

Why did the Democrats Lose the South? Bringing New Data to an Old Debate

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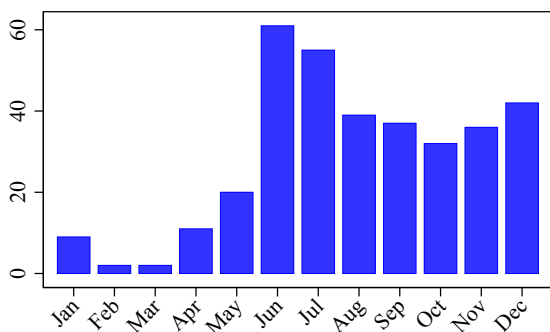
Online Appendix

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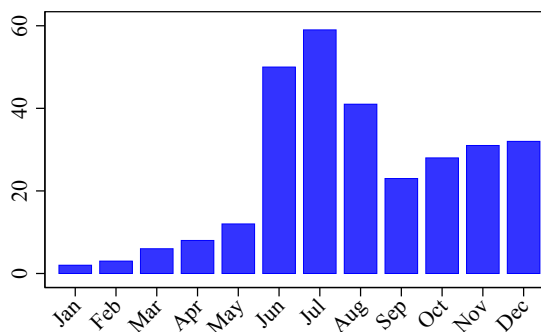
Appendix A. Supplementary figures and tables noted in the text

Appendix Figure A.1: “Civil Rights” articles by month, Southern papers (1963)

(a) *Dallas Morning News*

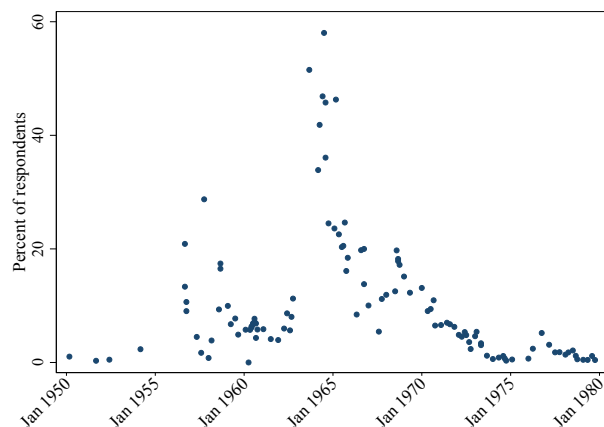


(b) *N. Orleans Times-Picayune*



Notes: Papers accessed through 20th-Century American Newspapers, Series 1 database.

Appendix Figure A.2: Percent of respondents identifying Civil Rights as the nation’s most important issue

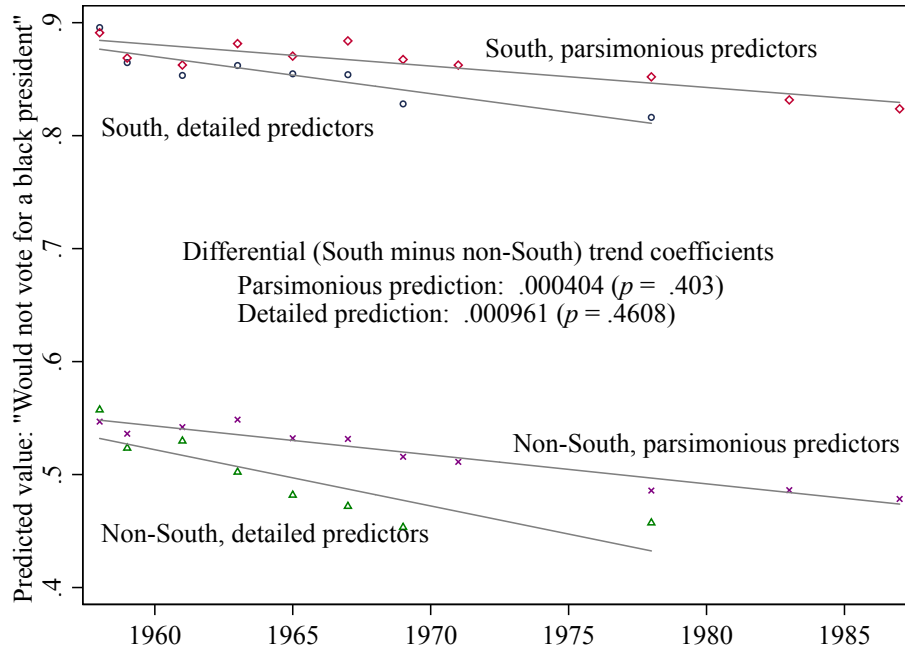


Notes: Gallup polls 1950-1979. This item has at least four limitations to note. First, it is not asked on a regular schedule. The question is fielded six times in 1962 but only once in the key year of 1963. Second, we are unable to produce analysis by race and region. In order to retain as many data points as possible, we graph the frequencies using the website Gallup Brain rather than reading in the data ourselves, which would mean losing those surveys without usable data on iPoll. Third, in some surveys Gallup allows individuals to provide more than one response to the most important problem question, which adds noise to our analysis. Finally, Gallup does not code the responses consistently from survey to survey. In some surveys the frequency responding “civil rights” is reported alone. In other surveys “civil rights” responses are grouped with, “racial problems, discrimination and states rights,” in other surveys with “integration,” and in still others with “demonstrations.” For each survey, we graph the frequency responding to the category that includes “civil rights,” so inconsistencies arise year-to-year. Given these data limitations, we cannot replicate the analysis for all surveys by race and region, but below we do so for four key surveys: two from the low-importance early 1960s and two from the high-importance mid-1960s.

	Pre-period		Post-period	
	Feb. 1961	June-July 1962	Apr. 1964	June 1964
Whites, South	.095	.140	.400	.510
Blacks, South	.310	.270	.640	.730
Whites, Non-South	.036	.058	.380	.420
Blacks, Non-South	.170	.230	.650	.670

The levels differ in the expected manner. Southern whites rate Civil Rights as more important than non-Southern whites, consistent with the targets of proposed Civil Rights legislation—discrimination in public accommodations and voting—existing only in the South and thus affecting only Southern whites. Not surprisingly, blacks care more about the issue than whites, regardless of region.

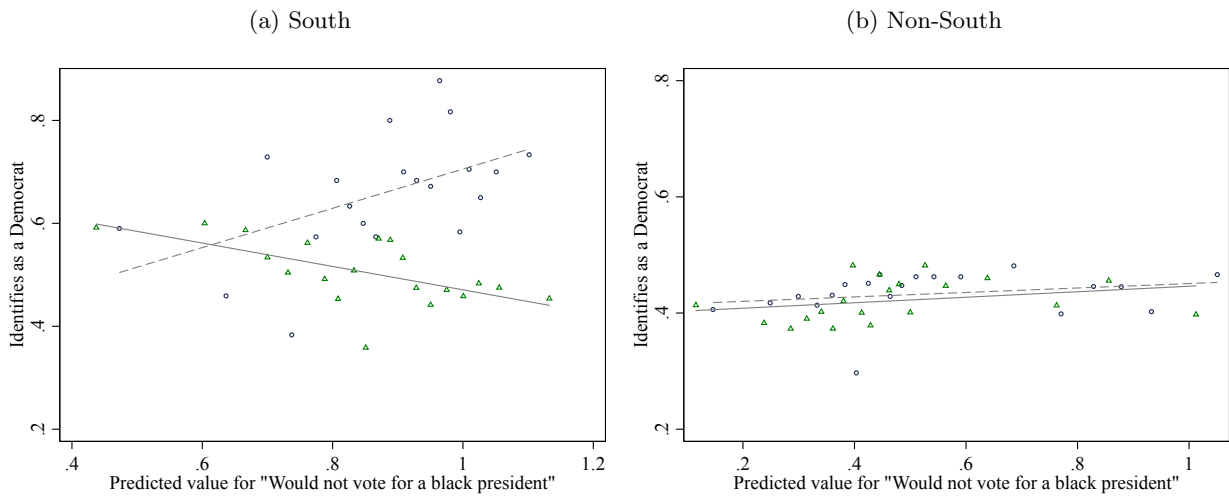
Appendix Figure A.3: Do *predicted* views among whites toward a black president follow parallel trends in the South and non-South?



Notes: Data taken from Gallup. We plot *predicted* answers to the *Black president* question, estimating the relationship between this variable and covariates in the *pre-period*. Predictions are estimated separately for the South and non-South. The “parsimonious” prediction regresses *No black prez* on (1) demographics and background controls (age-in-decades fixed effects; female dummy; education-category dummies) and geography controls (state FE, rural/city-size category FE). The “detailed” prediction includes all the covariates in the “parsimonious” specification plus answers to questions about views toward hypothetical Jewish and Catholic presidential candidates, though these additional variables are available in fewer years. We slightly prefer (1) to (2) both because we can extend the sample further and because answers to the other hypothetical *president* questions may re-introduce the very composition bias we are trying to address. The advantage of (2) is higher R^2 value. Note that in this figure we show, for completeness, that the parallel trends using prediction (1) in fact extend through the mid-1980s, slightly longer than our usual sample period (which gives us more observations and thus more power to detect slightly un-parallel trends).

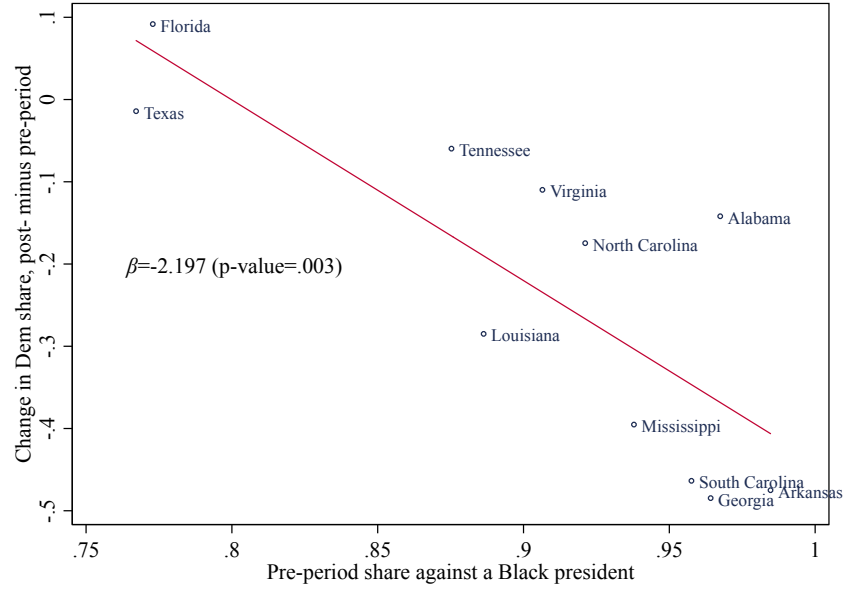
To formally test the parallel trends assumption, we estimate the coefficient (and associated p -value) from β in the following individual-level linear-probability-model regression: $Predicted\ No\ Black\ Prez_{ist} = \beta South_s \cdot Survey\ year_t + \lambda_s + \mu_t + e_{ist}$, where λ_s and μ_t are state and survey-year fixed effects and standard errors are clustered by state. We perform this test separately for the parsimonious and detailed prediction. The coefficient β (reported in the figure) tells us how predicted views toward a black president are changing in the South relative to elsewhere.

Appendix Figure A.4: Dependence of whites' Democratic identification on predicted answers to the *black president* question (replication of Figure ??, using less parsimonious prediction)



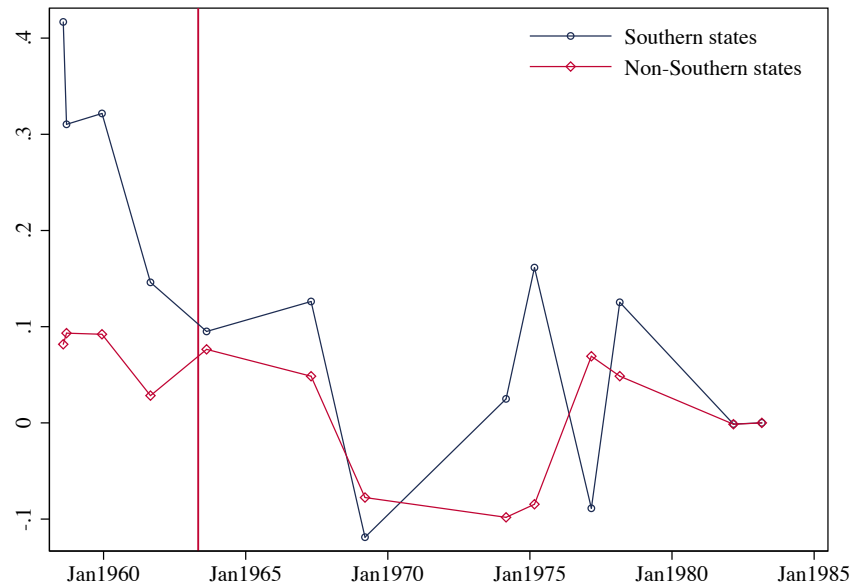
Notes: Please see notes to Figure 6. This figure is identical, except the less parsimonious prediction is used.

Appendix Figure A.5: White dealignment by state as a function of pre-period racial views



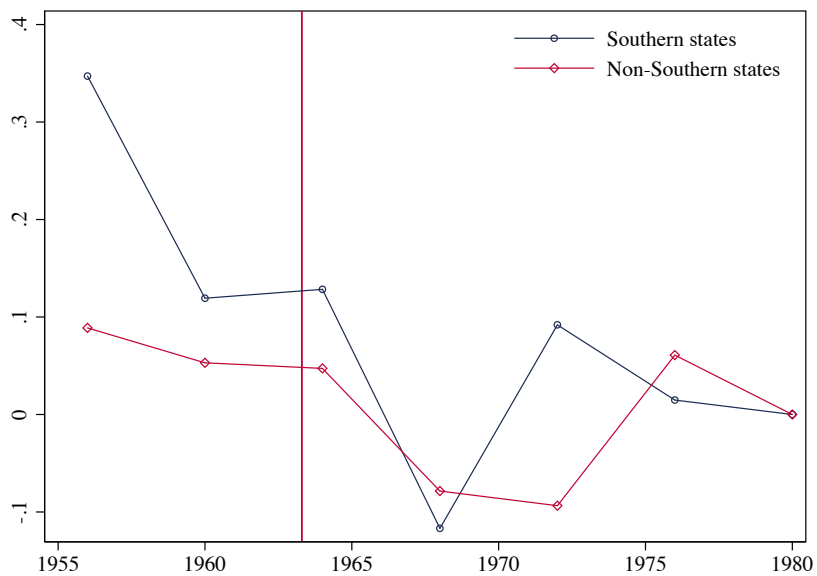
Notes: Data taken from Gallup. On the x -axis, we plot, by state, the pre-period share of whites answering “no” to the *Black president* question/ On the y -axis, we plot ΔDem_s , the change in the post- relative to the pre-period in the share of whites identifying as Democrats in state s . We also plot the coefficient (and associated p -value) on β from the following state-level ($N = 11$) regression: $\Delta Dem_s = \beta Pre\text{-}period\ No\ Black\ Prez_s + e_s$.

Appendix Figure A.6: Event-time graph of *Reported voting Dem in last Presidential election* regressed on $No\text{ Prez} \times Survey\ date$, by region (whites in Gallup and the GSS, date defined by the survey date)



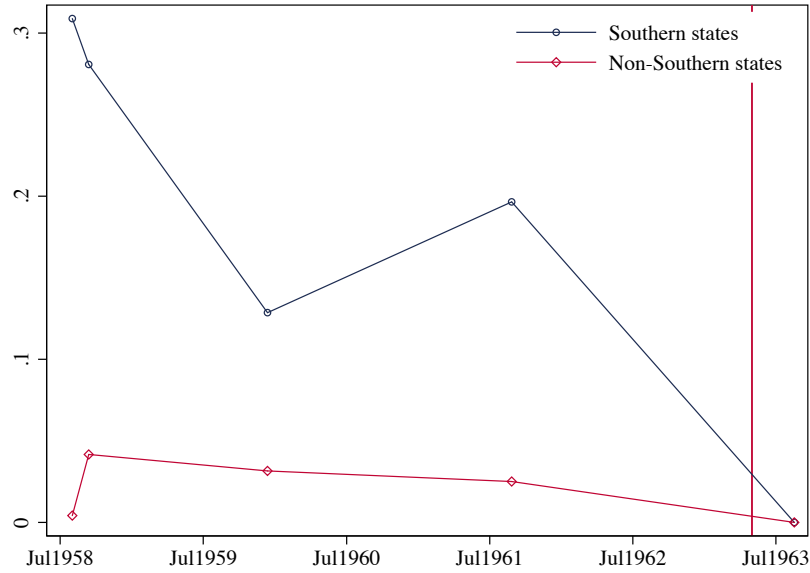
Notes: For each region (South and non-South) we estimate $Voted\ Dem_{ist} = \sum_t \beta_t No\text{ Prez}_i \times Date_t + \lambda_s + \mu_t + e_{ist}$, where λ_s, μ_t are state and election-year fixed effects. For each region, we plot the β_t coefficients. Note that we define *date* as the date of the *survey* (not necessarily the election about which the survey is asking). So someone being surveyed in 1963 about the 1960 election would be coded with a date of 1963. We drop votes for third-party candidates.

