

## **Initiatives without Engagement: A Realistic Account of the Secondary Effects of Direct Democracy**

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### **Online Appendix**

In Chapter 4 of the manuscript, we note the advantages of using doubly robust weighted regression to estimate causal effects when using cross-sectional data. The following models are versions of several of the central models in the manuscript, but *without* the entropy weights to compare the effects when this modeling strategy is and is not used. The models demonstrate that none of our central positive findings (note: all of those noted in Chapter 6) are contingent on usage of entropy weights. However, usage of the entropy weighting does inflate standard errors and make finding statistical significance more difficult. This may have lead some in the past to conclude that in some instances there is a positive relationship between ballot initiatives and political interest. However, when entropy weighting/doubly robust regression is used, there is no evidence of a relationship between initiatives and interest. The models are provided here so that the results throughout the book can be easily compared to those not using doubly robust regression/entropy weighting.

**Online Appendix Table FA5.1** Hierarchical Mixed Logit Models Predicting Validated Voter Turnout using only survey weights, 2010 CCES

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<
<b>Initiative (0,1)</b>	0.011	0.098	0.914									
<b>Avg. Ins. 1970-2009</b>				0.134	0.031	0.000						
<b>In. Total, 2010</b>							0.050	0.013	0.000			
<b>BM Spending PC, 2010</b>										0.050	0.016	0.003
<b><u>Level 2 Controls</u></b>												
Gubernatorial Spending	0.103	0.060	0.093	0.082	0.056	0.150	0.100	0.056	0.081	0.094	0.057	0.107
Senatorial Spending	0.127	0.042	0.004	0.122	0.039	0.003	0.124	0.039	0.003	0.130	0.041	0.003
State Electoral Competition	0.000	0.003	0.885	-0.004	0.003	0.167	-0.002	0.003	0.540	-0.002	0.003	0.603
Diversity	0.785	2.341	0.739	1.547	2.269	0.499	1.833	2.222	0.413	1.810	2.239	0.423
Segregation Index	0.048	1.351	0.972	0.543	1.299	0.678	0.554	1.306	0.673	0.613	1.321	0.645
Diversity X Segregation	-2.208	4.309	0.611	-3.931	4.184	0.352	-4.537	4.122	0.276	-4.084	4.093	0.323
Registration Closing Days	0.002	0.006	0.693	0.000	0.005	0.963	0.002	0.005	0.718	0.001	0.005	0.896
No excuse early voting(0,1)	-0.034	0.102	0.742	-0.080	0.099	0.422	-0.060	0.098	0.542	-0.063	0.098	0.526
<b><u>Level 1 Controls</u></b>												
Age	0.083	0.008	0.000	0.083	0.008	0.000	0.083	0.008	0.000	0.083	0.008	0.000
Age <sup>2</sup>	-0.001	0.000	0.000	-0.001	0.000	0.000	-0.001	0.000	0.000	-0.001	0.000	0.000
Gender	-0.360	0.034	0.000	-0.360	0.034	0.000	-0.360	0.034	0.000	-0.360	0.034	0.000
Strong Democrat (0,1)	0.983	0.065	0.000	0.983	0.065	0.000	0.983	0.065	0.000	0.983	0.065	0.000
Weak/Lean Dem (0,1)	0.622	0.057	0.000	0.621	0.057	0.000	0.621	0.057	0.000	0.621	0.057	0.000
Weak/Lean Rep (0,1)	0.879	0.055	0.000	0.879	0.055	0.000	0.879	0.055	0.000	0.879	0.055	0.000
Strong Republican (0,1)	1.274	0.071	0.000	1.274	0.071	0.000	1.274	0.071	0.000	1.274	0.071	0.000
Education	0.125	0.015	0.000	0.125	0.015	0.000	0.125	0.015	0.000	0.125	0.015	0.000
Family Income (quintiles)	0.150	0.013	0.000	0.150	0.013	0.000	0.150	0.013	0.000	0.150	0.013	0.000
Black (0,1)	0.989	0.038	0.000	0.988	0.038	0.000	0.988	0.038	0.000	0.988	0.038	0.000
Hispanic (0,1)	-0.390	0.066	0.000	-0.389	0.066	0.000	-0.389	0.066	0.000	-0.389	0.066	0.000
Race-Other (0,1)	-0.666	0.069	0.000	-0.668	0.069	0.000	-0.668	0.069	0.000	-0.667	0.069	0.000
Political Interest	-0.214	0.080	0.010	-0.214	0.080	0.010	-0.215	0.080	0.010	-0.215	0.080	0.010
Constant	-4.584	0.834	0.000	-4.596	0.805	0.000	-4.733	0.818	0.000	-4.790	0.832	0.000
Random Effects	0.075	0.021		0.059	0.019		0.065	0.020		0.066	0.020	
N: Level 1/Level 2	48060/50			48060/50			48060/50			48060/50		
F Statistic	256.92*			271.69*			260.34*			241.08*		

Note: \*model significant at p<.0001

**Online Appendix Table FA5.2** Hierarchical Mixed Logit Models Predicting Validated Voter Turnout using only survey weights, 2012 CCES

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<
<b>Initiative (0,1)</b>	0.014	0.065	0.835									
<b>Avg. Ins. 1970-2011</b>				0.019	0.023	0.429						
<b>In. Total, 2012</b>							-0.003	0.011	0.818			
<b>BM Spending PC, 2012</b>										0.008	0.007	0.274
<b><u>Level 2 Controls</u></b>												
Gubernatorial Spending	0.001	0.065	0.991	0.000	0.063	0.998	0.000	0.064	0.995	0.007	0.065	0.911
Senatorial Spending	-0.037	0.029	0.206	-0.034	0.030	0.261	-0.037	0.030	0.223	-0.036	0.029	0.222
State Electoral Competition	0.012	0.003	0.000	0.011	0.003	0.002	0.012	0.003	0.001	0.011	0.003	0.003
Presidential Competition	0.033	0.039	0.401	0.033	0.038	0.389	0.033	0.039	0.401	0.035	0.040	0.378
Diversity	5.449	1.895	0.006	5.491	1.867	0.005	5.356	1.838	0.005	5.631	1.867	0.004
Segregation Index	2.430	0.909	0.010	2.466	0.901	0.009	2.387	0.885	0.010	2.477	0.899	0.008
Diversity X Segregation	-11.130	3.438	0.002	-11.270	3.415	0.002	-10.958	3.335	0.002	-11.570	3.389	0.001
Registration Closing Days	0.005	0.005	0.273	0.005	0.004	0.239	0.005	0.004	0.209	0.005	0.004	0.247
No excuse early voting(0,1)	0.042	0.072	0.567	0.037	0.073	0.612	0.046	0.072	0.532	0.049	0.074	0.511
<b><u>Level 1 Controls</u></b>												
Age	0.021	0.008	0.009	0.021	0.008	0.009	0.021	0.008	0.009	0.021	0.008	0.009
Age <sup>2</sup>	0.000	0.000	0.791	0.000	0.000	0.791	0.000	0.000	0.790	0.000	0.000	0.792
Gender	0.129	0.035	0.001	0.129	0.035	0.001	0.129	0.035	0.001	0.129	0.035	0.001
Strong Democrat (0,1)	1.047	0.050	0.000	1.047	0.050	0.000	1.047	0.050	0.000	1.047	0.050	0.000
Weak/Lean Dem (0,1)	0.726	0.054	0.000	0.726	0.054	0.000	0.726	0.054	0.000	0.726	0.054	0.000
Weak/Lean Rep (0,1)	0.901	0.062	0.000	0.901	0.062	0.000	0.901	0.062	0.000	0.901	0.062	0.000
Strong Republican (0,1)	1.183	0.052	0.000	1.183	0.052	0.000	1.183	0.052	0.000	1.183	0.052	0.000
Education	0.136	0.011	0.000	0.136	0.011	0.000	0.136	0.011	0.000	0.136	0.011	0.000
Family Income (quintiles)	0.103	0.013	0.000	0.103	0.013	0.000	0.103	0.013	0.000	0.103	0.013	0.000
Black (0,1)	0.572	0.042	0.000	0.572	0.042	0.000	0.572	0.042	0.000	0.572	0.042	0.000
Hispanic (0,1)	-0.005	0.068	0.946	-0.004	0.068	0.950	-0.005	0.068	0.943	-0.005	0.068	0.941
Race-Other (0,1)	-0.445	0.061	0.000	-0.445	0.061	0.000	-0.445	0.061	0.000	-0.444	0.061	0.000
Political Interest	-0.408	0.066	0.000	-0.408	0.066	0.000	-0.408	0.066	0.000	-0.408	0.066	0.000
Constant	-4.067	0.503	0.000	-4.064	0.499	0.000	-4.053	0.495	0.000	-4.055	0.509	0.000
Random Effects	0.035	0.009		0.034	0.009		0.035	0.009		0.033	0.009	
N: Level 1/Level 2	46927/50			46927/50			46927/50			46927/50		
F Statistic	60.37*			62.86*			62.07*			62.13*		

