Disapprove strongly	11.5
Bush Approval on Management of Gulf Crisis (v912413)	
<i>All things considered, do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush has handled the crisis in the Persian Gulf? [Strongly or not strongly?]</i>	
Approve strongly	66.5
Approve not strongly	18.5
Disapprove not strongly	4.7
Disapprove strongly	10.3

Source: 1990-1991-1992 National Election Study Panel, weighted analysis

Dependent Variables: Cold War

	% of sample
Prevent Spread of Communism (v880974)	
<i>The United States should do everything it can to prevent the spread of communism to any other part of the world.</i>	
Agree, strongly	37.5%
Agree, not strongly	34.9
Neither agree nor disagree	12.6
Disagree, not strongly	11.3
Disagree, strongly	3.8
Tougher in Dealings with Russia (v880368)	
<i>Some people feel it is important for us to cooperate more with Russia, while others believe we should be much tougher in our dealings with Russia. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?</i>	
1 (Try to cooperate more with Russia)	12.8
2	12.6
3	16.7
4	25.5
5	14.0
6	8.5
7 (Get much tougher with Russia)	10.0
Disapprove of Arms Agreements (v880365)	
<i>The United States and the Soviet Union have recently reached agreements to reduce the number of nuclear arms. Do you approve or disapprove of these agreements? [Strongly or not strongly?]</i>	
Approve, strongly	66.1
Approve, not strongly	20.7
Disapprove, not strongly	4.9
Disapprove, strongly	8.3

Source: 1988 National Election Study, weighted analysis

Dependent Variables: Providing for the National Defense

	% of sample
Military, Armaments, and defense (natarms)	
<i>Are we spending too much money, too little money, or about the right amount on...</i>	
<i>The military, armaments, and defense?</i>	
Too little	24.6%
About right	49.7
Too much	25.7
Defense (natarmsy)	
<i>Are we spending too much money, too little money, or about the right amount on...</i>	
<i>National defense?</i>	
Too little	26.9
About right	46.7
Too much	26.4

Source: 2000 General Social Survey, weighted analysis

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLES PRESENTED IN TEXT

**FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 5.1
ETHNOCENTRISM AND SUPPORT FOR THE WAR ON TERROR I:
PROTECTING THE HOMELAND**

	Spend More On			
	War on Terrorism	Homeland Security	Border Control	National Defense
Ethnocentrism	1.38*** 0.46	0.53 0.46	1.13*** 0.35	0.95*** 0.31
Partisanship	-0.54*** 0.18	-0.38* 0.19	-0.42*** 0.14	-0.90*** 0.13
Education	-0.86*** 0.26	0.34 0.28	-0.52*** 0.19	-0.22 0.18
Threat	0.73*** 0.22	0.37 0.23	0.48*** 0.16	0.36** 0.15
Awareness	0.40 0.25	-0.05 0.25	-0.02 0.18	0.04 0.17
Female	0.14 0.13	0.24* 0.13	-0.03 0.10	0.19** 0.09
Black	-0.03 0.22	-0.07 0.23	-0.29* 0.16	0.13 0.16
Hispanic	0.59** 0.30	-0.36 0.27	0.00 0.20	0.16 0.19
τ_1	-1.71 0.25	-1.22 0.29	-1.93 0.20	-1.76 0.18
τ_2	-0.39 0.23	-0.10 0.28	-0.84 0.19	-0.40 0.17
lnL	-337.16	-305.37	-578.94	-685.74
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.023	0.00	0.00
N	440	396	844	839

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 2000-2002 National Election Study Panel.

**FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 5.2
ETHNOCENTRISM AND SUPPORT FOR THE WAR ON TERROR II:
GOING TO WAR**

	Afghanistan Worth It	Support Military Action in Iraq
Ethnocentrism	0.00 0.37	0.65** 0.28
Partisanship	-0.61*** 0.17	-1.07*** 0.12
Education	0.57** 0.23	-0.58*** 0.16
Threat	-0.22 0.19	0.31** 0.14
Awareness	0.10 0.23	-0.54*** 0.15
Female	-0.25** 0.11	-0.28*** 0.08
Black	-0.62*** 0.17	-0.32** 0.14
Hispanic	0.05 0.24	0.04 0.16
τ_1	-1.38 0.23	-1.97 0.16
τ_2		-1.64 0.16
τ_3		-1.14 0.16
τ_4		-0.77 0.16
lnL	-349.64	-1240.09
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00
N	895	899

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 2000-2002 National Election Study Panel.

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 5.3
ETHNOCENTRISM AND SUPPORT FOR THE WAR ON TERROR III:
BACKING THE PRESIDENT

	General Performance	War on Terrorism	Handling 9/11
Ethnocentrism	0.62** 0.30	0.76* 0.44	0.88** 0.44
Partisanship	-1.80*** 0.13	-0.83*** 0.18	-0.96*** 0.20
Education	-0.18 0.17	0.02 0.24	-0.72*** 0.27
Threat	0.09 0.14	0.08 0.20	-0.03 0.22
Awareness	-0.49*** 0.16	-0.11 0.23	0.02 0.25
Female	-0.01 0.09	-0.14 0.12	-0.23* 0.13
Black	-0.37** 0.14	-0.31 0.20	-0.20 0.22
Hispanic	0.04 0.18	0.02 0.24	0.17 0.29
National Economic Eval.	1.53*** 0.21	1.36*** 0.29	1.07*** 0.34
Household Economic Eval.	0.67*** 0.18	-0.02 0.24	0.47* 0.27
τ_1	-1.73 0.20	-1.38 0.28	-2.07 0.32
τ_2	-1.19 0.20	-0.99 0.28	-1.73 0.32
τ_3	-1.11 0.20	-0.93 0.28	-1.71 0.32
τ_4	-0.33 0.20	-0.32 0.28	-1.04 0.32
lnL	-970.72	-500.57	-398.82
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	885	456	446

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 2000-2002 National Election Study Panel.

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 5.4
INGROUP PRIDE, OUTGROUP HOSTILITY, AND SUPPORT FOR THE WAR ON TERROR

	Spend More on War on Terrorism	Spend More on Homeland Security	Spend More on Border Control	Spend More on National Defense	Afghanistan Worth It	Support Military Action in Iraq	Bush: General Performance	Bush: War on Terrorism	Bush: Handling 9/11
Ingroup Pride	1.58*** 0.49	0.64 0.48	1.24*** 0.36	1.00*** 0.33	-0.06 0.38	0.60** 0.29	0.73** 0.31	0.80* 0.45	1.00** 0.46
Outgroup Hostility	-0.95* 0.57	-0.16 0.59	-0.82* 0.43	-0.83** 0.39	-0.15 0.47	-0.78** 0.34	-0.31 0.37	-0.64 0.55	-0.63 0.54
Partisanship	-0.55*** 0.18	-0.36* 0.19	-0.42*** 0.14	-0.90*** 0.13	-0.61*** 0.17	-1.07*** 0.11	-1.80*** 0.13	-0.83*** 0.18	-0.95*** 0.20
Education	-0.85*** 0.26	0.32 0.28	-0.53*** 0.19	-0.22 0.18	0.57** 0.23	-0.57*** 0.16	-0.19 0.17	0.01 0.24	-0.72*** 0.27
Awareness	0.38 0.25	-0.04 0.25	-0.02 0.18	0.03 0.17	0.11 0.23	-0.54*** 0.15	-0.50*** 0.16	-0.11 0.23	-0.00 0.25
Female	0.13 0.13	0.25* 0.13	-0.03 0.10	0.19** 0.09	-0.25** 0.11	-0.27*** 0.08	-0.01 0.09	-0.14 0.12	-0.23* 0.13
Black	-0.07 0.23	-0.10 0.23	-0.31* 0.16	0.13 0.16	-0.61*** 0.17	-0.31** 0.14	-0.39*** 0.15	-0.32 0.20	-0.21 0.22
Hispanic	0.58* 0.30	-0.35 0.27	0.01 0.20	0.16 0.19	0.05 0.24	0.04 0.16	0.04 0.18	0.02 0.24	0.17 0.29
Threat	0.73*** 0.22	0.38 0.23	0.48*** 0.16	0.36** 0.15	-0.22 0.19	0.30** 0.14	0.10 0.14	0.09 0.20	-0.02 0.22
National Econ. Eval.							1.53*** 0.21	1.36*** 0.29	1.07*** 0.34
Household Econ. Eval.							0.67 0.18	-0.02 0.24	0.47* 0.27
τ_1	-1.35 0.37	-0.93 0.40	-1.70 0.28	-1.66 0.26	-1.50 0.33	-2.07 0.23	-1.49 0.27	-1.29 0.37	-1.85 0.43
τ_2	-0.03 0.36	0.19 0.40	-0.60 0.27	-0.30 0.26		-1.75 0.23	-0.95 0.27	-0.90 0.37	-1.52 0.43
τ_3						-1.25 0.23	-0.86 0.27	-0.84 0.37	-1.50 0.43
τ_4						-0.88 0.23	-0.09 0.27	-0.23 0.37	-0.83 0.42
lnL	-336.31	-304.84	-578.20	-685.60	-349.51	-1239.89	-969.80	-500.50	-398.53
$p > \chi^2$	52.38	18.90	53.35	77.76	67.10	159.26	396.57	83.68	77.87
N	440	396	844	839	895	899	885	456	446

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 2000-2002 National Election Study Panel.

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 5.5
ETHNOCENTRISM AND OPPOSITION TO COMMUNISM

	Prevent Spread of Communism	Tougher in Dealings with Russia	Disapprove of Arms Agreements
Ethnocentrism	0.72*** 0.14	0.53*** 0.14	0.36** 0.16
Partisanship	-0.38*** 0.09	-0.33*** 0.09	-0.33*** 0.10
Education	-0.76*** 0.12	-0.41*** 0.12	-0.40*** 0.14
Awareness	-0.03 0.12	0.03 0.13	-0.53*** 0.14
Female	0.04 0.06	0.00 0.06	0.28*** 0.07
Black	0.09 0.10	0.17 0.11	0.56*** 0.11
Hispanic	0.12 0.11	0.20* 0.11	0.33*** 0.12
τ_1	-2.27 0.12	-1.42 0.11	0.20 0.12
τ_2	-1.45 0.11	-0.89 0.11	0.97 0.12
τ_3	-1.00 0.10	-0.37 0.11	1.25 0.12
τ_4	-0.03 0.10	0.28 0.11	
τ_5		0.75 0.11	
τ_6		1.15 0.11	
lnL	-1963.77	-2409.72	-1236.30
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	1472	1294	1436

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1988 National Election Study.

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 5.6
ETHNOCENTRISM AND SUPPORT FOR DESERT STORM

	Emotional Responses		Policy Opinions			Evaluations of President	
	Pride	Anger	Military Force over Diplomacy	Sending Troops Was Right	Should Have Kept Fighting	Management of Gulf Crisis	General Performance
Ethnocentrism	0.86*** 0.27	2.02*** 0.48	1.30*** 0.40	0.52 0.32	0.74*** 0.28	0.83*** 0.28	0.86*** 0.26
Partisanship	-0.63*** 0.14	0.16 0.18	-1.08*** 0.17	-0.73*** 0.16	0.07 0.13	-0.79*** 0.14	-1.25*** 0.13
Education	0.06 0.19	0.00 0.24	-0.80*** 0.24	-0.10 0.22	-0.61*** 0.20	-0.28 0.19	-0.29 0.18
Awareness	-0.22 0.26	-0.05 0.34	-0.58* 0.34	-0.08 0.31	0.23 0.27	-0.12 0.27	-0.37 0.25
Female	-0.17* 0.09	0.40*** 0.12	-0.39*** 0.12	-0.27** 0.11	-0.39*** 0.09	-0.24** 0.09	-0.11 0.09
Black	-0.29* 0.16	-0.20 0.20	-0.10 0.21	-0.39** 0.17	-0.49*** 0.17	-0.15 0.16	-0.16 0.15
Hispanic	0.10 0.19	-0.21 0.22	0.53* 0.28	-0.04 0.21	0.06 0.18	0.26 0.19	0.30* 0.18
National Econ. Eval.						0.86*** 0.22	0.96*** 0.21
Household Econ. Eval.						0.28 0.17	0.56*** 0.16
τ_1	-1.11 0.16	-1.165 0.208	-1.94 0.22	-1.53 0.20	-0.27 0.16	-1.59 0.20	-1.76 0.19
τ_2	-0.70 0.16	-0.771 0.205	-1.91 0.22	-1.48 0.20	-0.20 0.16	-1.36 0.20	-1.31 0.19
τ_3						-0.66 0.19	-0.29 0.18
lnL	-714.49	-358.18	-363.09	-422.37	-615.79	-727.29	-822.58
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	800	801	634	790	803	792	779

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1990-1991-1992 National Election Study Panel.

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 5.7
THE EFFECT OF ETHNOCENTRISM ON AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR THE WAR ON TERRORISM
BEFORE AND AFTER 9/11

	Tighten Borders		National Defense		Feelings towards Bush	
	2000	2002	2000	2002	2000	2002
Ethnocentrism	0.87*** 0.32	0.98*** 0.36	0.17 0.30	0.70** 0.31	-0.11 0.26	0.53** 0.26
Partisanship	-0.27** 0.13	-0.33** 0.14	-0.90*** 0.13	-0.83*** 0.13	-2.33*** 0.13	-2.01*** 0.12
Education	-0.45** 0.19	-0.44** 0.21	-0.47** 0.18	-0.13 0.19	-0.17 0.16	-0.12 0.16
Political Awareness	-0.10 0.17	-0.02 0.19	0.43** 0.17	0.07 0.17	-0.18 0.14	-0.09 0.15
Female	0.10 0.09	-0.02 0.10	-0.33*** 0.09	0.22** 0.09	0.03 0.08	0.07 0.08
Black	-0.15 0.16	-0.40** 0.17	0.05 0.16	-0.03 0.16	-0.18 0.14	-0.49*** 0.14
Hispanic	0.16 0.19	-0.04 0.20	0.05 0.18	0.15 0.19	0.02 0.15	0.02 0.16
Authoritarianism	0.75*** 0.17	0.33* 0.19	0.27 0.17	0.31* 0.17	0.51*** 0.14	0.46*** 0.15
Religiosity	-0.13 0.14	0.07 0.16	0.45*** 0.14	0.27* 0.15	0.69*** 0.12	0.53*** 0.12
National Economic Eval.					0.02 0.16	1.03*** 0.18
Household Economic Eval.					-0.13 0.17	0.59*** 0.16
τ_1	-1.33 0.21	-1.91 0.24	-1.59 0.21	-1.56 0.22	-3.08 0.23	-2.39 0.22
τ_2	-0.02 0.21	-0.81 0.23	-0.32 0.21	-0.21 0.21	-2.66 0.22	-2.13 0.21
τ_3					-2.19 0.22	-1.68 0.21
τ_4					-1.43 0.21	-1.18 0.21
τ_5					-0.85 0.21	-0.70 0.20
τ_6					-0.12 0.21	-0.09 0.20
τ_7					0.51 0.21	0.51 0.20
τ_8					1.24 0.22	1.32 0.21
lnL	-720.91	-559.06	-754.30	-670.67	-1510.22	-1480.69
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	812	812	820	820	848	848

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard errors below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 2000-2002 National Election Study.

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 5.8
THE EFFECT OF ETHNOCENTRISM ON AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR DESERT STORM
BEFORE, RIGHT AFTER, AND WELL AFTER THE FIGHTING

	Prefer Military Solution			Sending Troops the Right Thing			Should Have Carried the Fighting to Baghdad		
	1990	1991	1992	1990	1991	1992	1990	1991	1992
Ethnocentrism	0.45	1.28***	N/A	-0.07	0.52†	0.09	N/A	0.74 ***	0.41
	0.34	0.41		0.30	0.35	0.33		0.28	0.27
Partisanship	-0.35**	-1.12***		-0.59***	-0.75***	-0.84***		0.07	0.23*
	0.17	0.18		0.15	0.18	0.18		0.13	0.13
Education	-0.11	-0.83***		0.25	-0.10	-0.08		-0.61***	-0.39**
	0.24	0.24		0.23	0.25	0.26		0.19	0.19
Awareness	-0.89***	-0.60*		0.73**	0.00	-0.10		0.22	0.13
	0.34	0.35		0.31	0.33	0.34		0.27	0.26
Female	-0.36***	-0.37***		-0.38***	-0.29**	-0.15		-0.39***	-0.11
	0.12	0.12		0.10	0.12	0.12		0.09	0.09
Black	-0.44*	-0.10		-0.65***	-0.35*	-0.46**		-0.50***	-0.41***
	0.25	0.22		0.19	0.19	0.19		0.17	0.16
Hispanic	0.33	0.52*		0.09	0.08	0.04		0.05	0.10
	0.23	0.28		0.21	0.23	0.24		0.18	0.19
τ_1	-0.07	-1.98		-0.64	-1.50	-1.63		-0.28	-2.05
	0.21	0.23		0.19	0.21	0.22		0.16	0.18
τ_2								-0.21	-0.39
								0.16	0.16
lnL	-336.66	-323.05		-409.75	-322.70	-308.52		-611.04	-590.88
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.01
N	621	621		704	704	704		801	801

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 5.8, CONTINUED

	Strengthen Defense			Bush Job Approval		
	1990	1991	1992	1990	1991	1992
Ethnocentrism	0.37 0.27	0.67** 0.27	0.45 0.27	0.46* 0.25	0.99*** 0.27	0.82*** 0.25
Partisanship	-0.77*** 0.13	-0.71*** 0.13	-0.73*** 0.13	-1.28*** 0.13	-1.35*** 0.14	-1.32*** 0.13
Education	-0.55*** 0.18	-0.47*** 0.18	-0.60*** 0.18	-0.03 0.18	-0.33* 0.19	0.00 0.18
Awareness	-1.12*** 0.26	-0.96*** 0.25	-1.02*** 0.26	0.01 0.25	-0.52** 0.26	-0.95*** 0.25
Female	-0.11 0.09	-0.17* 0.09	-0.17** 0.09	-0.24*** 0.08	-0.10 0.09	-0.06 0.09
Black	0.13 0.17	0.31* 0.17	-0.03 0.17	-0.40*** 0.15	-0.22 0.15	-0.47*** 0.17
Hispanic	0.11 0.20	0.45 0.20	0.60*** 0.20	0.41** 0.17	0.24 0.18	0.05 0.17
National Econ. Eval.				1.06*** 0.22	1.03*** 0.21	1.95*** 0.20
Household Econ. Eval.				0.23 0.15	0.56*** 0.17	0.44*** 0.17
τ_1	-2.44 0.18	-2.40 0.18	-2.71 0.19	-1.40 0.18	-1.90 0.20	-0.91 0.18
τ_2	-1.81 0.17	-1.97 0.17	-1.98 0.17	-0.90 0.18	-1.44 0.19	-0.15 0.18
τ_3	-1.24 0.17	-1.41 0.17	-1.19 0.17	0.24 0.18	-0.40 0.19	1.02 0.19
τ_4	-0.24 0.16	-0.62 0.16	-0.15 0.16			
τ_5	0.25 0.17	0.16 0.16	0.58 0.17			
τ_6	0.76 0.18	0.83 0.17	0.96 0.19			
lnL	-1007.26	-1039.63	-948.15	-877.67	-761.31	-822.26
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	602	602	602	736	736	736

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard errors below.

Models also control for political awareness, gender, race, and ethnicity.

Full results appear in Web Appendix.

N/A indicates that the dependent variable was not available in that year of the survey.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1990-1991-1992 National Election Study.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS REFERENCED IN TEXT

SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: ETHNOCENTRISM BY ANOTHER MEASURE

	War on Terrorism	Homeland Security	Border	Defense	Afghanistan	Iraq	Approval - General	Approval - War on Terrorism	Approval- Handling 9/11
Ethnocentrism	0.72* 0.39	0.28 0.37	1.07*** 0.30	0.39 0.26	0.18 0.32	0.41* 0.24	0.34 0.25	0.34 0.36	0.27 0.38
Partisanship	-0.38* 0.18	-0.44** 0.20	-0.41*** 0.14	-1.00*** 0.13	-0.60*** 0.17	-1.13*** 0.12	-1.86*** 0.14	-0.87*** 0.19	-0.97*** 0.20
Education	-0.87*** 0.27	0.35 0.29	-0.56*** 0.20	-0.38** 0.19	0.49** 0.24	-0.56*** 0.17	-0.26 0.18	0.03 0.26	-0.84*** 0.28
Threat	0.81*** 0.23	0.43* 0.24	0.39** 0.17	0.38** 0.16	-0.13 0.20	0.31** 0.14	0.08 0.15	0.19 0.21	-0.11 0.23
Awareness	0.37 0.26	-0.22 0.27	0.01 0.19	0.04 0.18	-0.00 0.24	-0.62*** 0.16	-0.61*** 0.17	-0.14 0.24	-0.07 0.26
Female	0.11 0.13	0.25* 0.14	0.03 0.10	0.24*** 0.09	-0.30** 0.12	-0.28*** 0.08	-0.02 0.09	-0.07 0.13	-0.21 0.13
Black	-0.27 0.22	-0.03 0.24	-0.46*** 0.17	0.07 0.16	-0.61*** 0.17	-0.48*** 0.14	-0.50*** 0.15	-0.36* 0.20	-0.31 0.22
Hispanic	0.29 0.29	-0.41 0.27	-0.10 0.20	0.20 0.19	0.21 0.26	-0.03 0.17	0.06 0.18	-0.03 0.26	0.06 0.28
National Econ. Eval.							1.64*** 0.22	1.37*** 0.31	0.99*** 0.35
Household Econ. Eval.							0.74*** 0.18	-0.10 0.25	0.47* 0.28
τ_1	-1.62 0.25	-1.28 0.30	-2.01 0.21	-1.94 0.19	-1.42 0.23	-2.05 0.17	-1.82 0.21	-1.37 0.30	-2.31 0.33
τ_2	-0.38 0.24	-0.17 0.29	-0.91 0.19	-0.60 0.18		-1.73 0.17	-1.31 0.21	-0.98 0.29	-2.00 0.33
τ_3						-1.25 0.17	-1.24 0.21	-0.94 0.29	-1.29 0.33
τ_4						-0.85 0.16	-0.46 0.20	-0.34 0.29	
lnL	-328.44	-282.39	-536.05	-633.51	-327.31	-1159.08	-895.25	-461.39	-363.67
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	418	367	792	789	846	845	836	427	421

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 2000-2002 National Election Study Panel.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: ETHNOCENTRISM AND CONSERVATISM

	War on Terrorism	Homeland Security	Border	Defense	Afghanistan	Iraq	Approval - General	Approval - War on Terrorism	Approval- Handling 9/11
Ethnocentrism	1.13** 0.47	0.54 0.47	0.96*** 0.36	0.79*** 0.32	-0.05 0.37	0.55* 0.28	0.45 0.30	0.68 0.44	0.74* 0.45
Moral Traditionalism	0.42 0.32	-0.22 0.33	0.78*** 0.24	0.41* 0.22	0.21 0.28	-0.00 0.20	0.24 0.21	0.16 0.30	0.33 0.32
Egalitarianism	-0.47 0.36	-0.01 0.39	-0.33 0.27	-0.24 0.25	0.08 0.32	-0.43* 0.22	-0.17 0.24	0.22 0.33	-0.23 0.39
Limited Government	-0.15 0.19	0.11 0.20	0.10 0.14	0.02 0.13	0.35** 0.17	0.11 0.12	0.28** 0.12	0.48*** 0.18	0.17 0.20
Liberal	-0.15 0.17	-0.20 0.18	-0.11 0.13	-0.09 0.12	-0.04 0.14	-0.35*** 0.11	-0.49*** 0.11	-0.35** 0.15	-0.33** 0.17
Conservative	0.21 0.17	0.13 0.17	0.12 0.13	0.19 0.12	0.13 0.15	0.09 0.11	0.08 0.11	0.09 0.16	0.07 0.18
Partisanship	-0.19 0.24	-0.15 0.25	0.08 0.18	-0.55*** 0.16	-0.29 0.21	-0.68*** 0.14	-1.30*** 0.16	-0.33 0.21	-0.51** 0.25
Education	-0.87*** 0.27	0.38 0.28	-0.50** 0.20	-0.19 0.18	0.58** 0.24	-0.52*** 0.16	-0.09 0.17	0.00 0.24	-0.53* 0.29
Threat	0.72*** 0.22	0.34 0.23	0.52*** 0.17	0.33** 0.15	-0.24 0.19	0.30** 0.14	0.08 0.14	0.05 0.20	-0.09 0.23
Awareness	0.47* 0.26	-0.05 0.26	0.05 0.19	0.08 0.18	0.08 0.23	-0.45*** 0.16	-0.41** 0.17	-0.04 0.24	0.10 0.26
Female	0.16 0.13	0.25* 0.14	-0.05 0.10	0.20** 0.09	-0.19* 0.12	-0.24*** 0.08	0.06 0.09	-0.05 0.12	-0.20 0.14
Black	-0.08 0.23	-0.07 0.24	-0.35** 0.17	0.10 0.16	-0.64*** 0.18	-0.31** 0.14	-0.42*** 0.15	-0.37* 0.20	-0.22 0.23
Hispanic	0.49 0.30	-0.38 0.27	-0.03 0.20	0.11 0.19	0.10 0.24	0.06 0.17	0.06 0.18	-0.02 0.25	0.24 0.30
National Econ. Eval.							1.44*** 0.22	1.29*** 0.29	1.00*** 0.35
Household Econ. Eval.							0.70*** 0.18	0.05 0.24	0.51* 0.28
τ_1	-1.60 0.43	-1.18 0.48	-1.36 0.33	-1.42 0.31	-0.83 0.37	-1.96 0.27	-1.35 0.31	-0.73 0.44	-1.67 0.48
τ_2	-0.24 0.42	-0.05 0.47	-0.21 0.33	-0.03 0.30		-1.64 0.27	-0.79 0.30	-0.32 0.44	-1.32 0.48
τ_3						-1.13 0.27	-0.70 0.30	-0.26 0.44	-1.31 0.48

τ_4						-0.75	0.11	0.37	-0.63
						0.27	0.30	0.44	0.48
lnL	-327.90	-301.60	-556.25	-672.07	-343.30	-1213.87	-940.88	-488.41	-384.31
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.07	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	437	393	837	832	889	892	879	454	441

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 2000-2002 National Election Study Panel.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: ETHNOCENTRISM AND RELIGIOUS CONVICTION

	War on Terrorism	Homeland Security	Border	Defense	Afghanistan	Iraq	Approval - General	Approval - War on Terrorism	Approval- Handling 9/11
Ethnocentrism	1.39*** 0.47	0.36 0.48	1.08*** 0.36	0.85*** 0.32	-0.04 0.37	0.57** 0.28	0.50 0.30	0.68 0.44	0.93*** 0.45
Importance of Religion	0.30 0.20	0.18 0.21	0.12 0.15	0.32** 0.14	0.12 0.18	0.22* 0.13	0.47*** 0.14	0.09 0.19	0.18 0.21
Partisanship	-0.44** 0.19	-0.42** 0.20	-0.33** 0.14	-0.83*** 0.13	-0.65*** 0.17	-1.02*** 0.12	-1.77*** 0.14	-0.85*** 0.18	-0.94*** 0.21
Education	-0.82*** 0.26	0.21 0.29	-0.57*** 0.20	-0.22 0.18	0.50** 0.24	-0.58*** 0.16	-0.22 0.17	0.07 0.25	-0.85*** 0.28
Awareness	0.38 0.26	-0.06 0.26	-0.04 0.19	0.04 0.17	0.09 0.23	-0.58*** 0.16	-0.48*** 0.16	-0.11 0.24	0.07 0.25
Female	0.09 0.13	0.19 0.14	-0.07 0.10	0.16* 0.09	-0.23** 0.12	-0.30*** 0.081	-0.03 0.09	-0.13 0.12	-0.20 0.13
Black	-0.12 0.23	-0.14 0.24	-0.36** 0.17	0.06 0.16	-0.64*** 0.18	-0.39*** 0.14	-0.50*** 0.15	-0.33 0.20	-0.24 0.23
Hispanic	0.53* 0.30	-0.35 0.28	-0.03 0.20	0.18 0.19	0.12 0.25	0.04 0.17	0.04 0.18	0.01 0.25	0.36 0.31
Threat	0.69*** 0.22	0.37 0.23	0.48*** 0.17	0.32** 0.15	-0.21 0.19	0.33** 0.14	0.05 0.15	0.07 0.20	-0.04 0.23
National Econ. Eval.							1.57*** 0.22	1.37*** 0.30	1.06*** 0.35
Household Econ. Eval.							0.67*** 0.18	-0.09 0.24	0.37 0.28
τ_1	-1.53 0.28	-1.27 0.31	-1.92 0.22	-1.61 0.20	-1.37 0.25	-1.86 0.18	-1.56 0.22	-1.36 0.30	-2.10 0.35
τ_2	-0.23 0.26	-0.17 0.30	-0.80 0.21	-0.25 0.19		-1.54 0.18	-1.01 0.21	-0.97 0.30	-1.77 0.35
τ_3						-1.04 0.17	-0.93 0.21	-0.91 0.30	-1.74 0.35
τ_4						-0.67 0.17	-0.14 0.21	-0.31 0.30	-1.05 0.34
lnL	-328.25	-292.40	-562.74	-668.22	-334.00	-1206.71	-928.83	-487.85	-380.66
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.033	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	433	384	825	821	872	878	864	447	433

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 2000-2002 National Election Study Panel.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: ETHNOCENTRISM AND AUTHORITARIANISM

