

Supplemental Appendix:

“Biased Interviewer Assessments of Respondent Knowledge Based on Perceptions of Skin Tone”

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1 Control Variable Wording and Coding

- **Education** (dem_edu)
 0. 8 grades or less
 1. 9-12 grades
 2. High school
 3. HS + non-academic training
 4. Some college
 5. BA
 6. Advanced

- **Income** (incgroup_prepost_x)
 0. 0 to 16 percentile
 1. 17 to 33 percentile
 2. 34 to 67 percentile
 3. 68 to 95 percentile
 4. 96 to 100 percentile

- **Age** (dem_age_r_x): Age in years.

- **Female** (gender_respondent_x)
 0. Male
 1. Female

- **Single** (dem_marital)
 0. Not single
 1. Single

- **Widowed** (dem_marital)
 0. Not widowed
 1. Widowed

- **Divorced** (dem_marital)
 0. Not divorced
 1. Divorced

- **Separated** (dem_marital)

- 0. Not separated

- 1. Separated

- **South** (sample_region)

- 0. Does not live in south

- 1. Does live in south

2 Political Knowledge Questions

Table 2.1: 2012 ANES objective knowledge questions, grouped by survey wave.

Pre-Election

- 1) “Do you happen to know which party had the most members in the House of Representatives in Washington BEFORE the election last month?”
- 2) “Do you happen to know which party had the most members in the U.S. Senate BEFORE the election last month?”
- 3) “John Boehner. What job or political office does he NOW hold?”
- 4) “Joe Biden. What job or political office does he NOW hold?”
- 5) “John Roberts. What job or political office does he NOW hold?”
- 6) “David Cameron. What job or political office does he NOW hold?”

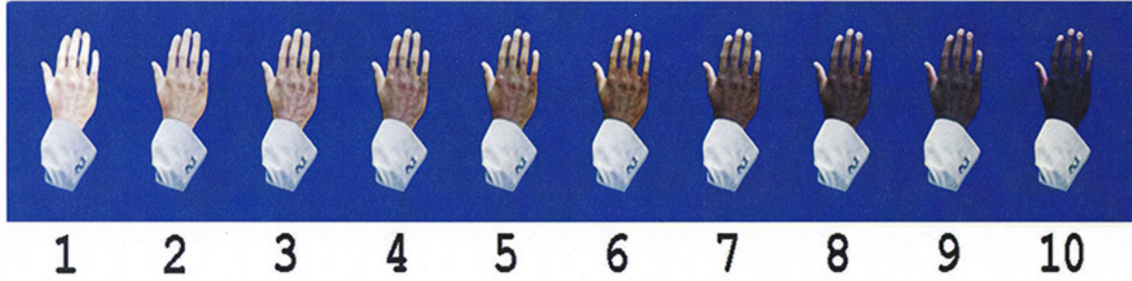
Post-Election

- 1) “What is Medicare?” (4 response options)
 - 2) “On which of the following does the U.S. federal government currently spend the least?”
 - 3) “Is the U.S. federal budget deficit – the amount by which the government’s spending exceeds the amount of money it collects – now bigger, about the same, or smaller than it was during most of the 1990s?”
 - 4) “Do you happen to know how many times an individual can be elected President of the United States under current laws?”
 - 5) “For how many years is a United States Senator elected – that is, how many years are there in one full term of office for a U.S. Senator?”
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Note: Correct answers were counted to generate pre- and post-election measures of objective knowledge.

3 Skin Tone Graphic

Scale of Skin Color Darkness



4 Interviewer Instructions for Skin Tone Assessment

The following is an excerpt pertaining to the assessment of respondent skin tone from the 2012 ANES training manual for interviewers:

As you know, human beings display a wide variety of physical attributes. One of these is skin color. Unfortunately it is a reality that some respondents may answer questions differently depending on theirs and your skin tone. They may not be comfortable being honest about their opinions, for example, if they are worried they might offend you. In order to detect such discrimination, it is important that the study include a measure of skin color.

In order to address the potential bias that skin color may introduce, we will ask you to record the skin color of the Respondent using a Scale of Skin Color Darkness. This is an 11-point scale, ranging from zero to 10, with zero representing albinism, or the total absence of color, and 10 representing the darkest possible skin. The eleven shades of skin color are depicted in a chart, with each point represented by a hand, of identical form, but differing in color. You should be careful to assess the Respondent's skin color regardless of his or her race or ethnicity. It is important that you become familiar with the scale so that you do not access it during the interview. Respondents should never see this scale.

You will be asked to record the Respondent's skin tone immediately after you leave the Respondent's home after the Pre-Election Questionnaire. Again, Respondents must never see this scale, so you need to make a mental note of this while you are administering the questionnaire.

Note: There is a discrepancy between the graphic on the previous page, which depicts tones ranging from 1–10, and the interviewer instructions, which reference an 11-point scale ranging from 0–10. Both of these contradictory pieces of information are supplied directly by the ANES [here](#). As far as we can tell, the scale was revised and interviewers did, indeed, use a 10-point scale instead of an 11-point one, for both their own skin tone assessments and that of respondents.

