

# **WHITE IDENTITY POLITICS**

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**WEB APPENDIX**

## CHAPTER 3

### Appendix 3A1. Weighted Demographic Characteristics of Each Dataset

	KN 2010	ANES 2012		YouGov 2016	ANES 2016 Pilot	ANES 2016	
		(Face-to- face)	(Web)			(Face-to- face)	(Web)
Median Age	48 years	48 years	49 years	43 years	50 years	49 years	49 years
Median Income	\$40,000- 49,999	\$40,000- 44,999	\$45,000- 49,999	\$60,000- 69,999	\$40,000- 49,000	\$55,000- 59,000	\$60,000- 64,999
% Male	48.58%	48.08%	48.58%	48.51%	48.52%	48.79%	48.14%
% No High School Degree	9.35%	8.11%	4.65%	3.76%	9.7%	5.90%	7.17%
% High School Degree Only	31.08%	36.83%	36.74%	33.16%	29.07%	28.23%	27.94%
% College Degree	25.79%	32.92%	32.94%	30.45%	27.44%	37.12%	34.13%
% Post-Grad Degree	11.64%	11.82%	12.39%	10.97%	10.4%	14.51%	14.76%

Appendix 3A2. Unweighted Demographic Characteristics of Each Dataset

	KN 2010	ANES 2012 (Face-to- face)	ANES 2012 (Web)	SSI 2013	YouGov 2016	ANES 2016 Pilot	ANES 2016 (Face-to- face)	ANES 2016 (Web)
Median Age	51 years	48 years	53 years	46 years	43 years	49 years	51 years	51 years
Median Income	\$40,000- 49,999	\$40,000- 49,999	\$45,000- 49,999	\$40,000- 49,999	\$60,000- 69,999	\$40,000- 49,000	\$55,000- 54,999	\$55,-000- 59,999
% Male	52.24%	45.31%	50.71%	47.62%	46.33%	48.57%	47.36%	47.23%
% No High School Degree	8.71%	11.24%	5.05%	2.7%	2.3%	7.89%	6.16%	4.33%
% High School Degree Only	29.82%	24.34%	23.68%	18.74%	30.83%	33.14%	20.60%	17.26%
% College Degree	28.63%	32.38%	38.83%	38.28%	30%	26.63%	40.48%	42.59%
% Post-Grad Degree	12.41%	12.45%	15.43%	13.09%	11.5%	10.63%	15.32%	18.74%

Appendix 3B. The Distribution of The Racial Identity Importance Item Among Blacks and Hispanics

	Black Respondents					Hispanic Respondents				
	ANES 2012	ANES 2012	ANES 2016 Pilot	ANES 2016	ANES 2016	ANES 2012	ANES 2012	ANES 2016 Pilot	ANES 2016	ANES 2016
	(Face-to- face)	(Web)		(Face-to- face)	(Web)	(Face-to- face)	(Web)		(Face-to- face)	(Web)
Not at all important	5%	6%	7%	5%	4%	9%	11%	8%	17%	10%
A little important	4	6	2	0	4	7	9	4	4	7
Moderately important	14	20	13	10	16	16	30	12	13	25
Very important	17	24	23	25	18	31	27	36	30	24
Extremely important	61	45	54	60	58	36	22	40	36	34
Observations	480	472	135	103	232	438	482	113	135	219

Sources: 2012 ANES, 2016 ANES Pilot, 2016 ANES.

Notes: Percentages are rounded. Data are weighted.

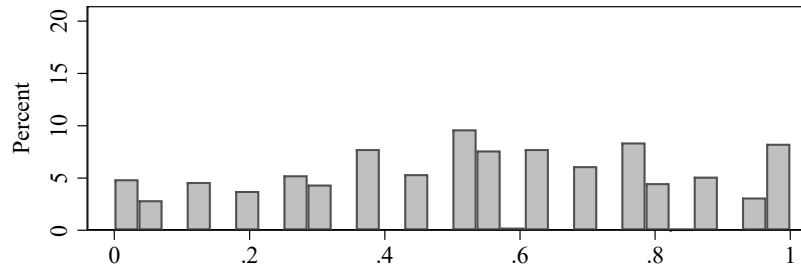
Appendix 3C. Mean Levels of White Identity and White Consciousness

	KN 2010	ANES 2012		SSI 2013	YouGov 2016	ANES 2016 Pilot	ANES 2016	
		(Face-to- face)	(Web)				(Face-to- face)	(Web)
White Identity	0.71 (1,575)	0.44 (1,206)	0.45 (2,821)	0.52 (797)	0.57 (599)	0.48 (875)	0.40 (698)	0.42 (1,888)
White Identity (Three-item)	-	-	-	-	0.62 (600)	-	-	-
White Consciousness	-	-	-	0.54 (798)	0.55 (600)	0.47 (875)	0.42 (700)	0.44 (1,894)
White Consciousness (Five-item)	-	-	-	-	0.59 (600)	-	-	-

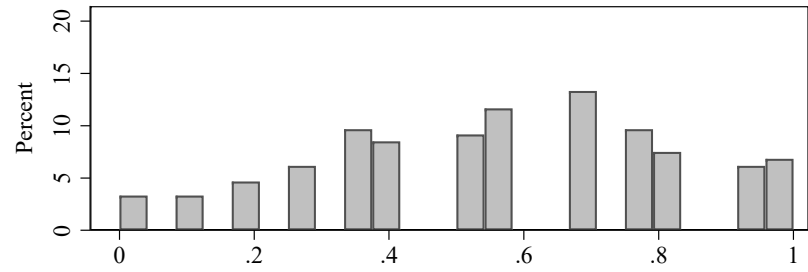
Sources: 2010 KN, 2012 ANES, 2013 SSI, 2016 YouGov, 2016 ANES Pilot, 2016 ANES.

Note: Table entries are mean values. Number of observations in parentheses. Data are weighted (excluding SSI 2013).

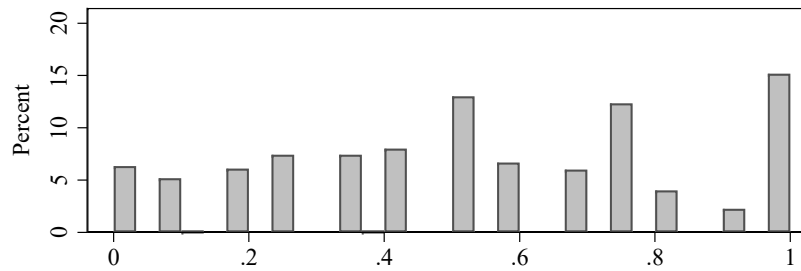
### Appendix 3D. The Distribution of White Consciousness Across Datasets



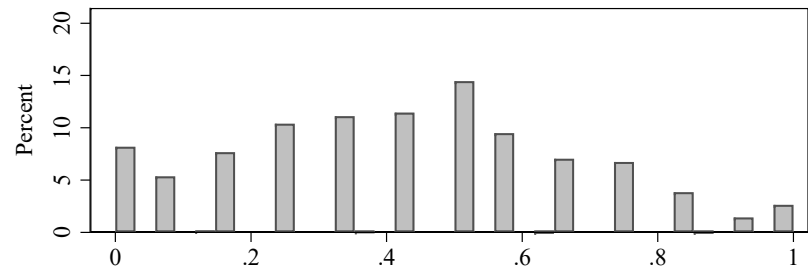
SSI 2013



YouGov 2016



ANES 2016 Pilot



ANES 2016

Sources: 2013 SSI, 2016 YouGov, 2016 ANES Pilot, 2016 ANES.

Appendix 3E. Mean Levels of White Identity by Race of Interviewer

	White interviewer	Black interviewer	Other interviewer
Mean	0.45 (0.016)	0.36 (0.037)	0.46 (0.047)
Observations	598	91	85

Source: 2012 ANES (face-to-face).

Note: Table entries are mean values. Standard errors in parentheses. White identity recoded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted.

Appendix 3F. The Relationship between White Consciousness and Political and Social Predispositions

	YouGov 2016	ANES Pilot 2016	ANES 2016	
			(Face-to- face)	(Web)
Party Identification (Republican)	0.22* (585)	0.18* (839)	0.23* (646)	0.25* (1892)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	0.24* (595)	0.26* (817)	0.28* (651)	0.30* (1894)
Limited Government	0.11* (596)			
Egalitarianism	-0.28* (600)		-0.21* (700)	-.025* (1894)
Racial Resentment	0.27* (600)	0.33* (874)	0.39* (651)	0.42* (1893)
Stereotype Index	0.29* (600)	0.35* (871)	0.43* (691)	0.43* (1868)
Black Feeling Thermometer	-0.21* (587)	-0.26* (873)	-0.19* (637)	-0.15* (1875)
Hispanic Feeling Thermometer		-0.29* (874)	-0.24* (634)	-0.17* (1869)
Asian Feeling Thermometer			-0.19* (641)	-0.12* (1873)
Muslim Feeling Thermometer		-0.37* (873)	-0.25* (639)	-0.30* (1767)
Ku Klux Klan Thermometer	0.29* (559)			

Source: 2016 YouGov, 2016 ANES Pilot, 2016 ANES.

Note: Table entry is the Pearson correlation coefficient. Number of observations appears in parentheses. Data are weighted.

\* $p \leq 0.05$



Appendix 3G. The Relationship between Linked Fate and Political and Social Predispositions

	(Face-to-face)	(Web)
Party Identification (Republican)	0.01 (732)	0.07* (2385)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	0.02 (737)	0.05* (2387)
Education	0.07 (736)	0.06* (2382)
Limited Government	0.07 (736)	0.06* (2382)
Egalitarianism	-0.01 (737)	0.03 (2387)
Racial Resentment	0.04 (736)	0.07* (2387)
Stereotype Index	0.04 (730)	0.08* (2374)
Black Feeling Thermometer	-0.01 (723)	-0.02 (2372)
Hispanic Feeling Thermometer	0.03 (723)	-0.001 (2372)
Asian Feeling Thermometer	0.03 (724)	0.04* (2374)
Muslim Thermometer	-0.01 (723)	-0.02 (2372)

Source: 2012 ANES

Notes: Table entry is the Pearson correlation coefficient. Number of observations appears in parentheses. Data are weighted.

\* $p \leq 0.05$

Appendix 3H. The Relationship between White Linked Fate and 2012 Presidential Vote Choice

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White Linked Fate	0.626 (0.508)
Party Identification (Republican)	-4.138*** (0.821)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	-3.390*** (1.006)
Employment Status	1.698* (0.950)
Negative Personal Financial Evaluations	0.603 (0.724)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	-4.698*** (0.709)
Education	-0.375 (1.243)
Age	0.224 (0.817)
Female	-0.247 (0.395)
Racial Resentment	-2.122** (0.930)
Limited Government	-1.161** (0.585)
Constant	7.618*** (1.338)
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Observations	493

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Source: 2012 ANES.

Note: Table entries are logit coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 3I. The Relationship between White Linked Fate and Political Attitudes

	White Influence	Black Influence	Hispanic Influence	Whites Face Discrimination	Decrease Immigration	Illegal Immigration Thermometer	Immigrants Take Jobs Away
White Linked Fate	0.003 (0.025)	-0.030 (0.029)	-0.049 (0.033)	0.043* (0.024)	0.062** (0.030)	-0.000 (0.027)	0.023 (0.037)
Party Identification (Republican)	0.094** (0.038)	-0.084* (0.046)	-0.128** (0.057)	-0.038 (0.038)	0.036 (0.057)	-0.125*** (0.047)	-0.018 (0.061)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	0.011 (0.049)	-0.090 (0.063)	-0.094 (0.072)	0.036 (0.057)	0.069 (0.075)	-0.092 (0.065)	0.196** (0.084)
Employment Status	-0.036 (0.043)	-0.026 (0.068)	-0.087 (0.073)	-0.060 (0.049)	0.099* (0.058)	-0.112* (0.060)	0.014 (0.070)
Negative Personal Financial Evaluations	-0.012 (0.039)	0.013 (0.042)	-0.038 (0.047)	-0.015 (0.035)	-0.072* (0.043)	-0.024 (0.037)	0.031 (0.050)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	-0.035 (0.040)	-0.125*** (0.049)	-0.016 (0.058)	0.103** (0.041)	0.074 (0.051)	0.032 (0.046)	0.111* (0.062)
Education	-0.053 (0.066)	-0.100 (0.077)	0.079 (0.083)	-0.066 (0.062)	-0.305*** (0.081)	0.042 (0.070)	-0.218** (0.091)
Age	0.044 (0.042)	-0.099** (0.050)	-0.197*** (0.054)	-0.018 (0.043)	0.032 (0.050)	0.060 (0.046)	-0.166*** (0.060)
Female	-0.003 (0.020)	-0.015 (0.023)	0.004 (0.026)	0.027 (0.018)	0.066*** (0.024)	0.006 (0.021)	0.027 (0.029)
Racial Resentment	0.305*** (0.048)	-0.452*** (0.055)	-0.286*** (0.060)	0.177*** (0.038)			
Limited Government	0.033 (0.028)	0.019 (0.033)	-0.038 (0.037)	0.007 (0.026)	-0.056 (0.036)	-0.014 (0.029)	-0.067* (0.041)
Hispanic Feeling Thermometer					-0.196*** (0.052)	0.344*** (0.054)	-0.362*** (0.058)
Constant	0.228*** (0.068)	1.104*** (0.079)	0.975*** (0.082)	0.162*** (0.060)	0.834*** (0.070)	0.194*** (0.059)	0.756*** (0.082)
Observations	692	691	692	690	656	679	677
R-squared	0.169	0.259	0.199	0.09	0.117	0.179	0.13

Source: ANES 2012 (Face to Face).

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted. Dependent variables are, left to right, agreement with the statement “whites have too little influence,” agreement with the statement “blacks have too little influence,” agreement with the statement “Hispanics have too little influence,” agreement with the statement “whites are discriminated against,” respondents’ ranking of illegal immigration on the 0-100 feeling thermometer, and agreement with the statement it is “likely immigrants will take jobs away from Americans.” \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 3J. Comparing Effect of White Identity Measured with One Item or Three Items

	Trump Thermometer		Alienation		Immigrant Thermometer		White History Month	
White Identity (1 Item)	0.046 (0.048)		0.232*** (0.050)		-0.173*** (0.042)		0.224*** (0.050)	
White Identity (3 Item)		0.198*** (0.070)		0.433*** (0.061)		-0.172*** (0.064)		0.380*** (0.069)
Party Identification (Republican)	0.389*** (0.057)	0.395*** (0.055)	-0.044 (0.045)	-0.035 (0.042)	-0.120** (0.048)	-0.125** (0.049)	-0.034 (0.048)	-0.025 (0.046)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	0.169** (0.069)	0.146** (0.068)	0.116* (0.062)	0.095 (0.061)	-0.052 (0.064)	-0.062 (0.064)	0.136* (0.071)	0.122* (0.068)
Unemployed	0.018 (0.070)	0.024 (0.068)	0.035 (0.040)	0.046 (0.040)	-0.078 (0.077)	-0.079 (0.079)	-0.018 (0.042)	-0.009 (0.043)
Education	0.029 (0.052)	0.024 (0.051)	0.099* (0.050)	0.106** (0.048)	0.000 (0.049)	-0.012 (0.049)	-0.117** (0.056)	-0.108** (0.053)
Age	-0.156** (0.064)	-0.156** (0.063)	-0.152** (0.062)	-0.156*** (0.060)	-0.080 (0.055)	-0.073 (0.055)	-0.165** (0.070)	-0.170** (0.069)
Female	-0.029 (0.031)	-0.024 (0.030)	0.004 (0.027)	0.015 (0.026)	-0.033 (0.026)	-0.036 (0.027)	0.047 (0.029)	0.056* (0.029)
Limited Government	0.075** (0.035)	0.076** (0.035)	-0.055* (0.029)	-0.061** (0.028)	0.022 (0.029)	0.033 (0.029)	-0.029 (0.030)	-0.036 (0.029)
Racial Resentment	0.320*** (0.070)	0.286*** (0.071)	0.147** (0.073)	0.104 (0.072)	-0.240*** (0.075)	-0.243*** (0.078)	0.480*** (0.082)	0.449*** (0.082)
Constant	-0.003 (0.071)	-0.072 (0.076)	0.263*** (0.053)	0.153*** (0.055)	0.874*** (0.055)	0.891*** (0.055)	0.174*** (0.058)	0.084 (0.060)
Observations	548	548	575	576	570	571	577	578
R-squared	0.374	0.386	0.152	0.190	0.194	0.172	0.243	0.257

Source: 2016 YouGov.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted. Dependent variables are, left to right, respondents' ranking of Trump on the 0-100 feeling thermometer, respondents' agreement with the statement "American society owes white people a better chance in life than they currently have," respondents' ranking of immigrants on the 0-100 feeling thermometer, and respondents' support for a white history month.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

## CHAPTER 4

### Appendix 4A1. The Relationship between White Identity and Age, Gender, and Education

	ANES 2012 (Web)			ANES 2016 Pilot			ANES 2016 (Face-to-face)		
	Low ID	High ID	All Whites	Low ID	High ID	All Whites	Low ID	High ID	All Whites
Age (mean)	47 years	51 years	49 years	48 years	52 years	50 years	47 years	54 years	49 years
Male	51%	50%	49%	56%	44%	49%	51%	53%	49%
Female	49%	50%	51%	44%	56%	51%	49%	47%	51%
High School Graduate (only)	30%	49%	37%	22%	34%	29%	21%	40%	28%
College Graduate	40%	23%	33%	35%	23%	29%	45%	24%	37%
No College	60%	77%	67%	65%	77%	71%	55%	76%	63%

Source: 2012 ANES (Web), 2016 ANES Pilot, 2016 ANES (Face-to-face).

Note: Percentages are rounded. Data are weighted.

### Appendix 4A2. The Relationship between White Identity and Age, Gender, and Education

	KN 2010			SSI 2013			YouGov 2016		
	Low ID	High ID	All Whites	Low ID	High ID	All Whites	Low ID	High ID	All Whites
Age (mean)	48 years	49 years	48 years	43 years	47 years	47 years	44 years	49 years	48 years
Male	50%	48%	49%	45%	50%	48%	40%	53%	49%
Female	50%	52%	51%	55%	50%	52%	60%	47%	51%
High School Graduate (only)	22%	36%	31%	14%	23%	19%	33%	34%	33%
College Graduate	40%	26%	31%	42%	35%	38%	29%	33%	30%
No College	60%	74%	69%	58%	65%	62%	71%	67%	70%

Source: 2010 KN, 2013 SSI, 2016 YouGov.

Note: Percentages are rounded. KN and YouGov data are weighted.

Appendix 4A3. The Relationship between White Consciousness and Age, Gender, and Education

	SSI 2013			YouGov 2016			ANES 2016 Pilot		
	Low Consc.	High Consc.	All Whites	Low Consc.	High Consc.	All Whites	Low Consc.	High Consc.	All Whites
Age (mean)	43 years	47 years	47 years	46 years	50 years	48 years	45 years	54 years	50 years
Male	47%	47%	48%	47%	46%	49%	56%	45%	49%
Female	53%	53%	52%	53%	54%	51%	44%	55%	51%
High School Graduate (only)	11%	26%	19%	32%	34%	33%	19%	38%	29%
College Graduate	51%	34%	38%	36%	32%	30%	38%	24%	32%
No College	49%	66%	62%	64%	68%	70%	62%	76%	68%

Source: 2013 SSI, 2016 YouGov, 2016 ANES Pilot.

Note: Percentages are rounded. YouGov and ANES data are weighted.

Appendix 4A4. The Relationship between White Consciousness and Age, Gender, and Education

	ANES 2016 (Face-to-face)			ANES 2016 (Web)		
	Low Consc.	High Consc.	All Whites	Low Consc.	High Consc.	All Whites
Age (mean)	46 years	55 years	49 years	47 years	60 years	48 years
Male	57%	38%	49%	51%	43%	48%
Female	43%	62%	51%	49%	57%	52%
High School Graduate (only)	18%	39%	28%	23%	31%	28%
College Graduate	50%	19%	37%	45%	21%	34%
No College	50%	81%	63%	55%	79%	66%

Source: 2016 ANES.

Note: Percentages are rounded. Data are weighted.

Appendix 4B1. The Relationship between White Identity and Geographic Context

	ANES 2012 (Web)			ANES 2016 Pilot			ANES 2016 (Face-to-face)		
	Low ID	High ID	All Whites	Low ID	High ID	All Whites	Low ID	High ID	All Whites
“Confederate” South	26%	33%	29%	31%	32%	31%	16%	24%	18%
Deep South	6	7	6	11	7	8	5	14	7
Northeast	18	20	19	17	17	16	16	15	18
Midwest	24	24	24	24	22	26	27	29	27
South	32	40	35	35	41	37	25	36	28
West	25	16	22	24	19	21	27	14	20
Rural	15	18	17	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: 2012 ANES (Web), 2016 ANES Pilot, 2016 ANES (Face-to-face).

