

The Discriminant Validity of Symbolic Racism

Appendix 1. Variable Coding for the 2012 ANES

Non-substantive responses were coded as missing, unless otherwise indicated.

CONTROL VARIABLES

1. Female. Respondents were coded female or male.
2. Marital status. Respondent marital status was coded as 0 for never married and 1 for all other responses.
3. Age group. Respondents were coded into age group 17-20, 21-24, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, 40-44, 45-49, 50-54, 55-59, 60-64, 65-69, 70-74, or 75 or older.
4. Education. Respondent education level was coded as no high school credential, high school credential, post-high school but no bachelor's degree, bachelor's degree, and graduate degree.
5. Family income. Respondent family income was coded from 1 for under \$5,000 to 28 for \$250,000 or more.
6. Employment status. Respondent employment status was coded as 0 for employed or 1 for unemployed.
7. Republican partisanship. Respondent Republican partisanship was coded from 1 for self-identification as a Republican and 0 otherwise. Refusals were coded as missing data;

"don't know," "no preference", and "other party" responses were coded as 0.

8. Democratic partisanship. Respondent Democratic partisanship was coded from 1 for self-identification as a Democrat and 0 otherwise. Refusals were coded as missing data; "don't know," "no preference", and "other party" responses were coded as 0.
9. Self-placement on a liberal-conservative continuum. Respondent self-placement on a liberal-conservative continuum was coded from 1 (extremely liberal) to 7 (extremely conservative). Refusals were coded as missing data; "don't know" and "haven't thought much about this" responses were coded as 4 (moderate; middle of the road).
10. Self-reliance. "Some people feel the government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Others think the government should just let each person get ahead on their own. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?" Responses were coded as indicated in the item. Refusals were coded as missing data; "don't know" and "haven't thought much about this" responses were coded as 4.
11. Attitudes about government scale. This scale combined responses to four items with this introduction: "Next, I am going to ask you to choose which of two statements I read comes closer to your own opinion. You might agree to some extent with both, but we want to know which one is closer to your own views." Item 1, reverse coded: "One, the main reason government has become bigger over the years is because it has gotten involved in things that people should do for themselves; or: two, government has become bigger because the problems we face have become bigger." Item 2: "One, we

need a strong government to handle today's complex economic problems; or two, the free market can handle these problems without government being involved." Item 3, reverse coded: "One, the less government, the better; or two, there are more things that government should be doing?" Item 4: "How much government regulation of business is good for society? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none at all / None at all, a little, a moderate amount, a lot, or a great deal?" Responses of "a little" and "none at all" were coded as 1 and responses of "a great deal," "a lot," and a moderate amount" were coded as 0. The Stata 11 alpha command generated a scale of these four items based on respondents with non-missing data for at least three items; the Cronbach's alpha for the scale was 0.72.

12. Moral traditionalism scale. This scale combined responses to four items with this introduction: "Now I am going to read several statements about society in general. After each one, I would like you to tell me how strongly you agree or disagree. The first statement is:" Response options ranged from 1 (agree strongly) to 5 (disagree strongly); "don't know" responses were coded as 3 (neither agree nor disagree). Item 1, reverse coded: "The world is always changing and we should adjust our view of moral behavior to those changes." Item 2: "The newer lifestyles are contributing to the breakdown of our society." Item 3, reverse coded: "We should be more tolerant of people who choose to live according to their own moral standards, even if they are very different from our own." Item 4: "This country would have many fewer problems if there were more emphasis on traditional family ties." The Stata 11 alpha command generated a scale of these four items based on respondents with non-missing data for at least three items; the Cronbach's alpha for the scale was 0.70.

13. Authoritarianism. This scale combined responses to four items with this introduction:

"Although there are a number of qualities that people feel that children should have, every person thinks that some are more important than others. I am going to read you pairs of desirable qualities. Please tell me which one you think is more important for a child to have:" Responses were coded as -1 (the less authoritarian response), 0 (for volunteered responses of "both", "neither", and "don't know"), and +1 (the more authoritarian response). Item 1: "independence or respect for elders." Item 2: "curiosity or good manners." Item 3, reverse coded: "obedience or self-reliance." Item 4: "being considerate or well behaved." The Stata 11 alpha command generated a scale of these four items based on respondents with non-missing data for at least three items; the Cronbach's alpha for the scale was 0.60.

