# APPENDIX

Racial Liberalism Resurgent:

Connecting Multi-Racial Protests and Electoral Politics Today

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**I. Outgroup Hostility Scale Construction**

The outgroup hostility scale used in this article was constructed based on items measuring attitudes toward Blacks (racial resentment scale), Latinx immigrants (anti-immigrant scale) and Muslims (feeling thermometer, reverse-scaled). The specific items used to construct the scale are listed in Table A-1 below and are taken from the ANES (2004-2018) and VOTER (2016) surveys. The ANES data were used to construct the outgroup hostility measures for the analyses presented in Figure 1-3 while the VOTER data were used for the analyses summarized in Figure 4. There are two sources of inconsistency in the outgroup hostility items used in our analyses, both of which involve the items used to construct our anti-immigrant scale. First, the specific items that we use from the ANES and VOTER surveys are not exactly the same. These differences are evident in the table below. Second, there are two minor inconsistencies in the ANES data, both of which occur in the 2018 data. Prior to 2018, we use the feeling thermometer item for “illegal immigrants.” In the 2018 ANES pilot study this item is not available. Instead, we rely on the feeling thermometer item which asks respondents to rate “immigrants.” Second, in surveys prior to 2018, the ANES asked “How likely is it that recent immigration levels will take jobs away from people already here…” (very unlikely – very likely).” In 2018, this item is not available. We replace it with a similar item tapping perceptions of the effect of illegal immigration on the economy: “Is illegal immigration good, bad, or neither good nor bad for the national economy?”

# Table A-1. Outgroup Hostility Items

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Anti-Immigrant Scale Items** | **ANES**  | **VOTER** |
| Feeling Thermometer – Illegal Immigrants | 2016: V1623132018: ftcasi\_illegal2008: V085065a2004: V045081 | n/a |
| Feeling thermometer - Immigrants | 2018: ftimmig | 2016: ft\_immig\_2016 |
| “Do you think the number of immigrants from foreign countries who are permitted to come to the United States to live should be…(increased a lot -decreased a lot).  | 2018: immignum2016: V1621572012: immigpo\_level2008: V0850822004: V045115 | n/a |
| “How likely is it that recent immigration levels will take jobs away from people already here…” (very unlikely – very likely).  | 2016: V1621582012: immigpo\_jobs2008: V0850832004: V045116 | n/a |
| Is illegal immigration good, bad, or neither good nor bad for the national economy? | 2018: illimmecon | n/a |
| “Overall, do you think illegal immigrants make a contribution to American society?” | n/a | 2016: immi\_contribution\_2016 |
| Provide a legal way for illegal immigrants already in the United States to become citizens | n/a | 2016: immi\_naturalize\_2016 |
| Easier/harder for foreigners to immigrate to the US legally than it is currently | n/a | 2016: immi\_makedifficult\_2016 |
| **Racial Resentment Items** |  |  |
| “Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for Blacks to work their way out of the lower class.” | 2018: rr22016: V1622122012: resent\_slavery2008: V085144 2004: V045194 | 2016: race\_slave\_2016 |
| “Over the past few years, Blacks have gotten less than they deserve.” | 2018: rr32016: V1622132012: resent\_deserve2008: V085145 2004: V045195 | 2016: race\_deservemore\_2016 |
| “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.” | 2018: rr42016: V1622142012: resent\_try2008: V085146 2004: V045196 | 2016: race\_tryharder\_2016 |
| “Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors.” | 2018: rr12016: V1622112012: resent\_workway2008: V0851432004: V045193 | 2016: race\_overcome\_2016 |
| **Affect Toward Muslims** |  |  |
| Feeling thermometer - Muslims | 2018: ftmuslim2016: V1621062012: ftgr\_muslims2008: V085065e2004: V045088 | 2016: ft\_muslim\_2016 |

# Table A-2. Factor Analysis Results for Outgroup Hostility Scales

# We constructed the outgroup hostility scales in two steps. First, we created a racial resentment scale by summing the responses to the four racial resentment items. We also created an anti-immigrant scale based on a factor analysis of the specific items measuring anti-immigrant hostility. Second, we created the final outgroup hostility scale based on a factor analysis of the racial resentment scale, the anti-immigrant scale and the lone item measuring hostility toward Muslims – the Muslim feeling thermometer (reverse-scaled). The factor loadings from these factor analyses are presented in the table below. In each case, the items loaded on a single factor and returned an Eigenvalue greater than 1.0. In addition, the factor loadings were all above .5.

