

Appendix 1: Information about the Samples and Weighting

Most of the early civil rights items were on polls conducted by Gallup, though a handful of items were included on surveys conducted by Roper. Starting in 1952, the NES included a handful of civil rights questions on its surveys. The early Gallup, Roper, and NORC data were collected using quota sampling. Appendix Tables 1-3 include the sample size and question wording for each of the civil rights items used from Gallup and Roper.

In quota sampling, pollsters seek to interview certain predetermined proportions of people from particular segments of the population. Quota sampling introduces two types of distortions: first, the quota categories may not reflect the mass public (e.g. Gallup deliberately underrepresented African Americans, southerners, and women in its early polls; these deliberate imbalances improved in the early-to-mid 1940s although southern African Americans continued to be under-represented for several more years). Second, interviewers' discretion over who to interview *within* quota categories meant that more approachable respondents were overrepresented. To address these problems, the data are weighted on education levels, occupation, phone access, and those quota category variables—such as gender and region—that can be matched to census data. The socioeconomic status variables (education, phone, occupation) are especially useful because they were not used as quota variables and thus help correct for the problems introduced by interviewer discretion within quota categories (see Berinsky 2006 for details).

All of the datasets and weights used in this study are available from the Roper Archive at the University of Connecticut. <http://www.ropercenter.uconn.edu>.

Appendix 2: Coding Appendix for Fair Employment Items

In coding the fair employment items, the changes in question wording and response options required considerable care. For the Gallup and Roper items, respondents who favored national fair employment action (or favored the state law, if that was the topic of the question, as in the 1945 and 1947 Gallup surveys) are coded as 1, while those opposing the law are coded as 0. Respondents who say that they either favor leaving the policy up to the states or oppose any law whatsoever are coded as opponents. Within the political context of the time, it was clear that saying the policy should be “left up to the states” meant weaker support for action than did support for a national law, given that there was no chance that many states – particularly in the south – would adopt such a law. The results are robust if one treats the “up to the states” option as a middle response in between “neither” and “national law.”

The 1952 NES had a similar question wording to the Gallup item and is coded analogously. The question wording was: “There is a lot of talk these days about discrimination, that is about people having trouble getting jobs because of their race. Do you think the government ought to take an interest in whether Negroes have trouble getting jobs or should it stay out of this problem. (IF government should take an interest). Do you think we need laws to deal with this problem or are there other ways that will handle it better? (If yes to laws, ask: Do you think the national government should handle this or do you think it should be left for each state to handle in its own way?). Respondents favoring a national law are coded as 1, those arguing it should be left to the states or that no action should be taken are coded as 0.

The NES question in 1956-60 asked: “If Negroes are not getting fair treatment in jobs and housing, the government should see to it that they do.” The response options ranged from “Agree strongly” to “Disagree strongly.” To keep the question scaled from 0 to 1, I coded “disagree strongly” = 0, “disagree” = .25, “agree” = .75, and “strongly agree” = 1. Depends, Not Sure, and No Opinion were coded as .5. The results are robust to alternative codings, but this kept the range of the dependent variable similar to that for the Gallup and Roper items.

In 1964, the question wording was changed to: “Some people feel that if Negroes 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? If yes, how do you feel?” The survey then followed up by asking if the respondent’s mind was “made up” or s/he had “some doubts.” Respondents who favored the federal government seeing to fair treatment and who had their minds made up were coded as 1; those who favored the government role but had “some doubts” were coded as .75. Respondents with no opinion or “it depends” responses were coded as .5. Respondents who favored leaving it to the states but who had some doubts were coded as .25; respondents who favored leaving it to the states but with no doubts were coded as 0. Again, the results are robust to alternative codings / scorings of the variable but this kept the range of the dependent variable similar

to the Gallup and Roper items. The 1968 and 1972 versions of the question did not include the follow-up asking if respondents' minds were made up, as a result the codes for that question are simply 0 (oppose national action), .5 (uncertain, depends), and 1 (favor national action).