14. Egalitarianism. This scale combined responses to six items with this introduction: "I am

going to read several more statements. After each one, I would like you to tell me how strongly you agree or disagree. The first statement is:" Response options ranged from 1 (agree strongly) to 5 (disagree strongly); "don't know" responses were coded as 3 (neither agree nor disagree). Item 1: "Our society should do whatever is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed." Item 2, reverse coded: "We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country." Item 3: "One of the big problems in this country is that we don't give everyone an equal chance." Item 4, reverse coded: "This country would be better off if we worried less about how equal people are." Item 5, reverse coded: "It is not really that big a problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others." Item 6: "If people were treated more equally in this country we would have many fewer problems." The Stata 11 alpha command

generated a scale of these four items based on respondents with non-missing data for at least three items; the Cronbach's alpha for the scale was 0.78.

STUDY 1 DEPENDENT VARIABLES

1. Oppose laws against gay job discrimination. "Do you FAVOR or OPPOSE laws to protect [gays and lesbians / homosexuals] against job discrimination?" Follow-up: "Do you [favor / oppose] such laws STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY?" Responses were coded from 1 (approve strongly) to 4 (oppose strongly).
2. Oppose letting gays serve in the military. "Do you think [gays and lesbians / homosexuals] should be allowed to serve in the United States Armed Forces or don't you think so?" Follow-up: "Do you feel STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY that [gays and lesbians / homosexuals] should be allowed to serve? / Do you feel STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY that [gays and lesbians / homosexuals] should not be allowed to serve?" Responses were coded from 1 (feel strongly, should) to 4 (feel strongly, should not).
3. Gays should not be allowed to adopt [0/1]. "Do you think gay or lesbian couples should be legally permitted to adopt children?" Responses were coded as Yes or No.
4. Gays should not be permitted to marry. "Which comes closest to your view? You can just tell me the number of your choice. 1. Gay and lesbian couples should be allowed to legally marry. 2. Gay and lesbian couples should be allowed to form civil unions but not legally marry. 3. There should be no legal recognition of a gay or lesbian couple's relationship."
5. Gay and lesbian feeling thermometer. "How would you rate: GAY MEN AND LESBIANS."

Response options reverse coded from 0 to 100.

6. SCALE: Gay rights. The Stata 11 alpha command generated a scale of items 1 to 5 based on respondents with non-missing data for at least three items; the Cronbach's alpha for the scale was 0.81.
7. Four-part ANES abortion attitudes item. "There has been some discussion about abortion during recent years. Which one of the opinions on this page best agrees with your view? You can just tell me the number of the opinion you choose. 1. By law, abortion should never be permitted. 2. The law should permit abortion only in case of rape, incest, or when the woman's life is in danger. 3. The law should permit abortion for reasons other than rape, incest, or danger to the woman. 4. By law, a woman should always be able to obtain an abortion as a matter of personal choice."
8. Oppose abortion to save woman's life. "[First,/Next,] do you FAVOR, OPPOSE, or NEITHER FAVOR NOR OPPOSE abortion being LEGAL if: staying pregnant could cause the woman to die." Follow-up: "Do you [favor/oppose] that [A GREAT DEAL, MODERATELY, or A LITTLE / A LITTLE, MODERATELY, or A GREAT DEAL]?" or "Do you LEAN TOWARD FAVORING IT, LEAN TOWARD OPPOSING IT, or do you NOT LEAN EITHER WAY?" Responses were coded from 1 (favor a great deal) to 9 (oppose a great deal).
9. Oppose abortion b/c rape. See item 8. Condition: "the pregnancy was caused by the woman being raped."
10. Oppose abortion b/c birth defect. See item 8. Condition: "the fetus will be born with a serious birth defect."
11. Oppose abortion b/c incest. See item 8. Condition: "the pregnancy was caused by the

woman having sex with a blood relative"