Note: \*model significant at p<.0001

**Online Appendix Table FA5.3** Hierarchical Mixed Logit Models Predicting Validated Voter Turnout using only survey weights, 2014 CCES

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<
<b>Initiative (0,1)</b>	0.035	0.074	0.639									
<b>Avg. Ins. 1970-2013</b>				0.091	0.041	0.029						
<b>In. Total, 2014</b>							0.079	0.024	0.002			
<b>BM Spending PC, 2014</b>										0.021	0.012	0.091
<b><u>Level 2 Controls</u></b>												
Gubernatorial Spending	0.161	0.032	0.000	0.167	0.030	0.000	0.165	0.030	0.000	0.155	0.034	0.000
Senatorial Spending	0.091	0.032	0.006	0.100	0.029	0.001	0.098	0.029	0.002	0.080	0.032	0.015
State Electoral Competition	0.004	0.004	0.219	0.002	0.003	0.529	0.004	0.003	0.093	0.003	0.003	0.252
Diversity	3.754	2.005	0.067	4.237	1.975	0.037	4.263	1.965	0.035	4.558	2.037	0.030
Segregation Index	1.714	1.011	0.096	2.038	0.991	0.045	1.938	0.996	0.058	2.128	1.034	0.045
Diversity X Segregation	-6.707	3.559	0.065	-7.883	3.475	0.028	-7.605	3.445	0.032	-8.147	3.609	0.028
Registration Closing Days	0.000	0.004	0.957	0.000	0.004	0.957	0.000	0.004	0.926	0.000	0.004	0.918
No excuse early voting(0,1)	0.118	0.063	0.067	0.082	0.058	0.163	0.089	0.056	0.119	0.104	0.060	0.091
<b><u>Level 1 Controls</u></b>												
Age	0.060	0.008	0.000	0.060	0.008	0.000	0.060	0.008	0.000	0.060	0.008	0.000
Age <sup>2</sup>	0.000	0.000	0.010	0.000	0.000	0.010	0.000	0.000	0.010	0.000	0.000	0.010
Gender	-0.049	0.041	0.241	-0.049	0.041	0.241	-0.049	0.041	0.240	-0.049	0.041	0.240
Strong Democrat (0,1)	0.820	0.058	0.000	0.819	0.058	0.000	0.819	0.058	0.000	0.820	0.057	0.000
Weak/Lean Dem (0,1)	0.438	0.054	0.000	0.437	0.054	0.000	0.437	0.054	0.000	0.438	0.054	0.000
Weak/Lean Rep (0,1)	0.633	0.059	0.000	0.633	0.059	0.000	0.633	0.059	0.000	0.634	0.059	0.000
Strong Republican (0,1)	0.812	0.056	0.000	0.812	0.056	0.000	0.812	0.056	0.000	0.812	0.056	0.000
Education	0.217	0.016	0.000	0.217	0.016	0.000	0.217	0.016	0.000	0.217	0.016	0.000
Family Income (quintiles)	0.057	0.015	0.001	0.057	0.015	0.000	0.057	0.015	0.000	0.057	0.015	0.001
Black (0,1)	0.629	0.042	0.000	0.628	0.042	0.000	0.628	0.042	0.000	0.629	0.042	0.000
Hispanic (0,1)	-0.497	0.073	0.000	-0.495	0.072	0.000	-0.495	0.072	0.000	-0.496	0.072	0.000
Race-Other (0,1)	-0.653	0.065	0.000	-0.654	0.065	0.000	-0.654	0.065	0.000	-0.653	0.065	0.000
Political Interest	-0.281	0.063	0.000	-0.282	0.063	0.000	-0.281	0.063	0.000	-0.280	0.063	0.000
Constant	-5.415	0.665	0.000	-5.483	0.653	0.000	-5.569	0.646	0.000	-5.576	0.648	0.000
Random Effects	0.036	0.011		0.027	0.007		0.024	0.007		0.028	0.007	
N: Level 1/Level 2	49517/50			49517/50			49517/50			49517/50		
F Statistic	100.44*			114.89*			99.91*			105.39*		

Note: \*model significant at p<.0001

**Online Appendix Table FA5.4** Hierarchical Mixed Logit Models Predicting Validated Voter Turnout using only survey weights, 2016 CCES

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<
<b>Initiative (0,1)</b>	0.044	0.038	0.254									
<b>Avg. Ins. 1970-2015</b>				0.025	0.015	0.091						
<b>In. Total, 2016</b>							0.007	0.005	0.170			
<b>BM Spending PC, 2016</b>										0.008	0.004	0.054
<b><u>Level 2 Controls</u></b>												
Gubernatorial Spending	0.055	0.023	0.022	0.051	0.023	0.034	0.051	0.024	0.037	0.056	0.022	0.015
Senatorial Spending	0.035	0.027	0.188	0.037	0.027	0.187	0.035	0.027	0.194	0.036	0.026	0.166
State Electoral Competition	0.004	0.002	0.060	0.003	0.002	0.092	0.004	0.002	0.065	0.003	0.002	0.061
Presidential Competition	0.049	0.026	0.072	0.049	0.026	0.063	0.052	0.026	0.054	0.048	0.025	0.061
Diversity	2.874	1.537	0.068	2.845	1.541	0.071	2.705	1.524	0.082	2.816	1.441	0.056
Segregation Index	1.215	0.681	0.081	1.244	0.677	0.072	1.184	0.675	0.085	1.265	0.639	0.053
Diversity X Segregation	-6.101	2.716	0.029	-6.194	2.721	0.027	-5.957	2.694	0.032	-6.066	2.563	0.022
Registration Closing Days	-0.002	0.002	0.373	-0.001	0.002	0.590	-0.001	0.002	0.692	-0.001	0.002	0.588
No excuse early voting(0,1)	0.073	0.041	0.084	0.071	0.043	0.106	0.076	0.042	0.078	0.070	0.041	0.097
<b><u>Level 1 Controls</u></b>												
Age	0.006	0.008	0.406	0.006	0.008	0.407	0.006	0.008	0.408	0.006	0.008	0.408
Age <sup>2</sup>	0.000	0.000	0.018	0.000	0.000	0.018	0.000	0.000	0.018	0.000	0.000	0.018
Gender	0.109	0.033	0.002	0.109	0.034	0.002	0.109	0.033	0.002	0.109	0.033	0.002
Strong Democrat (0,1)	0.672	0.049	0.000	0.672	0.049	0.000	0.672	0.049	0.000	0.672	0.049	0.000
Weak/Lean Dem (0,1)	0.522	0.046	0.000	0.522	0.046	0.000	0.522	0.046	0.000	0.522	0.046	0.000
Weak/Lean Rep (0,1)	0.633	0.046	0.000	0.634	0.046	0.000	0.634	0.046	0.000	0.634	0.046	0.000
Strong Republican (0,1)	0.724	0.048	0.000	0.724	0.048	0.000	0.724	0.048	0.000	0.724	0.048	0.000
Education	0.062	0.012	0.000	0.062	0.012	0.000	0.062	0.012	0.000	0.062	0.012	0.000
Family Income (quintiles)	0.035	0.012	0.005	0.035	0.012	0.005	0.035	0.012	0.005	0.035	0.012	0.006
Black (0,1)	0.516	0.033	0.000	0.516	0.033	0.000	0.516	0.033	0.000	0.517	0.033	0.000
Hispanic (0,1)	-0.249	0.070	0.001	-0.248	0.070	0.001	-0.248	0.070	0.001	-0.247	0.070	0.001
Race-Other (0,1)	-0.305	0.061	0.000	-0.305	0.061	0.000	-0.305	0.061	0.000	-0.306	0.061	0.000
Political Interest	-0.402	0.061	0.000	-0.404	0.061	0.000	-0.403	0.061	0.000	-0.403	0.061	0.000
Constant	-2.375	0.442	0.000	-2.368	0.438	0.000	-2.350	0.440	0.000	-2.394	0.420	0.000
Random Effects	0.008	0.003		0.008	0.003		0.008	0.003		0.008	0.003	
N: Level 1/Level 2	47223/50			47223/50			47223/50			47223/50		
F Statistic	109.09*			109.44*			107.03*			113.96*		

