

APPENDIXES

A. Tables 1 and 2. Effect of Jackson's 1984 Presidential Campaign on African American Political Behavior – Predicted Probabilities for All Significant Variables

	Donated Money	Vol. Voter Registration	Attended Meeting	Proselytized
Favored Jackson	0.09**		0.09**	0.12**
Reagan Approval				-0.17**
Black Linked Fate	0.12**			
Black Organization (member)	0.14***		0.17***	0.14***
Political church (member)	0.25***	0.17***	0.29***	0.16***
Female				-0.09*
Age	0.24**	-0.19**		
Income	0.13**			
Education	0.21***			
Internal Efficacy			0.08*	
Source: 1984 National Black Election Study				
* $p < .10$ ** $p < .05$ *** $p < .01$				

B. Table 2. Effect of Jackson's 1984 Campaign on Political Behavior for African American Women – Full Results

	Donated Money	Vol. Voter Registration	Attended Meeting	Proselytized
Favored Jackson	0.678* (0.349)	0.418 (0.325)	0.336 (0.332)	0.781*** (0.286)
Reagan Disapproval	0.035 (0.205)	-0.031 (0.189)	0.263 (0.176)	-0.225 (0.159)
Black Linked Fate	0.172 (0.149)	0.198 (0.138)	0.020 (0.135)	0.054 (0.111)
Registered to vote for the first time	-0.082 (0.661)	-0.579 (0.531)	-0.565 (0.616)	-0.105 (0.436)
Black organization (member)	0.988*** (0.349)	-0.005 (0.370)	0.901*** (0.333)	0.631** (0.309)
Political church (member)	1.597*** (0.324)	0.982*** (0.307)	1.321*** (0.295)	0.590** (0.270)
Age	0.014 (0.012)	-0.030** (0.012)	-0.001 (0.011)	0.009 (0.009)
Ideology	0.022 (0.080)	-0.015 (0.073)	0.033 (0.073)	0.004 (0.062)
Income	0.077 (0.053)	0.007 (0.052)	0.031 (0.050)	0.091** (0.043)
Education	0.249* (0.133)	-0.157 (0.139)	0.174 (0.125)	0.023 (0.106)
Internal Efficacy	0.449 (0.344)	0.625* (0.322)	0.390 (0.311)	-0.018 (0.269)
South	-0.091	-0.023	-0.055	-0.152

	(0.323)	(0.298)	(0.295)	(0.248)
Constant	-4.635*** (0.901)	-0.835 (0.759)	-2.946*** (0.766)	-1.595** (0.625)
N	318	319	318	319
Log likelihood	-130.831	-148.589	-151.193	-196.502
Pseudo R2	0.257	0.086	0.167	0.104
Source: 1984 National Black Election Study				
* $p < .10$; ** $p < .05$; *** $p < .01$				

C. Table 2. Effect of Jackson's 1984 Campaign on Political Behavior for African American Women. Predicted Probabilities for All Significant Variables

	Donated Money	Vol. Voter Registration	Attended Meeting	Proselytized
Favored Jackson	0.11*			0.19***
Black Organization (member)	0.16***		0.17***	0.15**
Political church (member)	0.28***	0.16***	0.26***	0.15**
Income				0.22**
Education	0.17*			
Internal Efficacy		0.09*		
Source: 1984 National Black Election Study. See appendix B (above) for full results.				
* $p < .10$ ** $p < .05$ *** $p < .01$				

D. Table 2. Effect of Jackson's 1984 Campaign on Political Behavior for African American Men – Full Results

	Donated Money	Vol. Voter Registration	Attended Meeting	Proselytized
Favored Jackson	0.314 (0.408)	-0.017 (0.396)	0.760* (0.388)	-0.111 (0.344)
Reagan Approval	-0.063 (0.204)	-0.153 (0.188)	-0.124 (0.183)	-0.268* (0.158)
Black Linked Fate	0.488** (0.201)	0.003 (0.165)	-0.013 (0.167)	0.214 (0.142)
Registered to vote for the first time	0.220 (0.616)	-0.128 (0.550)	-0.071 (0.583)	-0.045 (0.454)
Black organization (member)	0.711* (0.396)	0.741* (0.385)	0.895** (0.373)	0.507 (0.351)
Political church (member)	1.037** (0.414)	0.732* (0.380)	1.604*** (0.388)	0.730* (0.374)
Age	0.025* (0.014)	-0.005 (0.012)	0.010 (0.012)	0.002 (0.011)
Ideology	-0.098	0.083	-0.048	-0.116*

