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Mobilizing the White:
White Nationalism and Congressional Politics in the American South
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JBS Freedom Index versus Alternative Measures of Conservatism/Liberalism

This study relies on a basic assumption that the John Birch Society's "Freedom Index" measure for Congressional representative conservatism is a more appropriate indicator to measure White Nationalist Group (WNG) influence on *radical conservatism* than much more commonly employed and less ideologically biased measures, such as Nokken and Poole's NOMINATE estimates (Caughey & Schickler, 2016; Nokken & Poole, 2004). This claim is contentious in part because roll-call vote measures published by interest groups are widely recognized to be artificially polarized, significantly underestimating the degree of Congressional representative moderation, in the service of ideological rather than scientific goals (Clinton, 2012; Herron, 2001; Snyder, 1992).

In this discussion, we therefore seek to clarify three interrelated issues related to our particular selection of the JBS Freedom Index and thereby offer clear theoretical and empirical justifications for our choice in this regard. This includes discussion of 1) why competing interest group ratings are less appropriate, substantively speaking, to measure radical conservatism than those of the JBS, 2) the degree to which alternative interest group ratings are less appropriate, empirically speaking, to measure the range of said attitudes in Congress, and 3) how Nokken and Poole's NOMINATE dimensions also fail to adequately capture this phenomenon. As discussed in the primary text, reliance upon JBS ratings is not ideal, and indeed the preferred strategy would be the construction of an ideal-point measure of roll-call ratings specifically measuring radical conservative agendas. Given the substantial resources and time required to appropriately construct such an index, we emphasize how and why the

chosen strategy remains a theoretically and empirically appropriate one lacking compelling available alternative measures. Recognizing, however, that concerns are certain to linger regarding the validity of the JBS rating as a measure of radical conservatism, we have constructed a preliminary index examining the degree to which Congressional roll call voting is at least implicitly supportive of white nationalist agendas. We discuss the data collection, coding, and implementation of this measure in the next section of the Appendix, following in-depth justification and explanation of our use of JBS ratings *as our primary measure.*

1) For the study of the political influence of white nationalist groups, it could be argued that the most, or perhaps only appropriate interest group rating would be from an organization whose primary ideological interest is the evaluation of Congressional representatives' voting on "racial" issues. In this regard, both the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and the Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights (LCCHR) offer nearly-comprehensive coverage of all cases considered in this article on par with the coverage provided by the JBS Freedom Index. As with the JBS scores, this data is readily available through the Votesmart website at https://justfacts.votesmart.org/interest-group/1378/american-civil-liberties-union and https://justfacts.votesmart.org/interest-group/169/leadership-conference-on-civil-and-human-rights respectively.

Yet, like the JBS, both the ACLU and LCCHR rely on evaluations of roll call votes that extend well beyond "racial" issues that presumably should be of less direct interest to White Nationalist Groups. For example, the ACLU's 2018 Legislative Scorecard for the House of Representatives includes votes on a wide variety of issues including death penalty

legislation, family paid leave and workplace safety, gun violence, immigration, police reform, reproductive rights, and sex trafficking (https://www.aclu.org/other/legislative-scorecard-2018). The LCCHR's voting record scores similarly include issues such as criminal justice, economic security, education, workers' rights, health care, immigration, and "key judicial and executive branch nominations" (http://civilrightsdocs.info/pdf/voting-record/FINAL-2018-Voting-Record-10222018.pdf).

2) None of this is to claim that these measures are invalid indicators for critical American civil rights issues. It does suggest, however, because these groups, like the JBS, seek to advance multiple political agendas, a simple reverse scaling of American liberal groups' evaluations of Congressional voting records are unlikely to better capture radical conservatism than an organization whose very raison d'être is itself radically conservative, as defined here and exemplified by the JBS's publicly expressed political claims, narratives, and ideological concerns (explored in the primary text). Although basic JBS ratings and LCCHR and ACLU ratings overlap (R^2=0.767 and R^2=0.556 respectively), replacement of relevant scores from these organizations for those of JBS in the main models (Table A11) entirely fail to replicate nearly all findings from main models 4, 5, and 6, even beyond those related to WNG activity. These empirical challenges are further compounded by the rather extreme degree to which both LCCHR and ACLU ratings are polarized, relative to JBS ratings, in our sample. Multiple histograms illustrating this disparity can be seen below, in Figures A7 through A16.

3) Finally, it is essential to demonstrate the extent to which NOMINATE's much more broadly empirically validated measure of economic-distributive liberal-conservative roll-call

voting (nokken-poole, dim 1) also fails to capture radical conservatism. Like LCCHR and ACLU ratings explored above, there is substantial overlap on average between JBS scores and Nokken-Poole economic-distributive dimension (measured here dynamically by Congress rather than over a representative's Congressional career) at R^2=0.795, also evident in Figure A17. However, like the alternative models employing LCCHR and ACLU ratings, substituting the Nokken-Poole economic-distributive score for the JBS score (Table A12) also fails to replicate any of our main findings.

To demonstrate the extent to which this follows from the inappropriateness of this variable as a measure for radical conservatism rather than demonstrating the invalidity of the JBS Freedom Index, it is important to examine key outlier cases. The full range of Nokken and Poole's first dimension range from most liberal (-1) to most conservative (+1), such that a score of 0 should be the nominal dividing line between liberal and conservative camps. With the JBS Freedom Index varying between 0 (least "constitutional") and 100 (most "constitutional), its ideological divide should be located at a score of 50.

We have accordingly identified outlier cases NOMINATE identifies as quite conservative but which JBS identifies as relatively liberal and vice versa. Walter B. Jones, Jr., Republican representative for North Carolina, Congressional District 3, is one such outlier, deemed *relatively* liberal by NOMINATE but remarkably "constitutional" by JBS in the 112th Congress, owing to his libertarian and anti-"foreign entanglement" voting against the Republican "Path to Prosperity" budget proposal and opposition to continued funding of American operations in Iraq. Mike McIntyre, Democratic representative for North Carolina,

Congressional District 7, was also rating by NOMINATE as somewhat liberal by NOMINATE, but somewhat "constitutional" by JBS in the 112th and 113th Congresses, for his distinct support for Veterans' issues and co-chairmanship of the Congressional Prayer Breakfast, reflecting JBS' conservative Christian priorities. Alternatively, NOMINATE identifies Mark Sanford, Republican representative for South Carolina, Congressional District 1 as highly conservative yet JBS scores him as only somewhat constitutional, particularly in the 115th Congress. During this time, he became one of Donald Trump's most outspoken Republican critics, notably opposing his 2017 executive order curtailing Muslim immigration. While such criteria hardly mark these representative as especially (non-)radical, they demonstrate the distinct priorities by which the JBS measures representatives' commitments to "constitutional" values than those considered by NOMINATE.

Towards Measurement of Implicit Congressional White Nationalism

The past decades have certainly seen efforts by openly White Nationalist candidates to achieve elected office (e.g. former Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Grand Wizard, David Duke), as well as Congressional representatives who have expressed public sympathy for White Nationalist views (e.g. former Iowa 4th/5th District Representative Steve King, Georgia 14th District Representative Marjorie Taylor Greene, Arizona 1st/4th District Representative Paul Gosar). Such cases are however likely to remain anomalous and White Nationalist organizations are themselves unlikely to publicly and systematically rate candidates' support for White Nationalist agendas. Nor are the authors aware of any organization or entity,

academic or political, that has done so. It is for these reasons that we have chosen to rely primarily upon the John Birch Society's Freedom Index as a proxy measure of radical conservatism, despite recognition that JBS is *not* a White Nationalist organization.

Nonetheless, there have been many efforts to refine, sharpen, and specify measurements of Congressional representative ideological alignments, beyond widely employed liberal-conservative measures like NOMINATE, whether using interest group ratings (as we have) or by directly examining and coding Congressional roll-call voting behaviors according to specific criteria. For instance, Schuit and Rogowski (2017) employ data from the Policy Agendas Project to identify and code roll-call votes related to civil rights between the 86th and 105th Congresses to identify the extent to which individual Representatives support the expansion or restriction of civil rights. This measure is operationalized as the percentage of roll-call votes in each Congress in which individual representatives voted to expand civil rights. We follow their example in our preliminary efforts to construct an unbiased, replicable measure Congressional white nationalism.

Using U.S. Policy Agendas Project's Congressional Roll Call Voting dataset (https://www.comparativeagendas.net/us), we selected for analysis all roll-call votes conducted in the 110th through 115th Congresses related to three basic categories. From the first, "Civil Rights, Minority Issues, and Civil Liberties," we identified all votes related to *Ethnic Minority & Racial Group Discrimination*, *Voting Rights & Participation*, *First Amendment Issues*, and the *General* subcategory, coding white nationalist preferred outcomes as those votes which tended to restrict rather than expand civil rights legislation. As we argue

in the main text and in the Appendix above, however, White Nationalist agendas are not merely related to domestic civil rights issues. Accordingly, we examine all roll-call votes associated with *Immigration and Refugee Issues*, identifying white nationalist preferences with supporting legislation constraining, restricting, or rejecting immigrant and refugee absorption and opposing legislation in the opposite direction. Finally, from the *Riots, Crime Prevention, and Crime Control* category, we identified bills related to hate crime legislation, for which we coded white nationalist preferences as opposing their advancement and supporting their restriction. All roll-call votes cast by individual Congressional Representatives, analyzed here, are taken from the Voteview Members' Votes dataset (Lewis, et al. 2021).

Altogether, we coded 28 votes in the 110th Congress, 23 in the 111th, 19 in the 112th, 18 in the 113th, 34 in the 114th, and 32 in the 115th. Our final measure, which we provisionally entitle the "White Nationalism Legislative Index" (WNi), significantly correlates with the JBS Freedom Index (R^2=0.665, $p<0.0001$), and even more so with Nokken-Poole, dim1 (R^2=0.813, $p<0.0001$) and negatively with ACLU (R^2=-0.835, $p<0.0001$) and LCCHR (R^2=-0.835, $p<0.0001$) ratings respectively. And indeed, as we demonstrate in robustness checks in Table A15 below, analyses of WNi are substantially identical to those derived from JBS scores regarding the effect of WNG mobilization.

Despite the greater *intended* specificity of this measure relative to JBS, we however remain reticent to employ it as our primary measure at this early stage of development. At least three challenges must be overcome to enable valid implementation both here and elsewhere. 1) Given that White Nationalist agendas are not limited to conventional domestic

"civil rights" concerns, as we illustrate regarding immigration and refugee issues, exploration of further issue areas identified by the Policy Agenda Project as well as more systematic coding of pro- and anti-White Nationalist policy orientations vis-a-vis identified legislation is definitely warranted. 2) Spot checking of individual voting by particular white nationalist "adjacent" legislators (e.g. Steve King, Marjorie Taylor Greene) revealed behaviors inconsistent with other similarly radically conservative representatives, which sometimes aligned them with voting patterns of more liberal representatives. Needless to say, multiple ideological, political, and strategic concerns guide the voting behaviors of representatives, such that in-depth analysis of anomalous voting is required to refine our index. 3) We have not yet developed theoretically justified "rules of thumb" to account for "present" voting and abstentions, which in certain instances may indicate implicit support for white nationalist agendas and in others opposition or irrelevance. Rather, we blanket code these instances as lack of support for white nationalist positions.

With these limitations acknowledged, we submit this effort as a strong first step in systematic measurement of implicit white nationalism by Congressional representatives, which both validates our primary reliance upon JBS scores and offers a path for future improvement of unbiased, replicable, externally-validated measures. The authors welcome further inquiries and constructive feedback regarding these and future efforts.

Supplementary Bibliography

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Supplementary Figures

Figure A1. Histogram of District-Level White Nationalist Movement Counts.

