Generational Persistence in the Nature of White Racial Attitudes

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Abstract

Race and racial attitudes are central to American politics. To understand these relationships, scholars often use measures developed in earlier social and political contexts. A key issue is thus whether such measures consistently capture the same construct across varied contexts. Changes in the social and political context may result in generational differences in how people interpret certain racial attitude items given different socialization experiences. Such differences make generational comparisons on these items invalid because the items capture different considerations. I build on recent work investigating this possibility and test the racial resentment measure's equivalence between Millennial and older Whites. Despite potential generational differences, I find that the racial resentment measure operates equivalently across generations using two different analytical approaches (retrospective thought-listing and multi-group confirmatory factor analysis). The racial resentment measure offers valid insights into racial attitudes across generational cohorts. I conclude by discussing what this finding implies for emerging work on the manifestations of prejudiced attitudes among Millennial Whites and also suggest potential points of improvement for the measure.

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Whites' racial attitudes and their politics are increasingly linked. Using long-standing racial attitude measures scholars have shown how these beliefs now more potently shape opinions and vote choice (Sides, Tesler and Vavreck 2018; Tesler 2016), and even change following political dynamics (Engelhardt 2020; Hopkins and Washington 2020). For these insights to carry the substantive interpretations made, the racial attitude measures used must consistently capture the same construct across data collections. Early socialization experiences seem to underpin racial attitudes and these beliefs can persist over time, making this assumption plausible (Acharya, Blackwell and Sen 2018; Goldman and Hopkins 2020). But this ignores the potential for socialization experiences to change in connection to media, education, and political dynamics. Younger Whites may have grown up in a world instilling in them a different understanding of race. Consequently, how they interpret certain racial attitude measures may differ from older Whites socialized in the racial context where the questions were first validated. Addressing the generational comparability of racial attitude measures is thus a critical task for understanding whether changes scholars identify are substantive or instead due to differences in measurement that cohort replacement make increasingly consequential.

This is the problem of measurement equivalence. Group comparisons on a survey measure are only valid if the relationship between true, unobserved attitudes and observed item responses does not vary across groups (Vandenberg and Lance 2000). If survey item interpretations vary by generation, then this requirement is violated. Consider one frequently-used racial attitude measure: racial resentment. Its proponents argue it measures explanations for Black Americans' social and economic status linked to believing they violate behavioral norms (DeSante 2013; Kinder and Sanders 1996; Tarman and Sears 2005). Meant to measure White racial attitudes in a post-Civil Rights era, items include statements like "It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if Blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites" and "Irish, Italian, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors."[1] Given the measure's calibration and introduction decades

[1]The supplementary material describes all items.

ago, racial resentment may appropriately capture older Whites' racial attitudes but fail among younger cohorts. With the Civil Rights movement and White immigrant experience increasingly distant, linked concepts may contribute little to younger Whites' attitudes. Further, younger Whites may censor responses to survey items to avoid revealing prejudiced beliefs. Generational comparisons using this measure become inappropriate because what considerations come to mind, and how they relate to item responses, varies by group (Ackerman 1992).[2]

Fortunately, extant work investigates this. DeSante and Smith (2020*a*,*b*) advance the racial attitudes literature by making the preceding argument and comparing generations on racial resentment. They explore variation in racial resentment levels by age, period, and cohort, finding a decline for Whites born after 1980. They also find racial resentment correlates more strongly with other racial attitudes among Millennials (those born between 1980 and 2000). The relationships between racial attitudes differ between younger and older Whites. Based in part on this evidence DeSante and Smith conclude Millennials interpret the racial resentment measure differently; it disproportionately captures anti-Black affect among Millennials (DeSante and Smith 2020*b*, 87).

But this evidence does not directly address whether and how measure meaning differs. Group differences in correlations with criterion variables often indicate measurement equivalence (Millsap 1997). Moreover, divergent correlations can have myriad sources, opening them to multiple interpretations. Generational differences in the centrality of racial resentment in Whites' belief systems could explain different correlations. Greater, real variation in racial attitudes among Millennials can produce different correlations. Finally, correlational differences may follow from features of the constructs' measures, not connections between the constructs themselves. Further, existing measurement equivalence tests do not distinguish between Millennials interpreting the measure differently or systematically underreporting racial resentment (DeSante and Smith 2020*b*, see also Pietryka and MacIntosh Forthcoming).[3] That varied measure interpretations and attitude

[2]This complements work investigating the measure's equivalence by ideology and political sophistication (Enders 2019; Feldman and Huddy 2005; Gomez and Wilson 2006).

[3]DeSante and Smith (2020*b*) references, but does not elaborate on, analyses that could help disentangle these patterns (294, en. 8). Furthermore, the measure may meet minimum requirements for valid generational comparisons,

underreporting carry different substantive and methodological implications makes distinguishing between them important.

I use two different approaches to evaluate the generational equivalence of the racial resentment measure that overcome this ambiguous existing evidence. Each supports measurement equivalence. Generational comparisons in both attitude levels and correlations with other constructs are valid. Further, reported generational differences are substantively meaningful and worth explaining.

The Racial Resentment Measure is Equivalent by Generation

My first test considers what Millennial and older Whites report thinking about when answering racial resentment items. This should not differ if the measure means the same thing. To do this I reanalyze data from Kam and Burge (2018) who compare the racial resentment measure's validity across Black and White Americans using a thought-listing approach.[4] After answering each of the four core racial resentment items, respondents used an open-ended textbox to report what came to mind when they read and answered each statement. These retrospections were then coded into 8 separate categories constituting racial resentment's themes: positive and negative traits of Black Americans (theme: group affect); whether the value of individualism is affirmed, flouted, or not enough to get ahead by itself (the principle of individualism); and affirming or denying discrimination, or referencing reverse discrimination (discrimination beliefs).[5]

I use probit regressions to relate each category to racial resentment and an indicator for whether a respondent is a Millennial that I also interact with racial resentment. This interaction should be significant if measure interpretations vary. If so, then what comes to mind for someone responding to these items is not just a function of their level of racial resentment but also being a Millennial.

but relevant information does not exist.

[4]Data collected March 2013 from Survey Sampling International's online panel and include 987 White respondents (307 Millennial and 630 non-Millennial) sampled according to Census benchmarks for sample diversity but not representativeness. Response rates not reported and analyses unweighted.

[5]See Kam and Burge (2018) for additional response coding details.

Figure 1 displays the results.[6] I plot the probability a response falls in a given category by level of racial resentment. The results offer little evidence Millennials interpret the measure differently. What Whites report thinking about when answering these items does not vary except for one instance (individualism affirmed). Even so, the interactions' signs suggest racial resentment's effect is stronger among Millennials on 5 of 8 outcomes, a result resembling evidence that racial resentment correlates more strongly with criterion constructs for Millennials (DeSante and Smith 2020*a*). But mentioning one of racial resentment's facets would then be, if anything, more sensitive to racial resentment among Millennials than older Whites, an unexpected result if Millennials' interpretations are unmoored from the measure's various conceptualizations (see Sniderman 2017, Ch 3). Other analyses reveal that neither Millennial nor older Whites uniquely emphasize traits of Black Americans or principles and discrimination (supplementary material, Table SM26). Racial resentment consistently includes viewing Black Americans negatively, emphasizing individualism, and denying discrimination, and to similar degrees across generations.

I next use a well-established procedure for establishing measurement equivalence (Vandenberg and Lance 2000). I use multi-group confirmatory factor analysis and compare changes in model fit between three nested models (on method, see Brown 2015; applications include Pérez and Hetherington 2014).[7] Each model offers information on what underpins responses to the racial resentment measure and if this varies by generation.

The first model determines whether the measure is unidimensional for Millennial and older Whites. I test this by estimating factor models separately for each group where a well-fitting model establishes configural equivalence; all items have significant relationships with latent racial resentment. The second model tests whether the measure has equivalent meaning across generation. I do this by constraining each item's factor loading across groups. If this constraint does not produce a model with poorer fit than the configural model, then the measure's meaning does not vary, establishing metric equivalence. If a statistically significant decrease in fit occurs, then generational differences in item interpretation may exist because the relationship between item re-

[6] Estimates reported in Supplementary Material Table SM1.

[7] Analyses use R (3.5.0) and `lavaan` (0.5-23.1097) (Rosseel 2012).

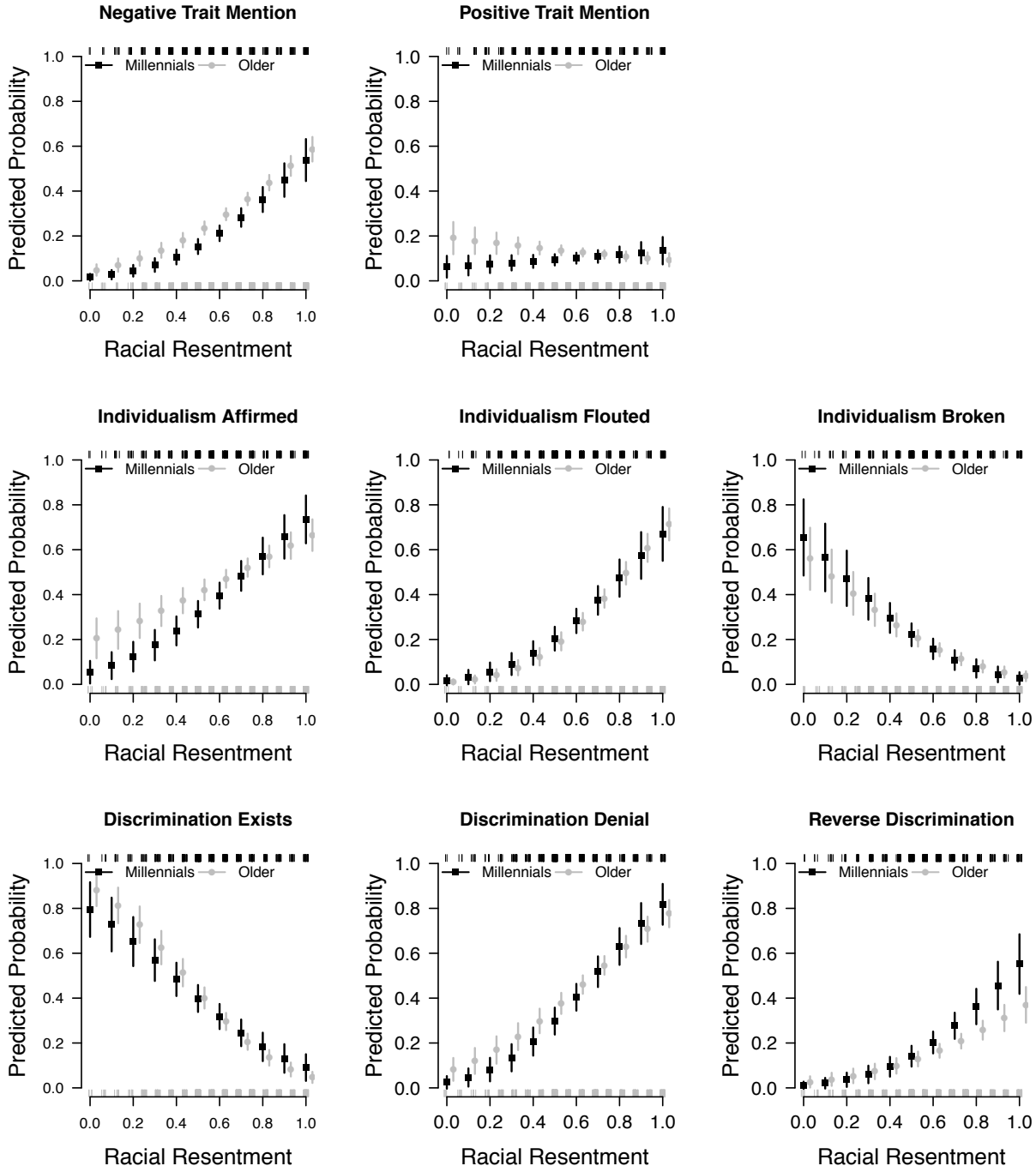

Figure 1: Predicted probability of cognitive responses to racial resentment items for Millennials and older Whites. Responses from probit regressions and include 95% confidence intervals. Hashmarks provide the distribution of racial resentment by generation. Full results in SMB.

sponses and latent racial resentment varies. How much a shift in latent racial resentment changes responses to measure items varies by generation.

The third model addresses whether extraneous considerations–perhaps concern with reporting negative attitudes–systematically influence responses (Ackerman 1992). I do this by constraining both item factor loadings and intercepts across generations. If model fit does not reliably worsen relative to the metric model, then racial resentment scores do not contain irrelevant considerations, establishing scalar equivalence. If this fails, then attitude censoring or other group-specific concerns may affect responses. Millennials may self-censor, so to offer the same response as a non-Millennial they would have to score higher in latent racial resentment.[8] The metric and scalar tests establish if the racial resentment items capture the same construct, to the same degree, across generations.[9]

By considering each model separately I can highlight *why* generational inequivalence may exist, providing a more complete depiction of potential generational difference than currently available. Doing so allows for identifying ways the measure may be improved by highlighting items potentially requiring replacement to ensure generational comparability. Moreover, I can indicate how the measure may still be used even if inequivalent. Meeting metric equivalence, but not scalar equivalence, still allows for comparing correlations between the measure and other constructs across groups because it is interpreted the same way. But comparing group means is invalid because they contain attitude and trait-irrelevant considerations like social desirability whose presence varies by generation. Establishing scalar equivalence enables validly comparing correlations and means.

I evaluate model fit with four measures. While change in χ^2 typically signals change in fit, issues with χ^2 require considering multiple measures (Jorgensen et al. 2018). I thus consider changes in χ^2, the comparative fit index (CFI), standardized root mean square residual (SRMR), and root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA).[10] Unlike χ^2, the CFI, SRMR, and RMSEA are

[8] It's not that older Whites do not self-censor; rather, the degree varies.

[9] In a linear model, metric equivalence violations manifest as an interaction between group membership and the slope relating latent racial resentment to responses on a measure item. Scalar equivalence violations concern intercept shifts in this regression line.

[10] CFI assesses model performance relative to a null model where no relationships exist among measure items. SRMR denotes the average difference between the model-implied correlation matrix for the measure and the observed

largely insensitive to total sample size and imbalanced group sizes (i.e., fewer Millennial than older Whites). Because they lack consistently recommended values for establishing equivalence I use permutation tests to create empirical distributions for each measure from 2000 replicates to assess if model fit changes are statistically reliable (Jorgensen et al. 2018).[11]

I use this approach to test the racial resentment measure's generational equivalence using the 2016 American National Election Study's face-to-face sample.[12] If measure meaning differs by generation, then constraining item factor loadings should significantly worsen model fit. If Millennials systematically underreport racial resentment, then the model constraining item loadings and intercepts should fit worse than the one constraining loadings alone.

Tables 1 and 2 contain the parameter estimates and model fit comparisons, respectively. The evidence suggests generational equivalence. Table 2's first row establishes the measure's unidimensionality across generations, supporting configural equivalence; model fit surpasses benchmarks suggesting appropriate specification (CFI $\geq$ .95, RMSEA and SRMR $<$ .08) (Brown 2015). The parameter estimates are also informative (Columns 1 and 2 in Table 1). While factor loadings diverge, all indicate it better measures racial resentment among Millennials. Divergence in meaning may actually come from less coherence among older Whites. Item intercepts also vary, with the estimates for Millennials lower than older Whites, consistent with underreporting racial resentment. But these differences, calibrated to the items' 5-category response scale, appear substantively small (Borsboom 2006).[13]

correlation matrix. RMSEA is a parsimony correction index illustrating whether the model fits reasonably well, rather than χ^2's exact test (Brown 2015).

[11] I first record fit values from the initial model. I then permute grouping variable indicators and assign to each the associated row from the original data set, re-estimate the model, and save the new fit values. I then compare the initial fit change to this distribution. Routine uses `semTools` (0.4-14) (Jorgensen et al. 2016).

[12] This is a multi-stage stratified cluster sample representative of US citizens 18 and older in the 48 contiguous states and DC. Data come from the post-election survey conducted November 9, 2016-January 8, 2017. The ANES reports an RR1 of 50% and post-election reinterview rate of 90%.

