# Appendix for White Democrats' Growing Support for Black Politicians in the Era of the "Great Awokening"

A. Growth in number of Black House members

	DV: Estim	nated proportion	Black members o	f Congress
-	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
District % white	$-0.715^{***}$	$-0.699^{***}$	$-0.803^{***}$	$-0.790^{***}$
	(0.044)	(0.064)	(0.077)	(0.110)
No. Congress	-0.016+		-0.023+	
	(0.009)		(0.014)	
District % white $\times$ no. Congress	0.023 +		0.039 +	
	(0.012)		(0.022)	
No. Congress				
113th Congress		0.017		0.009
		(0.068)		(0.107)
114th Congress		0.009		-0.011
		(0.068)		(0.106)
115th Congress		-0.055		-0.090
		(0.066)		(0.106)
116th Congress		-0.062		-0.115
		(0.065)		(0.105)
117th Congress		-0.049		-0.089
		(0.065)		(0.103)
118th Congress		-0.086		-0.125
		(0.065)		(0.103)
District % white $ imes$ no. Congress				
District % white $\times$ 113th Congress		-0.008		0.006
		(0.091)		(0.160)
District % white $\times$ 114th Congress		0.002		0.024
		(0.091)		(0.160)
District % white $\times$ 115th Congress		0.065		0.115
		(0.090)		(0.170)
District % white $\times$ 116th Congress		0.090		0.169
		(0.089)		(0.169)
District $\%$ white $\times$ 117th Congress		0.080		0.163
$\mathbf{D}^{*}$		(0.089)		(0.160)
District % white × 118th Congress		(0.133)		(0.224)
Intereent	0 600***	(0.090)	0 600***	(0.101)
intercept	(0.008)	(0.048)	(0.053)	(0.075)
	(0.032)	(0.048)	(0.001)	(0.073)
Num.Obs.	3045	3045	1438	1438
Districts	All	All	Majority-	Majority-
<b>D</b> .2	0.457		Democrat	Democrat
R2	0.196	0.197	0.147	0.148

Table A1: Estimated proportion Black MCs as a function of district CVAP % white and no. Congress

+ p < 0.1, \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001

Note:

This table presents the results of ordinary least squares regression models. District CVAP % white is scaled from 0 to 1. No. Congress is scaled from 0 (112th Congress, elected 2010) to 7 (118th Congress, elected 2022). The reference category in Models (2) and (4) is the 112th Congress. Majority-Democratic districts are defined as those in which a majority of voters supported the Democratic nominee in the most recent presidential election.

### Candidate race and elite fundraising

I extended a dataset compiled by Sorensen and Chen (2022) that includes the campaign receipts from the top Democratic and top Republican vote-getter in each Congressional election. Sorensen and Chen's dataset includes elections from 2010 to 2018; to cover the 2020 and 2022 elections, I gathered FEC data; Daily Kos data on general election candidates; and supplementary information on candidates from Ballotpedia, Project VoteSmart, the 2019 ACS, and biographies on candidates' and MCs' professional websites. For the purpose of this analysis, I restricted the dataset to Black and white Democratic candidates in majority-white districts. The quantity of interest is the marginal effect of a candidate being Black compared to white on campaign receipts.

		Dependent variable:
	Receipts	from PACs and committees
	(1)	(2)
2012	$-159.503^{***}$ (33.308)	$68.432^{***}$ (20.240)
2014	$-152.423^{***}$ (38.269)	$66.470^{**}$ (21.284)
2016	$-160.830^{***}$ (38.089)	$70.895^{**}$ (22.381)
2018	$-151.280^{***}$ (37.009)	$96.901^{***}$ (25.962)
2020	76.090(52.585)	444.297**** (95.979)
2022	109.646 (85.683)	$496.083^{***}$ (133.882)
Female		-19.979 (28.978)
Folded Cook index		574.804*** (30.084)
Incumbent		$638.148^{***}$ (56.361)
Open seat		53.310** (17.771)
District pct. college		-145.989(149.845)
District HH income		$307.932^{*}$ (148.333)
District pct. non-Hispanic white		-94.639(67.165)
Seniority		159.448(243.965)
Leadership		$326.089^{***}$ (68.146)
Committee chair		75.113 (70.120)
Prior elected office		$77.089^{***}$ (19.496)
2010   Black	$-309.351^{***}$ (65.107)	-33.946(53.657)
2012   Black	-109.834(68.973)	-32.159(35.265)
2014   Black	-140.549(76.832)	-29.509(33.274)
2016   Black	-66.873 (81.927)	-39.313(51.459)
2018   Black	-45.409(68.285)	-7.621 (34.501)
2020   Black	$-254.707^{**}$ (86.579)	$-122.223^{*}$ (47.408)
2022   Black	$-431.368^{***}$ (94.366)	$-225.392^{**}$ (80.964)
Constant	$494.210^{***}$ (29.871)	-188.371 (96.311)
Observations	1,788	1,717
$\mathbb{R}^2$	0.042	0.520
Adjusted $R^2$	0.035	0.513

Table A2: PAC and other committee receipts from Black and white Democratic frontrunners in majority-white congressional districts, 2010-2022.

Note:

\*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\*p<0.001

Data are from the Federal Election Commission, Daily Kos, Ballotpedia, Project VoteSmart, the 2019 ACS, and candidates' and MCs' professional websites. Omitted category is white male challengers to incumbents without prior elected experience. Outcome is scaled in thousands of dollars. All independent variables scaled 0-1. B. Meta-analysis of candidate choice experiments

Study	Year	Label	Attributes	N Black Dems	N white Dems	N white Reps	N conjoint rounds	Signal of race	Election
Los Angeles Times 1988	1988	LA Times	Birthplace, occupational status, marital status, number of children	30	228	215	1	Presidential	0
McDermott 1998	1989	LA Times	Birthplace, occupational status, marital status, number of children	81	414	232	1	Only Black candidate verbally identified	Presidential
Weaver 2012	2004	KN	Race and issue stances on economic growth, health care, education, public safety, and the environment		256	253	1	Photograph	Senate
Krupnikov, Piston, and Bauer 2016	2012	GfK	Race, gender, others not specified (ideologically neutral webpage screenshot)		124	165	1	Photograph	Congressional
Hainmueller, Hopkins and Yamamoto 2014	2012	MTurk	Religion, college education, profession, annual income, racial/ethnic background, age		57		6	Listed in conjoint table	Presidential
Hopkins 2014	2013	GfK	Party affiliation, issue position (reduce taxes, improve schools, reduce crime, improve health care, reduce government spending, reduce global warming), issue position (restrict/protect abortion access, restrict/allow same-sex marriage, protect/restrict gun ownership/access), religion, annual income, race/ethnicity, gender		178	219	7	Listed in conjoint table	President, governor, mayor
Carnes and Lupu 2016	2015	YouGov	Gender, education, party, race, occupational background	35	141	120	1	Listed in conjoint table	City council, state legislature, mayor, governor
Sances 2018	2016	Facebook	Race, policy position on taxes, lives in respondent's neighborhood, experience in local government		76	93	1	Listed in conjoint table	Mayoral
Kirkland and Coppock 2018	2016	MTurk	Party (50% of profiles), gender, race, age, job experience, political experience	36	345	172	5	Listed in conjoint table	Unspecified

# Table B1: Features of conjoint experiments included in meta-analysis

Study	Year	Label	Attributes	N Black Dems	N white Dems	N white Reps	N conjoint rounds	Signal of race	Election
Madrid et al. 2022	2016	MTurk 2	Race, gender, religion, occupation, political party, ideology,	10	239	157	10	Listed in conjoint table	Congressional
Lemi 2021	2016	Qualtrics	Race (includes multi-racial candidates; all candidates with Black included in racial identity coded as Black; "white" coded as non-Hispanic white only), gender, party, ideology, political experience	138	67	40	10	Listed in conjoint table	Congressional
Mummolo, Peterson and Westwood 2021	2016	Research Now/SSI	Partisanship, issue positions, gender, race	266	1766	1287	7	Listed in conjoint table	Congressional
Leeper and Robison 2020	2016	SSI	Age, race, sex, religion, occupation, party, military service, education, positions on TPP, deploying ground troops to combat ISIS, cap and trade, increase taxes on those making >\$250k, path to citizenship	42	261	225	5	Listed in conjoint table	Presidential
Ono and Burden 2019	2016	SSI 2	Gender, race, age, marital status, experience in public office, personality trait, party, policy stances, polling information	158	415	449	10	Listed in conjoint table	Congressional
Peterson 2017	2016	SSI 3	Partisanship and education (always); abortion stance, gender, family status, race, age, spending on government services, profession, military service (number and type of pieces of information randomly assigned)	58	124	236	3	Listed in conjoint table	Congressional
Dowling 2019	2016	YouGov	Name (gender and race), occupation, marital status, political experience, number of children, years lived in district, military experience, position on political compromise, description of moral values, policy position on food stamps, paid family leave, abortion, or gun laws	108	431	440	8	Name of candidate	Party primary election for seat in state legislature
Henderson et al. 2022	2016	YouGov 2	Gender, race, religion, occupation, personality trait, endorsement, priorities if elected	146	556	560	8 (Yale) /4 (UCM)	Listed in conjoint table	Congressional primary
Kirkland and Coppock 2018	2016	YouGov 3	Party (50% of profiles), gender, race, age, job experience, political experience	45	215	208	5	Listed in conjoint table	Unspecified