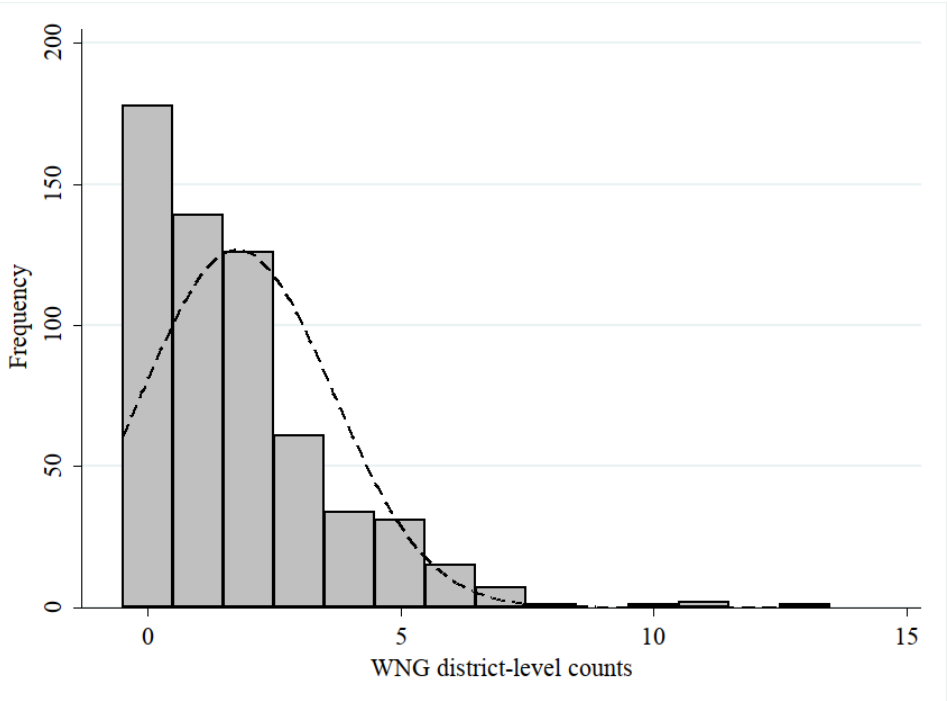


Figure A2. Histogram of District-Level White Nationalist Movement Counts, Annual

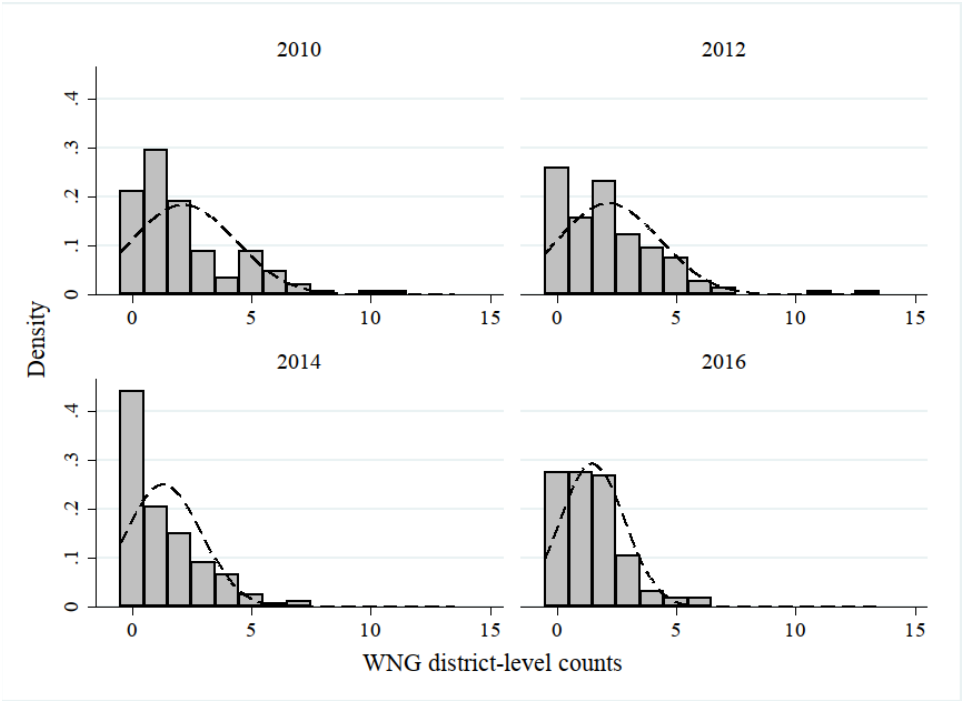


Figure A3. Histogram of District-Level White Nationalist Movement Change

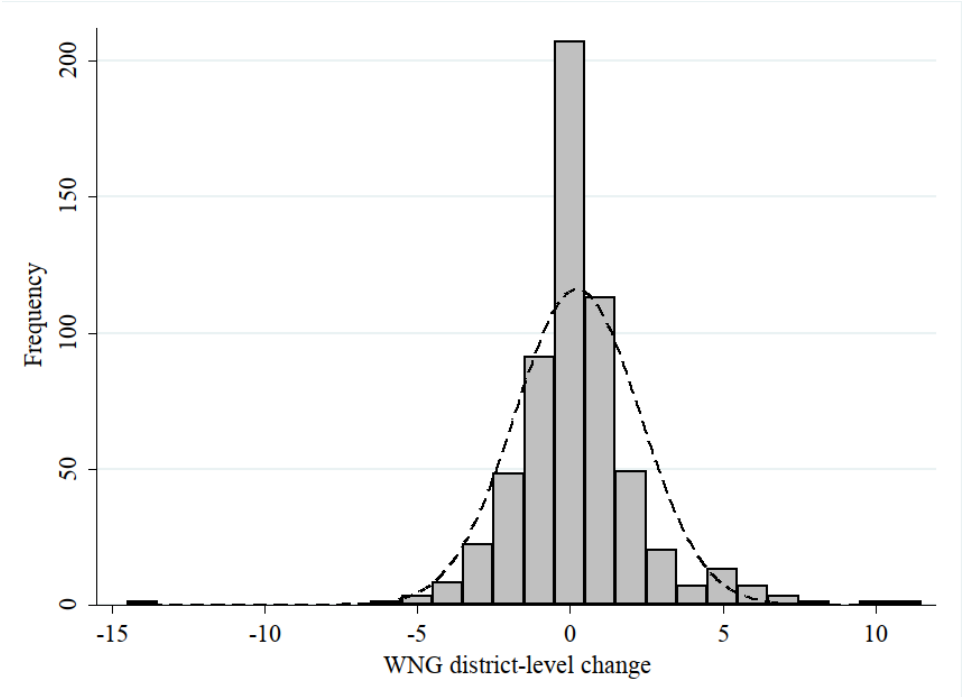


Figure A4. Histogram of District-Level White Nationalist Movement Change, Annual

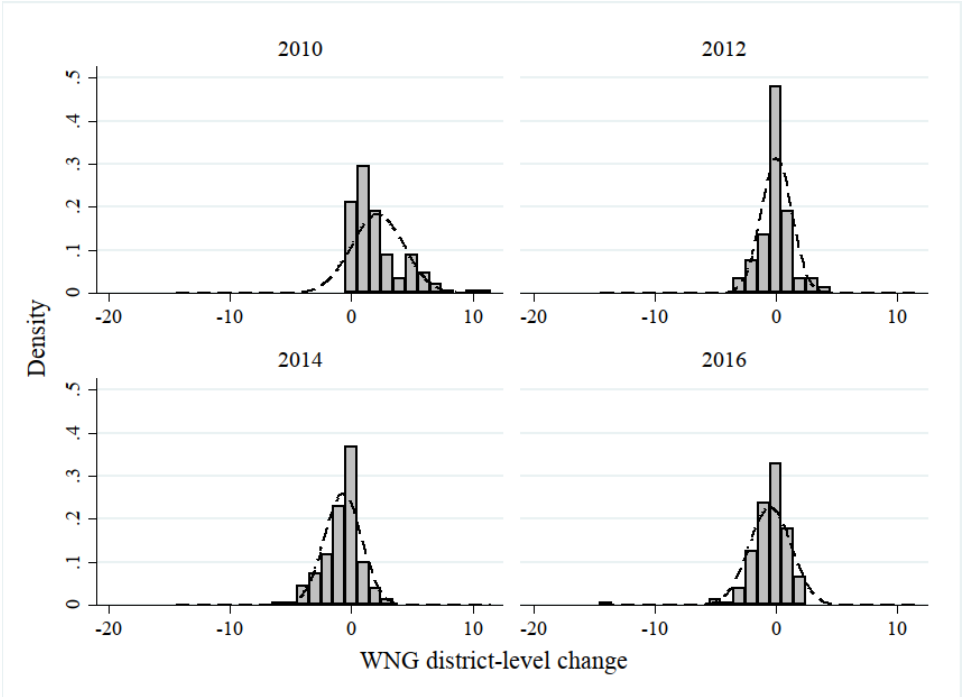


Figure A5a. Distributions of WNGs by State by Election Year with State Population

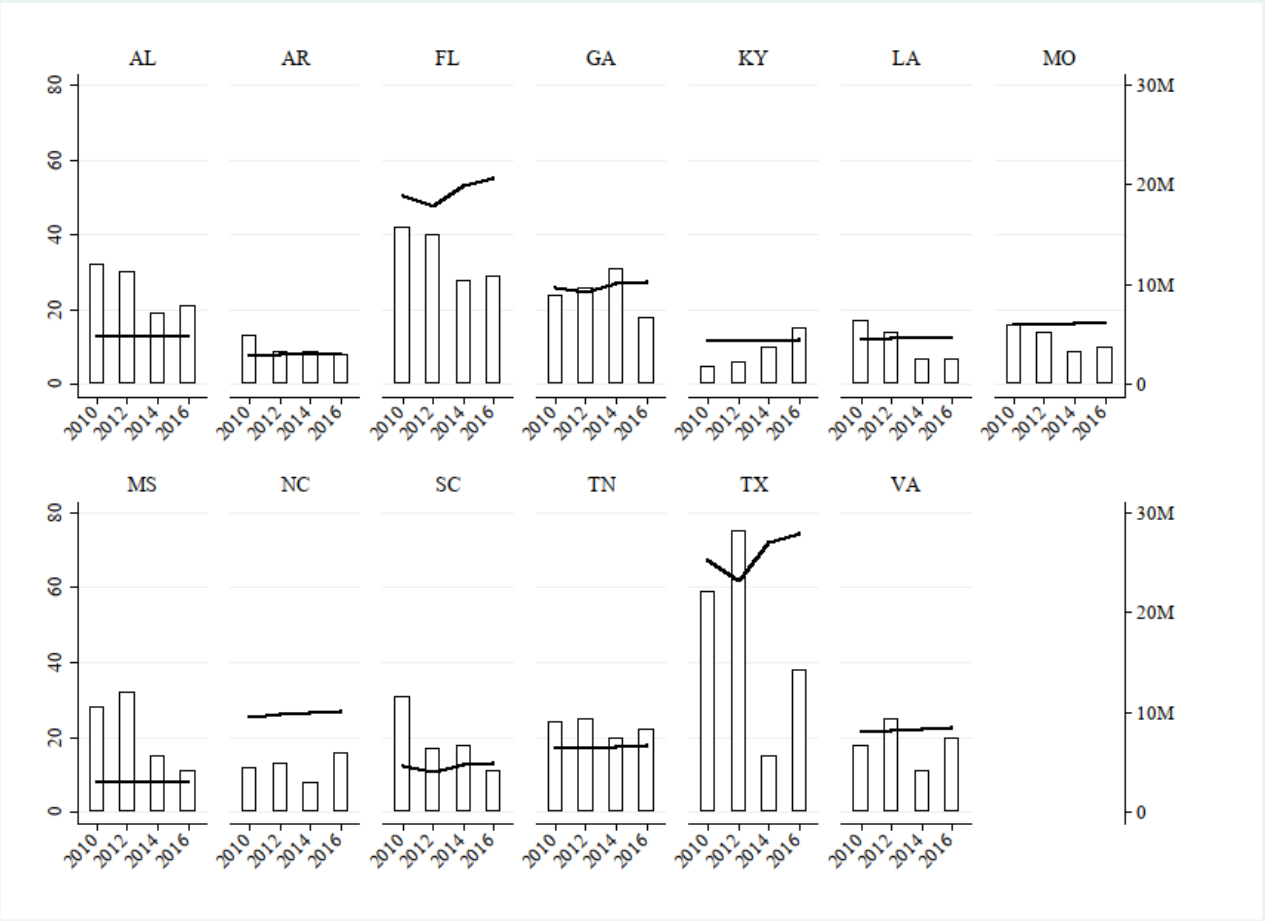


Figure A5b. Distributions of WNGs by State by Election Year with Average District Population Density (population/square mi)

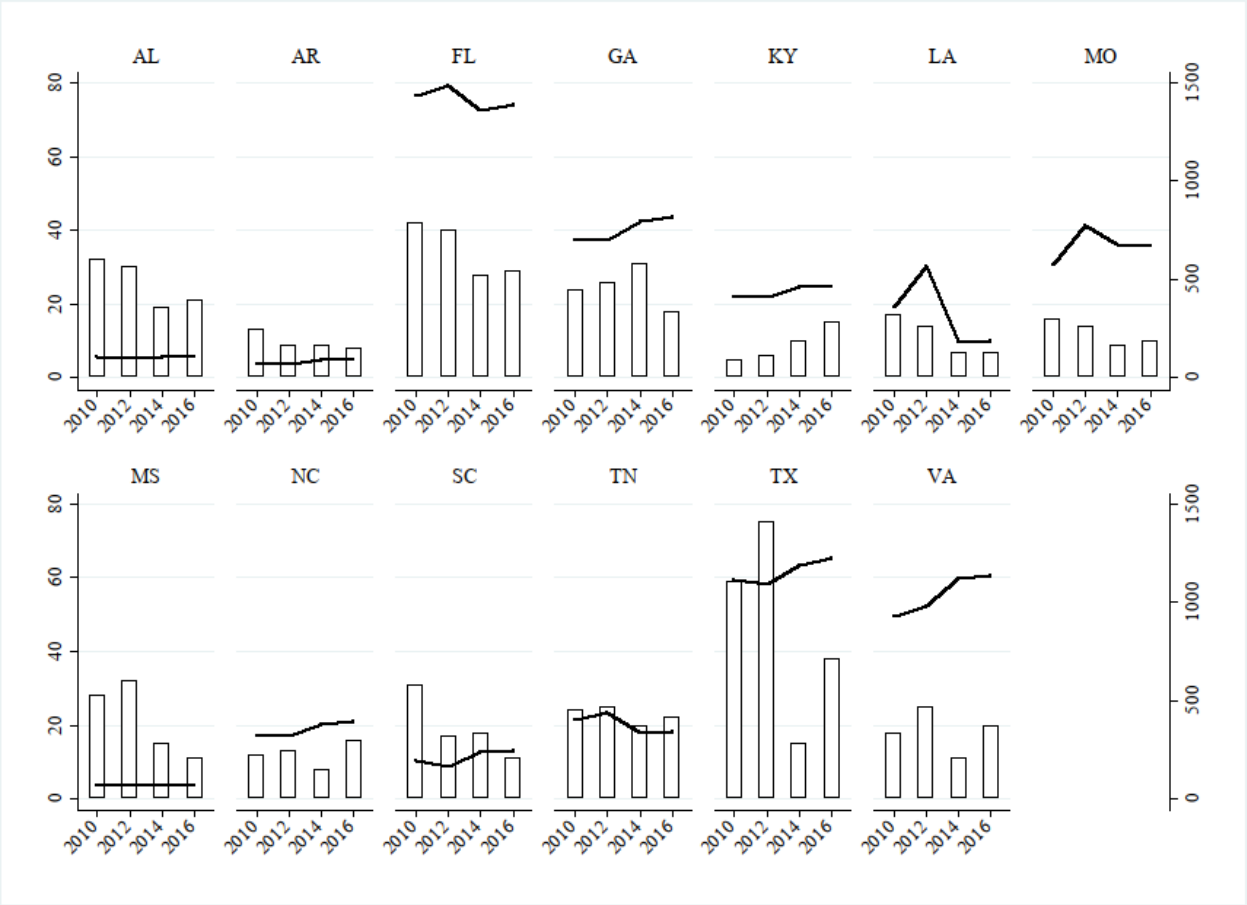


Figure A6a. State-level Average WNGs per District by Election Year with State Population

