Read Me: Do Files and Data Appendix

Kuziemko and Washington, (2018)

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1   Gallup and GSS Data

This paper uses data extracts from Gallup and the General Social Survey (GSS).

Gallup Data: Gallup surveys are available from Roper Center to those with institutional access. **Reading_Ascii_Gallup.do** includes the dictionaries for samples with our key *black president* question. For most other Gallup datasets we utilized we read in only race, age, state and party.

General Social Survey: Basic GSS data are available on their website. In order to obtain state identifiers, we additionally applied for the restricted access GSS. Consult the GSS Documentation for directions on how to obtain the geographic identifiers.

1.1   Cleaning

1. The program **Reading_ASCII_Gallup.do** imports Gallup polls (from the iPoll databank in ascii format) into Stata. It creates *gallup.dta*.

2. Using *GSS7212_R6.dta* (raw data from GSS), the program **Cleaning_GSS.do** creates *GSS_keyvar.dta*.

3. Using *gallup.dta*, the program **Cleaning_Gallup.do** appends *GSS_keyvar.dta* and other relevant variables. It creates *gallup_and_GSS_extrayears.dta*, which is later used in the analysis. It also appends data from presidential approval and poliical parties, we only provide dictionaries and do files that create the following data sets:

   - PresidentialApprovalQuestionsEisenhower6.18.2016.dta : **PresidentialApprovalEisenhower.do**
     Dictionary Folder: */Gallup&GSS-Dictionary/PresidentialApprovalEisenhower*

   - PresidentialApprovalQuestionsKennedy6.18.2016.dta : **PresidentialApprovalKennedy.do**
     Dictionary Folder: */Gallup&GSS-Dictionary/PresidentialApprovalKennedy*

   - PartyID_1944_1952_Detailed.dta : **PartyID_1944-1952.do**
     Dictionary Folder: */Gallup&GSS-Dictionary/PartyID_1944-1952*

   - PartyID_1963-1970.6.18.2016.dta : **PartyID_1963-1970.do**
     Dictionary Folder: */Gallup&GSS-Dictionary/PartyID_1963-1970*

   - PartyID_1971_1980.dta : **PartyID_1971-1980.do**
     Dictionary Folder: */Gallup&GSS-Dictionary/PartyID_1971-1980*

   - PartyID_1981-2004.11.17.2014.dta: **PartyID_1981-2004.do**
     Dictionary Folder: */Gallup&GSS-Dictionary/PartyID_1981-2004*

4. Tables and Figures using restricted access data are marked with (⋆). The program **Analysis_RestrictedData.do** includes details for them.

5. Additionally, we include the auxiliary program **make_gallup_cen_wgts.do** that matches data with census values (IPUMS data). We also include **gallup_gss_add_truman_svy_dates.do** that adds in missing svy_date observations for Truman-era Gallup data (with dates taken from the iPoll website).

1.2 Tables and Figures

The program **Analysis_Gallup&GSS.do** creates the following tables and figures:

- Table 1: Democratic Party identification among whites as a function of region and racial views (⋆)
  Name: *main_table.tex* or *20161413_tab1.tex*

- Figure 1: Share of whites identifying as Democrats, by region
  Name:*demid_main_ik_version.png* or *20161413_fig1.pdf*

- Figure 2: Share of whites willing to vote for a black president, by region (⋆)
  Name: *fig_blkprez.png* or *20161413_fig2.pdf*

- Figure 5: Relationship over time between Democratic ID and NoBlackPrez (whites only) (⋆)
  Name: *event_time_temp_cen2_wgts.png* or *20161413_fig5.pdf*

- Figure 6: Dependence of whites' Democratic identification on predicted answers to the black president question
  Name: *binscatter_predict4_conf.png* or *20161413_fig6.pdf*

- Figure 9: Support for Kennedy versus Goldwater (whites in Gallup)
  Name: *Gallup_goldwaterkennedy.png* or *20161413_fig9.pdf*

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

- Appendix Table A.2: Comparison of demographics of main Gallup analysis sample to Census
  Name: *gallup_ipums_wgt_fix.tex*

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

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

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

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

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

- Appendix Table A.9: Main triple-interaction results using voting intentions as outcomes (⋆)
  Name: *prez_table.tex*

- Appendix Table A.16: Do views toward other minority groups explain white Southern dealignment?
  Name: *falsification_regs_horserace_fmt2_cen_wgts.tex*

- Appendix Figure A.2: Percent of respondents identifying Civil Rights as the nation's most important issue
  Name: *approach_most_imp_pb.png*

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

- Appendix Figure A.4: Dependence of whites' Democratic identification on predicted answers to the black president question
  Name:*binscatter_predict2_conf.png*

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

- Appendix Figure A.6: Event-time graph of Reported voting Dem in last Presidential election regressed on *NoPrez x Survey date*, by region (whites in Gallup and the GSS, date defined by the survey date) (⋆)
  Name: *voted_dem_2p_event_time_date.pdf*

- Appendix Figure A.7: Event-time graph of Reported voting Dem in last Presidential election regressed on *NoPrez x Survey date*, by region (whites in Gallup and the GSS, date defined by the election date) (⋆)
  Name: *voted_dem_2p_event_time_elex.pdf*