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Scale Items** | **Factor Loadings** |
| **Anti-Immigrant Scale (ANES 2016)** |  |
| V162313 (Feeling thermometer “Illegal Immigrants”) | .79 |
| V162157 (Support for decrease in immigration) | .83 |
| V162158 (Believe that immigration will take jobs) | .80 |
| **Anti-Immigrant Scale (ANES 2018)** |  |
| immignum | .88 |
| illimmecon | .84 |
| ftimmig | .77 |
| **Outgroup Hostility Scale (ANES 2016)** |  |
| Racial Resentment | .84 |
| Anti-Immigrant Scale | .88 |
| Hostility Toward Muslims (FT) | .80 |
| **Outgroup Hostility Scale (ANES 2016)** |  |
| Racial Resentment | .84 |
| Anti-Immigrant Scale | .91 |
| Hostility Toward Muslims (FT) | .87 |
| **Anti-Immigrant Scale (VOTER 2016)** |  |
|  immi\_naturalize\_2016  | .58 |
|  immi\_contribution\_2016 | .72 |
|  immi\_makedifficult\_2016 |  .58 |
|  ft\_immig\_2016 |  .68 |
| **Outgroup Hostility Scale (VOTER 2016)** |  |
| Racial Resentment | .83 |
| Anti-Immigrant Scale | .90 |
| Hostility Toward Muslims (FT) | .86 |

Note: The sample for these analyses includes White (non-Hispanic) voters. The factor analysis was conducted using principal-components factors.

# II. Analysis of Support for Donald Trump (Summarized in Figure 2)

# Table A-3. Variables Used in Analyses of Support for Donald Trump

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Variable** | **ANES** |
| **Candidate Preference Items** |  |
| Trump Feeling Thermometer0-100 | 2016: V162079 - V1620782018: fttrump |
| Outgroup Hostility ScaleBased on continuous version of scale 0-1, recoded into ordinal scale: 0-.20=0, .21-.35=1, .36-.50=2, .51-.65=3, .66-.80=4, .81-1.0=5.  | See Table A-1 and A-2 |
| **Economic Evaluations (National)** |  |
| “Now thinking about the economy in the country as a whole, would you say that over the past year the nation's economy has gotten BETTER, stayed ABOUT THE SAME, or gotten WORSE?” | 2016: V161140x2018: econnow |
| **Ideology and Partisanship Items** |  |
| Liberal-Conservative: Self-Placement1=Extremely Liberal - 7=Extremely Conservative | 2016: V1621712018: lcself |
| Party Identification Self-Placement (Pre-election)1=Strong Democrat - 7=Strong Republican | 2016: V161158x2018: pid7x |
| **Additional Variables** |  |
| Frequency of church attendance | See codebook |
| Education  | See codebook |
| Family income | See codebook |
| Marital status (1=married, 0=otherwise) | See codebook |
| Union household (1= union, 0=otherwise) | See codebook |