	War on Terrorism	Homeland Security	Border	Defense	Afghanistan	Iraq	Approval - General	Approval - War on Terrorism	Approval- Handling 9/11
Ethnocentrism	1.20** 0.47	0.45 0.47	1.00*** 0.36	0.83*** 0.32	-0.05 0.37	0.49* 0.28	0.40 0.30	0.61 0.44	0.72 0.45
Authoritarianism	0.51** 0.24	0.27 0.24	0.37** 0.18	0.38** 0.17	0.15 0.21	0.40*** 0.15	0.58*** 0.16	0.34 0.22	0.45* 0.24
Partisanship	-0.51*** 0.18	-0.34* 0.19	-0.37*** 0.14	-0.87*** 0.13	-0.60*** 0.17	-1.04*** 0.12	-1.77*** 0.13	-0.81*** 0.18	-0.91*** 0.20
Education	-0.71*** 0.27	0.42 0.29	-0.40** 0.20	-0.09 0.19	0.60** 0.24	-0.45*** 0.17	0.00 0.18	0.16 0.25	-0.59** 0.28
Awareness	0.44* 0.26	-0.01 0.26	0.03 0.19	0.07 0.17	0.12 0.23	-0.52*** 0.16	-0.44*** 0.16	-0.09 0.24	0.07 0.25
Female	0.18 0.13	0.25* 0.13	0.00 0.10	0.22** 0.09	-0.24** 0.12	-0.25*** 0.08	0.04 0.09	-0.11 0.12	-0.20 0.13
Black	-0.12 0.23	-0.13 0.24	-0.38** 0.17	0.06 0.16	-0.65*** 0.18	-0.40*** 0.14	-0.49*** 0.15	-0.38* 0.21	-0.29 0.23
Hispanic	0.57* 0.30	-0.38 0.27	-0.02 0.20	0.14 0.19	0.05 0.24	0.02 0.16	0.02 0.18	0.02 0.24	0.13 0.29
Threat	0.67*** 0.22	0.37* 0.23	0.47*** 0.16	0.34** 0.15	-0.24 0.19	0.28** 0.14	0.06 0.14	0.07 0.20	-0.06 0.23
National Econ. Eval.							1.49*** 0.21	1.33*** 0.29	1.07*** 0.34
Household Econ. Eval.							0.65*** 0.18	-0.03 0.24	0.43 0.28
τ_1	-1.35 0.30	-0.99 0.35	-1.62 0.24	-1.47 0.23	-1.27 0.28	-1.67 0.20	-1.31 0.23	-1.11 0.33	-1.74 0.37
τ_2	-0.02 0.29	0.13 0.35	-0.53 0.24	-0.10 0.22		-1.34 0.20	-0.77 0.23	-0.72 0.33	-1.40 0.36
τ_3						-0.84 0.20	-0.68 0.23	-0.67 0.33	-1.38 0.36
τ_4						-0.46 0.20	0.10 0.23	-0.06 0.33	-0.72 0.36
lnL	-333.32	-304.77	-575.04	-681.25	-349.25	-1232.73	-960.60	-494.62	-395.70
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.025	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	438	396	842	837	894	897	883	455	445

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

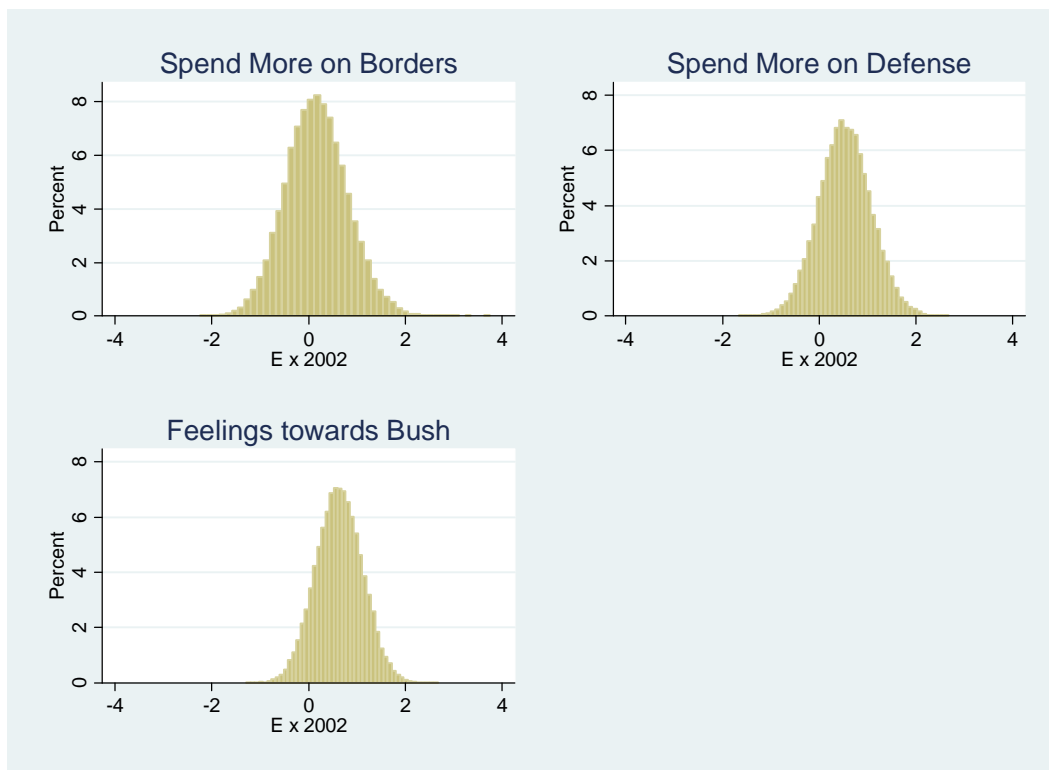
Source: 2000-2002 National Election Study Panel.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: ACTIVATION TESTS, 2000-2002

Are the effects of ethnocentrism in 2002 *significantly* greater than the effects of ethnocentrism in 2000? Pretty sure. Here's how we conducted the test.

First of all, we converted the panel data into two stacked, independent cross-sections, by arbitrarily splitting the sample in half. In one, the independent variables and dependent variable were all measured in the 2000 NES. In the other, the independent variables came from the 2000 NES and the dependent variables from the 2002 NES. We then estimated a fully interactive model, where each predictor was multiplied by a dummy variable, coded 0 if the respondent belonged to the first "sample" and coded 1 if the respondent belonged to the second (the "2002 sample"). To provide a sampling distribution for the coefficient interacting ethnocentrism with the 2002 sample, we split our original sample in half in multiple iterations. For each of the three opinions – border security, national defense, and evaluations of President Bush – we re-ran the model 50,000 times, dividing the sample a different way each time. The results of this test suggest that we can be quite certain that the increase in the effect of ethnocentrism is real in the case of ratings of President Bush ($p < 0.10$); a bit less certain for spending on defense ($p < 0.16$); and less certain still for tightening border security ($p < 0.40$), where the effect of ethnocentrism was already significant in 2000.

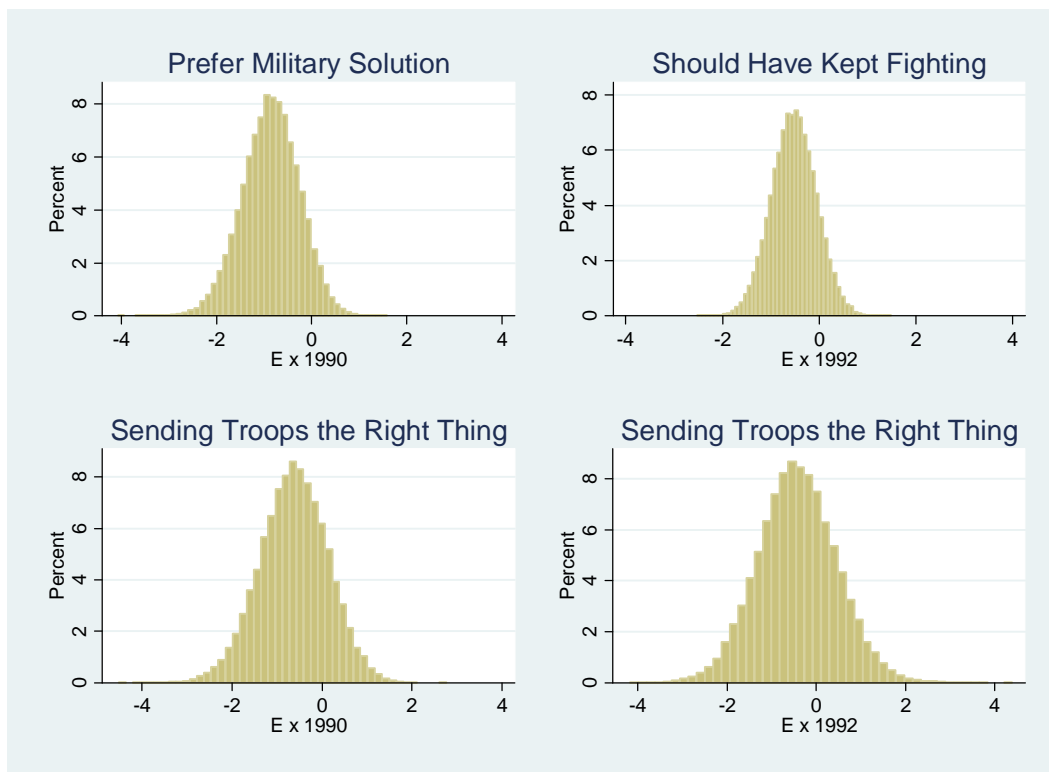
The following graphs display the sampling distributions for the estimated coefficients on $E \times 2002$. While the sampling distribution for border security hovers over zero, the other two sampling distributions are much more clearly centered to the right of zero.

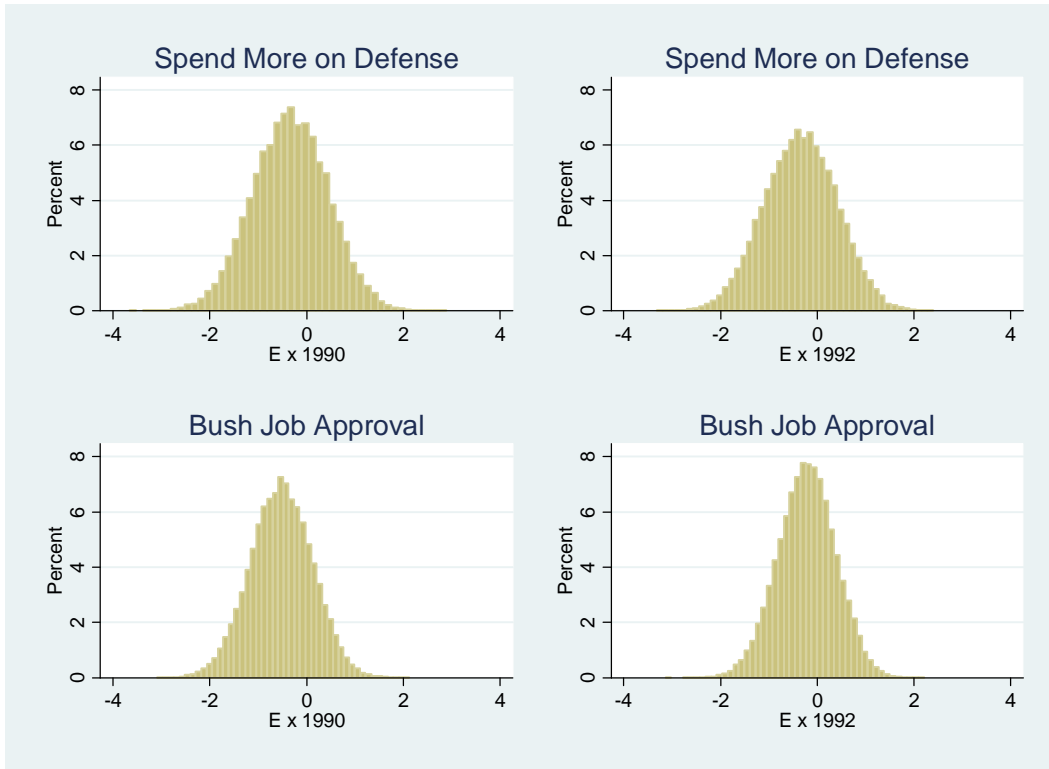


SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: ACTIVATION TESTS, 1990-1991-1992

In this case, we converted the panel data into two or three stacked, independent cross-sections, by arbitrarily splitting the sample in half or in thirds, depending upon whether the dependent variables appeared in two or three of the studies. All of the independent variables were measured in the 1992 NES, with the exception of national economic evaluations and household economic evaluations, which were measured contemporaneously with the dependent variable. As with the 2000-2002 activation tests, we estimated a fully interactive model, where each predictor was multiplied by a dummy variable, coded 0 if the respondent belonged to the first “sample” (the year 1991) and coded 1 if the respondent belonged to a different year (e.g., the “1990 sample”). When three years were present, we included two dummy variables (1990 and 1992); the baseline reference group was always 1991. To provide a sampling distribution for the coefficient interacting ethniccentrism with the sample, we split our original sample in half (or in thirds) in multiple iterations. For each of the five dependent variables, we re-ran the model 50,000 times, dividing the sample a different way each time.

The following graphs display the sampling distributions for the estimated coefficients on $E \times 1990$ and $E \times 1992$. Since the baseline reference group pertains to the effect of E in 1991, we are expecting *negative* interaction coefficients for $E \times 1990$ and $E \times 1992$.





CHAPTER 6: AMERICA FIRST
Dependent Variables: Full Question Text and Distributions

Dependent Variables: Foreign Aid in General

	% of sample
Foreign Aid (v025116x)	
<i>Should federal spending on foreign aid be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?</i>	
Increased	10.1%
Kept the Same	44.2
Decreased	45.8

Source: 2000-2002 National Election Study Panel, weighted analysis

Dependent Variables: Foreign Aid in the Particular

	% of sample
EASTERN EUROPE	
Economic Assistance to Democratizing Countries (v912401)	
<i>“Do you think the United States should give economic assistance to those countries in Eastern Europe which have turned toward democracy, or not?”</i>	
Should Give Assistance	57.2%
Should Not Give Assistance	42.8
Aid to Countries of the Former Soviet Union (v923731)	
<i>“Should federal spending be increased, decreased, or kept about the same on aid to countries of the former Soviet Union?”</i>	
Increased	15.6
Kept the Same	40.9
Decreased	43.5

Source: 1990-1991-1992 National Election Study Panel, weighted analysis

	% of sample
SOUTH AFRICA	
Sanctions on South Africa (v880860-2)	
<i>Have you read or heard enough about what's going on there to have an opinion about what US policy toward South Africa should be?</i>	
Yes	39.8%
No	60.2
<i>Some people think that the US should apply economic sanctions to get the South African government to change its racial laws. Others think that the US should not do this. What do you think – should the US apply economic pressure or not? [Strongly or not strongly?]</i>	
Apply More Pressure, Strongly	45.7
Apply More Pressure, Not Strongly	12.9
Do Not Apply More Pressure, Not Strongly	12.3
Do Not Apply More Pressure, Strongly	29.1
Sanctions on South Africa (v900433, v900437)	
<i>Some people feel that the economic sanctions against South Africa should be decreased a lot in light of changes in the treatment of blacks that have taken place there recently. (Suppose those people are at one end of the scale, at point number 1.) Other people feel that sanctions should be increased a lot in order to pressure the government to make further changes. (Suppose these people are at the other end at point 7. And, of course, other people have opinions in between at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6.) Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?</i>	
OR	
<i>Some people feel that the economic sanctions against South Africa should be decreased a lot in light of changes in the treatment of blacks that have taken place there recently. Other people feel that sanctions should be increased in order to pressure the government to make further changes. And still others feel that the US should continue to impose about the same sanctions it imposes now. What about you? Do you feel that sanctions against South Africa should be decreased, should be increased, should be kept about the same, or haven't you thought much about this? IF increase or decrease: Should sanctions be decreased/increased a lot or a little? IF kept about the same: Would you lean toward decreasing sanctions, increasing sanctions, or do you oppose any change in sanctions?</i>	
Haven't thought about it	34.1
Have an opinion	65.9
<i>Among those with an opinion:</i>	
Increased	43.2
Kept same	29.2
Decreased	27.6

*Source: 1988 National Election Study, weighted analysis first item);
1990-1991-1992 National Election Study Panel, weighted analysis (second item)*

	% of sample
CENTRAL AMERICA	
Aid to the Contras (v880350)	
<i>Should federal spending on aid to the Contras in Nicaragua be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?</i>	
Increased	12.4%
Kept the Same	27.5
Decreased/ Cut Out Entirely	60.1

Source: 1988 National Election Study, weighted analysis

Dependent Variables: Collateral Damage

	% of sample
Upset (v912518/9)	
<i>We are interested in the feelings you might have had during the Persian Gulf War – not the feelings you have now, but how you felt then, during the war. During the War, did you ever feel: upset? [Strongly or not strongly?]</i>	
No	24.2%
Yes, not strongly	15.5
Yes, strongly	60.3
Sympathy (v912520/1)	
<i>We are interested in the feelings you might have had during the Persian Gulf War – not the feelings you have now, but how you felt then, during the war. During the War, did you ever feel: sympathy for the Iraqi people? [Strongly or not strongly?]</i>	
No	25.7
Yes, not strongly	27.3
Yes, strongly	47.0
Disgust (v912526/7)	
<i>We are interested in the feelings you might have had during the Persian Gulf War – not the feelings you have now, but how you felt then, during the war. During the War, did you ever feel: disgusted at the killing? [Strongly or not strongly?]</i>	
No	16.2
Yes, not strongly	10.2
Yes, strongly	73.6
Help Kurds (v912557)	
<i>Here are two statements. Which is closer to your view: ONE, we did not act quickly enough to give aid to the Kurdish people after the fighting stopped; OR TWO, the Kurdish situation is an internal Iraqi problem and we should not be involved at all.</i>	
We did not act quickly enough	52.3
DK/neither/both	10.8
We should not be involved at all	36.9
Collateral Damage (v912548/9)	
<i>Some people say there should be no bombing of targets near where civilians live because it is immoral to risk innocent lives. Others say such bombing may be necessary in wartime. Which of these is closest to your position? Do you feel strongly or not strongly about this?</i>	
No bombing near civilians, strongly	24.7
No bombing near civilians, not strongly	3.9
Neither/both	2.9
Such bombing may be necessary in wartime, not strongly	21.6
Such bombing may be necessary in wartime, strongly	47.0

Source: 1990-1991-1992 National Election Study Panel, weighted analysis

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLES PRESENTED IN TEXT

**FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 6.1
ETHNOCENTRISM AND AMERICAN OPPOSITION TO FOREIGN AID**

Standard Model	
Ethnocentrism	0.69** 0.29
Partisanship	-0.29** 0.12
Education	-0.38** 0.17
Awareness	-0.01 0.16
Female	-0.14* 0.08
Black	-0.36** 0.15
Hispanic	-0.16 0.17
τ_1	-1.85 0.16
τ_2	-0.30 0.14
lnL	-768.30
$p > \chi^2$	0.00
N	847

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 2000-2002 National Election Study.

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 6.3
ETHNOCENTRISM AND INDIFFERENCE TO THE CASUALTIES OF WAR

	Upset over War	Sympathy for Iraqi People	Disgusted at the Killing	Help Kurds	Immoral to Bomb Near Civilians
Ethnocentrism	-0.66** 0.27	-0.54** 0.25	-0.19 0.30	-0.49* 0.27	-0.23 0.25
Partisanship	0.37*** 0.13	0.35*** 0.12	0.57*** 0.15	0.19 0.13	0.44*** 0.13
Education	0.23 0.19	0.17 0.18	-0.03 0.21	0.07 0.19	0.12 0.18
Awareness	0.03 0.26	0.57** 0.25	-0.16 0.29	0.70*** 0.26	-0.55** 0.25
Female	0.80*** 0.09	0.42*** 0.09	0.79*** 0.10	-0.09 0.09	0.47*** 0.09
Black	-0.05 0.17	-0.13 0.15	0.37* 0.21	-0.34** 0.16	0.31** 0.15
Hispanic	-0.15 0.18	-0.13 0.17	0.11 0.20	0.02 0.18	-0.09 0.17
τ_1	-0.08 0.16	-0.06 0.15	-0.45 0.18	-0.07 0.16	0.31 0.15
τ_2	0.36 0.16	0.72 0.15	-0.03 0.18	0.77 0.16	0.90 0.15
τ_3					0.98 0.15
τ_4					1.11 0.16
lnL	-697.40	-827.57	-550.30	-716.79	-949.43
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	801	802	795	794	800

Table entry is the ordered-probit coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1990-91-92 National Election Study.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS REFERENCED IN TEXT

SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: ETHNOCENTRISM AND AMERICAN OPPOSITION TO FOREIGN AID, ADDING LIMITED GOVERNMENT, EGALITARIANISM, AND AUTHORITARIANISM

	Standard Model	Standard Model & Limited Government	Standard Model & Equality	Standard Model & Authoritarianism
Ethnocentrism	0.69** 0.29	0.79*** 0.29	0.63** 0.29	0.69** 0.30
Partisanship	-0.29** 0.12	0.02 0.14	-0.19 0.13	-0.30** 0.12
Education	-0.38** 0.17	-0.35** 0.17	-0.37** 0.17	-0.38** 0.18
Awareness	-0.01 0.16	-0.04 0.16	0.05 0.16	-0.02 0.16
Female	-0.14* 0.08	-0.07 0.09	-0.12 0.08	-0.14* 0.08
Black	-0.36** 0.15	-0.33** 0.15	-0.31** 0.15	-0.36** 0.15
Hispanic	-0.16 0.17	-0.12 0.18	-0.16 0.17	-0.16 0.17
Limited Government		0.57*** 0.12		
Egalitarianism			-0.53** 0.22	
Authoritarianism				-0.00 0.16
τ_1	-1.85 0.16	-1.40 0.18	-2.09 0.19	-1.85 0.20
τ_2	-0.30 0.14	0.18 0.17	-0.53 0.17	-0.31 0.20
lnL	-768.30	-751.48	-760.95	-766.97
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	847	842	843	845

Table entry is the ordered-probit coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 2000-2002 National Election Study.

**SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: ESTIMATES FOR FIGURE 6.2
ETHNOCENTRISM AND AMERICAN OPPOSITION TO
ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO EASTERN EUROPE**

	Oppose Economic Assistance	Reduce Spending on Former USSR
Ethnocentrism	0.64** 0.28	1.05*** 0.23
Partisanship	0.07 0.14	0.09 0.11
Education	-0.50** 0.20	-0.00 0.16
Awareness	-1.02*** 0.28	-0.48** 0.22
Female	0.19** 0.10	0.17** 0.08
Black	0.28 0.17	0.35*** 0.13
Hispanic	-0.16 0.19	0.12 0.13
τ_1	-0.22 0.17	-0.87 0.14
τ_2		0.38 0.14
lnL	-500.90	-961.14
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00
N	784	963

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1990-1991-1992 National Election Study Panel.

**SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: ESTIMATES FOR FIGURE 6.3 PLUS 1988 NES ANALYSIS
ETHNOCENTRISM AND AMERICAN OPPOSITION TO ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA**

	Oppose Sanctions on South Africa, 1988	Decrease Sanctions on South Africa, 1990
Assignment Equation: Pr(Express an Opinion)		
Ethnocentrism	-0.72*** 0.19	-0.57** 0.28
Hispanic	-0.30*** 0.08	-0.16 0.10
Female	-0.03 0.15	0.04 0.16
Education	0.80*** 0.17	0.85*** 0.22
Awareness	2.17*** 0.20	1.05*** 0.29
Political discussion	0.29** 0.12	0.52*** 0.16
Strength of Partisanship	0.06 0.14	0.49*** 0.17
Income refusal	-0.24 0.18	-0.57*** 0.21
Ideological Innocence	-0.41** 0.20	-0.59*** 0.22
Black Interviewer	0.38 0.29	-0.45 0.45
Intercept	-1.57*** 0.15	-0.53*** 0.18
Outcome Equation: Pr(Oppose) or Pr(Decrease)		
Ethnocentrism	0.84** 0.39	1.05*** 0.41
Partisanship	-0.53*** 0.16	-0.55*** 0.16
Education	-0.29 0.30	0.14 0.26
Awareness	0.53 0.59	0.70* 0.37
Female	-0.29** 0.12	-0.42*** 0.11
Hispanic	-0.43* 0.23	-0.04 0.18
Intercept	-0.26 0.71	0.16 0.38
ρ	0.44 0.35	0.40 0.32
$p > \chi^2$ ($H_0: \rho=0$)	0.30 (ns)	0.27 (ns)
lnL	-984.94	-827.81
$p > \chi^2$ (model)	0.00	0.00
N (censored)	1278 (750)	866 (283)

Table entry is the bivariate-probit coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1988 NES (column 1) and 1990 NES (column 2).

SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: ETHNOCENTRISM AND AID TO THE CONTRAS

	Aid to the Contras in Nicaragua
Ethnocentrism	-0.02 0.15
Partisanship	-1.06*** 0.10
Education	-0.39*** 0.14
Awareness	0.27* 0.14
Female	-0.24*** 0.07
Black	0.33*** 0.11
Hispanic	0.38*** 0.12
τ_1	-0.41 0.12
τ_2	0.59 0.12
lnL	-1202.60
$p > \chi^2$	0.00
N	1386

Table entry is the ordered-probit coefficient with standard error below.
Dependent variable is coded such that higher values indicate support for increased spending.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1988 National Election Study.

**SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: ESTIMATES FOR FIGURE 6.4
PREDICTING AMERICAN OPPOSITION TO FOREIGN AID
BEFORE AND AFTER 9/11**

	Before 9/11 (2000)	After 9/11 (2002)
Ethnocentrism	0.11 0.30	0.72** 0.30
Partisanship	-0.40*** 0.13	-0.32** 0.12
Education	-0.19 0.18	-0.35* 0.18
Political Awareness	0.08 0.17	-0.02 0.17
Female	-0.04 0.09	-0.09 0.09
Black	-0.36** 0.16	-0.28* 0.16
Hispanic	0.26 0.19	-0.02 0.18
Authoritarianism	0.42** 0.17	0.08 0.17
Religiosity	-0.13 0.14	-0.33** 0.14
τ_1	-1.61 0.21	-1.94 0.22
τ_2	-0.06 0.21	-0.38 0.21
lnL	-718.16	-727.11
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00
N	805	805

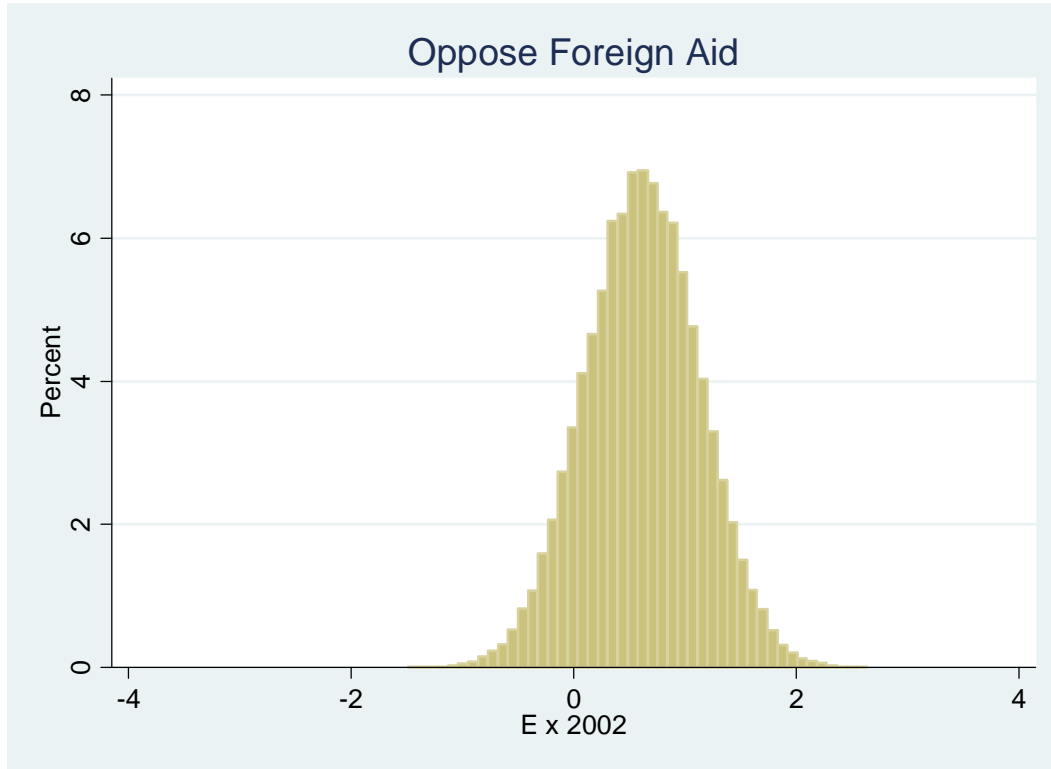
Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard errors below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 2000-2002 National Election Study Panel.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: ACTIVATION TEST, 2000-2002

To determine whether the effect of ethnocentrism in 2002 is *significantly* greater than the effect of ethnocentrism in 2000, we carried out the same test described in Chapter 5. The result of the test suggests that we can be quite certain that the increase in the effect of ethnocentrism is real ($p < 0.12$). The sampling distribution of the estimated interaction terms appears below.



