**Who Buys the “Big Lie”? White Racial Grievance and Confidence in the Fairness of American Elections**

Supplemental Appendix

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# Section A. Factor Analysis Results

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| **Appendix Table A1a. Rotated Factor Loadings 2020 ANES** |
| Variable | Factor1 | Factor2 | Uniqueness |
| Racial resentment | **0.7563** | 0.2363 | 0.3722 |
| Anti-Black Stereotype | 0.4538 | -0.0508 | **0.7915** |
| White thermometer | -0.0914 | **0.7014** | 0.4997 |
| White grievance | 0.4778 | 0.1561 | **0.7473** |
| White consciousness | 0.2624 | 0.1602 | **0.9055** |
| Illegal immigrant thermometer | **-0.7152** | -0.0215 | 0.488 |
| Latino thermometer | **-0.5681** | **0.5591** | 0.3647 |
| Muslim thermometer | **-0.6442** | 0.0578 | 0.5817 |
| Anti-immigrant attitudes | **0.6698** | 0.196 | 0.5129 |
|   |   |   |   |
| **Appendix Table A1b. Rotated Factor Loadings 2016 ANES** |
| Variable | Factor1 | Factor2 | Uniqueness |
| Racial resentment | **0.7392** | -0.0035 | 0.4536 |
| Anti-Black Stereotype | 0.422 | -0.2196 | **0.7737** |
| White thermometer | 0.0864 | **0.6776** | 0.5334 |
| White grievance | 0.3811 | -0.039 | **0.8532** |
| White consciousness | 0.317 | 0.1051 | **0.8885** |
| Illegal immigrant thermometer | **-0.6627** | 0.1568 | 0.5362 |
| Latino thermometer | -0.4464 | **0.5838** | 0.4598 |
| Muslim thermometer | 0.3683 | 0.3364 | **0.7512** |
| Anti-immigrant attitudes | **0.6892** | 0.0306 | 0.524 |
|   |   |   |   |
| **Appendix Table A1c. Rotated Factor Loadings 2012 ANES** |
| Variable | Factor1 | Factor2 | Uniqueness |
| Racial resentment | **0.619** | 0.0525 | 0.614 |
| Anti-Black Stereotype | 0.4474 | -0.0955 | **0.7907** |
| White thermometer | -0.0268 | 0.4388 | **0.8067** |
| White grievance | 0.3327 | -0.0939 | **0.8805** |
| White identity (one item) | 0.2218 | 0.368 | **0.8154** |
| Muslim thermometer | **-0.5609** | -0.0072 | 0.6853 |
| Anti-immigrant attitudes | **0.5054** | 0.133 | 0.7268 |

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| Appendix Table A2. Factor Analysis Conspiracism & White Ingroup |
| Variable | Factor1 | Factor2 | Uniqueness |
| Business and government secretly controlled  | **0.5666** | -0.0371 | 0.6776 |
| What people hear at school/media are lies | **0.6714** | 0.0732 | 0.5439 |
| White grievance | 0.4089 | 0.1926 | **0.7957** |
| White thermometer | 0.0202 | 0.3074 | **0.9051** |
| White identity/consciousness | 0.1120 | 0.3341 | **0.8758** |

# Section B. Descriptive Statistics, 2012-2020 ANES

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| Appendix Table A3. Descriptive Statistics 2012 ANES (Whites only) |
|  | N | Mean | SD | Min | Max |
| Vote counted fairly | 3,248 | 0.710 | 0.269 | 0 | 1 |
| Election officials fair | 3,234  | 0.646 | 0.262 | 0 | 1 |
| White discrimination | 3,262 | 0.308 | 0.223 | 0 | 1 |
| White identity | 3,249 | 0.450 | 0.328 | 0 | 1 |
| White thermometer | 3,249 | 73.210 | 18.512 | 0 | 1 |
| Neg. Black Stereotypes | 3,262 | 0.476 | 0.192 | 0 | 1 |
| Trust in people | 3,502 | 0.544 | 0.221 | 0 | 1 |
| Authoritarianism | 3,509 | 0.572 | 0.295 | 0 | 1 |
| Republicanism | 3,496 | 0.540 | 0.342 | 0 | 1 |
| Conservatism | 3,509 | 0.525 | 0.275 | 0 | 1 |
| Ideology unknown | 3,509 | 0.068 | 0.253 | 0 | 1 |
| Protestant | 3,509 | 0.457 | 0.498 | 0 | 1 |
| Age 30-44 | 3,485 | 0.233 | 0.422 | 0 | 1 |
| Age 45-64 | 3,485 | 0.373 | 0.484 | 0 | 1 |
| Age 65+ | 3,485 | 0.217 | 0.412 | 0 | 1 |
| Female | 3,509 | 0.516 | 0.500 | 0 | 1 |
| Income | 3,509 | 0.526 | 0.291 | 0 | 1 |
| Income unknown | 3,509 | 0.031 | 0.172 | 0 | 1 |
| College degree | 3,478 | 0.329 | 0.470 | 0 | 1 |