Note: \*model significant at p<.0001

**Online Appendix Table FA5.5** Hierarchical Mixed Logit Models Predicting Political Interest with only survey weights, 2010-2016 CCES

	2010			2012			2014			2016		
	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<
<b>Avg. Initiatives 1970-</b>	0.034	0.016	0.041	0.007	0.018	0.716	0.038	0.016	0.019	0.007	0.021	0.746
<b><u>Level 2 Controls</u></b>												
State Partisan Balance	0.240	0.361	0.509	0.364	0.185	0.055	0.087	0.312	0.782	-0.024	0.335	0.943
Diversity	-3.434	2.234	0.131	-0.097	1.814	0.958	-0.891	1.662	0.594	-0.607	2.675	0.822
Segregation Index	-2.299	1.248	0.072	-0.162	0.911	0.860	-0.794	0.977	0.420	-0.284	1.391	0.839
Diversity X Segregation	6.504	4.068	0.116	0.380	3.292	0.909	1.509	3.013	0.619	0.742	4.776	0.877
<b><u>Level 1 Controls</u></b>												
Age	0.046	0.009	0.000	-0.068	0.007	0.000	0.048	0.009	0.000	0.009	0.008	0.233
Age <sup>2</sup>	0.000	0.000	0.569	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.342	0.000	0.000	0.002
Gender	-0.647	0.041	0.000	-0.497	0.036	0.000	-0.856	0.045	0.000	-0.846	0.046	0.000
Strong Democrat (0,1)	1.187	0.053	0.000	1.112	0.065	0.000	0.770	0.061	0.000	0.989	0.042	0.000
Weak/Lean Dem (0,1)	0.373	0.061	0.000	0.327	0.062	0.000	0.004	0.060	0.951	0.287	0.047	0.000
Weak/Lean Rep (0,1)	0.874	0.068	0.000	0.509	0.054	0.000	0.354	0.053	0.000	0.464	0.058	0.000
Strong Republican (0,1)	1.593	0.063	0.000	1.273	0.072	0.000	0.867	0.062	0.000	0.899	0.045	0.000
Education	0.248	0.016	0.000	0.320	0.016	0.000	0.314	0.011	0.000	0.261	0.014	0.000
Family Income (quintiles)	0.246	0.016	0.000	0.150	0.016	0.000	0.136	0.014	0.000	0.112	0.015	0.000
Black (0,1)	-0.913	0.064	0.000	-0.409	0.058	0.000	-0.562	0.060	0.000	-0.613	0.064	0.000
Hispanic (0,1)	-0.814	0.061	0.000	-0.613	0.043	0.000	-0.548	0.091	0.000	-0.383	0.097	0.000
Race-Other (0,1)	-0.131	0.115	0.260	-0.084	0.099	0.399	-0.153	0.070	0.033	-0.269	0.096	0.007
Constant	-3.044	0.852	0.001	-1.234	0.485	0.014	-2.864	0.607	0.000	-1.958	0.808	0.019
Random Effects	0.021	0.011		0.013	0.004		0.011	0.005		0.031	0.018	
N: Level 1/Level 2	47929/49			46467/49			49175/49			46924/49		
F Statistic	313.78*			219.24*			237.56*			206.19*		

Note: \*model significant at p<.0001

**Online Appendix Table FA5.6** Hierarchical Mixed Logit Models Predicting Validated Voter Registration with only survey weights, 2010-2016 CCES

	2010			2012			2014			2016		
	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<
<b>Avg. Initiatives 1970-</b>	0.020	0.039	0.615	0.002	0.021	0.921	0.019	0.024	0.442	0.005	0.016	0.758
<b><u>Level 2 Controls</u></b>												
Gubernatorial Spending	0.046	0.046	0.324	-0.017	0.064	0.789	0.053	0.030	0.084	0.027	0.026	0.297
Senatorial Spending	0.042	0.032	0.202	-0.034	0.029	0.241	0.041	0.032	0.206	0.043	0.029	0.149
State Electoral Competition	0.001	0.003	0.746	0.009	0.003	0.002	0.005	0.003	0.095	0.005	0.002	0.027
Presidential Competition				-0.007	0.038	0.849				0.016	0.030	0.599
Diversity	3.369	2.134	0.121	5.568	2.036	0.009	4.384	2.278	0.060	1.385	1.542	0.374
Segregation Index	2.694	1.185	0.027	2.642	0.974	0.009	2.411	1.297	0.069	0.487	0.730	0.508
Diversity X Segregation	-6.970	3.928	0.082	-11.376	3.632	0.003	-8.011	4.003	0.051	-3.437	2.714	0.211
Registration Closing Days	0.008	0.006	0.144	0.005	0.005	0.287	0.006	0.004	0.125	0.002	0.003	0.408
No excuse early voting(0,1)	-0.061	0.076	0.426	-0.036	0.072	0.614	0.019	0.049	0.700	-0.004	0.045	0.933
<b><u>Level 1 Controls</u></b>												
Age	0.080	0.008	0.000	0.023	0.009	0.013	0.052	0.007	0.000	0.006	0.008	0.411
Age <sup>2</sup>	-0.001	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.627	0.000	0.000	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.086
Gender	-0.164	0.032	0.000	0.090	0.031	0.006	0.060	0.037	0.111	0.117	0.031	0.001
Strong Democrat (0,1)	0.887	0.066	0.000	1.052	0.054	0.000	0.624	0.049	0.000	0.598	0.054	0.000
Weak/Lean Dem (0,1)	0.643	0.053	0.000	0.717	0.053	0.000	0.383	0.047	0.000	0.510	0.049	0.000
Weak/Lean Rep (0,1)	0.715	0.052	0.000	0.857	0.053	0.000	0.447	0.042	0.000	0.580	0.047	0.000
Strong Republican (0,1)	0.973	0.056	0.000	1.177	0.063	0.000	0.529	0.051	0.000	0.630	0.062	0.000
Education	0.048	0.012	0.000	0.106	0.012	0.000	0.151	0.014	0.000	0.027	0.012	0.030
Family Income (quintiles)	0.109	0.010	0.000	0.067	0.013	0.000	-0.002	0.013	0.849	0.003	0.014	0.831
Political Interest (0,1)	0.645	0.035	0.000	0.520	0.043	0.000	0.507	0.035	0.000	0.433	0.034	0.000
Black (0,1)	-0.603	0.039	0.000	-0.053	0.071	0.453	-0.258	0.065	0.000	-0.141	0.074	0.061
Hispanic (0,1)	-0.713	0.058	0.000	-0.409	0.058	0.000	-0.302	0.045	0.000	-0.241	0.052	0.000
Race-Other (0,1)	-0.230	0.062	0.001	-0.491	0.062	0.000	-0.247	0.053	0.000	-0.382	0.059	0.000
Constant	-4.219	0.688	0.000	-3.324	0.536	0.000	-4.006	0.823	0.000	-1.322	0.465	0.007
Random Effects	0.046	0.015		0.035	0.014		0.017	0.007		0.010	0.003	
N: Level 1/Level 2	48060/50			46927/50			49517/50			47223/50		
F Statistic	108.46*			46.77*			68.33*			52.92*		

