**Web Appendix A. Question Wording and Coding Details**

2016b YouGov Survey

Ascent of Man scale of dehumanization: see Figure 1. The evolutionary rating for blacks is subtracted from the evolutionary for whites.

Negative Racial Stereotyping: Where would you rate whites in general on these scales?

[Seven point scales provided: (1) “1” is labeled “Lazy” and “7” is labeled “Hardworking”; (2) “1” is labeled “Unintelligent” and “7” is labeled “Intelligent”]

Where would you rate blacks in general on these scales?

[Seven point scales provided: (1) “1” is labeled “Lazy” and “7” is labeled “Hardworking”; (2) “1” is labeled “Unintelligent” and “7” is labeled “Intelligent”]

Following previous research (e.g., Hutchings 2009), we construct a difference measure for both the ‘‘lazy’’ question and the ‘‘unintelligent’’ question by subtracting the score the respondent gave Blacks from the score for Whites. Then, we transform the resulting variable onto a 0 to 1 scale as follows: after taking the differential, the scale ranges from

-6 to +6 (0 is the neutral point). The number 6 is added to all points on the scale,

resulting in a scale that ranges from 0 to 12. All points on the scale are then divided

by 12. We then take the average of the resulting variable across the “lazy” and “unintelligent” questions. In the resulting scale, ‘‘0’’ is the lowest possible value, in which Blacks are given the most positive response possible to both questions and Whites are given the most negative possible response to both questions. ‘‘1’’ is the highest possible value of prejudice, where Blacks are given the most negative response possible to both questions while Whites are given the most positive response possible to both

questions. ‘‘0.5’’ is the neutral point, at which Whites and Blacks are rated equally

on average across the two questions.

Racial Resentment: “Please tell us how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements. (1) Irish, Italian, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors. (2) Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class. (3) Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve. (4) It’s really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they would be just as well off as whites.” [Response options: Strongly Agree; Agree; Neither Agree nor Disagree; Disagree; Strongly Disagree]

Responses to these four questions are averaged into a racial resentment scale, transformed onto a 0-1 scale.

Opposition to Interracial Dating: “Please tell us how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements. (5) I think it is all right for blacks and whites to date each other.” [This statement is labeled “(5)” because it was included with the four racial resentment statements presented immediately above.] [Response options: Strongly Agree; Agree; Neither Agree nor Disagree; Disagree; Strongly Disagree]

Racial Inborn Learning Differential: “Where would you rate whites in general on these scales?”

[Seven point scales provided: (3) “1” is labeled “Born without much ability to learn” and “7” is labeled “Born with a lot of ability to learn”]

“Where would you rate blacks in general on these scales?”

[Seven point scales provided: (3) “1” is labeled “Born without much ability to learn” and “7” is labeled “Born with a lot of ability to learn”] [This scale is labeled “(3)” because it was included with the three racial stereotype items presented above.]

Here again the variable is constructed by transforming the differential between the rating for whites and the rating for blacks onto a 0-1 scale.

Racial Crime Disparities: “Statistics show that African Americans are more often arrested and sent to prison than are whites. The people we talk to have different ideas about why this occurs.

What about you? Do you think this is because the police and justice system are biased against blacks, OR blacks are just more likely to commit more crimes?”

[Response options: (1) Police and justice system are biased against blacks; (2) Blacks are more likely to commit more crimes]

White Guilt: “When you learn about racism, how much guilt do you feel due to your association with the white race?” [Response options: (1) A great deal; (2) A lot; (3) A moderate amount; (4) A little; (5) None] “How guilty do you feel about the privileges and benefits you receive as a white American?” [Response options: (1) Extremely guilty; (2) Very guilty; (3) Moderately guilty; (4) A little guilty; (5) Not guilty at all] “How guilty do you feel about social inequality between white and black Americans?” [Response options: (1) Extremely guilty; (2) Very guilty; (3) Moderately guilty; (4) A little guilty; (5) Not guilty at all] Responses to these three questions are averaged into a scale.

White Identity: “People belong to many different groups and have different identities. Here we would like to ask you about one potential identity.

How important is being white to your identity?  Would you say that it is extremely important, very important, moderately important, a little important, or not at all important? [Response options: (1) Extremely important; (2) Very important; (3) Moderately important; (4) A little important; (5) Not at all important

Authoritarianism: “Although there are a number of qualities that people feel that children should have, every person thinks that some are more important than others. We are going to show you pairs of desirable qualities. Please choose which one you think is more important for a child to have: (1) Independence or respect for elders. (2) Curiosity or good manners. (3) Obedience or self-reliance; (4) Being considerate or well-behaved. [Responses to these four questions are averaged into a scale.]

Limited Government: What of the two statements comes closest to your opinion?

ONE, the less government, the better; OR TWO, there are more things that government should be doing?

1. The less government the better
2. There are more things government should be doing

Anti-elitism: Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with the following statements?

It doesn’t really matter who you vote for because the rich control both political parties.

Politics usually boils down to a struggle between the people and the powerful

The system is stacked against people like me.

1 Agree strongly

2 Agrees somewhat

3 Neither agree nor disagree

4 Disagree somewhat

5 Disagree strongly

The variable is constructed by averaging responses to these three statements and transforming the result onto a 0-1 interval.

Mistrust of Experts: Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with the following statements?

I’d rather put my trust in the wisdom of ordinary people than the opinions of experts and intellectuals.

Ordinary people are perfectly capable of deciding for themselves what’s true and what’s not.

1 Agree strongly

2 Agrees somewhat

3 Neither agree nor disagree

4 Disagree somewhat

5 Disagree strongly

The variable is constructed by averaging responses to these two statements and transforming the result onto a 0-1 interval.

Decrease Hispanic immigration

Do you think the number of immigrants from Mexico and Latino American who are permitted to come to the United States to live should be increased, decreased, or left the same as it is now?

1 Increased a lot

2 Increased a little

3 Left the same as it is now

4 Decreased a little

5 Decreased a lot

Partisanship, Ideology, Education, Unemployed, Income, Age, Male, South, Born-Again Christian: all provided as part of YouGov’s respondent profile

2016 Qualtrics Pilot Survey

This study was fielded on a nationally diverse convenience sample recruited by the firm Qualtrics. The results for non-Hispanic white respondents (N = 490) are analyzed here. Our data were collected March 11-18th, 2016 over the course of two waves. In wave 1, respondents were asked a number of questions about their attitudes and political preferences (not analyzed here). In wave 2, respondents were randomly asked one of three versions of the Ascent of Man scale:

1. **Evolved with Ascent of Man image:**

“People can vary in how human-like they seem. Using the image below, please indicate using the sliders how evolved you consider the average member of each group to be:”



1. **Evolved with no image and no reference to evolutionary scale including apes:**

“People can vary in how human-like they seem. Please indicate using the sliders how evolved you consider the average member of each group to be on a scale from 0 to 100, where 0 is least evolved and 100 is most evolved.