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| Appendix Table A4. Descriptive Statistics 2016 ANES (Whites only) |
|  | N | Mean | SD | Min | Max |
| Vote counted fairly | 2,613 | 0.709 | 0.230 | 0 | 1 |
| White discrimination | 2,552 | 0.275 | 0.240 | 0 | 1 |
| White identity | 2,594 | 0.433 | 0.243 | 0 | 1 |
| White Thermometer | 2,592 | 0.733 | 0.189 | 0 | 1 |
| Neg. Black Stereotypes | 2,588 | 0.512 | 0.202 | 0 | 1 |
| Trust in people | 2,626 | 0.553 | 0.222 | 0 | 1 |
| Authoritarianism | 2,631 | 0.525 | 0.318 | 0 | 1 |
| Republicanism | 2,621 | 0.532 | 0.355 | 0 | 1 |
| Conservatism | 2,631 | 0.543 | 0.282 | 0 | 1 |
| Ideology unknown | 2,631 | 0.012 | 0.109 | 0 | 1 |
| Protestant | 2,631 | 0.317 | 0.465 | 0 | 1 |
| Age 30-44 | 2,573 | 0.214 | 0.410 | 0 | 1 |
| Age 45-64 | 2,573 | 0.383 | 0.486 | 0 | 1 |
| Age 65+ | 2,573 | 0.220 | 0.414 | 0 | 1 |
| Female | 2,623 | 0.521 | 0.500 | 0 | 1 |
| Income | 2,631 | 0.570 | 0.299 | 0 | 1 |
| Income unknown | 2,631 | 0.035 | 0.183 | 0 | 1 |
| College degree | 2,631 | 0.347 | 0.476 | 0 | 1 |

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| Appendix Table A5. Descriptive Statistics 2020 ANES (Whites only) |
|  | N | Mean | SD | Min | Max |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Vote counted fairly | 5,382 | 0.657 | 0.303 | 0 | 1 |
| 2020 Vote count accurate | 5,390 | 0.509 | 0.280 | 0 | 1 |
| Trust election officials | 5,403 | 0.597 | 0.294 | 0 | 1 |
| White discrimination | 5,303 | 0.297 | 0.253 | 0 | 1 |
| White identity | 5,341 | 0.359 | 0.225 | 0 | 1 |
| White Thermometer | 5,152 | 0.709 | 0.202 | 0 | 1 |
| Neg. Black Stereotypes | 5,300 | 0.461 | 0.194 | 0 | 1 |
| Trust in people | 5,412 | 0.565 | 0.216 | 0 | 1 |
| Authoritarianism | 5,420 | 0.473 | 0.327 | 0 | 1 |
| Republicanism | 5,412 | 0.566 | 0.370 | 0 | 1 |
| Conservatism | 5,349 | 0.567 | 0.323 | 0 | 1 |
| Ideology unknown | 5,420 | 0.130 | 0.336 | 0 | 1 |
| Protestant | 5,420 | 0.271 | 0.444 | 0 | 1 |
| Age 30-44 | 5,420 | 0.240 | 0.427 | 0 | 1 |
| Age 45-64 | 5,420 | 0.349 | 0.477 | 0 | 1 |
| Age 65+ | 5,420 | 0.224 | 0.417 | 0 | 1 |
| Female | 5,403 | 0.513 | 0.500 | 0 | 1 |
| Income | 5,420 | 0.605 | 0.304 | 0 | 1 |
| Income unknown | 5,420 | 0.025 | 0.157 | 0 | 1 |
| College degree | 5,420 | 0.378 | 0.485 | 0 | 1 |