[13] Additional analyses using these different factor solutions suggest potentially meaningful, but modest, practical consequences from a fully inequivalent measure. This information comes from the SDI2 and UDI2 measurement equivalence effect size measures introduced by Gunn, Grimm and Edwards (2019). They show how much item pa-

Table 1: Parameter Estimates for Measurement Equivalence Test of Racial Resentment, Millennials vs. Older Whites

	Configural		Metric		Scalar	
	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials
Deserve Less	1	1	1	1	1	1
	—	—	—	—	—	—
Try Hard	0.893	0.700	0.779	0.779	0.777	0.777
	(0.082)	(0.062)	(0.050)	(0.050)	(0.050)	(0.050)
Special Favors	0.860	0.704	0.770	0.770	0.773	0.773
	(0.077)	(0.058)	(0.047)	(0.047)	(0.047)	(0.047)
Past Discrimination	1.019	0.916	0.963	0.963	0.950	0.950
	(0.081)	(0.068)	(0.052)	(0.052)	(0.051)	(0.051)
Intercept Deserve Less	3.253	3.481	3.253	3.481	3.261	3.261
	(0.095)	(0.059)	(0.097)	(0.058)	(0.095)	(0.095)
Intercept Try Hard	2.974	3.199	2.974	3.199	3.011	3.011
	(0.101)	(0.062)	(0.098)	(0.063)	(0.083)	(0.083)
Intercept Special Favors	3.405	3.737	3.405	3.736	3.522	3.522
	(0.100)	(0.058)	(0.097)	(0.059)	(0.081)	(0.081)
Intercept Past Discrimination	3.016	3.074	3.016	3.074	2.915	2.915
	(0.106)	(0.063)	(0.106)	(0.063)	(0.095)	(0.095)
N	190	516	190	516	190	516

Note: Models estimated using maximum likelihood. Parameter estimates with standard errors in parentheses. Error covariance between *try hard* and *special favors* estimated but omitted.

Table 2: Model Fit Comparison of Measurement Equivalence Test of Racial Resentment, Millennials vs. Older Whites

	χ^2	CFI	SRMR	RMSEA	$\Delta\chi^2$	p-value	ΔCFI	p-value	ΔSRMR	p-value	ΔRMSEA	p-value
Configural	4.52	0.998	0.004	0.060								
Metric	8.5	0.997	0.028	0.045	3.99	0.252	-0.001	0.230	0.024	0.122	-0.015	0.747
Scalar	16.3	0.993	0.040	0.054	7.75	0.051	-0.004	0.039	0.012	0.045	0.010	0.149

Note: Fit statistics for models reported in Table 1.

Table 2's remaining rows suggest divergent estimates do not mean inequivalence. Row 2's results support the measure having shared meaning for Millennial and older Whites, complementing the thought-listing analysis. After constraining factor loadings, model fit does not reliably worsen relative to the configural model. Across generations, an increase in latent racial resentment produces the same change in item responses. Row 3, the scalar equivalence test, shows that two of four fit measures suggest reliably worse model fit (ΔSRMR, ΔCFI, with $\Delta\chi^2$ close). But modification indices, which offer an approximate change in model fit when unconstraining parameters (Brown 2015), offer little evidence the intercept constraints account for the decline in fit (Jorgensen

rameter differences contribute to differences in observed scores accounting for the effect's direction or absolute size, respectively. Interpreted like Cohen's *d*, only one item suggests small but meaningful substantive consequences (*special favors*), though two others are close (*special favors*: SDI2 = -.25, UDI2 = .25; *try hard* = -.16, .19; *deserve less* = -.17, .17; *past discrimination* = -.04, .07).

et al. 2018).[14] Further, model fit still exceeds thresholds indicating acceptable model specification, suggesting no unaccounted for variation, including group-based variation. Millennials do not deliberately underreport racial resentment relative to older Whites. The racial resentment measure appears generationally equivalent.

The supplementary material reports complementary evidence. I consider additional data collections, address unbalanced sample sizes between Millennials and non-Millennials, and find mode equivalence among Millennials. Finally, I investigate moral traditionalism and egalitarianism and find more evidence for inequivalence on these measures than racial resentment.

Conclusion

Two different approaches suggest Millennial and older Whites share interpretations of the racial resentment measure. Regression models show similar links between racial resentment and the thoughts people list when thinking about measure statements and factor analyses establish equivalent relationships between latent racial resentment and these items. The measure validly captures racial resentment across generations.

These insights contribute to understanding one dimension of White racial attitudes. That interpretations of the racial resentment measure vary little by generation, even in a different context than when first formulated, suggests some persistent signals from parents, peers, political elites, or other sources. Despite different contexts, Millennials' racial attitudes may resemble their forebears' because they receive similar information. I neither claim the nature of racial discourse in America is static nor that younger Whites are not socialized into a different racial context (DeSante and Smith 2020*b*); rather, the considerations producing racial resentment persist (see e.g., Engelhardt 2019*a*), something that can occur alongside such dynamics. Further, while I consider one racial attitude, these patterns may extend to others given the contribution information environ-

[14] *Deserve less* (modification index (MI) $= 0.190, p = 0.958$), *try hard* ($MI = 0.01, p = 1.000$), *special favors* ($MI = 3.74, p = 0.171$), *past discrimination* ($MI = 4.65, p = 0.104$). *P*-values come from the permutation tests and adjust for false positives.

ments make to attitude formation and persistence (Acharya, Blackwell and Sen 2018; Goldman and Hopkins 2020).

Group differences in measure central tendency, dispersion, and predictive capacity do not necessarily indicate group differences in measure interpretation (Millsap 1997).[15] Critically, this means generational differences DeSante and Smith (2020*a*,*b*) report are substantive, not indicative of, nor produced by, measurement artifact. Millennials' lower racial resentment levels appear meaningful and worth explaining. Likewise, variation in the correlation between racial resentment and other racial attitudes, rather than indicating differences in racial resentment's interpretation, instead suggests variation in the structure of out-group attitudes. This is a critical insight. Younger Whites' racial belief systems may vary in character, with important implications for *which* racial attitude(s) matter politically. Likewise, these differences may potentially make correlational differences due to positive, not negative, out-group evaluations (Chudy 2021; Engelhardt 2019*b*; Sniderman 2017).

The analyses also suggest potential measure improvements. Consistent with the divergent parameter estimates in Table 1, results in the supporting material suggest three of the four core items can contribute to inequivalence. While the measure remains equivalent overall, replacing these items could improve cross-generational comparisons. A racial resentment item bank could be developed to address potential group inequivalence, with certain items recommended for comparing specific groups. This would facilitate both valid comparisons for groups beyond generation (Pietryka and MacIntosh Forthcoming) and adaptive testing procedures to measure it more precisely (Montgomery and Rossiter 2020).

Racial animus is multifaceted, with the relevance of discrete manifestations varying across individuals and contexts (Kinder 2013). This makes re-evaluating existing racial attitude measures, and considering new ones, important. While the racial resentment measure remains valid cross-generationally, it is one of many measures available to those interested in understanding White racial animus and politics.

[15] I thank Reviewer 1 for this succinct phrasing.

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Supplementary Material
Generational Persistence in the Nature of White Racial Attitudes

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Contents

Question Wording

Racial Resentment

Question wording is consistent across data collections. Responses recorded on 5-point scales anchored by strongly agree and strongly disagree.

Past discrimination: "Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for Blacks to work their way out of the lower class."
Deserve less: "Over the past few years, Blacks have gotten less than they deserve."
Try hard: "It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if Blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites." (Reverse Coded)
Special favors: "Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors." (Reverse Coded)

Motivation to Control Prejudice

Data come from Project Implicit, collected in 2016. Project Implicit describes itself as a "'virtual laboratory' for collecting data on the Internet." Importantly, these data are not a random sample. Participants opt-in to participating in a study, with most studies involving completing some form of the Implicit Association Test (Greenwald, McGhee and Schwartz 1998). Alongside these tests, participants report various demographics and complete a variety of self-report measures. Responses recorded on 11-point scales anchored by very strongly disagree and very strongly agree.
External Motivation to Control Prejudice
"Because of today's PC (politically correct) standards, I try to appear nonprejudiced."
"I try to hide any negative prejudicial thoughts in order to avoid negative reactions from others."
"If I acted prejudiced, I would be concerned that others would be angry with me."
"I attempt to appear nonprejudiced in order to avoid disapproval from others."
"I try to act nonprejudiced because of pressure from others."

Internal Motivation to Control Prejudice
"I attempt to act in nonprejudiced ways because it is personally important to me."
"According to my personal values, using stereotypes is OK." (Reverse Coded)
"I am personally motivated by my beliefs to be nonprejudiced."
"Because of my personal values, I believe that using stereotypes is wrong."
"Being nonprejudiced is important to my self-concept."

Kam and Burge (2018)

Partisanship: 7-point composite of "Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or something else?", "Do you consider yourself to be a strong [Democrat/Republican], or not very strong [Democrat/Republican?]" and "Do you think of yourself as closer to the Democratic Party or Republican Party?" Scored 0 (Strong Democrat)-1 (Strong Republican)

Ideological self-identification: "We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?" Scored 0 (very liberal)-1 (very conservative)
Political awareness: Summed index of correct responses to following four items set 0-1.

1. "For how many years is a United States Senator elected- that is, how many years are there in one full term of office for U.S. Senator?" Responses: 2, 4, 6, 8, DK
2. "Do you happen to know how many times an individual can be elected President of the United States under current laws?" Responses: 1, 2, 3, 4, DK
3. "How many U.S. Senators are there from each state?" Responses: 1, 2, 3, 4, DK
4. "For how many years is a member of the United States House of Representatives elected- that is, how many years are there in one full term of office for a U.S. House member?" Responses: 2, 4, 6, 8, DK

Education: "What is the highest grade of school or year of college you have completed?" With 7 response categories. Item scored 0 (8th grade)-1 (advanced degree)
Income: "Last year, that is in 2012, what was your total family income from all sources before taxes?" With 9 response categories. Item scored 0 ($<$ \$10K)- 1 (\$150K+)
Female: "What is your sex?" (1 if female, 0 if male)
Retrospective probe: "Thinking about the question you just answered, exactly what things went through your mind? Please type your response below."

Additional Information on Main Analyses

I report here estimates from models reported in the main text. Tables SM1 and SM2 provide results using the cognitive item responses from Kam and Burge (2018). Table SM1 relates to the figures reported in the text. Table SM2 features the same models but includes covariates. The results are consistent. The estimates reported in Tables SM2 and SM2 rely on data from 307 Millennial and 630 older Whites.

Table SM1: Racial Resentment and Cognitive Responses to Items

	Negative Traits of Blacks	Positive Traits of Blacks	Individualism Affirmed	Individualism Flouted	Individualism Broken	Discrimination Exists	Discrimination Denial	Reverse Discrimination
Racial Resentment	1.880***	−0.442	1.249***	2.866***	−1.946***	−2.852***	2.149***	1.601***
	(0.261)	(0.290)	(0.236)	(0.289)	(0.295)	(0.286)	(0.254)	(0.290)
Millennial	−0.482	−0.654*	−0.782***	0.206	0.248	−0.352	−0.581*	−0.346
	(0.330)	(0.341)	(0.284)	(0.333)	(0.296)	(0.282)	(0.304)	(0.352)
Racial Resentment*Millennial	0.359	0.866	0.984**	−0.326	−0.388	0.692	0.729	0.809
	(0.485)	(0.529)	(0.438)	(0.492)	(0.523)	(0.471)	(0.470)	(0.509)
Constant	−1.662***	−0.876***	−0.823***	−2.305***	0.150	1.175***	−1.389***	−1.933***
	(0.183)	(0.191)	(0.160)	(0.205)	(0.179)	(0.178)	(0.171)	(0.208)
Observations	934	934	934	934	934	934	934	934
Log Likelihood	-518.766	-334.356	-605.999	-508.726	-386.061	-497.405	-570.098	-434.776
Akaike Inf. Crit.	1,045.533	676.712	1,219.998	1,025.452	780.122	1,002.811	1,148.196	877.552

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01. Probit regression results. Standard errors in parentheses.

Table SM2: Racial Resentment and Cognitive Responses to Items with Covariates

	Negative Traits of Blacks	Positive Traits of Blacks	Individualism Affirmed	Individualism Flouted	Individualism Broken	Discrimination Exists	Discrimination Denial	Reverse Discrimination
Racial Resentment	1.779***	−0.475	1.052***	2.655***	−1.852***	−2.750***	2.061***	1.312***
	(0.282)	(0.319)	(0.256)	(0.303)	(0.322)	(0.310)	(0.273)	(0.309)
Millennial	−0.441	−0.670*	−0.776***	0.166	0.299	−0.263	−0.542*	−0.358
	(0.334)	(0.346)	(0.286)	(0.335)	(0.300)	(0.289)	(0.308)	(0.357)
Racial Resentment*Millennial	0.388	0.903*	1.028**	−0.193	−0.381	0.607	0.758	0.944*
	(0.490)	(0.537)	(0.442)	(0.496)	(0.527)	(0.482)	(0.477)	(0.517)
Partisanship	0.110	−0.034	0.094	0.097	−0.441**	−0.422**	−0.056	0.116
	(0.171)	(0.205)	(0.159)	(0.170)	(0.198)	(0.175)	(0.163)	(0.186)
Ideology	0.113	0.173	0.271	0.100	0.238	0.116	0.405*	0.344
	(0.226)	(0.271)	(0.211)	(0.226)	(0.259)	(0.232)	(0.217)	(0.246)
Political Awareness	0.398**	−0.028	0.108	0.329*	0.534***	0.698***	0.163	0.468**
	(0.170)	(0.199)	(0.157)	(0.171)	(0.189)	(0.171)	(0.162)	(0.185)
Female	0.230**	0.144	0.132	−0.014	0.173	0.110	0.158*	0.060
	(0.094)	(0.112)	(0.087)	(0.094)	(0.106)	(0.095)	(0.090)	(0.101)
Education	−0.104	0.126	0.044	−0.034	0.166	0.163	0.338	0.148
	(0.218)	(0.260)	(0.204)	(0.219)	(0.245)	(0.222)	(0.210)	(0.235)
Income	0.099	−0.313	−0.035	0.164	−0.138	−0.154	−0.363**	−0.026
	(0.187)	(0.222)	(0.174)	(0.188)	(0.211)	(0.191)	(0.180)	(0.202)
Constant	−2.074***	−0.913***	−1.041***	−2.527***	−0.275	0.757***	−1.735***	−2.400***
	(0.249)	(0.273)	(0.221)	(0.262)	(0.262)	(0.242)	(0.233)	(0.278)
Observations	919	919	919	919	919	919	919	919
Log Likelihood	-503.686	-330.051	-593.762	-497.693	-373.588	-476.923	-554.931	-421.257
Akaike Inf. Crit.	1,027.372	680.102	1,207.525	1,015.386	767.175	973.845	1,129.862	862.515

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01. Probit regression results. Standard errors in parentheses.

Main Factor Analysis with Ordered Inputs

Simulation studies suggest that treating items with five or more categories as continuous rather than ordered is acceptable (Rhemtulla, Brosseau-Liard and Savalei 2012). However, it could still be the case that the results are a function of how I treat the data. To address this I replicate the main text analyses and treat the items as ordered, constraining category thresholds (Millsap and Yun-Tein 2004). The results in Tables SM3 and SM4 offer no evidence for differences in responses by generation.

Table SM3: Measurement Invariance of Racial Resentment, Millennials vs. Older Whites

	χ^2	CFI	SRMR	RMSEA	$\Delta\chi^2$	p-value	ΔCFI	p-value	ΔSRMR	p-value	ΔRMSEA	p-value
Configural	4.62	0.999	0.005	0.061								
Metric	20.5	0.996	0.017	0.094	15.9	0.079	-0.004	0.083	0.012	0.101	0.033	0.093
Scalar	40.7	0.994	0.062	0.067	20.2	0.070	-0.003	0.063	0.045	0.063	-0.028	0.559

Note: Models estimated using WLSMV. Parameter estimates with standard errors in parentheses. Error covariance between *try hard* and *special favors* estimated but omitted.

