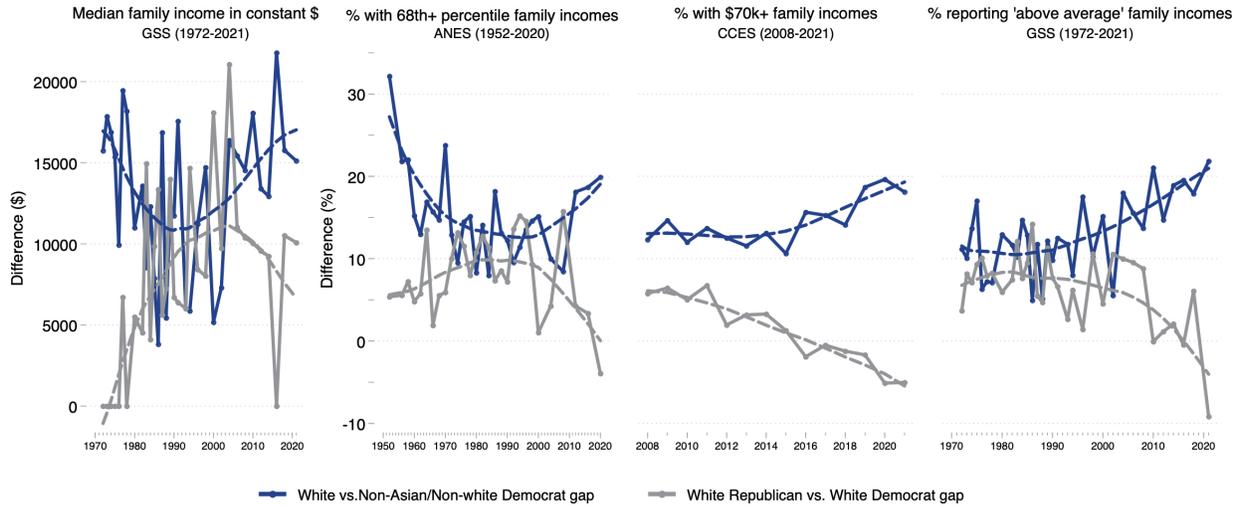


The Rise of College-Educated Democrats

Zach Goldberg

Appendix A. Supplemental charts

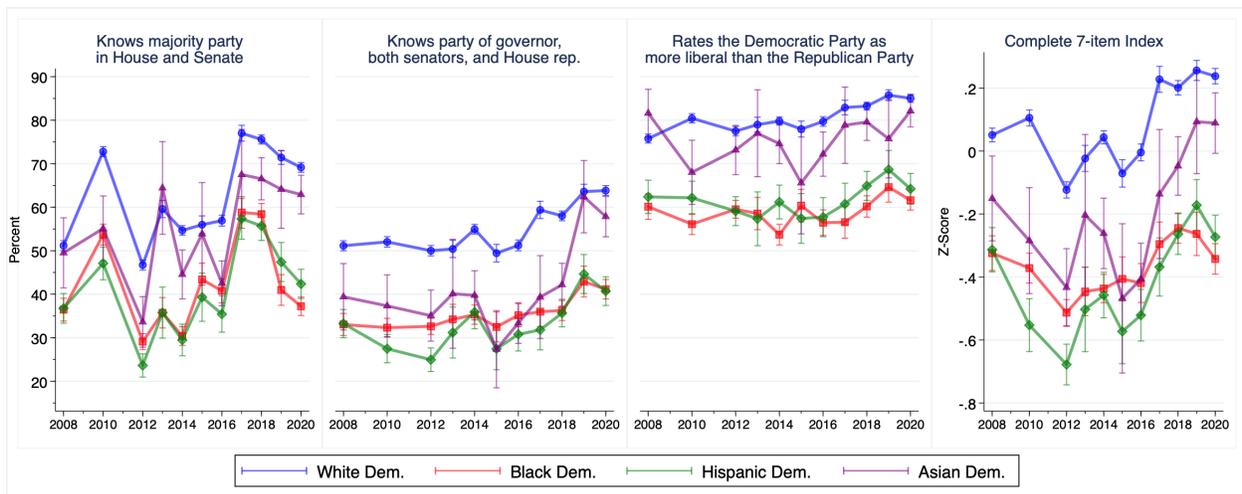
Appendix A.1 Gaps in family income



Note. Data are weighted. Solid lines represent raw constant dollar (family income) and percentage point (family income categories, self-described family income) differentials between white vs. non-Asian/nonwhite Democrats (blue lines) and white Democrats vs. white Republicans (grey lines). Dashed lines represent lowess-smoothed differentials (bandwidth=0.8).