	(0.084)	(0.077)	(0.077)	(0.068)
Income	0.100 (0.064)	0.069 (0.059)	0.043 (0.058)	-0.123** (0.052)
Education	0.350** (0.139)	-0.139 (0.140)	0.016 (0.133)	0.157 (0.117)
Internal Efficacy	-0.045 (0.391)	0.006 (0.359)	0.483 (0.360)	0.285 (0.316)
South	0.331 (0.365)	0.244 (0.338)	-0.399 (0.342)	-0.371 (0.297)
Constant	-5.286*** (1.112)	-1.738* (0.895)	-2.388*** (0.917)	0.226 (0.781)
N	218	219	219	218
Log likelihood	-97.356	-113.548	-110.576	-135.978
Pseudo R2	0.216	0.063	0.171	0.100
Source: 1984 National Black Election Study. * $p < .10$; ** $p < .05$; *** $p < .01$				

E. Table 2. Effect of Jackson's 1984 Campaign on Political Behavior for African American Men. Predicted Probabilities for All Significant Variables

	Donated Money	Vol. Voter Registration	Attended Meeting	Proselytized
Favored Jackson			0.16*	
Reagan Approval				-0.19*
Black Linked Fate	0.20**			
Black Organization (member)	0.13*	0.14*	0.18**	
Political church (member)	0.19**	0.14*	0.35***	0.17*
Age	0.32*			
Ideology				-0.17*
Income				0.18*
Education	0.27**			
Source: 1984 National Black Election Study. See appendix D (above) for full results. * $p < .10$ ** $p < .05$ *** $p < .01$				

F. Effect of Jackson's 1988 Campaign on African American Political Behavior

	Donated Money	Vol. Voter Registration	Attended Meeting	Proselytized
Favored Jackson	0.432 (0.619)	0.298 (0.665)	-0.214 (0.586)	-0.450 (0.542)
Reagan Approval	-0.518* (0.296)	0.232 (0.261)	-0.215 (0.275)	-0.355 (0.247)
Black Linked Fate	0.001 (0.315)	-0.084 (0.349)	-0.009 (0.321)	0.087 (0.277)
Black Organization (member)	1.130** (0.467)	0.119 (0.536)	1.224** (0.480)	0.917** (0.444)

Political church (member)	1.309*** (0.470)	0.542 (0.525)	1.547*** (0.473)	0.825* (0.444)
Female	-0.693 (0.507)	-0.705 (0.534)	-0.289 (0.503)	-0.118 (0.448)
Age	-0.011 (0.019)	-0.009 (0.020)	0.005 (0.018)	0.021 (0.016)
Ideology	-0.089 (0.121)	0.110 (0.124)	-0.116 (0.119)	-0.036 (0.106)
Income	0.025 (0.112)	-0.090 (0.107)	-0.115 (0.110)	-0.183* (0.094)
Education	0.204 (0.173)	0.101 (0.193)	0.126 (0.174)	0.038 (0.157)
Internal Efficacy	-0.557 (0.530)	-0.724 (0.608)	-0.828 (0.548)	-0.787* (0.471)
South	0.128 (0.459)	-0.716 (0.500)	-0.094 (0.462)	0.206 (0.412)
Constant	-1.632 (1.821)	-0.570 (1.877)	-0.314 (1.785)	1.093 (1.600)
N	130	130	130	130
Log likelihood	-66.846	-60.040	-66.924	-79.053
Pseudo R2	0.20	0.077	0.196	0.119
Source: 1988 National Black Election Study				
* $p < .10$ ** $p < .05$ *** $p < .01$				

G. Table 4. Political Behavior of African Americans Voting for Obama in the 2008 Presidential Primary, Compared to other Racial, Ethnic, and Gender Groups – Full Results

