

Supplementary File

Table A1. Vignettes used to measure racial sympathy.

	Vignettes full text
Vignette 1	<p>Mrs. Lewis, a white woman with young children, posts advertisements for a nanny on community bulletin boards. She receives many inquiries and decides to interview all applicants over the phone. Mrs. Lewis is most impressed with a woman named Laurette, who has relevant experience, is an excellent cook, and comes enthusiastically recommended. Mrs. Lewis invites Laurette over for what she expects will be the final step of the hiring process. When Laurette arrives, Mrs. Lewis is surprised to see that Laurette is black. After Laurette's visit, which goes very well, Mrs. Lewis thanks her for her time but says that she will not be offered the job. When Laurette asks why, Mrs. Lewis says that she doesn't think that her children would feel comfortable around her. Laurette is upset about Mrs. Lewis' actions.</p>
Vignette 2	<p>Tim is a white man who owns a hair salon. His business is growing rapidly and so he decides to place an advertisement to hire new stylists. In the advertisement, he writes that interested applicants should come for an interview first thing next Monday. When he arrives at the salon on Monday, he sees a line of seven or eight people waiting outside the door, all of whom appear to be black. He approaches the line and tells the applicants that he's sorry, but the positions have been filled. The applicants are upset; they feel they have been turned away because of their race.</p>
Vignette 3	<p>Milford is a mid-sized city in the Northeast. The main bus depot for the city is located in the Whittier section of Milford, a primarily black neighborhood. Whittier community leaders argue that the concentration of buses produces serious health risks for residents; they point to the high asthma rates in Whittier as evidence of the bus depot's harmful effects. The Milford Department of Transportation officials, who are mostly white, state that Whittier is the best location for the depot because it is centrally located and many Whittier residents take the bus. Furthermore, it would be expensive to relocate the bus depot to a new location. Whittier community leaders are very upset by the Department's inaction.</p>
Vignette 4	<p>Michael is a young black man who lives in a midwestern city. One day Michael is crossing the street and jaywalks in front of cars. Some local police officers see Michael jaywalk and stop and question him. Michael argues that he was just jaywalking and is otherwise a law-abiding citizen. The police officers feel that Michael is being uncooperative and so they give him a pat down to see if he is carrying any concealed weapons. Michael is very upset by this treatment.</p>

Table A2. Predicting support for horizontal redistribution by racial sympathy and income, with party id instead of ideology/limited government measure

	<i>Black Business</i>	<i>Black Schools</i>	<i>Black Scholarships</i>	<i>Affirmative Action</i>
<i>Racial sympathy</i>	0.25* (0.11)	0.08 (0.13)	0.23+ (0.13)	0.20* (0.09)
<i>Income</i>	-0.20 (0.16)	-0.38* (0.18)	-0.27 (0.18)	-0.11 (0.13)
<i>Party ID</i>	-0.20*** (0.04)	-0.31*** (0.05)	-0.25*** (0.05)	-0.34*** (0.03)
<i>Age</i>	0.00 (0.06)	-0.12+ (0.07)	-0.14* (0.07)	-0.17*** (0.05)
<i>Female</i>	-0.08** (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.02)
<i>Education</i>	0.13** (0.05)	0.08 (0.05)	0.14** (0.06)	0.01 (0.04)
<i>Racial sympathy X income</i>	0.32 (0.23)	0.67* (0.26)	0.50+ (0.26)	0.16 (0.18)
<i>Constant</i>	0.35*** (0.09)	0.63*** (0.10)	0.44*** (0.10)	0.44*** (0.06)
<i>Adj. R²</i>	0.26	0.29	0.29	0.24
<i>N</i>	317	318	318	632

Notes: *** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$; + $p < 0.1$; estimated ordinary least squares models with survey weights. Standard errors are in parentheses.

We focused on OLS models in text for ease of interpretation and to be consistent with the modeling approach used in Chudy (2021)'s original study of racial sympathy and support for race-targeted policies. However, because our dependent variables are ordinal, it could also be reasonable to use ordinal logistic regression models. But it is worth noting that the findings are very similar in ordinal logistic regression

models below. In some cases, the findings are even stronger. For instance, in the case of scholarships for Black students, the interaction reaches significance in the ordinal logistic regression model.

