

**Online Appendix: Supplementary Tables**

**Results of Full Models for Text Tables 3 and 4**

**Results of Full Models for Results Discussed in Text on Gender versus Race Effects**

**Supplement Table 1: Vote versus Abstention for Voting Age Citizens, for presidential elections 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012.**  
**Full model for results in Table 3 in text.**  
**(xtlogit coefficients, standard errors, and 2-tail significance)**

Variables	2000			2004			2008			2012		
	coeff.	s.e.	P >  z	coeff.	s.e.	P >  z	coeff.	s.e.	P >  z	coeff.	s.e.	P >  z
<b>Dep Var: vote=1, abstain = 0</b>												
INTERACTIONS CROSS LEVELS												
White <sup>a</sup> female x % Wht Fem Leg <sup>c</sup>	0.63	0.25	0.012	0.82	0.22	0.000	0.07	0.22	0.767	0.31	0.26	0.227
White male x % Wht Male Leg	-0.08	0.16	0.615	-0.05	0.13	0.703	0.26	0.10	0.006	-0.38	0.15	0.010
Black female x %Black Fem Leg	6.96	1.86	0.000	0.87	1.33	0.514	2.29	1.39	0.099	8.65	1.64	0.000
Black male x %Black Male Leg	3.83	0.82	0.000	3.40	0.75	0.000	2.96	0.78	0.000	3.33	0.79	0.000
Latino female x % Latino Fem Leg	1.27	2.11	0.545	-0.81	1.00	0.417	-0.38	0.95	0.689	0.68	1.36	0.616
Latino male x % Latino Male Leg	-0.74	0.90	0.408	0.60	0.60	0.317	-0.20	0.52	0.697	0.73	0.57	0.202
White female	0.01	0.13	0.907	0.02	0.10	0.819	0.26	0.07	0.000	-0.14	0.12	0.225
Black female	0.31	0.13	0.017	0.46	0.11	0.000	0.71	0.09	0.000	0.71	0.13	0.000
Black male	-0.15	0.13	0.269	-0.22	0.11	0.042	0.30	0.10	0.002	0.20	0.12	0.105
Latino female	0.07	0.11	0.494	0.08	0.10	0.451	0.19	0.08	0.011	0.00	0.11	0.992
Latino male	-0.04	0.08	0.581	-0.30	0.11	0.006	-0.14	0.05	0.007	-0.29	0.12	0.013
Other race <sup>b</sup>	-0.47	0.11	0.000	-0.48	0.09	0.000	-0.24	0.06	0.000	-0.52	0.10	0.000
Age in years	0.03	0.00	0.000	0.03	0.00	0.000	0.02	0.00	0.000	0.03	0.00	0.000
Education	0.21	0.00	0.000	0.22	0.00	0.000	0.21	0.00	0.000	0.27	0.00	0.000
Family income	0.01	0.00	0.000	0.01	0.00	0.000	0.01	0.00	0.000	0.01	0.00	0.000
Income missing	-0.32	0.03	0.000	-0.52	0.02	0.000	-0.62	0.02	0.000	---	---	---
Union member	0.19	0.05	0.001	0.14	0.06	0.010	0.14	0.06	0.014	0.21	0.07	0.003
Unemployed	-0.27	0.05	0.000	-0.13	0.04	0.002	-0.12	0.04	0.003	-0.21	0.04	0.000
Not in laborforce	-0.15	0.02	0.000	-0.20	0.02	0.000	-0.20	0.02	0.000	-0.24	0.02	0.000
Homeowner	0.41	0.02	0.000	0.44	0.02	0.000	0.35	0.02	0.000	0.47	0.02	0.000

Married	0.36	0.02	0.000	0.29	0.02	0.000	0.25	0.02	0.000	0.34	0.02	0.000
Foreign born	-0.32	0.04	0.000	-0.37	0.04	0.000	-0.40	0.03	0.000	-0.45	0.04	0.000
% Urban <sup>d</sup>	-0.56	0.28	0.041	-0.42	0.22	0.054	-0.36	0.21	0.086	0.00	0.00	0.784
Professionalized Legislature	0.58	0.23	0.013	0.41	0.20	0.037	0.34	0.19	0.075	0.31	0.26	0.240
% White female legislators	0.16	0.45	0.729	0.39	0.42	0.348	0.88	0.40	0.028	1.70	0.53	0.001
% White male legislators	0.39	0.33	0.238	0.39	0.30	0.199	0.01	0.29	0.986	0.24	0.33	0.464
% Black female legislators	-0.49	2.21	0.823	-0.29	1.46	0.841	-0.68	1.41	0.630	-0.72	1.65	0.664
% Black male legislators	-0.86	0.86	0.316	-1.15	0.77	0.135	0.74	0.75	0.324	1.29	0.88	0.140
% Latino female legislators	-2.17	3.55	0.541	-1.25	2.43	0.606	0.51	2.34	0.826	-0.45	3.27	0.890
% Latino male legislators	0.56	1.21	0.645	1.00	1.22	0.413	-0.17	1.17	0.884	0.03	1.31	0.981
Constant	-4.58	0.37	0.000	-4.21	0.34	0.000	-3.96	0.32	0.000	-5.45	0.39	0.000
TEST STATISTICS												
/lnsig2u	-3.33	.22		-3.62	.23		-3.71	.23		-5.45	.39	
Sigma_u	0.19	.02		0.16	.02		0.16	.02		-3.00	.22	
rho	0.01	.002		0.01	.002		0.01	.002		.015	.003	
Likelihood ratio test of rho=0	Chibar2(01)=329.9 P>chibar2=.000			Chibar2(01)=300.4 p>chibar2=.000			Chibar2(01)=259.6 p>chibar2=.000			Chibar2(01)=465.1 p>chibar2=.000		
LL at convergence	-47828			-53948			-52279			-40709		
Wald Chi <sup>2</sup> (30 df)	10931 P=.000			12231 p=.000			11121.6 p=.000			11131 p=.000		
N	81904			95911			91607			81564		

<sup>a</sup> “White” in the table refers to non Hispanic whites.