CHAPTER 7: STRANGERS IN THE LAND
Dependent Variables: Full Question Text and Distributions

Dependent Variables: American Opinion on Immigration

	% of sample n\cong2175	Whites & Blacks n\cong1900	Hispanics n\cong164
Immigration levels (v926235)			
<i>Do you think the number of immigrants from foreign countries who are permitted to come to the United States to live should be increased a little, increased a lot, decreased a little, decreased a lot, or left the same as it is now?</i>			
Increased a lot	2.6%	2.3%	4.4%
Increased a little	5.3	5.3	4.7
Same as now	43.1	42.9	44.2
Decreased by a little	25.9	26.6	20.4
Decreased by a lot	23.2	23.0	26.4
Government Benefits for Immigrants (v926242)			
<i>Do you think that immigrants who come to the US should be eligible as soon as they come here for government services such as Medicaid, Food Stamps, welfare, or should they have to be here for a year or more?</i>			
Eligible immediately	20.3	19.8	25.3
Wait a year or more	79.7	80.1	74.7
Bilingual Education (v926234)			
<i>There are several different ideas about to teach children who don't speak English when they enter our public schools. Which one of the following statements best describe how you feel? One, all classes should be conducted only in English so that children have to learn English right from the start. Two, children who don't know English should have classes in their native language just for a year or two until they learn English. There should be one set of classes in English and another set in Spanish or other languages all the way through high school so that children can keep up their native languages and culture if they choose.</i>			
All English	32.8	31.9	40.1
Phase in	49.8	51.1	39.1
Both	17.3	17.0	20.8
English as Official Language (v926233)			
<i>Do you favor a law making English the official language of the United States, meaning government business would be conducted in English only, or do you oppose such a law?</i>			
Favor	65.1	66.4	44.9
Neither	7.0	7.2	8.3
Oppose	27.9	26.4	46.9

Dependent Variables: Immigration's Harm

Consequences of Immigration: <i>Many different groups of people have come to the United States at different times in our history. In recent years, the population of the United States has been changing to include many more people of Hispanic and Asian background. I'm going to read a list of things that people say may happen because of the growing number of Hispanic people in the United States. For each of these things, please say how likely it is to happen.</i>	% of sample	Whites & Blacks	Hispanics
	n≈2175	n≈1900	n≈164
Hispanics' Impact on Culture (v926236)			
<i>How likely is it that the growing number of Hispanics will improve our culture with new ideas and customs?</i>			
Extremely likely	3.0%	2.3%	12.2%
Very likely	13.0	11.3	30.0
Somewhat likely	49.2	49.8	46.0
Not at all likely	34.8	36.7	11.8
Hispanics' Impact on Taxes (v926237)			
<i>(How likely is it) to cause higher taxes due to more demands for public services?</i>			
Extremely likely	19.6	19.7	21.5
Very likely	37.3	36.9	31.5
Somewhat likely	35.7	35.8	40.8
Not at all likely	7.4	7.6	6.1
Hispanics' Impact on Jobs (v926238)			
<i>(How likely is it) to take jobs away from people already here?</i>			
Extremely likely	20.3	20.4	20.4
Very likely	29.3	29.1	21.6
Somewhat likely	37.7	38.2	38.2
Not at all likely	12.7	12.2	19.8
Asians' Impact on Culture (v926239)			
<i>How likely is it that the growing number of Asians will improve our culture with new ideas and customs?</i>			
Extremely likely	4.3	4.3	5.8
Very likely	17.1	15.9	20.9
Somewhat likely	53.2	53.6	54.1
Not at all likely	25.4	26.3	19.3
Asians' Impact on Taxes (v926240)			
<i>(How likely is it) to cause higher taxes due to more demands for public services?</i>			
Extremely likely	11.3	11.1	13.3
Very likely	27.3	26.6	31.2
Somewhat likely	43.4	43.4	44.7
Not at all likely	18.0	18.8	10.9
Asians' Impact on Jobs (v926241)			
<i>(How likely is it) to take jobs away from people already here?</i>			
Extremely likely	18.9	19.5	14.3
Very likely	30.8	30.3	30.5
Somewhat likely	37.5	38.1	33.0
Not at all likely	12.8	12.1	22.2

Source: 1992 National Election Study, weighted analysis

Dependent Variables: Levels of Immigration, by Region of Origin

	% of sample n\cong1300	Whites & Blacks n\cong1200	Hispanics n\cong100
Immigration Levels (letin)			
<i>Do you think the number of immigrants from foreign countries who are permitted to come to the United States to live should be increased a lot, increased a little, left the same as it is now, decreased a little, or decreased a lot?</i>			
Increased a lot	4.0%	3.2%	13.1%
Increased a little	5.6	4.8	14.1
Same as now	46.1	46.5	41.2
Decreased by a little	21.9	22.5	15.1
Decreased by a lot	22.4	23.0	16.6
Immigration Levels, Latin America (letinhsp)			
<i>Do you think the number of immigrants from Latin America (that is, Spanish-speaking countries of the Americans) – should be increased a lot, increased a little, left the same as it is now, decreased a little, or decreased a lot?</i>			
Increased a lot	3.2	2.1	14.4
Increased a little	5.9	4.8	17.4
Same as now	46.7	47.3	39.8
Decreased by a little	21.9	22.5	15.9
Decreased by a lot	22.3	23.2	12.4
Immigration Levels, Asia (letinasn)			
<i>What about the number of immigrants from Asia? Should it be increased a lot, increased a little, left the same as it is now, decreased a little, or decreased a lot?</i>			
Increased a lot	2.7	2.5	5.0
Increased a little	5.9	4.4	22.7
Same as now	48.5	49.0	42.9
Decreased by a little	20.7	21.2	15.7
Decreased by a lot	22.2	23.0	13.6
Immigration Levels, Euope (letineur)			
<i>What about the number of immigrants from Europe? Should it be increased a lot, increased a little, left the same as it is now, decreased a little, or decreased a lot?</i>			
Increased a lot	3.1	2.7	7.7
Increased a little	6.8	5.6	19.9
Same as now	54.6	55.1	49.5
Decreased by a little	18.3	18.8	13.3
Decreased by a lot	17.2	17.8	9.7

Source: 2000 General Social Survey, weighted analysis

Dependent Variables: American Opinion on Immigration, Pooled NES

	% of sample	Whites & Blacks	Hispanics
Immigration Levels (v926235, v961325, v000508, v045115)			
<i>Do you think the number of immigrants from foreign countries who are permitted to come to the United States to live should be increased a little, increased a lot, decreased a little, decreased a lot, or left the same as it is now? (in 2000, asked in branch/stem format)</i>			
Increased a lot	2.9%	2.6%	5.5%
Increased a little	5.5	5.2	5.9
Same as now	42.3	42.0	46.2
Decreased by a little	23.4	24.2	19.8
Decreased by a lot	25.9	26.0	22.7
Border Spending (v960502, v000686, v043173)			
<i>Should federal spending on tightening border security [in 1996: and preventing/ in 2000 & 2004: to prevent] illegal immigration be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?</i>			
Increased	60.4	61.1	51.6
Kept the Same	31.0	30.8	35.6
Decreased/Cut out entirely	8.6	8.1	12.8

Source: 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004 National Election Studies (Immigration Levels), raw percentages
1996, 2000, 2004 National Election Studies (Border Spending), raw percentages

Dependent Variables: Effects of Immigration

	Whites n≅800	Blacks n≅1100	Hispanics n≅1000	Asians n≅1000
Political Influence (dimcompp)				
<i>If immigration to this country continues at the present rate, how much political influence do you believe people like you, that is [respondent's race], will have?</i>				
Much more than now	3.0%	6.2%	31.2%	17.4%
Some but not a lot more	9.9	19.5	29.5	56.6
No more or less than now	34.7	21.6	21.7	21.3
Less than now	40.4	29.3	12.3	4.0
A lot less than now?	12.0	23.4	5.4	0.7
Economic Opportunity (dimcompe)				
<i>What about economic opportunity? If immigration to this country continues at the present rate, how much political influence do you believe people like you, that is [respondent's race], will probably have:</i>				
Much more economic opportunity than before	3.1	3.6	11.9	14.2
Some but not a lot more	12.5	19.3	27.9	45.7
No more or less than now	36.5	19.9	26.7	28.5
Less than now	35.8	30.3	23.9	9.8
A lot less economic opportunity than now?	12.1	26.9	9.7	1.9

Source: Los Angeles component of the 1992-1994 Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality, raw percentages

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLES PRESENTED IN TEXT

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 7.1

THE IMPACT OF ETHNOCENTRISM ON AMERICAN OPPOSITION TO IMMIGRATION, 1992

	Decrease Level of Immigration	Require Immigrants to Wait for Benefits	Require Classes Be Held in English	Support English as Official Language
Ethnocentrism	0.92*** 0.18	1.07*** 0.27	0.67*** 0.19	0.87*** 0.23
Ethnocentrism x Hispanic	-2.32*** 0.79	-1.68* 1.02	-2.19*** 0.82	-3.31*** 0.91
Household Econ. Evaluations	0.03 0.13	0.10 0.17	-0.28** 0.13	-0.12 0.15
Unemployed	-0.03 0.09	0.07 0.12	0.01 0.09	0.05 0.10
Divorced	0.14* 0.08	-0.05 0.10	-0.06 0.08	-0.10 0.09
Education	-0.2* 0.1	-0.12 0.18	-0.02 0.13	-0.21 0.16
Political Awareness	-0.36*** 0.13	-0.44** 0.17	0.45*** 0.13	0.24 0.15
Occupation: High Threat	-0.00 0.08	-0.23** 0.11	0.02 0.08	0.11 0.10
Occupation: Low Threat	0.00 0.09	-0.23* 0.12	0.07 0.10	0.11 0.11
Occupation: Out of labor market	-0.16* 0.09	-0.10 0.13	0.09 0.09	0.32*** 0.11
Proportion Hispanic + Asian (ln)	0.01 0.03	-0.02 0.04	0.04 0.03	0.06* 0.03
Beneficiary of Government Program	-0.11 0.14	-0.80*** 0.18	-0.57*** 0.15	-0.71*** 0.17
National Economic Evaluations	-0.64*** 0.17	-0.65*** 0.24	0.19 0.18	-0.13 0.21
Moral Traditionalism	0.78*** 0.15	-0.32 0.21	0.33** 0.16	0.93*** 0.18
Egalitarianism	-0.37** 0.16	-0.99*** 0.21	-0.51*** 0.16	-0.43** 0.19
Limited Government	-0.04 0.09	0.17 0.12	0.23*** 0.09	0.10 0.10
Partisanship	-0.02 0.10	-0.05 0.13	0.04 0.10	-0.17 0.11
Black	-0.18 0.09	-0.13 0.12	0.06 0.10	-0.14 0.11
Hispanic	0.10 0.11	0.10 0.14	0.34*** 0.11	-0.40*** 0.13
Female	-0.14** 0.06	0.01 0.08	0.03 0.06	-0.04 0.07
τ_1	-2.36 0.23	-2.09 0.31	-0.78 0.23	-0.41 0.26
τ_2	-1.74 0.23		0.68 0.23	-0.22 0.26
τ_3	-0.21 0.22			
τ_4	0.55 0.22			
lnL	-2071.11	-800.44	-1650.53	-1283.88

$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	1662	1635	1682	1678

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1992 National Election Study.

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 7.2
IMMIGRATION'S HARM

	Hispanic Immigrants' Impact on			Asian Immigrants' Impact on		
	Culture	Taxes	Jobs	Culture	Taxes	Jobs
Ethnocentrism	1.39*** 0.12	1.24*** 0.18	1.20*** 0.18	1.50*** 0.19	1.21*** 0.18	0.86*** 0.18
Ethnocentrism x Hispanic	-5.16*** 0.80	-2.26*** 0.79	-2.89*** 0.79	-1.51* 0.81	-0.57 0.79	-1.94** 0.80
Household Econ. Evaluations	-0.14 0.13	-0.14 0.16	-0.08 0.13	0.09 0.13	-0.11 0.13	-0.13 0.12
Unemployed	0.07 0.09	0.06 0.09	0.18** 0.09	0.01 0.09	0.07 0.09	0.17** 0.09
Divorced	-0.07 0.08	-0.02 0.08	-0.10 0.08	0.04 0.08	0.01 0.08	0.01 0.08
Education	-0.07 0.13	-0.08 0.13	-0.30** 0.13	-0.24* 0.13	-0.34*** 0.13	-0.36*** 0.13
Political Awareness	-0.34*** 0.13	-0.19 0.12	-0.71*** 0.12	-0.58*** 0.13	-0.61*** 0.12	-0.52*** 0.12
Occupation: High Threat	-0.07 0.09	-0.00 0.08	0.07 0.08	0.02 0.08	-0.01 0.08	-0.08 0.08
Occupation: Low Threat	-0.01 0.10	-0.06 0.09	0.01 0.09	0.10 0.09	-0.02 0.09	0.04 0.09
Occupation: Out of labor market	-0.25*** 0.09	0.11 0.09	0.03 0.09	-0.19** 0.09	-0.02 0.09	-0.13 0.09
Proportion Hisp. + Asian (ln)	0.03 0.03	0.03 0.03	-0.07 0.03	0.04 0.03	-0.07** 0.03	-0.06** 0.03
Beneficiary of Gov. Program	-0.33** 0.14	-0.02 0.14	-0.04 0.14	-0.25* 0.14	-0.04 0.14	0.12 0.14
National Econ. Evaluations	-0.05 0.18	-0.47*** 0.17	-0.59*** 0.17	-0.06 0.18	-0.57*** 0.17	-0.55*** 0.17
Moral Traditionalism	0.72*** 0.16	0.95*** 0.15	0.81*** 0.15	0.35** 0.15	0.55*** 0.15	0.76*** 0.15
Egalitarianism	-0.61*** 0.16	-0.37** 0.16	-0.29* 0.16	-0.39** 0.16	-0.25 0.16	-0.09 0.16
Limited Government	-0.10 0.09	-0.03 0.09	-0.08 0.09	-0.04 0.09	-0.23*** 0.09	-0.02 0.08
Partisanship	-0.05 0.10	-0.10 0.10	0.04 0.10	-0.04 0.10	-0.05 0.10	0.16* 0.10
Black	-0.16* 0.10	0.06 0.09	0.12 0.10	0.03 0.10	0.10 0.10	0.11 0.09
Hispanic	-0.73*** 0.11	0.19* 0.11	-0.13 0.11	-0.18 0.11	0.35*** 0.11	-0.21* 0.11
Female	-0.11* 0.06	-0.03 0.06	-0.05 0.06	-0.03 0.06	0.03 0.06	0.03 0.06
τ_1	-2.56 0.24	-1.48 0.22	-1.27 0.22	-2.23 0.23	-1.26 0.22	-1.10 0.22
τ_2	-1.55 0.23	-0.09 0.22	0.00 0.22	-1.30 0.23	0.08 0.22	0.11 0.22
τ_3	0.02 0.23	0.97 0.22	0.93 0.22	0.27 0.23	1.08 0.22	1.03 0.22
lnL	-1685.21	-2007.78	-2063.95	-1804.38	-1999.97	-2114.49
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	1688	1683	1686	1686	1681	1688

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1992 National Election Study.

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 7.3
INGROUP PRIDE, OUTGROUP HOSTILITY, AND OPPOSITION TO IMMIGRATION

	Decrease Immigration	Wait for Benefits	Classes in English	English Official	Hispanics' Impact on			Asians' Impact on		
					Culture	Taxes	Jobs	Culture	Taxes	Jobs
Ingroup Pride	0.55*** 0.21	0.90*** 0.30	0.54** 0.22	0.91*** 0.26	1.15*** 0.22	0.80*** 0.21	0.91*** 0.21	1.10*** 0.22	0.81*** 0.21	0.57*** 0.21
Outgroup Hostility	1.52*** 0.25	1.46*** 0.36	0.80*** 0.26	0.73** 0.30	1.82*** 0.27	2.09*** 0.25	1.75*** 0.25	2.17*** 0.26	1.84*** 0.25	1.38*** 0.25
Household Econ. Evaluations	-0.04 0.13	0.17 0.18	-0.22 0.14	-0.03 0.16	-0.10 0.14	-0.11 0.13	-0.12 0.13	0.10 0.14	-0.09 0.13	-0.13 0.13
Unemployed	-0.03 0.09	0.02 0.12	-0.02 0.09	0.03 0.11	0.03 0.09	0.04 0.09	0.10 0.09	-0.04 0.09	0.07 0.09	0.07 0.09
Divorced	0.12 0.08	-0.07 0.11	-0.05 0.08	-0.12 0.09	-0.07 0.08	-0.01 0.08	-0.10 0.08	0.06 0.08	0.04 0.08	0.03 0.08
Education	-0.26** 0.13	-0.14 0.18	-0.04 0.14	-0.26 0.16	-0.09 0.14	-0.11 0.13	-0.34*** 0.13	-0.23* 0.14	-0.42*** 0.13	-0.34** 0.13
Political Awareness	-0.34** 0.13	-0.38** 0.18	0.45*** 0.14	0.17 0.16	-0.32** 0.14	-0.13 0.13	-0.65*** 0.13	-0.62*** 0.14	-0.58*** 0.13	-0.48*** 0.13
Occupation: High Threat	0.03 0.08	-0.20* 0.12	0.01 0.09	0.12 0.10	-0.06 0.09	0.00 0.08	0.12 0.08	0.01 0.09	0.01 0.08	-0.03 0.08
Occupation: Low Threat	0.03 0.10	-0.22* 0.13	0.09 0.10	0.14 0.11	0.04 0.10	-0.05 0.09	0.07 0.09	0.10 0.10	0.02 0.10	0.09 0.09
Occupation: Out of labor market	-0.15* 0.09	-0.07 0.13	0.12 0.10	0.34*** 0.11	-0.22** 0.10	0.13 0.09	0.08 0.09	-0.17* 0.09	-0.01 0.09	-0.09 0.09
Proportion Hisp. + Asian (ln)	0.01 0.03	-0.03 0.04	0.05 0.03	0.07** 0.03	0.04 0.03	0.03 0.03	-0.07** 0.03	0.03 0.03	-0.07*** 0.02	-0.06** 0.03
Beneficiary of Gov. Program	-0.20 0.16	-0.91*** 0.20	-0.58*** 0.17	-0.71*** 0.19	-0.41** 0.16	-0.08 0.16	-0.09 0.16	-0.32* 0.16	-0.16 0.16	0.08 0.16
National Econ. Evaluations	-0.62*** 0.18	-0.84*** 0.25	0.09 0.19	-0.25 0.22	-0.07 0.19	-0.50*** 0.18	-0.70*** 0.18	-0.12 0.19	-0.65*** 0.18	-0.61*** 0.18
Moral Traditionalism	0.86*** 0.16	-0.34 0.22	0.45*** 0.16	1.00*** 0.19	0.70*** 0.16	1.04*** 0.16	0.97*** 0.16	0.33** 0.16	0.57*** 0.16	0.90*** 0.16
Egalitarianism	-0.37** 0.16	-0.91*** 0.22	-0.54*** 0.17	-0.36* 0.20	-0.64*** 0.17	-0.28* 0.16	-0.23 0.16	-0.37** 0.17	-0.20 0.16	-0.08 0.16
Limited Government	-0.12 0.09	0.16 0.12	0.21** 0.09	0.15 0.11	-0.13 0.09	-0.03 0.09	-0.12 0.09	-0.03 0.09	-0.22** 0.09	-0.08 0.09
Partisanship	-0.06 0.10	-0.14 0.14	0.11 0.11	-0.12 0.12	-0.07 0.11	-0.07 0.10	0.03 0.10	-0.05 0.10	-0.05 0.10	0.17* 0.10
Black	-0.15 0.10	-0.08 0.12	0.04 0.10	-0.18 0.11	-0.12 0.10	0.09 0.10	0.15 0.10	0.05 0.10	0.13 0.10	0.14 0.10

Female	-0.13**	-0.01	0.03	-0.06	-0.11*	-0.01	-0.05	-0.00	0.06	0.02
	0.06	0.08	0.06	0.07	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.06
τ_1	-1.45	-0.93	-0.11	0.46	-1.17	0.03	0.09	-0.70	0.07	-0.08
	0.34	0.46	0.34	0.40	0.35	0.33	0.33	0.34	0.33	0.33
τ_2	-0.82		1.39	0.65	-0.17	1.42	1.41	0.24	1.42	1.17
	0.33		0.34	0.40	0.35	0.33	0.33	0.34	0.33	0.33
τ_3	0.74				1.39	2.51	2.36	1.82	2.41	2.09
	0.33				0.35	0.33	0.33	0.34	0.33	0.33
τ_4	1.52									
	0.33									
lnL	-1879.47	-726.40	-1497.51	-1161.21	-1525.62	-1826.85	-1868.99	-1639.42	-1823.83	-1921.06
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	1524	1499	1542	1539	1548	1544	1547	1548	1543	1549

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

Analysis is confined to whites and blacks.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1992 National Election Study.

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 7.4
THE EFFECT OF ETHNOCENTRISM ON OPPOSITION TO IMMIGRATION, CONTROLLING ON ATTITUDES TOWARD HISPANICS

	Decrease Immigration	Wait for Benefits	Classes in English	English Official	Hispanics' Impact on			Asians' Impact on		
					Culture	Taxes	Jobs	Culture	Taxes	Jobs
Ethnocentrism	0.75*** 0.19	0.98*** 0.28	0.49** 0.20	0.76*** 0.24	1.20*** 0.21	1.12*** 0.19	1.08*** 0.19	1.36*** 0.20	1.16*** 0.19	0.79*** 0.19
Attitudes toward Hispanics	0.73*** 0.17	0.70*** 0.23	0.53*** 0.18	0.32 0.21	0.91*** 0.18	0.54*** 0.17	0.90*** 0.17	0.56*** 0.17	0.40** 0.17	0.56*** 0.17
Household Econ. Evaluations	-0.05 0.13	0.16 0.18	-0.21 0.14	-0.01 0.16	-0.09 0.14	-0.11 0.13	-0.11 0.13	0.09 0.14	-0.08 0.13	-0.11 0.13
Unemployed	-0.04 0.09	0.00 0.12	-0.04 0.10	0.04 0.11	0.01 0.10	0.05 0.09	0.10 0.09	-0.07 0.09	0.10 0.09	0.09 0.09
Divorced	0.11 0.08	-0.07 0.11	-0.05 0.08	-0.10 0.09	-0.06 0.08	-0.01 0.08	-0.11 0.08	0.07 0.08	0.04 0.08	0.02 0.08
Education	-0.27** 0.14	-0.10 0.18	-0.06 0.14	-0.26 0.16	-0.08 0.14	-0.10 0.13	-0.31** 0.13	-0.22 0.14	-0.37*** 0.13	-0.31** 0.13
Political Awareness	-0.34** 0.13	-0.40** 0.18	0.44*** 0.14	0.17 0.16	-0.34** 0.14	-0.17 0.13	-0.67*** 0.13	-0.65*** 0.14	-0.65*** 0.13	-0.49*** 0.13
Occupation: High Threat	0.02 0.08	-0.21* 0.12	0.01 0.09	0.13 0.10	-0.07 0.09	-0.01 0.08	0.11 0.08	-0.01 0.09	0.00 0.08	-0.04 0.08
Occupation: Low Threat	0.05 0.10	-0.23* 0.13	0.11 0.10	0.15 0.11	0.04 0.10	-0.03 0.09	0.08 0.09	0.09 0.10	0.03 0.10	0.10 0.09
Occupation: Out of labor market	-0.16 0.09	-0.09 0.13	0.12 0.10	0.37*** 0.11	-0.22** 0.10	0.12 0.09	0.08 0.09	-0.18* 0.09	-0.02 0.09	-0.09 0.09
Proportion Hisp. + Asian (ln)	0.01 0.03	-0.03 0.04	0.05* 0.03	0.07** 0.03	0.04 0.03	0.03 0.03	-0.06** 0.03	0.04 0.03	-0.07** 0.03	-0.06** 0.03
Beneficiary of Gov. Program	-0.14 0.16	-0.91*** 0.21	-0.56*** 0.17	-0.68*** 0.20	-0.35** 0.17	-0.09 0.16	-0.07 0.16	-0.24 0.17	-0.17 0.16	0.05 0.16
National Econ. Evaluations	-0.60*** 0.19	-0.96*** 0.26	0.06 0.19	-0.22 0.22	-0.03 0.19	-0.49*** 0.19	-0.67*** 0.19	-0.12 0.19	-0.59*** 0.19	-0.63*** 0.19
Moral Traditionalism	0.87*** 0.16	-0.31 0.22	0.48*** 0.17	1.08*** 0.19	0.73*** 0.17	1.06*** 0.16	1.03*** 0.16	0.34** 0.16	0.64*** 0.16	0.94*** 0.16
Egalitarianism	-0.28* 0.17	-0.83*** 0.23	-0.49*** 0.17	-0.31 0.20	-0.53*** 0.17	-0.24 0.17	-0.13 0.16	-0.31* 0.17	-0.18 0.17	-0.06 0.16
Limited Government	-0.11 0.09	0.19 0.12	0.17* 0.09	0.12 0.11	-0.09 0.09	-0.03 0.09	-0.11 0.09	-0.02 0.09	-0.24*** 0.09	-0.07 0.09
Partisanship	-0.03 0.10	-0.13 0.14	0.11 0.11	-0.11 0.12	-0.01 0.11	-0.06 0.10	0.06 0.10	-0.00 0.10	-0.03 0.10	0.21** 0.10
Black	-0.11 0.10	-0.10 0.12	0.03 0.10	-0.17 0.11	-0.10 0.10	0.09 0.10	0.20** 0.10	0.02 0.10	0.14 0.10	0.18* 0.10

Female	-0.12*	-0.01	0.03	-0.06	-0.09	-0.03	-0.04	-0.01	0.05	0.03
	0.06	0.08	0.06	0.07	0.07	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.06
τ_1	-2.06	-1.76	-0.58	-0.15	-2.13	-1.09	-0.72	-2.02	-0.99	-0.70
	0.26	0.35	0.26	0.29	0.27	0.25	0.25	0.26	0.25	0.25
τ_2	-1.44		0.93	0.04	-1.12	0.29	0.61	-1.08	0.36	0.57
	0.25		0.26	0.29	0.26	0.25	0.25	0.26	0.25	0.25
τ_3	0.13				0.45	1.36	1.57	0.50	1.37	1.49
	0.25				0.26	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.25
τ_4	0.92									
	0.25									
lnL	-1828.40	-708.45	-1456.57	-1129.96	-1476.12	-1794.04	-1814.08	-1599.53	-1776.82	-1866.53
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	1487	1463	1505	1502	1511	1508	1511	1512	1509	1513

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

Analysis is confined to whites and blacks.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1992 National Election Study.

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 7.4
THE EFFECT OF ETHNOCENTRISM ON OPPOSITION TO IMMIGRATION, CONTROLLING ON ATTITUDES TOWARD ASIANS

	Decrease Immigration	Wait for Benefits	Classes in English	English Official	Hispanics' Impact on			Asians' Impact on		
					Culture	Taxes	Jobs	Culture	Taxes	Jobs
Ethnocentrism	0.78*** 0.19	0.95*** 0.28	0.52*** 0.19	0.77*** 0.24	1.29*** 0.20	1.23*** 0.19	1.15*** 0.19	1.27*** 0.20	1.04*** 0.19	0.80*** 0.19
Attitudes toward Asians	0.66*** 0.17	0.48** 0.23	0.47*** 0.18	0.23 0.21	0.37** 0.18	0.24 0.17	0.59*** 0.17	0.97*** 0.18	0.76*** 0.17	0.39** 0.17
Household Econ. Evaluations	-0.04 0.13	0.16 0.18	-0.19 0.14	-0.02 0.16	-0.08 0.14	-0.13 0.13	-0.11 0.13	0.13 0.14	-0.10 0.13	-0.14 0.13
Unemployed	-0.04 0.09	0.02 0.12	-0.03 0.09	0.02 0.11	0.01 0.09	0.03 0.09	0.08 0.09	-0.04 0.09	0.07 0.09	0.06 0.09
Divorced	0.11 0.08	-0.10 0.11	-0.05 0.08	-0.10 0.09	-0.08 0.08	0.02 0.08	-0.12 0.08	0.02 0.08	0.05 0.08	0.02 0.08
Education	-0.24* 0.14	-0.08 0.18	-0.06 0.14	-0.30* 0.16	-0.09 0.14	-0.10 0.13	-0.31** 0.13	-0.21 0.14	-0.39*** 0.13	-0.32** 0.13
Political Awareness	-0.37*** 0.13	-0.40** 0.18	0.46*** 0.14	0.23 0.16	-0.33** 0.14	-0.18 0.13	-0.67*** 0.13	-0.63*** 0.14	-0.58*** 0.13	-0.49*** 0.13
Occupation: High Threat	0.01 0.08	-0.20* 0.12	-0.00 0.09	0.11 0.10	-0.06 0.09	-0.01 0.08	0.12 0.08	-0.02 0.09	-0.02 0.08	-0.04 0.08
Occupation: Low Threat	0.04 0.09	-0.23* 0.13	0.10 0.10	0.13 0.11	0.04 0.10	-0.02 0.09	0.09 0.09	0.09 0.10	0.03 0.09	0.11 0.09
Occupation: Out of labor market	-0.14 0.09	-0.09 0.13	0.14 0.10	0.34*** 0.11	-0.24** 0.10	0.13 0.09	0.08 0.09	-0.18* 0.09	-0.02 0.09	-0.10 0.09
Proportion Hisp. + Asian (ln)	0.00 0.03	-0.04 0.04	0.05 0.03	0.08** 0.03	0.03 0.03	0.02 0.03	-0.08*** 0.03	0.02 0.03	-0.08*** 0.03	-0.08*** 0.03
Beneficiary of Gov. Program	-0.15 0.16	-0.94*** 0.21	-0.51*** 0.17	-0.60*** 0.20	-0.34** 0.17	-0.04 0.16	-0.01 0.16	-0.33** 0.17	-0.13 0.16	0.12 0.16
National Econ. Evaluations	-0.57*** 0.19	-0.90*** 0.25	0.08 0.19	-0.24 0.22	-0.05 0.19	-0.47** 0.18	-0.69*** 0.19	-0.10 0.19	-0.63*** 0.19	-0.65*** 0.18
Moral Traditionalism	0.85*** 0.16	-0.33 0.22	0.48*** 0.17	1.07*** 0.19	0.71*** 0.17	1.04*** 0.16	1.00*** 0.16	0.35** 0.16	0.66*** 0.16	0.93*** 0.16
Egalitarianism	-0.29* 0.17	-0.93*** 0.22	-0.50*** 0.17	-0.34* 0.20	-0.61*** 0.17	-0.31* 0.16	-0.19 0.16	-0.29 0.17	-0.18 0.16	-0.08 0.16
Limited Government	-0.09 0.09	0.16 0.12	0.20** 0.09	0.12 0.11	-0.10 0.09	-0.02 0.09	-0.10 0.09	-0.03 0.09	-0.23*** 0.09	-0.07 0.09
Partisanship	-0.07 0.10	-0.13 0.14	0.11 0.11	-0.12 0.12	-0.03 0.11	-0.07 0.10	0.03 0.10	-0.05 0.10	-0.05 0.10	0.18* 0.10
Black	-0.12 0.10	-0.11 0.12	0.03 0.10	-0.18 0.11	-0.17* 0.10	0.12 0.10	0.19* 0.10	0.03 0.10	0.16* 0.10	0.17* 0.10

Female	-0.13**	-0.01	0.04	-0.05	-0.10	-0.04	-0.07	0.01	0.06	0.01
	0.06	0.08	0.06	0.07	0.07	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.06
τ_1	-2.10	-1.89	-0.54	-0.23	-2.42	-1.24	-0.86	-1.81	-0.79	-0.79
	0.26	0.35	0.26	0.29	0.27	0.25	0.25	0.26	0.25	0.25
τ_2	-1.47		0.97	-0.04	-1.40	0.15	0.47	-0.87	0.56	0.47
	0.26		0.26	0.29	0.26	0.25	0.25	0.26	0.25	0.25
τ_3	0.10				0.17	1.23	1.42	0.72	1.56	1.39
	0.25				0.26	0.25	0.25	0.26	0.25	0.25
τ_4	0.88									
	0.25									
lnL	-1839.36	-713.87	-1467.35	-1139.76	-1492.05	-1798.95	-1827.38	-1602.82	-1785.99	-1881.87
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	1496	1472	1515	1513	1520	1517	1520	1521	1519	1522

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

Analysis is confined to whites and blacks.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1992 National Election Study.

