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Supplement to:

Goldstein, Adam, and Tod Hamilton. 2022. "Dog Whistles and Work Hours: The Political Activation of Labor Market Discrimination." Sociological Science 9: 40-74.

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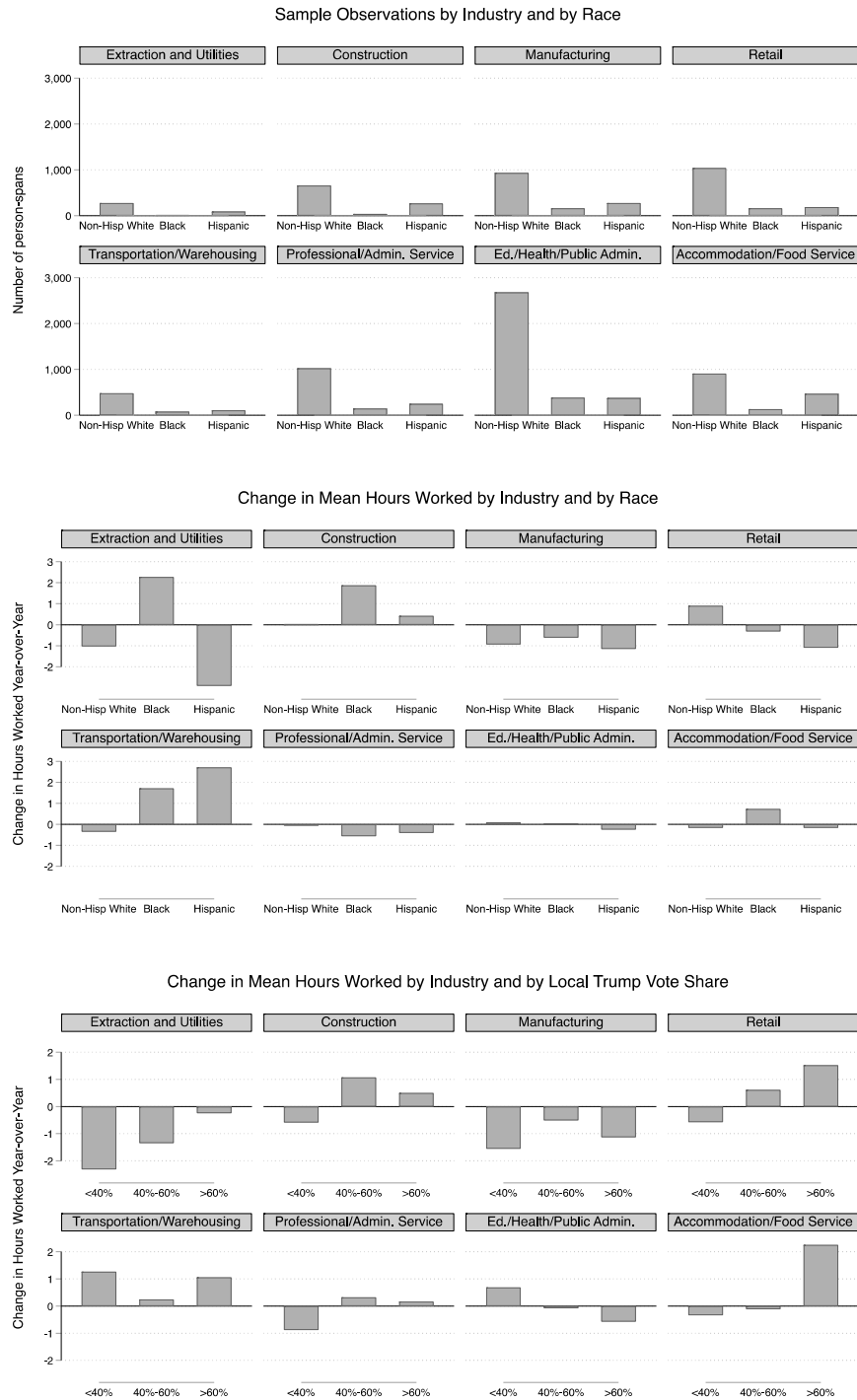
Figure A2: Estimates of Racial Gap from Lagged Dependent Variable Models, with Varying Trump Effect Slopes by Race and Gender