# Table B1: Features of conjoint experiments included in meta-analysis (continued)

Study	Year	Label	Attributes	N Black Dems	N white Dems	N white Reps	N conjoint rounds	Signal of race	Election
Atkeson and Hamel 2020	2017	MTurk	Occupation, race, gender, incumbency status, party affiliation	23	170	104	3	Listed in conjoint table	School board
Magni and Reynolds 2021	2018	Cint	Sexual orientation, gender, race, religion, education, age, health, political experience	102	204	408	5	Listed in conjoint table	Congressional
Funck and McCabe 2022	2018	Lucid	News coverage, party, gender, race, profession, religion, age, abortion stance, government spending stance, immigration stance (all except news coverage, party, and race randomly assigned to be shown or not)	44	150	159	3	Listed in conjoint table	Congressional
Costa 2021	2018	Lucid 2	Gender, race, latest tweet (about out-party, border security, or Medicare for all), responsiveness to constituent mail	20	354	254	6	Listed in conjoint table	Congressional
Harden 2020	2018	YouGov	Religion, education, occupation, military service, gender, race, party, priority if elected	177	740	833	5	Listed in conjoint table	State legislators
Jenke et al. 2021	2019	Fuqua Behav- ioral Lab	Race, gender, age, political party, political experience, occupation, religion, policy stances	122	362	58	6	Listed in conjoint table	Presidential
Manento and Testa 2021	2019	MTurk	Age, gender, race, district competitiveness, occupation, previous political experience, ideology, endorsements	48	586	303	5	Listed in conjoint table	Congressional primary
Agadjanian et al. 2023	2019	Qualtrics	Race, age, years of relevant experience, writing sample, strength of references, gender, institution granting graduate degree, strength of communication skills		1886	2121	10	Listed in conjoint table	Municipality chief executive (hiring decision)
Green, Schaffner, and Luks 2022	2019	YouGov	Gender, age, race, healthcare policy, environmental policy, focus on moderates/base, establishment/outsider background	573	2188	68	5	Listed in conjoint table	Democratic presidential primary
Carey et al. 2022	2019	YouGov 2	Positions on judicial deference, impartial investigations, compromise, and ballot access; gender, race, partisanship, tax policy, discrimination a problem	201	728	559	8	Name of candidate	Unspecified

## Table B1: Features of conjoint experiments included in meta-analysis (continued)

Study	Year	Label	Attributes	N Black Dems	N white Dems	N white Reps	N conjoint rounds	Signal of race	Election
Khanna 2019	2019	YouGov 3	Age, race, gender, job title, social class, home region	803	2809		Unspecified	Listed in conjoint table	Democratic presidential primary
Henderson and Goggin 2022	2020	YouGov	Gender, race, religion, occupation, priorities if elected	118	431	420	6	Listed in conjoint table	Congressional primary
Harden and Layman 2022	2020	YouGov 2	Traumatic event response overseen as mayor (type of event, number dead, cost, identity of victims, action in response to event); party; gender; race	50	183	191	5	Listed in conjoint table	Senate
Harden and Layman 2022	2020	YouGov 3	Age, race, sex, occupation, party, influence	222	691	735	5	Listed in conjoint table	State legislative
Howard and Wehde 2023	2021	Lucid	Race, gender, sexuality, others unknown	155	633	618	Unspecified	Listed in conjoint table	Unspecified
Kiesel 2024	2022	Lucid	Race, religion, age, occupation, political experience	155	626	511	7	Listed in conjoint table	City council
Hassell and Visalvanich 2024	2022	Lucid 2	Race, gender, education, income, party identification, political ideology	848	286	1146	9	Listed in conjoint table	Congressional primary
Lucid 1	2022	Lucid 2	Age, race, occupation, political experience, endorsement, policy positions on healthcare, fossil fuels, and reparations		469		1	Listed in conjoint table	Congressional primary
Lucid 2	2023	Lucid	Age, race, occupation, political experience, endorsement, policy positions on healthcare, fossil fuels, and reparations $(1/3 \text{ of sample})$ or ideological self-placement $(2/3 \text{ of sample})$		1852		1	Listed in conjoint table	Congressional primary
Lucid 3	2023	Lucid 2	Age, race, occupation, political experience, endorsement, ideological self-placement		254		1	Listed in conjoint table	Congressional primary
Lucid 4	2023	Lucid 3	Age, race, gender, occupation, political experience, endorsement, policy positions on healthcare, fossil fuels, and reparations		153		1	Listed in conjoint table	Congressional primary

## Table B1: Features of conjoint experiments included in meta-analysis (continued)

Study	Year	Label	Attributes	N Black Dems	N white Dems	N white Reps	N conjoint rounds	Signal of race	Election
California voter survey	2023	CA voter file	Age, race, gender, occupation, political experience, endorsement, ideological self-placement	69	808	213	1	Listed in conjoint table	Indicate preferred Congressional representa- tive

Table B1:	Features of	$\operatorname{conjoint}$	$\operatorname{experiments}$	included in	ı meta-analysis	(continued)	

## Weighting

Weighting targets were derived from the ANES (in the case of the 1989 and 2004 data) and the CCES (for later datasets). I calculated inverse propensity weights trimmed to range between 0.1 and 5 for each observation in the dataset. There are two exceptions to this weighting scheme. The 1988 Los Angeles Times phone poll data do not include a variable for geographic region, so I rely on the survey weights provided with the data. The data from the 2019 YouGov study, which was conducted on behalf of CBS News, are not publicly available, so it was not possible to apply new weights. Kabir Khanna kindly provided separate estimates for white Democrats, Black Democrats, and white Republicans using proprietary survey weights. Additionally, the relatively small sample size of the ANES means that there were a small set of age  $\times$  gender groups not represented among Black Democrats only; in these instances, I rely on the survey weights included with the original datasets, which were by the polling firms that fielded the 1989 and 2004 studies.



Figure B1: Marginal means for Black vs. white candidates by partisanship. Higher values indicate Black candidate chosen more frequently. Studies are arranged in chronological order. Error bars are 95% confidence intervals.