<sup>b</sup> “Other race” includes all persons not classified as Latino, Black, or non Hispanic white; these individuals are primarily Asian American Pacific Islanders or Native Americans or of very mixed race.

<sup>c</sup> The percent of legislators is as of 2000 for the 2000 model, as of 2005 for the 2004 and 2008 model, as of 2010 for the 2012 model.

<sup>d</sup> The percent urban is as of the 2000 Census for each state for 2000 through 2008 and as of 2010 for the 2012 model.

**Supplement Table 2: Vote versus Abstention for Voting Age Citizens, for off year elections 2002, 2006, and 2010.**  
**Full model for results in Table 4 in text.**  
**(xtlogit coefficients, standard errors, and 2-tail significance)**

Variables	2002			2006			2010		
	coeff.	s.e.	P >  z	coeff.	s.e.	P >  z	coeff.	s.e.	P >  z
<b>Dep Var: vote=1, abstain = 0</b>									
INTERACTIONS CROSS LEVELS									
White <sup>a</sup> female x % Wht Fem Leg <sup>c</sup>	0.78	0.22	0.001	0.75	0.23	0.001	0.31	0.24	0.192
White male x % Wht Male Leg	0.11	0.15	0.462	0.12	0.14	0.368	-0.24	0.14	0.098
Black female x %Black Fem Leg	6.59	1.90	0.001	7.31	1.44	0.000	6.76	1.34	0.000
Black male x %Black Male Leg	1.19	0.80	0.136	4.30	0.86	0.000	2.78	0.77	0.000
Latino female x % Latino Fem Leg	2.71	1.46	0.064	2.21	1.07	0.039	1.82	1.42	0.197
Latino male x % Latino Male Leg	1.18	0.66	0.071	1.10	0.68	0.106	0.32	0.59	0.589
White female	-0.04	0.12	0.729	0.01	0.11	0.945	-0.22	0.11	0.052
Black female	0.51	0.13	0.000	0.28	0.12	0.017	0.24	0.12	0.041
Black male	0.29	0.13	0.021	0.00	0.12	0.968	0.04	0.12	0.724
Latino female	0.05	0.11	0.667	-0.01	0.11	0.961	-0.24	0.11	0.029
Latino male	-0.07	0.12	0.568	-0.13	0.12	0.254	-0.35	0.12	0.002
Other race <sup>b</sup>	-0.30	0.11	0.006	-0.26	0.10	0.007	-0.58	0.10	0.000
Age in years	0.04	0.00	0.000	0.04	0.00	0.000	0.04	0.00	0.000
Education	0.23	0.00	0.000	0.23	0.00	0.000	0.23	0.00	0.000
Family income	0.01	0.00	0.000	0.00	0.00	0.000	0.00	0.00	0.000
Income missing	0.25	0.03	0.000	0.11	0.03	0.000	-----	-----	----
Union member	0.22	0.05	0.000	0.25	0.06	0.000	0.20	0.06	0.001
Unemployed	-0.21	0.04	0.000	-0.30	0.05	0.000	-0.15	0.04	0.000
Not in laborforce	-0.19	0.02	0.000	-0.22	0.02	0.000	-0.21	0.02	0.000
Homeowner	0.58	0.02	0.000	0.64	0.02	0.000	0.57	0.02	0.000

Married	0.39	0.02	0.000	0.35	0.02	0.000	0.41	0.02	0.000
Foreign born	-0.50	0.04	0.000	-0.59	0.04	0.000	-0.52	0.04	0.000
% Urban <sup>d</sup>	-0.70	0.37	0.057	-0.58	0.32	0.069	0.00	0.00	0.233
Professionalized Legislature	0.35	0.32	0.268	0.81	0.29	0.005	0.49	0.25	0.054
% White female legislators	-0.50	0.59	0.405	0.05	0.60	0.928	0.55	0.51	0.284
% White male legislators	-0.66	0.44	0.132	-0.12	0.44	0.790	-0.39	0.32	0.220
% Black female legislators	0.39	2.96	0.894	1.32	2.13	0.534	-4.70	1.59	0.003
% Black male legislators	-2.59	1.15	0.024	-3.35	1.12	0.003	0.20	0.84	0.810
% Latino female legislators	-2.13	4.81	0.659	2.76	3.57	0.439	1.05	3.15	0.739
% Latino male legislators	-0.63	1.63	0.696	-1.83	1.79	0.306	-0.29	1.26	0.816
Constant	-4.88	0.48	0.000	-5.29	0.48	0.000	-5.00	0.37	0.000
TEST STATISTICS									
/Insig <sub>2u</sub>	-2.68	.21		-2.81	.21		-3.07	.22	
Sigma <sub>u</sub>	.26	.03		.25	.03		.22	.02	
rho	.02	.00		.02	.00		.01	.00	
Likelihood ratio test of rho=0	Chibar2(01)=879.75 p>chibar2=.000			Chibar2(01)=707.5 p>chibar2=.000			Chibar2(01)=540.7 p>chibar2=.000		
LL at convergence	-51110.953			-47666.3			-45071		
Wald Chi <sup>2</sup> (30 df)	14135.69 P=.000			12952 p=.000			12878 p=.000		
N	88326			82863			78781		

<sup>a</sup> “White” in the table refers to non Hispanic whites.

<sup>b</sup> “Other race” includes all persons not classified as Latino, Black, or non Hispanic white; these individuals are primarily Asian American Pacific Islanders or Native Americans or persons of very mixed race.

<sup>c</sup> The percent of legislators is as of 2000 for the 2002 model, as of 2005 for the 2006 model, as of 2010 for the 2010 model.

<sup>d</sup> The percent urban is as of the 2000 Census for each state for 2002 and 2006 and as of 2010 for the 2010 model.

