Constituents' Responses to Descriptive and Substantive Representation in Congress

Online Appendix

Philip Edward Jones
pejones@udel.edu
http://www.pejones.org

Department of Political Science and International Relations
University of Delaware

Educational attainment in the sample

Table A1: Comparing educational attainment in Current Population Survey (CPS) and Knowledge Networks (KN) sample, by race

	Black respondents		Hispanic respondents		White respondents	
	CPS	KN	CPS	KN	CPS	KN
Less than high school	16.9	13.2	34.5	18.0	8.5	7.3
High school	34.0	29.4	30.3	47.6	30.5	30.4
Some college	31.6	35.8	22.9	20.0	29.4	29.3
Bachelor's degree or higher	17.5	21.7	12.3	14.4	31.5	33.0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Note: Cells show percentage of group from each sample with highest educational attainment. CPS 2011 data taken from U.S. Census Bureau. Percentages for KN sample are unweighted.

One concern with Internet samples is that respondents may be more politically sophisticated/engaged than the general population. Although there is no objective measure for how engaged the general public is, we can compare education levels in the sample and population as a proxy measure.

Table A1 above shows the highest level of education achieved for respondents in the (unweighted) Knowledge Networks sample used in this study and the 2011 Current Population Survey (CPS) conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau.

Of particular concern with Internet samples is that respondents may be more politically sophisticated than the general population. Table A1 in the Online Appendix compares the educational attainment of respondents in the (unweighted) KN sample to the 2011 Current Population Survey (CPS) conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau, and shows few differences. One concern with using Internet samples is that the

The distributions for African-American and White respondents are remarkably similar, differing by just 1.95 percentage points on average. The KN Hispanic sample differs more from the CPS at lower levels of educational attainment. KN Hispanic respondents are more likely to have a high school degree than not (47.6% versus 18.0%) compared to the CPS sample (30.3% versus 34.5%). At the higher end of the education scale, the samples are nearly identical.

Experiment design

The experiment manipulated the race/ethnicity of the MC as well as the degree of policy congruence between him and each respondent. Respondents were thus assigned to view a [Black/Hispanic/White] MC who took the same positions as them on [one/four] of five policy areas. Table A2 shows every condition of the experiment and the number of respondents in each cell. To explain the design, the rest of this section outlines the five key steps involved in the experiment.

Step 1: Equal numbers of Black, Hispanic, and White respondents sampled from KN panel.

Knowledge Networks drew a sample of respondents stratified by race and ethnicity from their online panel. The sample was stratified based on respondents' previous answers about their race and ethnicity, such that there were roughly equal numbers of Black (N=623), Hispanic (N=611), and White (N=618) respondents. Respondents who had identified in previous surveys as Hispanic and no other race/ethnicity were counted as Hispanic. Respondents who identified as non-Hispanic Blacks with no other race, and as non-Hispanic Whites with no other race, are counted as Black and White respectively.

Step 2: Respondents' opinions on five policy issues measured.

At the beginning of the survey, respondents were asked for their opinions on five policy issues. The exact wording is shown below. The order of Questions 1–5 was randomized.

> We'd like to begin by asking you for your opinions about some of the main issues being discussed in politics today.
>
> **Q1:** From what you know about it, do you favor or oppose the health care reform bill that Congress and the President passed last year?
> *Strongly favor; Somewhat favor; Somewhat oppose; Strongly oppose.*
>
> **Q2:** Do you approve or disapprove of the federal government's stimulus funding of technology, energy, and transportation programs in an effort to create jobs and boost the economy?
> *Strongly approve; Somewhat approve; Somewhat disapprove; Strongly disapprove.*
>
> **Q3:** Do you favor or oppose creating a way for illegal immigrants currently living and working in the U.S. to gain legal citizenship?
> *Strongly favor; Somewhat favor; Somewhat oppose; Strongly oppose.*
>
> **Q4:** Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? "It is sometimes justified for police to use racial or ethnic profiling when stopping passengers at airport security checkpoints".
> *Strongly agree; Somewhat agree; Somewhat disagree; Strongly disagree.*

Q5: Would you support or oppose increasing taxes on households that earn $250,000 a year or more as a way of decreasing the federal budget deficit?
Strongly support; Somewhat support; Somewhat oppose; Strongly oppose.

Respondents were then asked several other questions unrelated to these policy issues:

Q6: Generally speaking, how interested are you in politics these days?
Not at all interested; Somewhat interested; Fairly interested; Extremely interested.

Q7: One way that people think about politics is in terms of how liberal or conservative they are. Imagine a scale that runs from 0 to 100, where 0 would mean extremely liberal and 100 would mean extremely conservative. Where on this scale would you put yourself?
Respondents shown "slider" from 0 to 100 with labels "Extremely liberal" at 0 and "Extremely conservative" at 100.

Q8: Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a...
Republican; Democrat; Independent; Another party, please specify; No preference.

Q9: If Q8="Democrat" ["Republican"]: Would you call yourself a...
Strong Democrat [Republican]; Not so strong Democrat [Republican].

