Supplemental Material

Perceptual Knots and Black Identity Politics:

Linked Fate, American Heritage, and Support for Trump Era Immigration Policy

Last Updated:

January 25, 2019

Table A1. Percentage of Blacks Selecting 'Immigration' as Most Important Problem Facing Blacks and Percentage Selecting 'Immigration' in Combination with Another MIP

Most Important Problem	Selection		In Combination	
Problem	No	Yes	No	Yes
Immigration Reform	95.5	4.5		
Job creation / improve economy	75.3	24.7	99.60	0.40
Wages / Incomes / Minimum wage	74.7	25.3	99.66	0.34
K-12 education / schools	91.2	8.8	99.74	0.26
Health care	71.7	28.3	99.23	0.77
Terrorism / ISIS / foreign policy	90.3	9.7	99.13	0.87
Housing / affordable housing	85.8	14.2	99.77	0.23
College affordability	92.1	7.9	99.88	0.12
Corruption in government / special interests	92.7	7.3	99.91	0.09
Racism and race relations	72.4	27.6	99.57	0.43
Climate change / global warming / environment	96.0	4.0	99.83	0.17
Abortion / women's reproductive health	96.9	3.1	99.80	0.20
Taxes / government spending	92.6	7.4	99.83	0.17
Criminal justice reform / police issues	86.9	13.1	99.67	0.33
Something Else	97.0	3.0	99.60	0.40
Other Combinations Selected			4.36	95.64
N =	3097			

Notes: Respondents were asked, "On the whole, what are the most important issues facing your community that you think the President and Congress should address?" [MAY SELECT ONE OR TWO]. Response options were randomized.

Source: 2016 CMPS (weighted)

Table A2. Partial Proportional Odds Model for Position on Border Security Funding

V ariable	DV: 1 = Decrease, 2 = Stay the Same, 3 = Increase	
Experimental Cue: Illegal	Decrease 1.074	Stay the Same 1.074
Experimental Cue. megai	(0.66)	(0.66)
Anti-Latino: Cultural Isolation	1.014*	1.014*
	(2.37)	(2.37)
Anti-Latino: Social Deviance	1.024**	1.051***
and Banio. Social Beviance	(2.89)	(8.13)
Black Linked Fate	0.769+	0.769+
Shield Philippe	(-1.88)	(-1.88)
Economic Anxiety	0.961	0.961
	(-0.87)	(-0.87)
Age	1.022***	1.022***
0.	(5.06)	(5.06)
Education	0.940	0.940
	(-1.01)	(-1.01)
Female	1.033	1.033
	(0.29)	(0.29)
Ideology (5= Very Conservative)	1.169**	1.169**
records (5 very conservative)	(2.96)	(2.96)
Partisanship (7 = Strong Republican)	1.041	1.041
	(0.94)	(0.94)
Household Income	1.003	1.003
To do cho id The office	(0.15)	(0.15)
Heritage: American Roots	0.848	0.848
10116480-11110-110410	(-1.31)	(-1.31)
Region 2: North East, Middle Atlantic	0.940	0.940
8	(-0.18)	(-0.18)
Region 3: Midwest, East North Central	1.069	1.069
tegion of the week Eller Trother Central	(0.19)	(0.19)
Region 4: Midwest, West North Central	0.920	0.920
region willaweed west votal sential	(-0.19)	(-0.19)
Region 5: South, South Atlantic	1.042	0.693
region of octain goddi Francisco	(0.12)	(-1.09)
Region 6: South, East South Central	0.861	0.861
region of country Energy country	(-0.40)	(-0.40)
Region 7: South, West South Central	0.961	0.961
	(-0.11)	(-0.11)
Region 8: West, Mountain	0.564	0.564
	(-1.29)	(-1.29)
Region 9: West, Pacific	0.901	0.901
<i>O</i> ,	(-0.29)	(-0.29)
Registered $(1 = Yes)$	0.821	0.821
((-1.28)	(-1.28)
Local Police (4 = Poor Job)	0.656***	0.954
J-7	(-4.19)	(-0.61)
Perceived Percent of Latinos	1.589	1.589
	(1.41)	(1.41)
Zip-Code Economic Distress	1.001	1.001
- r	(0.46)	(0.46)
Pseudo R ²	0.068	(~.10)
Log Pseudolikelihood	-1867.4523	
Number of Observations	2,106	
Wald chi ² (27)	193.26	