Note: Percentages are rounded. Data are weighted.

Appendix 4B2. The Relationship between White Identity and Geographic Context

	KN 2010			SSI 2013			YouGov 2016		
	Low ID	High ID	All Whites	Low ID	High ID	All Whites	Low ID	High ID	All Whites
“Confederate” South	-	-	-	29%	38%	32%	33%	35%	33%
Deep South	7	12	10	6	9	7	9	7	7
Northeast	19	13	16	16	16	18	20	19	17
Midwest	17	22	21	25	25	25	25	25	25
South	46	50	48	31	39	34	38	38	37
West	19	14	16	22	15	18	18	19	21
Rural	20	19	19	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: 2010 KN, 2013 SSI, 2016 YouGov.

Note: Percentages are rounded. KN and YouGov are weighted.

Appendix 4B3. The Relationship between White Consciousness and Geographic Context

	SSI 2013			YouGov 2016			ANES 2016 Pilot		
	Low Consc.	High Consc.	All Whites	Low Consc.	High Consc.	All Whites	Low Consc.	High Consc.	All Whites
“Confederate” South	29%	36%	32%	31%	33%	33%	26%	41%	31%
Deep South	7	8	7	6	8	7	10	11	8
Northeast	16	19	18	17	18	17	16	15	16
Midwest	21	25	25	25	25	25	23	21	26
South	30	37	34	34	36	37	30	49	37
West	26	15	18	24	19	21	30	15	21

Source: 2013 SSI, 2016 YouGov, 2016 ANES Pilot.

Note: Percentages are rounded. YouGov and ANES data are weighted.

Appendix 4B4. The Relationship between White Consciousness and Geographic Context

	ANES 2016 (Face-to-face)			ANES 2016 (Web)		
	Low Consc.	High Consc.	All Whites	Low Consc.	High Consc.	All Whites
“Confederate” South	16%	27%	18%	19%	26%	21%
Deep South	4	19	7	6	12	7
Northeast	21	16	18	22	18	19
Midwest	19	23	27	23	21	25
South	25	37	28	25	35	27
West	26	17	20	26	23	23

Source: 2016 ANES.

Note: Percentages are rounded. Data are weighted.



Appendix 4C1. The Relationship between White Identity and Economic Evaluations and Circumstances

	ANES 2012 (Web)			ANES 2016 Pilot			ANES 2016 (Face-to-face)		
	Low ID	High ID	All Whites	Low ID	High ID	All Whites	Low ID	High ID	All Whites
Income (mean)	\$50,000- \$54,999	\$50,000- \$54,999	\$50,000- \$54,999	\$55,000- \$59,999	\$50,000- \$59,999	\$50,000- \$59,999	\$55,000- \$59,999	\$50,000- \$54,999	\$55,000- \$59,999
Employment Status	4%	5%	5%	9%	8%	9%	3%	2%	3%
Own home	78%	79%	79%	-	-	-	77%	79%	78%
Union	17%	15%	17%	-	-	-	18%	17%	17%
Working Class	43%	39%	41%	-	-	-	38%	42%	38%
Middle Class	66%	70%	69%	-	-	-	72%	62%	69%
Family worse off than year ago	56%	55%	55%	-	-	-	40%	41%	37%
Very/Extremely Worried about Current Financial Situation	23%	29%	25%	-	-	-	20%	21%	21%
Knows someone who lost job in past 12 months	39%	38%	40%	-	-	-	55%	51%	54%
Economic mobility harder today	-	-	-	62%	51%	55%	67%	72%	67%

Source: 2012 ANES (Web), 2016 ANES Pilot, 2016 ANES (Face-to-face).

Note: Percentages are rounded. Data are weighted.

Appendix 4C2. The Relationship between White Identity and Economic Evaluations and Circumstances

	KN 2010			SSI 2013			YouGov 2016		
	Low ID	High ID	All Whites	Low ID	High ID	All Whites	Low ID	High ID	All Whites
Income (mean)	\$40,000- \$49,999	\$40,000- \$49,999	\$40,000- \$49,999	\$40,000- \$49,999	\$40,000- \$49,999	\$40,000- \$49,999	\$40,000- \$49,999	\$60,000- \$69,999	\$60,000- \$69,999
Employment Status	9%	10%	9%	12%	10%	11%	16%	4%	9%
Union	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%	14%	12%
Family worse off than year ago	34%	34%	34%	38%	37%	35%	-	-	-
Professional occupation	-	-	-	-	-	-	39%	40%	36%
Clerical occupation	-	-	-	-	-	-	32%	23%	26%
Semi-skilled occupation	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%	21%	20%
Laborer occupation	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%	7%	9%
Other occupation	-	-	-	-	-	-	7%	9%	9%

Source: 2010 KN, 2013 SSI, 2016 YouGov.

Note: Percentages are rounded. KN and YouGov are weighted.

Appendix 4C3. The Relationship between White Consciousness and Economic Evaluations and Circumstances

	SSI 2013			YouGov 2016			ANES 2016 Pilot		
	Low Consc.	High Consc.	All Whites	Low Consc.	High Consc.	All Whites	Low Consc.	High Consc.	All Whites
Income (mean)	\$40,000- \$49,999	\$35,000- \$39,999	\$40,000- \$49,999	\$50,000- \$59,999	\$60,000- \$69,999	\$60,000- \$69,999	\$50,000- \$59,999	\$50,000- \$59,999	\$50,000- \$59,999
Employment Status	10%	9%	11%	8%	7%	9%	11%	9%	9%
Union	-	-	-	12%	14%	12%	-	-	-
Family worse off than year ago	29%	46%	35%	-	-	-	-	-	-
Professional occupation	-	-	-	40%	29%	35%	36%	-	-
Clerical occupation	-	-	-	31%	22%	26%	-	-	-
Semi-skilled occupation	-	-	-	11%	24%	20%	-	-	-
Laborer occupation	-	-	-	12%	9%	9%	-	-	-
Other occupation	-	-	-	6%	10%	9%	-	-	-
Economic Mobility harder today	-	-	-	-	-	-	61%	60%	55%

Source: 2013 SSI, 2016 YouGov, 2016 ANES Pilot.

Note: Percentages are rounded. YouGov and ANES data are weighted.

Appendix 4C4. The Relationship between White Consciousness and Economic Evaluations and Circumstances

	ANES 2016 (Face-to-face)			ANES 2016 (Web)		
	Low Consc.	High Consc.	All Whites	Low Consc.	High Consc.	All Whites
Income (mean)	\$65,000- \$69,999	\$30,000- \$34,999	\$50,000- \$54,999	\$60,000- \$64,999	\$50,000- \$54,999	\$50,000- \$54,999
Employment Status	2%	5%	2%	6%	6%	6%
Own home	74%	62%	67%	67%	63%	67%
Union	19%	17%	16%	17%	14%	16%
Working Class	25%	51%	33%	24%	35%	36%
Middle Class	70%	49%	64%	76%	65%	64%
Family worse off than year ago	16%	27%	20%	30%	38%	31%
Very/Extremely Worried about Current Financial Situation	7%	20%	14%	20%	38%	24%
Knows someone who lost job in past 12 months	45%	33%	41%	41%	53%	44%
Economic mobility harder today	64%	72%	67%	70%	79%	71%

Source: 2016 ANES.

Note: Percentages are rounded. Data are weighted.

Appendix 4D1. The Relationship between White Identity and Religion

	ANES 2012 (Web)			ANES 2016 Pilot			ANES 2016 (Face-to-face)		
	Low ID	High ID	All Whites	Low ID	High ID	All Whites	Low ID	High ID	All Whites
Mainline Protestant	13%	15%	14%	35%	44%	40%	1%	3%	2%
Evangelical Protestant	17	22	19	-	-	-	6	4	5
Roman Catholic	20	22	22	15	21	19	21	24	23
Undifferentiated Christian	11	11	12	-	-	-	-	-	-
Not religious	30	22	26	40	25	32	9	5	7
Bible is word of God	69	80	74	-	-	-	74	83	78

Source: 2012 ANES (Web), 2016 ANES Pilot, 2016 ANES (Face-to-face).

Note: Percentages are rounded. Data are weighted.

Appendix 4D2. The Relationship between White Identity and Religion

	KN 2010			SSI 2013			YouGov 2016		
	Low ID	High ID	All Whites	Low ID	High ID	All Whites	Low ID	High ID	All Whites
Mainline Protestant	25%	29%	28%	-	-	-	29%	29%	27%
Roman Catholic	16	22	20	-	-	-	6	32	25
Undifferentiated Christian	12	12	12	-	-	-	-	-	-
Not religious	23	10	15	-	-	-	18	3	11

Source: 2010 KN, 2013 SSI, 2016 YouGov.

Note: Percentages are rounded. KN and YouGov data are weighted.

### Appendix 4D3. The Relationship between White Consciousness and Religion

	YouGov 2016			ANES 2016 Pilot		
	Low Consc.	High Consc.	All Whites	Low Consc.	High Consc.	All Whites
Mainline Protestant	28%	30%	27%	33%	50%	40%
Roman Catholic	12	32	25	12	26	19
Not religious	22	4	11	46	19	32

Source: 2016 YouGov, 2016 ANES Pilot.

Note: Percentages are rounded. Data are weighted.

### Appendix 4D4. The Relationship between White Consciousness and Religion

	ANES 2016 (Face-to-face)			ANES 2016 (Web)		
	Low Consc.	High Consc.	All Whites	Low Consc.	High Consc.	All Whites
Mainline Protestant	1%	1%	2%	2%	3%	3%
Evangelical Protestant	5	2	5	6	8	8
Roman Catholic	25	26	23	25	28	25
Not religious	13	3	7	24	5	13
Bible is word of God	18	43	30	15	32	25

Source: 2016 ANES.

Note: Percentages are rounded. Data are weighted.

### Appendix 4E1. The Relationship between White Identity and Partisanship and Political Ideology

	ANES 2012 (Web)			ANES 2016 Pilot			ANES 2016 (Face-to-face)		
	Low ID	High ID	All Whites	Low ID	High ID	All Whites	Low ID	High ID	All Whites
Democrat	34%	37%	37%	34%	35%	36%	43%	31%	39%
Republican	46	50	16	39	49	43	50	55	52
Independent	18	13	47	27	17	21	7	14	9
Liberal	31	21	27	23	18	21	40	28	34
Conservative	48	53	51	36	45	38	51	57	54

Source: 2012 ANES (Web), 2016 ANES Pilot, 2016 ANES (Face-to-face).

Note: Percentages are rounded. Data are weighted.

### Appendix 4E2. The Relationship between White Identity and Partisanship and Political Ideology

	KN 2010			SSI 2013			YouGov 2016		
	Low ID	High ID	All Whites	Low ID	High ID	All Whites	Low ID	High ID	All Whites
Democrat	53%	40%	45%	47%	39%	43%	40%	29%	34%
Republican	43	57	52	30	44	38	34	49	43
Independent	3	2	3	23	17	20	25	21	22
Liberal	35	15	22	40	26	31	35	17	20
Conservative	34	45	41	29	38	35	19	48	38

Source: 2010 KN, 2013 SSI, 2016 YouGov.

Note: Percentages are rounded. KN and YouGov data are weighted.

Appendix 4E3. The Relationship between White Consciousness and Partisanship and Political Ideology

	SSI 2013			YouGov 2016			ANES 2016 Pilot		
	Low Consc.	High Consc.	All Whites	Low Consc.	High Consc.	All Whites	Low Consc.	High Consc.	All Whites
Democrat	63%	39%	43%	45%	30%	34%	45%	25%	36%
Republican	22	48	38	27	51	43	35	53	43
Independent	15	14	20	28	19	22	21	22	21
Liberal	55	22	31	31	17	20	32	10	21
Conservative	17	45	35	20	49	38	28	50	38

Source: 2013 SSI, 2016 YouGov, 2016 ANES Pilot.

Note: Percentages are rounded. YouGov and ANES data are weighted.

Appendix 4E4. The Relationship between White Consciousness and Partisanship and Political Ideology

	ANES 2016 (Face-to-face)			ANES 2016 (Web)		
	Low Consc.	High Consc.	All Whites	Low Consc.	High Consc.	All Whites
Democrat	57%	20%	39%	56%	28%	39%
Republican	37	66	52	31	56	47
Independent	6	14	9	13	16	15
Liberal	54	9	34	46	19	29
Conservative	38	76	52	31	51	45

Source: 2016 ANES.

Note: Percentages are rounded. Data are weighted.



Appendix 4F. The Correlation between White Identity and Various Demographics

	KN 2010	ANES 2012		SSI 2013	YouGov 2016	ANES 2016		
		(Face- to-face)	(Web)			(Face- to-face)	(Web)	
Age	0.08* (752)	0.10* (836)	0.12* (2390)	0.07 (797)	0.05 (1467)	0.05* (1467)	0.18* (641)	0.13* (1844)
Born in 1940s or Earlier	0.10* (91)	0.12* (94)	0.13* (2390)	-0.01 (30)	0.04 (44)	0.04 (44)	0.16* (162)	0.14* (1888)
Born in 1950s	0.08* (155)	0.02 (180)	-0.04 (2390)	0.02 (135)	-0.02 (292)	-0.02 (292)	-0.00 (113)	0.03 (1888)
Born in 1960s	-0.09 (169)	-0.05 (116)	-0.07* (2390)	0.04 (142)	0.06* (255)	-0.06* (255)	0.01 (101)	-0.03 (1888)
Born in 1970s	-0.05 (144)	0.02 (145)	-0.05* (2390)	-0.04 (146)	0.01 (151)	0.01 (151)	-0.08* (96)	-0.06* (1888)
Born in 1980s	-0.03 (85)	-0.08* (121)	-0.01 (2390)	0.01 (152)	0.05* (356)	0.05* (356)	-0.07 (101)	-0.11* (1888)
Born in 1990s or Later	0.01 (108)	0.02 (85)	0.00 (2390)	0.08* (56)	-0.08* (187)	0.08* (187)	-0.06 (76)	0.01 (1888)
Female	-0.01 (752)	0.07* (859)	0.02 (2890)	-0.06 (797)	-0.07 (599)	0.12* (875)	0.03 (698)	0.04 (1888)
Education	-0.17* (752)	-0.09* (852)	-0.13* (2360)	-0.09* (794)	0.04 (1467)	-0.16* (875)	-0.17* (647)	-0.10* (1872)
Income	-0.05 (752)	-0.08* (852)	-0.03 (2321)	-0.02 (795)	0.09* (1432)	-0.14* (782)	-0.19* (621)	-0.06* (1821)
Income 20-40%	0.04 (170)	-0.02 (149)	0.06* (2390)	0.00 (115)	-0.08* (301)	-0.03 (102)	0.02 (118)	0.01 (1888)
Income 41-60%	0.01 (130)	0.02 (156)	-0.01 (2390)	-0.01 (171)	-0.01 (241)	-0.00 (161)	0.04 (130)	0.02 (1888)
Income 61-80%	-0.00 (154)	0.03 (172)	0.02 (2390)	-0.02 (141)	0.01* (313)	-0.01 (168)	-0.10* (116)	-0.02 (1888)
Income 81-100%	-0.05 (201)	-0.10* (128)	0.02 (2390)	0.01 (158)	0.03 (249)	-0.13* (119)	-0.11* (128)	-0.06* (1888)
Employment Status	0.02 (752)	-0.01 (857)	0.00 (2389)	-0.02 (797)	-0.11* (1467)	-0.02 (875)	0.05 (649)	0.02 (1886)
Neg. Pers. Econ Evaluations	0.04 (752)	-0.01 (850)	0.00 (2363)				0.10* (647)	0.04 (1884)
Neg. Nat. Econ Evaluations	-0.02* (747)	0.08* (850)	0.04 (2385)			0.10* (875)	0.16* (647)	0.13* (1881)
Blue Collar		0.09* (756)						
Professional		-0.12* (173)			0.04 (473)			
Clerical Worker		0.02 (107)			-0.07* (253)			
Semi-skilled Worker		0.10* (187)			-0.01 (207)			
Laborer		0.06 (45)			0.03 (107)			
Mainline Protestant	0.06 (745)	0.05 (841)	0.06* (2380)		0.03 (392)		0.05 (688)	0.01 (1877)
Evangelical/Baptist	0.08* (745)	0.03 (859)	0.05* (2390)				-0.07 (688)	-0.01 (1877)

Source: 2010 KN, 2012 ANES, 2013 SSI, 2016 YouGov, 2016 ANES Pilot, 2016 ANES.

Notes: Table entry is the Pearson correlation coefficient. Number of observations appears in parentheses. Data are not weighted.

\* p<=0.05

Appendix 4G. The Correlation between White Consciousness and Various Demographics

	SSI 2013	YouGov 2016	ANES Pilot 2016	ANES (Face- to-face)	ANES (Web)
Age	0.09*	0.05*	0.11*	0.20*	0.13*
	(781)	(1467)	(875)	(642)	(1850)
Born in 1940s or Earlier	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.17*	0.13*
	(30)	(44)	(59)	(163)	(1894)
Born in 1950s	0.07	-0.02	0.07*	0.00	0.02
	(135)	(292)	(217)	(113)	(1894)
Born in 1960s	0.06	-0.04	0.04	0.01	0.00
	(142)	(255)	(125)	(101)	(1894)
Born in 1970s	-0.04	0.05	0.01	-0.08	-0.06*
	(146)	(151)	(143)	(96)	(1894)
Born in 1980s	-0.06	0.04	-0.10*	-0.09*	-0.11*
	(152)	(356)	(150)	(101)	(1894)
Born in 1990s or Later	-0.05	-0.10*	-0.07	-0.06	-0.00
	(56)	(187)	(94)	(77)	(1894)
Female	0.01	-0.02*	0.10*	0.12*	0.06*
	(798)	(600)	(875)	700)	(1894)
Education	-0.15*	-0.02	-0.19*	0.24*	-0.21*
	(795)	(1467)	(875)	(649)	(1878)
Income	-.06	.06*	-.12*	-.27*	-.14*
	(796)	(1432)	(782)	(622)	(1827)
Income 20-40%	0.04	-0.08*	0.04	0.06	0.05*
	(115)	(301)	(102)	(119)	(1894)
Income 41-60%	-0.03	-0.01	-0.02	0.01	0.03
	(171)	(241)	(161)	(130)	(1894)
Income 61-80%	-0.05	0.10*	-0.03	-0.11*	0.00
	(141)	(313)	(168)	(116)	(1894)
Income 81-100%	-0.03	0.01	-0.10*	-0.16*	-0.13*
	(158)	(249)	(119)	(128)	(1894)
Employment Status	-0.00	-0.08*	0.01	0.04	0.05*
	(798)	(1467)	(875)	(651)	(1892)
Neg. Pers. Econ Evaluations				0.15*	0.14*
				(649)	(1890)
Neg. Nat. Econ Evaluations				0.30*	0.28*
				(649)	(1887)
Blue Collar					
Professional		0.01	0.25*		
		(473)	(875)		
Clerical Worker		-0.07*			
		(253)			
Semi-skilled Worker		0.02			
		(207)			
Laborer		0.04			
		(107)			
Mainline Protestant		0.03		0.01	0.00
		(1467)		(689)	(1883)
Evangelical/Baptist				-0.04	0.02
				(689)	(1883)

Source: 2013 SSI, 2016 YouGov, 2016 ANES Pilot, 2016 ANES.

Notes: Table entry is the Pearson correlation coefficient. Number of observations appears in parentheses. Data are not weighted.