N Hispanic worker-month spans (bars)

400
300
200

─□─ sex: Male
▭ sex: Female
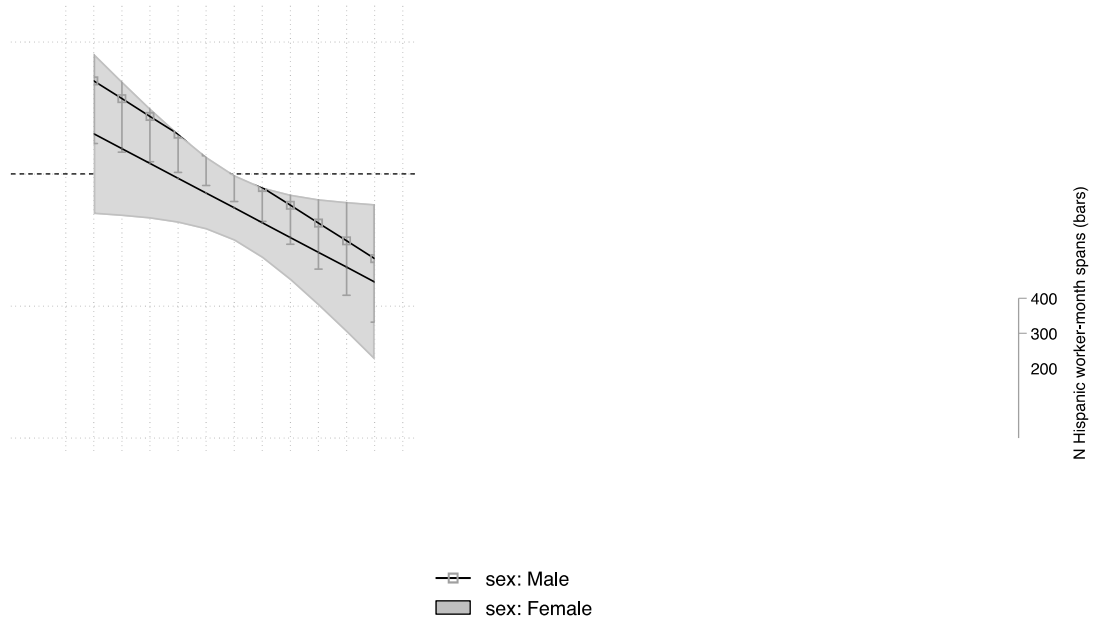
Note: The plotted interactions are based on the LDV model specification reported in table 2, column 4 in the main text. The model includes a three-way interaction between Trump vote share, race, and gender. Regression is estimated on two-wave sample of prime age, hourly workers employed in the same hourly job year-over-year. Probability weights are applied to adjust for survey design, sample attrition, and attrition from wave 1 hourly job. Standard errors are clustered by respondent.

Table A1: Triple Difference-in-Differences Models of Weekly Hours Worked Among Hourly Paid Workers

	CBSA-Fixed Effects (1)	Respondent-Fixed Effects (2)
Local Unemp. Rate	0.768**	0.505
	(0.264)	(0.262)
Post-election	-0.441	-0.302
	(0.867)	(0.616)
Trump vote	10.93	-38.01
	(6.535)	(28.26)
Post-election X Trump vote	1.005	0.847
	(1.499)	(1.094)
Black	1.920	-11.28
	(2.843)	(14.04)
Hispanic	1.593	11.09*
	(2.828)	(4.836)
Post-election X Black	5.841*	3.386*
	(2.306)	(1.512)
Post-election X Hispanic	0.185	-0.294
	(1.443)	(1.042)
Black X Trump vote	-3.900	9.371
	(6.414)	(59.01)
Hispanic X Trump vote	0.403	-26.93*
	(6.496)	(12.61)
Post-election X Black X Trump vote	-11.89*	-7.317*
	(4.643)	(3.033)
Post-election X Hispanic X Trump vote	-0.760	0.169
	(3.080)	(2.409)
Constant	28.98***	55.00***
	(3.521)	(14.09)
Fixed Effects	CBSA	Respondent
Observations	16767	16767