Note: \*model significant at p<.0001

**Online Appendix Table FA6.1** Hierarchical Generalized Linear Mixed Model of Tax-Spend Attitudes with only survey weights

	2006			2008			2010			2012		
	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<
<b>Party ID (7 Point)</b>	4.616	0.159	0.000	4.033	0.150	0.000	4.933	0.160	0.000	4.835	0.148	0.000
<b>Tax Initiative Average</b>	-5.729	2.523	0.028	-5.131	1.249	0.000	-4.643	1.683	0.008	-4.620	1.358	0.001
<b>PID X Tax Init Avg</b>	1.322	0.470	0.007	1.267	0.364	0.001	1.321	0.442	0.004	1.066	0.385	0.008
<b><u>Level 2 Controls</u></b>												
Folded Ranney Index 04-10	-2.582	3.311	0.439	1.767	3.170	0.580	-2.050	3.712	0.583	0.800	3.654	0.828
Median HH Income	0.000	0.000	0.295	0.000	0.000	0.701	0.000	0.000	0.524	0.000	0.000	0.144
Segregation Index	0.241	0.089	0.009	0.006	0.088	0.942	0.122	0.109	0.267	0.119	0.144	0.415
Diversity	0.313	0.197	0.118	0.010	0.168	0.953	-0.006	0.200	0.977	0.180	0.268	0.506
Segregation x Diversity	-0.005	0.004	0.139	0.000	0.003	0.897	0.000	0.004	0.910	-0.003	0.005	0.554
<b><u>Level 1 Controls</u></b>												
Age	0.579	0.083	0.000	0.511	0.073	0.000	0.584	0.085	0.000	0.256	0.085	0.004
Age <sup>2</sup>	-0.006	0.001	0.000	-0.005	0.001	0.000	-0.006	0.001	0.000	-0.002	0.001	0.011
Gender	-2.786	0.353	0.000	-3.104	0.386	0.000	-2.624	0.529	0.000	-1.340	0.461	0.006
Black (0,1)	1.224	0.768	0.118	-0.185	0.672	0.784	0.978	0.857	0.259	0.244	0.668	0.717
Hispanic (0,1)	-0.024	1.008	0.981	-0.635	0.628	0.317	-0.569	1.124	0.615	-0.140	0.916	0.879
Race-Other (0,1)	2.117	0.796	0.011	1.006	0.956	0.298	3.092	0.705	0.000	3.382	0.949	0.001
Married	1.719	0.379	0.000	0.765	0.387	0.054	1.395	0.447	0.003	1.653	0.723	0.027
Education	-1.257	0.130	0.000	-1.002	0.122	0.000	-1.034	0.190	0.000	-0.763	0.239	0.003
Family Income (quintiles)	0.303	0.073	0.000	0.355	0.059	0.000	0.307	0.075	0.000	0.279	0.069	0.000
Born Again Christian	2.390	0.409	0.000	2.217	0.390	0.000	1.786	0.473	0.000	3.797	0.490	0.000
Constant	14.883	5.336	0.008	35.732	7.098	0.000	28.164	8.022	0.001	26.631	9.694	0.008
Random Effects										0.504	0.152	
Constant	0.483	0.195		0.482	0.227		0.611	0.244				
Party ID	10.498	3.494		6.993	4.666		11.998	5.272		8.137	2.430	
Covariance (Constant/PID)	-2.091	0.811	0.013	-1.734	1.009	0.092	-2.477	1.072	0.025	-1.635	0.531	0.003
Variance(Error Term)	538.904	6.150		445.762	5.712		510.474	6.356		513.038	6.748	
N: Level 1/Level 2	23460/49			23128/49			36603/49			33208/49		
F Statistic	111.58			123.41			157.80			133.15		

Data are from the 2006, 2008, 2010 and 2012 CCES Common Content Files

**Notes:** The dependent variable tax-spend scale is a 100 point scale that gauges a respondent's views on taxing versus spending – higher values indicate a greater propensity to prioritize tax cuts over spending increases.



**Online Appendix Table FA6.2** Hierarchical Generalized Linear Mixed Model of Environment-Jobs Attitudes with only survey weights

	2006			2008			2010			2012		
	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<
<b>Party ID (7 Point)</b>	0.210	0.006	0.000	0.199	0.007	0.000	0.204	0.006	0.000	0.184	0.005	0.000
<b>Environment Init. Avg</b>	-1.009	0.337	0.004	-0.652	0.268	0.019	-0.650	0.300	0.035	-0.455	0.264	0.091
<b>PID X Enviro Init Avg</b>	0.215	0.058	0.001	0.147	0.059	0.016	0.172	0.071	0.018	0.161	0.065	0.017
<b><u>Level 2 Controls</u></b>												
Folded Ranney Index 04-10	0.144	0.151	0.346	0.001	0.114	0.990	0.055	0.130	0.674	-0.198	0.244	0.422
Median HH Income	0.000	0.000	0.244	0.000	0.000	0.927	0.000	0.000	0.771	0.000	0.000	0.223
Segregation Index	0.009	0.004	0.039	0.006	0.004	0.151	0.002	0.003	0.523	0.006	0.006	0.294
Diversity	0.011	0.008	0.155	0.007	0.010	0.441	0.008	0.008	0.349	0.013	0.011	0.244
Segregation x Diversity	0.000	0.000	0.061	0.000	0.000	0.331	0.000	0.000	0.260	0.000	0.000	0.211
<b><u>Level 1 Controls</u></b>												
Age	-0.007	0.004	0.061	0.001	0.004	0.840	0.004	0.004	0.315	-0.012	0.003	0.000
Age <sup>2</sup>	0.000	0.000	0.032	0.000	0.000	0.118	0.000	0.000	0.486	0.000	0.000	0.000
Gender	-0.008	0.018	0.657	0.031	0.015	0.043	0.035	0.017	0.041	0.066	0.012	0.000
Black (0,1)	0.360	0.027	0.000	0.263	0.031	0.000	0.250	0.038	0.000	0.169	0.033	0.000
Hispanic (0,1)	0.034	0.030	0.270	-0.016	0.022	0.473	-0.001	0.043	0.975	0.048	0.059	0.413
Race-Other (0,1)	0.002	0.037	0.960	-0.069	0.046	0.134	-0.031	0.027	0.268	-0.005	0.041	0.905
Married	0.101	0.019	0.000	0.091	0.015	0.000	0.077	0.017	0.000	-0.021	0.029	0.478
Education	-0.070	0.008	0.000	-0.073	0.007	0.000	-0.054	0.007	0.000	-0.051	0.007	0.000
Family Income (quintiles)	-0.004	0.003	0.278	-0.001	0.003	0.625	0.000	0.003	0.985	0.004	0.003	0.184
Born Again Christian	0.223	0.019	0.000	0.186	0.026	0.000	0.118	0.017	0.000	0.205	0.020	0.000
Constant	1.616	0.236	0.000	2.065	0.283	0.000	2.083	0.287	0.000	2.818	0.407	0.000
<b>Random Effects</b>												
Constant	0.001	0.000		0.001	0.001		0.001	0.000		0.000	0.000	
Party ID	0.020	0.006		0.018	0.007		0.016	0.006		0.011	0.005	
Covariance (Constant/PID)	-0.004	0.001	0.004	-0.004	0.002	0.028	-0.004	0.001	0.011	-0.001	0.001	0.054
Variance(Error Term)	1.231	0.013		1.269	0.013		1.244	0.016		1.193	0.012	
N: Level 1/Level 2	29643/49			30266/49			47758/49			45136/49		
F Statistic	145.77			176.45			117.52			109.05		

