

Online Appendix for *Post-Racial or Most-Racial? Race and Politics in the Obama Era* by Michael Tesler

Explanatory Variables (partial)

Affirmative Action Opposition (CCES): A 4-category variable recoded from 0 (strongly support) to 1 (strongly oppose).

Affirmative Action Opposition (Pew): A 4-category variable recoded from 0 (completely agree that we should make every possible effort to improve the position of blacks and other minorities, even if it means giving them preferential treatment) to 1 (completely disagree).

Anti-Muslim Sentiments (*ANES*): A 101-category thermometer rating scale ranging from 0 (warmest) to 1 (coldest).

Anti-Muslim Sentiments (*CCAP*): A 5-category favorability rating scale ranging from 0 (very favorable) to 1 (very unfavorable).

Bible Literalism: A three-category variable recoded from 0 (Bible is book of fables) to 1 (Bible is word of God).

Economic Conservatism (*CCAP*): An additive index ranging from 0 (most liberal) to 1 (most conservative). The scale was constructed from the following items: 1) Which comes closest to your view about providing health care in the United States? 2) Do you favor raising federal taxes on families earning more than \$200,000 per year?

Ideological Self-placement: A five-category variable recoded from 0 (extremely/very liberal) to 1 (extremely/very conservative). Respondents who cannot place themselves ideologically are coded as .5.

Limited Government Scale: A 21 category additive index recoded from 0 (most government) to 1 (least government): The scale was constructed from the following three 7-point items: 1) Do you think that the government should provide more services than it does now, fewer services than it does now, or about the same number of services as it does now? 2) Do you think the U.S. federal government should have more effect on Americans' lives than it does now, less effect, or about the same amount of effect that it has now on Americans' lives? 3) Do you think the U.S. federal government should do more to influence how businesses operate in this country, should the federal government do less to influence businesses, or should the government do about what it's doing now to influence businesses?

Medical Costs Anxiety: An additive index recoded from 0 (least) to 1 (most). The scale is constructed from answers to the following questions: 1) And are you very worried, fairly worried, slightly worried, or not worried at all about: Having a serious illness in your immediate family that creates major out-of-pocket medical expenses; 2) Many people think about certain financial risks so that they can prepare themselves to respond to them. Over the past few months, how often have you thought about: Having a serious illness in your immediate family that creates

major out-of-pocket medical expenses; 3) When you think about having a serious illness in your immediate family that creates major out-of-pocket medical expenses how do you feel...Not at all afraid, slightly afraid, moderately afraid, very afraid, extremely afraid?

Military Support (ANES): A 98-category thermometer rating scale (0-97) recoded from 0 (coldest) to 1 (warmest).

Moral Conservatism (CCAP): An additive index ranging from 0 (most liberal) to 1 (most conservative). The scale was constructed from the following items: 1) Under what circumstances should abortion be legal? 2) Do you favor allowing civil unions for gay and lesbian couples?

Moral Traditionalism (ANES): An additive index ranging from 0 (least traditional) to 1 (most traditional): The scale was constructed from how strongly respondents agreed or disagreed with the following assertions: 1) We should be more tolerant of people who choose to live according to their own moral standards, even if they are very different from our own. 2) This country would have many fewer problems if there were more emphasis on traditional family ties. 3) The world is always changing and we should adjust our view of moral behavior to those changes. 4) The newer lifestyles are contributing to the breakdown of our society.

Negative Black Stereotypes (2008-2009 ANES): An additive index recoded from 0 (lowest) to 1 (highest). The scale is constructed from respondents' ratings of blacks on the following seven items: How well do the words...describe most blacks? 1) "Complaining", 2) "Violent", 3) "Lazy", 4) "Boastful", 5) "Intelligent at school" (reverse coded), 6) "Hardworking" (reverse coded), 7) "Determined to succeed" (reverse coded)

Negative Black Stereotypes (CCAP): An additive index recoded from 0 (lowest) to 1 (highest). The scale is constructed from respondents' ratings of blacks on the following 1 to 7 scales: 1) Hardworking to Lazy; 2) Intelligent to Unintelligent.

Negative White Stereotypes (2008-2009 ANES): An additive index recoded from 0 (lowest) to 1 (highest). The scale is constructed from respondents' ratings of whites on the following seven items: How well do the words...describe most whites? 1) "Complaining", 2) "Violent", 3) "Lazy", 4) "Boastful", 5) "Intelligent at school" (reverse coded), 6) "Hardworking" (reverse coded), 7) "Determined to succeed" (reverse coded)

Negative White Stereotypes (CCAP/ANES): An additive index recoded from 0 (lowest) to 1 (highest). The scale is constructed from respondents' ratings of whites on the following 1-7 scales: 1) Hardworking to Lazy; 2) Intelligent to Unintelligent.

Old Fashioned Racism (GSS): A five-category difference score, which subtracts how favorable or unfavorable white respondents would react to a close relative marrying an African-American from how favorable they would feel about their relatives marrying someone of the same race, recoded from 0 (no in-marriage preference) to 1 (strongly favor relative marry a white partner and strongly oppose a black spouse).

Old Fashioned Racism (Pew): A five-category variable recoded from 0 (completely agree that it is all right for blacks and whites to date each other to) to 1 (completely disagree).

Racial Resentment (ANES/CCAP): An additive index recoded from 0 (least resentful) to 1 (most resentful): The scale was constructed from how strongly respondents agreed or disagreed with the following assertions: 1) Irish, Italian, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors. 2) Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class. 3) Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve. 4) It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites.