\*  $p \leq 0.05$

Appendix 4H. The Correlation between White Identity and Geography

	KN 2010	ANES 2012		SSI 2013	YouGov 2016	ANES Pilot 2016	ANES 2016	
		(Face-to- face)	(Web)				(Face-to- face)	(Web)
South	0.07 (362)	0.06 (224)	0.05* (2390)	0.09* (254)	0.05 (448)	0.01 (241)	0.04 (709)	0.03 (1888)
Deep South	0.08* (78)	0.01 (59)	0.00 (2390)	0.05 (58)	0.03 (96)	-0.05 (62)	0.06* (180)	0.04 (1888)
Census Northeast	-0.06 (104)	0.03 (155)	0.03 (2390)	-0.01 (144)	0.00 (282)	-0.02 (162)	0.01 (445)	0.01 (1888)
Census Midwest	0.04 (144)	0.02 (255)	-0.01 (2390)	-0.00 (197)	-0.02 (343)	0.01 (232)	0.00 (678)	0.01 (1888)
Census South	0.07 (362)	0.04 (275)	.05* (2390)	0.08* (270)	0.05* (518)	0.06 (292)	0.04* (886)	0.03 (1888)
Census West	-0.08* (127)	-0.09* (174)	-0.08* (2390)	-0.07 (145)	-0.04 (323)	-0.07* (187)	-0.05* (555)	-0.04 (1888)
% black	0.06 (745)	-0.07* (859)	0.00 (2390)					
% Latino	-0.03 (745)	-0.02 (859)	-0.02 (2390)					
% non-white	0.03 (745)	-0.08* (859)	-0.02 (2390)					
% Foreign Born	-0.06 (745)	-0.05 (859)	-0.02 (2390)					
Change in % Foreign Born	-0.04 (745)	0.02 (859)	-0.01 (2390)					
Rural	-0.00 (752)	0.12* (859)	0.03 (2390)					

Source: 2010 KN, 2012 ANES, 2013 SSI, 2016 YouGov, 2016 ANES Pilot, 2016 ANES.

Notes: Table entry is the Pearson correlation coefficient. Number of observations appears in parentheses. Data are not weighted.

\*  $p \leq 0.05$

Appendix 4I. The Correlation between White Consciousness and Geography

	SSI 2013	YouGov 2016	ANES Pilot 2016	ANES 2016	
				(Face-to- face)	(Web)
South	0.06 (255)	0.11* (448)	0.02 (241)	0.05* (709)	0.05* (1894)
Deep South	0.02 (58)	0.05 (96)	-0.02 (62)	0.05* (180)	0.03 (1894)
Census Northeast	0.02 (144)	-0.04 (282)	-0.00 (162)	-0.03 (449)	-0.04 (1894)
Census Midwest	0.01 (197)	-0.03 (343)	0.03 (232)	0.03 (680)	0.03 (1894)
Census South	0.07 (271)	0.10* (518)	0.06 (292)	0.05* (886)	0.07* (1894)
Census West	-0.09* (145)	-0.05 (324)	-0.10* (187)	-0.05 (557)	-0.05* (1894)

Source: 2013 SSI, 2016 YouGov, 2016 ANES Pilot, 2016 ANES.

Notes: Table entry is the Pearson correlation coefficient. Number of observations appears in parentheses. Data are not weighted.

\*  $p \leq 0.05$

## Appendix 4J. The Correlation between White Identity and The Big Five Personality Dimensions

	ANES 2012		ANES 2016			
	(Face-to-face)	(Web)	(Face-to-face)	(Web)	(Face-to-face)	(Web)
	White Identity		White Identity		White Consciousness	
Extraversion	0.04 (858)	0.06* (2390)	-0.02 (649)	0.05* (1888)	0.00 (699)	0.07* (1894)
Agreeableness	-0.04 (859)	-0.01 (2389)	-0.01 (648)	-0.01 (1888)	0.02 (698)	0.00 (1894)
Conscientiousness	0.01 (858)	0.04* (2390)	0.02 (649)	-0.01 (1888)	0.06 (699)	0.02 (1894)
Emotional Stability	-0.07* (858)	-0.06* (2388)	-0.06 (649)	-0.08* (1888)	-0.03 (699)	-0.05* (1894)
Openness	-0.05 (858)	-0.05* (2389)	-0.19* (649)	-0.11* (1887)	-0.21* (699)	-0.10* (1894)

Source: 2012 ANES and 2016 ANES.

Notes: Table entry is the Pearson correlation coefficient. Number of observations appears in parentheses. Data are not weighted.

\*  $p \leq 0.05$

Appendix 4K. The Multivariate Relationship between White Identity and The Big Five Personality Dimensions

	ANES 2012		ANES 2016			
	(Face-to-face)	(Web)	(Face-to-face)	(Web)	(Face-to-face)	(Web)
	White Identity		White Identity		White Consciousness	
Extraversion	0.074 (0.072)	0.108*** (0.040)	0.088 (0.059)	0.170*** (0.040)	0.053 (0.043)	0.106*** (0.028)
Agreeableness	0.021 (0.086)	0.012 (0.051)	-0.076 (0.103)	0.053 (0.051)	0.014 (0.072)	0.052 (0.039)
Conscientiousness	0.012 (0.086)	0.080 (0.050)	0.133 (0.086)	0.064 (0.062)	0.150** (0.066)	0.060 (0.045)
Emotional Stability	-0.111 (0.072)	-0.080* (0.044)	-0.006 (0.079)	-0.215*** (0.047)	-0.031 (0.059)	-0.135*** (0.037)
Openness	-0.052 (0.088)	-0.092* (0.049)	-0.331*** (0.101)	-0.244*** (0.046)	-0.295*** (0.053)	-0.152*** (0.037)
Constant	0.500*** (0.085)	0.429*** (0.052)	0.536*** (0.076)	0.537*** (0.051)	0.484*** (0.063)	0.484*** (0.044)
Observations	858	2387	697	1887	698	1893
R-squared	0.007	0.009	0.035	0.041	0.055	0.029

Source: 2012 and 2016 ANES.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 4L. The Correlation between White Identity and Authoritarianism and Social Dominance Orientation

	Authoritarianism						Social Dominance Orientation
	ANES 2012		SSI 2013	YouGov 2016	ANES 2016		SSI 2013
	(Face-to-face)	(Web)			(Face-to-face)	(Web)	
White Identity	0.16* (858)	0.14* (2390)	0.17* (797)	0.17* (1465)	0.19* (698)	0.19* (1886)	0.42* (797)
White Consciousness			0.30* (798)		0.32* (700)	0.35* (1892)	0.51* (798)

Source: 2012 ANES, 2013 SSI, 2016 YouGov, 2016 ANES.

Notes: Table entry is the Pearson correlation coefficient. Number of observations appears in parentheses. Data are not weighted.

\*  $p \leq 0.05$

Appendix 4M. The Antecedents of White Identity

	KN 2010	ANES 2012		SSI 2013	YouGov 2016	ANES 2016 Pilot	ANES 2016	
		(Face-to-face)	(Web)				(Face-to-face)	(Web)
Age	0.089* (0.051)	0.104 (0.068)	0.123*** (0.039)	-0.021 (0.075)	0.002*** (0.001)	0.163** (0.074)	0.119* (0.068)	0.067 (0.043)
Female	-0.012 (0.025)	0.076** (0.033)	0.005 (0.017)	-0.004 (0.034)	0.007 (0.023)	0.073** (0.033)	0.007 (0.030)	0.019 (0.019)
Education	-0.408*** (0.090)	0.080 (0.114)	-0.213*** (0.067)	0.053 (0.067)	-0.061 (0.077)	-0.152*** (0.057)	-0.278*** (0.098)	-0.029 (0.071)
South	0.024 (0.029)	0.018 (0.039)	0.041* (0.021)		0.057** (0.024)	-0.004 (0.035)	0.064* (0.037)	0.010 (0.020)
Rural	-0.028 (0.031)	0.064 (0.041)	0.008 (0.025)					
Mainline Protestant		0.015 (0.047)	0.044* (0.023)	-0.005 (0.042)		0.060* (0.033)	0.131 (0.090)	0.073 (0.052)
Evangelical		0.008 (0.041)	0.009 (0.025)				-0.087 (0.056)	-0.050 (0.037)
Income	0.036 (0.060)	-0.041 (0.064)	0.041 (0.031)	0.169 (0.163)	-0.002 (0.055)	-0.128 (0.147)	-0.022 (0.065)	-0.051 (0.039)
Negative Personal Financial Evaluations	0.021 (0.041)	-0.090 (0.058)	-0.075** (0.029)		-0.036 (0.033)		0.073 (0.062)	-0.038 (0.050)
Employment Status	0.023 (0.045)	-0.032 (0.089)	0.060 (0.039)	-0.080 (0.062)		-0.047 (0.076)	0.116 (0.088)	-0.022 (0.047)
Union member		0.026 (0.042)	0.003 (0.021)	0.021 (0.057)			-0.006 (0.047)	-0.004 (0.025)
Blue collar		0.004 (0.041)						
Authoritarianism		0.157*** (0.056)	0.121*** (0.028)	0.216*** (0.061)	0.059 (0.037)		0.174*** (0.059)	0.204*** (0.026)
Social Dominance Orientation					0.577*** (0.049)			
Race of interviewer		0.004 (0.054)						
Constant	0.836*** (0.087)	0.270*** (0.103)	0.457*** (0.059)	0.401*** (0.068)	0.236*** (0.072)	0.459*** (0.051)	0.404*** (0.095)	0.337*** (0.066)
Observations	752	618	2262	590	777	782	645	1777
R-squared	0.073	0.050	0.046	0.047	0.195	0.056	0.101	0.051

Source: 2010 KN, 2012 ANES, 2013 SSI, 2016 YouGov, 2016 ANES Pilot, 2016 ANES.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. ANES Data are weighted.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.



Appendix 4N. The Antecedents of White Consciousness

	SSI 2013	YouGov 2016	ANES 2016 Pilot	ANES 2016	
				(Face-to-face)	(Web)
Age	0.002*** (0.001)	0.007 (0.058)	0.188*** (0.052)	0.087* (0.047)	0.022 (0.027)
Female	0.054*** (0.017)	0.034 (0.026)	0.054** (0.024)	0.070*** (0.019)	0.024* (0.013)
Education	-0.093 (0.058)	-0.036 (0.053)	-0.140*** (0.045)	-0.209*** (0.066)	-0.089* (0.047)
South	0.022 (0.018)		0.041 (0.026)	0.028 (0.019)	0.017 (0.014)
Mainline Protestant		-0.017 (0.031)	0.056** (0.025)	0.096** (0.041)	0.039 (0.036)
Evangelical				-0.033 (0.038)	-0.015 (0.022)
Income	0.029 (0.041)	0.190* (0.115)	-0.086 (0.105)	-0.065 (0.045)	-0.053* (0.028)
Negative Personal Financial Evaluations	0.101*** (0.025)			0.063 (0.049)	0.032 (0.034)
Employment Status		0.019 (0.045)	-0.004 (0.068)	0.036 (0.059)	-0.004 (0.031)
Union member		-0.005 (0.047)		-0.019 (0.030)	-0.007 (0.018)
Authoritarianism	0.135*** (0.028)	0.209*** (0.044)		0.196*** (0.041)	0.223*** (0.019)
Social Dominance Orientation	0.591*** (0.037)				
Constant	0.120** (0.054)	0.402*** (0.054)	0.412*** (0.037)	0.385*** (0.061)	0.368*** (0.048)
Observations	777	591	782	646	1783
R-squared	0.337	0.059	0.097	0.198	0.128

Source: 2013 SSI, 2016 ANES Pilot, 2016 ANES.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. ANES Data are weighted.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

## CHAPTER 5

Appendix 5A. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Figure 5.3. The Relationship between White Identity, Racial Resentment, American Identity, and Exclusionary Views on National Identity

	Hard Boundaries		Soft Boundaries		Combined Scale	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
White Identity	0.205*** (0.024)		0.205*** (0.021)		0.206*** (0.021)	
White Consciousness		0.291*** (0.035)		0.308*** (0.030)		0.298*** (0.030)
Party Identification (Republican)	-0.026 (0.030)	-0.001 (0.030)	-0.064** (0.026)	-0.038 (0.026)	-0.043* (0.026)	-0.018 (0.026)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	0.099*** (0.038)	0.081** (0.038)	0.070** (0.033)	0.052 (0.033)	0.087*** (0.033)	0.068** (0.033)
Employment Status	0.007 (0.026)	0.013 (0.026)	-0.010 (0.022)	-0.004 (0.022)	0.000 (0.022)	0.007 (0.022)
Negative Personal Economic Evaluations	-0.007 (0.026)	-0.026 (0.026)	0.005 (0.023)	-0.013 (0.022)	-0.002 (0.023)	-0.021 (0.023)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	0.031 (0.026)	0.007 (0.026)	0.051** (0.022)	0.024 (0.022)	0.040* (0.022)	0.015 (0.022)
Education	-0.110** (0.051)	-0.089* (0.051)	-0.137*** (0.044)	-0.118*** (0.044)	-0.121*** (0.044)	-0.101** (0.044)
Age	0.047 (0.033)	0.056* (0.033)	-0.034 (0.029)	-0.024 (0.029)	0.008 (0.029)	0.018 (0.029)
Female	0.022 (0.015)	0.012 (0.015)	0.006 (0.013)	-0.004 (0.013)	0.014 (0.013)	0.005 (0.013)
Racial Resentment	0.154*** (0.037)	0.067 (0.041)	0.183*** (0.032)	0.086** (0.035)	0.169*** (0.032)	0.078** (0.036)
American Identity	0.294*** (0.034)	0.272*** (0.035)	0.150*** (0.030)	0.122*** (0.030)	0.232*** (0.030)	0.207*** (0.031)
Constant	0.225*** (0.051)	0.256*** (0.050)	0.125*** (0.044)	0.161*** (0.043)	0.178*** (0.044)	0.211*** (0.044)
Observations	676	676	679	679	673	673
R-squared	0.379	0.377	0.355	0.362	0.403	0.404

Source: 2013 SSI.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 5B. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Figure 5.6. The Relationship between White Identity, White Guilt, and White Privilege

	White Guilt		White Privilege	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
White Identity	0.081*** (0.024)		0.210*** (0.026)	
White Consciousness		0.201*** (0.033)		0.267*** (0.037)
Party Identification (Republican)	-0.020 (0.031)	-0.003 (0.031)	0.012 (0.033)	0.033 (0.034)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	-0.093** (0.039)	-0.106*** (0.038)	-0.111*** (0.042)	-0.128*** (0.042)
Employment Status	-0.005 (0.027)	-0.003 (0.026)	0.010 (0.029)	0.013 (0.029)
Negative Personal Economic Evaluations	-0.005 (0.027)	-0.015 (0.026)	-0.066** (0.029)	-0.083*** (0.029)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	0.026 (0.026)	0.012 (0.026)	-0.001 (0.028)	-0.024 (0.029)
Education	0.015 (0.052)	0.033 (0.052)	0.212*** (0.056)	0.229*** (0.057)
Age	-0.093*** (0.034)	-0.090*** (0.033)	-0.024 (0.036)	-0.018 (0.037)
Female	0.026 (0.016)	0.020 (0.016)	-0.004 (0.017)	-0.014 (0.017)
Racial Resentment	-0.478*** (0.038)	-0.567*** (0.041)	-0.567*** (0.041)	-0.641*** (0.045)
Constant	0.599*** (0.049)	0.591*** (0.048)	0.557*** (0.052)	0.583*** (0.053)
Observations	696	696	695	695
R-squared	0.315	0.339	0.368	0.357

Source: 2013 SSI.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 5C. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Figure 5.7. White Racial Solidarity and Support for Congress Passing a Law Creating a White History Month

	(1)	(2)
White Identity	0.403*** (0.070)	
White Consciousness		0.594*** (0.067)
Party Identification (Republican)	-0.033 (0.048)	-0.041 (0.044)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	0.073 (0.072)	0.048 (0.068)
Employment Status	-0.001 (0.042)	-0.020 (0.040)
Education	-0.097* (0.053)	-0.091* (0.049)
Age	-0.173** (0.071)	-0.159** (0.067)
Female	0.059** (0.029)	0.044 (0.028)
Racial Resentment	0.461*** (0.082)	0.381*** (0.080)
Constant	0.067 (0.061)	0.032 (0.057)
Observations	577	577
R-squared	0.266	0.327

Source: 2016 YouGov.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 5D1. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Figure 5.8. The Relationship between White Identity and Perceptions of Zero-Sum Economic Competition

	More good jobs for blacks means fewer good jobs for others		More good jobs for Hispanics means fewer good jobs for others	
	KN 2010	SSI 2013	KN 2010	SSI 2013
White Identity	0.217*** (0.034)	0.180*** (0.031)	0.203*** (0.035)	0.165*** (0.033)
Party Identification (Republican)	0.103** (0.043)	-0.030 (0.041)	-0.001 (0.043)	-0.033 (0.042)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	-0.049 (0.054)	-0.021 (0.050)	0.160*** (0.058)	0.097* (0.051)
Employment Status	0.072* (0.037)	0.015 (0.034)	0.016 (0.027)	0.075** (0.036)
Negative Personal Economic Evaluations	0.028 (0.053)	0.066* (0.035)	0.046 (0.053)	0.000 (0.036)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	0.045 (0.031)	-0.010 (0.034)	0.026 (0.037)	0.110*** (0.035)
Education	-0.343*** (0.066)	-0.152** (0.068)	-0.257*** (0.092)	-0.246*** (0.070)
Age	0.043 (0.047)	-0.086* (0.044)	0.002 (0.048)	-0.014 (0.046)
Female	-0.019 (0.020)	0.011 (0.020)	0.007 (0.022)	0.044** (0.021)
Racial resentment	0.193*** (0.059)	0.343*** (0.049)		
Hispanic Feeling Thermometer			-0.417*** (0.042)	-0.297*** (0.044)
Constant	0.307*** (0.086)	0.275*** (0.063)	.538*** (.099)	0.671*** (0.070)
Observations	732	673	630	677
R-squared	0.258	0.185	0.342	0.216

Source: 2010 KN and 2013 SSI.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 5D2. The Relationship between White Consciousness and Perceptions of Zero-Sum Economic Competition

	More Good Jobs for Blacks Means Fewer for Others	More Good Jobs for Hispanics Means Fewer for Others
White Consciousness	0.364*** (0.043)	0.404*** (0.039)
Party Identification (Republican)	0.005 (0.040)	-0.013 (0.039)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	-0.049 (0.049)	0.029 (0.049)
Employment Status	0.021 (0.033)	0.083** (0.034)
Negative Personal Economic Evaluations	0.045 (0.034)	-0.011 (0.034)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	-0.038 (0.033)	0.056* (0.033)
Education	-0.121* (0.067)	-0.183*** (0.067)
Age	-0.082* (0.043)	-0.026 (0.043)
Female	-0.000 (0.020)	0.032 (0.020)
Racial Resentment	0.195*** (0.053)	
Hispanic Feeling Thermometer		-0.252*** (0.041)
Constant	0.275*** (0.061)	0.544*** (0.066)
Observations	673	677
R-squared	0.227	0.301

Source: 2013 SSI.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 5E1. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Figure 5.9. The Relationship between White Identity and Perceptions of Zero-Sum Political Competition

	The more influence in politics Blacks have the less influence for other groups				The more influence in politics Hispanics have the less influence for other groups			
	KN 2010	ANES 2012 (Face-to-face)	ANES 2012 (Web)	SSI 2013	KN 2010	ANES 2012 (Face-to-face)	ANES 2012 (Web)	SSI 2013
White Identity	0.121*** (0.034)	0.064* (0.034)	0.076*** (0.024)	0.162*** (0.031)	0.145*** (0.038)	-0.022 (0.038)	0.019 (0.025)	0.159*** (0.031)
Party Identification (Republican)	0.111*** (0.041)	0.089** (0.042)	0.084*** (0.029)	0.024 (0.040)	0.003 (0.044)	0.150*** (0.051)	0.120*** (0.031)	0.019 (0.039)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	-0.025 (0.051)	0.089 (0.059)	0.098** (0.043)	-0.003 (0.050)	0.161*** (0.061)	0.188*** (0.065)	0.183*** (0.043)	0.047 (0.048)
Employment Status	0.064* (0.036)	0.010 (0.063)	-0.005 (0.032)	0.008 (0.034)	0.064* (0.033)	0.066 (0.076)	-0.033 (0.036)	-0.004 (0.033)
Negative Personal Economic Evaluations	-0.072 (0.053)	0.005 (0.039)	0.005 (0.026)	0.034 (0.034)	-0.022 (0.056)	0.061 (0.044)	-0.016 (0.028)	0.013 (0.034)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	0.052 (0.032)	0.105** (0.046)	0.123*** (0.031)	0.027 (0.034)	0.015 (0.037)	0.014 (0.054)	0.170*** (0.034)	0.077** (0.032)
Education	-0.211*** (0.062)	0.081 (0.070)	-0.036 (0.049)	-0.147** (0.067)	-0.043 (0.079)	-0.035 (0.080)	-0.159*** (0.051)	-0.177*** (0.066)
Age	0.067 (0.042)	0.075 (0.048)	0.106*** (0.033)	0.017 (0.044)	0.016 (0.048)	0.185*** (0.054)	0.146*** (0.035)	0.092** (0.043)
Female	-0.050*** (0.019)	0.004 (0.021)	-0.015 (0.014)	-0.003 (0.020)	-0.048** (0.022)	0.002 (0.025)	0.004 (0.015)	-0.014 (0.020)
Racial resentment	0.201*** (0.055)	0.415*** (0.052)	0.424*** (0.036)	0.304*** (0.048)				
Hispanic Feeling Thermometer					-0.344*** (0.047)	-0.361*** (0.061)	-0.410*** (0.038)	-0.306*** (0.041)
Race of Interviewer		-0.004 (0.034)				0.059 (0.037)		
Constant	0.315*** (0.080)	-0.081 (0.072)	-0.034 (0.050)	0.245*** (0.062)	0.457*** (0.095)		0.468*** (0.053)	0.609*** (0.066)
Observations	729	801	2316	677	629	776	2278	679
R-squared	0.190	0.251	0.262	0.187	0.234	0.196	0.230	0.215

Source: 2010 KN, 2012 ANES, 2013 SSI.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 5E2. The Relationship between White Consciousness and Perceptions of Zero-Sum Political Competition

	The more influence in politics blacks have the less for others	The more influence in politics Hispanics have the less for others
White Consciousness	0.335*** (0.043)	0.354*** (0.036)
Party Identification (Republican)	0.054 (0.039)	0.036 (0.037)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	-0.026 (0.049)	-0.012 (0.046)
Employment Status	0.013 (0.033)	0.004 (0.032)
Negative Personal Economic Evaluations	0.016 (0.034)	0.000 (0.032)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	0.002 (0.033)	0.030 (0.031)
Education	-0.116* (0.066)	-0.123* (0.063)
Age	0.020 (0.043)	0.081** (0.041)
Female	-0.014 (0.020)	-0.025 (0.019)
Racial Resentment	0.166*** (0.053)	
Hispanic Feeling Thermometer		-0.275*** (0.038)
Constant	0.242*** (0.060)	0.512*** (0.062)
Observations	677	679
R-squared	0.225	0.284

Source: 2013 SSI.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.