1. **Evolved with no image but with reference to evolutionary scale including apes:**

“People can vary in human-like they seem. Picture a scale where apes are at the lowest end and fully evolved humans are at the other. On a scale from 0 to 100, with 100 meaning fully evolved, and 0 meaning more ape-like, how evolved do you think each of the following groups are?”

The distributions of these three variants of the question followed similar patterns, and we therefore collapse across the three in our analyses.

Thermometer Scores: We'd like to get your feelings about some of the people who are in the news these days. We'll show the name of a person or group and we'd like you to rate that person or group using something we call the feeling thermometer. Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the person. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the person and you don't care too much for that person. You would rate the person at the 50 degree mark if you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the person.

[Barack Obama, Donald Trump, Marco Rubio, Ted Cruz]

Negative Racial Stereotyping: [Identical to 2016b YouGov Survey]

*Party ID*: This variable is the standard seven-point scale.

First respondents were asked: “Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?”

Respondents who answered “Republican” were then asked a follow-up question: “Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?”

Respondents who answered “Democrat,” meanwhile, were asked a similar follow-up question: “Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?”

The remaining respondents were asked: “Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party?” [Response options: Closer to the Republican Party, Closer to the Democratic Party, Neither]

The resulting seven-point variable was constructed, following standard practice, such that strong partisans were at the extreme values “1” and “7,” weak partisans took on the values “2” and “6,” leaners took on the values “3” and “5,” and pure independents were coded “4.” Finally, the variable was transformed onto a 0-1 scale, such that higher values reflected attachment to the Republican Party.

*Ideology*: “When it comes to politics, would you describe these groups, and yourself, as liberal, conservative, or neither liberal nor conservative?”

[Respondents were asked to rate “You” on a 1-7 scale, where the numbers were labeled: Very liberal, Somewhat liberal, Closer to liberal, Neither liberal nor conservative, Closer to conservatives, Somewhat conservative, Very conservative.] Higher values indicate self-identification as a conservative.

*Racial Resentment*: “Next you will be asked whether you agree or disagree with the following political statements.”

Irish, Italians, Jewish and other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors.

Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class. [reverse-coded]

Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve. [reverse-coded]

It’s really a matter of some people not trying hard enough: if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites.

[Response options for all four questions: Agree Strongly, Agree Somewhat, Neither Agree Nor Disagree, Disagree Somewhat, Disagree Strongly]

As described above, the variable was constructed following procedures outlined in Kinder and Sanders (1996) and Tesler and Sears (2010): (1) the four items were coded such that higher values indicated more resentful responses; (2) the average of the four items was calculated; (3) the resulting variable was transformed onto a 0-1 interval.

Violent Stereotype Question: A score of ‘1’ means that you think almost all of the people in that group tend to be "peaceful.”  A score of ‘7’ means that you think most people in the group are “violent.”  A score of ‘4’ means that you think that most people in the group are not closer to one end or the other, and of course, you may choose any number in between. Where would you rate the following groups in general on this scale? [blacks, whites]

The alternate battery of stereotypes presented in the Appendix includes this measure in addition to the “lazy” and “unintelligent” questions.

Opposition to Interracial Marriage: And how would you feel about a close relative or family member marrying a black person? [Approve, Neither Approve nor Disapprove, Disapprove]

Neighborhood Segregation: Which of these statements comes closest to your view? White people have a right to keep black people out of their neighborhoods if they want to; OR Black people have a right to live wherever they can afford to, just like anybody else.

Inborn Learning Differences: On the average blacks have worse jobs, income and housing than white people. Do you think these differences are:

Because most blacks have less in-born ability to learn?

[Yes, a lot; Yes, somewhat; Yes, a little bit; Yes, but not very much; No, not at all]

Discrimination: Because of discrimination?

[Yes, a lot; Yes, somewhat; Yes, a little bit; Yes, but not very much; No, not at all]

Female: Please indicate your gender.

[Male, Female]

Age: In what year were you born?

Education: Please indicate the highest level of education you have completed.

[No formal education; 1st, 2nd, 3rd, or 4th grade; 5th or 6th grade; 7th or 8th grade; 9th grade; 10th grade; 11th grade; 12th grade NO DIPLOMA; High School Graduate - High school diploma; Some college, no degree; Associate Degree; Bachelors Degree; Masters Degree; Professional or Doctorate Degree

Income: Please indicate your yearly household income. Less than $5,000; $5,000 to $7,000; $7,500 to $9,999; $10,000 to $12,499; $12,500 to $14,999; $15,000 to $19,999; $20,000 to $24,999; $25,000 to $29,999; $30,000 to $34,999; $35,000 to $39,999; $40,000 to $49,999; $50,000 to $59,999; $60,000 to $74,999; $75,000 to $84,999; $85,000 to $99,999; $100,000 to $124,999; $125,000 to $149,999; $150,000 to $174,999; $175,000 or more

South: Please indicate in which STATE you currently reside.

2016 GfK Survey

Ascent of Man scale of dehumanization: see Figure 1. The evolutionary rating for blacks is subtracted from the evolutionary for whites.

Dehumanizing characteristics measure: see Figure 1. An index is created out of responses to the three questions (weighted equally).

Negative Racial Stereotyping: “Please tell us how well each of the following terms describes black people.” Response options: seven point scale; 1-Not well at All; 7-Very Well. “Intelligent”

Partisanship: standard seven-point scale based on a two-part branching question. The first question is: Generally speaking do you think of yourself as a…” [Response options: Republican; Democrat; Independent; Another party, please specify; No preference]. Those who respond “Republican” to the first question are asked in a follow-up question: “Would you call yourself a…” [Response options: Strong Republican; Not very strong Republican]. Those who respond “Democrat” to the first question are asked in a follow-up question: “Would you call yourself a…” [Response options: Strong Democrat; Not very strong Democrat]. Those who answer the first question otherwise are asked in a follow-up question: “Do you think of yourself as closer to the…” [Response options: Republican Party; Democratic Party]

Ideology: “In general, do you think of yourself as…” [Response options: Extremely liberal; Liberal; Slightly liberal; Moderate, middle of the road; Slightly conservative; Conservative; Extremely conservative]

Education, Income, Age, Female, South: all provided as part of GfK’s respondent profile

2016a YouGov Survey

Ascent of Man scale of dehumanization: see Figure 1. The evolutionary rating for blacks is subtracted from the evolutionary for whites.

Negative Racial Stereotyping: “For each of the following groups, please rate the group on a 1-7 scale, from hardworking to lazy.” [Response options: 1-Hardworking; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7-Lazy] “Whites” “Blacks”

Racial Resentment: “Please tell us how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements. (1) Irish, Italian, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors. (2) Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class. (3) Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve. (4) It’s really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they would be just as well off as whites.” [Response options: Strongly Agree; Agree; Neither Agree nor Disagree; Disagree; Strongly Disagree] Responses to these four questions are averaged into a racial resentment scale.