Table SM4: Generation Invariance, Face-to-Face Interviews ANES 2016 (ordered inputs)

	Configural		Metric		Scalar	
	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials
Deserve Less	1	1	1	1	1	1
	—	—	—	—	—	—
Try Hard	0.869	0.684	0.773	0.773	0.832	0.832
	(0.0397)	(0.039)	(0.0278)	(0.0278)	(0.0337)	(0.0337)
Special Favors	0.858	0.731	0.791	0.791	0.819	0.819
	(0.0422)	(0.0401)	(0.0291)	(0.0291)	(0.0371)	(0.0371)
Past Discrimination	0.953	0.869	0.912	0.912	0.921	0.921
	(0.0387)	(0.0397)	(0.0277)	(0.0277)	(0.0333)	(0.0333)
Deserve Less τ_1	-1.252	-1.338	-1.252	-1.338	-1.124	-1.124
	(0.1224)	(0.0781)	(0.1224)	(0.0781)	(0.1109)	(0.1109)
τ_2	-0.48	-0.586	-0.48	-0.586	-0.403	-0.403
	(0.095)	(0.0592)	(0.095)	(0.0592)	(0.0836)	(0.0836)
τ_3	0.172	-0.131	0.172	-0.131	0.077	0.077
	(0.0915)	(0.0558)	(0.0915)	(0.0558)	(0.0801)	(0.0801)
τ_4	0.7	0.534	0.7	0.534	0.674	0.674
	(0.0996)	(0.0586)	(0.0996)	(0.0586)	(0.0917)	(0.0917)
Try Hard τ_1	-0.842	-0.958	-0.842	-0.958	-0.875	-0.875
	(0.1038)	(0.066)	(0.1038)	(0.066)	(0.0896)	(0.0896)
τ_2	-0.226	-0.386	-0.226	-0.386	-0.26	-0.26
	(0.0919)	(0.0572)	(0.0919)	(0.0572)	(0.0745)	(0.0745)
τ_3	0.24	0.002	0.24	0.002	0.172	0.172
	(0.092)	(0.0556)	(0.092)	(0.0556)	(0.0734)	(0.0734)
τ_4	0.919	0.785	0.919	0.785	0.967	0.967
	(0.1065)	(0.0623)	(0.1065)	(0.0623)	(0.0918)	(0.0918)
Special Favors τ_1	-1.095	-1.326	-1.095	-1.326	-1.148	-1.148
	(0.1139)	(0.0776)	(0.1139)	(0.0776)	(0.1007)	(0.1007)
τ_2	-0.602	-0.792	-0.602	-0.792	-0.632	-0.632
	(0.0973)	(0.0625)	(0.0973)	(0.0625)	(0.0809)	(0.0809)
τ_3	-0.092	-0.44	-0.092	-0.44	-0.239	-0.239
	(0.0912)	(0.0576)	(0.0912)	(0.0576)	(0.072)	(0.072)
τ_4	0.586	0.328	0.586	0.328	0.493	0.493
	(0.097)	(0.0567)	(0.097)	(0.0567)	(0.0773)	(0.0773)
Past Discrimination τ_1	-0.94	-0.943	-0.94	-0.943	-0.796	-0.796
	(0.1073)	(0.0656)	(0.1073)	(0.0656)	(0.093)	(0.093)
τ_2	-0.053	-0.156	-0.053	-0.156	-0.009	-0.009
	(0.0911)	(0.0559)	(0.0911)	(0.0559)	(0.0758)	(0.0758)
τ_3	0.172	0.081	0.172	0.081	0.218	0.218
	(0.0915)	(0.0557)	(0.0915)	(0.0557)	(0.0772)	(0.0772)
τ_4	0.716	0.785	0.716	0.785	0.857	0.857
	(0.1001)	(0.0623)	(0.1001)	(0.0623)	(0.0932)	(0.0932)
χ^2	5		21		41	
DF	2		5		16	
CFI	0.999		0.996		0.994	
SRMR	0.005		0.0171		0.0622	
RMSEA [90% CI]	0.0614 [0, 0.1369]		0.0944 [0.0544, 0.1386]		0.0666 [0.0415, 0.0923]	
N	699		699		699	

Note: Models estimated using WLSMV. Parameter estimates with standard errors in parentheses.
Error covariance between *try hard* and *special favors* estimated but omitted.

Sample Size Does Not Affect Equivalence Results

Table SM5: Equalized Sample Size Comparing Millennials and Non-Millennials, face-to-face ANES 2016

	Continuous Inputs					Ordered Inputs				
	χ^2	DF	CFI	SRMR	RMSEA	χ^2	DF	CFI	SRMR	RMSEA
Configural	5.10	2	0.995	0.009	0.091	4.66	2	0.999	0.007	0.081
Metric	8.54	5	0.995	0.036	0.058	13.49	5	0.997	0.021	0.087
Scalar	14.59	8	0.990	0.049	0.063	31.92	16	0.994	0.046	0.069

Note: Cell entries are averages from subsampling to equalize sample sizes between comparison groups with 1000 replicates.

The factor analyses reported in the main text rely on the full set of respondents eligible for the comparison. For instance, any Millennial and non-Millennial White respondent in the face-to-face version of the 2016 ANES who answered all four racial resentment items. A potential issue with this approach is that there are many more older Whites than Millennials in these data. Such sample size imbalances can create issues for equivalence testing using multi-group confirmatory factor analysis because they reduce power to identify inequivalence (Yoon and Lai 2018). To address this, I adopt an approach introduced by Yoon and Lai (2018) which consists of subsampling data sets to create a distribution for each fit measure. Specifically, I define group sample size as that of the smallest group (i.e., Millennials) and then draw a sample of that size from the larger group (non-Millennials) and run the sequence of equivalence tests recording model fit measures, doing so 1000 times. I use this distribution to assess whether "the mean and the relevant percentile of fit statistics are within the range of good fit" (Yoon and Lai 2018, 204).

Table SM5 includes the results from this subsampling provide for both continuous or ordered inputs. For continuous inputs, in no instance do models exhibit poorer fit than the relevant prior one, with fit statistics reflecting Table **??**.[1] Likewise, overall model fit is great using ordered inputs and consistent with the results in Table SM4, indicating sample size imbalances did not contribute to the conclusion that the racial resentment measure is equivalent by generation.

[1] P-values for $\Delta\chi^2 > .10$ for all models. Even so, changes in the other model fit statistics for the scalar equivalence test using continuous inputs suggest potentially reliable decreases in fit. To address this I run the same subsampling procedure, but within each subsample also calculate the empirical distribution for changes in model fit from Jorgensen et al. (2018). I then save the final p-values associated these tests to assess how often the statistic indicates reliable differences. Averaging across this distribution of p-values, no mean is below 0.15, evidence against reliably worse fit.

Equivalence Manifests in Other Data Collections

The following analyses use the same factor analysis approach to test racial resentment's equivalence in other data collections. These include the 2008 and 2012 CCAP, 2012 ANES, 2016 ANES web sample, and 2018 ANES pilot. Each data collection supports the equivalence conclusion. Further, no patterns across data collections suggest systematic differences in responses by generation.[2]

These results appear to contradict findings in DeSante and Smith (2020*b*). In particular, I find little support for equivalence violations in the 2012 ANES where reported results using the same data offer a different picture. I discuss this difference further when I take up these data below. DeSante and Smith (2020*b*) also reports inequivalence manifesting in other, unspecified, data collections. What might account for the discrepancy between this and my findings? Perhaps there are differences in how we estimated our models (though this is unlikely and I address this while discussing my 2012 ANES results). An alternative is that the authors do not consider whether the racial resentment measure meets partial measure equivalence in these other data collections. This is a sufficient condition to establish equivalence and holds when at least two items are equivalent

[2] 2008 CCAP: Data collected in March 2008 using YouGov's online opt-in sample with completed responses weighted back to Census benchmarks to reflect US citizens 18 and older. Raw data include 13845 non-Millennial and 885 non-Hispanic White Millennial respondents. No response or refusal rates were reported.
2012 CCAP: Data collected in December 2011 using YouGov's online opt-in sample with completed responses weighted back to Census benchmarks to reflect US citizens 18 and older. Raw data include 26735 non-Millennial and 5577 Millennial non-Hispanic White respondents. No response or refusal rates were reported.
2012 ANES: The 2012 ANES featured independent face-to-face and web samples meant to represent US citizens 18 and older. The web sample was drawn from GfK's (formerly Knowledge Networks) probability-based panel with an estimated RR1 of 38% and reinterview rate of 93%. The face-to-face sample came from a multi-stage cluster design with an estimated RR1 of 2% and reinterview rate of 94%. The field periods for the post-election survey which provides the data analyzed were November 7, 2012 – January 13, 2013 (face-to-face) and November 29, 2012 – January 24, 2013 (web). Raw data include 701 non-Millennial and 195 Millennial respondents in the face-to-face group and 2224 non-Millennial and 374 Millennial non-Hispanic White respondents in the web group.
2016 ANES web: Respondents were sampled at random from residential addresses with mail delivery with equal probability of selection across all 50 states and DC. Respondents received a mail invitation to complete the survey online with the online survey including a screener to select one eligible household member at random to complete the survey. Data collection ran November 9, 2016,–January 8, 2017. The ANES reports an RR1 of 44%, with an 84% reinterview rate for the post-election survey. Raw data include 1371 non-Millennial and 483 Millennial non-Hispanic White respondents.
2018 ANES Pilot: Per the ANES,"The survey was conducted using non-probability sampling. This method produces a sample that looks similar to a probability sample on the matched characteristics, but may still differ in unknown ways on unmatched characteristics." The data were collected December 6-19, 2018, using YouGov's online opt-in panel. The ANES reports that a response rate is inappropriate given the design. Raw data include 1371 non-Millennial and 483 Millennial non-Hispanic White respondents.

across groups (Byrne, Shavelson and Muthen 1989). When met, a partially equivalent measure still offers valid cross-group comparisons even if some item (parameters) are inequivalent across groups. Relatedly, even if a measure shows a statistically significant decrease in fit when introducing constraints it does not mean this change in fit necessarily has substantive consequences (Gunn, Grimm and Edwards 2019). Because measure inequivalence is a matter of degree (Borsboom 2006), and takes different forms, clarifying its nature helps shed light the ways in which racial resentment may still offer valid cross-generational comparisons, if at all.

At the very least, the evidence for generational differences appears weak. Given the racial resentment measure's time series, and centrality in work understanding Whites' racial attitudes, abandoning it on at best mixed evidence for inequivalence, particularly with unclear reasons for such violations, appears misguided. DeSante and Smith (2020*b*) quite correctly highlights how the measure may suffer from contextual specificity given changes in how Whites' understand race. So given this argument, scholars wanting to make generational comparisons with the measure could test for equivalence before running their analyses to determine which level(s) are met and to what degree (Byrne, Shavelson and Muthen 1989), and if any equivalence violations threaten their substantive conclusions (Gunn, Grimm and Edwards 2019). If at least partial metric equivalence is met, then they can still validly compared racial resentment's correlation with other constructs across generations. If at least partial scalar equivalence is met, then mean differences on the measure are substantively meaningful. The racial resentment measure need not be abandoned given cohort replacement among Whites.

2008 CCAP

The results in Tables SM6 and SM7 reaffirm the racial resentment's equivalence. Metric and scalar equivalence are well-established in these data for both continuous and ordered inputs. Nor are these results driven by differences in sample size. The approach used in Appendix D offers consistent evidence.

Table SM6: Generation Invariance, 2008 CCAP

	Configural		Metric		Scalar	
	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials
Deserve Less	1	1	1	1	1	1
	—	—	—	—	—	—
Try Hard	0.869	0.853	0.855	0.855	0.856	0.856
	(0.0598)	(0.0148)	(0.0144)	(0.0144)	(0.0143)	(0.0143)
Special Favors	0.922	0.847	0.851	0.851	0.852	0.852
	(0.0559)	(0.0134)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Past Discrimination	1.231	1.142	1.148	1.148	1.15	1.15
	(0.0677)	(0.0164)	(0.0159)	(0.0159)	(0.0158)	(0.0158)
Intercept Deserve Less	3.471	3.782	3.471	3.782	3.445	3.445
	(0.0468)	(0.011)	(0.0475)	(0.011)	(0.0419)	(0.0419)
Intercept Try Hard	2.998	3.306	2.998	3.306	3.015	3.015
	(0.0517)	(0.0124)	(0.0521)	(0.0124)	(0.0368)	(0.0368)
Intercept Special Favors	3.544	3.855	3.544	3.855	3.566	3.566
	(0.0483)	(0.0112)	(0.0476)	(0.0112)	(0.0362)	(0.0362)
Intercept Past Discrimination	3.342	3.742	3.342	3.742	3.353	3.353
	(0.0529)	(0.0125)	(0.0524)	(0.0125)	(0.048)	(0.048)
χ^2	2		5		7	
DF	2		5		8	
CFI	1		1		1	
SRMR	0.001		0.0029		0.0039	
RMSEA [90% CI]	0 [0, 0.0255]		0.0015 [0, 0.0182]		0 [0, 0.0134]	
N	11819		11819		11819	

Note: Models estimated using maximum likelihood. Parameter estimates with standard errors in parentheses. Error covariance between *try hard* and *special favors* estimated but omitted.

Table SM7: Generation Invariance, CCAP 2008

	Configural		Metric		Scalar	
	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials
Deserve Less	1	1	1	1	1	1
	—	—	—	—	—	—
Try Hard	0.816	0.783	0.785	0.785	0.791	0.791
	(0.0339)	(0.0081)	(0.0079)	(0.0079)	(0.0211)	(0.0211)
Special Favors	0.918	0.865	0.868	0.868	0.9	0.9
	(0.0289)	(0.0074)	(0.0071)	(0.0071)	(0.0205)	(0.0205)
Past Discrimination	1.092	1.017	1.021	1.021	1.076	1.076
	(0.0312)	(0.0077)	(0.0075)	(0.0075)	(0.0219)	(0.0219)
Deserve Less τ_1	-1.657	-1.83	-1.657	-1.83	-1.549	-1.549
	(0.0832)	(0.0229)	(0.0832)	(0.0229)	(0.0605)	(0.0605)
τ_2	-0.753	-1.032	-0.753	-1.032	-0.733	-0.733
	(0.0543)	(0.0145)	(0.0543)	(0.0145)	(0.0417)	(0.0417)
τ_3	0.073	-0.246	0.073	-0.246	0.065	0.065
	(0.049)	(0.0121)	(0.049)	(0.0121)	(0.0375)	(0.0375)
τ_4	0.6	0.331	0.6	0.331	0.648	0.648
	(0.0523)	(0.0122)	(0.0523)	(0.0122)	(0.0452)	(0.0452)
Try Hard τ_1	-0.963	-1.147	-0.963	-1.147	-0.925	-0.925
	(0.0582)	(0.0153)	(0.0582)	(0.0153)	(0.039)	(0.039)
τ_2	-0.315	-0.591	-0.315	-0.591	-0.352	-0.352
	(0.0498)	(0.0127)	(0.0498)	(0.0127)	(0.0309)	(0.0309)
τ_3	0.323	0.031	0.323	0.031	0.283	0.283
	(0.0499)	(0.0119)	(0.0499)	(0.0119)	(0.0323)	(0.0323)
τ_4	0.957	0.766	0.957	0.766	1.028	1.028
	(0.058)	(0.0133)	(0.058)	(0.0133)	(0.0459)	(0.0459)
Special Favors τ_1	-1.442	-1.623	-1.442	-1.623	-1.427	-1.427
	(0.0727)	(0.0198)	(0.0727)	(0.0198)	(0.054)	(0.054)
τ_2	-0.81	-1.035	-0.81	-1.035	-0.806	-0.806
	(0.0553)	(0.0146)	(0.0553)	(0.0146)	(0.0401)	(0.0401)
τ_3	-0.111	-0.447	-0.111	-0.447	-0.182	-0.182
	(0.049)	(0.0124)	(0.049)	(0.0124)	(0.0337)	(0.0337)
τ_4	0.568	0.288	0.568	0.288	0.586	0.586
	(0.0519)	(0.0121)	(0.0519)	(0.0121)	(0.0403)	(0.0403)
Past Discrimination τ_1	-1.332	-1.536	-1.332	-1.536	-1.309	-1.309
	(0.0685)	(0.0187)	(0.0685)	(0.0187)	(0.0575)	(0.0575)
τ_2	-0.417	-0.721	-0.417	-0.721	-0.432	-0.432
	(0.0505)	(0.0131)	(0.0505)	(0.0131)	(0.0407)	(0.0407)
τ_3	0.05	-0.334	0.05	-0.334	-0.015	-0.015
	(0.049)	(0.0122)	(0.049)	(0.0122)	(0.0397)	(0.0397)
τ_4	0.554	0.225	0.554	0.225	0.578	0.578
	(0.0518)	(0.012)	(0.0518)	(0.012)	(0.047)	(0.047)
χ^2	1		9		21	
DF	2		5		16	
CFI	1		1		1	
SRMR	0.000		0.002		0.151	
RMSEA [90% CI]	0 [0, 0.0236]		0.0109 [0, 0.0232]		0.0076 [0, 0.0152]	
N	11712		11712		11712	

Note: Models estimated using WLSMV. Parameter estimates with standard errors in parentheses. Error covariance between *try hard* and *special favors* estimated but omitted.

