**\*\*\*SUPPORTING INFORMATION\*\*\***

**Further Detail on Estimates Displayed in Figure 1**

The estimates in figure 1 are Pearson’s correlations (*r*) between authoritarianism and each of the variables arrayed along each panel’s x-axis. Each of these variables represents a social or political predisposition that should be associated with authoritarianism. All variables in these analyses are coded so that higher values reflect greater levels of a construct (e.g., authoritarianism, egalitarianism, positive affect toward a group) or stronger policy support (e.g., gay marriage, decreasing legal immigration, more effort to stop illegal immigration).

Panels A and B in figure 1 display the correlations between authoritarianism and each of these social or political predispositions, which we estimated separately for Blacks and Whites in the 2008 NES and 2010 YGP surveys, respectively.

Panel C in figure 1 displays the correlations between authoritarianism and each social or political predisposition, which we estimated separately for low-income Blacks and Whites in the 2010 YGP poll. Low-income respondents are those who reported a family income less than $25,000.

Panel D in figure 1 displays the correlations between authoritarianism and each social or political predisposition, which we estimated separately for high-income Blacks and Whites in the 2010 YGP poll. High-income respondents are those who reported a family income greater than $25,000.

In all panels of figure 1, unreliable correlations (*p>*.05, two-tailed) are displayed as zeros.

**Table A**

**Invariance Tests for Authoritarianism Scale in the 2010 and 2008 YGP Surveys**

The following tables report the results of invariance tests conducted on the child rearing items available in the 2010 and 2008 YGP surveys. Unlike the ANES, these surveys contain only three (3) child rearing items. This means the unrestricted model in each analysis is just identified, which will produce fit statistics (i.e., TLI, CFI, RMSEA) implying a perfect fit. In these cases, analysts can still judge the magnitude and reliability of the main parameters of interest (e.g., factor loadings, thresholds), as well as any differences between them across two or more groups of interest (Brown 2006). For our purposes, we are interested in whether any observed racial differences in item loadings and thresholds are reliably different from zero, as evidenced by a statistically significant change in chi-square (*Χ* 2).

*a. 2010 YGP Survey – Invariance Test*

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Indicators:  Loadings & Thresholds | Unrestricted Model:  Whites | Unrestricted Model:  Blacks | Restricted Model |
| Obedient  τ11  τ12 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 |
| Respects elders  τ11  τ12 | .820 (.032)  -1.058  .628 | .820 (.042)  -1.616  .313 | Fixed Across Groups |
| Follows rules  τ11  τ12 | .570 (.030)  -.986  .693 | .428 (.036)  -1.335  .493 | Fixed Across Groups |
|  |  |  |  |
| TLI | 1.00 |  | .992 |
| CFI | 1.00 |  | .995 |
| RMSEA | 0.00 |  | .048 |
| *Χ*2 | 0.00 |  | --- |
| *Χ*2 change | --- |  | 13.655\*\*\* |

*Note:* This analysis is based on 1,000 White and 1,000 Black respondents (N = 2,000). Cell entries contain standardized factor loadings and standard errors in parentheses, with threshold values immediately below. Unless otherwise indicated, all loadings and thresholds are significant at the 5% or better.

\*\*\**p*<.001

*b. 2008 YGP Survey – Invariance Test*

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Indicators:  Loadings & Thresholds | Unrestricted Model:  Whites | Unrestricted Model:  Blacks | Restricted Model |
| Obedient  τ11  τ12 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 |
| Respects elders  τ11  τ12 | .736 (.042)  -1.237  .506 | .689 (.059)  -1.387  .295 | Fixed Across Groups |
| Follows rules  τ11  τ12 | .675 (.047)  -.980  .401 | .637 (.064)  -1.353  .245 | Fixed Across Groups |
|  |  |  |  |
| TLI | 1.00 |  | .989 |
| CFI | 1.00 |  | .993 |
| RMSEA | 0.00 |  | .054 |
| *Χ*2 | 0.00 |  | --- |
| *Χ*2 change | --- |  | 8.443\* |

*Note:* This analysis is based on 345 White and 329 Black respondents (N = 674). Cell entries contain standardized factor loadings and standard errors in parentheses, with threshold values immediately below. Unless otherwise indicated, all loadings and thresholds are significant at the 5% level or better.

