Appendix A (Paper)

Appendix Table 1: Testing Whether the Correlations between Presidential Approval and Macropartisanship Vary by Race and Ethnicity

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Hotelling's T-Test | Steiger's Z-Test |
| White vs. Black | 2.110\*\*  (0.035) | 2.100\*\*  (0.036) |
| White vs. Latino | 2.541\*\*  (0.011) | 2.523\*\*  (0.012) |
| Black vs. Latino | 0.190  (0.849) | 0.190  (0.849) |

Hotelling's T-Test reports a t-statistic. Steiger's Z-Test reports a Z-statistic; *p-values in parentheses.* \*p<0.10, \*\*p<0.05, \*\*\*p<0.01.

Appendix Table 2: Testing Whether the Correlations between Polarization and Macropartisanship Vary by Race and Ethnicity

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Hotelling's T-Test | Steiger's Z-Test |
| White vs. Black | -22.822\*\*\*  (<0.001) | 15.296\*\*\*  (<0.001) |
| White vs. Latino | -10.057\*\*\*  (<0.001) | 8.974\*\*\*  (<0.001) |
| Black vs. Latino | 8.091\*\*\*  (<0.001) | 7.616\*\*\*  (<0.001) |

Hotelling's T-Test reports a t-statistic. Steiger's Z-Test reports a Z-statistic; *p-values in parentheses*. \*p<0.10, \*\*p<0.05, \*\*\*p<0.01.

Appendix B (Supplemental Online)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Latinos | Whites | Blacks | Overall | Latinos | Whites | Blacks | Overall |
|  | OLS | OLS | OLS | OLS | Newey-West | Newey-West | Newey-West | Newey-West |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Consumer Indext-1 | 0.052\*\* | 0.021\*\*\* | 0.013\* | 0.023\*\* | 0.380\*\*\* | 0.116\*\*\* | 0.020 | 0.149\*\*\* |
|  | (0.022) | (0.008) | (0.007) | (0.010) | (0.130) | (0.037) | (0.020) | (0.035) |
| Polarization | 3.752 | -4.543 | -0.118 | -0.386 | -53.605 | -47.832\*\* | 8.262 | -9.982 |
|  | (7.792) | (2.846) | (2.684) | (3.534) | (43.089) | (18.636) | (8.610) | (18.394) |
| Reagan | 0.907 | -0.321 | -0.389 | 0.199 | 0.310 | -1.267 | -2.248 | 2.520 |
|  | (1.077) | (0.379) | (0.379) | (0.498) | (6.758) | (2.563) | (1.583) | (2.589) |
| Bush I | -0.137 | -0.975\*\* | -0.697\* | -0.649 | -9.698 | -8.881\*\*\* | -4.334\*\*\* | -5.251\*\* |
|  | (1.186) | (0.442) | (0.416) | (0.546) | (6.967) | (2.589) | (1.378) | (2.534) |
| Clinton | -0.173 | -0.508\*\* | -0.504\*\* | -0.307 | -1.874 | -3.635\*\*\* | -3.370\*\*\* | -1.919 |
|  | (0.610) | (0.224) | (0.225) | (0.283) | (4.056) | (1.234) | (0.742) | (1.266) |
| Obama | 0.780 | 0.225 | 0.156 | 0.418 | 15.073\*\*\* | 2.980 | 0.230 | 4.332\*\* |
|  | (0.847) | (0.278) | (0.269) | (0.368) | (3.961) | (1.842) | (0.857) | (1.816) |
| Macropartisanshipt-1 | 0.899\*\*\* | 0.906\*\*\* | 0.887\*\*\* | 0.885\*\*\* | −−− | −−− | −−− | −−− |
|  | (0.022) | (0.019) | (0.023) | (0.022) |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -0.306 | 0.222 | 0.227 | -0.004 | -1.685 | 1.711\* | 1.618\*\*\* | -0.295 |
|  | (0.424) | (0.152) | (0.152) | (0.195) | (2.878) | (0.977) | (0.577) | (0.964) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Observations | 398 | 398 | 398 | 398 | 399 | 399 | 399 | 399 |
| R-squared | 0.862 | 0.909 | 0.889 | 0.870 | −−− | −−− | −−− | −−− |
| F | −−− | −−− | −−− | −−− | 8.81 | 6.95 | 20.95 | 11.42 |