12. Oppose abortion b/c woman's health. See item 8. Condition: "staying pregnant would hurt the woman's health but is very unlikely to cause her to die"
13. Oppose abortion b/c financial concerns. See item 8. Condition: "having the child would be extremely difficult for the woman financially."
14. Oppose abortion b/c fetal sex selection. See item 8. Condition: "the child will not be the sex the woman wants it to be."
15. Oppose abortion b/c woman's choice. See item 8. Condition: "if the woman chooses to have one?"
16. SCALE: abortion. The Stata 11 alpha command generated a scale of items 7 to 15 based on respondents with non-missing data for at least five items; the Cronbach's alpha for the scale was 0.91.
17. Feminist feeling thermometer. "How would you rate: FEMINISTS." Response options reverse coded from 0 to 100.
18. Harder for working mom to bond w/ child. "Now for some other questions. Do you think it is easier, harder, or neither easier nor harder for mothers who work outside the home to establish a warm and secure relationship with their children than it is for mothers who stay at home?" Follow-up: "Is it [a great deal [easier/harder], somewhat [easier/harder], or slightly [easier/harder] / slightly [easier/harder], somewhat [easier/harder], or a great deal [easier/harder]] for mothers who work outside the home to establish a warm and secure relationship with their children?" Responses were coded from 1 (a great deal easier) to 7 (a great deal harder).
19. Better if man works, woman cares for home. "Do you think it is better, worse, or makes

no difference for the family as a whole if the man works outside the home and the woman takes care of the home and family?" Follow-up: "Is it [much [better/worse], somewhat [better/worse], or slightly [better/worse] / slightly [better/worse], somewhat [better/worse] or much [better/worse]]?" Responses were coded from 1 (much better) to 7 (much worse).

20. Bad if woman president in next 20 years. "Would it be good, bad, or neither good nor bad if the United States has a woman President in the next 20 years?" Follow-up: "How good? [Extremely good, moderately good, or a little good / a little good, moderately good or extremely good]?" or "How bad? [Extremely bad, moderately bad, or a little bad/ a little bad, moderately bad, or extremely bad]?" Responses were coded from 1 (extremely good) to 7 (extremely bad).

21. Modern sexism: discrimination a problem. "How serious a problem is discrimination against women in the United States? [Not a problem at all, a minor problem, a moderately serious problem, a very serious problem, or an extremely serious problem / An extremely serious problem, a very serious problem, a moderately serious problem, a minor problem, or not a problem at all]?" Responses were coded from 1 (not a problem at all) to 7 (an extremely serious problem).

22. Modern sexism: media should pay less attn. "Should the news media pay more attention to discrimination against women, less attention, or the same amount of attention they have been paying lately?" Follow-up: "Should the media pay [[a great deal [more/less] attention, somewhat [more/less] attention, or a little [more/less] attention / a little [more/less] attention, somewhat [more/less] attention, or a great deal [more/less] attention]]?" Responses were coded from 1 (a great deal more) to 7 (a great deal less).

23. Modern sexism: women seek special favors. "When women demand equality these days, how often are they actually seeking special favors? [Never, some of the time, about half the time, most of the time, or always / Always, most of the time, about half the time, some of the time, or never]?" Responses were coded from 1 (never) to 5 (always).
24. Modern sexism: work discrimination. "When employers make decisions about hiring and promotion, how often do they discriminate against women? [Never, some of the time, about half the time, most of the time, or always / Always, most of the time, about half the time, some of the time, or never]?" Responses were coded from 1 (never) to 5 (always).
25. Modern sexism: complaining more. "When women complain about discrimination, how often do they cause more problems than they solve? [Never, some of the time, about half the time, most of the time, or always / Always, most of the time, about half the time, some of the time, or never]?" Responses were coded from 1 (never) to 5 (always).
26. Modern sexism: opportunities for women. "In the U.S. today, do men have more opportunities for achievement than women have, do women have more opportunities than men, or do they have equal opportunities?" Follow-up: "Do [men/women] have [many more opportunities, moderately more opportunities, or slightly more opportunities / slightly more opportunities, moderately more opportunities or many more opportunities]?" Responses were coded from 1 (men have many more opportunities) to 5 (women have many more opportunities).
27. SCALE: women. The Stata 11 alpha command generated a scale of items 17 to 26 based on respondents with non-missing data for at least five items; the Cronbach's alpha for the scale was 0.74.

