

## Online Appendix

### "The Evolution and Implications of Perceptions of Barack Obama's Ideological Positioning"

Matthew L. Jacobsmeier

Table A1. Mean Perceived Ideologies of the  
2008 Presidential Candidates (100-point Scale, CCES)

	Obama	McCain
White Respondents	22.6 (22.2, 22.9)	68.0 (67.6, 68.3)
Black Respondents	41.8 (40.3, 43.3)	67.5 (65.7, 69.4)
Hispanic Respondents	32.7 (31.2, 34.3)	66.5 (64.9, 68.1)
All Respondents	25.8 (25.4, 26.2)	67.8 (67.4, 68.1)

Note: 95% confidence intervals in parentheses.

Table A2. Mean Perceived Ideologies of the  
2008 and 2012 Presidential Candidates (7-point Scale, ANES)

	2008		2012	
	Obama	McCain	Obama	Romney
White Respondents	2.68 (2.58, 2.78)	5.06 (4.97, 5.16)	2.49 (2.38, 2.60)	5.33 (5.21, 5.44)
Black Respondents	4.10 (3.91, 4.30)	4.42 (4.23, 4.61)	3.71 (3.43, 4.00)	4.57 (4.29, 4.86)
Hispanic Respondents	3.55 (3.37, 3.73)	4.85 (4.69, 5.01)	3.57 (3.35, 3.79)	4.90 (4.68, 5.12)
All Respondents	2.96 (2.88, 3.04)	4.97 (4.90, 5.06)	2.77 (2.67, 2.86)	5.19 (5.09, 5.28)

Note: 95% confidence intervals in parentheses.

Table A3. OLS Results:  
Perceptions of the 2008 and 2012 Presidential Candidates (CCES)

Independent Variable	Perceived Ideology			
	2008 (Scale: 0-100)		2012 (Scale: 1-7)	
	Obama	McCain	Obama	Romney
Black Respondent	3.97** (0.77)	-4.13** (0.87)	0.17** (0.05)	-0.21** (0.06)
Hispanic Respondent	1.31^ (0.74)	-2.42** (0.77)	0.25** (0.06)	-0.11 (0.08)
Respondent Ideology (1-100)	0.14** (0.01)	-0.31** (0.01)	---	---
Respondent Ideology (1-7)	---	---	0.09** (0.01)	-0.24** (0.01)
Opposition to Affirmative Action	-4.65** (0.22)	-1.43** (0.23)	---	---
Racial Resentment	---	---	-0.09** (0.01)	-0.03** (0.01)
Education	-1.19** (0.11)	0.78** (0.11)	-0.06** (0.01)	0.08** (0.01)
Age	-0.57** (0.10)	0.79** (0.10)	-0.02** (0.10)	0.00 (0.01)
Democrat	7.37** (0.70)	3.70** (0.69)	0.63** (0.05)	0.22** (0.05)
Republican	-17.43** (0.72)	6.01** (0.69)	-1.13** (0.05)	0.58** (0.05)
Constant	39.57** (1.23)	79.13** (1.17)	3.02** (0.09)	6.21** (0.10)
N	27,793	27,674	37,042	35,428
R <sup>2</sup>	0.35	0.15	0.35	0.09

Notes: ^p<0.10, \*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.01. Standard errors in parentheses.

Table A4. OLS Results: Ideological Placement Of Barack Obama among White Respondents (CCES)