# Section C. Descriptive Statistics 2021 YouGov

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| **Table A6: Descriptive Statistics (2021 YouGov)** |
|   | N | Mean | SD | Min | Max |
| 2020 election conducted legitimately & fairly | 1,000 | 0.612 | 0.425 | 0 | 1 |
| White grievance | 1,000 | 0.491 | 0.362 | 0 | 1 |
| Black stereotypes | 1,000 | 0.394 | 0.268 | 0 | 1 |
| Republicanism | 978 | 0.445 | 0.378 | 0 | 1 |
| Conservatism | 1,000 | 0.473 | 0.325 | 0 | 1 |
| Female | 1,000 | 0.513 | 0.500 | 0 | 1 |
| Age 30-44 | 1,000 | 0.233 | 0.423 | 0 | 1 |
| Age 45-64 | 1,000 | 0.339 | 0.474 | 0 | 1 |
| Age 65+ | 1,000 | 0.264 | 0.441 | 0 | 1 |
| College degree | 1,000 | 0.340 | 0.474 | 0 | 1 |
| Income | 1,000 | 0.345 | 0.212 | 0 | 1 |
| Protestant | 1,000 | 0.280 | 0.449 | 0 | 1 |
| Section D. OLS Models, Main Results |





# Section E: Models with Alternate Measures of White Ingroup Processes & Outgroup Attitudes



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| Appendix Table A10. OLS Regression results, DV=Elections conducted fairly (2012 ANES) |
|   | Model 1 |   | Model 2 |   | Model 3 |   | Model 4 |   | Model 5 |   | Model 6 |   |
|   | b/se |   | b/se |   | b/se |   | b/se |   | b/se |   | b/se |   |
| White grievance | -0.113 | \*\*\* | -0.107 | \*\*\* | -0.112 | \*\*\* | -0.103 | \*\*\* | -0.102 | \*\*\* | -0.098 | \*\*\* |
|   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   |
| Black stereotypes | -0.173 | \*\*\* |   |   | -0.172 | \*\*\* |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|   | (0.03) |   |   |   | (0.03) |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Trust in people | 0.112 | \*\*\* | 0.116 | \*\*\* | 0.113 | \*\*\* | 0.115 | \*\*\* | 0.095 | \*\*\* | 0.08 | \*\*\* |
|   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   |
| Authoritarianism | -0.079 | \*\*\* | -0.071 | \*\*\* | -0.08 | \*\*\* | -0.073 | \*\*\* | -0.075 | \*\*\* | -0.061 | \*\*\* |
|   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   |
| Republicanism | -0.06 | \*\* | -0.057 | \*\* | -0.059 | \*\* | -0.055 | \*\* | -0.049 | \* | -0.047 | \* |
|   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   |
| Conservatism | -0.046 |   | -0.027 |   | -0.046 |   | -0.027 |   | -0.009 |   | -0.013 |   |
|   | (0.04) |   | (0.04) |   | (0.04) |   | (0.04) |   | (0.04) |   | (0.04) |   |
| Ideology unknown | 0.072 | \*\* | 0.082 | \*\* | 0.067 | \* | 0.077 | \*\* | 0.079 | \*\* | 0.09 | \*\* |
|   | (0.04) |   | (0.04) |   | (0.04) |   | (0.04) |   | (0.04) |   | (0.04) |   |
| Female | -0.034 | \*\*\* | -0.031 | \*\*\* | -0.037 | \*\*\* | -0.034 | \*\*\* | -0.038 | \*\*\* | -0.033 | \*\*\* |
|   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   |
