

Table A1.1: (OLS Regression) Predictors of Barack Obama's Pre-Election Thermometer Rating

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Racial Resentment	-56.64 (2.36)	-34.56 (2.01)	-29.11 (2.18)
Partisanship		-43.82 (1.45)	-35.16 (1.69)
Ideology			-17.39 (2.65)
Education			-1.28 (1.66)
Age			-.101 (.026)
Male			-.328 (.915)
Black			13.21 (1.53)
South			-1.19 (.937)
Observations	2038	2016	1978

*Source:* 2008 ANES

*Note:* Dependent variable is Obama's 0-100 thermometer rating.

Table A2.1: (OLS Regression) Predictors of Democratic Candidates' Favorability Ratings in December 2007

	<u>Full Sample Model</u>			<u>Whites Only</u>		
	Obama	Edwards	Clinton	Obama	Edwards	Clinton
Racial Resentment	-.400 (.012)	-.238 (.012)	-.090 (.012)	-.416 (.014)	-.243 (.013)	-.073 (.014)
Partisanship	-.260 (.010)	-.410 (.010)	-.635 (.010)	-.233 (.011)	-.414 (.011)	-.643 (.011)
Ideology	-.218 (.013)	-.279 (.013)	-.173 (.014)	-.256 (.016)	-.301 (.015)	-.184 (.016)
Education	.116 (.010)	-.014 (.010)	-.004 (.011)	.121 (.012)	-.026 (.011)	-.009 (.012)
Age	-.001 (.000)	.001 (.000)	.000 (.000)	.000 (.000)	.001 (.000)	.000 (.000)
Male	.007 (.005)	-.026 (.005)	-.060 (.006)	.004 (.006)	-.043 (.006)	-.055 (.006)
Black	.101 (.010)	-.077 (.010)	.061 (.010)			
South	-.037 (.006)	.002 (.006)	.003 (.006)	-.045 (.007)	-.000 (.006)	-.006 (.007)
Observations	11706	11384	11919	9496	9277	9681

*Source:* CCAP panel respondents interviewed in December 2007 and March 2008.

*Note:* Dependent variables are five-category favorability ratings coded on a 0-1 scale.

Analysis uses March 2008 measures of racial resentment, party identification and ideology.

Table A2.2: (Logistic Regression) Predictors of Jesse Jackson and Barack Obama Vote Choice in the Democratic Primaries

	Jackson (1988)	Obama (2008)
Racial Resentment	-2.03 (.659)	-2.51 (.467)
Partisanship	.682 (.675)	.180 (.461)
Ideology	-1.30 (.805)	-.612 (.531)
Education	-.248 (.485)	.324 (.394)
Age	-.026 (.009)	.003 (.006)
Male	.069 (.285)	.072 (.203)
Black	2.75 (.373)	1.69 (.306)
South	-.604 (.311)	-.107 (.212)
Observations	374	558

*Source:* 1988 ANES; 2008 ANES

*Note:* Dependent variables are coded 1 for Jackson and Obama vote choice and 0 for all other Democratic candidates.

Table A2.3 (OLS Regression): Predictors of Hillary Clinton Evaluations by Democrats (1992 to 2008)

	<u>Thermometer Ratings</u>				<u>Favorability Rating</u>
	1992	1994	2000	2004	March 2008
Racial Resentment	-.071 (.031)	-.201 (.049)	-.047 (.047)	-.104 (.050)	.142 (.020)
Ideology	-.104 (.037)	-.188 (.059)	-.106 (.056)	-.153 (.064)	-.162 (.022)
Education	.024 (.026)	.058 (.040)	.081 (.038)	-.094 (.038)	-.025 (.019)
Age	.002 (.000)	.002 (.001)	.001 (.001)	.002 (.001)	.002 (.000)
Black	-.006 (.018)	.089 (.027)	.080 (.027)	.069 (.028)	-.020 (.014)
Male	-.005 (.014)	-.066 (.020)	-.047 (.020)	-.043 (.021)	-.039 (.010)
South	.055 (.014)	-.006 (.020)	.032 (.022)	.017 (.023)	.016 (.010)
Observations	706	576	508	320	5135

*Source:* ANES 1992-2004; March CCAP.

*Note:* Dependent variables are 0-100 thermometer ratings coded on a 0-1 scale (columns 1-4) and a five-category favorability rating coded on a 0-1 scale (column 5).

Table A3.1: (Logistic Regression) Predictors of John McCain Vote Preference against Barack Obama

	March	September	October	November
Racial Resentment	3.93 (.172)	4.28 (.204)	3.87 (.195)	3.88 (.185)
Partisanship	3.55 (.130)	4.88 (.156)	4.70 (.148)	4.41 (.140)
Ideology	2.97 (.202)	3.42 (.243)	3.52 (.235)	3.35 (.222)
Education	-.239 (.143)	-.485 (.170)	-.422 (.164)	-.284 (.153)
Age	.007 (.003)	.007 (.003)	.009 (.003)	.009 (.003)
Male	-.149 (.075)	-.076 (.087)	-.135 (.084)	-.111 (.079)
Black	-1.20 (.194)	-1.08 (.232)	-.773 (.217)	-1.10 (.210)
South	.232 (.080)	.324 (.094)	.320 (.089)	.464 (.085)
Observations	7832	7570	7744	8206

*Source:* CCAP panel respondents who completed all four surveys since March 2008.

*Note:* Dependent variables are coded 1 for McCain vote preference and 0 for Obama vote preference. Analysis uses March 2008 measures of racial resentment, party identification and ideology.