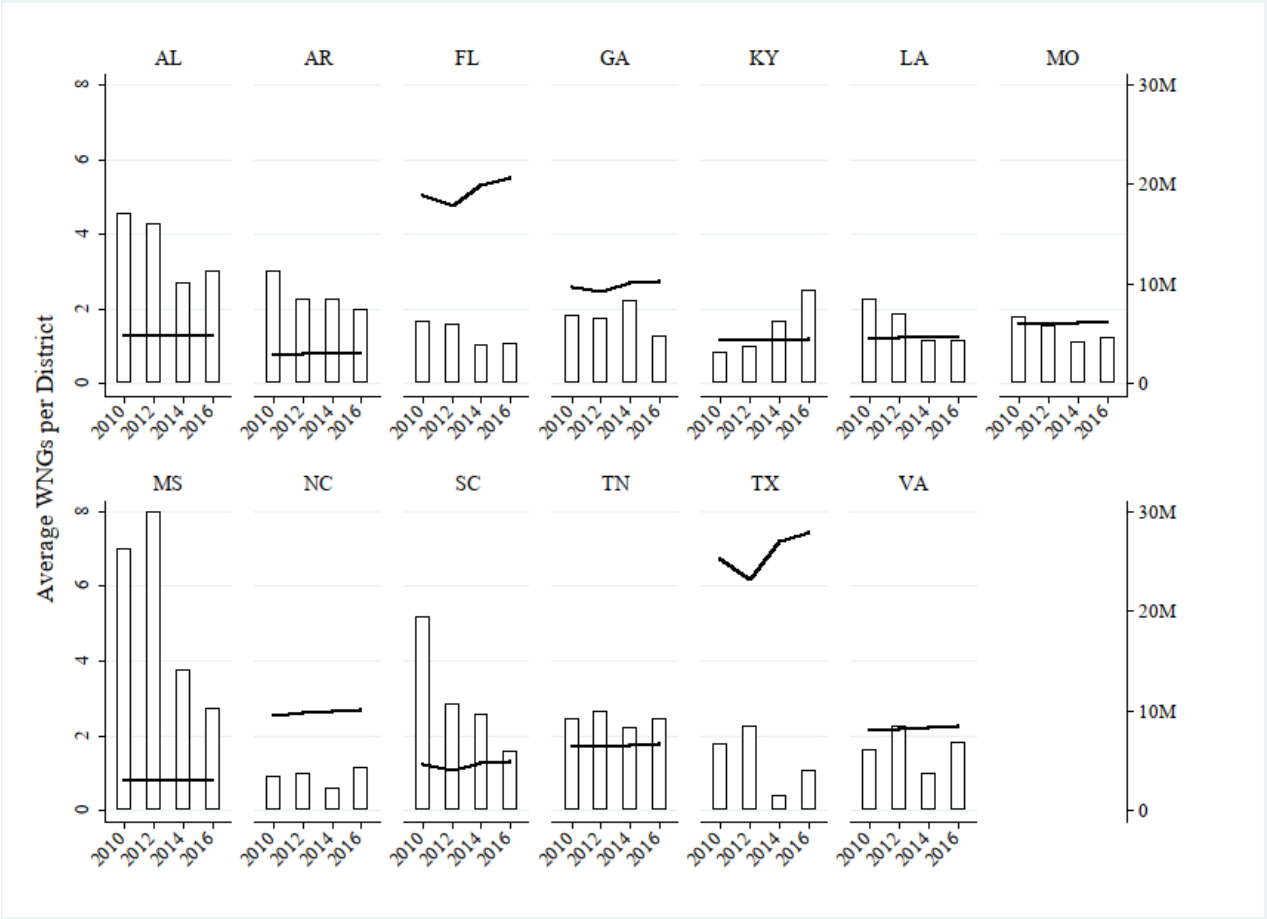


Figure A6b. State-level Average WNGs per District by Election Year with Average District Population Density (population/square mi)

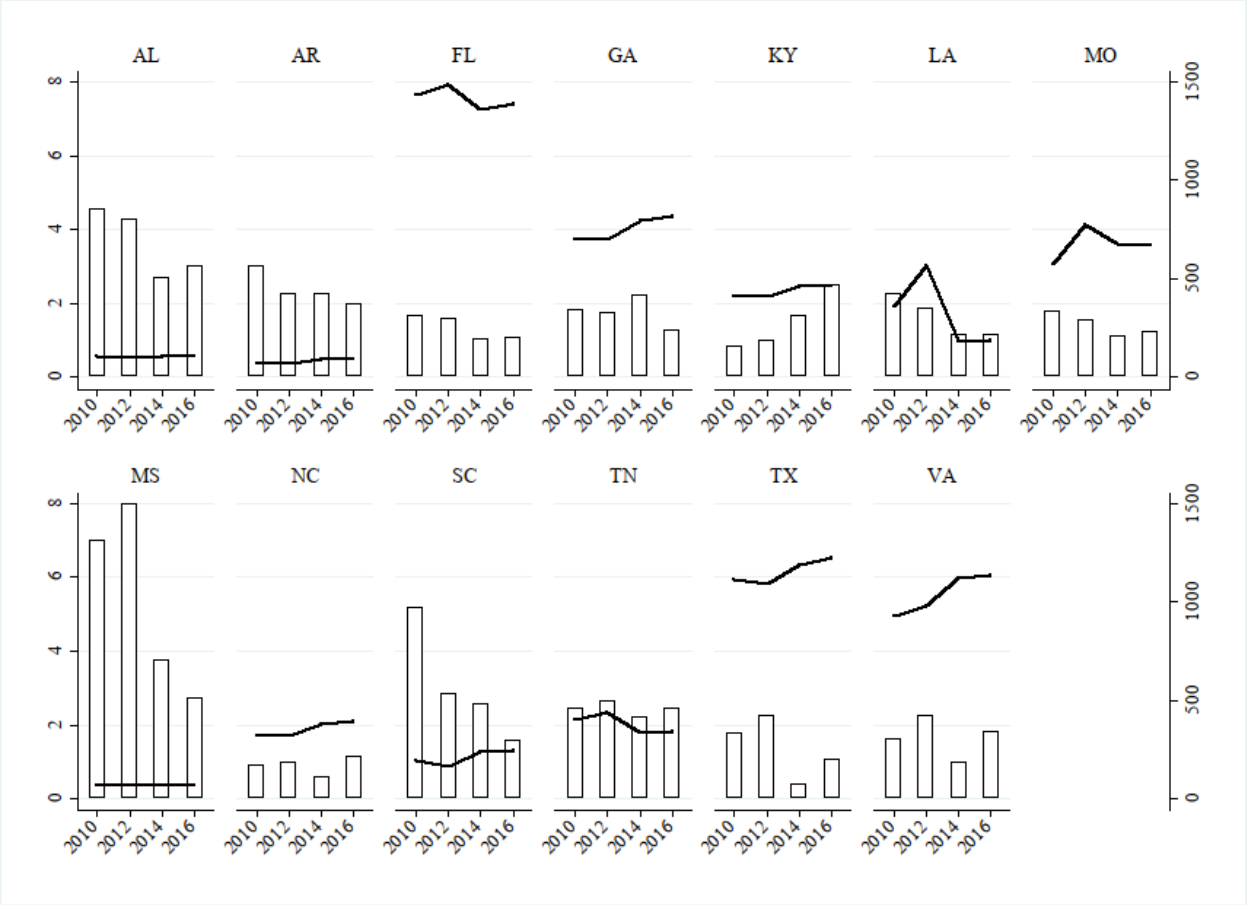


Table Supplement to Figures A5a,b and A6a,b – District WNG Distribution[1]

WNGs per district	2010	2012	2014	2016
0	31	38	67	42
1 (50th Percentile)	43	23	31	42
2 (75th Percentile)	28	34	23	41
3-4 (90th Percentile)	18	32	24	21
5+ (95th Percentile)	26	19	7	6
ΔWNGs per district	**2010**	**2012**	**2014**	**2016**
-2 or more (10th Pctl)	0	16	38	29
-1 (25th Pctl)	0	20	35	36
0 (50th Pctl)	31	70	56	50
+1 (75th Pctl)	43	28	15	27
+2 or more (90th Pctl)	72	12	8	10

[1]Percentile measures account for observed distributions of WNGs and change thereof in the entire sample.

