**Appendix A: Transferability of Racial Resentment Measure Across Groups**

Table A1: Correlation between Racial Resentment and Other Measures of Racism for Whites, 2020 ANES

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Muslims | Asian Americans | Asians | Black Americans | Hispanic Americans | Hispanics | Whites |
| Feeling Thermometer (Out of 100) | 0.89\*\*\* | -0.38\*\*\* | -0.39\*\*\* | -  0.48\*\*\* | -0.4\*\*\* | -0.44\*\*\* | 0.11\*\*\* |
| Discrimination (1=no discrim, 5= much discrim) | -0.03\*\*\* | -0.06\*\*\* | n/a | -0.13\*\*\* | -0.10\*\*\* | n/a | 0.09\*\*\* |
| Racial Stereotype: Hardworking (0 = “lazy”) | n/a | -0.06\*\*\* | -0.08\*\*\* | -0.44\*\*\* | -0.12\*\*\* | -0.10\*\*\* | 0..31\*\*\* |
| Racial Stereotype: Violent  (0 =”violent”) | n/a | -0.03\*\*\* | 0.06\*\*\* | -0.40\*\*\* | -0.09\*\*\* | -  0.04\*\*\* | 0.50\*\*\* |
| N | 5286 | 2496 | 2667 | 5284 | 2670 | 2522 | 7265 |

*Note: Standard Errors in Parentheses \*p < 0.1, \*\*p < 0.05, \*\*\*p<0.01*

Results above are presented for the correlation between the racial resentment scale and whites’ feelings about Muslims, Asian-Americans, Asians, Hispanic Americans, and Black Americans. Not only are the relationships between the racial resentment scale and negative attitudes towards non- white groups strong, but they are also notably consistent. This analysis supports the idea that for whites, racial resentment can serve as a viable proxy for racism towards non- white groups generally, not just Black Americans specifically. While scholars have developed individualized measures to assess attitudes about various ethnic and racial groups in the U.S., it seems white individuals generalize their racist attitudes towards non- white individuals as much as their animus is individualized towards certain groups.

**Appendix B –Collinearity Checks**

**With Main Independent Variable (2016 ANES)**

**Table B1: Correlation Matrix for Racial Resentment and Possible Collinear Measures**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Variable | Racial Resentment | Authoritarianism | SDO/RWA | Egalitarianism | Isolationism | Patriotism |
| Racial Resentment | - |  |  |  |  |  |
| Authoritarianism | 0.25 | - |  |  |  |  |
| SDO/RWA | 0.5 | 0.2 | - |  |  |  |
| Egalitarianism | -0.52 | -0.17 | -0.28 | - |  |  |
| Isolationism | 0.17 | 0.13 | 0.17 | -0.12 | - |  |
| Patriotism | 0.43 | 0.15 | 0.32 | -0.27 | -0.02 | - |
| Ethnocentrism | 0.37 | 0.17 | 0.28 | -0.24 | 0.13 | 0.23 |

As previous research anticipates (Parker and Towler 2019; Weaver and Prowse 2020), Racial Resentment is strongly positively correlated (0.5) with Right-Wing Authoritarianism/Social Dominance Orientation, while it is correspondingly negatively correlated with the Egalitarianism scale (-0.52). Patriotism (0.43) and Ethnocentrism (0.37) are also strongly positively correlated with Racial Resentment. Authoritarianism (0.25) and Isolationism (0.17) are less strongly positively correlated with Racial Resentment.

Given the strong correlation between RWA/SDO and the main independent variable of interest, racial resentment, a robustness check was performed adding the RWA/SDO scale in the models for the main analysis.

**Table B2: Variance Inflation Factors to Assess Potential Collinearity**

Presented below are the results for variable inflation factors as a robustness check for multicollinearity between concepts modeled such as racial resentment, ethnocentrism, authoritarianism, and social dominance orientation. The results below are from the 2016 ANES model regarding threat perception of China (Figure 3 in main analysis). This model was selected for analysis since it was also included on the 2012 and 2020 ANES. When performing VIF analysis, any score under the threshold of 4 is considered to fall under the threshold of collinearity. As you can see below, no variable in the model scores above 2.68 – meaning the variables in the model “passes” this collinearity check. The variables of concern fall well under the threshold, with political ideology (2.68) and partisanship scoring the highest (2.27).

**Data: 2016 ANES**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Variables** | **VIF** |
| **Dependent Variable;** | China Is A Military Threat | **-** |
| **Independent Variables:** | Ideology (7pt Scale) | 2.68 |
|  | Racial resentment | 2.27 |
|  | Party ID | 2.11 |
|  | Right-wing Authoritarianism | 1.62 |
|  | Egalitarianism | 1.61 |
|  | Religious Identity | 1.35 |
|  | Education | 1.34 |
|  | Ethnocentrism | 1.33 |
|  | Patriotism | 1.29 |
|  | Interest and Attention | 1.22 |
|  | Income | 1.22 |
|  | Gender | 1.21 |
|  | Age | 1.2 |
|  | SDO/Authoritarianism | 1.18 |
|  | Military Veteran | 1.18 |