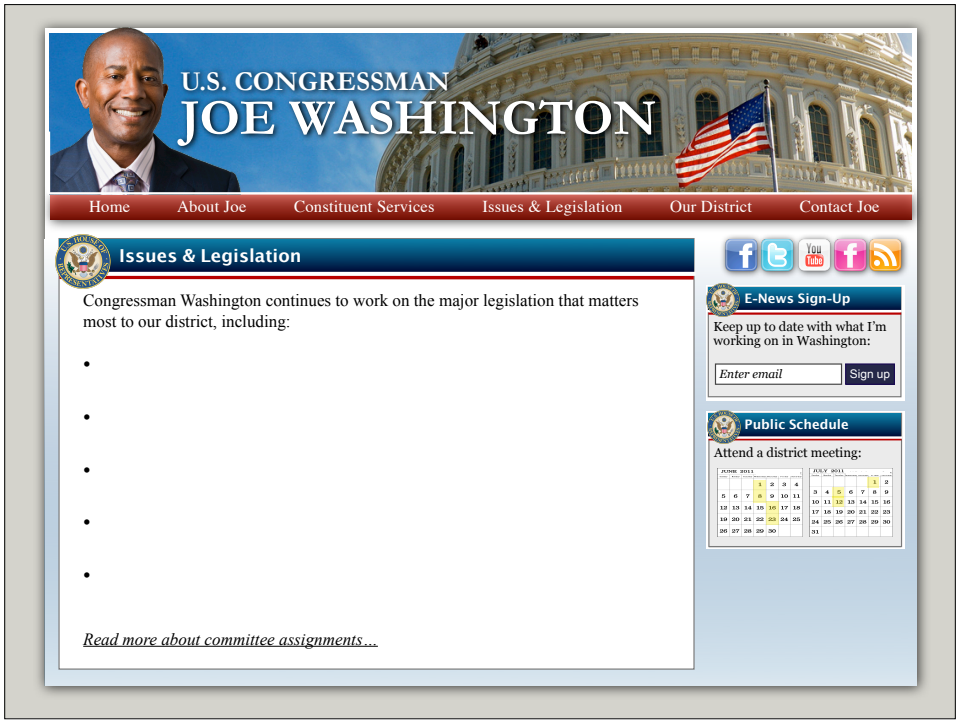
Q10: If Q8="Independent": Do you think of yourself as closer to the...
Republican Party; Democratic Party.

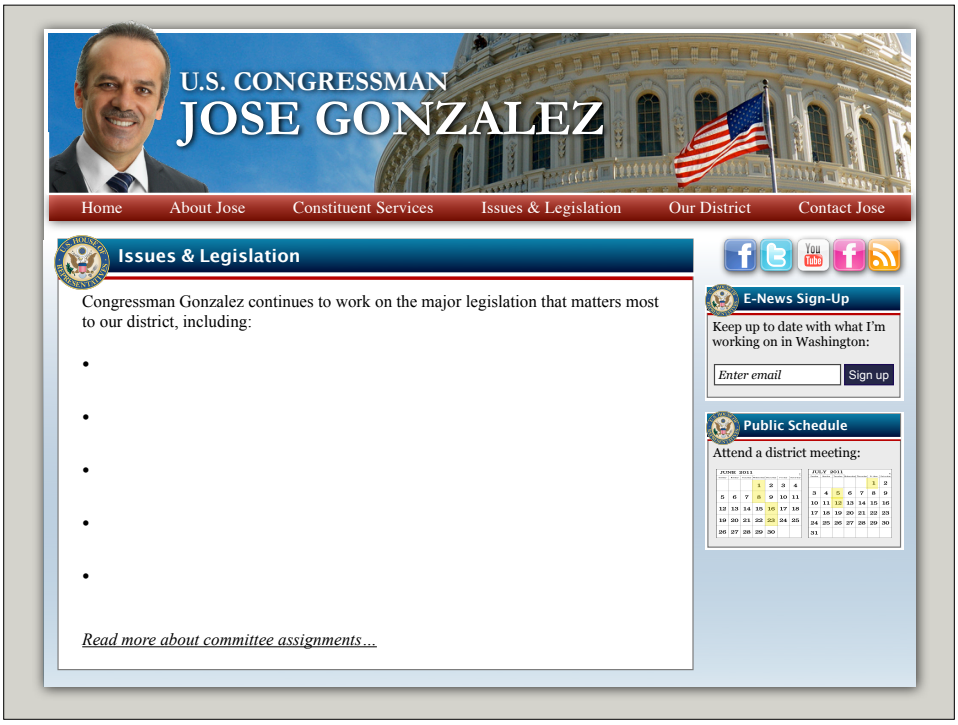
Step 3: Respondents assigned to see a Black, Hispanic, or White MC.

Respondents were told:

> As you know, many Members of Congress use websites as a way of communicating with constituents. We are interested in how well these sites communicate information to voters.
>
> We'd like you to look at a screenshot from the current website of one U.S. Representative, Congressman [first name] [last name], and then ask you some questions about it.