Table A3. Predicting support for horizontal redistribution by racial sympathy and income, ordered logistic regressions

	<i>Black Business</i>		<i>Black Schools</i>		<i>Black Scholarships</i>		<i>Affirmative Action</i>	
<i>Racial sympathy</i>	2.77*** (0.56)	1.24 (0.89)	2.54*** (0.54)	0.50 (0.85)	3.33*** (0.56)	2.11** (0.88)	1.73*** (0.36)	1.11** (0.56)
<i>Income</i>	0.50 (0.47)	-2.20* (1.33)	0.66 (0.47)	-3.06** (1.31)	0.76 (0.47)	-1.47 (1.34)	0.07 (0.34)	-1.14 (0.93)
<i>Limited government</i>	-0.93*** (0.28)	-0.83*** (0.28)	-1.63*** (0.28)	-1.55*** (0.28)	-1.30*** (0.27)	-1.24*** (0.27)	- 2.05*** (0.20)	-2.00*** (0.20)
<i>Age</i>	-0.09 (0.48)	-0.07 (0.48)	-1.06* (0.47)	-1.08** (0.47)	-0.93* (0.47)	-0.90* (0.47)	-0.95** (0.33)	-0.95*** (0.33)
<i>Female</i>	-0.73** (0.22)	-0.72*** (0.22)	-0.36+ (0.21)	-0.36* (0.21)	-0.40+ (0.22)	-0.41* (0.22)	-0.17 (0.16)	-0.16 (0.16)
<i>Education</i>	1.18** (0.40)	1.17*** (0.4)	0.51 (0.38)	0.46 (0.38)	0.97* (0.38)	0.94** (0.38)	-0.05 (.29)	-0.04 (0.30)
<i>Racial sympathy X income</i>		4.16** (1.92)		5.80*** (1.92)		3.43* (1.93)		1.84 (1.31)
<i>Cut point 1</i>	-0.32 (0.50)	-1.26 (0.67)	-1.63** (0.50)	-2.96 (0.66)	-0.38 (0.50)	-1.17 (0.66)	- 1.15*** (0.34)	-1.51 (0.42)
<i>Cut point 2</i>	0.76 (0.50)	-0.20 (0.67)	-0.47 (0.49)	-1.79 (0.65)	0.78 (0.49)	-0.01 (0.66)	0.41 (0.33)	0.05 (.42)
<i>Cut point 3</i>	3.31*** (0.54)	2.38 (0.68)	1.14* (0.49)	-0.16 (0.64)	2.57*** (0.51)	1.77 (0.67)	2.69*** (0.37)	2.35 (0.44)
<i>Cut point 4</i>	4.77*** (0.58)	3.88 (0.71)	2.74*** (0.51)	1.50 (0.65)	3.99*** (0.54)	3.22 (0.69)		
<i>AIC</i>	800.70	797.97	880.31	872.86	868.86	867.66	1382.94	1382.95
<i>N</i>	322	322	323	323	323	323	640	640

Notes: *** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$; + $p < 0.1$; estimated ordinal logistic regression models with survey weights. Standard errors are in parentheses.