Table A3.2: (Logistic Regression) Predictors of John McCain Vote Preference against Barack Obama

	March	October
Racial Resentment	3.61 (.181)	3.44 (.212)
Partisanship	2.28 (.150)	3.13 (.168)
Ideology	2.17 (.215)	2.50 (.254)
Education	-.344 (.152)	-.648 (.181)
Age	.008 (.003)	.013 (.003)
Male	-.154 (.080)	-.087 (.093)
Black	-1.40 (.214)	-.988 (.242)
South	.215 (.085)	.340 (.098)
Presidential Approval	1.39 (.180)	2.35 (.203)
Economic Evaluations	.058 (.266)	.253 (.302)
Iraq Withdrawal	1.46 (.114)	1.46 (.126)
Observations	7509	7449

*Source:* CCAP panel respondents who completed all four surveys since March 2008.

*Note:* Dependent variables are coded 1 for McCain vote preference and 0 for Obama vote preference. Analysis uses March 2008 measures of racial resentment, party identification, ideology, presidential approval, economic evaluations, and Iraq withdrawal.

Table A3.3: (Logistic Regression) Predictors of John McCain Vote Preference against Barack Obama among Hillary Clinton's Primary Voters

	March	October
Racial Resentment	3.41 (.335)	3.22 (.389)
Partisanship	3.14 (.424)	3.52 (.421)
Ideology	1.62 (.370)	2.49 (.435)
Education	.029 (.291)	-.054 (.345)
Age	.006 (.005)	.008 (.006)
Male	-.099 (.147)	.115 (.165)
Black	-.943 (.385)	.366 (.365)
South	.085 (.158)	.061 (.174)
Observations	1264	1348

*Source:* CCAP panel respondents who completed all four surveys since March 2008.

*Note:* Dependent variables are coded 1 for McCain vote preference and 0 for Obama vote preference.

Table A4.1 (OLS Regression): Predictors of Hillary Clinton Evaluations by Party Identification

	<u>Thermometer Ratings</u>				<u>Favorability Ratings (2007-2008)</u>			
	1992	1994	2000	2004	Dec '07	January	March	Septemb
<b><u>Democrats</u></b>								
Resentment	-.071 (.031)	-.201 (.049)	-.047 (.047)	-.104 (.050)	.035 (.024)	.044 (.024)	.139 (.025)	.035 (.020)
Ideology	-.104 (.037)	-.188 (.059)	-.106 (.056)	-.153 (.064)	-.154 (.026)	-.229 (.026)	-.164 (.028)	-.202 (.022)
Education	.024 (.026)	.058 (.040)	.081 (.038)	-.094 (.038)	.033 (.022)	-.037 (.022)	-.018 (.023)	-.014 (.018)
Age	.002 (.000)	.002 (.001)	.001 (.001)	.002 (.001)	.001 (.000)	.001 (.000)	.001 (.000)	.001 (.000)
Male	-.005 (.018)	-.066 (.020)	-.047 (.020)	-.043 (.021)	-.045 (.011)	-.040 (.011)	-.056 (.012)	-.056 (.010)
Black	-.006 (.014)	.089 (.027)	.080 (.027)	.069 (.028)	.088 (.017)	.070 (.017)	-.037 (.017)	.020 (.014)
South	.055 (.014)	-.006 (.020)	.032 (.022)	.017 (.023)	.016 (.012)	.016 (.012)	.012 (.013)	.004 (.010)
Observations	706	576	508	320	3461	3427	3485	3461
<b><u>Independents</u></b>								
Resentment	-.101 (.034)	-.222 (.053)	-.208 (.053)	-.114 (.064)	-.266 (.028)	-.233 (.028)	-.156 (.028)	-.233 (.027)
Ideology	-.181 (.038)	-.263 (.064)	-.308 (.064)	-.397 (.077)	-.495 (.031)	-.519 (.031)	-.441 (.030)	-.464 (.030)
Education	-.008 (.027)	.083 (.039)	-.075 (.042)	-.090 (.049)	.027 (.025)	.008 (.025)	-.021 (.025)	.010 (.024)
Age	.000 (.000)	-.001 (.001)	.000 (.001)	.000 (.001)	.001 (.000)	.001 (.000)	.001 (.000)	.002 (.000)
Male	-.019 (.014)	-.077 (.022)	-.053 (.023)	-.087 (.027)	-.097 (.013)	-.106 (.013)	-.122 (.013)	-.121 (.013)
Black	.025 (.028)	.222 (.028)	.251 (.049)	.237 (.041)	.085 (.032)	.071 (.033)	.030 (.032)	.031 (.032)
South	-.008 (.015)	.000 (.023)	-.026 (.024)	.025 (.030)	-.009 (.014)	-.019 (.014)	-.015 (.014)	.002 (.014)
Observations	742	569	570	384	2884	2838	2905	2860



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**Republicans**

Resentment	-.214 (.048)	-.232 (.059)	-.205 (.065)	-.185 (.075)	-.189 (.021)	-.185 (.022)	-.145 (.022)	-.121 (.026)
Ideology	-.274 (.058)	-.617 (.066)	-.503 (.075)	-.671 (.095)	-.292 (.020)	-.271 (.021)	-.267 (.022)	-.353 (.026)
Education	-.009 (.035)	-.040 (.040)	-.099 (.046)	-.069 (.055)	-.051 (.015)	-.062 (.016)	-.039 (.016)	.041 (.019)
Age	-.000 (.001)	.000 (.001)	-.001 (.001)	-.001 (.001)	.000 (.000)	.000 (.000)	-.001 (.000)	.001 (.000)
Male	.021 (.019)	-.031 (.021)	-.040 (.025)	-.009 (.030)	-.025 (.008)	-.025 (.008)	-.031 (.008)	-.041 (.010)
Black	.083 (.068)	.247 (.086)	.194 (.177)	.209 (.145)	.048 (.035)	.072 (.036)	-.077 (.038)	.041 (.041)
South	-.020 (.021)	-.014 (.022)	.020 (.027)	-.030 (.031)	.009 (.008)	.006 (.009)	.003 (.009)	.009 (.010)
Observations	513	508	377	315	2833	2824	2861	2860

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*Source:* ANES 1992-2004; CCAP panel respondents who completed all four surveys from December 2007 to September 2008.