Data are from the 2006, 2008, 2010 and 2012 CCES Common Content Files

**Notes:** The dependent variable is a 5 point scale that asks respondents to prioritize jobs or environmental protection when they come into conflict; higher values indicate jobs over environmental protection attitudes.

**Online Appendix Table FA6.3** Hierarchical Generalized Linear Mixed Model of Political Ideology with only survey weights

	2006			2008			2010 <sup>1</sup>			2012		
	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<
<b>Party ID (7 Point)</b>	0.269	0.007	0.000	0.275	0.006	0.000	0.304	0.006	0.000	0.265	0.007	0.000
<b>Initiative (0,1)</b>	-0.066	0.047	0.163	-0.047	0.030	0.122	-0.064	0.032	0.050	-0.096	0.034	0.007
<b>PID X Initiative</b>	0.014	0.011	0.218	0.019	0.009	0.051	0.022	0.008	0.010	0.024	0.009	0.011
<b><u>Level 2 Controls</u></b>												
Folded Ranney Index 04-10	-0.114	0.069	0.106	-0.107	0.095	0.266	0.129	0.088	0.151	-0.055	0.091	0.547
Median HH Income	0.000	0.000	0.412	0.000	0.000	0.003	0.000	0.000	0.222	0.000	0.000	0.018
Segregation Index	0.006	0.002	0.011	0.002	0.003	0.498	-0.001	0.003	0.842	0.003	0.004	0.447
Diversity	0.012	0.006	0.063	0.003	0.005	0.519	0.000	0.005	0.986	0.004	0.008	0.588
Segregation x Diversity	0.000	0.000	0.062	0.000	0.000	0.454	0.000	0.000	0.845	0.000	0.000	0.429
<b><u>Level 1 Controls</u></b>												
Age	0.016	0.002	0.000	0.012	0.002	0.000	0.012	0.002	0.000	0.015	0.002	0.000
Age <sup>2</sup>	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.000
Gender	-0.072	0.010	0.000	-0.094	0.009	0.000	-0.113	0.010	0.000	-0.067	0.014	0.000
Black (0,1)	0.020	0.020	0.319	0.122	0.018	0.000	0.225	0.017	0.000	0.188	0.023	0.000
Hispanic (0,1)	-0.029	0.020	0.152	0.047	0.021	0.029	0.057	0.021	0.009	0.108	0.029	0.001
Race-Other (0,1)	-0.005	0.022	0.828	-0.012	0.025	0.639	0.099	0.013	0.000	0.039	0.025	0.122
Married	0.125	0.011	0.000	0.093	0.011	0.000	0.095	0.008	0.000	0.028	0.019	0.147
Education	-0.035	0.004	0.000	-0.038	0.006	0.000	-0.036	0.004	0.000	-0.042	0.005	0.000
Family Income (quintiles)	0.005	0.002	0.016	0.004	0.002	0.031	0.003	0.001	0.078	-0.001	0.002	0.726
Born Again Christian	0.329	0.015	0.000	0.319	0.015	0.000	0.287	0.011	0.000	0.282	0.013	0.000
Constant	0.362	0.143	0.015	1.128	0.215	0.000	0.884	0.180	0.000	1.047	0.233	0.000
Random Effects												
Constant	0.001	0.000		0.001	0.000		0.001	0.000		0.001	0.000	
Party ID	0.017	0.006		0.006	0.002		0.010	0.002		0.010	0.003	
Covariance (Constant/PID)	-0.004	0.002	0.015	-0.002	0.001	0.003	-0.002	0.001	0.000	-0.003	0.001	0.006
Variance(Error Term)	0.567	0.006		0.599	0.007		0.559	0.004		0.553	0.010	
N: Level 1/Level 2	28943/49			30361/49			47885/49			45250/49		
F Statistic	263.11			261.75			596.22			473.12		

Data are from the 2006, 2008, 2010 and 2012 CCES Common Content Files

*Notes:* The dependent variable is a 5 point political ideology scale ranging from very liberal (0) to very conservative (4).

**Online Appendix Table FA6.4** Hierarchical Generalized Linear Mixed Model of Political Ideology with only survey weights

	2006			2008			2010 <sup>1</sup>			2012		
	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<
<b>Party ID (7 Point)</b>	0.268	0.006	0.000	0.276	0.005	0.000	0.308	0.005	0.000	0.273	0.006	0.000
<b>Average # of Ins 1970- PID X Avg Ins</b>	-0.055	0.022	0.014	-0.040	0.016	0.014	-0.047	0.015	0.003	-0.025	0.019	0.188
	0.011	0.005	0.022	0.012	0.005	0.027	0.011	0.004	0.011	0.006	0.005	0.225
<b><u>Level 2 Controls</u></b>												
Folded Ranney Index 04-10	-0.081	0.072	0.263	-0.095	0.089	0.293	0.129	0.081	0.118	-0.037	0.093	0.691
Median HH Income	0.000	0.000	0.475	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.087	0.000	0.000	0.053
Segregation Index	0.005	0.002	0.030	0.000	0.003	0.904	-0.002	0.003	0.519	0.003	0.004	0.467
Diversity	0.011	0.006	0.100	0.001	0.006	0.894	-0.002	0.006	0.671	0.004	0.008	0.595
Segregation x Diversity	0.000	0.000	0.108	0.000	0.000	0.855	0.000	0.000	0.761	0.000	0.000	0.438
<b><u>Level 1 Controls</u></b>												
Age	0.016	0.002	0.000	0.012	0.002	0.000	0.012	0.002	0.000	0.015	0.002	0.000
Age <sup>2</sup>	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.000
Gender	-0.073	0.010	0.000	-0.095	0.009	0.000	-0.113	0.010	0.000	-0.067	0.014	0.000
Black (0,1)	0.019	0.020	0.330	0.119	0.018	0.000	0.225	0.017	0.000	0.188	0.024	0.000
Hispanic (0,1)	-0.028	0.020	0.165	0.048	0.021	0.026	0.058	0.021	0.009	0.108	0.029	0.000
Race-Other (0,1)	-0.004	0.022	0.854	-0.011	0.025	0.656	0.100	0.013	0.000	0.039	0.025	0.121
Married	0.124	0.011	0.000	0.093	0.011	0.000	0.095	0.008	0.000	0.028	0.019	0.146
Education	-0.035	0.004	0.000	-0.038	0.006	0.000	-0.036	0.004	0.000	-0.042	0.005	0.000
Family Income (quintiles)	0.005	0.002	0.016	0.004	0.002	0.031	0.003	0.001	0.079	-0.001	0.002	0.734
Born Again Christian	0.330	0.015	0.000	0.319	0.015	0.000	0.287	0.011	0.000	0.282	0.013	0.000
Constant	0.373	0.143	0.012	1.208	0.213	0.000	0.969	0.173	0.000	0.988	0.222	0.000
Random Effects												
Constant	0.001	0.000		0.001	0.000		0.001	0.000		0.001	0.000	
Party ID	0.014	0.006		0.004	0.002		0.008	0.002		0.012	0.004	
Covariance (Constant/PID)	-0.003	0.001	0.016	-0.002	0.000	0.003	-0.002	0.001	0.000	-0.003	0.001	0.009
Variance(Error Term)	0.567	0.006		0.599	0.007		0.559	0.004		0.553	0.010	
N: Level 1/Level 2	28943/49			30361/49			47885/49			45250/49		
F Statistic	265.80			319.84			621.59			476.08		