Appendix Table 1: Lynching Policy Views and Partisan Vote Choice, By Region

Question Wording	Date and Sample Size	Full Population	NONSOUTHERN WHITES		SOUTHERN WHITES	
			GOP Voters	Dem. Voters	GOP voters	Dem. Voters
1. Lynching bill	1/37 (Gallup 63; N=2942)	60% Support 23% Oppose 17% DK	63% Support 22% Oppose 14% DK	60% Support 25% Oppose 15% DK	59% Support 24% Oppose 16% DK	54% Support 28% Oppose 18% DK
	8/37 (Gallup 96; N=2959)	59% Support 24% Oppose 17% DK	59% Support 22% Oppose 19% DK	63% Support 21% Oppose 16% DK	37% Support 47% Oppose 16% DK	44% Support 39% Oppose 18% DK
	11/37 (Gallup 102; N=2947)	62% Support 24% Oppose 13% DK	66% Support 23% Oppose 11% DK	68% Support 19% Oppose 12% DK	44% Support 39% Oppose 16% DK	38% Support 43% Oppose 18% DK
Variant #1	11/37 (Gallup 104; N=2745)	61% Support 25% Oppose 14% DK	60% Support 27% Oppose 13% DK	61% Support 25% Oppose 13% DK	64% Support 27% Oppose 9% DK	60% Support 28% Oppose 12% DK
Variant #2	12/37 (Gallup 106; N=2842)	44% Support 40% Oppose 16% DK	43% Support 43% Oppose 14% DK	50% Support 33% Oppose 17% DK	28% Support 68% Oppose 4% DK	30% Support 57% Oppose 13% DK
Variant #3	1/40 (Gallup 181; N=3111)	24% Approve! 25% Approve 19% Disapprove 23% Disapprove! 8% No opinion	19% Approve! 24% Approve 23% Disapprove 27% Disapprove! 7% No opinion	26% Approve! 26% Approve 20% Disapprove 19% Disapprove! 9% No opinion	5% Approve! 15% Approve 25% Disapprove 49% Disapprove! 6% No opinion	16% Approve! 12% Approve 21% Disapprove 43% Disapprove! 8% No opinion
Variant #4	6/47 (Gallup 398; N=3127)	70% Feds step in 21% Up to states 9% No opinion	68% Feds Step in 25% Up to states 6% No opinion	75% Feds step in 16% Up to states 9% No opinion	67% Feds step in 33% Up to states 0% No opinion	55% Feds step in 40% Up to states 5% No opinion

Appendix Table 1, continued: Lynching Policy Views and Partisan Vote Choice, By Region

Question Wording	Date	Full Population	NONSOUTHERN WHITES		SOUTHERN WHITES	
			GOP Voters	Dem. Voters	GOP voters	Dem. Voters
Lynching, Variant 4	2/48 (Gallup 413; N=3130)	45% Feds Step in 40% Up to states 15% No opinion	39% Feds Step in 48% Up to states 12% No opinion	53% Feds step in 32% Up to states 15% No opinion	23% Feds step in 73% Up to states 5% No opinion	23% Feds step in 60% Up to states 17% No opinion
	3/48 (Gallup 414; N=2969)	51% Feds step in 41% Up to states 8% No opinion	49% Feds step in 44% Up to states 7% No opinion	58% Feds step in 35% Up to states 7% No opinion	33% Feds step in 67% Up to states 0% No opinion	19% Feds step in 75% Up to states 6% No opinion
	11/48 (Gallup 433; N=1413)	46% Feds step in 44% Up to states 10% No opinion	43% Feds step in 50% Up to states 7% No opinion	52% Feds step in 36% Up to states 12% No opinion	N/A (Small sample size)	
	3/49 (Gallup 439; N=2131)	43% Feds step in 47% Leave to states 10% No opinion	36% Feds step in 56% Up to states 8% No opinion	47% Feds step in 43% Up to states 10% No opinion	N/A (Small sample size)	
	1/50 (Gallup 451; N=451)	46% Feds step in 47% Up to states 7% No opinion	44% Feds step in 50% Up to states 6% No opinion	52% Feds step in 42% Up to states 6% No opinion	N/A (Small sample size)	

Question wording:

1. "Should Congress enact a law which would make lynching a federal crime?" (Gallup 63, 96, 102). Variant 1: "If a local peace officer is negligent in protecting a prisoner from a lynch mob, should the federal government have the right to punish this peace officer?" (Gallup 104)

Variant 2: "Congress is now considering a lynching bill which gives the Federal government power to: fine and imprison local policemen who are negligent in protecting a prisoner from a lynch mob, and also to make a county in which a lynching occurs pay a fine up to \$10,000 to the victim or his family. Do you approve of this bill?" (Gallup 106).