*Note:* Dependent variables are 0-100 thermometer ratings coded on a 0-1 scale and five-category favorability ratings coded on a 0-1 scale.

CCAP Analyses use March 2008 measures of racial resentment, party identification and ideology.

Table A4.2: (OLS Regression) Predictors of John McCain Favorability Ratings

	Dec '07	January	March	September	October	November
Racial Resentment	.070 (.018)	.032 (.019)	.115 (.017)	.237 (.016)	.227 (.015)	.156 (.016)
Partisanship	.166 (.015)	.170 (.016)	.356 (.014)	.466 (.013)	.470 (.013)	.382 (.013)
Ideology	.046 (.020)	-.018 (.022)	.087 (.020)	.170 (.018)	.165 (.017)	.090 (.018)
Education	.108 (.015)	.045 (.016)	.055 (.015)	-.005 (.015)	-.007 (.013)	.018 (.014)
Age	.001 (.000)	.000 (.000)	.000 (.000)	.001 (.000)	.001 (.000)	.000 (.000)
Male	-.010 (.008)	-.006 (.009)	-.018 (.008)	-.013 (.007)	-.030 (.007)	-.018 (.007)
Black	.026 (.017)	.073 (.018)	.019 (.016)	-.012 (.015)	-.015 (.014)	-.020 (.015)
South	-.013 (.008)	-.011 (.009)	-.004 (.008)	.016 (.007)	.004 (.007)	.017 (.008)
Observations	6286	6835	6550	6599	6583	6610

*Source:* CCAP panel respondents who completed all six surveys.

*Note:* Dependent variables are five-category favorability ratings coded on a 0-1 scale.

Analyses use March 2008 measures of racial resentment, party identification and ideology.

Table A4.3: (OLS Regression) Predictors of John McCain Favorability Ratings by Respondents' General Election Expectations

	<u>Predicted Obama-McCain Matchup</u>				<u>Predicted an Incorrect Matchup</u>			
	January	March	Septemb	October	January	March	Septemb	October
Resentment	.097 (.039)	.150 (.021)	.242 (.018)	.198 (.018)	.029 (.021)	.015 (.033)	.153 (.031)	.221 (.031)
Partisanship	.254 (.036)	.358 (.018)	.506 (.016)	.487 (.015)	.148 (.017)	.346 (.024)	.432 (.023)	.471 (.022)
Ideology	.235 (.047)	.108 (.024)	.163 (.021)	.205 (.021)	-.045 (.024)	.053 (.035)	.147 (.032)	.070 (.032)
Education	-.038 (.035)	.044 (.018)	.011 (.015)	.007 (.015)	.060 (.018)	.081 (.028)	-.015 (.026)	-.021 (.026)
Age	.000 (.001)	.000 (.000)	.000 (.000)	.000 (.000)	.000 (.000)	.001 (.000)	.002 (.000)	.002 (.000)
Male	.011 (.018)	-.008 (.009)	-.014 (.008)	-.022 (.008)	-.007 (.009)	-.034 (.014)	-.002 (.013)	-.035 (.013)
Black	.052 (.037)	.010 (.018)	-.004 (.016)	-.021 (.016)	.076 (.021)	.062 (.037)	.003 (.034)	.032 (.034)
South	-.049 (.020)	-.003 (.010)	.003 (.009)	-.006 (.009)	-.001 (.010)	-.005 (.015)	.041 (.014)	.029 (.014)
Observations	1070	4321	4358	4337	5314	2228	2240	2235

*Source:* CCAP panel respondents who completed all six survey waves.

*Note:* Dependent variables are five-category favorability ratings coded on a 0-1 scale.

Analyses use March 2008 measures of racial resentment, party identification and ideology.

Results from September and October are based on panelists' answers to the viability question from March 2008 about who will win the Democratic nomination.

Table A4.4: (OLS Regression) Predictors of Presidential Candidates' Thermometer Ratings before and after Becoming the Republican Nominee

	<u>Bush 41</u>		<u>Dole</u>		<u>Bush 43</u>		<u>McCain</u>	
	1986	1988	1994	1996	1998	2000	2004	2008
Resentment	.131 (.032)	.078 (.026)	.068 (.032)	.021 (.029)	.026 (.028)	-.017 (.023)	.048 (.032)	.109 (.021)
Partisanship	.200 (.021)	.430 (.018)	.239 (.022)	.280 (.020)	.202 (.021)	.355 (.019)	.043 (.023)	.354 (.016)
Ideology	.095 (.038)	.147 (.031)	.154 (.038)	.139 (.035)	.190 (.036)	.206 (.030)	.029 (.039)	.150 (.026)
Education	.010 (.025)	.001 (.020)	.038 (.023)	.037 (.021)	.019 (.023)	-.053 (.019)	.110 (.024)	.069 (.016)
Age	.000 (.000)	.000 (.000)	.001 (.000)	.001 (.000)	.001 (.000)	.000 (.000)	.002 (.000)	.001 (.000)
Male	.004 (.013)	.001 (.011)	.001 (.013)	.004 (.012)	-.005 (.013)	-.008 (.011)	.024 (.013)	-.001 (.009)
Black	.027 (.022)	-.029 (.019)	.026 (.024)	.006 (.021)	-.066 (.023)	.002 (.019)	-.042 (.022)	-.031 (.015)
South	.077 (.015)	.075 (.012)	.047 (.013)	.051 (.012)	.100 (.013)	.052 (.011)	.001 (.014)	.035 (.009)
Observations	926	1637	1074	1222	977	1460	829	1969

Source: ANES

Note: Dependent variables are 0-100 thermometer ratings coded on a 0-1 scale.