**Supplement Table 3: Vote versus Abstention for Voting Age Citizens, for presidential elections 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012**  
**Collective Representation by Gender: women times total women in legislature**  
**(xtlogit coefficients, standard errors, and 2-tail significance)**

Variables	2000			2004			2008			2012		
	coeff.	s.e.	P >  z	coeff.	s.e.	P >  z	coeff.	s.e.	P >  z	coeff.	s.e.	P >  z
<b>Dep Var: vote=1, abstain = 0</b>												
White <sup>a</sup> female x % Tot Female Leg <sup>c</sup>	0.72	0.29	0.012	0.73	0.26	0.005	0.02	0.25	0.923	0.66	0.31	0.033
White male x % White Male Leg	-0.17	0.17	0.330	-0.09	0.14	0.536	0.27	0.10	0.007	-0.46	0.16	0.003
Black female x % Tot Female Leg	-0.44	0.61	0.469	-1.33	0.49	0.006	-1.07	0.50	0.033	-1.68	0.77	0.029
Black male x % Black Male Leg	3.69	0.83	0.000	3.56	0.75	0.000	3.00	0.78	0.000	3.26	0.80	0.000
Latino female x % Tot Female Leg	0.57	0.80	0.472	-0.18	0.68	0.787	0.88	0.63	0.160	1.20	0.88	0.174
Latino male x % Latino Male Leg	-0.31	0.63	0.623	0.80	0.60	0.184	-0.13	0.52	0.806	0.80	0.56	0.157
White female	-0.09	0.16	0.564	-0.02	0.14	0.874	0.27	0.09	0.003	-0.29	0.15	0.048
Black female	0.59	0.19	0.002	0.77	0.16	0.000	1.05	0.13	0.000	1.45	0.22	0.000
Black male	-0.20	0.14	0.158	-0.26	0.12	0.028	0.31	0.10	0.002	0.14	0.12	0.246
Latino female	-0.11	0.24	0.643	0.07	0.21	0.723	-0.04	0.17	0.819	-0.33	0.26	0.202
Latino male	-0.03	0.08	0.676	-0.33	0.12	0.004	-0.14	0.05	0.007	-0.34	0.12	0.005
Other race <sup>b</sup>	-0.52	0.12	0.000	-0.50	0.10	0.000	-0.23	0.06	0.000	-0.57	0.11	0.000
Age in years	0.03	0.00	0.000	0.03	0.00	0.000	0.02	0.00	0.000	0.03	0.00	0.000
Education	0.21	0.00	0.000	0.22	0.00	0.000	0.21	0.00	0.000	0.27	0.00	0.000
Family income	0.01	0.00	0.000	0.01	0.00	0.000	0.01	0.00	0.000	0.01	0.00	0.000
Income missing	-0.32	0.03	0.000	-0.52	0.02	0.000	-0.62	0.02	0.000	---	---	---
Union member	0.19	0.05	0.001	0.14	0.06	0.010	0.14	0.06	0.013	0.22	0.07	0.003
Unemployed	-0.27	0.05	0.000	-0.13	0.04	0.002	-0.12	0.04	0.003	-0.22	0.04	0.000
Not in laborforce	-0.15	0.02	0.000	-0.20	0.02	0.000	-0.20	0.02	0.000	-0.24	0.02	0.000
Homeowner	0.41	0.02	0.000	0.44	0.02	0.000	0.35	0.02	0.000	0.47	0.02	0.000

Married	0.36	0.02	0.000	0.29	0.02	0.000	0.25	0.02	0.000	0.34	0.02	0.000
Foreign born	-0.32	0.04	0.000	-0.37	0.04	0.000	-0.40	0.03	0.000	-0.45	0.04	0.000
% Urban <sup>d</sup>	-0.62	0.25	0.014	-0.45	0.22	0.037	-0.39	0.21	0.060	0.00	0.00	0.855
Professionalized Legislature	0.52	0.23	0.021	0.40	0.20	0.043	0.32	0.19	0.089	0.33	0.27	0.216
% Total Female legislators	0.08	0.58	0.894	0.71	0.58	0.224	1.24	0.56	0.027	1.93	0.72	0.007
% White male legislators	0.48	0.38	0.203	0.67	0.39	0.083	0.36	0.37	0.333	0.79	0.41	0.054
% Black male legislators	-0.96	0.65	0.139	-1.33	0.60	0.026	0.47	0.58	0.419	0.98	0.72	0.176
% Latino male legislators	-0.15	0.71	0.835	0.33	0.66	0.621	0.00	0.64	0.997	-0.24	0.74	0.742
Constant	-4.52	0.43	0.000	-0.15	0.21	0.000	-4.32	0.42	0.000	-5.80	0.50	0.000
TEST STATISTICS		S.E.			S.E.			S.E.			S.E.	
/Insig <sub>2u</sub>	-3.31	.22		-3.61	.23		-3.69	.23		-2.94	.22	
Sigma <sub>u</sub>	0.19	.02		.16	.02		.16	.02		.23	.03	
rho	.01	.002		.008	.002		.008	.002		.016	.003	
Likelihood ratio test of rho=0	Chibar2=336 p=.000			Chibar2=300 p=.000			Chibar2=265 p=.000			Chibar2=512 p=.000		
LL at conv.	-47835			-53945			-52278			-40720		
Wald Chi <sup>2</sup> (30 df) (29 df in 2012)	10921 p=.000			12233 p=.000			11123 p=.000			11121 p=.000		
N	81904			95911			91607			81564		

<sup>a</sup> “White” in the table refers to non Hispanic whites.

<sup>b</sup> “Other race” includes all persons not classified as Latino, Black, or non Hispanic white; these individuals are primarily Asian American Pacific Islanders or Native Americans or persons of very mixed race.

<sup>c</sup> The percent of legislators is as of 2000 for the 2000 model, as of 2005 for the 2004 and 2008 model, as of 2010 for the 2012 model.

<sup>d</sup> The percent urban is as of the 2000 Census for each state for 2000 through 2008 and as of 2010 for the 2012 model.