| Age 30-44 | 0.016 |   | 0.021 |   | 0.016 |   | 0.021 |   | 0.026 |   | 0.027 |   |
|   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   |
| Age 45-64 | 0.042 | \*\* | 0.053 | \*\*\* | 0.042 | \*\* | 0.052 | \*\*\* | 0.058 | \*\*\* | 0.061 | \*\*\* |
|   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   |
| Age 65+ | 0.04 | \*\* | 0.041 | \*\* | 0.035 | \* | 0.036 | \* | 0.05 | \*\* | 0.054 | \*\*\* |
|   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   |
| College degree | 0.135 | \*\*\* | 0.124 | \*\*\* | 0.139 | \*\*\* | 0.128 | \*\*\* | 0.116 | \*\*\* | 0.116 | \*\*\* |
|   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   |
| Income | 0.077 | \*\*\* | 0.075 | \*\*\* | 0.074 | \*\*\* | 0.073 | \*\*\* | 0.07 | \*\*\* | 0.064 | \*\*\* |
|   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   |
| Income unknown | 0.077 | \*\* | 0.076 | \*\* | 0.091 | \*\* | 0.093 | \*\* | 0.086 | \*\* | 0.063 | \* |
|   | (0.04) |   | (0.04) |   | (0.04) |   | (0.04) |   | (0.04) |   | (0.04) |   |
| Protestant | 0.012 |   | 0.018 |   | 0.011 |   | 0.015 |   | 0.017 |   | 0.018 |   |
|   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   |
| Racial resentment |   |   | -0.108 | \*\*\* |   |   | -0.11 | \*\*\* | -0.071 | \*\* | -0.045 |   |
|   |   |   | (0.03) |   |   |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   |
| White identity |   |   |   |   | 0.022 |   | 0.014 |   | 0.022 |   | 0.028 |   |
|   |   |   |   |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   |
| White thermometer |   |   |   | 0.00 |   | 0.001 | \* | 0.001 | \* | 0.001 | \*\* |
|   |   |   |   |   | (0.00) |   | (0.00) |   | (0.00) |   | (0.00) |   |
| Muslim thermometer |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | 0.167 | \*\*\* | 0.138 | \*\*\* |
|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   |
| Anti-immigrant attitudes |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | -0.103 | \*\*\* |
|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | (0.02) |   |
| Intercept | 0.736 | \*\*\* | 0.701 | \*\*\* | 0.7 | \*\*\* | 0.651 | \*\*\* | 0.558 | \*\*\* | 0.608 | \*\*\* |
|   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.04) |   | (0.04) |   | (0.04) |   | (0.04) |   |
| N | 3170 |   | 3177 |   | 3137 |   | 3141 |   | 3111 |   | 3074 |   |
| Adj R2 | 0.14 |   | 0.132 |   | 0.141 |   | 0.134 |   | 0.149 |   | 0.156 |   |
| F | 23.589 |   | 22.776 |   | 20.668 |   | 20.322 |   | 21.025 |   | 21.142 |   |
| Notes: \*\*\* p < 0.01; \*\* p<0.05; \* p<0.10 (two-tailed); ⱡp<0.10 (one-tailed). Robust standard errors in parentheses. All analyses weighted. All I.V.s are on a 0 to 1 scale (so OLS coefficients can be thought of as maximum effects). |