5 Distribution of Respondent and Interviewer Race and Skin Tone Measures

In this section we provide descriptions of our data. In particular, we show the number of respondents by race and race of interviewer in Table 5.1. We also display the distribution of the interviewer’s assessment of the respondent’s skin tone (left-hand panel) and of his or her own skin (right-hand panel) in Figure 5.1.

Table 5.1: Respondent and Interviewer Race.

	White interviewer	Black interviewer	Total
White respondent	931	116	1,047
Black respondent	205	255	460
Total	1,136	371	1,507

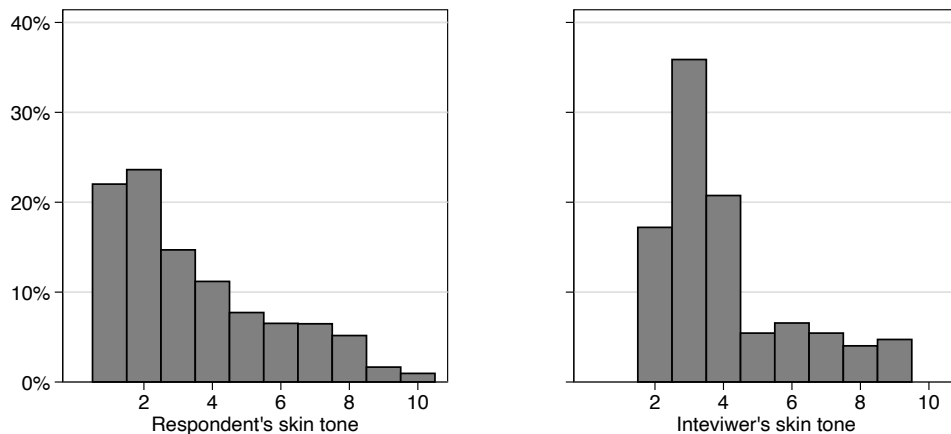


Figure 5.1: Distribution of assessed skin tone respondents and self-reported skin tone of interviewer.

6 Balance Test

Here, we examine the relationship between several demographic characteristics and the race of the interviewer. We do so for the entire sample and for the subsample of blacks. We examine respondents' sex, marital status, age, education, income, and region of residence (South). We do observe, as expected given the nature of fielding face-to-face surveys, some imbalance. For example, residing in the South consistently predicts having a black interviewer. Gender is significant in three of the four models, as is marital status.

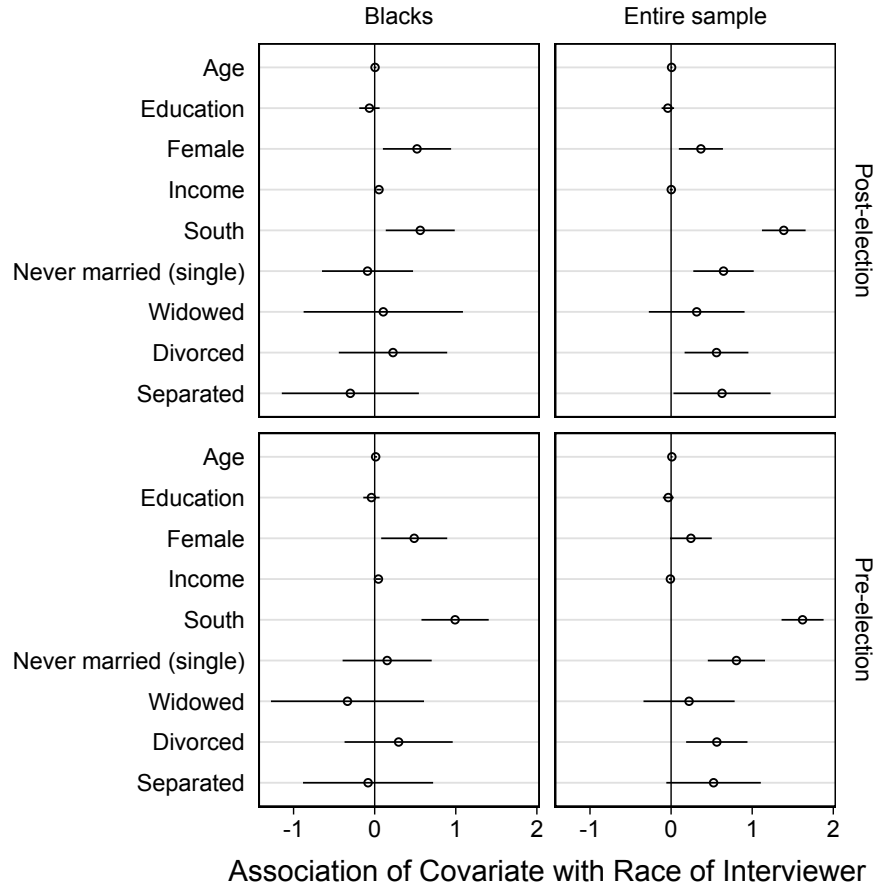


Figure 6.1: The relationship of potential confounders with race of interviewer.