Ideology: “Where would you put yourself on this scale?” [Response options: Extremely liberal; Liberal; Slightly liberal; Moderate, middle of the road; Slightly conservative; Conservative; Extremely conservative]

Partisanship, Education, Unemployed, Income, Age, Male, South, Christian, and Married: all provided as part of YouGov’s respondent profile

Deny Sympathy: “Michael is a young black man who lives in a midwestern city. One day Michael is crossing the street and jaywalks in front of cars. Some local police officers see Michael jaywalk and stop and question him. Michael argues that he was just jaywalking and is otherwise a law-abiding citizen. The police officers feel that Michael is being uncooperative and so they give him a pat down to see if he is carrying any concealed weapons. Michael is very upset by this treatment. Do you feel sympathy for Michael?” [Response options: Yes; No] If Yes: How much sympathy do you feel for Michael? [Response options: A great deal of sympathy; A lot of sympathy; Some sympathy; A little sympathy] Responses to these two questions are combined onto a five-point scale, with No sympathy at the high end and A great deal of sympathy at the low end.

**Web Appendix B. Distribution of White Individuals’ Responses on the Ascent of Man Questions**

(Source: 2016 GfK Survey)

Figure B1. Respondent Ratings of Whites on the Ascent of Man Scale

****

Figure B2. Respondent Ratings of Blacks on the Ascent of Man Scale

****

**Web Appendix C. Evolutionary Ratings on Three Different Versions of the Ascent of Man Scale**

The findings presented in the main text demonstrate that white respondents, on average, rate their own group as more human than they rate blacks. Here we examine the possibility that this finding is a function of the pictures that accompany the Ascent of Man scale. To do so, we created two additional variants of the Ascent of Man scale, neither of which was accompanied by pictures. In the 2016 Qualtrics Pilot Study, white respondents (N = 490) were randomly assigned to one of the three versions of the Ascent of Man scale: the original (see Web Appendix 1). The results show that whites rate their own group as more human than they rate blacks across all three experimental conditions. Indeed, the difference between the evolutionary ratings that white respondents give whites and blacks is actually greater in the experimental conditions in which the Ascent of Man scale does not include pictures. The same pattern of findings holds true if the results are examined in terms of percentages. Among white respondents randomly assigned to the original Ascent of Man scale, 33 percent rated their own group as more human than they rated blacks. Among white respondents randomly assigned to the “No Picture” version of the scale, 44 percent rated their own group as more human than they rated blacks. Finally, among white respondents randomly assigned to the “No Picture; Ape Terminology Included” version of the scale, 41 percent rated their own group as more human than they rated blacks. Based on these findings, we conclude that the propensity of whites to rate their own group as more human than blacks is not attributable to the pictures that accompany the Ascent of Man Scale.

Figure C1. White Respondents’ Evolutionary Ratings of Whites and Blacks,

Across Three Different Versions of the Ascent of Man Scale

(Source: 2016 Qualtrics Survey)



Racial stereotype differentials are constructed by subtracting the respondent’s rating for whites from the respondent’s rating for blacks. This graph plots the mean and 95% confidence intervals of the resulting differential for all black respondents. Since respondents rate each racial group on a 0-100 scale, the potential range of the differential scale is from -100 to +100, but the y-axis is truncated for presentational purposes. The question wording for the “Original” measure is presented in Figure 1 of the main text; the question wording for the “No Picture” and the “No Picture & Ape” measures are presented in Web Appendix 1.

**Web Appendix D. Illustrative responses to open-ended probes**

Source: 2016 Mechanical Turk Pilot Study

The probe, which immediately followed the Ascent of Man questions, was as follows: “What kinds of things came to mind as you were answering the previous question? What made you respond the way you did? Please be as detailed as possible.”

All excerpts are replicated exactly, without copy-editing.

Respondents who rated blacks and whites equally on the Ascent of Man scale

All of the groups indicated were human so of course all of them are 100% human

My first thought, we're all humans, we are all equally evolved. We have all descended from the original humans who evolved in Africa. We can all interbreed, we are all from the same species.

it is obviously insane to compare an entire race with monkeys

To say that any group is less evolved or more like apes is a serious and unfounded insult.

Respondents who rated blacks as less evolved than whites on the Ascent of Man scale

Blacks are just less evolved, it's just nature.

Monkeys

The overall way that people carry and conduct themselves. Some acting on a spectrum from almost animalistic to others acting quite civilized.

Blacks are lazy and act like animals

blacks- faces resemble closer to an ape

I thought about the theory of evolution and gorillas

black people are monkeys

I'm not a racist person but it really does seem that African Americans have some traits of earlier humans that never seemed to leave.

Just how well an architype for each group fit my perception of being human

i was responding to how human like i feel people of various races were

i consider blacks to be closer to the animal kingdom.

PEOPLE WHO ACT LIKE ANIMALS.

I tried to think of people I know who belong to the aforementioned races and think of how "monkey-like" they appear

I do know some people look at black peoples as more money like but I dont see that for the most part.

I thought about the idea that some people compare black people to monkeys.

The ways that african-americans act in our society is somewhat primitive and "wild" to me at times.

**Web Appendix E. Responses to Open-Ended Probes That Denied the Evolutionary Premise of the Ascent of Man Question**

The below responses are examples of cases in which respondents denied a key premise of the Ascent of Man question: that humans were created through an evolutionary process. All respondents who denied this premise rated blacks and whites equally on the evolutionary scale.

Responses

EVOLUTION IS A CROCK. GOD MADE US ALL IN HIS IMAGE. WE DID NOT EVOLVE FROM MONKEYS. EVERY PERSON, REGARDLESS OF RACE, IS A HUMAN BEING.

I belive we all was created from God. From Adam in Eve. Not at all by apes.

I don't believe in evolution. I believe we are all the same though.

I don't believe in evolution at all. So it was a tricky worded question to me. To answer the previous question accurately all of those people are all human and none of them are monkeys or came from monkeys or anything else. They were born human....all of them. Born not evolved!

I do not believe in evolution. I believe we were all created by God as men/women.

I thought about how the images above the scale were similar to Darwin's theory of evolution. I do not believe in this theory, but instead believe in creation by God. God created all humans equally and therefore no one race is better than another.