		Candidate A		Candidate B					
Age		44		47					
Gender	r	Male		Male					
Race		White		Black					
Curren	t job	Activist		College professor			Condidata A		Condidate P
Prior el experie	lected ence	School Board Mer	nber	State Legislator	Party		Democrat		Democrat
Endors	sement	Americans for Dem Action	ocratic	Common Cause	Age		58		47
Suppor	rts	Americans who cho	oose it	Only Americans who are	Gender		Male		Male
govern	ment care for	over private health	plans	older, poor, or disabled	Race		Black		White
Positio		Impose a tax on usir	a fossil	Ban the use of fossil fuel	Current job		Doctor		College professo
climate	e change	fuels, reducing eco growth by 3%	nomic	after 2040, reducing economic growth by 5%	Prior elected exp	erience	Big-city Mayor		State Legislator
Positio	n on	Support		Support	Endorsement		Americans for Democr	atic Action	Color of Change
reparat	tions				Self-described id	eology	Somewhat liberal		Very liberal
		Candida	ate A	Candidate B			Candidate A	Candi	date B
A				50	Age		44	5	58
Age		55		50	Gender		Man	Wor	man
Gender		Mal	е	Male	Race	White		Black	
Race		Whit	te	Black	Current job		Doctor	Doctor	
Current j	urrent job College pr		ofessor	Lawyer	Prior elected experience	May	or of a small city	Mayor of a	a small city
Prior elec	cted	School E	Board	Small-city	Endorsement	Americ	ans for Democratic	Commo	on Cause
experien	ce	Mem	ber	Mayor	Supports		Action	Only Americans who are	
Endorser	ment	Common	Cause	Black Lives Matter	government healthcare for	All Americans		older, poor, or disabled	
Self-deso	cribed	Somewha	t liberal	Somewhat	Position on climate change	Promote the use of renewable energy but allow continued use of fossil fuels		Ban the use of fossil fuels after 2040, reducing economic growth by 5%	
lucology				liberar	Position on reparations		Support	Sup	port
	Candidate A		Candidate B						
Party	Democrat		Democrat						
Age	44		44						
Gender	Man		Woman						
Race	Black		White						
Most recent professional experience	st recent fessional College professor Co		College profe	essor	Party	<b>Profile</b> Demo	A Crat	<b>Profile I</b> Democr	<b>B</b> rat
Most recent political	st recent itical No prior political experience		State Legisla	tor	Age Gender	44 Woma	n	44 Man	
experience					Race	Black		White	
Endorsement Priority if	Veterans groups	ent and	Major area n Provide a pat	ewspapers th to citizenship for	Current job Prior elected experienc	Doctor e State I	egislator	Business executive Mayor of a small city	
elected	in need	SSISTANCE IOI LIIUSE	undocument	ed immigrants	Endorsement Self-described ideology	Ameria Very lil	cans for Democratic Act peral	Liberal	Change

Example conjoint tables for Lucid studies 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 and the California voter study (top to bottom).

## Additional information on conjoint study design

Candidate race was always assigned so that one candidate was Black and the other was white. Other candidate attributes were randomly assigned with equal probability, with the stipulation that the two candidates could not be endorsed by the same interest group or share the same priority if elected. The policy areas used in Lucid Studies 1, 2, and 4 were selected because they are issues on which Democratic candidates could plausibly disagree. Participants were also divided on these issues: with regard to healthcare, fossil fuel regulation, and reparations, 66%, 39%, and 31% of participants in Lucid Studies 1 and 2 took the most-liberal positions, respectively, and 17%, 42%, and 43% took the most-conservative positions. The remaining participants took more moderate stances or said they were not sure.

Attribute	Marginal mean	Black MM - white MM
Race (all studies)		
White	$0.439^{***}$ (0.008)	
Black	$0.56^{***}$ (0.008)	
Gender (Lucid 4 and 5 and CA	voter study)	
Man	$0.46^{**}$ (0.009)	$0.18^{***}$ (0.026)
Woman	$0.542^{***}$ (0.01)	$0.13^{***}$ (0.027)
Age (all studies)		
58	0.475(0.011)	$0.136^{***}$ (0.025)
47	0.5(0.011)	$0.107^{***}$ (0.025)
44	0.506(0.011)	$0.087^{***}$ (0.025)
50	0.508(0.012)	$0.144^{***}$ (0.026)
55	$0.51 \ (0.011)$	$0.135^{***}$ (0.024)
Occupation (all studies)		
Activist	0.477(0.013)	$0.125^{***}$ (0.028)
High school teacher	0.48(0.013)	$0.095^{***}(0.028)$
Business executive	0.497(0.013)	0.085** (0.029)
Lawyer	0.505(0.013)	$0.15^{***}$ (0.029)
Doctor	0.508(0.013)	$0.104^{***}$ (0.029)
College professor	$0.53^{*} (0.013)$	$0.106^{***} (0.028)$
Political experience (all studies)		
No prior political experience	$0.425^{***}(0.011)$	$0.129^{***}$ (0.025)
School Board Member	0.475(0.011)	$0.156^{***}$ (0.025)
Mayor of a small city	$0.522 \ (0.011)$	$0.155^{***}$ (0.025)
Mayor of a large city	$0.535^{**}$ (0.011)	$0.09^{***}$ (0.025)
State Legislator	$0.542^{***}$ (0.011)	$0.081^{**}$ (0.026)
Endorsement (Lucid 1, 2, 3, 4 as	nd CA voter stud	ly)
Color of Change	$0.457 \ (0.012)$	$0.125^{***}$ (0.025)
Black Lives Matter	$0.476\ (0.012)$	$0.108^{***}$ (0.025)
Common Cause	$0.526^{*} (0.012)$	$0.152^{***}$ (0.024)
Americans for Democratic Action	$0.538^{**}$ (0.012)	$0.15^{***}$ (0.024)
Endorsement (Lucid 5)		
Major area newspapers	$0.444 \ (0.028)$	-0.003(0.056)
Civil rights groups	0.49(0.028)	$0.052 \ (0.056)$
Veterans groups	$0.523\ (0.028)$	$0.027 \ (0.056)$
Reproductive rights groups	$0.541 \ (0.027)$	$0.158^{**}$ (0.054)

Table B2: Pooled marginal means from original conjoint studies.

Attribute	Marginal mean	Black MM - white MM							
Publicly funded healthcare (Luc	id 1, $1/3$ Lucid 2	, Lucid 4)							
Elderly, poor, and disabled	$0.387^{***}$ (0.014)	$0.118^{***}$ (0.034)							
Those who choose	0.517(0.014)	$0.221^{***}$ (0.035)							
All Americans	$0.59^{***}$ (0.014)	$0.073^{*} (0.033)$							
Fossil fuels (Lucid 1, 1/3 Lucid 2	2, Lucid 4)								
Tax fossil fuels	0.479(0.014)	$0.164^{***}$ (0.034)							
Promote alternatives	0.509(0.013)	$0.156^{***}$ (0.033)							
Ban fossil fuels	0.512(0.015)	$0.093^{**}(0.036)$							
Reparations (Lucid 1, $1/3$ Lucid 2, Lucid 4)									
Oppose	0.481 (0.01)	$0.187^{***}$ (0.028)							
Support	$0.52^{*}$ (0.01)	$0.09^{**}$ (0.029)							
Candidate self-placement $(2/3 L)$	Candidate self-placement (2/3 Lucid 2, Lucid 3, CA voter study)								
Somewhat conservative	$0.367^{***}$ (0.015)	$0.103^{**}$ (0.033)							
Moderate	$0.524 \ (0.016)$	$0.119^{***}$ (0.035)							
Very liberal	$0.525 \ (0.016)$	$0.147^{***}$ (0.035)							
Somewhat liberal	$0.54^{**}$ (0.016)	$0.129^{***}$ (0.035)							
Liberal	$0.545^{**}$ (0.015)	$0.149^{***}$ (0.034)							
Priority if elected (Lucid 5)									
Expand free trade deals	$0.429\ (0.033)$	-0.024 (0.072)							
Regulate Co <sub>2</sub> emissions	0.449(0.035)	$0.035\ (0.075)$							
LGBT rights	$0.454\ (0.036)$	$0.131 \ (0.075)$							
Path to citizenship	0.46(0.033)	$0.021 \ (0.073)$							
Expand social safety net	$0.516\ (0.033)$	0.104(0.073)							
Gun control	$0.59^{**}$ (0.033)	$0.077 \ (0.073)$							
Tax the wealthy	$0.595^{**}$ (0.033)	0.084(0.07)							

Table B2: Pooled marginal means from original conjoint studies. (continued)

Note:

 $\ast p$  < 0.05;  $\ast \ast p$  < 0.01;  $\ast \ast \ast p$  < 0.001. P-values for rates of support indicate significance of difference from 0.5. Estimates are unweighted.