**Appendix C – ANES Item Wording and Descriptive Statistics**

**Table C1 – 2012 ANES Item Wording and Descriptive Statistics**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Variable** | **Wording** | **Coding** | **Freq.** | **%** |
| iran\_nukedev | Do you think Iran is or is not trying to develop nuclear weapons? | 0 = No | 417 | 8 |
| 1= Yes | 4742 | 92 |
| iran\_diplomacy | To try to prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons, would you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose..... Direct diplomatic talks between the United States and Iran to try to resolve the situation | 1=Oppose | 444 | 8 |
| 2 = Neither | 1001 | 18 |
| 3= Favor | 3977 | 73 |
| iran\_sanctions | To try to prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons, would you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose... Increasing sanctions against Iran | 1=Oppose | 467 | 8 |
| 2 = Neither | 1185 | 22 |
| 3= Favor | 3672 | 69 |
| Iran\_bombsites | (To try to prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons, would you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose...) The United States bombing Iran's nuclear development sites | 1=Oppose | 2170 | 40 |
| 2 = Neither | 1548 | 28 |
| 3= Favor | 1675 | 31 |
| iran\_invade | (To try to prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons, would you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose...) Invading with U.S. forces to remove the Iranian government from power | 1=Oppose | 2796 | 52 |
| 2 = Neither | 1486 | 28 |
| 3= Favor | 1098 | 20 |
| Resent\_workway | Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors. | 0=Strong Disagree | 375 | 7 |
| .25 = Disagree | 689 | 13 |
| .5=Neither | 973 | 18 |
| .75=Agree | 1612 | 29 |
| 1=Strong Agree | 1836 | 33 |
| Resent\_slavery | Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class. | 0=Strong Disagree | 629 | 11 |
| .25 = Disagree | 1491 | 27 |
| .5=Neither | 791 | 14 |
| .75=Agree | 1323 | 24 |
| 1=Strong Agree | 1251 | 23 |
| Resent\_try | t's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites. | 0=Strong Disagree | 578 | 11 |
| .25 = Disagree | 978 | 18 |
| .5=Neither | 1201 | 22 |
| .75=Agree | 1576 | 29 |
| 1=Strong Agree | 1151 | 21 |
| Resent\_deserve | t's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites. | 0=Strong Disagree | 394 | 7 |
| .25 = Disagree | 781 | 14 |
| .5=Neither | 1351 | 25 |
| .75=Agree | 1459 | 27 |
| 1=Strong Agree | 1484 | 27 |
| Race\_resentment | Composite of 4 measures, rescaled 0-1 | Mean=.6 | 5447 | - |
| China\_econthreat | Do you think the recent economic expansion of China has been generally good for the U.S., bad for the U.S., or had no effect on the U.S. economy? | 1=Good | 1096 | 21 |
| 2=Neither | 1103 | 21 |
| 3=Bad | 3017 | 58 |
| China\_milthreat | Do you think China's military is [a major threat to the security of the United States, a minor threat, or not a threat / not a threat, a minor threat, or a major threat to the security of the United States]? | 1=Not a threat | 1143 | 22 |
| 2=Minor threat | 2625 | 49 |
| 3=Major threat | 1544 | 29 |
| Gwot\_torture | Do you FAVOR, OPPOSE, or NEITHER FAVOR NOR OPPOSE the U.S. government torturing people, who are suspected of being terrorists to try to get information? | 1=oppose great deal | 1465 | 27 |
| 2=moderate oppose | 748 | 14 |
| 3=oppose little | 281 | 5 |
| 4=neither | 1674 | 31 |
| 5=favor little | 266 | 5 |
| 6=favor moderate | 503 | 9 |
| 7=favor great deal | 494 | 9 |
| Gwot\_effect | As a result of the United States' war in Afghanistan, do you think the threat of terrorism against the United States has INCREASED, DECREASED, or stayed ABOUT THE SAME? | 1=decreased | 1479 | 26 |
| 2=stayed same | 2936 | 50 |
| 3=increased | 1440 | 25 |
| Afghan\_worthit | Now we want to ask you about the current war in Afghanistan. Taking every- thing into account, do you think the war in Afghanistan has been WORTH THE COST or NOT? | 0=no | 4170 | 73 |
| 1=yes | 1562 | 27 |
| Major\_terrorattack | During the next 12 months, how likely is it that there will be a terrorist attack in the United States that kills 100 or more people? Is it | 1=not at all likely | 959 | 18 |
| 2= slightly likely | 2270 | 43 |
| 3=moderately likely | 1472 | 28 |
| 4=very likely | 476 | 9 |
| 5=extremely likely | 154 | 3 |