**Supplement Table 4: Vote versus Abstention for Voting Age Citizens, for off year elections 2002, 2006, and 2010**  
**Collective Representation by Gender: women times total women in legislature**  
**(xtlogit coefficients, standard errors, and 2-tail significance)**

Variables	2002			2006			2010		
	coeff.	s.e.	P >  z	coeff.	s.e.	P >  z	coeff.	s.e.	P >  z
<b>Dep Var: vote=1, abstain = 0</b>									
White <sup>a</sup> female x % Tot Female Leg <sup>c</sup>	0.78	0.26	0.002	0.48	0.27	0.076	0.36	0.29	0.213
White male x % White Male Leg	0.04	0.16	0.799	0.16	0.15	0.292	-0.27	0.16	0.085
Black female x % Tot Female Leg	-0.41	0.58	0.475	-2.32	0.52	0.000	-0.67	0.63	0.285
Black male x % Black Male Leg	1.13	0.80	0.159	4.40	0.87	0.000	2.76	0.77	0.000
Latino female x % Tot Female Leg	0.00	0.80	0.997	1.07	0.71	0.135	-0.15	0.91	0.869
Latino male x % Latino Male Leg	1.20	0.65	0.067	1.15	0.68	0.091	0.30	0.59	0.605
White female	-0.12	0.14	0.422	0.06	0.14	0.689	-0.27	0.15	0.068
Black female	0.79	0.18	0.000	1.17	0.17	0.000	0.71	0.19	0.000
Black male	0.25	0.13	0.054	0.02	0.13	0.903	0.02	0.12	0.864
Latino female	0.11	0.23	0.641	-0.15	0.22	0.500	-0.15	0.26	0.574
Latino male	-0.11	0.13	0.395	-0.11	0.12	0.381	-0.37	0.12	0.002
Other race <sup>b</sup>	-0.33	0.11	0.004	-0.23	0.11	0.029	-0.59	0.11	0.000
Age in years	0.04	0.00	0.000	0.04	0.00	0.000	0.04	0.00	0.000
Education	0.23	0.00	0.000	0.23	0.00	0.000	0.23	0.00	0.000
Family income	0.01	0.00	0.000	0.00	0.00	0.000	0.00	0.00	0.000
Income missing	0.25	0.03	0.000	0.11	0.03	0.000	---	---	---
Union member	0.22	0.05	0.000	0.25	0.06	0.000	0.20	0.06	0.001
Unemployed	-0.21	0.04	0.000	-0.30	0.05	0.000	-0.15	0.04	0.000
Not in laborforce	-0.19	0.02	0.000	-0.22	0.02	0.000	-0.21	0.02	0.000
Homeowner	0.58	0.02	0.000	0.64	0.02	0.000	0.57	0.02	0.000



Married	0.39	0.02	0.000	0.35	0.02	0.000	0.41	0.02	0.000
Foreign born	-0.50	0.04	0.000	-0.59	0.04	0.000	-0.53	0.04	0.000
% Urban <sup>d</sup>	-0.70	0.33	0.037	-0.53	0.32	0.095	-0.01	0.00	0.055
Professionalized Legislature	0.30	0.31	0.327	0.80	0.29	0.006	0.49	0.28	0.076
% Total female legislators	-0.63	0.76	0.410	0.40	0.84	0.636	0.58	0.74	0.431
% White male legislators	-0.73	0.49	0.139	-0.09	0.57	0.869	-0.37	0.42	0.379
% Black male legislators	-2.45	0.86	0.004	-2.88	0.87	0.001	-1.51	0.75	0.042
% Latino male legislators	-1.25	0.95	0.189	-0.66	0.97	0.499	0.02	0.76	0.983
Constant	-4.72	0.55	0.000	-5.42	0.63	0.000	-4.91	0.51	0.000
TEST STATISTICS		S.E.			S.E.			S.E.	
/Insig2u	-2.67	0.21		-2.78	.21		-2.86	.21	
Sigma_u	0.26	0.03		.25	.03		.24	.03	
rho	0.02	0.00		.018	.004		.017	.004	
Likelihood ratio test of rho=0	Chibar2=906 p=.000			Chibar2=746 p=.000			Chibar2=698 p=.000		
LL at conv.	-51119.7			-47672			-45089		
Wald Chi <sup>2</sup> (30 df) (29 df in 2010)	14128 p=.000			12946 p=.000			12859 p=.000		
N	88326			82863			78781		

<sup>a</sup> “White” in the table refers to non Hispanic whites.

<sup>b</sup> “Other race” includes all persons not classified as Latino, Black, or non Hispanic white; these individuals are primarily Asian American Pacific Islanders or Native Americans or persons of very mixed race.

<sup>c</sup> The percent of legislators is as of 2000 for the 2002 model, as of 2005 for the 2006 model, as of 2010 for the 2010 model.

<sup>d</sup> The percent urban is as of the 2000 Census for each state for 2002 and 2006 and as of 2010 for the 2010 model.

**Supplement Table 5: Vote versus Abstention for Voting Age Citizens, for presidential elections 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012**  
**Collective Representation by Race: African Americans times total African Americans in legislature**  
**(xtlogit coefficients, standard errors, and 2-tail significance)**