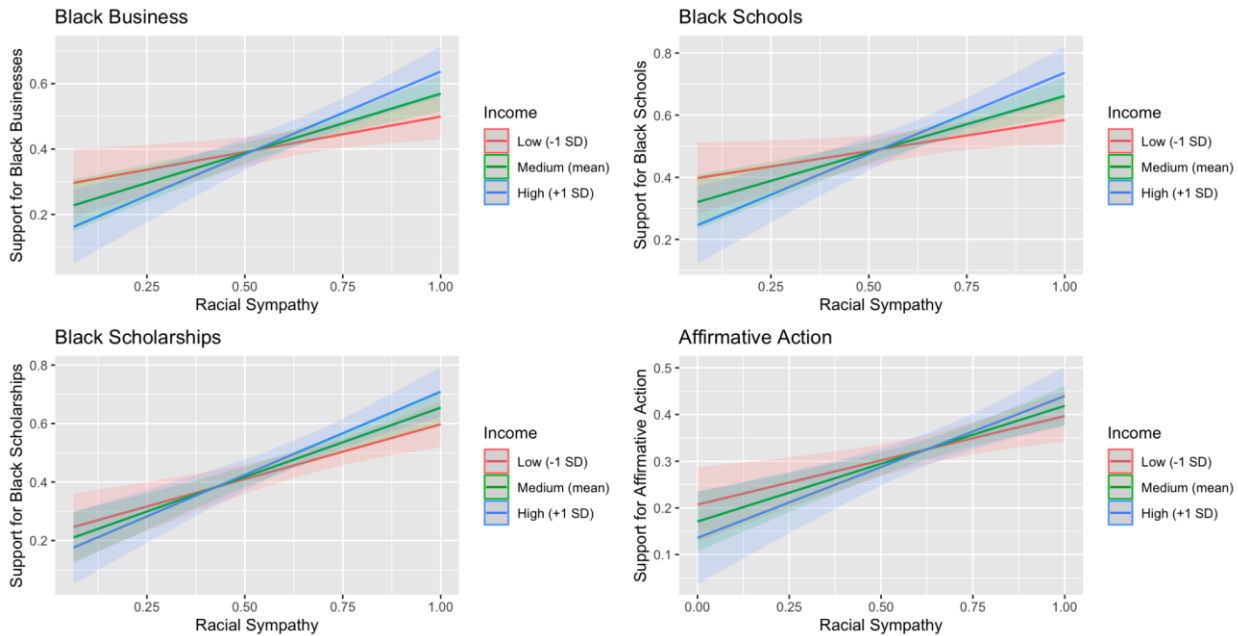


Figure A1. Interaction Plots from primary in-text models. Notes: Figures show the predicted probabilities for policy support across the racial sympathy distribution; each plot contains three lines—those low, medium, and high in income; these breaks are based on the mean level of income (\$) and the mean plus or minus the standard deviation; colored areas surrounding lines represent the 95% confidence intervals for each level of income.

As mentioned in the main text, our primary measures of horizontal redistribution were part of a question wording manipulation. Some survey respondents were randomly assigned to a question that asked whether they supported government redistribution for “black” or “poor” individuals and areas. Additionally, the 2013 CCES included a question asking about support for welfare policy, arguably the most visible vertical redistribution program in the US. Below, we recreate the same models in text, but use these vertical redistribution questions as our dependent variables of interest. We find similar (and, at times, even stronger) support for a positive interaction between racial sympathy and income. We believe this is likely because these policies are “race-coded” in the United States, even if they are not specifically race-targeted policies (Gilens, 1999; DeSante, 2013; Haney Lopez, 2014).

Table A4. Predicting support for vertical redistribution by racial sympathy and income.

	<i>Poor Business</i>	<i>Poor Schools</i>	<i>Poor Scholarships</i>	<i>Welfare</i>
<i>Racial sympathy</i>	-0.14 (0.09)	0.18* (0.09)	0.12 (0.09)	0.09 (0.06)
<i>Income</i>	-0.26+ (0.15)	-0.41** (0.14)	-0.28+ (0.15)	-0.57*** (0.10)
<i>Limited government</i>	-0.10** (0.03)	-0.23*** (0.03)	-0.16*** (0.03)	-0.27*** (0.02)
<i>Age</i>	-0.11* (0.05)	-0.09+ (0.05)	-0.21*** (0.05)	-0.10** (0.04)
<i>Female</i>	0.05 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	-0.03+ (0.02)
<i>Education</i>	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.03)
<i>Racial sympathy X income</i>	0.44* (0.21)	0.55** (0.21)	0.23 (0.21)	0.58*** (0.14)
<i>Constant</i>	0.81*** (0.06)	0.74*** (0.06)	0.84*** (0.06)	0.66*** (0.05)
<i>Adj. R²</i>	0.05	0.31	0.19	0.36
<i>N</i>	316	317	316	641

Note. ***p<0.001; **p<0.01;*p<0.05;+p<0.1. Estimated ordinary least squares models with survey weights. Standard errors are in parentheses.

One of the surprising findings in the main text was the lack of a significant interaction between racial sympathy and income on attitudes towards affirmative action. Much of the US discussion of affirmative action focuses specifically on college admissions. For this reason, we wondered if the more appropriate way to assess interest convergence or a lack thereof in the case of affirmative action, specifically, was to

examine an interaction between racial sympathy and education (rather than income). In this case we find a positive and statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) interaction.