Figure A7. Histogram of JBS Freedom Index Scores

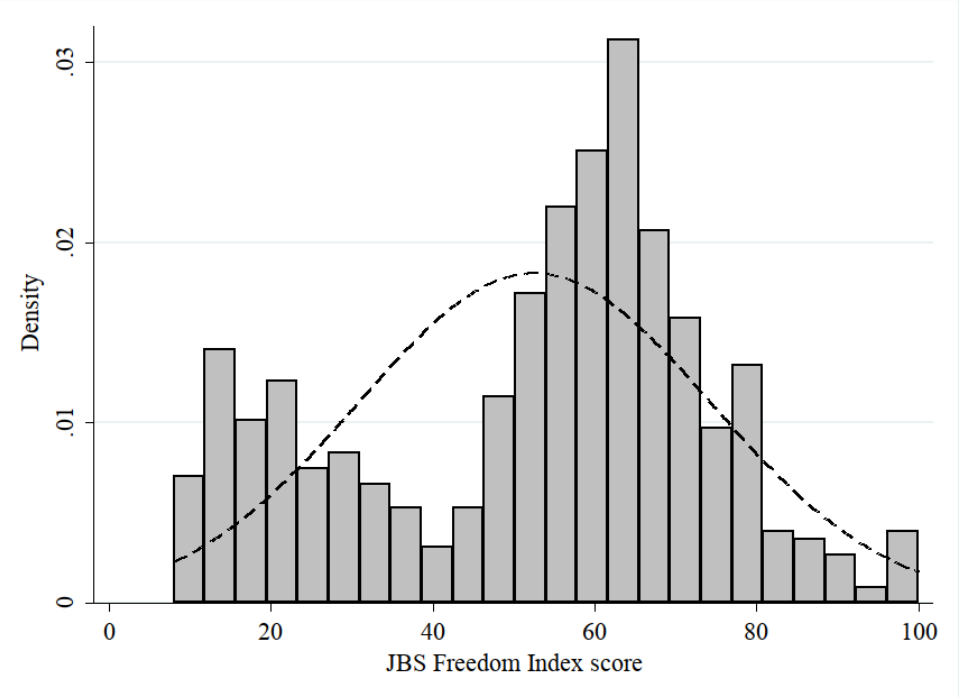


Figure A8. Histogram of JBS Freedom Index Scores, Annual

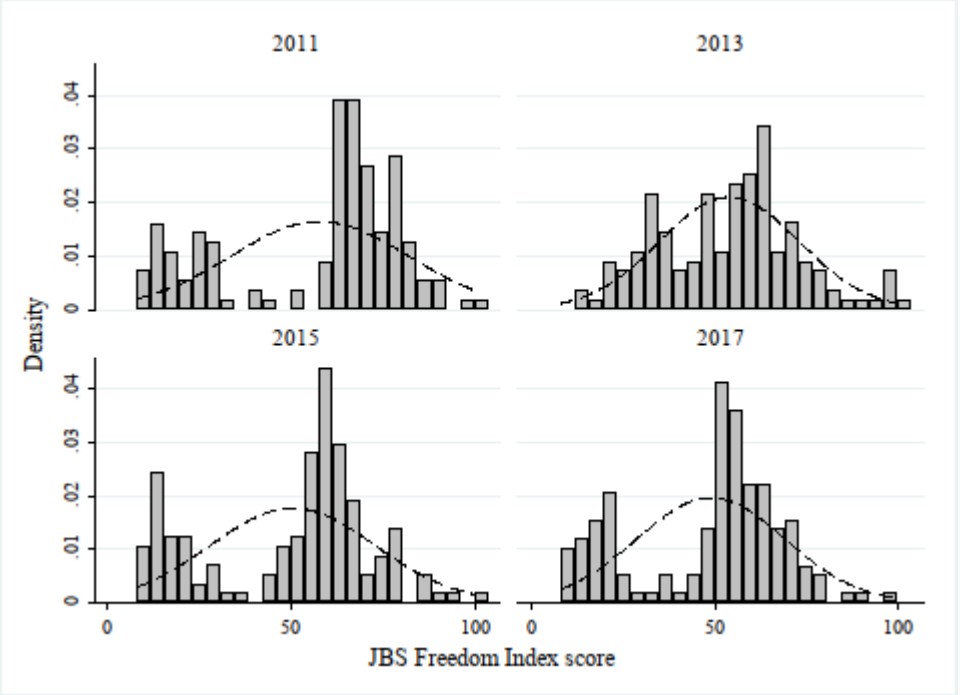


Figure A9. Histogram of JBS Freedom Index Scores, GOP Representatives only

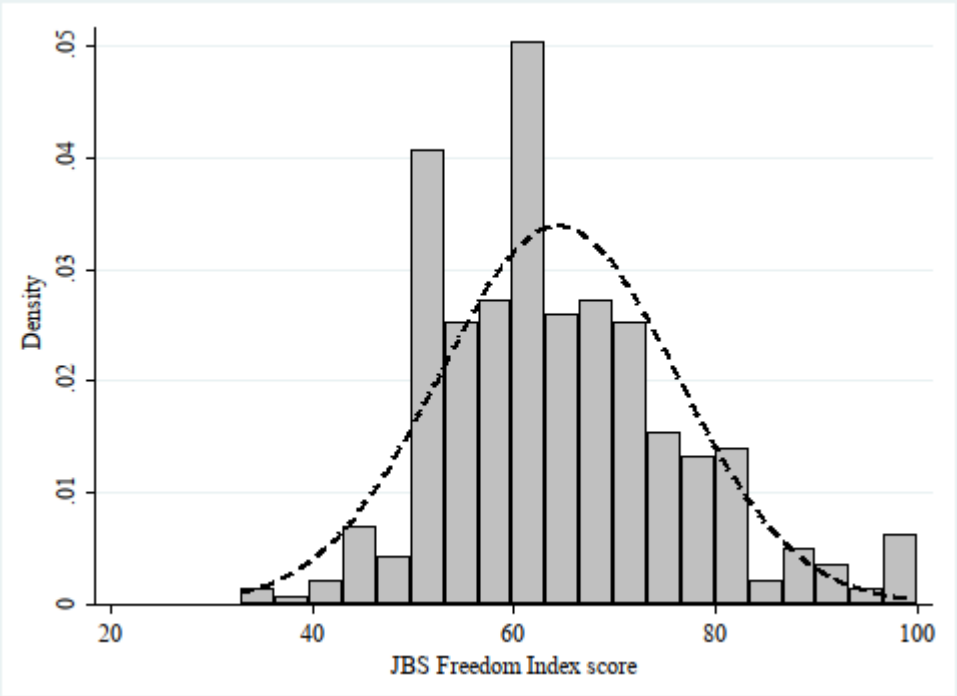


Figure A10. Histogram of JBS Freedom Index Score Percentage Change, Annual, GOP only

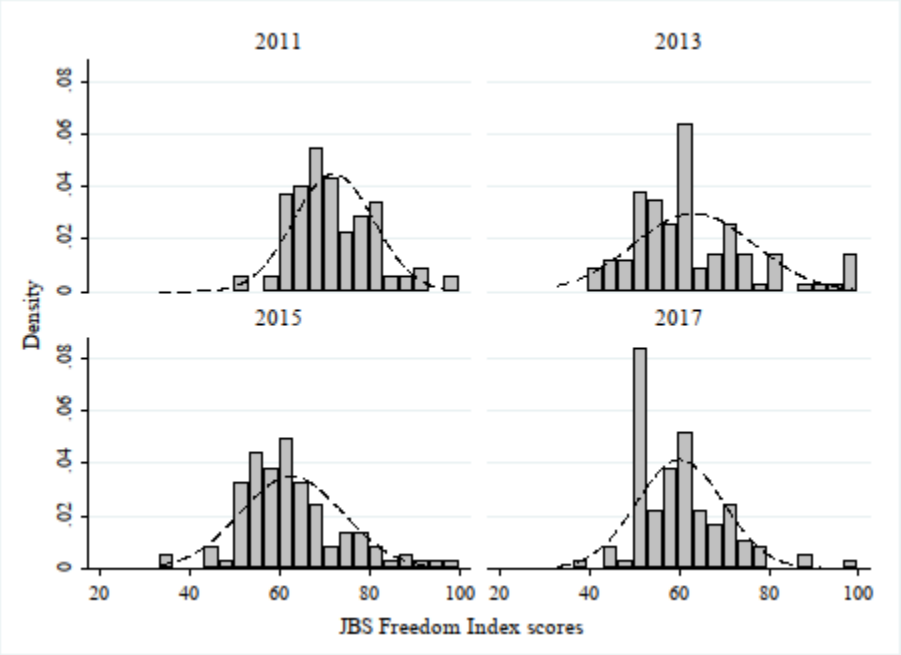


Figure A11. Histogram of JBS Freedom Index Score Percentage Change

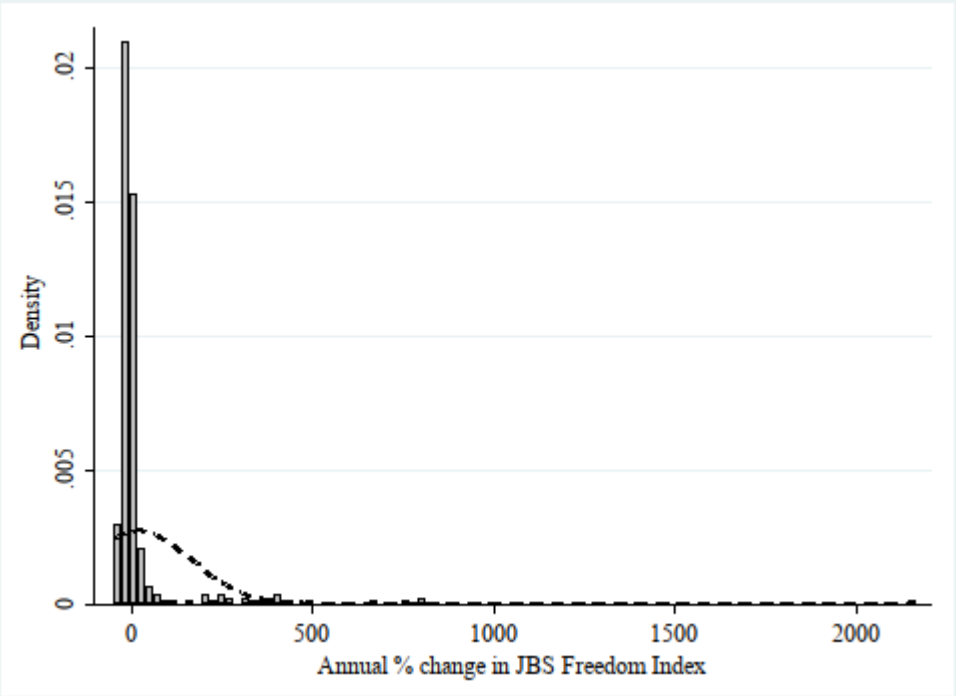


Figure A12. Histogram of JBS Freedom Index Score Percentage Change, Annual

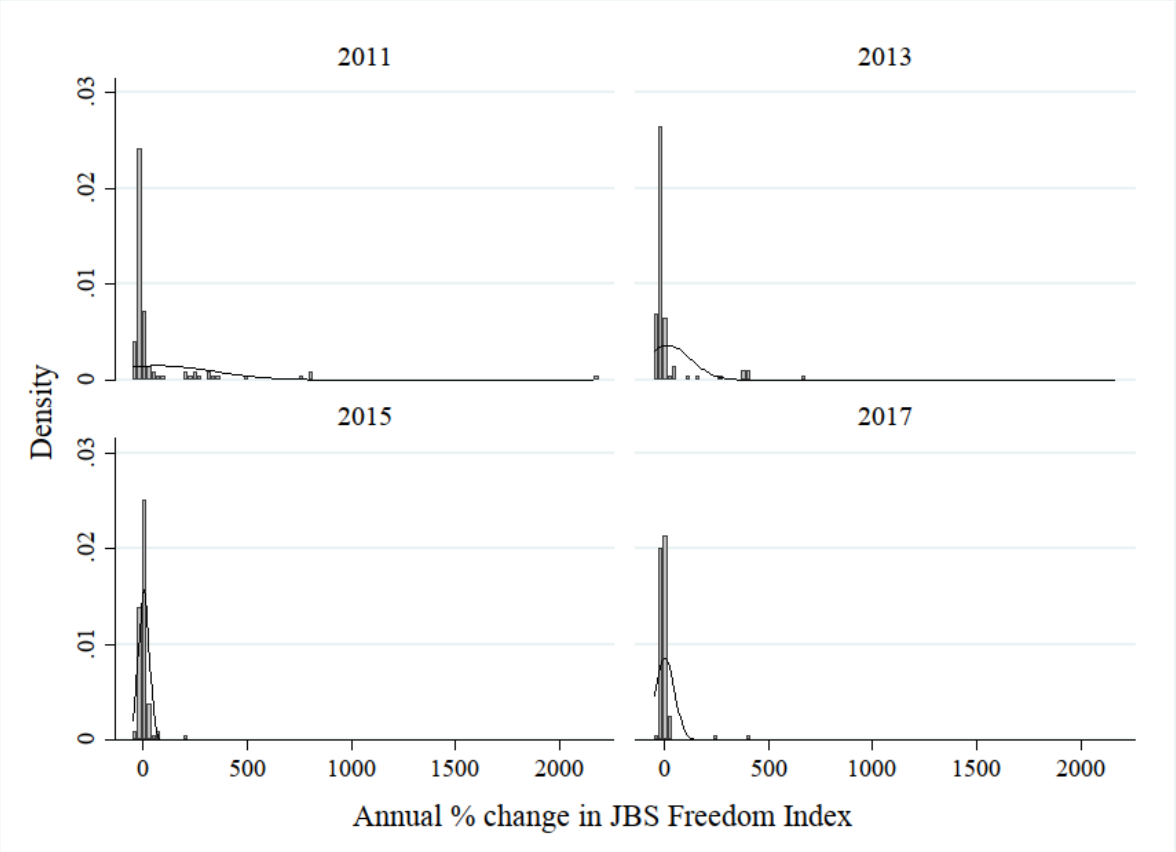


Figure A13. Histogram of ACLU Liberty Watch Scores (Not Used)

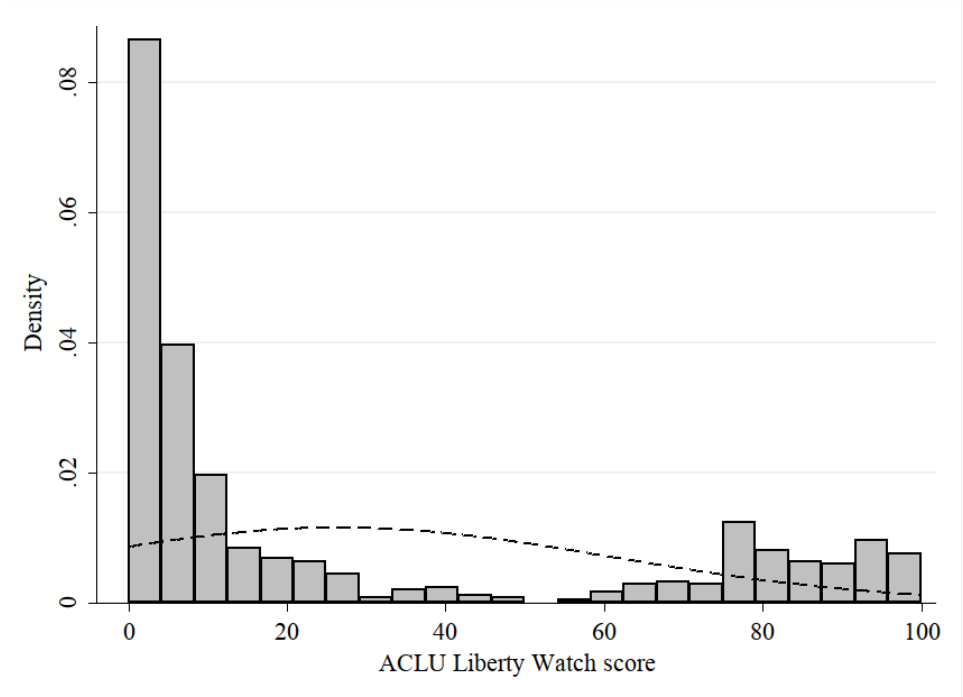


Figure A14. Histogram of ACLU Liberty Watch Scores, Annual (Not Used)

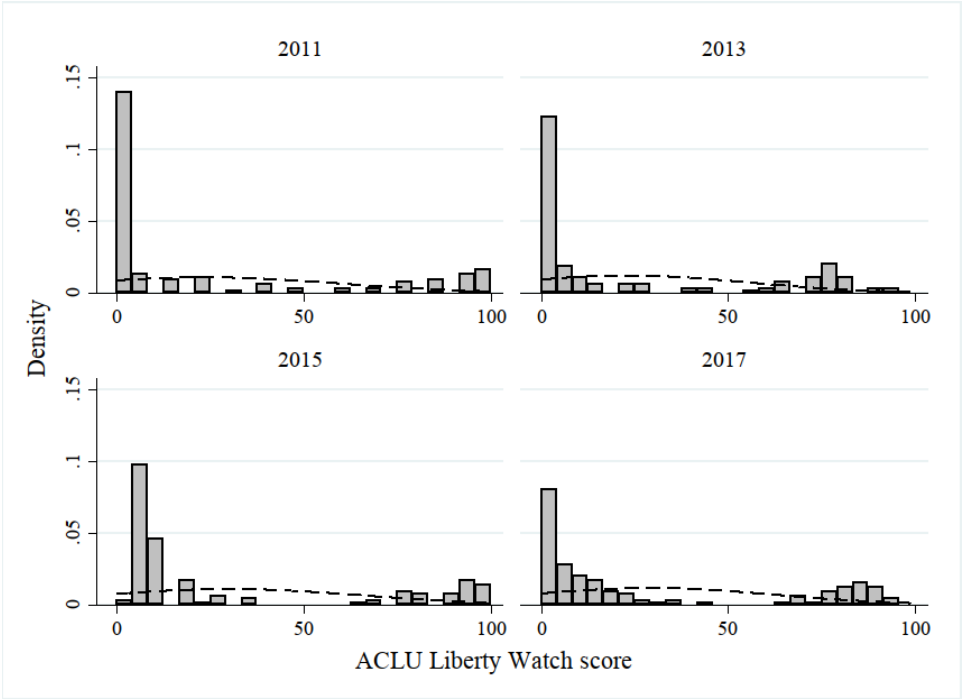


Figure A15. Histogram of LCCHR Scores (Not Used)