Data are from the 2006, 2008, 2010 and 2012 CCES Common Content Files

*Notes:* The dependent variable is a 5 point political ideology scale ranging from very liberal (0) to very conservative (4).

**Online Appendix Table FA6.5** Hierarchical Generalized Linear Mixed Model of Strength of Partisanship with only survey weights

	2006			2008			2010			2012		
	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<
Average # of Ins 1970-	-0.001	0.010	0.902	0.013	0.012	0.287	0.016	0.012	0.186	-0.001	0.012	0.901
<b><u>Level 2 Controls</u></b>												
Folded Ranney Index 04-10	0.311	0.183	0.096	-0.114	0.257	0.660	0.104	0.243	0.671	-0.018	0.230	0.940
Median HH Income	0.000	0.000	0.008	0.000	0.000	0.173	0.000	0.000	0.606	0.000	0.000	0.341
Segregation Index	0.009	0.005	0.050	0.008	0.007	0.268	0.003	0.006	0.614	0.004	0.007	0.560
Diversity	0.015	0.008	0.077	0.018	0.014	0.219	0.007	0.013	0.588	0.009	0.014	0.499
Segregation x Diversity	0.000	0.000	0.104	0.000	0.000	0.244	0.000	0.000	0.727	0.000	0.000	0.620
<b><u>Level 1 Controls</u></b>												
Strength of Ideology	0.221	0.006	0.000	0.474	0.011	0.000	0.538	0.012	0.000	0.490	0.013	0.000
Age	-0.003	0.003	0.390	-0.004	0.004	0.262	0.008	0.004	0.036	-0.003	0.003	0.348
Age <sup>2</sup>	0.000	0.000	0.016	0.000	0.000	0.006	0.000	0.000	0.756	0.000	0.000	0.007
Gender	0.154	0.013	0.000	0.179	0.017	0.000	0.131	0.014	0.000	0.167	0.016	0.000
Black (0,1)	0.239	0.028	0.000	0.461	0.028	0.000	0.447	0.041	0.000	0.443	0.033	0.000
Hispanic (0,1)	0.195	0.031	0.000	0.139	0.043	0.002	0.060	0.040	0.137	0.116	0.030	0.000
Race-Other (0,1)	-0.268	0.040	0.000	-0.158	0.030	0.000	-0.208	0.030	0.000	-0.156	0.036	0.000
Married	-0.054	0.005	0.000	0.020	0.006	0.002	0.027	0.005	0.000	0.014	0.005	0.010
Education	-0.002	0.014	0.868	-0.036	0.019	0.074	-0.050	0.019	0.012	0.057	0.029	0.058
Family Income (quintiles)	0.126	0.015	0.000	0.125	0.021	0.000	0.085	0.020	0.000	0.144	0.020	0.000
Born Again Christian	0.022	0.002	0.000	0.027	0.003	0.000	0.021	0.003	0.000	0.018	0.002	0.000
Constant	0.945	0.288	0.002	0.981	0.395	0.016	0.363	0.329	0.276	0.961	0.425	0.028
Random Effects (State)	0.005	0.002		0.010	0.003		0.009	0.002		0.011	0.003	
Variance(Error Term)	0.972	0.013		1.084	0.010		1.103	0.010		0.998	0.010	
N: Level 1/Level 2	28943/49			30361/49			47885/49			45250/49		
F Statistic	146.68			266.64			174.92			220.89		

Data are from the 2006, 2008, 2010 and 2012 CCES Common Content Files

**Notes:** The dependent variable is folded 7-point party identification: 0-pure independent, 1-leaning partisan, 2-weak partisan, 3-strong partisan.

**Online Appendix Table FA6.6** Hierarchical Generalized Linear Mixed Model of Strength of Ideology with only survey weights

	2006			2008			2010			2012		
	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<
Average # of Ins 1970-	0.016	0.009	0.085	0.017	0.007	0.018	0.010	0.004	0.011	-0.001	0.005	0.772
<b><u>Level 2 Controls</u></b>												
Folded Ranney Index 04-10	0.276	0.232	0.241	0.012	0.093	0.898	-0.086	0.094	0.363	-0.076	0.082	0.358
Median HH Income	0.000	0.000	0.235	0.000	0.000	0.162	0.000	0.000	0.162	0.000	0.000	0.654
Segregation Index	0.000	0.005	0.947	-0.002	0.003	0.455	-0.005	0.002	0.020	-0.003	0.002	0.261
Diversity	0.002	0.009	0.813	-0.001	0.005	0.859	-0.005	0.004	0.219	-0.002	0.004	0.647
Segregation x Diversity	0.000	0.000	0.858	0.000	0.000	0.899	0.000	0.000	0.240	0.000	0.000	0.707
<b><u>Level 1 Controls</u></b>												
Strength of Party ID	0.285	0.008	0.000	0.212	0.004	0.000	0.182	0.004	0.000	0.192	0.005	0.000
Age	-0.020	0.003	0.000	-0.010	0.002	0.000	-0.011	0.001	0.000	-0.012	0.002	0.000
Age <sup>2</sup>	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Gender	-0.166	0.015	0.000	-0.165	0.011	0.000	-0.139	0.009	0.000	-0.047	0.009	0.000
Black (0,1)	-0.303	0.039	0.000	-0.301	0.025	0.000	-0.217	0.015	0.000	-0.201	0.020	0.000
Hispanic (0,1)	-0.005	0.045	0.916	-0.147	0.020	0.000	-0.106	0.023	0.000	-0.112	0.021	0.000
Race-Other (0,1)	-0.026	0.042	0.540	-0.020	0.022	0.368	-0.041	0.018	0.026	-0.042	0.028	0.141
Married	-0.021	0.006	0.002	0.046	0.004	0.000	0.027	0.003	0.000	0.032	0.004	0.000
Education	-0.017	0.023	0.463	0.023	0.011	0.047	0.007	0.008	0.420	-0.010	0.019	0.597
Family Income (quintiles)	0.249	0.014	0.000	0.175	0.012	0.000	0.121	0.009	0.000	0.093	0.011	0.000
Born Again Christian	0.011	0.003	0.000	0.008	0.001	0.000	0.013	0.002	0.000	0.001	0.001	0.648
Constant	0.834	0.383	0.034	0.471	0.181	0.012	0.873	0.170	0.000	0.810	0.186	0.000
Random Effects (State)	0.005	0.002		0.001	0.000		0.001	0.000		0.001	0.000	
Variance(Error Term)	1.255	0.007		0.487	0.006		0.374	0.004		0.390	0.005	
N: Level 1/Level 2	28943/49			30361/49			47885/49			45250/49		
F Statistic	122.01			425.60			280.11			158.57		