I support creation and not evolution

**Web Appendix F. Dehumanizing Attitudes toward Blacks are Independent from Standard Political Variables.**

Table F1a. The Correlation Between the Ascent of Man and Other Measures of White Racial Attitudes

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Qualtrics 2016 | GfK 2016 | YouGov 2016a | YouGov 2016b |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Dehumanizing Characteristics | 0.33\* | 0.38\* | 0.50\* | 0.33\* |
| Racial Resentment | 0.12 | 0.25\* | 0.21\* | 0.24\* |
| Stereotype Index | 0.11 |  |  | 0.53\* |
| Stereotype Whites More Intelligent | 0.13\* |  |  | 0.45\* |
| Stereotype Whites More Hardworking | 0.07 |  | 0.44\* | 0.51\* |
| Old fashioned racism opposition to interracial marriage | 0.14 |  |  | 0.22\* |
| Old fashioned racism Support for neighborhood segregation | 0.13\* |  |  |  |
| Whites Have More Inborn Ability to Learn |  |  |  | 0.34\* |
| Black Feeling Thermometer |  |  |  | -0.36\* |

Source: Qualtrics 2016, GfK 2016, YouGov 2016a, YouGov 2016b

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

\* p<=0.05

Table F1b. The Correlation Between Dehumanizing Characteristics and Other Measures of White Racial Attitudes

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Qualtrics 2016 | GfK 2016 | YouGov 2016a | YouGov 2016b |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Ascent of Man | 0.33\* | 0.38\* | 0.50\* | 0.33\* |
| Racial Resentment | 0.27\* | 0.39\* | 0.30\* | 0.19\* |
| Stereotype Index | 0.17\* |  |  | 0.35\* |
| Stereotype Whites More Intelligent | 0.16\* |  |  | 0.34\* |
| Stereotype Whites More Hardworking | 0.15\* |  | 0.37\* | 0.31\* |
| Old fashioned racism opposition to interracial marriage | 0.24\* |  |  | 0.27\* |
| Old fashioned racism Support for neighborhood segregation | 0.28\* |  |  |  |
| Whites Have More Inborn Ability to Learn |  |  |  | 0.27\* |
| Black Feeling Thermometer |  |  |  | -0.29\* |

Source: Qualtrics 2016, GfK 2016, YouGov 2016a, YouGov 2016b

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

\* p<=0.05

Table F2. The Correlation Between Dehumanizing Attitudes and Standard Political Predispositions and Demographic Characteristics

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Party ID (Rep.) | Ideo.(Cons.) | Educ. | Income | Age | Female | South |
| Ascent of Man | 0.13\* | 0.14\* | 0.00 | 0.05 | -0.04 | -0.06 | 0.03 |
| Dehumanizing Characteristics | 0.07 | 0.02 | 0.04 | -0.00 | -0.16\* | -0.16\* | 0.05 |

Source: Qualtrics 2016, GfK 2016, YouGov 2016a, YouGov 2016b

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

\* p<=0.05

Web Appendix G. Distribution of Responses to Individual Dehumanizing Characteristics Questions

(Source: 2016 GfK Survey)

Figure G1. Barbaric Figure G2. Savage Figure G3. Lacking self-restraint, like animals



**Web Appendix H. Alternative Specifications of Models presented in Table 1**

Table H1. Replication of Table 1 Controlling for Racial Resentment

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| Dehumanizing Attitudes (A. of Man) | -0.77\*\*\* | -- | -0.22 | -- |
|  | (0.15) | -- | (0.14) | -- |
| Dehumanizing Attitudes (Characteristics) | -- | -0.13\* | -- | -0.05\* |
|  | -- | (0.08) | -- | (0.03) |
| Racial Resentment | -0.27\*\*\* | -0.47\*\*\* | -0.35\*\*\* | -0.35\*\*\* |
|  | (0.07) | (0.10) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
| Party ID (Rep.) | -0.28\*\*\* | -0.18\* | -0.45\*\*\* | -0.45\*\*\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.09) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
| Ideology (Cons.) | -0.20\*\* | -0.24\*\*\* | -0.21\*\*\* | -0.21\*\*\* |
|  | (0.07) | (0.10) | (0.04) | (0.04) |
| Female | -0.03 | -0.03 | 0.01 | 0.02 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.04) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Age | 0.00 | -0.00 | 0.07\*\* | 0.06\* |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
| Income | 0.04 | 0.08 | 0.06\* | 0.06\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.10) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
| Education | -0.07 | -0.13 | 0.04\* | 0.04\* |
|  | (0.14) | (0.21) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| South | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.04\*\* | -0.04\*\*\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.05) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Constant | 1.30\*\*\* | 1.00\*\*\* | 1.06\*\*\* | 0.95\*\*\* |
|  | (0.15) | (0.17) | (0.07) | (0.04) |
| Observations | 431 | 222 | 1,815 | 1,861 |
| R-squared | 0.34 | 0.36 | 0.54 | 0.54 |
|  |  |  |  |  |

\*\*\* p < 0.001; \*\* p < 0.01; \* p < 0.05; cell entries are ordinary least squares regression coefficients (standard errors in parentheses). All variables are transformed onto a 0 to 1 scale. Higher values of the dependent variable indicate greater warmth toward the Republican primary candidate indicated by the column heading. The sample size is smaller in the models with the Dehumanizing Characteristics index because only half of the respondents were randomly assigned to answer these questions. Source: 2016 Qualtrics Survey

Table H2. Replication of Table 1 Controlling for Alternative Measure of Black Stereotypes Including the “Violent” Stereotype

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) |
| Dehumanizing Attitudes (A. of Man) | -0.78\*\*\* | -- |
|  | (0.17) | -- |
| Dehumanizing Attitudes (Characteristics) | -- | -0.20\*\* |
|  | -- | (0.08) |
| Neg. Racial Stereotyping | -0.21 | -0.47\* |
|  | (0.17) | (0.24) |
| Party ID (Rep.) | -0.31\*\*\* | -0.24\*\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.09) |
| Ideology (Cons.) | -0.28\*\* | -0.35\*\*\* |
|  | (0.07) | (0.10) |
| Female | -0.03 | -0.02 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Age | 0.00 | 0.00 |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| Income | 0.03 | 0.06 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.10) |
| Education | 0.03 | -0.09 |
|  | (0.14) | (0.21) |
| South | -0.02 | -0.03 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Constant | 1.27\*\*\* | 0.98\*\*\* |
|  | (0.15) | (0.21) |
| Observations | 427 | 222 |
| R-squared | 0.31 | 0.32 |

\*\*\* p < 0.001; \*\* p < 0.01; \* p < 0.05; cell entries are ordinary least squares regression coefficients (standard errors in parentheses). All variables are transformed onto a 0 to 1 scale. Higher values of the dependent variable indicate greater warmth toward the Republican primary candidate indicated by the column heading. The sample size is smaller in the models with the Dehumanizing Characteristics index because only half of the respondents were randomly assigned to answer these questions. Source: 2016 Qualtrics Survey

Table H3. Replication of Table 1 Controlling for Two Measures of Old-Fashioned Racism (6c)