Respondents were randomly assigned to see screenshots for one of three MCs: a Black MC ("Joe Washington"), an Hispanic MC ("Jose Gonzalez"), or a White MC ("Joe Mueller"). The basic screenshot for each condition is shown below (text was added to the empty bullet points, to be described shortly).

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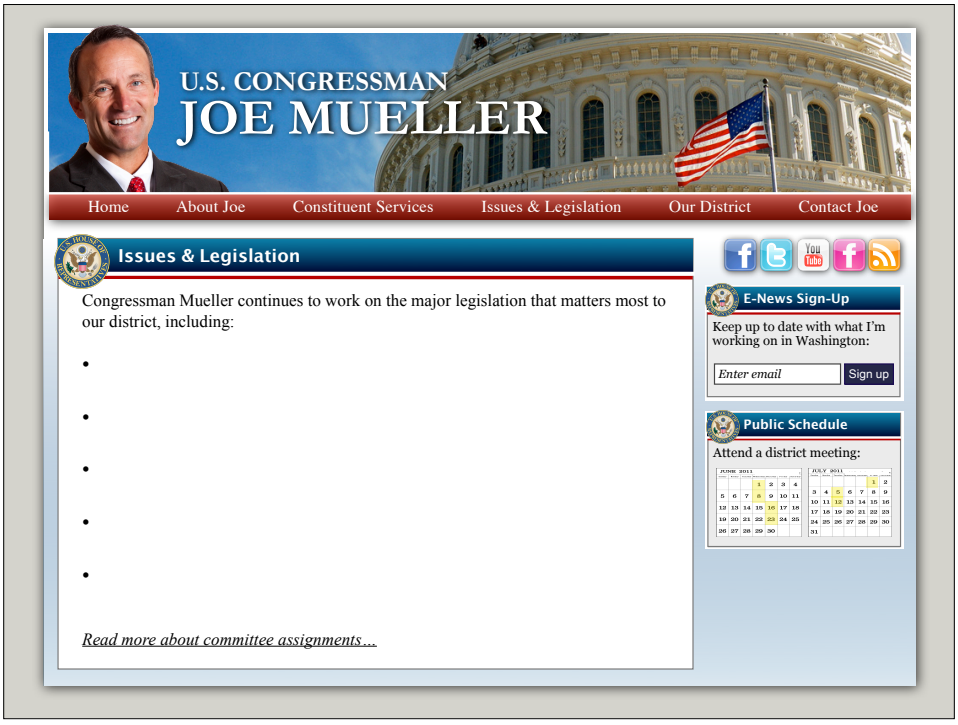
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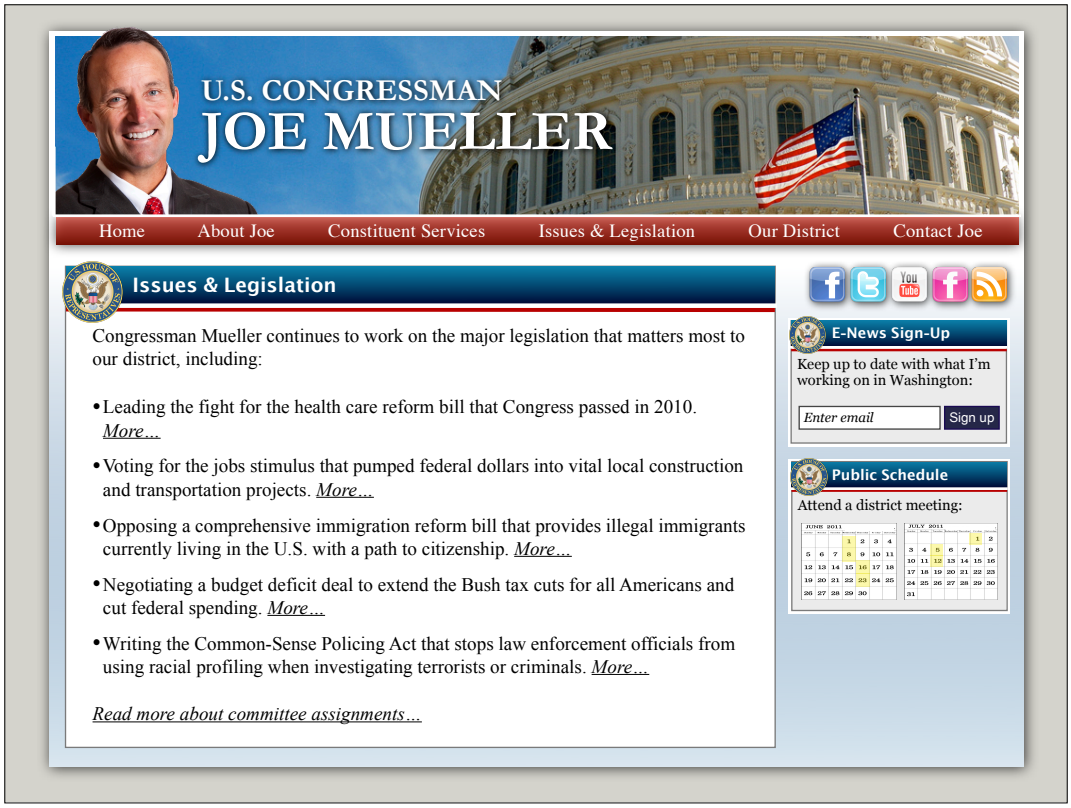
Step 4: MC's positions manipulated to agree with respondent on one or four of five policies.