# Table A-4. Regression Results for Warmth Toward Trump

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | **2016** | **2018** |
| **Outgroup Hostility Scale****(Baseline = 0)** |  |  |
| Outgroup Hostility Scale=1 | -1.200 | -0.591 |
|  | (-0.64) | (-0.47) |
| Outgroup Hostility Scale=2 | 5.181\* | 5.180\*\* |
|  | (2.33) | (2.79) |
| Outgroup Hostility Scale=3 | 14.37\*\*\* | 14.41\*\*\* |
|  | (5.67) | (5.87) |
| Outgroup Hostility Scale=4 | 24.86\*\*\* | 19.60\*\*\* |
|  | (8.38) | (8.51) |
| Outgroup Hostility Scale=5 | 31.71\*\*\* | 22.66\*\*\* |
|  | (10.73) | (9.41) |
| **Party Identification** **(Baseline = Strong Democrat)** |  |  |
| Party Identification=2 | 7.225\*\*\* | -0.667 |
|  | (3.43) | (-0.35) |
| Party Identification=3 | 5.141\*\* | -2.482 |
|  | (2.72) | (-1.71) |
| Party Identification=4 | 13.48\*\*\* | 10.09\*\*\* |
|  | (4.97) | (3.97) |
| Party Identification=5 | 23.90\*\*\* | 25.56\*\*\* |
|  | (8.16) | (8.41) |
| Party Identification=6 | 20.49\*\*\* | 20.52\*\*\* |
|  | (6.94) | (6.73) |
| Party Identification=7 | 32.28\*\*\* | 30.48\*\*\* |
|  | (10.50) | (11.15) |
| **Ideological Identification** **(Baseline = Extremely Liberal)** |  |  |
| Ideological Identification=2 | 3.194 | -0.851 |
|  | (1.40) | (-0.54) |
| Ideological Identification=3 | 3.874 | -1.456 |
|  | (1.31) | (-0.76) |
| Ideological Identification=4 | 11.92\*\*\* | 4.100 |
|  | (3.87) | (1.74) |
| Ideological Identification=5 | 17.50\*\*\* | 8.671\*\* |
|  | (5.20) | (2.93) |
| Ideological Identification=6 | 19.55\*\*\* | 13.28\*\*\* |
|  | (5.63) | (4.52) |
| Ideological Identification=7 | 18.04\*\*\* | 11.18\*\*\* |
|  | (4.70) | (3.52) |
| **National Economic Evaluation****(Baseline = Much Better)** |  |  |
| National Economic Evaluation=2 | 5.428 | -12.02\*\*\* |
|  | (1.76) | (-7.89) |
| National Economic Evaluation=3 | 9.666\*\* | -30.52\*\*\* |
|  | (3.13) | (-13.89) |
| National Economic Evaluation=4 | 14.86\*\*\* | -35.80\*\*\* |
|  | (4.32) | (-15.52) |
| National Economic Evaluation=5 | 22.47\*\*\* | -37.76\*\*\* |
|  | (6.66) | (-14.97) |
| **Education Level****(Baseline = High School or Less)** |  |  |
| College Degree | -3.806\*\* | -3.445\*\* |
|  | (-2.77) | (-3.07) |
| Graduate Degree | -3.924\*\* | -4.063\*\* |
|  | (-2.67) | (-2.82) |
| **Frequency of Church Attendance****(Baseline = Never or Seldom)** |  |  |
| Frequency of church attendance=2 | 1.627 | 0.246 |
|  | (1.01) | (0.17) |
| Frequency of church attendance=3 | -1.768 | 4.772\* |
|  | (-1.04) | (2.43) |
| Frequency of church attendance=4 | 1.449 | -0.607 |
|  | (0.90) | (-0.44) |
| Frequency of church attendance=5 | 0.956 | 2.704 |
|  | (0.63) | (1.38) |
| Age | 0.0160 | -0.00424 |
|  | (0.49) | (-0.14) |
| Female | -1.610 | -1.915 |
|  | (-1.43) | (-1.78) |
| Family Income | -6.382\*\* | 1.567 |
|  | (-2.76) | (0.66) |
| Constant | 0.572 | 40.11\*\*\* |
|  | (0.13) | (10.52) |
| Observations | 2510 | 1558 |
| R-squared | .68 | .80 |

# Note: Cells contain unstandardized OLS coefficients and t statistics in parentheses.

# \* p<0.05 \*\* p<0.01 \*\*\* p<0.001

# III. Analysis of Political Participation – 2016 and 2018 ANES (Summarized in Figure 3)

# In this analysis we estimate the effect of outgroup hostility on participation in six different political activities and how the effect of outgroup hostility changed between 2016 and 2018. Specifically, we pooled the 2016 and 2018 ANES studies and estimated the effect of the outgroup hostility scale and the interaction of outgroup hostility and a dummy variable for 2018. To help isolate the effect of outgroup hostility, we also similar interactions with party identification and the Trump feeling thermometer.