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| Dehumanizing Attitudes (A. of Man) | -0.82\*\*\* | -- | -0.86\*\*\* | -- |
|  | (0.16) | -- | (0.16) | -- |
| Dehumanizing Attitudes (Characteristics) | -- | -0.22\*\* | -- | -0.24\*\* |
|  | -- | (0.08) | -- | (0.08) |
| Opposition to Racial Integration | -- | -- | 0.04 | -0.02 |
|  | -- | -- | (0.07) | (0.09) |
| Opposition to Interracial Marriage | -0.08\* | -0.15\* | -- | -- |
|  | (0.05) | (0.07) | -- | -- |
| Party ID (Rep.) | -0.32\*\*\* | -0.25\*\* | -0.33\*\*\* | -0.28\*\*\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.09) | (0.06) | (0.09) |
| Ideology (Cons.) | -0.26\*\*\* | -0.32\*\*\* | -0.28\*\*\* | -0.34\*\*\* |
|  | (0.07) | (0.10) | (0.04) | (0.10) |
| Female | -0.02 | -0.01 | 0.03 | -0.02 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Age | -0.00 | -0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| Income | 0.03 | 0.06 | 0.04 | 0.07 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.10) | (0.07) | (0.10) |
| Education | 0.00 | 0.05 | 0.03 | 0.07 |
|  | (0.14) | (0.22) | (0.14) | (0.22) |
| South | -0.03 | -0.04 | -0.03 | -0.04 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Constant | 1.21\*\*\* | 0.78\*\*\* | 1.20\*\*\* | 0.77\*\*\* |
|  | (0.14) | (0.17) | (0.14) | (0.17) |
| Observations | 431 | 222 | 428 | 222 |
| R-squared | 0.32 | 0.32 | 0.32 | 0.30 |

\*\*\* p < 0.001; \*\* p < 0.01; \* p < 0.05; cell entries are ordinary least squares regression coefficients (standard errors in parentheses). All variables are transformed onto a 0 to 1 scale. Higher values of the dependent variable indicate greater warmth toward the Republican primary candidate indicated by the column heading. The sample size is smaller in the models with the Dehumanizing Characteristics index because only half of the respondents were randomly assigned to answer these questions. Source: 2016 Qualtrics Survey

Table H4. Replication of Table 1 Controlling for Perceived Racial Inborn Learning Differences

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) |
| Dehumanizing Attitudes (A. of Man) | -0.91\*\*\* | -- |
|  | (0.16) | -- |
| Dehumanizing Attitudes (Characteristics) | -- | -0.24\*\* |
|  | -- | (0.08) |
| Racial Inborn Learning Diff | 0.09 | 0.01\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.10) |
| Party ID (Rep.) | -0.33\*\*\* | -0.27\*\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.09) |
| Ideology (Cons.) | -0.26\*\*\* | -0.34\*\*\* |
|  | (0.07) | (0.10) |
| Female | -0.03 | -0.02 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Age | 0.00 | 0.00 |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| Income | 0.03 | 0.07 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.10) |
| Education | 0.04 | 0.06 |
|  | (0.14) | (0.22) |
| South | -0.03 | -0.04 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Constant | 1.21\*\*\* | 0.98\*\*\* |
|  | (0.14) | (0.21) |
| Observations | 431 | 222 |
| R-squared | 0.32 | 0.32 |

\*\*\* p < 0.001; \*\* p < 0.01; \* p < 0.05; cell entries are ordinary least squares regression coefficients (standard errors in parentheses). All variables are transformed onto a 0 to 1 scale. Higher values of the dependent variable indicate greater warmth toward the Republican primary candidate indicated by the column heading. The sample size is smaller in the models with the Dehumanizing Characteristics index because only half of the respondents were randomly assigned to answer these questions. Source: 2016 Qualtrics Survey

Table H5. Replication of Table 1 Controlling for Perceived Discrimination Against Blacks

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) |
| Dehumanizing Attitudes (A. of Man) | -0.81\*\*\* | -- |
|  | (0.15) | -- |
| Dehumanizing Attitudes (Characteristics) | -- | -0.24\*\* |
|  | -- | (0.08) |
| Perceived Disc. Against Blacks | 0.11\* | 0.23\*\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.07) |
| Party ID (Rep.) | -0.30\*\*\* | -0.22\*\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.09) |
| Ideology (Cons.) | -0.25\*\*\* | -0.31\*\* |
|  | (0.07) | (0.10) |
| Female | -0.03 | -0.03 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Age | 0.00 | 0.00 |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| Income | 0.03 | 0.09 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.10) |
| Education | 0.02 | 0.00 |
|  | (0.14) | (0.22) |
| South | -0.03 | -0.02 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Constant | 1.12\*\*\* | 0.66\*\*\* |
|  | (0.15) | (0.17) |
| Observations | 430 | 222 |
| R-squared | 0.32 | 0.34 |

\*\*\* p < 0.001; \*\* p < 0.01; \* p < 0.05; cell entries are ordinary least squares regression coefficients (standard errors in parentheses). All variables are transformed onto a 0 to 1 scale. Higher values of the dependent variable indicate greater warmth toward the Republican primary candidate indicated by the column heading. The sample size is smaller in the models with the Dehumanizing Characteristics index because only half of the respondents were randomly assigned to answer these questions. Source: 2016 Qualtrics Survey

**Web Appendix I. Alternative Specifications of Models Presented in Table 2.**

Table I1. Replication of Models 1 and 2 of Table 2 Controlling for Racial Resentment

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1)Trump | (2)Trump |
| Dehumanizing Attitudes (A. of Man) | 0.57\*\*\* | -- |
|  | (0.15) | -- |
| Dehumanizing Attitudes (Characteristics) | -- | 0.21\*\* |
|  | -- | (0.08) |
| Racial Resentment | 0.21\*\*\* | 0.32\*\*\* |
|  | (0.07) | (0.10) |
| Party ID (Rep.) | 0.18\*\* | 0.28\*\*\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.08) |
| Ideology (Cons.) | 0.10 | -0.08 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.10) |
| Female | 0.08\*\* | 0.08\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Age | 0.00 | 0.00 |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| Income | 0.16\*\* | 0.20\* |
|  | (0.07) | (0.09) |
| Education | 0.00 | 0.00 |
|  | (0.14) | (0.21) |
| South | 0.07\* | 0.07 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Constant | -0.50\*\*\* | -0.24 |
|  | (0.14) | (0.17) |
| Observations | 431 | 222 |
| R-squared | 0.23 | 0.28 |

\*\*\* p < 0.001; \*\* p < 0.01; \* p < 0.05; cell entries are ordinary least squares regression coefficients (standard errors in parentheses). All variables are transformed onto a 0 to 1 scale. Models 1 and 2 analyze data from the 2016 GfK Survey. Higher values of the dependent variable indicate greater warmth toward Trump on the 101-point feeling thermometer.