Variables	2000			2004			2008			2012		
	coeff.	s.e.	P >  z	coeff.	s.e.	P >  z	coeff.	s.e.	P >  z	coeff.	s.e.	P >  z
<b>Dep Var: vote=1, abstain = 0</b>												
White <sup>a</sup> female x % Wht Fem Leg <sup>c</sup>	0.59	0.25	0.018	0.76	0.22	0.001	0.03	0.22	0.881	0.23	0.26	0.364
White male x % White Male Leg	-0.07	0.16	0.674	-0.04	0.13	0.760	0.26	0.10	0.006	-0.36	0.15	0.015
Black female x % Total Black in Leg	1.50	0.58	0.009	1.80	0.50	0.000	1.59	0.53	0.003	3.69	0.64	0.000
Black male x % Total Black Leg	3.43	0.65	0.000	2.77	0.54	0.000	2.36	0.56	0.000	3.27	0.61	0.000
Latino female x % Lat Female Leg	1.34	2.10	0.524	-0.89	1.00	0.373	-0.43	0.95	0.652	0.60	1.36	0.661
Latino male x % Latino Male Leg	-0.76	0.90	0.401	0.57	0.60	0.340	-0.22	0.52	0.674	0.70	0.57	0.216
White female	0.03	0.13	0.811	0.04	0.10	0.681	0.27	0.07	0.000	-0.11	0.12	0.324
Black female	0.38	0.13	0.003	0.27	0.11	0.014	0.61	0.09	0.000	0.65	0.13	0.000
Black male	-0.23	0.14	0.100	-0.29	0.12	0.012	0.24	0.10	0.018	0.06	0.13	0.628
Latino female	0.08	0.11	0.449	0.09	0.10	0.405	0.20	0.08	0.010	0.01	0.11	0.911
Latino male	-0.04	0.08	0.571	-0.30	0.11	0.007	-0.14	0.05	0.007	-0.28	0.12	0.017
Other race <sup>b</sup>	-0.46	0.11	0.000	-0.48	0.09	0.000	-0.24	0.06	0.000	-0.52	0.10	0.000
Age in years	0.03	0.00	0.000	0.03	0.00	0.000	0.02	0.00	0.000	0.03	0.00	0.000
Education	0.21	0.00	0.000	0.22	0.00	0.000	0.21	0.00	0.000	0.27	0.00	0.000
Family income	0.01	0.00	0.000	0.01	0.00	0.000	0.01	0.00	0.000	0.01	0.00	0.000
Income missing	-0.32	0.03	0.000	-0.52	0.02	0.000	-0.62	0.02	0.000	---	---	---
Union member	0.19	0.05	0.001	0.14	0.06	0.010	0.14	0.06	0.014	0.21	0.07	0.003
Unemployed	-0.27	0.05	0.000	-0.13	0.04	0.002	-0.12	0.04	0.003	-0.22	0.04	0.000
Not in laborforce	-0.15	0.02	0.000	-0.20	0.02	0.000	-0.20	0.02	0.000	-0.24	0.02	0.000
Homeowner	0.41	0.02	0.000	0.44	0.02	0.000	0.35	0.02	0.000	0.47	0.02	0.000
Married	0.36	0.02	0.000	0.29	0.02	0.000	0.25	0.02	0.000	0.34	0.02	0.000

Foreign born	-0.32	0.04	0.000	-0.37	0.04	0.000	-0.40	0.03	0.000	-0.45	0.04	0.000
% Urban <sup>d</sup>	-0.54	0.25	0.032	-0.39	0.21	0.069	-0.38	0.21	0.068	0.00	0.00	0.857
Professionalized Legislature	0.58	0.23	0.012	0.42	0.19	0.030	0.34	0.19	0.069	0.33	0.26	0.211
% White female legislators	0.18	0.45	0.696	0.41	0.41	0.321	0.90	0.40	0.024	1.77	0.53	0.001
% White male legislators	0.39	0.33	0.236	0.40	0.30	0.185	0.02	0.29	0.936	0.21	0.32	0.519
% Total Black legislators	-0.83	0.49	0.090	-1.01	0.42	0.018	0.22	0.41	0.597	0.56	0.52	0.281
% Latino female legislators	-2.49	3.40	0.464	-1.44	2.38	0.544	0.79	2.30	0.730	-0.89	3.22	0.782
% Latino male legislators	0.65	1.16	0.578	1.10	1.19	0.356	-0.28	1.16	0.812	0.18	1.30	0.892
Constant	-4.61	0.36	0.000	-4.24	0.33	0.000	-3.97	0.32	0.000	-5.44	0.38	0.000
TEST STATISTICS		S.E.			S.E.			S.E.			S.E.	
/lnsig2u	-3.34	.22		-3.64	.23		-3.71	.23		-3.01	.22	
Sigma_u	.19	.02		.16	.02		.16	.02		.22	.02	
rho	.01	.002		.008	.002		.007	.002		.015	.003	
Likelihood ratio test of rho=0	Chibar2=326 p=.000			Chibar2=302 p=.000			Chibar2=259 p=.000			Chibar2=461 p=.000		
LL at conv.	-47830			-53941			-52276			-40704		
Wald Chi <sup>2</sup> (30 df) (29 df in 2012)	10929 p=.000			12241 p=.000			11126 p=.000			11138 p=.000		
N	81904			95911			91607			81564		

<sup>a</sup> “White” in the table refers to non Hispanic whites.

<sup>b</sup> “Other race” includes all persons not classified as Latino, Black, or non Hispanic white; these individuals are primarily Asian American Pacific Islanders or Native Americans or of very mixed race.

<sup>c</sup> The percent of legislators is as of 2000 for the 2000 model, as of 2005 for the 2004 and 2008 model, as of 2010 for the 2012 model.

<sup>d</sup> The percent urban is as of the 2000 Census for each state for 2000 through 2008 and as of 2010 for the 2012 model

**Supplement Table 6: Vote versus Abstention for Voting Age Citizens, for off year elections 2002, 2006, and 2010**  
**Collective Representation by Race: African Americans times total African Americans in legislature**  
**(xtlogit coefficients, standard errors, and 2-tail significance)**

Variables	2002			2006			2010		
	coeff.	s.e.	P >  z	coeff.	s.e.	P >  z	coeff.	s.e.	P >  z
<b>Dep Var: vote=1, abstain = 0</b>									
White <sup>a</sup> female x % Wht Female Leg <sup>c</sup>	0.73	0.23	0.001	0.66	0.23	0.004	0.22	0.24	0.355
White male x % White Male Leg	0.12	0.15	0.398	0.14	0.14	0.296	-0.22	0.14	0.130
Black female x % Total Black Leg	1.94	0.57	0.001	3.71	0.55	0.000	3.15	0.52	0.000
Black male x % Total Black Leg	0.80	0.64	0.215	3.34	0.62	0.000	2.45	0.58	0.000
Latino female x % Lat Female Leg	2.72	1.46	0.063	2.15	1.07	0.044	1.77	1.42	0.212
Latino male x % Latino Male Leg	1.18	0.66	0.072	1.09	0.68	0.111	0.30	0.59	0.612
White female	-0.02	0.12	0.854	0.04	0.11	0.739	-0.19	0.11	0.096
Black female	0.52	0.12	0.000	0.16	0.12	0.193	0.16	0.12	0.191
Black male	0.31	0.13	0.018	-0.07	0.13	0.601	-0.03	0.13	0.801
Latino female	0.06	0.11	0.610	0.01	0.11	0.932	-0.23	0.11	0.039
Latino male	-0.06	0.12	0.622	-0.12	0.12	0.296	-0.34	0.12	0.003
Other race <sup>b</sup>	-0.28	0.11	0.008	-0.25	0.10	0.010	-0.57	0.10	0.000
Age in years	0.04	0.00	0.000	0.04	0.00	0.000	0.04	0.00	0.000
Education	0.23	0.00	0.000	0.23	0.00	0.000	0.23	0.00	0.000
Family income	0.01	0.00	0.000	0.00	0.00	0.000	0.00	0.00	0.000
Income missing	0.25	0.03	0.000	0.11	0.03	0.000	---	---	----
Union member	0.22	0.05	0.000	0.25	0.06	0.000	0.20	0.06	0.001
Unemployed	-0.21	0.04	0.000	-0.30	0.05	0.000	-0.15	0.04	0.000
Not in laborforce	-0.19	0.02	0.000	-0.22	0.02	0.000	-0.21	0.02	0.000
Homeowner	0.58	0.02	0.000	0.64	0.02	0.000	0.57	0.02	0.000
Married	0.39	0.02	0.000	0.35	0.02	0.000	0.41	0.02	0.000