# Table A-5. Variables Used in Analysis of Political Participation Items

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Variable** | **ANES** |
| **Political Participation Items (all responses yes/no)** |  |
| MeetingsDuring the past 12 months, have you attended a meeting to talk about political or social concerns, or have you not done this in the past 12 months? (2018)Did you go to any political meetings, rallies, speeches, dinners, or things like that in support of a particular candidate? (2016) | 2016: V1620112018: meet |
| Online PostingDuring the past 12 months, have you posted a message or comment online about a political issue or campaign, or have you not done this in the past 12 months? (2018)During the past 12 months, have you sent a message on Facebook/Twitter about polit issues. (2016) | 2016: V162018e2018: online |
| PersuadeDuring the past 12 months, have you tried to persuade anyone to vote one way or another, or have you not done this in the past 12 months? (2018)During the campaign, did you talk to any people and try to show them why they should vote for or against one of the parties or candidates? (2016) | 2016: V1620102018: persuade |
| Give MoneyDuring the past 12 months, have you given money to any candidate running for public office, any political party, or any other group that supported or opposed candidates, or have you not done this in the past 12 months? (2018)During the last 12 months…(1 = any if three, 0=none of the three)Did you give money to an individual candidate running for public office? (2016)Did you give money to a political party during this election year? (2016)Did you give any money to any other group that supported or opposed candidates? (2016) | 2016: V162016, V162017, V162018d2018: give |
| Attend Protest/RallyDuring the past 12 months, have you joined in a protest march, rally, or demonstration, or have you not done this in the past 12 months? (2018)During the past 12 months, have you joined in a protest march, rally, or demonstration, or have you not done this in the past 12 months? (2016) | 2016: V162018a2018: march1, march2 |
| Campaign MaterialsDuring the past 12 months, have you worn a campaign button, put a campaign sticker on your car, or placed a sign in your window or in front of your house, or have you not done this in the past 12 months?(2018)Did you wear a campaign button, put a campaign sticker on your car, or place a sign in your window or in front of your house? (2016) | 2016: V1620122018: sign |
| **Social and Political Attitudes** |  |
| Liberal-Conservative: Self-Placement1=Extremely Liberal - 7=Extremely Conservative | 2016: V1621712018: lcself |
| Party Identification Self-Placement (Pre-election)1=Strong Democrat - 7=Strong Republican | 2016: V161158x2018: pid7x |
| Trump Feeling Thermometer0-100 | 2016: V162079 - V1620782018: fttrump |
| Outgroup Hostility ScaleBased on continuous version of scale 0-1, recoded into ordinal scale: 0-.20=0, .21-.35=1, .36-.50=2, .51-.65=3, .66-.80=4, .81-1.0=5.  | See Table A-1 and A-2 |
| **Economic Evaluations (National)** |  |
| “Now thinking about the economy in the country as a whole, would you say that over the past year the nation's economy has gotten BETTER, stayed ABOUT THE SAME, or gotten WORSE?” | 2016: V161140x2018: econnow |
| **Additional Variables** |  |
| Frequency of church attendance | 2016: V1612452018: pew\_churatd |
| Education  | 2016: V1612702018: educ |
| Family income (recoded 0-1) | 2016: V162309x2018: income |
| Marital status (1=married, 0=otherwise) | 2016: V1612682018: marital |