Data are from the 2006, 2008, 2010 and 2012 CCES Common Content Files

*Notes:* The dependent variable is a 3 point folded ideology index: 0- moderate, 1-slightly ideological, 2-very ideological

**Online Appendix Table FA6.7** Hierarchical Generalized Linear Mixed Model of Perception of Ideology of the Republican Party (Liberal to Conservative) with only survey weights

	2006			2008 <sup>1</sup>			2010			2012		
	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<
<b>Average # of Ins 1970- Party ID (7 Point)</b>	1.740	0.415	0.000	1.455	0.496	0.005	0.088	0.024	0.001	0.078	0.021	0.001
<b>PID X Avg Ins</b>	-1.159	0.126	0.000	-1.344	0.146	0.000	-0.132	0.011	0.000	-0.022	0.010	0.023
	-0.349	0.086	0.000	-0.306	0.087	0.001	-0.017	0.006	0.004	-0.014	0.004	0.001
<b><u>Level 2 Controls</u></b>												
Folded Ranney Index 04-10	1.891	3.233	0.561	1.888	1.917	0.330	-0.180	0.182	0.326	0.094	0.215	0.664
Median HH Income	0.000	0.000	0.418	0.000	0.000	0.097	0.000	0.000	0.092	0.000	0.000	0.084
Segregation Index	-0.037	0.091	0.688	-0.022	0.068	0.746	0.000	0.006	0.988	0.003	0.007	0.694
Diversity	0.089	0.180	0.626	0.034	0.136	0.803	0.007	0.011	0.536	0.019	0.012	0.112
Segregation x Diversity	-0.001	0.003	0.712	0.000	0.003	0.949	0.000	0.000	0.569	0.000	0.000	0.196
<b><u>Level 1 Controls</u></b>												
Strength of Ideology	1.450	0.139	0.000	1.758	0.185	0.000	-0.008	0.026	0.757	0.033	0.018	0.070
Age	-0.128	0.061	0.041	-0.209	0.060	0.001	-0.023	0.007	0.002	-0.032	0.006	0.000
Age <sup>2</sup>	0.002	0.001	0.006	0.002	0.001	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.005	0.000	0.000	0.000
Gender	-1.236	0.396	0.003	1.811	0.253	0.000	0.084	0.027	0.003	0.125	0.028	0.000
Black (0,1)	-2.522	0.740	0.001	-3.311	0.981	0.001	-0.346	0.057	0.000	-0.185	0.064	0.006
Hispanic (0,1)	-0.565	0.313	0.078	-0.797	0.780	0.312	-0.234	0.051	0.000	-0.197	0.093	0.040
Race-Other (0,1)	-2.870	0.668	0.000	-0.893	0.642	0.171	-0.303	0.044	0.000	-0.133	0.066	0.050
Married	-2.337	0.326	0.000	-2.252	0.399	0.000	-0.165	0.021	0.000	-0.148	0.041	0.001
Education	2.121	0.129	0.000	1.590	0.097	0.000	0.121	0.007	0.000	0.126	0.011	0.000
Family Income	0.791	0.053	0.000	0.678	0.063	0.000	0.039	0.004	0.000	0.026	0.003	0.000
Born Again Christian	-3.235	0.382	0.000	-2.508	0.372	0.000	-0.331	0.021	0.000	-0.273	0.032	0.000
Constant	70.097	5.234	0.000	75.583	4.583	0.000	6.446	0.366	0.000	5.879	0.418	0.000
Random Effects												
Constant	0.283	0.090		0.591	0.178		0.003	0.001		0.002	0.001	
Party ID	5.730	2.623		12.101	3.428		0.032	0.015		0.068	0.020	
Covariance (Constant/PID)	-1.183	0.458	0.013	-2.595	0.764	0.001	-0.009	0.004	0.034	-0.013	0.004	0.001
Variance(Error Term)	476.771	9.796		442.203	9.697		1.984	0.040		1.972	0.045	
N: Level 1/Level 2	28103/49			27783/49			43930/49			39450/49		
F Statistic	55.24			102.17			113.49			40.11		

Data are from the 2006, 2008, 2010 and 2012 CCES Common Content Files

**Notes:** The dependent variable is a 100 point scale ranging from liberal to conservative for 2006 and 2008; the scale is a 7 point ideology scale ranging from very liberal (0) to very conservative (6) form 2010 and 2012

**Online Appendix Table FA6.8** Hierarchical Generalized Linear Mixed Model of Perception of Ideology of the Democratic Party (Liberal to Conservative) with only survey weights

	2006 <sup>1</sup>			2008			2010 <sup>1</sup>			2012		
	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<
<b>Average # of Ins 1970- Party ID (7 Point)</b>	-0.078	0.134	0.563	-0.327	0.194	0.099	0.010	0.021	0.644	0.020	0.024	0.396
<b>PID X Avg Ins</b>	-4.239	0.071	0.000	-3.698	0.110	0.000	-0.290	0.005	0.000	-0.276	0.008	0.000
	0.002	0.030	0.949	0.026	0.046	0.571	-0.004	0.005	0.497	-0.006	0.005	0.245
<b><u>Level 2 Controls</u></b>												
Folded Ranney Index 04-10	1.011	2.145	0.640	-0.347	2.621	0.895	0.078	0.091	0.392	-0.148	0.277	0.595
Median HH Income	0.000	0.000	0.225	0.000	0.000	0.631	0.000	0.000	0.405	0.000	0.000	0.875
Segregation Index	-0.044	0.055	0.422	-0.107	0.071	0.141	-0.004	0.002	0.120	-0.006	0.008	0.488
Diversity	-0.209	0.102	0.045	-0.272	0.161	0.098	-0.016	0.005	0.003	-0.026	0.015	0.090
Segregation x Diversity	0.004	0.002	0.062	0.005	0.003	0.084	0.000	0.000	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.090
<b><u>Level 1 Controls</u></b>												
Strength of Ideology	-2.426	0.176	0.000	-4.367	0.268	0.000	-0.140	0.010	0.000	-0.174	0.015	0.000
Age	0.200	0.040	0.000	0.203	0.069	0.005	0.014	0.003	0.000	0.035	0.004	0.000
Age <sup>2</sup>	-0.002	0.000	0.000	-0.002	0.001	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Gender	2.501	0.342	0.000	1.900	0.358	0.000	0.109	0.016	0.000	0.072	0.025	0.005
Black (0,1)	4.034	0.484	0.000	3.558	1.044	0.001	0.345	0.045	0.000	0.304	0.054	0.000
Hispanic (0,1)	2.816	0.469	0.000	2.459	1.071	0.026	0.326	0.029	0.000	0.226	0.028	0.000
Race-Other (0,1)	-0.340	0.610	0.580	-0.575	0.678	0.400	0.015	0.035	0.663	0.059	0.045	0.192
Married	-0.653	0.257	0.014	0.548	0.342	0.116	-0.050	0.019	0.012	0.151	0.034	0.000
Education	-0.486	0.140	0.001	-0.572	0.157	0.001	-0.018	0.007	0.010	-0.066	0.010	0.000
Family Income	-0.655	0.043	0.000	-0.685	0.053	0.000	-0.031	0.003	0.000	-0.030	0.003	0.000
Born Again Christian	-2.105	0.259	0.000	-0.929	0.376	0.017	-0.095	0.016	0.000	-0.072	0.023	0.003
Constant	55.585	3.728	0.000	47.919	4.787	0.000	3.389	0.183	0.000	3.458	0.529	0.000
Random Effects												
Constant	0.038	0.028		0.162	0.062		0.000	0.000		0.002	0.001	
Party ID	0.463	0.465		3.002	1.054		0.009	0.003		0.059	0.018	
Covariance (Constant/PID)	-0.039	0.098	0.689	-0.671	0.250	0.010	-0.002	0.001	0.009	-0.009	0.003	0.003
Variance(Error Term)	352.792	4.282		359.897	7.169		1.365	0.025		1.654	0.042	
N: Level 1/Level 2	28240/49			27977/49			44118/49			39450/49		
F Statistic	645.87			388.38			519.84			157.13		