Appendix Figure A.7: Event-time graph of *Reported voting Dem in last Presidential election* regressed on $No\text{ Prez} \times Survey\ date$, by region (whites in Gallup and the GSS, date defined by the election date)



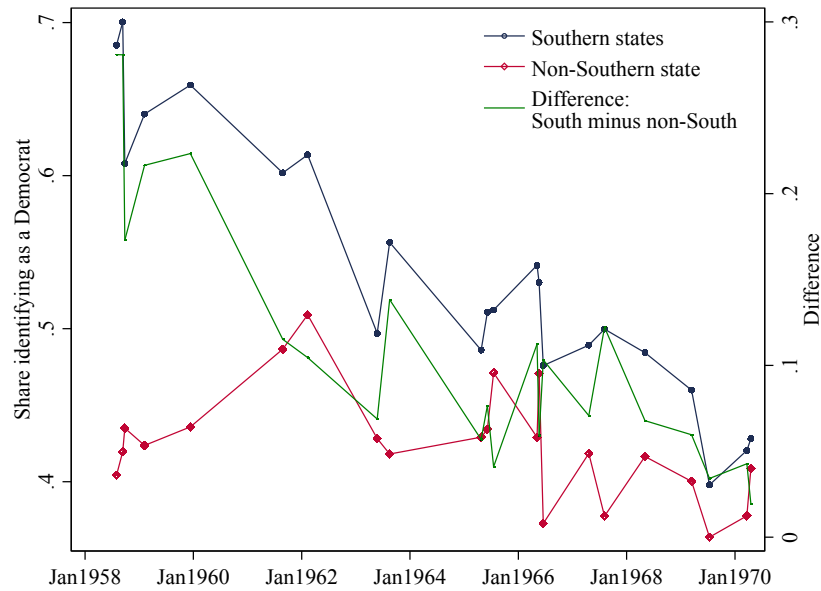
Notes: For each region (South and non-South) we estimate $Voted\ Dem_{ist} = \sum_t \beta_t No\text{ Prez}_i \times Date_t + \lambda_s + \mu_t + e_{ist}$, where λ_s, μ_t are state and election-year fixed effects. For each region, we plot the β_t coefficients. Note that we define *date* as the date of the *election*. So someone being surveyed in 1963 about the 1960 election would be coded with a date of 1960. We drop votes for third-party candidates.

Appendix Figure A.8: Event-time graph of *Supports Democrat in Congress* regressed on $NoPres \times Survey\ date$, by region (whites in Gallup)



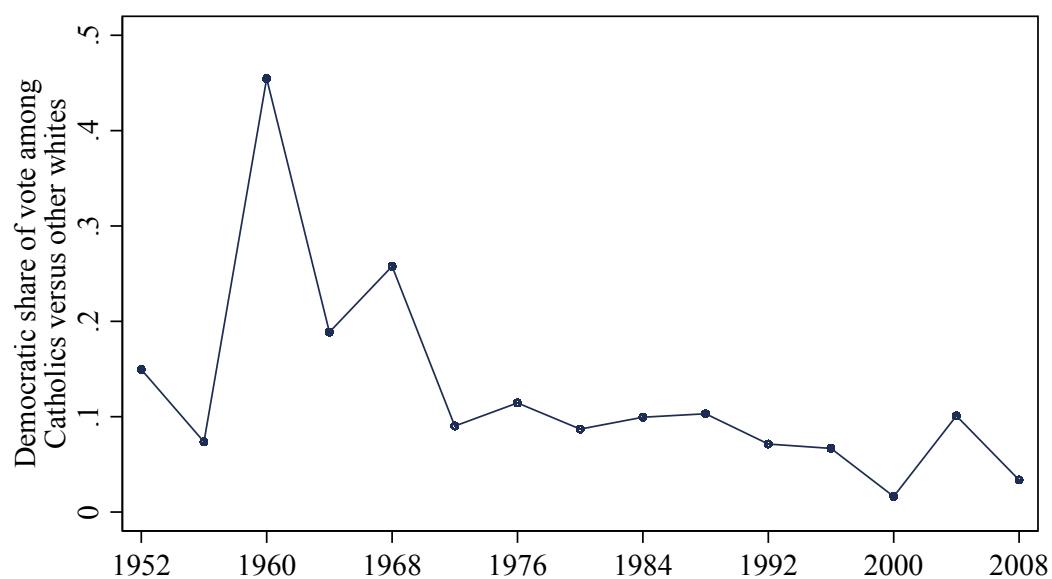
Notes: For each region (South and non-South) we estimate $Supports\ Democrat_{ist} = \sum_t \beta_t NoPres_i \times Date_t + \lambda_s + \mu_t + e_{ist}$, where λ_s, μ_t are state and date fixed effects, respectively. For each region, we plot the β_t coefficients. As in Appendix Figure A.6, we define “date” as the date of the survey, as the question asks about the preferred party in Congress generically. We only have a single post-period survey for this graph.

Appendix Figure A.9: Share of whites identifying as Democrats (zooming in on Civil Rights era)



Notes: See Figure 1 for more detail. This figure is identical to Figure 1 except here we zoom in on the Civil Rights era.

Appendix Figure A.10: Democrats' advantage among Catholics in presidential elections



Notes: Data are from the cumulative ANES, 1952-2008, only white respondents. Respondents reporting support for the Democratic candidate are coded as one, and all other responses (Republican, Independent, "don't know") are coded as zero.

Appendix Figure A.11: Democratic presidential vote shares (South minus non-South), comparing non-Catholic whites to all whites



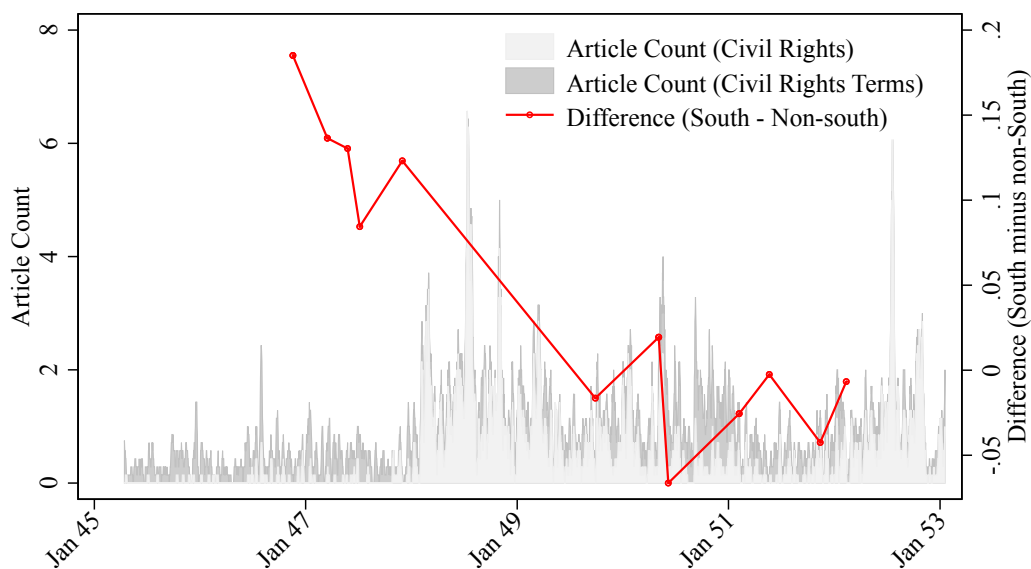
Notes: Data come from ANES cumulative file. Votes for the Democratic (Republican or Independent) presidential candidate are coded as one (zero).

Appendix Figure A.12: Coefficient from regressing *Democratic identification* on *NoCatholicPrez*; by region and year (whites in Gallup)



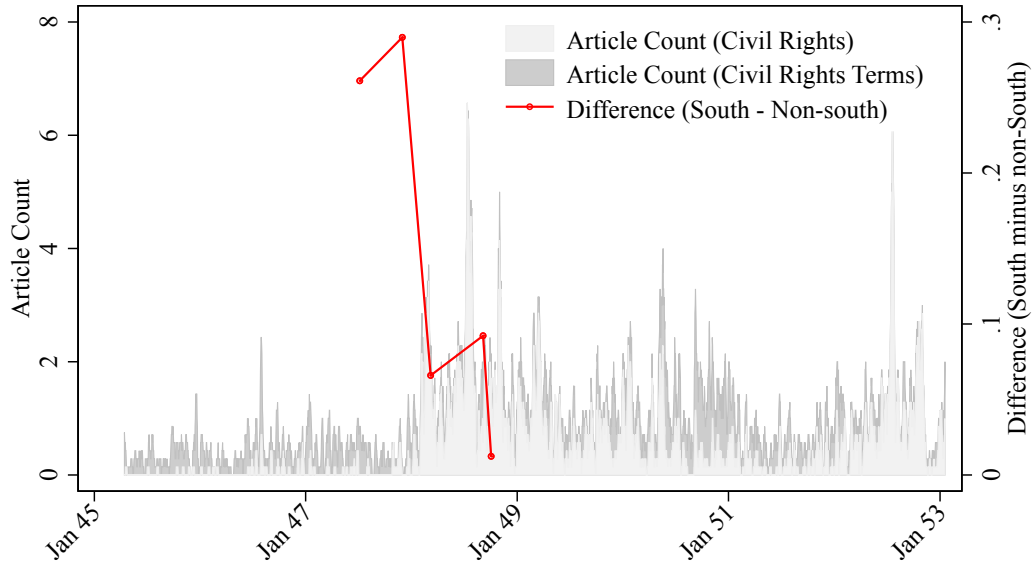
Notes: Data from Gallup 1958-1980. As with *NoBlackPrez* we code *NoCatholicPrez* as one if the respondent is unwilling to vote or unsure about voting for a qualified Catholic nominee from his party.

Appendix Figure A.13: White approval (South minus non-South) of Truman as a function of *NYT* articles containing his name alongside Civil Rights terms



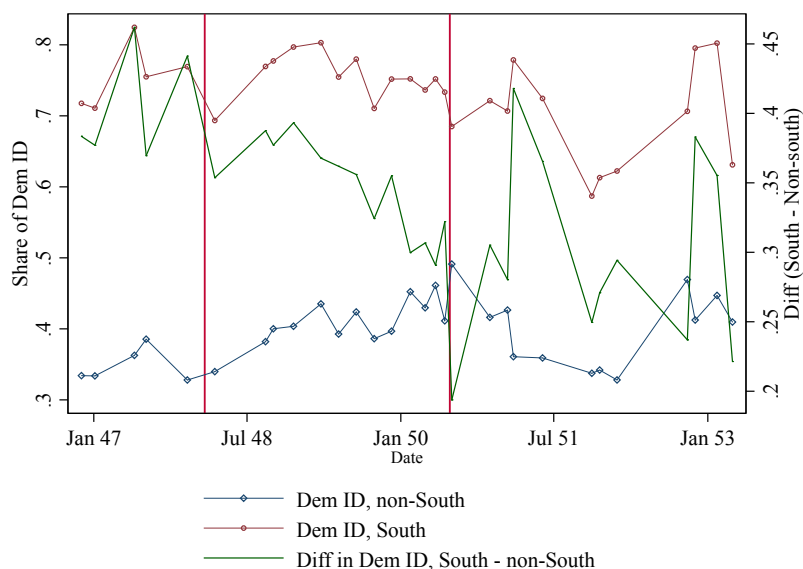
Notes: Approval data from Gallup. The first newspaper series counts articles that include the terms “President Truman” and “Civil Rights” anywhere in the article. The second counts articles with “President Truman” and *any* of the following terms: “Civil Rights,” “lynching,” any form of the word “segregate” and any form of the word “integrate.”

Appendix Figure A.14: Share of whites (South minus non-South) who plan to vote for Truman in 1948 election as a function of *NYT* articles containing his name alongside Civil Rights terms



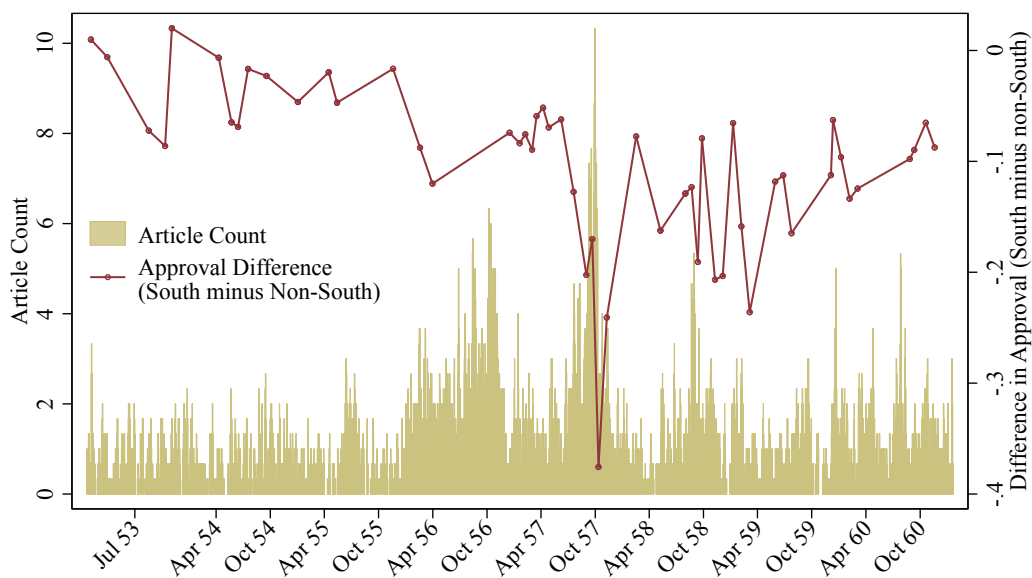
Notes: Hypothetical vote data are from Gallup (see Online Appendix B for more detail). Note that the choices of candidates in the survey, as in the actual election, is evolving. Our first two surveys pit Truman against Gov. Thomas Dewey (R-NY), our second two also include Henry Wallace, the Progressive party nominee and staunch integrationist and our final survey includes, for Southern respondents only, the segregationist Strom Thurmond (D-SC), the Dixiecrat nominee on the ballot only in Southern states. As Southerners are not offered an explicitly segregationist choice until September 1948 but the first large spike in articles occurs in February, we suspect the late addition of Thurmond would *obscure* the relationship between media coverage of Truman's Civil Rights activities and his declining support in the South. Respondents planning to support Truman are coded as one and all other responses ("don't know," Dewey, Thurmond, etc) as zero. When we run regressions parallel to the Kennedy approval analysis in col. (1) of Table 2 using these data, the Southern interactions are always negative and significant at at least the five-percent level (with standard errors bootstrapped to adjust for the small number of survey dates on which we are clustering). Results available from the authors.

Appendix Figure A.15: Democratic identification among whites during Truman presidency (vertical lines mark February 1948 Civil Rights message and June 1950 start of Korean War)



Notes: Data taken from Gallup.

Appendix Figure A.16: Regional differences in whites' approval of Eisenhower (South minus non-South) versus articles linking him to Civil Rights



Notes: Article count data from *New York Times* daily searches. We count the number of articles with the term “Eisenhower” and any of the following: “Civil rights” or any form of the words “integrate” and “segregate.” Approval data from Gallup.

Appendix Table A.1: Do whites' responses to black president question predict other racial views in both South and non-South?

Dependent variable	Coefficient estimates		
	No black prez.	South	South x No bl. prez
–Strongly agree that blacks shouldn't push themselves where they are not wanted	0.323 [0.0278]	0.0904 [0.0267]	-0.00701 [0.0487]
–Agree that government does too much to improve condition of blacks	0.273 [0.0197]	0.0316 [0.0178]	-0.0201 [0.0337]
–Against busing of black and white school children from one district to another	0.0606 [0.0150]	0.0401 [0.0139]	0.0130 [0.0257]
–Agree that white and black children should go to separate schools	0.247 [0.0252]	0.116 [0.0257]	0.138 [0.0450]
–Object to sending children to a school where a few of the children are black?	0.0857 [0.00960]	0.0182 [0.00888]	0.133 [0.0166]
–Favors laws against marriages between blacks and whites	0.325 [0.0215]	0.150 [0.0201]	0.0867 [0.0371]
–Would object to family member bringing black friend for dinner	0.322 [0.0246]	0.150 [0.0236]	0.0243 [0.0431]

Notes: Data come from whites in the GSS, 1974-1980. GSS survey weights used. Each row represents a separate regression, where the dependent variable is regressed on a dummy for unwillingness to vote for a black president, a South dummy, and the interaction between these two variables. Sample sizes range from 3,800 to 6,600.