# Table A-6. Logistic Regression Results for Participation Items

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | OnlinePolitical Posting | Try to Persuade | ProtestMarch | AttendPoliticalMeeting | GiveMoney | DisplayCampaignMaterials |
| **Outgroup Hostility Scale****(Baseline = 0)** |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Outgroup Hostility=1 | -0.416 | -0.134 | -0.760\* | -0.508 | -0.390 | 0.0533 |
|  | (-1.80) | (-0.51) | (-2.12) | (-1.72) | (-1.62) | (0.19) |
| Outgroup Hostility=2 | -0.650\*\* | -0.375 | -1.822\*\* | -0.741\* | -1.184\*\*\* | -0.166 |
|  | (-2.75) | (-1.42) | (-3.12) | (-2.14) | (-4.39) | (-0.53) |
| Outgroup Hostility=3 | -0.799\*\* | -0.343 | -1.017 | -0.683 | -0.924\*\*\* | -0.310 |
|  | (-3.17) | (-1.23) | (-1.60) | (-1.77) | (-3.34) | (-0.90) |
| Outgroup Hostility=4 | -0.599\* | 0.00966 | -1.358 | -0.270 | -1.308\*\*\* | -0.0313 |
|  | (-2.20) | (0.03) | (-1.39) | (-0.65) | (-4.29) | (-0.08) |
| Outgroup Hostility=5 | -0.358 | -0.293 | -0.567 | -0.967 | -1.265\*\*\* | 0.520 |
|  | (-1.20) | (-0.93) | (-0.61) | (-1.93) | (-3.62) | (1.36) |
| 2018 | 1.029\*\*\* | 0.0150 | 1.187\*\* | 1.369\*\*\* | 1.408\*\*\* | 0.866\*\* |
|  | (3.54) | (0.05) | (3.21) | (4.25) | (4.79) | (2.85) |
| Outgroup Hostility=1 # 2018 | -0.154 | -0.341 | 0.0420 | 0.132 | -0.513 | -0.279 |
|  | (-0.50) | (-1.11) | (0.10) | (0.37) | (-1.63) | (-0.81) |
| Outgroup Hostility=2 # 2018 | -0.545 | -0.526 | 0.817 | -0.178 | -0.388 | -0.746 |
|  | (-1.72) | (-1.60) | (1.29) | (-0.42) | (-1.07) | (-1.86) |
| Outgroup Hostility=3 # 2018 | -0.328 | -0.557 | 0.0183 | -0.113 | -0.679 | -0.260 |
|  | (-0.97) | (-1.60) | (0.03) | (-0.23) | (-1.74) | (-0.61) |
| Outgroup Hostility=4 # 2018 | -0.744\* | -0.780\* | -0.119 | -0.649 | -0.512 | -0.654 |
|  | (-2.07) | (-2.13) | (-0.11) | (-1.20) | (-1.17) | (-1.37) |
| Outgroup Hostility=5 # 2018 | -0.726 | -0.610 | -1.279 | -0.128 | -0.889 | -1.308\*\* |
|  | (-1.89) | (-1.47) | (-1.24) | (-0.22) | (-1.89) | (-2.67) |
| **Party Identification****(Baseline = Strong Dem)** |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party Identification=2 | -0.308 | -0.476\* | -0.224 | -0.460 | -0.481 | -0.975\*\* |
|  | (-1.61) | (-2.50) | (-0.44) | (-1.33) | (-1.96) | (-3.29) |
| Party Identification=3 | 0.139 | -0.223 | 0.107 | -0.105 | -0.544\* | -0.564\* |
|  | (0.76) | (-1.21) | (0.28) | (-0.36) | (-2.50) | (-2.32) |
| Party Identification=4 | -0.322 | -0.961\*\*\* | -0.505 | -1.102\* | -1.047\*\* | -1.115\*\* |
|  | (-1.43) | (-4.46) | (-0.70) | (-2.16) | (-3.08) | (-3.28) |
| Party Identification=5 | 0.303 | -0.582\*\* | -1.558 | -1.196\* | -0.479 | -0.983\*\* |
|  | (1.41) | (-2.72) | (-1.36) | (-2.39) | (-1.63) | (-3.04) |
| Party Identification=6 | -0.182 | -0.598\*\* | -0.138 | -1.020\* | -1.017\*\* | -1.676\*\*\* |
