Codebook for: Race, Gender, and Public Opinion Toward Black Female Political Elites
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This codebook provides definitions for the variables used in the analysis for Race, Gender, and Public Opinion Toward Black Female Political Elites, by Sydney Carr. This analysis is based on two datasets "study1_JOP.csv" (data from the survey used for study 1), and "study2_JOP.csv" (data from the survey experiment used for study 2).

Study 1 Variable List

C$KH_strong: perceptions on the strong leader trait directed towards Kamala Harris
C$KH_cares: perceptions on the cares about people like me trait directed towards Kamala Harris
C$KH_ang: perceptions on the angry/aggressive trait directed towards Kamala Harris

C$JB_strong: perceptions on the strong leader trait directed towards Joe Biden
C$JB_cares: perceptions on the cares about people like me trait directed towards Joe Biden
C$JB_ang: perceptions on the angry/aggressive trait directed towards Joe Biden

C$NP_strong: perceptions on the strong leader trait directed towards Nancy Pelosi
C$NP_cares: perceptions on the cares about people like me trait directed towards Nancy Pelosi
C$NP_ang: perceptions on the angry/aggressive trait directed towards Nancy Pelosi

C$JC_strong: perceptions on the strong leader trait directed towards Jim Clyburn
C$JC_cares: perceptions on the cares about people like me trait directed towards Jim Clyburn
C$JC_ang: perceptions on the angry/aggressive trait directed towards Jim Clyburn

C$MW_strong: perceptions on the strong leader trait directed towards Maxine Waters
C$MW_cares: perceptions on the cares about people like me trait directed towards Maxine Waters
C$MW_ang: perceptions on the angry/aggressive trait directed towards Maxine Waters

C$HJ_strong: perceptions on the strong leader trait directed towards Hakeem Jeffries
C$HJ_cares: perceptions on the cares about people like me trait directed towards Hakeem Jefrries
C$HJ_ang: perceptions on the angry/aggressive trait directed towards Hakeem Jeffries

C$CM_strong: perceptions on the strong leader trait directed towards Carolyn Maloney
C$CM_cares: perceptions on the cares about people like me trait directed towards Carolyn Maloney
C$CM_ang: perceptions on the angry/aggressive trait directed towards Carolyn Maloney

C$JH_strong: perceptions on the strong leader trait directed towards Jim Himes
C$JH_cares: perceptions on the cares about people like me trait directed towards Jim Himes
C$JH_ang: perceptions on the angry/aggressive trait directed towards Jim Himes

C$MF_strong: perceptions on the strong leader trait directed towards Marcia Fudge
C$MF_cares: perceptions on the cares about people like me trait directed towards Marcia Fudge
C$MF_ang: perceptions on the angry/aggressive trait directed towards Marcia Fudge

C$PB_strong: perceptions on the strong leader trait directed towards Pete Buttigieg
C$PB_cares: perceptions on the cares about people like me trait directed towards Pete Buttigieg
C$PB_ang: perceptions on the angry/aggressive trait directed towards Pete Buttigieg

C$LA_strong: perceptions on the strong leader trait directed towards Lloyd Austin
C$LA_cares: perceptions on the cares about people like me trait directed towards Lloyd Austin
C$LA_ang: perceptions on the angry/aggressive trait directed towards Lloyd Austin

C$JY_strong: perceptions on the strong leader trait directed towards Janet Yellen
C$JY_cares: perceptions on the cares about people like me trait directed towards Janet Yellen
C$JY_ang: perceptions on the angry/aggressive trait directed towards Janet Yellen

Control Variables

C$gender: respondent gender (response options listed as follows):

1. Male
2. Female
3. Gender non-binary
4. Would prefer not to answer

C$race: respondent race (responses options listed as follows):

1. White
2. Black or African American
3. Hispanic or Latino
4. Asian/Pacific Islander
5. Native American or American Indian
6. Other

C$education: respondent education level (response options listed as follows):