Appendix Table A.2: Comparison of demographics of main Gallup analysis sample to Census

	Gallup (weighted)		1960 comparison		1970 comparison	
	Pre-p'd	Post-p'd	Gallup (unwtd.)	IPUMS	Gallup (unwtd.)	IPUMS
<i>–Southern states</i>						
Age	47.62	47.98	47.64	45.07	46.79	45.93
Female	0.504	0.508	0.503	0.522	0.502	0.529
Completed HS	0.383	0.486	0.381	0.416	0.538	0.514
Attended some HS	0.634	0.702	0.633	0.634	0.750	0.738
College graduate	0.0665	0.118	0.0665	0.0773	0.116	0.108
Urban	0.417	0.589	0.416	0.603	0.564	0.647
No black president	0.887	0.654	0.885		0.520	
Identifies as Democrat	0.665	0.504	0.664		0.462	
<i>–Non-Southern states</i>						
Age	47.94	47.39	47.23	46.17	46.19	46.50
Female	0.516	0.507	0.517	0.520	0.502	0.529
Completed HS	0.431	0.534	0.500	0.459	0.643	0.587
Attended some HS	0.655	0.740	0.698	0.674	0.821	0.779
College graduate	0.0829	0.111	0.0962	0.0807	0.150	0.115
Urban	0.664	0.721	0.669	0.721	0.738	0.739
No black president	0.541	0.394	0.531		0.285	
Identifies as Democrat	0.443	0.427	0.435		0.390	
Observations	6243	10763	6243	942529	2568	1060077

Notes: Gallup statistics reported above are limited to surveys that include the *black president* question and fall within two years of the given Census year. In particular, for 1960, we have two surveys from 1958 and one each from 1959 and 1961. For 1970 we have one each from 1969 and 1971. Gallup and IPUMS have different definitions of urban, so comparing trends across time and space is more useful than comparing levels. Note that Gallup typically asks education questions in terms of “graduation” whereas IPUMS asks in terms of grades completed (so, we infer graduating from high school as completing grade twelve and from college as completing at least four years of college). In the first two columns, we use weights created to make Gallup match the Census in terms of (interpolated) shares of *SouthxHigh school graduation* cells. Other Gallup columns are unweighted. IPUMS person-weights used in Census columns.

Appendix Table A.3: Votes in the House of Representatives in favor of the 1957, 1960 and 1964 Civil Rights Acts, by region and party

	1957 CRA			1960 CRA			1964 CRA		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Democrat	-0.336 [0.0912]	-0.143 [0.0714]	-0.132 [0.0693]	-0.221 [0.0687]	-0.213 [0.226]	-0.194 [0.225]	-0.159 [0.0788]	0.0851 [0.0317]	0.135 [0.0555]
Dep. v. mean	0.659	0.00943	0.00943	0.671	0.0874	0.0874	0.671	0.0762	0.0762
Regions	All	South	South	All	South	South	All	South	South
State FE?	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
BS st. errors?	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Observations	434	106	106	429	103	103	431	105	105

Notes: Data taken from voteview.com. We do not analyze the Senate because until 1961 there was not a single Republican Senator in the South. In the final three columns, we show that the negative coefficient in the raw, bivariate relationship between voting for the 1964 and being a Democratic House member is entirely driven by the over-representation of Southerners among Democratic lawmakers. Once the South is viewed in isolation (cols. 7 and 8), the coefficient flips in sign. Standard errors clustered by state (and standard errors are bootstrapped when we examine the South in isolation, given only eleven clusters in those regressions).

Appendix Table A.4: Comparing results using actual versus *predicted* values for *No black president* (whites in Gallup)

	Dep't var: Respondent identifies as Democrat						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
South x Aft	-0.194 [0.0582]	-0.0340 [0.0592]	0.0192 [0.0612]	-0.178 [0.0647]	-0.0216 [0.0619]	0.0272 [0.0622]	-0.00372 [0.0590]
No Bl prez		0.0107 [0.0147]			0.0103 [0.0148]		
South x No Bl prez		0.185 [0.0574]			0.179 [0.0595]		
No Bl prez x Aft		-0.0201 [0.0205]			-0.0233 [0.0232]		
South x No Bl prez x Aft		-0.169 [0.0733]			-0.166 [0.0781]		
$\widehat{No\ Bl.\ prez}$			0.0166 [0.0250]			0.0126 [0.0243]	0.0235 [0.0218]
$\widehat{No\ Bl.\ prez}$ x South			0.189 [0.0620]			0.182 [0.0544]	0.117 [0.0535]
$\widehat{No\ Bl.\ prez}$ x Aft			0.0264 [0.0224]			0.00683 [0.0248]	0.00945 [0.0247]
$\widehat{No\ Bl.\ prez}$ x South x Aft			-0.258 [0.0686]			-0.239 [0.0701]	-0.211 [0.0670]
Mean, dept. var.	0.439	0.439	0.439	0.454	0.454	0.454	0.454
Prediction model:							
Background vars.	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A	N/A	Yes	Yes
Prejud. vars.	N/A	N/A	No	N/A	N/A	No	Yes
R-squared			0.188			0.188	0.287
SEs bootstrapped?	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
Max year in samp.	1986	1986	1986	1978	1978	1978	1978
Observations	20534	20534	20534	16628	16628	16628	16628

Notes: We use two separate prediction models: the “parsimonious” relies mostly on demographics and background information, whereas the “detailed” adds answers to questions about prejudice toward groups beyond blacks. See Figure 6 for details. We have the parsimonious predictors through 1986 and the detailed through 1978. For this table, we collapse the (continuous) predictions into 0/1 binary variables that have the same pre-period means as the actual *no black president* variable. Cols. (1) and (2) show the original Table 1 specification (with *actual*, not predicted, *Black president* responses) using the sample where the parsimonious predictors are available. Col. (3) is analogous to col. (2), but uses the *predicted* value of *No black president* under the parsimonious model. Cols. (4) and (5) use the original specification but only on observations for which the “detailed” predictors are non-missing. Col. (6) is analogous to column (3) but uses this subsample. Cols. (7) is analogous to col. (6) except the prediction is based on the “detailed” set of predictors. In columns where we use predicted values as explanatory variables, we bootstrap standard errors (200 repetitions).

Appendix Table A.5: Main triple-interaction results, using Democratic legislators' average voting scores in place of *After* binary variable

	Dep't var.: Identifies as Democrat			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
South x DW2	0.126 [0.181]	0.193 [0.449]	0.237 [0.244]	-4.132 [2.245]
No Bl prez	-0.0315 [0.0451]	-0.105 [0.0726]	0.817 [0.481]	-1.601 [1.136]
South x No Bl prez	-0.204 [0.125]	-0.480 [0.203]	-0.287 [0.884]	-0.988 [2.412]
No Bl prez x DW2	0.0696 [0.116]	0.267 [0.183]	-0.195 [0.158]	1.907 [1.265]
South x No Bl prez x DW2	0.754 [0.350]	1.500 [0.565]	0.848 [0.375]	2.050 [2.629]
South x DW1			-1.749 [2.329]	8.388 [4.147]
No Bl prez x DW1			2.566 [1.486]	-3.180 [2.401]
South x No Bl prez x DW1			-0.187 [2.707]	-1.083 [5.217]
Mean, dep't var.	0.458	0.458	0.458	0.458
Chamber used for DW-nom. scores	House	Senate	House	Senate
Observations	18289	18289	18289	18289

Notes: These specifications replicate cols. (3) and (4) of Table 1 (i.e., survey date and state fixed are included; the sample period starts in 1958, with 1963 as the first year of the 'after' period, and continues through 1980). "DW-Nominate-1" and "DW-Nominate-2" are taken from ?. Both measures are increasing in a legislator's *conservative* position, the first referring to economic policy and the second race-related policy. In our regression $DW1_t$ is the average Democratic legislator's DW-Nominate-1 score in year t and $DW2_t$ is the average Democratic legislator's DW-Nominate-2 score in year t . Standard errors clustered by state in brackets.

Appendix Table A.6: Robustness of main triple-interaction results to model, control group and outcome variable

	Dependent variable: Respondent identifies as a....													
	Democrat												Republican	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
South x Aft	-0.145 [0.0647]	0.0347 [0.0592]	-0.165 [0.0679]	0.0205 [0.0709]	-0.136 [0.0689]	0.0359 [0.0621]	-0.127 [0.0653]	0.0238 [0.0618]	-0.113 [0.0693]	0.137 [0.0717]	-0.283 [0.0759]	-0.150 [0.100]	0.0477 [0.0311]	-0.0244 [0.0723]
No Bl prez		0.000455 [0.0173]		-0.0357 [0.0375]		0.0111 [0.0209]		0.0401 [0.0180]		-0.0978 [0.0708]		0.0199 [0.0183]		0.0515 [0.0141]
South x No Bl prez		0.210 [0.0689]		0.232 [0.0799]		0.195 [0.0698]		0.154 [0.0739]		0.284 [0.0991]		0.125 [0.0740]		-0.139 [0.0555]
No Bl prez x Aft		-0.0143 [0.0253]		0.0186 [0.0672]		-0.0321 [0.0202]		-0.0471 [0.0344]		0.110 [0.0264]		-0.0326 [0.0247]		0.0213 [0.0225]
South x No Bl prez x Aft		-0.195 [0.0761]		-0.221 [0.110]		-0.186 [0.0814]		-0.153 [0.0891]		-0.304 [0.0902]		-0.133 [0.0737]		0.0604 [0.0750]
Mean, d. var.	0.458	0.458	0.481	0.481	0.466	0.466	0.506	0.506	0.566	0.566	0.458	0.458	0.294	0.294
Est. model	Probit	Probit	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS
Def. of South	Conf	Conf	Conf	Conf	Conf	Conf	Conf	Conf	Conf	Conf	VRA	VRA	Conf	Conf
Control gp.	All	All	NE	NE	MW	MW	West	West	South	South	All	All	All	All
Observations	18289	18289	8730	8730	9667	9667	6954	6954	5025	5025	18289	18289	18289	18289

Notes: These specifications replicate cols. (3) and (4) of Table 1 (i.e., survey date and state fixed are included; the sample period starts in 1958, with 1963 as the first year of the ‘after’ period, and continues through 1980). Note that probit specifications cannot be compared directly to linear probability results. Control groups in cols. (3) through (10) are based on U.S. Census definition of region (‘NE’ being Northeast, ‘MW’ being the Midwest, and ‘South’ in this case referring to the *Census* definition of the South, so the control group are those states of the peripheral South counted as Southern *in the Census*, but that were not part of the Confederacy). Cols. (1) - (10) define “South” as in the rest of the paper (the former Confederacy), whereas cols. (11) and (12) use those states designated by the “pre-clearance” provision of the original 1965 Voting Rights Act. Standard errors clustered by state in brackets.

Appendix Table A.7: Robustness of main triple-interaction results to state-year level economic and demographic controls and more flexible geography \times time controls

	Dept. variable: Respondent identifies as a Democrat (0/1)							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
South x Aft	-0.148 [0.0628]	0.0242 [0.0577]	0.0461 [0.0654]	0.0471 [0.0656]	0.0402 [0.0744]	0.0725 [0.0636]		
No Bl prez		0.00130 [0.0170]	-0.0137 [0.0177]	-0.0133 [0.0178]	-0.00113 [0.0171]	-0.00103 [0.0168]	0.0231 [0.0263]	0.0239 [0.0265]
South x No Bl prez		0.208 [0.0674]	0.183 [0.0714]	0.182 [0.0716]	0.178 [0.0688]	0.204 [0.0675]	0.192 [0.0735]	0.191 [0.0738]
No Bl prez x Aft		-0.00934 [0.0236]	-0.0111 [0.0223]	-0.0116 [0.0225]	-0.00415 [0.0233]	-0.0238 [0.0370]		
South x No Bl prez x Aft		-0.186 [0.0798]	-0.174 [0.0856]	-0.172 [0.0862]	-0.163 [0.0810]	-0.205 [0.0910]	-0.179 [0.0867]	
South x NoPrez x 1963-1967								-0.199 [0.0978]
South x NoPrez x 1968-1972								-0.147 [0.0936]
South x NoPrez x 1973-1977								-0.164 [0.103]
South x NoPrez x 1978-1982								-0.173 [0.0831]
Mean, dep. var.	0.444	0.444	0.443	0.443	0.444	0.444	0.444	0.439
State-year econ controls?	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No
State-year demog. controls?	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No
State-spec. trends?	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No
South-, Noprez-, S x Noprez - spec. trends?	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No
South x Date, NoPrez x Date FE?	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Max year in sample	1980	1980	1980	1980	1980	1980	1980	1982
Observations	23332	23332	22961	22961	23332	23332	23332	24605

Notes: All regressions use data from Gallup and GSS, and include state and year fixed effects. State-year economic controls: average income, Gini coefficient, and employment-to-population ratio. State-year demographic controls: state population, share with a College degree, and share black. Of the six pair-wise coefficient tests of equality of the four post-period intervals interacted with *South* and *NoPrez* in col. (8), the smallest *p*-value is 0.46 and the others are above 0.5.

Appendix Table A.8: Main triple-interaction results under various weighting and clustering schemes

	Dep't variable: Respondent identifies as a Democrat							
	Gallup wts.		Unweighted		Census weights		Clust. by svy.	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
South x Aft	-0.165 [0.0658]	0.00281 [0.0597]	-0.143 [0.0644]	0.0337 [0.0566]	-0.143 [0.0645]	0.0334 [0.0577]	-0.143 [0.0475]	0.0337 [0.0687]
No Bl prez		0.00649 [0.0158]		0.00360 [0.0166]		0.000312 [0.0169]		0.00360 [0.0134]
South x No Bl prez		0.188 [0.0575]		0.203 [0.0679]		0.202 [0.0668]		0.203 [0.0330]
No Bl prez x Aft		-0.0123 [0.0242]		-0.0155 [0.0246]		-0.0141 [0.0246]		-0.0155 [0.0276]
South x No Bl prez x Aft		-0.187 [0.0750]		-0.197 [0.0832]		-0.196 [0.0821]		-0.197 [0.0467]
Mean, dept. var.	0.452	0.452	0.452	0.452	0.458	0.458	0.452	0.452
State FE?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Max year in sample	1980	1980	1980	1980	1980	1980	1980	1980
St. errs. bootstrapped?	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Observations	18323	18323	18323	18323	18289	18289	18323	18323

Notes: We base these regressions on cols. (3) and (4) of Table 1. Survey date and state fixed effects in all regressions. The first two columns uses *Gallup's provided weights* when they are provided. Cols. (3) and (4) do not use any weights. Cols. (5) and (6) use our preferred Census weights (and are thus identical to our baseline result, cols. 3 and 4 of Table 1). The final two columns replicate cols. (3) and (4) but cluster by survey date (bootstrapping standard errors to address the problem that a small number of clusters can bias downward standard errors) instead of state. Note that Stata's bootstrap command does not allow weights.

Appendix Table A.9: Main triple-interaction results using voting intentions as outcomes

	Voted Dem, Prez. (D. & R. voters)				Voted Dem, Prez. (all voters)				Prefers Dem, Cong.	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
South x Surveyed after	-0.0836 [0.0534]	0.0737 [0.0523]			-0.0818 [0.0515]	0.0790 [0.0494]			-0.0794 [0.0580]	0.0983 [0.0828]
No Bl prez		-0.0124 [0.0225]		-0.00899 [0.0183]		-0.0121 [0.0221]		-0.00832 [0.0177]		-0.0197 [0.0133]
No prez x Surveyed after		-0.0428 [0.0244]				-0.0406 [0.0249]				-0.0226 [0.0391]
South x No Bl prez		0.171 [0.0595]		0.110 [0.0414]		0.168 [0.0589]		0.107 [0.0417]		0.173 [0.0611]
South x No prez x Surveyed after		-0.186 [0.0761]				-0.195 [0.0740]				-0.201 [0.0985]
South x Election after			-0.0856 [0.0444]	0.0262 [0.0416]			-0.0843 [0.0445]	0.0303 [0.0396]		
No prez x Election after				-0.0624 [0.0228]				-0.0596 [0.0234]		
South x No prez x Election after				-0.131 [0.0621]				-0.141 [0.0616]		
Mean, dept. var.	0.475	0.475	0.475	0.475	0.462	0.462	0.462	0.462	0.553	0.553
Observations	14725	14700	14725	14700	15151	15126	15151	15126	9196	9161

Notes: Date and state fixed effects in all regressions. We vary how we define date, however. In cols. (1), (2), (5), (6) and (9) and (10) we define it as we usually do, the date of the survey. So *After* would be defined, as usual, as being surveyed after April 1963. For cols. (3), (4), (7), and (8), however, we define date based on the presidential election about which the respondent was asked. So, a respondent interviewed in August of 1963 about the 1960 election would have *After* = 0. Cols. (1) through (4) model the “two-party vote” and drop those who did not vote or voted for a Presidential candidate from a third party. Cols. (5) to (8) include all voters. Data for presidential elections come from both Gallup and GSS and data for preferred party in Congress are only from Gallup.

