

Why did the Democrats lose the South?

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Online Appendix B

Analyzing racial attitudes in the 1950s and 1960s ANES

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1 ANES analysis

This section is not necessary in understanding any of the analysis in the main text. For completeness and for readers interested in using the ANES to further research this topic, we detail the questions that the ANES includes on racial equality during the Civil Rights era and explore how viable they are to use in an analysis similar to that in the main text of the paper (i.e., Figure 5 and Table 1). We conclude they are not suitable for this type of analysis.

1.1 Questions on school integration

The ANES cumulative file includes questions from its individual year files *if those questions are deemed reasonably comparable and were repeated with sufficient frequency*. The only question related to civil rights that spans our pre- and post-periods that the ANES deems comparable over time asks whether the federal government should ensure school integration. It covers only a single pre-period year (1962) and is then asked most years from 1964 through 2000. Appendix Table OB.1 gives the exact wording of the question each year it is asked (ignore 1956–1960 for the moment). Even though the ANES deems the question comparable from 1962 onward, non-trivial differences arise year to year. For example, in 1962 supporting integration but “not by force” is an option (and coded as support), whereas in 1964 that option is not offered. In 1964, the justification of it not being the “government’s business” is introduced, but this wording is not included in 1962.

These caveats aside, in Appendix Table OB.3 we replicate our main analysis, using opposition to school integration in the same manner we used refusal to vote for a black president (those who answer “don’t know” or “unsure” are coded as being against integration). Again, we use only data from the ANES cumulative file. Col. (1) shows that the decline in Southern white support for the Democrats relative to other whites is smaller when we use this very abbreviated pre-period. As noted in Section 6 of the main paper, Catholics (almost all of whom lived outside the South) reacted to JFK’s administration with unprecedented support, whereas nearly half of white Southerners told Gallup they would never vote for a Catholic. As such, the small coefficient on $South \times After$ is likely an artifact of our single pre-period year being 1962 (the middle of JFK’s administration).

Nonetheless, while the small sample size reduces precision, the sign and magnitude of the triple interaction term reported in col. (2) echoes the Gallup analysis. Relative to 1962, white Southerners against integration are nine percentage points less likely to identify as Democrats in 1964–1980, compared to their non-Southern counterparts. Whereas the Gallup analysis showed non-Southern whites with conservative racial views only slightly moving

away from the party, the effect in the ANES is larger and achieves significance. These patterns of coefficients hold when we extend the post-period to 2000 (cols. 3 and 4) or end it in 1970 (cols. 5 and 6).

The key drawback to restricting ourselves to the cumulative file is that its one question on racial attitudes that spans our two periods provides only a single pre-period year. We thus explore the viability of adding additional data from the *individual* year files, even though ANES did not deem these questions sufficiently comparable. The closest candidate is a question asked in 1956, 1958 and 1960. As detailed in Table , the question asks for respondents’ agreement with the statement: “The government in Washington should stay out of the question of whether white and colored children go to the same school” and unlike the version in the cumulative file offers respondents five possible answers based on the strength of their opinion.

Given evidence that question wording significantly affects survey answers, flipping the default between 1960 and 1962 is certainly not ideal (agreement with the pre-1962 statement would generally signal opposition to integration, whereas agreement with the 1962 and later versions would signal support of integration). Moreover, especially in 1956, it is not clear whether the government in Washington “staying out” of the question would signal opposition or support of school integration. In reaction to *Brown*, U.S. Senators and Representatives from the South drafted the Southern Manifesto in March of 1956, calling on all possible legal action to circumvent *Brown*.² It is thus quite possible that Southerners especially could interpret Washington “staying out” as in fact allowing *Brown* to progress.

These caveats notwithstanding, we attempt to combine these additional years, coding any degree of agreement that the government should “stay out” as opposition to integration. Appendix Figure OB.1 (a) plots the share of whites against school integration by year and region. Overall, those outside the South are uniformly more in support of integration throughout the sample period. In 1956, the difference between regions is unusually small, consistent, perhaps, with our concern that some Southerners assume federal intervention might be on the side of school segregation. There is a very large decline in support for segregation among non-Southerners in 1962, perhaps due to the change in the way the question is asked by ANES.