1. Elementary or middle school
2. High school
3. Some college
4. Bachelor's degree

5. Master's, Doctorate or Professional Degree(e.g., law degree, medical degree, MBA)

C$age: respondent age (respondents type in age in numerical format)

C$race_white: white respondents only
C$race_black: Black respondents only

C$pid: party id (questions listed as follows):

Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a DEMOCRAT, a REPUBLICAN, an INDEPENDENT, or what?

a. Democrat
b. Republican
c. Independent
d. No preference
e. Other party: specify

[If Respondent selects Democrat] Would you call yourself a STRONG Democrat or a NOT VERY STRONG Democrat?

a. Strong
b. Not very strong

[If Respondent selects Republican] Would you call yourself a STRONG Republican or a NOT VERY STRONG Republican?

a. Strong
b. Not very strong

[If Respondent selects Independent] Do you think of yourself as CLOSER to the Republican Party or the Democratic Party?

a. Closer to the Republican
b. Closer to the Democratic
c. Neither

<u>Racial Resentment</u>

C$special_favor: respondent attitudes on question that reads as follows: "Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors." (response options range from strongly agree to strongly disagree)

C$deserve: respondent attitudes on question that reads as follows: “Over the past few years, Blacks have gotten less than they deserve.” (response options range from strongly agree to strongly disagree)

C$try_harder: respondent attitudes on question that reads as follows: “It is really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if Blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as Whites.**”** (response options range from strongly agree to strongly disagree)

C$discrimerace: respondent attitudes on question that reads as follows: “Generations of discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for Blacks to work their way out of the lower class.” (response options range from strongly agree to strongly disagree)

C$racial_index: index variable combining all four of the racial resentment measure questions

Modern Sexism

C$discrimgen: respondent attitudes on question that reads as follows: “Discrimination against women is no longer a problem in the United States.” (response options range from strongly agree to strongly disagree)

C$good_jobs: respondent attitudes on question that reads as follows: “Women often miss out on good jobs due to sexual discrimination.” (response options range from strongly agree to strongly disagree)

C$wom_tv: respondent attitudes on question that reads as follows: “It is rare to see women treated in a sexist manner on television.” (response options range from strongly agree to strongly disagree)

C$equal_wives: respondent attitudes on question that reads as follows: “On average, people in our society treat husbands and wives equally.” (response options range from strongly agree to strongly disagree)

C$equal_opp: respondent attitudes on question that reads as follows: “Society has reached the point where women and men have equal opportunities for achievement.” (response options range from strongly agree to strongly disagree)

C$anger: respondent attitudes on question that reads as follows: “It is easy to understand the anger of women’s groups in America.” (response options range from strongly agree to strongly disagree)

C$limits: respondent attitudes on question that reads as follows: “It is easy to understand why women’s groups are still concerned about societal limitations of women’s opportunities.” (response options range from strongly agree to strongly disagree)

C$gov: “Over the past few years, the government and the news media have been showing more concern about the treatment of women than is warranted by women’s actual experiences.” (response options range from strongly agree to strongly disagree)

C$sexism_index: index variable combining all eight of the racial resentment measure questions

Racial Resentment x Modern Sexism Categorical Interaction Variable

C$sexrace (variable grouping respondent measures on modern sexism + racial resentment intro four categories):

1. Low on modern sexism and low on racial resentment
2. High on modern sexism and low on racial resentment
3. Low on modern sexism and high on racial resentment
4. High on modern sexism and high on racial resentment

Index Variables

C$black_women_strong_index: variable combining perceptions on the “strong leader” trait among all the Black female political figures in the study
C$black_women_cares_index: variable combining perceptions on the “cares about people like me” trait among all the Black female political figures in the study
C$black_women_ang_index: variable combining perceptions on the “angry/aggressive” trait among all the Black female political figures in the study

