

Supplementary Appendix

In order to control for precinct level economic variables on community level electoral preferences that are separate from racial attitudes, we need account for white and African American income on the precinct level. One major development that allows us to introduce these variables into the analysis is the use of the ESRI ArcGIS software package. This mapping software allows us to examine more refined geographic areas with greater ease than previous scholars. Block group level data on income, education, and age were retrieved from the 2000 and 2010 US Census. ArcGIS software allowed us to create demographic values voting districts on these variables. By overlaying census block level data and voting precincts we get accurate measurements of precinct level income levels which is useful for separating neighborhood level class interests from neighborhood level racial interests. Aggregating block group data into voting districts is problematic; as the former is larger enough that it may not be fully contained within one voting district. Our method overestimated the number of individuals belonging to each age or income bracket by thirty to fifty percent. This means that individuals are being counted more than once due to their block group of residence lying within two voting districts. We use proportion of individuals in each bracket in our analyses, so the overestimation itself is not the problem, but the incorrect proportion of individuals in the group. Type II error is therefore introduced into our analysis, as demographic differences between districts are smoothed out, making each look more like its neighbors. We are comfortable tolerating this problem, because there seems to be no clear solution. The ultimate effect is that the relationship we seek to uncover will be harder to find.

In most cases we were able to match most if not all voting precincts to the Census data. In 2008 coverage was 100% of the precincts in Louisiana. In 2004 our data covers all but three parishes (61 out of 64) and in 2000 it covers all but 12 (52 out of 64). Precinct level vote outcomes were obtained directly from the parishes. The quality and availability of the data varied from parish to parish. While we were able to obtain virtually all precinct level vote data, we have gaps in our coverage (primarily in 2000) because in

some instances were not able to determine how the precincts matched up with the Census GIS shapefiles. We made numerous calls to precinct level officials and were able to resolve questions in the majority of cases, but in several instances we were not, and the data were omitted. We present a list of the parishes and the years they were included below. The missing parishes are generally small and rural, with the exception of Calcasieu Parish in 2000 (contains the city of Lake Charles) and Livingston Parish (contains some of the Baton Rouge suburbs) in 2004.

Table A1: List of Parishes Included by Year

#	Parish Name	2000	2004	2008	#	Parish Name	2000	2004	2008
1	Acadia	X	X	X	33	Madison		X	X
2	Allen	X	X	X	34	Morehouse	X	X	X
3	Ascension		X	X	35	Natchitoches	X	X	X
4	Assumption	X	X	X	36	Orleans	X	X	X
5	Avoyelles	X	X	X	37	Ouachita	X	X	X
6	Beauregard	X	X	X	38	Plaquemines	X	X	X
7	Bienville	X	X	X	39	Pointe Coupee	X	X	X
8	Bossier	X	X	X	40	Rapides		X	X
9	Caddo	X	X	X	41	Red River	X	X	X
10	Calcasieu		X	X	42	Richland		X	X
11	Caldwell		X	X	43	Sabine	X	X	X
12	Cameron	X		X	44	St. Bernard	X	X	X
13	Catahoula	X	X	X	45	St. Charles	X	X	X
14	Claiborne	X	X	X	46	St. Helena	X	X	X
15	Concordia	X	X	X	47	St. James	X	X	X
16	De Soto	X	X	X	48	St. John The Baptist	X		X
17	East Baton Rouge	X	X	X	49	St. Landry	X	X	X
18	East Carroll		X	X	50	St. Martin	X	X	X
19	East Feliciana	X	X	X	51	St. Mary	X	X	X
20	Evangeline	X	X	X	52	St. Tammany	X	X	X
21	Franklin		X	X	53	Tangipahoa	X	X	X
22	Grant	X	X	X	54	Tensas		X	X
23	Iberia	X	X	X	55	Terrebonne	X	X	X
24	Iberville	X	X	X	56	Union		X	X
25	Jackson		X	X	57	Vermilion	X	X	X
26	Jefferson	X	X	X	58	Vernon	X	X	X
27	Jefferson Davis	X	X	X	59	Washington	X	X	X
28	La Salle	X	X	X	60	Webster		X	X
29	Lafayette	X	X	X	61	West Baton Rouge	X	X	X
30	Lafourche	X	X	X	62	West Carroll	X	X	X
31	Lincoln	X	X	X	63	West Feliciana	X	X	X
32	Livingston	X		X	64	Winn	X	X	X