Source: General Social Survey; American National Elections Studies; Cooperative Congressional Election Survey.

Appendix A.2 Political knowledge among self-identified Democrats by race/ethnicity



Note. Data are weighted. Lines in the first three charts (left to right) represent the percent of respondents in each group that correctly answered each of the listed knowledge items. Lines in the last or 4th chart represent a group's average standardized (z) score on the complete 7-item knowledge index.

Source: Cooperative Congressional Election Survey

Appendix B. Index items and other outcome variables

Appendix B.1 ANES 16-Item Political Knowledge Index

	Question Wording	Correct Answer/Coding Logic (1=Correct, 0=Incorrect/Don't know)
General Knowledge Items	For how many years is a United States Senator elected – that is, how many years are there in one full term of office for a U.S. Senator?	6 years
	On which of the following does the U.S. federal government currently spend the least?	Foreign aid
	Do you happen to know which party currently has the most members in the U.S. House of Representatives in Washington?	Republican Party (2012), Republican Party (2016), Democratic Party (2020)
	Do you happen to know which party currently has the most members in the U.S. Senate?	Democratic Party (2012), Republican Party (2016), Republican Party (2020)
Office Recall/Recognition Items	Paul Ryan (2012, 2016), Nancy Pelosi (2020) What job or political office does [he/she] hold now?	Speaker of the House
	Joe Biden (2012, 2016), Mike Pence (2020) What job or political office does he hold now?	Vice President
	John Roberts What job or political office does he hold now?	Supreme Court Chief Justice
Ideological placement (1=Very liberal, 7=Very conservative)	Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?	Any ideological category selection besides 'Haven't thought much about this' or 'Don't know'
	Where would you place [Barak Obama, Hillary Clinton, Joe Biden] on this scale? Where would you place [Mitt Romney, Donald Trump] on this scale?	Democratic Presidential candidate is rated as more liberal/less conservative than Republican Presidential candidate
	Where would you place the Democratic Party on this scale? Where would you place the Republican Party on this scale?	Democratic Party is rated as more liberal/less conservative than Republican Party
Candidate Issue Placement	Some people think the government should provide fewer services even in areas such as health and education in order to reduce spending. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Other people feel it is important for the government to provide many more services even if it means an increase in spending. Suppose these people are at the	Republican Presidential candidate is placed higher on the scale than the Democratic Presidential candidate

	<p>other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5 or 6.</p> <p>Where would you place [Barak Obama, Hillary Clinton, Joe Biden] on this issue?</p> <p>Where would you place [Mitt Romney, Donald Trump] on this issue?</p>	
	<p>Some people believe that we should spend much less money for defense. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Others feel that defense spending should be greatly increased. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5 or 6.</p> <p>Where would you place [Barak Obama, Hillary Clinton, Joe Biden] on this issue?</p> <p>Where would you place [Mitt Romney, Donald Trump] on this issue?</p>	<p>Republican Presidential candidate is placed higher on the scale than the Democratic Presidential candidate</p>
	<p>There is much concern about the rapid rise in medical and hospital costs. Some people feel there should be a government insurance plan which would cover all medical and hospital expenses for everyone. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Others feel that all medical expenses should be paid by individuals through private insurance plans like Blue Cross or other company paid plans. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6.</p> <p>Where would you place [Barak Obama, Hillary Clinton, Joe Biden] on this issue?</p> <p>Where would you place [Mitt Romney, Donald Trump] on this issue?</p>	<p>Republican Presidential candidate is placed higher on the scale than the Democratic Presidential candidate</p>
	<p>Some people feel the government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Others think the government should just let each person get ahead on their own. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6.</p> <p>Where would you place [Barak Obama, Hillary Clinton, Joe Biden] on this issue?</p>	<p>Republican Presidential candidate is placed higher on the scale than the Democratic Presidential candidate</p>