C$black_men_strong_index: variable combining perceptions on the “strong leader” trait among all the Black male political figures in the study
C$black_men_cares_index: variable combining perceptions on the “cares about people like me” trait among all the Black male political figures in the study
C$black_men_ang_index: variable combining perceptions on the “angry/aggressive” trait among all the Black male political figures in the study

C$wht_women_strong_index: variable combining perceptions on the “strong leader” trait among all the White female political figures in the study
C$wht_women_cares_index: variable combining perceptions on the “cares about people like me” trait among all the White female political figures in the study
C$wht_women_ang_index: variable combining perceptions on the “angry/aggressive” trait among all the White female political figures in the study

C$wht_men_strong_index: variable combining perceptions on the “strong leader” trait among all the White male political figures in the study
C$wht_men_cares_index: variable combining perceptions on the “cares about people like me” trait among all the White male political figures in the study

C$wht_men_ang_index: variable combining perceptions on the "angry/aggressive" trait among all the White male political figures in the study

Study 2 Variable List

Treatment Variables

E$blkwomtreat_strong: perceptions on the strong leadership trait directed toward the hypothetical Black female candidate
E$blkwomtreat_work: perceptions on the strong work ethic trait directed toward the hypothetical Black female candidate
E$blkwomtreat_cares: perceptions on the "cares about people like me" trait directed toward the hypothetical Black female candidate
E$blkwomtreat_agg: perceptions on the aggressive trait directed toward the hypothetical Black female candidate
E$blkwomtreat_vote: willingness to vote for the hypothetical Black female candidate

E$blkmantreat_strong: perceptions on the strong leadership trait directed toward the hypothetical Black male candidate
E$blkmantreat_work: perceptions on the strong work ethic trait directed toward the hypothetical Black male candidate
E$blkmantreat_cares: perceptions on the "cares about people like me" trait directed toward the hypothetical Black male candidate
E$blkmantreat_agg: perceptions on the aggressive trait directed toward the hypothetical Black male candidate
E$blkmantreat_vote: willingness to vote for the hypothetical Black male candidate

E$whtwomtreat_strong: perceptions on the strong leadership trait directed toward the hypothetical White female candidate
E$whtwomtreat_work: perceptions on the strong work ethic trait directed toward the hypothetical White female candidate
E$whtwomtreat_cares: perceptions on the "cares about people like me" trait directed toward the hypothetical White female candidate
E$whtwomtreat_agg: perceptions on the aggressive trait directed toward the hypothetical White female candidate
E$whtwomtreat_vote: willingness to vote for the hypothetical White female candidate

E$blkwomtreat_strong: perceptions on the strong leadership trait directed toward the hypothetical Black female candidate
E$whtmantreat_work: perceptions on the strong work ethic trait directed toward the hypothetical White male candidate
E$whtmantreat_cares: perceptions on the "cares about people like me" trait directed toward the hypothetical White male candidate
E$whtmantreat_agg: perceptions on the aggressive trait directed toward the hypothetical White male candidate

E$whtmantreat_vote: willingness to vote for the hypothetical White male candidate

E$control_strong: perceptions on the strong leadership trait directed toward the control condition candidate (no race-gender id)
E$control_work: perceptions on the strong work ethic trait directed toward the control condition candidate (no race-gender id)
E$control_cares: perceptions on the "cares about people like me" trait directed toward the control condition candidate (no race-gender id)
E$control_agg: perceptions on the aggressive trait directed toward control condition candidate (no race-gender id)
E$control_vote: willingness to vote for the control condition candidate (no race-gender id)

Control Variables

E$gender: respondent gender (response options listed as follows):

5. Male
6. Female
7. Gender non-binary
8. Would prefer not to answer

E$race: respondent race (responses options listed as follows):

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8. Black or African American
9. Hispanic or Latino
10. Asian/Pacific Islander
11. Native American or American Indian
12. Other

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Racial Resentment x Modern Sexism Categorical Interaction Variable

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6. High on modern sexism and low on racial resentment
7. Low on modern sexism and high on racial resentment
8. High on modern sexism and high on racial resentment