28. Environment vs jobs tradeoff. "Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?" Responses were coded from 1 ("Regulate business to protect the environment and create jobs") to 7 ("No regulation because it will not work and will cost jobs").
29. Federal spending on the environment. "(What about) PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT (Should federal spending on Social Security be INCREASED, DECREASED, or kept [ABOUT THE SAME / THE SAME]?)" Responses were coded as -1 (increased), 0 (kept (about) the same), or +1 (decreased).
30. U.S. should have more nuclear power plants. "Do you think the United States should have MORE nuclear power plants, FEWER nuclear power plants, or the same number it has now?" Responses were coded as -1 (fewer), 0 (the same number), or +1 (more).
31. Global warming is happening [0/1]. "You may have heard about the idea that the world's temperature may have been going up slowly over the past 100 years. What is your personal opinion on this? Do you think this has probably been happening, or do you think it probably hasn't been happening?" Responses were coded as 0 (probably been happening) or 1 (probably hasn't been happening).
32. Rising temperatures are good. "[If / Assuming it's happening, if] temperatures continue to go up in the future, would this be good, bad, or neither good nor bad?" Responses were coded as -1 (bad), 0 (neither good nor bad), or +1 (good).
33. Global warming is mostly natural. "[Do / Assuming it's happening, do] you think a rise in the world's temperatures would be caused mostly by human activity, mostly by natural causes, or about equally by human activity and by natural causes?" Responses were coded as -1 (mostly by human activity), 0 (about equally by human activity and by

natural causes), or +1 (mostly by natural causes).

34. SCALE: environment. The Stata 11 alpha command generated a scale of items 28 to 33 based on respondents with non-missing data for at least four items; the Cronbach's alpha for the scale was 0.74.
35. Favor reducing the budget deficit. "Do you FAVOR, OPPOSE, or NEITHER FAVOR NOR OPPOSE the federal government doing things now to reduce this budget deficit?" Follow-up: "Do you [favor/oppose] that STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY?" or "Do you LEAN TOWARD FAVORING IT, LEAN TOWARD OPPOSING IT, or do you NOT LEAN EITHER WAY?" Responses were coded from 1 (strongly oppose) to 7 (strongly favor).
36. Importance of reducing the budget deficit. "How important is it to reduce the deficit? [EXTREMELY IMPORTANT, VERY IMPORTANT, MODERATELY IMPORTANT, A LITTLE IMPORTANT, or NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT? / NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT, A LITTLE IMPORTANT, MODERATELY IMPORTANT, VERY IMPORTANT, or EXTREMELY IMPORTANT?]" Responses were coded from 1 (not at all important) to 5 (extremely important).
37. Reduce deficit by more taxes on high earners. "Would you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose a plan to reduce the federal budget deficit if it included the following: Increase personal income taxes for those making over \$250,000 per year." Responses were coded as -1 (favor), 0 (neither favor nor oppose), or +1 (oppose).
38. Reduce deficit with Medicare voucher. "Would you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose a plan to reduce the federal budget deficit if it included the following: Replace Medicare with a voucher program." Responses were coded as -1 (oppose), 0 (neither favor nor oppose), or +1 (favor).

39. Reduce deficit by more corporate taxation. "Would you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose a plan to reduce the federal budget deficit if it included the following: Increase corporate taxes." Responses were coded as -1 (favor), 0 (neither favor nor oppose), or +1 (oppose).
40. Reduce deficit by less military spending. "Would you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose a plan to reduce the federal budget deficit if it included the following: Cut military spending." Responses were coded as -1 (favor), 0 (neither favor nor oppose), or +1 (oppose).
41. Reduce deficit by cutting federal employees. "Would you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose a plan to reduce the federal budget deficit if it included the following: Reduce the number of federal government employees by 10 percent." Responses were coded as -1 (oppose), 0 (neither favor nor oppose), or +1 (favor).
42. Reduce deficit by cutting non-military stuff. "Would you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose a plan to reduce the federal budget deficit if it included the following: Spend less on all U.S. government activities besides the military." Responses were coded as -1 (oppose), 0 (neither favor nor oppose), or +1 (favor).
43. Millionaire tax. "Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose increasing income taxes on people making over one million dollars per year?" Follow-up: "Do you favor that [a great deal, a moderate amount, or a little / a little, a moderate amount, or a great deal] / Do you oppose that [a great deal, a moderate amount, or a little / a little, a moderate amount, or a great deal]?" Responses were coded from 1 (strongly oppose) to 7 (strongly favor).
44. Encourage outsourcing. "Recently, some big American companies have been hiring