2012 CCAP

Table SM8: Measurement Invariance of Racial Resentment, Millennials vs. Older Whites

	χ^2	CFI	SRMR	RMSEA	$\Delta\chi^2$	p-value	ΔCFI	p-value	ΔSRMR	p-value	ΔRMSEA	p-value
Configural	44.2	0.999	0.002	0.036								
Metric	77.9	0.999	0.010	0.030	33.7	0.001	-0.001	0.001	0.008	0.001	-0.006	0.031
Metric–Partial	49.4	0.999	0.004	0.027	5.24	0.128	-0.0001	0.130	0.002	0.223	-0.010	1.000
Scalar	114	0.998	0.006	0.031	64.5	0.000	-0.001	0.000	0.002	0.007	0.004	0.000
Scalar–Partial	55.4	0.999	0.004	0.023	5.99	0.056	-0.0001	0.059	-0.0002	0.909	-0.004	0.882

Note: Models estimated using maximum likelihood. One error covariance estimated between *try hard* and *special favors*.

The results in Table SM8 support measure equivalence. The models, however, indicate the measure it meets partial metric and scalar equivalence, not full. Evidence from modification indices–statistics indicating how much model fit will change when (un)constraining a given parameter (Brown 2015)–suggests *special favors*'s factor loading and *past discrimination*'s intercept should be freely estimated. While fit improves, these changes are not substantively consequential. In the first case, the expected parameter change (EPC) is -0.013 for non-Millennials and 0.057 for Millennials, indicating *special favors* is more closely related to racial resentment for Millennials, but not substantially so. Analyses often use an EPC of 0.10 to indicate meaingful change (e.g., Kaplan 1989; Jorgensen et al. 2018). Likewise, the EPCs for *past discrimination* indicate its intercept is higher for non-Millennials (0.010) than Millennials (-0.075). The former/latter over/underreport resentful attitudes the item. And again the EPCs are not substantively large. Despite reliable changes in fit, both the metric and scalar models display appropriate fit levels on their own (Brown 2015), suggesting no substantively important and unaccounted for group-based variation in responses. Measure equivalence is met, and the items resulting in partial equivalence offer no clear patterns indicating the racial resentment items systematically function differently by generation. Finally, the approach in Appendix D indicates sample size differences do not drive results.

Similar patterns manifest using ordered inputs, with partial equivalence again met for both the metric and scalar tests. For parsimony, Table SM10 includes the base model for each test and the final model estimated to achieve partial scalar equivalence. This model frees a single threshold for all items: *past discrimination* (τ_3), *special favors* (τ_3), *try hard* (τ_4), and *deserve less* (τ_3).

While greater degrees of inequivalence manifest in these data, the measure remains partially

Table SM9: Generation Invariance, 2012 CCAP

	Configural		Metric		Metric–Partial		Scalar		Scalar–Partial	
	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials
Deserve Less	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Past Discrimination	1.192	1.149	1.184	1.184	1.183	1.183	1.197	1.197	1.183	1.183
	(0.0102)	(0.02)	(0.0091)	(0.0091)	(0.0091)	(0.0091)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Try Hard	0.876	0.945	0.889	0.889	0.875	0.947	0.877	0.948	0.874	0.953
	(0.0083)	(0.0177)	(0.0075)	(0.0075)	(0.0079)	(0.0133)	(0.0079)	(0.0123)	(0.0078)	(0.0125)
Special Favors	0.897	0.904	0.897	0.897	0.898	0.898	0.897	0.897	0.896	0.896
	(0.0093)	(0.0196)	(0.0084)	(0.0084)	(0.0084)	(0.0084)	(0.0082)	(0.0082)	(0.0082)	(0.0082)
Intercept Deserve Less	3.832	3.456	3.832	3.456	3.832	3.456	3.838	3.838	3.832	3.832
	(0.0067)	(0.0155)	(0.0067)	(0.0155)	(0.0067)	(0.0155)	(0.0065)	(0.0065)	(0.0066)	(0.0066)
Intercept Past Discrimination	3.613	3.06	3.613	3.06	3.613	3.06	3.602	3.602	3.613	3.503
	(0.0078)	(0.0177)	(0.0078)	(0.0179)	(0.0078)	(0.0178)	(0.0077)	(0.0077)	(0.0078)	(0.015)
Intercept Try Hard	3.86	3.499	3.86	3.499	3.86	3.499	3.864	3.864	3.859	3.859
	(0.0069)	(0.0168)	(0.007)	(0.0164)	(0.0069)	(0.0167)	(0.0067)	(0.0067)	(0.0068)	(0.0068)
Intercept Special Favors	3.344	3.034	3.344	3.034	3.344	3.034	3.353	3.353	3.348	3.348
	(0.0076)	(0.0178)	(0.0076)	(0.0178)	(0.0077)	(0.0177)	(0.0073)	(0.0073)	(0.0073)	(0.0073)
χ^2	44		78		49		114		55	
DF	2		5		4		7		6	
CFI	0.999		0.999		0.999		0.998		0.999	
SRMR	0.0021		0.0098		0.0042		0.0061		0.004	
RMSEA [90% CI]	0.0362 [0.0274, 0.0459]		0.0301 [0.0244, 0.0362]		0.0266 [0.0203, 0.0334]		0.0308 [0.026, 0.0359]		0.0226 [0.0174, 0.0283]	
N	32129		32129		32129		32129		32129	

Note: Models estimated using maximum likelihood. Parameter estimates with standard errors in parentheses. Error covariance between *try hard* and *special favors* estimated but omitted.

equivalent. Further, given the other tests this inequivalence seems most likely a product of large sample size identifying small, substantively negligible difference in parameter estimates.

Table SM10: Generation Invariance, CCAP 2012

	Configural		Metric		Scalar		Scalar–Partial	
	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials
Deserve Less	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Past Discrimination	1.01	1.021	1.012	1.012	1.016	1.016	1.014	1.014
	(0.0041)	(0.0082)	(0.0037)	(0.0037)	(0.0038)	(0.0038)	(0.0038)	(0.0038)
Special Favors	0.863	0.896	0.869	0.869	0.869	0.869	0.869	0.869
	(0.0041)	(0.0085)	(0.0037)	(0.0037)	(0.0039)	(0.0039)	(0.0039)	(0.0039)
Try Hard	0.789	0.812	0.793	0.793	0.795	0.795	0.795	0.795
	(0.0045)	(0.0091)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.0042)	(0.0042)	(0.0043)	(0.0043)
Deserve Less τ_1	-1.915	-1.59	-1.915	-1.59	-1.935	-1.935	-1.923	-1.923
	(0.0158)	(0.0275)	(0.0158)	(0.0275)	(0.0147)	(0.0147)	(0.0147)	(0.0147)
τ_2	-1.085	-0.829	-1.085	-0.829	-1.111	-1.111	-1.103	-1.103
	(0.0096)	(0.0192)	(0.0096)	(0.0192)	(0.0092)	(0.0092)	(0.0092)	(0.0092)
τ_3	-0.449	0.028	-0.449	0.028	-0.431	-0.431	-0.449	-0.307
	(0.008)	(0.0169)	(0.008)	(0.0169)	(0.0077)	(0.0077)	(0.008)	(0.0146)
τ_4	0.452	0.751	0.452	0.751	0.443	0.443	0.448	0.448
	(0.008)	(0.0187)	(0.008)	(0.0187)	(0.0079)	(0.0079)	(0.0079)	(0.0079)
Past Discrimination τ_1	-1.544	-1.196	-1.544	-1.196	-1.556	-1.556	-1.546	-1.546
	(0.0122)	(0.0221)	(0.0122)	(0.0221)	(0.0115)	(0.0115)	(0.0115)	(0.0115)
τ_2	-0.628	-0.216	-0.628	-0.216	-0.623	-0.623	-0.615	-0.615
	(0.0083)	(0.017)	(0.0083)	(0.017)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)
τ_3	-0.333	0.256	-0.333	0.256	-0.298	-0.298	-0.333	-0.082
	(0.0079)	(0.0171)	(0.0079)	(0.0171)	(0.0076)	(0.0076)	(0.0079)	(0.0136)
τ_4	0.502	0.875	0.502	0.875	0.503	0.503	0.508	0.508
	(0.0081)	(0.0195)	(0.0081)	(0.0195)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Special Favors τ_1	-1.77	-1.444	-1.77	-1.444	-1.776	-1.776	-1.764	-1.764
	(0.0142)	(0.0252)	(0.0142)	(0.0252)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)
τ_2	-1.009	-0.714	-1.009	-0.714	-1.018	-1.018	-1.009	-1.009
	(0.0093)	(0.0186)	(0.0093)	(0.0186)	(0.0088)	(0.0088)	(0.0088)	(0.0088)
τ_3	-0.555	-0.111	-0.555	-0.111	-0.534	-0.534	-0.555	-0.404
	(0.0082)	(0.0169)	(0.0082)	(0.0169)	(0.0077)	(0.0077)	(0.0082)	(0.0139)
τ_4	0.401	0.627	0.401	0.627	0.387	0.387	0.391	0.391
	(0.0079)	(0.0182)	(0.0079)	(0.0182)	(0.0077)	(0.0077)	(0.0077)	(0.0077)
Try Hard τ_1	-1.313	-0.964	-1.313	-0.964	-1.311	-1.311	-1.298	-1.298
	(0.0107)	(0.0201)	(0.0107)	(0.0201)	(0.0099)	(0.0099)	(0.01)	(0.01)
τ_2	-0.578	-0.358	-0.578	-0.358	-0.594	-0.594	-0.587	-0.587
	(0.0082)	(0.0173)	(0.0082)	(0.0173)	(0.0077)	(0.0077)	(0.0077)	(0.0077)
τ_3	-0.066	0.259	-0.066	0.259	-0.06	-0.06	-0.056	-0.056
	(0.0077)	(0.0171)	(0.0077)	(0.0171)	(0.0073)	(0.0073)	(0.0073)	(0.0073)
τ_4	0.863	0.978	0.863	0.978	0.841	0.841	0.863	0.724
	(0.0088)	(0.0202)	(0.0088)	(0.0202)	(0.0086)	(0.0086)	(0.0088)	(0.0197)
χ^2	90		40		706		179	
DF	2		5		16		12	
CFI	1		1		0.997		0.999	
SRMR	0.0019		0.0025		0.0335		0.03	
RMSEA [90% CI]	0.0524 [0.0434, 0.0619]		0.021 [0.0153, 0.0273]		0.052 [0.0487, 0.0553]		0.0296 [0.0258, 0.0335]	
N	31938		31938		31938		31938	

Note: Models estimated using WLSMV. Parameter estimates with standard errors in parentheses. Error covariance between *try hard* and *special favors* estimated but omitted.

2012 ANES

Like the 2012 CCAP, the results in Table SM11 point to measure equivalence by generation among face-to-face respondents, but without full scalar equivalence. While the 2012 CCAP results suggested complications from *special favors* and *past discrimination*, modification indices indicate that freeing *try hard*'s intercept improves model fit. Unlike the 2012 CCAP, the expected parameter change (EPC) seems substantively large. The item underestimates racial resentment for non-Millennials (EPC = -0.053), and overestimates it for Millennials (0.160). This evidence is at odds with a view that Millennials are worried about appearing prejudiced and thus censor their expressed attitudes (cf. DeSante and Smith 2020*a*). Likewise, these results are not driven by differences in sample size. The approach used in Appendix D offers consistent results. Consistent with this, Table SM13 supports measure equivalence for the web sample. And again, measure equivalence is unrelated to different sample sizes. Finally, results do not change when treating the items as ordered. Tables SM14 and SM15 support measure equivalence.

Importantly, the results using ordered inputs differ from those reported in DeSante and Smith (2020*b*) using the same data. First, and most obviously, are quite different sample sizes. The analytical samples in my models include 184 Millennial and 654 Non-Millennial Whites in the face-to-face sample and 342 Millennials and 2074 Non-Millennials in the web sample, tallies consistent with sample totals of White respondents reported in the codebook for the 2012 ANES and noted in footnote 2 but after case loss for item nonresponse. Neither set reflects the 338 and 873 Millennial and older White respondents reported in DeSante and Smith (2020*b*). Nor does it appear a function of case deletion due to missingness. Modeling complete observations produces results like those in Tables SM14 and SM15.

Second, while I use a different statistical program, the estimation strategy is the same: same anchor item, same error covariance specification, same estimator and parameterization, and same definition of generational status. Indeed, even though I use R and the `lavaan` package rather than Mplus like the authors, the implemented routine mimics default Mplus procedures. Nor does it appear to be a function of `lavaan` version. Analyses are similar using `lavaan` version (0.5-

Table SM11: Measurement Invariance of Racial Resentment, Millennials vs. Older Whites (face-to-face sample)

	χ^2	CFI	SRMR	RMSEA	$\Delta\chi^2$	p-value	ΔCFI	p-value	ΔSRMR	p-value	ΔRMSEA	p-value
Configural	2.62	0.999	0.007	0.027								
Metric	7.82	0.997	0.028	0.037	5.19	0.234	-0.002	0.236	0.021	0.167	0.009	0.172
Scalar	21.4	0.985	0.034	0.063	13.6	0.005	-0.012	0.005	0.006	0.213	0.027	0.043
Scalar–Partial	10	0.997	0.026	0.032	2.19	0.357	-0.0002	0.318	-0.001	0.863	-0.005	0.542

Note: Models estimated using maximum likelihood. One error covariance estimated between *try hard* and *special favors*.

Table SM12: Generation Invariance, 2012 ANES Face-to-Face Interviews

	Configural		Metric		Scalar		Scalar–Partial	
	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials
Deserve Less	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Past Discrimination	0.88	0.73	0.842	0.842	0.819	0.819	0.84	0.84
	(0.0792)	(0.1206)	(0.0663)	(0.0663)	(0.0656)	(0.0656)	(0.066)	(0.066)
Try Hard	0.822	0.523	0.75	0.75	0.751	0.751	0.753	0.753
	(0.072)	(0.1082)	(0.0605)	(0.0605)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Special Favors	1.213	1.002	1.158	1.158	1.146	1.146	1.143	1.143
	(0.0965)	(0.1464)	(0.081)	(0.081)	(0.0801)	(0.0801)	(0.0784)	(0.0784)
Intercept Deserve Less	3.762	3.514	3.762	3.514	3.747	3.747	3.757	3.757
	(0.0452)	(0.0831)	(0.0456)	(0.081)	(0.0444)	(0.0444)	(0.0444)	(0.0444)
Intercept Past Discrimination	3.382	3.449	3.382	3.449	3.435	3.435	3.374	3.666
	(0.0517)	(0.0923)	(0.0516)	(0.0929)	(0.048)	(0.048)	(0.0513)	(0.0827)
Intercept Try Hard	3.922	3.655	3.922	3.655	3.902	3.902	3.903	3.903
	(0.0483)	(0.0898)	(0.0477)	(0.0941)	(0.045)	(0.045)	(0.0449)	(0.0449)
Intercept Special Favors	3.262	3.07	3.262	3.07	3.27	3.27	3.28	3.28
	(0.054)	(0.0952)	(0.0539)	(0.0959)	(0.0519)	(0.0519)	(0.0519)	(0.0519)
χ^2	3		8		21		10	
DF	2		5		8		7	
CFI	0.999		0.997		0.985		0.997	
SRMR	0.0066		0.0275		0.0339		0.0264	
RMSEA [90% CI]	0.0272 [0, 0.1045]		0.0366 [0, 0.0832]		0.0631 [0.0315, 0.0962]		0.0319 [0, 0.0727]	
N	843		843		843		843	

Note: Models estimated using maximum likelihood. Parameter estimates with standard errors in parentheses. Error covariance between *try hard* and *special favors* estimated but omitted.