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: Regression is estimated on two-wave sample that includes prime age, hourly workers employed in the same hourly job (detailed industry) across pre- and post-election waves. Probability weights are applied to adjust for survey design, sample attrition, and attrition from wave 1 hourly job. Standard errors are clustered by respondent-wave.

Table A2: Alternative Lagged Dependent Variable Model Specifications of Weekly Hours Worked Among Hourly Paid Workers, Pre/Post-2016 Election

	State-Industry FE	Occupational Niching	
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Lag Hours Worked	0.512***	0.515***	0.516***
	(0.0193)	(0.0194)	(0.0194)
Trump vote	2.370	0.350	-1.137
	(1.703)	(4.973)	(4.794)
Black	5.136**	5.147*	5.454**
	(1.863)	(2.092)	(2.114)
Hispanic	1.747	1.277	1.020
	(1.307)	(1.664)	(1.669)
Black X Trump vote	-9.997**	-11.94**	-11.87**
	(3.588)	(4.283)	(4.303)
Hispanic X Trump vote	-2.406	-2.333	-1.182
	(2.697)	(3.979)	(3.845)
age	-0.0204	0.00167	-0.00176
	(0.159)	(0.158)	(0.157)
age X age	0.000226	0.000000741	0.0000396
	(0.00196)	(0.00194)	(0.00193)
Female	-1.549***	-1.562***	-1.557***
	(0.344)	(0.333)	(0.333)
Educ. HS Diploma	1.018*	1.247**	1.300**
	(0.467)	(0.458)	(0.455)
Educ. Some College	1.181*	1.185*	1.233*
	(0.524)	(0.518)	(0.517)
Educ. Bachelors or Higher	0.757	0.907	0.946
	(0.609)	(0.616)	(0.614)
Own-Group Share of Occ. in CBSA		-0.947	
		(0.745)	
In Occupational Niche (dummy)			0.163
			(0.316)
Constant	19.79***	21.22***	21.06***
	(3.315)	(3.941)	(3.944)
Industry Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Occupation Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Local Area Fixed Effects	State-by-Industry	CBSA	CBSA
Observations	8330	8117	8117

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: Regression is estimated using two-wave year-over-year LDV model. The analytic sample includes prime age, hourly workers employed in the same hourly job (detailed industry) across pre- and post-election waves. Probability weights are applied to adjust for survey design, sample attrition, and attrition from wave 1 hourly job. Standard errors are clustered by respondent. Own-group occupational representation represents the absolute share of an occupation-CBSA cell held by workers of respondent's race. Occupational niche status is a dummy variable defined as own-group relative over-representation in an occupation-CBSA cell at ratio value greater than 1.5. Representation in each race-occupation-CBSA cell is calculated from 5 years of monthly CPS data.

Table A3: Alternate Sample Restrictions and Variable Definitions: Conditional Change Score Model Specifications of Weekly Hours Worked Among Hourly Paid Workers, Pre/Post-2016 Election