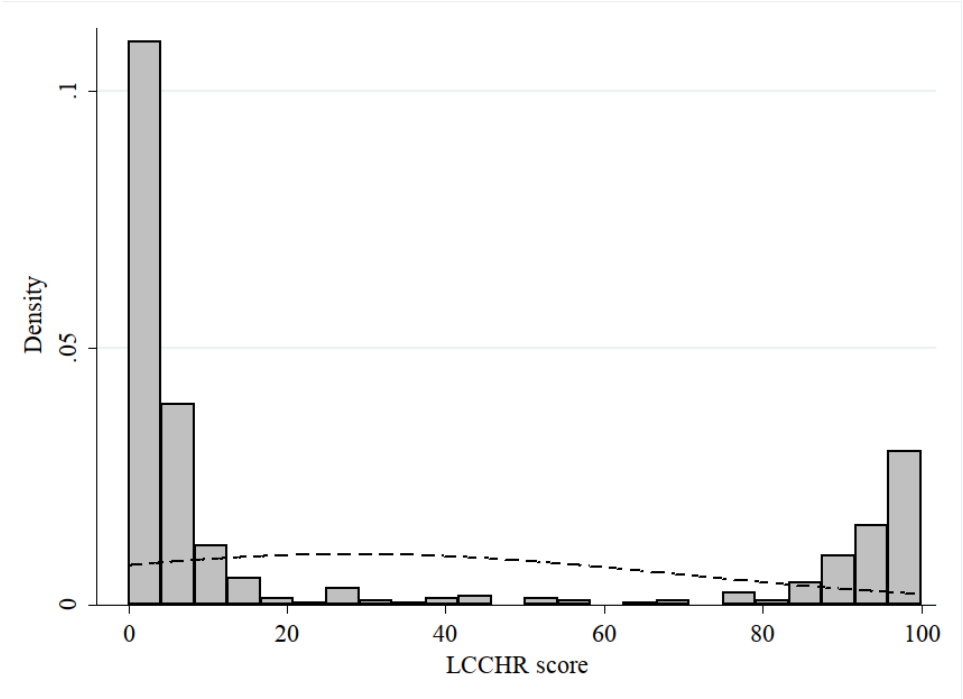


Figure A16. Histogram of LCCHR Scores, Annual (Not Used)

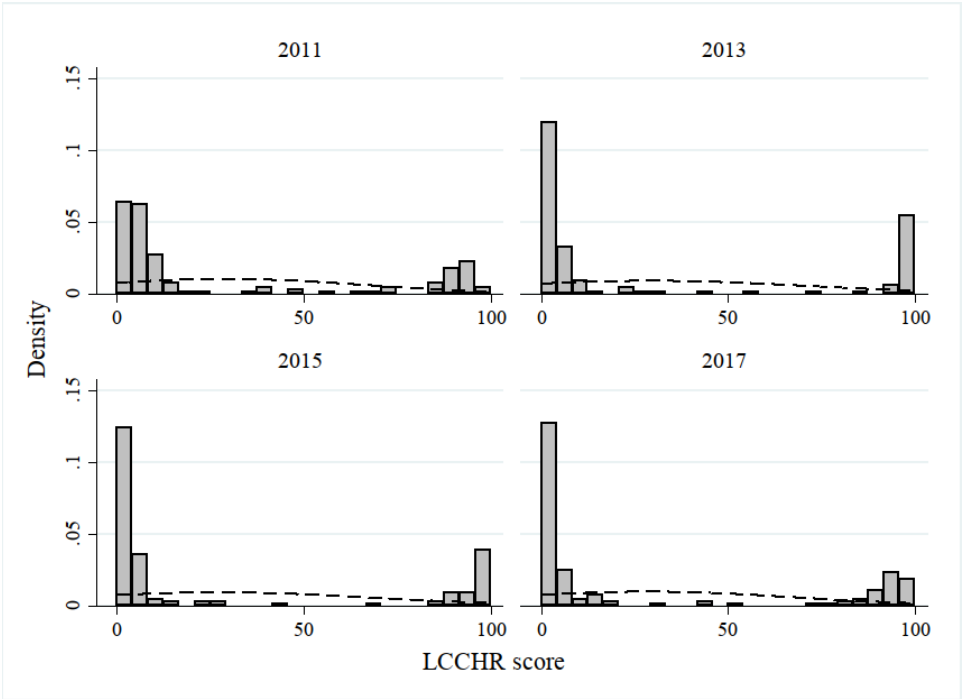
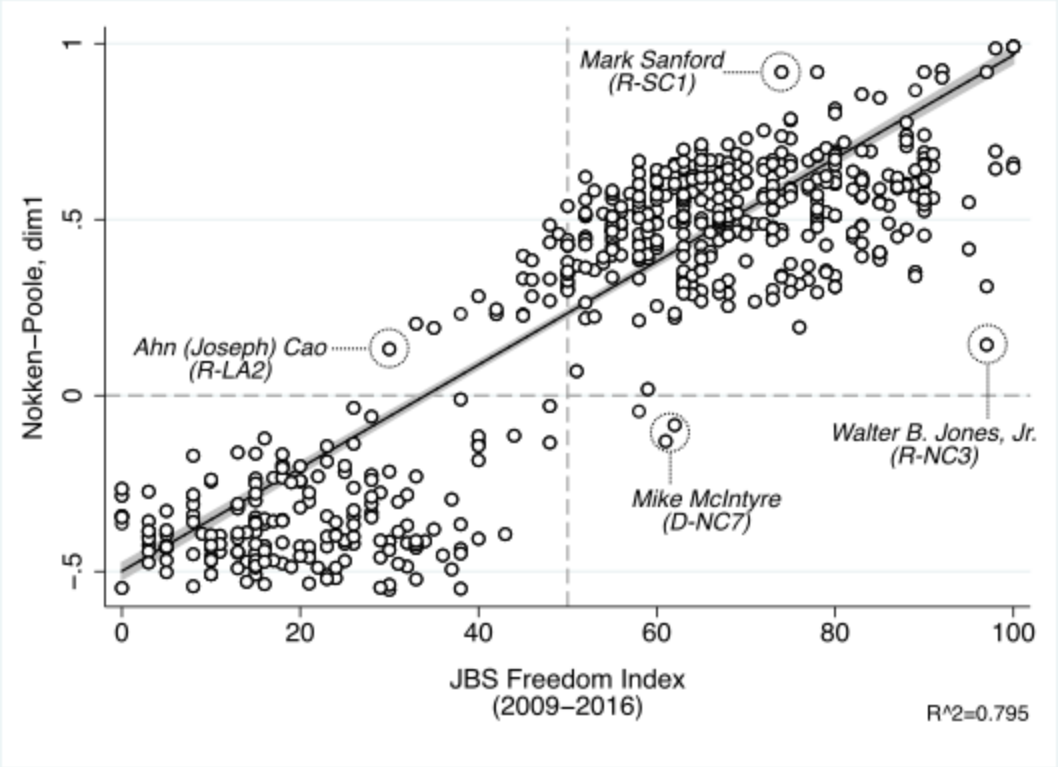


Figure A17. Comparison between JBS Freedom Index and Nokken-Poole, dim1 Scores



Supplementary Tables and Tests

Table A1. Models Omitting Party Change Variable - 2010-2017[1]

	Primary Tests: ***Correlates of Radical Conservatism*** *First Congressional Sessions (odd-numbered years)*		
	(4)	(5)	(6)
	FE Linear	FE Linear	FE Linear
	JBS Score	JBS % Change	JBS % Change
White Nationalist Groups	0.598	8.203*	
(count)	(0.444)	(3.462)	
Change in White Nationalist			7.768**
Groups *(count)*			(2.970)
Non-White Population	-0.045	0.117	0.093
% Annual Change	(0.029)	(0.204)	(0.207)
Relative Unemployment,	6.376†	78.690*	73.720*
White %/Black %	(3.593)	(32.402)	(32.561)
Less than High School %	0.419	8.537*	7.459*
(Ages 25+)	(0.438)	(3.733)	(3.780)
Young Adult Population %	-2.155†	-0.534	0.950
(Ages 18-24)	(1.140)	(20.350)	(20.410)
Congressional District	-0.003†	-0.018	-0.017
Population Density	(0.001)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Representative Change	6.330***	47.485**	42.355**
(no year lag)	(1.868)	(15.342)	(14.411)
State Redistricting	-3.558*	-35.210**	-24.740*
(no year lag)	(1.386)	(11.700)	(10.419)
"Statewide" WNM Count	2.194***	20.313***	14.702*
	(0.612)	(5.782)	(6.407)
JBS Freedom Index	0.190***	-4.952***	-5.017***
(year-lagged control)	(0.054)	(0.657)	(0.670)
Constant	54.344***	125.238	146.185
	(10.014)	(175.535)	(169.390)
Observations	568	562	562
R-squared (within)	0.185	0.392	0.398
F-Statistic	9.31	10.66	10.84
(p-value)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)

Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered by congressional district.

**** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, † p<0.10*

[1]*All explanatory variables are year-lagged, except where otherwise specified.*

Table A2. Models Omitting Statewide WNG counts - 2010-2017[1]

	Primary Tests: ***Correlates of Radical Conservatism*** *First Congressional Sessions (odd-numbered years)*		
	(4)	(5)	(6)
	FE Linear	FE Linear	FE Linear
	JBS Score	JBS % Change	JBS % Change
White Nationalist Groups	0.245	9.328*	
(count)	(0.442)	(3.702)	
Change in White Nationalist			11.976**
Groups *(count)*			(4.058)
Non-White Population	0.027	0.354*	0.349*
% Annual Change	(0.021)	(0.159)	(0.161)
Relative Unemployment,	1.819	77.180†	71.381†
White %/Black %	(4.625)	(44.606)	(43.029)
Less than High School %	0.241	8.680*	5.561
(Ages 25+)	(0.420)	(4.309)	(4.821)
Young Adult Population %	-1.613	-4.290	-2.062
(Ages 18-24)	(1.200)	(27.500)	(27.256)
Congressional District	-0.003*	-0.017	-0.016
Population Density	(0.001)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Rep Party Change	25.085***	112.103**	108.879**
(no year lag)	(3.381)	(42.851)	(41.221)
Representative Change	2.838	37.271*	30.308†
(no year lag)	(1.998)	(18.208)	(16.643)
State Redistricting	-0.085	-8.699	3.370
(no year lag)	(1.121)	(9.540)	(8.062)
JBS Freedom Index	0.342***	-4.612***	-4.792***
(year-lagged control)	(0.051)	(0.622)	(0.637)
Constant	46.490***	146.734	194.926
	(10.682)	(239.360)	(225.553)
Observations	423	417	417
R-squared (within)	0.445	0.447	0.464
F-Statistic	15.60	8.93	9.53
(p-value)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)

Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered by congressional district.

**** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, † p<0.10*

[1]*All explanatory variables are year-lagged, except where otherwise specified.*

Table A3. Models Omitting Party Change and Statewide WNG counts - 2010-2017[1]

	Primary Tests: ***Correlates of Radical Conservatism*** *First Congressional Sessions (odd-numbered years)*		
	(4)	(5)	(6)
	FE Linear	FE Linear	FE Linear
	JBS Score	JBS % Change	JBS % Change
White Nationalist Groups	0.699	9.052*	
(count)	(0.460)	(3.558)	
Change in White Nationalist			9.218***
Groups *(count)*			(2.785)
Non-White Population	-0.053†	0.039	0.041
% Annual Change	(0.029)	(0.190)	(0.195)
Relative Unemployment,	5.899	73.952*	70.418*
White %/Black %	(3.677)	(33.406)	(33.171)
Less than High School %	0.590	10.121**	8.202*
(Ages 25+)	(0.433)	(3.847)	(3.895)
Young Adult Population %	-2.086†	0.132	1.624
(Ages 18-24)	(1.163)	(20.376)	(20.289)
Congressional District	-0.003†	-0.019	-0.018
Population Density	(0.001)	(0.014)	(0.013)
Representative Change	6.261**	46.858**	40.988**
(no year lag)	(1.872)	(15.363)	(14.488)
State Redistricting	-1.935	-20.067*	-13.120
(no year lag)	(1.196)	(10.084)	(9.403)
JBS Freedom Index	0.194***	-4.891***	-4.993***
(year-lagged control)	(0.054)	(0.662)	(0.674)
Constant	51.660***	99.084	133.153
	(9.799)	(173.210)	(166.365)
Observations	568	562	562
R-squared (within)	0.171	0.383	0.393
F-Statistic	7.06	10.53	11.00
(p-value)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)

Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered by congressional district.

**** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, † p<0.10*

[1]*All explanatory variables are year-lagged, except where otherwise specified.*

Table A4. Model 4 substituting WNG change for WNG count - 2010-2017[1]

	Primary Tests: ***Correlates of Radical Conservatism*** *First Congressional Sessions (odd-numbered years)*	
	(4) FE Linear	(4a) FE Linear
	JBS Score	JBS Score
White Nationalist Groups *(count)*	0.150 (0.443)	
Change in White Nationalist Groups *(count)*		0.412 (0.264)
Non-White Population % Annual Change	0.030 (0.022)	0.030 (0.022)
Relative Unemployment, White %/Black %	1.807 (4.618)	1.732 (4.577)
Less than High School % *(Ages 25+)*	0.174 (0.425)	0.062 (0.433)
Young Adult Population % *(Ages 18-24)*	-1.585 (1.200)	-1.494 (1.197)
Congressional District Population Density	-0.003* (0.001)	-0.003* (0.001)
Rep Party Change *(no year lag)*	25.026*** (3.406)	24.919*** (3.385)
Representative Change *(no year lag)*	2.957 (1.992)	2.697 (2.008)
State Redistricting *(no year lag)*	-1.066 (1.250)	-0.493 (1.302)
"Statewide" WNM Count	1.483† (0.784)	1.135 (0.826)
JBS Freedom Index *(year-lagged control)*	0.346*** (0.051)	0.340*** (0.052)
Constant	46.469*** (10.731)	47.805*** (10.857)
Observations	423	423
R-squared (within)	0.451	0.455
F-Statistic (p-value)	14.14 (p<0.0001)	14.87 (p<0.0001)

Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered by congressional district.
**** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, † p<0.10*
[1]*All explanatory variables are year-lagged, except where otherwise specified.*

Table A5. White Nationalism and Racial Conservatism - 2010-2017, *Testing H_A* - Responsive representatives a product of more conservative environment, also conducive to WNGs[1]

	Antecedent Tests: ***Correlates of White Nationalism*** *Second Congressional Sessions (even-numbered years)*			***Primary Tests:*** ***Correlates of Radical Conservatism*** *First Congressional Sessions (odd-numbered years)*		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	FE Neg Binomial	FE Poisson	FE Linear	FE Linear	FE Linear	FE Linear
	WNG Count	WNG Count	WNG Change	JBS Score	JBS % Change	JBS % Change
JBS Freedom Index (yr lag)	0.005	0.005	0.005	0.403***	-4.411***	-4.219***
l.jbs	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.060)	(0.775)	(0.604)
White Nationalist Groups				1.710†	13.292	
(count)				(0.941)	(15.816)	
White Nationalist Groups				**-0.028***	-0.083	
*l.jbs				**(0.014)**	(0.238)	
Change in White Nationalist						**27.724***
Groups *(count)*						**(14.069)**
Change in White Nationalist						-0.277
Groups*l.jbs						(0.177)
Non-White Population	0.003	0.004	0.004	0.031	0.383*	0.337*
% Annual Change	(0.010)	(0.008)	(0.012)	(0.021)	(0.171)	(0.162)
Relative Unemployment,	-0.004	-0.029	0.003	1.662	76.460†	69.568
White %/Black %	(0.393)	(0.332)	(0.373)	(4.605)	(44.157)	(42.704)
Less than High School %	0.080**	0.079**	0.103*	0.153	8.019	4.796
(Ages 25+)	(0.031)	(0.029)	(0.041)	(0.424)	(4.460)	(5.031)
Young Adult Population %	0.013	0.011	-0.037	-1.493	-3.795	0.214
(Ages 18-24)	(0.069)	(0.061)	(0.100)	(1.182)	(27.819)	(27.710)
Congressional District	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000	-0.002*	-0.016	-0.014
Population Density	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.011)	(0.010)
Rep Party Change	0.006	0.010	0.048			
(+1 GOP / -1 DEM)	(0.187)	(0.126)	(0.174)			
Rep Party Change				25.473***	113.473*	121.444**
(no year lag)				(3.415)	(45.677)	(46.155)
Representative Change	-0.181	-0.165	-0.095			
	(0.140)	(0.101)	(0.157)			
Representative Change				3.014	38.351*	31.212†
(no year lag)				(2.000)	(18.590)	(16.571)
State Redistricting	-0.229*	-0.213**	-0.357**			

	(0.096)	(0.076)	(0.116)			
State Redistricting				-1.203	-17.658	-2.882
(no year lag)				(1.253)	(12.641)	(11.205)
"Statewide" WNM Count	0.152*	0.154*	0.291**			
(no year lag)	(0.064)	(0.063)	(0.092)			
"Statewide" WNM Count				1.674*	13.231†	5.944
				(0.779)	(7.027)	(6.976)
White Nationalist Groups	0.094**	0.094**	-0.684***			
(year-lagged control)	(0.030)	(0.033)	(0.125)			
Constant	14.804		-0.444	42.699***	136.007	148.916
	(480.362)		(1.032)	(10.626)	(250.894)	(233.493)
Observations	383	391	428	423	417	417
R-squared (within)	-	-	0.477	0.460	0.449	0.472
Chi^2/F-Statistic	58.555	81.318	6.69	13.34	7.67	8.23
(p-value)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)

*Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered by congressional district. *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, † p<0.10*

[1]*All explanatory variables are year-lagged, except where otherwise specified.*

Table A6. Republican Districts Only - 2010-2017[1]

	Antecedent Tests: ***Correlates of White Nationalism*** *Second Congressional Sessions (even-numbered years)*			***Primary Tests:*** ***Correlates of Radical Conservatism*** *First Congressional Sessions (odd-numbered years)*		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	FE Neg Binomial	FE Poisson	FE Linear	FE Linear	FE Linear	FE Linear
	WNG Count	WNG Count	WNG Change	JBS Score	JBS % Change	JBS % Change
JBS Freedom Index	0.004	0.004	0.006			
	(0.008)	(0.006)	(0.011)			
White Nationalist Groups				0.242	5.755*	
(count)				(0.382)	(2.891)	
Change in White Nationalist						6.054
Groups *(count)*						(4.833)
Non-White Population	-0.003	-0.003	-0.005	-0.030	-0.386	-0.344
% Annual Change	(0.011)	(0.007)	(0.011)	(0.031)	(0.259)	(0.276)
Relative Unemployment,	0.134	0.134	0.211	2.716	45.279	44.435
White %/Black %	(0.447)	(0.360)	(0.450)	(5.384)	(44.782)	(42.565)
Less than High School %	0.068†	0.068*	0.161**	1.035*	5.967	4.898
(Ages 25+)	(0.041)	(0.030)	(0.060)	(0.489)	(5.531)	(6.125)
Young Adult Population %	0.105	0.105	0.078	-0.445	57.817	57.662
(Ages 18-24)	(0.104)	(0.079)	(0.113)	(1.174)	(45.757)	(45.149)
Congressional District	-0.000	-0.000	0.000	-0.001	0.002	0.002
Population Density	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.002)	(0.012)	(0.013)
Rep Party Change	0.094	0.094	0.048			
(+1 GOP / -1 DEM)	(0.272)	(0.208)	(0.315)			
Rep Party Change				10.786**	180.652*	166.652*
(no year lag)				(4.026)	(74.588)	(66.089)
Representative Change	-0.228	-0.228	-0.244			
	(0.194)	(0.145)	(0.220)			
Representative Change				1.250	5.319	4.444
(no year lag)				(2.231)	(11.513)	(11.781)
State Redistricting	-0.222†	-0.222*	-0.362*			
	(0.120)	(0.104)	(0.140)			
State Redistricting				-5.641***	-26.819*	-16.113†
(no year lag)				(1.037)	(12.409)	(9.305)
"Statewide" WNM Count	0.207**	0.207**	0.339**			
(no year lag)	(0.078)	(0.076)	(0.113)			

"Statewide" WNM Count				1.663†	10.429	6.000
				(0.846)	(7.468)	(9.151)
White Nationalist Groups	0.089**	0.089*	-0.722***			
(year-lagged control)	(0.034)	(0.038)	(0.148)			
JBS Freedom Index				0.177***	-2.973***	-3.264***
(year-lagged control)				(0.037)	(0.604)	(0.751)
Constant	15.215		-2.439†	41.372***	-477.299	-431.295
	(1103.121)		(1.373)	(10.614)	(397.581)	(363.263)
Observations	271	271	307	307	304	304
R-squared (within)	-	-	0.540	0.356	0.517	0.520
Chi^2/F-Statistic	45.869	61.280	6.40	12.35	10.09	10.52
(p-value)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)

*Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered by congressional district. *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, † p<0.10*

[1]*All explanatory variables are year-lagged, except where otherwise specified.*

Table A7. Republican Districts Only, Omitting Party Change Variable - 2010-2017[1]

	Antecedent Tests: ***Correlates of White Nationalism*** *Second Congressional Sessions (even-numbered years)*			***Primary Tests:*** ***Correlates of Radical Conservatism*** *First Congressional Sessions (odd-numbered years)*		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	FE Neg Binomial	FE Poisson	FE Linear	FE Linear	FE Linear	FE Linear
	WNG Count	WNG Count	WNG Change	JBS Score	JBS % Change	JBS % Change
JBS Freedom Index	0.008	0.008	0.015			
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.010)			
White Nationalist Groups				0.325	7.138*	
(count)				(0.383)	(3.583)	
Change in White Nationalist						8.768
Groups *(count)*						(5.625)
Non-White Population	0.004	0.004	0.004	-0.036	-0.479†	-0.409
% Annual Change	(0.008)	(0.006)	(0.008)	(0.029)	(0.279)	(0.295)
Relative Unemployment,	0.003	0.003	0.007	3.320	55.054	54.228
White %/Black %	(0.352)	(0.267)	(0.407)	(5.130)	(46.459)	(43.771)
Less than High School %	0.063*	0.063*	0.151*	1.611***	15.565***	12.776**
(Ages 25+)	(0.030)	(0.029)	(0.063)	(0.445)	(4.429)	(4.605)
Young Adult Population %	0.108	0.108	0.065	-0.891	50.308	50.920
(Ages 18-24)	(0.084)	(0.066)	(0.102)	(1.140)	(44.218)	(43.854)
Congressional District	0.000	0.000	0.000†	-0.001	0.005	0.004
Population Density	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.002)	(0.013)	(0.014)
Representative Change	-0.079	-0.079	-0.059			
	(0.114)	(0.090)	(0.163)			
Representative Change				3.568*	44.366**	38.148**
(no year lag)				(1.682)	(16.020)	(12.979)
State Redistricting	-0.236*	-0.236**	-0.384**			
	(0.110)	(0.088)	(0.126)			
State Redistricting				-5.754***	-28.548*	-13.342
(no year lag)				(0.987)	(12.866)	(9.072)
"Statewide" WNM Count	0.170**	0.170***	0.264**			
(no year lag)	(0.062)	(0.051)	(0.094)			
"Statewide" WNM Count				1.915*	14.436†	7.104
				(0.884)	(8.073)	(9.484)
White Nationalist Groups	0.034†	0.034*	-0.914***	0.325	7.138*	
(year-lagged control)	(0.019)	(0.016)	(0.063)	(0.383)	(3.583)	

JBS Freedom Index	0.008	0.008	0.015	0.078*	-4.612***	-4.869***
(year-lagged control)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.010)	(0.035)	(0.824)	(0.995)
Constant	13.951		-2.335	44.024***	-432.348	-369.774
	(440.512)		(1.416)	(10.624)	(393.355)	(353.872)
Observations	364	364	391	307	304	304
R-squared (within)	-	-	0.718	0.320	0.490	0.498
Chi^2/F-Statistic	46.133	56.812	51.23	8.34	10.12	10.93
(p-value)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)

*Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered by congressional district. *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, † p<0.10*

[1]*All explanatory variables are year-lagged, except where otherwise specified.*

Table A8. White Nationalism and Racial Conservatism - 2010-2017, districts with no change to incumbent representative[1]

	Primary Tests: ***Correlates of Radical Conservatism*** *First Congressional Sessions (odd-numbered years)*		
	(4)	(5)	(6)
	FE Linear	FE Linear	FE Linear
	JBS Score	JBS % Change	JBS % Change
White Nationalist Groups	0.152	5.318†	
(count)	(0.333)	(3.104)	
Change in White Nationalist			5.609**
Groups *(count)*			(2.136)
Non-White Population	0.095**	0.489†	0.522†
% Annual Change	(0.035)	(0.264)	(0.267)
Relative Unemployment,	2.659	47.713†	42.352
White %/Black %	(3.518)	(28.560)	(29.084)
Less than High School %	0.099	13.304***	12.322***
(Ages 25+)	(0.349)	(3.550)	(3.659)
Young Adult Population %	-1.024	-27.975*	-26.606*
(Ages 18-24)	(0.981)	(13.089)	(12.932)
Congressional District	-0.003*	0.002	0.000
Population Density	(0.001)	(0.013)	(0.013)
State Redistricting	-1.599	-28.447***	-20.696*
(no year lag)	(1.101)	(8.315)	(8.019)
"Statewide" WNM Count	1.099†	18.304***	14.003*
	(0.591)	(5.538)	(5.984)
JBS Freedom Index	0.434***	-3.656***	-3.716***
(year-lagged control)	(0.052)	(0.619)	(0.614)
Constant	37.070***	254.790*	272.271*
	(10.102)	(121.027)	(120.412)
Observations	453	450	450
R-squared (within)	0.465	0.365	0.373
F-Statistic	14.91	4.27	4.57
(p-value)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)

Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered by congressional district.
**** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, † p<0.10*
[1]*All explanatory variables are year-lagged, except where otherwise specified.*

Table A9. White Nationalism and Racial Conservatism - 2010-2017, WNG interactions with incumbent and party change[1]