|  | (-0.86) | (-2.81) | (-0.17) | (-2.33) | (-3.25) | (-4.75) |
| Party Identification=7 | 0.00164 | -0.503\* | -2.428\* | -0.609 | -0.588 | -1.396\*\*\* |
|  | (0.01) | (-2.18) | (-2.00) | (-1.33) | (-1.91) | (-3.94) |
| Party Identification=2 # 2018 | -0.164 | -0.263 | 0.0999 | 0.275 | -0.150 | 0.218 |
|  | (-0.54) | (-0.89) | (0.17) | (0.64) | (-0.46) | (0.54) |
| Party Identification=3 # 2018 | -0.0258 | 0.0550 | -0.509 | -0.295 | 0.256 | 0.0865 |
|  | (-0.10) | (0.19) | (-1.10) | (-0.82) | (0.89) | (0.26) |
| Party Identification=4 # 2018 | -0.271 | -0.119 | -0.328 | 0.433 | 0.286 | -0.00577 |
|  | (-0.84) | (-0.36) | (-0.40) | (0.73) | (0.64) | (-0.01) |
| Party Identification=5 # 2018 | -0.0297 | 0.198 | 0.357 | 0.518 | -0.0445 | -0.0637 |
|  | (-0.09) | (0.59) | (0.28) | (0.85) | (-0.09) | (-0.13) |
| Party Identification=6 # 2018 | -0.458 | -0.313 | -0.408 | 0.178 | 0.0878 | 0.772 |
|  | (-1.36) | (-0.91) | (-0.45) | (0.33) | (0.19) | (1.63) |
| Party Identification=7 # 2018 | -0.00783 | 0.223 | 1.802 | 0.0831 | 0.0423 | 1.005\* |
|  | (-0.02) | (0.64) | (1.42) | (0.15) | (0.10) | (2.17) |
| **Ideological Identification****(Baseline = Ext. Liberal)** |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Ideological Identification=2 | 0.00342 | -0.127 | -0.251 | -0.362\* | -0.138 | -0.117 |
|  | (0.02) | (-0.74) | (-1.28) | (-2.22) | (-0.77) | (-0.74) |
| Ideological Identification=3 | -0.273 | -0.376\* | -0.724\*\* | -0.770\*\*\* | -0.154 | -0.382 |
|  | (-1.54) | (-2.00) | (-2.60) | (-3.44) | (-0.74) | (-1.84) |
| Ideological Identification=4 | -0.744\*\*\* | -0.816\*\*\* | -1.095\*\* | -1.011\*\*\* | -0.761\*\*\* | -0.715\*\* |
|  | (-4.11) | (-4.18) | (-3.19) | (-4.33) | (-3.38) | (-3.27) |
| Ideological Identification=5 | -0.541\*\* | -0.673\*\* | -1.606\*\* | -0.958\*\* | -0.456 | -0.534 |
|  | (-2.62) | (-3.02) | (-2.96) | (-3.12) | (-1.66) | (-1.89) |
| Ideological Identification=6 | -0.410\* | -0.507\* | -1.333\*\* | -0.910\*\* | -0.406 | -0.509 |
|  | (-1.98) | (-2.20) | (-3.03) | (-3.03) | (-1.51) | (-1.89) |
| Ideological Identification=7 | -0.165 | -0.479 | -1.151\* | -0.789\* | -0.263 | -0.221 |
|  | (-0.70) | (-1.86) | (-2.19) | (-2.26) | (-0.85) | (-0.72) |
| **Education Level****(Baseline = H.S. or less)** |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Education Level=College | 0.116 | 0.0725 | 0.258 | 0.452\*\*\* | 0.455\*\*\* | 0.0670 |
|  | (1.25) | (0.76) | (1.38) | (3.55) | (4.31) | (0.55) |
| Education Level=Graduate | 0.0471 | 0.263\* | 0.425\* | 0.524\*\*\* | 0.604\*\*\* | 0.222 |
|  | (0.43) | (2.41) | (2.05) | (3.76) | (4.98) | (1.59) |
| **Church attendance****(Baseline = Seldom/Never)** |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Church attendance=2 | 0.0900 | 0.107 | 0.296 | 0.606\*\*\* | 0.132 | 0.103 |