Appendix 5F1. The Relationship between White Identity and Perceptions That Whites Have Too Little Political Influence

	KN 2010	ANES 2012		ANES 2016	
		(Face-to-face)	(Web)	(Face-to-face)	(Web)
White Identity	0.096** (0.045)	0.067** (0.026)	0.042* (0.021)	-0.021 (0.031)	0.036** (0.018)
Party Identification (Republican)	0.108** (0.049)	0.071** (0.033)	0.048* (0.025)	-0.060 (0.060)	0.031 (0.027)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	0.114 (0.073)	0.067 (0.045)	0.211*** (0.038)	0.328*** (0.086)	0.155*** (0.041)
Employment Status	0.074 (0.048)	-0.034 (0.045)	-0.000 (0.028)	0.053 (0.064)	0.033 (0.035)
Negative Personal Economic Evaluations	0.102* (0.062)	0.006 (0.035)	0.010 (0.024)	-0.015 (0.058)	-0.023 (0.028)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	0.005 (0.042)	-0.033 (0.036)	0.103*** (0.029)	0.129* (0.066)	0.076** (0.031)
Education	-0.210*** (0.079)	-0.016 (0.058)	-0.080* (0.041)	-0.064 (0.087)	0.021 (0.039)
Age	0.050 (0.053)	0.037 (0.038)	0.097*** (0.028)	0.074 (0.045)	0.059** (0.025)
Female	-0.021 (0.024)	-0.008 (0.018)	0.017 (0.012)	-0.036 (0.025)	-0.005 (0.013)
Racial Resentment	0.441*** (0.071)	0.281*** (0.044)	0.300*** (0.033)	0.289*** (0.051)	0.380*** (0.032)
Race of Interviewer		-0.007 (0.030)			
Constant	0.166* (0.092)	0.182*** (0.060)	0.045 (0.043)	0.077 (0.076)	-0.006 (0.039)
Observations	728	802	2317	675	1808
R-squared	0.245	0.167	0.275	0.282	0.313

Source: 2010 KN, 2012 ANES, 2016 ANES.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 5F2. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Figure 5.10. The Relationship between White Consciousness and the Belief that Groups Have Too Little Influence in U.S. Politics

	(Face-to-face)				(Web)			
	Whites have too little influence	Blacks have too little influence	Hispanics have too little influence	Asians have too little influence	Whites have too little influence	Blacks have too little influence	Hispanics have too little influence	Asians have too little influence
White Consciousness	0.176*** (0.059)	-0.184*** (0.056)	-0.250*** (0.051)	-0.115** (0.049)	0.082*** (0.026)	-0.163*** (0.037)	-0.147*** (0.035)	-0.116*** (0.034)
Party Identification (Republican)	-0.072 (0.061)	-0.104* (0.061)	-0.102 (0.068)	-0.018 (0.060)	0.029 (0.027)	-0.063* (0.033)	-0.035 (0.034)	0.007 (0.031)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	0.328*** (0.087)	-0.230*** (0.068)	-0.180** (0.086)	-0.185** (0.079)	0.154*** (0.041)	-0.129*** (0.047)	-0.134*** (0.048)	-0.132*** (0.039)
Employment Status	0.041 (0.060)	-0.086 (0.066)	-0.055 (0.065)	-0.087 (0.076)	0.032 (0.034)	0.044 (0.043)	0.038 (0.038)	0.018 (0.033)
Negative Personal Economic Evaluations	-0.013 (0.059)	0.064 (0.065)	0.010 (0.047)	0.030 (0.053)	-0.023 (0.028)	-0.086** (0.037)	-0.065* (0.034)	-0.026 (0.032)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	0.104 (0.063)	-0.035 (0.062)	-0.036 (0.068)	-0.030 (0.070)	0.070** (0.031)	-0.076** (0.035)	-0.067* (0.036)	-0.044 (0.031)
Education	-0.015 (0.082)	-0.067 (0.090)	0.094 (0.089)	0.027 (0.069)	0.027 (0.039)	0.028 (0.059)	0.063 (0.051)	0.066 (0.048)
Age	0.050 (0.042)	-0.076** (0.035)	-0.060 (0.075)	-0.094** (0.043)	0.061** (0.025)	0.018 (0.032)	-0.047 (0.032)	-0.034 (0.030)
Female	-0.047* (0.025)	0.035 (0.023)	0.070*** (0.024)	0.032 (0.021)	-0.007 (0.012)	0.010 (0.015)	0.012 (0.015)	0.014 (0.014)
Racial Resentment	0.248*** (0.052)	-0.373*** (0.056)	-0.267*** (0.055)	-0.214*** (0.049)	0.364*** (0.033)	-0.347*** (0.035)	-0.317*** (0.031)	-0.232*** (0.032)
Constant	0.021 (0.070)	1.169*** (0.071)	1.015*** (0.069)	0.969*** (0.052)	-0.017 (0.040)	1.056*** (0.055)	1.038*** (0.047)	0.931*** (0.045)
Observations	676	678	679	679	1810	1812	1809	1805
R-squared	0.297	0.396	0.339	0.207	0.316	0.285	0.260	0.178

Source: 2016 ANES.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 5G1. White Identity and Perceptions of Discrimination Against Whites

	ANES 2012		ANES 2016	ANES 2016	
	(Face-to-face)	(Web)	Pilot	(Face-to-face)	(Web)
White Identity	-0.002 (0.028)	-0.002 (0.020)	-0.006 (0.033)	-0.001 (0.029)	0.037* (0.019)
Party Identification (Republican)	-0.008 (0.036)	0.022 (0.026)	-0.030 (0.047)	-0.047 (0.047)	-0.007 (0.027)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	-0.003 (0.055)	0.007 (0.037)	0.096 (0.067)	0.162** (0.069)	0.071* (0.037)
Employment Status	-0.044 (0.046)	0.024 (0.032)	-0.068 (0.043)	0.024 (0.078)	0.018 (0.035)
Negative Personal Financial Evaluations	-0.012 (0.032)	0.058*** (0.020)		0.149*** (0.046)	0.060* (0.033)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	0.115*** (0.038)	0.036 (0.030)	0.154*** (0.055)	0.065 (0.056)	0.073*** (0.026)
Education	-0.027 (0.056)	-0.077* (0.042)	-0.087** (0.036)	-0.007 (0.054)	-0.087* (0.047)
Age	-0.000 (0.039)	-0.005 (0.026)	-0.001 (0.053)	-0.015 (0.035)	-0.109*** (0.028)
Female	0.029* (0.017)	0.010 (0.012)	-0.003 (0.022)	0.018 (0.020)	0.012 (0.013)
Racial Resentment	0.187*** (0.037)	0.197*** (0.032)	0.335*** (0.048)	0.162*** (0.034)	0.205*** (0.033)
Race of Interviewer	0.039* (0.024)				
Constant	0.133** (0.054)	0.152*** (0.045)	0.054 (0.043)	0.016 (0.060)	0.128*** (0.047)
Observations	802	2325	793	644	1801
R-squared	0.092	0.089	0.235	0.176	0.132

Source: 2012 ANES, 2016 ANES Pilot, 2016 ANES.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 5G2. White Consciousness and Perceptions of Discrimination Against Whites

	ANES 2016 Pilot	ANES 2016	
		(Face-to-face)	(Web)
White Consciousness	0.181*** (0.047)	0.141*** (0.043)	0.186*** (0.028)
Party Identification (Republican)	-0.018 (0.046)	-0.057 (0.048)	-0.013 (0.027)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	0.085 (0.066)	0.160** (0.068)	0.070* (0.038)
Employment Status	-0.065 (0.041)	0.019 (0.077)	0.016 (0.034)
Negative Personal Financial Evaluations		0.150*** (0.047)	0.064** (0.032)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	0.133*** (0.051)	0.047 (0.055)	0.056** (0.026)
Education	-0.071** (0.035)	0.030 (0.055)	-0.066 (0.046)
Age	-0.017 (0.051)	-0.029 (0.037)	-0.109*** (0.028)
Female	-0.013 (0.022)	0.010 (0.020)	0.007 (0.013)
Racial Resentment	0.276*** (0.051)	0.134*** (0.037)	0.163*** (0.033)
Constant	0.022 (0.042)	-0.025 (0.059)	0.087* (0.046)
Observations	793	645	1804
R-squared	0.260	0.193	0.158

Source: 2016 ANES Pilot, 2016 ANES.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 5H. White Racial Solidarity and Racial Alienation

	KN 2010	SSI 2013	
		(1)	(2)
White Identity	0.155*** (0.032)	0.141*** (0.023)	
White Consciousness			0.311*** (0.031)
Party Identification (Republican)	0.000 (0.035)	-0.038 (0.029)	-0.012 (0.028)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	-0.014 (0.050)	0.003 (0.036)	-0.017 (0.035)
Employment Status	0.009 (0.033)	0.049** (0.025)	0.052** (0.024)
Negative Personal Economic Evaluations	0.124*** (0.040)	0.030 (0.025)	0.015 (0.024)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	-0.010 (0.030)	0.034 (0.025)	0.011 (0.024)
Education	-0.179*** (0.050)	-0.103** (0.049)	-0.076 (0.047)
Age	-0.098*** (0.038)	-0.059* (0.032)	-0.054* (0.030)
Female	-0.014 (0.017)	0.026* (0.015)	0.017 (0.014)
Racial resentment	0.275*** (0.053)	0.162*** (0.035)	0.030 (0.038)
Constant	0.163*** (0.059)	0.249*** (0.046)	0.242*** (0.044)
Observations	732	696	696
R-squared	0.225	0.155	0.224

Source: 2010 KN, 2013 SSI.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

## CHAPTER 6

Appendix 6A. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Figure 6.3a. White Identity and a Preference for Decreasing Levels of Immigration

	ANES 2012 (Face-to-face)		ANES 2012 (Web)	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
White Identity	0.107*** (0.035)	0.088** (0.036)	0.083*** (0.021)	0.068*** (0.021)
Party Identification (Republican)	0.003 (0.054)	-0.001 (0.053)	-0.024 (0.029)	-0.029 (0.029)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	0.070 (0.073)	0.062 (0.073)	0.141*** (0.039)	0.128*** (0.040)
Employment Status	0.081 (0.057)	0.083 (0.056)	-0.040 (0.033)	-0.037 (0.032)
Negative Personal Financial Evaluations	-0.051 (0.040)	-0.053 (0.040)	0.022 (0.025)	0.019 (0.025)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	0.082* (0.050)	0.084* (0.050)	0.203*** (0.031)	0.203*** (0.031)
Education	-0.282*** (0.074)	-0.275*** (0.074)	-0.202*** (0.046)	-0.202*** (0.047)
Age	-0.015 (0.049)	-0.029 (0.049)	0.047 (0.031)	0.033 (0.032)
Female	0.065*** (0.023)	0.061*** (0.022)	0.018 (0.013)	0.016 (0.013)
Limited Government	-0.025 (0.033)	-0.025 (0.033)	-0.002 (0.021)	0.001 (0.021)
Hispanic Feeling Thermometer	-0.195*** (0.053)	-0.202*** (0.054)	-0.245*** (0.035)	-0.246*** (0.035)
American Identity		0.078 (0.050)		0.069** (0.029)
Race of Interviewer	0.053* (0.032)	0.049 (0.032)		
Constant	0.787*** (0.065)	0.745*** (0.072)	0.684*** (0.050)	0.655*** (0.050)
Observations	740	740	2280	2280
R-squared	0.129	0.133	0.182	0.186

Source: 2012 ANES.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 6B1. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Tables 6.1 and 6.2. The Relationship between White Identity, White Consciousness, and Attitudes Toward Immigration and Beliefs about Consequences of Immigration (KN Results)

	Decrease number of immigrants	Immigration level issue is important	Increase federal spending on border security	Immigrants don't make Americans open to new ideas and culture	Immigrants take jobs away from American citizens	Concerned about the changing ethnic makeup of the U.S.
White Identity	0.148** (0.058)	0.131*** (0.041)	0.100*** (0.032)	0.197*** (0.037)	0.215*** (0.043)	0.281*** (0.052)
Party Identification (Republican)	0.110* (0.058)	-0.009 (0.045)	0.023 (0.039)	0.004 (0.044)	0.036 (0.046)	0.016 (0.055)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	0.007 (0.088)	0.055 (0.059)	0.234*** (0.063)	0.094 (0.062)	0.074 (0.067)	0.270*** (0.075)
Employment Status	0.130*** (0.048)	0.058 (0.036)	0.060** (0.030)	-0.004 (0.039)	0.074* (0.043)	-0.007 (0.052)
Negative Personal Economic Evaluations	-0.084 (0.067)	0.044 (0.057)	0.023 (0.046)	0.069 (0.050)	0.016 (0.057)	0.154** (0.067)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	0.020 (0.053)	0.024 (0.041)	0.084** (0.036)	0.033 (0.036)	0.076* (0.041)	0.100** (0.046)
Education	-0.370*** (0.094)	0.005 (0.091)	-0.166** (0.066)	-0.179** (0.073)	-0.285*** (0.070)	-0.354*** (0.100)
Age	0.200*** (0.063)	0.028 (0.052)	0.134*** (0.043)	0.076 (0.052)	0.009 (0.046)	0.047 (0.057)
Female	-0.047* (0.028)	-0.022 (0.023)	-0.066*** (0.018)	-0.004 (0.022)	0.010 (0.022)	0.031 (0.027)
Hispanic Feeling Thermometer	-0.271*** (0.058)	-0.155*** (0.055)	-0.114*** (0.037)	-0.412*** (0.050)	-0.285*** (0.048)	-0.372*** (0.061)
Constant	0.914*** (0.126)	0.442*** (0.095)	0.659*** (0.077)	0.530*** (0.089)	0.668*** (0.098)	0.330*** (0.109)
Observations	629	633	639	623	627	634
R-squared	0.200	0.088	0.263	0.293	0.266	0.330

Source: 2010 KN.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 6B2a. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Tables 6.1 and 6.2. The Relationship between White Identity, White Consciousness, and Attitudes Toward Immigration and Beliefs about Consequences of Immigration (ANES 2012 Results (Face-to-face))

	Decrease number of Immigrants	Support law checking immigration status	Illegal immigrant feeling thermometer	Oppose citizenship for children brought illegally	Immigrants take jobs away from American citizens
White Identity	0.107*** (0.035)	0.121*** (0.043)	-0.040 (0.029)	0.045 (0.048)	0.124*** (0.038)
Party Identification (Republican)	0.003 (0.054)	0.138** (0.061)	-0.090** (0.044)	0.065 (0.067)	-0.008 (0.058)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	0.070 (0.073)	0.365*** (0.090)	-0.070 (0.063)	0.225** (0.094)	0.182** (0.079)
Employment Status	0.081 (0.057)	-0.099 (0.090)	-0.085 (0.062)	-0.010 (0.071)	0.020 (0.067)
Negative Personal Economic Evaluations	-0.051 (0.040)	0.090 (0.058)	-0.024 (0.035)	0.028 (0.055)	0.034 (0.047)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	0.082* (0.050)	0.057 (0.065)	0.007 (0.043)	0.049 (0.072)	0.106* (0.056)
Education	-0.282*** (0.074)	-0.345*** (0.115)	0.035 (0.065)	-0.333*** (0.105)	-0.234*** (0.083)
Age	-0.015 (0.049)	-0.074 (0.070)	0.066 (0.043)	-0.050 (0.063)	-0.184*** (0.054)
Female	0.065*** (0.023)	0.009 (0.030)	0.016 (0.019)	-0.073** (0.032)	0.015 (0.026)
Limited Government	-0.025 (0.033)	0.091** (0.045)	-0.042 (0.028)	0.024 (0.046)	-0.038 (0.038)
Hispanic Feeling Thermometer	-0.195*** (0.053)	-0.246*** (0.076)	0.373*** (0.053)	-0.140* (0.078)	-0.340*** (0.056)
Race of Interviewer	0.053* (0.032)	-0.006 (0.045)	-0.015 (0.028)	-0.066 (0.041)	0.112*** (0.037)
Constant	0.787*** (0.065)	0.652*** (0.102)	0.193*** (0.059)	0.401*** (0.100)	0.689*** (0.079)
Observations	740	756	775	767	767
R-squared	0.129	0.235	0.181	0.098	0.155

Source: 2012 ANES (Face-to-face).

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.



Appendix 6B2b. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Tables 6.1 and 6.2. The Relationship between White Identity, White Consciousness, and Attitudes Toward Immigration and Beliefs about Consequences of Immigration (ANES 2012 Results (Web))

	Decrease number of immigrants	Support law checking immigration status	Illegal immigrant feeling thermometer	Oppose citizenship for children brought illegally	Immigrants take jobs away from American citizens
White Identity	0.083*** (0.021)	0.101*** (0.029)	-0.053*** (0.017)	0.003 (0.032)	0.073*** (0.025)
Party Identification (Republican)	-0.024 (0.029)	0.129*** (0.040)	0.004 (0.022)	0.018 (0.043)	-0.013 (0.033)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	0.141*** (0.039)	0.354*** (0.054)	-0.189*** (0.031)	0.220*** (0.060)	0.159*** (0.046)
Employment Status	-0.040 (0.033)	-0.075* (0.041)	0.028 (0.027)	0.077 (0.055)	0.043 (0.032)
Negative Personal Economic Evaluations	0.022 (0.025)	0.092*** (0.034)	-0.029 (0.020)	0.011 (0.038)	0.027 (0.029)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	0.203*** (0.031)	0.155*** (0.042)	-0.097*** (0.026)	0.259*** (0.046)	0.292*** (0.036)
Education	-0.202*** (0.046)	-0.300*** (0.060)	0.138*** (0.037)	-0.314*** (0.067)	-0.407*** (0.053)
Age	0.047 (0.031)	0.090** (0.043)	-0.001 (0.025)	-0.070 (0.045)	-0.007 (0.033)
Female	0.018 (0.013)	-0.004 (0.019)	0.003 (0.011)	-0.026 (0.020)	0.015 (0.015)
Limited Government	-0.002 (0.021)	0.132*** (0.034)	-0.054*** (0.018)	0.086*** (0.030)	-0.011 (0.025)
Hispanic Feeling Thermometer	-0.245*** (0.035)	-0.246*** (0.048)	0.447*** (0.031)	-0.210*** (0.051)	-0.312*** (0.039)
Constant	0.684*** (0.050)	0.480*** (0.066)	0.194*** (0.038)	0.410*** (0.071)	0.646*** (0.057)
Observations	2280	2284	2285	2285	2282
R-squared	0.182	0.320	0.322	0.168	0.248

Source: 2012 ANES (Web).