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 7.5
ETHNOCENTRISM, INGROUP PRIDE, OUTGROUP HOSTILITY, AND SUPPORT FOR IMMIGRATION AMONG
HISPANIC AMERICANS

	Increase Immigration	Increase Immigration	Spend Less on Borders	Spend Less on Borders
Ethnocentrism	1.38*** 0.43		1.11*** 0.59	
Ingroup Pride		1.62*** 0.44		1.21** 0.60
Outgroup Hostility		0.49 0.54		0.70 0.72
Partisanship	0.03 0.18	0.00 0.18	0.93*** 0.26	0.94*** 0.26
Moral Conservatism	-0.73*** 0.30	-0.76** 0.30	-1.05*** 0.41	-1.04** 0.41
Egalitarianism	0.09 0.33	0.08 0.33	-0.09 0.44	-0.10 0.44
Education	0.65*** 0.21	0.63*** 0.21	0.48 0.30	0.48 0.30
τ_1	-0.84 0.32	0.28 0.57	0.24 0.42	1.26 0.76
τ_2	-0.21 0.32	0.91 0.57	1.43 0.43	2.45 0.77
τ_3	1.23 0.33	2.37 0.58		
τ_4	1.65 0.33	2.80 0.58		
lnL	-507.81	-503.94	-213.13	-212.65
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	387	387	236	236

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient, with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1992, 1996, 2000, and 2004 National Election Studies.

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 7.6
THE EFFECT OF ETHNOCENTRISM ON AMERICAN OPPOSITION TO IMMIGRATION
UNDER CONDITIONS OF LOW (1992) AND HIGH (1996) SALIENCE

	Decrease Level of Immigration		Require Immigrants to Wait for Benefits	
	1992	1996	1992	1996
Ethnocentrism	1.31*** 0.42	1.40*** 0.43	0.76 0.64	1.58* 0.84
Household Econ. Evaluations	0.10 0.24	-0.41 0.26	0.14 0.31	-0.21 0.41
Unemployed	-0.21 0.21	-0.05 0.21	-0.12 0.26	-0.41 0.30
Divorced	0.16 0.18	0.13 0.19	0.21 0.23	-0.19 0.28
Education	0.18 0.27	-0.37 0.27	0.31 0.38	-0.63 0.47
Political Awareness	-0.51* 0.29	-0.50* 0.30	-0.60 0.39	-0.18 0.49
Occupation: High Threat	0.05 0.18	-0.22 0.20	-0.23 0.25	-0.07 0.31
Occupation: Low Threat	0.09 0.19	0.19 0.20	-0.51* 0.26	0.27 0.32
Occupation: Out of labor market	0.11 0.19	-0.05 0.21	-0.05 0.28	-0.02 0.34
Proportion Hisp. + Asian (ln)	-0.02 0.07	-0.07 0.06	-0.02 0.09	-0.08 0.10
Beneficiary of Gov. Program	-0.31 0.38	-0.21 0.38	-0.24 0.48	-0.35 0.52
National Econ. Evaluations	-1.07*** 0.39	-0.72* 0.38	-1.08** 0.52	-0.44 0.62
Moral Traditionalism	0.75** 0.32	0.45 0.31	-0.38 0.43	-0.10 0.51
Egalitarianism	-0.96*** 0.35	-0.45 0.34	-0.87* 0.47	-1.02* 0.55
Limited Government	-0.11 0.18	-0.38** 0.18	0.28 0.26	-0.08 0.29
Partisanship	0.16 0.22	0.08 0.21	-0.12 0.30	-0.89** 0.36
Black	-0.18 0.22	-0.22 0.22	-0.27 0.28	0.33 0.32
Female	-0.10 0.13	0.03 0.13	-0.16 0.18	0.06 0.22
τ_1	-2.36 0.53	-3.42 0.57	-2.26 0.70	-2.91 0.86
τ_2	-1.94 0.52	-2.65 0.54		
τ_3	-0.10 0.51	-0.98 0.53		
τ_4	0.58 0.51	-0.12 0.53		
lnL	-423.39	-426.87	-167.57	-117.94
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.01
N	366	366	360	360

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

Analysis restricted to whites and blacks.

***p<.01; **p<.05; *p<.10, two-tailed.

Source: 1992 National Election Study.

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 7.7
THE EFFECT OF ETHNOCENTRISM ON AMERICAN OPPOSITION TO IMMIGRATION
CONDITIONAL ON RECENT INCREASE IN STATE'S FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION

	Decrease Level of Immigration	Immigrants Wait for Benefits	Require Classes in English	English as Official Language
Ethnocentrism	0.80*** 0.21	1.06*** 0.32	0.47** 0.21	0.71*** 0.26
Ethnocentrism x Growth in Foreign Born	0.74 0.71	0.20 1.04	1.27* 0.73	1.08 0.90
Growth in Foreign Born	-0.07 0.17	-0.29 0.22	-0.18 0.17	-0.09 0.19
Household Econ. Evaluations	-0.06 0.13	0.18 0.18	-0.22 0.14	-0.03 0.16
Unemployed	-0.03 0.09	0.01 0.12	-0.02 0.09	0.03 0.11
Divorced	0.11 0.08	-0.07 0.10	-0.05 0.08	-0.12 0.09
Education	-0.24* 0.13	-0.11 0.18	-0.03 0.14	-0.26 0.16
Political Awareness	-0.39*** 0.13	-0.39** 0.18	0.43*** 0.14	0.18 0.16
Occupation: High Threat	0.02 0.08	-0.20* 0.12	-0.00 0.09	0.12 0.10
Occupation: Low Threat	0.03 0.09	-0.23* 0.13	0.09 0.10	0.13 0.11
Occupation: Out of labor market	-0.16* 0.09	-0.09 0.13	0.11 0.10	0.34*** 0.11
Proportion Hisp. + Asian (ln)	0.00 0.03	0.00 0.05	0.05 0.04	0.07* 0.04
Beneficiary of Gov. Program	-0.19 0.16	-0.88*** 0.20	-0.59*** 0.17	-0.71*** 0.19
National Econ. Evaluations	-0.61*** 0.18	-0.83*** 0.25	0.09 0.19	-0.26 0.22
Moral Traditionalism	0.81*** 0.16	-0.35 0.22	0.44*** 0.16	1.00*** 0.19
Egalitarianism	-0.40** 0.16	-0.94*** 0.22	-0.54*** 0.17	-0.35* 0.19
Limited Government	-0.12 0.09	0.17 0.12	0.21** 0.09	0.15 0.11
Partisanship	-0.06 0.10	-0.13 0.14	0.12 0.10	-0.12 0.12
Black	-0.17* 0.10	-0.06 0.13	0.05 0.10	-0.16 0.11
Female	-0.15** 0.06	-0.01 0.08	0.03 0.06	-0.06 0.07
τ_1	-2.50 0.25	-2.23 0.33	-0.83 0.25	-0.38 0.28
τ_2	-1.86 0.25		0.67 0.25	-0.19 0.28
τ_3	-0.31 0.24			
τ_4	0.46 0.24			
lnL	-1885.44	-726.69	-1496.40	-1160.67
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

N	1524	1499	1542	1539
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Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

Analysis restricted to whites and blacks.

*** $p < .01$; ** $p < .05$; * $p < .10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1992 National Election Study.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS REFERENCED IN TEXT

SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: ETHNOCENTRISM AND THE REGION OF ORIGIN OF IMMIGRANTS

	Decrease immigration in general	Decrease immigration from Latin-America	Decrease immigration from Asia	Decrease immigration from Europe
Ethnocentrism	1.89*** 0.27	2.04*** 0.28	2.12*** 0.28	1.16*** 0.27
Unemployed	-0.05 0.19	-0.18 0.19	-0.06 0.19	-0.09 0.19
Household Econ. Evaluations	0.01 0.15	-0.10 0.16	-0.12 0.16	-0.06 0.16
Education	-0.68*** 0.14	-0.59*** 0.15	-0.70*** 0.15	-0.51*** 0.15
Partisanship	-0.07 0.11	-0.05 0.11	-0.07 0.12	-0.04 0.12
Female	0.04 0.07	-0.02 0.07	0.06 0.07	0.05 0.07
Black	0.03 0.11	-0.01 0.11	0.12 0.11	0.10 0.11
τ_1	-2.27 0.16	-2.41 0.17	-2.34 0.16	-2.16 0.16
τ_2	-1.75 0.15	-1.87 0.15	-1.86 0.15	-1.61 0.15
τ_3	-0.13 0.14	-0.18 0.14	-0.14 0.14	0.15 0.14
τ_4	0.51 0.14	0.47 0.14	0.48 0.14	0.71 0.14
lnL	-1206.26	-1174.33	-1161.96	-1161.32
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	980	975	973	975

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 2000 General Social Survey.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: ETHNOCENTRISM, NOT GROUP IDENTIFICATION, AMONG HISPANICS

	Increase Level of Immigration			Decrease Spending on Borders		
	Standard Model	With Group Identification (v1)	With Group Identification (v2)	Standard Model	With Group Identification (v1)	With Group Identification (v2)
Ethnocentrism	1.38*** 0.43	1.28*** 0.44	1.26*** 0.44	1.11* 0.59	1.06* 0.60	1.11* 0.61
Partisanship	0.03 0.18	-0.04 0.18	-0.04 0.18	0.93*** 0.26	0.90*** 0.26	0.91*** 0.26
Moral Conservatism	-0.73** 0.30	-0.78*** 0.30	-0.75** 0.30	-1.05** 0.41	-1.13*** 0.41	-1.10*** 0.41
Egalitarianism	0.09 0.33	0.06 0.33	0.12 0.33	-0.09 0.44	-0.15 0.45	-0.10 0.45
Education	0.65*** 0.21	0.65*** 0.22	0.63*** 0.22	0.48 0.30	0.47 0.30	0.47 0.30
Group identification		0.39* 0.21	0.45** 0.22		0.31 0.30	0.16 0.34
τ_1	-0.84 0.32	-0.65 0.34	-0.54 0.36	0.24 0.42	0.37 0.45	0.32 0.50
τ_2	-0.21 0.32	-0.01 0.34	0.10 0.36	1.43 0.43	1.57 0.46	1.52 0.50
τ_3	1.23 0.33	1.44 0.35	1.54 0.37			
τ_4	1.65 0.33	1.88 0.36	1.99 0.37			
lnL	-507.81	-498.83	-498.59	-213.13	-207.53	-207.98
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	387	382	382	236	232	232

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient, with standard error below.

Group identification (v1) consists of the feeling thermometer rating of Hispanics plus either closeness (whether Hispanic respondents reported feeling close to Hispanics (available in 1992, 1996, and 2000)) or linked fate (v045180a). Group identification (v2) consists of the feeling thermometer alone (in 2004) or the feeling thermometer plus closeness (in 1992, 1996, and 2000).

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1992, 1996, 2000, and 2004 National Election Studies.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: ETHNOCENTRISM AND IMMIGRATION AMONG ASIAN AMERICANS

	Political Power	Economic Opportunity	Political Power	Economic Opportunity
Ethnocentrism	0.71*** 0.27	1.01*** 0.27		
Ingroup Pride			0.52 0.32	0.82*** 0.31
Outgroup Hostility			1.17*** 0.42	1.29*** 0.41
Partisanship	0.28 0.17	0.50*** 0.17	0.27 0.17	0.49*** 0.17
Education	-0.20 0.14	-0.17 0.14	-0.20 0.14	-0.17 0.14
Liberal	0.11 0.11	0.09 0.10	0.12 0.11	0.10 0.10
Conservative	0.03 0.10	0.04 0.10	0.03 0.10	0.05 0.10
Female	0.08 0.08	0.09 0.08	0.07 0.08	0.09 0.08
Household income	-0.06 0.20	0.16 0.19	-0.05 0.20	0.17 0.19
Income refused	0.04 0.12	0.15 0.12	0.05 0.12	0.15 0.12
Unemployed	-0.04 0.18	-0.29 0.18	-0.02 0.18	-0.28 0.18
Out of labor market	-0.09 0.09	0.08 0.09	-0.08 0.09	0.08 0.09
τ_1	-2.17 0.23	-1.75 0.21	-1.34 0.40	-0.71 0.39
τ_2	-1.33 0.19	-0.73 0.18	-0.50 0.38	0.31 0.38
τ_3	-0.39 0.18	0.30 0.18	0.45 0.38	1.34 0.38
τ_4	1.12 0.18	1.66 0.19	1.96 0.39	2.70 0.38
lnL	-845.63	-909.11	-844.36	-908.97
$p > \chi^2$	0.13	0.00	0.09	0.00
N	733	735	733	735

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: Los Angeles component of the 1992-1994 Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality.

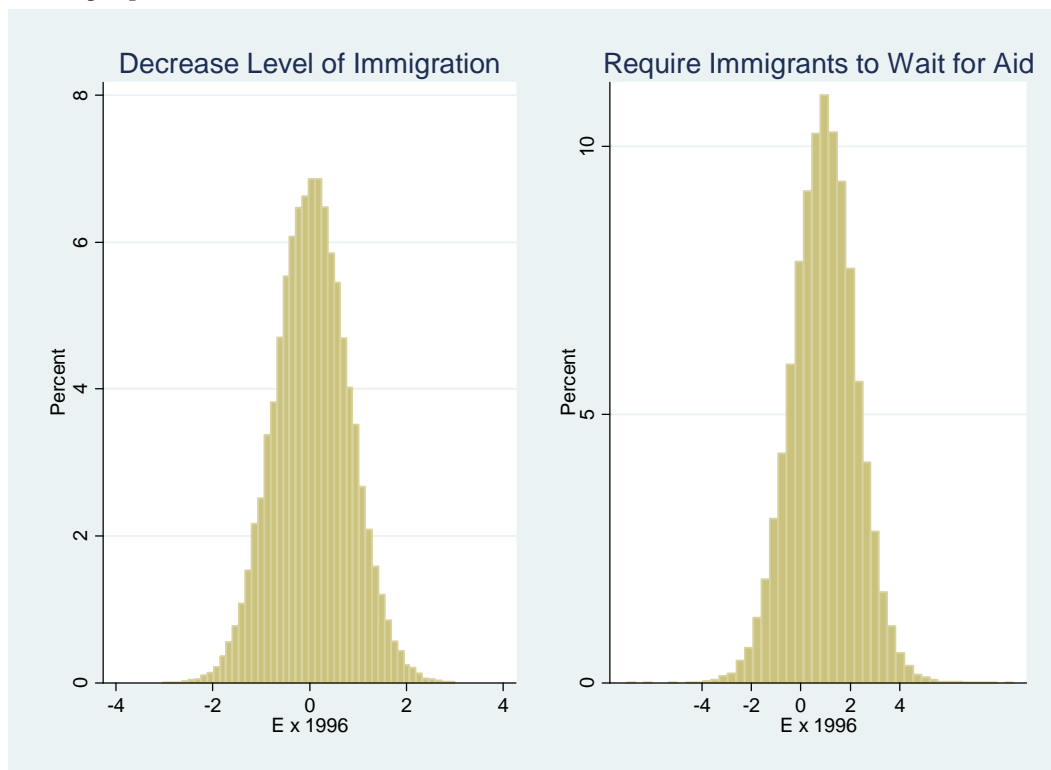
SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: ACTIVATION TEST, 1992-1996

To provide a statistical test to determine whether the effects of ethnocentrism in 1996 were significantly greater than the effects in 1992, we first converted the panel data into two stacked, independent cross-sections, by arbitrarily splitting the sample in half. In one cross-section, the dependent variable was measured in the 1992 NES. In the other, the dependent variable was measured in the 1996 NES. Most of the independent variables (education, political awareness, egalitarianism, limited government, partisanship, race, and sex) came from the 1992 NES, where the instrumentation was richer. The log of the proportion of Hispanic and Asian in the state were measured using data from the 1990 US Census. Some independent variables were selected to be measured contemporaneously with the dependent variable: national economic evaluations, household economic evaluations, unemployment status, marital status, and occupational threat level. We then estimated a fully interactive model, where each predictor was multiplied by a dummy variable, coded 0 if the respondent belonged to the first “sample” and coded 1 if the respondent belonged to the second (the “1996 sample”). To provide a sampling distribution for the coefficient interacting ethnocentrism with the 1996 sample, we split our original sample in half in multiple iterations. For the two dependent variables – decreasing the level of immigration and requiring immigrants to wait before being eligible for assistance—we re-ran the model 50,000 times, dividing the sample a different way each time.

For opinion on decreasing the level of immigration, the mean interaction term between $E \times 1996$, produced by these 50,000 iterations, was 0.06 (s.d. = 0.76); nearly half of the analyses produced a negative interaction term and nearly half of them produced a positive one. We can not say with any certainty that the effect of ethnocentrism rises in 1996 for this dependent variable.

For opinion on requiring immigrants to wait, the results are a bit more promising, but they still would not meet conventional significance levels. We can reject the null hypothesis of no effect at $p < 0.23$ (one-tailed).

The sampling distributions of the estimated interaction between $E \times 1996$ are as follows:



CHAPTER 8: STRAIGHT VERSUS GAY
Dependent Variables: Full Question Text and Distributions

Dependent Variables: Gay Rights

	% of sample
Marriage (v043210)	
<i>Should same-sex couples be allowed to marry, or do you think they should not be allowed to marry?</i>	
Should be allowed	32.3%
Should not be allowed to marry but should be allowed to form civil unions [volunteered]; Other, DK	8.3
Should not be allowed	59.4
Adoption (v045158)	
<i>Do you think gay or lesbian couples, in other words, homosexual couples, should be legally permitted to adopt children?</i>	
Yes	47.9
No	52.1
Military Service (v045157a)	
<i>Do you think homosexuals should be allowed to serve in the United States Armed Forces or don't you think so? (Strongly or not strongly?)</i>	
Should be allowed – strongly	53.4
Should be allowed – not strongly	27.2
Should not be allowed – not strongly	5.7
Should not be allowed – strongly	13.7
Employment (v045156a)	
<i>Do you favor or oppose laws to protect homosexuals against job discrimination? (Strongly or not strongly?)</i>	
Favor laws – strongly	50.0
Favor laws – not strongly	24.3
Oppose laws – not strongly	9.3
Oppose laws – strongly	16.3

Source: 2004 National Election Study, weighted analysis

Dependent Variables: AIDS

	% of sample
Spending on AIDS Research (v923727)	
<i>Should federal spending on AIDS research be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?</i>	
Increased	62.0%
Kept about the same	30.1
Decreased	7.9
Catching AIDS (v937351)	
<i>Which comes closer to how you feel: "If I had a job working with a gay or lesbian, I would be worried about getting AIDS or some other disease", or "I don't worry that working with a homosexual would pose any special danger of disease." Would you worry [about that a lot or a little?] a lot or a little about getting a disease from working with homosexuals? Are you somewhat confident [of that or very confident?] or very confident that working with a homosexual poses no special danger of disease?</i>	
No danger: Very confident	54.9
No danger: Somewhat confident	31.6
Get a disease: Somewhat worried	5.6
Get a disease: Very worried	7.9

Source: 1992 National Election Study, weighted analysis
1993 National Election Study Pilot, raw percentages

Dependent Variables: Immorality of Sexual Practices

	% of sample
Homosexual Sex (homosex)	
<i>What about sexual relations between two adults of the same sex--do you think it is always wrong, almost always wrong, wrong only sometimes, or not wrong at all?</i>	
Not wrong at all	28.8%
Only sometimes	8.1
Almost always	4.4
Always wrong	58.7
Sex education in schools (sexeduc)	
<i>Would you be for or against sex education in the public schools?</i>	
For	87.2
Against	12.8
Birth control for teens (pillok)	
<i>Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree that methods of birth control should be available to teenagers between the ages of 14 and 16 if their parents do not approve?</i>	
Strongly agree	28.7
Agree	30.7
Disagree	19.9
Strongly disagree	20.8
Premarital Sex (premarsex)	
<i>If a man and woman have sex relations before marriage, do you think it is always wrong, almost always wrong, wrongly only sometimes, or not wrong at all?</i>	
Not wrong at all	42.3
Only sometimes	21.5
Almost always	8.5
Always wrong	27.7
Teen Sex (teensex)	
<i>What if they are in their early teens, say 14 to 16 years old? In that case, do you think sex relations before marriage, do you think it is always wrong, almost always wrong, wrongly only sometimes, or not wrong at all?</i>	
Not wrong at all	3.5
Only sometimes	9.2
Almost always	15.1
Always wrong	72.2
Extramarital Sex (xmarsex)	
<i>What is your opinion about a married person having sexual relations with someone other than the marriage partner – is it always wrong, almost always wrong, wrongly only sometimes, or not wrong at all?</i>	
Not wrong at all	2.4
Only sometimes	7.3
Almost always	10.9
Always wrong	79.4

Source: 2000 General Social Survey, weighted analysis

Dependent Variables: The Nature of Sexuality

	% of sample
Homosexuality cannot be changed (v937339)	
<i>Do you think being homosexual is something people choose to be, or do you think it is something they cannot change? Do you believe this strongly or not strongly?</i>	
People choose, strongly	36.2%
People choose, not strongly	11.6
People cannot change, not strongly	14.4
People cannot change, strongly	37.8
Natural sexuality (v937355)	
<i>Which of these statements comes closer to your view: One, homosexuality is unnatural. Or, Two, for some people, homosexuality is their natural sexuality. Do you feel that way strongly or not strongly?</i>	
Unnatural, strongly	38.9
Unnatural, not strongly	5.9
Natural, not strongly	15.2
Natural, strongly	40.0

Source: 1993 National Election Study Pilot, raw percentages

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLES PRESENTED IN TEXT

**FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 8.1
ETHNOCENTRISM AND OPPOSITION TO GAY RIGHTS**

	Marriage	Adoption	Military	Employment
Ethnocentrism	0.92** 0.37	1.11*** 0.37	1.19*** 0.32	0.60* 0.31
Importance of Religion	1.50*** 0.18	1.17*** 0.19	0.80*** 0.16	0.63*** 0.16
Religious Doctrine	0.70*** 0.17	0.35** 0.18	0.33** 0.15	0.55*** 0.15
Partisanship	-0.87*** 0.15	-0.86*** 0.16	-0.58*** 0.14	-0.48*** 0.13
Education	-0.48** 0.20	-0.67*** 0.21	-0.26 0.17	-0.40** 0.17
Authoritarianism	0.56*** 0.18	0.64*** 0.20	0.31* 0.17	0.35** 0.16
Egalitarianism	-0.89*** 0.27	-0.66** 0.29	-0.73*** 0.24	-1.49*** 0.24
Baptist	-0.00 0.15	-0.07 0.15	-0.02 0.12	0.21* 0.12
Catholic	-0.25** 0.12	-0.41*** 0.13	-0.19 0.11	-0.23** 0.11
Jewish	-0.42 0.31	-0.35 0.34	-0.50 0.34	0.12 0.28
Other Religion	-0.37 0.43	-0.17 0.47	-0.33 0.50	-0.30 0.42
No Religion	0.08 0.16	-0.17 0.17	0.08 0.15	0.21 0.15
Female	-0.41** 0.10	-0.57*** 0.10	-0.52*** 0.09	-0.20** 0.08
Black	0.08 0.16	0.26 0.17	0.15 0.14	-0.16 0.14
Hispanics	-0.01 0.17	0.15 0.17	0.25* 0.15	-0.23 0.15
τ_1	-0.63 0.27	-0.42 0.29	-0.23 0.25	-0.69 0.24
τ_2	-0.32 0.27		0.67 0.25	0.10 0.24
τ_3			0.94 0.25	0.53 0.24
lnL	-604.589	-448.894	-856.832	-925.721
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	889	849	860	859

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 2004 National Election Study.

**FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 8.2
ETHNOCENTRISM AND AIDS**

	Government Spend Less on AIDS	Worried about “Catching” AIDS
Ethnocentrism	-0.06 0.21	1.25*** 0.35
Importance of Religion	0.38*** 0.13	0.39* 0.21
Religious Doctrine	0.02 0.12	0.28 0.20
Partisanship	-0.23** 0.10	-0.37** 0.17
Education	0.02 0.14	-0.67*** 0.21
Authoritarianism	-0.07 0.12	0.31 0.19
Egalitarianism	-1.54*** 0.18	-0.56** 0.28
Baptist	0.03 0.09	0.29** 0.14
Catholic	-0.09 0.08	0.12 0.13
Jewish	-0.10 0.26	-0.19 0.41
Other Religion	-0.67* 0.35	1.09** 0.45
No Religion	-0.11 0.11	0.19 0.18
Female	-0.09 0.07	-0.17* 0.10
Black	-0.24** 0.12	-0.05 0.20
Hispanic	-0.19 0.13	0.22 0.21
τ_1	-0.73 0.19	-0.06 0.31
τ_2	0.42 0.19	1.04 0.31
τ_3		1.42 0.31
lnL	-1243.00	-553.56
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00
N	1529	584

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1992 National Election Study and 1993 National Election Study Pilot.

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 8.3
ETHNOCENTRISM AND IMMORALITY OF SEXUAL PRACTICES

	Gay Sex	Sex Education	Contraception for Teenagers	Premarital Sex	Teenage Sex	Extramarital Sex
Ethnocentrism	1.22* 0.68	-0.94 0.77	0.18 0.49	0.54 0.53	1.64** 0.64	0.08 0.74
Partisanship	-0.59** 0.28	-1.12*** 0.35	-0.61*** 0.22	-0.78*** 0.25	-0.25 0.28	-0.34 0.31
Education	-0.92** 0.37	-0.28 0.43	0.16 0.27	-0.45 0.31	-0.04 0.33	-0.54 0.38
Female	-0.16 0.17	-0.15 0.22	-0.42*** 0.13	0.11 0.15	0.25 0.16	0.13 0.18
Black	0.17 0.33	-0.09 0.35	0.10 0.20	-0.01 0.22	0.05 0.25	-0.20 0.34
Hispanic	-0.33 0.30	-0.81 0.57	-0.59** 0.25	-0.68** 0.30	-0.40 0.26	-0.57* 0.31
Authoritarianism	1.24*** 0.38	1.43*** 0.47	0.31 0.29	0.42 0.32	1.32*** 0.37	1.12*** 0.43
Egalitarianism	-1.19** 0.58	-0.16 0.72	-0.01 0.43	0.43 0.50	-0.25 0.52	0.07 0.60
Religious Attendance	1.39*** 0.28	0.94*** 0.33	0.93*** 0.21	2.11*** 0.24	1.01*** 0.27	0.73** 0.30
Age	0.10 0.39	0.81* 0.47	1.29*** 0.31	0.95*** 0.33	1.44*** 0.40	0.27 0.42
τ_1	-1.08 0.42	1.68 0.59	-0.17 0.36	1.02 0.41	-1.07 0.46	-2.11 0.49
τ_2	-0.78 0.41		0.77 0.36	1.73 0.42	0.10 0.44	-1.09 0.45
τ_3	-0.67 0.41		1.56 0.37	2.06 0.42	0.85 0.44	-0.55 0.44
lnL	-200.76	-92.59	-365.77	-283.28	-229.91	-165.42
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.004
N	241	299	300	296	301	256

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 2000 General Social Survey.

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 8.4
ETHNOCENTRISM AND THE NATURE OF HOMOSEXUALITY

	Cannot be Changed	Natural Sexuality
Ethnocentrism	0.61* 0.37	0.74** 0.37
Importance of Religion	-0.53** 0.21	-1.02*** 0.22
Religious Doctrine	-0.51** 0.20	-0.32 0.20
Partisanship	0.37** 0.17	0.33* 0.17
Education	0.28 0.22	0.41* 0.21
Authoritarianism	-0.67*** 0.19	-0.38* 0.19
Egalitarianism	1.41*** 0.30	1.41*** 0.29
Baptist	-0.27* 0.15	-0.45*** 0.15
Catholic	0.14 0.14	0.20 0.13
Jewish	-0.38 0.35	-0.11 0.33
Other Religion	0.16 0.64	-0.71 0.70
No Religion	-0.03 0.17	0.02 0.17
Female	0.42*** 0.11	0.41*** 0.11
Black	-0.15 0.21	0.41** 0.20
Hispanic	-0.29 0.21	0.09 0.21
τ_1	0.05 0.31	0.31 0.30
τ_2	0.44 0.31	0.50 0.30
τ_3	0.88 0.31	0.98 0.30
lnL	-607.20	-607.65
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00
N	537	582

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1993 National Election Study Pilot.