Table A6. Support for Affirmative Action, Including Education Racial Sympathy Interaction Term

	<i>Affirmative Action</i>
<i>Racial sympathy</i>	0.09 (0.07)
<i>Education</i>	-0.23* (0.10)
<i>Income</i>	0.05 (0.05)
<i>Limited government</i>	-0.28*** (0.03)
<i>Age</i>	-0.16*** (0.04)
<i>Female</i>	-0.03 (0.02)
<i>Racial sympathy X education</i>	0.36* (0.15)
<i>Constant</i>	0.51*** (0.06)
<i>Adj. R²</i>	0.26
<i>N</i>	640

Notes: *** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$; + $p < 0.1$; estimated ordinary least squares models with survey weights. Standard errors are in parentheses.

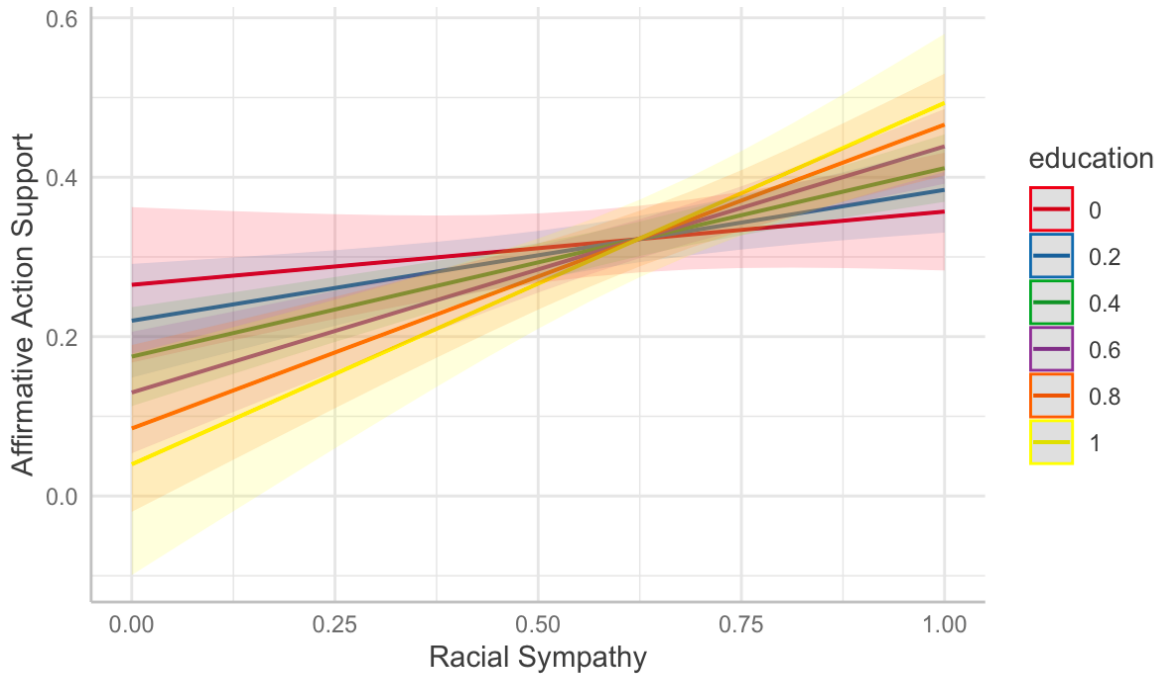


Figure A2. Predicted probability of supporting affirmative action, by Racial Sympathy and Education. Notes: Linear predictions based on model in Table A6; each line represents a different level of education; shaded areas around lines denote 95% confidence intervals.

Scale Reliability analysis:

In text, we reported Cronbach’s alphas for the two multi-item scales in our analysis. Here, we add to that a brief table reporting the results of a reliability analysis.

Racial sympathy (<i>Chronbach’s alpha</i> =0.74)	Alpha if drop item	Limited Government (<i>Chronbach’s alpha</i> =0.81)	Alpha if drop item
Item 1	0.65	Item 1	0.77
Item 2	0.64	Item 2	0.76
Item 3	0.73	Item 3	0.71
Item 4	0.72		