\**p*<.08

**Table B**

**Correlations Between Authoritarianism and Core Values, Symbolic Attitudes, Feelings about Groups, and Policy Preferences, by Race and Income, 2008 NES Data**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Blacks | Whites |
| **Core Values** |  |  |
| Moral Traditionalism | .13\* | .28\* |
| Racial Resentment | .06 | .32\* |
| Egalitarianism | -.10\* | -.20\* |
| Feminism | -.13\* | -.24\* |
|  |  |  |
| **Political Predispositions** |  |  |
| Partisanship | -.01 | .15\* |
| Ideological Self Placement | .13\* | .27\* |
|  |  |  |
| **Affect for Minority Religious Groups** |  |  |
| Feelings About Muslims | -.06 | -.21\* |
| Feelings about Atheists | -.07 | -.30\* |
| Feelings About Hindus | -.13\* | -.21\* |
|  |  |  |
| **Policy Preferences** |  |  |
| *Gay Rights* |  |  |
| Gay Marriage | -.12\* | -.29\* |
| Gay Adoption | -.19\* | -.30\* |
|  |  |  |

*Note:* \* *p*<.05

**Table C. Correlations Between Authoritarianism and National Identity, Symbolic Attitudes, Feelings About Groups and Policy Preferences, by Race and Income, 2010 YGP Survey**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Pooled | Blacks | Whites | Blacks  <$25K | Whites  <$25K | Blacks  >$25K | Whites  >$25K |
| **National Identity** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| American ID  (scale) | .15\* | .08\* | .29\* | .01 | .16\* | .11\* | .31\* |
| Cultural threat | .16\* | .06 | .37\* | .08 | .15 | .05 | .41\* |
| **Political Predispositions** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Partisanship (Republican) | .08\* | -.00 | .35\* | -.03 | .13 | .00 | .39\* |
| Ideology (Conservative) | .24\* | .12\* | .42\* | .10 | .27\* | .13\* | .45\* |
| **Affect for Immigrants** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Latino immigrants | -.10\* | -.03 | -.22\* | -.08 | -.30\* | -.02 | -.20\* |
| Asian immigrants | -.10\* | -.05 | -.15\* | -.13\* | -.31\* | -.03 | -.11\* |
| African immigrants | -.07\* | -.02 | -.19\* | -.11 | -.34\* | .01 | -.16\* |
| White immigrants | -.07\* | -.01 | -.05 | -.02 | -.21\* | -.01 | -.02 |
| **Policy Preferences** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Increase wait for citizenship | .11\* | -.00 | .22\* | -.04 | .25\* | .00 | .21\* |
| Decrease legal immigration | .13\* | .06 | .17\* | -.00 | .24\* | .07\* | .16\* |
| Stop illegal immigration | .17\* | .08\* | .29\* | .02 | .14 | .09\* | .34\* |
| Citizenship for undocumented | .18\* | .10\* | .34\* | .11 | .21\* | .10\* | .36\* |

*Note:* \**p*<.05

**Table D**

**Comparing the Effect of Authoritarianism Among Blacks and Whites, NES Items**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Moral**  **Trad.** | **Racial**  **Resent** | **Egalitar –**  **ianism** | **Feminism** | **PID** | **Ideology** | **Muslims**  **FT** | **Atheists FT** | **Hindus FT** | **Gay Marriage** | **Gay Adoption** |
|  | Para. Est.  (Std. Err) | Para. Est.  (Std. Err) | Para. Est.  (Std. Err) | Para. Est.  (Std. Err) | Para. Est.  (Std. Err) | Para. Est.  (Std. Err) | Para. Est.  (Std. Err) | Para. Est.  (Std. Err) | Para. Est.  (Std. Err) | Para. Est.  (Std. Err) | Para. Est.  (Std. Err) |
| Authoritarianism | 0.226\*  (0.022) | 0.254\*  (0.023) | -0.528\*  (0.076) | -0.167\*  (0.020) | 1.024\*  (0.192) | 1.319\*  (0.136) | -17.068\*  (2.314) | -26.678\*  (2.762) | -14.522\*  (2.191) | -0.430\*  (0.045) | -2.203\*  (0.240) |
| Authoritarianism  \* Black | -0.126\*  (0.046) | -0.203\*  (0.049) | 0.219t  (0.159) | 0.038  (0.045) | -1.060\*  (0.402) | -0.656\*  (0.284) | 11.451\*  (5.244) | 18.557\*  (5.871) | 2.380  (4.863) | 0.200\*  (0.093) | 0.497  (0.475) |
| Black | 0.013  (0.035) | -0.059  (0.038) | 0.492\*  (0.124) | -0.009  (0.035) | -1.466\*  (0.312) | -0.077  (0.221) | 4.055  (4.087) | -13.479\*  (4.562) | 2.104  (3.789) | -0.205\*  (0.073) | -0.483  (0.364) |
| Intercept | 0.446  (0.014) | 0.498  (0.015) | 3.696  (0.051) | 0.735  (0.014) | 3.475  (0.127) | 3.459  (0.082) | 58.693  (1.637) | 54.338  (1.676) | 63.244  (1.439) | 0.784\*  (0.029) | 1.398  (0.160) |
| n  Adj. R - Square | 1567  .074 | 1561  .172 | 1564  .143 | 1575  .042 | 1550  .237 | 1585  .072 | 1495  .066 | 1498  .058 | 1394  .035 | 1521  0.078 | 1536  0.081 |