**Table C2 – 2016 Item Wording and Descriptive Statistics**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Variable** | **Wording** | **Coding** | **Freq.** | **%** |
| Resent\_workway | Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors. | 0=Strong Disagree | 487 | 13 |
| .25 = Disagree | 474 | 13 |
| .5=Neither | 647 | 18 |
| .75=Agree | 912 | 25 |
| 1=Strong Agree | 1110 | 31 |
| Resent\_slavery | Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class. | 0=Strong Disagree | 645 | 18 |
| .25 = Disagree | 986 | 27 |
| .5=Neither | 512 | 14 |
| .75=Agree | 707 | 19 |
| 1=Strong Agree | 785 | 22 |
| Resent\_try | t's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites. | 0=Strong Disagree | 673 | 19 |
| .25 = Disagree | 668 | 18 |
| .5=Neither | 785 | 22 |
| .75=Agree | 872 | 24 |
| 1=Strong Agree | 629 | 17 |
| Resent\_deserve | t's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites. | 0=Strong Disagree | 410 | 11 |
| .25 = Disagree | 695 | 19 |
| .5=Neither | 936 | 26 |
| .75=Agree | 712 | 20 |
| 1=Strong Agree | 878 | 24 |
| Race\_resentment | Composite of 4 measures, rescaled 0-1 | Mean=..54 | 3613 |  |
| Syria\_refugee | Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose allowing Syrian refugees to come to the United States? | 1=Oppose | 2056 | 49 |
| 2=Neither | 1197 | 28 |
| 3=Favor | 981 | 23 |
| China\_milthreat | Do you think China's military is [a major threat to the security of the United States, a minor threat, or not a threat / not a threat, a minor threat, or a major threat to the security of the United States]? | 1=Not a threat | 389 | 11 |
| 2=Minor threat | 1560 | 44 |
| 3=Major threat | 1636 | 46 |
| Gwot\_torture16 | Do you FAVOR, OPPOSE, or NEITHER FAVOR NOR OPPOSE the U.S. government torturing people, who are suspected of being terrorists to try to get information? | 1=oppose great deal | 943 | 26 |
| 2=moderate oppose | 501 | 14 |
| 3=oppose little | 122 | 3 |
| 4=neither | 1178 | 33 |
| 5=favor little | 173 | 5 |
| 6=favor moderate | 376 | 10 |
| 7=favor great deal | 318 | 9 |
| ISIS\_boots\_enthu | Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the U.S. sending ground troops to fight Islamic militants, such as ISIS, in Iraq and Syria? | 1=oppose great deal | 696 | 16 |
| 2=moderate oppose | 573 | 14 |
| 3=oppose little | 129 | 3 |
| 4=neither | 1264 | 30 |
| 5=favor little | 177 | 4 |
| 6=favor moderate | 744 | 18 |
| 7=favor great deal | 648 | 15 |
| Major\_terrorattack  Worry | How worried are you that the United States will experience a terrorist  attack in the near future? | 1=not at all worried | 244 | 7 |
| 2=slightly worried | 682 | 19 |
| 3=moderately worried | 1225 | 34 |
| 4=very worried | 844 | 23 |
| 5=extremely worried | 645 | 18 |
| Major\_terrorattack  likely | During the next 12 months, how likely is it that there will be a terrorist attack in the United States? | 1=not at all likely | 244 | 7 |
| 2= slightly likely | 961 | 27 |
| 3=moderately likely | 1285 | 36 |
| 4=very likely | 774 | 21 |
| 5=extremely likely | 342 | 9 |