Variables	Donated Money	Sign/Button/Sticker	Attended Rally	Political Talk
African American <u>Women</u> Voting for Obama in the Primary	1.279** (0.622)	0.901** (0.397)	1.518** (0.602)	0.956** (0.387)
African American <u>Men</u> Voting for Obama in the Primary	0.776 (0.671)	0.236 (0.450)	1.016 (0.653)	0.408 (0.435)
Age	0.005 (0.010)	36.805*** ¹ (12.670)	0.003 (0.010)	-0.008 (0.006)
Female	-0.008 (0.336)	-0.191 (0.234)	-0.268 (0.333)	-0.107 (0.200)
African American	-0.287 (0.463)	0.556** (0.264)	-0.782* (0.458)	-0.509** (0.235)
South	-0.662** (0.332)	-0.336 (0.222)	-0.608* (0.325)	-0.203 (0.190)
Income	0.038 (0.028)	0.022 (0.019)	0.011 (0.025)	-0.003 (0.016)
Education	0.225** (0.112)	0.058 (0.082)	3.603* ² (2.068)	0.151** (0.072)
Religious Service Attendance	-0.037 (0.084)	0.031 (0.056)	1.61e-77*** (4.29E-78)	0.116** (0.050)
Ideology	-0.307* (0.182)	-0.117 (0.119)	-0.351* (0.172)	-0.288*** (0.102)
Internal Efficacy	-0.220 (0.141)	-0.083 (0.106)	-0.253* (0.136)	-0.078 (0.096)
External Efficacy	-0.105 (0.132)	-0.132 (0.090)	0.090 (0.131)	0.008 (0.078)
Bush Disapproval	1.072* (0.571)	0.968*** (0.301)	2.143** (0.988)	0.717*** (0.189)
Habitual Voter	1.074** (0.477)	0.689** (0.278)	0.793* (0.430)	0.276 (0.220)
Constant	-6.315*** (2.442)	-5.052*** (1.332)	-9.868** (4.036)	-2.381** (0.936)
N=	541	594	594	594
Pseudo R ²	0.187	0.109	0.177	0.094
Log Likelihood	-159.980	-288.113	-163.606	-361.804

¹ A transformed variable for age using Box-Tidwell to prevent specification error are used in these models and their results reported here.

² Transformed variables for education and religious service attendance using Box-Tidwell to prevent specification error are used in these models and their results reported here.

Source: 2008 ANES Time Series Study. Democrats of all other racial, ethnic and gender groups are the baseline comparison in these models.

* $p < .10$ ** $p < .05$ *** $p < .01$

H. Effect of Obama's 2012 Campaign on African American Political Behavior

Variables	Donated Money ³	Sign/Button/ Sticker	Attended Rally	Political Talk
Vote for Obama	0.350 (0.718)	0.476 (0.575)	0.036 (0.797)	0.345 (0.458)
Racial identification	0.619 (0.512)	0.128 (0.389)	-0.122 (0.620)	0.567 (0.344)
Female	0.147 (0.460)	0.534 (0.396)	-0.008 (0.624)	0.127 (0.333)
Age	0.044** (0.017)	0.024* (0.013)	0.005 (0.021)	0.024** (0.012)
South	0.132 (0.463)	-0.563 (0.376)	-0.088 (0.639)	-0.150 (0.340)
Income	0.029 (0.030)	-0.016 (0.026)	-0.065 (0.043)	-0.056** (0.023)
Education	0.418* (0.215)	0.183 (0.174)	0.797*** (0.298)	0.260* (0.155)
Religious Service (attendance)	-0.162 (0.149)	0.059 (0.119)	-0.035 (0.191)	0.124 (0.103)
Ideology	0.031 (0.179)	0.052 (0.142)	0.086 (0.223)	0.140 (0.123)
Internal Efficacy	0.115 (0.219)	0.130 (0.182)	0.164 (0.284)	0.057 (0.157)
External Efficacy	-0.256 (0.239)	-0.042 (0.194)	-0.334 (0.312)	-0.035 (0.172)
Habitual Voter	-0.074 (0.888)	0.237 (0.655)	-0.663 (0.837)	0.355 (0.533)
Constant	-5.885*** (1.575)	-3.949*** (1.193)	-4.036** (1.881)	-3.462*** (1.003)
N=	194	194	194	194
Pseudo R ²	0.125	0.069	0.104	0.085
Log Likelihood	-70.056	-97.780	-45.075	-119.607

Source: 2012 ANES Time Series Study. These models are run using only African Americans sampled who were *not* contacted by the Democratic Party. * $p < .10$ ** $p < .05$ *** $p < .01$

³ Further testing demonstrated that women and men of the civil rights generation were significantly more likely than any other African Americans to have donated money in the 2012 presidential campaign.