Online Appendix Table 1: Consumer Confidences, Political Polarization, Administration, and Macropartisanship (No Presidential Approval)

Standard errors in parentheses

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.10

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Latinos | Whites | Blacks | Overall | Latinos | Whites | Blacks | Overall |
|  | OLS | OLS | OLS | OLS | Newey-West | Newey-West | Newey-West | Newey-West |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Approvalt-1 | 0.028\* | 0.022\*\*\* | 0.014\*\* | 0.017\*\* | 0.214\*\*\* | 0.150\*\*\* | 0.090\*\*\* | 0.120\*\*\* |
|  | (0.017) | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.008) | (0.072) | (0.028) | (0.019) | (0.026) |
| Consumer Indext-1 | 0.029 | 0.018\*\* | 0.013 | 0.020\* | 0.242\*\* | 0.065\* | 0.005 | 0.106\*\*\* |
|  | (0.023) | (0.008) | (0.008) | (0.011) | (0.105) | (0.034) | (0.022) | (0.034) |
| Republican Polarization | 24.023 | -14.388\*\* | -6.486 | -1.544 | -33.507 | -98.195\*\*\* | -10.651 | -23.903 |
| (Conservatism) | (15.818) | (5.867) | (5.483) | (7.269) | (70.212) | (34.410) | (18.542) | (40.243) |
| Reagan | 2.090\* | -0.434 | -0.826\*\* | 0.250 | 5.224 | -1.290 | -3.771\*\* | 2.469 |
|  | (1.123) | (0.391) | (0.398) | (0.519) | (5.969) | (2.214) | (1.557) | (2.608) |
| Bush I | 1.256 | -1.157\*\*\* | -1.065\*\* | -0.570 | -2.288 | -7.249\*\*\* | -5.101\*\*\* | -4.120 |
|  | (1.197) | (0.443) | (0.430) | (0.557) | (5.330) | (2.271) | (1.502) | (2.638) |
| Clinton | 0.488 | -0.689\*\*\* | -0.728\*\*\* | -0.299 | 0.519 | -3.741\*\*\* | -3.804\*\*\* | -1.745 |
|  | (0.678) | (0.248) | (0.251) | (0.314) | (3.414) | (1.161) | (0.845) | (1.354) |
| Obama | -0.425 | 0.912\*\* | 0.655 | 0.604 | 13.840\*\* | 6.544\*\*\* | 1.861 | 5.554\*\* |
|  | (1.257) | (0.442) | (0.421) | (0.569) | (5.379) | (2.489) | (1.336) | (2.752) |
| Macropartisanshipt-1 | 0.890\*\*\* | 0.865\*\*\* | 0.866\*\*\* | 0.868\*\*\* | −−− | −−− | −−− | −−− |
|  | (0.022) | (0.022) | (0.024) | (0.023) |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -0.582 | 0.203 | 0.323\*\* | -0.042 | -3.589\* | 0.999 | 1.886\*\*\* | -0.568 |
|  | (0.389) | (0.134) | (0.140) | (0.176) | (1.951) | (0.690) | (0.485) | (0.744) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Observations | 398 | 398 | 398 | 398 | 399 | 399 | 399 | 399 |
| R-squared | 0.864 | 0.912 | 0.891 | 0.871 | −−− | −−− | −−− | −−− |
| F | −−− | −−− | −−− | −−− | 7.56 | 9.97 | 24.64 | 13.58 |

Online Appendix Table 2: Presidential Approval, Consumer Confidence, Republican Polarization (Conservatism), Administration, and Macropartisanship