Racial Resentment (GSS): An additive index recoded from 0 (least resentful) to 1 (most resentful): The scale was constructed from responses to the following 4 items: 1) Irish, Italian, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors. 2) A 3-category variable indicating whether respondents said lack of motivation is or is not a reason for racial inequality (don't know responses are coded to the midpoint. 3) A 3-category variable indicating whether respondents said discrimination is or is not a reason for racial inequality (don't know responses are coded to the midpoint 4) A three-category variable indicating whether respondents rated whites more, less or equally hardworking than blacks on 7 point stereotype scales (don't know responses were coded as 4 for both groups).

Racial Resentment (CCES): An additive index recoded from 0 (least resentful) to 1 (most resentful): The scale was constructed from how strongly respondents agreed or disagreed with the following assertions: 1) Irish, Italian, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors. 2) Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.

Tax Policy Preferences: A five-category variable recoded from 0 (strongly support top-bracket tax increase) to 1 (strongly oppose). Respondents who have not thought enough about this are coded as .5

Dependent Variables (partial)

ANES Health Care Item: Some people feel there should be a government insurance plan which would cover all medical and hospital expenses for everyone. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Others feel that all medical expenses should be paid by individuals through private insurance plans like Blue Cross or other company paid plans. 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? The 7-category placement scale is recoded from 0 (private insurance) to 1 (government insurance).

ANES Health Care Scale: A 14 category additive index recoded from 0 (private insurance) to 1 (government insurance): The scale was constructed from the following two 7-point items: 1) Some people feel there should be a government insurance plan which would cover all medical

and hospital expenses for everyone. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Others feel that all medical expenses should be paid by individuals through private insurance plans like Blue Cross or other company paid plans. 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? 2) Now we'd like you to consider a list of existing federal programs. If you had a say in making up the federal budget this year, should federal spending be INCREASED or DECREASED for: Health Insurance for working aged adults.

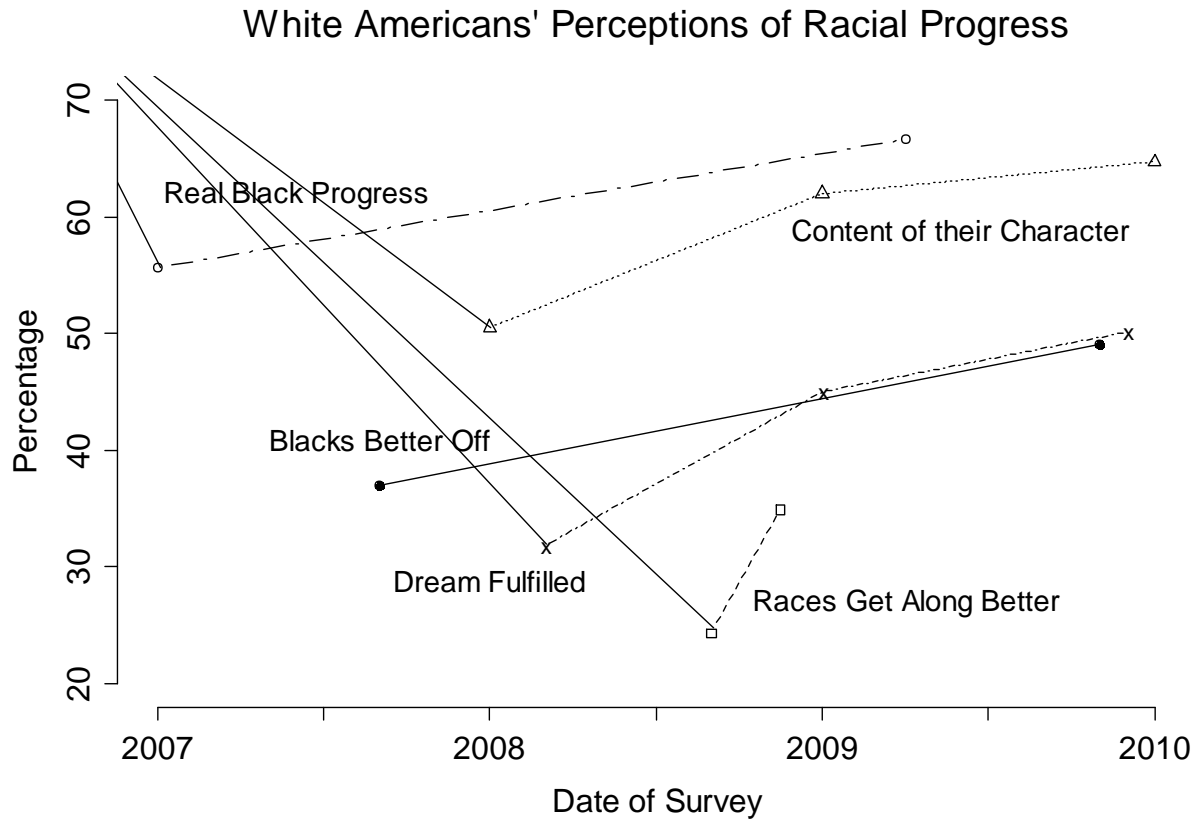
CCAP Health Care Item: Which comes closest to your view about providing health care in the United States? 1) The Government should provide everyone with health care and pay for it with tax dollars. 2) Companies should be required to provide health insurance for their employees and the government should provide subsidies for those who are not working or retired 3) Health insurance should be voluntary. Individuals should either buy insurance or obtain it through their employers as they do currently. The elderly and the very poor should be covered by Medicare and Medicaid as they are currently. 4) I'm not sure, I haven't thought much about this. Variable is coded as a dummy taking on values of 1(Health care should be voluntarily left up to individuals) or 0 (all other responses).

Health Care Support Scale: A 26 category additive index ranging from 0 (least supportive) to 1 (most supportive). The scale was constructed based on upon how strongly respondents favored or opposed universal health coverage and the public option, as well as whether they thought these proposals would increase or decrease taxes on the middle class, the budget deficit, health care costs and Medicare benefits for seniors. A final question asked respondents to choose up to 4 emotional (2 positive and 2 negative) reactions they would feel if universal coverage and the public option passed.