Appendix Table A.10: Whites' approval of Kennedy as a function of *NYT* Civil Rights articles, 1961 to 1963 (additional regressions)

	Dependent variable equal to...							Dem ID
	Approval							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	
South x (JFK + Civ. Rts.)	-0.0577 [0.00396]	-0.0626 [0.00224]	-20.31 [2.643]	-0.0531 [0.00305]	-0.0569 [0.00377]	-0.0578 [0.00383]	-0.0579 [0.00421]	-0.00820 [0.00544]
South x Civ. Rts.				-0.0136 [0.00415]				
South x (Civ. Rts. + MLK)					-0.0950 [0.0885]			
South x (Civ. Rts. + Republican)						-0.00224 [0.0117]		
Mean, dept. var.	0.670	0.670	0.670	0.670	0.670	0.670	0.671	0.468
South time trend	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No
Article measure	Count	Count	Share	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count
Drop key events?	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No
Observations	65012	65012	65012	65012	65012	65012	64184	64578

Notes: This table provides robustness checks of the results in Table 2. Data from Gallup and *NYT* searches (see Section ?? for more detail). To provide a baseline, col. (1) replicates col. (2) of Table 2 (that is, we include state and survey date fixed effects as well as a vector of interactions: *South* times article counts on “control” topics but do not report these coefficients in the interest of space). All remaining specifications include these controls as well. In col. (2) we add a *South*-specific linear time trend. In col. (3), instead of using the absolute number of *NYT* articles mentioning “Civil Rights” (or “control” topics) during the survey window, we divide this absolute number by the total number of *NYT* articles (on any subject) during the window (note that coefficient units are no longer comparable). In col. (4) we return to our absolute measures of articles, but now include as a control *South* × *NYT* articles mentioning “Civil Rights,” *regardless of whether they also mention Kennedy*. A similar check is performed in col. (5), where we add to the col. (1) specification the interaction between *South* and *NYT* articles that mention “Civil Rights” and “Martin Luther King.” Col. (6) is identical, but instead includes the interaction between *South* and *NYT* articles that mention “Civil Rights” and “Republican.” Col. (7) is analogous to col. (2) but drops the months and states where key Civil Rights events take place: the Freedom Rides (DC, VA, NC, SC, GA, AL, MS, May 1961); MLK’s Albany Campaign (GA, November 1961 to July 1962); James Meredith integrating Ole Miss (MS, September and October 1962); MLK’s Birmingham campaign (AL, April through June, 1963); Detroit Walk to Freedom (MI, July 1963); March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom (DC, Aug 1963); and the Birmingham Church Bombings (AL, September 1963). Col. (7) is analogous to col. (2) except whether the respondent identifies as a Democrat is the outcome variable.

Appendix Table A.11: Explanatory power of income and urbanicity in explaining white Southern dealignment (ANES, Presidential elections, 1952-1980)

	Dep't variable: Respondent reports voting for a Democrat						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
<hr/> Panel A (Diff-in-diff spec.)							
South x After	-0.132 [0.0547]	-0.135 [0.0550]	-0.145 [0.0554]	-0.141 [0.0646]	-0.157 [0.0552]	-0.129 [0.0600]	-0.169 [0.0734]
<hr/> Panel B (Diff. trend spec.)							
South x (Year/100)	-0.452 [0.245]	-0.455 [0.244]	-0.508 [0.244]	-0.437 [0.306]	-0.556 [0.247]	-0.493 [0.299]	-0.629 [0.404]
Dept. var mean	0.420	0.420	0.420	0.420	0.418	0.422	0.419
Income FE?	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
City-size FE?	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Interactions?	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Ex. migrants?	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
Ex. new voters?	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Observations	8286	8286	8286	8286	7447	7190	6439

Notes: Identical analysis to Table 3 except for outcome variable.

Appendix Table A.12: Did richer, non-rural whites drive Southern dealignment (1952-1980)?

	Dept. variable: Respondent identifies as a Democrat							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Rich x South x Aft	-0.0187 [0.0478]	-0.0968 [0.0709]						
Rich x South x Year			-0.00123 [0.00217]	-0.00496 [0.00351]				
Nonrural x South x Aft					0.0299 [0.0805]	-0.104 [0.0746]		
Nonrural x South x Year							0.00213 [0.00403]	-0.00273 [0.00397]
South x After	-0.138 [0.0496]	-0.106 [0.0648]			-0.157 [0.0535]	-0.110 [0.0623]		
South x Year			-0.923 [0.196]	-0.694 [0.276]			-1.022 [0.241]	-0.730 [0.283]
Mean, dept. var.	0.416	0.442	0.416	0.442	0.413	0.439	0.413	0.439
Restricted sample?	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	19543	13523	19543	13523	20594	14180	20594	14180

Notes: Data from ANES. State, year FE and lower-order terms of interactions included in all regressions. “Rich” defined as being in top third of U.S. household income distribution. “Nonrural” defined as living in a city or suburb. “Restricted samples” excludes those younger than 21 years in 1963 and current Southern residents who were not born in the South. See Table 3 for more detail.

Appendix Table A.13: Explanatory power of income and urbanicity in explaining white Southern dealignment (ANES, Senate elections, 1952-1980)

	Dep't variable: Respondent reports voting for a Democrat						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Panel A (Diff-in-diff spec.)							
South x After	-0.279 [0.0659]	-0.282 [0.0618]	-0.292 [0.0630]	-0.306 [0.0612]	-0.259 [0.0645]	-0.263 [0.0677]	-0.264 [0.0542]
Panel B (Diff. trend spec.)							
South x (Year/100)	-1.794 [0.290]	-1.790 [0.280]	-1.853 [0.271]	-1.952 [0.299]	-1.761 [0.322]	-1.734 [0.309]	-1.821 [0.328]
Dept. var mean	0.525	0.525	0.525	0.525	0.523	0.520	0.517
Income FE?	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
City-size FE?	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Interactions?	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Ex. migrants?	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
Ex. new voters?	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Observations	7460	7460	7460	7460	6705	6531	5860

Notes: Identical analysis to Table 3 except for outcome variable.

Appendix Table A.14: Explanatory power of income and urbanicity in explaining white Southern dealignment (ANES, House elections, 1952-1980)

	Dep't variable: Respondent reports voting for a Democrat						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Panel A (Diff-in-diff spec.)							
South x After	-0.166 [0.0463]	-0.169 [0.0457]	-0.178 [0.0488]	-0.174 [0.0494]	-0.182 [0.0575]	-0.139 [0.0457]	-0.154 [0.0605]
Panel B (Diff. trend spec.)							
South x (Year/100)	-1.026 [0.269]	-1.023 [0.273]	-1.079 [0.286]	-0.967 [0.293]	-1.061 [0.287]	-0.931 [0.255]	-0.821 [0.299]
Dept. var mean	0.540	0.540	0.540	0.540	0.535	0.537	0.532
Income FE?	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
City-size FE?	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Interactions?	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Ex. migrants?	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
Ex. new voters?	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Observations	11244	11244	11244	11244	9609	9892	8349

Notes: Identical analysis to Table 3 except for outcome variable.

Appendix Table A.15: Does controlling for economically liberal preferences explain white Southern dealignment?

	Dep't var: Identifies as a Democrat					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
After	-0.160 [0.0436]	-0.134 [0.0420]	-0.162 [0.0379]			0.0414 [0.0218]
Economically liberal		0.0717 [0.0164]	0.0278 [0.0429]		0.159 [0.0165]	0.170 [0.0242]
After x Econ. lib.			0.0674 [0.0524]			0.0213 [0.0197]
South x After				-0.158 [0.0450]	-0.154 [0.0460]	-0.216 [0.0438]
South x Econ. lib.						-0.151 [0.0437]
South x After x Econ. lib.						0.0522 [0.0478]
Dept. var. mean	0.604	0.604	0.604	0.506	0.506	0.506
Regions in sample	South	South	South	All	All	All
Year FE?	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE?	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	3495	3495	3495	15052	15052	15052

Notes: Data are from 1952-1980 cumulative ANES. "Economically liberal" is based on an ANES question about whether the government should provide everyone who seeks to work a job and (in some years) a basic standard of living. Besides changes in wording regarding the content of the question, the manner in which the question is asked also changes over time. In some years respondents can only disagree or agree, in some years strong agreement or disagreement is offered as an option and in still other years respondents can place themselves on a 1-7 scale. We classify respondents as economically liberal if they agree or strongly agree or place themselves on the liberal side of the 1-7 scale (so the middle option of 'four' would thus be coded as zero).

Appendix Table A.16: Do views toward other minority groups $G \in \{Female, Jewish, Catholic\}$ explain white Southern dealignment?

	$G = Female$				$G = Jewish$				$G = Catholic$			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
South x Aft	-0.174 [0.0625]	-0.152 [0.0559]	-0.0121 [0.0714]	0.000753 [0.0670]	-0.147 [0.0657]	-0.155 [0.0661]	0.0291 [0.0589]	0.0216 [0.0576]	-0.147 [0.0654]	-0.148 [0.0695]	0.0263 [0.0601]	0.0200 [0.0521]
No G president		-0.0421 [0.0241]		-0.0449 [0.0256]		-0.0249 [0.0182]		-0.0301 [0.0203]		-0.169 [0.0241]		-0.178 [0.0245]
South x No G prez		0.00792 [0.0521]		-0.00345 [0.0544]		0.0347 [0.0317]		0.00253 [0.0345]		0.107 [0.0533]		0.0878 [0.0559]
No G prez x Aft		0.0526 [0.0293]		0.0549 [0.0296]		-0.0124 [0.0194]		-0.00513 [0.0214]		-0.0623 [0.0297]		-0.0614 [0.0326]
South x No G prez x Aft		-0.0579 [0.0727]		-0.0459 [0.0743]		0.0495 [0.0454]		0.0914 [0.0456]		0.0754 [0.0509]		0.102 [0.0560]
No Black president			0.00660 [0.0214]	0.0152 [0.0228]			0.000902 [0.0170]	0.0120 [0.0191]			0.000877 [0.0168]	0.0336 [0.0172]
South x No Bl prez			0.171 [0.0699]	0.172 [0.0717]			0.203 [0.0698]	0.203 [0.0757]			0.200 [0.0715]	0.189 [0.0815]
No Bl prez x Aft			-0.00233 [0.0285]	-0.0129 [0.0289]			-0.0138 [0.0252]	-0.0162 [0.0276]			-0.0137 [0.0250]	-0.0119 [0.0263]
South x No Bl prez x Aft			-0.186 [0.0847]	-0.177 [0.0855]			-0.196 [0.0862]	-0.227 [0.0852]			-0.192 [0.0878]	-0.203 [0.0942]
Mean, dept. var.	0.446	0.446	0.446	0.446	0.462	0.462	0.462	0.462	0.462	0.462	0.462	0.462
Observations	10615	10615	10615	10615	16987	16987	16987	16987	16988	16988	16988	16988

Notes: Dependent variable is a dummy variable for Democratic identification. State and survey date FE included. For each group G we form a sample for which a question for voting for a president from group G and the black president question are non-missing, so samples are fixed for the four regressions for each G . For all three groups G , the resulting sample periods run from 1958 to 1978, but Gallup occasionally skips the female president question. Standard errors clustered by state in brackets. Source: Gallup.

Appendix Table A.17: Do conservative racial views predict defection from Democratic party (Southern whites, 1952 ANES)?

Dep't var. (N, mean)	Sample restrictions	Explanatory vars.: Preferred gov't role in employment discrimination					
		Wants anti-Negro employment laws		Anti-Negro laws or no gov't role		Anti-Negro laws or no <i>Fed.</i> gov't role	
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Switched from Democrats (N=403, $\mu = .0471$)	None	0.0827 [0.0433] ($\mu = 0.0814$)	0.0854 [0.0470] ($\mu = 0.0814$)	0.0572 [0.0252] ($\mu = 0.371$)	0.0572 [0.0282] ($\mu = 0.371$)	0.0473 [0.0252] ($\mu = 0.590$)	0.0422 [0.0277] ($\mu = 0.590$)
Switched from Democrats (N=298, $\mu = .0637$)	Ex. never-Dems	0.0942 [0.0538] ($\mu = 0.0813$)	0.0979 [0.0590] ($\mu = 0.0813$)	0.0727 [0.0313] ($\mu = 0.354$)	0.0734 [0.0357] ($\mu = 0.354$)	0.0571 [0.0312] ($\mu = 0.585$)	0.0607 [0.0347] ($\mu = 0.585$)
Republican or independent (N=403, $\mu = .3076$)	Parents were Dems	0.0488 [0.0910] ($\mu = 0.0814$)	0.0610 [0.0932] ($\mu = 0.0814$)	0.136 [0.0525] ($\mu = 0.371$)	0.112 [0.0556] ($\mu = 0.371$)	0.0986 [0.0528] ($\mu = 0.590$)	0.103 [0.0544] ($\mu = 0.590$)
Will vote for Eisenhower (N=188, $\mu = .3085$)	Current Dem	-0.251 [0.165] ($\mu = 0.0520$)	-0.224 [0.187] ($\mu = 0.0520$)	-0.0412 [0.0779] ($\mu = 0.341$)	-0.0850 [0.0891] ($\mu = 0.341$)	0.0126 [0.0780] ($\mu = 0.601$)	-0.0140 [0.0886] ($\mu = 0.601$)
Controls?		No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes

Notes: Each entry represents the results from a separate regression of the form $Defection_{is} = \beta Racial\ views_i + \eta_s + \gamma X_i + e_{is}$, where *Defection* takes the various forms of leaving or voting against the Democratic party (listed in the row titles), *Racial views* (listed in column titles) are various views on government's proper role in addressing anti-Negro employment discrimination, η_s are state fixed effects, and X are controls (which we vary to probe robustness). For each regression we report the estimate and standard error of β and the mean μ of *Racial views*. The explanatory variable for cols. (1) and (2) is coded as one if the respondent favors government action to *enforce* anti-Negro employment discrimination; the dependent var. for cols. (3) and (4) is the same except "government (federal or state) should stay out entirely" is also coded as one; the dependent var. for cols. (5) and (6) is the same as (3) and (4) except "national gov't should stay out; state gov't can take action" is also coded as one. Even-numbered cols. include fixed effects for gender as well as each education, urbanicity, income and age category used in the ANES. We code missing observations for these controls as a separate category, so the samples within each pair of columns (and in fact across an entire row) are identical.

Appendix Table A.18: Do conservative racial views predict defection from Democratic party (non-Southern whites, 1952 ANES)?

Dep't var. (N , mean)	Sample restrictions	Explanatory vars.: Preferred gov't role in employment discrimination					
		Wants anti-Negro employment laws		Anti-Negro laws or no gov't role		Anti-Negro laws or no <i>Fed.</i> gov't role	
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Switched from Democrats ($N=1364$, $\mu= .1422$)	None	-0.0139 [0.0444] ($\mu=0.0523$)	-0.000491 [0.0453] ($\mu=0.0523$)	0.00864 [0.0231] ($\mu=0.247$)	-0.00384 [0.0235] ($\mu=0.247$)	0.0220 [0.0204] ($\mu=0.403$)	0.00134 [0.0210] ($\mu=0.403$)
Switched from Democrats ($N=745$, $\mu= .2604$)	Ex. never-Dems	0.00897 [0.0809] ($\mu=0.0462$)	0.0624 [0.0807] ($\mu=0.0462$)	0.0313 [0.0406] ($\mu=0.234$)	0.0000418 [0.0406] ($\mu=0.234$)	0.0760 [0.0356] ($\mu=0.367$)	0.0549 [0.0357] ($\mu=0.367$)
Republican or independent ($N=1364$, $\mu= .5960$)	Parents were Dems	0.0438 [0.0614] ($\mu=0.0523$)	0.0561 [0.0606] ($\mu=0.0523$)	0.0397 [0.0320] ($\mu=0.247$)	0.0201 [0.0314] ($\mu=0.247$)	0.0944 [0.0281] ($\mu=0.403$)	0.0692 [0.0280] ($\mu=0.403$)
Will vote for Eisenhower ($N=470$, $\mu= .1638$)	Current Dem	0.0293 [0.0882] ($\mu=0.0460$)	0.0864 [0.0921] ($\mu=0.0460$)	-0.0540 [0.0443] ($\mu=0.225$)	-0.0720 [0.0475] ($\mu=0.225$)	0.0425 [0.0393] ($\mu=0.338$)	0.0286 [0.0419] ($\mu=0.338$)
Controls?		No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes

Notes: Identical to Online Appendix Table A.17 except that non-Southern instead of Southern whites are sampled.