The racial resentment battery does not appear in the 1996 ANES. The Dole analysis, therefore, uses 1994 measurements of racial resentment, party identification and ideology, and it includes only panel respondents who were interviewed in both 1994 and 1996.

Only the “no special favors” and the “less than they deserve” racial resentment items were included in the 1998 ANES. For compatibility purposes, the resentment scale used in the 2000 analysis also includes just those two items.

Table A4.5a: (OLS Regression) Predictors of Hillary Clinton Favorability Ratings by Democrats

	Jan '08	March	September	Nov '09
Racial Resentment	.090 (.050)	.183 (.053)	.099 (.041)	-.052 (.034)
Ideology	-.094 (.056)	-.191 (.060)	-.177 (.046)	-.161 (.038)
Education	.123 (.045)	.122 (.049)	.026 (.038)	.006 (.031)
Age	.002 (.001)	.002 (.001)	.001 (.001)	.002 (.001)
Male	-.103 (.025)	-.100 (.027)	-.072 (.021)	.000 (.017)
Black	-.002 (.035)	-.009 (.037)	.014 (.029)	.013 (.024)
South	.036 (.026)	.048 (.028)	.040 (.022)	-.002 (.018)
Observations	722	730	732	729

*Source:* CCAP panel respondents interviewed in January 2008, March 2008, September 2008 and November 2009.

*Note:* Dependent variables are five-category favorability ratings coded on a 0-1 scale. Analyses use March 2008 measures of racial resentment, party identification and ideology.

Table A4.5b: (OLS Regression) Predictors of John McCain Favorability Ratings

	Jan '08	March	September	Nov '09
Racial Resentment	.034 (.035)	.214 (.032)	.297 (.029)	.119 (.031)
Partisanship	.130 (.030)	.321 (.028)	.452 (.025)	.208 (.026)
Ideology	-.017 (.039)	.023 (.036)	.085 (.032)	.027 (.033)
Education	-.068 (.028)	-.023 (.026)	-.031 (.024)	-.012 (.025)
Age	.001 (.000)	.000 (.000)	.001 (.000)	.001 (.000)
Male	-.005 (.016)	-.028 (.014)	-.016 (.013)	-.057 (.014)
Black	.035 (.030)	.016 (.027)	-.029 (.025)	.024 (.025)
South	-.015 (.016)	.021 (.015)	.011 (.014)	-.007 (.014)
Observations	1908	1951	1970	1969

*Source:* CCAP panel respondents interviewed in January 2008, March 2008, September 2008 and November 2009.

*Note:* Dependent variables are five-category favorability ratings coded on a 0-1 scale.

Analyses use March 2008 measures of racial resentment, party identification and ideology.

Table A4.6: (Logistic Regression) Predictors of Tax Policy Preferences

	<b>Favor Top-Bracket Tax Increase</b>		<b>Favor Tax Increase to Balance the Budget</b>	
	Dec '07	Oct '08	2004	2008
Racial Resentment	-1.49 (.129)	-2.17 (.134)	-.381 (.375)	-1.60 (.275)
Partisanship	-1.91 (.098)	-2.45 (.100)	-.359 (.279)	-.454 (.224)
Ideology	-2.31 (.143)	-2.51 (.151)	-.254 (.470)	-1.58 (.337)
Education	-.801 (.105)	-.375 (.111)	.585 (.273)	1.16 (.208)
Age	.008 (.002)	.000 (.002)	.008 (.004)	.002 (.003)
Black	-1.07 (.109)	-.935 (.115)	-.283 (.253)	-.228 (.189)
Male	-.432 (.055)	-.393 (.057)	.115 (.155)	.243 (.116)
South	-.024 (.057)	-.176 (.060)	.203 (.165)	.043 (.121)
Observations	9109	9091	1028	1986

*Source:* 2004 and 2008 ANES; CCAP panel respondents interviewed in December 2007, March 2008 and October 2008.

*Note:* Dependent variables are coded 1 for favoring a tax increase and 0 for all other responses (see measures appendix for variable wording and codes).

CCAP Analyses use March 2008 measures of racial resentment, party identification and ideology.

Table A4.7: (Logistic Regression) Predictors of Favoring a Top-Bracket Tax Increase

	<b>Know Obama's Position in Oct '08</b>		<b>Don't Know Obama's Position in Oct '08</b>	
	Dec '07	Oct '08	Dec '07	Oct '08
Racial Resentment	-1.49 (.142)	-2.47 (.154)	-.951 (.334)	-.256 (.304)
Partisanship	-2.19 (.111)	-2.91 (.117)	-.528 (.230)	-.462 (.212)
Ideology	-2.25 (.159)	-2.54 (.175)	-2.27 (.356)	-1.90 (.323)
Education	-.912 (.117)	-.405 (.127)	-.172 (.279)	-.061 (.259)
Age	.007 (.002)	.000 (.002)	.016 (.005)	.001 (.004)
Black	-.890 (.125)	-.790 (.138)	-1.44 (.247)	-1.05 (.235)
Male	-.408 (.060)	-.423 (.066)	-.583 (.141)	-.225 (.131)
South	-.014 (.063)	-.107 (.069)	-.060 (.148)	-.419 (.136)
Observations	7901	7896	1180	1181

*Source:* CCAP panel respondents interviewed in December 2007, March 2008 and October 2008.

*Note:* Dependent variables are coded 1 for favoring a tax increase and 0 for all other responses (see measures appendix for variable wording and codes).

Analyses use March 2008 measures of racial resentment, party identification and ideology.