Stimulus Package: An indicator variable taking on a value of 1 (think stimulus package was a very good/pretty good idea) or 0 (all other responses).

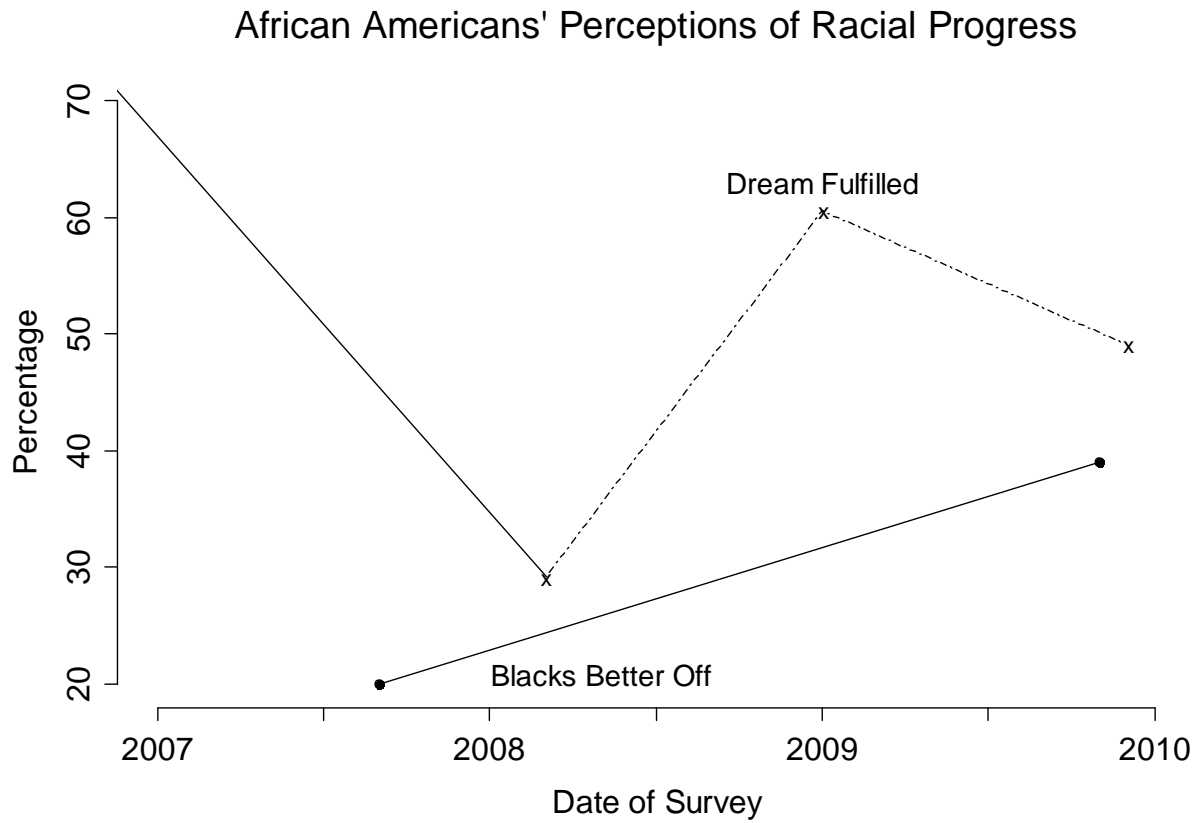
Vote Preference: Variable is coded as a dummy taking on values of 1(voted for candidate) or 0 (did not vote for candidate). The candidate coded as 1 and the candidate/candidate's coded 0 are indicated in text.

Figure AI.1



Source: Pew Social Trends, September 2007, November 2009; NBC/Wall Street Journal, January 2008, January 2009, January 2010; Pew Values Study, January 2007, April 2009; CNN/ORC, March 2008, January 2009, January 2010; 2008-2009 ANES Panel, September 2008 and November 2008 Waves.

Figure AI.2



Source: Pew Social Trends, September 2007, November 2009; CNN/ORC, March 2008, January 2009, January 2010.

% saying situation of black people is better today, compared with five years ago

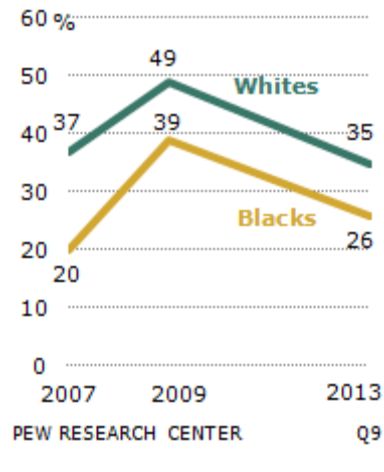


Figure A1.3 Perceptions of Black Progress over Time. Source: Pew Research Center
<http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2013/08/22/kings-dream-remains-an-elusive-goal-many-americans-see-racial-disparities/>.