	Lucid 1	Lucid 2	Lucid 3	Lucid 4	Lucid 5	California voter study
Age						
18-29	19.5% (N = 91)	12.5% (N = 230)	16.9% (N = 43)	23.7% (N = 36)	21.8% (N = 141)	22.2% (N = 99)
30-39	29.4% (N = 137)	21% (N = 388)	38.2% (N = 97)	23% (N = 35)	27.2% (N = 176)	18.4% (N = 82)
40-49	6% (N = 28)	9.7% (N = 179)	12.2% (N = 31)	15.8% (N = 24)	6% (N = 39)	13.5% (N = 60)
50-64	16.5% (N = 77)	23.1% (N = $427$ )	17.3% (N = 44)	13.2% (N = 20)	15.5% (N = 100)	18.2% (N = 81)
65+	28.5% (N = 133)	33.7% (N = 621)	15.4% (N = 39)	24.3% (N = 37)	29.5% (N = 191)	27.8% (N = 124)
Missing age group	0.6% (N = 3)	0.4% (N = 7)		0.7% (N = 1)		0.2% (N = 1)
Gender						
Female	52.8% (N = 246)	55.7% (N = 1027)	56.3% (N = 143)	58.6% (N = 89)	49.9% (N = $323$ )	60.5% (N = 265)
Male	47.2% (N = 220)	44.3% (N = 818)	43.7% (N = 111)	41.4% (N = 63)	50.1% (N = $324$ )	39.5% (N = 173)
Missing gender	0.6% (N = 3)	0.4% (N = 7)		0.7% (N = 1)		2.1% (N = 9)
Region						
Northeast	25.3% (N = 118)	25.2% (N = 465)	20.6% (N = 39)	22.4% (N = 34)	24% (N = 155)	
Midwest	23.8% (N = 111)	23.1% (N = $425$ )	27.5% (N = 52)	23.7% (N = 36)	24.3% (N = 157)	
South	25.3% (N = 118)	27.6% (N = 508)	30.2% (N = 57)	27% (N = 41)	27.8% (N = 179)	
West	25.5% (N = 119)	24.1% (N = $445$ )	21.7% (N = 41)	27% (N = 41)	23.9% (N = 154)	100% (N = 447)
Missing region	0.6% (N = 3)	0.5% (N = 9)	34.4% (N = 65)	0.7% (N = 1)	0.3% (N = 2)	× ,
Education						
Less than HS	2.2% (N = 10)	0.9% (N = 17)	1.2% (N = 3)	2.6% (N = 4)	2.5% (N = 15)	0.2% (N = 1)
High school	14.8% (N = 69)	14.3% (N = 263)	14.6% (N = 37)	13.2% (N = 20)	16.1% (N = 95)	2.5% (N = 11)
Some college	30.3% (N = 141)	31.3% (N = 576)	37% (N = 94)	28.5% (N = 43)	27.2% (N = 160)	17.7% (N = 79)
Bachelor's degree	33.3% (N = 155)	28% (N = 516)	24.4% (N = 62)	29.8% (N = 45)	26.1% (N = 154)	39.1% (N = 175)
Post-secondary degree	19.4% (N = 90)	25.6% (N = 471)	22.8% (N = 58)	25.8% (N = 39)	28% (N = 165)	40.5% (N = 181)
Missing education	0.9% (N = 4)	0.5% (N = 9)		1.3% (N = 2)	9.8% (N = 58)	
Household income						
\$24,999 or less	17.8% (N = 81)	19.7% (N = $353$ )	14.1% (N = 35)	21.5% (N = 32)	21.8% (N = 127)	7.3% (N = 31)
\$25k-\$54,999	30.8% (N = 140)	29.7% (N = 533)	27% (N = 67)	23.5% (N = $35$ )	31.8% (N = 185)	· · · · ·
\$55k-\$79,999	18.5% (N = 84)	25% (N = 449)	17.7% (N = 44)	20.8% (N = 31)	21% (N = 122)	
\$80k-\$149,999	23.6% (N = 107)	19.2% (N = 344)	27.4% (N = 68)	22.8% (N = 34)	24.4% (N = 142)	
\$150k or more	9.3% (N = 42)	6.4% (N = 114)	13.7% (N = 34)	11.4% (N = 17)	1% (N = 6)	34.5% (N = 147)
\$25k-\$49,999 (CA sample)						13.4% (N = 57)
\$50k-\$74,999 (CA sample)						12.9% (N = 55)
\$75k-\$99,999 (CA sample)						12% (N = 51)
\$100k-\$149,999 (CA sample)						20% (N = 85)
Missing household income	3.3% (N = 15)	3.3% (N = 59)	2.4% (N = 6)	2.7% (N = 4)	11.2% (N = 65)	4.9% (N = 21)

 Table B3:
 Demographic characteristics by sample.

			Black can	didate selected		
Participant demographics	Age marginal means	Gender marginal means	Income marginal means	Education marginal means	Region marginal means	Multivariate OLS regression coefficients
Age						
18-29	$0.596^{***}$ (0.02)					
30-39	$0.499\ (0.016)$					-0.094 (0.028)
40-49	$0.543 \ (0.026)$					-0.062(0.034)
50-64	$0.577^{***}$ (0.018)					-0.025 (0.028)
65+	$0.574^{***}$ (0.015)					-0.026 (0.026)
Gender						
Male		$0.544^{***}$ (0.012)				
Female		$0.568^{***}$ (0.011)				$0.008\ (0.017)$
Household income \$24,999 or less \$25k-\$54,999 \$55k-\$79,999 \$80k-\$149,999 \$150k or more \$25k-\$49,999 (CA sample) \$50k-\$74,999 (CA sample) \$75k-\$99,999 (CA sample) \$100k-\$149,999 (CA sample) \$100k-\$149,999 (CA sample)			$\begin{array}{c} 0.565^{***} \ (0.019) \\ 0.561^{***} \ (0.016) \\ 0.538^{*} \ (0.018) \\ 0.534 \ (0.019) \\ 0.555^{*} \ (0.026) \\ 0.661^{*} \ (0.066) \\ 0.538 \ (0.069) \\ 0.735^{***} \ (0.071) \\ 0.646^{**} \ (0.055) \end{array}$			$\begin{array}{c} -0.002 \ (0.026) \\ -0.023 \ (0.028) \\ -0.021 \ (0.029) \\ 0.003 \ (0.036) \\ 0.053 \ (0.074) \\ -0.056 \ (0.074) \\ 0.139 \ (0.077) \\ 0.053 \ (0.062) \end{array}$
Less than HS				0.56(0.07)		
High school				0.543(0.022)		-0.035(0.078)
Some college				$0.561^{***}$ (0.015)		-0.009(0.076)
Bachelor's degree				$0.564^{***}$ (0.015)		-0.006 (0.076)
Post-secondary degree				$0.557^{***}$ (0.016)		$-0.005 \ (0.077)$
Education						
Northeast					$0.556^{**}$ (0.017)	
Midwest					$0.538^*$ (0.018)	-0.017 (0.026)
South					$0.545^{**}$ (0.017)	-0.003(0.025)
West					$0.586^{***}$ (0.014)	0.008 (0.025)
(Intercept)	9707	2700	2620	9796	2790	0.015*** (0.079)
1N	3191	3789	3039	3730	3729	3909

Table B4: Demographic characteristics and support for Black candidates among white Democrats.

Note:

p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*p<0.001. P-values for columns 1-4 indicate significance of difference from 0.5; p-values for column 5 indicate significance of difference from 0. Note that income was coded differently in the California data study.

	DV: Estimated proportion selecting Black candidate						
	1988-2023	1988-2023 by period	2012-2023 by period	2012-2022 by period			
White Democ	ratic participants						
Intercept Year	$\begin{array}{c} 0.354^{***} \ (0.031) \\ 0.005^{***} \ (0.001) \end{array}$	$0.391^{***}$ (0.030)	$0.496^{***} (0.014)$	$0.494^{***}$ (0.014)			
2012-2016 2017-later Num.Obs.	20032	$\begin{array}{c} 0.105^{**} \ (0.034) \\ 0.142^{***} \ (0.032) \\ 20032 \end{array}$	$0.037^{*} (0.016) \\ 19134$	0.029+(0.017) 15063			
Black Democr	atic participants						
Intercept Year	$\begin{array}{c} 0.476^{***} \ (0.067) \\ 0.004+ \ (0.002) \end{array}$	$0.455^{***}$ (0.071)	$0.617^{***} (0.026)$	$0.616^{***} (0.027)$			
2012-2016 2017-later Num.Obs.	3970	$\begin{array}{c} 0.164^{*} \; (0.076) \\ 0.144+ \; (0.074) \\ 3970 \end{array}$	$-0.017 \ (0.031) \ 3859$	$\begin{array}{c} -0.023 \ (0.031) \\ 3328 \end{array}$			
White Republi	ican participants						
Intercept Year	$\begin{array}{c} 0.417^{***} (0.032) \\ 0.001 \ (0.001) \end{array}$	$0.446^{***} (0.028)$	$0.448^{***}$ (0.013)	$0.448^{***}$ (0.013)			
2012-2016 2017-later Num.Obs.	13928	$\begin{array}{c} 0.003 \; (0.031) \\ 0.014 \; (0.030) \\ 13928 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.012 \ (0.015) \\ 13228 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.010 \ (0.015) \\ 13059 \end{array}$			
All white part	icipants						
Intercept Year	$\begin{array}{c} 0.378^{***} \ (0.026) \\ 0.004^{***} \ (0.001) \end{array}$	$0.420^{***} (0.025)$	$0.474^{***}$ (0.011)	$0.471^{***} (0.010)$			
2012-2016 2017-later Num.Obs.	34196	$\begin{array}{c} 0.054+~(0.028)\\ 0.084^{**}~(0.027)\\ 34196 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.029^{*} \ (0.013) \\ 32599 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.018 \ (0.012) \\ 28359 \end{array}$			

**Table B5:** Estimated proportion of study participants selecting Black candidates over white opponents across 42 candidate choice experiments, 1989-2023.