Standard errors in parentheses

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.10

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Latinos | Whites | Blacks | Overall | Latinos | Whites | Blacks | Overall |
|  | OLS | OLS | OLS | OLS | Newey-West | Newey-West | Newey-West | Newey-West |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Approvalt-1 | 0.028\* | 0.020\*\*\* | 0.015\*\* | 0.017\*\* | 0.200\*\*\* | 0.145\*\*\* | 0.096\*\*\* | 0.121\*\*\* |
|  | (0.017) | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.008) | (0.066) | (0.029) | (0.019) | (0.026) |
| Consumer Indext-1 | 0.053\*\* | 0.010 | 0.003 | 0.017\* | 0.283\*\*\* | 0.018 | -0.031\* | 0.085\*\* |
|  | (0.021) | (0.007) | (0.007) | (0.010) | (0.101) | (0.033) | (0.017) | (0.034) |
| Democratic Polarization | 3.640 | 4.533 | -5.549 | -1.245 | 89.509 | 44.686\*\* | -35.737\*\*\* | -1.818 |
| (Conservatism) | (12.160) | (4.289) | (4.239) | (5.487) | (58.762) | (20.422) | (11.448) | (19.729) |
| Reagan | 0.382 | 0.131 | -0.100 | 0.422 | 1.931 | 2.233 | -0.932 | 4.095\*\* |
|  | (0.888) | (0.314) | (0.309) | (0.418) | (5.072) | (1.768) | (1.350) | (1.903) |
| Bush I | -0.587 | -0.509 | -0.278 | -0.380 | -6.277 | -3.840\*\*\* | -1.916\* | -2.409 |
|  | (1.023) | (0.363) | (0.354) | (0.468) | (5.032) | (1.452) | (1.109) | (1.494) |
| Clinton | -0.317 | -0.328\* | -0.438\*\* | -0.227 | -0.239 | -1.606\*\* | -2.760\*\*\* | -0.971 |
|  | (0.531) | (0.188) | (0.196) | (0.244) | (2.889) | (0.727) | (0.543) | (0.847) |
| Obama | 1.328\*\* | -0.057 | 0.168 | 0.486\*\* | 12.144\*\*\* | 0.006 | 0.859\* | 3.871\*\*\* |
|  | (0.573) | (0.175) | (0.175) | (0.247) | (1.769) | (0.998) | (0.515) | (1.129) |
| Macropartisanshipt-1 | 0.885\*\*\* | 0.879\*\*\* | 0.859\*\*\* | 0.868\*\*\* | −−− | −−− | −−− | −−− |
|  | (0.023) | (0.021) | (0.025) | (0.023) |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -0.195 | 0.122 | 0.119 | -0.091 | -1.962 | 0.724 | 0.915\*\* | -0.929 |
|  | (0.425) | (0.148) | (0.148) | (0.195) | (2.313) | (0.677) | (0.455) | (0.668) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Observations | 398 | 398 | 398 | 398 | 399 | 399 | 399 | 399 |
| R-squared | 0.863 | 0.911 | 0.891 | 0.871 | −−− | −−− | −−− | −−− |
| F | −−− | −−− | −−− | −−− | 8.30 | 11.37 | 33.17 | 13.81 |

Online Appendix Table 3: Presidential Approval, Consumer Confidence, Democratic Polarization (Conservatism), Administration, and Macropartisanship

