

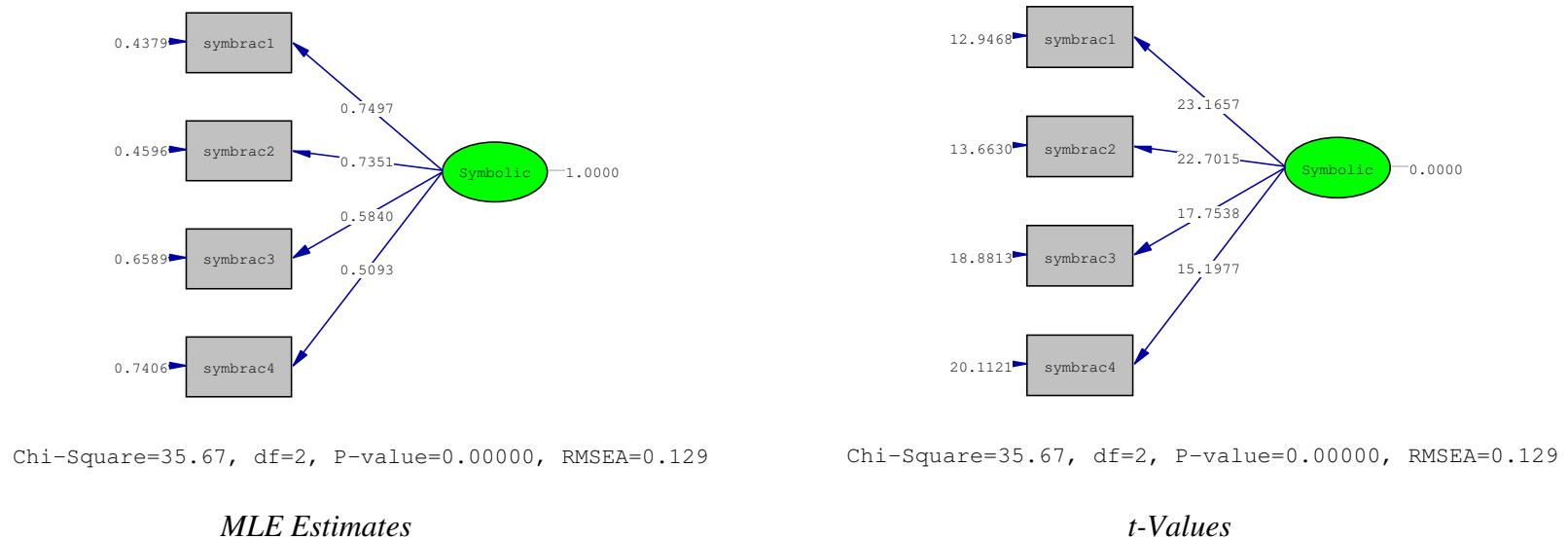
# Rethinking Symbolic Racism: Evidence of Attribution Bias

## SUPPLEMENTAL DOCUMENT

Within the paper, we make mention of two supplemental analyses. We are happy to provide this information to readers of the *Journal of Politics*.

*In Endnote 2, we state that “our own factor analysis produces results consistent with Tarman and Sears’ findings. Additionally, we go a step further. Using a multi-sample confirmatory factor analysis, we demonstrate that the two-factor structure exists for both high and low sophisticates, and that the factor correlations between individualistic and structuralist attributions are not significantly different between the two groups.” These results follow:*

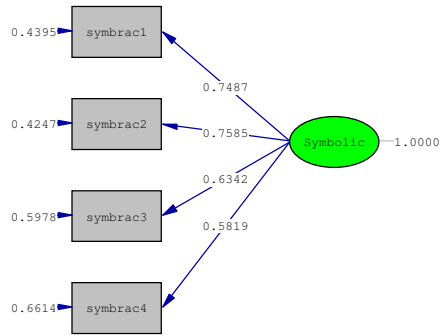
SUPPLEMENTAL FIGURE 1. Confirmatory Factor Analysis of Symbolic Racism, ANES 1986.



Note: Entries are Maximum Likelihood Path Estimates. N = 1019

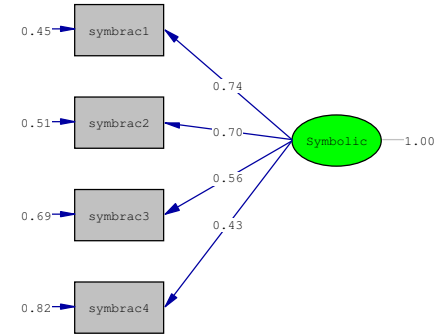
SUPPLEMENTAL FIGURE 2. Multi-Sample Confirmatory Factor Analysis: Testing for Equality in Factor Structures, ANES 1986.