Variant 3: Congress is now considering a bill against lynching which would punish lynching in these two ways: Will you please read this card and tell me whether you approve or disapprove of this bill against lynching? Code for hand card:

1. Fine and imprison local police officers who fail to protect a prisoner from a lynch mob
2. Make a county in which a lynching occurs pay a fine up \$10,000 to the victim or his family (Note this is Gallup 181; seem to have same item on Gallup 182 and get same pattern but only asked of 1/3 of sample roughly—missing data for 2/3 – unclear why but seem like real problems with that dataset so omit)

Variant 4: "At present, state governments deal with most crimes committed in their own state. In the case of a lynching, do you think the U.S. (United States) (federal) government should have the right to step in and deal with the crime--or do you think this should be left entirely to the state and local governments?"

Appendix Table 2: Poll Tax and Military Integration Policy Views and Partisan Vote Choice, By Region

Question Wording	Date and Sample Size	Full Population	NONSOUTHERN WHITES		SOUTHERN WHITES	
			GOP Voters	Dem. Voters	GOP voters	Dem. Voters
1. Abolish poll tax	12/40 (Gallup 226; N=2989)	37% Yes!	34% Yes!	40% Yes!	32% Yes!	25% Yes!
		26% Yes	26% Yes	28% Yes	17% Yes	25% Yes
		11% No	11% No	10% No	12% No	14% No
		15% No!	16% No!	11% No!	34% No!	25% No!
		12% DK	13% DK	11% DK	6% DK	9% DK
Poll Tax, Variant 1: (Asked only in south)	2/41 (Gallup 230; Southern N=451)	NA			39% Yes!	25% Yes!
					14% Yes	19% Yes
					12% No	10% No
					26% No!	39% No!
					10% DK	6% DK
Poll Tax, Variant 1: (Asked only in south)	3/41 (Gallup 232; Southern N=409)	NA			38% Yes!	26% Yes!
					13% Yes	18% Yes
					14% No	18% No
					23% No!	33% No!
					12% DK	5% DK
Poll Tax (original wording)	3/48 (Gallup 414; N=2988)	67% Ban poll tax	65% Ban poll tax	73% Ban poll tax	60% Ban tax	50% Ban tax
		24% Keep poll tax	25% Keep poll tax	19% Keep poll tax	33% Keep tax	48% Keep tax
		9% No opinion	9% No opinion	8% No opinion	7% No opinion	2% No opinion
	11/48 (Gallup 433; N=1558)	70% Ban poll tax	67% Ban poll tax	76% Ban poll tax	N/A (Small sample size)	
		21% Keep poll tax	24% Keep poll tax	17% Keep poll tax		
		9% No opinion	9% No opinion	7% No opinion		
	3/49 (Gallup 439; N=2150)	69% Ban poll tax	65.5% Ban poll tax	72% Ban poll tax	N/A (Small sample size)	
		22% Keep poll tax	25% Keep poll tax	20% Keep poll tax		
		9% No opinion	9% No opinion	8% No opinion		

Appendix Table 2, continued: Poll Tax and Military Integration Policy Views and Partisan Vote Choice, By Region

Question Wording	Date	Full Population	NONSOUTHERN WHITES		SOUTHERN WHITES	
			GOP Voters	Dem. Voters	GOP voters	Dem. Voters
Poll Tax (original wording)	11/49 (Gallup 450; N=1484)	67% Ban poll tax 24% Keep poll tax 9% No opinion	65% Ban poll tax 27% Keep poll tax 8% No opinion	70% Ban poll tax 24% Keep poll tax 7% No opinion	N/A (small sample size)	
	2/53 (Gallup 511; N=1592)	72% Ban poll tax 21% Keep poll tax 8% No opinion	74% Ban poll tax 21% Keep poll tax 5% No opinion	77% Ban poll tax 16% Keep poll tax 7% No opinion	N/A (small sample size)	
2. Integrate the military	6/42 (Gallup 270; N=2913)	41% Favor 51% Oppose 7% DK	38% Favor 53% Oppose 7% DK	45% Favor 47% Oppose 8% DK	33% Favor 65% Oppose 2% DK	19% Favor 76% Oppose 5% DK
Variant 1:	5/48 (Gallup 419, Form K; N=1583)	26% Integrate 64% Separate 9% No opinion	23% Integrate 69% Separate 8% No opinion	32% Integrate 58% Separate 10% No opinion	N/A (small sample size)	
Variant 2:	5/48 (Gallup 419, Form T; N=1518)	29% Good idea 5% Fair idea 60% Poor idea 5% No opinion	25% Good idea 6% Fair idea 62% Poor idea 7% No opinion	35% Good idea 6% Fair idea 53% Poor idea 7% No opinion	N/A (small sample size)	