workers in foreign countries to replace workers in the U.S. Do you think the federal government should DISCOURAGE companies from doing this, ENCOURAGE companies to do this, or STAY OUT of this matter?" Follow-up: "Do you think the government should do this a GREAT DEAL or ONLY A LITTLE?" Responses were coded from 1 (discourage a great deal) to 5 (encourage a great deal).

45. Favor invest Social Security in stocks. "A proposal has been made that would allow people to put a portion of their Social Security payroll taxes into personal retirement accounts that would be invested in stocks and bonds. Do you FAVOR this idea, OPPOSE it, or NEITHER FAVOR NOR OPPOSE it?" Follow-up: "Do you [favor/oppose] it STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY?" or "Do you lean toward favoring it, lean toward opposing it, or don't you lean either way?" Responses were coded from 1 (oppose strongly) to 7 (favor strongly).

46. SCALE: fiscal policy. The Stata 11 alpha command generated a scale of items 35 to 45 based on respondents with non-missing data for at least six items; the Cronbach's alpha for the scale was 0.74.

47. Limit corporate campaign contributions. "Do you FAVOR, OPPOSE, or NEITHER FAVOR NOR OPPOSE the government being able to place limits on how much money corporations and unions can give to a political candidate?" Responses were coded as -1 (favor), 0 (neither favor nor oppose), or +1 (oppose).

48. Ban corporate/union campaign ads. "Do you FAVOR, OPPOSE, or NEITHER FAVOR NOR OPPOSE the federal government banning political ads sponsored by corporations or unions that directly support or oppose political candidates?" Responses were coded as -1 (favor), 0 (neither favor nor oppose), or +1 (oppose).

49. Defense spending. "Where would you place YOURSELF on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?" Responses were coded from 1 (greatly decrease defense spending) to 7 (greatly increase defense spending).
50. Military feeling thermometer. "How would you rate: THE MILITARY." Response options coded from 0 to 100.
51. War was worth it [0/1]. "Now we want to ask you about the current war in Afghanistan. Taking everything into account, do you think the war in Afghanistan has been WORTH THE COST or NOT?" Responses were coded as 0 (not worth it) or 1 (worth it).
52. War decreased terror threat. "As a result of the United States' war in Afghanistan, do you think the threat of terrorism against the United States has INCREASED, DECREASED, or stayed ABOUT THE SAME?" Responses were coded as -1 (increased), 0 (about the same), or +1 (decreased).
53. Court authorization for wiretaps. "Now for some other topics. Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the U.S. government being required to present evidence to get a court's permission before it can listen in on phone calls made by American citizens who are suspected of being terrorists?" Responses were coded as -1 (oppose), 0 (neither favor nor oppose), or +1 (favor).
54. Government wiretapping gone too far. "Have increases in the government's wiretapping powers since September 11, 2001, gone too far, are they just about right, or do they not go far enough?" Responses were coded as -1 (too far), 0 (just about right), or +1 (not far enough).
55. Favor torture for suspected terrorists. "Do you FAVOR, OPPOSE, or NEITHER FAVOR NOR OPPOSE the U.S. government torturing people, who are suspected of being

terrorists, to try to get information?" Follow-up: "Do you [favor/oppose] that [A GREAT DEAL, MODERATELY, or A LITTLE / A LITTLE, MODERATELY, or A GREAT DEAL]?"

Responses were coded from -3 (oppose a great deal) to +3 (favor a great deal).