**High Sophisticates**



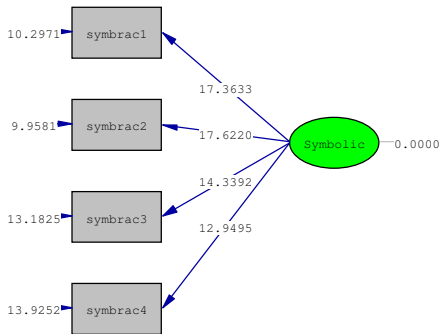
Chi-Square=18.45, df=2, P-value=0.00010, RMSEA=0.125

**Low Sophisticates**



Chi-Square=18.95, df=2, P-value=0.00008, RMSEA=0.131

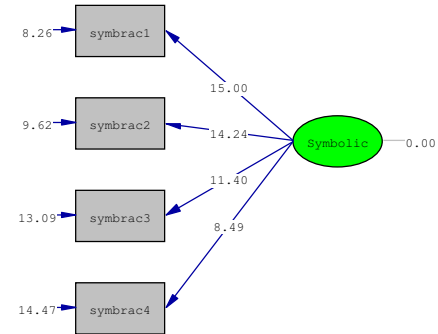
*ML Estimates*



Chi-Square=18.45, df=2, P-value=0.00010, RMSEA=0.125

*t-Values*

*ML Estimates*

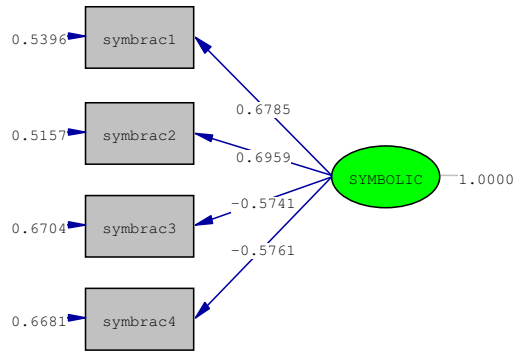


Chi-Square=18.95, df=2, P-value=0.00008, RMSEA=0.131

*t-Values*

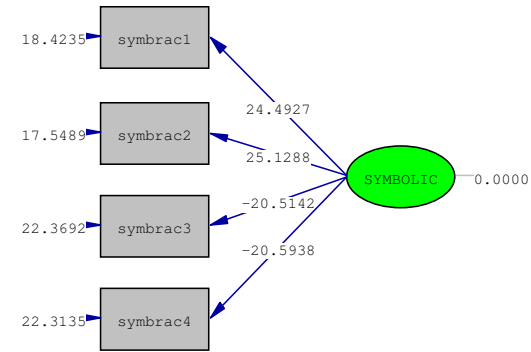
SUPPLEMENTAL FIGURE 3. Confirmatory Factor Analysis of Symbolic Racism, ANES 2000.

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Chi-Square=95.92, df=2, P-value=0.00000, RMSEA=0.177

*MLE Estimates*



Chi-Square=95.92, df=2, P-value=0.00000, RMSEA=0.177

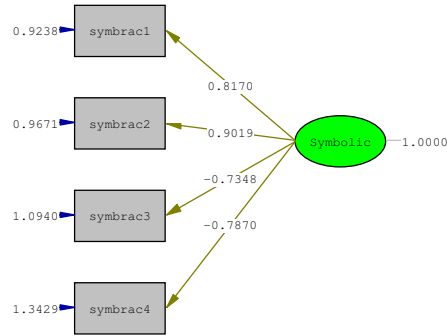
*t-Values*

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Note: Entries are Maximum Likelihood Path Estimates. N = 1505

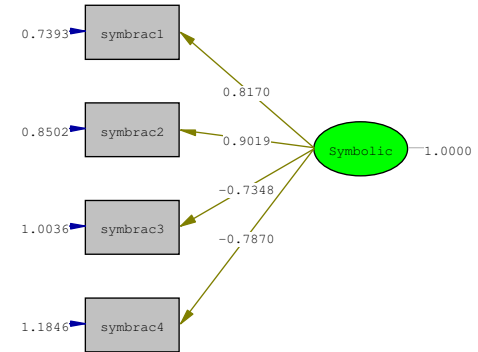
SUPPLEMENTAL FIGURE 4. Multi-Sample Confirmatory Factor Analysis: Testing for Equality in Factor Structures, ANES 2000.