\* p<.05, t  p<.10, one tailed tests

*Source: American National Election Study, 2008.*

*Note: All Estimates are derived from OLS regression, except support for Gay Adoption, which is estimated using logistic regression*

**Table E**

**Comparing the Effect of Authoritarianism Among Blacks and Whites, 2010 YGP Items**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **American**  **ID** | **Cultural**  **Threat** | **PID**  **(Rep.)** | **Ideology**  **(Cons.)** | **Latino**  **FT** | **Asian**  **FT** | **African**  **FT** | **White**  **FT** | **Citizen.**  **Wait** | **Decrease**  **Legal** | **Stop**  **Illegal** | **Citizen.**  **Undoc.** |
|  | Para. Est.  (Std. Err) | Para. Est.  (Std. Err) | Para. Est.  (Std. Err) | Para. Est.  (Std. Err) | Para. Est.  (Std. Err) | Para. Est.  (Std. Err) | Para. Est.  (Std. Err) | Para. Est.  (Std. Err) | Para. Est.  (Std. Err) | Para. Est.  (Std. Err) | Para. Est.  (Std. Err) | Para. Est.  (Std. Err) |
| Authoritarianism | .23\*  (.03) | .52\*  (.04) | .53\*  (.04) | .51\*  (.03) | -.23\*  (.03) | -.14\*  (.03) | -.18\*  (.03) | -.04 t  (.03) | .29\*  (.04) | .25\*  (.05) | .30\*  (.04) | .51\*  (.05) |
| Authoritarianism  \* Black | -.15\*  (.04) | -.43\*  (.07) | -.53\*  (.05) | -.39\*  (.05) | .20\*  (.05) | .09\*  .04 | .17\*  (.04) | .02  (.04) | -.30\*  (.06) | -.17\*  (.07) | -.21\*  (.05) | -.35\*  (.07) |
| Black | .02  (.03) | .06  (.04) | -.07\*  (.03) | .08\*  (.03) | -.03  (.03) | -.04  (.03) | -.00  (.03) | -.09\*  (.03) | .15\*  (.04) | .12\*  (.04) | .07t  (.04) | .04  (.04) |
| Intercept | .63\*  (.02) | .42\*  (.03) | .24\*  (.02) | .29\*  (.02) | .62\*  (.02) | .66  (.02) | .65\*  (.02) | .65\*  (.01) | .25\*  (.02) | .38\*  (.03) | .72\*  (.02) | .38\*  (.03) |
| n  Adj. R - Square | 2000  .06 | 1993  .12 | 2000  .31 | 2000  .16 | 2000  .04 | 2000  .01 | 2000  .05 | 2000  .03 | 2000  .02 | 2000  .02 | 2000  .05 | 2000  .10 |

\* p<.05, t  p<.10, one tailed tests

*Source: YouGov Polimetrix Study, 2010.*

*Note: All Estimates are derived from OLS regressions.*

**Table F**

**Opposition to Illegal Immigration:**

**Comparison of Experimental Models With and Without Covariates**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Model w/ Covariates | Model w/out Covariates |
|  | Para. Est.  (Std. Err) | Para. Est.  (Std. Err) |
| Authoritarianism | .097  (.086) | .103  (.083) |
| Illegal Mexican immigrants | -.134  (.083) | -.140  (.083) |
| Illegal Canadian immigrants | -.099  (.074) | -.110  (.074) |
| Black | -.105  (.079) | -.120  (.079) |
| Authoritarianism x Illegal Mexicans | .250\*  (.127) | .259\*  (.127) |
| Authoritarianism x Illegal Canadians | .186  (.114) | .202\*  (.113) |
| Authoritarianism x Black | .040  (.120) | .043  (.119) |
| Illegal Mexicans x Black | .218\*  (.125) | .192  (.124) |
| Illegal Canadians x Black | .010  (.108) | .037  (.109) |
| Authoritarianism x Illegal Mexicans x Black | -.394\*  (.185) | -.346\*  (.183) |
| Authoritarianism x Illegal Canadians x Black | -.071  (.164) | -.103  (.163) |
| Constant | .681\*  (.061) | .724\*  (.053) |
| R2 | .126 | .107 |
| Number of Cases | 673 | 673 |

*Notes:* Coefficients are OLS estimates. Models also control for age, education, income, and gender. Shaded entries demonstrate the robustness of the interaction terms to the exclusion of demographic covariates.