Appendix Table A.19: Does income predict defection from Democratic party in early 1950s (1952 ANES)?

Dep't variable	Sample restrictions	South		Non-South	
		Top half inc. dist.	Income (categorical)	Top half inc. dist.	Income (categorical)
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Switched from Dem	None	0.0249 [0.0259]	0.00961 [0.00564]	0.0342 [0.0206]	0.00717 [0.00500]
Switched	Ex. never-Dems	0.0315 [0.0318]	0.0112 [0.00711]	0.0665 [0.0350]	0.00869 [0.00897]
Republican or Independent	Parents were Dems	0.0275 [0.0550]	-0.00215 [0.0120]	0.0515 [0.0285]	-0.00126 [0.00692]
Will vote for Ike	Current Dem	0.123 [0.0762]	0.0335 [0.0182]	0.000286 [0.0378]	0.00799 [0.0103]
Controls?		No	No	No	No

Notes: Each entry represents the results from a separate regression of the form $Defection_{is} = \beta Income_i + \eta_s + \gamma X_i + e_{is}$, where *Defection* takes the various forms of leaving or voting against the Democratic party (listed in the row titles). Income is parameterized in two ways (listed in column titles). We use either a linear measure taking the midpoints of the nine categories used in the 1952 ANES (and 0.75 and 1.25 times the lowest and highest category) or a binary variable for being in the top half of the distribution.

Appendix Table A.20: White approval of Eisenhower as a function of Civil Rights coverage

Search terms employed: "President Eisenhower" and...						
	"Civil rights"		Civil rights terms		"Negro"	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Article count	-0.0167 [0.0128]		-0.0186 [0.00668]		-0.0145 [0.0129]	
South x Article count	-0.0224 [0.0142]	-0.0368 [0.0146]	-0.0282 [0.0113]	-0.0290 [0.00790]	-0.0585 [0.0232]	-0.0527 [0.0149]
South x Foreign Policy, War articles		0.0172 [0.00570]		0.0167 [0.00484]		0.0130 [0.00454]
South x Crime, Drugs articles		0.0503 [0.0385]		0.0409 [0.0312]		0.0315 [0.0326]
South x USSR articles		-0.0314 [0.00869]		-0.0276 [0.00724]		-0.0222 [0.00583]
South x Cuba, Castro articles		-0.00386 [0.00726]		-0.00959 [0.00762]		-0.00745 [0.00571]
South x Communism, Socialism articles		-0.00839 [0.00944]		-0.00458 [0.00793]		-0.00428 [0.00690]
South x Taxes, Budget articles		0.00121 [0.00703]		-0.00369 [0.00760]		-0.00719 [0.00634]
South x Employment articles		-0.00350 [0.0101]		0.00220 [0.0106]		-0.00851 [0.0101]
South x Social Security articles		0.00657 [0.0137]		0.00231 [0.0125]		0.00660 [0.0118]
South x Agriculture articles		0.000489 [0.0105]		0.00315 [0.00988]		0.00170 [0.00900]
South x Korea articles		0.0112 [0.00948]		0.00786 [0.00842]		0.0181 [0.00784]
South x Highways articles		0.0797 [0.0436]		0.0685 [0.0377]		0.0830 [0.0341]
Dept. var. mean	0.651	0.651	0.651	0.651	0.651	0.651
Survey date FE?	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	82509	82509	82509	82509	82509	82509

Notes: Data are from Gallup surveys during Eisenhower administration (Jan 1953-Jan 1961). State fixed effects included in all regressions. The "Civil Rights" variable is the number of *NYT* articles containing "President Eisenhower" and "civil rights" anywhere in the article. "Civil Rights Terms" is identical except articles containing "President Eisenhower" and any of a list of Civil Rights terms ("civil rights," "integration," "segregated," etc) are counted. "Negro" is the number of articles containing "President Eisenhower" and "negro." We average this daily count over the seven day period whose midpoint includes the midpoint of the time (typically six days) the survey is in the field. Standard errors clustered by survey date.

Appendix B. Data appendix

Our main source of data comes from Gallup surveys downloaded from the Roper Center:

`http://ropercenter.cornell.edu/ipoll-database/`.

Access is free to members of subscribing institutions. For some datasets, only cross-tabulations are given. For most others, however, codebooks and raw data are provided.

Gallup surveys were either recorded originally in (1) ascii or (2) binary and then *converted to ascii* by Roper. Roper provides codebooks from which we created dictionary files to read the ascii .dat files into Stata. The codebooks warn that the .dat files converted from binary into ascii may have errors (e.g, stray characters that are hard to decipher).

Our main analysis centers around the Gallup survey question asking whether a respondent would be willing to vote for a qualified black candidate nominated by their party. *All Gallup surveys that ask this question were originally recorded in ascii and thus we do not have to worry about stray errors arising in the conversion process.* As such, *our main results in Table 1 and Figure 5 do not depend on whether one decides to use only those surveys originally recorded in ascii or to also include the surveys originally recorded in binary.*

We make the choice in this paper to only include datasets originally recorded in ascii, a choice that affects other figures in the paper. We make this choice for a few reasons. First, we have greater confidence in the data quality from the surveys originally recorded in ascii. Second, as we typically had many non-binary files also available, it would seem unlikely that adding binary files would have changed the results. Third and related, the time cost of reading in binary files (because one needs to hand-check for stray characters) would not seem to have a sufficiently high return.

This decision leads us to exclude datasets from the following figures: Figure 1, Figure 7, Figure 8 Figure 9. Even though we only use data originally recorded in ascii in these figures, each figure displays very high-frequency and thick data and thus would be unlikely to change if we added the binary files.

The ascii versus binary standard precludes us from examining presidential approval of Truman as we do in Figure 7 and Online Appendix A.16 for Kennedy and Eisenhower, respectively. We could not look at presidential approval because there are no usable (non-binary) Gallup surveys on ipoll that include presidential approval between December 1947 and September 1948, a period capturing the peak of Truman's Civil Rights engagement.

Note that for Figure 1 we also limit the number of files from 1980-2004. After 1980 Gallup surveys become more frequent and we choose just one per quarter to limit the burden of reading-in raw data files and because the post-1980 period is not our focus.

Appendix C. Details on election outcome simulations

The goal of this Appendix section is to simulate, for each of the eleven Southern states, the share of the total change in *Democratic share of votes in general election outcomes* our analysis predicts. This exercise is intimately related to the main analysis in the paper, though differs in three key ways. First, respondents are obviously free to vote for a general election candidate *outside* of the one nominated by their party, so one cannot simply assume that changes in party ID map one-to-one to changes in the party of the preferred candidate in general elections. Second, all individuals in Gallup answer the Party ID question, whereas to simulate election outcomes, we only examine those who report voting. Third, the main analysis in the paper considers only whites, whereas actual election outcomes are affected by voters of all races. While blacks were significantly (though not totally) disenfranchised in the South before the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the legislation led to large increases in black turnout that our main analysis obviously did not consider.

Conceptual framework

We can write the change in the Democratic share of any election (e.g., Presidential, Congressional) for state s in a given year t relative to some pre-period baseline (in our case, the 1950s) as:

$$\Delta Dem_{st} = Dem_{st} - Dem_{1950s},$$

where Dem_{st} is simply the Democratic share of the vote in state s in year t . Note this outcome includes *voters of all races*. This outcome is widely available for historical elections.

We can further write this difference as:

$$\begin{aligned} \Delta Dem_{st} &= Dem_{st} - Dem_{s,1950s} \\ &= \left[\mu_{st}^W Dem_{st}^W + (1 - \mu_{st}^W) Dem_{st}^{NW} \right] - \left[\mu_{s,1950s}^W Dem_{s,1950s}^W + (1 - \mu_{s,1950s}^W) Dem_{s,1950s}^{NW} \right]. \end{aligned}$$

Here, μ_{st}^W is the white share of the electorate in state s in year t ; Dem_{st}^W is the share of the *white* electorate in state s in year t that voted Democratic; and Dem_{st}^{NW} is the share of the *non-white* electorate in state s in year t that voted Democratic.

We can write this difference as a decomposition:

$$\begin{aligned} \Delta Dem_{st} &= Dem_{st} - Dem_{s,1950s} \\ &= \left[\mu_{st}^W Dem_{st}^W + (1 - \mu_{st}^W) Dem_{st}^{NW} \right] - \left[\mu_{s,1950s}^W Dem_{s,1950s}^W + (1 - \mu_{s,1950s}^W) Dem_{s,1950s}^{NW} \right] \\ &= \overline{\mu_{st}^W} \cdot \left[Dem_{st}^W - Dem_{s,1950s}^W \right] + \overline{Dem_{st}^W} \cdot \left[\mu_{st}^W - \mu_{s,1950s}^W \right] + \\ &\quad \overline{(1 - \mu_{st}^W)} \cdot \left[Dem_{st}^{NW} - Dem_{s,1950s}^{NW} \right] + \overline{Dem_{st}^{NW}} \cdot \left[(1 - \mu_{st}^W) - (1 - \mu_{s,1950s}^W) \right], \end{aligned}$$

where the “mean” notation just indicates the simple average of given quantity for a state s in year t and the 1950s. So, for any expression X , $\overline{X_{st}} := \frac{X_{st} + X_{s,1950s}}{2}$.

The term of this decomposition to which the paper directly speaks is $\left[Dem_{st}^W - Dem_{s,1950s}^W \right]$. We not only directly observe $\left[Dem_{st}^W - Dem_{s,1950s}^W \right]$ in our Gallup data, but our regressions in Appendix Table A.9 explicitly model it.

However, it is important to emphasize a key limitation of the simulation exercise—we in fact cannot observe the other terms. The term $\overline{\mu_{st}^W}$, and thus $\overline{(1 - \mu)_{st}^W}$, are unknown because until the 1972 CPS we do not have data on election turnout by state *and race*, meaning $\mu_{s,1950s}^W$ is unobserved. While in, say, the 1920s it would be fair to assume $\mu_{s,1950s}^W = 1$ for $\forall s$ in the South (as Southern blacks were completely disenfranchised then), by the 1950s roughly twenty percent of blacks are registered in the South.¹

Since $\mu_{s,1950s}^W < 1$ we cannot ignore $Dem_{s,1950s}^{NW}$ and in fact it, too, is unknown. For example, pooling all ANES data before 1960 gives us only 22 observations for black voters in the South, and in fact more than half are from Arkansas and North Carolina (likely a function of ANES not being representative at the state level.)² What we know about the influence of the Southern black vote from this period is mostly historical anecdote—for example, some historians claim that heavy black turnout in New Orleans and Shreveport was key to Eisenhower’s surprise victory in Louisiana in 1956, as most *Southern* blacks were thought to vote Republican during this period.³

If $\mu_{s,1950s}^W = 1$ then we could model or observe each component of the decomposition and any difference between the actual and predicted chnge would be attributable to sampling noise or the inability of our model to accurately predict the change. With non-negligible pre-period black turnout in the South, we are unable to model the entire change in the Democratic share of votes. We expect our prediction will perform worse in states where blacks had more substantial turnout in the pre-period *and* where their votes were most different from whites in the pre-period.

Empirical implementation and results

As we cannot fully decompose the change in overall voting patterns into a change in preferences (by race) and a change in the racial mix of voters, we focus instead on predicting the Democratic share of post-period election t in each Southern state s , \widehat{Dem}_{st} . We then subtract from this predicted share the actual pre-period share, and compare it to the total, actual change between year t and the pre-period.

The first step is for us to re-estimate our main regressions using *voting outcomes* instead of party ID. We perform this estimation in Online Appendix Table A.9. The results are very similar to those using party ID, but the samples are much smaller because Gallup asks individual’s reported past votes or intentions for future votes far less frequently than they ask party ID (which they ask almost every survey). Note that while we show Congressional election results in the final two columns of Online Appendix Table A.9 (and the coefficient of interest remains significant and negative), we only have a single post-period year for this analysis, so we pursue simulations for *presidential*, but not Congressional, elections.

We then use results from Online Appendix Table A.9 as well as auxiliary data to perform the simulations. Namely, we predict the Democratic vote share of the vote in state s in post-period presidential election years t using the following equation:

¹See Cascio and Washington (2014) for more detail on pre-VRA black registration. Note that share *registered* by state by race in the South is available for the 1960s. However, in addition to barriers to registration, the VRA addressed barriers to voting conditional on being registered, so it is problematic to use these ratios as estimates of actual black *turnout* in elections.

²This small number is due to the small sizes of overall ANES samples, the even smaller sizes of the Southern black subsample, and the eighty percent of those respondents who were unregistered and thus unable to vote at the time.

³See Fairclough(2008).

$$\widehat{Dem}_{st} = \underbrace{\mu_{st}^W}_{\text{from CPS}} \cdot \underbrace{Dem_{st}^W}_{\text{from reg. model}} + (1 - \mu_{st}^W) \cdot \underbrace{Dem_{r(s)t}^{NW}}_{\text{from ANES}}, \quad (1)$$

where μ_{st}^W , the *white* share of all voters in state s in presidential election year t , is calculated using the CPS voter supplements; \widehat{Dem}_{st}^W , the predicted share of the white two-party vote that goes for a Democrat in state s and year t come from the regression results in col. (4) of Online Appendix Table A.9; and $Dem_{r(s)t}^{NW}$ is the share of the *non-white* two-party vote in region r (so, the eleven states in the South are a single region) that vote for the Democrat. Note that we use the CPS for *turnout* to gain a larger sample size (using only Gallup or ANES yields far smaller sample sizes by state and ANES in particular warns that samples are not representative at the state level), but, as a government survey, the CPS obviously does not ask about respondents' actual votes. We use the ANES instead of Gallup to estimate $Dem_{r(s)t}^{NW}$ because it gives us a slightly larger sample size for non-white voters than does Gallup or GSS (ANES over-samples blacks in many years). Note that non-white voters are too small a sample to estimate separately by state and year, so we instead estimate it for the South as a whole, by year.

Besides small sample size and the issue of pre-period black turnout discussed earlier, there are two additional caveats we wish to raise before proceeding to the results. First, an extensive political science literature has critiqued data on vote recall or vote intention (see Weir (1975) for one of the earlier treatments of the poor quality of this variable). For example, an individual is especially prone to mis-remember or mis-report a past vote if it was for a candidate from a party that does not match the respondents' *current* party (see van Elsas et al. (2016) for evidence from the United States). For this reason, we show robustness in Online Appendix Table A.9 to defining the date of the response as the *election* the question refers to (so, a survey in 1963 asking about the 1960 election would be coded as having a date of 1960) as well as the timing of the survey itself. Other work has established a bias toward reporting having voted at all and having voted for the *winner* of the election (see Silver et al. (1986) and Wright (1993), respectively), for which there is no obvious correction.

Second, presidential elections, more than partisan identification or Congressional elections, tend to be driven by the political talents and personalities of two individuals, and are thus noisier. For example, in two elections in our post-period, the Democrats in fact fielded a white Southerner (Jimmy Carter, from Georgia), potentially as an endogenous response to the trends we document.

Because of data limitations, we focus on post-period elections in 1972, 1976 and 1980 in evaluating the success of our predictions.⁴ The state-by-state results are reported in Online Appendix Table C.1. Taking the states of the South and ordering them by the success of our prediction, for the median state our model explains 45 percent of the total change in Democratic share of presidential elections pooled from 1972–1980 relative to the 1950s pre-period elections.⁵ We do the worst in the Southern states where Eisenhower was most popular (recall, however, that black voters may have played a role in these states). We are in fact “wrong-signed” in these four states.

Importantly, in our model we can “shut off” the key triple interaction term and recalculate the predictions (simply use equation C.1 but assume, when modeling \widehat{Dem}_{st}^W , that the coefficient on the triple-interaction term is in fact zero instead of -0.131). Under this assumption, reported in col. (2), we explain -20 percent of

⁴There is no CPS voter supplement in 1964 or 1968.

⁵To calculate the pre-period by-state Democratic share of the presidential election vote, we take the simple average of each state's Democratic share of its two party vote in the 1952 and 1956 elections from CQ Press Voting and Elections Data accessed at <http://library.cqpress.com/elections/>.

the change for the median state, highlighting the importance of the triple interaction term at the center of our analysis.