Table A5.1: (Logistic Regression) Predictors of Obama Vote Preference in the Primaries by Race and Ethnicity

	Dec '07	January	March
<b><u>Whites</u></b>			
Racial Resentment	-1.18 (.203)	-1.68 (.187)	-2.16 (.172)
Partisanship	1.59 (.257)	1.56 (.224)	1.38 (.188)
Ideology	.191 (.245)	.227 (.225)	-.398 (.209)
Education	.799 (.189)	.537 (.170)	.505 (.154)
Age	-.027 (.003)	-.025 (.003)	-.019 (.003)
Male	.053 (.097)	.324 (.088)	.347 (.081)
South	-.232 (.110)	-.185 (.098)	-.399 (.090)
Observations	2868	3120	3262
<b><u>Latinos</u></b>			
Racial Resentment	-1.11 (.587)	-1.65 (.549)	-1.69 (.554)
Partisanship	.524 (.889)	.698 (.613)	.901 (.639)
Ideology	-.681 (.691)	.488 (.594)	-1.60 (.665)
Education	-.403 (.519)	.102 (.470)	-.192 (.502)
Age	-.028 (.010)	-.033 (.010)	-.027 (.009)
Male	.371 (.280)	.565 (.261)	.541 (.258)
South	.219 (.295)	.356 (.278)	.224 (.276)
Observations	275	309	302

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**African-Americans**

Racial Resentment	-2.08 (.422)	-2.04 (.440)	-2.33 (.471)
Partisanship	.275 (.634)	.388 (.698)	-.505 (.620)
Ideology	.840 (.349)	.426 (.388)	.805 (.411)
Education	.247 (.347)	.711 (.367)	.306 (.384)
Age	-.009 (.007)	.001 (.007)	-.004 (.008)
Male	.363 (.175)	.316 (.182)	.246 (.200)
South	.091 (.178)	-.072 (.181)	.075 (.200)
Observations	571	599	631

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*Source:* CCAP Panel respondents who completed all three surveys from December 2007 to March 2008.

*Note:* Dependent variables are coded 1 for Obama vote preference and 0 for all other Democratic candidates.

Analyses use March 2008 measures of racial resentment, party identification and ideology.

Table A5.2: (Logistic Regression) Predictors of John McCain Vote Preference in March 2008

	<u>Whites</u>		<u>Latinos</u>	
	vs. Clinton	vs. Obama	vs. Clinton	vs. Obama
Racial Resentment	1.01 (.145)	3.72 (.144)	.409 (.454)	3.74 (.461)
Partisanship	5.49 (.128)	3.56 (.110)	4.93 (.397)	3.23 (.364)
Ideology	2.88 (.182)	2.58 (.167)	1.67 (.539)	1.14 (.539)
Education	.564 (.129)	-.375 (.120)	-.573 (.437)	-.653 (.410)
Age	-.005 (.002)	.008 (.002)	-.006 (.009)	.014 (.008)
Male	.294 (.066)	-.113 (.062)	1.03 (.232)	-.108 (.216)
South	.022 (.073)	.398 (.068)	-.242 (.243)	.235 (.222)
Observations	10168	10111	697	681

*Source:* March CCAP

*Note:* Dependent variables are coded 1 for McCain vote preference and 0 for an Obama or Clinton vote preference.

Table A5.3: (Logistic Regression) Predictors of John McCain Vote Preference in March and October 2008

	<u>Whites</u>		<u>Latinos</u>	
	March	October	March	October
Racial Resentment	3.96 (.189)	3.82 (.214)	3.30 (.613)	2.80 (.690)
Partisanship	3.57 (.144)	4.72 (.163)	3.00 (.465)	3.82 (.498)
Ideology	2.99 (.224)	3.83 (.267)	2.27 (.768)	2.76 (.867)
Education	-.333 (.157)	-.464 (.181)	.102 (.503)	-.024 (.567)
Age	.006 (.003)	.008 (.003)	.018 (.011)	.035 (.012)
Male	-.188 (.081)	-.111 (.091)	-.724 (.305)	-.785 (.355)
South	.265 (.088)	.322 (.097)	.045 (.297)	.376 (.338)
Observations	6582	6508	400	397

*Source:* CCAP panel respondents who completed all four surveys since March 2008.

*Note:* Dependent variables are coded 1 for McCain vote preference and 0 for Obama vote preference. Analysis uses March 2008 measures of racial resentment, party identification and ideology.

Table A5.4: (Logistic Regression) Predictors of John McCain Vote Preference against Barack Obama

	Whites	Latinos
Racial Resentment	2.79 (.425)	3.02 (.826)
Partisanship	5.31 (.343)	5.15 (.656)
Ideology	2.86 (.532)	1.02 (.873)
Education	.808 (.344)	.467 (.652)
Age	.024 (.005)	.047 (.011)
Male	-.007 (.177)	.102 (.322)
South	.758 (.181)	-.150 (.333)
Observations	866	372

*Source:* 2008 ANES

*Note:* Dependent variables are coded 1 for McCain vote intention and 0 for Obama vote intention.

Table A5.5: (Logistic Regression) Predictors of Republican Presidential Vote Preference among Latinos

	2004	2008
Racial Resentment	1.31 (.711)	2.42 (.709)
Partisanship	6.55 (.700)	5.10 (.648)
Ideology	2.73 (.716)	1.13 (.856)
Education	-.475 (.688)	.428 (.650)
Age	.007 (.013)	.045 (.011)
Male	-.026 (.406)	.133 (.321)
South	.627 (.403)	-.067 (.330)
Observations	343	375

*Source:* 2004 NPS; 2008 ANES

*Note:* Dependent variables are coded 1 for Republican candidate vote preference and 0 for Democratic candidate vote preference.

Only the “no special favors” and the “less than they deserve” racial resentment items were included in the 2004 NPS. For compatibility purposes, the resentment scale used in the 2008 analysis also includes just those two items.