|  | (0.78) | (0.95) | (1.25) | (3.88) | (0.97) | (0.70) |
| Church attendance=3 | 0.0751 | 0.0338 | 0.304 | 0.296 | 0.216 | 0.383\* |
|  | (0.55) | (0.24) | (1.06) | (1.40) | (1.23) | (2.19) |
| Church attendance=4 | -0.258\* | 0.0609 | 0.347 | 0.385\* | -0.0667 | 0.238 |
|  | (-2.25) | (0.58) | (1.69) | (2.37) | (-0.53) | (1.85) |
| Church attendance=5 | -0.353\*\* | 0.161 | 0.329 | 0.468\* | 0.0502 | -0.0396 |
|  | (-2.73) | (1.36) | (1.05) | (2.42) | (0.32) | (-0.23) |
| Family Income | 0.101 | 0.532\*\*\* | 0.299 | 0.612\* | 1.259\*\*\* | 0.241 |
|  | (0.61) | (3.33) | (0.79) | (2.32) | (5.54) | (1.12) |
| Trump FT | -0.0217\*\*\* | -0.0220\*\*\* | -0.0411 | 0.000374 | -0.0228\*\* | -0.0259\*\* |
|  | (-3.79) | (-3.77) | (-1.78) | (0.03) | (-2.79) | (-3.00) |
| Trump FT2 | .000260\*\*\* | .000308\*\*\* | .000452\* | .0000805 | .000365\*\*\* | .000410\*\*\* |
|  | (4.61) | (5.41) | (2.00) | (0.74) | (4.85) | (4.97) |
| Trump FT # 2018  | -0.0182 | -0.00184 | 0.0299 | 0.00856 | 0.0132 | 0.00978 |
|  | (-1.88) | (-0.18) | (1.10) | (0.55) | (1.11) | (0.72) |
| Trump FT2 # 2018  | 0.000144 | -0.0000880 | -0.000233 | -0.0000727 | -0.000201 | -0.000190 |
|  | (1.54) | (-0.89) | (-0.89) | (-0.50) | (-1.81) | (-1.56) |
| Gender (Baseline = Male) | 0.0668 | -0.244\*\* | -0.121 | -0.272\*\* | -0.353\*\*\* | -0.166 |
|  | (0.85) | (-3.15) | (-0.85) | (-2.60) | (-4.08) | (-1.67) |
| Age | -0.0142\*\*\* | 0.00505\* | -0.0210\*\*\* | -0.00695\* | 0.0225\*\*\* | 0.00376 |
|  | (-5.76) | (2.16) | (-4.68) | (-1.97) | (7.93) | (1.24) |
| Marital Status (1=married) | -0.0533 | -0.0102 | -0.0978 | -0.198 | -0.0232 | -0.0163 |
|  | (-0.67) | (-0.14) | (-0.59) | (-1.74) | (-0.23) | (-0.15) |
| **Nat’l Economic Evaluation****(Baseline = Much Better)** |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Nat’l Economic Evaluation=2 | -0.306\* | -0.436\* | -0.253 | -0.255 | -0.207 | -0.423\* |
|  | (-2.10) | (-2.53) | (-0.91) | (-1.31) | (-1.24) | (-2.19) |
| Nat’l Economic Evaluation=3 | -0.594\*\*\* | -0.647\*\*\* | -0.383 | -0.193 | -0.353 | -0.478\* |
|  | (-3.75) | (-3.66) | (-1.15) | (-0.87) | (-1.83) | (-2.32) |
| Nat’l Economic Evaluation=4 | -0.450\* | -0.620\*\* | -0.292 | -0.102 | -0.440\* | -0.465\* |
|  | (-2.46) | (-3.06) | (-0.79) | (-0.41) | (-1.99) | (-2.01) |
| Nat’l Economic Evaluation=5 | -0.318 | -0.388 | 0.0675 | -0.0131 | -0.439 | -0.279 |
|  | (-1.58) | (-1.83) | (0.15) | (-0.04) | (-1.73) | (-1.07) |
| Constant | 1.646\*\*\* | 1.590\*\*\* | -0.344 | -0.873\* | -1.445\*\*\* | -0.669 |
|  | (4.95) | (4.36) | (-0.64) | (-2.01) | (-3.89) | (-1.71) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Observations | 3658 | 3659 | 3659 | 3658 | 3658 | 3659 |