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 8.5
THE EFFECT OF ETHNOCENTRISM ON
AMERICAN OPPOSITION TO GAY RIGHTS IN 2004
IN STATES WITH/WITHOUT SAME-SEX BALLOT INITIATIVES

	Marriage	Adoption	Military	Employment
Ethnocentrism	0.77*	1.04***	1.03***	0.51
	0.40	0.40	0.35	0.34
Ethnocentrism x	0.96	0.35	0.65	0.27
Same-sex Ballot Initiative	0.97	0.99	0.80	0.77
Same-sex Ballot Initiative	-0.11	0.14	0.17	0.19
	0.14	0.15	0.13	0.12
Importance of	1.50***	1.19***	0.81***	0.64***
Religion	0.18	0.19	0.16	0.16
Religious	0.71***	0.34*	0.32**	0.54***
Doctrine	0.17	0.18	0.15	0.15
Partisanship	-0.87***	-0.87***	-0.59***	-0.49***
	0.15	0.16	0.14	0.13
Education	-0.48**	-0.67***	-0.26	-0.40**
	0.20	0.21	0.17	0.17
Authoritarianism	0.55***	0.66***	0.34**	0.37**
	0.18	0.20	0.17	0.16
Egalitarianism	-0.87***	-0.68**	-0.75***	-1.51***
	0.27	0.29	0.24	0.24
Baptist	-0.01	-0.07	-0.02	0.22*
	0.15	0.15	0.12	0.13
Catholic	-0.25**	-0.39***	-0.17	-0.21**
	0.12	0.13	0.11	0.11
Jewish	-0.44	-0.35	-0.49	0.15
	0.32	0.34	0.34	0.29
Other Religion	-0.39	-0.15	-0.31	-0.27
	0.43	0.47	0.50	0.42
No Religion	0.07	-0.16	0.09	0.22
	0.16	0.17	0.15	0.15
Female	-0.41***	-0.57***	-0.52***	-0.20**
	0.10	0.10	0.09	0.08
Black	0.08	0.26	0.16	-0.15
	0.16	0.17	0.14	0.14
Hispanic	-0.02	0.15	0.26*	-0.23
	0.17	0.18	0.15	0.15
τ_1	-0.64	-0.39	-0.20	-0.66
	0.27	0.29	0.25	0.24
τ_2	-0.33		0.70	0.14
	0.27		0.25	0.24
τ_3			0.98	0.56
			0.25	0.24
lnL	-603.98	-448.08	-854.61	-923.86
$p > \chi^2$	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
N	889	849	860	859

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 2004 National Election Study.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS REFERENCED IN TEXT

SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: ETHNOCENTRISM AND GAY RIGHTS, ADDING MORAL TRADITIONALISM

	Marriage	Adoption	Military	Employment
Ethnocentrism	0.85**	1.13***	1.18***	0.58*
	0.38	0.38	0.32	0.31
Moral	2.58***	2.37***	0.84***	0.52**
Traditionalism	0.30	0.31	0.25	0.24
Importance of	1.20***	0.81***	0.65***	0.53***
Religion	0.19	0.20	0.17	0.16
Religious	0.54***	0.23	0.29*	0.53***
Doctrine	0.17	0.18	0.15	0.15
Partisanship	-0.50***	-0.53***	-0.44***	-0.39***
	0.16	0.17	0.14	0.14
Education	-0.58***	-0.77***	-0.31*	-0.42**
	0.20	0.22	0.18	0.17
Authoritarianism	0.29	0.44**	0.22	0.29*
	0.19	0.20	0.17	0.17
Egalitarianism	-0.51*	-0.35	-0.60**	-1.42***
	0.29	0.31	0.25	0.24
Baptist	0.00	-0.01	-0.01	0.23*
	0.16	0.16	0.12	0.13
Catholic	-0.24*	-0.37***	-0.16	-0.21*
	0.12	0.13	0.11	0.11
Jewish	-0.22	-0.13	-0.43	0.18
	0.32	0.37	0.34	0.29
Other Religion	-0.52	-0.28	-0.39	-0.32
	0.45	0.51	0.51	0.43
No Religion	0.24	0.01	0.15	0.25*
	0.17	0.18	0.15	0.15
Female	-0.41***	-0.59***	-0.52***	-0.19**
	0.10	0.11	0.09	0.08
Black	0.15	0.33*	0.17	-0.14
	0.16	0.17	0.14	0.14
Hispanics	0.16	0.35*	0.32**	-0.19
	0.18	0.18	0.15	0.15
τ_1	0.83	0.98	0.26	-0.39
	0.33	0.35	0.29	0.28
τ_2	1.16		1.17	0.41
	0.33		0.29	0.28
τ_3			1.44	0.83
			0.29	0.28
lnL	-561.35	-417.70	-850.67	-923.13
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	888	849	859	858

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 2004 National Election Study.

SUPPLEMENTARY DISCUSSION: EXTRAPOLATING THE EFFECT OF ETHNOCENTRISM, BY SEXUAL ORIENTATION

The NES does not contain a measure of sexual orientation, but theoretically we expect to see a difference in the effect of ethnocentrism across heterosexuals and homosexuals. As an alternative strategy, here we use results from previous work on immigration opinion to extrapolate the magnitude of this bias and its implications for predicted opposition to homosexual rights policies. In our analysis of views towards immigration, using the NES 1992, we analyzed five items that were disproportionately aimed at Hispanics: two English language items (whether bilingual education should be eliminated; whether English should be made the official language) and three questions about the impact of Hispanic immigrants on culture, taxes, and jobs. To identify the effect of ethnocentrism among non-Hispanic whites and Hispanics, we included interactions between *Hispanic* and *Ethnocentrism*. In these analyses, we found that ethnocentric whites consistently and significantly favored prioritizing the English language and viewed Hispanic immigration as detrimental to American culture, to the level of taxation, and to the health of the job sector. Ethnocentric Hispanics, in contrast, consistently and significantly endorsed bilingual education, opposed making English the official language, and evaluated the impact of Hispanic immigration as positive all around.

To do so, we first re-analyzed the immigration models with a common coefficient for *Ethnocentrism*, and thus constraining the one coefficient to apply to both “Insider” Americans (whites and blacks) and Hispanics. This specification mimics the one that we have in our paper, where a common coefficient on *Ethnocentrism* is estimated, and thus is forced to apply to both homosexuals and heterosexuals. We then constructed a “multiplier” that would enable us use the common coefficient to derive the effects of *Ethnocentrism* for non-Hispanic whites plus blacks and Hispanics, as estimated with the interactive model. This multiplier allows us to quantify the degree of bias induced by the common coefficient specification. These estimates, along with the multipliers, appear below.

Constructing a Multiplier to Estimate the Impact of Ethnocentrism by Sexual Orientation, 1992

	Bilingual Education	English as Official Language	Hispanics: Culture	Hispanics: Taxes	Hispanics: Jobs	
<i>Model with Interaction between Ethnocentrism and Hispanic</i>						
Ethnocentrism	0.67***	0.87***	1.39***	1.24***	1.20***	
	0.19	0.23	0.20	0.18	0.18	
Ethnocentrism x Hispanic	-2.19***	-3.31***	-5.16***	-2.26***	-2.89***	
	0.82	0.91	0.80	0.79	0.79	
Hispanic	0.34***	-0.40***	-0.73***	0.19*	-0.13	
	0.11	0.13	0.11	0.11	0.11	
<i>Model with common coefficient for Ethnocentrism</i>						
Ethnocentrism	0.57***	0.68***	1.10***	1.13***	1.05***	
	0.18	0.22	0.19	0.18	0.18	
Multiplier						
Non-Hispanics	1.18	1.23	1.27	1.10	1.14	Average 1.20
Hispanics	-2.69	-3.60	-3.44	-0.90	-1.61	-2.45

Table presents estimated ordered-probit coefficients with standard errors below.

Models also control for household economic conditions, unemployment, being divorced, education, political awareness, occupation, log of the proportion of Hispanic and Asian in state, dependence on government assistance, moral traditionalism, retrospective assessments of national economic conditions, egalitarianism, support for limited government, partisanship, race, and sex.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

For example, in the model of bilingual education, the coefficient for *Ethnocentrism* is 0.57 when a common coefficient is estimated for non-Hispanics (whites plus blacks) and Hispanics. When *Ethnocentrism* and its interaction with *Hispanic* are both included, the estimated coefficient on *Ethnocentrism* is 0.67. This value gives the coefficient on ethnocentrism for non-Hispanic whites plus blacks. The “multiplier” in this model is 1.18: $0.57 * 1.18 = 0.67$. For Hispanics, the “effect” of ethnocentrism is given by $b_{Ethnocentrism} + b_{Ethnocentrism * Hispanic}$, which equals $0.67 - 2.19 = -1.52$ in the bilingual education model. (“Effect” is used loosely here, since the marginal effect of ethnocentrism in an ordered probit model would also entail differentiating the cumulative normal probability density function: $\partial y / \partial E = \phi(\mathbf{x}'\boldsymbol{\beta})(\beta_E + \beta_{E*H}H)$.) The “multiplier” for Hispanics equals -2.69 : $0.67 * -2.69 = -1.52$. We constructed these multipliers across the five dependent variables and

averaged them. The average multiplier for non-Hispanics is 1.20, which means that the pooled-sample common coefficient must be multiplied by 1.20 in order to derive the “true” coefficient for non-Hispanics. The average multiplier for Hispanics is -2.45.

We use these multipliers to extrapolate the divergent effect of ethnocentrism across heterosexuals and homosexuals. Using the values from the immigration case, we speculate that the common coefficient is biased downwards by 20% for heterosexuals. Similarly, we speculate that the common coefficient must be multiplied by -2.45 in order to approximate the effect of ethnocentrism among homosexuals. These results are an extrapolation, an illustration, of what we would expect to see, based on our existing work in an altogether different domain.

A final step requires us to acknowledge that sample composition also determines the degree of bias. If the common coefficient is seen as a “weighted” average of the effects of ethnocentrism among Hispanics and among non-Hispanic whites, then the degree of bias will vary with the relative size of the groups within the sample. When two groups are equally sized, then the estimated coefficient will essentially be an even compromise between the two effects of the two groups. When one group is disproportionately represented in the sample, then the common coefficient will be pulled more towards the bigger group’s coefficient and away from the smaller group’s coefficient. In the NES 1992 analysis, Hispanics comprised 9.5% of the sample that we analyzed. If we were to take the typical off-the-cuff estimate that 10% of the population is homosexual, then we could more or less apply the immigration analysis multiplier to the present case. If we believed, however, that the incidence of homosexuality was lower, then we would have to account for this difference in sample composition by acknowledging that the multiplier for heterosexuals should be scaled downwards and the multiplier for homosexuals would be even bigger.

**SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: ETHNOCENTRISM AND IMMORALITY OF SEXUAL PRACTICES, 1990 GSS
REPLICATION**

	Gay Sex	Sex Education	Contraception for Teenagers	Premarital Sex	Teenage Sex	Extramarital Sex
Ethnocentrism	0.95** 0.44	0.01 0.51	0.50* 0.30	0.15 0.32	0.35 0.37	0.87** 0.44
Partisanship	-0.61*** 0.18	-0.52** 0.24	-0.38*** 0.13	-0.38*** 0.14	-0.06 0.16	-0.47*** 0.18
Education	-1.14*** 0.25	-0.86** 0.37	-0.01 0.19	-0.35* 0.20	-0.33 0.22	-0.46* 0.24
Female	-0.44*** 0.12	-0.07 0.16	-0.23** 0.09	-0.01 0.09	0.23** 0.10	0.22* 0.12
Black	0.06 0.22	-0.54 0.34	-0.27* 0.16	-0.45** 0.18	-0.38** 0.18	-0.43** 0.21
Hispanic	0.02 0.24	0.46 0.35	0.23 0.22	0.10 0.23	-0.09 0.26	-0.23 0.24
Authoritarianism	2.48*** 0.44	1.83*** 0.55	1.00*** 0.33	1.54*** 0.36	1.46*** 0.38	0.98** 0.42
Egalitarianism	-0.22 0.23	0.28 0.31	-0.03 0.17	0.08 0.18	0.01 0.19	0.22 0.23
Religious Attendance	0.68*** 0.19	0.68*** 0.25	0.97*** 0.14	1.58*** 0.16	1.14*** 0.17	0.88*** 0.19
Age	0.22 0.26	0.93*** 0.33	0.73*** 0.19	1.00*** 0.21	1.36*** 0.24	-0.12 0.26
τ_1	-0.80 0.30	2.43 0.44	0.24 0.24	1.20 0.26	-0.53 0.28	-1.75 0.31
τ_2	-0.49 0.30		1.22 0.24	2.00 0.26	0.36 0.27	-0.85 0.29
τ_3	-0.28 0.30		2.09 0.25	2.42 0.27	1.15 0.27	-0.21 0.29
lnL	-454.88	-161.04	-810.09	-718.60	-557.40	-403.17
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	624	651	648	648	656	639

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 2000 General Social Survey.

**SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: OPINION ON SPENDING ON AIDS RESEARCH
AMONG BLACK AMERICANS**

	1992	2000
Ethnocentrism	-1.16	-1.70*
	0.78	0.88
Importance of Religion	0.04	-0.95
	0.53	0.62
Religious Doctrine	0.03	0.26
	0.40	0.45
Partisanship	-0.16	0.10
	0.43	0.54
Education	-0.72	0.21
	0.46	0.59
Authoritarianism	0.30	0.37
	0.43	0.67
Egalitarianism	-0.84	-1.57**
	0.66	0.75
Baptist	0.41*	-0.13
	0.25	0.27
Catholic	0.09	-0.46
	0.47	0.67
No Religion	-0.25	-0.53
	0.61	0.61
Female	0.33	-0.06
	0.23	0.27
τ_1	0.38	-0.53
	0.76	1.08
τ_2	1.40	0.76
	0.77	1.09
lnL	-112.62	-76.43
$p > \chi^2$	0.10	0.16
N	181	133

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.
Dependent variable is coded such that higher values indicate less support for spending.

Estimates confined to Black respondents.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1992 and 2000 National Election Studies.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS FOR FIGURE 8.2
PREDICTING OPINION ON SPENDING ON AIDS RESEARCH
SEPARATELY BY RACE

	1992	2000
Ethnocentrism	-0.00 0.22	0.08 0.24
Ethnocentrism x Black	-0.75 0.76	-2.04** 0.89
Importance of Religion	0.38*** 0.13	0.51*** 0.14
Religious Doctrine	0.03 0.12	-0.05 0.13
Partisanship	-0.24 ** 0.10	-0.11 0.11
Education	0.03 0.14	0.16 0.15
Authoritarianism	-0.08 0.12	0.17 0.14
Egalitarianism	-1.53*** 0.18	-1.33*** 0.19
Baptist	0.03 0.09	0.12 0.10
Catholic	-0.09 0.08	-0.07 0.09
Jewish	-0.09 0.26	-0.54* 0.29
Other Religion	-0.66* 0.35	0.47 0.37
No Religion	-0.11 0.11	0.13 0.12
Female	-0.09 0.07	-0.02 0.07
Black	-0.22* 0.13	-0.77*** 0.15
Hispanic	-0.18 0.13	-0.12 0.15
τ_1	-0.72 0.19	-0.49 0.21
τ_2	0.43 0.19	0.94 0.21
lnL	-1242.50	-1071.39
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00
N	1529	1237

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.
Dependent variable is coded such that higher values indicate less support for spending.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1992 and 2000 National Election Studies.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS FOR FIGURE 8.3
THE EFFECT OF ETHNOCENTRISM ON AMERICAN OPPOSITION TO SAME-SEX MARRIAGE
DEPENDS ON EXPOSURE TO AN ANTI-GAY MARRIAGE CAMPAIGN

	Oppose Gay Marriage
Ethnocentrism x Exposure x Same-Sex Marriage Initiative	4.50† 3.79
Ethnocentrism x Exposure	0.45 1.23
Exposure x Same-Sex Marriage Initiative	-0.31 0.45
Ethnocentrism x Same-Sex Marriage Initiative	-1.10 1.96
Ethnocentrism	0.53 0.67
Exposure	-0.14 0.18
Same-Sex Marriage Initiative	0.02 0.24
Importance of Religion	1.48*** 0.18
Religious Doctrine	0.73*** 0.17
Partisanship	-0.87*** 0.15
Education	-0.48** 0.20
Authoritarianism	0.55*** 0.18
Egalitarianism	-0.87*** 0.27
Baptist	-0.00 0.15
Catholic	-0.23* 0.12
Jewish	-0.43 0.32
Other Religion	-0.37 0.44
No Religion	0.10 0.16
Female	-0.41*** 0.10
Black	0.08 0.16
Hispanic	-0.02 0.17
τ_1	-0.69 0.28
τ_2	-0.38 0.28
lnL	-601.04
$p > \chi^2$	0.00
N	887

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed. † $p < 0.12$, one-tailed.

Source: 2004 National Election Study.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS FOR FIGURE 8.4
THE EFFECT OF ETHNOCENTRISM ON TURNOUT IN 2004
IN STATES WITH/WITHOUT SAME-SEX BALLOT INITIATIVES

	Turnout
Ethnocentrism	-0.62 0.43
Ethnocentrism x Same-Sex Marriage Initiative	1.26 0.87
Same-Sex Marriage Initiative	-0.00 0.15
Strength of Partisanship	1.11 0.16
Importance of Religion	0.28 0.20
Religious Doctrine	-0.10 0.19
Partisanship	-0.46 0.19
Education	1.19 0.24
Authoritarianism	-0.32 0.21
Egalitarianism	0.03 0.31
Baptist	-0.01 0.15
Catholic	0.04 0.14
Jewish	0.58 0.48
Other Religion	-0.31 0.49
No Religion	0.31 0.19
Female	0.10 0.11
Black	-0.03 0.17
Hispanic	-0.34 0.18
Intercept	-0.08 0.32
lnL	-374.68
$p > \chi^2$	0.00
N	889

Table entry is the probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 2004 National Election Study.

**SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: ESTIMATING THE AGGREGATE EFFECT
OF SAME-SEX BALLOT INITIATIVES ON TURNOUT**

To estimate the aggregate effect of same-sex ballot initiatives on turnout, we first apportioned our sample respondents into four evenly-sized quartiles: those who were more ethnocentric (scoring above 0.12), mildly ethnocentric (scoring from 0.01 to 0.12), indifferent between the ingroup and outgroups (scoring 0), and those who favored outgroups over the ingroup (scoring from -1 to -0.01).

Using the probit estimates (featured in Supplementary Results for Figure 8.4), we first estimated each respondent's predicted probability of turning out, using each respondent's own sample values for each of the covariates in the model. This generates a unique predicted probability for each sample respondent.

Then we estimated an average predicted turnout level for each quartile. This provides us with a baseline set of values for predicted probabilities of turning out. Now, some of these respondents lived in states with same-sex ballot initiatives, while others lived in states without them. Here are their predicted probabilities of turning out:

	Favor outgroups	Indifferent	Mildly Ethnocentric	More Ethnocentric	Average predicted turnout
No ballot initiative	0.84 N=235	0.82 N=163	0.79 N=177	0.75 N=175	0.80
Same-Sex Ballot Initiative	0.81 N=27	0.81 N=39	0.79 N=32	0.81 N=43	0.80

We could stop the comparison here, but there may be ways that respondents who live in states with same-sex ballot initiatives are systematically different from respondents who live in states without same-sex ballot initiatives. A better comparison is based on the following counterfactual: what would the turnout level of respondents who lived in same-sex ballot states have been, had there not be a ballot initiative in that state? To determine the "effect" of the same-sex marriage initiative for a given individual, we generated a new predicted probability for each respondent who lived in a same-sex marriage initiative state – by assigning them a value of 0 on *Same-Sex Marriage Initiative* (and, as a consequence, a value of 0 on $E \times \text{Same-Sex Marriage Initiative}$). The effect of the same-sex marriage initiative is thus the difference between the in-sample estimated predicted probability of turning out, given that a same-sex marriage initiative was present, and the counterfactual estimated predicted probability of turning out, given that a same-sex marriage initiative was *not* present.

	Favor outgroups	Indifferent	Mildly Ethnocentric	More Ethnocentric	Average predicted turnout
Counterfactual: No Same-Sex Ballot Initiative	0.83 N=27	0.81 N=39	0.77 N=32	0.73 N=43	0.78
Same-Sex Ballot Initiative	0.81 N=27	0.81 N=39	0.79 N=32	0.81 N=43	0.80

This is where we derived our estimate that the effect of the same-sex ballot initiative on aggregate turnout was about 2% (0.80-0.78). We also see that the same-sex ballot initiative *decreased* turnout among those who favor outgroups to the ingroup, had no effect among those who expressed no preference for the ingroup over outgroups, but *increased* turnout by about 8 percentage points among the more ethnocentric.

CHAPTER 9: WOMEN'S PLACE

Dependent Variables: Abortion

	% of sample
Abortion laws (v045132)	
<i>There has been some discussion about abortion during recent years. Which one of the opinions on this page best agrees with your view? You can just tell me the number of the opinion you choose.</i>	
1. By law, abortion should never be permitted.	14.3%
2. The law should permit abortion only in case of rape, incest, or when the woman's life is in danger.	32.0
3. The law should permit abortion for reasons other than rape, incest, or danger to the woman's life, but only after the need for the abortion has been clearly established.	17.7
4. By law, a woman should always be able to obtain an abortion as a matter of personal choice.	36.1
Late-term/Partial-birth abortion (v043181)	
<i>There has been discussion recently about a law to ban certain types of late-term abortions, sometimes called partial birth abortions. Do you favor or oppose a law that makes these types of abortions illegal? Do you strongly or not strongly favor/oppose a law that makes these types of abortions illegal?</i>	
Oppose strongly	24.9
Oppose not strongly	12.2
Favor not strongly	7.1
Favor strongly	55.8
Government subsidy of abortion (v043179)	
<i>Would you favor or oppose a law in your state that would allow the use of government funds to help pay for the costs of abortion for women who cannot afford them? Would you favor/oppose government funding for abortions strongly or not strongly?</i>	
Favor strongly	18.5
Favor not strongly	19.9
Oppose not strongly	13.9
Oppose strongly	47.8
Spousal notification (v923740)	
<i>Would you favor or oppose a law in your state that would require a married woman to notify her husband before she can have an abortion? Would you favor/oppose this law strongly or not strongly?</i>	
Oppose strongly	28.8
Oppose not strongly	21.6
Favor not strongly	13.9
Favor strongly	35.7
Parental consent (v000702)	
<i>Would you favor or oppose a law in your state that would require a teenage girl under age 18 to receive her parent's permission before she could obtain an abortion? Strongly or not strongly?</i>	
Oppose strongly	12.3
Oppose not strongly	7.1
Don't Know	2.9
Favor not strongly	8.6
Favor strongly	69.2

Source: 1992, 2000, & 2004 National Election Studies, weighted analysis

Dependent Variables: "Women's Issues"

	% of sample
Employment Discrimination (v045161/v045161b)	
<i>Some people feel that if women are not getting equal treatment in jobs, the government in Washington ought to see to it that they do. Others feel that this is not the federal government's business. Have you had enough interest in this question to favor one side over the other? How do you feel? Should the government in Washington see to it that women get equal treatment in jobs or is this not the federal government's business? Do you feel strongly or not strongly?</i>	
Government see to it, strongly	40.0
Government see to it, not strongly	5.6
Not interested/Don't Know	36.5
Not the government's business, not strongly	6.5
Not the government's business, strongly	11.4
Affirmative Action for Women (fehire)	
<i>Because of past discrimination, employers should make special efforts to hire and promote qualified women. (Do you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, or strongly disagree?)</i>	
Strongly agree	19.6
Agree	45.2
Neither agree nor disagree	10.6
Disagree	19.9
Strongly disagree	4.7
Sexual Harassment (v923743)	
<i>Do you think enough is being done to protect women from being sexually harassed in the workplace, is too much being done, or too little being done?</i>	
Too little	57.2
Enough	33.9
Too much	8.9
Spending on Child Care (v923813)	
<i>Should federal spending be increased, decreased, or kept about the same on child care?</i>	
Increased	50.5
Kept the same	39.6
Decreased	9.9
Family Leave (v923717)	
<i>Do you think the government should require companies to allow up to six months unpaid leave for parents to spend time with their newborn or newly adopted children, or is this something that should be left to the individual employer?</i>	
Government should require	32.0
Left to individual employer	68.0

*Source: 1992 & 2004 National Election Studies, weighted analysis
2000 General Social Survey, weighted analysis*

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLES PRESENTED IN TEXT

**FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 9.1
ETHNOCENTRISM AND OPPOSITION TO ABORTION**

	Abortion Laws	Late Term/ Partial Birth	Government Subsidy	Spousal Notification	Parental Consent
Ethnocentrism	0.22 0.29	-0.47 0.32	-0.57* 0.31	0.18 0.21	0.34 0.27
Importance of Religion	1.32*** 0.15	0.85*** 0.17	0.99*** 0.16	0.73*** 0.13	0.69*** 0.15
Religious Doctrine	0.63*** 0.15	0.27* 0.16	0.56*** 0.15	0.50*** 0.12	0.29** 0.14
Partisanship	-0.50*** 0.13	-0.77*** 0.14	-0.84*** 0.14	-0.18* 0.10	-0.41*** 0.12
Education	-0.38** 0.17	0.07 0.19	-0.37** 0.18	-0.60*** 0.14	-0.41** 0.17
Authoritarianism	0.43*** 0.16	0.09 0.17	0.13 0.16	0.46*** 0.12	0.38** 0.15
Egalitarianism	-0.29 0.23	-0.46* 0.25	-0.63*** 0.24	-0.17 0.18	-0.55*** 0.21
Female	-0.34*** 0.08	-0.01 0.09	0.02 0.09	-0.51*** 0.07	0.02 0.08
Baptist	0.17 0.12	-0.02 0.13	-0.04 0.13	-0.13 0.09	0.20* 0.12
Catholic	0.15 0.10	0.16 0.11	0.08 0.11	0.04 0.08	0.20** 0.10
Jewish	-0.75** 0.35	-0.35 0.27	-0.73*** 0.26	-0.44* 0.25	-0.08 0.24
Other Religion	0.31 0.38	0.63 0.45	-0.22 0.40	-0.16 0.28	-0.02 0.35
No Religion	0.04 0.14	0.02 0.15	-0.12 0.14	0.06 0.11	0.16 0.12
Black	-0.24* 0.13	-0.15 0.15	0.08 0.14	-0.22* 0.12	0.24 0.15
Hispanic	-0.04 0.14	-0.06 0.15	0.13 0.15	-0.07 0.13	-0.13 0.16
Awareness	-0.45*** 0.16	-0.16 0.18	0.01 0.17	-0.71*** 0.14	-0.09 0.15
τ_1	-0.13 0.25	-0.91 0.26	-1.28 0.25	-1.06 0.21	-1.14 0.23
τ_2	0.43 0.25	-0.52 0.26	-0.57 0.25	-0.60 0.20	-0.81 0.23
τ_3	1.64 0.25	-0.32 0.26	-0.11 0.25	-0.22 0.20	-0.73 0.23
τ_4					-0.43 0.23
lnL	-980.04	-856.84	-935.45	-1638.34	-1163.57
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	875	838	847	1511	1258

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard errors below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 2004 National Election Study (columns 1-3)

1992 National Election Study (column 4)

2000 National Election Study (column 5).

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 9.2
ETHNOCENTRISM AND OPINION ON “WOMEN’S ISSUES”

	Spending on Childcare	Family Leave	Employment Discrimination	Affirmative Action	Sexual Harassment
Ethnocentrism	0.26 0.20	0.02 0.23	-0.28 0.30	-0.54 0.52	-0.10 0.21
Partisanship	-0.50*** 0.10	-0.73*** 0.11	-0.44*** 0.12	-0.72*** 0.22	-0.54*** 0.10
Egalitarianism	-1.47*** 0.18	-0.94*** 0.20	-2.51*** 0.24	-1.14*** 0.40	-1.15*** 0.18
Female	-0.21*** 0.07	-0.08 0.08	0.19** 0.08	-0.52*** 0.14	-0.22*** 0.07
Importance of Religion	0.28*** 0.10	0.04 0.12	0.08 0.12	0.29 0.20	0.07 0.11
Black	-0.32*** 0.12	-0.06 0.12	-0.46*** 0.14	-0.14 0.20	-0.28** 0.12
Hispanic	-0.17 0.12	-0.05 0.14	-0.23* 0.14	0.09 0.26	-0.31** 0.13
Education	-0.16 0.14	-0.57*** 0.15	-0.05 0.17	0.18 0.27	0.17 0.14
Authoritarianism	0.10 0.12	0.25* 0.13	0.32** 0.16	n/a	0.02 0.12
Awareness	0.54*** 0.14	0.32** 0.16	-0.16 0.16	n/a	-0.03 0.14
τ_1	-0.92 0.19	-1.52 0.22	-1.94 0.23	-2.20 0.34	-0.95 0.20
τ_2	0.53 0.19		-1.77 0.23	-0.75 0.32	0.37 0.19
τ_3			-0.65 0.22	-0.56 0.32	
τ_4			-0.30 0.22	0.51 0.32	
lnL	-1308.40	-884.48	-1052.96	-348.26	-1235.15
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	1536	1532	876	278	1456

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1992 National Election Study (columns 1, 2, & 5)

2004 National Election Study (column 3)

2000 General Social Survey (column 4).

CHAPTER 10: US VERSUS THEM IN THE AMERICAN WELFARE STATE
Dependent Variables: Full Question Text and Distributions

Dependent Variables: Means-Tested Transfer Programs				
	% of sample	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics
Federal Spending on Welfare (v960497)				
<i>Should federal spending on welfare programs be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?</i>				
Increase	12.9%	9.4%	33.6%	12.9%
Keep it the same	32.3	29.7	33.1	44.8
Decrease / Cut out entirely	54.9	60.9	32.3	42.4
Federal Spending on Food Stamps (v960496)				
<i>Should federal spending on food stamps be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?</i>				
Increase	12.0	8.4	30.4	12.4
Keep it the same	41.8	40.5	41.3	54.5
Decrease / Cut out entirely	46.2	51.0	28.3	33.1
Limit Benefits Despite Additional Children (v961322)				
<i>Some people have proposed that a woman on welfare who has another child not be given an increase in her welfare check. Do you favor or oppose this change in welfare policy? Strongly or not strongly?</i>				
Favor strongly	51.1	54.1	41.1	44.0
Favor not strongly	15.9	16.9	12.1	10.0
Oppose not strongly	13.7	13.6	18.0	14.0
Oppose strongly	19.3	15.3	28.9	32.0
Two-Year Limit (961324)				
<i>Another proposal is to put a two year limit on how long someone can receive welfare benefits. Do you favor or oppose this two year limit? Strongly or not strongly?</i>				
Favor strongly	60.3	59.9	58.1	65.3
Favor not strongly	17.3	19.9	9.1	9.9
Oppose not strongly	9.2	8.8	12.1	12.3
Oppose strongly	13.2	11.4	20.8	12.5

Source: 1996 National Election Study, weighted analysis

Dependent Variables: Social Insurance Programs

	% of sample	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics
Federal Spending on Social Security (v923811)				
<i>Should federal spending on social security be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?</i>				
Increase	48.7	42.9	74.2	61.4
Keep it the same	47.0	52.3	24.2	35.7
Decrease / Cut out entirely	4.3	4.6	1.6	2.9
Tax Social Security (v926135)				
<i>Do you favor or oppose taxes on social security retirement benefits? Strongly or not strongly?</i>				
Favor strongly	6.2	5.7	7.8	10.1
Favor not strongly	6.7	6.9	4.0	9.0
Oppose not strongly	16.3	17.9	8.7	15.2
Oppose strongly	70.8	69.6	79.5	65.8
Expand Medicare (v926137)				
<i>Do you favor or oppose expanding Medicare to pay for nursing home care and long hospital stays for the elderly? Strongly or not strongly?</i>				
Favor strongly	63.6	59.1	83.1	71.9
Favor not strongly	21.6	23.8	10.0	16.9
Neither	3.5	4.2	1.0	2.0
Oppose not strongly	6.2	7.5	1.4	2.8
Oppose strongly	5.1	5.5	4.4	6.4
Use Federal Surplus to Shore up Social Security/Medicare (v000693)				
<i>Some people have proposed that most of the expected federal budget surplus should go to protecting social security and Medicare. Do you approve or disapprove of this proposal? Strongly or not strongly?</i>				
Approve strongly	65.9	63.4	81.7	57.7
Approve not strongly	17.4	18.3	10.3	22.9
Disapprove not strongly	8.3	9.3	4.6	5.4
Disapprove strongly	8.3	9.1	3.5	14.0

*Source: 1992 National Election Study (top three items), weighted analysis
2000 National Election Study (bottom item), weighted analysis*

Dependent Variables: Human Capital Programs				
	% of sample	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics
Federal Spending on Public Schools (v025108x)				
<i>Should federal spending on public schools be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?</i>				
Increase	74.6%	71.4%	65.7%	92.9%
Keep it the same	21.7	24.7	26.7	5.8
Decrease / Cut out entirely	3.7	3.9	7.6	1.3
Federal Spending on Pre-School and Early Education for Poor Children (v025121x)				
<i>Should federal spending on pre-school and early education for poor children be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?</i>				
Increase	74.6	70.1	85.4	75.1
Keep it the same	23.4	27.5	14.6	18.7
Decrease / Cut out entirely	2.0	2.4	0.0	6.2
Invest More in Poor Schools (povschs)				
<i>Here are several things that the government in Washington might do to deal with the problems of poverty and unemployment. I would like you to tell me if you favor or oppose them. Would you say that you strongly favor it, favor it, neither favor nor oppose it, oppose, or strongly oppose it?</i>				
<i>Spending more money on the schools in poor neighborhoods especially for pre-school and early education programs.</i>				
Strongly Favor	32.5	27.5	50.4	58.9
Favor	55.4	58.6	42.9	35.7
Neither favor nor oppose	7.1	8.0	3.0	5.4
Oppose	3.9	4.6	3.0	0.0
Strongly oppose	1.1	1.3	0.8	0.0
Invest in College Scholarships for High-Achieving Poor Students (povcol)				
<i>Provide special college scholarships for children from economically disadvantaged backgrounds who maintain good grades.</i>				
Strongly Favor	39.2	35.2	48.9	71.4
Favor	52.9	56.0	43.6	26.8
Neither favor nor oppose	5.6	6.3	5.3	1.8
Oppose	1.5	1.4	2.3	0.00
Strongly oppose	0.9	1.1	0.0	0.00
Federal Spending on Head-Start (spheadst)				
<i>Here are some other areas of government spending. Please indicate whether you would like to see more or less government spending in each area. Remember that if you say "much more", it might require a tax increase to pay for it.</i>				
<i>Preschool programs like Head Start for poor children...</i>				
Spend much more	18.7	14.4	43.0	28.6
Spend more	44.6	44.9	38.2	48.4
Spend the same as now	31.4	35.2	15.8	20.9
Spend less	3.6	3.7	2.2	2.2
Spend much less	1.7	1.7	0.9	0.0

Source: 2002 National Election Study (top two items), weighted analysis;
1990 General Social Survey (bottom three), weighted analysis.