Table A6.1: (Logistic Regression) Predictors of Hillary Clinton Vote Preference in the Primaries

	ANES	CCAP	Pew
Modern Sexism	.701 (.427)		
Traditional Gender Roles		.355 (.082)	.925 (.411)
Observations	547	4905	527

*Source:* 2008 ANES; September CCAP; Pew Poll, March 2008

*Note:* Dependent variables are coded 1 for Clinton vote preference and 0 for Obama vote preference.

Table A6.2: (Logistic Regression) Predictors of Hillary Clinton Vote Preference in the Primaries

	ANES	CCAP
Racial Resentment	2.73 (.433)	2.65 (.125)
Modern Sexism	-.247 (.477)	
Traditional Gender Roles		-.070 (.091)
Observations	543	4813

*Source:* 2008 ANES; September CCAP.

*Note:* Dependent variables are coded 1 for Clinton vote preference and 0 for Obama vote preference.

Table A7.1: (OLS Regression) Predictors of Democratic Candidates' Favorability Ratings in August 2007

	Obama	Edwards	Clinton
Muslim Favorability	.273 (.042)	.143 (.043)	.137 (.038)
Partisanship	-.147 (.033)	-.253 (.033)	-.380 (.032)
Ideology	-.268 (.052)	-.276 (.063)	-.243 (.055)
Education	.148 (.039)	-.020 (.042)	-.088 (.040)
Age	-.000 (.000)	.000 (.000)	-.002 (.000)
Male	-.037 (.024)	-.028 (.024)	-.010 (.024)
Black	.169 (.045)	.009 (.053)	.168 (.033)
South	-.062 (.026)	.006 (.027)	-.055 (.025)
Observations	914	924	1061

*Source:* Pew Religion and Public Life Survey, August 2007

*Note:* Dependent variables are four-category favorability ratings coded on a 0-1 scale. Partisanship is a three-category variable ranging from 0 (Democrat) to 1 (Republican).



Table A7.2: (Logistic Regression) Predictors of Barack Obama Vote Preference in the Primaries

	CCAP	ANES
Muslim Favorability	1.79 (.149)	
Muslim Affect		1.33 (.441)
Partisanship	1.07 (.156)	.059 (.455)
Ideology	-.918 (.168)	-1.01 (.527)
Education	.590 (.125)	.734 (.380)
Age	-.016 (.002)	.005 (.006)
Black	1.65 (.113)	1.96 (.313)
Male	.343 (.067)	.095 (.201)
South	-.237 (.072)	-.209 (.211)
Observations	4553	530

*Source:* CCAP panel respondents interviewed in March and October 2008; 2008 ANES

*Note:* Dependent variables are coded 1 for Obama vote preference and 0 for all other Democratic candidates.

CCAP analysis uses October measures of Muslim favorability, partisanship and ideology, and it utilizes the March 2008 measure of primary vote preference.

Table A7.3: (Logistic Regression) Predictors of Republican Vote Intention

	<u>McCain Trial Heats</u>		<u>ANES Vote Intention</u>	
	vs. Clinton	vs. Obama	2004	2008
Muslim Favorability	-.855 (.131)	-2.81 (.137)		
Muslim Affect			-.677 (.544)	-1.52 (.386)
Partisanship	4.99 (.122)	3.72 (.113)	7.06 (.486)	5.50 (.313)
Ideology	2.95 (.179)	3.77 (.187)	1.84 (.663)	2.71 (.456)
Education	.409 (.124)	-.565 (.124)	-.399 (.400)	.589 (.298)
Age	-.006 (.002)	.003 (.002)	.008 (.006)	.027 (.005)
Black	-.485 (.134)	-2.00 (.162)	-.886 (.336)	-3.67 (.716)
Male	.417 (.065)	-.055 (.065)	-.150 (.224)	-.084 (.160)
South	.032 (.069)	.298 (.070)	.714 (.253)	.838 (.162)
Observations	9860	9916	907	1706

*Source:* CCAP panel respondents interviewed in March and October 2008; 2004-2008 ANES.

*Note:* Dependent variables are coded 1 for Republican vote intention and 0 for Democratic vote intention. CCAP analyses use October measures of Muslim favorability, partisanship and ideology, and utilize the March 2008 measure of McCain vote preference.

Table A7.4: (Logistic Regression) Predictors of Barack Obama Vote Preference in the Primaries and General Election

	Primary		General Election	
	<u>Vote Preference</u>		<u>Vote Choice</u>	
	CCAP	ANES	CCAP	ANES
Racial Resentment	-1.98 (.163)	-2.27 (.479)	-3.89 (.180)	-3.09 (.313)
Muslim Favorability	1.22 (.159)		2.38 (.157)	
Muslim Affect		1.02 (.473)		3.19 (.522)
Partisanship	1.37 (.162)	.182 (.471)	-4.90 (.130)	-5.50 (.374)
Ideology	-.310 (.177)	-.499 (.545)	-4.11 (.222)	-3.07 (.579)
Education	.302 (.131)	.125 (.407)	-.004 (.143)	-1.31 (.391)
Age	-.017 (.002)	.005 (.007)	-.005 (.002)	-.013 (.006)
Black	1.32 (.116)	1.67 (.316)	1.28 (.200)	3.73 (.115)
Male	.321 (.069)	.077 (.207)	.026 (.073)	.148 (.200)
South	-.199 (.074)	-.042 (.219)	-.368 (.079)	-.333 (.203)
Observations	4514	527	11550	1391

*Source:* CCAP panel respondents interviewed in March and October 2008 (Column 1); CCAP panel respondents interviewed in October and November 2008 (Column 3); 2008 ANES.