# Note: Cells contain logit coefficients and z statistics in parentheses. The sample is based on White respondents only.

# \* p<0.05 \*\* p<0.01 \*\*\* p<0.001

# IV. Analysis of Turnout – 2016 vs. 2018 (VOTER Survey) (Summarized in Figure 4)

# Table A-7. Variables Used in Analysis of Turnout

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Variable** | **VOTER Survey** |
| **Turnout Items** |  |
| Demobilized in 2018 (1=voted in 2016 general election but not in 2018 general; 0=voted in 2016 general election and also voted in 2018 general election) | 2016 turnout: TS\_vb\_vf\_g\_20162018 turnout: tsmart\_G2018\_2019 |
| Newly Mobilized in 2018 (1=did not vote in 2016 general election but did vote in 2016 general election; 0=did not vote in 2016 general election and did not vote in 2018 general election) | 2016 turnout: TS\_vb\_vf\_g\_20162018 turnout: tsmart\_G2018\_2019 |
| **Outgroup Hostility Scale** **(Range: 0-1 scale)** | See Table A-1 and A-2 |
| **Modern Sexism Scale Items (Used to create 0-1 scale)** |  |
| When women demand equality these days, how often are they actually seeking special favors? | sexism2\_2016 |
| When women complain about discrimination/harassment, how often do they cause more problems than they solve? | sexism4\_2016 |
| Women often miss out on good jobs because ofdiscrimination | sexism3\_2016 |
| **Social Issues Scale Items (Used to create 0-1 scale)** |  |
| ANES: There has been some discussion about abortion during recent years. Which one of the opinions on this page best agrees with your view? | abortview3\_2016 |
| Which comes closest to your view? 1. Gay and lesbian couples should be allowed to legally marry.2. Gay and lesbian couples should be allowed to form civil unions but not legally marry. 3. There should be no legal recognition of a gay or lesbian couple's relationship. | gaymar\_2016 |
| Summary: Transgender policy (ANES) | view\_transgender\_2016 |
| **Economic Evaluations (National)** |  |
| “Now thinking about the economy in the country as a whole, would you say that over the past year the nation's economy has gotten BETTER, stayed ABOUT THE SAME, or gotten WORSE?” | econtrend\_2019 |
| **Healthcare Policy** |  |
| Do you think it is the responsibility of the federal government to see to it that everyone has health care coverage? (1=Yes, 2=No) | univhealthcov\_2019 |
| **Ideology and Partisanship Items** |  |
| Liberal-Conservative: Self-Placement 1=Very Liberal, 3=Moderate, 5=Very Conservative | ideo5\_2018 |
| Party Identification Self-Placement1=Strong Democrat, 4=Independent, 7=Strong Republican | pid7\_2018 |
| **Additional Variables** |  |
| Frequency of church attendance (recoded 0=seldom, never, 1=a few times a year, 2=once or twice a month, 3=once a week, 4=more than once a week) | pew\_churatd\_2019 |
| Education level (recoded 0=H.S. or less, 1=College degree, 2=Post Grad | educ\_2018 |
| Family income (recoded 0-1) | faminc\_new\_2017 |
| Marital status (1=married, 0=otherwise) | marstat\_2018 |

# Table A-8. Logistic Regression Analysis of Change in Turnout, 2016-2018

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Demobilized in 2018** | **Newly Mobilized in 2018** |
| Outgroup Hostility | 1.494\*\* | -1.374\* |
|  | (2.78) | (-2.11) |
| Social Issues Scale | 0.228 | 0.553 |
|  | (0.45) | (1.10) |
| Modern Sexism Scale  | -0.511 | 0.669 |
|  | (-0.86) | (1.28) |
| Party Identification | -0.0673 | 0.0672 |
|  | (-0.94) | (0.73) |
| Ideology  | 0.0428 | -0.477\* |
|  | (0.29) | (-2.32) |
| **National Economic Evaluation****(Baseline = Better)** |  |  |
| About the same | -0.0542 | -0.232 |
|  | (-0.21) | (-0.73) |
| Getting worse | 0.0557 | 0.266 |
|  | (0.15) | (0.68) |
| Don't know | -1.918\*\* | 0.264 |
|  | (-2.77) | (0.43) |
| Support for Universal Healthcare | -0.412 | 0.290 |
|  | (-1.19) | (0.81) |
| Don't know | -0.266 | -0.224 |
|  | (-0.66) | (-0.39) |
| **Education Level****(Baseline = H.S or less)** |  |  |
| College | -0.557 | 0.421 |
|  | (-1.92) | (1.42) |
| Post Grad | 0.174 | 0.345 |
|  | (0.73) | (1.09) |
| Age | -0.0164\* | 0.00912 |
|  | (-2.16) | (0.95) |
| Gender (Female = 1) | 0.281 | -0.355 |
|  | (1.52) | (-1.53) |
| **Frequency of Church Attendance****(Baseline =Never/Seldom)** |  |  |
| Few times a year | 0.284 | 0.451 |
|  | (0.88) | (1.32) |
| Once or twice a month | 0.211 | 1.430\* |
|  | (0.55) | (2.30) |
| Once a week | -0.00370 | 0.450 |
|  | (-0.01) | (1.41) |
| More than once a week | -0.658 | 0.657 |
|  | (-1.45) | (1.16) |
| Change in Family Income | 0.0939 | 0.0666 |
|  | (1.17) | (0.87) |
| Constant | -1.435 | 0.0925 |
|  | (-1.94) | (0.09) |
|  |  |  |
| Observations | 2,033 | 676 |

# Note: Cells contain logit coefficients and z statistics in parentheses. The sample is based on White respondents only. \* p<0.05 \*\* p<0.01 \*\*\* p<0.001