Respondents were then assigned to one of two policy congruence conditions. The MC's website listed five of his policy positions, which matched the five policy issues asked about in Step 1. Respondents were shown a MC who either agreed with their positions on one of the five policies, or agreed with their positions on four of the five policies. The descriptions were drawn from ten possible options — a "for" and "against" view on each of the five policy areas. They are shown below, along with a notation for which response options in Questions 1–5 they are congruent with.

Leading the fight for the health care reform bill that Congress passed in 2010. *[Congruent with "Strongly/somewhat favor" in Q1]*	**or**	Leading the fight against the health care reform bill that Congress passed in 2010. *[Congruent with "Strongly/somewhat oppose" in Q1]*
Voting for the jobs stimulus that pumped federal dollars into vital local construction and transportation projects. *[Congruent with "Strongly/somewhat approve" in Q2]*	**or**	Voting against the jobs stimulus that wasted federal dollars on unnecessary local construction and transportation projects. *[Congruent with "Strongly/somewhat disapprove" in Q2]*
Supporting a comprehensive immigration reform bill that provides illegal immigrants currently living in the U.S. with a path to citizenship. *[Congruent with "Strongly/somewhat favor" in Q3]*	**or**	Opposing a comprehensive immigration reform bill that provides illegal immigrants currently living in the U.S. with a path to citizenship. *[Congruent with "Strongly/somewhat oppose" in Q3]*
Writing the Common-Sense Policing Act that allows law enforcement officials to use racial profiling when investigating terrorists or criminals. *[Congruent with "Strongly/somewhat agree" in Q4]*	**or**	Writing the Common-Sense Policing Act that stops law enforcement officials from using racial profiling when investigating terrorists or criminals. *[Congruent with "Strongly/somewhat disagree" in Q4]*
Negotiating a budget deficit deal to end the Bush tax cuts for wealthy Americans and cut federal spending. *[Congruent with "Strongly/somewhat support" in Q5]*	**or**	Negotiating a budget deficit deal to extend the Bush tax cuts for all Americans and cut federal spending. *[Congruent with "Strongly/somewhat oppose" in Q5]*

The exact policy positions that the MC took on his website thus depended on whether the respondent was assigned to the low or high congruence condition, and how they had answered Questions 1–5. As an example of how the screenshot looked to respondents, below is one of the many combinations of MC race/ethnicity and policy positions that occurred:



Which of the five issues the MC agreed/disagreed with the respondent on, and the order in which the issues were presented on his site, were both randomized.

Step 5: Respondents' evaluations of the MC measured.

After viewing the screenshot, respondents were asked to evaluate the MC in two ways:

> **Q11:** Although Congressman [last name] is not your current Representative, do you approve or disapprove of the job he is doing as a Congressman?
> *Strongly approve; Somewhat approve; Neither approve nor disapprove; Somewhat disapprove; Strongly disapprove.*
>
> **Q12:** Imagine a scale running from 0% to 100% that measures how often a politician represented your views on important policies. 0% would mean they never represented your views. 100% would mean that they always represented your views. Where on this scale would you put Congressman [last name]?
> *Respondents shown "slider" from 0 to 100 with labels "Never represents my views" at 0 and "Always represents my views" at 100.*

The experiment thus resulted in equal numbers of [Black/Hispanic/White] respondents who were assigned to evaluate a [Black/Hispanic/White] MC, who took congruent positions to their own on [one/four] of the five policy areas. Table A2 on the next page highlights the number of respondents in each of these conditions.

Table A2: Full experimental conditions and number of respondents

Respondent	**MC**	**Policy congruence**	**N**
Black	Black	Low	97
		High	118
	Hispanic	Low	108
		High	90
	White	Low	102
		High	99
Hispanic	Black	Low	94
		High	103
	Hispanic	Low	85
		High	112
	White	Low	113
		High	91
White	Black	Low	107
		High	99
	Hispanic	Low	97
		High	102
	White	Low	105
		High	103