	Where would you place [Mitt Romney, Donald Trump] on this issue?	
	<p>Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6.</p> <p>Where would you place [Barak Obama, Hillary Clinton, Joe Biden] on this issue?</p> <p>Where would you place [Mitt Romney, Donald Trump] on this issue?</p>	Republican Presidential candidate is placed higher on the scale than the Democratic Presidential candidate
	<p>Some people think we need much tougher government regulations on business in order to protect the environment. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Others think that current regulations to protect the environment are already too much of a burden on business. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2,3,4,5, or 6.</p> <p>Where would you place [Barak Obama, Hillary Clinton, Joe Biden] on this issue?</p> <p>Where would you place [Mitt Romney, Donald Trump] on this issue?</p>	Republican Presidential candidate is placed higher on the scale than the Democratic Presidential candidate

Note. Chart is in reference to Figure 11 ('Democrat scores on 16-item political knowledge by race/ethnicity).

Appendix B.2 Measures of constituent-initiated political contact

Survey	Question	Year(s)
Gallup	Have you written or wired your Congressman during this session of Congress--that is, since last January 5 (1947)?	1947
	Have you written to your Congressman or Senators during the last 12 months?	1957, 1961, 1965
Roper	Now here is a list of things some people do about government or politics. Have you happened to have done any of those things in the past year? (If 'Yes') Which ones?	1973-1987, 1989

	Written your Congressman or Senator	
ANES	Have you (or anyone in your family living here) ever contacted [running U.S. House incumbent] or anyone in his/her office?	1978, 1980, 1982, 1984, 1986, 1988, 1990, 1992, 1994
	During the PAST TWELVE MONTHS, have you telephoned, written a letter to, or visited a government official to express your views on a public issue?	2000, 2002, 2004, 2008, 2010 (EGSS), 2011 (EGSS), 2012
	During the past 12 months, have you contacted or tried to contact a member of the U.S. Senate or U.S. House of Representatives, or have you not done this in the past 12 months? In the past twelve months, have you contacted a federal elected official, such as a member of Congress or the President, or someone on the staff of such an official? What about an elected official on the state or local level, such as a governor, mayor, or a member of the state legislature or city council, or someone on the staff of such an elected official? Have you contacted such a person in the past twelve months?	2016, 2020
Times Mirror Center	As I read from a list please tell me which of these things have you done in the past year to express your opinions on issues that concern you. Have you... written a letter to an elected official.	1990, 1992, 1993
Times Mirror/Pew	Have you ever called or sent or faxed a letter to your Congressional representative or Senator to express your opinion on an issue just in the past 12 months?	1993, 1994, 1999
Pew	(Here's a list of activities some people do and others do not. Please indicate if you have done each of the following activities in the past year.)...Contacted any elected official	1997, 2000, 2003, 2006, 2011, 2012, 2014, 2016, 2017, 2018
	Now here is another list of activities some people do and others do not. For each, please tell me if you have done this in the past 12 months or not. In the past 12 months, have you...contacted a national, state or local government official in person, by phone or by letter about an issue that is important to you?	2008, 2009, 2010, 2012
CCES	Has your member of Congress contacted you within the past two years? I visited the member's office	2012, 2014

	I sent and email or letter to the member (selected either of the two)	
	During the past year did you ...Contact a public official?	2017-2020
Data For Progress/YouGov Blue	Some people participate in politics in various ways other than voting, while others do not. Which of the following, if any, have you done in the last 6 months? (Check all that apply) Called or wrote to an elected official	2018-2019
NORC	(People may also be involved in civic and political activities.) In the past 12 months, have you...contacted a government official?	2018
Ipsos	(Have you done the following in the last year?)...Contacted an elected official	2021
Kaiser Family Foundation/ Washington post	(I'm going to read some activities some people do and others do not. Please tell me if you have done each of the following activities in the past two years, or not.)...Contacted any elected official by phone, over the Internet, by mail, or in person	2018
NORC/Survey Center on American Life	Please indicate if you have done each of the following activities in the last 12 months or not....Contacted an elected official	2020