Cols. (7) through (12) of Appendix Table OB.3 replicate the analysis in the first six columns, but include the three additional pre-period years from the individual year data files. Adding these additional years adds power as well as makes the *South* \times *After* coefficient larger in magnitude. Essentially, the results look very similar to the main Gallup analysis.

However, examining coefficients year-by-year paints a noisier picture (Appendix Figure

²Richard Russell (D-GA) was its main author.

OB.2). Perhaps because of the Southern Manifesto, 1956 appears to be an extreme outlier, where white Southerners who wanted the government to involve themselves in school integration were also staunchly Democratic. Nor do we see a sharp drop in the Southern coefficient estimate between 1962 and 1964. Overall, however, we continue to see that in the pre-period, opposition to integration positively predicts Democratic identification in the South relative to elsewhere, and that this difference for the most part disappears in the post-period.

Given that the ANES cautions against longitudinal analysis with variables they do not include in the cumulative file, we show these results mostly for the sake of completeness and emphasize that we prefer the Gallup given the serious issues of question consistency highlighted above.

1.2 Questions on jobs and housing

The ANES cumulative file contains two questions on fair treatment of blacks in the areas of employment *and* housing (pre 1964) and employment alone (1964 and beyond), and thus in isolation we cannot use them to replicate the Gallup analysis. As Appendix Table OB.2 documents, besides the inconsistent inclusion of housing, there are other non-trivial differences between these two series, likely the reason why ANES does not combine them into a single question in the cumulative file. First, whereas before 1964 it is left unclear as to which level (federal, state or local) “the government” refers, the “the federal government” is specified in 1964 and later. Second, as with the school integration question, more flexibility on the degree of one’s agreement or disagreement are offered in the earlier years. Third, though not a fault of the question, the way that one answers is likely very different before and after the Civil Rights Bill of 1964, which in principle would have addressed many of these issues.

A final issue with this question unrelated to its consistency across time is that “fair treatment” is vague. If one believes that blacks are innately inferior or that the races should not mix, then limiting blacks to low-status jobs and segregated housing could be viewed as “fair.” Indeed, in 1958, the ANES specifically asks respondents to *explain* their views about school integration. Among those whose views were classified by ANES as “anti-Negro,” still only 32% percent disagreed that government should ensure “fair treatment” for blacks in the area of jobs and housing.³ This cross-tabulation suggests the notion of fairness in the jobs/housing question may be so vague as to be meaningless.

Indeed, Appendix Figure OB.1 (b) is consistent with many of these concerns. First, regional differences on this question are very small relative to those for school integration. A sizable majority of Southerners agree that the government should guarantee “fair” treatment

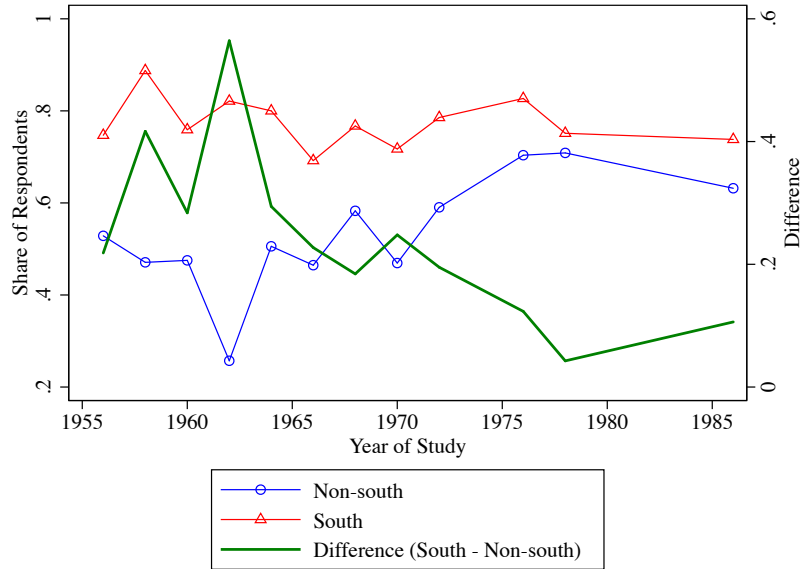
³Authors’ calculation from 1958 ANES individual year file.

in jobs and housing, suggesting the notion is vague enough for most people to support. Unlike the black president question, whites in both regions become *less* supportive of the idea of time, perhaps because of a presumption CRA64 took care of the problem or because the understanding of “fair treatment” became broader over time. In any case, whether it is the addition of “federal government” to the wording of the question, the change in the number of options given as potential answers, or the passage of the CRA that summer, the new version of the question beginning in 1964 elicits significantly less support among whites than did the older question.