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 6B3a. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Table 6.1. The Relationship between White Identity, White Consciousness, and Attitudes Toward Immigration (SSI 2013 Results)

	Decrease number of immigrants		Increase federal spending on border security	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
White Identity	0.054* (0.030)		0.113*** (0.024)	
White Consciousness		0.107*** (0.037)		0.282*** (0.029)
Party Identification (Republican)	-0.042 (0.039)	-0.032 (0.038)	-0.009 (0.032)	0.016 (0.030)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	0.132*** (0.047)	0.119** (0.047)	0.079** (0.038)	0.040 (0.037)
Negative Personal Economic Evaluations	0.031 (0.032)	0.028 (0.032)	0.004 (0.026)	-0.002 (0.025)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	0.122*** (0.031)	0.109*** (0.031)	0.089*** (0.026)	0.054** (0.025)
Education	-0.174*** (0.063)	-0.159** (0.063)	-0.123** (0.052)	-0.081 (0.050)
Age	0.150*** (0.041)	0.147*** (0.041)	0.174*** (0.034)	0.165*** (0.032)
Female	0.047** (0.019)	0.044** (0.019)	-0.001 (0.016)	-0.009 (0.015)
Limited Government	-0.037 (0.025)	-0.024 (0.025)	-0.073*** (0.020)	-0.038* (0.020)
Hispanic Feeling Thermometer	-0.207*** (0.039)	-0.200*** (0.039)	-0.052 (0.032)	-0.023 (0.030)
Constant	0.614*** (0.065)	0.580*** (0.066)	0.685*** (0.053)	0.573*** (0.052)
Observations	678	678	678	678
R-squared	0.196	0.202	0.203	0.280

Source: 2013 SSI.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 6B3b. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Table 6.2. The Relationship between White Identity, White Consciousness, and Beliefs about Consequences of Immigration (SSI 2013 Results)

	Immigrants change American culture and values		Immigrants take jobs away from American citizens		Concern about changing ethnic makeup of the U.S.	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
White Identity	0.203*** (0.037)		0.234*** (0.035)		0.298*** (0.035)	
White Consciousness		0.352*** (0.046)		0.499*** (0.042)		0.563*** (0.041)
Party Identification (Republican)	0.022 (0.048)	0.056 (0.047)	-0.109** (0.046)	-0.064 (0.043)	0.005 (0.045)	0.058 (0.042)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	0.069 (0.059)	0.028 (0.058)	0.194*** (0.056)	0.131** (0.053)	0.056 (0.055)	-0.012 (0.051)
Negative Personal Economic Evaluations	-0.049 (0.040)	-0.060 (0.039)	0.051 (0.038)	0.039 (0.036)	0.090** (0.037)	0.074** (0.035)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	0.133*** (0.039)	0.087** (0.039)	0.105*** (0.037)	0.043 (0.035)	0.145*** (0.037)	0.075** (0.034)
Education	0.017 (0.080)	0.063 (0.078)	-0.193** (0.076)	-0.119* (0.072)	-0.142* (0.074)	-0.063 (0.070)
Age	-0.034 (0.052)	-0.043 (0.051)	-0.042 (0.049)	-0.059 (0.046)	0.024 (0.048)	0.008 (0.045)
Female	-0.032 (0.024)	-0.044* (0.024)	0.051** (0.023)	0.035 (0.022)	-0.012 (0.023)	-0.031 (0.021)
Limited Government	-0.050 (0.031)	-0.004 (0.031)	-0.119*** (0.030)	-0.056** (0.028)	-0.132*** (0.029)	-0.060** (0.028)
Hispanic Feeling Thermometer	-0.110** (0.050)	-0.100** (0.048)	-0.242*** (0.047)	-0.206*** (0.044)	-0.257*** (0.046)	-0.229*** (0.042)
Constant	0.332*** (0.082)	0.243*** (0.082)	0.581*** (0.078)	0.410*** (0.075)	0.368*** (0.076)	0.201*** (0.072)
Observations	674	674	677	677	678	678
R-squared	0.126	0.161	0.247	0.338	0.315	0.410

Source: 2013 SSI Study.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 6B4. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Tables 6.1 and 6.2. The Relationship between White Identity, White Consciousness, and Attitudes Toward Immigration and Beliefs about Consequences of Immigration (ANES 2016 Pilot Results)

	Decrease number of immigrants		Support changing Constitution to ban birthright citizenship		Oppose birthright citizenship		Immigration is generally bad for the U.S.	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
White Identity	0.064** (0.029)		-0.086 (0.067)		0.084 (0.052)		0.135*** (0.035)	
White Consciousness		0.198*** (0.041)		-0.208** (0.090)		0.229*** (0.071)		0.275*** (0.052)
Party Identification (Republican)	0.016 (0.044)	0.023 (0.043)	-0.135 (0.096)	-0.148 (0.099)	0.245*** (0.066)	0.251*** (0.067)	-0.062 (0.058)	-0.049 (0.055)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	0.204*** (0.061)	0.184*** (0.059)	-0.255* (0.134)	-0.234* (0.137)	0.287*** (0.091)	0.262*** (0.090)	0.115 (0.076)	0.087 (0.073)
Employment Status	0.015 (0.038)	0.015 (0.038)	-0.091 (0.072)	-0.089 (0.069)	0.177*** (0.056)	0.175*** (0.054)	0.030 (0.046)	0.027 (0.047)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	0.143*** (0.048)	0.116** (0.047)	-0.037 (0.099)	-0.006 (0.098)	0.282*** (0.073)	0.255*** (0.072)	0.119** (0.050)	0.082* (0.049)
Education	-0.124*** (0.035)	-0.112*** (0.034)	0.038 (0.066)	0.020 (0.063)	0.051 (0.057)	0.054 (0.055)	-0.177*** (0.041)	-0.165*** (0.038)
Age	0.092* (0.050)	0.073 (0.048)	-0.031 (0.110)	-0.018 (0.107)	0.263*** (0.073)	0.237*** (0.072)	-0.011 (0.055)	-0.030 (0.052)
Female	0.038* (0.020)	0.033* (0.020)	0.079* (0.044)	0.080* (0.043)	-0.029 (0.035)	-0.039 (0.035)	0.044* (0.024)	0.041* (0.023)
Hispanic Feeling Thermometer	-0.160*** (0.046)	-0.119*** (0.044)	0.410*** (0.093)	0.374*** (0.094)	-0.056 (0.083)	-0.013 (0.083)	-0.219*** (0.060)	-0.179*** (0.057)
Constant	0.410*** (0.053)	0.352*** (0.049)	0.434*** (0.115)	0.494*** (0.112)	0.020 (0.102)	-0.028 (0.099)	0.362*** (0.066)	0.310*** (0.063)
Observations	793	793	388	388	404	404	793	793
R-squared	0.229	0.256	0.226	0.236	0.402	0.419	0.196	0.225

Source: 2016 ANES Pilot Study.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 6B5a. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Table 6.1. The Relationship between White Identity, White Consciousness, and Attitudes Toward Immigration (ANES 2016 Results (Face-to-face))

	Decrease number of immigrants		Support changing Constitution to ban birthright citizenship		Illegal immigrant feeling thermometer		Favor sending back children brought illegally		Favor building a wall along the Mexican border	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
White Identity	0.014 (0.035)		0.067 (0.051)		-0.106*** (0.029)		0.057* (0.033)		0.064 (0.044)	
White Consciousness		0.113*** (0.036)		0.155* (0.080)		-0.141*** (0.038)		0.129*** (0.036)		0.178*** (0.063)
Party Identification (Republican)	0.143** (0.061)	0.133** (0.060)	0.196** (0.082)	0.192** (0.080)	-0.086** (0.038)	-0.095** (0.036)	0.058 (0.075)	0.056 (0.072)	0.259*** (0.075)	0.251*** (0.076)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	0.136 (0.093)	0.125 (0.092)	0.084 (0.116)	0.067 (0.115)	-0.132** (0.059)	-0.113* (0.056)	0.118 (0.105)	0.105 (0.107)	0.244** (0.099)	0.225** (0.100)
Employment Status	0.070 (0.052)	0.065 (0.052)	0.056 (0.066)	0.054 (0.065)	0.029 (0.056)	0.029 (0.056)	-0.029 (0.044)	-0.029 (0.043)	0.003 (0.087)	-0.001 (0.085)
Negative Personal Economic Evaluations	-0.073* (0.041)	-0.072* (0.040)	-0.072 (0.060)	-0.071 (0.059)	0.048 (0.041)	0.049 (0.043)	-0.004 (0.052)	-0.004 (0.052)	0.002 (0.065)	0.003 (0.063)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	0.264*** (0.054)	0.253*** (0.055)	0.055 (0.069)	0.042 (0.065)	-0.063 (0.060)	-0.051 (0.061)	0.161*** (0.052)	0.151*** (0.051)	0.365*** (0.073)	0.349*** (0.075)
Education	-0.216** (0.089)	-0.191** (0.092)	0.083 (0.122)	0.100 (0.121)	0.041 (0.070)	0.039 (0.070)	-0.103 (0.096)	-0.089 (0.093)	-0.330*** (0.087)	-0.305*** (0.090)
Age	0.197*** (0.052)	0.182*** (0.050)	0.183*** (0.046)	0.172*** (0.047)	0.007 (0.030)	0.007 (0.032)	0.011 (0.034)	0.001 (0.035)	0.158*** (0.049)	0.144*** (0.048)
Female	0.006 (0.019)	-0.002 (0.019)	-0.004 (0.030)	-0.014 (0.030)	-0.026 (0.018)	-0.017 (0.019)	0.002 (0.024)	-0.007 (0.024)	-0.055 (0.033)	-0.068** (0.032)
Limited Government	-0.036 (0.034)	-0.034 (0.033)	0.096 (0.064)	0.091 (0.065)	-0.092*** (0.022)	-0.083*** (0.023)	0.089 (0.058)	0.084 (0.055)	0.156** (0.061)	0.154** (0.059)
Hispanic Feeling Thermometer	-0.245*** (0.058)	-0.224*** (0.056)	-0.195*** (0.056)	-0.180*** (0.058)	0.458*** (0.047)	0.454*** (0.050)	-0.307*** (0.046)	-0.294*** (0.048)	-0.099 (0.088)	-0.079 (0.085)
Constant	0.586*** (0.089)	0.540*** (0.094)	0.184 (0.119)	0.155 (0.116)	0.323*** (0.065)	0.321*** (0.060)	0.264*** (0.083)	0.240*** (0.083)	0.109 (0.120)	0.067 (0.119)
Observations	660	660	661	662	557	558	640	641	659	660
R-squared	0.335	0.342	0.154	0.159	0.448	0.444	0.218	0.222	0.411	0.417

Source: 2016 ANES (Face-to-face).

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 6B5b. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Table 6.2. The Relationship between White Identity, White Consciousness, and Beliefs about Consequences of Immigration (ANES 2016 Results (Face-to-face))

	Immigrants take jobs away from American citizens		Immigrants are bad for the U.S. economy		Immigrants increase crime rates		America's culture is harmed by immigrants	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
White Identity	0.114** (0.045)		0.070** (0.032)		0.075** (0.034)		0.107** (0.039)	
White Consciousness		0.333*** (0.050)		0.196*** (0.041)		0.244*** (0.033)		0.256*** (0.051)
Party Identification (Republican)	-0.026 (0.060)	-0.038 (0.061)	0.038 (0.068)	0.030 (0.068)	0.177*** (0.050)	0.166*** (0.053)	0.114** (0.045)	0.106** (0.045)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	0.185** (0.086)	0.149* (0.087)	0.125 (0.106)	0.105 (0.108)	0.212** (0.089)	0.186** (0.088)	0.196*** (0.062)	0.168** (0.063)
Employment Status	0.062 (0.062)	0.057 (0.057)	0.079 (0.074)	0.075 (0.073)	0.091* (0.050)	0.085* (0.046)	0.170*** (0.061)	0.167*** (0.059)
Negative Personal Economic Evaluations	0.021 (0.058)	0.021 (0.055)	-0.013 (0.069)	-0.012 (0.068)	-0.016 (0.054)	-0.014 (0.054)	-0.075 (0.056)	-0.073 (0.058)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	0.436*** (0.067)	0.405*** (0.069)	0.247*** (0.057)	0.229*** (0.056)	0.179*** (0.057)	0.157** (0.058)	0.262*** (0.048)	0.239*** (0.044)
Education	-0.234** (0.104)	-0.189* (0.102)	-0.391*** (0.087)	-0.364*** (0.084)	-0.303*** (0.093)	-0.266*** (0.087)	-0.275*** (0.078)	-0.245*** (0.075)
Age	0.068 (0.054)	0.040 (0.052)	-0.062 (0.066)	-0.078 (0.064)	0.073 (0.045)	0.050 (0.043)	0.095** (0.039)	0.078* (0.040)
Female	-0.025 (0.025)	-0.049* (0.026)	0.052** (0.024)	0.038 (0.024)	-0.021 (0.025)	-0.038 (0.025)	-0.021 (0.020)	-0.039** (0.019)
Limited Government	0.019 (0.035)	0.014 (0.034)	-0.045 (0.051)	-0.047 (0.049)	0.004 (0.046)	0.003 (0.042)	-0.102*** (0.036)	-0.108*** (0.034)
Hispanic Feeling Thermometer	-0.241*** (0.084)	-0.199** (0.074)	-0.383*** (0.057)	-0.361*** (0.054)	-0.264*** (0.065)	-0.231*** (0.067)	-0.380*** (0.047)	-0.356*** (0.045)
Constant	0.348*** (0.089)	0.266*** (0.081)	0.687*** (0.085)	0.641*** (0.084)	0.458*** (0.102)	0.391*** (0.105)	0.461*** (0.075)	0.412*** (0.075)
Observations	659	660	657	658	657	658	659	660
R-squared	0.320	0.352	0.340	0.354	0.355	0.376	0.413	0.433

Source: 2016 ANES (Face-to-face).

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 6B5c. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Table 6.1. The Relationship between White Identity, White Consciousness, and Attitudes Toward Immigration (ANES 2016 Results (Web))

	Decrease number of immigrants		Support changing Constitution to ban birthright citizenship		Illegal immigrant feeling thermometer		Favor sending back children brought illegally		Favor building a wall along the Mexican border	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
White Identity	0.085*** (0.025)		0.056** (0.026)		-0.040* (0.023)		0.037 (0.027)		0.091*** (0.026)	
White Consciousness		0.192*** (0.038)		0.138*** (0.043)		-0.053* (0.031)		0.100** (0.040)		0.161*** (0.043)
Party Identification (Republican)	0.050* (0.028)	0.041 (0.027)	0.103*** (0.038)	0.097** (0.037)	-0.026 (0.028)	-0.027 (0.027)	0.038 (0.036)	0.031 (0.036)	0.239*** (0.038)	0.234*** (0.039)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	0.276*** (0.040)	0.259*** (0.041)	0.205*** (0.055)	0.192*** (0.056)	-0.164*** (0.040)	-0.160*** (0.040)	0.206*** (0.047)	0.198*** (0.048)	0.366*** (0.050)	0.353*** (0.050)
Employment Status	-0.010 (0.040)	-0.012 (0.039)	-0.074* (0.039)	-0.076* (0.038)	0.023 (0.036)	0.024 (0.036)	-0.066 (0.040)	-0.067 (0.040)	-0.168*** (0.041)	-0.171*** (0.042)
Negative Personal Economic Evaluations	0.020 (0.031)	0.020 (0.031)	0.017 (0.048)	0.018 (0.048)	-0.022 (0.030)	-0.022 (0.030)	0.049 (0.041)	0.049 (0.040)	0.130*** (0.041)	0.129*** (0.041)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	0.174*** (0.033)	0.155*** (0.034)	0.145*** (0.044)	0.132*** (0.044)	-0.055** (0.026)	-0.051* (0.026)	0.162*** (0.042)	0.152*** (0.042)	0.289*** (0.039)	0.275*** (0.039)
Education	-0.238*** (0.053)	-0.210*** (0.053)	-0.078 (0.062)	-0.057 (0.064)	0.019 (0.048)	0.012 (0.049)	-0.177*** (0.063)	-0.161** (0.064)	-0.293*** (0.059)	-0.271*** (0.060)
Age	0.108*** (0.034)	0.111*** (0.033)	0.091** (0.039)	0.094** (0.039)	-0.035 (0.027)	-0.039 (0.027)	-0.104*** (0.030)	-0.104*** (0.030)	0.079** (0.036)	0.084** (0.035)
Female	0.023 (0.015)	0.019 (0.015)	-0.012 (0.019)	-0.016 (0.019)	-0.006 (0.011)	-0.005 (0.012)	-0.027 (0.018)	-0.029 (0.018)	-0.009 (0.017)	-0.012 (0.017)
Limited Government	0.067** (0.030)	0.069** (0.029)	0.100*** (0.038)	0.101*** (0.037)	-0.076*** (0.025)	-0.074*** (0.025)	0.092*** (0.033)	0.095*** (0.033)	0.136*** (0.031)	0.136*** (0.030)
Hispanic Feeling Thermometer	-0.226*** (0.041)	-0.228*** (0.040)	-0.295*** (0.043)	-0.295*** (0.043)	0.442*** (0.039)	0.449*** (0.040)	-0.287*** (0.050)	-0.287*** (0.050)	-0.201*** (0.049)	-0.208*** (0.050)
Constant	0.554*** (0.055)	0.513*** (0.056)	0.410*** (0.070)	0.377*** (0.071)	0.327*** (0.047)	0.329*** (0.050)	0.381*** (0.064)	0.355*** (0.065)	0.140* (0.075)	0.117 (0.076)
Observations	1794	1799	1798	1803	1566	1570	1787	1792	1798	1803
R-squared	0.309	0.322	0.194	0.200	0.289	0.290	0.194	0.198	0.473	0.476

Source: 2016 ANES (Web).

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 6B5d. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Table 6.2. The Relationship between White Identity, White Consciousness, and Beliefs about Consequences of Immigration (ANES 2016 Results (Web))

	Immigrants take jobs away from American citizens		Immigrants are bad for the U.S. economy		Immigrants increase crime rates		America's culture is harmed by immigrants	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
White Identity	0.109*** (0.028)		0.064*** (0.022)		0.136*** (0.023)		0.145*** (0.022)	
White Consciousness		0.330*** (0.035)		0.159*** (0.033)		0.305*** (0.034)		0.287*** (0.030)
Party Identification (Republican)	0.107*** (0.033)	0.089*** (0.032)	0.072** (0.028)	0.067** (0.029)	0.111*** (0.032)	0.092*** (0.031)	0.084** (0.033)	0.071** (0.033)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	0.176*** (0.048)	0.142*** (0.047)	0.128*** (0.044)	0.113** (0.045)	0.221*** (0.047)	0.196*** (0.046)	0.179*** (0.041)	0.158*** (0.041)
Employment Status	0.022 (0.040)	0.020 (0.039)	-0.007 (0.040)	-0.009 (0.040)	-0.044 (0.041)	-0.047 (0.039)	0.001 (0.045)	-0.002 (0.044)
Negative Personal Economic Evaluations	0.117*** (0.039)	0.120*** (0.039)	0.015 (0.031)	0.016 (0.032)	0.027 (0.035)	0.023 (0.034)	0.037 (0.030)	0.034 (0.030)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	0.260*** (0.034)	0.225*** (0.033)	0.125*** (0.030)	0.109*** (0.031)	0.114*** (0.034)	0.084** (0.032)	0.099*** (0.030)	0.073** (0.030)
Education	-0.219*** (0.061)	-0.168*** (0.058)	-0.317*** (0.039)	-0.290*** (0.038)	-0.272*** (0.046)	-0.232*** (0.044)	-0.291*** (0.050)	-0.249*** (0.048)
Age	-0.020 (0.038)	-0.018 (0.035)	-0.055* (0.029)	-0.053* (0.029)	-0.041 (0.033)	-0.038 (0.031)	-0.075** (0.031)	-0.069** (0.030)
Female	0.021 (0.018)	0.014 (0.017)	0.036** (0.015)	0.032** (0.014)	-0.012 (0.014)	-0.017 (0.014)	-0.005 (0.014)	-0.010 (0.013)
Limited Government	0.010 (0.029)	0.017 (0.028)	0.018 (0.027)	0.017 (0.028)	0.089*** (0.024)	0.097*** (0.021)	0.055** (0.025)	0.056** (0.023)
Hispanic Feeling Thermometer	-0.213*** (0.043)	-0.205*** (0.041)	-0.286*** (0.038)	-0.287*** (0.037)	-0.307*** (0.037)	-0.308*** (0.035)	-0.314*** (0.035)	-0.322*** (0.034)
Constant	0.332*** (0.059)	0.240*** (0.057)	0.611*** (0.043)	0.572*** (0.043)	0.515*** (0.050)	0.452*** (0.050)	0.508*** (0.053)	0.456*** (0.053)
Observations	1798	1803	1796	1801	1795	1800	1796	1801
R-squared	0.267	0.306	0.226	0.238	0.344	0.375	0.289	0.313

Source: 2016 ANES (Web).