*Note:* Dependent variables for the primaries are coded 1 for Obama vote preference and 0 all other Democratic candidates; dependent variables for the general election are coded 1 for Obama vote choice and 0 for McCain vote choice.

CCAP primary analysis uses October measures of racial resentment, Muslim favorability, partisanship and ideology, and it utilizes the March 2008 measure of Obama vote preference; CCAP general election analysis uses October measures of racial resentment, Muslim favorability, partisanship and ideology, and it utilizes the November 2008 measure of Obama vote choice.

Table A7.5: (Logistic Regression) Predictors of Barack Obama Vote Choice in the General Election

	Don't Think Obama's a Muslim	Think He's a Muslim
Racial Resentment	-3.89 (.198)	-2.51 (.548)
Muslim Favorability	1.82 (.175)	2.29 (.446)
Partisanship	-5.05 (.146)	-4.03 (.355)
Ideology	-4.23 (.251)	-2.69 (.541)
Education	-.381 (.156)	.624 (.470)
Age	-.007 (.003)	-.011 (.008)
Black	1.18 (.214)	1.23 (.622)
Male	.004 (.080)	-.551 (.234)
South	-.285 (.087)	-.946 (.256)
Observations	9655	1872

*Source:* CCAP panel respondents interviewed in October and November 2008.

*Note:* Dependent variables are coded 1 for Obama vote choice and 0 for McCain vote choice.

Analysis uses October measures of racial resentment, Muslim favorability, partisanship, ideology and Obama's religious affiliation, and it utilizes the November 2008 measure of Obama vote choice.

Table A8.1: (Logistic Regression): Predictors of Presidential Approval (1987-2009)

	Reagan	Bush 41	Clinton	Bush 43	Obama
Racial Predispositions	1.54 (.200)	1.20 (.226)	-1.13 (.305)	1.74 (.434)	-4.51 (.670)
Partisanship	2.77 (.097)	2.34 (.110)	-2.85 (.162)	3.68 (.216)	-3.68 (.275)
Education	-.173 (.113)	-.151 (.132)	.293 (.205)	-.566 (.257)	-.297 (.351)
Age	-.016 (.002)	-.011 (.003)	-.007 (.003)	-.013 (.005)	-.003 (.006)
Male	.246 (.074)	-.065 (.086)	.045 (.118)	-.091 (.074)	-.209 (.196)
South	.394 (.083)	.407 (.093)	-.241 (.122)	.389 (.166)	-.612 (.205)
Survey Year	.057 (.076)	-1.82 (.093)	.058 (.116)	-1.41 (.145)	
Observations	5654	4347	1705	1660	1153

*Source:* Times Mirror/Pew Values Study Merged File: 1987, 1988, 1990, 1992, 1997, 1999, 2003, 2007, 2009.

*Note:* Dependent variables are coded 1 for approval and 0 for disapproval.

Partisanship is a five-category variable ranging from 0 (Democrat) to 1 (Republican); survey year is coded as a dummy, taking on a value of 1 for the latter survey year in the pooled samples.

African-Americans are excluded from the analysis.

Table A8.2: (Logistic Regression) Predictors of Confidence in President Obama and in Democratic Leaders in Congress to Fix the Economy

	Congressional Democrats	President Obama
Racial Predispositions	-0.880 (.318)	-3.11 (.363)
Partisanship	-3.65 (.207)	-3.65 (.222)
Ideology	-.637 (.264)	-.894 (.299)
Education	-.035 (.184)	.198 (.205)
Age	-.014 (.003)	-.005 (.003)
Male	-.488 (.112)	-.265 (.122)
South	.106 (.121)	.308 (.133)
Observations	671	671

*Source:* Pew Values Study, April 2009.

*Note:* Dependent variables are coded 1 for having at least “a fair amount of confidence” and 0 for all other responses (see measures appendix for variable wording and codes).

Analysis excludes African-Americans.

Table A8.3: (Logistic Regression) Predictors of Barack Obama Favorability and Vote Preference

	<u>Obama Favorability</u>			<u>Obama Vote Preference</u>		
	March '08	Nov '08	Nov '09	March '08	Nov '08	Nov '09
Racial Resentment	-2.96 (.235)	-3.28 (.304)	-3.29 (.280)	-3.92 (.305)	-3.97 (.367)	-3.69 (.388)
Partisanship	-2.14 (.195)	-3.25 (.227)	-4.27 (.239)	-2.81 (.232)	-4.42 (.274)	-5.14 (.313)
Ideology	-1.73 (.255)	-3.20 (.318)	-2.01 (.303)	-3.16 (.333)	-3.57 (.396)	-3.35 (.417)
Education	.732 (.194)	.097 (.234)	.672 (.228)	.444 (.239)	.815 (.284)	.425 (.308)
Age	-.010 (.003)	-.007 (.004)	-.002 (.004)	-.006 (.004)	-.019 (.005)	-.024 (.005)
Male	-.068 (.108)	.026 (.132)	-.154 (.126)	-.087 (.134)	.185 (.158)	.007 (.170)
Black	.482 (.198)	.521 (.285)	.341 (.242)	1.40 (.315)	1.79 (.409)	1.42 (.412)
South	-.267 (.114)	-.107 (.136)	.036 (.133)	-.274 (.141)	-.445 (.163)	-.177 (.175)
Observations	2692	2536	2712	2460	2468	2407

*Source:* CCAP panel respondents interviewed in March 2008, November 2008 and November 2009.

*Note:* Dependent variables for favorability ratings are coded 1 for having at least a “somewhat favorable” impression of Obama and 0 for all other responses; dependent variables for vote preference are coded 1 for Obama and 0 for McCain(2008)/generic Republican (2009).

Analyses use March 2008 measures of racial resentment, party identification and ideology.