	Include Age 55-65	Main Job Only	Control for 2nd Job	Omit Nov. 2016	MORG Obs. Only
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Lag Hours Worked	0.534***	0.500***	0.542***	0.514***	0.530***
	(0.0166)	(0.0197)	(0.0190)	(0.0218)	(0.0235)
Black	6.131**	4.205*	4.511*	6.828**	9.212***
	(1.874)	(2.012)	(1.977)	(2.363)	(2.558)
Hispanic	0.516	1.120	1.014	1.121	4.189*
	(1.474)	(1.533)	(1.549)	(1.816)	(1.926)
Trump vote	-2.043	3.493	1.875	-2.448	-2.335
	(4.299)	(4.469)	(4.570)	(5.381)	(6.972)
Black X Trump vote	-13.44***	-9.351*	-9.554*	-15.27**	-19.94***
	(3.845)	(4.064)	(4.039)	(4.747)	(5.265)
Hispanic X Trump vote	-0.773	-0.727	-0.706	-2.900	-6.711
	(3.370)	(3.601)	(3.611)	(4.115)	(4.374)
age	0.121	0.111	0.0695	0.145	0.00772
	(0.0932)	(0.137)	(0.147)	(0.180)	(0.183)
age X age	-0.00158	-0.00121	-0.000830	-0.00185	-0.0000558
	(0.00104)	(0.00168)	(0.00181)	(0.00221)	(0.00226)
Female	-1.418***	-1.636***	-1.578***	-1.771***	-1.299**
	(0.292)	(0.303)	(0.308)	(0.392)	(0.426)
Educ. HS Diploma	0.616	0.881*	1.109*	1.038*	1.409*
	(0.410)	(0.437)	(0.435)	(0.499)	(0.571)
Educ. Some College	0.948*	0.920	1.191*	1.273*	1.753**
	(0.463)	(0.495)	(0.492)	(0.595)	(0.620)
Educ. Bachelors	0.533	0.726	1.043	0.937	0.536
	(0.528)	(0.588)	(0.584)	(0.715)	(0.691)
Second Job			8.706***		
			(0.799)		
Constant	18.30***	17.55***	17.16***	19.84***	18.73***
	(3.048)	(3.569)	(3.683)	(4.581)	(5.212)
Industry Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Occupation Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Local Area Fixed Effects	CBSA	CBSA	CBSA	CBSA	CBSA
Observations	10990	7551	8330	6023	3728

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: Specifications in Table A3 shows additional sensitivity checks. Regressions are estimated using two-wave year-over-year LDV model. Probability weights are applied to adjust for survey design, sample attrition, and attrition from wave 1 hourly job. Standard errors are clustered by respondent. Column 1 relaxes the prime age restriction by including workers up to age 65. In column 2 and column 3 we varied our treatment of secondary jobs for those workers with multiple hourly paid jobs (representing 9.5% of the analytic sample). In column 4 we reran the analysis with the November 2016 CPS wave excluded from the post-election "treatment" period. Finally, to ensure that the results are not attributable to the complex sample design and month-to-month weighting procedures, in column 5 we reanalyzed the data using a smaller but more straightforward two-period sample based only on the MORG sample month observations.

Figure A3: Sensitivity Test of Model Specifications with Alternative Combinations of Sample Restrictions, Control Variables, and Variable Definitions