We explore a final, salient modeling assumption in col. (3). In our baseline prediction, we simulate post-period voting preferences by using Southern whites’ *stated* answers to the *Black president* question. We can, instead, simply plug-in the *pre-period* average answer to the question for each person’s state of residence. So, for someone living in Alabama, instead of using their actual 0/1 answer to the *Black president* question when modeling Dem_{st}^W , we use Alabama’s *average pre-period* answer (0.97). As we discussed, a concern is that post-period white Southerners answer the *Black president question* in a more politically correct manner but in fact harbor much of their pre-period views. Note that all the *coefficients* are still taken from col. 4 of Appendix Table A.9 and are thus the same as in the baseline prediction.

Interestingly, when we instead use the coefficient on the triple interaction term but *assume whites in a state have their pre-period views on the black president question*, our predictions in fact improve. This result is suggestive of the importance of social desirability bias.

Appendix Table C.1: Predicted share of total change (pooled 1972–1980 elections versus pooled 1952 & 1956) in Democratic share of presidential voting, under various modeling assumptions

State	Modeling assumption			1950s Dem. share
	Baseline	No Prez x South x Aft=0	Use pre-period No Prez share	
AL	.638	.37	.912	.619
AR	1.248	.683	2.493	.547
FL	-1.296	-2.166	.299	.439
GA	1.051	.764	1.314	.681
LA	-.904	-1.683	.145	.477
MS	.55	.343	.925	.654
NC	.447	-.203	1.084	.523
SC	.45	.174	.916	.575
TN	.572	-.314	2.076	.498
TX	-.584	-1.619	1.44	.455
VA	-6.308	-9.065	-.833	.422
Median share predicted	.45	-.203	.925	

Notes: The results in cols (1) through (3) are all based on the prediction equation (C.1):

$$\widehat{Dem}_{st} = \mu_{st}^W \cdot \widehat{Dem}_{st}^W + (1 - \mu_{st}^W) \cdot Dem_{r(s)t}^{NW}.$$

We then subtract from the prediction the *actual* Democratic share of votes in 1950s elections, and compare this predicted difference to the actual difference. However, the results in cols. (1) through (3) differ in the assumptions they use to generate the term \widehat{Dem}_{st}^W . The baseline prediction uses the estimates in col. (4) of Online Appendix Table A.9 to predict Dem_{st}^W . The second column assumes that the coefficient on the triple interaction term, *No Prez* × *South* × *Aft*, is zero instead of its estimated value of -0.131. The third column substitutes each individual’s *actual* answer to the *black president* question with the pre-period average answer in their state of residence. The final column provides the *actual* average Democratic share in the 1952 and 1956 elections (not broken down by race as such data are not available).

Appendix D. Details on media searches

D.1 NYT searches (during Truman, Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations)

The full code (in *R*) used to generate the article counts is available upon request. Online Appendix Table D.1 provides the exact search terms used for each of the Civil Rights searches as well as the searches for articles on issues (which we use as controls) during Kennedy’s administration (parallel information for searches during the other administrations is available upon request). Searches were performed for each date of a given administration.

D.2 Research assistant article coding (Kennedy administration only)

Each RA received a spreadsheet that included the title of the article and its link (which they read via the *NYT* TimesMachine option). Both RAs were unaware of our hypothesis of a Spring 1963 turning point in Kennedy’s position on Civil Rights. The instructions were given via email as follows (note that, sadly, typos indeed appear in the original):

Please skim each article. We are interested in your assessment of the article after reading the headline, first few paragraphs, and skimming the rest.

Please categorize each article into one of the following four categories:

1. False hit (main subject of article is NOT civil rights).
2. Pro civil-rights (article suggests that Kennedy administration or Democrats more generally are pushing toward greater racial equality, that Southerners are unhappy about JFK/Dem stance on this issue, that Southerners worry that JFK/Dems are about to push forward on this issue, etc.)
3. Anti civil-rights (article suggests that Kennedy administration or Democrats are holding the status quo on the issue of racial equality, that Southerners are NOT worried or are even pleased about JFK/Dems on this issue relative to Republicans, etc.)
4. Mixed (article suggests that JFK/Dem efforts on issue of racial equality are mixed or unclear)

Note that there many articles will probably offer at east some “on the one hand....on the other” analysis, but when possible try to decide if it is general more “pro” or “anti” (though certainly if you feel it is truly mixed, you should categorize it as such).

Excel instructions:

1. For “false hit” enter “F”
2. For “pro civil rights” enter “P”
3. For “anti civil rights” enter “A”
4. For “mixed” enter “M”

Thank you!

A basic summary of the RAs’ coding outcomes is presented in Table D.2. In the regressions, we always average their counts so that regression coefficients are comparable to those without RA hand-coding. That

is, for each day j of our sample period, we generate the variables $articles_j^c = \frac{RA1_j^c + RA2_j^c}{2}$, the total number of articles from day j that the first RA put in category c plus the total number that the second RA put in category c , divided by two.

After their task was complete, we asked the RAs for feedback on how they went about their task. Our biggest ex-post regret is that we did not make clearer that articles *not literally about Civil Rights but that nonetheless would have made racially conservative Southerners worried about Kennedy’s loyalty* should have been coded as “pro” Civil Rights and instead were coded as false hits (not about Civil Rights). For example, RA1 wrote: “I was moderately literal in interpreting the instructions—in the case of a black artist visiting [the White House] I probably would have marked that as false [hit] unless the article said something like ‘this is a step forward re: civil rights.’ ” As such, it is not surprising that Southern whites react negatively to articles that our RAs coded as false hits (Appendix Table D.3).

Appendix Table D.1: Details on *NYT* article searches

Category	Search terms
“Civil Rights” (narrow)	“Civil Rights”
Civil Rights terms (broad)	“civil rights,” “segregation,” “segregate,” “segregated,” “integration,” “integrate,” “integrated”
Negro	“Negro”
Foreign Policy, War	“war,” “peace,” “atomic,” “security,” “defense,” “foreign policy”, “international relations”, “international tensions”
Crime, Drugs	“crime,” “juvenile delinquency”, “narcotics”
USSR	“russia”, “soviet”, “soviets”, “russian”, “ussr”
Cuba, Castro	“cuban”, “cuba”, “castro”
Communism, Socialism	“communism”, “socialism”, “communist”, “socialist”
Taxes, Budget	“tax”, “taxes”, “budget
Employment	“Employment”, “recession”, “unemployment”, “cost of living”, “wages”, “inflation”
Social Security	“Social security”, “social services”, “welfare”, “old age”
Agriculture	“farm”, “agriculture”, “agricultural”

For each search, “President” and “Kennedy” was also appended. Full code available upon request. Searches are not case-sensitive.

Appendix Table D.2: Statistics from RA hand-coding of *NYT* article content

	Daily Average (RA1)	Daily Average (RA2)	Total
Anti	0.0821	0.218	0.150
False positive	1.121	1.238	1.179
Mixed	0.165	0.105	0.135
Pro	0.786	0.593	0.690

Notes: Results from RA hand-coding of 2,290 articles over the 1,036 days of the Kennedy administration (roughly 2.15 per day).

Appendix Table D.3: Predicting approval of JFK using RA's article codes

	RA1		RA2		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Anti	-0.131 [0.0878]	-0.131 [0.0878]	0.0242 [0.0520]	0.0647 [0.0530]	-0.0438 [0.0765]
False Positive	-0.0326 [0.0206]	-0.0698 [0.00934]	-0.0373 [0.0148]	-0.0423 [0.0124]	-0.0702 [0.0179]
Mixed	0.0362 [0.0621]	0.0770 [0.0509]	-0.00362 [0.0410]	-0.0682 [0.0555]	-0.00348 [0.0533]
Pro	-0.0132 [0.00728]	-0.0112 [0.00675]	-0.00919 [0.00969]	-0.00767 [0.0117]	0.00674 [0.0206]
South × Anti	0.0798 [0.103]	0.0529 [0.0808]	0.180 [0.0547]	0.192 [0.0640]	0.0556 [0.106]
South × False Positive	-0.0536 [0.0199]	-0.0945 [0.0188]	-0.0674 [0.0147]	-0.0716 [0.0132]	-0.0844 [0.0300]
South × Mixed	0.147 [0.0751]	0.259 [0.0660]	0.0461 [0.0661]	0.0617 [0.0741]	-0.109 [0.118]
South × Pro	-0.0766 [0.00834]	-0.0934 [0.00695]	-0.101 [0.0108]	-0.136 [0.0141]	-0.0686 [0.0306]
Observations	65031	65031	65031	65031	65031
Search	Civil Rights Terms	Civil Rights	Civil Rights Terms	Civil Rights	Negro
Mean	0.671	0.671	0.671	0.671	0.671

Notes: Each RA classified an article as: suggesting that Kennedy was against Civil Rights (“anti”), unrelated to Civil Rights (“false hit”), suggesting that Kennedy was giving mixed signals on Civil Rights (“mixed”) or that Kennedy was moving in favor of Civil Rights (“pro”). RA1 had already been informed of the hypothesis by the time that we decided to classify all articles from the “Negro” search, so only RA2 performed that classification. Regressions use all Gallup surveys that contain presidential approval question between January 1961 and November 1963. Standard errors clustered by survey date. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Appendix E. Detailing Question Wording on Black Prez.

Appendix Table E.4: Details on the Gallup “black president question”

Mon/Year	Black President Question Wording	Question Preceding Black President Question	Notes
7-8/1958	If he happened to be a Negro.	If he happened to be a Jew.	The main black president question reads as follows: "Between now and 1960, there will be much discussion about the qualifications of presidential candidates....if your party nominated a generally well-qualified man for president, would you vote for him—" Each of the response options follows the main question.
9/1958	Between now and 1960, there will be much discussion about the qualifications of presidential candidates - their education, age, religion, race and the like..... If your party nominated a generally well-qualified man for president and he happened to be a Negro, would you vote for him.	Questions 53A and 53B to be coded together. If "yes" to part A, edit answers into part B. Q.53A. Do you, yourself, plan to vote in the election this November or not. F. If "yes", ask: Q.53B. How certain are you that you will vote - absolutely certain, fairly certain, or not certain.	
12/1959	Between now and the time of the conventions in 1960, there will be much discussion about the qualifications of presidential candidates - their education, age, religion, race, and the like...if your party nominated a generally well-qualified man for president and he happened to be a Negro, would you vote for him.	Do you think Jesus Christ will ever return to earth. F. If "yes" to Q.66C, ask: Q.66D. When do you think this will happen.	
8/1961	Between now and 1964 there will be much discussion about the qualifications of presidential candidates - their education, age, religion, race, and the like.... Q.31A. If your party nominated a generally well-qualified man for president and he happened to be a Negro, would you vote for him.	Suppose there were only two major parties in the United States, one for liberals and one for conservatives, which one would you be most likely to prefer.	
8/1963	If he happened to be a Negro.	If he happened to be a Catholic.	The main black president question reads as follows: "There's always much discussion about the qualifications of presidential candidates - their education, age, race, religion, and the like...If your party nominated a generally well-qualified man for president and he happened to be divorced, would you vote for him." Theoretically, the respective options (e.g., Catholic, Negro, etc.) would replace "divorced."

Appendix Table E.4: Details on the Gallup “black president question” (continued)

Mon/Year	Black President Question Wording	Question Preceding Black President Question	Notes
7/1965	If he happened to be a Negro.	If he happened to be a Catholic.	The main black president question reads as follows: "There's always much discussion about the qualifications of presidential candidates - their education, age, race, religion, and the like... If your party nominated a generally well-qualified man for president and he happened to be divorced, would you vote for him." Theoretically, the respective options (e.g., Catholic, Negro, etc.) would replace "divorced."
4/1967	-- a Negro.	-- a Jew.	The main black president question reads as follows: "There's always much discussion about the qualifications of presidential candidates - their education, age, race, religion, and the like... If your party nominated a generally well qualified man for president and he happened to be divorced, would you vote for him." Theoretically, the respective options (e.g., Jew, Negro, etc.) would replace "divorced."
3/1969	If he happened to be a Negro.	If he happened to be a Catholic.	The main black president question reads as follows: "There's always much discussion about the qualifications of presidential candidates - their education, age, race, religion, and the like... If your party nominated a generally well-qualified man for president and he happened to be a Jew, would you vote for him." Theoretically, the respective options (e.g., Catholic, Negro, etc.) would replace "Jew."
10/1971	There's always much discussion about the qualifications of presidential candidates - their education, age, race, religion, and the like. If your party nominated a generally well-qualified man for president and he happened to be a Negro, would you vote for him.	Is there any man not on this list whom you would like to see as the Republican candidate for vice president in 1972.	

Appendix Table E.4: Details on the Gallup “black president question” (continued)

Mon/Year	Black President Question Wording	Question Preceding Black President Question	Notes
7/1978	Between now and the time of the convention in 1980 there will be more discussion about the qualifications of presidential candidates -- their education, age, religion, race, and the like... Q8a. If your party nominated a generally well-qualified man for President and he happened to be a black, would you vote for him?	Which political party do you think would be more likely to keep the United States out of World War III -- the Republican party or the Democratic party?	
3/1983	If your party nominated a generally well-qualified man for president and he happened to be black, would you vote for him?	Now, which of the persons on the list would be UNACCEPTABLE to you as the Democratic candidate for president in 1984.	
7/1984	This year there has been much discussion about the qualifications of Presidential candidates--their education, age, religion, race, and the like. If your party nominated a generally well-qualified man for President, would you vote for him if he happened to be black?	Some people have very traditional values about such matters as sex, morality, family life and religion. If 1 represents someone who has VERY TRADITIONAL, OLD-FASHIONED values and 7 represents someone who has very LIBERAL, MODERN values about these matters, where on this 1 to 7 scale would you place yourself?	
7/1987	If your party nominated a generally well-qualified man for president and if he happened to be black would you vote for him?	If your party nominated a generally well-qualified man for president and if he happened to be an atheist would you vote for him?	
2/1999	Between now and the 2000 political conventions, there will be discussion about the qualifications of presidential candidates -- their education, age, religion, race, and so on. If your party nominated a generally well-qualified person for president who happened to be [INSERT A-H], would you vote for that person?	Would you generally favor or oppose each of the following proposals as part of this year's federal budget package?	Note that for the main black president question, "An atheist" precedes "Black" in the list of response options A-H.
5-6/2003	Between now and the 2004 political conventions, there will be discussion about the qualifications of presidential candidates -- their education, age, religion, race, and so on. If your party nominated a generally well-qualified person for president who happened to be [INSERT A-D], would you vote for that person?	In the next few years, do you think the United States' efforts against terrorism will – or will not – require the U.S. to put military troops in combat situations in other countries as it did in Iraq and Afghanistan?	Note that for the main black president question, "Jewish" precedes "Black" in the list of response options A-D.

Notes: In addition to the 1983 black president survey that we document above, the Roper catalog lists two additional surveys from 1983 that include the question. In one case the survey is not available for download. In the second case the codebook shows that the question is not actually included in the survey.

Appendix Table E.5: Details on the GSS “black president question”

Mon/Year	Black President Question Wording	Question Preceding Black President Question
2/1972	If your party nominated a Negro for President, would you vote for him if he were qualified for the job?	A. Would you yourself have any objection to sending your children to a school where a few of the children are Negroes? No (ASK B) Don't know (ASK B) B. IF NO OR DK TO A: Where half of the children are Negroes? No (ASK C). Don't know (ASK C) C. IF NO OR DK TO B: Where more than half of the children are Negroes?
3/1974	If your party nominated a (Negro/Black) for President, would you vote for him if he were qualified for the job?	Compared with American families in general, would you say your family income is -- far below average, below average, average, above average, or far above average? (PROBE: Just your best guess.)
3/1975	If your party nominated a (Negro/Black) for President, would you vote for him if he were qualified for the job?	Are there any (Negroes/Blacks) living in this neighborhood now? Yes... (ASK A-C). A. Are there any (Negro/Black) families living close to you? B. How many blocks (or miles) away do they (the [Negro/Black] families who live closest to you) live? C. Do you think this neighborhood will become all (Negro/Black) in the next few years, or will it remain integrated?
2/1977	If your party nominated a (Negro/Black) for President, would you vote for him if he were qualified for the job?	Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements A. You can expect special problems with marriages between (Negroes/Blacks) and whites. B. You can expect special problems with (Negro/Black) supervisors getting along with workers that are mostly white. C. A school board should not hire a person to teach if that person belongs to an organization that opposes school integration.
2-3/1978	If your party nominated a (Negro/Black) for President, would you vote for him if he were qualified for the job?	Suppose there is a community-wide vote on the general housing issue. There are two possible laws to vote on: (READ CATEGORIES A & B) Which law would you vote for? A. One law says that a homeowner can decide for himself whom to sell his house to, even if he prefers not to sell to Whites. B. The second law says that a homeowner cannot refuse to sell to someone because of their race or color. Neither. Don't know.
2/1982	If your party nominated a (Negro/Black) for President, would you vote for him if he were qualified for the job?	A. In general, do you favor or oppose the busing of (Negro/Black) and white school children from one school district to another? B. Now, thinking about ten years ago, that is in 1972, did you then favor or oppose the busing of (Negro/Black) and white school children from one school district to another?
2/1983	If your party nominated a (Black/Negro) for President, would you vote for him if he were qualified for the job?	Suppose there is a community-wide vote on the general housing issue. There are two possible laws to vote on: (READ CATEGORIES A & B) Which law would you vote for? A. One law says that a homeowner can decide for himself whom to sell his house to, even if he prefers not to sell to Whites. B. The second law says that a homeowner cannot refuse to sell to someone because of their race or color. NEITHER. DON'T KNOW.
1/1985	If your party nominated a (Black/Negro) for President, would you vote for him if he were qualified for the job?	In general, do you favor or oppose the busing of (Black/Negro) and White school children from one school district to another?
12/1985 (1986 GSS)	If your party nominated a (Black/Negro) for President, would you vote for him if he were qualified for the job?	Suppose there is a community-wide vote on the general housing issue. There are two possible laws to vote on: (READ CATEGORIES A & B) Which law would you vote for? A. One law says that a homeowner can decide for himself whom to sell his house to, even if he prefers not to sell to whites. B. The second law says that a homeowner cannot refuse to sell to someone because of their race or color. NEITHER. DON'T KNOW.