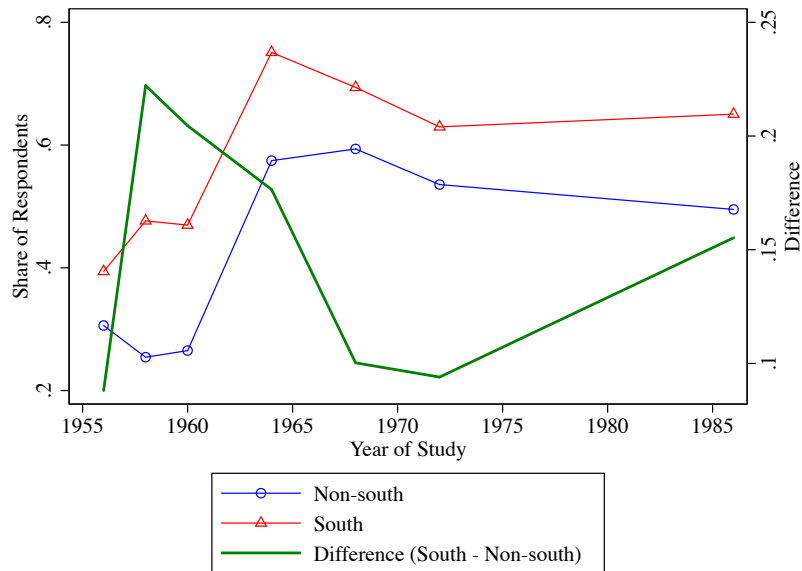
Despite these serious reservations and ANES classifying them as incomparable questions, for the sake of completeness we replicate our standard analysis by combining these two jobs/housing questions in Appendix Table OB.4. Not surprising given that the question changes just at the point when our post-period begins, we do not find that including our triple interaction decreases the coefficient on *South* \times *After* nor is the triple interaction term itself significant.

Appendix Figure OB.1: Evolution of whites' racial attitudes (ANES)