Table A3.1 (Logistic Regression) Predictors of Whites' Republican Presidential Vote Intentions, 1988-2012

	1988- 2004	2008	2012	1988- 2004	2008	2012	1988- 2004	2008	2012
Racial Resentment	1.41 (.248)	3.54 (.638)	3.52 (.449)						
Black-White Stereotypes				.850 (.340)	1.71 (.549)	2.30 (.548)			
White-Black Affect							.953 (.271)	.635 (.964)	2.04 (.545)
Party Identification	5.68 (.186)	5.17 (.490)	6.00 (.449)	6.02 (.224)	5.22 (.462)	6.22 (.400)	5.77 (.183)	5.29 (.489)	6.22 (.401)
Ideology	2.88 (.292)	3.82 (.793)	4.15 (.527)	3.21 (.339)	3.54 (.647)	4.36 (.509)	3.01 (.279)	3.94 (.698)	4.33 (.517)
Constant	-5.24 (.220)	-6.79 (.581)	-7.37 (.435)	-5.23 (.239)	-5.09 (.433)	-6.12 (.377)	-4.89 (.200)	-4.81 (.503)	-6.06 (.383)
Observations	4376	800	2396	3484	907	2394	4561	802	2393

Note: Dependent variable is an indicator variable taking on a value of 1 (Republican vote preference) or 0 (Democratic vote preference). All explanatory variables are coded 0-1, with 1 representing the most conservative response. Regression analyses utilize sampling weights with robust standard errors that account for design characteristics. *Source*: ANES Cumulative File (with stereotypes appended); 2012 ANES.

Table A3.2 (Logistic Regression) Predictors of Whites' Republican Presidential Vote Intentions, 2008-2012

	McCain- Clinton	McCain- Obama	2012	McCain- Clinton	McCain- Obama	2012
Racial Resentment	1.16 (.388)	3.57 (.367)	3.62 (.447)			
Black-White Stereotypes	1.16 (.388)	3.57 (.367)	3.62 (.447)	.669 (.508)	2.69 (.519)	3.20 (.562)
Party Identification	5.74 (.345)	3.45 (.278)	5.10 (.357)	5.93 (.376)	3.73 (.283)	5.25 (.383)
Ideology	2.38 (.485)	2.38 (.406)	3.62 (.687)	3.13 (.457)	3.21 (.389)	4.76 (.595)
Constant	-4.38 (.310)	-4.95 (.289)	-6.50 (.426)	-4.40 (.374)	-4.46 (.341)	-6.27 (.481)
Observations	2039	2030	1866	1828	1827	1696

Note: Dependent variable is an indicator variable taking on a value of 1 (Republican vote preference) or 0 (Democratic vote preference). All explanatory variables are coded 0-1, with 1 representing the most conservative response. Explanatory variables in the left-hand columns were measured in March 2008; explanatory variables in the right-hand columns were measured in September 2008. Regression analyses utilize sampling weights with robust standard errors that account for design characteristics. *Source*: CCAP Re-interviews, July 2012

Table A3.3 (Logistic Regression) Predictors of Whites' Republican Presidential Vote Intentions, 2008-2012

	2004	2008	2012	McCain- Clinton	McCain- Obama	2012
Anti-Muslim Sentiments	.269 (.775)	1.62 (.632)	2.39 (.466)	.488 (.400)	1.85 (.419)	2.87 (.468)
Racial Resentment	2.43 (.777)	2.76 (.568)	2.97 (.454)	1.46 (.471)	3.40 (.511)	3.74 (.561)
Party Identification	7.00 (.644)	5.12 (.483)	6.20 (.409)	4.72 (.374)	2.99 (.356)	5.15 (.446)
Ideology	2.56 (1.08)	3.01 (.736)	3.97 (.554)	3.52 (.633)	2.66 (.540)	5.40 (.878)
Constant	-6.10 (.810)	-5.14 (.613)	-5.93 (.458)	-5.04 (.376)	-5.95 (.436)	-9.43 (.669)
Observations	682	886	2376	1759	1766	1646

Note: Dependent variable is an indicator variable taking on a value of 1 (Republican vote preference) or 0 (Democratic vote preference). All explanatory variables are coded 0-1, with 1 representing the most conservative response. Explanatory variables in the right-hand columns were measured in October 2008. Regression analyses utilize sampling weights with robust standard errors that account for design characteristics. *Source:* ANES 2004-2012; CCAP Re-interviews, July 2012

Table A4.1: (OLS): Predictors of Whites' Ratings of Barack Obama and Mitt Romney

	Obama	Romney
Racial Resentment	-.238 (.080)	.051 (.066)
Racial Resentment*	-.046 (.111)	.237 (.100)
Welfare Ad		
Partisanship	-.395 (.063)	.360 (.066)
Partisanship*	.030 (.104)	.139 (.082)
Welfare Ad		
Ideology	-.358 (.085)	.391 (.082)
Ideology*	.026 (.143)	-.353 (.115)
Welfare Ad		
Welfare Ad	.005 (.064)	-.036 (.051)
Constant	.984 (.046)	.019 (.037)
Observations	687	687

Note: Dependent variable is an instrument for candidate favorability ratings constructed from the following: The follow up questions after the advertisement asked whether Obama and Romney's policies would be good or bad for the following groups: the rich, the poor, the middle class, blacks, and whites. I then used those items to construct an instrument for Romney and Obama favorability based upon their relationships with pre-treatment Romney and Obama favorability ratings in the control group (Franklin 1989; Zaller 1992). More specifically, the instruments were constructed from the following predicted favorability equations (all variables coded 0-1):

$$\text{Romney Favorability} = .266 + .158(\text{help blacks}) - .039(\text{help whites}) + .483(\text{help poor}) - .187(\text{help rich}) + .262(\text{help middle class})$$

$$\text{Obama Favorability} = .016 - .204(\text{help blacks}) + .291(\text{help whites}) + .096(\text{help poor}) + .033(\text{help rich}) + .801(\text{help middle class})$$

All explanatory variables are coded 0-1, with 1 representing the most conservative response. All explanatory variables were measured in December 2011. Regression analyses utilize sampling weights with robust standard errors that account for design characteristics. *Source:* 2011-2012 CCAP, August 11, 2012 Re-interview survey.