Distribution of Estimated Trump X Race Effects Over 496 Alternative LDV Specifications
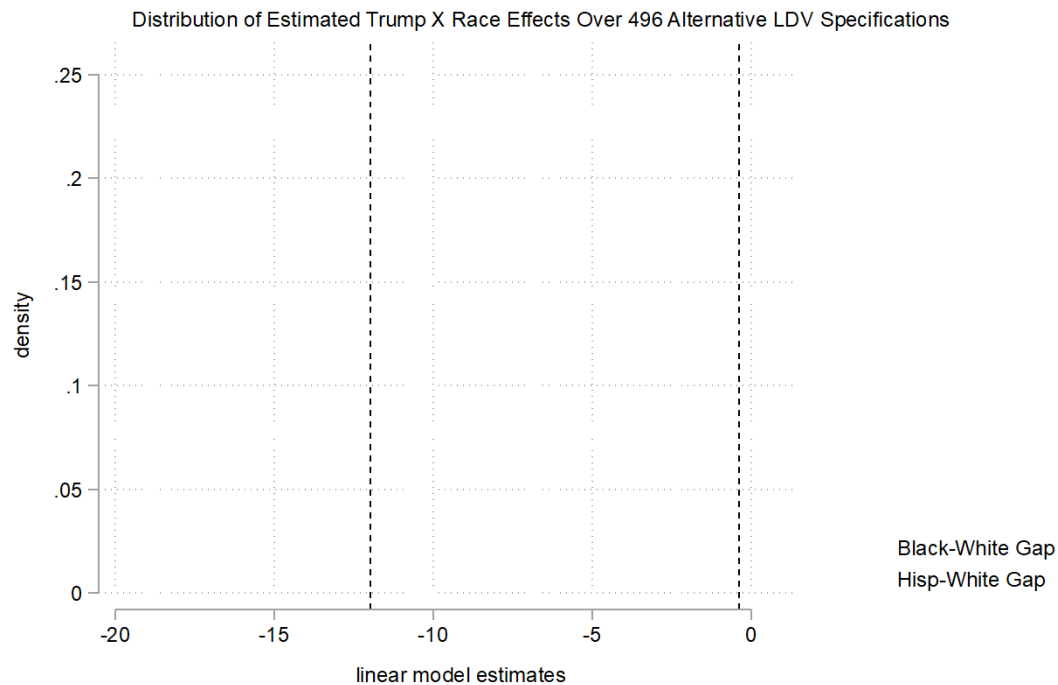
Note: Each distribution plots kernel density of LDV regression model estimates using 496 alternative combinations of control variables, sample restrictions, and variable definitions. Dashed lines show the 'preferred' model estimates reported in Model 3 of Table 2 in the main text. Alternative specifications vary the use of: CBSA or state-industry fixed effects; omission of observations with CPS-suppressed information on metropolitan location; expansion of sample to include hourly workers older than 55 years; omission of Nov. 2016 wave; control for multiple hourly jobs; restriction of outcome to main hourly job for respondents with multiple hourly jobs; inclusion/exclusion of demographic controls. All models yielded negative coefficient estimates for the black-white Trump effect, of which 97% were statistically less than zero using the standard ($p < 0.05$) threshold.

Figure A4: Estimated Black-White Gap in Year-over-Year Work Hours Change, by Trump Vote Share and Trump-Romney Overperformance
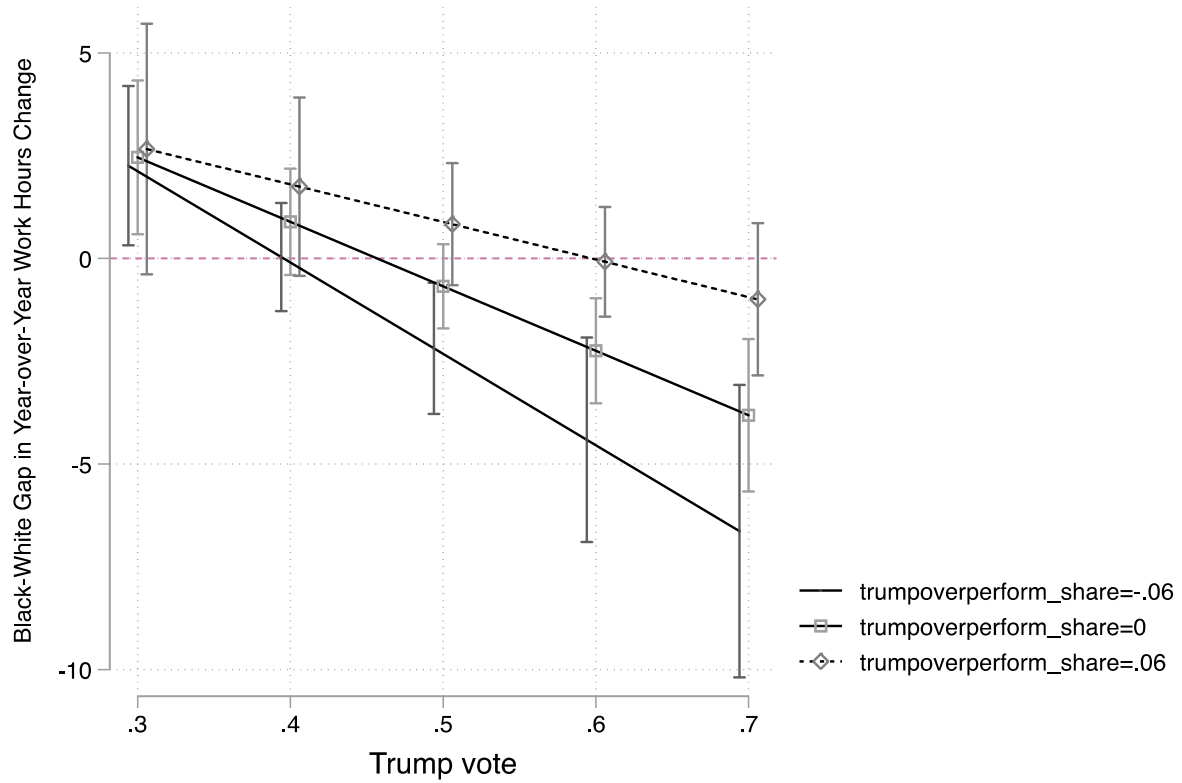
Note: Figure A4 shows estimates from lagged dependent variable models estimated on sample of prime-age hourly workers employed in the same job year-over-year from November 2015-March 2017. Models include CBSA-, industry-, and occupation-fixed effects, as well as a triple interaction between race, local Trump 2016 vote share, and local Romney 2012 vote share. Probability weights are applied to adjust for survey design, sample attrition, and attrition from wave 1 hourly job. Standard errors are clustered by respondent.