(a) Share against the gov't enforcing school integration

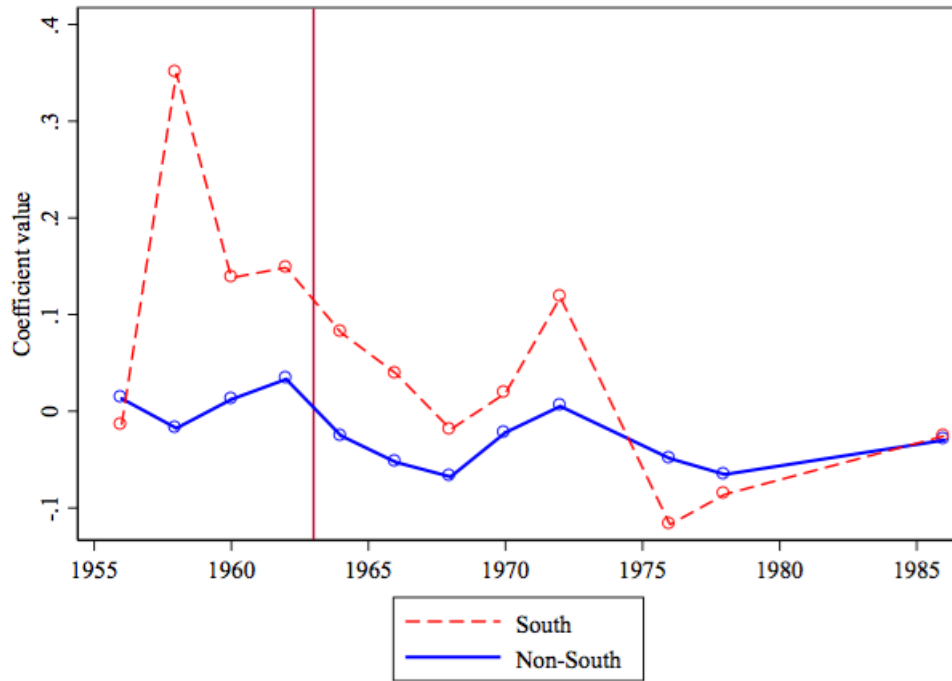


(b) Share against the government ensuring blacks fair treatment in jobs/housing



Notes: For subfigure (a), data come from individual year files of the ANES for 1956, 1958 and 1960 and the cumulative file for all late years. For subfigure (b), data from before 1964 come from the ANES cumulative file variable *VCF0818* and from 1964 and later from the variable *VCF9037*. See Appendix Tables C.1(a) and C.1(b) for exact wording each year.

Appendix Figure OB.2: Coefficient from regressing *Dem* on *Against school integration* by region and year (whites in ANES)



Notes: Data come from ANES (cumulative file for 1964 and later, individual year files for 1956, 1958 and 1960). *Dem* is a binary variable for identifying as a member of the Democratic party (all other responses coded as zero).

Appendix Table OB.1: ANES school integration questions

Year	Question	Codes/Frequency	ANES cum. var name
1956	Q. 12P. 'THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD STAY OUT OF THE QUESTION OF WHETHER WHITE AND COLORED CHILDREN GO TO THE SAME SCHOOL.'	615 1. AGREE STRONGLY 144 2. AGREE BUT NOT VERY STRONGLY 110 3. NOT SURE, IT DEPENDS 163 4. DISAGREE BUT NOT VERY STRONGLY 518 5. DISAGREE STRONGLY 22 8. DK 10 9. NA 180 0. NO OPINION	Not in cumulative file
1958	Q. 18A. "THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD STAY OUT OF THE QUESTION OF WHETHER WHITE AND COLORED CHILDREN GO TO THE SAME SCHOOL." DO YOU HAVE AN OPINION ON THIS OR NOT. (IF YES) DO YOU THINK THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO THIS.	646 1. AGREE STRONGLY 149 2. AGREE BUT NOT VERY STRONGLY 94 3. NOT SURE. IT DEPENDS 124 4. DISAGREE BUT NOT VERY STRONGLY 612 5. DISAGREE STRONGLY 154 7. NO OPINION 28 8. DK 15 9. NA	Not in cumulative file
1960	Q. 25A. 'THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD STAY OUT OF THE QUESTION OF WHETHER WHITE AND COLORED CHILDREN GO TO THE SAME SCHOOL.'	629 1. AGREE STRONGLY 118 2. AGREE BUT NOT VERY STRONGLY 129 3. NOT SURE. IT DEPENDS 155 4. DISAGREE BUT NOT VERY STRONGLY 641 5. DISAGREE STRONGLY 51 8. DK 31 9. NA 200 0. NO OPINION	Not in cumulative file
1962	Q. 47A. (IF HAS OPINION ON FEDERALLY ENFORCED SCHOOL INTEGRATION) DO YOU AGREE THAT THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO THIS OR DO YOU THINK THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD NOT DO IT. ["THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT WHITE AND COLORED CHILDREN ARE ALLOWED TO GO TO THE SAME SCHOOLS."]	596 1. YES 33 2. YES, QUALIFIED 27 3. YES, BUT THERE SHOULD BE NO FORCE. MODERATE. GRADUAL 13 4. NO, QUALIFIED 404 5. NO 9 8. DK 32 9. NA 183 0. INAP., CODED 5, 8, OR 9 IN REF.NO. 61	VCF0816
1964	Q. 23. "SOME PEOPLE SAY THAT THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT WHITE AND NEGRO (COLORED) CHILDREN ARE ALLOWED TO GO TO THE SAME SCHOOLS. OTHERS CLAIM THAT THIS IS NOT THE GOVERNMENT'S BUSINESS." HAVE YOU BEEN CONCERNED ENOUGH ABOUT THIS QUESTION TO FAVOR ONE SIDE OVER THE OTHER. Q. 23A. (IF YES) DO YOU THINK THAT THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD:	647 1. (YES) SEE TO IT THAT WHITE AND NEGRO (COLORED) CHILDREN GO TO THE SAME SCHOOLS 113 3. (YES) OTHER, DEPENDS, BOTH BOXES CHECKED 602 5. (YES) STAY OUT OF THIS AREA AS IT IS NONE OF ITS BUSINESS 52 8. DK 7 9. NA 150 0. NO INTEREST	VCF0816