Independent Variable	100-point Scale				7-point Scale				Hillary Clinton (7-pt)	
	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2016	2016	2016	
Respondent Ideology	-0.05 (0.05)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.10** (0.01)	-0.04** (0.01)	-0.05** (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)			-0.04** (0.01)	
Opposition to Affirmative Action (Z-score)	-3.67** (1.02)	-4.48** (0.23)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
Racial Resentment	--	--	-0.08** (0.01)	-0.08** (0.01)	-0.10** (0.01)	--	--	--	--	
Racial Attitudes	--	--	--	--	--	-0.05** (0.00)	-0.05** (0.00)	-0.05** (0.00)	-0.05** (0.00)	
Education	-0.92^ (0.49)	-1.17** (0.11)	-0.04** (0.01)	-0.04** (0.01)	-0.06** (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.01* (0.01)	
Age/10	0.53 (0.45)	-0.26** (0.10)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.04** (0.01)	-0.04** (0.01)	-0.04** (0.01)	-0.04** (0.01)	-0.06** (0.01)	
Interest in News	--	--	-0.20** (0.02)	-0.19** (0.01)	-0.20** (0.02)	-0.25** (0.02)	-0.25** (0.02)	-0.25** (0.02)	0.19** (0.02)	
Democrat	-0.55 (3.05)	5.59** (0.73)	0.57** (0.05)	0.54** (0.05)	0.69** (0.04)	0.66** (0.04)	0.66** (0.04)	0.66** (0.04)	0.65** (0.05)	
Republican	-12.31** (2.99)	-14.30** (0.70)	-0.63** (0.04)	-0.87** (0.04)	-0.59** (0.04)	-0.68** (0.04)	-0.68** (0.04)	-0.68** (0.04)	-0.70** (0.04)	
Constant	39.72** (4.88)	31.92** (1.08)	4.02** (0.10)	3.94** (0.10)	4.05** (0.10)	3.72** (0.09)	3.72** (0.09)	3.72** (0.09)	2.95** (0.09)	
N	1,093	24,352	32,644	31,861	31,683	34,900	34,900	34,900	34,712	
R <sup>2</sup>	0.19	0.34	0.40	0.39	0.31	0.28	0.28	0.28	0.30	

Notes: ^p<0.10, \*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.01. Standard errors in parentheses.

Table A5. OLS Results:  
Ideological Placement of Democratic Presidential Candidates among White Respondents (ANES)

Independent Variable	Obama				Clinton
	Gore 2000	Kerry 2004	2008	2012	
Respondent Ideology	-0.13 <sup>^</sup> (0.07)	-0.06 (0.05)	-0.08 <sup>^</sup> (0.04)	-0.12 <sup>**</sup> (0.03)	-0.18 <sup>**</sup> (0.04)
Racial Resentment	0.02 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.02 <sup>^</sup> (0.01)	-0.02 <sup>*</sup> (0.01)
Thermometer: White - Black	---	---	---	0.00 (0.00)	---
Hard Working: White - Black	---	---	0.05 (0.04)	0.03 (0.02)	---
Education	-0.13 <sup>*</sup> (0.05)	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.18 <sup>**</sup> (0.04)	-0.12 <sup>**</sup> (0.02)	-0.14 <sup>**</sup> (0.02)
Age/10	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.10 <sup>**</sup> (0.03)	-0.06 <sup>**</sup> (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
Democrat	-0.03 (0.25)	-0.48 (0.36)	-0.19 (0.22)	-0.04 (0.11)	-0.09 (0.17)
Republican	-0.55 <sup>**</sup> (0.24)	-1.32 <sup>**</sup> (0.35)	-0.91 <sup>**</sup> (0.21)	-0.94 <sup>**</sup> (0.11)	-0.74 <sup>**</sup> (0.15)
Constant	4.29 <sup>**</sup> (0.52)	4.00 <sup>**</sup> (0.51)	4.79 <sup>**</sup> (0.44)	4.36 <sup>**</sup> (0.22)	4.68 <sup>**</sup> (0.33)
N	438	573	754	2,988	2,207
R <sup>2</sup>	0.10	0.17	0.19	0.23	0.22

Notes: <sup>^</sup>p<0.10, \*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.01. Standard errors in parentheses.

Table A6. OLS Results:  
Ideological Placement of Barack Obama by Party among White Respondents (2012 and 2014 CCES)

Independent Variable	Democratic Respondents		Independent Respondents		Republican Respondents	
	2012	2014	2012	2014	2012	2014
Racial Resentment	-0.08** (0.01)	-0.11** (0.01)	-0.16** (0.02)	-0.19** (0.02)	-0.07** (0.01)	-0.10** (0.01)
Respondent Ideology	0.22** (0.02)	0.22** (0.02)	-0.33** (0.04)	-0.37** (0.02)	-0.30** (0.02)	-0.26** (0.02)
Education	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)	-0.11** (0.03)	-0.10** (0.02)	-0.02* (0.01)	-0.06** (0.01)
Age/10	0.04** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.03 (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.04** (0.01)	-0.06** (0.01)
Interest in News	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.04^ (0.02)	-0.29** (0.05)	-0.26** (0.04)	-0.16** (0.02)	-0.16** (0.02)
Constant	2.84** (0.12)	3.28** (0.12)	6.19** (0.24)	6.47** (0.19)	4.47** (0.15)	4.44** (0.14)
N	13,296	13,561	3,127	4,095	15,436	14,027
R <sup>2</sup>	0.06	0.06	0.23	0.26	0.21	0.17

Notes: ^p<0.10, \*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.01. Standard errors in parentheses.