Question wording:

1. Some Southern states require every other voter to pay a poll tax amounting to about a dollar a year before they can vote. Do you think these poll taxes should be abolished? (Gallup 226). Variant 1 (asked only in MN and south): Should the poll tax be abolished as a requirement for voting in this state? (Gallup 230, 232)

2. Should negro and white soldiers serve together in all branches of the armed forces? (Gallup 270).

Variant 1 (Gallup 419, Form K): Would you favor or oppose having negro and white troops throughout the U.S. armed services live and work together – or should they be separated as they are now?

Variant 2 (Gallup 419, Form T): It has been suggested that white and colored men serve together throughout the U.S. armed services – that is, live and work together in the same units. Do you think this is a good idea or a poor idea?

Appendix Table 3: Fair Employment Policy Views and Partisan Vote Choice, By Region

Question Wording	Date	Full Population	NONSOUTHERN WHITES		SOUTHERN WHITES	
			GOP Voters	Dem. Voters	GOP voters	Dem. Voters
1. State Fair Employment Practices	6/45 (Gallup 349K; N=1581)	44% Favor 44% Oppose 13% DK	39% Favor 51% Oppose 10% DK	52% Favor 31% Oppose 16% DK	15% Favor 80% Oppose 5% DK	13% Favor 80% Oppose 7% DK
	7/47 (Gallup 400K; N=1479)	51% Favor 44% Oppose 5% DK	44% Favor 50% Oppose 5% DK	59% Favor 37% Oppose 5% DK	N/A Small sample	
Variant 1:	6/45 (Gallup 349T; N=1538)	34% Favor 57% Oppose 9% DK	32% Favor 61% Oppose 7% DK	41% Favor 48% Oppose 10% DK	8% Favor 82% Oppose 10% DK	12% Favor 85% Oppose 4% DK
	7/47 (Gallup 400T; N=1532)	45% Favor 48% Oppose 7% DK	46% Favor 48% Oppose 6% DK	50% Favor 42% Oppose 9% DK	N/A small sample	
2. Federal law banning job Discrimination	11/47 (Gallup 407T; N=1465)	56% Favor 38% Oppose 5% No opinion	47% Favor 48% Oppose 4% No opinion	66% Favor 30% Oppose 5% No opinion	N/A Small sample	
	11/47 (Gallup 407K; N=1507)	32% Favor 19% Oppose 6% No opinion 43% Never heard	29% Favor 19% Oppose 6% No opinion 46% Never heard	40% Favor 14% Oppose 5% No opinion 41% Never heard	N/A Small sample	
3. How member of Congress should vote on fair employment law	11/47 (Gallup 408; N=1472)	41% Strong pro 29% Mild pro 10% Neutral 8% Mild anti 12% Strong anti	35% Strong pro 34% Mild pro 11% Neutral 10% Mild anti 11% Strong anti	47% Strong pro 31% Mild pro 8% Neutral 6% Mild anti 9% Strong anti	N/A small sample	

Appendix Table 3, continued: Fair Employment Policy Views and Partisan Vote Choice, By Region