Table A8.4: (Logistic Regression) Predictors of Barack Obama Favorability and Vote Preference

	<u>Obama Favorability</u>			<u>Obama Vote Preference</u>		
	March '08	Nov '08	Nov '09	March '08	Nov '08	Nov '09
Racial Resentment	-2.56 (.267)	-2.63 (.352)	-2.92 (.317)	-3.37 (.346)	-3.19 (.411)	-3.13 (.454)
Muslim Favorability	1.74 (.244)	2.62 (.300)	1.74 (.279)	2.54 (.308)	3.04 (.351)	2.69 (.371)
Partisanship	-2.00 (.217)	-3.00 (.255)	-4.29 (.269)	-2.45 (.261)	-4.08 (.301)	-5.12 (.360)
Ideology	-1.68 (.292)	-3.58 (.386)	-1.82 (.344)	-3.59 (.392)	-3.95 (.460)	-3.58 (.493)
Education	.677 (.216)	-.177 (.270)	.563 (.254)	.185 (.271)	.628 (.316)	.488 (.354)
Age	-.006 (.004)	.000 (.005)	.000 (.005)	-.002 (.005)	-.011 (.006)	-.021 (.006)
Male	-.099 (.118)	.143 (.149)	-.116 (.138)	-.008 (.149)	.269 (.174)	.119 (.191)
Black	.365 (.219)	.935 (.350)	.304 (.271)	1.26 (.336)	1.83 (.448)	1.25 (.449)
South	-.268 (.125)	-.199 (.153)	-.011 (.146)	-.258 (.158)	-.402 (.180)	-.323 (.198)
Observations	2427	2303	2446	2228	2246	2187

*Source:* CCAP panel respondents interviewed in March 2008, October 2008, November 2008 and November 2009.

*Note:* Dependent variables for favorability ratings are coded 1 for having at least a “somewhat favorable” impression of Obama and 0 for all other responses; dependent variables for vote preference are coded 1 for Obama and 0 for McCain (2008)/generic Republican (2009).

Analyses use March 2008 measures of racial resentment, party identification and ideology, and utilize the October 2008 measure of Muslim favorability.



Table A8.5: (Logistic Regression) Predictors of Saying President Obama was Born in the USA

	Model 1	Model 2
Racial Resentment	-2.01 (.279)	-1.23 (.580)
Muslim Favorability	2.30 (.229)	2.50 (.466)
Partisanship	-1.65 (.206)	-1.13 (.412)
Ideology	-1.79 (.288)	-1.77 (.580)
Education	1.22 (.208)	.525 (.429)
Age	-.014 (.004)	-.013 (.008)
Black	.009 (.246)	-.397 (.507)
Male	.364 (.113)	.085 (.227)
South	-.184 (.115)	-.082 (.238)
Fox News Watcher		-.992 (.274)
Observations	2423	620

*Source:* CCAP panel respondents interviewed in October 2008 and November 2009 (one-quarter of the participants in the November 2009 survey received the news source question).

*Note:* Dependent variables are coded 1 for saying Obama was born in the USA and 0 for all other responses.

The variable “Fox News Watcher” is coded as a dummy, taking on a value of 1 if respondents received most of their televised information about national and international affairs from the Fox News Channel and a value of 0 for all other televised news sources.

Analyses use October 2008 measures of racial resentment, Muslim favorability, partisanship and ideology.

Table A8.6: (Logistic Regression) Predictors of Health Care Opinions in December 2007 and November 2009

	<u>Model 1</u>		<u>Model 2</u>	
	Dec '07	Nov '09	Dec '07	Nov '09
Racial Resentment	2.16 (.308)	3.41 (.335)		
Muslim Favorability			-.607 (.303)	-1.55 (.306)
Partisanship	2.30 (.224)	2.32 (.253)	2.68 (.247)	2.40 (.268)
Ideology	2.46 (.321)	2.34 (.330)	2.85 (.336)	3.06 (.348)
Education	.501 (.271)	.270 (.293)	.222 (.284)	.023 (.321)
Age	.018 (.005)	.018 (.005)	.017 (.005)	.012 (.005)
Black	.461 (.245)	.214 (.261)	.085 (.236)	-.456 (.261)
Male	1.04 (.137)	.495 (.145)	.993 (.142)	.409 (.150)
South	-.050 (.141)	-.028 (.147)	.064 (.149)	.163 (.157)
Observations	2497	2488	2197	2188

*Source:* CCAP panel respondents interviewed in December 2007, March 2008, and November 2009. (Model 1); CCAP panel respondents interviewed in December 2007, March 2008, October 2008, and November 2009 (Model 2)

*Note:* Dependent variables are coded 1 for saying health care should be voluntarily left up to individuals and 0 for all other responses (see measures appendix for variable wording and codes).

Analyses use March 2008 measures of racial resentment, party identification and ideology and utilize the October 2008 measure of Muslim favorability.

Table A8.7: (Logistic Regression) Predictors of Supporting Sonia Sotomayor’s Confirmation by the U.S. Senate

	Stripped Version	Obama Frame
Police Discrimination	-.536 (.341)	-1.52 (.371)
Partisanship	-1.68 (.327)	-1.27 (.308)
Ideology	-2.50 (.591)	-3.18 (.618)
Education	.726 (.351)	.257 (.430)
Age	.009 (.006)	.006 (.007)
Male	-.237 (.229)	-.134 (.234)
Latino	.653 (.498)	.085 (.329)
South	.356 (.229)	-.440 (.258)
Observations	450	439

*Source:* CNN/ORC Poll, July 31-August 3, 2009.

*Note:* Dependent variables are coded 1 for supporting Sotomayor’s confirmation and 0 for all other responses.

Partisanship is a five-category variable ranging from 0 (Democrat) to 1 (Republican).

African-Americans are excluded from the analysis.