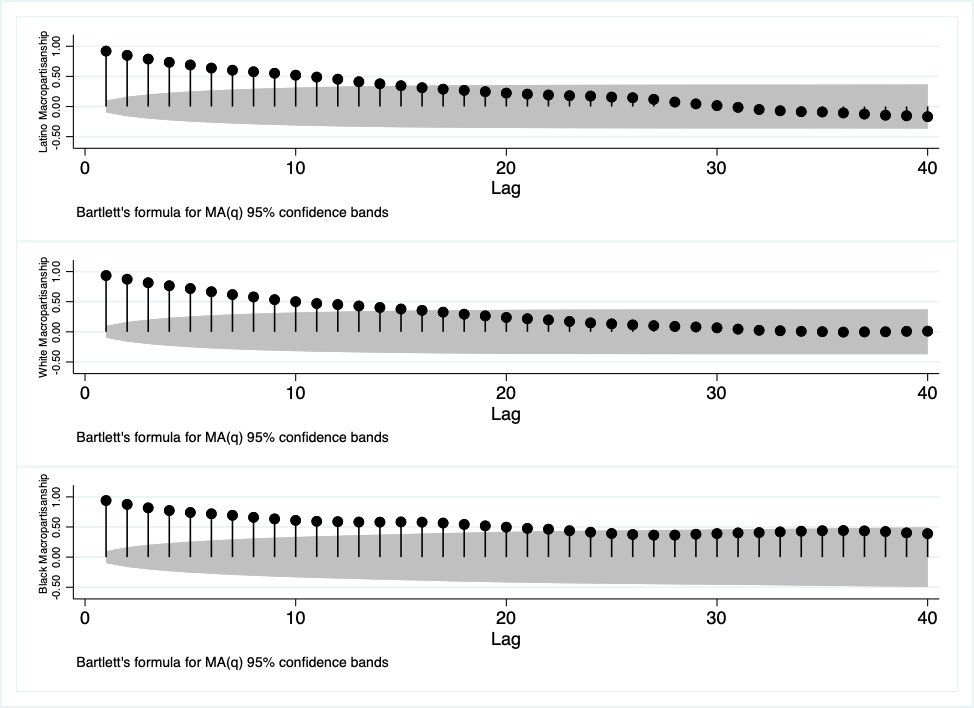
Standard errors in parentheses

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.10

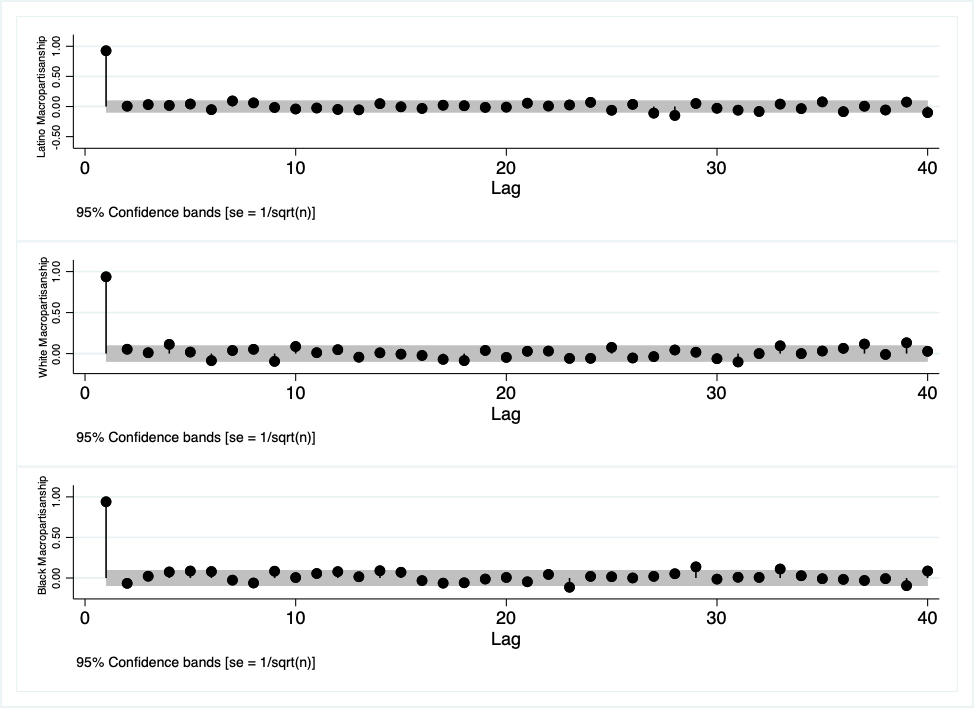
Online Appendix Table 4: ARMA Models of Presidential Approval, Consumer Confidence, Polarization, and Administration

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Latinos | Whites | Blacks | Overall |
|  | ARMA(1, 1) | ARMA(1, 1) | ARMA(1, 1) | ARMA(1, 1) |
| Approvalt-1 | 0.053 | 0.003 | 0.009 | 0.015 |
|  | (0.045) | (0.013) | (0.014) | (0.015) |
| Consumer Indext-1 | 0.048 | 0.049\*\* | 0.021 | 0.068\*\*\* |
|  | (0.045) | (0.019) | (0.013) | (0.020) |
| Polarization | 53.942\*\*\* | -18.589 | 4.200 | -15.767\* |
|  | (14.671) | (11.915) | (5.348) | (9.290) |
| Reagan | 11.447\*\*\* | -0.91 | -2.494\*\* | -0.144 |
|  | (3.14) | (1.492) | (1.166) | (1.668) |
| Bush I | 8.115\*\*\* | -1.961\* | -3.820\*\*\* | -2.764\*\* |
|  | (2.399) | (1.027) | (0.919) | (1.279) |
| Clinton | 4.049\*\* | -2.299\*\*\* | -2.808\*\*\* | -2.257\*\* |
|  | (1.579) | (0.851) | (0.616) | (0.988) |
| Obama | 4.413 | 3.288\* | 1.131 | 4.329\*\*\* |
|  | (2.845) | (1.773) | (0.836) | (1.189) |
| AR(1) | 0.911\*\*\* | 0.972\*\*\* | 0.875\*\*\* | 0.921\*\*\* |
|  | (0.023) | (0.041) | (0.030) | (0.028) |
| MA(1) | 0.016 | -0.077 | 0.098 | 0.014 |
|  | (0.062) | (0.079) | (0.070) | (0.066) |
| Constant | -4.671\* | 0.840 | 1.316\* | 0.266 |
|  | (2.407) | 2.802) | (0.721) | (1.243) |
| Sigma | 3.061\*\*\* | 1.087\*\*\* | 1.061\*\*\* | 1.408\*\*\* |
|  | (0.137) | (0.072) | (0.046) | (0.095) |
| Observations | 399 | 399 | 399 | 399 |