Question Wording	Date	Full Population	NONSOUTHERN WHITES		SOUTHERN WHITES	
			GOP Voters	Dem. Voters	GOP voters	Dem. Voters
4. Federal Fair Employment Practices (how far to go)	3/48 (Gallup 414; N=3027)	34% Favor 7% Partway 48% Oppose 11% Don't Know	27% Favor 7% Partway 59% Oppose 7% DK	41% Favor 8% Partway 39% Oppose 11% DK	10% Favor 2% Partway 81% Oppose 8% DK	9% Favor 7% Partway 73% Oppose 11% DK
	11/48 (Gallup 433; N=1567)	33% Favor 10% Partway 46% Oppose 11% Don't know	24% Favor 10% Partway 54% Oppose 12% Don't know	40% Favor 9% Partway 39% Oppose 12% Don't know	N/A small sample	
	3/49 (Gallup 439; N=2187)	34% Favor 7% Partway 48% Oppose 11% Don't know	27% Favor 8% Partway 59% Oppose 7% Don't know	39% Favor 8% Partway 42% Oppose 11% Don't know	5% Favor 0% Partway 68% Oppose 26% Don't Know	13% Favor 5% Partway 73% Oppose 9% Don't Know
	11/49 (Gallup 450K; N=1371)	33% Favor 13% Partway 45% Oppose 8% Don't know	25% Favor 15% Partway 53% Oppose 7% Don't know	43% Favor 13% Partway 37.5% Oppose 6% Don't know	N/A small sample	
	7/52 (Gallup 495; N=1958)	32% National law 44% Up to states 16% No law 7% Don't Know	22% National 52% Up to states 21% Neither 5% Don't Know	41% National 37% Up to states 16% Neither 6% Don't know	N/A small sample	
5, National law requiring hiring Without regard to race	1/53 (Gallup 510; N=1551)	32% National law 47% Up to states 14% Neither 7% Don't Know	30% National 45.5% Up to states 17% Neither 7% Don't Know	38.5% National 41% Up to states 13% Neither 7% Don't Know	N/A small sample	

Appendix Table 3, continued: Fair Employment Policy Views and Partisan Vote Choice, By Region

Question Wording	Date	Full Population	NONSOUTHERN WHITES		SOUTHERN WHITES	
			GOP Voters	Dem. Voters	GOP voters	Dem. Voters
6. What to do about legislation on job discrimination	5/52 (Roper 059; N=2914)	32% National law	26% National law	39% National law	11% National law	17% National law
		25% Leave to states	26% State law	23% State law	38% State law	40% State law
		32% No laws	40% No law	28% No law	35% No law	33% No law
		10% Don't Know	9% Don't Know	10% Don't Know	16% Don't know	10% Don't know
Variant 1: on job discrimination	3/57 (Roper 103; N=1506)	30% National law	27% National law	40% National law	10% National law	6% National law
		28% Leave to states	33% State law	23% State law	36% State law	39% State law
		34% No laws	34% No law	31% No law	43% No law	45% No law
		8% Don't Know	7% Don't Know	6% Don't Know	10% Don't know	10% Don't know

Question wording:

1. Do you favor or oppose a law in this state which would require employers to hire a person if he is qualified for the job, regardless of his race or color? (349K, 400K)

Variant 1: Would you favor or oppose a state law which would require employees to work along side persons of any race or color? (349T, 400T)

2. Do you favor or oppose a Federal law (for all the states) which would require employers to hire a person if he is qualified for the job--regardless of his nationality, religion, race, or color? (Gallup 409T). Form K: Very similar question but filter about whether heard of the proposed law and refer to "religion, race, or color" (not nationality).

3. A federal law has been proposed which says that no person could be denied a job because of his religion, color, or nationality. Would you like to have your congressman vote for or against this proposed law? Followed by probe for strength of view.

4. "One of Truman's proposals concerns employment practices. How far do you yourself think the federal government should go in requiring employers to hire people without regard to their race, religion, color, or nationality?" (Gallup 414, 433, 439, 450).

