Appendix: Trumped by Race: Explanations for Race's Influence on Whites' Votes in 2016

Andrew M. Engelhardt

Abstract

The included tables and figures provide supplementary information for the main text analyses.

Appendix

Racial Resentment Measure

Past discrimination: "Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for Blacks to work their way out of the lower class."
Deserve less: "Over the past few years, Blacks have gotten less than they deserve."
Try hard: "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." (Reverse Coded)
Special favors: "Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors." (Reverse Coded)

All responses are recorded on 5-point Likert-type scales anchored by strongly agree and strongly disagree.

Full Model Results

As discussed in the text, the OLS results reported here relate a series of predictors (racial resentment, sex, age, income, college education, Southern residence, and ideological and partisan self-identification) to whether a non-Hispanic White respondent votes for the Republican candidate over the Democratic candidate in a given year. I scale this to run 0-100. All other variables are scaled 0-1, or included as indicators (having a college degree, being female, or being a Southerner).

Table A.1: Predictors of Supporting Republican Presidential Candidate, 1988-2016

	1988	1992	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016
Racial Resentment	16.787	17.355	9.678	19.168	36.468	22.440	44.534
	(5.860)	(4.798)	(8.434)	(6.296)	(5.835)	(6.287)	(3.110)
Partisanship (Republican)	81.038	87.824	86.523	86.494	75.421	79.533	67.641
	(3.797)	(3.411)	(5.962)	(4.859)	(4.608)	(5.844)	(2.813)
Ideology (Conservative)	30.741	38.259	34.993	29.368	31.821	34.598	21.348
	(6.846)	(5.732)	(9.511)	(8.089)	(7.010)	(8.768)	(4.268)
Female	−0.025	2.388	1.463	−0.520	2.704	2.212	1.159
	(2.453)	(2.106)	(3.656)	(2.707)	(2.445)	(2.762)	(1.412)
Age	1.011	1.316	−14.110	3.313	11.387	−1.829	1.658
	(6.174)	(5.110)	(9.591)	(6.624)	(5.641)	(6.679)	(2.941)
Income	4.113	0.452	−13.502	−1.891	6.431	10.249	−6.191
	(5.260)	(4.240)	(7.158)	(5.163)	(4.871)	(5.307)	(2.660)
College Degree	−0.934	3.698	−9.985	−1.205	5.762	−2.370	−4.232
	(2.833)	(2.487)	(4.048)	(3.118)	(2.725)	(2.995)	(1.566)
Southerner	11.710	4.282	7.567	3.090	2.846	−0.109	4.346
	(2.976)	(2.481)	(4.014)	(3.230)	(2.516)	(3.156)	(1.644)
Constant	−16.636	−30.494	−2.936	−20.252	−38.566	−23.394	−12.866
	(6.337)	(4.670)	(8.708)	(6.075)	(5.362)	(5.985)	(2.923)
Observations	854	953	358	535	727	2,434	1,732
R^2	0.491	0.598	0.583	0.617	0.591	0.592	0.660
Residual Std. Error	34.883	31.763	30.827	30.138	38.987	41.008	28.003

Note: OLS regression results. Standard errors in parentheses. Outcome scaled 0-100. Covariates scaled 0-1. Analyses use survey weights. 1996 omitted because racial resentment was not collected.

Bivariate Relationship between Vote Choice and Racial Resentment

Figure A.1 presents the bivariate relationship between support for the Republican candidate over the Democratic candidate and racial resentment. As with the other analysis, the outcome is scaled to run 0-100, while racial resentment is scaled 0-1. 2016 is again an outlier in terms of the correlation between racial resentment and vote choice, here even compared to 2008 ($p < 0.05$).