23.1097) and (0.6-5). Finally, I get results similar to those I report here using Mplus version 8.4. The discrepancy does not appear to concern software. Left unclear then is why the estimates differ so dramatically. Presumably it's due to some unspecified case selection choice. No matter the specification I consider, I cannot recover equivalent sample sizes or fit statistics resembling the reported results.

The closest I get to approximating the reported results is to use Millennial Whites in the web sample and older Whites from the face-to-face sample. This results in a model using 342 Millennial and 654 older Whites. Tables SM17 and SM17 reports the results. While the parameter estimates and model fit are qualitatively similar, the insights these results offer are only partially consistent with conclusions in DeSante and Smith (2020*b*). First, as Table SM16 shows, constraining factor loadings does not lead to reliably worse model fit, despite $\Delta\chi^2 = 10$ consistent with reports in

Table SM13: Generation Invariance, 2012 ANES Web Interviews

	Configural		Metric		Scalar	
	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials
Deserve Less	1	1	1	1	1	1
	—	—	—	—	—	—
Past Discrimination	0.942	1.063	0.958	0.958	0.958	0.958
	(0.0341)	(0.0964)	(0.0322)	(0.0322)	(0.0322)	(0.0322)
Try Hard	0.964	1.066	0.976	0.976	0.976	0.976
	(0.0322)	(0.0921)	(0.0304)	(0.0304)	(0.0304)	(0.0304)
Special Favors	1.199	1.362	1.22	1.22	1.219	1.219
	(0.0373)	(0.1102)	(0.0352)	(0.0352)	(0.0352)	(0.0352)
Intercept Deserve Less	3.879	3.778	3.879	3.778	3.871	3.871
	(0.0226)	(0.0566)	(0.0225)	(0.0582)	(0.0222)	(0.0222)
Intercept Past Discrimination	3.404	3.412	3.404	3.412	3.409	3.409
	(0.0251)	(0.0643)	(0.0251)	(0.0635)	(0.0244)	(0.0244)
Intercept Try Hard	3.872	3.833	3.872	3.833	3.87	3.87
	(0.0241)	(0.0606)	(0.0241)	(0.0603)	(0.0235)	(0.0235)
Intercept Special Favors	3.53	3.547	3.53	3.547	3.539	3.539
	(0.0275)	(0.0658)	(0.0275)	(0.065)	(0.027)	(0.027)
χ^2	6		8		14	
DF	2		5		8	
CFI	0.999		0.999		0.999	
SRMR	0.0047		0.0114		0.0088	
RMSEA [90% CI]	0.0389 [0, 0.0784]		0.0235 [0, 0.0506]		0.0249 [0, 0.046]	
N	2417		2417		2417	

Note: Models estimated using maximum likelihood. Parameter estimates with standard errors in parentheses. Error covariance between *try hard* and *special favors* estimated but omitted.

DeSante and Smith (2020*b*, 292, en. 8). This divergence in conclusion may be due to Type I error in using $\Delta\chi^2$ without permutation (Jorgensen et al. 2018), a conclusion the lack of reliable change on the remaining indices complements. While only qualitatively similar model estimates, the present results using this particular case selection offer little evidence Millennials interpret the racial resentment measure in ways that differ from older Whites.

Constraining item thresholds also produces similar, but still inconsistent, parameter estimates and model fit. This constraint leads to a reliable decline in fit. Model modification information suggests this is actually due to the anchor item used (*past discrimination*). One of its thresholds (τ_2) is lower for Millennial than older Whites, suggesting slight underreporting of racial resentment (Modification index = 18.89, $p < .001$. EPC_{older} = .126, $\text{EPC}_{Millennial}$ = -.133). Changing the anchor item to *deserve less* sees metric equivalence met as well as partial scalar equivalence. This latter model frees two thresholds on *past discrimination* (τ_2 and τ_3). So even though this case selection is inappropriate for establishing equivalence because it compares groups mixing generational status and survey mode (see Lubke et al. 2003), little evidence supports Millennials

Table SM14: Generation Invariance, ANES 2012 face-to-face (ordered inputs)

	Configural		Metric		Scalar		Scalar–Partial	
	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials
Past Discrimination	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Special Favors	0.801	0.587	0.755	0.755	0.785	0.785	0.786	0.786
	(0.0468)	(0.0846)	(0.0408)	(0.0408)	(0.0431)	(0.0431)	(0.0433)	(0.0433)
Try Hard	0.76	0.755	0.76	0.76	0.752	0.752	0.765	0.765
	(0.0457)	(0.0744)	(0.0392)	(0.0392)	(0.0411)	(0.0411)	(0.0416)	(0.0416)
Deserve Less	0.994	1.126	1.02	1.02	1.023	1.023	1.022	1.022
	(0.0518)	(0.1196)	(0.0473)	(0.0473)	(0.0492)	(0.0492)	(0.0489)	(0.0489)
Past Discrimination τ_1	-1.321	-1.294	-1.321	-1.294	-1.314	-1.314	-1.322	-1.322
	(0.0683)	(0.127)	(0.0683)	(0.127)	(0.0647)	(0.0647)	(0.0646)	(0.0646)
τ_2	-0.236	-0.178	-0.236	-0.178	-0.258	-0.258	-0.263	-0.263
	(0.0496)	(0.093)	(0.0496)	(0.093)	(0.0467)	(0.0467)	(0.0467)	(0.0467)
τ_3	0	0.192	0	0.192	0.001	0.001	-0.003	-0.003
	(0.0491)	(0.0931)	(0.0491)	(0.0931)	(0.0462)	(0.0462)	(0.0463)	(0.0463)
τ_4	0.629	0.918	0.629	0.918	0.632	0.632	0.63	0.63
	(0.0528)	(0.1082)	(0.0528)	(0.1082)	(0.0517)	(0.0517)	(0.0517)	(0.0517)
Special Favors τ_1	-1.598	-1.512	-1.598	-1.512	-1.618	-1.618	-1.622	-1.622
	(0.0802)	(0.1434)	(0.0802)	(0.1434)	(0.0763)	(0.0763)	(0.0762)	(0.0762)
τ_2	-0.937	-0.857	-0.937	-0.857	-0.954	-0.954	-0.957	-0.957
	(0.0578)	(0.106)	(0.0578)	(0.106)	(0.0547)	(0.0547)	(0.0546)	(0.0546)
τ_3	-0.547	-0.29	-0.547	-0.29	-0.521	-0.521	-0.524	-0.524
	(0.0518)	(0.0939)	(0.0518)	(0.0939)	(0.0484)	(0.0484)	(0.0483)	(0.0483)
τ_4	0.142	0.512	0.142	0.512	0.192	0.192	0.19	0.19
	(0.0492)	(0.097)	(0.0492)	(0.097)	(0.0467)	(0.0467)	(0.0467)	(0.0467)
Try Hard τ_1	-1.234	-1.233	-1.234	-1.233	-1.225	-1.225	-1.246	-1.246
	(0.0654)	(0.1232)	(0.0654)	(0.1232)	(0.0601)	(0.0601)	(0.0605)	(0.0605)
τ_2	-0.588	-0.819	-0.588	-0.819	-0.649	-0.649	-0.588	-0.898
	(0.0523)	(0.1047)	(0.0523)	(0.1047)	(0.0477)	(0.0477)	(0.0523)	(0.0827)
τ_3	-0.038	-0.055	-0.038	-0.055	-0.074	-0.074	-0.075	-0.075
	(0.0491)	(0.0926)	(0.0491)	(0.0926)	(0.0442)	(0.0442)	(0.0447)	(0.0447)
τ_4	0.644	0.692	0.644	0.692	0.601	0.601	0.61	0.61
	(0.0529)	(0.101)	(0.0529)	(0.101)	(0.0499)	(0.0499)	(0.0503)	(0.0503)
Deserve Less τ_1	-1.702	-1.712	-1.702	-1.712	-1.685	-1.685	-1.689	-1.689
	(0.086)	(0.1633)	(0.086)	(0.1633)	(0.0812)	(0.0812)	(0.0812)	(0.0812)
τ_2	-0.998	-0.857	-0.998	-0.857	-0.97	-0.97	-0.975	-0.975
	(0.0591)	(0.106)	(0.0591)	(0.106)	(0.0552)	(0.0552)	(0.0552)	(0.0552)
τ_3	-0.336	-0.082	-0.336	-0.082	-0.308	-0.308	-0.313	-0.313
	(0.0501)	(0.0926)	(0.0501)	(0.0926)	(0.0465)	(0.0465)	(0.0465)	(0.0465)
τ_4	0.435	0.745	0.435	0.745	0.445	0.445	0.44	0.44
	(0.0508)	(0.1025)	(0.0508)	(0.1025)	(0.0492)	(0.0492)	(0.0492)	(0.0492)
χ^2	1		16		38		27	
DF	2		5		16		15	
CFI	1		0.995		0.99		0.995	
SRMR	0.0028		0.0173		0.0228		0.0247	
RMSEA [90% CI]	0 [0, 0.0786]		0.0735 [0.0356, 0.1147]		0.0576 [0.0342, 0.0813]		0.0436 [0.0137, 0.0697]	
N	838		838		838		838	

Note: Models estimated using WLSMV. Parameter estimates with standard errors in parentheses. Error covariance between *try hard* and *special favors* estimated but omitted.

interpreting the racial resentment measure differently or systematically underreporting racial resentment compared to older Whites. Despite arguments to the contrary, the measure allows valid generational comparisons.

Table SM15: Generation Invariance, ANES 2012 Web (ordered inputs)

	Configural		Metric		Scalar	
	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials
Past Discrimination	1	1	1	1	1	1
	—	—	—	—	—	—
Special Favors	0.917	0.872	0.911	0.911	0.917	0.917
	(0.017)	(0.0445)	(0.0159)	(0.0159)	(0.0165)	(0.0165)
Try Hard	0.859	0.825	0.854	0.854	0.862	0.862
	(0.0175)	(0.0444)	(0.0162)	(0.0162)	(0.0169)	(0.0169)
Deserve Less	1.002	0.877	0.981	0.981	0.997	0.997
	(0.0169)	(0.0356)	(0.0151)	(0.0151)	(0.0163)	(0.0163)
Past Discrimination τ_1	-1.718	-1.543	-1.718	-1.543	-1.683	-1.683
	(0.0488)	(0.1071)	(0.0488)	(0.1071)	(0.0468)	(0.0468)
τ_2	-0.55	-0.716	-0.55	-0.716	-0.573	-0.573
	(0.0291)	(0.0745)	(0.0291)	(0.0745)	(0.0281)	(0.0281)
τ_3	-0.208	-0.222	-0.208	-0.222	-0.212	-0.212
	(0.0277)	(0.0684)	(0.0277)	(0.0684)	(0.0268)	(0.0268)
τ_4	0.578	0.652	0.578	0.652	0.584	0.584
	(0.0293)	(0.0733)	(0.0293)	(0.0733)	(0.0288)	(0.0288)
Special Favors τ_1	-1.882	-1.774	-1.882	-1.774	-1.877	-1.877
	(0.0551)	(0.1251)	(0.0551)	(0.1251)	(0.053)	(0.053)
τ_2	-1.081	-1.119	-1.081	-1.119	-1.093	-1.093
	(0.0343)	(0.0857)	(0.0343)	(0.0857)	(0.033)	(0.033)
τ_3	-0.509	-0.391	-0.509	-0.391	-0.497	-0.497
	(0.0289)	(0.0697)	(0.0289)	(0.0697)	(0.0278)	(0.0278)
τ_4	0.396	0.383	0.396	0.383	0.393	0.393
	(0.0283)	(0.0696)	(0.0283)	(0.0696)	(0.0275)	(0.0275)
Try Hard τ_1	-1.561	-1.497	-1.561	-1.497	-1.562	-1.562
	(0.044)	(0.1041)	(0.044)	(0.1041)	(0.0424)	(0.0424)
τ_2	-0.722	-0.726	-0.722	-0.726	-0.728	-0.728
	(0.0303)	(0.0747)	(0.0303)	(0.0747)	(0.0291)	(0.0291)
τ_3	-0.048	0.007	-0.048	0.007	-0.043	-0.043
	(0.0275)	(0.0678)	(0.0275)	(0.0678)	(0.0264)	(0.0264)
τ_4	0.92	0.784	0.92	0.784	0.902	0.902
	(0.0322)	(0.076)	(0.0322)	(0.076)	(0.0311)	(0.0311)
Deserve Less τ_1	-2.147	-1.938	-2.147	-1.938	-2.142	-2.142
	(0.069)	(0.1419)	(0.069)	(0.1419)	(0.0654)	(0.0654)
τ_2	-1.258	-1.268	-1.258	-1.268	-1.275	-1.275
	(0.0371)	(0.0919)	(0.0371)	(0.0919)	(0.0362)	(0.0362)
τ_3	-0.406	-0.252	-0.406	-0.252	-0.392	-0.392
	(0.0284)	(0.0686)	(0.0284)	(0.0686)	(0.0276)	(0.0276)
τ_4	0.41	0.504	0.41	0.504	0.424	0.424
	(0.0284)	(0.071)	(0.0284)	(0.071)	(0.0279)	(0.0279)
χ^2	8		18		38	
DF	2		5		16	
CFI	1		0.999		0.998	
SRMR	0.004		0.0071		0.0051	
RMSEA [90% CI]	0.0504 [0.0181, 0.0886]		0.0466 [0.0247, 0.0705]		0.0336 [0.0198, 0.0476]	
N	2416		2416		2416	

Note: Models estimated using WLSMV. Parameter estimates with standard errors in parentheses. Error covariance between *try hard* and *special favors* estimated but omitted.

Table SM16: Measurement Invariance of Racial Resentment, Millennials vs. Older Whites, replicating DeSante and Smith (2020)

	χ^2	CFI	SRMR	RMSEA	$\Delta\chi^2$	p-value	ΔCFI	p-value	ΔSRMR	p-value	ΔRMSEA	p-value
Configural	2.24	1.000	0.004	0.000								
Metric	12.3	0.999	0.015	0.033	10.1	0.177	-0.001	0.311	0.012	0.223	0.033	0.130
Scalar	81.8	0.982	0.013	0.084	69.4	0.000	-0.017	0.000	-0.003	0.765	0.051	0.002

Note: Models estimated using WLSMV. One error covariance estimated between *try hard* and *special favors*.