Notes: Region 1: North East, New England (excluded baseline). *gologit2* is a generalized ordered logit. Our model relaxes the constraint for variables used in the Constraints Model of Table 3 which were found to have violated the proportional odds/parallel lines assumptions: Social Deviance, Local Police, and Census 5. Highlighted areas indicate difference. Other variables constrained to have their effects meet said assumption. Interpretation is similar to a series of binary logistic regression. Results are not dissimilar from Table 3.

Source: 2016 CMPS, Black Sample (weighted)

⁺ p < 0.10, * p < 0.05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

Table A3. Partial Proportional Odds Model for Position on Immigrants Take from Natives

V ariable	DV: 1 = Strongly Disagree to 4 = Strongly Agree			
	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	
Anti-Latino: Cultural Isolation	1.031***	1.031***	1.031***	
	(4.47)	(4.47)	(4.47)	
Anti-Latino: Social Deviance	1.120***	1.120***	1.120***	
	(17.23)	(17.23)	(17.23)	
Black Linked Fate	1.323+	1.323+	1.323+	
	(1.93)	(1.93)	(1.93)	
Economic Anxiety	1.116*	1.116*	ì.116*	
,	(2.42)	(2.42)	(2.42)	
Age	1.008*	1.008*	1.008*	
0	(2.10)	(2.10)	(2.10)	
Education	0.841**	0.841**	0.841**	
	(-2.91)	(-2.91)	(-2.91)	
Female	0.986	0.986	0.986	
Cinale	(-0.14)	(-0.14)	(-0.14)	
Ideology (5= Very Conservative)	1.073	1.073	1.073	
Ideology (5= Very Conservative)	(1.19)	(1.19)	(1.19)	
Partisanship (7 = Strong Republican)	1.049	1.049	1.049	
1 1 11 7	(1.03)	(1.03)	(1.03)	
Household Income	0.972	0.972	0.972	
	(-1.59)	(-1.59)	(-1.59)	
Heritage: American Roots	2.022****	<mark>1.458**</mark>	1.223	
	(4.24)	(2.59)	(0.94)	
Region 2: North East, Middle Atlantic	0.733	0.733	0.733	
	(-1.02)	(-1.02)	(-1.02)	
Region 3: Midwest, East North Central	0.911	0.911	0.911	
	(-0.30)	(-0.30)	(-0.30)	
Region 4: Midwest, West North Central	1.859	1.859	1.859	
	(1.63)	(1.63)	(1.63)	
Region 5: South, South Atlantic	0.730	0.504*	0.701	
,	(-1.03)	<mark>(-2.29)</mark>	(-1.11)	
Region 6: South, East South Central	0.581	0.581	0.581	
	(-1.44)	(-1.44)	(-1.44)	
Region 7: South, West South Central	1.288	1.288	1.288	
region 7. bount, west bount central	(0.81)	(0.81)	(0.81)	
Region 8: West, Mountain	1.095	1.095	1.095	
region 6. west, Mountain	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.23)	
Pagion O. Wast Pagifia	1.090	1.090	1.090	
Region 9: West, Pacific				
$\mathbf{p} : \mathbf{p} : $	(0.27)	(0.27)	(0.27)	
Registered (1 = Yes)	1.862***	1.862***	1.862***	
I 1D 1: // D 7.15	(4.27)	(4.27)	(4.27)	
Local Police (4 = Poor Job)	1.089	1.089	1.089	
	(1.26)	(1.26)	(1.26)	
Perceived Percent of Latinos	0.748	0.748	0.748	
	(-0.90)	(-0.90)	(-0.90)	
Zip-Code Economic Distress	1.003+	1.003+	1.003+	
	(1.65)	(1.65)	(1.65)	
Pseudo R ²	0.155		, ,	
Log Pseudolikelihood	-2437.5216			
Number of Observations	2106			
Wald chi ² (27)	532.72			

Notes: Region 1: North East, New England (excluded baseline). *gologit2* is a generalized ordered logit. Our model relaxes the constraint for variables used in the Constraints Model of Table 4 which were found to have violated the proportional odds/parallel lines assumptions: Heritage and Census 5. Highlighted areas indicate difference. Other variables constrained to have their effects meet said assumption. Interpretation is similar to a series of binary logistic regression. Results are not dissimilar from Table 4. The results however do suggest that respondents in the South Atlantic region were especially unlikely to agree that immigrants take from native born Americans.