**Table C3 – 2020 ANES Item Wording and Descriptive Statistics**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Variable** | **Wording** | **Coding** | **Freq.** | **%** |
| Resent\_workway | Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors. | 0=Strong Disagree | 1665 | 23 |
| .25 = Disagree | 1140 | 15 |
| .5=Neither | 1319 | 18 |
| .75=Agree | 1589 | 22 |
| 1=Strong Agree | 1656 | 22 |
| Resent\_slavery | Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class. | 0=Strong Disagree | 1900 | 26 |
| .25 = Disagree | 2006 | 27 |
| .5=Neither | 977 | 13 |
| .75=Agree | 1161 | 16 |
| 1=Strong Agree | 1337 | 18 |
| Resent\_try | t's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites. | 0=Strong Disagree | 1521 | 21 |
| .25 = Disagree | 1632 | 22 |
| .5=Neither | 1607 | 22 |
| .75=Agree | 1244 | 17 |
| 1=Strong Agree | 1362 | 18 |
| Resent\_deserve | t's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites. | 0=Strong Disagree | 2284 | 31 |
| .25 = Disagree | 1430 | 19 |
| .5=Neither | 1502 | 20 |
| .75=Agree | 1380 | 19 |
| 1=Strong Agree | 771 | 10 |
| Race\_resentment | Composite of 4 measures, rescaled 0-1 | Mean=..45 | 7339 |  |
| Usworld | Turning to some questions about America’s role in the world: During the past year, would you say that the United States’ position in the world has grown weaker, stayed about the same, or has it grown stronger? | 0=weaker | 4537 | 55 |
| .5=stayed same | 1910 | 23 |
| 1=stronger | 1805 | 22 |
| Umf\_intl | How willing should the United States be to use military force to solve international problems? | 0=not at all | 638 | 8 |
| .25=a little | 2323 | 28 |
| .5=moderately | 4068 | 49 |
| .75=very | 886 | 11 |
| 1=extremely | 307 | 4 |
| Nato\_app | How would you rate: NATO | 1=low | 198 | 3 |
|  | 123 | 2 |
|  | 44 | 1 |
|  | 164 | 3 |
|  | 283 | 4 |
|  | 2024 | 32 |
|  | 911 | 14 |
|  | 1049 | 16 |
|  | 995 | 16 |
| 10=high | 613 | 10 |
| UN\_app | How would you rate: The United Nations (UN) | 1=low | 383 | 5 |
|  | 252 | 4 |
|  | 55 | 1 |
|  | 251 | 4 |
|  | 361 | 5 |
|  | 1720 | 24 |
|  | 886 | 13 |
|  | 1147 | 16 |
|  | 1193 | 17 |
| 10=high | 789 | 11 |
| Major\_terrorattack  Worry | How worried are you that the United States will experience a terrorist  attack in the near future? | 0=not at all worried | 1009 | 14 |
| .25=slightly worried | 2339 | 32 |
| .5=moderately worried | 2648 | 36 |
| .75=very worried | 888 | 12 |
| 1=extremely worried | 491 | 7 |
| Russia\_2020 | How likely do you think it is that the Russian government will interfere in the 2020 presidential election to try to help Donald Trump win? | 0=not at all | 2154 | 26 |
| .25=slightly | 1152 | 14 |
| .5=moderately | 1360 | 17 |
| .75=very | 1279 | 16 |
| 1=extremely | 2210 | 27 |
| China\_threat | How much is China a threat to the United States? | 0=not at all | 337 | 5 |
| .25=a little | 866 | 12 |
| .5=moderate amount | 2102 | 29 |
| .75=a lot | 1814 | 25 |
| 1=a great deal | 2218 | 30 |
| Iran\_threat | How much is Iran a threat to the United States? | 0=not at all | 363 | 5 |
| .25=a little | 1087 | 15 |
| .5=moderate amount | 2312 | 32 |
| .75=a lot | 1845 | 25 |
| 1=a great deal | 1712 | 24 |
| Russia\_threat | How much is Russia a threat to the United States? | 0=not at all | 324 | 4 |
| .25=a little | 1015 | 14 |
| .5=moderate amount | 2219 | 30 |
| .75=a lot | 1873 | 26 |
| 1=a great deal | 1905 | 26 |
| Mexico\_threat | How much is Mexico a threat to the United States? | 0=not at all | 3491 | 48 |
| .25=a little | 2189 | 30 |
| .5=moderate amount | 1262 | 17 |
| .75=a lot | 238 | 3 |
| 1=a great deal | 152 | 2 |
| Japan\_threat | How much is Japan a threat to the United States? | 0=not at all | 3977 | 54 |
| .25=a little | 1610 | 22 |
| .5=moderate amount | 1219 | 17 |
| .75=a lot | 296 | 4 |
| 1=a great deal | 211 | 3 |
| Germany\_threat | How much is Germany a threat to the United States? | 0=not at all | 4614 | 63 |
| .25=a little | 1454 | 20 |
| .5=moderate amount | 990 | 14 |
| .75=a lot | 150 | 2 |
| 1=a great deal | 100 | 1 |

**Table C4 – ANES Cumulative File (1948-2020) Item Wording and Descriptive Statistics**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Variable** | **Wording** | **Coding** | **Freq.** | **%** |
| Resent\_workway | Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors. | 0=Strong Disagree | 5180 | 18 |
| .25 = Disagree | 8632 | 30 |
| .5=Neither | 3690 | 13 |
| .75=Agree | 6033 | 21 |
| 1=Strong Agree | 5397 | 19 |
| Resent\_slavery | Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class. | 0=Strong Disagree | 3358 | 11 |
| .25 = Disagree | 4037 | 13 |
| .5=Neither | 4577 | 15 |
| .75=Agree | 8719 | 29 |
| 1=Strong Agree | 9509 | 31 |
| Resent\_try | t's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites. | 0=Strong Disagree | 3550 | 12 |
| .25 = Disagree | 6100 | 20 |
| .5=Neither | 6642 | 22 |
| .75=Agree | 7506 | 25 |
| 1=Strong Agree | 6323 | 21 |
| Resent\_deserve | t's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites. | 0=Strong Disagree | 4707 | 16 |
| .25 = Disagree | 5438 | 19 |
| .5=Neither | 5266 | 18 |
| .75=Agree | 8030 | 28 |
| 1=Strong Agree | 6456 | 19 |
| Race\_resentment | Composite of 4 measures, rescaled 0-1 | Mean=..45 |  |  |
| Umf\_intl | How willing should the United States be to use military force to solve international problems? | 0=not at all | 153 | 3 |
| .25=a little | 902 | 17 |
| .5=moderately | 2984 | 55 |
| .75=very | 983 | 18 |
| 1=extremely | 373 | 7 |
| Foreign aid spending | Of the following) programs would you like to see spending increased and for which would you like to see spending decreased: Should federal spending on foreign aid be increased, decreased or kept about the same? | 1=increased | 876 | 9 |
| 2=stay the same | 4070 | 40 |
| 3-decreased/cut out | 5192 | 51 |
| Defense spending | Of the following) programs would you like to see spending increased and for which would you like to see spending decreased: Should federal spending on national defense be increased, decreased or kept about the same? | 1=decreased a lot | 2388 | 8 |
| 2=decreased moderately | 2590 | 9 |
| 3=decreased some | 3932 | 14 |
| 4=stay the same | 8298 | 29 |
| 5=increased some | 5507 | 19 |
| 6=increased moderately | 3428 | 12 |
| 7=increased a lot | 2605 | 9 |
| Isolationism | This country would be better off if we just stayed home and did not concern ourselves with problems in other parts of the world. | 0=disagree | 33698 | 72 |
| 1=agree | 12835 | 28 |
| Military support | Using the thermometer from 0-100, how would you rate the military? | 1=low | 395 | 1 |
|  | 308 | 1 |
|  | 96 | 0 |
|  | 567 | 2 |
|  | 1150 | 4 |
|  | 3817 | 13 |
|  | 3559 | 12 |
|  | 5584 | 19 |
|  | 6553 | 22 |
| 10=high | 7950 | 27 |
|  |  |  |  |  |