**High Sophisticates**



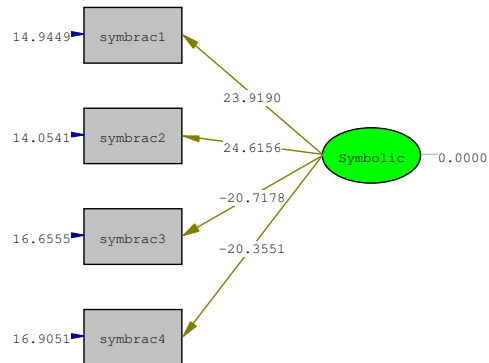
Chi-Square=111.48, df=8, P-value=0.00000, RMSEA=0.131

**Low Sophisticates**



Chi-Square=111.48, df=8, P-value=0.00000, RMSEA=0.131

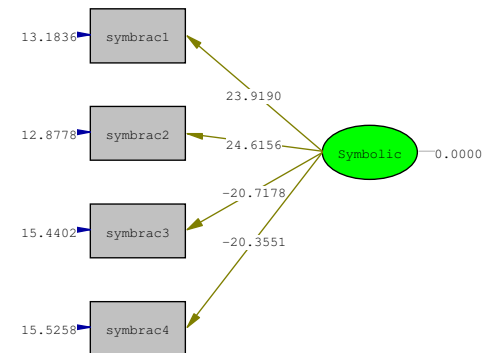
*ML Estimates*



Chi-Square=111.48, df=8, P-value=0.00000, RMSEA=0.131

*t-Values*

*ML Estimates*



Chi-Square=111.48, df=8, P-value=0.00000, RMSEA=0.131

*t-Values*

*In Endnote 12, we state that “This symbolic racism item (“Irish, Italians, Jews, and many other minorities...”) is also found in The Washington Post, the Kaiser Family Foundation, and Harvard (1995) study of racial attitudes in America called the “Four Americas Survey. In a supplemental analysis, we use these data to further validate our claims. While this study does not include general political information items, it does measure factual knowledge specific to the domain of race. As a result, we are able, at least in part, to examine the robustness of our theoretical approach using two substantially different measurements of political sophistication.”*

In our analysis based on data from the 1995 *Washington Post* “Four Americas” survey, we are forced to operationalize sophistication differently. As mentioned, this survey lacks the sort of political information items used to construct our NES-based scales. The study does, however, contain questions gauging the accuracy of respondents’ perceptions about America’s racial demographics. For this analysis, we build a nine-item sophistication scale based on three questions, each asked about three groups: what percentage of the U.S. population is black/Latino/Asian, what percentage of each group lives in poverty, and whether a majority of the members of each group was born in the U.S. or in a foreign country. “Correct” answers are based on 1995 U.S. Census Bureau estimates.<sup>1</sup> Responses to the percentage items were coded correct if within +/-10% of the true value. Clearly, these measures of sophistication are less than ideal—they may be capturing some element of racial threat in addition to pure factual knowledge<sup>2</sup>, and the selection of a +/- 10% range for “correct” responses to the population items is necessarily arbitrary. However, scores on this knowledge scale *do* increase monotonically with education (see Supplemental Table 1), suggesting a strong underlying informational

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<sup>1</sup> According to the Census Bureau, as of 1995, blacks were 13% of the U.S. population, Latinos 10%, and Asians 4%. From the same source, 30% of blacks, 32% of Latinos, and 10% of Asians were living in poverty at that time. Finally, Asian-Americans were the only group of whom a majority (65%) was born outside the United States. The mean respondent score on the *Washington Post* knowledge scale is 0.60. The most difficult item is to correctly answer that most Latinos were born in the United States (33% correct), while the easiest item is to correctly answer that most blacks were born in the United States (92% correct).

<sup>2</sup> While this conflation of the scale with racial animosity is a concern in theory, it does not seem to be of practical consequence in this specific case. In our analyses using the *Washington Post* study, the correlation between anti-black affect and sophistication is a very modest -0.07.

component to the responses.<sup>3</sup> In any event, this additional analysis provides important confirmation that our theoretical claims are neither tied to one narrow definition of political sophistication nor limited in their applicability to the specific NES measures.