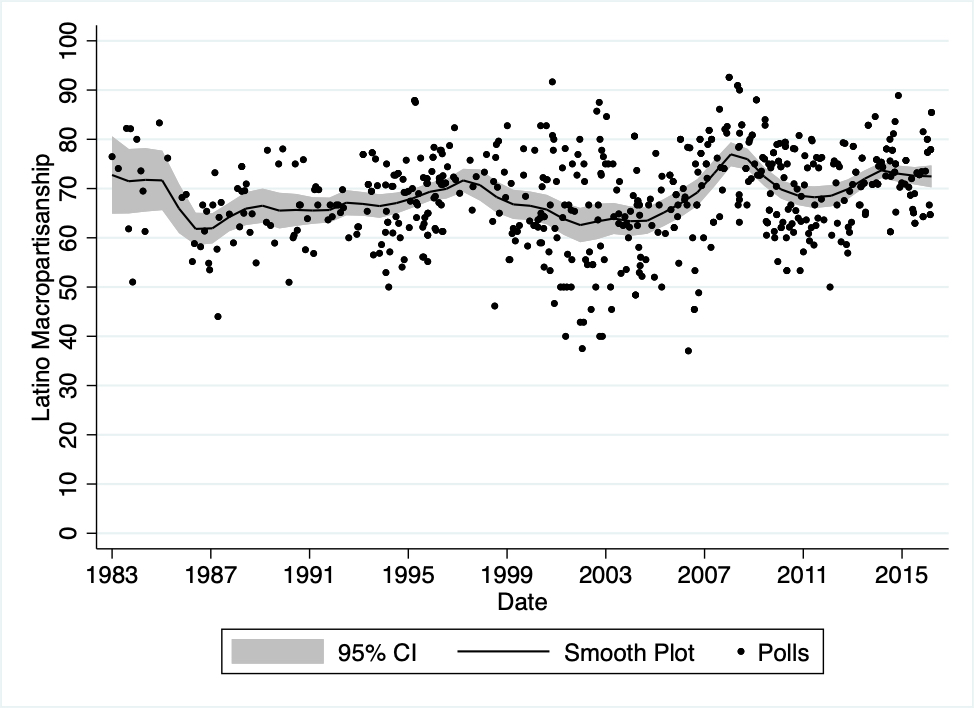
Online Appendix Figure 1: Autocorrelations of Macropartisanship by Race or Ethnicity