Appendix B.3 Measures of political donation behavior

Survey	Question	Years
ANES	During an election year people are often asked to make a contribution to support campaigns. Did you give money to a political party during this election year? Did you give money to an individual candidate running for public office? Did you give any money to any other group that supported or opposed candidates? (Note. Respondents who answered 'yes' to any of the 3 are coded as '1'. All others are coded as '0'.)	1952, 1956, 1960, 1962, 1964, 1966, 1968, 1972, 1974, 1976, 1978, 1980, 1982, 1984, 1986, 1988, 1990, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2008, 2012, 2016, 2020
Pew	Thinking only about the last 12 months, have you...contributed money to a candidate running for public office?	2000, 2003, 2006, 2008, 2012, 2014, 2016-2018, 2020

	<p>Thinking about the past 12 months, have you...contributed money to a political candidate or party, or any other political organization or cause?</p> <p>(Here's a list of activities some people do and others do not. Please indicate if you have done each of the following activities in the past year.)...Contributed money to a candidate running for public office or to a group working to elect a candidate</p>	
CCES	During the past year did you ...Donate money to a candidate, campaign, or political organization?	2008, 2010, 2012, 2014, 2016-2020
Data For Progress/YouGov Blue	<p>Some people participate in politics in various ways other than voting, while others do not. Which of the following, if any, have you done in the last 6 months?</p> <p>Made a donation to a candidate, party, or other political organization</p>	2018, 2019
Gallup	Did you give any money during the last year in support of the Democratic party or any of its candidates?	1955, 1956, 1958, 1997
	Did you or any member of your immediate family give any money to help a political party or candidate [during the last political campaign]?	1961, 1962, 1964, 1976
	<p>(We would like to find out about some of the things people do during a Presidential campaign. Which of the following have you done, if any, within the last year or so.)...</p> <p>Contributed money to a Presidential candidate</p> <p>Contributed money to a political party organization</p> <p>(Note. Respondents who answered 'yes' to either of the two are coded as '1'. All others are coded as '0'.)</p>	1988
CBS News/Gallup	<p>(We would like to find out about some of the things people do to help a party or a candidate win an election. Which of the following things, if any, have you done in the last four years or so?)... Contributed money to political action groups such as groups sponsored by a union, or a business or any other issue groups that supported or opposed particular candidates in an election?</p> <p>In the last four years, have you given money to a candidate, party or other organization</p>	1978, 1987, 1999, 2015

	that supported or opposed candidates during an election campaign, or not?	
CBS News	In the last two years, have you given money to a candidate, party or other organization that supported or opposed candidates during an election campaign, or not?	2018
Ipsos/Knight Foundation Survey	(Have you done the following in the last year?)...Donated to political campaigns or causes	2021
NORC/ Family History of Incarceration Study	(People may also be involved in civic and political activities.) In the past 12 months, have you...given money to another political candidate, issue, or cause?	2018
Times Mirror Center for the People & the Press	People express their opinions about politics and current events in a number of ways besides voting. I'm going to read a list of some of these ways. Please just tell me if you have or have not done each at some point in the last 12 months.)... Contributed money to a political action group or committee, sponsored by a union, business or other issue group that supported a candidate in an election?	1993
General Social Survey	In the past three or four years, have you contributed money to a political party or candidate or to any other political cause?	1987
	Listed on this card are examples of many different fields in which people and families contribute money or other property for charitable purposes. I mean making a voluntary contribution and not with the intention of making a profit or obtaining goods and/or services for yourself. In which, if any, of the fields listed on this card have you and the members of your family or household contributed some money or other property in 1995? Just read off the letter of each field (DON'T READ. RECORD BELOW UNDER GIVHLTH-GIVOTH.) J. Political organizations or campaigns	1996
Newsweek	Since January 1992, have you personally contributed money to any political candidate, party, or political action committee?	1994

Note. Chart is in reference to Figure 14 ('Racial disparities in Democrats' political donation behavior').