Appendix Table OB.1: ANES school integration questions (cont'd)

Year	Question	Codes/Frequency	ANES cum. var name
1966	A3. "SOME PEOPLE SAY THAT THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT WHITE AND COLORED CHILDREN ARE ALLOWED TO GO TO THE SAME SCHOOLS. OTHERS CLAIM THAT THIS IS NOT THE GOVERNMENT'S BUSINESS". HAVE YOU BEEN CONCERNED ENOUGH ABOUT THIS QUESTION TO FAVOR ONE SIDE OVER THE OTHER? A3A. (IF YES) DO YOU THINK THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD:	594 1. (YES) SEE TO IT THAT WHITE AND COLORED CHILDREN ARE ALLOWED TO GO TO THE SAME SCHOOLS 96 3. (YES) PRO-CON, DEPENDS, BOTH BOXES CHECKED, OTHER 434 5. (YES) STAY OUT OF THIS AREA AS IT IS NOT ITS BUSINESS 32 8. DK 9 9. NA 126 0. NO INTEREST ("NO" ANSWER TO Q.A3)	VCF0816
1968	Q. 24, 24A. "SOME PEOPLE SAY THAT THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT WHITE AND NEGRO CHILDREN ARE ALLOWED TO GO TO THE SAME SCHOOLS. OTHERS CLAIM THIS IS NOT THE GOVERNMENT'S BUSINESS." HAVE YOU BEEN CONCERNED ENOUGH ABOUT THIS QUESTION TO FAVOR ONE SIDE OVER THE OTHER? (IF YES) DO YOU THINK THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD --	593 1. (YES) SEE TO IT THAT WHITE AND NEGRO CHILDREN GO TO THE SAME SCHOOLS 103 3. (YES) OTHER, DEPENDS, BOTH BOXES CHECKED IN Q. 24A 681 5. (YES) STAY OUT OF THIS AREA AS IT IS NONE OF ITS BUSINESS 24 8. DK 10 9. NA 146 0. NO INTEREST ('NO' BOX CHECKED IN Q. 24)	VCF0816
1970	**TYPE 2 QUESTION** (IF 'YES' TO Q.10) Q.10A. DO YOU THINK THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD: SEE TO IT THAT WHITE AND NEGRO CHILDREN ARE ALLOWED TO GO TO THE SAME SCHOOLS OR STAY OUT OF THIS AREA AS IT IS NOT ITS BUSINESS?	399 1. SEE TO IT THAT WHITE AND NEGRO CHILDREN ARE ALLOWED TO GO TO THE SAME SCHOOLS 295 5. STAY OUT OF THIS AREA AS IT IS NOT ITS BUSINESS 86 7. OTHER; DEPENDS; BOTH BOXES CHECKED 12 8. DON'T KNOW 2 9. NA 98 0. INAP, CODED 1 IN REF. NO. 3, CODED 5, 8, OR 9 IN Q.10	VCF0816
1972	**FORMS 1 AND 2** PRE-ELECTION QUESTION --IF RESPONDENT IS CODED 1 IN Q.D2-- D2A. DO YOU THINK THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT WHITE AND BLACK CHILDREN GO TO THE SAME SCHOOLS OR STAY OUT OF THIS AREA AS IT IS NOT ITS BUSINESS?	995 1. SEE TO IT THAT WHITE AND BLACK CHILDREN GO TO THE SAME SCHOOLS 1200 5. STAY OUT OF THIS AREA AS IT IS NOT ITS BUSINESS 182 7. OTHER; DEPENDS 38 8. DK 5 9. NA 285 0. INAP., CODED 5, 8 OR 9 IN Q.D2	VCF0816