Table A4.2: (Logistic Regression): Predictors of Whites' Approval of President Obama's Job Performance

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Racial Resentment	-2.97 (.549)		-2.64 (.551)
Racial Resentment*	-.256 (.772)		.196 (.788)
Explicit Frame			
Partisanship	-5.45 (.562)	-5.54 (.583)	-5.49 (.584)
Partisanship*	-.693 (.759)	-1.27 (.783)	-1.02 (.792)
Explicit Frame			
Ideology	-2.35 (.723)	-3.08 (.714)	-2.25 (.723)
Ideology*	.691 (.992)	.848 (.963)	.818 (1.01)
Explicit Frame			
Old Fashioned Racism		-1.64 (.466)	-.752 (.452)
Old Fashioned Racism*		-1.29 (.629)	-1.46 (.623)
Explicit Frame			
Explicit Frame	.122 (.647)	-.861 (.688)	-1.13 (.821)
Constant	4.87 (.468)	2.28 (.523)	4.14 (.607)
Observations	2316	2308	2308

Note: Dependent variable is an indicator variable taking on a value of 1 (approve of Obama's job performance) or 0 (all other responses). All explanatory variables are coded 0-1, with 1 representing the most conservative response. Regression analyses utilize sampling weights with robust standard errors that account for design characteristics. *Source:* CCAP Re-interviews, July 2012

Table A4.3: (Logistic Regression): Predictors of Whites' Rating Hillary Clinton Favorably, 2008-2012

	March 2008	April 2011	March 2008	July 2012
Racial Resentment	.641 (.282)	-.928 (.283)	.228 (.292)	-.973 (.299)
Partisanship	-4.38 (.260)	-3.61 (.238)	-4.55 (.265)	-3.59 (.247)
Ideology	-1.16 (.329)	-1.59 (.329)	-.819 (.337)	-1.69 (.331)
Constant	1.13 (.160)	2.78 (.202)	1.33 (.170)	3.03 (.211)
Observations	2306	2306	2262	2262

Note: Dependent variable is an indicator variable taking on a value of 1 (rate Obama favorably) or 0 (all other responses). All explanatory variables are coded 0-1, with 1 representing the most conservative response. All explanatory variables measured in March 2008. Regression analyses utilize sampling weights with robust standard errors that account for design characteristics. *Source:* CCAP Re-interviews, 2011; CCAP Re-interviews, 2012.

Table A4.4: (Logistic Regression): Predictors of White Floridians Approving of Governor Charlie Crist’s Job Performance, 2008-2010

Opposition to Affirmative Action	.326 (.233)
Opposition to Affirmative Action * 2010	-.982 (.310)
Partisanship	1.14 (.250)
Partisanship* 2010	-1.85 (.332)
Ideology	.825 (.358)
Ideology* 2010	-1.62 (.480)
2010	1.35 (.247)
Constant	-.570 (.186)
Observations	4898

Note: Dependent variable is an indicator variable taking on a value of 1 (approve of Crist’s job performance) or 0 (all other responses). All explanatory variables are coded 0-1, with 1 representing the most conservative response. Regression analyses utilize sampling weights with robust standard errors that account for design characteristics. *Source:* 2008 & 2010 CCES

Table A5.1 (OLS): Predictors of Whites' Health Care Opinions in January 2008 and July 2010

	Jan 2008	July 2010	Jan 2008	July 2010
Racial Resentment	.092 (.063)	-.311 (.057)		
Partisanship	-.212 (.060)	-.231 (.020)	-.212 (.058)	-.259 (.048)
Ideology	-.167 (.070)	-.349 (.059)	-.140 (.067)	-.411 (.056)
Limited Government Scale	-.477 (.072)	-.309 (.063)	-.462 (.071)	-.342 (.063)
Medical Costs Anxiety	.198 (.059)	.049 (.051)	.190 (.059)	.025 (.052)
Anti-black Stereotypes			.089 (.098)	-.192 (.082)
Anti-white Stereotypes			.200 (.133)	.093 (.107)
Observations	670	670	667	667

Note: Dependent Variable in January 2008 is 7-point support for single payer government health care (0 = least support; 1= most support); dependent Variable in July 2010 is 7-point support for the public option (0 = least support; 1= most support). All variables are coded 0-1. Racial resentment and anti-black stereotypes were measured in August 2009; party and ideology were measured in October 2008; limited government was measured in November 2008; and medical cost anxiety was measured in March 2009. Regression analyses utilize sampling weights with robust standard errors that account for design characteristics. *Source:* 2008-2009 ANES Panelists interviewed in both January 2008 and July 2010

Table A5.2: (Logistic Regression): Predictors of Whites' Saying Health Insurance should be Voluntarily Left Up to Individuals in December 2007 and November 2009

	Weighted	Un-weighted
Racial Resentment	1.71 (.411)	1.46 (.343)
Racial Resentment* Nov 2009	1.52 (.570)	1.18 (.481)
Partisanship	1.51 (.300)	1.59 (.261)
Partisanship*Nov 2009	.110 (.437)	.310 (.361)
Ideology	2.03 (.425)	2.21 (.364)
Ideology*Nov 2009	.079 (.060)	.128 (.512)
Tax Increase Support	2.71 (.223)	2.87 (.293)
Tax Increase Support* Nov 2009	-.602 (.330)	-.543 (.280)
November 2009	-.393 (.488)	-.293 (.401)
Pooled Observations	3766	3766

Note: Dependent variable is an indicator variable taking on a value of 1 if respondents said health care should be voluntarily left up to individuals. All explanatory variables are coded 0-1, and all were measured in March 2008. Regression analyses utilize sampling weights with robust standard errors that account for design characteristics. *Source:* CCAP panelists interviewed in both December 2007 and November 2009.