Replicating regression models with additional controls

Table A3: Replicating models from Table 2 with additional controls

	Black respondents		Hispanic respondents		White respondents	
Intercept	41.03 (3.06)	***	38.51 (3.01)	***	39.58 (3.14)	***
Black MC	4.44 (2.24)	*	2.73 (2.36)		−0.89 (2.39)	
× Conservative	0.14 (0.11)		−0.22 (0.10)	*	−0.01 (0.10)	
× Education	2.33 (2.31)		6.79 (2.46)	**	2.48 (2.37)	
× Conservative × Education	−0.17 (0.11)		0.07 (0.11)		−0.01 (0.10)	
Hispanic MC	4.37 (2.29)	ˆ	0.18 (2.26)		−1.17 (2.32)	
× Conservative	0.29 (0.12)	*	−0.12 (0.09)		−0.12 (0.10)	
× Education	2.45 (2.43)		0.34 (2.38)		1.73 (2.38)	
× Conservative × Education	−0.13 (0.12)		0.08 (0.09)		0.13 (0.10)	
High policy congruence	12.56 (1.84)	***	13.21 (1.90)	***	18.03 (1.95)	***
× Conservative	−0.13 (0.09)		−0.04 (0.08)		−0.09 (0.08)	
× Education	3.63 (1.91)	ˆ	4.05 (1.96)	*	6.88 (1.93)	***
× Conservative × Education	−0.12 (0.09)		−0.12 (0.08)		−0.06 (0.08)	
Conservative	0.13 (0.10)		0.43 (0.08)	***	0.32 (0.08)	***
Education	−5.16 (1.87)	**	−5.71 (2.09)	**	−3.68 (1.98)	ˆ
Conservative × Education	0.11 (0.10)		−0.05 (0.09)		−0.09 (0.08)	
Female	−1.46 (1.82)		−0.29 (1.93)		0.40 (1.81)	
Interest in politics	2.77 (0.98)	**	1.25 (0.99)		−0.52 (0.99)	
Age						
30–44	−2.86 (2.90)		1.00 (2.47)		−3.41 (3.05)	
45–59	−2.53 (2.75)		−1.72 (2.51)		−3.24 (2.84)	
60+	−5.11 (2.94)	ˆ	−3.47 (3.03)		−3.05 (2.94)	
Region						
Midwest	−4.73 (2.23)	*	−4.61 (3.55)		−2.20 (2.28)	
Northeast	1.22 (2.74)		−0.30 (3.00)		1.09 (2.54)	
West	−3.68 (3.04)		−1.54 (2.02)		−2.17 (2.50)	
N	548		541		570	
R^2	.17		.19		.23	

Note: Excluded experimental conditions are White MC and low policy congruence. Excluded control conditions are male, age 18-29, and South. Interest in politics is measured on a numeric scale of 0 (Not at all), 1 (Somewhat), 2 (Fairly), 3 (Extremely). Ideology, education, and interest in politics are centered around their sample means. ˆp<.1; *p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001.

Table A4: Replicating Table 3 with additional controls

	Black respondents		Hispanic respondents		White respondents	
Black MC	0.23 (0.29)		0.00 (0.30)		−0.63 (0.29)	*
× High congruence	−0.19 (0.42)		−0.08 (0.42)		0.66 (0.42)	
× Conservative	0.01 (0.02)		−0.03 (0.01)	*	0.02 (0.01)	
× Education	0.61 (0.30)	*	0.15 (0.32)		0.59 (0.29)	*
× Conservative × Education	0.03 (0.02)		−0.03 (0.02)	ˆ	−0.03 (0.01)	*
× High congruence × Conservative	−0.02 (0.02)		0.02 (0.02)		−0.02 (0.02)	
× High congruence × Education	−0.09 (0.44)		0.36 (0.44)		−0.65 (0.42)	
× High congruence × Conservative × Education	−0.03 (0.02)		0.04 (0.02)	*	0.04 (0.02)	*
Hispanic MC	0.43 (0.29)		0.05 (0.30)		−0.62 (0.30)	*
× High congruence	−0.16 (0.44)		−0.28 (0.42)		0.63 (0.42)	
× Conservative	0.03 (0.02)	ˆ	−0.02 (0.01)	ˆ	0.00 (0.01)	
× Education	0.39 (0.31)		0.07 (0.32)		0.83 (0.30)	**
× Conservative × Education	0.03 (0.02)	ˆ	−0.02 (0.01)		−0.02 (0.01)	ˆ
× High congruence × Conservative	−0.01 (0.02)		0.02 (0.02)		0.01 (0.02)	
× High congruence × Education	0.29 (0.47)		0.19 (0.44)		−0.93 (0.43)	*
× High congruence × Conservative × Education	−0.02 (0.02)		0.03 (0.02)	ˆ	0.00 (0.02)	
High policy congruence	1.47 (0.32)	***	1.79 (0.31)	***	1.42 (0.29)	***
× Conservative	0.00 (0.02)		−0.03 (0.01)	*	0.01 (0.01)	
× Education	0.28 (0.33)		0.38 (0.32)		0.91 (0.29)	**
× Conservative × Education	0.01 (0.02)		−0.03 (0.01)	ˆ	−0.02 (0.01)	ˆ
Conservative	−0.01 (0.01)		0.04 (0.01)	***	0.00 (0.01)	
Education	−0.58 (0.21)	**	−0.36 (0.23)		−0.63 (0.21)	**
Conservative × Education	−0.02 (0.01)	ˆ	0.02 (0.01)	*	0.02 (0.01)	ˆ
Female	0.00 (0.17)		0.26 (0.18)		0.18 (0.16)	
Interest in politics	−0.02 (0.09)		−0.04 (0.09)		−0.12 (0.09)	
Age						
30−−44	−0.09 (0.27)		0.08 (0.23)		−0.65 (0.27)	*
45−−59	−0.21 (0.26)		−0.54 (0.23)	*	−0.40 (0.26)	
60+	−0.30 (0.28)		−0.39 (0.29)		−0.10 (0.27)	
Region						
Midwest	−0.32 (0.21)		−0.30 (0.34)		0.12 (0.20)	
Northeast	0.24 (0.25)		−0.15 (0.28)		0.18 (0.23)	
West	−0.37 (0.28)		−0.12 (0.18)		−0.29 (0.23)	
Threshold 1	−2.15 (0.33)	***	−1.73 (0.32)	***	−1.99 (0.33)	***
Threshold 2	−0.93 (0.31)	**	−0.75 (0.31)	*	−0.84 (0.31)	**
Threshold 3	1.60 (0.32)	***	1.73 (0.31)	***	1.51 (0.32)	***
Threshold 4	4.25 (0.39)	***	3.91 (0.36)	***	3.82 (0.37)	***
N	558		556		578	
Log−likelihood	−660.64		−686.73		−719.67	