Appendix Table E.5: Details on the GSS “black president question” (continued)

Mon/Year	Black President Question Wording	Question Preceding Black President Question
1/1988	If your party nominated a (Black/Negro) for President, would you vote for him if he were qualified for the job?	May vary
1/1989	If your party nominated a (Black/Negro) for President, would you vote for him if he were qualified for the job?	May vary
1/1990	If your party nominated a (Black/Negro) for President, would you vote for him if he were qualified for the job?	May vary
1/1991	If your party nominated a (Black/Negro) for President, would you vote for him if he were qualified far the job?	May vary
1993 GSS	If your party nominated a/an (Black/African-American) for President, would you vote for him if he were qualified for the job?	May vary
1994 GSS	If your party nominated a/an (Black/African-American) for President, would you vote for him if he were qualified for the job?	May vary
Spring 1996 (1996 GSS)	If your party nominated a/an (Black/African-American) for President, would you vote for him if he were qualified for the job?	May vary

Appendix Table E.6: Details on the Gallup party identification question

Mon/Year	Party ID Question Wording	Question Preceding Party ID Question	Notes
7-8/1958	In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent.	As you know, some new cars have completely new designs that were introduced this year while others have designs that look pretty much like last year's models. How important would you say it would be for most of your close friends, if they were buying a new car today, that the design be a completely new one that was just introduced this year - very important, fairly important, or not too important. (If necessary, probe): just your best guess.	
9/1958	In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat or Independent.	If your party nominated a woman for president, would you vote for her if she seemed qualified for the job.	
12/1959	In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent.	Is there a telephone in your home which is listed in your name or the name of a member of your immediate family living with you.	
8/1961	In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent.	Would you favor or oppose such a university as this in Southeast Asia.	The "university" reference in the question preceding the party ID question refers to the question preceding that one, which reads, "It has been suggested that the United States take the lead in establishing a university in Africa open to all qualified African students. The U.S. would supply most of the teachers. Would you favor or oppose this idea[.]"
8/1963	In politics as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent.	On the next topic...if your party nominated a woman for president, would you vote for her if she qualified for the job.	
7/1965	In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat or Independent.	If he happened to be a Negro.	The main question preceding the party ID question reads, "There's always much discussion about the qualifications of presidential candidates - their education, age, race, religion, and the like... If your party nominated a generally well-qualified man for president and he happened to be divorced, would you vote for him." Subsequent questions pursuant to the main one ask about "a Jew," "a Catholic," and "a Negro," each of which replaces "divorced" in individual iterations, with "a Negro" as the last of such questions prior to the one on party ID.
4/1967	In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat or Independent.	If your party nominated a woman for president, would you vote for her if she were qualified for the job.	
3/1969	In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent.	Could you tell me the kind of business or industry the chief wage earner (head of household) in your immediate family works in and the kind of work he does there.	

Appendix Table E.6: Details on the Gallup party identification question (cont'd)

Mon/Year	Party ID Question Wording	Question Preceding Party ID Question	Notes
10/1971	In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent?	If you had to register again today - or you are now under 21 and would be registering for the first time - would you register as a Democrat or as a Republican.	
7/1978	In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent?	As of today, do you lean more to the Democratic party or to the Republican party?	The question preceding the party ID question is asked only if the answer to <i>its</i> preceding question, "If the elections for Congress were being held TODAY, which political party would you like to see win in this congressional district, the Democratic party or the Republican party?" is "UNDECIDED."
3/1983	In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat, or an Independent?	If "MARRIED, SINGLE, OR WIDOWED", ask: Q901a. Have you EVER been divorced or separated?	The "MARRIED, SINGLE, OR WIDOWED" reference in the question preceding the party ID question refers to the response options in the question preceding that one, which reads, "Are you married or single?"
7/1984	In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat, or an Independent?	Now let me ask about some specific problems. As I read off each problem, would you tell me whether you approve or disapprove of the way President Reagan is handling that problem? The civil rights of minority groups.	
7/1987	In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat, or an Independent?	If "MARRIED" ask: Q901a. (HAND RESPONDENTS CARD 9-0) Which categories on this card best describe your (husband's/wife's) employment status?	The if "MARRIED" reference in the question preceding the party ID question refers to the question preceding that one, which reads, "Are you married or single?"
2/1999	In politics, as of <u>today</u> , do you consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat or an Independent?	Next, we need to record how many different residential phone lines you have in your household -- that is, the number of different phone <u>numbers</u> that are used by adult members of your household. Please do not count phone lines that are used primarily for business purposes, for children, or for electronic equipment -- such as computers and fax machines. How many residential phone numbers are there in your household?	
5-6/2003	In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat, or an Independent?	Thinking now about Iran, 30. Which comes closest to your view – [FORM A: READ 1-3; FORM B: READ 3-1].	Response options for the question preceding the party ID question are: 1 Iran poses an immediate threat to the United States, 2 Iran poses a long-term threat to the U.S., but not an immediate threat, or 3 Iran does not pose a threat to the United States at all, 4 DON'T KNOW[,] 5 REFUSED.

Appendix F. ANES analysis

This section is not necessary in understanding any of the analysis in the main text. For completeness and for readers interested in using the ANES to further research this topic, we detail the questions that the ANES includes on racial equality during the Civil Rights era and explore how viable they are to use in an analysis similar to that in the main text of the paper (i.e., Figure 5 and Table 1). We conclude they are not suitable for this type of analysis.

F.1 Questions on school integration

The ANES cumulative file includes questions from its individual year files *if those questions are deemed reasonably comparable and were repeated with sufficient frequency*. The only question related to civil rights that spans our pre- and post-periods that the ANES deems comparable over time asks whether the federal government should ensure school integration. It covers only a single pre-period year (1962) and is then asked most years from 1964 through 2000. Online Appendix Table F.7 gives the exact wording of the question each year it is asked (ignore 1956–1960 for the moment). Even though the ANES deems the question comparable from 1962 onward, non-trivial differences arise year to year. For example, in 1962 supporting integration but “not by force” is an option (and coded as support), whereas in 1964 that option is not offered. In 1964, the justification of it not being the “government’s business” is introduced, but this wording is not included in 1962.

These caveats aside, in Online Appendix Table F.9 we replicate our main analysis, using opposition to school integration in the same manner we used refusal to vote for a black president (those who answer “don’t know” or “unsure” are coded as being against integration). Again, we use only data from the ANES cumulative file. Col. (1) shows that the decline in Southern white support for the Democrats relative to other whites is smaller when we use this very abbreviated pre-period. As noted in Section 6 of the main paper, Catholics (almost all of whom lived outside the South) reacted to JFK’s administration with unprecedented support, whereas nearly half of white Southerners told Gallup they would never vote for a Catholic. As such, the small coefficient on *South* \times *After* is likely an artifact of our single pre-period year being 1962 (the middle of JFK’s administration).

Nonetheless, while the small sample size reduces precision, the sign and magnitude of the triple interaction term reported in col. (2) echoes the Gallup analysis. Relative to 1962, white Southerners against integration are nine percentage points less likely to identify as Democrats in 1964–1980, compared to their non-Southern counterparts. Whereas the Gallup analysis showed non-Southern whites with conservative racial views only slightly moving away from the party, the effect in the ANES is larger and achieves significance. These patterns of coefficients hold when we extend the post-period to 2000 (cols. 3 and 4) or end it in 1970 (cols. 5 and 6).

The key drawback to restricting ourselves to the cumulative file is that its one question on racial attitudes that spans our two periods provides only a single pre-period year. We thus explore the viability of adding additional data from the *individual* year files, even though ANES did not deem these questions sufficiently comparable. The closest candidate is a question asked in 1956, 1958 and 1960. As detailed in Table , the question asks for respondents’ agreement with the statement: “The government in Washington should stay out of the question of whether white and colored children go to the same school” and unlike the version in the cumulative file offers respondents five possible answers based on the strength of their opinion.

Given evidence that question wording significantly affects survey answers, flipping the default between 1960 and 1962 is certainly not ideal (agreement with the pre-1962 statement would generally signal opposition

to integration, whereas agreement with the 1962 and later versions would signal support of integration). Moreover, especially in 1956, it is not clear whether the government in Washington “staying out” of the question would signal opposition or support of school integration. In reaction to *Brown*, U.S. Senators and Representatives from the South drafted the Southern Manifesto in March of 1956, calling on all possible legal action to circumvent *Brown*.⁶ It is thus quite possible that Southerners especially could interpret Washington “staying out” as in fact allowing *Brown* to progress.

These caveats notwithstanding, we attempt to combine these additional years, coding any degree of agreement that the government should “stay out” as opposition to integration. Online Appendix Figure F.1 plots the share of whites against school integration by year and region. Overall, those outside the South are uniformly more in support of integration throughout the sample period. In 1956, the difference between regions is unusually small, consistent, perhaps, with our concern that some Southerners assume federal intervention might be on the side of school segregation. There is a very large decline in support for segregation among non-Southerners in 1962, perhaps due to the change in the way the question is asked by ANES.

Cols. (7) through (12) of Online Appendix Table F.9 replicate the analysis in the first six columns, but include the three additional pre-period years from the individual year data files. Adding these additional years adds power as well as makes the *South* \times *After* coefficient larger in magnitude. Essentially, the results look very similar to the main Gallup analysis.

However, examining coefficients year-by-year paints a noisier picture (Online Appendix Figure F.2). Perhaps because of the Southern Manifesto, 1956 appears to be an extreme outlier, where white Southerners who wanted the government to involve themselves in school integration were also staunchly Democratic. Nor do we see a sharp drop in the Southern coefficient estimate between 1962 and 1964. Overall, however, we continue to see that in the pre-period, opposition to integration positively predicts Democratic identification in the South relative to elsewhere, and that this difference for the most part disappears in the post-period.

Given that the ANES cautions against longitudinal analysis with variables they do not include in the cumulative file, we show these results mostly for the sake of completeness and emphasize that we prefer the Gallup given the serious issues of question consistency highlighted above.

F.2 Questions on jobs and housing

The ANES cumulative file contains two questions on fair treatment of blacks in the areas of employment *and* housing (pre 1964) and employment alone (1964 and beyond), and thus in isolation we cannot use them to replicate the Gallup analysis. As Appendix Table F.8 documents, besides the inconsistent inclusion of housing, there are other non-trivial differences between these two series, likely the reason why ANES does not combine them into a single question in the cumulative file. First, whereas before 1964 it is left unclear as to which level (federal, state or local) “the government” refers, the “the federal government” is specified in 1964 and later. Second, as with the school integration question, more flexibility on the degree of one’s agreement or disagreement are offered in the earlier years. Third, though not a fault of the question, the way that one answers is likely very different before and after the Civil Rights Bill of 1964, which in principle would have addressed many of these issues.

A final issue with this question unrelated to its consistency across time is that “fair treatment” is vague. If one believes that blacks are innately inferior or that the races should not mix, then limiting blacks to low-status jobs and segregated housing could be viewed as “fair.” Indeed, in 1958, the ANES specifically

⁶Richard Russell (D-GA) was its main author.

asks respondents to *explain* their views about school integration. Among those whose views were classified by ANES as “anti-Negro,” still only 32% percent disagreed that government should ensure “fair treatment” for blacks in the area of jobs and housing.⁷ This cross-tabulation suggests the notion of fairness in the jobs/housing question may be so vague as to be meaningless.

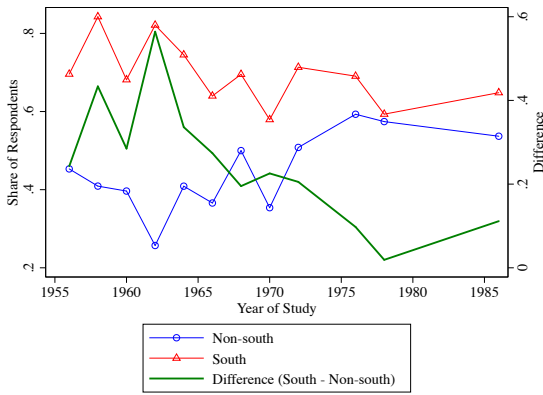
Indeed, Online Appendix Figure F.1 b is consistent with many of these concerns. First, regional differences on this question are very small relative to those for school integration. A sizable majority of Southerners agree that the government should guarantee “fair” treatment in jobs and housing, suggesting the notion is vague enough for most people to support. Unlike the black president question, whites in both regions become *less* supportive of the idea of time, perhaps because of a presumption CRA64 took care of the problem or because the understanding of “fair treatment” became broader over time. In any case, whether it is the addition of “federal government” to the wording of the question, the change in the number of options given as potential answers, or the passage of the CRA that summer, the new version of the question beginning in 1964 elicits significantly less support among whites than did the older question.

Despite these serious reservations and ANES classifying them as incomparable questions, for the sake of completeness we replicate our standard analysis by combining these two jobs/housing questions in Online Appendix Table F.10. Not surprising given that the question changes just at the point when our post-period begins, we do not find that including our triple interaction decreases the coefficient on *South* \times *After* nor is the triple interaction term itself significant.

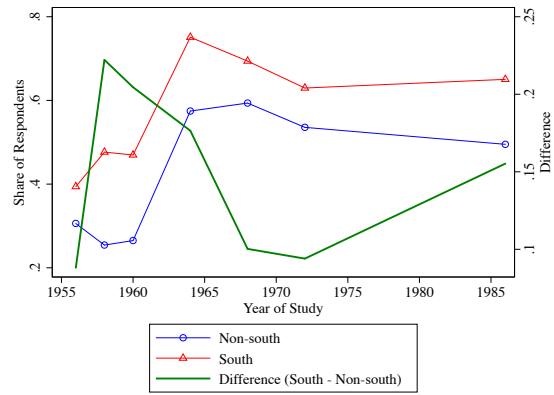
⁷Authors’ calculation from 1958 ANES individual year file.

Appendix Figure F.1: Evolution of whites' racial attitudes (ANES)

(a) *Share against the gov't enforcing school integration*

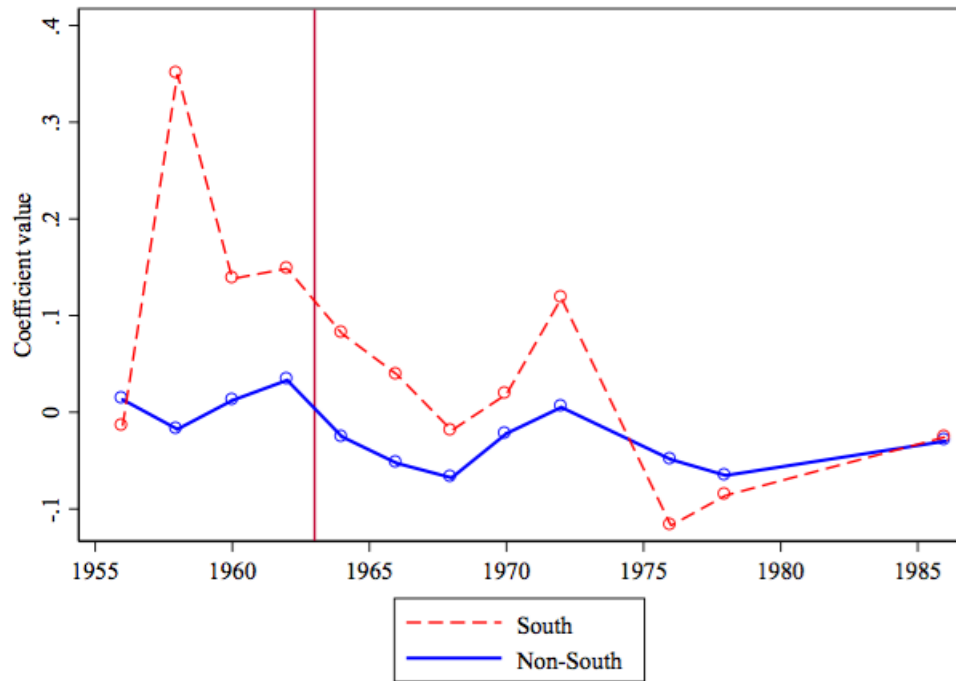


(b) *Share against the government ensuring blacks fair treatment in jobs/housing*



Notes: For subfigure (a), data come from individual year files of the ANES for 1956, 1958 and 1960 and the cumulative file for all late years. For subfigure (b), data from before 1964 come from the ANES cumulative file variable *VCF0818* and from 1964 and later from the variable *VCF9037*. See Appendix Tables C.1(a) and C.1(b) for exact wording each year.