Foreign born	-0.50	0.04	0.000	-0.59	0.04	0.000	-0.52	0.04	0.000
% Urban <sup>d</sup>	-0.57	0.34	0.089	-0.45	0.32	0.160	0.00	0.00	0.120
Professionalized Legislature	0.37	0.32	0.249	0.81	0.29	0.006	0.52	0.26	0.046
% White female legislators	-0.42	0.59	0.474	0.07	0.61	0.914	0.67	0.53	0.202
% White male legislators	-0.63	0.44	0.148	-0.13	0.45	0.776	-0.48	0.32	0.136
% Total Black legislators	-1.92	0.65	0.003	-2.02	0.63	0.001	-1.43	0.51	0.005
% Latino female legislators	-3.41	4.66	0.464	1.64	3.61	0.649	-0.06	3.22	0.985
% Latino male legislators	-0.24	1.58	0.881	-1.32	1.81	0.467	0.05	1.30	0.970
Constant	-5.00	0.47	0.000	-5.35	0.49	0.000	-4.92	0.38	0.000
TEST STATISTICS		S.E.			S.E.			S.E.	
/Insig2u	-2.68	.21		-2.76	.21		-3.00	.22	
Sigma_u	0.26	.028		.25	.03		.22	.02	
rho	0.02	.004		.019	.004		.015	.003	
Likelihood ratio test of rho=0	Chibar2=884 p=.000			Chibar2=765 p=.000			Chibar2=587 p=.000		
LL at conv.	-51111.8			-47658			-45068		
Wald Chi <sup>2</sup> (30 df) (29 df in 2010)	14134.7 p=.000			12961 p=.000			12882 p=.000		
N	88326			82863			78781		

<sup>a</sup> “White” in the table refers to non Hispanic whites.

<sup>b</sup> “Other race” includes all persons not classified as Latino, Black, or non Hispanic white; these individuals are primarily Asian American Pacific Islanders or Native Americans or persons of very mixed race.

<sup>c</sup> The percent of legislators is as of 2000 for the 2002 model, as of 2005 for the 2006 model, as of 2010 for the 2010 model.

<sup>d</sup> The percent urban is as of the 2000 Census for each state for 2002 and 2006 and as of 2010 for the 2010 model.

**Supplement Table 7: Vote versus Abstention for Voting Age Citizens, for presidential elections 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012**  
**Collective representation by Other Gender, Same Race for African Americans**  
**(xtlogit coefficients, standard errors, and 2-tail significance)**

Variables	2000			2004			2008			2012		
	coeff.	s.e.	P >  z	coeff.	s.e.	P >  z	coeff.	s.e.	P >  z	coeff.	s.e.	P >  z
<b>Dep Var: vote=1, abstain = 0</b>												
White <sup>a</sup> female x % Wht Fem Leg <sup>c</sup>	0.69	0.25	0.006	0.79	0.22	0.000	0.07	0.22	0.767	0.33	0.26	0.204
White male x % White Male Leg	-0.09	0.16	0.576	-0.04	0.13	0.728	0.26	0.10	0.007	-0.38	0.15	0.009
Black female x % Black Male Leg	1.02	0.71	0.153	2.92	0.69	0.000	2.19	0.74	0.003	3.70	0.86	0.000
Black male x % Black Female Leg	9.46	2.08	0.000	6.06	1.45	0.000	5.04	1.50	0.001	7.44	1.58	0.000
Latino female x % Lat Female Leg	1.35	2.11	0.522	-0.89	1.00	0.372	-0.41	0.95	0.665	0.68	1.36	0.615
Latino male x % Latino Male Leg	-0.76	0.90	0.400	0.57	0.60	0.341	-0.22	0.52	0.679	0.74	0.57	0.195
White female	0.00	0.13	0.982	0.03	0.10	0.745	0.26	0.07	0.000	-0.15	0.12	0.199
Black female	0.46	0.13	0.000	0.26	0.11	0.015	0.63	0.09	0.000	0.80	0.12	0.000
Black male	-0.16	0.14	0.234	-0.23	0.12	0.052	0.31	0.10	0.003	0.12	0.13	0.326
Latino female	0.07	0.11	0.515	0.08	0.10	0.419	0.20	0.08	0.011	0.00	0.11	0.973
Latino male	-0.04	0.08	0.571	-0.30	0.11	0.006	-0.14	0.05	0.007	-0.29	0.12	0.011
Other race <sup>b</sup>	-0.48	0.11	0.000	-0.48	0.09	0.000	-0.24	0.06	0.000	-0.53	0.10	0.000
Age in years	0.03	0.00	0.000	0.03	0.00	0.000	0.02	0.00	0.000	0.03	0.00	0.000
Education	0.21	0.00	0.000	0.22	0.00	0.000	0.21	0.00	0.000	0.27	0.00	0.000
Family income	0.01	0.00	0.000	0.01	0.00	0.000	0.01	0.00	0.000	0.01	0.00	0.000
Income missing	-0.32	0.03	0.000	-0.52	0.02	0.000	-0.62	0.02	0.000	---	---	---
Union member	0.18	0.05	0.001	0.14	0.06	0.010	0.14	0.06	0.014	0.21	0.07	0.003
Unemployed	-0.27	0.05	0.000	-0.13	0.04	0.002	-0.12	0.04	0.003	-0.22	0.04	0.000
Not in laborforce	-0.15	0.02	0.000	-0.20	0.02	0.000	-0.20	0.02	0.000	-0.24	0.02	0.000
Homeowner	0.41	0.02	0.000	0.44	0.02	0.000	0.35	0.02	0.000	0.47	0.02	0.000
Married	0.36	0.02	0.000	0.29	0.02	0.000	0.25	0.02	0.000	0.34	0.02	0.000