Part B: Supplemental Attitudinal Analysis of Anti-Black Racial Bias

To further assess the plausibility of the theorized activation of bias mechanism, we also consider post-election shifts in expressed anti-black racial bias among whites. Here use geo-located, repeated cross-sectional survey data from June 2016-March 2017 to assess whether increases in the level of anti-black bias are more pronounced for whites in high-Trump-support counties compared to whites in low-Trump-support counties. This attitudinal analysis relies on a similar logic as the CPS analysis above, except the data are repeated monthly cross-sections rather than individual panels.

The survey data come from the Project Implicit public data archive (Xu et al. 2014). The dataset contains responses from large non-representative samples, which were gathered as baseline attitudinal measures in the course of administering computerized implicit association tests. We use only *explicit bias* items to construct our bias measure. Respondents' locations are identified at the county-level based on the IP address of the computer on which they took the test.

Explicit racial bias is operationalized using an index of 40 survey items (shown in Appendix table A1) which capture some explicit dimension of racial resentment, avoidance, disdain, or negative stereotypes of blacks. One complicating feature of these data is that different respondents receive different versions of the survey with different subsets of racial bias questions. We calculated the index by first standardizing scores for each of the questions, and then taking each respondent's average value across all of the standardized items.

It is important to emphasize the limitations of the Project Implicit Data insofar as they are based on self-selected, non-random samples. Many subjects take the survey in the context of workplace diversity training sessions. However, the sample skews heavily toward college students. To render the sample more representative of the working-age population, we restrict the analysis to whites aged 24 and older who are NOT currently enrolled in school. This leaves an analytical sample of 50,140 individuals with county-level geographic locators.

We specified county-level difference-in-difference models to compare conditional mean levels of bias across high- (>60%), medium- (40-60%) and low- (<40%) Trump-support counties during the five months preceding and following the election. We control for age, gender, education, and liberal-conservative ideology to account for compositional variations before and after the election.