**Appendix D: Multinomial Logit ANES 2012, 2020**

Results are presented below for multinomial logit with relative risk ratios analyses for robustness. Multinomial logit is a type of regression designed for multiple outcomes rather than binary ones. In 2012, respondents were asked a 3-point item about policy on Iran – agree, neither, or disagree – with a policy towards their potential nuclear development. Multinomial logit allows us to set a base or reference category for the dependent variable – in this case the “neither” response – and compare results at each level of the independent variable – in this case the racial resentment scale. Relative risk ratio analyses allows us to explore the “risk” or likelihood that a respondent will give the response of interest – in this case I analyze the risk of falling into the “agree” category. The coefficients reported can be interpreted as the probability that a respondent will agree with the policy being asked about at the indicated level of resentment. For example, in Figure D1 below, respondents low on the racial resentment scale are on the left side of the x-axis, while respondents with low levels of policy support are low on the y-axis. As we move up the racial resentment scale policy support for military intervention against Iran increases, while support for diplomacy recedes.

Figure D1: Multinomial Logit Analysis: Iranian Nuclear Development

(2012 ANES)



Similar analysis is presented for the 2020 ANES. Respondents were asked how threatening to the U.S. the countries were from 1 – not threatening to 5 – a great deal threatening. Figure D2 has all 6 countries in one analysis. Given the large differences in threat level perceived, for ease of interpretation we break down the analysis into two subgroups: Figure D3 includes China, Iran, and Russia – nominal U.S. adversaries and Figure D4 includes Mexico, Germany, and Japan – nominal U.S. allies. This measure had a significant statistical relationship with the perception that a major terrorist attack was likely in the United States in the next year (*p*<0.05), support for torture of suspected terrorists (*p*<0.001), and support for sending U.S. troops to fight ISIS (*p*<0.05). However, the addition of this variable did not change the strength of significance for the correlation between racial resentment and the dependent variable of interest. The relationship between racism, authoritarianism, and foreign policy is certainly worthy of continued scholarly explication.

Figure D2: Multinomial Logit Analysis: Country Threats (2020 ANES)



Figure D3: Multinomial Logit Analysis: Country Threats - Adversaries (2020 ANES)



Figure D4: Multinomial Logit Analysis: Country Threats - Allies (2020 ANES)



**Appendix E: Afghanistan, Obama, and the Racialization of US Foreign Policy Opinion**

A table of numbers with text

Description automatically generated with medium confidence

The results here are presented for two regression models using the same independent variables but with two importantly different but related dependent variables: 1) one item asking respondents whether the U.S. war in Afghanistan was “worth it” overall, and 2) a second item asking whether they approved of President Barack Obama’s handling of the war. While racial resentment did not have a significant impact on approval of the War in Afghanistan overall, it had a large and significant relationship with the perception of Obama’s handling of the war for White respondents.

**Appendix F: Full Regression Tables and Results**

Table 1: Public Opinion on Iran (2012 ANES)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
|  | Developing Nuke? | Diplomacy | Sanctions | Airstrikes | Invasion |
| Racial Resentment | 0.0442 | -0.0281 | 0.198∗∗ | 0.440∗∗∗ | 0.265∗∗∗ |
|  | (0.03) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.09) | (0.08) |
| Ethnocentrism | 0.0251 | 0.0764 | -0.0971 | 0.211 | 0.597∗∗∗ |
|  | (0.04) | (0.11) | (0.10) | (0.13) | (0.12) |
| Party ID | 0.00297 | -0.0161∗ | -0.00103 | 0.0233∗ | 0.0148 |
|  | (0.00) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Interest/Attention | -0.00292 | 0.0212 | -0.0550∗∗∗ | -0.0385∗ | 0.0608∗∗∗ |
|  | (0.00) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.01) |
| Ideology | 0.00737 | -0.0279∗ | 0.00131 | 0.0498∗∗ | 0.0398∗∗ |
|  | (0.00) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Religiosity | 0.00147 | -0.00322 | -0.0199 | -0.0209 | 0.0156 |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Patriotism | 0.0517∗∗∗ | 0.0738∗∗∗ | 0.141∗∗∗ | 0.0968∗∗∗ | 0.0594∗∗ |
|  | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Authoritarianism | -0.0396∗ | -0.0683 | -0.0763 | 0.0917 | 0.151∗∗ |
|  | (0.02) | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.06) | (0.05) |
| Egalitarianism | 0.0126 | 0.581∗∗∗ | 0.0444 | -0.184∗ | 0.148 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.09) | (0.09) |
| Gender | 0.00281 | 0.0632∗ | 0.0792∗∗ | 0.179∗∗∗ | 0.0271 |
|  | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
| Military Veteran | -0.000424 | -0.0434 | -0.00526 | -0.0323 | -0.0319 |
|  | (0.01) | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.05) | (0.05) |
| Age | 0.0162∗∗ | -0.000243 | 0.0792∗∗∗ | 0.0126 | -0.0342∗∗ |
|  | (0.00) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Income | 0.00809 | 0.0161 | 0.0438∗∗∗ | 0.0158 | -0.00473 |
|  | (0.00) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Education | 0.0116∗ | 0.0405∗∗∗ | 0.0235∗ | -0.0579∗∗∗ | -0.0756∗∗∗ |
|  | (0.00) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.01) |
| Foreign Born | 0.00149 | -0.0757 | -0.134 | -0.0693 | -0.0177 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.08) | (0.07) |
| Observations | 2781 | 2835 | 2813 | 2827 | 2830 |
| *R*2 | 0.064 | 0.089 | 0.119 | 0.130 | 0.113 |