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| Appendix Table A11. OLS Regression results, DV=Elections conducted fairly (2016 ANES) |
|   | Model 1 |   | Model 2 |   | Model 3 |   | Model 4 |   | Model 5 |   | Model 6 |   |
|   | b/se |   | b/se |   | b/se |   | b/se |   | b/se |   | b/se |   |
| White grievance | -0.068 | \*\*\* | -0.072 | \*\*\* | -0.061 | \*\* | -0.064 | \*\* | -0.067 | \*\*\* | -0.067 | \*\*\* |
|   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   |
| Black stereotypes | 0.013 |   |   |   | 0.015 |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|   | (0.03) |   |   |   | (0.03) |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Trust in people | 0.158 | \*\*\* | 0.157 | \*\*\* | 0.154 | \*\*\* | 0.154 | \*\*\* | 0.156 | \*\*\* | 0.155 | \*\*\* |
|   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   |
| Authoritarianism | -0.025 |   | -0.026 |   | -0.024 |   | -0.028 |   | -0.033 |   | -0.034 |   |
|   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   |
| Republicanism | -0.011 |   | -0.014 |   | -0.008 |   | -0.011 |   | -0.009 |   | -0.01 |   |
|   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   |
| Conservatism | 0.006 |   | 0.002 |   | 0.001 |   | -0.003 |   | -0.013 |   | -0.014 |   |
|   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   |
| Ideology unknown | 0.015 |   | 0.011 |   | 0.009 |   | 0.005 |   | 0.00 |   | -0.001 |   |
|   | (0.08) |   | (0.08) |   | (0.08) |   | (0.08) |   | (0.08) |   | (0.08) |   |
| Female | -0.031 | \*\*\* | -0.03 | \*\*\* | -0.032 | \*\*\* | -0.032 | \*\*\* | -0.033 | \*\*\* | -0.033 | \*\*\* |
|   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   |
| Age 30-44 | 0.007 |   | 0.006 |   | 0.003 |   | 0.003 |   | 0.003 |   | 0.003 |   |
|   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   |
| Age 45-64 | 0.061 | \*\*\* | 0.058 | \*\*\* | 0.058 | \*\*\* | 0.056 | \*\*\* | 0.054 | \*\*\* | 0.054 | \*\*\* |
|   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   |
| Age 65+ | 0.093 | \*\*\* | 0.091 | \*\*\* | 0.091 | \*\*\* | 0.089 | \*\*\* | 0.085 | \*\*\* | 0.085 | \*\*\* |
|   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   |
| College degree | 0.034 |   | 0.039 | \* | 0.034 |   | 0.037 |   | 0.038 |   | 0.039 |   |
|   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   |
| Income | 0.065 | \*\*\* | 0.065 | \*\*\* | 0.063 | \*\*\* | 0.063 | \*\*\* | 0.065 | \*\*\* | 0.064 | \*\*\* |
|   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   |
| Income unknown | 0.038 |   | 0.038 |   | 0.036 |   | 0.038 |   | 0.038 |   | 0.037 |   |
|   | (0.04) |   | (0.04) |   | (0.04) |   | (0.04) |   | (0.04) |   | (0.04) |   |
| Protestant | 0.033 | \*\*\* | 0.034 | \*\*\* | 0.032 | \*\*\* | 0.033 | \*\*\* | 0.031 | \*\*\* | 0.031 | \*\*\* |
|   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   |
| Racial resentment |   |   | 0.022 |   |   |   | 0.022 |   | 0.016 |   | 0.01 |   |
|   |   |   | (0.03) |   |   |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   |
| White identity |   |   |   |   | -0.012 |   | -0.012 |   | -0.018 |   | -0.018 |   |
|   |   |   |   |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   |
| White thermometer |   |   |   |   | 0.00 |   | 0.00 |   | 0.00 |   | 0.00 |   |
|   |   |   |   |   | (0.00) |   | (0.00) |   | (0.00) |   | (0.00) |   |
| Muslim thermometer |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | 0.031 |   | 0.031 |   |
|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   |
| Latino thermometer |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | -0.034 |   | -0.026 |   |
|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | (0.04) |   | (0.04) |   |
| Illegal immigrant thermometer |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | -0.019 |   |
|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | (0.03) |   |
| Intercept | 0.555 | \*\*\* | 0.552 | \*\*\* | 0.536 | \*\*\* | 0.537 | \*\*\* | 0.54 | \*\*\* | 0.55 | \*\*\* |
|   | (0.04) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.04) |   | (0.04) |   | (0.04) |   | (0.04) |   |
| N | 2457 |   | 2469 |   | 2429 |   | 2436 |   | 2422 |   | 2420 |   |
| Adj R2 | 0.096 |   | 0.096 |   | 0.093 |   | 0.093 |   | 0.094 |   | 0.094 |   |
| F | 12.277 |   | 12.346 |   | 10.773 |   | 10.826 |   | 10.004 |   | 9.506 |   |
| Notes: \*\*\* p < 0.01; \*\* p<0.05; \* p<0.10 (two-tailed); ⱡp<0.10 (one-tailed). Robust standard errors in parentheses. All analyses weighted. All I.V.s are on a 0 to 1 scale (so OLS coefficients can be thought of as maximum effects). |