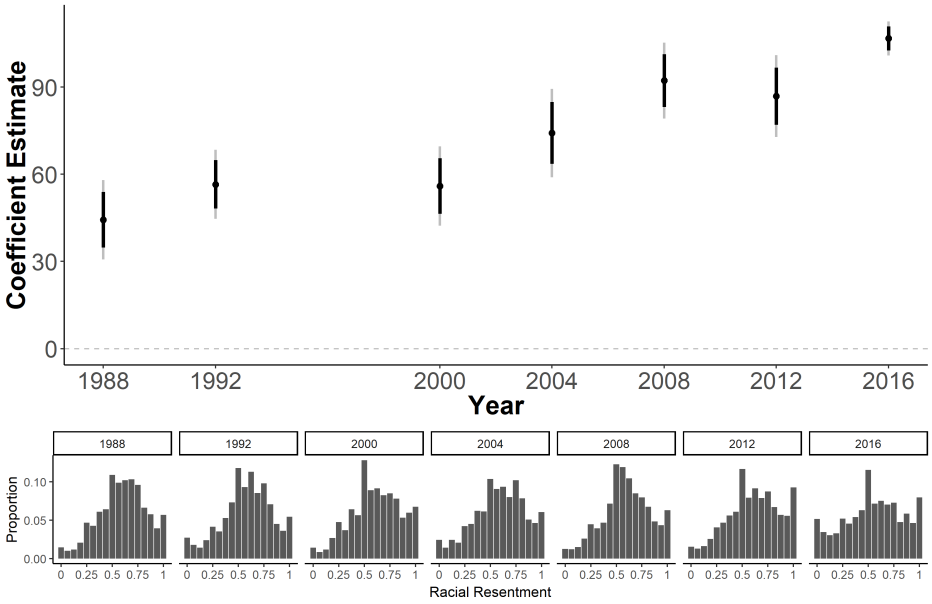

Figure A.1: The top panel presents racial resentment's effect on Republican vote choice. Results from OLS regression models run on individual years using population weights. Thicker lines denote 83% confidence intervals where non-overlap indicates significant differences between coefficient magnitudes at the 95% level (Bolsen and Thornton 2014) and thinner lines signify 95% confidence intervals. The bottom panel shows racial resentment's distribution.

Full Measurement Invariance Results

Table A.2 provides the full model results for the temporal measurement invariance analysis using the VOTER Survey reported in the text (on the method, see Brown 2015). The first two columns provide the estimated factor loadings and fit statistics for the configural invariance model. This freely estimates the factor loadings across years, fixing the factor loading for *try hard* to 1 to identify the model. The second two provide the estimated factor loadings and fit statistics for the metric invariance model which constrains each item to load the same on the 2011 dimension as the 2016 dimension. Columns 1 and 3 denote factors defined by responses to the racial resentment items from December 2011 while columns 2 and 4 indicate factors defined by responses to the same items but in November/December 2016. As discussed in the main text, if the metric model fits the data worse, then the meaning of racial resentment differs between 2012 and 2016. While there is a significant change in χ^2 after constraining the loadings ($p < .001$), changes in the CFI, SRMR, and RMSEA do not

rise to levels suggesting non-invariance (changes of $\geq -.01$, .030, and .015, respectively).

Table A.2: Measurement Invariance Results

	2011	2016	2011	2016
Try Hard	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
	—	—	—	—
Special Favors	1.00	1.02	1.01	1.01
	(0.0132)	(0.0116)	(0.00939)	(0.00939)
Deserve Less	0.964	1.06	1.02	1.02
	(0.0167)	(0.0156)	(0.0129)	(0.0129)
Past Discrimination	1.17	1.18	1.18	1.18
	(0.0197)	(0.0169)	(0.0147)	(0.0147)
χ^2	177		207	
DF	11		14	
CFI	0.996		0.995	
TLI	0.989		0.990	
SRMR	0.0114		0.0202	
RMSEA [90% CI]	0.0485 [0.0424, 0.055]		0.0464 [0.0409, 0.0521]	
N	6398		6398	

Note: Models estimated using maximum likelihood. Parameter estimates with standard errors in parentheses. Estimated error-variances are omitted.

References

Bolsen, Toby and Judd R Thornton. 2014. "Overlapping Confidence Intervals and Null Hypothesis Testing." *The Experimental Political Scientist* 4(1):12–16.

Brown, Timothy A. 2015. *Confirmatory Factor Analysis for Applied Research.* 2 ed. New York: Guilford Press.