Dependent Variables: Targeted Human Capital Programs

	% of sample	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics
Federal Spending on Big City Schools (v025108y)				
<i>Should federal spending on big city schools be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?</i>				
Increase	53.5%	48.5%	68.6%	75.2%
Keep it the same	37.3	41.4	26.1	16.4
Decrease / Cut out entirely	9.2	10.1	5.3	8.5
Federal Spending on Pre-School and Early Education for Black Children (v025121y)				
<i>Should federal spending on pre-school and early education for poor children be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?</i>				
Increase	50.4	44.4%	89.1%	50.4%
Keep it the same	42.5	47.5	10.9	31.9
Decrease / Cut out entirely	7.2	8.1	0.0	17.7
Invest More in Schools in Black Neighborhoods (blkschs)				
<i>Here are several things that the government in Washington might do to deal with the problems of poverty and unemployment. I would like you to tell me if you favor or oppose them. Would you say that you strongly favor it, favor it, neither favor nor oppose it, oppose, or strongly oppose it?</i>				
<i>Spending more money on the schools in black neighborhoods especially for pre-school and early education programs.</i>				
Strongly Favor	21.3	17.1	48.1	32.2
Favor	50.2	51.6	43.7	37.3
Neither favor nor oppose	13.6	15.7	5.2	8.5
Oppose	11.2	11.6	3.0	22.0
Strongly oppose	3.6	4.1	0.0	0.0
Invest in College Scholarships for High-Achieving Black Students (blkcol)				
<i>Provide special college scholarships for black children who maintain good grades.</i>				
Strongly Favor	21.2	15.9	54.5	35.6
Favor	51.8	53.6	41.0	39.0
Neither favor nor oppose	13.1	14.3	4.5	20.3
Oppose	10.1	11.7	0.0	5.1
Strongly oppose	3.8	4.5	0.0	0.0

*Source: 2002 National Election Study (top two items), weighted analysis;
1990 General Social Survey (bottom two), weighted analysis.*

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLES PRESENTED IN TEXT

**FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 10.1
ETHNOCENTRISM AND WHITE OPPOSITION TO MEANS-TESTED WELFARE**

	Increase Spending on Welfare	Increase Spending on Food Stamps	Provide More Benefits with Additional Kids	Oppose Time Limit on Welfare
Ethnocentrism	-0.73*** 0.27	-0.48* 0.25	-1.19*** 0.26	-1.44*** 0.27
Partisanship	0.56*** 0.14	0.33** 0.13	0.13 0.13	0.25* 0.13
Egalitarianism	1.53*** 0.25	1.34*** 0.24	1.19*** 0.23	0.96*** 0.23
Limited Government	-0.58*** 0.12	-0.61*** 0.11	-0.40*** 0.11	-0.40*** 0.11
Unemployed	0.23* 0.14	0.31** 0.14	0.15 0.14	0.09 0.14
Worried about Job	0.23 0.16	0.19 0.15	0.03 0.15	0.15 0.15
Household Economic Eval.	-0.02 0.17	-0.04 0.16	-0.10 0.15	-0.17 0.16
Household Income	-0.54*** 0.20	-0.34* 0.19	-0.04 0.18	-0.26 0.19
Income Refused	-0.23 0.21	-0.22 0.20	0.04 0.20	-0.00 0.19
Homeownership	-0.23** 0.10	-0.11 0.10	-0.07 0.09	0.02 0.09
Age in six categories	0.16 0.16	0.13 0.15	-0.04 0.15	0.42*** 0.15
High threat Occupation	0.05 0.14	0.23* 0.13	0.03 0.13	-0.07 0.13
Low threat Occupation	-0.07 0.14	0.08 0.13	0.06 0.13	0.01 0.13
Out of labor Market	0.23 0.15	0.39*** 0.14	0.25* 0.13	-0.01 0.14
Female	-0.08 0.09	-0.07 0.08	-0.21*** 0.08	-0.16** 0.08
Education	0.23 0.19	0.46** 0.18	0.11 0.18	0.27 0.18
Political Awareness	-0.35** 0.18	-0.24 0.17	-0.06 0.17	0.15 0.17
τ_1	0.68 0.30	0.65 0.29	0.36 0.27	0.63 0.28
τ_2	1.98 0.31	2.29 0.29	0.87 0.27	1.35 0.28
τ_3			1.37 0.28	1.82 0.28
lnL	-740.00	-809.02	-1118.79	-1068.95
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	1034	1030	1005	1027

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1996 National Election Study.

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 10.2
ETHNOCENTRISM AND WHITE SUPPORT FOR SOCIAL INSURANCE

	Spend More on Social Security	Oppose Tax on Social Security	Expand Medicare	Spend Surplus On Social Security /Medicare
Ethnocentrism	0.56* 0.23	0.49** 0.25	0.43* 0.23	0.82*** 0.29
Partisanship	0.20* 0.11	-0.14 0.12	0.37*** 0.11	0.23* 0.14
Egalitarianism	0.39** 0.19	-0.00 0.20	0.61*** 0.19	0.49** 0.23
Limited Government	-0.36*** 0.10	0.02 0.11	-0.36*** 0.10	-0.61*** 0.12
Unemployed	0.29** 0.12	-0.13 0.12	0.10 0.12	0.26 0.24
Worried about Job	0.03 0.14	0.21 0.14	-0.01 0.14	0.18 0.19
Household Economic Eval.	-0.03 0.16	-0.15 0.17	-0.25 0.16	0.05 0.19
Household Income	-0.35** 0.17	0.13 0.18	-0.04 0.17	-0.59** 0.25
Income Refused	-0.14 0.19	0.12 0.21	-0.29 0.19	-0.29* 0.15
Homeownership	-0.03 0.08	-0.13 0.09	0.02 0.08	-0.12 0.10
Age in six categories	0.10 0.13	0.47*** 0.14	0.05 0.13	0.59*** 0.16
High threat Occupation	0.13 0.10	-0.14 0.11	-0.02 0.10	-0.27** 0.13
Low threat Occupation	-0.11 0.11	-0.12 0.12	0.00 0.11	-0.17 0.12
Out of labor Market	-0.07 0.12	-0.05 0.13	0.13 0.12	-0.04 0.13
Female	0.22*** 0.07	-0.05 0.08	0.03 0.07	0.24*** 0.08
Education	-0.35** 0.16	-0.81*** 0.17	-0.46*** 0.16	-0.61*** 0.19
Political Awareness	-0.78*** 0.16	-0.38** 0.17	-0.57*** 0.16	-0.68*** 0.16
τ_1	-2.23 0.24	-2.28 0.25	-1.85 0.23	-1.78 0.27
τ_2	-0.18 0.23	-1.79 0.24	-1.34 0.23	-1.26 0.26
τ_3		-1.13 0.24	-1.16 0.23	-0.57 0.26
τ_4			-0.41 0.23	-975.79
lnL	-1001.25	-1142.63	-1389.88	-975.790
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	1309	1285	1276	1012

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1992 and 2000 National Election Studies.

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 10.3
INGROUP PRIDE, OUTGROUP HOSTILITY, AND WHITE SUPPORT FOR SOCIAL INSURANCE

	Spend More on Social Security	Oppose Tax on Social Security	Expand Medicare	Spend Surplus On Social Security /Medicare
Ingroup Pride	0.79*** 0.26	0.78*** 0.27	0.66** 0.26	0.98*** 0.31
Outgroup Hostility	0.13 0.31	-0.06 0.34	-0.01 0.32	0.46 0.36
Partisanship	0.20* 0.11	-0.14 0.12	0.38*** 0.11	0.24* 0.14
Egalitarianism	0.37* 0.19	-0.04 0.20	0.59*** 0.19	0.48** 0.23
Limited Government	-0.37*** 0.10	0.02 0.11	-0.36*** 0.10	-0.61*** 0.12
Unemployed	0.29** 0.12	-0.14 0.12	0.09 0.12	0.26 0.24
Worried about Job	0.04 0.14	0.23 0.15	0.01 0.14	0.18 0.19
Household Economic Eval.	-0.04 0.16	-0.16 0.17	-0.26* 0.16	0.05 0.19
Household Income	-0.35** 0.17	0.11 0.18	-0.05 0.17	-0.58*** 0.25
Income Refused	-0.14 0.19	0.11 0.21	-0.31 0.19	-0.29* 0.15
Homeownership	-0.03 0.08	-0.13 0.09	0.02 0.08	-0.12 0.10
Age in six categories	0.10 0.13	0.47*** 0.14	0.05 0.13	0.58*** 0.16
High threat Occupation	0.13 0.10	-0.14 0.11	-0.02 0.10	-0.27** 0.13
Low threat Occupation	-0.10 0.11	-0.11 0.12	0.01 0.11	-0.18 0.12
Out of labor Market	-0.07 0.12	-0.06 0.13	0.13 0.12	-0.04 0.13
Female	0.21*** 0.07	-0.06 0.08	0.02 0.07	0.24*** 0.08
Education	-0.34** 0.16	-0.79*** 0.17	-0.45*** 0.16	-0.62*** 0.19
Political Awareness	-0.82*** 0.16	-0.42** 0.17	-0.61*** 0.17	-0.68*** 0.16
τ_1	-1.78 0.38	-1.93 0.40	-1.54 0.38	-1.03 0.44
τ_2	0.28 0.37	-1.43 0.40	-1.02 0.38	-0.51 0.44
τ_3		-0.77 0.40	-0.84 0.38	0.19 0.44
τ_4			-0.09 0.38	-974.38
lnL	-999.31	-1139.95	-1387.94	-974.385
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	1309	1285	1276	1012

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1992 and 2000 National Election Studies.

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 10.4
ETHNOCENTRISM AND WHITE OPINION ON HUMAN CAPITAL PROGRAMS

	Increase Spending on Public Schools	Increase Spending on Pre-School Enrichment	Increase Spending on Early Education in Poor Neighborhoods	Increase Spending on College Scholarships	Increase Spending on Head Start
Ethnocentrism	-0.03 0.54	-0.07 0.50	-0.53 0.47	-0.33 0.48	-0.72** 0.34
Partisanship	-0.18 0.25	0.28 0.26	0.40* 0.22	0.08 0.22	0.24 0.16
Egalitarianism	1.14*** 0.41	1.38*** 0.45	0.52* 0.29	0.45 0.29	0.68*** 0.20
Limited Government	-0.86*** 0.22	-0.72*** 0.24	-0.23 0.26	-0.40 0.26	-0.38** 0.19
Unemployed	-0.33 0.38	-0.93** 0.40	0.15 0.47	0.07 0.48	-0.15 0.33
Worried about Job	-0.14 0.35	0.74* 0.43			
Household Economic Eval.	0.42 0.33	0.27 0.35	-0.27 0.33	-0.47 0.34	0.14 0.24
Household Income	0.10 0.24	0.13 0.26	0.45 0.30	0.08 0.30	-0.02 0.21
Income Refused	-0.17 0.35	0.17 0.36	0.26 0.38	-0.35 0.38	0.12 0.36
Homeownership	-0.10 0.20	-0.06 0.22			
Age in six categories	-0.60* 0.32	-0.36 0.34	-0.28 0.24	-0.01 0.25	0.02 0.18
High threat Occupation	-0.11 0.23	0.27 0.24	-0.19 0.21	0.12 0.22	-0.11 0.15
Low threat Occupation	-0.10 0.23	0.38 0.23	-0.28 0.25	-0.04 0.25	-0.21 0.17
Out of labor Market	0.01 0.24	0.04 0.24	-0.07 0.24	-0.06 0.24	-0.46*** 0.18
Female	0.15 0.16	-0.27 0.16	-0.19 0.15	0.05 0.15	0.12 0.11
Education	-0.11 0.34	-0.41 0.36	-0.07 0.32	-0.05 0.32	0.24 0.24
Political Awareness	-0.41 0.29	-0.22 0.30			
τ_1	-2.17 0.55	-1.92 0.61	-2.60 0.47	-2.74 0.47	-2.24 0.34
τ_2	-0.74 0.53	-0.24 0.59	-1.68 0.41	-2.13 0.42	-1.53 0.30
τ_3	-229.83	-213.11	-1.24 0.40	-1.65 0.41	-0.13 0.29
τ_4			0.46 0.39	0.03 0.39	1.24 0.30
lnL	-229.829	-213.113	-269.62	-257.04	-535.56
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.099	0.563	0.00
N	348	338	263	264	465

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 2000-2002 National Election Panel Study (first two columns); 1990 General Social Survey (last three columns).

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 10.5
ETHNOCENTRISM AND WHITE OPINION ON HUMAN CAPITAL PROGRAMS—
TARGETED EITHER ON POOR AMERICANS OR BLACK AMERICANS

	Increase Federal Spending on Early Education for		Provide College Scholarships to		Increase Spending on Early Education Programs in		Increase Federal Spending on	
	Poor Children	Black Children	Poor Students	Black Students	Poor Neighborhoods	Black Neighborhoods	Public Schools	Big City Schools
Ethnocentrism	-0.07 0.50	-1.13** 0.52	-0.33 0.48	-0.69† 0.46	-0.53 0.47	-1.42*** 0.46	-0.03 0.54	-0.79* 0.48
Partisanship	0.28 0.26	-0.00 0.22	0.08 0.22	-0.04 0.22	0.40* 0.22	0.27 0.22	-0.18 0.25	0.48** 0.23
Egalitarianism	1.38*** 0.45	0.95** 0.39	0.45 0.29	0.71** 0.28	0.52* 0.29	0.53* 0.28	1.14*** 0.41	1.82*** 0.42
Limited Government	-0.72*** 0.24	-0.67*** 0.19	-0.40 0.26	0.21 0.26	-0.23 0.26	-0.17 0.27	-0.86*** 0.22	-0.27 0.21
Unemployed	-0.93** 0.40	-0.57 0.39	0.07 0.48	-0.59 0.46	0.15 0.47	0.33 0.48	-0.33 0.38	-0.46 0.44
Worried about Job	0.74* 0.43	-0.56* 0.32					-0.14 0.35	-0.20 0.32
Household Economic Eval.	0.27 0.35	-0.09 0.29	-0.47 0.34	0.62 0.34	-0.27 0.33	0.35 0.34	0.42 0.33	0.34 0.31
Household Income	0.13 0.26	0.18 0.24	0.08 0.30	0.03 0.29	0.45 0.30	0.26 0.30	0.10 0.24	-0.05 0.26
Income Refused	0.17 0.36	0.21 0.37	-0.35 0.38	0.21 0.49	0.26 0.38	0.08 0.49	-0.17 0.35	-0.25 0.36
Homeownership	-0.06 0.22	-0.05 0.18					-0.10 0.20	-0.15 0.19
Age in six categories	-0.36 0.34	0.08 0.28	-0.01 0.25	0.45* 0.26	-0.28 0.24	0.36 0.26	-0.60* 0.32	0.77** 0.31
High threat Occupation	0.27 0.24	0.03 0.21	0.12 0.22	-0.16 0.21	-0.19 0.21	-0.07 0.21	-0.11 0.23	-0.06 0.22
Low threat Occupation	0.38 0.23	-0.18 0.20	-0.04 0.25	-0.25 0.23	-0.28 0.25	-0.16 0.23	-0.10 0.23	0.04 0.21
Out of labor Market	0.04 0.24	0.25 0.22	-0.06 0.24	-0.10 0.26	-0.07 0.24	0.10 0.26	0.01 0.24	-0.21 0.24
Female	-0.27 0.16	-0.10 0.14	0.05 0.15	0.51*** 0.15	-0.19 0.15	0.43*** 0.15	0.15 0.16	0.08 0.14
Education	-0.41 0.36	0.91*** 0.31	-0.05 0.32	1.34*** 0.36	-0.07 0.32	1.13*** 0.37	-0.11 0.34	0.90*** 0.32
Political Awareness	-0.22 0.30	0.09 0.28					-0.41 0.29	-0.34 0.29
τ_1	-1.92 0.61	-0.86 0.46	-2.74 0.47	-0.32 0.44	-2.60 0.47	-0.59 0.44	-2.17 0.55	0.35 0.51
τ_2	-0.24 0.59	0.82 0.46	-2.13 0.42	0.55 0.43	-1.68 0.41	0.18 0.43	-0.74 0.53	2.01 0.52
τ_3			-1.65 0.41	1.12 0.43	-1.24 0.40	0.67 0.42		
τ_4			0.03 0.39	2.76 0.45	0.46 0.39	2.28 0.44		
lnL	-213.11	-287.97	-257.04	-310.90	-269.62	-307.69	-229.83	-271.13
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.563	0.00	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	338	345	264	257	263	257	348	334

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.
† $p < .13$, two-tailed.

Source: 2000-2002 National Election Panel Study (first two columns and last two columns) and
1990 General Social Survey (third through sixth columns).

SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS REFERENCED IN TEXT

SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: WHITE OPPOSITION TO MEANS-TESTED PROGRAMS, CONTROLLING FOR BENEFIT RECEIPT

	Increase Spending on Welfare	Increase Spending on Food Stamps
Ethnocentrism	-0.74*** 0.22	-0.67*** 0.21
Means-tested Assistance	1.25*** 0.23	1.32*** 0.23
Social Security/ Medicare	0.04 0.13	-0.04 0.13
Unemployment/ Worker's Compensation	0.50* 0.28	0.40 0.28
Other Benefits	-0.28 0.30	-0.00 0.29
Partisanship	0.36*** 0.11	0.31*** 0.11
Egalitarianism	1.03*** 0.19	0.84*** 0.19
Limited Government	-0.60*** 0.10	-0.50*** 0.10
Unemployed	0.07 0.12	0.21* 0.11
Worried about Job	0.18 0.13	0.12 0.13
Household Economic Eval.	-0.13 0.16	-0.06 0.15
Household Income	-0.13 0.18	-0.28 0.17
Income Refused	-0.06 0.19	0.01 0.19
Homeownership	-0.15* 0.08	-0.20** 0.08
Age in six categories	0.32** 0.16	0.42*** 0.15
High threat Occupation	-0.03 0.10	0.16* 0.10
Low threat Occupation	0.20* 0.11	0.25** 0.11
Out of labor Market	0.20 0.13	0.24* 0.12
Female	0.04 0.07	0.05 0.07
Education	-0.09 0.16	0.20 0.16
Political Awareness	0.01 0.16	0.40** 0.16
τ_1	0.43 0.23	0.33 0.22
τ_2	1.78 0.23	2.03 0.23
lnL	-1146.57	-1148.49
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00
N	1281	1280

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1992 National Election Study.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: OPINION ON SOCIAL WELFARE AMONG BLACK AND HISPANIC AMERICANS

	Increase Spending on Welfare		Increase Spending on Social Security	
	Black Respondents	Hispanic Respondents	Black Respondents	Hispanic Respondents
Ethnocentrism	-0.09 0.36	0.12 0.49	-0.17 0.49	-0.16 0.54
Group Identification	0.28 0.22	0.23 0.23	0.15 0.28	0.36 0.25
Political Awareness	-0.81*** 0.30	-0.48 0.36	-1.32*** 0.38	0.11 0.38
Partisanship	0.53** 0.22	0.21 0.21	0.27 0.26	0.48** 0.23
Egalitarianism	0.46 0.32	0.83** 0.38	0.16 0.40	0.58 0.40
Limited Government	-0.33* 0.20	-0.50** 0.20	-0.76*** 0.23	-0.58*** 0.21
Age in 6 categories	0.26 0.19	0.20 0.24	0.58** 0.24	0.49* 0.27
Education	-0.22 0.24	-0.05 0.31	0.19 0.31	0.03 0.34
Income: 25-50%	-0.44*** 0.15	0.02 0.20	0.35* 0.20	0.20 0.23
Income: 51-75%	-0.30* 0.16	-0.25 0.21	-0.01 0.20	0.20 0.23
Income: 76-100%	-0.23 0.18	-0.47** 0.22	0.23 0.23	-0.09 0.24
Income: Missing	-0.18 0.19	-0.15 0.28	0.05 0.24	0.48 0.34
Homeownership	-0.11 0.11	-0.23* 0.14	-0.21 0.13	-0.16 0.15
High Threat Occupation	0.03 0.15	0.01 0.18	0.13 0.19	0.13 0.20
Low Threat Occupation	0.05 0.19	0.03 0.21	0.06 0.24	-0.16 0.22
Out of Labor Market	0.14 0.17	-0.03 0.20	0.20 0.21	-0.02 0.22
1992	0.11 0.13	-0.42** 0.17	-0.55*** 0.17	-0.40** 0.19
1996	-0.19 0.16	-0.48** 0.20	-0.38* 0.20	-0.58*** 0.22
2000	0.06 0.14	-0.38** 0.19	-0.38** 0.19	-0.12 0.21
τ_1	-0.25 0.35	-0.47 0.41	-2.28 0.45	-1.32 0.47
τ_2	0.99 0.35	0.73 0.41	-0.89 0.43	0.36 0.46
lnL	-563.09	-358.79	-298.31	-261.60
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	550	362	562	368

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1992, 1996, 2000, & 2004 National Election Studies.

**SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: ETHNOCENTRISM AND OPINION ON SOCIAL WELFARE
AMONG WHITE, BLACK, AND HISPANIC AMERICANS**

	Increase Spending On Welfare			Increase Spending On Social Security		
	<i>Covariate</i>	<i>Covariate X Black</i>	<i>Covariate X Hispanic</i>	<i>Covariate</i>	<i>Covariate X Black</i>	<i>Covariate X Hispanic</i>
Ethnocentrism	-0.59*** 0.13	0.51† 0.38	0.64† 0.49	0.85*** 0.14	-1.01** 0.49	-0.81† 0.53
Education	0.10 0.09	-0.29 0.25	-0.31 0.29	-0.58*** 0.09	0.88*** 0.31	0.45 0.32
Awareness	-0.23 0.12	-0.49 0.33	-0.21 0.38	-0.94*** 0.12	-0.49 0.40	1.21*** 0.40
Partisanship	0.29*** 0.06	0.25 0.22	0.01 0.21	0.24*** 0.07	0.06 0.26	0.25 0.23
Egalitarianism	1.20*** 0.11	-0.81* 0.33	-0.27 0.39	0.59*** 0.11	-0.37 0.40	0.11 0.41
Limited Government	-0.57*** 0.06	0.23 0.20	0.08 0.20	-0.45*** 0.06	-0.41* 0.23	-0.29 0.21
Income 25-50%	-0.23** 0.08	-0.23 0.17	0.08 0.21	-0.15 0.09	0.49** 0.22	0.24 0.24
Income 50-75%	-0.37*** 0.08	-0.01 0.17	-0.03 0.21	-0.04 0.08	-0.10 0.21	0.12 0.24
Income 75-100%	-0.49*** 0.08	0.11 0.18	-0.16 0.22	-0.14* 0.08	0.18 0.23	-0.05 0.24
Income Refused	-0.38*** 0.09	0.11 0.20	0.07 0.28	-0.20* 0.10	0.03 0.24	0.23 0.32
Age	0.22*** 0.06	0.04 0.18	-0.20 0.22	-0.02 0.06	0.57** 0.22	0.44* 0.25
Female	0.02 0.04	0.04 0.11	-0.06 0.13	0.19*** 0.04	-0.26* 0.13	-0.10 0.14
1992	-0.31*** 0.06	0.40** 0.14	-0.13 0.18	-0.52*** 0.06	-0.04 0.18	0.08 0.20
1996	-0.59*** 0.07	0.39* 0.17	0.06 0.21	-0.45*** 0.07	0.09 0.22	-0.19 0.23
2000	-0.15** 0.06	0.25 0.15	-0.19 0.20	-0.03 0.06	-0.29 0.20	-0.06 0.22
Black	0.42 0.31			0.36 0.39		
Hispanic	0.61 0.38			-0.85** 0.42		
τ_1	-0.14 0.12			-2.54 0.14		
τ_2	1.17 0.12			-0.71 0.13		
lnL		-4373.15			-3501.66	
$p > \chi^2$		0.00			0.00	
N		4730			4756	

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

Each model (one for welfare; one for Social Security) is fully-interactive: all covariates are entered on their own and are interacted with *Black* and with *Hispanic*.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

† $p < .10$, one-tailed.

Source: 1992, 1996, 2000, and 2004 National Election Studies.

CHAPTER 11: ETHNOCENTRISM IN BLACK & WHITE
Dependent Variables: Full Question Text and Distributions

Dependent Variables: Racial Policy				
	% of sample	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics
School Integration (v925932)				
<i>Some people say that the government in Washington should see to it that white and black children go to the same schools. Others claim that this is not the government's business. Have you been interested enough in this question to favor one side over the other? [IF YES] Do you think the government in Washington should see to it that white and black children go to the same schools or stay out of this area as it is not the government's business?</i>				
Same schools	45.4	36.6	75.9	79.0
Depends/Other	7.2	8.4	4.2	4.6
Not the government's business	47.4	55.0	19.9	16.4
Fair Employment (v000802)				
<i>Some people feel that if black people are not getting fair treatment in jobs, the government in Washington should see to it that they do. Others feel that this is not the government's business. Have you been interested enough in this question to favor one side over the other? [IF YES] How do you feel? Should the government in Washington see to it that black people get fair treatment in jobs or is this not the government's business? Strongly or not strongly?</i>				
Strongly: Government see to it	46.4%	38.1%	89.2%	57.1%
Not strongly: Government see to it	8.8	9.6	3.0	7.0
Not strongly: Not the government's business	7.9	9.2	1.8	4.9
Strongly: Not the government's business	36.9	43.1	6.0	31.0
Preferential Hiring (v925936)				
<i>Some people say that because of past discrimination against blacks, preference in hiring and promotion should be given to blacks. Others say preferential hiring and promotion of blacks is wrong because it gives blacks advantages they haven't earned. What about your opinion – are you for or against preferential hiring and promotion of blacks? Strongly or not strongly?</i>				
Favor strongly	11.2	4.8	46.7	22.4
Favor not strongly	7.9	6.9	10.1	15.2
Oppose not strongly	17.9	18.7	15.5	15.2
Oppose strongly	62.9	69.6	27.7	47.2
Affirmative Action in Companies that Discriminate (v000674a)				
<i>Some people think that if a company has a history of discriminating against blacks when making hiring decisions, then they should be required to have an affirmative action program that gives blacks preference in hiring. What do you think? Should companies that have discriminated against blacks have to have an affirmative action program [or should companies not have to have an affirmative action program]?</i>				
Strongly: Should have to	39.6	31.6	78.4	47.7
Not strongly: Should have to	14.3	15.7	5.6	16.8
Not strongly: Shouldn't have to	12.8	14.0	4.5	17.5
Strongly: Shouldn't have to	33.3	38.7	11.5	18.0

	% of sample	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics
Quotas for Black Students (v925948)				
<i>Some people say that because of past discrimination, it is sometimes necessary for colleges and universities to reserve openings for black students. Others oppose quotas because they say quotas give blacks advantages they haven't earned. What about your opinion – are you for or against quotas to admit black students? Strongly or not strongly?</i>				
Favor strongly	17.5%	9.1%	64.5%	29.6%
Favor not strongly	14.2	14.0	11.8	18.8
Oppose not strongly	21.7	24.2	8.1	24.0
Oppose strongly	46.6	52.7	15.6	27.6
Federal spending on programs for blacks (v000687)				
<i>Should federal spending on aid to blacks be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?</i>				
Increase	18.3	11.3	54.4	27.6
Keep it the same	56.1	59.2	41.0	51.4
Decrease / Cut out entirely	25.7	29.5	4.6	21.0
Federal government's responsibility to provide special help to black Americans (v043158)				
<i>Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks. (Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1.) Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves. (Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7.) And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?</i>				
1: Government help blacks	9.1	4.5	29.5	6.6
2	6.0	4.8	9.4	8.4
3	8.8	8.7	10.0	11.2
4	24.9	23.3	27.5	29.6
5	16.4	18.1	12.3	15.2
6	17.4	20.9	1.6	16.5
7: Blacks help themselves	17.5	19.8	9.7	12.6

Source: 1992, 2000, 2004 National Election Studies, weighted analysis.