	Primary Tests: Correlates of Radical Conservatism					
	First Congressional Sessions (odd-numbered years)					
	(4a)	(5a)	(6a)	(4b)	(5b)	(6b)
	FE Linear	FE Linear	FE Linear	FE Linear	FE Linear	FE Linear
	JBS Score	JBS % Change	JBS % Change	JBS Score	JBS % Change	JBS % Change
White Nationalist Groups	0.002	9.931**		0.152	8.859*	
(count) (WNG)	(0.452)	(3.816)		(0.429)	(3.533)	
Representative Change*WNG	0.640	-3.599				
	(0.684)	(8.882)				
1.Party Change to DEM				-6.121	19.189	
*WNG				(7.452)	(38.159)	
2.Party Change to GOP				0.521	1.579	
*WNG				(1.196)	(18.688)	
Change in White Nationalist			15.347***			12.775***
Groups *(count) (WNGchg)*			(4.516)			(3.608)
Representative Change			-15.651*			
*WNGchg			(6.702)			
1.Party Change to DEM						-32.689
*WNGchg						(76.504)
2.Party Change to GOP						-18.653
*WNGchg						(15.673)
Non-White Population	0.026	0.221	0.221	0.032	0.197	0.226
% Annual Change	(0.025)	(0.187)	(0.177)	(0.026)	(0.184)	(0.191)
Relative Unemployment,	2.162	74.417†	58.378	2.087	76.415†	68.110
White %/Black %	(4.600)	(42.554)	(42.620)	(4.658)	(42.169)	(42.173)
Less than High School %	0.184	7.717†	5.070	0.146	7.903†	5.132
(Ages 25+)	(0.421)	(4.338)	(4.809)	(0.428)	(4.335)	(4.767)
Young Adult Population %	-1.626	-3.208	0.461	-1.578	-3.482	-0.721
(Ages 18-24)	(1.180)	(27.729)	(27.581)	(1.201)	(27.606)	(28.183)
Congressional District	-0.003*	-0.014	-0.015	-0.002*	-0.015	-0.016†
Population Density	(0.001)	(0.010)	(0.009)	(0.001)	(0.011)	(0.009)
Representative Change	1.351	16.187	14.053	2.505	9.212	6.374
(no year lag)	(2.908)	(23.413)	(13.729)	(2.387)	(14.026)	(13.782)
1.Party Change to DEM	-23.176***	-7.968	-21.388	-18.349†	-22.734	-5.119
(no year lag)	(6.234)	(38.007)	(33.418)	(9.681)	(48.461)	(39.452)
2.Party Change to GOP	25.706***	166.414**	162.403**	25.010***	163.339*	173.948**

(no year lag)	(4.537)	(63.195)	(60.428)	(5.086)	(63.492)	(57.149)
State Redistricting	-0.838	-21.900	-5.663	-1.140	-19.865	-5.677
(no year lag)	(1.278)	(13.806)	(11.159)	(1.266)	(12.763)	(11.062)
"Statewide" WNM Count	1.450†	12.687†	3.911	1.478†	12.465†	4.807
	(0.787)	(6.999)	(7.129)	(0.787)	(6.943)	(7.100)
JBS Freedom Index	0.346***	-4.406***	-4.634***	0.346***	-4.408***	-4.683***
(year-lagged control)	(0.053)	(0.611)	(0.627)	(0.053)	(0.613)	(0.627)
Constant	46.765***	132.660	173.132	46.577***	133.768	182.277
	(10.759)	(242.200)	(228.150)	(10.766)	(240.772)	(237.588)
Observations	423	417	417	423	417	417
R-squared (within)	0.453	0.458	0.477	0.454	0.458	0.475
F-Statistic	11.79	8.27	9.35	11.86	8.24	8.94
(p-value)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)

*Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered by congressional district. *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, † p<0.10*

[1]*All explanatory variables are year-lagged, except where otherwise specified.*

Table A10. White Nationalism and Racial Conservatism - 2010-2017, comparison with no WNGs[1]

	Primary Tests: Correlates of Radical Conservatism – *First Congressional Sessions (odd-numbered years)*				
	(No WNGs)	(4)	(No WNGs)	(5)	(6)
	FE Linear	FE Linear	FE Linear	FE Linear	FE Linear
	JBS Score	JBS Score	JBS % Change	JBS % Change	JBS % Change
White Nationalist Groups		0.150		8.510*	
(count)		(0.443)		(3.710)	
Change in White Nationalist					11.621**
Groups *(count)*					(4.212)
Non-White Population	0.027	0.030	0.323*	0.381*	0.358*
% Annual Change	(0.021)	(0.022)	(0.161)	(0.169)	(0.165)
Relative Unemployment,	1.593	1.807	69.519	77.139†	71.525†
White %/Black %	(4.599)	(4.618)	(44.754)	(43.541)	(42.842)
Less than High School %	0.270	0.174	9.874*	8.126†	5.481
(Ages 25+)	(0.414)	(0.425)	(4.342)	(4.329)	(4.805)
Young Adult Population %	-1.617	-1.585	-4.395	-4.092	-2.065
(Ages 18-24)	(1.200)	(1.200)	(27.586)	(27.502)	(27.296)
Congressional District	-0.003*	-0.003*	-0.016	-0.017	-0.016
Population Density	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Rep Party Change	25.142***	25.026***	113.622**	111.752**	108.866**
(no year lag)	(3.390)	(3.406)	(43.133)	(42.849)	(41.286)
Representative Change	2.836	2.957	37.392*	38.293*	30.838†
(no year lag)	(1.988)	(1.992)	(18.085)	(18.497)	(16.582)
State Redistricting	0.042	-1.066	-3.720	-17.106	0.366
(no year lag)	(1.072)	(1.250)	(8.991)	(12.147)	(10.249)
"Statewide" WNM Count		1.483†		12.701†	4.013
		(0.784)		(6.902)	(6.887)
JBS Freedom Index	0.342***	0.346***	-4.571***	-4.582***	-4.778***
(year-lagged control)	(0.050)	(0.051)	(0.620)	(0.614)	(0.636)
Constant	46.582***	46.469***	146.603	146.870	193.540
	(10.652)	(10.731)	(240.693)	(239.034)	(225.593)
Observations	423	423	417	417	417
R-squared (within)	0.445	0.451	0.442	0.449	0.464
F-Statistic	17.26	14.14	9.81	8.13	8.65
(p-value)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)

*Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered by congressional district. *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, † p<0.10*

[1]*All explanatory variables are year-lagged, except where otherwise specified.*

Table A11. White Nationalism and Racial Conservatism - 2010-2017, Primary Tests Substituting LCCHR and ACLU Scores

	Primary Tests: Substituting LCCHR Rating			***Primary Tests: Substituting ACLU Rating***		
	First Congressional Sessions (odd-numbered years)			*First Congressional Sessions (odd-numbered years)*		
	(4a)	(5a)	(6a)	(4b)	(5b)	(6b)
	FE Linear	FE Linear	FE Linear	FE Linear	FE Linear	FE Linear
	LCCHR Score	LCCHR % Chg	LCCHR % Chg	ACLU Score	ACLU % Chg	ACLU % Chg
White Nationalist Groups	-0.298	-10.457		-0.921	9.148	
(count)	(0.424)	(9.171)		(0.631)	(12.577)	
Change in White Nationalist			-3.338			-8.193†
Groups *(count)*			(4.849)			(4.495)
Non-White Population	0.074**	0.817	0.869	-0.016	1.039	1.008
% Annual Change	(0.023)	(0.739)	(0.776)	(0.032)	(0.819)	(0.817)
Relative Unemployment,	-0.804	**103.783***	**111.266***	0.583	-60.864	-62.344
White %/Black %	(3.698)	**(50.782)**	**(56.025)**	(7.408)	(72.673)	(70.858)
Less than High School %	0.308	10.005	9.716	-0.540	-1.148	1.727
(Ages 25+)	(0.367)	(7.608)	(7.774)	(0.703)	(5.683)	(5.686)
Young Adult Population %	0.696	-17.757	-18.982	3.503*	15.473	12.960
(Ages 18-24)	(1.008)	(17.291)	(18.152)	(1.629)	(24.227)	(24.310)
Congressional District	0.001	-0.030	-0.030	0.003†	-0.010	-0.012
Population Density	(0.001)	(0.030)	(0.031)	(0.002)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Rep Party Change	-61.068***	-202.571†	-199.303†	-33.100***	-11.889	-22.673
(no year lag)	(4.936)	(105.431)	(105.728)	(5.411)	(85.922)	(82.775)
Representative Change	2.783	87.954	89.873	2.083	-13.633	-7.346
(no year lag)	(2.106)	(67.917)	(70.817)	(2.094)	(35.848)	(34.056)
State Redistricting	-0.106	18.608	8.569	-4.352*	-26.338	-29.928
(no year lag)	(1.209)	(21.013)	(15.236)	(1.886)	(41.679)	(37.044)
"Statewide" WNM Count	1.817*	4.001	5.575	-0.385	-1.697	1.866
	(0.796)	(10.072)	(9.651)	(1.062)	(15.670)	(15.358)
LCCHR rating	0.721***	-0.345	-0.491			
(year-lagged control)	(0.052)	(0.669)	(0.736)			
ACLU rating				0.316**	-4.994	-4.767
(year-lagged control)				(0.104)	(3.095)	(2.984)
Constant	-5.548	-6.045	-0.621	-8.042	105.242	98.602
	(9.514)	(127.495)	(125.808)	(16.123)	(139.898)	(137.924)
Observations	433	268	268	433	272	272
R-squared (within)	0.754	0.291	0.286	0.365	0.362	0.367
F-Statistic	26.17	1.44	1.54	7.04	2.44	2.51

(p-value)	(p<0.0001)	(p=0.161)	(p=0.123)	(p<0.0001)	(p=0.008)	(p=0.006)

*Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered by congressional district. *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, † p<0.10*

[1]*All explanatory variables are year-lagged, except where otherwise specified.*

Table A12. White Nationalism and Racial Conservatism - 2010-2017, Substitute Nokken-Poole, Dim1 for JBS Score[1,2]

	Antecedent Tests: Correlates of White Nationalism *Second Congressional Sessions (even-numbered years)*		***Primary Tests: Correlates of Radical Conservatism*** *First Congressional Sessions (odd-numbered years)*		
	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	FE Poisson	FE Linear	FE Linear	FE Linear	FE Linear
	WNG Count	WNG Change	Nokken-Poole, Dim1	Nokken-Poole, Dim1 %Change	Nokken-Poole, Dim1 %Change
Nokken-Poole, Dim 1	0.040	-0.153			
(Economic-Distributive Scale)	(0.300)	(0.443)			
White Nationalist Groups			0.004	0.042	
			(0.005)	(0.046)	
Change in WNGs					-0.147
					(0.167)
Non-White Population	0.002	0.002	-0.001**	-0.008	-0.008
% Annual Change	(0.008)	(0.012)	(0.000)	(0.006)	(0.005)
Relative Unemployment,	0.002	0.049	0.068	0.473	0.430
White %/Black %	(0.331)	(0.372)	(0.079)	(0.469)	(0.493)
Less than High School %	0.076**	0.097*	-0.005	0.012	0.062
(Ages 25+)	(0.026)	(0.037)	(0.003)	(0.043)	(0.077)
Young Adult Population %	0.008	-0.047	-0.010	-0.025	-0.070
(Ages 18-24)	(0.058)	(0.097)	(0.010)	(0.104)	(0.112)
Congressional District	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000	0.000	0.000
Population Density	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Rep Party Change	0.057	0.131			
(+1 GOP / -1 DEM)	(0.134)	(0.187)			
Rep Party Change			0.666***	-2.274*	-2.308*
(no year lag)			(0.033)	(0.932)	(0.957)
Representative Change	-0.141	-0.073			
	(0.095)	(0.153)			
Representative Change			0.025	-1.093*	-1.001*
(no year lag)			(0.023)	(0.481)	(0.423)
State Redistricting	-0.221**	-0.372***			
	(0.076)	(0.115)			
State Redistricting			0.009	0.041	-0.113
(no year lag)			(0.013)	(0.348)	(0.216)

"Statewide" WNM Count	0.167**	0.302***			
(no year lag)	(0.061)	(0.090)			
"Statewide" WNM Count			-0.003	-0.029	0.108
			(0.008)	(0.130)	(0.097)
White Nationalist Groups	0.097**	-0.688***			
(year-lagged control)	(0.036)	(0.126)			
Nokken-Poole, Dim 1			0.827***	-0.127	-0.188
(year-lagged control)			(0.039)	(0.433)	(0.453)
Constant		0.095	0.180†	-0.279	-0.468
		(0.994)	(0.108)	(1.052)	(1.153)
Observations	394	431	434	434	434
R-squared (within)	-	0.477	0.760	0.140	0.153
Chi^2/F-Statistic	65.089	6.72	72.25	3.32	2.96
(p-value)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p=0.0004)	(p=0.0014)

*Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered by congressional district. *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, † p<0.10*

[1]*All explanatory variables are year-lagged, except where otherwise specified.*

[2]*Model 1 Negative Binomial Regression does not converge*

Table A13. White Nationalism and Racial Conservatism - 2010-2017, Ordinal WNG vars[1,2]