Standard errors in parentheses

∗ *p <* 0*.*05, ∗∗ *p <* 0*.*01, ∗∗∗ *p <* 0*.*001

Table 2: Public Opinion on Foreign Policy (2012 ANES)

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|  | China Mil. Threat | China Econ. Threat | Torture | Terror Attack Likely |
| Racial Resentment | 0.337∗∗∗ | 0.453∗∗∗ | 1.683∗∗∗ | 0.357∗∗∗ |
|  | (0.07) | (0.08) | (0.19) | (0.10) |
| Ethnocentrism | -0.0394 | 0.0747 | 1.318∗∗∗ | 0.214 |
|  | (0.11) | (0.12) | (0.30) | (0.16) |
| Party ID | 0.00840 | 0.0131 | 0.113∗∗∗ | 0.0290∗ |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.01) |
| Interest/Attention | -0.00577 | 0.00895 | -0.0523 | -0.0220 |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.03) | (0.02) |
| Ideology | 0.0344∗ | -0.00366 | 0.0573 | 0.0361 |
|  | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.04) | (0.02) |
| Religiosity | 0.0111 | -0.00548 | -0.187∗∗∗ | 0.0936∗∗∗ |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.04) | (0.02) |
| Patriotism | 0.0834∗∗∗ | -0.00751 | 0.320∗∗∗ | 0.0294 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.05) | (0.03) |
| Authoritarianism | 0.0736 | 0.139∗ | 0.422∗∗∗ | 0.0494 |
|  | (0.05) | (0.06) | (0.12) | (0.06) |
| Egalitarianism | -0.0418 | -0.00189 | -1.095∗∗∗ | -0.175 |
|  | (0.08) | (0.09) | (0.21) | (0.11) |
| Gender | -0.0178 | -0.133∗∗∗ | 0.246∗∗∗ | -0.110∗∗ |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.07) | (0.04) |
| Military Veteran | 0.0505 | 0.00977 | -0.0575 | -0.00769 |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.10) | (0.05) |
| Age | 0.0276∗ | 0.0300∗ | -0.0666∗ | 0.114∗∗∗ |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.03) | (0.02) |
| Income | -0.0169 | -0.0547∗∗∗ | 0.0389 | -0.0154 |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.03) | (0.02) |
| Education | -0.0295∗ | -0.0546∗∗∗ | -0.0810∗ | -0.0493∗∗ |
|  | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.02) |
| Foreign Born | -0.113 | -0.159 | -0.0347 | -0.0245 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.09) | (0.19) | (0.10) |
| Observations | 2823 | 2787 | 2835 | 2818 |
| *R*2 | 0.087 | 0.068 | 0.253 | 0.125 |