Table SM17: Generation Invariance, ANES 2012 replicating DeSante and Smith (2020)

	Configural		Metric		Scalar	
	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials
Past Discrimination	1	1	1	1	1	1
	—	—	—	—	—	—
Special Favors	0.801	0.872	0.832	0.832	0.845	0.845
	(0.0468)	(0.0445)	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.0403)	(0.0403)
Try Hard	0.76	0.825	0.783	0.783	0.779	0.779
	(0.0456)	(0.0444)	(0.0315)	(0.0315)	(0.0386)	(0.0386)
Deserve Less	0.994	0.877	0.922	0.922	0.977	0.977
	(0.0518)	(0.0356)	(0.0293)	(0.0293)	(0.0415)	(0.0415)
Past Discrimination τ_1	-1.321	-1.543	-1.321	-1.543	-1.291	-1.291
	(0.0683)	(0.1071)	(0.0683)	(0.1071)	(0.0612)	(0.0612)
τ_2	-0.236	-0.716	-0.236	-0.716	-0.362	-0.362
	(0.0496)	(0.0746)	(0.0496)	(0.0746)	(0.0416)	(0.0416)
τ_3	0	-0.222	0	-0.222	0	0
	—	(0.0684)	—	(0.0684)	—	—
τ_4	0.629	0.652	0.629	0.652	0.605	0.605
	(0.0528)	(0.0733)	(0.0528)	(0.0733)	(0.046)	(0.046)
Special Favors τ_1	-1.598	-1.774	-1.598	-1.774	-1.561	-1.561
	(0.0802)	(0.1252)	(0.0802)	(0.1252)	(0.0734)	(0.0734)
τ_2	-0.937	-1.119	-0.937	-1.119	-0.935	-0.935
	(0.0578)	(0.0858)	(0.0578)	(0.0858)	(0.0512)	(0.0512)
τ_3	-0.547	-0.391	-0.547	-0.391	-0.444	-0.444
	(0.0518)	(0.0698)	(0.0518)	(0.0698)	(0.0431)	(0.0431)
τ_4	0.142	0.383	0.142	0.383	0.23	0.23
	(0.0492)	(0.0697)	(0.0492)	(0.0697)	(0.0398)	(0.0398)
Try Hard τ_1	-1.234	-1.497	-1.234	-1.497	-1.223	-1.223
	(0.0654)	(0.1041)	(0.0654)	(0.1041)	(0.0588)	(0.0588)
τ_2	-0.588	-0.726	-0.588	-0.726	-0.58	-0.58
	(0.0523)	(0.0748)	(0.0523)	(0.0748)	(0.0433)	(0.0433)
τ_3	0	0	0	0	0	0
	—	—	—	—	—	—
τ_4	0.644	0.784	0.644	0.784	0.656	0.656
	(0.0529)	(0.076)	(0.0529)	(0.076)	(0.0432)	(0.0432)
Deserve Less τ_1	-1.702	-1.938	-1.702	-1.938	-1.718	-1.718
	(0.086)	(0.142)	(0.086)	(0.142)	(0.078)	(0.078)
τ_2	-0.998	-1.268	-0.998	-1.268	-1.043	-1.043
	(0.0591)	(0.0919)	(0.0591)	(0.0919)	(0.0539)	(0.0539)
τ_3	-0.336	-0.252	-0.336	-0.252	-0.283	-0.283
	(0.0501)	(0.0686)	(0.0501)	(0.0686)	(0.0424)	(0.0424)
τ_4	0.435	0.504	0.435	0.504	0.459	0.459
	(0.0508)	(0.0711)	(0.0508)	(0.0711)	(0.0442)	(0.0442)
χ^2	2		12		82	
DF	5		8		18	
CFI	1		0.999		0.982	
SRMR	0.0037		0.0154		0.0129	
RMSEA [90% CI]	0 [0, 0.0383]		0.033 [0, 0.0673]		0.0844 [0.0664, 0.1034]	
N	996		996		996	

Note: Models estimated using WLSMV. Parameter estimates with standard errors in parentheses. Error covariance between *try hard* and *special favors* estimated but omitted. Standard error lines of "—" denote insignificant parameters constrained to 0.

2016 ANES Web Sample

Table SM18: Measurement Invariance of Racial Resentment, Millennials vs. Older White Web Respondents

	χ^2	CFI	SRMR	RMSEA	$\Delta\chi^2$	p-value	ΔCFI	p-value	ΔSRMR	p-value	ΔRMSEA	p-value
Configural	0.662	1.000	0.001	0.000								
Metric	1.65	1.000	0.007	0.000	0.988	0.817	0.000	0.899	0.006	0.829	0.000	0.868
Scalar	18.5	0.997	0.019	0.038	16.8	0.000	-0.003	0.000	0.012	0.001	0.038	0.000
Scalar–Partial	3.19	1.000	0.007	0.000	1.54	0.454	0.000	0.799	0.0002	0.614	0.000	0.763

Note: Models estimated using maximum likelihood. One error covariance estimated between *try hard* and *special favors*.

I also replicate the 2016 ANES generational comparison using the web sample. Table SM18 shows that the items meet full metric equivalence and partial scalar equivalence (Byrne, Shavelson and Muthen 1989). Modification indices indicates that freeing *special favors*'s intercept improves model fit. But unlike the 2012 CCAP analyses, the expected parameter change (EPC) seems substantively large. The item overestimates racial resentment for non-Millennials (EPC = 0.040), and underestimates it for Millennials (-0.107). This is consistent with a story where Millennial Whites reluctantly express negative racial attitudes (DeSante and Smith 2020*a*). But this is only one item, and model fit from the row 3 model is still excellent despite the reliable decrease. Further as Table SM19 indicates, the four item intercepts in the partially scalar equivalent model are mixed in a way that does not suggest Millennials systematically underreport negative beliefs.[3]

Treating the items as ordered offers similar insight. The measure meets full metric equivalence, but as Table SM20 indicates, constraining thresholds leads to a reliable decrease in fit. This appears due to one of *special favors*'s thresholds (τ_3) (MI = 14.92, $p < .001$). Freeing this parameter produces a model with fit indistinguishable from the metric model, establishing partial scalar equivalence.

[3]Likewise, effect sizes akin to Cohen's *d* suggest negligible practical consequences for such inequivalence. The SDI2 and UDI2 measures introduce by Gunn, Grimm and Edwards (2019) are both .139, below the .20 benchmark for small but meaningful effects.

Table SM19: Generation Invariance, Web Interviews ANES 2016

	Configural		Metric		Scalar		Scalar–Partial	
	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials
Past Discrimination	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Deserve Less	0.942	0.924	0.936	0.936	0.942	0.942	0.940	0.940
	(0.0323)	(0.0428)	(0.0258)	(0.0258)	(0.0256)	(0.0256)	(0.0257)	(0.0257)
Try Hard	0.813	0.776	0.802	0.802	0.806	0.806	0.804	0.804
	(0.0328)	(0.0471)	(0.0268)	(0.0268)	(0.0268)	(0.0268)	(0.0267)	(0.0267)
Special Favors	0.868	0.880	0.871	0.871	0.884	0.884	0.874	0.874
	(0.0331)	(0.0461)	(0.0269)	(0.0269)	(0.0271)	(0.0271)	(0.0269)	(0.0269)
Intercept Past Discrimination	3.246	3.023	3.246	3.023	3.268	3.268	3.258	3.258
	(0.0373)	(0.0642)	(0.0374)	(0.0641)	(0.0359)	(0.0359)	(0.036)	(0.036)
Intercept Deserve Less	3.512	3.240	3.512	3.240	3.512	3.512	3.504	3.504
	(0.0331)	(0.0591)	(0.0331)	(0.0593)	(0.0323)	(0.0323)	(0.0324)	(0.0324)
Intercept Try Hard	3.127	2.915	3.127	2.915	3.131	3.131	3.126	3.126
	(0.0347)	(0.0614)	(0.0345)	(0.0621)	(0.0327)	(0.0327)	(0.0326)	(0.0326)
Intercept Special Favors	3.668	3.254	3.668	3.254	3.628	3.628	3.668	3.482
	(0.0353)	(0.0632)	(0.0354)	(0.0626)	(0.0339)	(0.0339)	(0.0352)	(0.05)
χ^2	1		2		18		3	
DF	2		5		8		7	
CFI	1.000		1.000		0.997		1.000	
SRMR	0.0013		0.0069		0.0185		0.0071	
RMSEA [90% CI]	0 [0, 0.0467]		0 [0, 0.0202]		0.0375 [0.0147, 0.0602]		0 [0, 0.0209]	
N	1865		1865		1865		1865	

Note: Models estimated using maximum likelihood. Parameter estimates with standard errors in parentheses. Error covariance between *try hard* and *special favors* estimated but omitted.

Table SM20: Measurement Invariance of Racial Resentment, Millennials vs. Older Whites (ordered inputs)

	χ^2	CFI	SRMR	RMSEA	$\Delta\chi^2$	p-value	ΔCFI	p-value	ΔSRMR	p-value	ΔRMSEA	p-value
Configural	1.67	1.000	0.001	0.000								
Metric	7.93	1.000	0.006	0.025	6.26	0.477	-0.0003	0.443	0.005	0.400	0.025	0.345
Scalar	59.5	0.997	0.032	0.054	51.5	0.000	-0.003	0.000	0.026	0.000	0.029	0.011
Scalar–Partial	24.9	0.999	0.028	0.027	16.9	0.092	-0.001	0.078	0.023	0.000	0.002	0.153

Note: Models estimated using WLSMV. One error covariance estimated between *try hard* and *special favors*.

Table SM21: Generation Invariance, Web Interviews ANES 2016 (ordered inputs)

	Configural		Metric		Scalar		Scalar–Partial	
	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials
Deserve Less	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Try Hard	0.846	0.844	0.846	0.846	0.851	0.851	0.849	0.849
	(0.0195)	(0.0273)	(0.0158)	(0.0158)	(0.0178)	(0.0178)	(0.0178)	(0.0178)
Special Favors	0.885	0.921	0.898	0.898	0.894	0.894	0.89	0.89
	(0.0195)	(0.0239)	(0.0151)	(0.0151)	(0.0178)	(0.0178)	(0.0177)	(0.0177)
Past Discrimination	0.964	1.018	0.983	0.983	0.965	0.965	0.964	0.964
	(0.0174)	(0.0213)	(0.0136)	(0.0136)	(0.0159)	(0.0159)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Deserve Less τ_1	-1.535	-1.224	-1.535	-1.224	-1.541	-1.541	-1.535	-1.535
	(0.0531)	(0.0759)	(0.0531)	(0.0759)	(0.0499)	(0.0499)	(0.0499)	(0.0499)
τ_2	-0.77	-0.549	-0.77	-0.549	-0.785	-0.785	-0.779	-0.779
	(0.0377)	(0.0605)	(0.0377)	(0.0605)	(0.0359)	(0.0359)	(0.0359)	(0.0359)
τ_3	-0.02	0.237	-0.02	0.237	-0.011	-0.011	-0.006	-0.006
	(0.0338)	(0.0578)	(0.0338)	(0.0578)	(0.0321)	(0.0321)	(0.0321)	(0.0321)
τ_4	0.559	0.721	0.559	0.721	0.555	0.555	0.559	0.559
	(0.0358)	(0.063)	(0.0358)	(0.063)	(0.0344)	(0.0344)	(0.0344)	(0.0344)
Try Hard τ_1	-1.054	-0.857	-1.054	-0.857	-1.075	-1.075	-1.07	-1.07
	(0.0416)	(0.0656)	(0.0416)	(0.0656)	(0.0387)	(0.0387)	(0.0387)	(0.0387)
τ_2	-0.447	-0.27	-0.447	-0.27	-0.459	-0.459	-0.454	-0.454
	(0.035)	(0.058)	(0.035)	(0.058)	(0.0327)	(0.0327)	(0.0326)	(0.0326)
τ_3	0.153	0.419	0.153	0.419	0.176	0.176	0.18	0.18
	(0.0339)	(0.0591)	(0.0339)	(0.0591)	(0.0318)	(0.0318)	(0.0318)	(0.0318)
τ_4	0.999	0.967	0.999	0.967	0.966	0.966	0.97	0.97
	(0.0407)	(0.0681)	(0.0407)	(0.0681)	(0.0386)	(0.0386)	(0.0385)	(0.0385)
Special Favors τ_1	-1.319	-1.054	-1.319	-1.054	-1.319	-1.319	-1.312	-1.312
	(0.047)	(0.0704)	(0.047)	(0.0704)	(0.0437)	(0.0437)	(0.0437)	(0.0437)
τ_2	-0.792	-0.501	-0.792	-0.501	-0.778	-0.778	-0.772	-0.772
	(0.0379)	(0.0599)	(0.0379)	(0.0599)	(0.0356)	(0.0356)	(0.0355)	(0.0355)
τ_3	-0.328	0.136	-0.328	0.136	-0.264	-0.264	-0.328	-0.05
	(0.0344)	(0.0574)	(0.0344)	(0.0574)	(0.0321)	(0.0321)	(0.0344)	(0.05)
τ_4	0.388	0.636	0.388	0.636	0.403	0.403	0.407	0.407
	(0.0347)	(0.0616)	(0.0347)	(0.0616)	(0.0327)	(0.0327)	(0.0326)	(0.0326)
Past Discrimination τ_1	-1.187	-0.976	-1.187	-0.976	-1.2	-1.2	-1.194	-1.194
	(0.044)	(0.0683)	(0.044)	(0.0683)	(0.0414)	(0.0414)	(0.0415)	(0.0415)
τ_2	-0.312	-0.168	-0.312	-0.168	-0.335	-0.335	-0.33	-0.33
	(0.0344)	(0.0575)	(0.0344)	(0.0575)	(0.0323)	(0.0323)	(0.0323)	(0.0323)
τ_3	0.045	0.243	0.045	0.243	0.039	0.039	0.044	0.044
	(0.0338)	(0.0579)	(0.0338)	(0.0579)	(0.0319)	(0.0319)	(0.0319)	(0.0319)
τ_4	0.644	0.784	0.644	0.784	0.628	0.628	0.633	0.633
	(0.0365)	(0.0641)	(0.0365)	(0.0641)	(0.0348)	(0.0348)	(0.0348)	(0.0348)
χ^2	2		8		59		25	
DF	2		5		16		15	
CFI	1		1		0.997		0.999	
SRMR	0.001		0.0055		0.0316		0.0283	
RMSEA [90% CI]	0 [0, 0.0616]		0.0251 [0, 0.0564]		0.0541 [0.0398, 0.0691]		0.0266 [0, 0.0446]	
N	1858		1858		1858		1858	

Note: Models estimated using WLSMV. Parameter estimates with standard errors in parentheses. Error covariance between *try hard* and *special favors* estimated but omitted.

2018 ANES Pilot

The results in Table SM22 reaffirm the cross-generational equivalence of racial resentment. Metric and scalar equivalence are well-established in these data. And this holds when items are treated as ordered. While the results in Table SM24 suggest a reliable decrease in fit on 3 for 4 measures, modification indices offer no evidence that any threshold constraints contribute to worse fit. Further, the CFI and RMSEA still indicate great fit.

Table SM22: Measurement Invariance of Racial Resentment, Millennials vs. Older Whites

	χ^2	CFI	SRMR	RMSEA	$\Delta\chi^2$	p-value	ΔCFI	p-value	ΔSRMR	p-value	ΔRMSEA	p-value
Configural	0.926	1.000	0.001	0.000								
Metric	2.91	1.000	0.011	0.000	1.99	0.588	0.000	0.837	0.010	0.476	0.000	0.769
Scalar	9.29	1.000	0.021	0.013	6.37	0.095	-0.0003	0.152	0.010	0.002	0.013	0.079

Note: Models estimated using maximum likelihood. One error covariance estimated between *try hard* and *special favors*.

Table SM23: Generation Invariance, ANES 2018 Pilot

	Configural		Metric		Scalar	
	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials
Past Discrimination	1	1	1	1	1	1
	—	—	—	—	—	—
Deserve Less	0.908	0.880	0.885	0.885	0.889	0.889
	(0.0489)	(0.0229)	(0.0207)	(0.0207)	(0.0205)	(0.0205)
Try Hard	0.760	0.817	0.806	0.806	0.800	0.800
	(0.0511)	(0.0253)	(0.0227)	(0.0227)	(0.0223)	(0.0223)
Special Favors	0.811	0.835	0.831	0.831	0.827	0.827
	(0.051)	(0.0246)	(0.0222)	(0.0222)	(0.0218)	(0.0218)
Intercept Past Discrimination	2.758	3.225	2.758	3.225	2.756	2.756
	(0.0643)	(0.0396)	(0.0643)	(0.0396)	(0.0612)	(0.0612)
Intercept Deserve Less	2.923	3.397	2.923	3.397	2.966	2.966
	(0.0604)	(0.0364)	(0.0598)	(0.0366)	(0.0553)	(0.0553)
Intercept Try Hard	2.783	3.05	2.783	3.05	2.698	2.698
	(0.0647)	(0.0383)	(0.0662)	(0.038)	(0.053)	(0.053)
Intercept Special Favors	3.222	3.537	3.222	3.537	3.163	3.163
	(0.0648)	(0.0379)	(0.0655)	(0.0378)	(0.0539)	(0.0539)
χ^2	1		3		9	
DF	2		5		8	
CFI	1.000		1.000		1.000	
SRMR	0.001		0.0107		0.021	
RMSEA [90% CI]	0 [0, 0.0519]		0 [0, 0.0339]		0.0132 [0, 0.0421]	
N	1854		1854		1854	

Note: Models estimated using maximum likelihood. Parameter estimates with standard errors in parentheses. Error covariance between *try hard* and *special favors* estimated but omitted.