Note:

This table presents the results of linear regression models with random effects by study. The dependent variable is the estimated proportion of participants in the studies being re-analyzed who selected a Black candidate over a white opponent. The explanatory variable is the year the study was conducted; the unit is one year. The reference year in the first column is 1988, the year of the earliest study in the dataset. The reference category in the second column is studies conducted between 1988 and 2012. The reference category in the third and fourth columns is studies conducted between 2012 and 2016. All models include study random effects. Models in the first three sections include weights for demographic representativeness on the basis of gender, age, and region within race-party-year. Models in the final section include study random effects and weights for demographic representativeness on the basis of gender, age, region, and partisanship within year.

 Table B6:
 Z-tests for meta-analysis results by group

Groups	Z-score (p-value)
White Democrats vs. white Republicans White Democrats vs. Black Democrats	$\begin{array}{l} 2.716 \ (p=0.007) \\ 0.515 \ (p=0.606) \end{array}$

#### Support for Black candidates excluding original studies

The second column of Table B5 presents the same analysis as Column 3 but excludes data from the six original conjoint experiments, leaving studies conducted between 2012 and 2022. The coefficient on the latter period for white Democrats remains positively signed, but is now only marginally statistically significant (p = 0.089). The significant coefficient on the 2017 and later category in Column 3 therefore relies on the inclusion of the original studies, although the results excluding them remain directionally consistent.

However, I argue that there is no theoretical basis for excluding the original studies. The design of the original studies was based heavily on earlier studies in the meta-analysis dataset, so there is little reason to believe that specific characteristics of the original studies would upwardly bias support for Black candidates relative to these other studies. Eight of the non-original studies in the meta-analysis presented participants with candidates in a primary election, and the proportion of participants supporting Black candidate profiles in these studies was not significantly different from the proportion in general-election scenarios in a weighted model with study random effects ( $\beta = -0.0003$ , SE = 0.027).

Table B7 provides information about the source of each of the candidate attributes provided in the original conjoint experiments and the number of non-original studies in the meta-analysis that provide similar information about the candidates. As this table indicates, most of the attributes included alongside race in these studies were quite common in other studies, and the levels for many were taken directly from previously-published research. It is perhaps worth noting that the Henderson et al. study from which most of the candidate attributes are derived did *not* yield a significant preference for Black profiles among white Democrats — Black profiles with white opponents received 48.4% of white Democrats' votes in this study.

The original additions to these conjoint studies were informed by theory and were not expected to inflate support for Black profiles. Because I was not chiefly interested in the effects of age on candidate support, I selected ages ranging from 44-58 to approximate the prototypical age of congressional representatives. In several of the original studies, I created lists of race-related and non-race related endorsements in order to study the interaction between candidate race and endorsement (as shown in the second column of Appendix Table B1, there were not substantial interaction effects). In addition to the policy stances included in Green, Schaffner, and Luks (2022), several studies included information about candidates' stances on reparations to allow me to examine the interaction between candidate race and their position on a race-related policy, as is presented in the main paper. Participants' preference for Black profiles is not significant when the white profile is assigned support for reparations, so if anything, the inclusion of this policy stance should diminish average support for Black profiles.

The samples used for the original studies are also similar to others included in the meta-analysis dataset.

Attribute	Included in	Levels from	No. other studies with similar info
Age	All studies	original	17
Gender	Lucid 4 and 5, CA voter study	-	29
Occupation	All studies	Henderson et al. 2022	19
Political experience	All studies	Henderson et al. 2022	15
Endorsement	All studies	Hassell and Visalvanich (Lucid 5 only; others original)	2
Policy positions	Lucid 1, 2, and 4; CA voter study	Green et al. 2022 (excluding reparations)	12
Policy priority	Lucid 5	Henderson et al. 2022	3
Ideology	Lucid 2 and 3, CA voter study	Manento and Testa 2019	5

Table B7: Bases of original conjoint designs

Although many of the other studies in the dataset were conducted on samples generally thought to be more nationally representative, such as YouGov and Knowledge Networks, five studies used Lucid samples and six used MTurk. The California voter study was conducted using the same procedures as those used for the IGS Poll, a widely-cited poll of California voters. Weighting the data in the original studies (and the entire meta-analysis dataset) to approximate national representativeness in terms of gender, age, and geographic region further improves comparability of results across studies.

## C. Correlates of support for Black candidates

Variable	Item
Explanatory variables	
Racial resentment	<ul> <li>Irish, Italian, and Jewish ethnicities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors. (Strongly agree, Somewhat agree, Neither agree nor disagree, Somewhat disagree, Strongly disagree)</li> <li>Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for Blacks to work their way out of the lower class. (Strongly agree, Somewhat agree, Neither agree nor disagree, Somewhat disagree, Strongly disagree)</li> </ul>
Perceptions of anti-Black discrimination	How much discrimination do you think each of the following groups face in the United States today? [Black Americans] (A great deal, Quite a bit, A moderate amount, Only a little, Not at all)
Presidential feeling thermometers	Next, we would like to get your feelings toward some of our political leaders. We will show you the name of a person and we'd like you to rate them using something we call the feeling thermometer. [President Joe Biden, Democrat; Former President Donald Trump, Republican] 0-100 scale
Support for reparations	Do you think the United States federal government should or should not pay reparations for slavery and racial discrimination by making cash payments to the descendants of enslaved people? (Should pay reparations, Should not pay reparations, Don't know)
Ideological self-placement	How would you describe your political views? (Strongly conservative, Somewhat conservative, Moderate, Somewhat liberal, Strongly liberal)
Ideological placement of candidates	If you had to guess, how would you say Candidate A's political views compare to your own? Much more conservative, Somewhat more conservative, Slightly more conservative, About the same, Slightly more liberal, Somewhat more liberal, Much more liberal
Self-monitoring	<ul> <li>When you are with other people, how often do you put on a show to impress or entertain them? (Never, Once in a while, Some of the time, Most of the time, Always)</li> <li>When you are in a group of people, how often are you the center of attention? (Never, Once in a while, Some of the time, Most of the time, Always)</li> <li>How good or poor of an actor would you be? (Poor, Fair, Good, Excellent)</li> </ul>
Strength of partisan identity	How would you describe your political party identification? (Strong Republican, Mostly Republican, Lean Republican, Independent/other political affiliation, Lean Democrat, Mostly Democrat, Strong Democrat)
White identity consciousness	See Table D4 for all items in scale
White identity valence	See Table D4 for all items in scale

# Table C1: Wording of questions in original studies

White moral shame	See Table D4 for all items in scale
White image shame	See Table D4 for all items in scale
Racial group feeling thermometers	Please rate how you feel about these groups using the feeling thermometer. [Black Americans, White Americans] $(0-100 \ scale)$
Dependent variables	
Candidate choice	Lucid studies: Which candidate for Congress would you support in this Democratic Primary election? (Candidate $A$ , Candidate $B$ )
	California voter study: Which of these profiles would you prefer to have as your representative in Congress? (Candidate A, Candidate B)
Importance of voting for people of color	When considering whom to support in political campaigns, how important is each of the following candidate qualities to you? [Is a person of color] (Not at all important, Slightly important, Moderately important, Very important, Extremely important)
Ratings of candidate's competitiveness	<ul> <li>Please indicate how well you feel each phrase describes Candidate [A/B]. [Has a good chance of winning in the general election] (Not well at all, Slightly well, Moderately well, Very well, Extremely well)</li> <li>Please indicate how well you feel each phrase describes Candidate [A/B]. [Would perform well with swing voters] (Not well at all, Slightly well, Moderately well, Very well, Extremely well)</li> <li>Please indicate how well you feel each phrase describes Candidate [A/B]. [Would perform well with swing voters]</li> <li>(Not well at all, Slightly well, Moderately well, Very well, Extremely well)</li> <li>Please indicate how well you feel each phrase describes Candidate [A/B]. [Would perform well with loyal Democratic voters] (Not well at all, Slightly well, Moderately well, Very well, Extremely well)</li> </ul>