*Source: 2008 YouGovPolimetrix Survey.* \* p<.05, one tailed test.

**Table G. Invariance Test for Authoritarianism Scale: Whites, Blacks, and Latinos**

**(2008 NES)**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Indicators:  Loadings & Thresholds | Unrestricted  Model:  Whites | Unrestricted  Model:  Blacks | Unrestricted  Model:  Latinos | Restricted  Model |
| Good manners  τ11  τ12 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 |
| Respects elders  τ11  τ12 | .594 (.039)  -.986  -.548 | .692 (.054)  -1.446  -.707 | .447 (.084)  -1.201  -.725 | Fixed Across  Groups |
| Well-behaved  τ11  τ12 | .521 (.036)  *ns*  .558 | .540 (.051)  -.567  *ns* | .497 (.068)  -.339  *ns* | Fixed Across  Groups |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Obedient | .713 (.035) | .698 (.052) | .645 (.081) | Fixed Across  Groups |
| τ11  τ12 | -.287  .079 | -1.153  -.623 | -.705  -.309 |  |
| TLI | .954 |  |  | .944 |
| CFI | .977 |  |  | .944 |
| RMSEA | .067 |  |  | .074 |
| *Χ*2 | 36.223 |  |  | --- |
| *Χ*2 change | --- |  |  | 44.243\*\*\* |

*Note:* N = 2,019 (1,059 Whites; 516 Blacks; 444 Latinos). Cell entries are standardized factor loadings and standard errors in parentheses, with threshold values immediately below. All loadings/thresholds are reliable at the 5% level or better, unless otherwise indicated. *ns* Statistically insignificant; fixed to zero in unrestricted model. *\*\*\*p*<.001

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Indicators:  Loadings & Thresholds | Unrestricted  Model (2):  Whites | Unrestricted  Model (2):  Blacks | Restricted  Model (2) | Unrestricted  Model (3):  Whites | Unrestricted  Model (3):  Blacks | Restricted  Model (3) | Unrestricted  Model (4):  Whites | Unrestricted  Model (4):  Blacks | Restricted  Model (4) |
| Good manners  τ11  τ12 | .753 (.036)  -.657  -.219 | .741 (.054)  -1.409  -.836 | 1.00 | .753 (.036)  -.657  -.219 | .741 (.054)  -1.409  -.836 | 1.00 | .753 (.036)  -.657  -.219 | .741 (.054)  -1.409  -.836 | 1.00 |
| Respects elders  τ11  τ12 | 1.00 | 1.00 | Fixed Across  Groups | .594 (.039)  -.986  -.548 | .692 (.054)  -1.446  -.707 | Fixed Across  Groups | .594 (.039)  -.986  -.548 | .692 (.054)  -1.446  -.707 | Fixed Across  Groups |
| Well-behaved  τ11  τ12 | .521 (.036)  *ns*  .558 | .540 (.051)  -.567  *ns* | Fixed Across  Groups | 1.00 | 1.00 | Fixed Across  Groups | .521 (.036)  *ns*  .558 | .540 (.051)  -.567  *ns* | Fixed Across  Groups |
| Obedient  τ11  τ12 | .713 (.035)  -.287  .079 | .698 (.052)  -1.153  -.623 | Fixed Across  Groups | .713 (.035)  -.287  .079 | .698 (.052)  -1.153  -.623 | Fixed Across  Groups | 1.00 | 1.00 | Fixed Across  Groups |
| TLI | .955 |  | .927 | .955 |  | .927 | .955 |  | .927 |
| CFI | .977 |  | .939 | .977 |  | .939 | .977 |  | .939 |
| RMSEA | .071 |  | .090 | .071 |  | .090 | .071 |  | .090 |
| *Χ*2 | 29.977 |  | --- | 29.977 |  | --- | 29.976 |  | --- |
| ***Χ*2 change** | **---** |  | **43.025\*\*\*** | **---** |  | **43.026\*\*\*** | **---** |  | **43.026\*\*\*** |

**Table H. Re-Running Invariance Analyses with Alternate Reference Indicators**

*Note:* Cell entries are standardized factor loadings and standard errors in parentheses, with threshold values immediately below. All loadings/thresholds are reliable at the 5% level or better, unless otherwise indicated. *ns* Statistically insignificant; fixed to zero in unrestricted model. *\*\*\*p*<.001