- Appendix Figure A.8: Event-time graph of *Supports Democrat in Congress* regressed on *NoPrez x Survey date*, by region (whites in Gallup) (⋆)
  Name: *cong_dem_event_time_date.pdf*

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

- Appendix Figure A.12: Coefficient from regressing *Democratic identification* on *No-CatholicPrez*; by region and year (whites in Gallup)
  Name: *dem_reg_noCath_cen_wgts.png*

1.3   Simulation: Appendix C

The program **Analysis_Simulation.do** creates Appendix Table C1: Predicted share of total change (pooled 1972&1980 elections vs pooled 1952&1956) in Democratic share of presidential voting, under various modeling assumptions. Additional cleaning do files are explained in the same program.

2   Using ANES Data

The American National Election Studies (ANES) data are available in this website by simply registering for an account. Note that not all variables included in the annual files are included in the cumulative file. We have made use of both the cumulative file and the annual files as indicated in our do files.

2.1 Cleaning

1. The program **Cleaning_Anes.do** takes the raw data and creates *ANES_descV1.dta*, used for the ANES analysis.

2.2 Tables and Figures

The program **Analysis_Anes.do** creates the following tables and figures:

- Table 3: Explanatory power of income and urbanicity in explaining white Southern dealignment (ANES, 1952-1980)
  Name: *anes_inc_urb_dem.tex* or *20161413_tab3.tex*

- Table 4: Pre-period policy differences between whites in South and non-South (ANES)
  Name: *policy_diff.tex* or *20161413_tab4.tex*

- Figure 3: Whites' views of which party will push for school integration, by region
  Name:*ANES_sch_ik_version.pdf* or *20161413_fig3.pdf*

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

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

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

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

- Appendix Table A.15: Does controlling for economically liberal preferences explain white Southern dealignment?
  Name:*dem_ec_lib_aft.tex*

- Appendix Table A.17: Do conservative racial views predict defection from Democratic party (Southern whites, 1952 ANES)?
  Name: *switchers_south1.tex*

- Appendix Table A.18: Do conservative racial views predict defection from Democratic party (non-Southern whites, 1952 ANES)?
  Name: *switchers_south0.tex*

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

- Appendix Figure A.10: Democrats advantage among Catholics in presidential elections
  Name: *dem_v_all_cath_v_oth_by_yr.pdf*

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

3 Using Media Data and Additional Sources

This paper uses some additional sources to complement the main analysis. It includes:

Media Data: Results of our media searches are included in our replication files. The searches are described in Appendix D of the paper.

VoteView: Data on congressional votes and dwnominate scores are available from VoteView.com and are included in our replication files.

Election Results: Presidential election results by state are available from CQPress for those with institutional access.

Census data: Census extracts may be created at IPUMS - US Census by simply registering for an account.

Current Population November Voter Supplement: We obtained 1972 and 1976 (Studies 60 and 7699) from ICPSR and 1980 from IPUMS-CPS.

Consumer Price Index: CPI data can be extracted from the BLS website.

Note: Some Tables and Figures in this section use restricted access data, they are marked with (⋆).

3.1 Tables and Figures

The program **Analysis_Media.do** creates the following tables and figures:

- Table 2: Approval of Kennedy as function of Civil Rights coverage (whites in Gallup)
  Name:*jfk_nyt_main_cen_wgt.tex* or *20161413_tab2.tex* (⋆).

- Figure 4: Count of NYT articles mentioning President Kennedy and Civil Rights terms
  Name: *jfk_events.pdf* or *20161413_fig4.pdf* (⋆).

- Figure 7: Whites' approval of Kennedy versus articles linking him to Civil Rights
  Name: *jfk_approval_cen_wgt.png* or *20161413_fig7.pdf* (⋆).

- Figure 8: Predicted vs. actual regional approval differences for Kennedy (whites in Gallup)
  Name: *graph_media_analysis_RA_share_explained_broad.pdf* or *20161413_fig8.pdf* (⋆).

- 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
  Name: *cra_votes.tex*

- Appendix Table A.10: Whites' approval of Kennedy as a function of NYT Civil Rights articles, 1961 to 1963
  Name: *tab4_consolidated.tex* (⋆).

- Appendix Table A.20: White approval of Eisenhower as a function of Civil Rights coverage
  Name: *media_output_ike_nogaps.tex* (⋆).

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

- Appendix Table D.3: Predicting approval of JFK using RA's article codes
  Name: *media_additional_analysis_js_2.tex*

- Appendix Figure A.1: Civil Rights articles by month, Southern papers (1963)
  Name: *media_monthly_3.png* and *media_monthly_4.png*

- 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
  Name: *media_truman_approve_01_1_2_combined.png* (⋆).

- 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
  Name: *media_truman_would_vote_truman_1_2_combined.png* (⋆).

- 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)
  Name: *truman_dem_diff_south_nonsouth.png* (⋆).

- Appendix Figure A.16: Regional differences in whites' approval of Eisenhower (South minus non-South) versus articles linking him to Civil Rights
  Name:*media_ike_2_ik.png* (⋆).