	DV: Black candidate selected								
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Anti-Black discrimination			$0.397^{***}$ (0.088)	$0.413^{***}$ (0.090)					
Racial resentment	$-0.297^{***}$ (0.085)	$-0.306^{***}$ (0.090)	( )	~ /					
Trump FT					$-0.226^{***}$	$-0.189^{***}$			$-0.180^{***}$
					(0.046)	(0.051)			(0.053)
Biden F'T							0.061	0.078	0.032
Solf monitoring		0.066		0.046		0.120*	(0.046)	(0.049) 0.101***	(0.051) 0.127*
Sen-monitoring		(0.125)		(0.125)		(0.057)		-0.191 (0.055)	(0.059)
Age		0.002		(0.120) 0.002		-0.001		-0.001	(0.000) -0.001
1180		(0.001)		(0.001)		(0.001)		(0.001)	(0.001)
Northeast		0.153*		0.155*		-0.021		-0.016	-0.021
		(0.066)		(0.066)		(0.033)		(0.033)	(0.033)
South		0.174**		0.179**		-0.020		-0.022	-0.021
		(0.062)		(0.062)		(0.031)		(0.031)	(0.031)
West		$0.136^{*}$		$0.152^{*}$		0.027		0.032	0.026
		(0.066)		(0.066)		(0.033)		(0.033)	(0.033)
Female		0.003		0.019		-0.013		-0.005	-0.012
		(0.049)		(0.049)		(0.024)		(0.023)	(0.024)
Education		-0.021		-0.014		0.006		0.010	0.004
		(0.098)		(0.096)		(0.047)		(0.047)	(0.047)
Household income		-0.004		0.037		-0.013		-0.024	-0.015
		(0.080)		(0.080)		(0.041)		(0.041)	(0.041)
Intercept	0.682***	0.458***	$0.272^{***}$	0.007	0.585***	0.671***	$0.508^{***}$	0.605***	0.657***
	(0.038)	(0.122)	(0.070)	(0.137)	(0.013)	(0.057)	(0.036)	(0.059)	(0.062)
Num.Obs.	469	453	462	447	1986	1918	1997	1929	1918
R2	0.026	0.049	0.043	0.071	0.012	0.015	0.001	0.009	0.015

Table C2: Perceptions of racial injustice, presidential feeling thermometers, and support for Black candidates among white Democratic survey participants.

Note:

This table presents the results of ordinary least squares regression models weighted for representativeness on age, gender, and region. Perceptions of anti-Black discrimination, racial resentment, presidential feeling thermometers, self-monitoring, education, and household income are scaled from 0 to 1. Age is in years. The omitted categories are midwestern men. Data for Columns (1)-(4) are from Lucid Study 1. Data for Columns (5)-(9) are from Lucid Study 2.

Candidate stances (this	Rate of support for	Weightee	l Rate of support for	Weightee	d Black minus white
candidate/opponent)	Black candidates	Ν	white candidates	Ν	difference
Respondent supports rep	parations or does not b	know			
Oppose/oppose	$0.668^{***}$ (0.042)	159.59	0.332(0.054)	159.59	$0.336^{***}$ (0.054)
Support/support	0.555(0.048)	143.83	0.445(0.052)	143.83	0.11(0.058)
Oppose/support	0.446(0.041)	147.15	$0.26^{***}(0.044)$	160.67	$0.186^{***}$ (0.053)
Support/oppose	$0.74^{***}(0.048)$	160.67	0.554 (0.058)	147.15	$0.186^{***}$ (0.053)
Respondent opposes repa	arations				
Oppose/oppose	0.524(0.054)	124.30	0.476(0.056)	124.30	0.048(0.063)
Support/support	0.526(0.055)	122.94	0.474(0.057)	122.94	0.053(0.065)
Oppose/support	0.569(0.06)	116.21	0.602(0.062)	109.33	-0.033 (0.066)
Support/oppose	0.398(0.056)	109.33	0.431 (0.053)	116.21	-0.033 (0.066)

Table C3: Support for candidates based on race and stances on reparations

Note:

p < 0.05; p < 0.01; p < 0.01; p < 0.001. P-values for rates of support indicate significance of difference from 0.5. Data are from Lucid Studies 1 and 2.

	DV: Proportion selecting candidate profile
	(1)
Absolute ideological distance	$-0.425^{***}$
	(0.042)
Black candidate	$0.081^{*}$
	(0.036)
Absolute ideological distance $\times$ Black candidate	0.116 +
	(0.065)
Intercept	0.599***
	(0.021)
Num.Obs.	3624
R2	0.060

Table C4: Effect of ideological incongruence and race on proportion selecting candidate

+ p < 0.1, \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001

Note:

Absolute ideological distance scaled is from 0 (perfect congruence) to 1 (maximum incongruence). Standard errors are clustered at participant level. Data are weighted for representativeness by age, gender, and region. Data are from Lucid study 2 and the California voter survey.

Relative	Rate of support for	Weight	Rate of support for	WeightB	lack - white difference
congruence	Black candidates	-ed	white candidates	-ed	
		Ν		Ν	
Results prese	nted in paper				
-1.00	$0.22^{**}(0.101)$	20.61	0.31(0.114)	16.10	-0.091(0.158)
-0.75	$0.237^{***}$ (0.06)	58.57	$0.214^{***}$ (0.054)	71.98	0.023(0.071)
-0.50	$0.322^{***}$ (0.033)	196.40	$0.262^{***}$ (0.033)	193.69	0.06(0.046)
-0.25	$0.412^{***}$ (0.025)	344.97	$0.279^{***}$ (0.025)	339.50	$0.134^{***}$ (0.035)
0.00	$0.603^{***}$ (0.021)	496.93	$0.397^{***}$ (0.021)	496.93	$0.207^{***}$ (0.03)
0.25	$0.721^{***}$ (0.025)	339.50	$0.588^{***}$ (0.025)	344.97	$0.134^{***}$ (0.035)
0.50	$0.738^{***}$ (0.033)	193.69	$0.678^{***}$ (0.033)	196.40	$0.06 \ (0.046)$
0.75	$0.786^{***}$ (0.054)	71.98	$0.763^{***}$ (0.06)	58.57	0.023(0.071)
1.00	0.69(0.114)	16.10	$0.78^{**}$ (0.101)	20.61	-0.091 (0.158)
Results includ	ling "conservative" an	d "very c	onservative" particip	oants	
-1.00	$0.208^{**}$ (0.1)	21.09	0.367(0.109)	17.74	-0.159(0.155)
-0.75	$0.243^{***}$ (0.058)	62.07	$0.261^{***}$ (0.052)	79.49	-0.019(0.07)
-0.50	$0.328^{***}$ (0.032)	207.63	$0.268^{***}$ (0.032)	204.47	0.059(0.045)
-0.25	$0.416^{***}$ (0.024)	355.09	$0.285^{***}$ (0.025)	348.42	$0.131^{***}$ (0.035)
0.00	$0.602^{***}$ (0.02)	507.22	$0.398^{***}$ (0.02)	507.22	$0.204^{***}$ (0.03)
0.25	$0.715^{***}$ (0.025)	348.42	$0.584^{***}$ (0.024)	355.09	$0.131^{***}$ (0.035)
0.50	$0.732^{***}$ (0.032)	204.47	$0.672^{***}$ (0.032)	207.63	$0.059\ (0.045)$
0.75	$0.739^{***}$ (0.052)	79.49	$0.757^{***}$ (0.058)	62.07	-0.019(0.07)
1.00	$0.633\ (0.109)$	17.74	$0.792^{**}(0.1)$	21.09	-0.159(0.155)
Results using	perceived congruence				
-1.00	0.273** (0.075)	38.76	$0.123^{***}$ (0.068)	46.60	0.15(0.084)
-0.66	$0.276^{***}(0.035)$	181.41	0.213*** (0.036)	164.71	0.063(0.046)
-0.34	$0.362^{***}(0.023)$	405.69	0.278*** (0.023)	422.47	$0.084^{*}(0.033)$
0.00	$0.589^{***}$ (0.018)	641.47	$0.411^{***}$ (0.018)	641.47	$0.178^{***}(0.027)$
0.34	$0.722^{***}$ (0.023)	422.47	$0.638^{***}$ (0.023)	405.69	$0.084^{*}$ (0.033)
0.66	$0.787^{***}(0.036)$	164.71	$0.724^{***}$ (0.035)	181.41	0.063(0.046)
1.00	$0.877^{***}$ (0.068)	46.60	$0.727^{**}$ (0.075)	38.76	$0.15 \ (0.084)$

**Table C5:** Rates of support for Black and white candidates in conjoint task by ideological congruence with the participant relative to their opponent.