Note: Excluded experimental conditions are White MC and low policy congruence. Excluded control conditions are male, age 18-29, and South. Interest in politics is measured on a numeric scale of 0 (Not at all), 1 (Somewhat), 2 (Fairly), 3 (Extremely). Ideology, education, and interest in politics are centered around their sample means. Approval of MC is coded as 1 (Strongly disapprove), 2 (Somewhat disapprove), 3 (Neither approve nor disapprove), 4 (Somewhat approve), 5 (Strongly approve). ˆp<.1; *p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001.

Job approval ratings

Table A5: Job approval, by race/ethnicity of respondent, MC, and congruence

	Black respondents					
	Low congruence			High congruence		
	Black MC	Hispanic MC	White MC	Black MC	Hispanic MC	White MC
Strongly disapprove	12.4	11.1	17.8	1.7	4.4	2.0
Disapprove	18.6	19.4	15.8	4.3	5.6	8.1
Neither approve nor disapprove	50.5	48.1	46.5	53.0	51.1	52.5
Approve	16.5	18.5	18.8	35.0	31.1	35.4
Strongly approve	2.1	2.8	1.0	6.0	7.8	2.0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	97	108	102	118	90	99

	Hispanic respondents					
	Low congruence			High congruence		
	Black MC	Hispanic MC	White MC	Black MC	Hispanic MC	White MC
Strongly disapprove	14.9	15.3	21.4	2.9	8.0	2.2
Disapprove	13.8	22.4	11.6	8.7	8.9	4.4
Neither approve nor disapprove	59.6	45.9	50.9	46.6	40.2	48.9
Approve	9.6	10.6	14.3	34.0	34.8	37.8
Strongly approve	2.1	5.9	1.8	7.8	8.0	6.7
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	94	85	113	103	112	91

	White respondents					
	Low congruence			High congruence		
	Black MC	Hispanic MC	White MC	Black MC	Hispanic MC	White MC
Strongly disapprove	22.4	28.9	18.1	1.0	2.0	2.9
Disapprove	27.1	16.5	19.0	9.1	6.9	5.8
Neither approve nor disapprove	37.4	39.2	50.5	42.4	47.1	46.6
Approve	10.3	14.4	10.5	38.4	35.3	37.9
Strongly approve	2.8	1.0	1.9	9.1	8.8	6.8
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	107	97	105	99	102	103

Note: Cells show percentage of respondents in each condition offering response; shaded cells indicate descriptive representation.

Replicating models with interactions for gender of respondent

Table A6: Replicating models from Tables 2 and 3 with interaction for gender of respondent