	Antecedent Tests: Correlates of White Nationalism *Second Congressional Sessions (even-numbered years)*		***Primary Tests: Correlates of Radical Conservatism*** *First Congressional Sessions (odd-numbered years)*		
	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	FE Poisson	FE Linear	FE Linear	FE Linear	FE Linear
	WNG Count *(Ordinal)*	WNG Change *(Ordinal)*	JBS Score	JBS % Change	JBS % Change
JBS Freedom Index	0.005	0.003			
	(0.004)	(0.006)			
White Nationalist Groups	0.189***	-0.724***	0.251	14.946*	
(ordinal measure)	(0.050)	(0.074)	(0.668)	(6.144)	
Change in White Nationalist Groups *(ordinal measure)*					23.172** (7.733)
Non-White Population % Annual Change	0.002 (0.008)	0.004 (0.010)	0.030 (0.022)	0.381* (0.169)	0.370* (0.162)
Relative Unemployment, White %/Black %	0.050 (0.326)	0.023 (0.332)	1.874 (4.611)	81.045† (43.482)	71.041† (41.799)
Less than High School % *(Ages 25+)*	0.055* (0.025)	0.072* (0.033)	0.168 (0.427)	7.655† (4.413)	4.313 (4.876)
Young Adult Population % *(Ages 18-24)*	-0.008 (0.049)	-0.038 (0.087)	-1.584 (1.199)	-3.894 (27.404)	-1.438 (26.995)
Congressional District Population Density	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.003* (0.001)	-0.017 (0.011)	-0.016 (0.010)
Rep Party Change *(+1 GOP / -1 DEM)*	0.050 (0.126)	0.011 (0.151)			
Rep Party Change *(no year lag)*			25.017*** (3.407)	111.346** (42.478)	108.601** (40.749)
Representative Change	-0.088 (0.091)	-0.151 (0.126)			
Representative Change *(no year lag)*			2.970 (1.989)	38.952* (18.467)	32.638* (16.413)
State Redistricting	-0.262*** (0.080)	-0.212* (0.101)			
State Redistricting *(no year lag)*			-1.085 (1.260)	-18.384 (12.679)	1.826 (10.134)

"Statewide" WNM Count	0.142**	0.202**			
(no year lag)	(0.054)	(0.075)			
"Statewide" WNM Count			1.469†	11.729†	1.027
			(0.791)	(6.788)	(7.215)
White Nationalist Groups	0.189***	-0.724***			
(year-lagged control)	(0.050)	(0.074)			
JBS Freedom Index			0.346***	-4.582***	-4.733***
(year-lagged control)			(0.050)	(0.615)	(0.616)
Constant		0.074	46.416***	143.581	203.655
		(0.863)	(10.739)	(238.169)	(218.452)
Observations	383	422	423	417	417
R-squared (within)	-	0.401	0.451	0.451	0.473
Chi^2/F-Statistic	74.680	15.43	14.13	8.39	9.21
(p-value)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)

*Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered by congressional district. *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, † p<0.10*

[1]*All explanatory variables are year-lagged, except where otherwise specified.*

[2]*Model 1 Negative Binomial Regression excluded as ordinal dependent variable is not a count variable*

Table A14. White Nationalism and Racial Conservatism - 2010-2017, Extreme Ordinal WNG vars[1,2]

	Antecedent Tests: Correlates of White Nationalism *Second Congressional Sessions (even-numbered years)*		***Primary Tests: Correlates of Radical Conservatism*** *First Congressional Sessions (odd-numbered years)*		
	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	FE Poisson	FE Linear	FE Linear	FE Linear	FE Linear
	WNG Count *(ExtrOrdinal)*	WNG Change *(ExtrOrdinal)*	JBS Score	JBS % Change	JBS % Change
JBS Freedom Index	0.006	0.001			
	(0.010)	(0.001)			
White Nationalist Groups			-0.456	-13.279	
(extreme ordinal measure)			(1.919)	(21.860)	
Change in WNGs					36.525*
(extreme ordinal measure)					(16.254)
Non-White Population	0.001	-0.000	0.029	0.341*	0.354*
% Annual Change	(0.022)	(0.003)	(0.022)	(0.161)	(0.168)
Relative Unemployment,	-0.528	-0.023	1.605	68.740	74.716†
White %/Black %	(0.721)	(0.083)	(4.643)	(43.605)	(43.820)
Less than High School %	0.169*	0.003	0.200	9.453*	7.142
(Ages 25+)	(0.067)	(0.008)	(0.422)	(4.310)	(4.689)
Young Adult Population %	-0.163	-0.003	-1.587	-4.218	-2.648
(Ages 18-24)	(0.150)	(0.023)	(1.199)	(27.465)	(27.633)
Congressional District	0.000	-0.000	-0.003*	-0.016	-0.016
Population Density	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.012)	(0.011)
Rep Party Change	0.111	-0.012			
(+1 GOP / -1 DEM)	(0.374)	(0.051)			
Rep Party Change			25.091***	113.558**	110.587**
(no year lag)			(3.415)	(43.539)	(42.065)
Representative Change	0.401	0.003			
	(0.287)	(0.039)			
Representative Change			2.951	38.375*	35.417*
(no year lag)			(1.977)	(18.278)	(17.548)
State Redistricting	0.046	-0.087*			
	(0.181)	(0.037)			
State Redistricting			-0.967	-12.523	-8.257
(no year lag)			(1.244)	(11.067)	(11.195)

"Statewide" WNM Count	0.424*	0.048*			
(no year lag)	(0.190)	(0.025)			
"Statewide" WNM Count			1.533*	15.029*	9.402
			(0.769)	(7.167)	(6.716)
White Nationalist Groups	0.653†	-0.315***			
(year-lagged control)	(0.393)	(0.069)			
JBS Freedom Index			0.347***	-4.519***	-4.700***
(year-lagged control)			(0.051)	(0.599)	(0.640)
Constant		0.016	46.485***	144.863	168.486
		(0.236)	(10.728)	(241.528)	(232.906)
Observations	180	422	423	417	417
R-squared (within)	-	0.189	0.451	0.446	0.453
Chi^2/F-Statistic	34.304	2.76	14.04	8.54	8.32
(p-value)	(p=0.0003)	(p=0.0027)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)

*Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered by congressional district. *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, † p<0.10*

[1]*All explanatory variables are year-lagged, except where otherwise specified.*

[2]*Model 1 Negative Binomial Regression excluded as ordinal dependent variable is not a count variable*

Table A15. White Nationalism and Radical Conservatism – 2010-2017, employing provisional "White Nationalism legislative index"[1]

	Antecedent Tests: ***Correlates of White Nationalism*** *Second Congressional Sessions (even-numbered years)*			***Primary Tests:*** ***Correlates of Radical Conservatism*** *First Congressional Sessions (odd-numbered years)*		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	FE Neg Binomial	FE Poisson	FE Linear	FE Linear	FE Linear	FE Linear
	WNG Count	WNG Count	WNG Change	WNindex	WNi % Change	WNi % Change
White Nationalism Index	-0.006	-0.006	0.303			
	(0.402)	(0.375)	(0.605)			
White Nationalist Groups				0.009†	**11.091***	
(count)				(0.006)	**(5.048)**	
Change in White Nationalist						**7.350****
Groups *(count)*						**(2.749)**
Non-White Population	0.002	0.002	0.003	**-0.001****	-0.617†	-0.657†
% Annual Change	(0.010)	(0.008)	(0.012)	**(0.000)**	(0.336)	(0.334)
Relative Unemployment,	0.014	0.014	0.018	-0.010	50.735	41.204
White %/Black %	(0.392)	(0.330)	(0.369)	(0.047)	(50.418)	(50.125)
Less than High School %	**0.075***	**0.075****	**0.102***	0.001	4.237	3.197
(Ages 25+)	**(0.030)**	**(0.027)**	**(0.040)**	(0.007)	(3.778)	(3.666)
Young Adult Population %	0.005	0.005	-0.037	-0.032*	6.355	8.277
(Ages 18-24)	(0.070)	(0.059)	(0.099)	(0.015)	(9.326)	(9.533)
Congressional District	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000*	0.007	0.008
Population Density	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.014)	(0.014)
Rep Party Change	0.062	0.062	0.048			
(+1 GOP / -1 DEM)	(0.198)	(0.157)	(0.207)			
Rep Party Change				0.226***	265.984***	267.778***
(no year lag)				(0.037)	(31.589)	(32.018)
Representative Change	-0.139	-0.139	-0.074			
	(0.136)	(0.094)	(0.155)			
Representative Change				0.004	32.008*	27.444†
(no year lag)				(0.022)	(15.978)	(15.906)
State Redistricting	-0.229*	-0.229**	-0.384**			
	(0.096)	(0.080)	(0.120)			
State Redistricting				0.031*	-85.598***	-73.032***
(no year lag)				(0.015)	(13.841)	(14.109)
"Statewide" WNM Count	0.166**	0.166**	0.299***			
(no year lag)	(0.063)	(0.062)	(0.089)			

"Statewide" WNM Count				-0.004	7.478	3.246
				(0.010)	(10.167)	(10.272)
White Nationalist Groups	0.097***	0.097**	-0.679***			
(year-lagged control)	(0.029)	(0.034)	(0.126)			
White Nationalism Index				0.073		
(year-lagged control)				(0.049)		
White Nationalism Index %Δ					-3.319**	-3.158**
(year-lagged control)					(1.056)	(1.013)
Constant	16.619		-0.311	0.835***	-104.605	-86.250
	(333.408)		(1.054)	(0.159)	(93.863)	(92.448)
Observations	394	394	431	434	431	431
R-squared (within)	-	-	0.475	0.382	0.560	0.562
Chi^2/F-Statistic	58.96	70.46	6.48	18.59	28.40	27.50
(p-value)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)

*Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered by congressional district. *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, † p<0.10*

[1]*All explanatory variables are year-lagged, except where otherwise specified.*

Supplementary Figure to Table A15. White Nationalism and Change in Radical Conservatism (WNi), Standardized Coefficients.

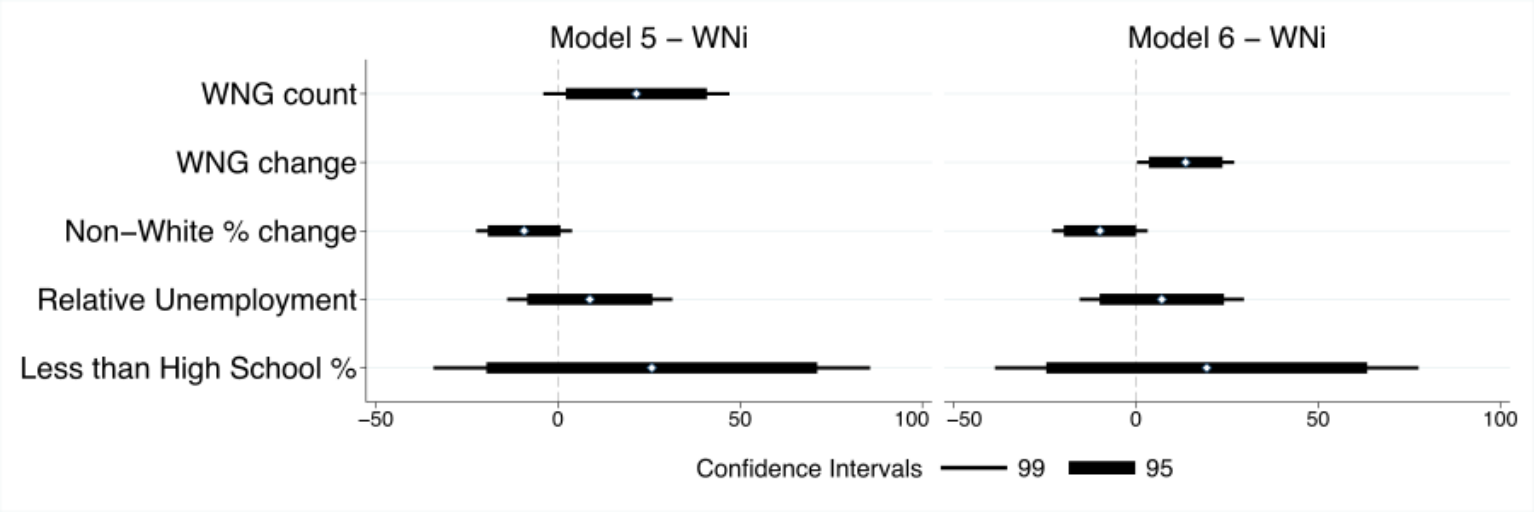


Table A16. Congressional District Counts of WNGs, 2009-2016.

State	District	Year	District WNG #	Statewide WNG #
Alabama	1	2010	0	0
Alabama	1	2011	1	0
Alabama	1	2012	1	0
Alabama	1	2013	1	0
Alabama	1	2014	0	0
Alabama	1	2015	1	1
Alabama	1	2016	1	0
Alabama	2	2010	5	0
Alabama	2	2011	4	0
Alabama	2	2012	3	0
Alabama	2	2013	3	0
Alabama	2	2014	6	0
Alabama	2	2015	5	1
Alabama	2	2016	6	0
Alabama	3	2010	7	0
Alabama	3	2011	6	0
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Alabama	4	2016	2	0

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Alabama	7	2016	4	0
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Georgia	6	2016	0	0
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Georgia	14	2016	2	0
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Kentucky	1	2016	4	0
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Louisiana	3	2016	1	0

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Louisiana	6	2011	4	0
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Tennessee	9	2016	2	0
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Texas	1	2014	0	1
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Texas	10	2014	0	1
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Texas	11	2015	1	1
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Texas	31	2014	0	1
Texas	31	2015	3	1
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Texas	32	2016	2	0
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Texas	33	2015	6	1
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Texas	34	2015	0	1
Texas	34	2016	0	0
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Virginia	2	2016	0	0
Virginia	3	2010	2	0
Virginia	3	2011	2	1
Virginia	3	2012	5	0
Virginia	3	2013	3	0
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Virginia	3	2015	1	0
Virginia	3	2016	3	0
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Virginia	7	2015	2	0
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Virginia	8	2012	2	0
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Virginia	10	2015	0	0
Virginia	10	2016	1	0
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Virginia	11	2014	2	0
Virginia	11	2015	2	0
Virginia	11	2016	2	0