Table A2: Summary Statistics—2000, 2004, and 2008 Samples

2000	N	Mean	SD	Median	Min	Max
Black turnout	2644	0.59	0.14	0.59	0.1	1
White turnout	2892	0.64	0.12	0.65	0.05	1
Precinct Prop. White	2644	0.66	0.34	0.82	0	1
Neighborhood Prop. White	2644	0.63	0.27	0.69	0	1
Intra Precinct Segregation	2644	0.04	0.05	0.02	0	0.23
Black Income	2644	10.2	4.41	9.38	0	57.24
White Income	2892	18.86	7.11	17.19	0	108.11
Latitude	2644	30.68	0.95	30.32	29.11	32.98
Median Age	2644	45.02	2.37	45.11	30.65	52.96
Prop. With Some College	2644	0.4	0.15	0.35	0.13	0.9
Parish Prop. White	52	0.7	0.14	0.69	0.33	0.96
D-Statistic (Parish)	52	0.61	0.11	0.62	0.32	0.88
2004	N	Mean	SD	Median	Min	Max
Black turnout	2962	0.61	0.12	0.61	0.08	0.94
White turnout	3246	0.67	0.11	0.69	0.06	0.95
Precinct Prop. White	2962	0.65	0.34	0.8	0	1
Neighborhood Prop. White	2962	0.64	0.26	0.69	0	1
Intra Precinct Segregation	2962	0.04	0.05	0.02	0	0.23
Black Income	2962	10.24	4.42	9.38	0	57.24
White Income	3246	18.91	6.92	17.33	0	108.11
Latitude	2962	30.78	1	30.38	29.11	33.01
Median Age	2962	45.19	2.29	45.31	32.92	52.96
Prop. With Some College	2962	0.39	0.15	0.35	0.13	0.9
Parish Prop. White	61	0.68	0.14	0.69	0.33	0.92
D-Statistic (Parish)	61	0.6	0.11	0.59	0.32	0.86
2008	N	Mean	SD	Median	Min	Max
Black turnout	3189	0.66	0.12	0.67	0.13	0.96
White turnout	3342	0.65	0.13	0.69	0.06	0.94
Precinct Prop. White	3189	0.65	0.34	0.79	0	1
Neighborhood Prop. White	3189	0.64	0.26	0.69	0.01	1
Intra Precinct Segregation	3189	0.04	0.04	0.02	0	0.23
Black Income	3189	15.71	7.72	14.49	0	112.57
White Income	3342	26.91	10.12	25.01	0	201.71
Latitude	3189	30.81	1	30.41	29.11	33.01
Median Age	3189	46.33	2.49	46.61	31.82	57.55
Prop. With Some College	3189	0.43	0.14	0.4	0.13	0.93
Parish Prop. White	64	0.68	0.15	0.69	0.31	0.98
D-Statistic (Parish)	64	0.59	0.1	0.6	0.32	0.82

Table A3: Predicted Rate of White Turnout Across Varying Levels of Racial Diversity and Segregation

		Precinct Level			Parish Level		
		Wh. Prop. Low	Wh. Prop. Medium	Wh. Prop. High	Wh. Prop. Low	Wh. Prop. Medium	Wh. Prop. High
2000	Low Seg.	51.50	58.04	64.58	79.06	69.97	60.87
	Middle Seg.	52.63	58.65	64.67	71.56	66.17	60.78
	High Seg.	59.66	62.45	65.24	68.23	64.49	60.74
2004	Low Seg.	55.79	62.11	68.42	79.32	72.66	66.00
	Middle Seg.	56.92	62.83	68.74	74.84	70.05	65.26
	High Seg.	63.95	67.34	70.73	72.84	68.89	64.94
2008	Low Seg.	49.89	58.16	66.43	77.38	71.75	66.11
	Middle Seg.	51.74	59.29	66.84	76.48	69.21	61.94
	High Seg.	63.25	66.32	69.38	76.08	68.08	60.08

Table A4: Predicted Rate of AA Turnout Across Varying Levels of Racial Diversity and Segregation

		Precinct Level			Parish Level		
		Wh. Prop. Low	Wh. Prop. Medium	Wh. Prop. High	Wh. Prop. Low	Wh. Prop. Medium	Wh. Prop. High
2000	Low Seg.	59.34	59.84	60.35	66.63	62.22	57.80
	Middle Seg.	59.51	59.45	59.38	67.29	61.94	56.58
	High Seg.	60.58	56.97	53.35	67.59	61.81	56.04
2004	Low Seg.	61.86	62.96	64.07	72.95	67.51	62.07
	Middle Seg.	61.92	62.56	63.20	68.07	64.50	60.93
	High Seg.	62.28	60.03	57.79	65.90	63.16	60.42
2008	Low Seg.	65.50	67.22	68.94	76.35	72.52	68.69
	Middle Seg.	65.87	67.02	68.16	73.84	69.70	65.57
	High Seg.	68.16	65.74	63.33	72.72	68.45	64.19

Table A5: Pooled HLM Models Regressing Precinct-Level Group Turnout on Racial Diversity and Segregation Levels

	Whites		African Americans	
<i>Level I (Precinct)</i>				
Precinct	0.201***	0.240***	-0.004	-0.009
Prop. White	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.007)
Intra Precinct Segregation	0.335***	1.012***	-0.337***	0.150
	(0.023)	(0.061)	(0.035)	(0.079)
Precinct Prop. White × Segregation		-1.075***		-0.378**
		(0.089)		(0.119)
Adjoining Precincts Prop. White	-0.004	-0.025***	0.021*	-0.009
	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.010)	(0.009)
Median Group Income	-0.0004**	-0.0005***	0.003***	0.004***
	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0003)	(0.0002)
Latitude	0.003	0.003	-0.023***	-0.028***
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Median Age	0.007***	0.007***	0.008***	0.006***
	(0.0005)	(0.0004)	(0.001)	(0.001)
% Some College	0.205***	0.196***	0.087***	0.082***
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.016)	(0.014)
Orleans Parish	-0.143***	-0.149***	-0.150***	-0.208***
	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.045)	(0.041)
<i>Level II (Parish)</i>				
Parish Prop. White	-0.240***	-0.028	-0.269***	0.536***
	(0.028)	(0.117)	(0.038)	(0.150)
D-Statistic	-0.133***	0.102	-0.256***	0.641***
	(0.029)	(0.132)	(0.042)	(0.163)
Parish Prop. White × D-Statistic		-0.331		-1.348***
		(0.180)		(0.232)
Constant	0.273*	0.116	1.254***	0.963***
	(0.133)	(0.150)	(0.174)	(0.176)
Observations	9470	9470	9018	8705
Number of Groups	64	64	64	64

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

Figure A1: Precinct and Parish Segregation Levels