Note:

p < 0.05; p < 0.01; p < 0.01. P-values for rates of support indicate significance of difference from 0.5. Congruence is scaled from -1 (opponent is perfectly congruent and candidate is as far as possible from the participant) to 1 (candidate is perfectly congruent and opponent is as far as possible from the participant). Data are weighted for representativeness by age, gender, and region. Data for the first two sets of results are from Lucid Study 2 and the California voter survey; data for the third set (perceived ideological congruence) are from Lucid Study 2 only.

## D. Alternative explanations for white Democratic support of Black profiles

In this appendix, I evaluate evidence for four alternative explanations for white Democrats' support for Black candidate profiles. Crucially, these explanations are not mutually exclusive. Several — or indeed all — of them could contribute to the overall result of increasing preference for Black profiles. It is also important to note that the analyses presented in this appendix are exploratory and correlational. Nevertheless, they may prove useful to researchers interested in further investigating the drivers of white Democrats' reactions to politicians of color.

#### Social desirability

The first alternative explanation is that this apparent preference is an artifact of increasing social pressure to *appear* racially progressive among white Democrats. Although contested in the literature Hopkins (2009), scholars have long discussed the possibility that Black candidates under-perform relative to polls because white voters feel social pressure to express support for them in surveys but not in the voting booth (Stout and Kline 2015). However, others have argued that conjoint experiments like those presented in this paper mitigate social pressure (Horiuchi, Markovich, and Yamamoto 2022), in this instance because the many candidate characteristics provided in addition to race provide respondents with many plausible reasons not to support a Black candidate. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to worry that in a context in which race is highly salient, voters may still be sensitive to concerns about social desirability.

Accordingly, to assess the influence of social pressure on my results, I follow the common practice of measuring participants' self-monitoring tendency. I use the three-item scale developed by Berinsky and Lavine (2011). In the first round of data collection, I also asked respondents to rate the importance of voting for a person of color in the abstract in order to test whether strong self-monitors were more supportive of the notion of voting for non-white candidates without the "plausible deniability" provided by the other characteristics in the conjoint table. Table D1 presents the results. Column (1) indicates that, consistent with Horiuchi, Markovich, and Yamamoto (2022), there is a negligible relationship between self-monitoring and selecting a Black candidate profile in the conjoint experiment. In contrast, self-monitoring was substantively and statistically significantly associated with *saying* that candidate race is important in the abstract, as shown in Column (2). Taken together, these results suggest that the conjoint design is functioning as intended to reduce social desirability pressure among high self-monitors, a group especially likely to feel social desirability pressure.

	DV: Voted for Black profile	DV: Important to vote for POC
Self-monitoring index	-0.008	0.543***
	(0.105)	(0.060)
Intercept	$0.575^{***}$	$0.163^{***}$
	(0.037)	(0.021)
Num.Obs.	469	469
R2	0.000	0.147

Table D1: Self-monitoring and voting for candidates of color among white Democratic study participants.

+ p < 0.1, \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001

Note:

This table presents the results of linear regression models. The dependent variable in the first column is coded 0 if the participant selected a white candidate profile and 1 if the participant selected a Black candidate profile in a conjoint task. The dependent variable in the second column is an item asking how important it is that a candidate is a person of color. The explanatory variable is self-monitoring, which is coded from 0 (low) to 1 (high). Data are weighted for demographic representativeness by gender, region, and age group. Data are from Lucid Study 1.

As an additional test of social desirability bias, I return briefly to the data used in the meta-analysis. Several of the conjoint experiments conducted post-2016 asked participants to select between multiple pairs of candidate profiles. This design choice allows me to test for evidence of "moral credentialing," a process by which survey participants provide more racially conservative responses after having an opportunity to express their racial liberalism (e.g., stating that they voted for President Obama) (Monin and Miller 2001). In this instance, having the opportunity to select a Black profile in an early conjoint round could diminish the probability of selecting a Black profile in a later round if having already cast a vote for a Black profile provides a sense of having established one's "moral credentials." As Table D2 shows, however, there is not a significant relationship between conjoint round and the probability of selecting a Black profile, suggesting that the pressure to engage in moral credentialing through behavior in these experiments is minimal.

	DV: Black profile selected
No. choice	-0.012
	(0.009)
Intercept	$0.570^{***}$
	(0.032)
Num.Obs.	1680
+ p < 0.1, * p <	0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Table D2: Black vs. white conjoint round number and support for Black candidates in re-analyzed experiments conducted 2017-2022.

Note:

This table presents the results of a linear regression model. The dependent variable is a dummy for whether a Black candidate profile was selected over a white opponent profile. The explanatory variable is the number of Black vs. white contests the participant had completed, which ranges from 1 to 5. The model includes study random effects. Data are weighted for demographic representativeness by year, gender, region, and age group.

#### Partisan norms and strategy

I also consider whether partisan motivations account for white Democrats' support for Black candidates. Radke et al. (2020) identify superordinate group identity, that is, a sense of belonging to a larger group that includes both advantaged and disadvantaged groups, as a potentially powerful motivator for advantaged group allies. In the case of race and voting behavior in the United States, Democratic partisan identity is the shared identity that best fits this description, given the high rate of Democratic partisanship among Black voters (Frymer 2011). As the politics of race have become even more salient within the Democratic party, it perhaps strong Democratic identification has become an even stronger predictor of racially liberal attitudes and behavior (Engelhardt 2021). To test this possibility, I regressed support for Black candidate profiles on the strength of participants' Democratic partisan identification, which ranged from "lean Democrat" to "strong Democrat."

Partisan considerations could also boost support for Black candidates in primary elections (like the conjoint experiments presented here) if voters believe they are particularly likely to win general election contests. This hypothesis may seem far fetched, since it is more commonly argued that Black candidates are disadvantaged in primaries because voters perceive them to be less electable (Bateson 2020; Nelson 2021). However, Stout (2020) points out that turnout among Black voters is an essential component to Democratic victories in many contests and posits that white Democratic voters may support candidates and policies they perceive Black voters to support as a means of promoting the party's competitiveness. Accordingly, I asked

	DV: Black	candidate selected	DV: This candidate				
			has a good chance of winning the general election	can appeal to swing voters	can appeal to Democratic base		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)		
Moderate Democrat	0.100 (0.063)	0.071 (0.063)					
Strong Democrat	0.098+ (0.059)	0.059 (0.059)					
Racial resentment		$-0.279^{**}$ (0.087)					
Black candidate			$-0.023^{***}$ (0.004)	-0.006 (0.004)	$0.024^{***}$ (0.004)		
Intercept	$0.496^{***}$ (0.048)	$0.626^{***}$ (0.062)	$0.519^{***}$ (0.003)	$0.490^{***}$ (0.003)	$0.567^{***}$ (0.003)		
Num.Obs. R2	469 0.007	469 0.029	8928 0.004	8932 0.000	8926 0.004		

Table D3: Black candidate profiles and partisan considerations.

+ p < 0.1, \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001

Note:

This table presents the results of linear regression models. In Columns (1)-(2), the dependent variable is selecting a Black candidate profile and the explanatory variable is the strength of participants' Democratic partial partial partial partial to the explanatory variable is the strength of participants' Democratic candidate and the explanatory variable is the race of the candidate. White is the reference category. Data are from Lucid Studies 1 and 2. Data in all models are weighted for demographic representativeness by gender, region, and age group.

participants in the first two Lucid studies to rate the candidates in terms of how well they expected them to perform in the general election, among swing voters, and among the Democratic base. If supporting Black candidates is a matter of electoral strategy, then they should be rated as more competitive in the general election and possibly as more appealing to swing voters, as well as being more appealing to the Democratic base.

