

Why did the Democrats lose the South?

Ilyana Kuziemko and Ebonya Washington¹

Online Appendix

In the tables that follow, we provide the exact wording and other details of the key questions on racial attitudes that we use in our paper.

List of Tables

1	Details on the Gallup “black president question”	2
2	Details on the GSS “black president question”	5
3	ANES school integration questions	7
4	ANES employment and housing discrimination questions	10

¹Kuziemko: kuziemko@princeton.edu; Washington: ebonya.washington@yale.edu.

Online Appendix Table 1: 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."

Online Appendix Table 1: 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.	

Online Appendix Table 1: 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.

Online Appendix Table 2: 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.

Online Appendix Table 2: 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 for 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

Online Appendix Table 3: 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

Online Appendix Table 3: 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

Online Appendix Table 3: 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

Online Appendix Table 4: 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

Online Appendix Table 4: 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