Online

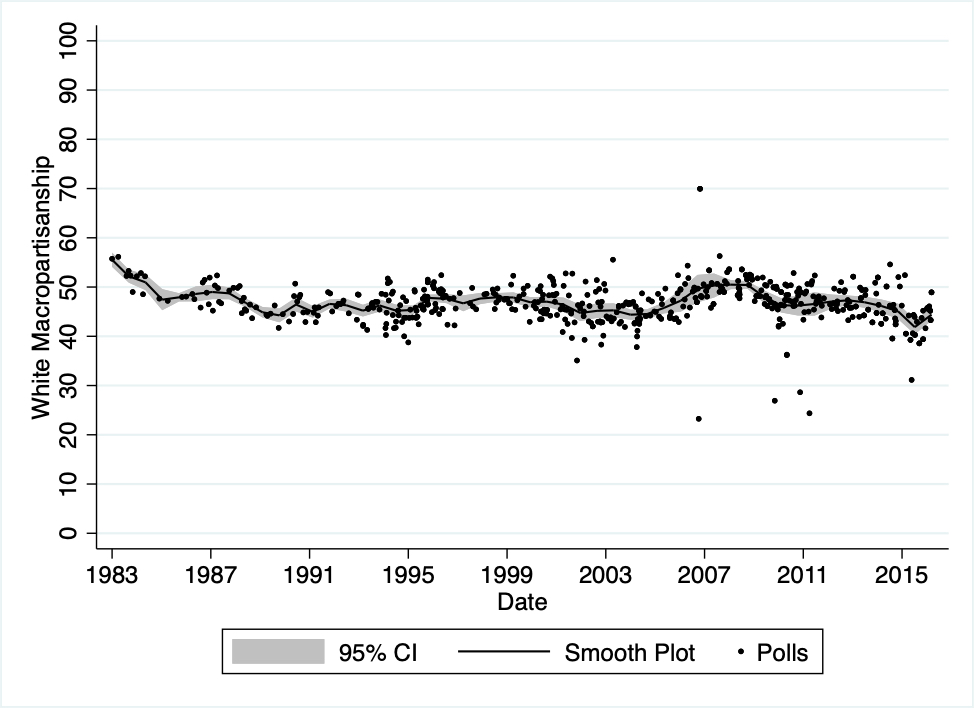
Online Appendix Figure 2: Partial Autocorrelations of Macropartisanship

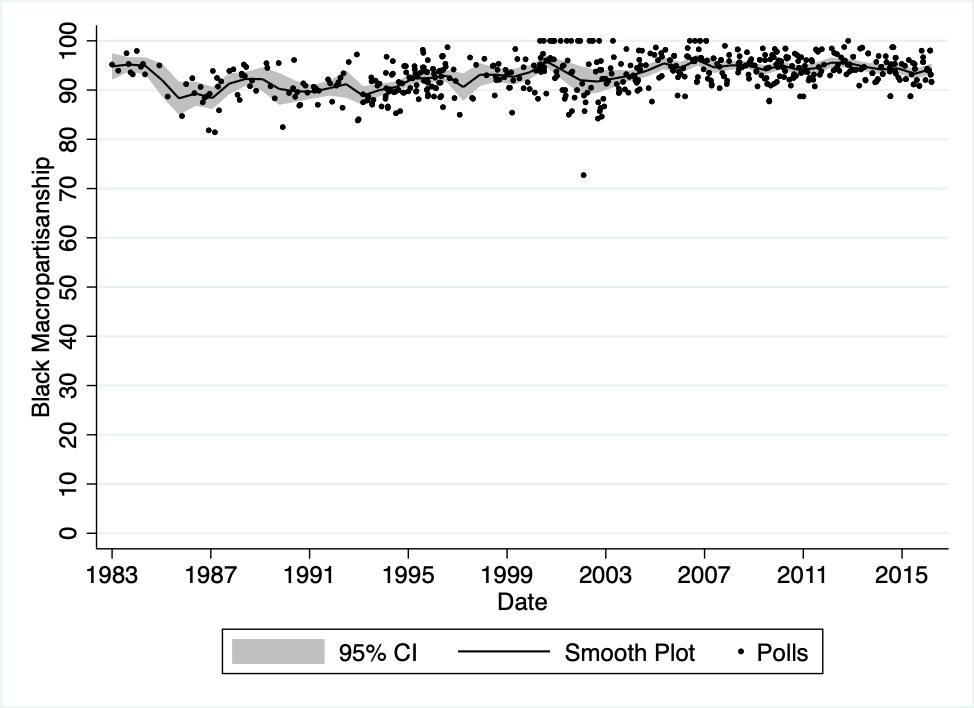


Online Appendix Figure 3: Latino Macropartisanship with Confidence Intervals[[1]](#footnote-1)



Online Appendix Figure 4: White Macropartisanship with Confidence Intervals



Online Appendix Figure 5: Black Macropartisanship with Confidence Intervals 

1. Figures 3-5 present raw CBS and CBS/NYTimes polls with a scatterplot and local polynomial smooth plots with confidence intervals shown over time. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)