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| Appendix Table A12. OLS Regression results, DV=Elections conducted fairly (2020 ANES) |
|   | Model 1 |   | Model 2 |   | Model 3 |   | Model 4 |   | Model 5 |   | Model 6 |   |
|   | b/se |   | b/se |   | b/se |   | b/se |   | b/se |   | b/se |   |
| White grievance | -0.196 | \*\*\* | -0.166 | \*\*\* | -0.200 | \*\*\* | -0.171 | \*\*\* | -0.171 | \*\*\* | -0.169 | \*\*\* |
|   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   |
| Black stereotypes | -0.052 |   |   |   | -0.067 | \* |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|   | (0.03) |   |   |   | (0.03) |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Trust in people | 0.131 | \*\*\* | 0.12 | \*\*\* | 0.127 | \*\*\* | 0.118 | \*\*\* | 0.109 | \*\*\* | 0.107 | \*\*\* |
|   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   |
| Authoritarianism | -0.066 | \*\*\* | -0.035 | \* | -0.069 | \*\*\* | -0.038 | \* | -0.036 | \* | -0.037 | \* |
|   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   |
| Republicanism | -0.222 | \*\*\* | -0.18 | \*\*\* | -0.217 | \*\*\* | -0.173 | \*\*\* | -0.17 | \*\*\* | -0.158 | \*\*\* |
|   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.03) |   |
| Conservatism | -0.119 | \*\*\* | -0.083 | \*\*\* | -0.124 | \*\*\* | -0.087 | \*\*\* | -0.083 | \*\*\* | -0.079 | \*\*\* |
|   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   |
| Ideology unknown | -0.054 | \*\*\* | -0.051 | \*\*\* | -0.05 | \*\* | -0.048 | \*\* | -0.051 | \*\*\* | -0.05 | \*\* |
|   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   |
| Female | -0.054 | \*\*\* | -0.055 | \*\*\* | -0.055 | \*\*\* | -0.056 | \*\*\* | -0.057 | \*\*\* | -0.059 | \*\*\* |
|   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   |
| Age 30-44 | -0.026 |   | -0.018 |   | -0.021 |   | -0.014 |   | -0.013 |   | -0.015 |   |
|   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   |
| Age 45-64 | 0.029 | \* | 0.042 | \*\*\* | 0.03 | \* | 0.042 | \*\*\* | 0.047 | \*\*\* | 0.049 | \*\*\* |
|   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   |
| Age 65+ | 0.047 | \*\*\* | 0.061 | \*\*\* | 0.046 | \*\*\* | 0.058 | \*\*\* | 0.067 | \*\*\* | 0.067 | \*\*\* |
|   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   |
| College degree | 0.041 | \* | 0.023 |   | 0.036 |   | 0.017 |   | 0.022 |   | 0.031 |   |
|   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   |
| Income | 0.082 | \*\*\* | 0.078 | \*\*\* | 0.081 | \*\*\* | 0.077 | \*\*\* | 0.076 | \*\*\* | 0.077 | \*\*\* |
|   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   |
| Income unknown | 0.049 |   | 0.054 | \* | 0.053 |   | 0.058 | \* | 0.059 | \* | 0.059 | \* |
|   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.04) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.04) |   |
| Protestant | 0.024 | \*\* | 0.024 | \*\* | 0.024 | \*\* | 0.023 | \*\* | 0.025 | \*\* | 0.026 | \*\* |
|   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   |
| Racial resentment |   |   | -0.185 | \*\*\* |   |   | -0.19 | \*\*\* | -0.17 | \*\*\* | -0.149 | \*\*\* |
|   |   |   | (0.02) |   |   |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   |
| White identity |   |   |   |   | 0.02 |   | 0.025 |   | 0.031 | \* | 0.034 | \* |
|   |   |   |   |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   |
| White thermometer |   |   |   |   | 0.000 |   | 0.000 |   | 0.000 |   | 0.000 |   |
|   |   |   |   |   | (0.00) |   | (0.00) |   | (0.00) |   | (0.00) |   |
| Muslim thermometer |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | 0.102 | \*\*\* | 0.09 | \*\*\* |
|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   |
| Latino thermometer |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | -0.045 |   | -0.066 | \* |
|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | (0.03) |   | (0.04) |   |
| Illegal immigrant thermometer |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | 0.078 | \*\*\* |
|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | (0.03) |   |
| Intercept | 0.828 | \*\*\* | 0.84 | \*\*\* | 0.83 | \*\*\* | 0.832 | \*\*\* | 0.784 | \*\*\* | 0.747 | \*\*\* |
|   | (0.03) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.04) |   | (0.04) |   |
| N | 5097 |   | 5120 |   | 4914 |   | 4925 |   | 4772 |   | 4643 |   |
| Adj R2 | 0.325 |   | 0.34 |   | 0.323 |   | 0.338 |   | 0.348 |   | 0.348 |   |
| F | 102.343 |   | 114.903 |   | 87.2 |   | 96.867 |   | 87.79 |   | 80.48 |   |
| Notes: \*\*\* p < 0.01; \*\* p<0.05; \* p<0.10 (two-tailed); ⱡp<0.10 (one-tailed). Robust standard errors in parentheses. All analyses weighted. All I.V.s are on a 0 to 1 scale (so OLS coefficients can be thought of as maximum effects). |