56. Patriotism: Feel good seeing flag fly. "When you see the American flag flying does it make you feel [EXTREMELY GOOD, VERY GOOD, MODERATELY GOOD, SLIGHTLY GOOD, or NOT GOOD AT ALL / NOT GOOD AT ALL, SLIGHTLY GOOD, MODERATELY GOOD, VERY GOOD, or EXTREMELY GOOD]?" Responses were coded from 1 (not good at all) to 5 (extremely good).

57. Patriotism: Love of country. "How do you feel about this country? Do you [hate it, dislike it, neither like nor dislike it, like it, or love it / love it, like it, neither like nor dislike it, dislike it, or hate it]?" Responses were coded from 1 (hate it) to 5 (love it).

58. Patriotism: important being American. "How important is being an American to you personally? [EXTREMELY important, VERY important, SOMEWHAT important, A LITTLE important, or NOT AT ALL important /NOT AT ALL important, A LITTLE important, SOMEWHAT important, VERY important, or EXTREMELY important]?" Responses were coded from 1 (not at all important) to 5 (extremely important).

59. SCALE: Patriotism. The Stata 11 alpha command generated a scale of items 56 to 58 based on respondents with non-missing data for at least two items; the Cronbach's alpha for the scale was 0.82.

60. Religion important to respondent's life [0/1]. "Now on another topic....Do you consider religion to be an IMPORTANT part of your life, or NOT?" Responses were coded as 0 (not important) or 1 (important).

61. Religion provides day-to-day guidance. [Only asked if respondent indicated in the

previous item that religion was an important part of their life.] "Would you say your religion provides [SOME guidance in your day-to-day living, QUITE A BIT of guidance, or a GREAT DEAL of guidance / a GREAT DEAL of guidance in your day-to-day living, QUITE A BIT of guidance, or SOME guidance] in your day-to-day life?" Responses were coded from 1 (some guidance) to 3 (a great deal of guidance).

62. Frequency of prayer. "People practice their religion in different ways. Outside of attending religious services, do you pray [SEVERAL TIMES A DAY, ONCE A DAY, A FEW TIMES A WEEK, ONCE A WEEK OR LESS, or NEVER/ NEVER, ONCE A WEEK OR LESS, A FEW TIMES A WEEK, ONCE A DAY, or SEVERAL TIMES A DAY]?" Responses were coded from 1 (never) to 5 (several times a day).

63. Frequency of religious service attendance. Lots of things come up that keep people from attending religious services even if they want to. Thinking about your life these days, do you ever attend religious services, apart from occasional weddings, baptisms or funerals?" Responses coded as Yes or No. Follow-up: "Do you go to religious services [EVERY WEEK, ALMOST EVERY WEEK, ONCE OR TWICE A MONTH, A FEW TIMES A YEAR, or NEVER/ NEVER, A FEW TIMES A YEAR, ONCE OR TWICE A MONTH, ALMOST EVERY WEEK, or EVERY WEEK]?" Responses were combined and coded from 0 (No, or Yes and never) to 4 (Yes, every week).

64. Belief about the Bible. "Which of these statements comes closest to describing your feelings about the Bible? You can just give me the number of your choice. 1. The Bible is the actual word of God and is to be taken literally, word for word. 2. The Bible is the word of God but not everything in it should be taken literally, word for word. 3. The Bible is a book written by men and is not the word of God." Responses were coded as 1

(not the word of God), 2 (word of God but not literal), or 3 (word of God and literal).

65. Christian feeling thermometer. "How would you rate: CHRISTIANS." Response options coded from 0 to 100.
66. Atheist feeling thermometer. "How would you rate: ATHEISTS." Response options reverse coded from 0 to 100.
67. SCALE: Christian religion. The Stata 11 alpha command generated a scale of items 35 to 45 based on respondents with non-missing data for at least four items; the Cronbach's alpha for the scale was 0.74.
68. Evangelical [0/1]. Is respondent a born-again or evangelical Christian. Coded 0 (No) or 1 (Yes).
69. Iran trying to develop nuclear weapons [0/1]. "Do you think Iran is or is not trying to develop nuclear weapons?" Coded 0 (Not trying) or 1 (Trying).
70. Oppose direct diplomatic talks with Iran. "To try to prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons, would you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose.....Direct diplomatic talks between the United States and Iran to try to resolve the situation." Responses were coded as -1 (favor), 0 (neither favor nor oppose), or +1 (oppose).
71. Increase sanctions on Iran. "To try to prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons, would you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose...Increasing international economic sanctions against Iran." Responses were coded as -1 (oppose), 0 (neither favor nor oppose), or +1 (favor).
72. Bomb nuclear development sites in Iran. "To try to prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons, would you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose...The United States bombing Iran's nuclear development sites." Responses were coded as -1

(oppose), 0 (neither favor nor oppose), or +1 (favor).