Table D3 presents the results of these two tests. Column (1) indicates although moderate and stronglyidentifying Democrats are somewhat more likely to select Black profiles than Democratic leaners, the reference category, these differences are not statistically significant. Moreover, the coefficients on partisan strength diminish and the coefficient on strong Democratic identification loses statistical significance after accounting for racial resentment, as shown in Column (2). Democratic identity strength seems to do little to boost support for Black candidates beyond its association with racially liberal attitudes. This result is also consistent with the non-significant relationship between Biden feeling thermometer and support for Black profiles presented in the main text. Columns (3)-(5) also cast doubt on the electoral strategy explanation. They indicate that Black candidates were rated as *less* competitive in general elections and not especially appealing to swing voters, although they were rated as more appealing to Democratic voters. Overall, partisan considerations do not appear to motivate support for Black candidates.

#### White identity and racial affect

Finally, I consider whether white identity is associated with support for Black candidates among Democratic voters. On one hand, white ingroup identity could be associated with a preference for ingroup candidates, but on the other, scholars have argued that white identity may take multiple "forms" (Cole 2022; Croll 2007; Schildkraut 2019), with some strong identifiers espousing a "defensive" form of white identity, and others espousing a "progressive" form (Croll 2007, 631). I use Cole's (2022) white identity consciousness and white identity valence scales, presented in their entirety in Table D4 below. White identity consciousness here refers to the centrality of whiteness in participants' personal and political lives, whereas white identity valence refers to the degree to which participants perceive whiteness as a source of advantage (*i.e.*, privilege) or disadvantage. White voters who identify strongly with their racial group and view their group's privilege as unearned (those who score high on both consciousness and valence) could be motivated to support Black candidates as a way of improving the image of their ingroup.

Table D4 also presents items developed by Goldberg (2022) to measure white Americans' feelings of collective shame about racism. Goldberg conceptualizes and develops measures of two distinct types of white shame: moral shame, defined as a feeling of culpability and remorse for acts of racism committed by whites, and image shame, defined as a feeling that one's personal image is damaged by association with racists. Differentiating between these variants of white shame is useful for my purposes because it provides a further test of whether white support for Black candidates is more likely to be motivated by a genuine commitment to addressing racial injustice, as argued in the main body of the paper, or instead by a desire to protect the image the individual white respondent.

	Mean	Standard deviation
White identity consciousness (a. 0.91)		
How important is being white to your identity? (not important — ortromely important)	0.397	0.336
How much would you say that whites in this country have little in common with one another? (nothing at all — a great deal)	0.497	0.238
How often do you think of yourself as being white? (never — almost always)	0.491	0.314
How much would you say that being white factors into your political decision making? (not at all — a great deal)	0.245	0.302
How much do you think that what happens genereally to the white people in this country will have something to do with your life? (not at all — a great deal)	0.396	0.289
White identity valence ( $\alpha = 0.78$ )		
Part I: "Please indicate the extent to which you think being white has aff following areas, from making things much harder (0) to making the Doing well in school Getting a job Interactions with the government like police, politicians, etc. How you're treated by strangers	fected your lif nings much ea 0.647 0.695 0.743 0.719	<b>e</b> in the sier (1):" 0.208 0.231 0.225 0.225
Part II: "Please tell us how strongly you agree (1) or disagree (0) with the Whites in this country generally find their experiences and shared history to be positively reflected in school textbooks and classroom materials.	e following sta 0.703	tements:" 0.255
Through no fault of their own, whites in this country are economically losing ground now compared to in the past. (reverse-scaled) Whites in this country have a great deal of political power and the government is responsive to the needs of white people	0.574	0.292
In recent years, whites in this country have been losing the respect and status that they are owed by society. (reverse-scaled)	0.663	0.301
White moral shame ( $\alpha = 0.79$ )		<b>.</b>
When I think of the manner in which Black people have been treated, I comparison think that we white Americans are resist and mean	0.639	0.283
My racial group's treatment of Black people makes me feel somewhat ashamed about what it means to be white	0.589	0.297
I feel ashamed for the racist tendencies of white people.	0.707	0.279
I do not feel ashamed to be white for the way we treated Black people. (reverse-scaled)	0.570	0.307
White image shame ( $\alpha = 0.84$ )		
"Please tell us how strongly you agree (1) or disagree (0) with the I feel humiliated when I think of how white Americans are seen	e following sta 0.499	tements:" 0.285
negatively by others for how they have treated Black people. I feel disgraced because the behavior of white Americans towards Black people has created a bad image of white Americans in the eyes of others	0.587	0.282
To think how white Americans are seen for their treatment of Black people makes me feel ashamed.	0.586	0.279

Table D4: White identity consciousness, identity valence, and shame items

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Data are from Lucid Study 2.

The first three columns of Table D5 presents the relationship between support for Black candidate profiles and white identity consciousness, white identity valence, and their interaction. The bivariate relationship between voting for a Black profile and white identity consciousness is negative, indicating that stronger white identifiers are less supportive of Black candidates on average. The bivariate relationship between voting for a Black profile and white identity valence is positive, indicating that white Democrats who view whiteness as a source of advantage (privilege) are more supportive of Black candidates. The third model estimates the coefficient on the interaction between consciousness and valence. The main effect of consciousness is small and not statistically significant, the main effect of valence is positive and significant, and the interaction between the two is negative and significant. Substantively, these results, also illustrated in Figure D1, indicate that strong white identifiers who view whiteness as a source of advantage are no more likely to select a Black profile than strong white identifiers who view whiteness as a source of disadvantage and were less likely to do so than weak white identifiers who view it as a source of advantage, casting doubt on the "identity forms" hypothesis.



Figure D1: Interaction between white identity consciousness and white identity valence on support for Black candidate profiles.

Columns (4) and (5) of Table D5 present bivariate results for white moral shame and white image shame,

respectively. Both are significantly and positively associated with selecting a Black candidate profile, but the coefficient on moral shame is more than twice as large. Moreover, in a model that includes white identity consciousness, valence, moral shame and image shame, shown in Column (6), the coefficients on the consciousness, valence, and moral shame remain substantively meaningful and statistically significant, whereas the coefficient on white image shame is essentially zero. Insofar as white group-related considerations influence support for Black candidates, this influence does not seem to come from image-related concerns at either the collective or the individual level.

Finally, Table D5 also presents the relationship between racial group affect and support for Black candidates in the California voter survey in Columns (7)-(9). Neither pro-Black affect nor anti-white affect is significantly associated with support for Black candidate profiles, although both coefficients have the expected signs. However, there is a significant positive relationship between the *difference* between warmth towards Black and white Americans and support for Black candidates, suggesting that both pro-Black attitudes and a rejection of white ingroup identity play a role in motivating support for non-descriptive representatives.

	DV: Black candidate selected								
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
White ID consciousness	$-0.355^{***}$ (0.034)		-0.062 (0.133)			$-0.321^{***}$ (0.036)			
White ID valence		$0.244^{***}$ (0.047)	$0.474^{***}$ (0.092)			$0.195^{***}$ (0.050)			
Consciousness <b>x</b> valence			$-0.451^{*}$ (0.189)						
White moral shame				$0.378^{***}$ (0.034)		$0.263^{***}$ (0.046)			
White image shame					$0.143^{***}$ (0.032)	-0.001 (0.039)			
Black FT							0.196+ (0.108)		
White FT								-0.101 (0.091)	
Black - white FT									$0.297^{**}$ (0.100)
Intercept	$\begin{array}{c} 0.697^{***} \\ (0.016) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.389^{***} \\ (0.033) \end{array}$	$0.383^{***}$ (0.064)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.317^{***} \\ (0.022) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.473^{***} \\ (0.020) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.393^{***} \\ (0.038) \end{array}$	$0.486^{***}$ (0.088)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.711^{***} \\ (0.065) \end{array}$	$0.610^{***}$ (0.024)
Num.Obs. R2	3998 0.027	3998 0.007	3998 0.037	3996 0.031	3996 0.005	$3996 \\ 0.051$	519 0.006	519 0.002	516 0.017

Table D5: White identity, racial group feeling thermometers, and support for Black candidate profiles.

+ p < 0.1, \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001

Note:

This table presents the results of linear regression models. The dependent variable is selecting a Black candidate profile. The explanatory variables, white ID consciousness, white ID valence, white moral and image shame, Black and white group feeling thermometers, and the difference between the two thermometer ratings, are all scaled from 0 (low/negative) to 1 (high/positive). Data in Columns (1)-(6) are from Lucid Study 2 and data in Columns (7)-(9) are from the California voter study. Data in all models are weighted for demographic representativeness by gender, region, and age group.

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