Table A5.3: (OLS) Predictors of Health Care Support Scores

	Clinton Baseline [1]	Clinton Baseline [2]	Neutral Baseline [1]	Neutral Baseline [2]
Racial Resentment	-.233 (.043)		-.292 (.050)	
Racial Resentment* Obama Frame	-.163 (.064)		-.104 (.070)	
Partisanship	-.260 (.048)	-.281 (.050)	-.348 (.037)	-.390 (.035)
Partisanship*Obama Frame	.033 (.062)	-.003 (.067)	.121 (.054)	.106 (.057)
Ideology	-.242 (.055)	-.341 (.053)	-.234 (.055)	-.326 (.048)
Ideology*Obama Frame	-.010 (.076)	.008 (.075)	-.018 (.076)	-.007 (.072)
Tax Increase Support	-.199 (.029)	-.209 (.030)	-.049 (.028)	-.067 (.027)
Tax Increase Support* Obama Frame	.106 (.038)	.078 (.040)	-.044 (.038)	-.064 (.038)
Obama Frame	.005 (.030)	-.155 (.070)	.022 (.031)	-.068 (.069)
Anti-black Stereotypes		-.028 (.052)		-.079 (.050)
Anti-black Stereotypes* Obama Frame		-.186 (.070)		-.135 (.069)
Anti-white Stereotypes		.078 (.062)		.063 (.059)
Anti-white Stereotypes* Obama Frame		.039 (.087)		.054 (.085)
Observations	1094	1086	1096	1088

Note: Dependent variable is a 7-item, 26-category health care support scale, recoded from 0 (least supportive) to 1 (most supportive). All explanatory variables are coded 0-1, with 1 representing the most conservative position. Racial resentment, partisanship, and ideology were measured in both March 2008 and November 2009 and averaged across waves. Tax-policy preferences were only measured in March 2008 and stereotypes were only measured in November 2009. Regression analyses utilize sampling weights with robust standard errors that account for design characteristics. *Source:* CCAP Re-interviews, November 2009

Table A5.4: (Logistic Regression): Predictors of Saying the Stimulus Was A Good Idea

	Neutral Baseline	Cong-Dems Baseline
Racial Resentment	-2.53 (.677)	-.327 (.737)
Racial Resentment*	-.801 (1.02)	-2.99 (.963)
Obama Frame		
Partisanship	-2.89 (.703)	-3.46 (.664)
Partisanship*	.092 (.992)	.662 (.964)
Obama Frame		
Ideology	-.694 (.861)	-1.49 (.749)
Ideology*	-.590 (1.17)	.202 (1.09)
Obama Frame		
Tax Increase Support	-.644 (.520)	-.510 (.544)
Tax Increase Support*	-.192 (.719)	-.327 (.737)
Obama Frame		
Obama Frame	.904 (.665)	1.53 (.601)
Observations	1097	1095

Note: Dependent variable is an indicator variable taking on a value of 1 if respondents said the stimulus was a good idea. All explanatory variables are coded 0-1, with 1 representing the most conservative position. Racial resentment, partisanship, and ideology were measured in both March 2008 and November 2009 and averaged across waves. Tax-policy preferences were only measured in March 2008. Regression analyses utilize sampling weights and robust standard errors that account for design characteristics. *Source:* CCAP Re-interviews, November 2009

Table A6.1: (Logistic Regression): Predictors of Whites' Vote Preference for Republican House Candidates, 1986-2012.

	1986- 2004		1986- 2010		1992- 2004		1986- 2012	
Racial Resentment	.509 (.173)	1.52 (.811)	.509 (.173)	2.55 (.417)				
Black-White Stereotypes					-.520 (.275)	1.78 (.528)		
White-Black Affect							-.461 (.212)	1.56 (.495)
Partisanship	3.23 (.115)	5.91 (.515)	3.23 (.115)	4.73 (.378)	3.39 (.156)	4.97 (.375)	3.33 (.115)	4.95 (.376)
Ideology	1.53 (.212)	3.22 (.588)	1.53 (.212)	2.94 (.529)	1.94 (.257)	3.34 (.499)	1.82 (.194)	3.41 (.501)
Constant	-2.83 (.135)	-5.27 (.270)	-2.83 (.135)	-5.35 (.381)	-2.52 (.162)	-4.66 (.340)	-2.46 (.125)	-4.64 (.345)
Observations	4686	1460	4686	2051	3107	2051	5798	2054

Note: Dependent variable is an indicator variable taking on a value of 1 (voted Dem) or 0 (voted rep). All explanatory variables are coded 0-1, with 1 representing the most conservative position. Regression analyses utilize sampling weights and robust standard errors that account for design characteristics
Source: ANES Cumulative File; 2012 ANES; 2008-2009-2010 ANES Panel; 2010 ANES/EGSS.

Table A6.2: (Logistic Regression): Predictors of Whites' Vote Preference for Republican House Candidates, 2008-2012.

	2008	2012	2008	2012	2008	2012	2008	2012
Racial Resentment	2.12 (.483)	3.09 (.566)						
Black-White Stereotypes			1.69 (.725)	3.18 (.967)				
Ethnocentrism					1.16 (.647)	2.66 (.764)		
Anti-Muslim Sentiments							2.74 (.431)	2.66 (.764)
Partisanship	5.52 (.383)	6.11 (.501)	5.64 (.364)	6.93 (.542)	5.73 (.367)	7.06 (.548)	5.07 (.386)	7.06 (.548)
Ideology	3.20 (.542)	4.60 (.806)	3.94 (.500)	5.31 (.646)	3.96 (.499)	5.34 (.631)	4.09 (.656)	5.34 (.631)
Constant	-6.01 (.397)	-7.33 (.573)	-5.73 (.424)	-7.10 (.616)	-5.69 (.456)	-7.28 (.625)	-6.62 (.451)	-7.28 (.456)
Observations	1584	1584	1472	1472	1457	1457	1452	1452

Note: Dependent variable is an indicator variable taking on a value of 1 (voted Dem) or 0 (voted rep). All explanatory variables are coded 0-1, with 1 representing the most conservative position. Explanatory variables in the first two columns measured in March 2008; explanatory variables in columns 3-6 measured in September 2008; explanatory variables in columns 7-8 measured in October 2008. Regression analyses utilize sampling weights and robust standard errors that account for design characteristics Source: CCAP Re-Interviews, 2012.