Dependent Variables: Racial Policy beyond Black and White

	% of sample	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics
Job Training for Blacks (dafftblk)				
<i>Now I have some questions about what you think about the fairness of certain policies. Some people feel that because of past disadvantages there are some groups in society that should receive special job training and educational assistance. Others say that it is unfair to give these groups special job training and educational assistance. What about you? Do you strongly favor, favor, neither favor nor oppose, oppose, or strongly oppose special job training and educational assistance for blacks?</i>				
Favor strongly	18.6%	61.7%	25.0%	10.2%
Favor not strongly	42.2	29.9	44.9	48.2
Neither	22.1	5.9	22.8	26.2
Oppose not strongly	12.8	1.5	5.9	13.4
Oppose strongly	4.3	1.0	1.4	2.1
Affirmative Action for blacks (daffhblk)				
<i>Some people feel that because of past disadvantages, there are some groups in society that should be given preference in hiring and promotion. Others say that it is unfair to give these groups special preferences. What about you? Do you strongly favor, favor, neither favor or oppose, oppose, or strongly oppose special preferences in hiring and promotion to blacks?</i>				
Favor strongly	6.4	46.3	9.6	3.4
Favor not strongly	15.9	26.8	31.1	24.3
Neither	30.6	14.8	41.5	39.6
Oppose not strongly	32.0	9.2	13.8	30.3
Oppose strongly	15.1	2.8	4.0	2.4
Job Training for Hispanics (daffthis)				
Favor strongly	16.7	39.5	33.0	10.3
Favor not strongly	41.0	39.2	45.3	48.0
Neither	23.5	14.2	17.5	26.2
Oppose not strongly	14.4	4.9	3.3	13.6
Oppose strongly	4.4	2.2	0.9	1.9
Affirmative Action for Hispanics (daffhhis)				
Favor strongly	4.8	22.9	18.2	3.4
Favor not strongly	15.5	33.6	32.3	24.2
Neither	30.7	25.9	35.0	39.6
Oppose not strongly	34.0	12.8	10.5	30.4
Oppose strongly	15.0	3.9	4.0	2.5
Job Training for Asians (dafftasn)				
Favor strongly	12.5	26.1	18.2	10.6
Favor not strongly	35.8	32.6	44.0	51.0
Neither	29.9	25.4	29.9	25.0
Oppose not strongly	16.8	11.1	6.3	11.6
Oppose strongly	5.0	4.8	1.6	1.8
Affirmative Action for Asians (daffhasn)				
Favor strongly	4.0	17.1	6.9	4.9
Favor not strongly	13.6	24.6	28.8	29.0
Neither	32.5	33.4	46.9	36.7
Oppose not strongly	35.0	18.1	12.8	27.2
Oppose strongly	14.9	6.8	4.6	2.2

Source: Los Angeles component of the 1992-1994 Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality, raw percentages

Dependent Variables: Activation

	% of sample	% Whites	% Blacks
Turnout on Michigan Civil Rights Initiative			
This November's ballot contained a proposition called the Michigan Civil Rights Initiative. This initiative would make it illegal for state and local governments to give preferential treatment to any individual or group on the grounds of race, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin. This would affect hiring and promotion, college admissions, and the selection of government contractors. Did you vote on this ballot measure -- the Michigan Civil Rights Initiative?			
Yes, I cast a vote on this measure	89.8%	92.2%	84.6%
No, I did not cast a vote on this measure	10.2	7.8	15.4
Vote Choice on Michigan Civil Rights Initiative			
If voted: How did you vote on the Michigan Civil Rights Initiative?			
Favor	44.6	61.8	9.2
Oppose	55.4	38.2	90.8
Preference on Michigan Civil Rights Initiative			
If did not vote: Did you generally favor or oppose the Michigan Civil Rights Initiative?			
Favor	49.5	65.9	35.6
Oppose	50.5	34.1	64.4
Hypothetical Civil Rights Initiative (non-Michigan respondents)			
Some states have recently proposed ballot initiatives that would make it illegal for state and local governments to give preferential treatment to any individual or group on the grounds of race, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin. This would affect hiring and promotion, college admissions, and the selection of government contractors. If such a proposition had appeared on the election ballot in your state this November, how do you think you would have voted?			
Favor (make it illegal for state and local governments to give preferential treatment to any individual or group on the grounds of race, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin)	46.9	67.9	26.7
Oppose	32.5	16.1	48.4
Not sure	16.7	12.8	20.3
Probably wouldn't have voted on the initiative	3.9	3.3	4.5
Participation DVs:			
During the recent campaign, did you ever discuss politics or talk about a specific campaign or candidate with your family or friends? (%Yes)	86.3	90.2	81.4
Did you wear a campaign button, put a campaign sticker on your car, or place a sign in your window or in front of your house? (%Yes)	18.3	22.9	11.8
Did you talk to any people and try to show them why they should vote for or against one of the parties or candidates (%Yes)	58.1	62.1	52.5
Did you give money to one of the candidates or parties?	25.2	31.6	17.1

Source: 2006 Cooperative Congressional Election Study, raw frequencies.

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLES PRESENTED IN TEXT

**FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 11.1
ETHNOCENTRISM AND OPINION ON RACE POLICY
AMONG AFRICAN-AMERICANS**

	Fair Employment	Hiring Preferences	Government Special Help
Ethnocentrism	0.66*	1.11**	1.01***
	0.39	0.43	0.36
Political Awareness	0.18	-0.48*	-0.47**
	0.23	0.25	0.21
Education	0.32	-0.64**	0.26
	0.25	0.25	0.22
Female	0.05	-0.01	0.04
	0.11	0.12	0.10
Egalitarianism	1.57***	0.69*	0.84***
	0.33	0.36	0.31
Limited Government	-0.65***	-0.32	-0.24
	0.21	0.24	0.20
Moral Traditionalism	-0.63**	-1.15***	-0.50*
	0.31	0.33	0.27
1992	0.23*	0.11	-0.12
	0.14	0.13	0.13
1996	0.02	0.13	-0.33**
	0.17	0.17	0.16
2000	0.27*		-0.13
	0.16		0.14
τ_1	-0.48	-1.25	-0.43
	0.31	0.33	0.28
τ_2	0.61	-0.75	0.42
	0.30	0.32	0.28
τ_3		-0.45	
		0.32	
lnL	-446.59	-498.96	-605.93
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	588	417	578

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient, with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1992, 1996, 2000, and 2004 National Election Studies.

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 11.2
ETHNOCENTRISM AND BLACK OPINION ON POLICIES TARGETED ON BLACKS, ON HISPANICS, OR ON ASIANS

	Job Training FOR BLACKS	Affirmative Action	Job Training FOR HISPANICS	Affirmative Action	Job Training FOR ASIANS	Affirmative Action
Ethnocentrism	1.12*** 0.25	1.27*** 0.23	-0.75*** 0.22	-0.37* 0.21	-1.21*** 0.21	-0.68*** 0.21
Female	0.09 0.08	0.10 0.07	-0.09 0.07	-0.03 0.07	-0.11 0.07	-0.05 0.07
Education	-0.15 0.21	-0.57*** 0.19	-0.05 0.19	-0.38** 0.18	-0.05 0.18	-0.37** 0.18
Partisanship	0.30** 0.14	0.20 0.13	0.22* 0.13	0.15 0.12	0.19 0.12	0.10 0.12
Liberal	0.09 0.09	0.02 0.08	-0.11 0.08	-0.10 0.08	-0.08 0.08	-0.08 0.08
Conservative	0.11 0.10	0.06 0.09	-0.08 0.09	-0.05 0.09	0.02 0.09	0.12 0.08
Household Income	-0.38* 0.21	-0.27 0.20	0.01 0.20	-0.19 0.19	-0.04 0.19	-0.01 0.19
Income Refused	-0.13 0.13	0.01 0.12	0.13 0.12	0.03 0.12	0.24** 0.12	0.13 0.12
Out of Labor Market	0.04 0.09	0.03 0.09	-0.05 0.08	-0.00 0.08	0.00 0.08	-0.01 0.08
Unemployed	0.05 0.11	0.22** 0.10	-0.14 0.10	-0.14 0.10	-0.18* 0.10	-0.15 0.10
τ_1	-2.05 0.21	-1.91 0.18	-2.10 0.18	-1.99 0.17	-1.76 0.17	-1.70 0.17
τ_2	-1.70 0.19	-1.17 0.17	-1.53 0.17	-1.20 0.16	-1.06 0.17	-0.86 0.16
τ_3	-1.11 0.19	-0.58 0.17	-0.82 0.17	-0.39 0.16	-0.24 0.16	0.05 0.16
τ_4	-0.03 0.18	0.17 0.17	0.23 0.17	0.53 0.16	0.62 0.16	0.81 0.16
lnL	-942.49	-1307.25	-1274.14	-1472.30	-1479.66	-1528.52
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.016	0.075	0.00
N	1030	1029	1030	1029	1030	1029

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient, with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: Los Angeles component of the 1992-1994 Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality.

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 11.3
ETHNOCENTRISM AND BLACK SUPPORT FOR RACE POLICY
CONTROLLING ON SENSE OF COMMON FATE

	Affirmative Action	School Busing	Government Assistance	Proportional Representation
Ethnocentrism	0.87*** 0.23	0.46** 0.22	0.26 0.22	0.40 0.26
Linked Fate	0.12 0.20	-0.26 0.20	1.17*** 0.20	0.75*** 0.24
Awareness	-0.02 0.16	-0.31* 0.16	0.04 0.16	-0.41** 0.19
Education	0.48** 0.19	-0.13 0.19	0.05 0.18	0.57** 0.23
Female	-0.06 0.09	-0.04 0.09	0.18** 0.09	0.07 0.11
τ_1	-0.49 0.17	-1.11 0.17	-0.45 0.17	0.37 0.20
τ_2	0.25 0.17	-0.47 0.17	-0.19 0.16	
τ_3	1.04 0.17	0.30 0.17	0.28 0.16	
τ_4			1.19 0.17	
τ_5			1.46 0.17	
τ_6			1.58 0.17	
lnL	-850.90	-859.41	-1065.27	-399.96
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.022	0.00	0.00
N	629	628	641	629

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient, with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1996 National Black Election Studies.

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 11.6
ETHNOCENTRISM AND WHITE OPPOSITION TO RACE POLICY

	School Integration (1992)	Fair Employment (2000)	Hiring Preferences (1992)	Quotas in College Admissions (1992)	Affirmative Action for Offending Companies (2000)	Programs for Blacks (2000)	Government Assistance (2004)
Ethnocentrism	-0.59* 0.30	-0.96*** 0.30	-0.64*** 0.22	-1.28*** 0.21	-0.98*** 0.26	-0.90*** 0.25	-1.33*** 0.31
Partisanship	0.18 0.15	0.07 0.13	0.09 0.11	0.14 0.10	-0.08 0.13	0.18 0.12	0.63*** 0.13
Female	0.08 0.10	-0.19*** 0.09	0.10 0.14	-0.20 0.14	0.08 0.08	-0.04 0.08	0.27 0.17
Education	0.21 0.20	0.26 0.18	0.01 0.07	0.08 0.07	-0.10 0.16	-0.36** 0.16	0.02 0.08
Political Awareness	-0.53** 0.23	0.37** 0.16	-0.45*** 0.15	-0.45*** 0.14	0.05 0.15	0.46*** 0.15	0.12 0.17
Egalitarianism	1.78*** 0.30	1.38*** 0.23	-0.18* 0.10	-0.19** 0.10	1.77*** 0.22	1.57*** 0.22	-0.39*** 0.11
Limited Government	-0.60*** 0.15	-0.44*** 0.12	1.08*** 0.19	1.46*** 0.18	-0.38*** 0.11	-0.28** 0.11	1.43*** 0.24
intercept / τ_1	-0.79 0.51	-1.35 0.20	0.84 0.17	0.44 0.17	0.49 0.19	0.15 0.19	-0.03 0.20
τ_2			1.55 0.18	1.16 0.17	0.86 0.19	2.13 0.20	0.65 0.20
τ_3			2.06 0.17	1.82 0.17	1.30 0.20		1.17 0.22
τ_4							2.27 0.22
τ_5							2.80 0.23
τ_6							3.25 0.24
lnL	-1378.927	-1070.214	-1256.31	-1529.65	-1160.63	-855.91	-1088.15
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	1383	1095	1390	1359	965	1033	679

First two columns: Table entry is the bivariate-probit regression coefficient, controlling for nonresponse, with standard error below.

Remaining columns: Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient, with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1992, 2000, and 2004 National Election Studies.

TABLE 11.4, CONTINUED
Assignment equations

	Have an Opinion on School Integration	Have an Opinion on Fair Employment
Age	-0.01 0.20	0.31 0.21
Female	-0.11 0.08	-0.17** 0.09
Homeownership	-0.04 0.09	-0.08 0.09
Education	0.03 0.18	0.12 0.18
Income: <10K	0.02 0.15	-0.29* 0.18
Income: 10K-15K	0.17 0.15	0.12 0.19
Income: 15K-25K	-0.17 0.13	-0.22 0.15
Income: 35K-50K	-0.16 0.12	0.19 0.14
Income: 50K-75K	-0.18 0.13	0.01 0.13
Income: >75K	0.04 0.15	0.23 0.13
Income Refused	-0.39** 0.17	-0.13 0.14
North Central Region	-0.06 0.11	-0.25** 0.10
South	-0.02 0.11	-0.10 0.11
West	0.05 0.12	-0.15 0.12
No religious affiliation	-0.12 0.10	0.12 0.11
Catholic	0.06 0.09	-0.04 0.09
Jewish	0.10 0.25	0.20 0.23
Other Religious affiliation	-0.16 0.31	0.48 0.42
Occupation: Professional	0.05 0.14	-0.15 0.16
Occupation: Managerial	-0.01 0.16	-0.18 0.18
Occupation: White Collar	0.14 0.14	-0.24 0.17
Occupation: Self-Employed	0.06 0.16	0.35 0.45
Occupation: Skilled Worker	0.14 0.17	-0.18 0.20
Occupation: Homemaker	0.09 0.16	-0.30 0.19
Occupation: Other	0.04 0.13	-0.19 0.15
Political awareness	0.39** 0.17	-----

Discuss politics	0.36*** 0.13	0.36*** 0.09
Ideological innocence	-0.46*** 0.18	-0.37** 0.17
Ln(children)	-0.09 0.09	0.13 0.08
Refusal conversion	0.38 0.27	-----
Persuasion letter sent	0.05 0.14	-----
Ln(Calls)	-0.03 0.07	-0.01 0.05
Interview: Black	-0.64* 0.34	-0.33** 0.15
Intercept	0.12 0.22	0.31 0.25
LR test ($q=0$)	0.54	0.00
Uncensored N (censored N)	829 (554)	668 (427)

Table entry is the bivariate-probit regression coefficient for the assignment model,
with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1992 and 2000 National Election Studies.

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 11.5
ETHNOCENTRISM AND WHITE OPINION ON POLICY TOWARDS BLACKS, HISPANICS, AND ASIANS

	Job Training FOR BLACKS	Affirmative Action	Job Training FOR HISPANICS	Affirmative Action	Job Training FOR ASIANS	Affirmative Action
Ethnocentrism	-0.50* 0.29	-1.69*** 0.29	-0.60** 0.29	-1.58*** 0.29	-0.39 0.29	-1.58*** 0.29
Female	0.16** 0.08	-0.01 0.08	0.11 0.08	-0.08 0.08	0.17** 0.08	0.00 0.08
Education	-0.03 0.18	-0.19 0.17	0.03 0.17	-0.11 0.17	-0.02 0.17	-0.07 0.17
Partisanship	0.43*** 0.11	0.50*** 0.11	0.37*** 0.10	0.46*** 0.11	0.27*** 0.10	0.37*** 0.10
Liberal	0.08 0.10	0.12 0.10	0.04 0.10	0.11 0.10	-0.03 0.10	0.07 0.10
Conservative	-0.18* 0.10	-0.10 0.10	-0.21** 0.10	-0.16 0.10	-0.26*** 0.10	-0.17* 0.10
Household Income	-0.60*** 0.17	-0.71*** 0.17	-0.59*** 0.17	-0.56*** 0.17	-0.56*** 0.16	-0.68*** 0.17
Income Refused	-0.61*** 0.15	-0.33** 0.15	-0.56*** 0.15	-0.21 0.15	-0.45*** 0.15	-0.24 0.15
Out of Labor Market	0.03 0.09	0.29*** 0.09	0.02 0.09	0.28*** 0.09	-0.03 0.09	0.23** 0.09
Unemployed	0.15 0.14	0.21 0.14	0.13 0.14	0.15 0.14	0.07 0.14	0.20 0.14
τ_1	-1.92 0.17	-1.35 0.16	-1.92 0.17	-1.31 0.16	-1.91 0.17	-1.37 0.16
τ_2	-1.11 0.16	-0.32 0.15	-1.08 0.16	-0.23 0.15	-1.04 0.16	-0.26 0.15
τ_3	-0.37 0.16	0.62 0.16	-0.33 0.16	0.72 0.16	-0.13 0.15	0.78 0.16
τ_4	0.87 0.16	1.44 0.16	0.89 0.16	1.61 0.17	1.02 0.16	1.64 0.17
lnL	-1019.12	-1056.18	-1035.82	-1041.68	-1054.01	-1017.88
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	757	756	757	756	757	756

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient, with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: Los Angeles component of the 1992-1994 Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality.

FULL RESULTS FOR TABLE 11.6
THE IMPACT OF ETHNOCENTRISM ON WHITE OPPOSITION TO RACE POLICY
CONTROLLING FOR RACIAL PREJUDICE

	School Integration (1992)	Fair Employment (2000)	Hiring Preferences (1992)	Quotas in College Admissions (1992)	Affirmative Action for Offending Companies (2000)	Programs for Blacks (2000)	Government Assistance (2004)
Ethnocentrism	-0.20 0.31	-0.34 0.32	0.03 0.23	-0.62*** 0.22	-0.49* 0.27	-0.29 0.27	-0.71** 0.32
Racial Prejudice	-1.03*** 0.26	-1.67*** 0.25	-2.32*** 0.19	-2.72*** 0.18	-1.38*** 0.20	-1.98*** 0.21	-2.45*** 0.23
Partisanship	0.14 0.15	0.01 0.14	-0.00 0.11	0.05 0.11	-0.16 0.13	0.11 0.13	0.47*** 0.13
Female	0.08 0.10	-0.23** 0.09	-0.00 0.07	0.08 0.07	0.08 0.08	-0.08 0.08	-0.05 0.08
Education	0.12 0.20	0.08 0.20	-0.19 0.15	-0.57*** 0.14	-0.29* 0.16	-0.63*** 0.16	-0.05 0.18
Political Awareness	-0.63*** 0.22	0.21 0.17	-0.68*** 0.16	-0.75*** 0.15	-0.12 0.15	0.25 0.15	-0.14 0.17
Egalitarianism	1.26*** 0.31	0.71*** 0.25	-0.01 0.22	0.29 0.20	1.19*** 0.24	0.79*** 0.23	0.36 0.26
Limited Government	-0.60*** 0.15	-0.39*** 0.13	-0.19* 0.11	-0.17* 0.10	-0.34*** 0.11	-0.21* 0.11	-0.27** 0.12
intercept / τ_1	0.29 0.48	0.24 0.32	-1.46 0.26	-2.26 0.25	-0.87 0.28	-1.78 0.28	-2.64 0.32
τ_2			-0.68 0.26	-1.45 0.24	-0.49 0.28	0.33 0.28	-1.90 0.31
τ_3			-0.13 0.26	-0.71 0.25	-0.03 0.28		-1.33 0.31
τ_4							-0.11 0.31
τ_5							0.49 0.31
τ_6							0.98 0.32
lnL	-1369.294	-1035.632	-1179.45	-1410.51	-1128.72	-805.30	-1028.87
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	1383	1092	1390	1359	959	1028	678

First two columns: Table entry is the bivariate-probit regression coefficient, controlling for nonresponse, with standard error below.

Remaining columns: Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient, with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1992, 2000, and 2004 National Election Studies.

TABLE 11.8, CONTINUED
Assignment equations

	Have an Opinion on School Integration	Have an Opinion on Fair Employment
Age	-0.00 0.20	0.23 0.21
Female	-0.11 0.08	-0.18** 0.09
Homeownership	-0.04 0.08	-0.06 0.09
Education	0.04 0.18	0.12 0.17
Income: <10K	0.02 0.15	-0.25 0.18
Income: 10K-15K	0.17 0.15	0.12 0.20
Income: 15K-25K	-0.17 0.13	-0.27* 0.15
Income: 35K-50K	-0.16 0.12	0.17 0.14
Income: 50K-75K	-0.18 0.13	0.00 0.13
Income: >75K	0.03 0.15	0.23* 0.14
Income Refused	-0.39** 0.17	-0.12 0.15
North Central Region	-0.07 0.10	-0.21** 0.11
South	-0.02 0.11	-0.12 0.11
West	0.05 0.12	-0.09 0.12
No religious affiliation	-0.13 0.10	0.13 0.11
Catholic	0.06 0.09	-0.06 0.09
Jewish	0.11 0.25	0.13 0.25
Other Religious affiliation	-0.16 0.30	0.41 0.42
Occupation: Professional	0.04 0.14	-0.16 0.16
Occupation: Managerial	-0.01 0.16	-0.21 0.18
Occupation: White Collar	0.14 0.14	-0.24 0.17
Occupation: Self-Employed	0.06 0.16	0.33 0.45
Occupation: Skilled Worker	0.14 0.17	-0.23 0.20
Occupation: Homemaker	0.09 0.15	-0.30 0.19
Occupation: Other	0.03 0.13	-0.19 0.15
Political awareness	0.38** 0.17	-----

Discuss politics	0.35*** 0.13	0.35*** 0.09
Ideological innocence	-0.46*** 0.17	-0.32* 0.17
Ln(children)	-0.09 0.09	0.10 0.08
Refusal conversion	0.38 0.26	-----
Persuasion letter sent	0.04 0.14	-----
Ln(Calls)	-0.03 0.07	-0.03 0.05
Interview: Black	-0.64* 0.34	-0.31* 0.16
Intercept	0.12 0.22	0.37 0.25
LR test ($q=0$)	0.431	0.006
Uncensored N (censored N)	829 (554)	665 (427)

Table entry is the bivariate-probit regression coefficient for the assignment model, with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1992 and 2000 National Election Studies.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS REFERENCED IN TEXT
SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: INGROUP PRIDE, OUTGROUP HOSTILITY, AND OPINION ON RACE POLICY AMONG AFRICAN-AMERICANS

	Fair Employment	Hiring Preferences	Government Special Help
Ingroup Pride	0.57 0.40	0.92** 0.45	0.95** 0.37
Outgroup Hostility	0.97** 0.48	1.58*** 0.53	1.23*** 0.44
Political Awareness	0.20 0.23	-0.46* 0.25	-0.45** 0.22
Education	0.31 0.25	-0.64** 0.25	0.26 0.22
Female	0.06 0.11	-0.01 0.12	0.05 0.10
Egalitarianism	1.57*** 0.33	0.70* 0.36	0.84*** 0.31
Limited Government	-0.67*** 0.21	-0.34 0.24	-0.25 0.20
Moral Traditionalism	-0.64** 0.31	-1.13*** 0.33	-0.49* 0.27
1992	0.23 0.14	0.10 0.13	-0.12 0.13
1996	0.02 0.17	0.13 0.17	-0.33** 0.16
2000	0.28* 0.16		-0.12 0.14
τ_1	0.25 0.50	-0.05 0.55	0.63 0.46
τ_2	1.34 0.50	0.45 0.55	1.48 0.46
τ_3		0.75 0.55	
lnL	-445.95	-497.69	-605.57
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	588	417	578

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient, with standard error below.
Dependent variables are coded such that higher values indicate more racially conservative responses.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1992, 1996, 2000, and 2004 National Election Studies.

**SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: INGROUP PRIDE, OUTGROUP HOSTILITY, AND OPINION ON POLICY TOWARDS
BLACKS, HISPANICS, AND ASIANS AMONG BLACK AMERICANS**

	Job Training FOR BLACKS	Affirmative Action	Job Training FOR HISPANICS	Affirmative Action	Job Training FOR ASIANS	Affirmative Action
Ingroup Pride	1.09*** 0.28	0.88*** 0.26	-0.22 0.25	-0.35 0.24	-0.48** 0.24	-0.34 0.24
Outgroup Hostility	1.16*** 0.33	1.83*** 0.31	-1.40*** 0.29	-0.32 0.28	-2.14*** 0.28	-1.06*** 0.28
Female	0.09 0.08	0.10 0.07	-0.09 0.07	-0.03 0.07	-0.11 0.07	-0.05 0.07
Education	-0.14 0.21	-0.52*** 0.19	-0.10 0.19	-0.38** 0.18	-0.12 0.18	-0.41** 0.18
Partisanship	0.29** 0.14	0.17 0.13	0.25* 0.13	0.15 0.12	0.25** 0.13	0.12 0.12
Liberal	0.09 0.09	0.02 0.08	-0.12 0.08	-0.10 0.08	-0.08 0.08	-0.08 0.08
Conservative	0.11 0.10	0.06 0.09	-0.08 0.09	-0.05 0.09	0.02 0.09	0.13 0.08
Household Income	-0.39* 0.21	-0.27 0.20	0.01 0.20	-0.19 0.19	-0.03 0.19	-0.00 0.19
Income Refused	-0.13 0.13	-0.01 0.12	0.14 0.12	0.03 0.12	0.26** 0.12	0.14 0.12
Out of Labor Market	0.04 0.09	0.01 0.09	-0.04 0.08	-0.00 0.08	0.02 0.08	-0.00 0.08
Unemployed	0.05 0.11	0.22** 0.10	-0.14 0.10	-0.14 0.10	-0.19* 0.10	-0.15 0.10
τ_1	-0.92 0.33	-0.55 0.30	-2.94 0.30	-2.32 0.28	-3.12 0.29	-2.40 0.28
τ_2	-0.57 0.33	0.20 0.30	-2.36 0.29	-1.53 0.27	-2.40 0.28	-1.57 0.27
τ_3	0.02 0.32	0.78 0.30	-1.65 0.28	-0.73 0.27	-1.57 0.28	-0.66 0.27
τ_4	1.10 0.32	1.54 0.30	-0.59 0.28	0.20 0.27	-0.70 0.28	0.11 0.27
lnL	-942.34	-1303.27	-1268.05	-1472.50	-1467.22	-1526.59
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.121	0.00	0.001
N	1030	1029	1030	1029	1030	1029

Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient, with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: Los Angeles component of the 1992-1994 Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: THE EFFECT OF ETHNOCENTRISM AMONG WHITE AMERICANS, MEASURED WITH FEELING THERMOMETER

	School Integration (1992)	Fair Employment (2000)	Hiring Preferences (1992)	Quotas in College Admissions (1992)	Affirmative Action for Offending Companies (2000)	Programs for Blacks (2000)	Government Assistance (2004)
Ethnocentrism (FT)	-0.50* 0.25	-0.95*** 0.29	-0.63*** 0.20	-1.13*** 0.19	-0.83*** 0.24	-1.08*** 0.23	-1.26*** 0.25
Partisanship	0.18 0.14	0.03 0.14	0.12 0.11	0.19* 0.10	-0.02 0.13	0.17 0.13	0.65*** 0.13
Female	0.09 0.09	-0.16 0.10	0.02 0.07	0.13** 0.06	0.14* 0.08	-0.05 0.08	-0.02 0.08
Education	0.20 0.18	0.30 0.19	0.18 0.14	-0.17 0.13	0.02 0.16	-0.41** 0.16	0.42** 0.17
Political Awareness	-0.48** 0.20	0.45** 0.18	-0.48*** 0.15	-0.36*** 0.14	-0.02 0.16	0.42*** 0.15	0.10 0.17
Egalitarianism	1.65*** 0.33	1.58*** 0.30	1.00*** 0.19	1.48*** 0.18	1.64*** 0.22	1.65*** 0.22	1.44*** 0.24
Limited Government	-0.53*** 0.14	-0.49*** 0.14	-0.21** 0.10	-0.18** 0.09	-0.41*** 0.12	-0.29** 0.12	-0.37*** 0.11
intercept / τ_1	-0.65 0.49	-1.50*** 0.22	0.85 0.16	0.62 0.16	0.56 0.20	0.12 0.21	0.08 0.20
τ_2			1.55 0.17	1.34 0.16	0.90 0.20	2.14 0.20	0.75 0.20
τ_3			2.07 0.17	2.01 0.16	1.32 0.20		1.27 0.20
τ_4							2.36 0.21
τ_5							2.91 0.22
τ_6							3.36 0.23
lnL	-1378.927	-1026.362	-1306.64	-1608.66	-1089.28	-795.38	-1083.25
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	1383	1060	1464	1428	919	977	677

First two columns: Table entry is the bivariate-probit regression coefficient, controlling for nonresponse, with standard error below.