Standard errors in parentheses

∗ *p <* 0*.*05, ∗∗ *p <* 0*.*01, ∗∗∗ *p <* 0*.*001

Table 3: Public Opinion on Foreign Policy (2016 ANES)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
|  | China Mil. Threat | Torture | Syrian Refugees | Terror Worry | Terror Likely |
| Racial Resentment | 0.189∗∗ | 1.135∗∗∗ | -0.781∗∗∗ | 0.363∗∗ | 0.154 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.18) | (0.06) | (0.11) | (0.11) |
| Ethnocentrism | -0.0481 | 0.899∗∗∗ | -0.373∗∗∗ | 0.194 | -0.0286 |
|  | (0.10) | (0.26) | (0.09) | (0.16) | (0.16) |
| Partisanship | 0.00547 | 0.110∗ | -0.127∗∗∗ | -0.00252 | 0.0116 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.05) | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
| Interest/Attention | 0.159∗∗ | -0.161 | 0.352∗∗∗ | 0.282∗∗ | 0.588∗∗∗ |
|  | (0.06) | (0.15) | (0.05) | (0.10) | (0.09) |
| Ideology | 0.0320∗ | 0.189∗∗∗ | -0.0861∗∗∗ | 0.0377 | 0.00773 |
|  | (0.01) | (0.04) | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Gender | -0.0204 | 0.0899 | 0.00432 | -0.184∗∗∗ | -0.0254 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.07) | (0.03) | (0.05) | (0.04) |
| Income | -0.0170 | 0.0614∗ | 0.00410 | 0.0278 | 0.00640 |
|  | (0.01) | (0.03) | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Education | -0.00728 | 0.000969 | 0.0409∗∗∗ | -0.00691 | -0.0189 |
|  | (0.01) | (0.03) | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Age | 0.0643∗∗∗ | -0.187∗∗∗ | -0.0378∗∗ | 0.0638∗∗ | 0.0890∗∗∗ |
|  | (0.01) | (0.03) | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Military Veteran | -0.00899 | -0.0123 | -0.0724 | 0.0778 | 0.0727 |
|  | (0.04) | (0.11) | (0.04) | (0.07) | (0.07) |
| Religiosity | 0.0469 | -0.296∗∗ | 0.103∗∗ | 0.0396 | 0.104 |
|  | (0.04) | (0.11) | (0.04) | (0.07) | (0.07) |
| Patriotism | 0.0669∗∗∗ | 0.157∗∗∗ | -0.0436∗∗∗ | 0.129∗∗∗ | 0.0652∗∗ |
|  | (0.01) | (0.03) | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Authoritarianism | 0.0973 | 0.477∗∗ | -0.207∗∗∗ | 0.371∗∗∗ | 0.140 |
|  | (0.06) | (0.16) | (0.06) | (0.10) | (0.10) |
| Egalitarianism | 0.0282 | -0.267∗∗∗ | 0.0818∗∗∗ | 0.0985∗∗ | 0.0255 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.05) | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
| Social Dominance | 0.0334 | 0.342∗∗∗ | -0.0877∗∗∗ | 0.190∗∗∗ | 0.121∗∗∗ |
|  | (0.02) | (0.05) | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
| Foreign Born | -0.0332 | 0.0576 | 0.0203 | 0.116 | -0.0123 |
|  | (0.06) | (0.17) | (0.06) | (0.11) | (0.10) |
| Observations | 2406 | 2420 | 2424 | 2426 | 2424 |
| *R*2 | 0.097 | 0.319 | 0.517 | 0.138 | 0.080 |

Standard errors in parentheses

∗ *p <* 0*.*05, ∗∗ *p <* 0*.*01, ∗∗∗ *p <* 0*.*001

Table 4: Nation Threat Matrix (2020 ANES)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|  | China | Iran | Russia | Mexico | Japan | Germany |
| Racial Resentment | 0.0960∗∗∗ | 0.0995∗∗∗ | -0.0336 | 0.0858∗∗∗ | 0.0980∗∗∗ | 0.0566∗∗∗ |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.01) |
| Ethnocentrism | 0.0522∗∗∗ | 0.0509∗∗ | 0.00767 | 0.0553∗∗∗ | 0.0474∗∗ | 0.0537∗∗∗ |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Partisanship | -0.0368∗∗ | -0.0234 | 0.0753∗∗∗ | -0.0245∗ | -0.000828 | -0.0143 |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Interest/Attention | 0.197∗∗∗ | 0.124∗∗∗ | 0.160∗∗∗ | -0.0516∗∗∗ | -0.0943∗∗∗ | -0.0738∗∗∗ |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Ideology | 0.0146∗∗∗ | 0.00966∗∗∗ | -0.00201 | 0.000993 | -0.00742∗∗ | -0.00250 |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| Gender | -0.0119 | -0.0560∗∗∗ | -0.0267∗∗ | -0.0504∗∗∗ | -0.0803∗∗∗ | -0.0416∗∗∗ |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Income | 0.0398∗∗ | 0.0335∗ | 0.0548∗∗∗ | -0.0355∗∗ | -0.0514∗∗∗ | -0.0636∗∗∗ |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Education | -0.00147 | 0.00873 | 0.0130 | -0.0190∗∗ | -0.0418∗∗∗ | -0.0314∗∗∗ |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Age | 0.0416∗∗∗ | 0.0632∗∗∗ | 0.0428∗∗∗ | -0.0153∗∗∗ | -0.0334∗∗∗ | -0.0276∗∗∗ |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.01) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| Military Veteran | 0.0196 | 0.0150 | 0.0178 | 0.0108 | -0.00618 | 0.000869 |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Authoritarianism | -0.00728 | 0.0562∗∗∗ | 0.0388∗∗ | 0.0435∗∗∗ | 0.117∗∗∗ | 0.0675∗∗∗ |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Egalitarianism | -0.0853∗∗ | -0.00216 | 0.129∗∗∗ | -0.0655∗∗ | 0.0423 | 0.0180 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Religiosity | 0.0382∗∗ | 0.0678∗∗∗ | 0.0544∗∗∗ | 0.0469∗∗∗ | 0.0605∗∗∗ | 0.0396∗∗∗ |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Foreign Born | -0.0461 | -0.0610∗∗ | -0.0663∗∗ | -0.0422∗∗ | -0.0448∗∗ | -0.0485∗∗∗ |
| A black background with a black square  Description automatically generated with medium confidence | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.01) |
| Observations | 4827 | 4818 | 4822 | 4824 | 4814 | 4813 |
|  | 0.175 | 0.172 | 0.109 | 0.142 | 0.180 | 0.150 |