Data are from the 2006, 2008, 2010 and 2012 CCES Common Content Files

**Notes:** The dependent variable is a 100 point scale ranging from liberal to conservative for 2006 and 2008; the scale is a 7 point ideology scale ranging from very liberal (0) to very conservative (6) form 2010 and 2012

### Online Appendix Table FA7.1

Hierarchical Mixed Logit Models Predicting Confidence in State Government unweighted, 2004  
NAES

	Model 1			Model 2		
	Coef	SE	p<	Coef	SE	p<
<b>Avg. Ins. 1970-2003</b>	-0.187	0.072	0.009	-0.143	0.065	0.027
<b><u>Level 2 Controls</u></b>						
Legislative Professionalism	0.834	0.760	0.272	-0.068	0.534	0.898
Folded Ranney Index 04-10	0.178	0.731	0.807	0.609	0.756	0.420
Diversity	-0.003	0.026	0.907			
Segregation Index	0.004	0.046	0.931			
Diversity X Segregation	0.000	0.001	0.671			
<b><u>Level 1 Controls</u></b>						
Presidential Approval	0.231	0.044	0.000	0.230	0.044	0.000
Economic Evaluation	0.184	0.058	0.002	0.183	0.058	0.002
Independent (0,1)	-0.580	0.134	0.000	-0.579	0.134	0.000
Republican (0,1)	-0.299	0.106	0.005	-0.305	0.106	0.004
Moderate (0,1)	0.005	0.100	0.961	0.005	0.100	0.958
Conservative (0,1)	-0.053	0.115	0.643	-0.055	0.115	0.630
Gender	0.303	0.075	0.000	0.298	0.075	0.000
Age	-0.029	0.013	0.019	-0.029	0.013	0.020
Age <sup>2</sup>	0.000	0.000	0.009	0.000	0.000	0.010
Education	0.023	0.034	0.493	0.020	0.034	0.552
Black (0,1)	-0.166	0.155	0.285	-0.205	0.155	0.186
Hispanic (0,1)	0.152	0.151	0.312	0.107	0.150	0.477
Race-Other (0,1)	-0.153	0.159	0.337	-0.158	0.159	0.320
Constant	0.722	1.473	0.624	0.000	0.734	1.000
Random Effects	0.061	0.030		0.089	0.038	
N: Level 1/Level 2	3498/47			3498/47		
Wald Chi-Squared	119.68*			108.90*		

**Notes:** \*model significant at  $p < .0001$ . The dependent variable is a dichotomous variable coded 0 for “none/not much” confidence in state officials and 1 for “a fair amount/a great deal” in state officials.



**Online Appendix Table FA7.2**

Hierarchical Mixed Logit Models Predicting Trust in State Government unweighted, 2010  
CNN/ORC

	Trust in State Government					
	Model 1			Model 2		
	Coef	SE	p	Coef	SE	p
<b>Avg. Ins. 1970-2009</b>	-0.207	0.126	0.100	-0.239	0.105	0.022
<b><u>Level 2 Controls</u></b>						
Legislative Professionalism	-2.520	1.422	0.076	-2.092	0.917	0.023
Folded Ranney Index 04-10	0.518	1.424	0.716	0.581	1.321	0.660
Diversity	0.028	0.085	0.739			
Segregation Index	0.021	0.045	0.641			
Diversity X Segregation	0.000	0.002	0.748			
<b><u>Level 1 Controls</u></b>						
Presidential Approval	0.629	0.207	0.002	0.625	0.207	0.002
Economic Evaluation	0.268	0.107	0.012	0.270	0.106	0.011
Independent (0,1)	0.064	0.204	0.755	0.067	0.204	0.743
Republican (0,1)	0.268	0.238	0.260	0.273	0.237	0.250
Moderate (0,1)	0.279	0.226	0.217	0.275	0.225	0.221
Conservative (0,1)	0.298	0.251	0.235	0.297	0.251	0.237
Gender	0.320	0.154	0.037	0.322	0.153	0.036
Age	-0.022	0.027	0.423	-0.021	0.027	0.432
Age <sup>2</sup>	0.000	0.000	0.504	0.000	0.000	0.509
Education	0.031	0.062	0.621	0.029	0.062	0.637
Black (0,1)	-0.978	0.331	0.003	-0.969	0.327	0.003
Hispanic (0,1)	-0.608	0.420	0.148	-0.610	0.419	0.145
Race-Other (0,1)	0.066	0.350	0.851	0.072	0.349	0.836
Constant	-2.260	2.572	0.379	-1.212	1.367	0.375
Random Effects	0.195	0.107		0.194	0.103	
N: Level 1/Level 2	942/47			942/47		
Wald Chi-Squared	48.09*			48.00 *		

**Notes:** \*model significant at  $p < .01$ . The dependent variable is based on the question “how much of the time do you think you trust your state’s government to do what’s right?” It is a dichotomous variable coded 0 for “never/some of the time” and 1 for “most of the time/always.”

### Online Appendix Table FA7.3

Hierarchical Mixed Logit Models Predicting Satisfaction with Democracy unweighted, 2010  
CNN/ORC

	Satisfaction with Democracy					
	Model 1			Model 2		
	Coef	SE	p	Coef	SE	p
<b>Avg. Ins. 1970-2009</b>	-0.208	0.090	0.022	-0.202	0.074	0.006
<b><u>Level 2 Controls</u></b>						
Legislative Professionalism	2.774	1.042	0.008	2.135	0.683	0.002
Folded Ranney Index 04-10	-2.394	1.124	0.033	-1.454	1.086	0.180
Diversity	0.050	0.069	0.472			
Segregation Index	0.023	0.037	0.539			
Diversity X Segregation	-0.001	0.001	0.344			
<b><u>Level 1 Controls</u></b>						
Presidential Approval	1.110	0.200	0.000	1.147	0.200	0.000
Economic Evaluation	0.558	0.106	0.000	0.549	0.107	0.000
Independent (0,1)	-0.471	0.199	0.018	-0.463	0.199	0.020
Republican (0,1)	-0.048	0.236	0.839	-0.064	0.236	0.786
Moderate (0,1)	0.395	0.222	0.075	0.393	0.223	0.079
Conservative (0,1)	0.116	0.250	0.643	0.128	0.251	0.609
Gender	0.036	0.154	0.813	0.013	0.154	0.933
Age	0.023	0.027	0.397	0.022	0.027	0.413
Age <sup>2</sup>	0.000	0.000	0.402	0.000	0.000	0.405
Education	0.169	0.064	0.008	0.166	0.064	0.010
Black (0,1)	-0.104	0.299	0.729	-0.183	0.298	0.540
Hispanic (0,1)	0.344	0.365	0.346	0.291	0.368	0.429
Race-Other (0,1)	0.672	0.355	0.058	0.663	0.356	0.063
Constant	-2.377	2.181	0.276	-2.102	1.202	0.080
Random Effects	0.000	0.000		0.035	0.050	
N: Level 1/Level 2	924/47			924/47		
Wald Chi-Squared	149.51*			140.97*		

**Notes:** \*model significant at  $p < .01$ . The dependent variable is a dichotomous variable coded 0 for if a respondent indicates they are “dissatisfied with the way democracy is working in this country” and 1 for if they are “satisfied with the way democracy is working in this country.”