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| --- |
| Appendix Table A13. Lagged DV Models with alternate measures of outgroup and ingroup attitudes |
|   | Model 1 |   | Model 2 |   | Model 3 |   | Model 4 |   | Model 5 |   | Model 6 |   |
| Lagged DV (vote fair) | 0.191 | \*\*\* | 0.191 | \*\*\* | 0.183 | \*\*\* | 0.183 | \*\*\* | 0.187 | \*\*\* | 0.189 | \*\*\* |
|   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   |
| **White grievance** | -0.142 | \*\*\* | -0.115 | \*\*\* | -0.144 | \*\*\* | -0.12 | \*\*\* | -0.122 | \*\*\* | -0.119 | \*\*\* |
|  | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   |
| Black stereotypes | -0.005 |   |   |   | -0.011 |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|   | (0.03) |   |   |   | (0.03) |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Trust in people | 0.076 | \*\*\* | 0.068 | \*\* | 0.07 | \*\* | 0.062 | \*\* | 0.063 | \*\* | 0.057 | \*\* |
|   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   |
| Authoritarianism | -0.067 | \*\*\* | -0.035 |   | -0.069 | \*\*\* | -0.04 | \* | -0.031 |   | -0.028 |   |
|   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   |
| Republicanism | -0.224 | \*\*\* | -0.187 | \*\*\* | -0.225 | \*\*\* | -0.188 | \*\*\* | -0.18 | \*\*\* | -0.177 | \*\*\* |
|   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   |
| Conservatism | -0.133 | \*\*\* | -0.106 | \*\*\* | -0.14 | \*\*\* | -0.113 | \*\*\* | -0.111 | \*\*\* | -0.106 | \*\*\* |
|   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   |
| Ideology unknown | -0.04 | \*\* | -0.034 | \* | -0.04 | \*\* | -0.036 | \*\* | -0.035 | \* | -0.032 | \* |
|   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   |
| Female | -0.053 | \*\*\* | -0.054 | \*\*\* | -0.055 | \*\*\* | -0.056 | \*\*\* | -0.056 | \*\*\* | -0.053 | \*\*\* |
|   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   |
| Age 30-44 | -0.009 |   | -0.001 |   | -0.003 |   | 0.004 |   | 0.003 |   | 0.007 |   |
|   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   |
| Age 45-64 | 0.032 | \* | 0.042 | \*\* | 0.032 | \* | 0.042 | \*\* | 0.041 | \*\* | 0.049 | \*\*\* |
|   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   |
| Age 65+ | 0.061 | \*\*\* | 0.071 | \*\*\* | 0.058 | \*\*\* | 0.068 | \*\*\* | 0.075 | \*\*\* | 0.08 | \*\*\* |
|   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   |
| College degree | 0.034 |   | 0.023 |   | 0.027 |   | 0.015 |   | 0.016 |   | 0.016 |   |
|   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   |
| Income | 0.073 | \*\*\* | 0.069 | \*\*\* | 0.073 | \*\*\* | 0.071 | \*\*\* | 0.072 | \*\*\* | 0.07 | \*\*\* |
|   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   |
| Income unknown | 0.072 |   | 0.072 |   | 0.064 |   | 0.066 |   | 0.066 |   | 0.058 |   |
|   | (0.05) |   | (0.04) |   | (0.05) |   | (0.05) |   | (0.05) |   | (0.05) |   |
| Protestant | 0.025 | \* | 0.026 | \* | 0.027 | \*\* | 0.027 | \*\* | 0.029 | \*\* | 0.027 | \*\* |
|   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   | (0.01) |   |
| Racial resentment |   |   | -0.15 | \*\*\* |   |   | -0.151 | \*\*\* | -0.139 | \*\*\* | -0.12 | \*\*\* |
|   |   |   | (0.03) |   |   |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   |
| White identity |   |   |   |   | 0.023 |   | 0.031 | \* | 0.043 | \*\* | 0.045 | \*\* |
|   |   |   |   |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   | (0.02) |   |
| White thermometer |   |   |   |   | 0.000 |   | 0.000 |   | 0.000 |   | 0.000 |   |
|   |   |   |   |   | (0.00) |   | (0.00) |   | (0.00) |   | (0.00) |   |
| Muslim thermometer |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | 0.064 | \*\* | 0.057 | \*\* |
|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | (0.03) |   | (0.03) |   |
| Anti-immigrant attitudes |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | -0.053 | \*\* |
|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | (0.03) |   |
| Intercept | 0.694 | \*\*\* | 0.716 | \*\*\* | 0.682 | \*\*\* | 0.702 | \*\*\* | 0.651 | \*\*\* | 0.665 | \*\*\* |
|   | (0.04) |   | (0.03) |   | (0.04) |   | (0.04) |   | (0.04) |   | (0.04) |   |
| N | 1842 |   | 1851 |   | 1768 |   | 1772 |   | 1757 |   | 1752 |   |
| Adj R2 | 0.33 |   | 0.341 |   | 0.331 |   | 0.342 |   | 0.349 |   | 0.348 |   |
| F-value | 57.548 |   | 60.704 |   | 49.556 |   | 52.089 |   | 50.518 |   | 47.674 |   |
| Notes: \*\*\* p < 0.01; \*\* p<0.05; \* p<0.10 (two-tailed); ⱡp<0.10 (one-tailed). Robust standard errors in parentheses. All analyses weighted. All I.V.s are on a 0 to 1 scale (so OLS coefficients can be thought of as maximum effects). |