73. Invade Iran with U.S. troops. "To try to prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons, would you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose...Invading with U.S. forces to remove the Iranian government from power." Responses were coded as -1 (oppose), 0 (neither favor nor oppose), or +1 (favor).

74. China's economic expansion is bad for U.S. "Do you think the recent economic expansion of China has been generally good for the U.S., bad for the U.S., or had no effect on the U.S. economy?" Responses were coded as -1 (good), 0 (no effect), or +1 (bad).

75. China is a major military threat. "Do you think China's military is [a major threat to the security of the United States, a minor threat, or not a threat / not a threat, a minor threat, or a major threat to the security of the United States]?" Responses were coded as -1 (not a threat), 0 (minor threat), or +1 (major threat).

STUDY 2 DEPENDENT VARIABLES

1. Black hiring and promotion preferences. "Some people say that because of past discrimination, blacks should be given preference in hiring and promotion. Others say that such preference in hiring and promotion of blacks is wrong because it gives blacks advantages they haven't earned. What about your opinion – are you for or against preferential hiring and promotion of blacks?" Respondents received a follow-up item about whether they felt strongly or not strongly about their response. Responses were coded from 1 for strongly for preferences to 4 for strongly against preferences.
2. Affirmative action in universities. "Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose allowing universities to increase the number of black students studying at their schools

by considering race along with other factors when choosing students?" Respondents who favored or opposed received a follow-up item about whether they favored or opposed a great deal, a moderate amount, or a little. Responses were coded from 1 for favor a great deal to 7 for oppose a great deal.

3. Affirmative action at work. "Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose allowing companies to increase the number of black workers by considering race along with other factors when choosing employees?" Respondents who favored or opposed received a follow-up item about whether they favored or opposed a great deal, a moderate amount, or a little. Responses were coded from 1 for favor a great deal to 7 for oppose a great deal.
4. Federal oversight to ensure fair treatment in jobs for blacks. "Should the government in Washington see to it that black people get fair treatment in jobs or is this not the federal government's business?" Respondents received a follow-up item about whether they felt strongly or not strongly about their response. Responses were coded from 1 for strongly for federal government involvement to 4 for strongly against federal government involvement.
5. Federal aid to blacks. "Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks. (Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1.) Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves. (Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7.) And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?" Responses were coded

as indicated in the item.

6. Scale constructed from the five racial dependent variables described above. The scale was constructed with the generate option of the Stata 11 alpha command, for respondents who had data for at least three of the five racial dependent variables. The scale had a Cronbach's alpha of 0.84 and ranged from 1 to 7, with higher values representing stronger opposition to aid to blacks; the mean of the scale was 4.6 for 3,453 white respondents, 2.9 for 996 black respondents, and 2.8 for 407 black respondents in the restricted sample.

VARIABLES USED TO CONSTRUCT THE RESTRICTED BLACK SAMPLE

Non-substantive responses were coded as missing for each variable used to construct the restricted black sample.

1. Feeling thermometer. "Using the same thermometer scale which you used earlier in the interview, how would you rate: [blacks/whites]." Responses ranged from 0 ("very cold or unfavorable feeling") to 100 ("very warm or favorable feeling"); labels were placed along the thermometer every 10 units (e.g., the label for 30 was "fairly cold or unfavorable feeling").
2. Stereotype scale for lazy. "Now I have some questions about different groups in our society. I'm going to show you 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."