Table A6.3: (Logistic Regression): Predictors of Whites' Vote Preference for Republican House Candidates in 2012.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Racial Resentment	.644 (.802)			
Black-White Stereotypes				
Ethnocentrism		1.38 (1.07)	.998 (1.03)	
Anti-Muslim Sentiments				.993 (.894)
Partisanship	5.41 (.716)	6.10 (.759)	6.13 (.749)	5.53 (.846)
Ideology	3.16 (1.24)	2.60 (1.17)	2.75 (1.24)	5.11 (1.51)
Obama Favorability	-7.02 (.649)	-6.88 (.784)	-6.84 (.774)	-6.90 (.764)
Constant	-1.74 (.729)	-1.84 (.700)	-1.92 (.759)	-3.07 (1.04)
Observations	1582	1470	1455	1450

Note: Dependent variable is an indicator variable taking on a value of 1 (voted Dem) or 0 (voted rep). All explanatory variables are coded 0-1, with 1 representing the most conservative position. Regression analyses utilize sampling weights and robust standard errors that account for design characteristics
 Source: CCAP Re-Interviews, 2012.

Table A6.4: (Logistic Regression): Predictors of Whites' Vote for Democratic House Candidates in 2010 (Democratic Districts Only).

	Dem voted for ACA	Dem voted Against ACA
Racial Resentment	-2.66 (.155)	-1.85 (.325)
Partisanship	-5.46 (.156)	-3.42 (.293)
Ideology	-4.93 (.202)	-4.53 (.440)
Constant	7.15 (.155)	5.86 (.334)
Observations	12766	1945

Note: Dependent variable is an indicator variable taking on a value of 1 (voted Dem) or 0 (voted rep). All explanatory variables are coded 0-1, with 1 representing the most conservative position. Source: 2010 CCES.

Table A6.5: (Logistic Regression): Predictors of Whites' Vote for Democratic House Candidates, 2008-2010 (2010 Democratic Districts Only).

	<u>Dem Voted For ACA</u>		<u>Dem Voted Against ACA</u>	
	2008	2010	2008	2010
Affirmative Action Opposition	-1.45 (.128)	-2.23 (.139)	-1.55 (.283)	-1.68 (.310)
Partisanship	-4.17 (.138)	-5.43 (.157)	-3.74 (.284)	-3.37 (.292)
Ideology	-3.36 (.213)	-5.04 (.200)	-2.13 (.412)	-4.59 (.429)
Constant	5.36 (.134)	7.04 (.151)	4.85 (.309)	5.83 (.335)
Observations	7443	12793	1320	1945

Note: Dependent variable is an indicator variable taking on a value of 1 (voted Dem) or 0 (voted rep). All explanatory variables are coded 0-1, with 1 representing the most conservative position. Source: 2008, 2010 CCES.

Table A6.6: (Logistic Regression): Predictors of Republican Members of the House Voting Yes on to End the Shutdown and to Reauthorize the Violence Against Women’s Act

	Shutdown [1]	Shutdown [2]	VAWA
District Racial Resentment	-11.6 (3.26)	-12.4 (5.40)	-2.46 (5.09)
District Partisanship		-9.29 (4.82)	-10.5 (4.69)
District Ideology		.165 (8.40)	4.78 (7.87)
District Religiosity		3.71 (3.86)	-4.27 (3.81)
District Black Population		-6.18 (2.84)	-5.48 (2.80)
District Latino Population		.733 (2.42)	5.06 (2.84)
MC Ideological Ideal Point		-7.47 (1.08)	-5.50 (.921)
Constant	7.26 (2.17)	17.5 (3.89)	10.2 (3.48)
Observations	231	231	225

Note: Dependent variable is an indicator variable taking on a value of 1 (voted Yes) or 0 (voted No). All explanatory variables, except ideological ideal point are coded 0-1, with 1 meaning that every constituent in the district scored highest on this measure and 0 meaning every constituent in the district scored lowest. District-level indicators measured in the 2012 CCES and 2012 CCAP and averaged across surveys. House members’ ideological ideal points were accessed from Simon Jackman’s website: <http://jackman.stanford.edu/blog/>

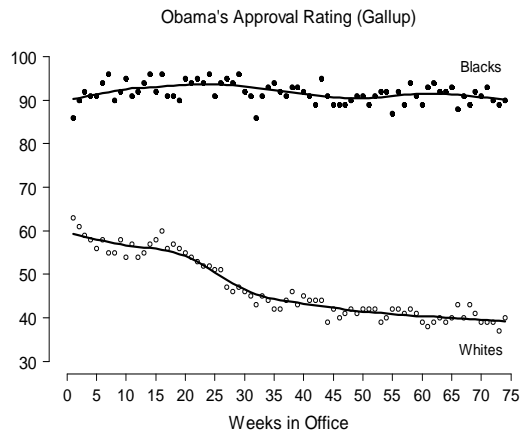
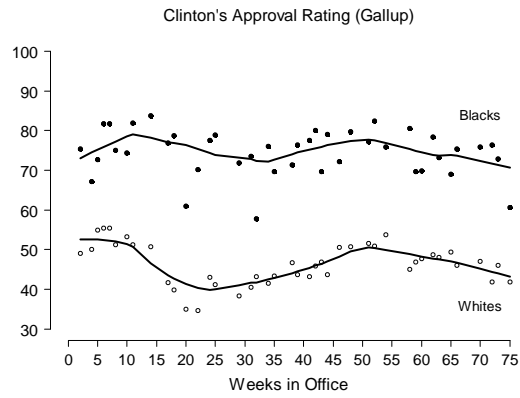


Figure A8.1: Presidential Approval Ratings by Race. Source: 1993-1994 Gallup Polls accessed from Roper Center's Data Archive. 2009-2010 Approval Ratings by Race accessed from Gallup's website.