**Supplemental Table 1: Monotonic Increase of Racial Knowledge with Education (*Stata* Output).**

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. corr educ sophist
(obs=1475)
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	educ	sophist
educ	1.0000	
sophist	0.2318	1.0000

```
. by educ: sum sophist
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sophist	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
if educ = 1	27	.5061729	.1551072	.2222222	.8888889
if educ = 2	83	.519411	.181257	.1111111	.8888889
if educ = 3	503	.5776453	.1607034	.1111111	1
if educ = 4	300	.5970371	.1587279	.1111111	.8888889
if educ = 5	372	.64546	.1587622	.1111111	1
if educ = 6	190	.651462	.1504326	.2222222	1

We have tried to specify a model as close as possible to those reported in Tables 1 and 2 of the main text, with a few necessary deviations. The ethnically diverse sample would result in

<sup>3</sup> In contrast with our more general measure of political sophistication, this measure may be best conceived as capturing domain-specific expertise in the area of race. On the differences between “general” (i.e., political sophistication) versus “domain-specific” expertise, McGraw and Pinney (1990, 11) note that the latter is “associated with enhanced attitudinal stability,” whereas the former is not. They also note that domain-specific experts possess greater knowledge within the domain and stronger associative linkages between knowledge elements, whereas political sophisticates demonstrate “a richer, more complex representational structure” beyond the domain (McGraw and Pinney 1990, 11). We believe these differences between groups should not affect our hypothesized attribution tendencies.

a sharply reduced case count if we were to limit the analysis to whites only, so we estimate this model among non-blacks (including Asians and Latinos), employing dummy variables for those ethnicities. Church attendance is not measured in this study, so it is excluded from the model—not a major omission, since its effects in our previous analyses were uniformly insignificant. Of necessity, both individualism and egalitarianism in this case are measured from policy attitudes, including individuals' orientations toward policies to help the needy and toward the tradeoff between services and spending and their attitudes toward components of the welfare state with little racialized content (e.g. social security and college loans).<sup>4</sup> Finally, as already discussed, the political sophistication measure here captures knowledge in the specific domain of race. While many of the key variables are thus only rough approximations of the more finely honed NES measures, this analysis provides a good test of the robustness of our premise that political sophistication (whether general or domain-specific) is associated with the likelihood of making individualistic attributions.

Supplemental Table 2 reports results of this model, which employs probit estimation since the dependent variable in this case is a simple agree-disagree item. Despite the necessary changes in operationalization, it is remarkable how similar the general results are to those reported in Table 2 of the text. Southern residence, education, and party identification (in this case as opposed to ideology) are all strong predictors of individualistic attribution, as are individualism, egalitarianism, and anti-black affect. Most importantly, political sophistication, even measured in a domain-specific manner, remains a significant negative predictor of

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<sup>4</sup> Clearly, these operationalizations are sub-optimal, which is why we rely on the NES for our primary analyses. Still, these measures of individualism and egalitarianism do seem to be driving basically in the right direction, as confirmed by their association with ideology. Under these specifications, the most conservative respondents have a mean egalitarianism score of .30, as compared to .53 for the most liberal respondents. For individualism, the values are .46 and .30, respectively. Both differences are in the expected direction, and are significant at  $p < .01$ . Exact replication information is available from the authors.

individual attributions for racial disparities, *ceteris paribus*. The results, as rough as the underlying model may be in some respects, afford considerable reassurance about the validity of our claims beyond the very specific NES context.

SUPPLEMENTAL TABLE 3. Probit Model of Symbolic Racism Component Among Non-Blacks, *Washington Post* Data, 1995.

Independent Variables	Estimate	S.E.
Constant	1.398	0.349**
Black Interviewer	-0.081	0.108
Latino	-0.195	0.152
Asian	-0.118	0.134
Female	-0.151	0.109
Age	0.003	0.004
South	0.258	0.133*
Income	-0.008	0.025
Education	-0.121	0.047**
Party Identification (Dem)	-0.195	0.080**
Ideology (Liberal)	-0.063	0.063
Individualism	0.464	0.254*
Egalitarianism	-0.898	0.175**
Anti-Black Affect	0.392	0.131**
Political Sophistication	-0.554	0.335*
Log Likelihood =	-392.319	
LR $\chi^2$ (d.f.) =	129.2 (14)**	
N =	715	