Appendix Figure F.2: Coefficient from regressing *Dem* on *Against school integration* by region and year (whites in ANES)



Notes: Data come from ANES (cumulative file for 1964 and later, individual year files for 1956, 1958 and 1960). *Dem* is a binary variable for identifying as a member of the Democratic party (all other responses coded as zero).

Appendix Table F.7: ANES school integration questions

Year	Question	Codes/Frequency	ANES cum. var name
1956	Q. 12P. 'THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD STAY OUT OF THE QUESTION OF WHETHER WHITE AND COLORED CHILDREN GO TO THE SAME SCHOOL.'	615 1. AGREE STRONGLY 144 2. AGREE BUT NOT VERY STRONGLY 110 3. NOT SURE, IT DEPENDS 163 4. DISAGREE BUT NOT VERY STRONGLY 518 5. DISAGREE STRONGLY 22 8. DK 10 9. NA 180 0. NO OPINION	Not in cumulative file
1958	Q. 18A. "THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD STAY OUT OF THE QUESTION OF WHETHER WHITE AND COLORED CHILDREN GO TO THE SAME SCHOOL." DO YOU HAVE AN OPINION ON THIS OR NOT. (IF YES) DO YOU THINK THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO THIS.	646 1. AGREE STRONGLY 149 2. AGREE BUT NOT VERY STRONGLY 94 3. NOT SURE. IT DEPENDS 124 4. DISAGREE BUT NOT VERY STRONGLY 612 5. DISAGREE STRONGLY 154 7. NO OPINION 28 8. DK 15 9. NA	Not in cumulative file
1960	Q. 25A. 'THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD STAY OUT OF THE QUESTION OF WHETHER WHITE AND COLORED CHILDREN GO TO THE SAME SCHOOL.'	629 1. AGREE STRONGLY 118 2. AGREE BUT NOT VERY STRONGLY 129 3. NOT SURE. IT DEPENDS 155 4. DISAGREE BUT NOT VERY STRONGLY 641 5. DISAGREE STRONGLY 51 8. DK 31 9. NA 200 0. NO OPINION	Not in cumulative file
1962	Q. 47A. (IF HAS OPINION ON FEDERALLY ENFORCED SCHOOL INTEGRATION) DO YOU AGREE THAT THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO THIS OR DO YOU THINK THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD NOT DO IT. ["THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT WHITE AND COLORED CHILDREN ARE ALLOWED TO GO TO THE SAME SCHOOLS."]	596 1. YES 33 2. YES, QUALIFIED 27 3. YES, BUT THERE SHOULD BE NO FORCE. MODERATE. GRADUAL 13 4. NO, QUALIFIED 404 5. NO 9 8. DK 32 9. NA 183 0. INAP., CODED 5, 8, OR 9 IN REF.NO. 61	VCF0816
1964	Q. 23. "SOME PEOPLE SAY THAT THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT WHITE AND NEGRO (COLORED) CHILDREN ARE ALLOWED TO GO TO THE SAME SCHOOLS. OTHERS CLAIM THAT THIS IS NOT THE GOVERNMENT'S BUSINESS." HAVE YOU BEEN CONCERNED ENOUGH ABOUT THIS QUESTION TO FAVOR ONE SIDE OVER THE OTHER. Q. 23A. (IF YES) DO YOU THINK THAT THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD:	647 1. (YES) SEE TO IT THAT WHITE AND NEGRO (COLORED) CHILDREN GO TO THE SAME SCHOOLS 113 3. (YES) OTHER, DEPENDS, BOTH BOXES CHECKED 602 5. (YES) STAY OUT OF THIS AREA AS IT IS NONE OF ITS BUSINESS 52 8. DK 7 9. NA 150 0. NO INTEREST	VCF0816

Appendix Table F.7: ANES school integration questions (cont'd)

Year	Question	Codes/Frequency	ANES cum. var name
1966	A3. "SOME PEOPLE SAY THAT THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT WHITE AND COLORED CHILDREN ARE ALLOWED TO GO TO THE SAME SCHOOLS. OTHERS CLAIM THAT THIS IS NOT THE GOVERNMENT'S BUSINESS". HAVE YOU BEEN CONCERNED ENOUGH ABOUT THIS QUESTION TO FAVOR ONE SIDE OVER THE OTHER? A3A. (IF YES) DO YOU THINK THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD:	594 1. (YES) SEE TO IT THAT WHITE AND COLORED CHILDREN ARE ALLOWED TO GO TO THE SAME SCHOOLS 96 3. (YES) PRO-CON, DEPENDS, BOTH BOXES CHECKED, OTHER 434 5. (YES) STAY OUT OF THIS AREA AS IT IS NOT ITS BUSINESS 32 8. DK 9 9. NA 126 0. NO INTEREST ("NO" ANSWER TO Q.A3)	VCF0816
1968	Q. 24, 24A. "SOME PEOPLE SAY THAT THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT WHITE AND NEGRO CHILDREN ARE ALLOWED TO GO TO THE SAME SCHOOLS. OTHERS CLAIM THIS IS NOT THE GOVERNMENT'S BUSINESS." HAVE YOU BEEN CONCERNED ENOUGH ABOUT THIS QUESTION TO FAVOR ONE SIDE OVER THE OTHER? (IF YES) DO YOU THINK THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD --	593 1. (YES) SEE TO IT THAT WHITE AND NEGRO CHILDREN GO TO THE SAME SCHOOLS 103 3. (YES) OTHER, DEPENDS, BOTH BOXES CHECKED IN Q. 24A 681 5. (YES) STAY OUT OF THIS AREA AS IT IS NONE OF ITS BUSINESS 24 8. DK 10 9. NA 146 0. NO INTEREST ('NO' BOX CHECKED IN Q. 24)	VCF0816
1970	**TYPE 2 QUESTION** (IF 'YES' TO Q.10) Q.10A. DO YOU THINK THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD: SEE TO IT THAT WHITE AND NEGRO CHILDREN ARE ALLOWED TO GO TO THE SAME SCHOOLS OR STAY OUT OF THIS AREA AS IT IS NOT ITS BUSINESS?	399 1. SEE TO IT THAT WHITE AND NEGRO CHILDREN ARE ALLOWED TO GO TO THE SAME SCHOOLS 295 5. STAY OUT OF THIS AREA AS IT IS NOT ITS BUSINESS 86 7. OTHER; DEPENDS; BOTH BOXES CHECKED 12 8. DON'T KNOW 2 9. NA 98 0. INAP, CODED 1 IN REF. NO. 3, CODED 5, 8, OR 9 IN Q.10	VCF0816
1972	**FORMS 1 AND 2** PRE-ELECTION QUESTION --IF RESPONDENT IS CODED 1 IN Q.D2-- D2A. DO YOU THINK THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT WHITE AND BLACK CHILDREN GO TO THE SAME SCHOOLS OR STAY OUT OF THIS AREA AS IT IS NOT ITS BUSINESS?	995 1. SEE TO IT THAT WHITE AND BLACK CHILDREN GO TO THE SAME SCHOOLS 1200 5. STAY OUT OF THIS AREA AS IT IS NOT ITS BUSINESS 182 7. OTHER; DEPENDS 38 8. DK 5 9. NA 285 0. INAP., CODED 5, 8 OR 9 IN Q.D2	VCF0816

Appendix Table F.7: ANES school integration questions (cont'd)

Year	Question	Codes/Frequency	ANES cum. var name
1976	--IF RESPONDENT IS CODED 1 IN Q.E3-- Q.E3A. DO YOU THINK THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT WHITE AND BLACK CHILDREN GO TO THE SAME SCHOOLS OR STAY OUT OF THIS AREA AS IT IS NOT ITS <THE GOVERNMENT'S> BUSINESS?	690 1. SEE TO IT THAT WHITE AND BLACK CHILDREN GO TO THE SAME SCHOOLS 1125 5. STAY OUT OF THIS AREA AS IT IS NOT ITS <THE GOVERNMENT'S> BUSINESS 237 7. OTHER; DEPENDS; ANTI-BUSING COMMENT QUALIFIED WITH STATEMENT THAT R IS NOT AGAINST INTEGRATION OR OPPORTUNITY 37 8. DK 4 9. NA 778 0. INAP., CODED 5, 8 OR 9 IN Q.E3	VCF0816
1978	-- IF RESPONSE TO Q.F2 WAS "YES" -- Q.F2A. DO YOU THINK THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT WHITE AND BLACK CHILDREN GO TO THE SAME SCHOOLS OR STAY OUT OF THIS AREA AS IT IS NOT ITS (THE GOVERNMENT'S) BUSINESS?	616 1. SEE TO IT THAT WHITE AND BLACK CHILDREN GO TO THE SAME SCHOOLS 924 5. STAY OUT OF THIS AREA AS IT IS NOT ITS (THE GOVERNMENT'S) BUSINESS 237 7. OTHER; DEPENDS 22 8. DK 6 9. NA 499 0. INAP., CODED 5, 8 OR 9 IN Q.F2	VCF0816

Appendix Table F.8: ANES employment and housing discrimination questions

	Question	Codes/Frequency
1956	Q. 12F. 'IF NEGROES ARE NOT GETTING FAIR TREATMENT IN JOBS AND HOUSING, THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT THEY DO.'	750 1. AGREE STRONGLY 320 2. AGREE BUT NOT VERY STRONGLY 114 3. NOT SURE, IT DEPENDS 114 4. DISAGREE BUT NOT VERY STRONGLY 224 5. DISAGREE STRONGLY 30 8. DK; 7 9. NA ; 203 0. NO OPINION
1958	Q. 16A. "IF NEGROES ARE NOT GETTING FAIR TREATMENT IN JOBS AND HOUSING, THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT THEY DO." DO YOU HAVE AN OPINION ON THIS OR NOT. (IF YES) DO YOU THINK THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO THIS.	860 1. AGREE STRONGLY 293 2. AGREE, BUT NOT VERY STRONGLY 107 3. NOT SURE. IT DEPENDS 100 4. DISAGREE BUT NOT VERY STRONGLY 230 5. DISAGREE STRONGLY 205 7. NO OPINION; 15 8. DK; 12 9. NA
1960	Q. 22A. 'IF NEGROES ARE NOT GETTING FAIR TREATMENT IN JOBS AND HOUSING, THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT THEY DO.'	889 1. AGREE STRONGLY 338 2. AGREE BUT NOT VERY STRONGLY 141 3. NOT SURE. IT DEPENDS 91 4. DISAGREE BUT NOT VERY STRONGLY 258 5. DISAGREE STRONGLY 31 8. DK 34 9. NA 172 0. NO OPINION

Appendix Table F.8: ANES employment and housing discrimination questions (cont'd)

	Question	Codes/Frequency
1964	Q. 22. "SOME PEOPLE FEEL THAT IF NEGROES (COLORED PEOPLE) ARE NOT GETTING FAIR TREATMENT IN JOBS THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON OUGHT TO SEE TO IT THAT THEY DO. OTHERS FEEL THAT THIS IS NOT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S BUSINESS." HAVE YOU HAD ENOUGH INTEREST IN THIS QUESTION TO FAVOR ONE SIDE OVER THE OTHER. Q. 22A. (IF YES) HOW DO YOU FEEL. SHOULD THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON:	611 1. (YES) SEE TO IT THAT NEGROES (COLORED PEOPLE) GET FAIR TREATMENT IN JOBS 115 3. (YES) OTHER, DEPENDS, BOTH BOXES CHECKED 626 5. (YES) LEAVE THESE MATTERS TO THE STATES AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES 53 8. DK 6 9. NA 160 0. NO INTEREST
1968	Q. 23, 23A. "SOME PEOPLE FEEL THAT IF NEGROES ARE NOT GETTING FAIR TREATMENT IN JOBS THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT THEY DO. OTHERS FEEL THAT THIS IS NOT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S BUSINESS." HAVE YOU HAD ENOUGH INTEREST IN THIS QUESTION TO FAVOR ONE SIDE OVER THE OTHER? (IF YES) HOW DO YOU FEEL? SHOULD THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON --	593 1. (YES) SEE TO IT THAT NEGROES GET FAIR TREATMENT IN JOBS 99 3. (YES) OTHER, DEPENDS, BOTH BOXES CHECKED IN Q. 23A 663 5. (YES) LEAVE THESE MATTERS TO THE STATES AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES 30 8. DK 9 9. NA 163 0. NO INTEREST ('NO' BOX CHECKED IN Q. 23)
1972	**FORMS 1 AND 2** PRE-ELECTION QUESTION -IF RESPONDENT IS CODED 1 IN Q.D1-- D1A. HOW DO YOU FEEL? SHOULD THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SEE TO IT THAT BLACK PEOPLE GET FAIR TREATMENT IN JOBS OR LEAVE THESE MATTERS TO THE STATES AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES?	1122 1. SEE TO IT THAT BLACK PEOPLE GET FAIR TREATMENT IN JOBS 952 5. LEAVE THESE MATTERS TO THE STATES AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES 161 7. OTHER; DEPENDS 25 8. DK 7 9. NA 438 0. INAP., CODED 5, 8 OR 9 IN Q.D1

Appendix Table F.9: Regressing Democratic identification on views on school integration, by time and region

	Cumulative File Only						Cumulative File + Indiv. Year Files					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
South x Aft	-0.0143 [0.0495]	0.0788 [0.0824]	-0.0566 [0.0554]	0.0430 [0.0810]	0.0113 [0.0618]	0.0938 [0.0578]	-0.105** [0.0502]	-0.00696 [0.0524]	-0.142** [0.0575]	-0.0420 [0.0676]	-0.0704 [0.0575]	0.00650 [0.0665]
No school integ		0.0289 [0.0280]		0.0288 [0.0281]		0.0316 [0.0281]		-0.00348 [0.0140]		-0.00430 [0.0140]		-0.00348 [0.0135]
South x No school integ		0.108 [0.0943]		0.112 [0.0990]		0.105 [0.0971]		0.135*** [0.0419]		0.132*** [0.0425]		0.131*** [0.0424]
No school integ x Aft		-0.0654* [0.0358]		-0.0914*** [0.0335]		-0.0779* [0.0421]		-0.0330 [0.0203]		-0.0579*** [0.0174]		-0.0444* [0.0248]
South x No school integ x Aft		-0.0896 [0.118]		-0.0952 [0.109]		-0.0693 [0.101]		-0.114*** [0.0358]		-0.115*** [0.0350]		-0.0805* [0.0472]
Observations	11396	11396	17190	17190	5583	5583	15255	15255	21049	21049	9442	9442
Max Year	1980	1980	2000	2000	1970	1970	1980	1980	2000	2000	1970	1970
Mean	0.404	0.404	0.374	0.374	0.449	0.449	0.422	0.422	0.394	0.394	0.457	0.457

Notes: Year and State FE are included in all columns. "After" is 1963 and later (so, in ANES, first post-period year is 1964). * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Appendix Table F.10: Regressing Democrat on views on jobs/housing, by time and region

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
South x Aft	-0.114** [0.0534]	-0.110** [0.0511]	-0.173** [0.0649]	-0.151* [0.0801]	-0.0880 [0.0666]	-0.116 [0.0891]
No fair jobs		-0.0391 [0.0278]		-0.0425 [0.0276]		-0.0377 [0.0278]
South x No fair jobs		0.118** [0.0553]		0.113* [0.0573]		0.120** [0.0562]
No fair jobs x Aft		-0.0252 [0.0313]		-0.0454 [0.0308]		-0.0611* [0.0328]
South x No fair jobs x Aft		-0.0436 [0.0559]		-0.0653 [0.0625]		0.00403 [0.0835]
Observations	7561	7561	11669	11669	5745	5745
Max Year	1980	1980	2000	2000	1970	1970
Mean	0.439	0.439	0.397	0.397	0.458	0.458

Notes: Year and State FE are included in all columns. “After” is 1963 and later (so, in ANES, first post-period year is 1964). * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$