Remaining columns: Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient, with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1992, 2000, and 2004 National Election Studies.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: THE EFFECT OF ETHNOCENTRISM AMONG WHITE AMERICANS, MEASURED WITH FEELING THERMOMETER

Assignment equations		
	Have an Opinion on School Integration	Have an Opinion on Fair Employment
Age	0.15	0.41*
	0.19	0.23
Female	-0.06	-0.16*
	0.08	0.09
Homeownership	-0.02	-0.13
	0.08	0.09
Education	0.00	0.18
	0.17	0.18
Income: <10K	0.02	-0.28
	0.14	0.19
Income: 10K-15K	0.16	-0.11
	0.14	0.21
Income: 15K-25K	-0.17	-0.21
	0.12	0.16
Income: 35K-50K	-0.15	0.17
	0.12	0.15
Income: 50K-75K	-0.13	-0.01
	0.12	0.14
Income: >75K	0.03	0.26*
	0.15	0.14
Income Refused	-0.29*	-0.14
	0.16	0.15
North Central Region	-0.06	-0.21*
	0.10	0.11
South	0.00	-0.07
	0.11	0.11
West	0.05	-0.11
	0.11	0.12
No religious affiliation	-0.11	0.14
	0.10	0.11
Catholic	0.06	-0.00
	0.09	0.09
Jewish	0.05	0.11
	0.25	0.25
Other Religious affiliation	-0.22	0.55
	0.30	0.42
Occupation: Professional	0.08	-0.06
	0.14	0.17
Occupation: Managerial	0.02	-0.09
	0.15	0.19
Occupation: White Collar	0.13	-0.16
	0.14	0.18
Occupation: Self-Employed	0.12	0.35
	0.15	0.47
Occupation: Skilled Worker	0.17	-0.13
	0.16	0.21
Occupation: Homemaker	0.10	-0.15
	0.15	0.19
Occupation: Other	0.05	-0.17
	0.12	0.16
Political awareness	0.35**	-----

	0.16	
Discuss politics	0.33**	0.34***
	0.13	0.10
Ideological innocence	-0.53***	-0.33*
	0.17	0.19
Ln(children)	-0.10	0.11
	0.08	0.08
Refusal conversion	0.33	-----
	0.25	
Persuasion letter sent	0.08	-----
	0.13	
Ln(Calls)	0.01	-0.01
	0.07	0.05
Interviewer: Black	-0.48	-0.35**
	0.32	0.16
Intercept	0.02	0.15
	0.22	0.26
LR test ($q=0$)	0.257	0.007
Uncensored N (censored N)	886 (554)	633 (427)

Table entry is the bivariate-probit regression coefficient for the assignment model,
with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1992 and 2000 National Election Studies.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: THE EFFECT OF ETHNOCENTRISM AMONG WHITE AMERICANS, CONTROLLING FOR SELF-INTEREST

Controlling for Presence of Children	School Integration 1992	College Quotas 1992
Ethnocentrism	-0.67** 0.31	-1.24*** 0.22
Children <6 years	0.15 0.16	0.16 0.11
Children 6-18 years	0.09 0.10	0.08 0.07
Partisanship	0.31 0.20	-0.22 0.14
Female	-0.58** 0.24	-0.49*** 0.15
Education	1.85*** 0.27	1.47*** 0.19
Political Awareness	-0.62*** 0.15	-0.20** 0.10
Egalitarianism	-0.13 0.13	0.01 0.09
Limited Government	-0.39*** 0.12	-0.09 0.08
intercept / τ_1	-0.87* 0.45	0.42 0.17
τ_2		1.14 0.17
τ_3		1.77 0.18
lnL	-1371.89	-1437.34
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00
N	1383	1278

First column: Table entry is the bivariate-probit regression coefficient, controlling for nonresponse, with standard error below.

Second column: Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient, with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1992 National Election Studies.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: THE EFFECT OF ETHNOCENTRISM AMONG WHITE AMERICANS, CONTROLLING FOR SELF-INTEREST

Assignment equations, controlling for self-interest	
	Have an Opinion on School Integration
Age	-0.05 0.20
Female	-0.11 0.08
Homeownership	-0.04 0.09
Education	0.01 0.18
Income: <10K	0.02 0.15
Income: 10K-15K	0.16 0.15
Income: 15K-25K	-0.18 0.13
Income: 35K-50K	-0.15 0.12
Income: 50K-75K	-0.19 0.13
Income: >75K	0.05 0.15
Income Refused	-0.40** 0.17
North Central Region	-0.04 0.10
South	-0.00 0.11
West	0.05 0.12
No religious affiliation	-0.13 0.10
Catholic	0.06 0.09
Jewish	0.10 0.25
Other Religious affiliation	-0.13 0.31
Occupation: Professional	0.05 0.14
Occupation: Managerial	-0.01 0.16
Occupation: White Collar	0.15 0.14
Occupation: Self-Employed	0.07 0.16
Occupation: Skilled Worker	0.13 0.17
Occupation: Homemaker	0.10 0.16
Occupation: Other	0.05 0.13
Political awareness	0.39**

	0.17
Discuss politics	0.37***
	0.12
Ideological innocence	-0.45**
	0.18
Ln(children)	-0.06
	0.08
Refusal conversion	0.38
	0.27
Persuasion letter sent	0.06
	0.14
Ln(Calls)	-0.03
	0.07
Interviewer: Black	-0.69**
	0.34
Intercept	0.12
	0.22
LR test ($q=0$)	0.874
Uncensored N (censored N)	829 (554)

Table entry is the bivariate-probit regression coefficient for the assignment model, with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1992 National Election Studies.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: THE EFFECT OF ETHNOCENTRISM AMONG WHITE AMERICANS, CONTROLLING FOR SELF-INTEREST

Controlling for economic self-interest	Fair Employment (2000)	Hiring Preferences (1992)	Affirmative Action for Offending Companies (2000)	Programs for Blacks (2000)	Government Assistance (2004)
Ethnocentrism	-0.93*** 0.27	-0.47** 0.23	-0.99*** 0.27	-0.97*** 0.26	-1.30*** 0.32
Partisanship	0.09 0.14	0.01 0.12	-0.09 0.13	0.23* 0.13	0.55*** 0.13
Female	-0.23** 0.10	-0.04 0.08	0.07 0.09	-0.04 0.09	-0.07 0.09
Education	0.14 0.20	-0.04 0.18	-0.20 0.18	-0.16 0.18	0.24 0.20
Political Awareness	0.32** 0.15	-0.43*** 0.16	0.02 0.15	0.46*** 0.15	0.08 0.18
Egalitarianism	1.39*** 0.21	1.00*** 0.20	1.81*** 0.22	1.60*** 0.22	1.42*** 0.25
Limited Government	-0.37*** 0.11	-0.19* 0.11	-0.37*** 0.11	-0.29** 0.11	-0.39*** 0.12
Household economic Evaluations	-0.24 0.15	0.27 0.17	0.18 0.18	-0.24 0.18	-0.17 0.16
Unemployed	-0.20 0.22	0.00 0.12	0.36 0.22	0.03 0.22	0.09 0.26
Anxiety about Job Security	-0.13 0.17	0.05 0.14	0.11 0.18	0.11 0.17	-0.04 0.16
Homeownership	-0.03 0.10	-0.17** 0.08	0.14 0.09	-0.04 0.09	-0.03 0.11
Income: <10K (<11K in 2004)	0.01 0.23	0.47*** 0.14	-0.15 0.22	-0.27 0.21	0.06 0.20
Income: 10K-15K (11K-22K in 2004)	-0.41 0.27	0.31** 0.14	-0.01 0.22	-0.07 0.21	0.24 0.17
Income: 15K-25K (22K-40K in 2004)	-0.33 0.20	0.16 0.13	0.12 0.17	-0.16 0.17	0.10 0.16
Income: 35K-50K	-0.23 0.17	0.12 0.12	-0.20 0.15	-0.35** 0.15	--- ---
Income: 50K-75K (50K-80K in 2004)	-0.04 0.15	0.09 0.13	0.01 0.14	-0.33** 0.14	-0.12 0.14
Income: >75K (80K-105K in 2004)	0.09 0.15	-0.01 0.16	0.04 0.14	-0.24* 0.14	-0.29* 0.17
Income: >105K	---	---	---	---	-0.06 0.16
Income Refused	-0.24 0.17	-0.09 0.20	-0.12 0.15	-0.15 0.15	-0.06 0.16
Occupation: Professional	0.09 0.19	0.38*** 0.14	0.13 0.16	-0.06 0.16	0.33** 0.17
Occupation: Managerial	-0.13 0.23	-0.14 0.17	-0.09 0.19	0.04 0.19	0.25 0.24
Occupation: White Collar	0.31 0.21	-0.18 0.15	-0.01 0.18	-0.17 0.18	0.28* 0.17
Occupation: Self-Employed	-0.65 0.56	0.06 0.16	-0.12 0.44	-0.08 0.48	-0.12 0.20
Occupation: Skilled Worker	0.14 0.20	-0.31* 0.18	0.02 0.21	0.19 0.21	-0.20 0.23
Occupation: Homemaker	0.06	-0.01	0.08	0.15	-0.05

	0.25	0.16	0.20	0.19	0.21
Occupation: Other	-0.01	-0.07	-0.07	0.19	0.09
	0.18	0.13	0.15	0.15	0.16
intercept / τ_1	-1.08	0.86	0.62	0.02	0.19
	0.30	0.25	0.28	0.28	0.29
τ_2		1.59	1.00	1.99	0.51
		0.25	0.28	0.28	0.29
τ_3		2.12	1.45		1.04
		0.25	0.29		0.29
τ_4					2.16
					0.30
τ_5					2.70
					0.31
τ_6					3.16
					0.32
lnL	-1054.88	-1145.81	-1146.96	-838.79	-1063.90
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	1092	1285	960	1027	672

First column: Table entry is the bivariate-probit regression coefficient, controlling for nonresponse, with standard error below.

Remaining columns: Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient, with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1992, 2000, and 2004 National Election Studies.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: THE EFFECT OF ETHNOCENTRISM AMONG WHITE AMERICANS, CONTROLLING FOR SELF-INTEREST

Assignment Equation	
	Have an Opinion on Fair Employment
Age	0.29 0.21
Female	-0.20** 0.09
Homeownership	-0.07 0.10
Education	0.07 0.18
Income: <10K	-0.25 0.21
Income: 10K-15K	-0.02 0.23
Income: 15K-25K	-0.34* 0.17
Income: 35K-50K	0.11 0.16
Income: 50K-75K	-0.01 0.14
Income: >75K	0.25* 0.15
Income Refused	-0.19 0.16
North Central Region	-0.28*** 0.10
South	-0.13 0.11
West	-0.18 0.11
No religious affiliation	0.09 0.10
Catholic	-0.03 0.08
Jewish	0.18 0.23
Other Religious affiliation	0.40 0.43
Occupation: Professional	-0.07 0.18
Occupation: Managerial	-0.24 0.21
Occupation: White Collar	-0.08 0.19
Occupation: Self-Employed	0.20 0.50
Occupation: Skilled Worker	-0.14 0.20
Occupation: Homemaker	-0.27 0.21
Occupation: Other	-0.18 0.17
Discuss politics	0.36***

	0.09
Ideological innocence	-0.37***
	0.14
Ln(children)	0.12
	0.08
Ln(Calls)	-0.01
	0.05
Interviewer: Black	-0.39***
	0.13
Intercept	0.38
	0.26
LR test ($q=0$)	0.00
Uncensored N (censored N)	665 (427)

Table entry is the bivariate-probit regression coefficient for the assignment model,
with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 2000 National Election Study.

**SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: INGROUP PRIDE, OUTGROUP HOSTILITY, AND OPPOSITION TO RACE POLICY
AMONG WHITE AMERICANS**

	School Integration (1992)	Fair Employment (2000)	Hiring Preferences (1992)	Quotas in College Admissions (1992)	Affirmative Action for Offending Companies (2000)	Programs for Blacks (2000)	Government Assistance (2004)
Ingroup Pride	-0.69** 0.34	-0.88*** 0.32	-0.82*** 0.25	-1.23*** 0.24	-1.03*** 0.28	-0.73*** 0.27	-1.12*** 0.33
Outgroup Hostility	-0.41 0.41	-1.12*** 0.37	-0.29 0.31	-1.38*** 0.29	-0.90*** 0.33	-1.27*** 0.32	-1.77*** 0.39
Partisanship	0.18 0.15	0.08 0.13	0.09 0.11	0.14 0.10	-0.08 0.13	0.19 0.12	0.65*** 0.13
Female	0.08 0.10	-0.19** 0.09	0.09 0.14	-0.20 0.14	0.08 0.08	-0.04 0.08	0.27 0.17
Education	0.20 0.20	0.25 0.18	0.02 0.07	0.08 0.07	-0.10 0.16	-0.38*** 0.16	0.00 0.08
Political Awareness	-0.51** 0.23	0.37** 0.16	-0.42*** 0.15	-0.46*** 0.14	0.05 0.15	0.46*** 0.15	0.09 0.17
Egalitarianism	1.79*** 0.30	1.39*** 0.23	1.10*** 0.19	1.45*** 0.18	1.77*** 0.22	1.56*** 0.22	1.41*** 0.24
Limited Government	-0.60*** 0.15	-0.43*** 0.12	-0.18* 0.10	-0.19** 0.10	-0.38*** 0.11	-0.28** 0.11	-0.38*** 0.12
intercept / τ_1	-0.24 0.60	-0.38 0.41	0.27 0.34	-0.86 0.33	-0.48 0.37	-0.81 0.36	-1.43 0.43
τ_2			0.98 0.34	-0.14 0.32	-0.11 0.37	1.18 0.37	-0.75 0.43
τ_3			1.50 0.35	0.52 0.33	0.33 0.37		-0.23 0.43
τ_4							0.87 0.43
τ_5							1.41 0.43
τ_6							1.86 0.44
lnL	-1378.71	-1069.92	-1255.03	-1529.54	-1160.54	-854.12	-1086.41
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	1383	1095	1390	1359	965	1033	679

First two columns: Table entry is the bivariate-probit regression coefficient, controlling for nonresponse, with standard error below.

Remaining columns: Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient, with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1992, 2000, and 2004 National Election Studies.

**SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: INGROUP PRIDE, OUTGROUP HOSTILITY, AND OPPOSITION TO RACE POLICY
AMONG WHITE AMERICANS**

Assignment equations		
	Have an Opinion on School Integration	Have an Opinion on Fair Employment
Age	-0.01 0.20	0.31 0.21
Female	-0.11 0.08	-0.17** 0.09
Homeownership	-0.04 0.08	-0.09 0.09
Education	0.03 0.18	0.12 0.18
Income: <10K	0.02 0.15	-0.30* 0.18
Income: 10K-15K	0.17 0.15	0.12 0.19
Income: 15K-25K	-0.17 0.13	-0.22 0.15
Income: 35K-50K	-0.16 0.12	0.18 0.14
Income: 50K-75K	-0.18 0.13	0.01 0.13
Income: >75K	0.04 0.15	0.23* 0.13
Income Refused	-0.39** 0.17	-0.13 0.14
North Central Region	-0.06 0.11	-0.24** 0.10
South	-0.02 0.11	-0.09 0.11
West	0.05 0.12	-0.15 0.12
No religious affiliation	-0.12 0.10	0.12 0.11
Catholic	0.06 0.09	-0.04 0.08
Jewish	0.10 0.25	0.20 0.23
Other Religious affiliation	-0.15 0.31	0.47 0.42
Occupation: Professional	0.05 0.14	-0.14 0.16
Occupation: Managerial	-0.01 0.16	-0.17 0.18
Occupation: White Collar	0.14 0.14	-0.24 0.17
Occupation: Self-Employed	0.06 0.16	0.35 0.45
Occupation: Skilled Worker	0.14 0.17	-0.17 0.20
Occupation: Homemaker	0.09 0.16	-0.29 0.19
Occupation: Other	0.04 0.13	-0.18 0.15
Political awareness	0.39**	

	0.17	
Discuss politics	0.36***	0.37***
	0.12	0.09
Ideological innocence	-0.46***	-0.38**
	0.18	0.17
Ln(children)	-0.08	0.13
	0.09	0.08
Refusal conversion	0.38	
	0.26	
Persuasion letter sent	0.05	
	0.14	
Ln(Calls)	-0.03	-0.01
	0.07	0.05
Interviewer: Black	-0.65*	-0.33**
	0.34	0.15
Intercept	0.12	0.30
	0.22	0.25
LR test ($\rho=0$)	0.552	0.00
Uncensored N (censored N)	829 (554)	668 (427)

Table entry is the bivariate-probit regression coefficient for the assignment model, with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1992 and 2000 National Election Studies.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: ETHNOCENTRISM AND PREJUDICE IN OPINION ON SOUTH AFRICA

	Oppose Sanctions on South Africa, 1988	Oppose Sanctions on South Africa, 1988	Decrease Sanctions on South Africa, 1990	Decrease Sanctions on South Africa, 1990
Assignment Equation: Pr(Express an Opinion)				
Ethnocentrism	-0.72*** 0.19	-0.71*** 0.19	-0.57** 0.28	-0.55* 0.28
Hispanic	-0.30*** 0.08	-0.30*** 0.08	-0.16 0.10	-0.16 0.10
Female	-0.03 0.15	-0.03 0.15	0.04 0.16	0.05 0.16
Education	0.80*** 0.17	0.79*** 0.17	0.85*** 0.22	0.87*** 0.22
Awareness	2.16*** 0.20	2.17*** 0.20	1.05*** 0.29	1.05*** 0.29
Political discussion	0.29** 0.12	0.29** 0.12	0.52*** 0.16	0.52*** 0.16
Strength of Partisanship	0.06 0.14	0.05 0.13	0.49*** 0.17	0.49*** 0.17
Income refusal	-0.23 0.18	-0.24 0.18	-0.57*** 0.21	-0.57*** 0.21
Ideological Innocence	-0.41** 0.20	-0.41* 0.20	-0.59*** 0.22	-0.63*** 0.22
Black Interviewer	0.38 0.29	0.36 0.29	-0.45 0.45	-0.44 0.45
Intercept	-1.57*** 0.15	-1.56*** 0.15	-0.53*** 0.18	-0.54*** 0.18
Outcome Equation: Pr(Oppose) or Pr(Decrease)				
Ethnocentrism	0.84** 0.39	0.32 0.35	1.05*** 0.41	0.55 0.41
Prejudice		1.57*** 0.29		0.99*** 0.25
Partisanship	-0.53*** 0.16	-0.37** 0.16	-0.55*** 0.16	-0.42*** 0.16
Education	-0.29 0.30	-0.01 0.27	0.14 0.26	0.32 0.26
Awareness	0.53 0.59	0.75 0.53	0.70* 0.37	0.86** 0.37
Female	-0.29** 0.12	-0.20 0.12	-0.42*** 0.11	-0.41*** 0.11
Hispanic	-0.43* 0.23	-0.32 0.23	-0.04 0.18	-0.06 0.18
Intercept	-0.26 0.71	-1.57*** 0.58	0.16 0.38	-0.60 0.39
ρ	0.44 0.35	0.41 0.33	0.40 0.32	0.42 0.32
$p > \chi^2$ ($H_0: \rho=0$)	0.30 (ns)	0.29 (ns)	0.27 (ns)	0.24 (ns)
lnL	-984.94	-959.84	-827.81	-817.50
$p > \chi^2$ (model)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N (censored)	1275 (750)	1267 (742)	866 (283)	865 (283)

Table entry is the bivariate-probit coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1988 NES (columns 1 & 2) and 1990 NES (columns 3 & 4).

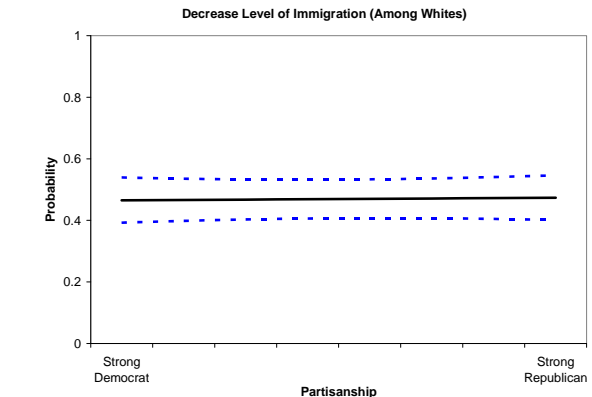
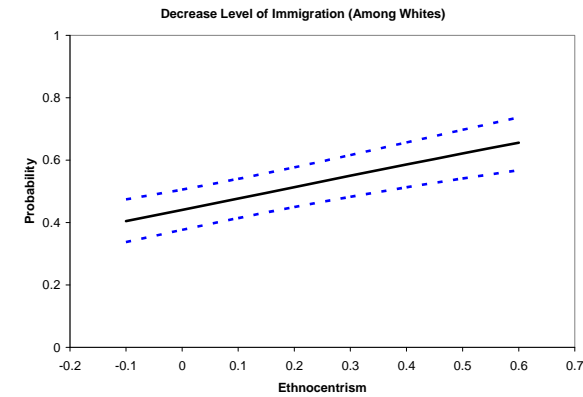
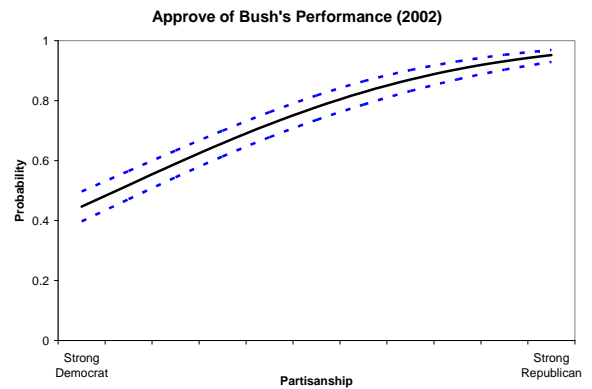
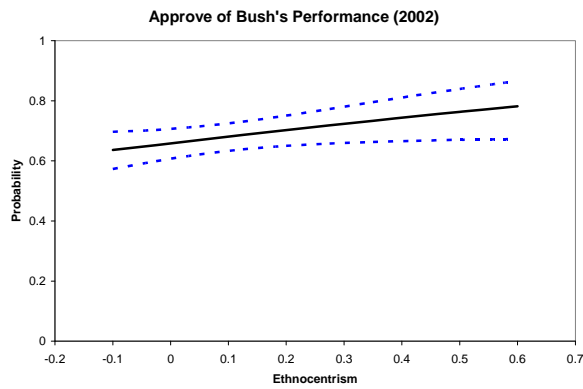
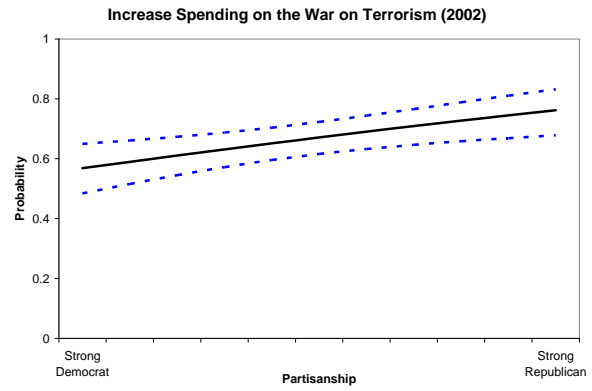
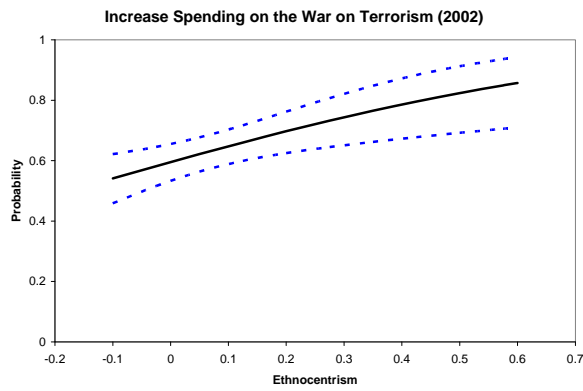
CONCLUSION: ETHNOCENTRISM AND POLITICAL LIFE

Dependent Variables: Environmentalism

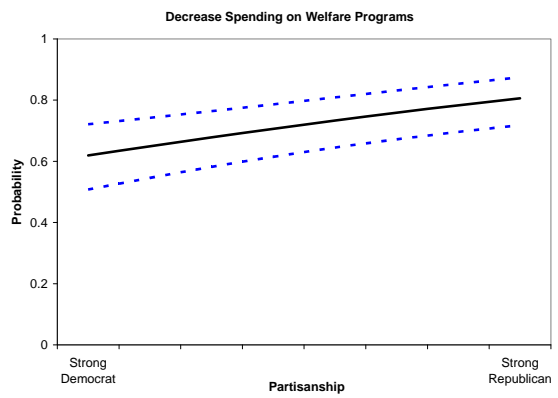
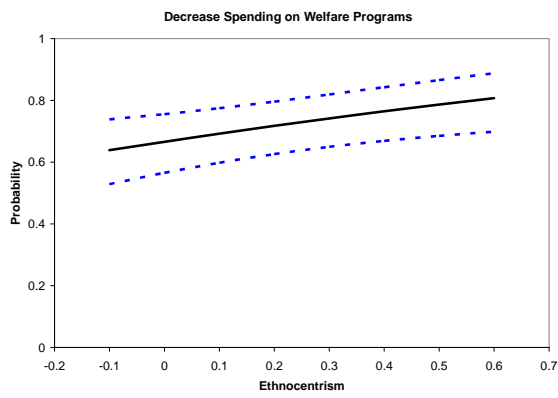
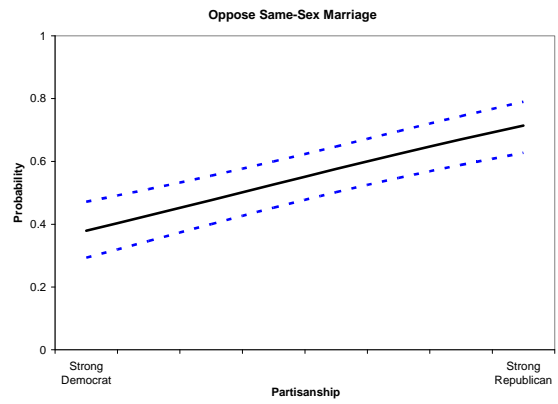
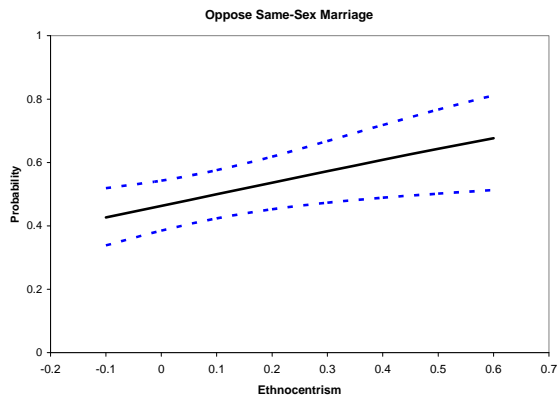
	% of sample
Spending on environmental protection (v000682)	
<i>Should federal spending on environmental protection be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?</i>	
Increased	9.0%
Kept the Same	39.8
Decreased	51.2
Environment versus Jobs (v000708, v000712)	
Face-to-face respondents received 7 point scale.	
Telephone respondents received 5 point branch/stem question.	
Respondents randomly assigned to receive standard or experimental prompt (which included "Haven't thought about it" filter).	
7 point: Some people think it is important to protect the environment even if it costs some jobs or otherwise reduces our standard of living. (Suppose these people are at one end of the scale, at point number 1) Other people think that protecting the environment is not as important as maintaining jobs and our standard of living. (Suppose these people are at the other end of the scale, at point number 7. And of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6). Where would you place yourself on this scale[, or haven't you thought much about it]?	
OR	
5 point: Some people think it is important to protect the environment even if it costs some jobs or otherwise reduces our standard of living. Other people think that protecting the environment is not as important as maintaining jobs and our standard of living. Which is closer to the way you feel[, or haven't you thought much about this]? Is protecting the environment much more important (than maintaining jobs and standard of living) or only somewhat more important?/ Are maintaining jobs and standard of living much more important (than protecting the environment) or only somewhat more important?	
Protect environment	53.5
Midpoint	19.5
Maintain jobs and standard of living	27.1
Environmental Regulations (v000771, v000775)	
Face-to-face respondents received 7 point scale.	
Telephone respondents received 5 point branch/stem question.	
Some people think we need much tougher government regulations on business in order to protect the environment. (Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1.) Others think that current regulations to protect the environment are already too much of a burden on business. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2,3,4,5, or 6.) Where would you place yourself or haven't you thought much about it?	
OR	
5 point: Some people think we need much tougher government regulations on business in order to protect the environment. Others think that current regulations to protect the environment are already too much of a burden on business. Which is closer to the way you feel, or haven't you thought much about this? Do we need to toughen regulations to protect the environment a lot, or just somewhat?/ Are regulations to protect the environment way too much of a burden on business or just somewhat of a burden?	
Tougher regulations	63.5
Midpoint	13.6
Regulations too much of a burden	22.9

Source: 2000 National Election Study, weighted analysis

SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: COMPARING THE EFFECTS OF ETHNOCENTRISM AND PARTISANSHIP



Comparing the Effects of Ethnocentrism and Partisanship (continued)



Source: 1992, 1996, 2000-2002, and 2004 National Election Studies.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: ETHNOCENTRISM AND OPINION ON THE ENVIRONMENT

	Increase Spending on Environment	Environment over Jobs	Need to Toughen Regulations
Ethnocentrism	0.25 0.23	-0.03 0.25	0.20 0.30
Partisanship	0.40*** 0.12	0.12 0.13	0.43*** 0.15
Awareness	-0.25* 0.14	-0.00 0.15	-0.33* 0.17
Education	0.29** 0.15	0.50*** 0.16	0.55*** 0.19
Female	-0.11 0.07	-0.13* 0.08	0.08 0.09
Black	-0.07 0.13	-0.20 0.14	0.01 0.19
Hispanic	0.09 0.14	-0.23 0.15	-0.07 0.17
Egalitarianism	1.07*** 0.19	0.53** 0.21	1.23*** 0.25
Limited Government	-0.55*** 0.10	-0.25** 0.11	-0.59*** 0.12
Moral Traditionalism	-0.42** 0.17	-0.11 0.19	0.05 0.21
Authoritarianism	-0.30** 0.14	-0.70*** 0.15	-0.48*** 0.17
Intercept/ τ_1	-1.19 0.23	-0.74 0.25	-0.11 0.29
τ_2	0.24 0.23	-0.18 0.25	0.36 0.29
lnL	-1099.00	-1040.92	-776.37
$p > \chi^2, p > F$	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	1280	1098	949

Columns 1-3: Table entry is the ordered-probit regression coefficient with standard error below.

Column 4: Table entry is the OLS regression coefficient with standard error below.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 2000 National Election Study.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESULTS: ETHNOCENTRISM AND PARTICIPATION

	Ethnocentrism (ST)	Ethnocentrism (FT)
Ethnocentrism	-0.66*** 0.09	-0.76*** 0.08
τ_1	-0.94 0.02	-0.97 0.02
τ_2	0.30 0.02	0.29 0.02
τ_3	1.06 0.02	1.05 0.02
τ_4	1.59 0.03	1.58 0.03
τ_5	2.03 0.04	2.02 0.04
τ_6	2.43 0.06	2.41 0.06
lnL	-7014.88	-7147.93
$p > \chi^2$	0.00	0.00
N	4976	5102

Table entry is the ordered probit regression coefficients with standard errors below.

The participation scale (following Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995) consists of an additive index of the following acts: voting in the most recent election (v925901, v961074, v001241, & v045018); wearing a campaign button (v925809, v961166, v001226, & v045012); attending campaign meetings/rallies (v925810, v961167, v001227, & v045011); volunteering in campaigns (v925812, v961168, v001228, & v045013); donating to campaigns (v925815/7/9, v961169/71/73; v001229/31/33; v045014/5/6); and working on local issues in the community (v926144, v961263, v001491, v045166). Cronbach's *alpha* = 0.55.

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.10$, two-tailed.

Source: 1992, 1996, 2000, and 2004 NES (pooled).