Source: 2016 CMPS, Black Sample (weighted)

 $^{^{+}} p < 0.10, ^{*} p < 0.05, ^{**} p < .01, ^{***} p < .001$

Table A3. Partial Proportional Odds Model for Position on Advocacy for Black Undocumented

Variable	DV: 1 = Not at All Important, $2 = Somewhat$ Important, $3 = Very$ Important		
	Not at All Important	Somewhat Important	
Anti-Latino: Cultural Isolation	0.974***	0.974***	
	(-3.73)	(-3.73)	
Anti-Latino: Social Deviance	0.982**	0.982**	
	(-3.07)	(-3.07)	
Black Linked Fate	1.599***	1.599***	
	(3.31)	(3.31)	
Economic Anxiety	0.972	0.972	
	(-0.60)	(-0.60)	
Age	1.006	<mark>0.991*</mark>	
	(0.93)	(-2.15)	
Education	1.007	1.007	
	(0.11)	(0.11)	
Female	1.144	1.144	
	(1.21)	(1.21)	
Ideology (5= Very Conservative)	0.941	0.941	
	(-1.01)	(-1.01)	
Partisanship (7 = Strong Republican)	0.914^{+}	0.914^{+}	
	(-1.90)	(-1.90)	
Household Income	0.974	0.974	
	(-1.39)	(-1.39)	
Heritage: American Roots	0.871	0.871	
	(-1.07)	(-1.07)	
Region 2: North East, Middle Atlantic	0.942	0.942	
	(-0.18)	(-0.18)	
Region 3: Midwest, East North Central	0.807	0.807	
	(-0.60)	(-0.60)	
Region 4: Midwest, West North Central	0.859	0.859	
	(-0.38)	(-0.38)	
Region 5: South, South Atlantic	0.833	0.833	
,	(-0.55)	(-0.55)	
Region 6: South, East South Central	0.678	0.678	
,	(-1.02)	(-1.02)	
Region 7: South, West South Central	$0.800^{'}$	0.800	
	(-0.64)	(-0.64)	
Region 8: West, Mountain	0.805	0.805	
	(-0.51)	(-0.51)	
Region 9: West, Pacific	0.569	1.201	
	<mark>(-1.18)</mark>	<mark>(0.49)</mark>	
Registered $(1 = Yes)$	0.718*	0.718^{*}	
	(-2.26)	(-2.26)	
Local Police (4 = Poor Job)	0.988	0.988	
` ',	(-0.17)	(-0.17)	
Perceived Percent of Latinos	1.634	1.634	
referred referred virialities	(1.31)	(1.31)	
Zip-Code Economic Distress	1.001	1.001	
1	(0.60)	(0.60)	
Pseudo R ²	0.036	(0.00)	
Log Pseudolikelihood	-1884.527		
Number of Observations	2160		
Wald chi ² (25)	83.60		

Notes: Region 1: North East, New England (excluded baseline). *gologit2* is a generalized ordered logit. Our model relaxes the constraint for variables used in the Constraints Model of Table 5 which were found to have violated the proportional odds/parallel lines assumptions: Age and Census 9. Highlighted areas indicate difference. Other variables constrained to have their effects meet said assumptions. Interpretation is similar to a series of binary logistic regression. Results are not dissimilar from Table 5. However age was significant, meaning that the effect of higher levels of age was to make respondents less likely to select the "very important" response option.

Source: 2016 CMPS, Black Sample (weighted)

 $^{^{+}} p < 0.10, ^{*} p < 0.05, ^{**} p < .01, ^{***} p < .001$