Table SM24: Measurement Invariance of Racial Resentment, Millennials vs. Older Whites (ordered inputs)

	χ^2	CFI	SRMR	RMSEA	$\Delta\chi^2$	p-value	ΔCFI	p-value	ΔSRMR	p-value	ΔRMSEA	p-value
Configural	2.4	1.000	0.001	0.015								
Metric	12.7	1.000	0.005	0.041	10.3	0.360	-0.0004	0.337	0.004	0.466	0.026	0.367
Scalar	44.6	0.999	0.122	0.044	31.9	0.007	-0.001	0.006	0.116	0.000	0.003	0.101

Note: Models estimated using WLSMV. One error covariance estimated between *try hard* and *special favors*.

Table SM25: Generation Invariance, 2018 ANES Pilot (ordered inputs)

	Configural		Metric		Scalar	
	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials
Deserve Less	1	1	1	1	1	1
	—	—	—	—	—	—
Try Hard	0.827	0.894	0.881	0.881	0.821	0.821
	(0.0277)	(0.0136)	(0.0122)	(0.0122)	(0.0213)	(0.0213)
Special Favors	0.873	0.929	0.918	0.918	0.881	0.881
	(0.0269)	(0.0126)	(0.0114)	(0.0114)	(0.0213)	(0.0213)
Past Discrimination	1.051	1.048	1.049	1.049	1.052	1.052
	(0.0257)	(0.0121)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.0193)	(0.0193)
Deserve Less τ_1	-0.899	-1.272	-0.899	-1.272	-0.988	-0.988
	(0.0663)	(0.046)	(0.0663)	(0.046)	(0.0632)	(0.0632)
τ_2	-0.303	-0.578	-0.303	-0.578	-0.297	-0.297
	(0.058)	(0.0361)	(0.058)	(0.0361)	(0.05)	(0.05)
τ_3	0.483	0.052	0.483	0.052	0.408	0.408
	(0.0595)	(0.0339)	(0.0595)	(0.0339)	(0.0496)	(0.0496)
Deserve Less τ_4	0.939	0.512	0.939	0.512	0.888	0.888
	(0.0672)	(0.0356)	(0.0672)	(0.0356)	(0.0581)	(0.0581)
Try Hard τ_1	-0.572	-0.812	-0.572	-0.812	-0.545	-0.545
	(0.0606)	(0.0383)	(0.0606)	(0.0383)	(0.0482)	(0.0482)
τ_2	-0.228	-0.368	-0.228	-0.368	-0.132	-0.132
	(0.0576)	(0.0348)	(0.0576)	(0.0348)	(0.0428)	(0.0428)
τ_3	0.494	0.212	0.494	0.212	0.479	0.479
	(0.0597)	(0.0342)	(0.0597)	(0.0342)	(0.0446)	(0.0446)
τ_4	0.972	0.83	0.972	0.83	1.058	1.058
	(0.068)	(0.0385)	(0.068)	(0.0385)	(0.0561)	(0.0561)
Special Favors τ_1	-0.891	-1.143	-0.891	-1.143	-0.884	-0.884
	(0.0661)	(0.0433)	(0.0661)	(0.0433)	(0.0582)	(0.0582)
τ_2	-0.518	-0.66	-0.518	-0.66	-0.425	-0.425
	(0.0599)	(0.0367)	(0.0599)	(0.0367)	(0.0487)	(0.0487)
τ_3	0.107	-0.176	0.107	-0.176	0.106	0.106
	(0.0572)	(0.0341)	(0.0572)	(0.0341)	(0.0435)	(0.0435)
τ_4	0.666	0.382	0.666	0.382	0.673	0.673
	(0.0619)	(0.0348)	(0.0619)	(0.0348)	(0.0492)	(0.0492)
Past Discrimination τ_1	-0.673	-1.018	-0.673	-1.018	-0.727	-0.727
	(0.062)	(0.0411)	(0.062)	(0.0411)	(0.0592)	(0.0592)
τ_2	-0.055	-0.291	-0.055	-0.291	0.003	0.003
	(0.0571)	(0.0344)	(0.0571)	(0.0344)	(0.049)	(0.049)
τ_3	0.477	0.052	0.477	0.052	0.419	0.419
	(0.0595)	(0.0339)	(0.0595)	(0.0339)	(0.0514)	(0.0514)
τ_4	0.955	0.554	0.955	0.554	0.941	0.941
	(0.0676)	(0.0359)	(0.0676)	(0.0359)	(0.0621)	(0.0621)
χ^2	2		13		45	
DF	2		5		16	
CFI	1		1		0.999	
SRMR	0.0014		0.0052		0.1216	
RMSEA [90% CI]	0.0148 [0, 0.0687]		0.0408 [0.0128, 0.0693]		0.044 [0.0289, 0.0595]	
N	1850		1850		1850	

Note: Models estimated using WLSMV. Parameter estimates with standard errors in parentheses. Error covariance between *try hard* and *special favors* estimated but omitted.

Descriptive Differences in Trait Mentions, Kam and Burge (2018)

Table SM26 provides the raw distribution of category mentions for Millennial and Non-Millennial Whites as well as the p-value associated with a χ^2 test to assess whether response patterns differ. Millennials are less likely to offer a negative trait mention of black Americans, less likely to affirm individualism as a status explanation, less likely to deny discrimination, and more likely to acknowledge discrimination exists. These statistically reliable differences range in magnitude from 7-9 percentage points. Further, Millennial and older Whites are each as likely, if not more so, to mention discrimination, either affirming or denying, than a negative trait of Blacks, suggesting affect is not uniquely related to racial resentment.

Table SM26: Category Mention Percentages

		No	Yes	χ^2 p-value
Negative Trait Mention	Non-Millennial	69%	31	0.002
	Millennial	78	22	
Positive Trait Mention	Non-Millennial	88	12	0.460
	Millennial	90	10	
Individualism Affirmed	Non-Millennial	54	46	0.025
	Millennial	62	38	
Individualism Flouted	Non-Millennial	67	33	0.240
	Millennial	71	29	
Individualism Broken	Non-Millennial	85	15	0.069
	Millennial	80	20	
Discrimination Exists	Non-Millennial	73	27	0.031
	Millennial	66	34	
Discrimination Denial	Non-Millennial	53	47	0.033
	Millennial	61	39	
Reverse Discrimination	Non-Millennial	82	18	0.346
	Millennial	79	21	

Racial Resentment is Equivalent by Mode among Millennials

Here I test an implication of whether Millennials' unique socialization experiences create social desirability concerns that affect how they respond to the racial resentment items. I use the 2016

Table SM27: Measurement Invariance of Racial Resentment, Millennials by Mode

	χ^2	CFI	SRMR	RMSEA	$\Delta\chi^2$	p-value	ΔCFI	p-value	ΔSRMR	p-value	ΔRMSEA	p-value
Configural	5.05	0.998	0.005	0.067								
Metric	8.31	0.998	0.021	0.045	3.27	0.343	-0.0002	0.251	0.016	0.476	-0.023	0.875
Scalar	11.2	0.998	0.026	0.035	2.87	0.417	0.0001	0.813	0.005	0.207	-0.010	0.810

Note: Data from the 2016 ANES. One error covariance estimated between *try hard* and *special favors*.

ANES and the same multi-group confirmatory factor analysis approach, but now compare Millennials' responses by mode. If Millennials worry about expressing negative racial attitudes, then the online mode should remove some of the pressure to provide normatively appropriate responses that face-to-face interviews create; racial resentment's measurement properties should vary by mode, with the face-to-face sample underreporting racial resentment.[4]

But the results in Table SM27 offer little evidence that social desirability or other concerns related to interview context modify responses to the racial resentment items. Changes across all fit measures are negligible. If Millennial Whites worry about expressing negative racial attitudes, this does not translate into item responses varying by interview context. They may certainly report that they are worried about appearing prejudiced, but this does not appear to modify how they answer these racial attitude items. Likewise, Table SM29 demonstrates that Millennial Whites' responses do not vary by mode of interview when treating the items as ordered rather than continuous.

[4]This test is restrictive because DeSante and Smith (2020*a*) suggest Millennials may be more internally motivated to avoid prejudiced responses (Plant and Devine 1998) which mode differences may not overcome. While not a representative sample, 2016 data from Harvard's Project Implicit suggest this may not hold. Non-Millennial participants are more internally motivated according to Plant and Devine's (1998) measure (.79 vs. .76 out of 1, $p < .05$). The reverse is true for external motivations. Millennials score higher (.53 vs. .44 out of 1, $p < .05$). Question wording in Appendix A.

Table SM28: Mode Invariance, Millennial Whites ANES 2016

	Configural		Metric		Scalar	
	Web	Face-to-Face	Web	Face-to-Face	Web	Face-to-Face
Deserve Less	1	1	1	1	1	1
	—	—	—	—	—	—
Try Hard	0.893	0.840	0.857	0.857	0.857	0.857
	(0.0816)	(0.0504)	(0.0429)	(0.0429)	(0.0429)	(0.0429)
Special Favors	0.860	0.952	0.925	0.925	0.925	0.925
	(0.0771)	(0.0501)	(0.0421)	(0.0421)	(0.0422)	(0.0422)
Past Discrimination	1.019	1.082	1.062	1.062	1.062	1.062
	(0.0813)	(0.0501)	(0.0424)	(0.0424)	(0.0424)	(0.0424)
Intercept Deserve Less	3.253	3.240	3.253	3.240	3.267	3.267
	(0.0953)	(0.0591)	(0.0944)	(0.0594)	(0.0905)	(0.0905)
Intercept Try Hard	2.974	2.915	2.974	2.915	2.951	2.951
	(0.1014)	(0.0614)	(0.0986)	(0.0622)	(0.0834)	(0.0834)
Intercept Special Favors	3.405	3.254	3.405	3.254	3.317	3.317
	(0.0998)	(0.0632)	(0.1025)	(0.0626)	(0.0882)	(0.0882)
Intercept Past Discrimination	3.016	3.023	3.016	3.023	3.049	3.049
	(0.1062)	(0.0642)	(0.1076)	(0.064)	(0.0978)	(0.0978)
χ^2	5		8		11	
DF	2		5		8	
CFI	0.998		0.998		0.998	
SRMR	0.0053		0.0214		0.0262	
RMSEA [90% CI]	0.0674 [0, 0.1436]		0.0445 [0, 0.0959]		0.0345 [0, 0.0777]	
N	670		670		670	

Note: Models estimated using maximum likelihood. Parameter estimates with standard errors in parentheses. Error covariance between *try hard* and *special favors* estimated but omitted.

Table SM29: Measurement Invariance of Racial Resentment, Millennials by Mode (ordered inputs)

	χ^2	CFI	SRMR	RMSEA	$\Delta\chi^2$	p-value	ΔCFI	p-value	ΔSRMR	p-value	ΔRMSEA	p-value
Configural	4.83	1.000	0.004	0.065								
Metric	10.2	0.999	0.010	0.056	5.4	0.532	-0.0004	0.471	0.006	0.546	-0.009	0.832
Scalar	23.1	0.999	0.019	0.036	12.9	0.241	-0.0003	0.207	0.009	0.589	-0.020	0.475

Note: Models estimated using WLSMV. Parameter estimates with standard errors in parentheses. Error covariance between *try hard* and *special favors* estimated but omitted.

Table SM30: Mode Invariance, Millennials ANES 2016 (ordered inputs)

	Configural		Metric		Scalar	
	Face-to-Face	Web	Face-to-Face	Web	Face-to-Face	Web
Deserve Less	1	1	1	1	1	1
	—	—	—	—	—	—
Try Hard	0.869	0.844	0.854	0.854	0.862	0.862
	(0.0397)	(0.0273)	(0.0226)	(0.0226)	(0.0331)	(0.0331)
Special Favors	0.858	0.921	0.908	0.908	0.875	0.875
	(0.0422)	(0.0239)	(0.0207)	(0.0207)	(0.0366)	(0.0366)
Past Discrimination	0.953	1.018	1.002	1.002	0.956	0.956
	(0.0387)	(0.0213)	(0.0187)	(0.0187)	(0.0334)	(0.0334)
Deserve Less τ_1	-1.252	-1.224	-1.252	-1.224	-1.241	-1.241
	(0.1224)	(0.076)	(0.1224)	(0.076)	(0.1096)	(0.1096)
τ_2	-0.48	-0.549	-0.48	-0.549	-0.551	-0.551
	(0.095)	(0.0605)	(0.095)	(0.0605)	(0.0836)	(0.0836)
τ_3	0.172	0.237	0.172	0.237	0.182	0.182
	(0.0916)	(0.0579)	(0.0916)	(0.0579)	(0.0795)	(0.0795)
τ_4	0.7	0.721	0.7	0.721	0.669	0.669
	(0.0996)	(0.063)	(0.0996)	(0.063)	(0.0894)	(0.0894)
Try Hard τ_1	-0.842	-0.857	-0.842	-0.857	-0.873	-0.873
	(0.1038)	(0.0656)	(0.1038)	(0.0656)	(0.0863)	(0.0863)
τ_2	-0.226	-0.27	-0.226	-0.27	-0.283	-0.283
	(0.0919)	(0.0581)	(0.0919)	(0.0581)	(0.0734)	(0.0734)
τ_3	0.24	0.419	0.24	0.419	0.337	0.337
	(0.092)	(0.0592)	(0.092)	(0.0592)	(0.0741)	(0.0741)
τ_4	0.919	0.967	0.919	0.967	0.918	0.918
	(0.1065)	(0.0682)	(0.1065)	(0.0682)	(0.0901)	(0.0901)
Special Favors τ_1	-1.095	-1.054	-1.095	-1.054	-1.037	-1.037
	(0.1139)	(0.0705)	(0.1139)	(0.0705)	(0.0943)	(0.0943)
τ_2	-0.602	-0.501	-0.602	-0.501	-0.528	-0.528
	(0.0973)	(0.06)	(0.0973)	(0.06)	(0.0776)	(0.0776)
τ_3	-0.092	0.136	-0.092	0.136	0.041	0.041
	(0.0912)	(0.0575)	(0.0912)	(0.0575)	(0.071)	(0.071)
τ_4	0.586	0.636	0.586	0.636	0.56	0.56
	(0.097)	(0.0617)	(0.097)	(0.0617)	(0.079)	(0.079)
Past Discrimination τ_1	-0.94	-0.976	-0.94	-0.976	-0.937	-0.937
	(0.1073)	(0.0684)	(0.1073)	(0.0684)	(0.0929)	(0.0929)
τ_2	-0.053	-0.168	-0.053	-0.168	-0.161	-0.161
	(0.0911)	(0.0576)	(0.0911)	(0.0576)	(0.0756)	(0.0756)
τ_3	0.172	0.243	0.172	0.243	0.177	0.177
	(0.0916)	(0.0579)	(0.0916)	(0.0579)	(0.0765)	(0.0765)
τ_4	0.716	0.784	0.716	0.784	0.685	0.685
	(0.1001)	(0.0642)	(0.1001)	(0.0642)	(0.088)	(0.088)
χ^2	5		10		23	
DF	2		5		16	
CFI	1		0.999		0.999	
SRMR	0.0044		0.0102		0.019	
RMSEA [90% CI]	0.0651 [0, 0.1418]		0.056 [0, 0.1052]		0.0364 [0, 0.067]	
N	670		670		670	

Note: Models estimated using WLSMV. Parameter estimates with standard errors in parentheses. Error covariance between *try hard* and *special favors* estimated but omitted.

Testing Generational Equivalence on Two More Constructs

Here I report analyses investigating whether the measurement equivalence approach validly tests invalidity by generation.[5] While a well-validated procedure in psychometrics (Vandenberg and Lance 2000), it is helpful to consider whether the procedure works when evaluating other outcomes. Here I take up two additional constructs available in the 2016 ANES: moral traditionalism and egalitarianism. Moral traditionalism captures a preference for the cultural status quo and traditional values while egalitarianism concerns a preference for equal treatment. It is quite possible that younger individuals underreport morally traditional attitudes and overreport egalitarian ones. This thinking is much like the argument DeSante and Smith (2020*b*) advance. Millennials may be coming of age in a period where embracing social difference, and treating others equally, is privileged. This socialization process promotes social desirability concerns which constrain Millennials from voicing more morally traditional beliefs and encourage more egalitarian views. These constructs may thus suffer from inequivalence.