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.



Appendix 6C. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Figure 6.6. The Relationship between White and Hispanic Affect and Support for Decreasing Levels of Immigration

	1992	1994	1996	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016
White Feeling Thermometer	0.121*** (0.047)	0.029 (0.044)	0.122* (0.069)	0.316*** (0.079)	0.190*** (0.070)	0.324*** (0.069)	0.327*** (0.075)	0.291*** (0.047)
Party Identification (Republican)	0.038 (0.027)	0.008 (0.030)	-0.031 (0.036)	0.007 (0.049)	0.076* (0.044)	0.072 (0.047)	0.040 (0.066)	0.057* (0.031)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	0.136*** (0.045)	0.042 (0.051)	0.087 (0.057)	0.205** (0.080)	0.074 (0.076)	0.117* (0.070)	0.075 (0.103)	0.237*** (0.046)
Employment Status	-0.001 (0.035)	0.036 (0.045)	-0.037 (0.066)	-0.161*** (0.059)	-0.018 (0.067)	0.054 (0.041)	-0.062 (0.082)	-0.015 (0.038)
Negative Personal Economic Evaluations	0.014 (0.021)	-0.013 (0.022)	0.046* (0.024)	-0.013 (0.039)	-0.023 (0.032)	0.071** (0.028)	-0.002 (0.036)	0.017 (0.034)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	-0.037 (0.036)	-0.084** (0.036)	-0.110** (0.048)	-0.076 (0.051)	-0.058 (0.052)	-0.110* (0.064)	-0.067 (0.063)	0.165*** (0.033)
Education	-0.137*** (0.030)	-0.164*** (0.035)	-0.143*** (0.038)	-0.270*** (0.057)	-0.317*** (0.044)	-0.226*** (0.051)	-0.156*** (0.058)	-0.223*** (0.048)
Age	-0.101** (0.040)	-0.139*** (0.043)	-0.063 (0.048)	-0.126* (0.069)	0.001 (0.061)	0.013 (0.062)	-0.026 (0.070)	0.107*** (0.034)
Female	-0.008 (0.016)	0.011 (0.017)	0.003 (0.019)	0.032 (0.028)	0.047** (0.024)	0.008 (0.024)	0.089*** (0.030)	0.018 (0.014)
Limited Government	-0.016 (0.022)			0.008 (0.039)	0.018 (0.031)	-0.009 (0.033)	-0.046 (0.044)	0.071** (0.028)
Hispanic Feeling Thermometer	-0.330*** (0.048)	-0.216*** (0.041)	-0.186*** (0.062)	-0.408*** (0.080)	-0.302*** (0.069)	-0.519*** (0.061)	-0.366*** (0.070)	-0.389*** (0.045)
Constant	0.851*** (0.047)	1.075*** (0.056)	0.917*** (0.064)	0.847*** (0.090)	0.883*** (0.066)	0.749*** (0.066)	0.685*** (0.084)	0.501*** (0.053)
Observations	1515	1201	1111	503	699	955	761	1807
R-squared	0.072	0.081	0.060	0.188	0.149	0.158	0.109	0.323

Source: ANES Cumulative File, 2016 ANES Time Series (Web).

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 6D. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Figure 6.7. The Marginal Effect of White Identity on Opposition to Immigration by Each Level of Change in the County-level Foreign Born Population.

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White Identity	-0.241 (0.160)
Party Identification (Republican)	0.060* (0.034)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	0.166*** (0.048)
Employment Status	0.014 (0.047)
Negative Personal Economic Evaluations	0.027 (0.029)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	0.057 (0.035)
Education	-0.213*** (0.060)
Age	-0.087** (0.034)
Female	0.016 (0.016)
Limited Government	0.018 (0.027)
Hispanic Feeling Thermometer	-0.293*** (0.041)
Change in Foreign Born Population	-0.854* (0.441)
White Identity*Change in Foreign Born Population	1.645** (0.797)
Constant	0.913*** (0.095)
<hr/>	
Observations	776
R-squared	0.276

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Source: 2012 ANES.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted.

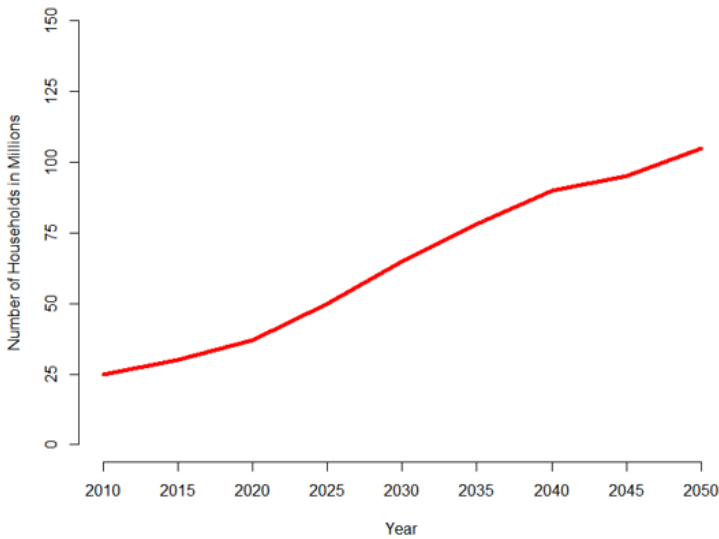
\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

## Appendix 6E. Demographic Change Experimental Treatments

### Demographic Change Control Condition

The most recent analysis by the U.S. Census bureau indicates that the number of cell-phone only households is on the rise and likely to increase steadily over the next 30 years. More and more people are choosing to forgo landlines to use cell phones exclusively.

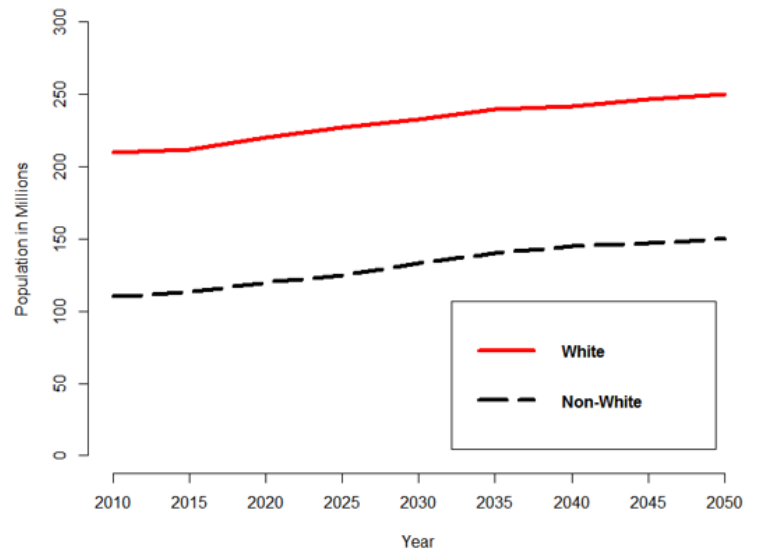
**Projected Number of Cell-Phone Only Households, 2010-2050**



### Demographic Change White Majority Condition

The most recent analysis by the U.S. Census indicates that the population of the U.S. is expected to grow steadily over the next 30 years. The latest projections indicate that whites are expected to continue to make up a majority of the U.S. population well into the future.

**U.S. Projected Demographics, Whites & Non-Whites 2010-2050**

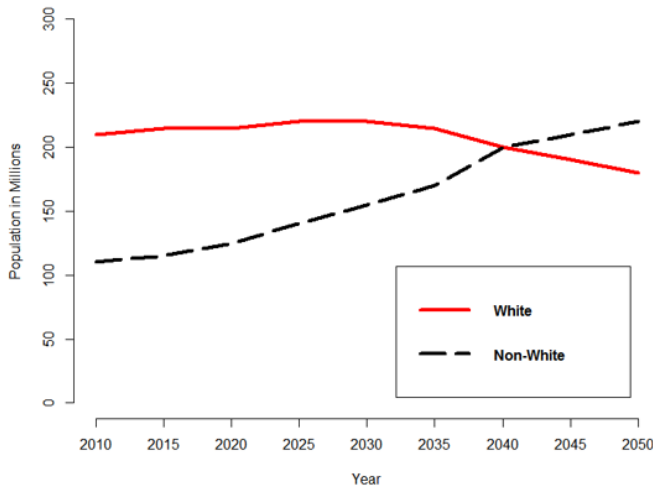


### Demographic Change White Minority Condition Demographic Change Immigration Condition

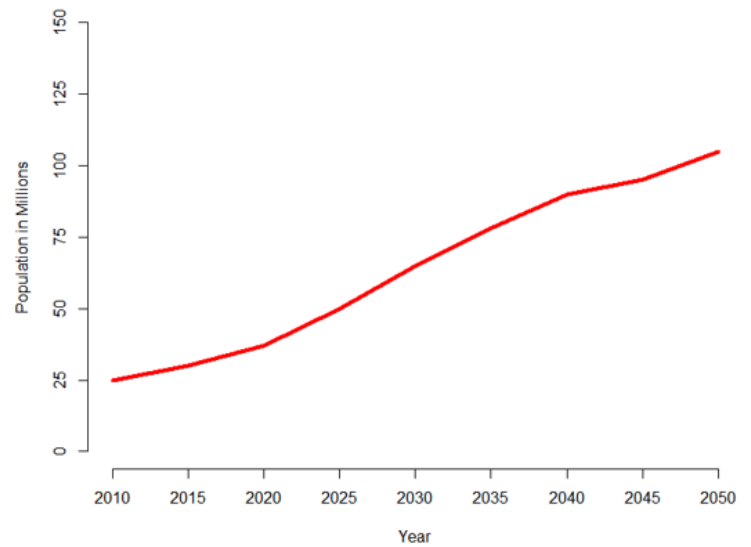
The most recent analysis by the U.S. Census indicates that the population of the U.S. is expected to grow steadily over the next 30 years, but not all racial groups are contributing equally to this growth. The population of whites is decreasing, while the population of non-whites is growing dramatically. The latest projections indicate that non-whites, including blacks, Latinos, and Asians, are expected soon to comprise a majority of the U.S. population. Whites will be a minority by the year 2042, if not sooner, and the nation will be much more diverse in just a generation from now.

The most recent analysis by the U.S. Census indicates that the number of immigrants in the U.S. is expected to grow steadily over the next 30 years. More foreign-born individuals will reside in the U.S. than ever before in our nation's history.

**U.S. Projected Demographics, Whites & Non-Whites 2010-2050**



**Projected Population of Immigrants in U.S., 2010-2050**



Appendix 6F. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Figure 6.8. Emotional Responses to Demographic Information by Levels of White Identity.

	Anger	Fear	Enthusiasm
White Identity	0.002 (0.099)	0.169* (0.100)	0.331*** (0.125)
White Majority Condition	-0.044 (0.105)	-0.009 (0.107)	0.208* (0.124)
White Minority Condition	-0.113 (0.110)	0.104 (0.107)	0.159 (0.105)
Immigrant Condition	-0.162 (0.111)	0.122 (0.099)	0.226* (0.119)
White Majority Condition x White Identity	0.072 (0.161)	-0.010 (0.165)	-0.222 (0.181)
White Minority Condition x White Identity	0.383** (0.174)	0.123 (0.160)	-0.320** (0.160)
Immigrant Condition x White Identity	0.716*** (0.178)	0.241 (0.147)	-0.428** (0.170)
Constant	0.151** (0.070)	0.101 (0.072)	0.110 (0.088)
Observations	594	599	598
R-squared	0.237	0.228	0.052

Source: 2016 YouGov.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted.

\*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ , two-tailed.

## CHAPTER 7

Appendix 7A. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Table 7.1. White Identity, White Consciousness, and Support for Increasing Social Security Spending / Expanding Medicare

	Social Security								Medicare	
	ANES 2012 (Face-to- face)	ANES 2012 (Web)	SSI 2013		ANES 2016 (Face-to-face)		ANES 2016 (Web)		SSI 2013	
			(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
White Identity	0.064** (0.033)	0.041 (0.025)	0.105*** (0.027)		0.012 (0.037)		0.015 (0.025)		0.100*** (0.027)	
White Consciousness				0.176*** (0.037)		0.091* (0.051)		0.044 (0.039)		0.075* (0.038)
Party Identification (Republican)	-0.033 (0.054)	-0.091*** (0.030)	-0.005 (0.035)	0.016 (0.035)	-0.155*** (0.040)	-0.157*** (0.042)	-0.064* (0.032)	-0.065** (0.032)	-0.046 (0.035)	(0.036)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	-0.127* (0.067)	-0.071 (0.044)	-0.193*** (0.043)	-0.201*** (0.043)	-0.138* (0.075)	-0.144* (0.075)	-0.177*** (0.048)	-0.180*** (0.047)	-0.122*** (0.044)	-0.123*** (0.044)
Negative Personal Economic Evaluations	0.088* (0.047)	0.014 (0.036)	0.041 (0.029)	0.033 (0.029)	0.003 (0.050)	0.004 (0.049)	0.049 (0.039)	0.048 (0.040)	0.030 (0.029)	0.025 (0.029)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	0.035 (0.052)	0.051* (0.029)	0.013 (0.029)	-0.0003 (0.029)	0.246*** (0.064)	0.236*** (0.065)	0.098*** (0.037)	0.100*** (0.037)	0.013 (0.029)	0.005 (0.029)
Employment Status	-0.014 (0.059)	0.036 (0.035)			-0.083* (0.044)	-0.086* (0.043)	0.068* (0.038)	0.063 (0.038)		
Education	-0.387*** (0.081)	-0.372*** (0.052)	-0.222*** (0.058)	-0.208*** (0.058)	-0.144* (0.077)	-0.126 (0.077)	-0.315*** (0.053)	-0.310*** (0.053)	-0.259*** (0.058)	-0.256*** (0.059)

*Continued* Appendix 7A. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Table 7.1. White Identity, White Consciousness, and Support for Increasing Social Security Spending / Expanding Medicare

	Social Security								Medicare	
	ANES 2012 (Face-to- face)	ANES 2012 (Web)	SSI 2013		ANES 2016 (Face-to-face)		ANES 2016 (Web)		SSI 2013	
			(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Age	-0.037 (0.056)	0.135*** (0.037)	0.165*** (0.037)	0.167*** (0.037)	0.261*** (0.050)	0.251*** (0.051)	0.273*** (0.037)	0.275*** (0.036)	0.076** (0.038)	0.076** (0.038)
Female	0.071*** (0.026)	0.033** (0.015)	0.014 (0.017)	0.007 (0.017)	-0.014 (0.027)	-0.020 (0.027)	0.036** (0.016)	0.035** (0.015)	0.048*** (0.018)	0.044** (0.018)
Limited Government	-0.087** (0.037)	-0.159*** (0.023)	0.063*** (0.023)	0.080*** (0.023)	-0.181*** (0.041)	-0.179*** (0.040)	-0.085*** (0.032)	-0.083** (0.032)	0.052** (0.023)	0.065*** (0.023)
Racial Resentment	0.155** (0.060)	0.111*** (0.041)	-0.011 (0.042)	-0.071 (0.046)	0.063 (0.064)	0.044 (0.066)	0.052 (0.039)	0.041 (0.039)	-0.091** (0.043)	-0.092* (0.047)
Race of Interviewer	0.010 (0.032)									
Constant	0.880*** (0.092)	0.881*** (0.054)	0.719*** (0.057)	0.709*** (0.056)	0.845*** (0.084)	0.825*** (0.085)	0.867*** (0.054)	0.858*** (0.055)	0.934*** (0.057)	0.945*** (0.058)
Observations	782	2322	678	678	671	672	1819	1824	677	677
R-squared	0.130	0.150	0.122	0.130	0.199	0.202	0.128	0.130	0.115	0.104

Source: 2012 ANES, 2013 SSI, 2016 ANES.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. ANES data are weighted.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 7B. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Table 7.2. White Identity, White Consciousness, and Opposition to Welfare and Medicaid

	Welfare								Medicaid	
	ANES 2012 (Face-to- face)	ANES 2012 (Web)	SSI 2013		ANES 2016 (Face-to- face)		ANES 2016 (Web)		SSI 2013	
			(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
White Identity	0.010 (0.038)	-0.027 (0.024)	-0.045 (0.033)		-0.075 (0.048)		-0.029 (0.028)		-0.056* (0.030)	
White Consciousness				0.000 (0.046)		-0.107 (0.072)		-0.035 (0.043)		-0.049 (0.043)
Party Identification (Republican)	0.069 (0.053)	0.037 (0.035)	0.065 (0.043)	0.064 (0.044)	0.151** (0.069)	0.147** (0.069)	0.130*** (0.039)	0.129*** (0.039)	0.034 (0.040)	0.028 (0.040)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	0.208*** (0.075)	0.226*** (0.049)	0.178*** (0.053)	0.177*** (0.053)	0.268*** (0.102)	0.278*** (0.101)	0.248*** (0.055)	0.248*** (0.055)	0.142*** (0.049)	0.144*** (0.049)
Employment Status	-0.066 (0.052)	-0.143*** (0.042)			-0.168* (0.095)	-0.171* (0.096)	-0.163*** (0.047)	-0.162*** (0.047)		
Negative Personal Financial Evaluations	-0.025 (0.050)	-0.051* (0.028)	-0.025 (0.036)	-0.024 (0.036)	-0.117* (0.065)	-0.118* (0.064)	-0.114*** (0.044)	-0.113*** (0.043)	-0.044 (0.033)	-0.041 (0.033)
Negative National Financial Evaluations	0.049 (0.059)	-0.012 (0.033)	0.018 (0.036)	0.020 (0.036)	0.103 (0.072)	0.109 (0.073)	0.010 (0.040)	0.012 (0.040)	0.022 (0.033)	0.027 (0.033)
Education	0.100 (0.076)	0.198*** (0.051)	0.314*** (0.071)	0.318*** (0.071)	0.216* (0.112)	0.214* (0.114)	0.141** (0.058)	0.137** (0.058)	0.234*** (0.065)	0.232*** (0.065)

Continued Appendix 7B. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Table 7.2. White Identity, White Consciousness, and Opposition to Welfare and Medicaid

	Welfare						Medicaid			
	ANES 2012 (Face-to- face)	ANES 2012 (Web)	SSI 2013		ANES 2016 (Face-to-face)		ANES 2016 (Web)		SSI 2013	
			(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)		
Age	-0.138*** (0.053)	-0.001 (0.033)	0.079* (0.046)	0.079* (0.046)	-0.029 (0.065)	-0.028 (0.064)	0.031 (0.037)	0.030 (0.037)	0.045 (0.042)	0.045 (0.042)
Female	-0.056** (0.025)	-0.015 (0.015)	0.008 (0.021)	0.009 (0.022)	0.032 (0.030)	0.039 (0.030)	-0.007 (0.017)	-0.007 (0.017)	0.001 (0.020)	0.003 (0.020)
Limited Government	0.164*** (0.038)	0.190*** (0.024)	-0.128*** (0.028)	-0.132*** (0.028)	0.081 (0.058)	0.089 (0.057)	0.156*** (0.031)	0.158*** (0.031)	-0.085*** (0.026)	-0.092*** (0.026)
Racial Resentment	0.186*** (0.060)	0.372*** (0.042)	0.354*** (0.052)	0.334*** (0.058)	0.445*** (0.076)	0.452*** (0.078)	0.374*** (0.041)	0.379*** (0.044)	0.253*** (0.048)	0.258*** (0.053)
Non-White Interviewer	-0.083** (0.041)									
Constant	0.348*** (0.083)	0.144** (0.057)	-0.086 (0.070)	-0.100 (0.070)	0.017 (0.104)	0.014 (0.106)	0.159*** (0.058)	0.159*** (0.058)	-0.051 (0.064)	-0.057 (0.064)
Observations	788	2323	676	676	670	671	1817	1822	676	676
R-squared	0.217	0.307	0.293	0.292	0.340	0.339	0.343	0.344	0.196	0.193

Source: 2012 ANES Time, 2013 SSI, 2016 ANES Time Series.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. ANES data are weighted.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.