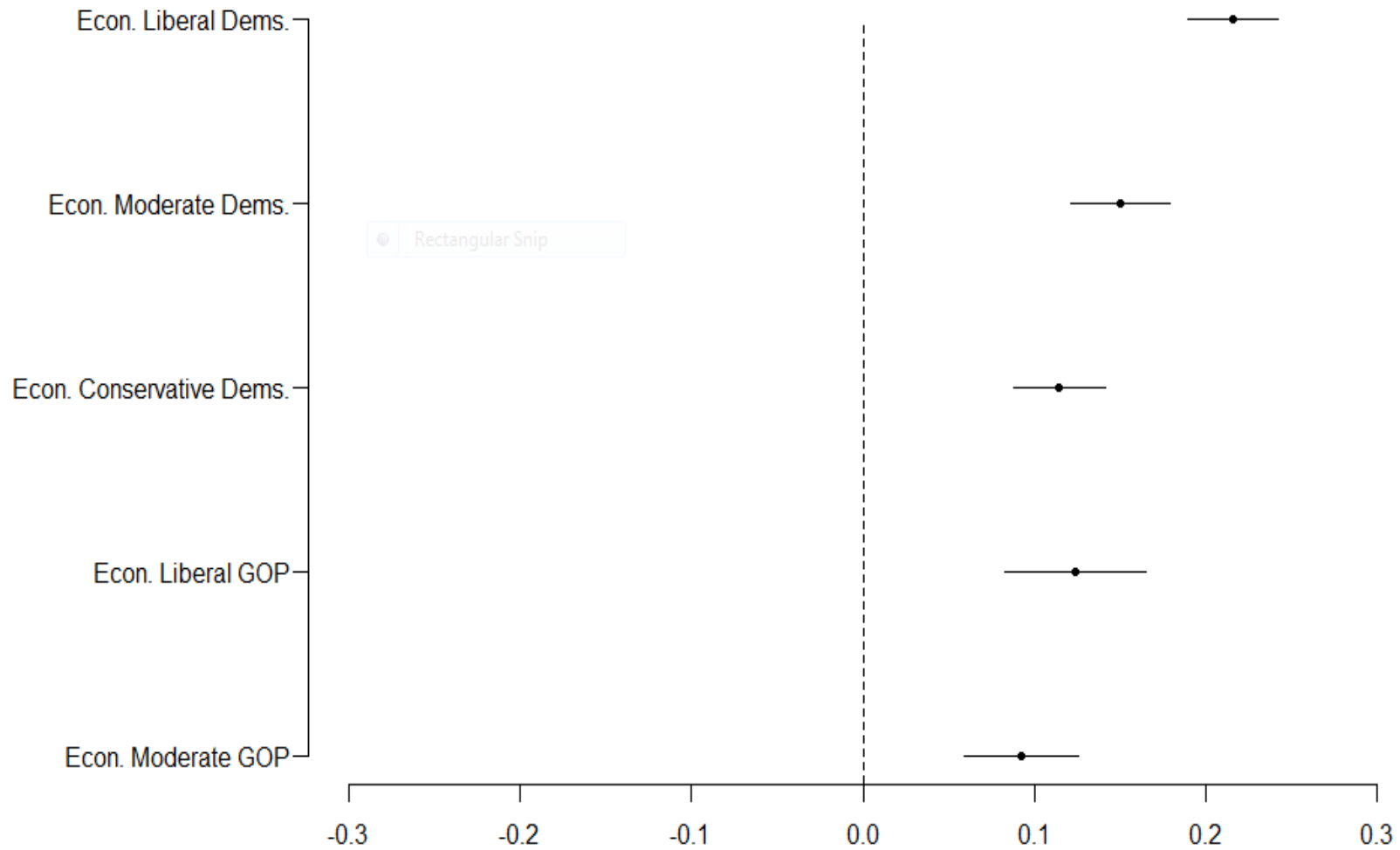
5. "Some people say we should have a national law requiring employers to hire people without regard to color or race. Other people say that it should be left up to each state to decide on this for itself. With which side do you yourself agree?" (Gallup 495, 510)

6. Which of these statements best describes what you'd like to see done about legislation to prohibit employers from turning people down solely because of their race or religion?