	Black respondents				Hispanic respondents				White respondents			
	Perceived congruence (OLS)		Job approval (Ordered logit)		Perceived congruence (OLS)		Job approval (Ordered logit)		Perceived congruence (OLS)		Job approval (Ordered logit)	
Intercept	37.32 (2.56)	***			35.98 (2.63)	***			36.43 (2.52)	***		
Black MC	1.61 (3.13)		0.22 (0.40)		0.69 (3.25)		−0.19 (0.38)		0.34 (3.20)		−0.48 (0.36)	
× Female	5.66 (4.35)		−0.20 (0.55)		0.89 (4.57)		0.58 (0.52)		0.96 (4.38)		0.32 (0.51)	
× High congruence			−0.33 (0.54)				−0.06 (0.54)				0.55 (0.54)	
× Female × High congruence			0.88 (0.75)				−0.36 (0.75)				−0.31 (0.73)	
Hispanic MC	1.00 (3.19)		−0.02 (0.39)		−1.94 (3.21)		−0.30 (0.40)		1.06 (3.10)		−0.32 (0.37)	
× Female	4.61 (4.45)		0.40 (0.54)		4.03 (4.56)		0.58 (0.55)		−5.27 (4.42)		0.04 (0.53)	
× High congruence			0.09 (0.55)				−0.29 (0.55)				0.61 (0.53)	
× Female × High congruence			−0.35 (0.77)				0.09 (0.76)				−0.54 (0.74)	
High policy congruence	12.89 (2.58)	***	1.35 (0.39)	***	15.93 (2.63)	***	1.92 (0.39)	***	18.25 (2.59)	***	1.41 (0.38)	***
× Female	−1.14 (3.59)		−0.28 (0.54)		−8.10 (3.74)	*	−0.70 (0.53)		2.59 (3.61)		0.37 (0.51)	
Female	−3.95 (3.58)		0.01 (0.39)		1.77 (3.59)		0.24 (0.36)		0.31 (3.54)		0.10 (0.36)	
Threshold 1			−1.85 (0.30)	***			−1.45 (0.28)	***			−1.47 (0.27)	***
Threshold 2			−0.76 (0.28)	**			−0.53 (0.27)	ˆ			−0.41 (0.26)	
Threshold 3			1.68 (0.29)	***			1.87 (0.29)	***			1.87 (0.27)	***
Threshold 4			4.18 (0.36)	***			3.97 (0.33)	***			4.09 (0.32)	***
N	567		612		557		596		581		613	
R^2	.08				.07				.17			
Log-likelihood			−747.61				−755.09				−783.50	

Note: Excluded experimental conditions are White MC and low policy congruence. Approval of MC is coded as 1 (Strongly disapprove), 2 (Somewhat disapprove), 3 (Neither approve nor disapprove), 4 (Somewhat approve), 5 (Strongly approve). ˆp<.1; *p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001.

Responses to representation on racial policy

To test whether the descriptive representation of race/ethnicity has a particularly strong effect on responses to substantive representation on racial policy, I re-estimated versions of the models from Tables 2 and 3. These new models, shown in Table A7, replicate the "(a)" ones from earlier, this time substituting congruence on each policy individually rather than the aggregated low/high conditions. I leave out the voter's education and ideology in the interests of brevity; including these further interaction terms does not affect the results.

Note that the critical test here is whether constituents' responses to racial policy areas are affected more by the MC's race/ethnicity than their responses to non-racial policy areas are. This is assessed by interacting each policy with the MC condition. If descriptive representation matters most for issues of race, then the interaction between the MC and his position on immigration or profiling should be significantly larger than the interaction between the MC and his positions on the other issues. The results in Table A7, however, show that this is largely not the case.

Take racial profiling. The main term suggests that agreement on this policy led to increased perceptions of overall congruence and greater approval amongst all voters. The insignificant interactions between agreement on profiling and the MC, however, show that the importance of the issue for voters' evaluations did *not* vary with the MC's race/ethnicity. For example, among Black voters, agreement with the MC's position on profiling significantly increased perceived congruence (β=7.91, SE=3.40) and approval ratings (β=.57, SE=.30). This is the estimated effect for White MCs, the excluded category. The interaction terms are insignificant, indicating no difference between the effect of the White MC's position and the Black (β=$-$7.00, SE=4.64 in the perceived congruence model, β=$-$.17, SE=.40 in the approval model) or Hispanic (β=$-$1.90, SE=4.71; β=$-$.62, SE=.41) MC's position. Across all groups of respondents, the position the Black and Hispanic MCs took on racial profiling were factored into perceptions of congruence and job evaluations to the same extent as the positions White MCs took on the issue.

Amongst Black and White voters, the same results are found for immigration: the position the MC took is factored into evaluations at the same rate no matter his race. For Hispanic voters, there are some differences across MCs, although they do not seem to be the result of descriptive representation per se. The *lack* of a significant interaction between the Hispanic MC and congruence on immigration shows that Hispanics responded to Hispanic and White MCs' positions in the same way (β=$-$5.67, SE=4.75 for perceptions; β=$-$.24, SE=.40 for approval). When evaluating Black MCs, however, Hispanics placed *less* weight on their immigration position than when evaluating White MCs (for perceptions, β=$-$10.50, SE=4.78; for approval, β=$-$.90, SE=.39). Perceptions of congruence with and approval of the Black MC were *less* sensitive to his position on immigration than evaluations of White MCs. This is the only significant interaction for the racial policy positions, and cannot be explained easily by theories of descriptive representation since the Hispanic and White MCs were evaluated identically by Hispanic voters in this regard.

There are indications that different groups prioritize different issues in assessing MCs. Hispanics placed greater weight on the MC's immigration position than Blacks or Whites did. Likewise, Blacks factored the MC's position on profiling into their evaluations at high rates (particularly in perceptions of the MC's overall congruence). In this case, however, they are not particularly distinctive: Hispanics and Whites *also* weighed the MC's profiling position heavily in their evaluations.