3. Stereotype scale for unintelligent. "The next set asks if people in each group tend to be 'intelligent' or 'unintelligent'. Where would you rate [whites/blacks] in general on this scale?" Responses ranged from 1 ("intelligent") to 7 ("unintelligent").
4. Life is affected by what happens to blacks. "Do you think that what happens generally to black people in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?" Responses were coded yes or no.
5. Sympathy for blacks. "How often have you felt sympathy for Blacks?" Responses were coded 1 (always), 2 (most of the time), 3 (about half the time), 4 (some of the time), and 5 (never).
6. Admiration for blacks. "How often have you felt admiration for Blacks?" Responses were coded 1 (always), 2 (most of the time), 3 (about half the time), 4 (some of the time), and 5 (never).

Appendix 2. Variable Coding for the 2004 National Politics Survey

1. Racial resentment. Coded based on responses to these items: (1) "If racial and ethnic minorities don't do well in life they have no one to blame but themselves. (2) "Over the past few years, Blacks have gotten less than they deserve." (3) "Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors." (4) "Now I would like to ask you about how much discrimination or unfair treatment you think different groups face in the U.S. Do you think the following groups face a lot of discrimination, some, a little, or no discrimination at all?" Responses to items 1, 2, and 3 were coded on a four-point scale from strongly agree to strongly disagree; responses to item 4 were also coded on a four-point scale. Each item was recoded so that the highest value reflected the highest level of symbolic racism: agree responses for items 1, 2, and 3, and no discrimination at all for item 4. Non-substantive responses were coded as missing data. The four items were then summed to create a symbolic racism scale.
2. Closer to blacks than whites. "Now I have some more questions about different groups in our society. How close do you feel to each of the following groups of people in your ideas, interests and feelings about things? Very close, fairly close, not too close, or not close at all? How close do you feel in your ideas, interests and feelings to White people? How about African Americans?" The difference in responses was coded so that higher values indicated more perceived closeness to blacks than to whites.
3. Blacks work harder than whites. "I have some more questions about different groups in our society. Imagine a seven-point scale on which the characteristics of the people in a group can be rated. In the first question a score of 1 means that you think almost all of

the people in that group tend to be 'LAZY.' A score of 7 means that you think that most people in the group are 'HARDWORKING.' A score of 4 means that you think most people in the group are not closer to one end or the other, and of course, you may choose any number in between. Where would you rate Whites in general on a scale of 1 to 7, where 1 indicates lazy, 7 means hardworking, and 4 indicates most Whites are not closer to one end or the other? Where would you rate African Americans in general on the same scale?" The difference in responses was coded so that higher values indicated perceptions that blacks were more hardworking than whites.

4. Linked fate with own race. "Do you think what happens generally to [respondent's race] people in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?" If respondent answered Yes, then "Will it affect you a lot, some or not very much?" Respondents who responded No to the initial item were coded 0, respondents who selected Yes were coded 1 (not very much, don't know, or some other non-substantive response), 2 (some), 3 (a lot).
5. Perceived amount of black-white competition. For blacks, these items were summed: "More good jobs for Whites means fewer good jobs for people like me" (four-point agree/disagree item, from 1 to 4); "The more influence Whites have in politics, the less influence people like me will have in politics" (four-point agree/disagree item, from 1 to 4); "On the whole, do you think that most White people want to see African Americans get a better break, do they want to keep African Americans down, or don't they care one way or the other?" (down coded as 1, don't care coded as 2.5, and better break coded as 4). For whites, the items were ""More good jobs for African Americans means fewer good jobs for people like me"; "The more influence African Americans have in politics,

the less influence people like me will have in politics"; "On the whole, do you think that most White people want to see racial and ethnic minorities get a better break, do they want to keep African Americans down, or don't they care one way or the other?"

6. Conservatism. "We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. When it comes to politics, do you usually think of yourself as liberal or conservative?"; if refused: "If you had to choose, would you consider yourself a liberal or a conservative?"; if [liberal/conservative]: "If you had to choose, would you consider yourself as extremely [liberal/conservative] or slightly [liberal/conservative]?" Non-substantive responses to the first item were coded as middle of the road; non-substantive responses on the follow-up item were coded as slightly liberal or conservative.
7. Education. Coded on a nine-point scale from grade 6 or less to completed post-graduate or professional school.
8. Age. Measured in years.