Appendix 7C. Coefficient Table Corresponding to 7.3. White Identity, White Consciousness, and Opposition to Government Aid to Blacks

	ANES 2012		ANES 2016	
	(Face-to-face)	(Web)	(Face-to-face)	(Web)
White Identity	0.011 (0.028)	0.030* (0.016)	0.737 (0.735)	
White Consciousness				-0.143 (0.725)
Party Identification (Republican)	0.074* (0.043)	0.044** (0.022)	1.207 (1.104)	-0.755 (0.680)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	0.071 (0.058)	0.091*** (0.030)	-0.973 (1.474)	0.001 (0.966)
Employment Status	0.008 (0.045)	0.008 (0.022)	-1.662** (0.826)	-0.96 (0.800)
Negative Personal Financial Evaluations	-0.008 (0.036)	-0.021 (0.020)	-0.577 (1.128)	0.119 (0.715)
Negative National Financial Evaluations	0.053 (0.042)	-0.004 (0.022)	3.100** (1.268)	0.737 (0.634)
Education	0.031 (0.064)	0.024 (0.037)	-2.206 (1.475)	-3.588*** (1.010)
Age	-0.004 (0.043)	-0.060*** (0.023)	-0.539 (1.194)	-0.676 (0.587)
Female	0.022 (0.018)	0.016 (0.010)	0.634 (0.483)	0.556* (0.288)
Limited Government	0.061** (0.029)	0.079*** (0.016)	-1.985** (0.994)	-1.595** (0.619)
Racial Resentment	0.471*** (0.043)	0.591*** (0.027)	0.237 (0.821)	1.246* (0.710)
Non-White Interviewer	-0.109*** (0.028)			
Constant	0.231*** (0.064)	0.200*** (0.041)	2.761* (1.436)	4.938*** (1.016)
Observations	694	2139	666	1822
R-squared	0.388	0.467	0.068	0.035

Source: 2012 ANES, 2016 ANES.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 7D. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Figure 7.1. White Identity, White Consciousness, and Support for Federal Spending on Groups

	Spending on Blacks	Spending on Hispanics	Spending on Asians	Spending on Whites	Spending on Blacks	Spending on Hispanics	Spending on Asians	Spending on Whites
White Identity	0.082*** (0.025)	0.088*** (0.025)	0.089*** (0.025)	0.211*** (0.027)				
White Consciousness					0.042 (0.035)	0.056 (0.035)	0.096*** (0.035)	0.296*** (0.038)
Party Identification (Republican)	-0.040 (0.032)	-0.015 (0.033)	0.021 (0.032)	-0.023 (0.036)	-0.034 (0.033)	-0.007 (0.033)	0.033 (0.033)	0.014 (0.036)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	-0.096** (0.040)	-0.112*** (0.040)	-0.122*** (0.040)	-0.139*** (0.044)	-0.096** (0.040)	-0.112*** (0.040)	-0.125*** (0.040)	-0.151*** (0.044)
Negative Personal Economic Evaluations	-0.047* (0.027)	-0.068** (0.027)	-0.068** (0.026)	-0.020 (0.029)	-0.050* (0.027)	-0.072*** (0.027)	-0.073*** (0.027)	-0.035 (0.029)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	-0.025 (0.027)	-0.035 (0.027)	-0.019 (0.027)	-0.007 (0.029)	-0.031 (0.027)	-0.041 (0.027)	-0.028 (0.027)	-0.031 (0.029)
Education	-0.136** (0.053)	-0.090* (0.053)	-0.138*** (0.053)	-0.240*** (0.058)	-0.137** (0.053)	-0.090* (0.054)	-0.134** (0.053)	-0.221*** (0.058)
Age	-0.052 (0.034)	-0.065* (0.035)	-0.045 (0.034)	-0.061 (0.038)	-0.051 (0.034)	-0.064* (0.035)	-0.044 (0.034)	-0.058 (0.038)
Female	0.002 (0.016)	0.003 (0.016)	0.006 (0.016)	0.024 (0.018)	-0.000 (0.016)	0.000 (0.016)	0.001 (0.016)	0.012 (0.018)
Limited Government	0.071*** (0.021)	0.074*** (0.021)	0.059*** (0.021)	0.055** (0.023)	0.080*** (0.021)	0.085*** (0.021)	0.071*** (0.021)	0.088*** (0.023)
Racial Resentment	-0.451*** (0.039)	-0.386*** (0.039)	-0.315*** (0.039)	-0.072* (0.043)	-0.439*** (0.043)	-0.380*** (0.043)	-0.333*** (0.043)	-0.156*** (0.047)
Constant	0.909*** (0.052)	0.849*** (0.052)	0.826*** (0.052)	0.716*** (0.057)	0.924*** (0.053)	0.862*** (0.053)	0.830*** (0.052)	0.711*** (0.057)
Observations	682	681	681	682	682	681	681	682
R-squared	0.374	0.338	0.253	0.175	0.365	0.328	0.247	0.174

Source: 2013 SSI.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 7Ea. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Table 7.4. White Identity, White Consciousness, and  
Opposition to Affirmative Action in College Admissions

	ANES 2012		ANES 2016			
	(Face to Face)	(Web)	(Face to Face)	(Face to Face)	(Web)	(Web)
White Identity	-0.017 (0.033)	-0.015 (0.019)	-0.060 (0.042)		0.030 (0.020)	
White Consciousness				-0.026 (0.061)		0.072** (0.031)
Party Identification (Republican)	0.070 (0.049)	0.017 (0.026)	0.010 (0.072)	0.009 (0.073)	0.033 (0.030)	0.030 (0.030)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	0.041 (0.064)	0.113*** (0.037)	0.239** (0.121)	0.243** (0.123)	0.134*** (0.045)	0.134*** (0.045)
Employment Status	-0.023 (0.054)	0.001 (0.028)	-0.033 (0.062)	-0.038 (0.062)	-0.033 (0.037)	-0.034 (0.037)
Negative Personal Economic Evaluations	0.055 (0.041)	0.032 (0.021)	0.095 (0.064)	0.195 (0.064)	0.027 (0.032)	0.027 (0.032)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	-0.045 (0.046)	-0.026 (0.027)	-0.084 (0.075)	-0.087 (0.075)	-0.066** (0.032)	-0.070** (0.032)
Education	0.104 (0.072)	0.145*** (0.038)	0.124 (0.094)	0.132 (0.093)	0.124** (0.049)	0.129*** (0.049)
Age	-0.031 (0.046)	0.007 (0.028)	-0.082 (0.065)	-0.090 (0.063)	0.001 (0.031)	0.002 (0.030)
Female	0.008 (0.022)	-0.003 (0.011)	0.049* (0.029)	0.053* (0.030)	0.007 (0.014)	0.005 (0.013)
Limited Government	0.104*** (0.033)	0.095*** (0.018)	0.108* (0.064)	0.115* (0.064)	0.162*** (0.026)	0.167*** (0.025)
Racial Resentment	0.373*** (0.053)	0.464*** (0.034)	0.414*** (0.065)	0.402*** (0.066)	0.354*** (0.033)	0.339*** (0.034)
Non-White Interviewer	-0.029 (0.039)					
Constant	0.328*** (0.071)	0.197*** (0.040)	0.153 (0.098)	0.138 (0.098)	0.206*** (0.052)	0.196*** (0.053)
Observations	783	2323	663	664	1818	1823
R-squared	0.192	0.319	0.279	0.275	0.284	0.287

Source: 2012 ANES, 2016 ANES Pilot, 2016 ANES.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 7Eb. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Table 7.4. White Identity, White Consciousness, and Opposition to Affirmative Action in the Workplace

	ANES 2012		ANES 2016			
	(Face-to-face)	(Web)	(Face-to-face)	(Face-to-face)	(Web)	(Web)
White Identity	0.019 (0.031)	-0.009 (0.018)	-0.049 (0.039)		-0.046** (0.023)	
White Consciousness				-0.021 (0.060)		-0.055 (0.038)
Party Identification (Republican)	0.093* (0.051)	-0.018 (0.026)	-0.077 (0.068)	-0.082 (0.067)	-0.036 (0.034)	-0.036 (0.034)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	-0.025 (0.069)	0.127*** (0.036)	0.123 (0.083)	0.127 (0.084)	0.173*** (0.050)	0.174*** (0.050)
Employment Status	-0.020 (0.051)	0.027 (0.027)	-0.091 (0.073)	-0.095 (0.075)	0.004 (0.037)	0.004 (0.037)
Negative Personal Economic Evaluations	0.085** (0.039)	0.044** (0.021)	-0.010 (0.061)	-0.010 (0.062)	-0.002 (0.034)	-0.002 (0.034)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	-0.028 (0.045)	-0.047* (0.028)	-0.081 (0.081)	-0.083 (0.082)	-0.062* (0.034)	-0.060* (0.034)
Education	0.038 (0.071)	0.137*** (0.039)	0.225** (0.093)	0.232*** (0.089)	0.211*** (0.060)	0.209*** (0.060)
Age	-0.015 (0.044)	-0.012 (0.026)	-0.057 (0.069)	-0.063 (0.068)	0.124*** (0.034)	0.120*** (0.034)
Female	-0.004 (0.021)	0.008 (0.011)	0.027 (0.029)	0.029 (0.029)	-0.004 (0.015)	-0.004 (0.015)
Limited Government	0.110*** (0.032)	0.095*** (0.019)	0.261*** (0.057)	0.270*** (0.053)	0.084*** (0.028)	0.084*** (0.028)
Racial Resentment	0.344*** (0.054)	0.473*** (0.030)	0.561*** (0.057)	0.554*** (0.060)	0.488*** (0.035)	0.495*** (0.036)
Non-White Interviewer	-0.022 (0.032)					
Constant	0.395*** (0.075)	0.237*** (0.041)	0.226** (0.089)	0.213** (0.084)	0.236*** (0.058)	0.237*** (0.059)
Observations	789	2324	652	653	1807	1811
R-squared	0.199	0.312	0.352	0.351	0.291	0.290

Source: 2012 ANES, 2016 ANES.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 7Ec. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Table 7.4. White Identity, White Consciousness, and Affirmative Action for Specific Groups

	Blacks	Hispanics	Minorities	Blacks	Hispanics	Minorities
White Identity	-0.094** (0.045)	-0.089** (0.045)	-0.135*** (0.046)			
White Consciousness				-0.113 (0.073)	-0.083 (0.074)	-0.126** (0.056)
Party Identification (Republican)	0.212** (0.101)	0.192* (0.101)	0.051 (0.061)	0.202** (0.101)	0.183* (0.101)	0.043 (0.064)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	-0.052 (0.148)	0.042 (0.115)	0.171** (0.080)	-0.050 (0.147)	0.043 (0.116)	0.178** (0.084)
Employment Status	0.005 (0.094)	0.041 (0.062)	0.012 (0.048)	0.008 (0.093)	0.042 (0.061)	0.020 (0.049)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	0.131* (0.076)	0.150** (0.076)	0.035 (0.072)	0.152** (0.077)	0.167** (0.077)	0.042 (0.074)
Education	0.090* (0.050)	0.086 (0.052)	0.011 (0.039)	0.089* (0.052)	0.087 (0.054)	0.017 (0.039)
Age	-0.147* (0.084)	-0.087 (0.082)	0.011 (0.064)	-0.144* (0.084)	-0.087 (0.082)	0.004 (0.066)
Female	-0.032 (0.036)	-0.020 (0.036)	-0.000 (0.030)	-0.036 (0.036)	-0.024 (0.035)	-0.005 (0.030)
Racial Resentment	0.565*** (0.095)	0.498*** (0.092)	0.572*** (0.060)	0.577*** (0.094)	0.501*** (0.091)	0.589*** (0.065)
Constant	0.202*** (0.067)	0.178*** (0.061)	0.204*** (0.050)	0.194*** (0.070)	0.167*** (0.063)	0.184*** (0.052)
Observations	386	386	407	386	386	407
R-squared	0.377	0.392	0.432	0.374	0.386	0.418

Source: 2016 ANES Pilot.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 7F. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Figure 7.2. White Consciousness and Support for Legacy Admissions

White Consciousness	0.105** (0.043)
Party Identification (Republican)	0.085** (0.038)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	0.072 (0.047)
Employment Status	-0.012 (0.036)
Education	0.093 (0.077)
Age	0.034 (0.053)
Female	-0.073*** (0.021)
Racial Resentment	-0.077 (0.050)
Constant	0.318*** (0.081)
Observations	629
R-squared	0.061

Source: 2014 SSI.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one.

\*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ , two-tailed.

Appendix 7G. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Figure 7.3. White Consciousness and Opposition to Outsourcing

	ANES 2012 (Face-to-face)	ANES 2012 (Web)
White Identity	0.063* (0.032)	0.022 (0.018)
Party Identification (Republican)	-0.072 (0.046)	-0.083*** (0.026)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	0.036 (0.062)	-0.059 (0.036)
Employment Status	0.007 (0.052)	0.049* (0.026)
Negative Personal Economic Evaluations	0.062 (0.041)	0.021 (0.023)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	-0.037 (0.044)	0.009 (0.028)
Education	-0.087 (0.064)	-0.174*** (0.040)
Age	-0.018 (0.044)	0.063** (0.029)
Female	0.013 (0.021)	0.011 (0.011)
Limited Government	-0.077** (0.030)	-0.082*** (0.017)
Union Membership	0.003 (0.028)	0.052*** (0.015)
Non-White Interviewer	0.086*** (0.028)	
Constant	0.856*** (0.066)	0.966*** (0.040)
Observations	786	2317
R-squared	0.060	0.107

Source: 2012 ANES.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 7Ha. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Figure 7.4. White Identity, Opposition to Increasing Trade, and Opposition to Free Trade

	ANES 2016 (Face-to-face)		ANES 2016 (Web)	
	Opposition to Increasing Trade	Opposition to Free Trade	Opposition to Increasing Trade	Opposition to Free Trade
White Identity	0.041 (0.067)	0.078 (0.049)	0.091** (0.037)	0.054** (0.026)
Party Identification (Republican)	0.006 (0.078)	0.055 (0.068)	0.095** (0.045)	0.024 (0.033)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	0.029 (0.113)	0.079 (0.092)	0.013 (0.064)	0.017 (0.048)
Union Membership	0.101* (0.060)	0.076 (0.046)	0.064** (0.032)	0.039* (0.021)
Employment Status	-0.003 (0.093)	0.000 (0.050)	0.006 (0.056)	-0.011 (0.035)
Negative Personal Economic Evaluations	0.076 (0.071)	0.108* (0.061)	0.165*** (0.053)	0.144*** (0.037)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	0.130 (0.093)	0.007 (0.066)	0.159*** (0.050)	0.097*** (0.036)
Education	-0.478*** (0.136)	-0.370*** (0.101)	-0.291*** (0.075)	-0.256*** (0.051)
Age	0.024 (0.079)	-0.128** (0.060)	-0.015 (0.048)	-0.039 (0.034)
Female	-0.045 (0.035)	0.007 (0.026)	0.049** (0.022)	0.019 (0.016)
Limited Government	0.003 (0.070)	-0.029 (0.053)	0.044 (0.040)	0.026 (0.028)
Ethnocentrism	0.035 (0.157)	-0.013 (0.118)	0.040 (0.071)	-0.018 (0.054)
Constant	0.496*** (0.131)	0.567*** (0.098)	0.259*** (0.071)	0.444*** (0.050)
Observations	629	632	1777	1779
R-squared	0.086	0.107	0.092	0.079

Source: 2016 ANES.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.



Appendix 7Hb. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Figure 7.4. White Consciousness, Opposition to Increasing Trade, and Opposition to Free Trade

	ANES 2016 (Face-to-face)		ANES 2016 (Web)	
	Opposition to Increasing Trade	Opposition to Free Trade	Opposition to Increasing Trade	Opposition to Free Trade
White Consciousness	0.088 (0.076)	0.001 (0.055)	0.183*** (0.056)	0.103*** (0.038)
Party Identification (Republican)	0.005 (0.072)	0.067 (0.068)	0.089* (0.047)	0.019 (0.033)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	0.021 (0.101)	0.074 (0.094)	0.000 (0.064)	0.010 (0.052)
Union Membership	0.102 (0.067)	0.077 (0.053)	0.066** (0.030)	0.039* (0.021)
Employment Status	-0.003 (0.111)	0.007 (0.059)	0.004 (0.056)	-0.012 (0.032)
Negative Personal Economic Evaluations	0.077 (0.089)	0.109 (0.075)	0.164*** (0.051)	0.143*** (0.039)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	0.122 (0.099)	0.004 (0.056)	0.145*** (0.045)	0.089** (0.037)
Education	-0.468*** (0.139)	-0.390*** (0.116)	-0.270*** (0.079)	-0.245*** (0.058)
Age	0.018 (0.087)	-0.116* (0.061)	-0.010 (0.050)	-0.036 (0.036)
Female	-0.051 (0.031)	0.007 (0.026)	0.045* (0.024)	0.018 (0.018)
Limited Government	-0.001 (0.074)	-0.037 (0.054)	0.042 (0.036)	0.026 (0.027)
Ethnocentrism	0.021 (0.150)	0.043 (0.104)	0.013 (0.071)	-0.030 (0.057)
Constant	0.487*** (0.132)	0.604*** (0.112)	0.223*** (0.076)	0.426*** (0.054)
Observations	630	633	1782	1784
R-squared	0.087	0.100	0.097	0.082

Source: 2016 ANES.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 7I. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Figure 7.5. White Identity, White Consciousness, and Isolationism

	ANES 2016 (Face-to-face)		ANES 2016 (Web)	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
White Identity	0.512 (0.376)		0.364* (0.185)	
White Consciousness		0.619 (0.482)		1.106*** (0.285)
Party Identification (Republican)	0.081 (0.374)	0.105 (0.385)	-0.435 (0.263)	-0.506* (0.270)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	-0.383 (0.681)	-0.451 (0.693)	0.089 (0.355)	-0.000 (0.358)
Employment Status	-0.745 (0.553)	-0.715 (0.565)	-0.306 (0.331)	-0.362 (0.327)
Negative Personal Economic Evaluations	0.657 (0.735)	0.649 (0.728)	0.422 (0.322)	0.449 (0.317)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	1.055* (0.526)	1.021* (0.537)	1.118*** (0.244)	0.982*** (0.249)
Education	-2.870*** (0.636)	-2.882*** (0.668)	-1.874*** (0.369)	-1.721*** (0.372)
Age	-1.592*** (0.440)	-1.578*** (0.433)	-1.712*** (0.296)	-1.699*** (0.297)
Female	-0.301 (0.241)	-0.353 (0.250)	-0.209 (0.131)	-0.245* (0.131)
Limited Government	-0.012 (0.398)	-0.072 (0.382)	0.448* (0.242)	0.486** (0.240)
Constant	0.902 (0.675)	0.954 (0.723)	0.281 (0.370)	-0.022 (0.374)
Observations	664	665	1816	1822

Source: 2016 ANES.

Note: Table entries are logit coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

## CHAPTER 8

### Appendix 8A. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Figures 8.1. and 8.2. 2012 Presidential Vote Choice

	ANES 2012 (Face-to-face)		ANES 2012 (Web)	
White Identity	-1.182** (0.519)	-1.133** (0.507)	-0.059 (0.383)	0.054 (0.412)
Party Identification (Republican)	-4.408*** (0.757)	-4.751*** (0.780)	-5.663*** (0.496)	-5.688*** (0.479)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	-3.271*** (0.995)	-3.757*** (1.012)	-3.191*** (0.718)	-3.227*** (0.698)
Negative Personal Economic Evaluations	-0.104 (0.749)	-0.373 (0.720)	1.007 (0.856)	0.934 (0.802)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	-4.297*** (0.713)	-4.364*** (0.746)	-0.192 (0.478)	-0.246 (0.497)
Employment Status	1.636** (0.800)	1.663** (0.820)	-3.491*** (0.590)	-3.632*** (0.606)
Education	0.329 (1.237)	1.857* (1.113)	-0.506 (1.041)	-0.268 (0.943)
Age	0.743 (0.769)	1.055 (0.718)	-0.329 (0.522)	-0.201 (0.534)
Female	0.049 (0.390)	-0.162 (0.382)	0.240 (0.245)	0.218 (0.245)
Limited Government	-0.953* (0.545)	-1.385*** (0.500)	-1.485*** (0.332)	-1.655*** (0.344)
Racial Resentment	-1.927** (0.902)		-2.841*** (0.572)	
Ethnocentrism		0.934 (0.956)		-2.139*** (0.792)
Race of Interviewer	-0.217 (0.483)	-0.171 (0.506)		
Constant	7.667*** (1.388)	6.159*** (1.168)	9.471*** (1.271)	7.787*** (0.996)
Observations	572	561	1863	1859

Source: 2012 ANES.