Table A4: Survey Items Used to Construct Explicit Anti-Black Racial Bias Index Measure from Project Implicit Public Data Archive

Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Black people should do the same without any special favors.
It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if Black people would only try harder they could be just as well off as White people.
Most Black people who receive money from welfare programs could get along without it if they tried.
Black people are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights.
Black people have jobs that White people should have.
Black people should not push themselves where they are not wanted.
Black people should take the jobs that are available and then work their way up to better jobs.
I worry that in the next few years I may be denied my application for a job or a promotion because of preferential treatment given to minority group members.
Some Black people are so touchy about race that it is difficult to get along with them.
I enjoy a funny racial joke, even if some people might find it offensive.
How much of the racial tension that exists today do you think Black people are responsible for creating?
Many Black teenagers don't respect themselves or anyone else.
Most Black parents don't teach their children the self-discipline and skills it takes to get ahead in America.
One of the biggest problems for a lot of Black people is their lack of self-respect.
On the whole, Black people do not stress education and training.
The root cause of most of the social and economic ills of Black people is the weakness and instability of the Black family.
Black children would do better in school if their parents had better attitudes about learning.
Too many Black people still lose out on jobs and promotions because of their skin color.
Law enforcement officers should pay particular attention to those social groups more heavily involved in crime, even if this means focusing on members of particular ethnic groups.
When the only thing you know about someone is their race, it makes sense to use your knowledge of their racial group to form an impression of them.
White people have the right to keep Black people out of their neighborhoods if they want to, and Black people should respect that right.
You can expect special problems with Black supervisors getting along with workers that are mostly White.
Interracial marriage should be discouraged to avoid the 'who-am-I?' confusion that the children feel.
I would rather not have Black people live in the same apartment building I live in.
It is likely that Black people will bring violence to neighborhoods when they move in.
Indicate how well you think the word describes Black people as a group. Please respond honestly. Aggressive/Violent.
Indicate how well you think the word describes Black people as a group. Please respond honestly. Dependable.
Indicate how well you think the word describes Black people as a group. Please respond honestly. Determined to succeed.
Indicate how well you think the word describes Black people as a group. Please respond honestly. Hardworking.
Indicate how well you think the word describes Black people as a group. Please respond honestly. Lazy.
How often have you felt admiration for Black people?
How often have you felt sympathy for Black people?