Table I2. Replication of Models 1 and 2 of Table 2 Controlling for Negative Racial Stereotyping

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1)Trump | (2)Trump |
| Dehumanizing Attitudes (A. of Man) | 0.59\*\*\* | -- |
|  | (0.17) | -- |
| Dehumanizing Attitudes (Characteristics) | -- | 0.26\*\*\* |
|  | -- | (0.08) |
| Neg. Racial Stereotyping | 0.14 | 0.32 |
|  | (0.17) | (0.23) |
| Party ID (Rep.) | 0.21\*\*\* | 0.32\*\*\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.09) |
| Ideology (Cons.) | 0.15\* | 0.00 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.10) |
| Female | 0.08\*\* | 0.07 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Age | 0.00\* | 0.00 |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| Income | 0.16\*\* | 0.22\* |
|  | (0.07) | (0.10) |
| Education | -0.07 | -0.15 |
|  | (0.14) | (0.21) |
| South | 0.08\* | 0.08 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Constant | -0.50\*\*\* | -0.23 |
|  | (0.14) | (0.20) |
| Observations | 431 | 221 |
| R-squared | 0.23 | 0.25 |

\*\*\* p < 0.001; \*\* p < 0.01; \* p < 0.05; cell entries are ordinary least squares regression coefficients (standard errors in parentheses). All variables are transformed onto a 0 to 1 scale. Models 1 and 2 analyze data from the 2016 GfK Survey. Higher values of the dependent variable indicate greater warmth toward Trump on the 101-point feeling thermometer.

Table I3. Replication of Models 1 and 2 of Table 2 Controlling for Measures of Old-Fashioned Racism

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| Dehumanizing Attitudes (A. of Man) | 0.64\*\*\* | -- | 0.63\*\*\* | -- |
|  | (0.16) | -- | (0.16) | -- |
| Dehumanizing Attitudes (Characteristics) | -- | 0.26\*\*\* | -- | 0.28\*\*\* |
|  | -- | (0.07) | -- | (0.08) |
| Opposition to Racial Integration | -- | -- | -0.01 | 0.01 |
|  | -- | -- | (0.07) | (0.09) |
| Opposition to Interracial Marriage | -0.00 | -0.15\* | -- | -- |
|  | (0.05) | (0.07) | -- | -- |
| Party ID (Rep.) | 0.22\*\*\* | 0.32\*\*\* | 0.22\*\*\* | 0.34\*\*\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.08) | (0.06) | (0.09) |
| Ideology (Cons.) | 0.15\* | -0.03 | 0.15\* | -0.00 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.10) | (0.07) | (0.10) |
| Female | 0.08\*\* | 0.06 | 0.08\*\* | 0.07 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Age | 0.00\* | 0.00 | 0.00\* | 0.00 |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| Income | 0.17\*\* | 0.22\*\* | 0.17\*\* | 0.21\* |
|  | (0.07) | (0.09) | (0.07) | (0.10) |
| Education | -0.07 | -0.12 | -0.08 | -0.14 |
|  | (0.14) | (0.21) | (0.14) | (0.21) |
| South | 0.07\* | 0.08\* | 0.07\* | 0.08 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Constant | -0.43\*\* | -0.10 | -0.41\*\* | -0.08 |
|  | (0.14) | (0.16) | (0.15) | (0.16) |
| Observations | 431 | 222 | 428 | 222 |
| R-squared | 0.21 | 0.26 | 0.21 | 0.25 |

\*\*\* p < 0.001; \*\* p < 0.01; \* p < 0.05; cell entries are ordinary least squares regression coefficients (standard errors in parentheses). All variables are transformed onto a 0 to 1 scale. Models 1 and 2 analyze data from the 2016 GfK Survey. Higher values of the dependent variable indicate greater warmth toward Trump on the 101-point feeling thermometer.

Table I4. Replication of Models 1 and 2 of Table 2 Controlling for Perceptions of Racial Differences in Inborn Ability to Learn

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) |
| Dehumanizing Attitudes (A. of Man) | 0.67\*\*\* | -- |
|  | (0.16) | -- |
| Dehumanizing Attitudes (Characteristics) | -- | 0.27\*\*\* |
|  | -- | (0.08) |
| Racial Inborn Learning Diff | -0.06 | 0.05 |
|  | (0.06) | (0.10) |
| Party ID (Rep.) | 0.22\*\*\* | 0.34\*\*\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.09) |
| Ideology (Cons.) | 0.15\* | 0.00 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.10) |
| Female | 0.08\*\* | 0.07 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Age | 0.00\* | 0.00 |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| Income | 0.17\*\* | 0.21\* |
|  | (0.07) | (0.10) |
| Education | -0.08 | -0.15 |
|  | (0.14) | (0.21) |
| South | 0.08\* | 0.08 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Constant | -0.43\*\* | -0.08 |
|  | (0.14) | (0.16) |
| Observations | 431 | 222 |
| R-squared | 0.21 | 0.25 |

\*\*\* p < 0.001; \*\* p < 0.01; \* p < 0.05; cell entries are ordinary least squares regression coefficients (standard errors in parentheses). All variables are transformed onto a 0 to 1 scale. Models 1 and 2 analyze data from the 2016 GfK Survey. Higher values of the dependent variable indicate greater warmth toward Trump on the 101-point feeling thermometer.

Table I5. Replication of Models 1 and 2 of Table 2 Controlling for Perceived Discrimination Against Blacks

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) |
| Dehumanizing Attitudes (A. of Man) | 0.57\*\*\* | -- |
|  | (0.15) | -- |
| Dehumanizing Attitudes (Characteristics) | -- | 0.25\*\*\* |
|  | -- | (0.07) |
| Perceived Disc. Against Blacks | -0.16\*\*\* | -0.30\*\*\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.07) |
| Party ID (Rep.) | 0.19\*\*\* | 0.27\*\*\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.08) |
| Ideology (Cons.) | 0.11\* | -0.06 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.10) |
| Female | 0.08\*\* | 0.08\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Age | 0.00\* | 0.00 |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| Income | 0.16\*\* | 0.19\* |
|  | (0.07) | (0.09) |
| Education | -0.06 | -0.03 |
|  | (0.14) | (0.20) |
| South | 0.07\* | 0.05 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Constant | -0.30\* | 0.05 |
|  | (0.15) | (0.16) |
| Observations | 430 | 221 |
| R-squared | 0.23 | 0.31 |

\*\*\* p < 0.001; \*\* p < 0.01; \* p < 0.05; cell entries are ordinary least squares regression coefficients (standard errors in parentheses). All variables are transformed onto a 0 to 1 scale. Models 1 and 2 analyze data from the 2016 GfK Survey. Higher values of the dependent variable indicate greater warmth toward Trump on the 101-point feeling thermometer.