# **Appendix B: ANES- Item Wording**

Dependent Variables:

[V202219]: In your view, how often do the following things occur in this country’s elections: Votes are counted fairly? [All of the time; most of the time; about half of the time; some of the time; never] (2012, 2016, 2020 ANES)

[electintpo\_elecofffair] In your view, how often do the following things occur in this country's elections? Very often, fairly often, not often, or not at all often? Election officials are fair (2012 ANES)

[V201351] In the November 2020 general election, how accurately do you think the votes will be counted? [Not at all accurately, a little accurately, moderately accurately, very accurately, completely accurately]

[V201352] How much do you trust the officials who oversee elections where you live? [Not at all; a little; a moderate amount; a lot; a great deal]

Perceptions that whites are discriminated

How much discrimination is there in the United States today against each of the following groups? [Whites]” [A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, none at all]

White Identity

How important is being white to your identity? [[Extremely important, very important, moderately important, a little important, not at all important]

White Thermometer

The next set of questions uses the same thermometer scale which you used earlier in the interview. Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the group. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don’t feel favorable toward the group and that you don’t care too much for that group. You would rate the group at the 50 degree mark if you don’t feel particularly warm or cold toward the group. On the feeling thermometer scale of 0 to 100, how would you

rate whites?

Negative Black Stereotypes

Now we have some questions about different groups in our society. We’re going to describe a seven-point scale on which the characteristics of the people in a group can be rated. In the first statement a score of ‘1’ means that you think almost all of the people in that group tend to be ‘hard-working.’ A score of ‘7’ means that you think most people in the group are ‘lazy.’ A score of ‘4’ means that you think that most people in the group are not closer to one end or the other, and of course, you may choose any number in between.

The next question asks if people in each group tend to be ‘peaceful’ or ‘violent’. On this scale from 1-7 where 1 means peaceful and 7 means violent, where would you rate Blacks in general on this scale?

Authoritarianism

Please tell me which one you think is more important for a child to have:

1. Independence or respect for elders.
2. Curiosity or good manners.
3. Obedience or self-reliance.
4. Being considerate or well behaved.

Social Trust

Generally speaking, how often can you trust other people? [Always, most of the time, about half the time, some of the time, or never / Never, some of the time, about half the time, most of the time, or always]?

# **Appendix C: 2021 YouGov- Item Wording**

Q12e. The 2020 election was conducted fairly and legitimately. [Strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, strongly disagree]

Q26. In American society, how much discrimination is there for each of the following groups? [Whites] A lot; Some; A little; Very little; None at all

Q29. When it comes to Blacks, do you think that they are very violent, somewhat violent, somewhat peaceful or very peaceful?

Q37 How important to your identity is being of [RACE] heritage? Extremely important (1) ; Very important (2) ; Moderately important (3) ; Slightly important (4); Not at all important (5)