Standard errors in parentheses

∗ *p <* 0*.*05, ∗∗ *p <* 0*.*01, ∗∗∗ *p <* 0*.*001

Table 5: Public Opinion on Foreign Policy (2020 ANES)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
|  | US Stronger | Use of Force | Support UN | Support NATO | Russia Threat |
| Racial Resentment | 0.169∗∗∗ | 0.0259 | -0.852∗∗∗ | -0.588∗∗∗ | -0.225∗∗∗ |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.16) | (0.15) | (0.02) |
| Ethnocentrism | 0.0787∗∗∗ | 0.0626∗∗∗ | -0.0155 | -0.0997 | 0.00403 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.01) | (0.13) | (0.13) | (0.02) |
| Partisanship | -0.301∗∗∗ | -0.00468 | 0.795∗∗∗ | 0.456∗∗∗ | 0.293∗∗∗ |
|  | (0.02) | (0.01) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.02) |
| Interest/Attention | 0.125∗∗∗ | 0.0255 | -0.699∗∗∗ | 0.100 | 0.166∗∗∗ |
|  | (0.02) | (0.01) | (0.13) | (0.13) | (0.02) |
| Ideology | 0.0398∗∗∗ | 0.00710∗∗ | -0.188∗∗∗ | -0.112∗∗∗ | -0.0237∗∗∗ |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.00) |
| Gender | 0.0102 | -0.0167∗∗ | -0.384∗∗∗ | -0.00641 | 0.0352∗∗∗ |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.01) |
| Income | 0.00566 | 0.00695 | 0.0621 | 0.365∗∗∗ | 0.0341∗ |
|  | (0.02) | (0.01) | (0.10) | (0.11) | (0.01) |
| Education | -0.0328∗∗∗ | -0.0200∗∗ | 0.0452 | 0.223∗∗∗ | 0.0298∗∗∗ |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.07) | (0.06) | (0.01) |
| Age | -0.00473 | -0.000689 | 0.157∗∗∗ | 0.412∗∗∗ | 0.0542∗∗∗ |
|  | (0.01) | (0.00) | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.01) |
| Military Veteran | 0.00681 | 0.00322 | -0.274∗∗ | 0.166 | 0.00706 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.01) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.01) |
| Authoritarianism | 0.0510∗∗ | 0.101∗∗∗ | 0.386∗∗∗ | 0.0173 | -0.0507∗∗ |
|  | (0.02) | (0.01) | (0.11) | (0.11) | (0.02) |
| Egalitarianism | -0.148∗∗∗ | 0.0300 | 2.936∗∗∗ | 1.619∗∗∗ | 0.203∗∗∗ |
|  | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.23) | (0.22) | (0.03) |
| Religiosity | 0.0359∗∗ | 0.0194∗ | 0.183∗ | 0.121 | -0.00448 |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.01) |
| Foreign Born | 0.0171 | -0.0266 | -0.0338 | 0.0868 | -0.0120 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.18) | (0.14) | (0.02) |
| Observations | 4831 | 4822 | 4673 | 4380 | 4799 |
| *R*2 | 0.491 | 0.078 | 0.338 | 0.199 | 0.513 |

Standard errors in parentheses

∗ *p <* 0*.*05, ∗∗ *p <* 0*.*01, ∗∗∗ *p <* 0*.*001

Table 6: Public Opinion on Foreign Policy (ANES 1986-2020)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
|  | Foreign Aid | Defense Spending | Isolationism | Support Military | Use of Force |
| Racial Resentment | -0.114∗∗∗ | 0.333∗∗∗ | 0.0720∗∗∗ | 0.430∗∗∗ | 0.172∗∗∗ |
|  | (0.02) | (0.01) | (0.00) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Interest in Politics | 0.0424∗ | 0.179∗∗∗ | -0.0702∗∗∗ | 0.278∗∗∗ | 0.0920∗∗ |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.01) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
| Ideology | -0.0449∗∗ | 0.204∗∗∗ | 0.00278 | 0.153∗∗∗ | 0.0472 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.01) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
| Partisanship | 0.00216 | 0.359∗∗∗ | -0.0195∗∗∗ | 0.189∗∗∗ | 0.0513∗ |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.01) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
| Gender | 0.0461 | 0.0700∗∗ | -0.00629 | 0.107∗∗ | -0.0713 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.01) | (0.04) | (0.04) |
| Income | -0.0407∗∗ | -0.000115 | -0.0296∗∗∗ | -0.00415 | 0.00727 |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.00) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Education | 0.0549∗∗∗ | -0.0830∗∗∗ | -0.0376∗∗∗ | -0.165∗∗∗ | -0.0602∗ |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.00) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
| Age | -0.0106 | 0.123∗∗∗ | -0.0189∗∗∗ | 0.131∗∗∗ | -0.00535 |
| (0.01) (0.01) (0.00) (0.01) (0.01) | | | | | |

Standard errors in parentheses

∗ *p <* 0*.*05, ∗∗ *p <* 0*.*01, ∗∗∗ *p <* 0*.*001