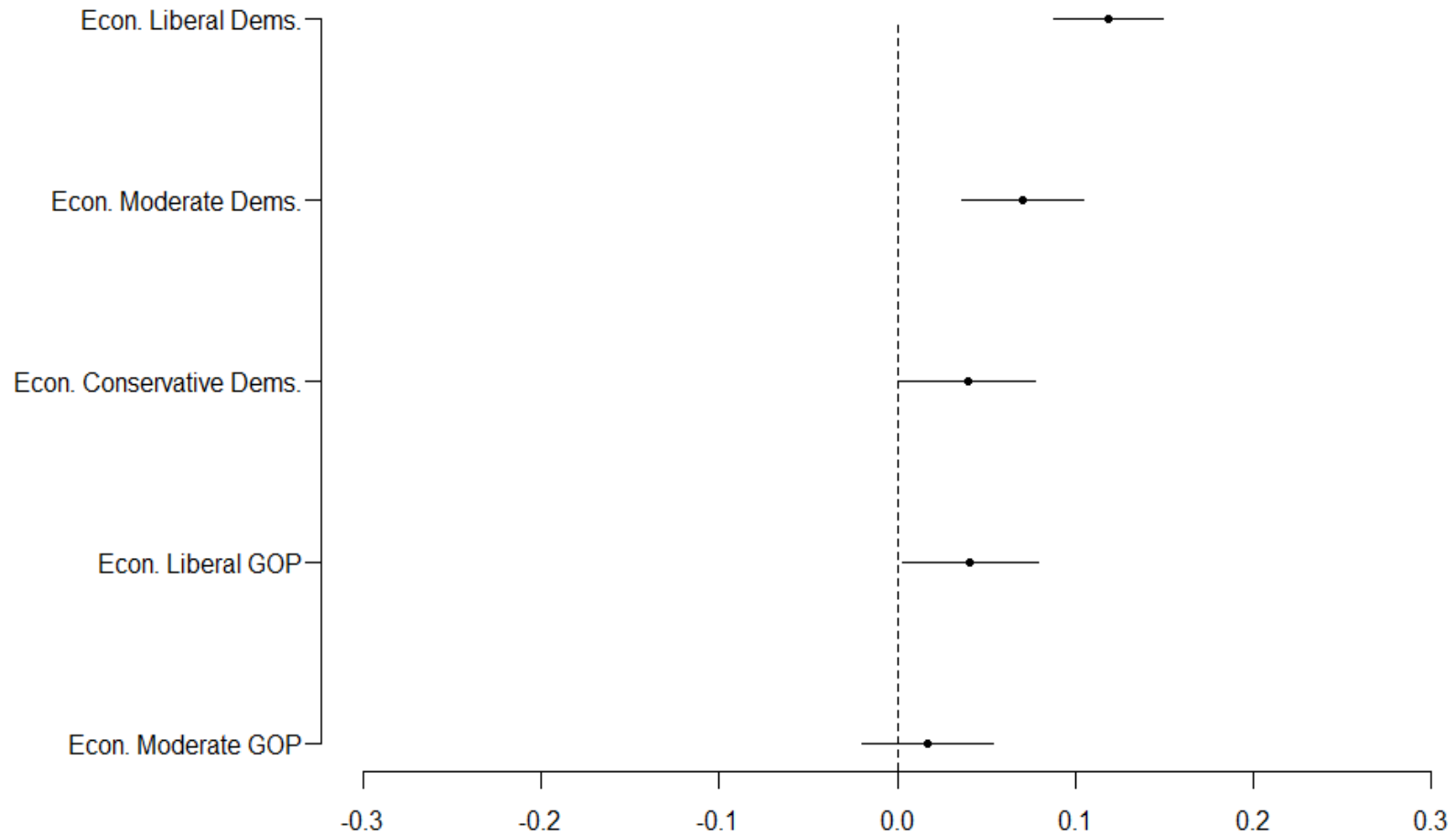
(a) There should be a national law to protect minorities from discrimination in hiring; (b) It should be left up to each state to pass such a law if it wants one; (c) There shouldn't be any law like that; the problem should be worked out some other way; (d) Don't Know. (Roper 1952-059; Note partisans are defined by party identification since Roper did not ask retrospective vote in this survey)

Variant 1: asked by Roper in March 1957 – "Which of these statements best expresses your feelings about legislation to prohibit employers – when they are hiring employees – from turning people down solely because of their race or religion? (a) Have federal laws passed by Congress to prevent discrimination in hiring; (b) Leave it up to each state to pass their own anti-discrimination laws, if they want them; (c) It would be better not to have any laws at all of this kind and work the problem out some other way. (Roper 1957-103; Note Roper did not ask about vote choice in this survey. As a result, partisans are identified by party identification not vote)