Appendix Table OB.1: ANES school integration questions (cont'd)

Year	Question	Codes/Frequency	ANES cum. var name
1976	--IF RESPONDENT IS CODED 1 IN Q.E3-- Q.E3A. DO YOU THINK THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT WHITE AND BLACK CHILDREN GO TO THE SAME SCHOOLS OR STAY OUT OF THIS AREA AS IT IS NOT ITS <THE GOVERNMENT'S> BUSINESS?	690 1. SEE TO IT THAT WHITE AND BLACK CHILDREN GO TO THE SAME SCHOOLS 1125 5. STAY OUT OF THIS AREA AS IT IS NOT ITS <THE GOVERNMENT'S> BUSINESS 237 7. OTHER; DEPENDS; ANTI-BUSING COMMENT QUALIFIED WITH STATEMENT THAT R IS NOT AGAINST INTEGRATION OR OPPORTUNITY 37 8. DK 4 9. NA 778 0. INAP., CODED 5, 8 OR 9 IN Q.E3	VCF0816
1978	-- IF RESPONSE TO Q.F2 WAS "YES" -- Q.F2A. DO YOU THINK THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT WHITE AND BLACK CHILDREN GO TO THE SAME SCHOOLS OR STAY OUT OF THIS AREA AS IT IS NOT ITS (THE GOVERNMENT'S) BUSINESS?	616 1. SEE TO IT THAT WHITE AND BLACK CHILDREN GO TO THE SAME SCHOOLS 924 5. STAY OUT OF THIS AREA AS IT IS NOT ITS (THE GOVERNMENT'S) BUSINESS 237 7. OTHER; DEPENDS 22 8. DK 6 9. NA 499 0. INAP., CODED 5, 8 OR 9 IN Q.F2	VCF0816

Appendix Table OB.2: ANES employment and housing discrimination questions

	Question	Codes/Frequency
1956	Q. 12F. 'IF NEGROES ARE NOT GETTING FAIR TREATMENT IN JOBS AND HOUSING, THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT THEY DO.'	750 1. AGREE STRONGLY 320 2. AGREE BUT NOT VERY STRONGLY 114 3. NOT SURE, IT DEPENDS 114 4. DISAGREE BUT NOT VERY STRONGLY 224 5. DISAGREE STRONGLY 30 8. DK; 7 9. NA ; 203 0. NO OPINION
1958	Q. 16A. "IF NEGROES ARE NOT GETTING FAIR TREATMENT IN JOBS AND HOUSING, THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT THEY DO." DO YOU HAVE AN OPINION ON THIS OR NOT. (IF YES) DO YOU THINK THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO THIS.	860 1. AGREE STRONGLY 293 2. AGREE, BUT NOT VERY STRONGLY 107 3. NOT SURE. IT DEPENDS 100 4. DISAGREE BUT NOT VERY STRONGLY 230 5. DISAGREE STRONGLY 205 7. NO OPINION; 15 8. DK; 12 9. NA
1960	Q. 22A. 'IF NEGROES ARE NOT GETTING FAIR TREATMENT IN JOBS AND HOUSING, THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT THEY DO.'	889 1. AGREE STRONGLY 338 2. AGREE BUT NOT VERY STRONGLY 141 3. NOT SURE. IT DEPENDS 91 4. DISAGREE BUT NOT VERY STRONGLY 258 5. DISAGREE STRONGLY 31 8. DK 34 9. NA 172 0. NO OPINION

Appendix Table OB.2: ANES employment and housing discrimination questions (cont'd)