Foreign born	-0.32	0.04	0.000	-0.37	0.04	0.000	-0.40	0.03	0.000	-0.45	0.04	0.000
% Urban <sup>d</sup>	-0.58	0.28	0.038	-0.41	0.22	0.059	-0.36	0.21	0.086	0.00	0.00	0.799
Professionalized Legislature	0.57	0.23	0.015	0.42	0.19	0.031	0.34	0.19	0.072	0.31	0.26	0.241
% White female legislators	0.13	0.46	0.775	0.40	0.41	0.334	0.87	0.40	0.029	1.69	0.53	0.001
% White male legislators	0.38	0.33	0.248	0.40	0.30	0.184	0.01	0.29	0.977	0.24	0.33	0.465
% Black female legislators	-0.52	2.22	0.814	-0.49	1.45	0.734	-0.80	1.41	0.572	-0.69	1.65	0.676
% Black male legislators	-0.73	0.87	0.396	-1.19	0.77	0.122	0.77	0.75	0.302	1.30	0.88	0.139
% Latino female legislators	-2.11	3.57	0.555	-1.25	2.42	0.604	0.52	2.34	0.824	-0.42	3.28	0.899
% Latino male legislators	0.53	1.21	0.663	1.02	1.21	0.399	-0.17	1.18	0.887	0.02	1.31	0.991
Constant	-4.56	0.37	0.000	-4.22	0.33	0.000	-3.96	0.32	0.000	-5.43	0.39	0.000
TEST STATISTICS		S.E.			S.E.			S.E.			S.E.	
/Insig2u	-3.31	.22		-3.63	.23		-3.71	.23		-2.99	.22	
Sigma_u	.19	.02		.16	.02		.16	.02		.22	.02	
rho	.01	.002		.008	.002		.007	.002		.015	.003	
Likelihood ratio test of rho=0	Chibar2=334 p=.000			Chibar2=297 p=.000			Chibar2=259 p=.000			Chibar2=467 p=.000		
LL at conv.	-47834			-53942			-52278			-40712		
Wald Chi <sup>2</sup> (30 df)	10923 p=.000			12240 p=.000			11123 p=.000			11129 p=.000		
N	81904			95911			91607			81564		

<sup>a</sup> “White” in the table refers to non Hispanic whites.

<sup>b</sup> “Other race” includes all persons not classified as Latino, Black, or non Hispanic white; these individuals are primarily Asian American Pacific Islanders or Native Americans or persons of very mixed race.

<sup>c</sup> The percent of legislators is as of 2000 for the 2000 model, as of 2005 for the 2004 and 2008 model, as of 2010 for the 2012 model.

<sup>d</sup> The percent urban is as of the 2000 Census for each state for 2000 through 2008 and as of 2010 for the 2012 model.

**Supplement Table 8: Vote versus Abstention for Voting Age Citizens, for off year elections 2002, 2006, and 2010**  
**Collective representation by Other Gender, Same Race for African Americans**  
**(xtlogit coefficients, standard errors, and 2-tail significance)**

Variables	2002			2006			2010		
	coeff.	s.e.	P >  z	coeff.	s.e.	P >  z	coeff.	s.e.	P >  z
<b>Dep Var: vote=1, abstain = 0</b>									
White <sup>a</sup> female x % Wht Fem Leg <sup>c</sup>	0.77	0.23	0.001	0.71	0.23	0.002	0.30	0.24	0.202
White male x % White Male Leg	0.12	0.15	0.411	0.13	0.14	0.337	-0.23	0.14	0.112
Black female x % Black Male Leg	1.97	0.70	0.005	4.82	0.76	0.000	3.25	0.67	0.000
Black male x % Black Female Leg	-1.25	2.20	0.569	6.25	1.63	0.000	3.68	1.47	0.013
Latino female x % Lat Female Leg	2.78	1.46	0.058	2.19	1.07	0.040	1.85	1.42	0.191
Latino male x % Latino Male Leg	1.20	0.66	0.068	1.12	0.68	0.100	0.33	0.59	0.573
White female	-0.03	0.12	0.793	0.02	0.11	0.858	-0.21	0.11	0.061
Black female	0.58	0.12	0.000	0.23	0.11	0.044	0.29	0.11	0.010
Black male	0.45	0.13	0.001	0.06	0.13	0.623	0.11	0.12	0.392
Latino female	0.06	0.11	0.625	0.00	0.11	0.988	-0.23	0.11	0.033
Latino male	-0.06	0.12	0.609	-0.13	0.12	0.258	-0.35	0.12	0.003
Other race <sup>b</sup>	-0.28	0.11	0.008	-0.26	0.10	0.008	-0.57	0.10	0.000
Age in years	0.04	0.00	0.000	0.04	0.00	0.000	0.04	0.00	0.000
Education	0.23	0.00	0.000	0.23	0.00	0.000	0.23	0.00	0.000
Family income	0.01	0.00	0.000	0.00	0.00	0.000	0.00	0.00	0.000
Income missing	0.25	0.03	0.000	0.11	0.03	0.000	----	----	----
Union member	0.22	0.05	0.000	0.25	0.06	0.000	0.20	0.06	0.001
Unemployed	-0.21	0.04	0.000	-0.30	0.05	0.000	-0.15	0.04	0.000
Not in laborforce	-0.19	0.02	0.000	-0.22	0.02	0.000	-0.21	0.02	0.000
Homeowner	0.58	0.02	0.000	0.64	0.02	0.000	0.57	0.02	0.000