**Web Appendix J. Alternative Specifications of Table 3.**

Table J1. Replication of Table 3, Models 1 and 2 Controlling for Racial Resentment

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) |
| Dehumanizing Attitudes (A. of Man) | 0.52\*\*\* | -- |
|  | (0.13) | -- |
| Dehumanizing Attitudes (Characteristics) | -- | 0.17\*\*\* |
|  | -- | (0.03) |
| Racial Resentment | 0.39\*\*\* | 0.37\*\*\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) |
| Party ID (Rep.) | 0.30\*\*\* | 0.32\*\*\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) |
| Ideology (Cons.) | 0.12\*\* | 0.10\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.04) |
| Female | -0.04\*\* | -0.03\* |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Age | 0.14\*\*\* | 0.14\*\*\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) |
| Income | -0.05 | -0.04 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) |
| Education | -0.08\*\* | -0.07\*\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.02) |
| South | 0.03\* | 0.02\* |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Constant | -0.31\*\*\* | 0.08\* |
|  | (0.07) | (0.03) |
| Observations | 1,816 | 1,855 |
| R-squared | 0.40 | 0.37 |

\*\*\* p < 0.001; \*\* p < 0.01; \* p < 0.05; cell entries are logistic regression coefficients (standard errors in parentheses). All variables are transformed onto a 0 to 1 scale. Analyses weighted for national representativeness. Higher values of the dependent variable indicate greater warmth toward Trump on the 101-point feeling thermometer. Source: 2016b YouGov Survey.

Table J2. Replication of Table 3, Model 3 Controlling for Sympathy for Blacks or Racial Resentment

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) |
| Dehumanizing Attitudes (A. of Man) | 0.58\*\*\* | 0.70\*\*\* |
|  | (0.19) | (0.19) |
| Dehumanizing Attitudes (Characteristics) | -- | -- |
|  | -- | -- |
| Sympathy for Blacks | -- | -0.15\*\* |
|  | -- | (0.06) |
| Racial Resentment | 0.37\*\*\* | -- |
|  | (0.08) | -- |
| Party ID (Rep.) | 0.52\*\*\* | 0.55\*\*\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.05) |
| Ideology (Cons.) | 0.00 | 0.08 |
|  | (0.08) | (0.08) |
| Female | -0.01 | -0.00 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) |
| Age | 0.03 | 0.05 |
|  | (0.06) | (0.06) |
| Income | -0.13\* | -0.13\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.07) |
| Education | 0.05 | -0.02 |
|  | (0.05) | (0.05) |
| South | 0.02 | 0.02 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) |
| Constant | -0.38\*\*\* | -0.21 |
|  | (0.11) | (0.15) |
| Observations | 566 | 566 |
| R-squared | 0.45 | 0.42 |

\*\*\* p < 0.001; \*\* p < 0.01; \* p < 0.05; cell entries are logistic regression coefficients (standard errors in parentheses). All variables are transformed onto a 0 to 1 scale. Analyses weighted for national representativeness. Higher values of the dependent variable indicate greater warmth toward Trump on the 101-point feeling thermometer. Source: 2016b YouGov Survey.

Table J3. Replication of Table 3, Model 4 Excluding Control Variables

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | (1) |
| Dehumanizing Attitudes (A. of Man) | 0.90\*\*\* |
|  | (0.19) |
| Constant | 0.03 |
|  | (0.08) |
| Observations | 561 |
| R-squared | 0.07 |

\*\*\* p < 0.001; \*\* p < 0.01; \* p < 0.05; cell entries are logistic regression coefficients (standard errors in parentheses). All variables are transformed onto a 0 to 1 scale. Analyses weighted for national representativeness. Higher values of the dependent variable indicate greater warmth toward Trump on the 101-point feeling thermometer. Source: 2016b YouGov Survey.

Table J4. Replication of Table 3, Model 4 with Alternative Racial Attitude Controls

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| Dehumanizing Attitudes (A. of Man) | 0.50\*\*\* | 0.59\*\*\* | 0.55\*\* | 0.71\*\*\* |
|  | (0.18) | (0.18) | (0.19) | (0.20) |
| Racial Resentment | 0.26\*\*\* | -- | -- | -- |
|  | (0.07) | -- | -- | -- |
| Racial Crime Disparities | -- | 0.05 | -- | -- |
|  | -- | (0.04) | -- | -- |
| Opposition to Interracial Marriage | -- | -- | 0.13\* | -- |
|  | -- | -- | (0.06) | -- |
| Racial Inborn Learning Diff | -- | -- | -- | -0.24 |
|  | -- | -- | -- | (0.18) |
| Party ID (Rep.) | 0.42\*\*\* | 0.43\*\*\* | 0.45\*\*\* | 0.47\*\*\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) |
| Ideology (Cons.) | 0.15\*\* | 0.21\*\* | 0.20\*\* | 0.21\*\* |
|  | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) |
| Female | -0.04 | -0.04 | -0.04 | -0.04 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
| Age | -0.13\* | -0.11\* | -0.12\* | -0.09 |
|  | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) |
| Income | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.02 | -0.04 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) |
| Education | 0.04 | 0.01 | 0.01 | -0.01 |
|  | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) |
| South | 0.06\* | 0.05 | 0.05 | 0.05 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
| Constant | -0.16 | -0.12 | -0.10 | -0.04 |
|  | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.11) | (0.11) |
| Observations | 536 | 534 | 536 | 527 |
| R-squared | 0.40 | 0.38 | 0.38 | 0.38 |

\*\*\* p < 0.001; \*\* p < 0.01; \* p < 0.05; cell entries are logistic regression coefficients (standard errors in parentheses). All variables are transformed onto a 0 to 1 scale. Analyses weighted for national representativeness. Higher values of the dependent variable indicate greater warmth toward Trump on the 101-point feeling thermometer. Source: 2016b YouGov Survey.

Table J5. Replication of Table 3, Model 4 Controlling for Measures of White Ingroup Attitudes

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) |
| Dehumanizing Attitudes (A. of Man) | 0.52\*\*\* | 0.63\*\*\* |
|  | (0.18) | (0.17) |
| White Identity | 0.19\*\* | -- |
|  | (0.07) | -- |
| White Guilt | -- | -0.15\*\* |
|  | -- | (0.06) |
| Party ID (Rep.) | 0.45\*\*\* | 0.45\*\*\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.06) |
| Ideology (Cons.) | 0.20\*\* | 0.20 |
|  | (0.08) | (0.08) |
| Female | -0.03 | -0.04 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) |
| Age | -0.11\* | -0.12\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.06) |
| Income | -0.06 | -0.03 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) |
| Education | 0.01 | 0.01 |
|  | (0.05) | (0.05) |
| South | 0.04 | 0.05 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) |
| Constant | -0.16 | -0.09 |
|  | (0.10) | (0.10) |
| Observations | 537 | 537 |
| R-squared | 0.38 | 0.37 |

\*\*\* p < 0.001; \*\* p < 0.01; \* p < 0.05; cell entries are logistic regression coefficients (standard errors in parentheses). All variables are transformed onto a 0 to 1 scale. Analyses weighted for national representativeness. Higher values of the dependent variable indicate greater warmth toward Trump on the 101-point feeling thermometer. Source: 2016b YouGov Survey.