	Question	Codes/Frequency
1964	Q. 22. "SOME PEOPLE FEEL THAT IF NEGROES (COLORED PEOPLE) 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. Q. 22A. (IF YES) HOW DO YOU FEEL. SHOULD THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON:	611 1. (YES) SEE TO IT THAT NEGROES (COLORED PEOPLE) GET FAIR TREATMENT IN JOBS 115 3. (YES) OTHER, DEPENDS, BOTH BOXES CHECKED 626 5. (YES) LEAVE THESE MATTERS TO THE STATES AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES 53 8. DK 6 9. NA 160 0. NO INTEREST
1968	Q. 23, 23A. "SOME PEOPLE FEEL THAT IF NEGROES ARE NOT GETTING FAIR TREATMENT IN JOBS THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD 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? SHOULD THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON --	593 1. (YES) SEE TO IT THAT NEGROES GET FAIR TREATMENT IN JOBS 99 3. (YES) OTHER, DEPENDS, BOTH BOXES CHECKED IN Q. 23A 663 5. (YES) LEAVE THESE MATTERS TO THE STATES AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES 30 8. DK 9 9. NA 163 0. NO INTEREST ('NO' BOX CHECKED IN Q. 23)
1972	**FORMS 1 AND 2** PRE-ELECTION QUESTION -IF RESPONDENT IS CODED 1 IN Q.D1-- D1A. HOW DO YOU FEEL? SHOULD THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SEE TO IT THAT BLACK PEOPLE GET FAIR TREATMENT IN JOBS OR LEAVE THESE MATTERS TO THE STATES AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES?	1122 1. SEE TO IT THAT BLACK PEOPLE GET FAIR TREATMENT IN JOBS 952 5. LEAVE THESE MATTERS TO THE STATES AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES 161 7. OTHER; DEPENDS 25 8. DK 7 9. NA 438 0. INAP., CODED 5, 8 OR 9 IN Q.D1

Appendix Table OB.3: Regressing Democratic identification on views on school integration, by time and region

	Cumulative File Only						Cumulative File + Indiv. Year Files					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
South x Aft	-0.0143 [0.0495]	0.0788 [0.0824]	-0.0566 [0.0554]	0.0430 [0.0810]	0.0113 [0.0618]	0.0938 [0.0578]	-0.105** [0.0502]	-0.00696 [0.0524]	-0.142** [0.0575]	-0.0420 [0.0676]	-0.0704 [0.0575]	0.00650 [0.0665]
No school integ		0.0289 [0.0280]		0.0288 [0.0281]		0.0316 [0.0281]		-0.00348 [0.0140]		-0.00430 [0.0140]		-0.00348 [0.0135]
South x No school integ		0.108 [0.0943]		0.112 [0.0990]		0.105 [0.0971]		0.135*** [0.0419]		0.132*** [0.0425]		0.131*** [0.0424]
No school integ x Aft		-0.0654* [0.0358]		-0.0914*** [0.0335]		-0.0779* [0.0421]		-0.0330 [0.0203]		-0.0579*** [0.0174]		-0.0444* [0.0248]
South x No school integ x Aft		-0.0896 [0.118]		-0.0952 [0.109]		-0.0693 [0.101]		-0.114*** [0.0358]		-0.115*** [0.0350]		-0.0805* [0.0472]
Observations	11396	11396	17190	17190	5583	5583	15255	15255	21049	21049	9442	9442
Max Year	1980	1980	2000	2000	1970	1970	1980	1980	2000	2000	1970	1970
Mean	0.404	0.404	0.374	0.374	0.449	0.449	0.422	0.422	0.394	0.394	0.457	0.457

Notes: Year and State FE are included in all columns. "After" is 1963 and later (so, in ANES, first post-period year is 1964).

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Appendix Table OB.4: Regressing Democrat on views on jobs/housing, by time and region

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
South x Aft	-0.114** [0.0534]	-0.110** [0.0511]	-0.173** [0.0649]	-0.151* [0.0801]	-0.0880 [0.0666]	-0.116 [0.0891]
No fair jobs		-0.0391 [0.0278]		-0.0425 [0.0276]		-0.0377 [0.0278]
South x No fair jobs		0.118** [0.0553]		0.113* [0.0573]		0.120** [0.0562]
No fair jobs x Aft		-0.0252 [0.0313]		-0.0454 [0.0308]		-0.0611* [0.0328]
South x No fair jobs x Aft		-0.0436 [0.0559]		-0.0653 [0.0625]		0.00403 [0.0835]
Observations	7561	7561	11669	11669	5745	5745
Max Year	1980	1980	2000	2000	1970	1970
Mean	0.439	0.439	0.397	0.397	0.458	0.458

Notes: Year and State FE are included in all columns. “After” is 1963 and later (so, in ANES, first post-period year is 1964). * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$