Note: Table entries are logit coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 8B. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Figure 8.3. Belief that Obama Favors Whites over Blacks

	ANES 2012 (Face-to-face)	ANES 2012 (Web)
White Identity	1.033*** (0.380)	0.626*** (0.210)
Party Identification (Republican)	1.197** (0.604)	1.730*** (0.289)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	0.832 (0.802)	1.348*** (0.415)
Negative Personal Economic Evaluations	0.271 (0.508)	-0.854*** (0.328)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	2.161*** (0.599)	0.536** (0.257)
Employment Status	-1.745** (0.747)	1.965*** (0.304)
Education	-0.795 (0.974)	-0.797* (0.465)
Age	0.287 (0.581)	-0.428 (0.337)
Female	-0.212 (0.272)	0.047 (0.139)
Limited Government	1.114** (0.470)	1.181*** (0.223)
Race of Interviewer	-0.510 (0.443)	
Constant	-4.955*** (0.741)	-4.385*** (0.496)
Observations	771	2316

Source: 2012 ANES.

Note: Table entries are logit coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 8C. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Figure 8.4. Displeasure over a Latino President

	(1)	(2)
White Identity	0.081** (0.035)	
White Consciousness		0.135*** (0.051)
Party Identification (Republican)	-0.057 (0.048)	-0.050 (0.049)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	0.058 (0.062)	0.045 (0.061)
Employment Status	-0.045 (0.038)	-0.047 (0.038)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	0.171*** (0.056)	0.152*** (0.058)
Education	-0.095** (0.041)	-0.090** (0.041)
Age	0.080 (0.059)	0.072 (0.061)
Female	0.028 (0.022)	0.028 (0.023)
Hispanic Feeling Thermometer	-0.405*** (0.047)	-0.390*** (0.048)
Constant	0.719*** (0.067)	0.702*** (0.066)
Observations	790	790
R-squared	0.239	0.242

Source: 2016 ANES Pilot.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed

Appendix 8D1. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Table 8.1. White Identity, Racial Resentment, and Support for The Tea Party

	KN 2010	ANES 2012 (Face-to-face)		ANES 2012 (Web)		ANES	
	Tea Party Support	Tea Party Support	Tea Party FT	Tea Party Support	Tea Party FT	Tea Party FT (Face-to-face)	Tea Party FT (Web)
White Identity	0.016 (0.041)	-0.074** (0.033)	-0.007 (0.023)	-0.032 (0.021)	-0.027* (0.016)	-0.023 (0.028)	0.001 (0.018)
Party Identification (Republican)	0.249*** (0.055)	0.148*** (0.049)	0.092*** (0.029)	0.151*** (0.028)	0.097*** (0.021)	0.093** (0.037)	0.104*** (0.025)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	0.430*** (0.075)	0.477*** (0.066)	0.235*** (0.042)	0.393*** (0.041)	0.245*** (0.032)	0.216*** (0.035)	0.252*** (0.043)
Employment Status	-0.100** (0.047)	0.071 (0.068)	-0.010 (0.033)	0.003 (0.033)	-0.007 (0.020)	-0.045 (0.059)	-0.004 (0.025)
Negative Personal Financial Evaluations	-0.018 (0.060)	0.009 (0.043)	0.001 (0.027)	0.037 (0.024)	-0.001 (0.018)	0.029 (0.030)	0.034 (0.022)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	0.107** (0.046)	0.205*** (0.049)	0.134*** (0.031)	0.193*** (0.031)	0.147*** (0.022)	0.088** (0.038)	0.039 (0.026)
Education	-0.143* (0.079)	-0.024 (0.072)	-0.087* (0.048)	-0.074* (0.044)	-0.045 (0.034)	-0.102* (0.053)	-0.089** (0.037)
Age	0.116** (0.055)	-0.085* (0.045)	-0.049 (0.033)	0.012 (0.030)	0.050*** (0.022)	0.059** (0.027)	-0.088*** (0.022)
Female	0.015 (0.024)	-0.004 (0.022)	-0.001 (0.014)	-0.002 (0.013)	0.015 (0.010)	0.046** (0.016)	0.027** (0.011)
Limited Government		0.092*** (0.032)	0.022 (0.021)	0.137*** (0.020)	0.094*** (0.015)	0.045* (0.023)	0.136*** (0.021)
Racial Resentment	0.328*** (0.073)	0.184*** (0.055)	0.156*** (0.038)	0.149*** (0.033)	0.153*** (0.025)	0.042 (0.034)	0.155*** (0.022)
Race of Interviewer		-0.016 (0.040)	0.037* (0.021)				
Constant	-0.098 (0.089)	-0.058 (0.069)	0.227*** (0.048)	-0.108** (0.047)	0.060 (0.037)	0.242*** (0.054)	0.177*** (0.036)
Observations	918	5,673	5,659	5612	5242	1056	2746
R-squared	0.520	0.476	0.365	0.504	0.432	0.355	0.385

Source: 2010 KN, 2012 ANES, 2016 ANES.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 8D2. White Consciousness, Racial Resentment, and Support for The Tea Party

	Tea Party FT (Face-to-face)	Tea Party FT (Web)
White Consciousness	0.018 (0.049)	0.091*** (0.027)
Party Identification (Republican)	0.089** (0.037)	0.096*** (0.025)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	0.216*** (0.033)	0.252*** (0.042)
Employment Status	-0.048 (0.060)	-0.005 (0.026)
Negative Personal Financial Evaluations	0.028 (0.031)	0.037* (0.022)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	0.086** (0.038)	0.029 (0.025)
Education	-0.088 (0.054)	-0.078** (0.037)
Age	0.051* (0.027)	-0.088*** (0.022)
Female	0.045** (0.017)	0.024** (0.010)
Limited Government	0.053** (0.022)	0.147*** (0.021)
Racial Resentment	0.033 (0.034)	0.130*** (0.023)
Constant	0.226*** (0.057)	0.149*** (0.035)
Observations	1057	2750
R-squared	0.354	0.393

Source: 2016 ANES.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 8E. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Figure 8.5. Affective Evaluations of Donald Trump

	(1)	(2)
White Identity	0.083** (0.037)	
White Consciousness		0.187*** (0.057)
Party Identification (Republican)	0.300*** (0.059)	0.314*** (0.059)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	0.137* (0.081)	0.127 (0.083)
Employment Status	0.029 (0.048)	0.028 (0.046)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	0.065 (0.060)	0.043 (0.058)
Education	0.010 (0.042)	0.017 (0.042)
Age	0.145** (0.058)	0.137** (0.057)
Female	-0.052** (0.025)	-0.054** (0.024)
Racial Resentment	0.399*** (0.055)	0.358*** (0.056)
Constant	-0.174*** (0.043)	-0.182*** (0.042)
Observations	793	793
R-squared	0.432	0.442

Source: 2016 ANES Pilot.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.



Appendix 8F. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Figure 8.6. Choosing Trump over other Republican Primary Candidates

	(1)	(2)
White Identity	1.391*** (0.337)	
White Consciousness		2.755*** (0.465)
Party Identification (Republican)	1.741*** (0.450)	2.018*** (0.452)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	-0.690 (0.730)	-0.774 (0.749)
Employment Status	0.927** (0.445)	0.944** (0.465)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	0.694 (0.520)	0.399 (0.515)
Education	-0.832** (0.370)	-0.801** (0.368)
Age	0.383 (0.539)	0.249 (0.544)
Female	0.155 (0.232)	0.169 (0.237)
Racial Resentment	2.780*** (0.567)	2.251*** (0.578)
Constant	-4.635*** (0.577)	-4.824*** (0.614)
Observations	793	793

Source: 2016 ANES Pilot.

Note: Table entries are logit coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 8G. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Figure 8.7. The Effect of White Consciousness on Evaluations of 2016 Presidential Candidates

	Trump FT	Clinton FT	Sanders FT	Cruz FT	Rubio FT
White Consciousness	0.187*** (0.057)	0.050 (0.043)	-0.065* (0.039)	-0.065 (0.048)	-0.036 (0.045)
Party Identification (Republican)	0.314*** (0.059)	-0.392*** (0.046)	-0.181*** (0.038)	0.231*** (0.046)	0.294*** (0.043)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	0.127 (0.083)	-0.216*** (0.062)	-0.388*** (0.056)	0.343*** (0.066)	0.136** (0.059)
Employment Status	0.028 (0.046)	-0.004 (0.046)	-0.021 (0.041)	-0.103* (0.053)	-0.080* (0.046)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	0.043 (0.058)	-0.356*** (0.046)	-0.196*** (0.047)	0.029 (0.051)	-0.004 (0.050)
Education	0.017 (0.042)	-0.022 (0.035)	-0.072** (0.034)	0.045 (0.034)	0.065* (0.035)
Age	0.137** (0.057)	0.140 (0.052)	-0.048 (0.048)	-0.074 (0.047)	-0.026 (0.048)
Female	-0.054** (0.024)	0.040* (0.023)	0.008 (0.021)	-0.006 (0.021)	0.015 (0.020)
Racial Resentment	0.358*** (0.056)	-0.115** (0.058)	-0.279*** (0.051)	0.297*** (0.051)	0.170*** (0.046)
Constant	0.182*** (0.042)	0.843*** (0.046)	1.146*** (0.043)	-0.047 (0.044)	0.109*** (0.042)
Observations	793	793	788	789	786
R-squared	0.442	0.544	0.526	0.441	0.314

Source: 2016 ANES Pilot.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 8H. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Figure 8.8. 2016 Presidential Vote Choice

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
White Consciousness	2.939** (1.222)	3.850*** (1.272)	3.013** (1.295)	2.408** (1.156)	2.490** (1.228)
Party Identification (Republican)	5.624*** (0.714)	5.783*** (0.756)	5.652*** (0.730)	5.862*** (0.801)	5.898*** (0.816)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	2.365** (0.970)	2.530*** (0.924)	2.438** (1.017)	2.540** (0.979)	2.639** (1.035)
Employment Status	0.811 (0.509)	0.750 (0.538)	0.819 (0.503)	0.929* (0.508)	0.945* (0.503)
Education	-0.893 (0.760)	-1.198 (0.749)	-0.100 (0.773)	-0.725 (0.783)	-0.772 (0.786)
Age	-1.196 (1.020)	-1.107 (0.948)	-1.189 (1.023)	-1.342 (0.993)	-1.344 (0.995)
Female	-0.672 (0.414)	-0.538 (0.411)	-0.698* (0.410)	-0.765* (0.412)	-0.801** (0.403)
Limited Government	2.447*** (0.423)	2.633*** (0.449)	2.453*** (0.428)	2.382*** (0.431)	2.387*** (0.436)
Racial Resentment	1.797* (1.068)		1.784* (1.072)	1.729 (1.105)	1.714 (1.113)
KKK Thermometer		-0.510 (0.905)			
Authoritarianism			-0.249 (0.767)		-0.328 (0.803)
Anti-Elitism				1.659 (1.078)	1.629 (1.074)
Mistrust of Experts				1.023* (0.956)	1.120 (0.975)
Constant	-6.627*** (1.243)	-6.144*** (1.224)	-6.542*** (1.217)	-8.203*** (1.496)	-8.135*** (1.491)
Observations	480	448	480	480	480

Source: 2016 YouGov.

Note: Table entries are logit coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 8I. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Figure 8.9. The Relationship between White Affect, Black Affect, and Belief that Civil Rights Leaders are Pushing Too Fast

	1964	1966	1968	1972	1974
White Feeling Thermometer	0.172*** (0.050)	0.166*** (0.051)	0.257*** (0.051)	0.139** (0.069)	0.377*** (0.063)
Party Identification (Republican)	0.077*** (0.020)	0.040* (0.023)	0.077*** (0.025)	0.064** (0.032)	0.069** (0.030)
Negative Personal Economic Evaluations	0.004 (0.024)	0.007 (0.021)	0.016 (0.024)	0.052* (0.029)	0.009 (0.025)
Education	-0.029 (0.028)	-0.051* (0.029)	-0.115*** (0.032)	-0.143*** (0.039)	-0.120*** (0.036)
Female	-0.012 (0.014)	-0.044*** (0.015)	-0.029* (0.016)	0.004 (0.021)	-0.031 (0.020)
Age	-0.041 (0.042)	0.021 (0.042)	-0.083* (0.047)	0.060 (0.055)	0.145*** (0.050)
Black Feeling Thermometer	-0.232*** (0.035)	-0.171*** (0.034)	-0.281*** (0.037)	-0.273*** (0.053)	-0.317*** (0.045)
South	0.093*** (0.015)	0.062*** (0.016)	0.066*** (0.017)	0.121*** (0.024)	0.057** (0.023)
Constant	0.827*** (0.050)	0.844*** (0.054)	0.842*** (0.052)	0.743*** (0.067)	0.570*** (0.066)
Observations	1235	957	1073	761	1193
R-squared	0.076	0.067	0.119	0.114	0.130

Source: ANES Time Series Cumulative.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 8J. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Figure 8.10. The Relationship between White Affect and Presidential Candidates, 1968-1976

	1968			1972			1976		
	Wallace	Nixon	Humphrey	Wallace	Nixon	McGovern	Wallace	Carter	Ford
White Feeling Thermometer	0.227*** (0.054)	0.133*** (0.039)	-0.038 (0.043)	0.265*** (0.063)	0.148*** (0.056)	-0.088 (0.062)	0.103** (0.046)	0.072* (0.042)	0.119*** (0.037)
Party Identification (Republican)	0.023 (0.027)	0.294*** (0.018)	-0.350*** (0.020)	0.080*** (0.029)	0.378*** (0.025)	-0.329*** (0.030)	0.024 (0.021)	-0.344*** (0.019)	0.316*** (0.016)
Negative Personal Economic Evaluations	0.032 (0.025)	0.004 (0.017)	-0.085*** (0.020)	0.005 (0.026)	-0.062*** (0.023)	0.040 (0.026)	0.021 (0.017)	0.017 (0.016)	-0.066*** (0.014)
Education	-0.195*** (0.034)	0.009 (0.023)	0.002 (0.027)	-0.157*** (0.034)	-0.030 (0.029)	-0.021 (0.035)	-0.254*** (0.025)	-0.093*** (0.023)	0.010 (0.021)
Female	-0.060*** (0.018)	0.017 (0.013)	0.049*** (0.014)	-0.008 (0.019)	0.017 (0.016)	0.033* (0.019)	-0.030** (0.014)	0.019 (0.013)	0.007 (0.011)
Age	-0.185*** (0.050)	0.080** (0.033)	0.150*** (0.039)	0.095** (0.046)	0.101** (0.041)	-0.084* (0.048)	0.066* (0.034)	-0.102*** (0.032)	0.050* (0.028)
Black Feeling Thermometer	-0.300*** (0.047)	0.065* (0.035)	0.234*** (0.037)	-0.236*** (0.053)	-0.055 (0.048)	0.227*** (0.054)	-0.137*** (0.044)	0.137*** (0.039)	0.133*** (0.039)
South	0.190*** (0.024)	0.022 (0.015)	-0.137*** (0.019)	0.155*** (0.025)	0.097*** (0.020)	-0.159*** (0.024)	0.123*** (0.017)	0.006 (0.016)	0.018 (0.014)
Constant	0.453*** (0.054)	0.362*** (0.038)	0.632*** (0.042)	0.434*** (0.059)	0.410*** (0.047)	0.581*** (0.053)	0.540*** (0.042)	0.697*** (0.038)	0.329*** (0.033)
Observations	1090	1098	1099	772	803	791	1470	1522	1540
R-squared	0.173	0.213	0.279	0.169	0.269	0.213	0.148	0.226	0.233

Source: 2016 ANES Time Series Cumulative.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 8K. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Figure 8.11: The Relationship between White Affect and Presidential Candidates, 1992-2000

	1992				1996				2000		
	Buchanan	Perot	Bush	Clinton	Buchanan	Perot	Dole	Clinton	Buchanan	Bush, Jr.	Gore
White Feeling Thermometer	0.140*** (0.037)	-0.031 (0.045)	0.156*** (0.033)	0.001 (0.031)	0.181*** (0.050)	0.082 (0.058)	0.033 (0.049)	0.033 (0.052)	0.096** (0.047)	0.011 (0.042)	0.053 (0.047)
Party Identification (Republican)	0.232*** (0.018)	-0.020 (0.021)	0.459*** (0.016)	-0.432*** (0.015)	0.177*** (0.020)	-0.003 (0.023)	0.379*** (0.018)	-0.557*** (0.019)	0.087*** (0.023)	0.426*** (0.019)	-0.441*** (0.020)
Negative Personal Economic Evaluations	-0.030** (0.014)	0.042** (0.018)	-0.065*** (0.014)	0.029** (0.013)	0.026 (0.017)	-0.006 (0.022)	0.011 (0.018)	-0.076*** (0.019)	0.022 (0.025)	0.031 (0.021)	-0.002 (0.021)
Education	-0.129*** (0.023)	0.024 (0.025)	-0.066*** (0.020)	-0.011 (0.019)	-0.148*** (0.027)	-0.053 (0.033)	0.028 (0.026)	-0.024 (0.029)	-0.210*** (0.030)	-0.072*** (0.025)	0.084*** (0.028)
Female	-0.001 (0.012)	-0.030** (0.014)	0.019* (0.011)	0.007 (0.010)	-0.028** (0.014)	-0.007 (0.016)	-0.018 (0.014)	0.038** (0.015)	0.030* (0.016)	0.007 (0.013)	0.028** (0.014)
Age	-0.128*** (0.030)	-0.187*** (0.035)	0.028 (0.027)	0.071*** (0.026)	-0.051 (0.036)	-0.204*** (0.040)	0.064* (0.034)	0.045 (0.038)	-0.168*** (0.039)	0.071** (0.030)	0.048 (0.036)
Black Feeling Thermometer	-0.043 (0.037)	-0.035 (0.045)	-0.019 (0.034)	0.077** (0.031)	-0.029 (0.049)	0.0003 (0.054)	0.067 (0.049)	0.126** (0.053)	0.043 (0.045)	0.055 (0.041)	0.074 (0.048)
South	0.022 (0.014)	-0.019 (0.017)	0.047*** (0.013)	0.002 (0.012)	0.002 (0.015)	0.006 (0.018)	0.026* (0.015)	-0.007 (0.016)	-0.015 (0.017)	0.053*** (0.014)	-0.042** (0.016)
Constant	0.370*** (0.034)	0.580*** (0.041)	0.259*** (0.031)	0.676*** (0.030)	0.367*** (0.040)	0.467*** (0.047)	0.253*** (0.039)	0.747*** (0.045)	0.437*** (0.045)	0.323*** (0.035)	0.626*** (0.040)
Observations	1357	1549	1610	1594	1058	1123	1139	1146	943	1073	1075
R-squared	0.163	0.032	0.358	0.367	0.138	0.033	0.324	0.484	0.103	0.377	0.379

Source: 2016 ANES Time Series Cumulative.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix 8L. Coefficient Table Corresponding to Figure 8.12. The Relationship between White Identity, White Consciousness, and Levels of Political Participation

	(1)	(2)
White Identity	0.055* (0.032)	
White Consciousness		0.105** (0.051)
Party Identification (Republican)	-0.029 (0.046)	-0.022 (0.046)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	0.064 (0.049)	0.059 (0.049)
Employment Status	-0.107** (0.042)	-0.108*** (0.041)
Negative National Economic Evaluation	-0.013 (0.054)	-0.025 (0.055)
Income	0.100 (0.101)	0.091 (0.100)
Education	0.067 (0.046)	0.068 (0.046)
Political Knowledge	0.030 (0.038)	0.039 (0.036)
Age	-0.054 (0.059)	-0.058 (0.059)
Female	-0.046** (0.022)	-0.047** (0.021)
Racial Resentment	-0.172*** (0.051)	-0.193*** (0.053)
Constant	0.298*** (0.050)	0.294 (0.048)
Observations	719	719
R-squared	0.092	0.096

Source: 2016 ANES Pilot.

Note: Table entries are OLS coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted.

\*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ , two-tailed.

Appendix 8M. Relationship between White Consciousness and Immigration being one of the Top Two Issues Determining Which Political Candidate to Support in 2016

White Consciousness	1.830*** (0.567)
Party Identification (Republican)	0.686 (0.516)
Ideological Identification (Conservative)	1.354** (0.674)
Employment Status	0.530 (0.562)
Negative National Economic Evaluations	0.729 (0.631)
Education	-0.241 (0.489)
Age	0.364 (0.788)
Female	-0.100 (0.292)
Hispanic Feeling Thermometer	0.085 (0.550)
Constant	-4.613*** (0.717)
Observations	793

Source: 2016 ANES Pilot.

Note: Table entries are logit coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables in model coded to range from zero to one. Data are weighted.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, two-tailed.