Figure A1. Distribution of Ideological Placements of Barack Obama, 2012 CCES

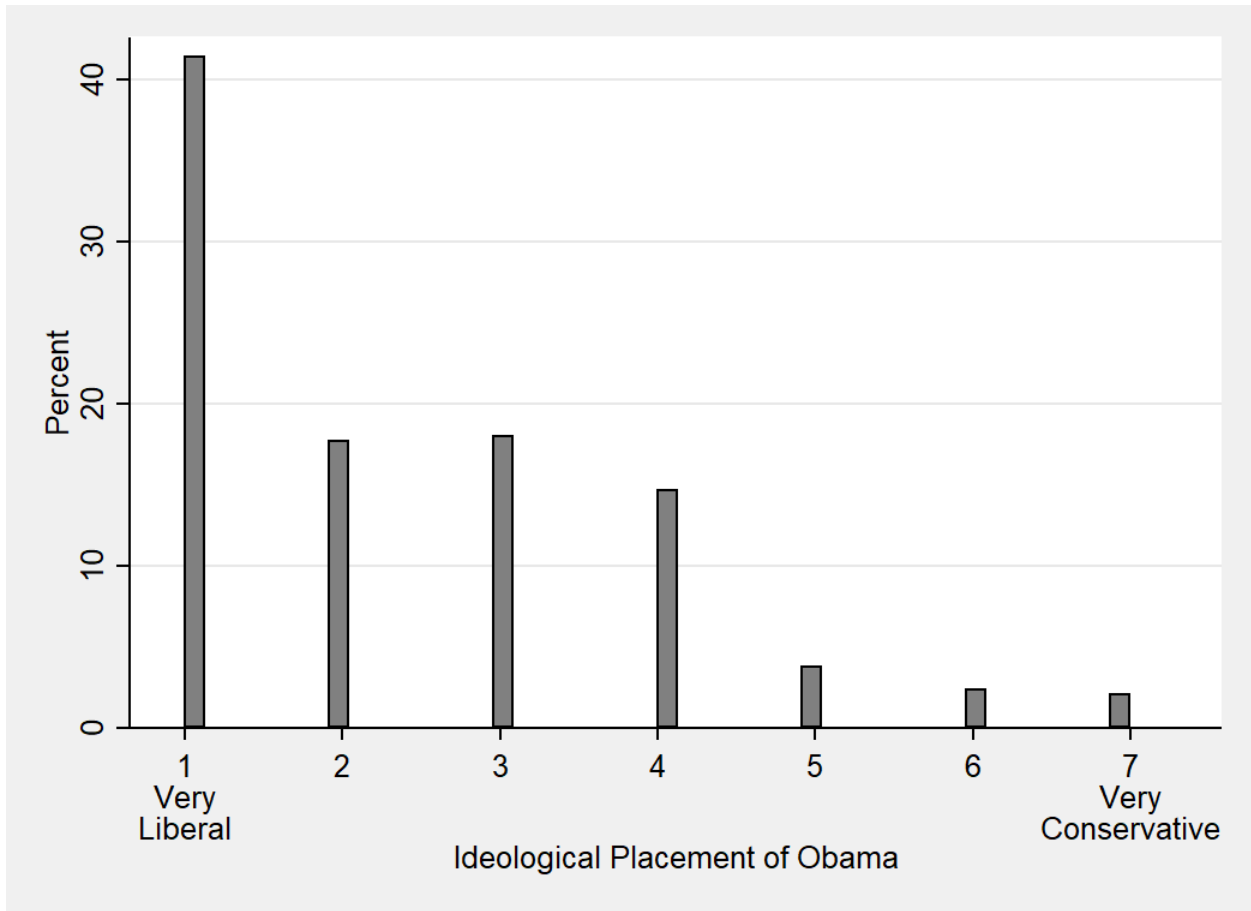


Figure A2. Distribution of Ideological Placements of Barack Obama, 2012 ANES