Critically for the purposes of this paper, though, there is scant evidence that descriptive representation affects responses to congruence on racial issues particularly strongly. While the overall

importance of different issues varied across racial groups, responses to the MC's position on them were not driven by his race. With the one exception of Hispanics placing less weight on immigration policy when evaluating the Black MC, his race made no differences to the importance of racial issues for evaluations. In short, the descriptive representation of race/ethnicity does not have a particularly strong effect when discussing matters of racial policy.

Table A7: Regression models including each policy area separately, by the race/ethnicity of the respondent

	Black respondents		Hispanic respondents		White respondents	
	Perceived congruence (OLS)	Job approval (Ordered logit)	Perceived congruence (OLS)	Job approval (Ordered logit)	Perceived congruence (OLS)	Job approval (Ordered logit)
Intercept	29.44 (3.06) ***		28.53 (2.95) ***		29.46 (2.97) ***	
Congruence on healthcare	7.85 (3.27) *	0.37 (0.28)	7.96 (3.34) *	0.39 (0.28)	10.57 (3.27) **	0.64 (0.27) *
Congruence on stimulus	4.88 (3.44)	0.78 (0.29) **	1.37 (3.50)	0.27 (0.29)	6.52 (3.24) *	0.96 (0.27) ***
Congruence on taxes	4.61 (3.23)	0.16 (0.27)	−1.21 (3.40)	0.11 (0.28)	6.08 (3.15) ˆ	0.05 (0.26)
Congruence on immigration	−1.99 (3.58)	0.07 (0.30)	13.53 (3.33) ***	1.31 (0.28) ***	4.77 (3.27)	0.49 (0.28) ˆ
Congruence on profiling	7.91 (3.40) *	0.57 (0.30) ˆ	6.42 (3.27) ˆ	0.59 (0.28) *	5.89 (3.35) ˆ	0.62 (0.28) *
Black MC	7.59 (4.34) ˆ	0.10 (0.38)	5.56 (4.38)	0.19 (0.36)	2.56 (4.19)	−0.52 (0.35)
× Congruence on healthcare	−0.32 (4.74)	−0.23 (0.41)	−8.81 (4.81) ˆ	−0.08 (0.40)	−2.46 (4.63)	0.30 (0.39)
× Congruence on stimulus	−1.83 (4.65)	−0.29 (0.40)	1.37 (4.82)	−0.16 (0.40)	−1.01 (4.63)	−0.12 (0.38)
× Congruence on taxes	−3.00 (4.59)	0.38 (0.40)	9.38 (4.89) ˆ	0.38 (0.40)	0.63 (4.53)	0.44 (0.38)
× Congruence on immigration	6.50 (4.83)	0.58 (0.40)	−10.50 (4.78) *	−0.90 (0.39) *	3.12 (4.63)	0.40 (0.39)
× Congruence on profiling	−7.00 (4.64)	−0.17 (0.40)	−0.23 (4.68)	0.31 (0.39)	−4.32 (4.70)	−0.31 (0.39)
Hispanic MC	4.82 (4.25)	0.30 (0.37)	8.21 (4.43) ˆ	0.12 (0.37)	−2.07 (4.29)	−0.43 (0.37)
× Congruence on healthcare	1.18 (4.71)	0.47 (0.41)	−12.81 (4.79) **	−0.22 (0.40)	3.43 (4.67)	0.83 (0.39) *
× Congruence on stimulus	−0.44 (4.85)	−0.62 (0.41)	−1.41 (4.80)	−0.16 (0.40)	−8.88 (4.72) ˆ	−0.72 (0.39) ˆ
× Congruence on taxes	−6.27 (4.76)	0.12 (0.40)	3.30 (4.86)	0.01 (0.40)	−0.53 (4.61)	0.36 (0.39)
× Congruence on immigration	6.66 (4.84)	0.53 (0.41)	−5.67 (4.75)	−0.24 (0.40)	2.67 (4.62)	−0.21 (0.39)
× Congruence on profiling	−1.90 (4.71)	−0.62 (0.41)	1.56 (4.65)	0.15 (0.40)	4.53 (4.75)	0.29 (0.40)
Threshold 1		−1.47 (0.29) ***		−1.02 (0.26) ***		−1.03 (0.26) ***
Threshold 2		−0.36 (0.27)		−0.10 (0.25)		0.05 (0.25)
Threshold 3		2.10 (0.29) ***		2.33 (0.27) ***		2.38 (0.28) ***
Threshold 4		4.60 (0.35) ***		4.44 (0.32) ***		4.62 (0.33) ***
N	567	612	557	596	581	613
R^2	.08		.09		.17	
Log-likelihood		−744.26		−749.61		−774.96

Note: Excluded experimental conditions are White MC and disagreement on each of the policy areas. Approval of MC is coded as 1 (Strongly disapprove), 2 (Somewhat disapprove), 3 (Neither approve nor disapprove), 4 (Somewhat approve), 5 (Strongly approve). ˆp<.1; *p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001.