Table A5: Difference-in-Difference Estimates of Explicit Racial Bias Among White Adults, By Trump's Share of County Vote
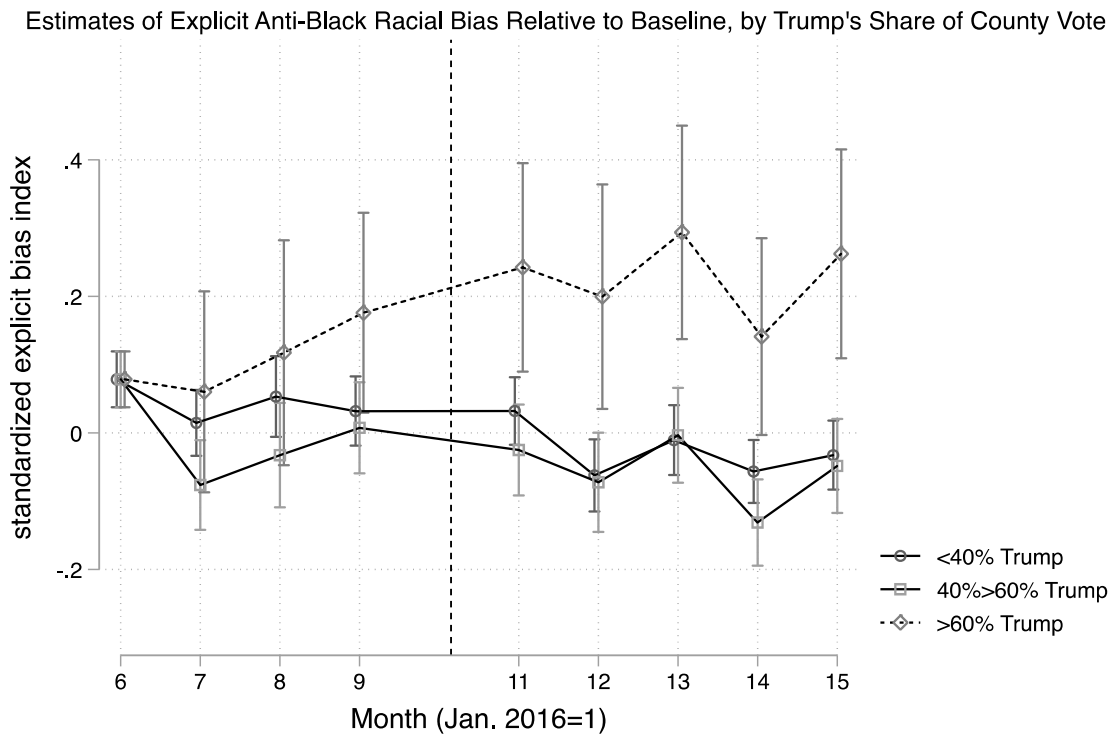
	Pooled Sample OLS		County fixed effects	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
40%>60% Trump	0.186***	0.0339*	0	0
	(0.0150)	(0.0142)	(.)	(.)
>60% Trump	0.247***	0.0145	0	0
	(0.0231)	(0.0219)	(.)	(.)
Post-election	-0.0489***	-0.0476***	-0.0457***	-0.0474***
	(0.0124)	(0.0116)	(0.0126)	(0.0119)
40%>60% Trump X Post-election	0.0254	0.0213	0.0198	0.0148
	(0.0193)	(0.0181)	(0.0197)	(0.0186)
>60% Trump X Post-election	0.0818**	0.102***	0.131***	0.149***
	(0.0300)	(0.0281)	(0.0330)	(0.0312)
Age	0.00666**	-0.00291	0.00430	-0.00313
	(0.00231)	(0.00217)	(0.00234)	(0.00221)
Age-squared	-0.0000596*	0.0000437	-0.0000380	0.0000435
	(0.0000255)	(0.0000239)	(0.0000258)	(0.0000244)
Female	-0.260***	-0.127***	-0.249***	-0.125***
	(0.00893)	(0.00852)	(0.00901)	(0.00865)
Educ. Attainment	-0.102***	-0.0424***	-0.0955***	-0.0414***
	(0.00437)	(0.00418)	(0.00448)	(0.00431)
Not Hispanic or Latino	-0.0336	-0.00398	-0.0128	-0.000869
	(0.0223)	(0.0210)	(0.0229)	(0.0216)
Unknown	-0.0232	0.00338	-0.0197	-0.0107
	(0.0298)	(0.0280)	(0.0303)	(0.0287)
strongly conservative		0.527***		0.529***
		(0.0266)		(0.0273)
moderately conservative		0.318***		0.311***
		(0.0177)		(0.0182)
slightly conservative		0.0980***		0.107***
		(0.0182)		(0.0186)
slightly liberal		-0.224***		-0.216***
		(0.0175)		(0.0177)
moderately liberal		-0.482***		-0.467***
		(0.0141)		(0.0144)
strongly liberal		-0.731***		-0.705***
		(0.0146)		(0.0150)
Constant	0.400***	0.612***	0.491***	0.613***
	(0.0556)	(0.0527)	(0.0562)	(0.0535)
Local Area Fixed Effects	None	None	County	County
Observations	50141	49668	50141	49668
r-squared	0.0460	0.168	0.102	0.207

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$
Note: Explicit bias data is drawn from repeated cross-sectional surveys in the Project Implicit data archive that were fielded from July 2016 - April 2017. Model samples are restricted to non-enrolled white adults 24 years or older. Estimates are based on linear regression models.

Figure A5: County-Fixed Effect Estimates of Explicit Anti-Black Bias Among Adult Whites, By Month, June 2016-March 2017

Estimates of Explicit Anti-Black Racial Bias Relative to Baseline, by Trump's Share of County Vote

Note: Explicit bias survey samples are not available for October 2016. The sample is restricted to non-enrolled white adults 24 years or older. The model estimates are based on a linear regression with county-fixed effects, and controls for respondent age, gender, ethnicity, ideological self-identification on a seven-point scale. The mean level of bias is constrained to be equal at baseline (June 2016) across strata of county Trump-support.