**Web Appendix K. Alternative Specifications of Table 4**

Table K1. Replication of Table 4, Model 1 Controlling for Different Racial Attitudes

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| Dehumanizing Attitudes (A. of Man) | 5.65\*\* | 6.25\*\* | 5.86\*\* | 7.02\*\*\* |
|  | (2.23) | (2.25) | (2.25) | (2.18) |
| Racial Resentment | 2.76\* | -- | -- | -- |
|  | (1.21) | -- | -- | -- |
| Racial Crime Disparities | -- | 0.66 | -- | -- |
|  | -- | (0.45) | -- | -- |
| Opposition to Interracial Dating | -- | -- | 1.09 | -- |
|  | -- | -- | (0.82) | -- |
| Racial Inborn Learning Diff | -- | -- | -- | -3.53 |
|  | -- | -- | -- | (2.59) |
| Party ID (Rep.) | 5.42\*\*\* | 5.42\*\*\* | 5.66\*\*\* | 5.88\*\*\* |
|  | (0.68) | (0.69) | (0.70) | (0.73) |
| Ideology (Cons.) | 2.44\* | 2.58\*\* | 2.35\* | 2.37\* |
|  | (1.12) | (1.07) | (1.08) | (1.09) |
| Female | -0.84\* | -0.84\* | -0.88\* | -0.81\* |
|  | (0.40) | (0.40) | (0.40) | (0.41) |
| Age | -1.43 | -1.11 | -0.81 | -0.43 |
|  | (0.99) | (0.97) | (0.93) | (0.98) |
| Income | -0.77 | -0.95 | -0.58 | -0.41 |
|  | (0.91) | (0.93) | (0.93) | (0.95) |
| Education | -0.70 | -0.89 | -0.99 | -1.23 |
|  | (0.88) | (0.89) | (0.89) | (0.92) |
| South | 0.36 | 0.31 | 0.19 | 0.33 |
|  | (0.49) | (0.50) | (0.49) | (0.50) |
| Born Again | 0.99\* | 0.97\* | 0.95\* | 0.89 |
|  | (0.47) | (0.51) | (0.53) | (0.59) |
| Limited Government | 2.14\*\*\* | 2.29\*\*\* | 2.29\*\*\* | 2.22\*\*\* |
|  | (0.41) | (0.43) | (0.43) | (0.44) |
| Authoritarianism | 0.16 | 0.10 | -0.09 | 0.16 |
|  | (0.81) | (0.90) | (0.85) | (0.90) |
| Constant | -7.90\*\*\* | -6.93\*\*\* | -6.70\*\*\* | -5.48\*\*\* |
|  | (1.49) | (1.43) | (1.37) | (1.49) |
| Observations | 472 | 472 | 470 | 466 |

\*\*\* p < 0.001; \*\* p < 0.01; \* p < 0.05; cell entries are ordinary least squares regression coefficients (standard errors in parentheses). All variables are transformed onto a 0 to 1 scale. Source: 2016 Qualtrics Survey.

Table K2. Replication of Table 4, Model 1 Controlling for White Ingroup Attitudes

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) |
| Dehumanizing Attitudes (A. of Man) | 5.97\*\* | 6.43\*\*\* |
|  | (2.02) | (2.17) |
| White Identity | 1.27 | -- |
|  | (1.14) | -- |
| White Guilt | -- | -0.76 |
|  | -- | (1.00) |
| Party ID (Rep.) | 5.57\*\*\* | 5.56\*\*\* |
|  | (0.67) | (0.71) |
| Ideology (Cons.) | 2.63\*\* | 2.38 |
|  | (1.09) | (1.16) |
| Female | -0.78\* | -0.81 |
|  | (0.39) | (0.39) |
| Age | -0.70 | -1.02 |
|  | (0.93) | (1.00) |
| Income | -0.92 | -0.73 |
|  | (0.94) | (0.92) |
| Education | -1.08 | -0.95 |
|  | (0.89) | (0.88) |
| South | 0.23 | 0.34 |
|  | (0.48) | (0.49) |
| Born Again | 0.81 | 1.04\* |
|  | (0.57) | (0.50) |
| Limited Government | 2.25\*\*\* | 2.25\*\*\* |
|  | (0.42) | (0.41) |
| Authoritarianism | -0.15 | 0.10 |
|  | (0.87) | (0.85) |
| Constant | -7.19\*\*\* | -6.53\*\*\* |
|  | (1.44) | (1.49) |
| Observations | 473 | 473 |
|  |  |  |

\*\*\* p < 0.001; \*\* p < 0.01; \* p < 0.05; cell entries are ordinary least squares regression coefficients (standard errors in parentheses). All variables are transformed onto a 0 to 1 scale. Source: 2016 Qualtrics Survey.

**Web Appendix L. The Interaction Between Dehumanizing Attitudes and Partisanship**

Our argument is that dehumanizing attitudes uniquely predict Trump support even after taking individual partisanship into account. Nevertheless, some readers may wonder whether the effect of dehumanizing attitudes on Trump support is conditioned on partisanship. To see, we estimate the same model predicting evaluations of Trump on the 101-point feeling thermometer using the 2016b YouGov survey.

Table L1. The Interaction Between Dehumanizing Attitudes and Party ID in Predicting Warmth toward Trump

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Dehumanizing Attitudes (Ascent of Man) | 0.662\* |
|  | (0.326) |
| Negative Racial Stereotyping | 0.136 |
|  | (0.223) |
| Party ID (Republican) | 0.562\* |
|  | (0.289) |
| Ideology (Conservative) | 0.221\*\* |
|  | (0.076) |
| Female | -0.039 |
|  | (0.030) |
| Age | -0.090 |
|  | (0.064) |
| Income | -0.037 |
|  | (0.071) |
| Education | 0.005 |
|  | (0.052) |
| South | 0.048 |
|  | (0.033) |
| Dehumanizing Attitudes \* Party ID | -0.210 |
|  | (0.517) |
| Constant | -0.210 |
|  | (0.185) |
|  |  |
| Observations0 | 533 |
| R-squared | 0.374 |

\*\*\* p < 0.001; \*\* p < 0.01; \* p < 0.05; cell entries are ordinary least squares regression coefficients (standard errors in parentheses). All variables are transformed onto a 0 to 1 scale. Data are weighted for national representativeness. Higher values of the dependent variable indicate greater warmth toward Trump on the 101-point feeling thermometer. The “Negative Racial Stereotyping” variable consists of a two-question battery about laziness and unintelligence; see Appendix 1 in the manuscript for additional details. Source: 2016b YouGov Survey

We can see from the table that the interaction between dehumanizing attitudes and partisanship is not statistically significant. We also present in figure L1 the marginal effect of dehumanizing attitudes across the range of the seven-point partisanship measure and see that the association between dehumanizing attitudes and Trump support does not vary by partisanship.

**Figure L1. The Marginal Effect of Dehumanizing Attitudes toward Blacks on Whites’ Warmth toward Trump, by Party ID**



All variables are transformed onto a 0 to 1 scale. 2016b YouGov Survey. Data are weighted for national representativeness. Party identity is the standard seven-point partisanship scale, transformed onto a 0-1 interval: “0” represents Strong Democrats, and “1” represents Strong Republicans. Shaded area represents the 95% confidence intervals.