Table A8.1: (Logistic Regression): Predictors of African-Americans Strongly Approving of President Clinton and President Obama’s Job as President.

	1994-2000	2012
Black Thermometer Rating	.237 (.291)	1.43 (.361)
White Thermometer Rating	.773 (.550)	-1.55 (.615)
Constant	-.349 (.371)	1.30 (.428)
Observations	668	931

Note: Dependent variable is an indicator variable taking on a value of 1 (strongly approve) or 0 (all other responses). All explanatory variables are coded 0-1, with 1 representing the highest value. Black thermometer rating is truncated whereby 0 is a score of 50 or less on the thermometer. Regression analyses utilize sampling weights and robust standard errors that account for design characteristics. Source: ANES Cumulative File; 2012 ANES

Table A9.1: (Logistic Regression) Predictors of Support for Top-bracket Tax Increase

	Clinton Baseline	Neutral Baseline	Clinton/ Neutral Baseline
Racial Resentment	-1.31 (.581)	-1.15 (.854)	-1.21 (.500)
Racial Resentment* Obama Frame	-1.65 (1.10)	-1.82 (1.23)	-1.76 (1.06)
Partisanship/Ideology	-5.76 (.665)	-6.58 (.695)	-6.15 (.479)
Partisanship/Ideology* Obama Frame	.125 (.975)	.942 (.996)	.518 (.859)
Obama Frame	1.10 (.826)	.516 (.911)	.834 (.783)
Constant	4.15 (.442)	4.73 (.586)	4.41 (.356)
Observations	1,099	1,102	1,664

Note: Dependent variable is an indicator variable taking on a value of 1 (support top bracket tax increase) or 0 (all other responses). All explanatory variables are coded 0-1, with 1 representing the most conservative position. Racial resentment, partisanship, and ideology were measured in both March 2008 and November 2009 and averaged across waves. Regression analyses utilize sampling weights and robust standard errors that account for design characteristics. *Source:* CCAP Re-interviews, November 2009.

Table A9.2: (Logistic Regression) Predictors of Support for Assault Weapons Ban

	Clinton Baseline	Neutral Baseline	Clinton/ Neutral Baseline
Racial Resentment	-1.10 (.563)	-1.88 (.628)	-1.52 (.430)
Racial Resentment* Obama Frame	-1.05 (.910)	-.275 (.948)	-.632 (.830)
Partisanship/Ideology	-3.48 (.519)	-1.94 (.802)	-2.58 (.373)
Partisanship/Ideology* Obama Frame	-.411 (.818)	-1.95 (.802)	-1.31 (.734)
Obama Frame	.653 (.636)	1.53 (.610)	1.16 (.548)
Constant	2.85 (.429)	1.98 (.389)	2.35 (.282)
Observations	1,098	1,100	1,661

Note: Dependent variable is an indicator variable taking on a value of 1 (support assault weapons ban) or 0 (all other responses). All explanatory variables are coded 0-1, with 1 representing the most conservative position. Racial resentment, partisanship, and ideology were measured in both March 2008 and November 2009 and averaged across waves. Regression analyses utilize sampling weights and robust standard errors that account for design characteristics. *Source*: CCAP Re-interviews, November 2009.

Table A9.3: (Logistic Regression) Predictors of Support for Killing Suspected Terrorists without Trial

	Model 1	Model 2
Racial Resentment	1.95 (.702)	
Racial Resentment*	-1.45 (.964)	
White – Black Thermometer		3.89 (.752)
White – Black Thermometer*		-4.46 (1.00)
“I am Very Patriotic”	2.61 (.682)	3.23 (.705)
“I am Very Patriotic”*	.028 (.981)	-.551 (.999)
Party ID	.638 (.460)	.923 (.467)
Party ID*	-1.99 (.714)	-2.20 (.695)
Ideology	-1.50 (.679)	-1.43 (.623)
Ideology*	2.80 (.865)	2.98 (.825)
Obama Frame	.865 (.918)	2.82 (1.03)
Constant	-3.28 (.628)	-4.83 (.778)
Observations	719	693

Note: Dependent variable is an indicator variable taking on a value of 1 (support killing suspected terrorists without trial) or 0 (all other responses). All explanatory variables are coded 0-1, with 1 representing the most conservative position. Regression analyses utilize sampling weights and robust standard errors that account for design characteristics. *Source:* YouGov Survey, August 2012.

Table A9.4 (OLS) Predictors of Opposition to Gay Marriage in 2012

	Jan 1 - May 5	May 12	May 19 - Aug 11
2011 Racial Resentment	.078 (.010)	.170 (.040)	.071 (.014)
2011 Partisanship	.048 (.009)	.072 (.038)	.074 (.013)
2011 Ideology	.115 (.014)	.117 (.059)	.122 (.021)
2011 Gay Marriage Opposition	.751 (.007)	.703 (.026)	.717 (.009)
Constant	-.001 (.006)	-.050 (.025)	-.000 (.009)
Observations	10896	713	7763

Note: Dependent variable is a 5-category variable, recoded from 0 (strongly support gay marriage) to 1 (strongly oppose). All explanatory variables are coded 0-1, with 1 representing the most conservative position. Regression analyses utilize sampling weights with robust standard errors that account for design characteristics. *Source:* 2011-2012 CCAP