7 Robustness Check: Alternate Estimation Strategies

We estimate the models in the main text with linear regression. We present the results of models re-estimated with ordered logit below (Table 7.1 for self-identified race; Table 7.2 for skin tone). Substantive conclusions are identical.

Table 7.1: The relationship between race of interviewer and subjective knowledge among black respondents.

	Pre-election	Post-election
Black interviewer	0.856** (0.359)	1.310** (0.439)
Objective information	0.187** (0.083)	0.573** (0.103)
Age	0.013 (0.009)	-0.006 (0.007)
South	0.032 (0.279)	-0.301 (0.365)
Female	-0.348* (0.192)	-0.296* (0.162)
Single	-0.891** (0.273)	-0.541** (0.260)
Widowed	-0.456 (0.447)	0.171 (0.425)
Divorced	-0.130 (0.286)	0.098 (0.361)
Separated	-0.562** (0.273)	0.350 (0.337)
Education	0.416** (0.063)	0.136 (0.092)
Income	0.047** (0.017)	0.036* (0.019)
κ_1	-0.884 (0.687)	-1.694** (0.706)
κ_2	0.953 (0.591)	0.364 (0.651)
κ_3	2.986** (0.646)	2.728** (0.620)
κ_4	4.492** (0.685)	4.259** (0.601)
n	411	398

Standard errors, clustered by interviewer, in parentheses

** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 7.2: The relationship between perceived skin tone difference and subjective knowledge among all respondents.

	Pre-Election	Post-Election
Difference in skin tone	0.051** (0.024)	0.072** (0.035)
Objective information	0.291** (0.052)	0.700** (0.058)
Age	0.014** (0.004)	0.004 (0.004)
South	0.360** (0.182)	0.341 (0.252)
Female	-0.375** (0.094)	-0.227** (0.112)
Single	-0.218* (0.129)	-0.301* (0.168)
Widowed	-0.253 (0.223)	-0.060 (0.237)
Divorced	-0.195 (0.160)	0.004 (0.166)
Separated	-0.345* (0.198)	0.192 (0.293)
Education	0.383** (0.036)	0.242** (0.044)
Income	0.029** (0.008)	0.024** (0.008)
κ_1	-0.223 (0.321)	-0.502 (0.364)
κ_2	1.479** (0.290)	1.285** (0.320)
κ_3	3.377** (0.306)	3.537** (0.348)
κ_4	4.939** (0.355)	5.306** (0.416)
n	1,486	1,217

Standard errors, clustered by interviewer, in parentheses

** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

8 Race of Interviewer and Objective Information

In this section we examine the relationship between race of interviewer and objective information. Model results are presented in Table 8.1. The coefficient for race of interviewer is insignificant in the pre-election wave and significant with a one-tailed test in the post-election wave. The substantive effect is modest, about 0.11 standard deviations. Nevertheless, including it in the model of subjective knowledge may hinder our ability to accurately estimate the relationship between race of interviewer and subjective assessments. As such, we re-estimate the model in column 2 of Table 1 of the main text, excluding objective information. Results are presented in Table 8.2. The estimated coefficient is slightly larger when doing so— β_{Race} is 0.664 compared to 0.597 in the model presented in Table 1 of the main text ($p = 0.051$). Regardless, the substantive result—a significant coefficient on interviewer race—is consistent across specifications.

Table 8.1: The relationship between perceived skin tone difference and subjective knowledge among all respondents.

	Pre-Election	Post-Election
Black interviewer	-0.059 (0.099)	0.243* (0.134)
Age	0.011** (0.004)	0.025** (0.005)
South	-0.004 (0.099)	-0.017 (0.138)
Female	-0.121 (0.132)	-0.408** (0.119)
Single	0.216** (0.095)	0.009 (0.174)
Widowed	0.344* (0.175)	-0.715** (0.219)
Divorced	0.245 (0.159)	-0.100 (0.209)
Separated	0.339 (0.220)	0.403 (0.269)
Education	0.194** (0.031)	0.364** (0.044)
Income	0.033** (0.008)	0.034** (0.010)
Constant	0.748** (0.266)	-0.785** (0.290)
n	413	400
R^2	0.148	0.269

Standard errors, clustered by interviewer, in parentheses

** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Table 8.2: The relationship between race of interviewer and subjective knowledge among black respondents.

	Post-Election
Black interviewer	0.664** (0.198)
Age	0.004 (0.003)
South	-0.118 (0.165)
Female	-0.245** (0.091)
Single	-0.239* (0.121)
Widowed	-0.134 (0.198)
Divorced	0.046 (0.134)
Separated	0.272* (0.158)
Education	0.170** (0.037)
Income	0.026** (0.009)
Constant	2.032** (0.283)
n	398
R^2	0.260

Robust standard errors in parentheses

** p<0.05, * p<0.1