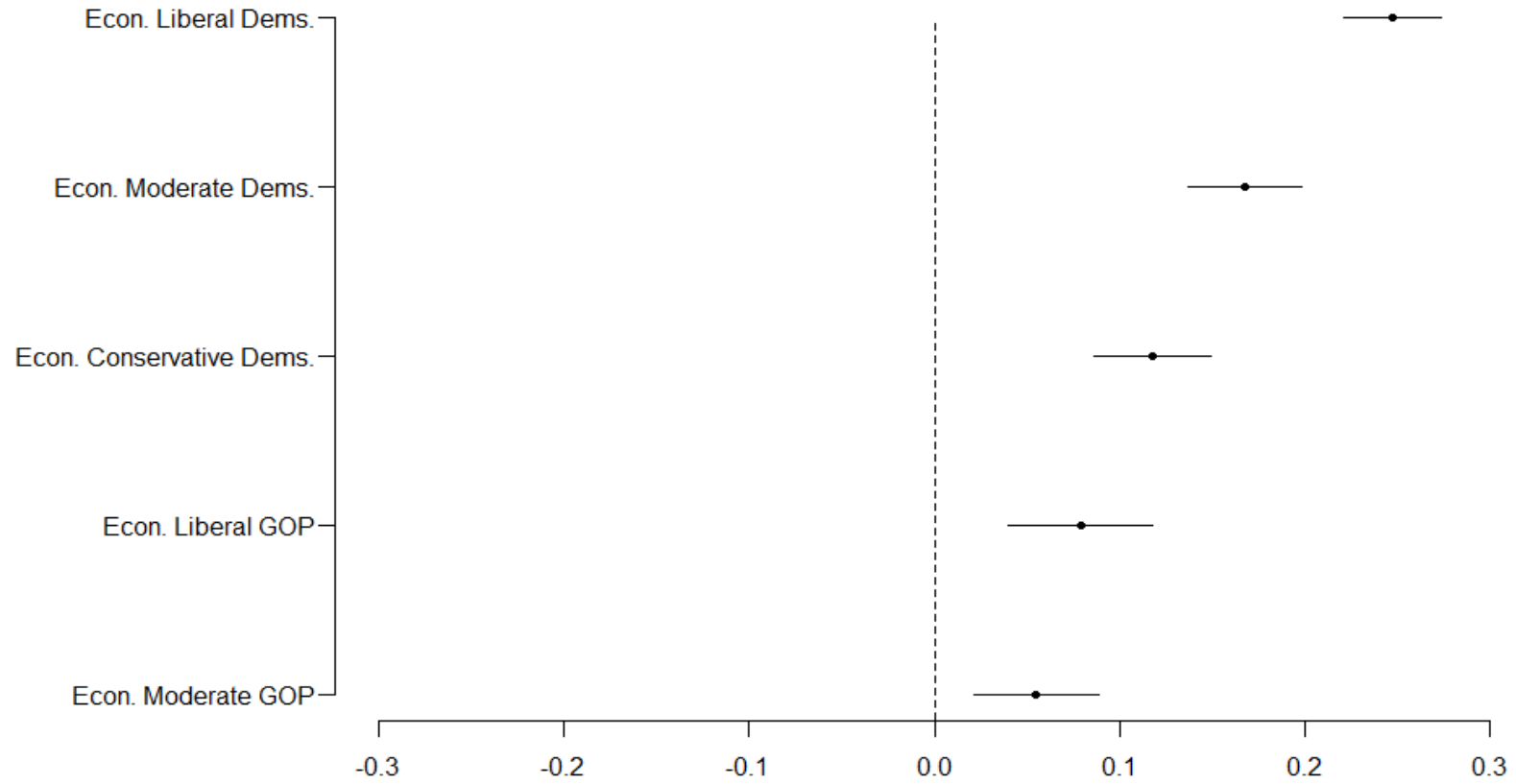
NOTE: For detailed information on the NES fair employment items, see Coding Appendix for Fair Employment Items.

Appendix Figure 1: Support for Anti-Lynching Bill, by Partisanship/Economic Views

Note: Excluded category consists of economically-conservative Republican voters. Sample restricted to Nonsouthern whites.

Appendix Figure 2: Support for Poll Tax Ban, by Partisanship/Economic Views

Note: Excluded category consists of economically-conservative Republican voters. Sample restricted to Nonsouthern whites.

Appendix Figure 3: Support for FEPC, by Partisanship/Economic Views

Note: Excluded category consists of economically-conservative Republican voters. Sample restricted to Nonsouthern whites.

Appendix Figure 4: Democratic Vote Relationship to Support for Poll Tax Ban, by Demographic Group