Married	0.39	0.02	0.000	0.35	0.02	0.000	0.41	0.02	0.000
Foreign born	-0.50	0.04	0.000	-0.59	0.04	0.000	-0.52	0.04	0.000
% Urban <sup>d</sup>	-0.71	0.37	0.055	-0.57	0.32	0.076	0.00	0.00	0.238
Professionalized Legislature	0.34	0.32	0.279	0.81	0.29	0.005	0.49	0.25	0.056
% White female legislators	-0.48	0.60	0.417	0.09	0.60	0.884	0.57	0.51	0.265
% White male legislators	-0.67	0.44	0.123	-0.11	0.44	0.802	-0.40	0.32	0.209
% Black female legislators	0.91	2.97	0.758	1.58	2.12	0.456	-4.33	1.59	0.007
% Black male legislators	-2.70	1.15	0.019	-3.54	1.12	0.002	0.04	0.85	0.965
% Latino female legislators	-2.12	4.83	0.660	2.75	3.57	0.440	0.97	3.16	0.758
% Latino male legislators	-0.66	1.63	0.686	-1.82	1.78	0.306	-0.28	1.27	0.827
Constant	-4.87	0.48	0.000	-5.31	0.48	0.000	-5.01	0.37	0.000
TEST STATISTICS		S.E.			S.E.			S.E.	
/Insig <sub>2u</sub>	-2.68	.210		-2.82	.21		-3.06	.22	
Sigma <sub>u</sub>	0.26	.028		.24	.03		.22	.02	
rho	0.02	.004		.018	.004		.014	.003	
Likelihood ratio test of rho=0	Chibar2=884 p=.000		Chibar2=705 p=.000		Chibar2=544 p=.000				
LL at conv.	-51113.61		-47664		-45076				
Wald Chi <sup>2</sup> (30 df) (29 df in 2010)	14132 p=.000		12955 p=.000		12875 p=.000				
N	88326		82863		78781				

<sup>a</sup> “White” in the table refers to non Hispanic whites.

<sup>b</sup> “Other race” includes all persons not classified as Latino, Black, or non Hispanic white; these individuals are primarily Asian American Pacific Islanders or Native Americans or persons of very mixed race.

<sup>c</sup> The percent of legislators is as of 2000 for the 2002 model, as of 2005 for the 2006 model, as of 2010 for the 2010 model.

<sup>d</sup> The percent urban is as of the 2000 Census for each state for 2002 and 2006 and as of 2010 for the 2010 model.

**Supplement Table 9: Vote versus Abstention for Voting Age Citizens, 2002 and 2006**  
**Collective Representation by Ethnicity: Latinos times total Latinos in legislature**  
**(xtlogit coefficients, standard errors, and 2-tail significance)**

Variables	2002			2006		
	coeff.	s.e.	P >  z	coeff.	s.e.	P >  z
<b>Dep Var: vote=1, abstain = 0</b>						
White <sup>a</sup> female x % Wht Female Leg <sup>c</sup>	0.77	0.22	0.001	0.74	0.23	0.001
White male x % White Male Leg	0.11	0.15	0.468	0.12	0.14	0.363
Black female x % Black Female Leg	6.59	1.90	0.001	7.31	1.44	0.000
Black male x % Black Male Leg	1.19	0.80	0.137	4.31	0.86	0.000
Latino female x % Total Latino Leg	0.87	0.46	0.062	0.71	0.41	0.085
Latino male x % Total Latino Leg	0.95	0.49	0.054	0.75	0.44	0.090
White female	-0.04	0.12	0.729	0.01	0.11	0.933
Black female	0.51	0.13	0.000	0.28	0.12	0.017
Black male	0.29	0.13	0.021	0.00	0.12	0.974
Latino female	0.04	0.12	0.732	0.00	0.11	0.991
Latino male	-0.08	0.12	0.504	-0.14	0.12	0.241
Other race <sup>b</sup>	-0.30	0.11	0.006	-0.26	0.10	0.007
Age in years	0.04	0.00	0.000	0.04	0.00	0.000
Education	0.23	0.00	0.000	0.23	0.00	0.000
Family income	0.01	0.00	0.000	0.00	0.00	0.000
Income missing	0.25	0.03	0.000	0.11	0.03	0.000
Union member	0.22	0.05	0.000	0.25	0.06	0.000
Unemployed	-0.21	0.04	0.000	-0.30	0.05	0.000
Not in laborforce	-0.19	0.02	0.000	-0.22	0.02	0.000
Homeowner	0.58	0.02	0.000	0.64	0.02	0.000
Married	0.39	0.02	0.000	0.35	0.02	0.000
Foreign born	-0.50	0.04	0.000	-0.59	0.04	0.000
% Urban <sup>d</sup>	-0.72	0.36	0.044	-0.55	0.32	0.086
Professionalized Legislature	0.33	0.30	0.272	0.81	0.29	0.005
% White female legislators	-0.50	0.59	0.396	0.00	0.60	0.994
% White male legislators	-0.65	0.44	0.135	-0.18	0.43	0.679
% Black female legislators	0.57	2.83	0.841	0.91	2.10	0.665
% Black male legislators	-2.62	1.14	0.021	-3.30	1.13	0.003
% Total Latino legislators	-1.02	.73	0.160	-0.36	0.67	0.594
Constant	-4.87	0.48	0.000	-5.25	0.48	0.000
TEST STATISTICS		S.E.			S.E.	
/lnsig2u	-2.68	.21		-2.79	.21	
Sigma_u	.26	.03		.25	.03	

rho	.02	.004		.018	.004	
Likelihood ratio test of rho=0	chibar2=883.7 p=.000			Chibar2=751.08 p=.000		
LL at conv.	-51110.8			-47667.3		
Wald Chi <sup>2</sup> (30 df)	14135.39 p=.000			12951.05 p=.000		
N	88326			82863		

<sup>a</sup> “White” in the table refers to non Hispanic whites.

<sup>b</sup> “Other race” includes all persons not classified as Latino, Black, or non Hispanic white; these individuals are primarily Asian American Pacific Islanders or Native Americans or persons of very mixed race.

<sup>c</sup> The percent of legislators is as of 2000 for the 2002 model, and as of 2005 for the 2006 model

<sup>d</sup> The percent urban is as of the 2000 Census for each state for 2002 and 2006.