I focus first on moral traditionalism. Its measure consists of four statements where responses are recorded on 5-point scales anchored by strongly agree and strongly disagree. The question wording is:

World changing: "The world is always changing and we should adjust our view of moral behavior to those changes." (Reverse Coded)

Lifestyles: "The newer lifestyles are contributing to the breakdown of our society."

Tolerate Others: "We should be more tolerant of people who choose to live according to their own moral standards, even if they are very different from our own." (Reverse Coded)

Family Ties: "This country would have many fewer problems if there were more emphasis on traditional family ties."

Like racial resentment, younger people may interpret one or more of these questions differently. For instance, while their forebears may have grown up in traditional two-parent households, younger individuals may be more likely to come from, or be comfortable with, other family ar-

[5] I thank Reviewer 1 for suggesting this investigation.

rangements. Step-parents and siblings or single parents, same-sex, and multi-earner households all might suggest different interpretations of "traditional family ties." Likewise, the notion of "newer lifestyles" may vary across generations. Indeed, younger individuals are quite possibly those with newer lifestyles but for them these aren't new. So their interpretation of *lifestyles* varies.

I make no claim these hypotheses about the measure's potential inequivalence are exhaustive. Rather, I find them instructive about another measure where a like argument to the one advanced regarding the racial resentment measure may exist.

Like the racial resentment analyses I focus on Whites alone to ensure as comparable a comparison as possible. Further, I again look at face-to-face and web completes separately, viewing them as independent tests. Tables SM31 and SM33 provide the assessments of model fit change for the face-to-face and web respondents, respectively. Tables SM32 and SM34 report the associated parameter estimates for the models.

These tests support configural and metric equivalence. In both samples the change in fit after restricting factor loadings to equality across groups is unreliable across all measures. It does not appear that younger Whites interpret the moral traditionalism items in a systematically different way from their older peers. Divergent factor loading estimates do suggest the potential for improving the measure, but inconsistencies across samples make recommending specific items to explore difficult. *Family ties* does, however, appear systematically worse and potentially worth replacing with a different item.[6]

The configural models also suggest younger Whites underreport moral traditionalism.[7] Indeed, the tests of full scalar equivalence fail in both samples. To achieve an equivalent model (i.e., one whose fit does not differ compared to the metric model), *family ties*'s intercept must be freely estimated in both samples. Further, *tolerate others* must be freed in the web sample. Millennials

[6] Anchor items change across samples based on preliminary exploration of items in the respective sample containing the highest factor loading across all groups. In other words, the item most likely to be equivalent.

[7] Assuming inequivalence and using these different parameter estimates to estimate inequivalence effect sizes sees larger practical consequences on comparisons than found for racial resentment (Gunn, Grimm and Edwards 2019). All four items see effect sizes suggesting small-to-moderate and meaningful levels of inequivalence in the face-to-face (*tolerate others*: SDI2 = -.33, UDI2 = .33; *lifestyles* = -.32, .32; *world changing* = -.32, .32; *family ties* = -.49, .49) and web samples (*lifestyles*: SDI2 = -.36, UDI2 = .36; *tolerate others* = -.21, .21; *world changing* = -.36, .36; *family ties* = -.55, .55). The SDI2 takes on negative values if inequivalence comes from White Millennials.

Table SM31: Measurement Equivalence of Moral Traditionalism, Millennials vs. Older Whites in Face-to-Face Sample

	χ^2	CFI	SRMR	RMSEA	$\Delta\chi^2$	p-value	ΔCFI	p-value	ΔSRMR	p-value	ΔRMSEA	p-value
Configural	1.48	1	0.006	0.000								
Metric	5.17	1	0.021	0.010	3.69	0.296	-0.0003	0.327	0.015	0.327	0.010	0.218
Scalar	17.8	0.982	0.045	0.059	12.6	0.007	-0.015	0.006	0.024	0.002	0.049	0.006
Scalar–Partial	8.35	0.998	0.028	0.023	3.18	0.204	-0.002	0.156	0.007	0.143	0.014	0.118

Note: Data from face-to-face interviews in the 2016 ANES.

underreport moral traditionalism on the former, and overreport it on the latter, assuming older Whites' responses are the baseline. While the measure remains equivalent by meeting minimum requirements (Byrne, Shavelson and Muthen 1989), these inconsistencies suggest potential places for improvement.

I also tested whether younger Whites' responses varied across mode to again gauge the potential influence of social desirability concerns. Tables SM35 and SM36 contain the fit tests and parameter estimates, respectively. The results suggest some potential influence for social desirability. Certainly more evidence than present for racial resentment. The test of full scalar equivalence fails, with *tolerate others*'s intercept freely estimated to establish equivalence.

Within the same data collection as the main tests for racial resentment I find more evidence for generational and mode inequivalence for moral traditionalism than racial resentment. Further, inequivalence patterns suggest social desirability as a source of measurement error, consistent with explanations for expected differences in racial resentment.[8]

I now consider egalitarianism. Its measure also consists of four statements with responses recorded on 5-point agree/disagree scales. These items are:

Worry less: "This country would be better off if we worried less about how equal people are."

Whatever necessary: "Our society should do whatever is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed."

Not a problem: "It is not really that big a problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others."

[8]Additional analyses using the subsampling approach from OA.D do not suggest unbalanced sample sizes result in finding equivalence. Likewise, the 2012 ANES offers similar results.

Table SM32: Moral Traditionalism's Generation Invariance, Face-to-Face ANES 2016

	Configural		Metric		Scalar		Scalar–Partial	
	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials
Tolerate Others	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lifestyles	0.82	0.75	0.772	0.772	0.875	0.875	0.841	0.841
	(0.2057)	(0.1122)	(0.0995)	(0.0995)	(0.0958)	(0.0958)	(0.094)	(0.094)
World changing	0.782	0.714	0.736	0.736	0.832	0.832	0.802	0.802
	(0.1868)	(0.1082)	(0.0947)	(0.0947)	(0.0883)	(0.0883)	(0.089)	(0.089)
Family Ties	0.855	0.562	0.632	0.632	0.759	0.759	0.685	0.685
	(0.2055)	(0.0952)	(0.0886)	(0.0886)	(0.0914)	(0.0914)	(0.086)	(0.086)
Intercept Tolerate Others	2	2.386	2	2.385	1.948	1.948	1.968	1.968
	(0.077)	(0.0534)	(0.0772)	(0.0533)	(0.0741)	(0.0741)	(0.0748)	(0.0748)
Intercept Lifestyles	2.995	3.448	2.995	3.448	3.029	3.029	3.059	3.059
	(0.0997)	(0.0613)	(0.1004)	(0.0611)	(0.0821)	(0.0821)	(0.0798)	(0.0798)
Intercept World changing	2.7	3.155	2.7	3.155	2.748	2.748	2.776	2.776
	(0.099)	(0.0627)	(0.0995)	(0.0626)	(0.0789)	(0.0789)	(0.0779)	(0.0779)
Intercept Family Ties	3.353	3.972	3.353	3.972	3.554	3.554	3.378	3.665
	(0.0958)	(0.0539)	(0.0929)	(0.0545)	(0.0753)	(0.0753)	(0.09)	(0.0767)
χ^2	1		5		18		8	
DF	2		5		8		7	
CFI	1		1		0.982		0.998	
SRMR	0.0061		0.0209		0.0452		0.0276	
RMSEA [90% CI]	0 [0, 0.0965]		0.0099 [0, 0.0751]		0.0589 [0.0208, 0.096]		0.0234 [0, 0.0722]	
N	190	516	190	516	190	516	190	516

Note: Models estimated using maximum likelihood. Parameter estimates with standard errors in parentheses. Error covariance between *lifestyles* and *family ties* estimated but omitted. 2016 ANES

Table SM33: Measurement Equivalence of Moral Traditionalism, Millennials vs. Older Whites in Web Sample

	χ^2	CFI	SRMR	RMSEA	$\Delta\chi^2$	p-value	ΔCFI	p-value	ΔSRMR	p-value	ΔRMSEA	p-value
Configural	10.5	0.996	0.006	0.068								
Metric	17.2	0.994	0.018	0.051	6.71	0.083	-0.002	0.093	0.012	0.068	-0.0164	0.255
Scalar	71.6	0.970	0.048	0.092	54.4	0.000	-0.022	0.000	0.030	0.000	0.041	0.000
Scalar–Partial	29.3	0.989	0.030	0.058	12	0.003	-0.004	0.004	0.012	0.000	0.007	0.029
Scalar–Partial	17.8	0.994	0.018	0.046	0.604	0.427	0.0002	0.419	-0.0001	0.767	-0.005	0.588

Note: Data from web interviews in the 2016 ANES.

Treat fair: "If people were treated more equally in this country we would have many fewer problems"

I again look at non-Hispanic White respondents and separate the face-to-face and web samples. Tables SM37 and SM39 provide the assessments of model fit change for the face-to-face and web respondents, respectively. Tables SM38 and SM40 report the associated parameter estimates for the models.

Like moral traditionalism, the results for egalitarianism offer more evidence for inequivalence by generation than does racial resentment.[9] Further, this manifests on the test of scalar equivalence.

[9]Like moral traditionalism, using the different parameter estimates from the configural model to estimate consequences of full inequivalence sees larger practical consequences on comparisons than found for racial resentment. All

Table SM34: Moral Traditionalism's Generation Invariance, Web ANES 2016

	Configural		Metric		Scalar		Scalar–Partial		Scalar–Partial	
	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials
Lifestyles	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tolerate Others	0.91	0.774	0.868	0.868	0.805	0.805	0.824	0.824	0.875	0.875
	(0.0628)	(0.0821)	(0.0506)	(0.0506)	(0.0451)	(0.0451)	(0.0454)	(0.0454)	(0.05)	(0.05)
World changing	0.911	0.914	0.904	0.904	0.902	0.902	0.91	0.91	0.919	0.919
	(0.0629)	(0.1016)	(0.053)	(0.053)	(0.0522)	(0.0522)	(0.0519)	(0.0519)	(0.0503)	(0.0503)
Family Ties	0.769	0.918	0.802	0.802	0.854	0.854	0.802	0.802	0.804	0.804
	(0.036)	(0.067)	(0.0317)	(0.0317)	(0.0317)	(0.0317)	(0.0313)	(0.0313)	(0.0318)	(0.0318)
Intercept Lifestyles	3.363	2.877	3.363	2.877	3.366	3.366	3.352	3.352	3.37	3.37
	(0.0359)	(0.0618)	(0.036)	(0.0617)	(0.0349)	(0.0349)	(0.0348)	(0.0348)	(0.035)	(0.035)
Intercept Tolerate Others	2.567	2.319	2.567	2.319	2.614	2.614	2.603	2.603	2.567	2.767
	(0.0326)	(0.05)	(0.0324)	(0.0508)	(0.0302)	(0.0302)	(0.0304)	(0.0304)	(0.0324)	(0.0588)
Intercept World changing	3.227	2.728	3.227	2.728	3.211	3.211	3.196	3.196	3.218	3.218
	(0.0376)	(0.0584)	(0.0376)	(0.0582)	(0.0353)	(0.0353)	(0.0354)	(0.0354)	(0.0359)	(0.0359)
Intercept Family Ties	3.811	3.098	3.811	3.097	3.745	3.745	3.806	3.467	3.814	3.499
	(0.0331)	(0.0595)	(0.0334)	(0.058)	(0.0327)	(0.0327)	(0.0331)	(0.052)	(0.0331)	(0.0535)
χ^2	11		17		72		29		18	
DF	2		5		8		7		6	
CFI	0.996		0.994		0.97		0.989		0.994	
SRMR	0.0058		0.0182		0.0482		0.03		0.0181	
RMSEA [90% CI]	0.0676 [0.0315, 0.1102]		0.0512 [0.0261, 0.0786]		0.0923 [0.0734, 0.1125]		0.0584 [0.0375, 0.081]		0.046 [0.0222, 0.0713]	
N	1385	481	1385	481	1385	481	1385	481	1385	481

Note: Models estimated using maximum likelihood. Parameter estimates with standard errors in parentheses. Error covariance between *lifestyles* and *family ties* estimated but omitted. 2016 ANES

Table SM35: Measurement Equivalence of Moral Traditionalism by Mode

	χ^2	CFI	SRMR	RMSEA	$\Delta\chi^2$	χ^2 p-value	ΔCFI	p-value	ΔSRMR	p-value	ΔRMSEA	p-value
Configural	10.2	0.989	0.012	0.11								
Metric	14.3	0.987	0.027	0.075	4.14	0.289	-0.002	0.293	0.015	0.234	-0.036	0.534
Scalar	41.8	0.954	0.056	0.112	27.4	0.000	-0.033	0.000	0.029	0.000	0.038	0.001
Scalar–Partial	19.3	0.983	0.030	0.072	4.97	0.077	-0.004	0.083	0.003	0.298	-0.002	0.176

Note: Data from 2016 ANES.

That's not to say there are no potential places of improvement in the measure for items effectively measuring egalitarianism. *Whatever necessary* in particular appears to do a poor job of capturing egalitarianism overall and equivalently across generations in both samples. Further, item intercept estimates differ in some cases, suggesting potential over-reporting of egalitarianism.

But these item intercept differences do not yield full scalar inequivalence. Freely estimating *whatever necessary*'s intercept and *treat fair*'s intercept results in a model with sufficient equivalent items to allow measure comparability. Here, these two items actually appear to underestimate White Millennials' egalitarianism compared to older White Americans.

Tables SM41 and SM42 provide the fit comparisons and parameters for models establishing egalitarianism's mode equivalence among younger Whites. While configural and metric equivalence are established, the parameter estimates suggest the items do a better job capturing egali-

four items see effect sizes suggesting small-to-moderate and meaningful levels of inequivalence in the face-to-face (*worry less*: SDI2 = -.30, UDI2 = .30; *not a problem* = -.36, .37; *whatever necessary* = .19, .21; *treat fair* = -.05, .05) but not in the web sample (*worry less*: SDI2 = -.15, UDI2 = .15; *not a problem* = -.14, .15; *whatever necessary* = .16, .17; *treat fair* = .08, .09). The SDI2 takes on negative values if inequivalence comes from White Millennials.

Table SM36: Moral Traditionalism's Mode Equivalence, ANES 2016

	Configural		Metric		Scalar		Scalar–Partial	
	Face-to-Face	Web	Face-to-Face	Web	Face-to-Face	Web	Face-to-Face	Web
Family Ties	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	—	—	—	—	—	—	(—	—
World changing	0.915	0.995	0.984	0.984	1.015	1.015	0.97	0.97
	(0.1971)	(0.1079)	(0.0958)	(0.0958)	(0.1006)	(0.1006)	(0.0951)	(0.0951)
Tolerate Others	1.17	0.843	0.896	0.896	0.918	0.918	0.889	0.889
	(0.281)	(0.0975)	(0.0917)	(0.0917)	(0.0994)	(0.0994)	(0.0914)	(0.0914)
Lifestyles	0.959	1.089	1.074	1.074	1.084	1.084	1.069	1.069
	(0.1519)	(0.0794)	(0.0714)	(0.0714)	(0.074)	(0.074)	(0.0708)	(0.0708)
Intercept Family Ties	3.353	3.098	3.353	3.098	3.106	3.106	3.241	3.241
	(0.0958)	(0.0595)	(0.0957)	(0.0595)	(0.0787)	(0.0787)	(0.0825)	(0.0825)
Intercept World changing	2.7	2.728	2.7	2.728	2.664	2.664	2.802	2.802
	(0.099)	(0.0584)	(0.101)	(0.058)	(0.0795)	(0.0795)	(0.0816)	(0.0816)
Intercept Tolerate Others	2	2.319	2	2.319	2.179	2.179	2	2.413
	(0.077)	(0.05)	(0.075)	(0.0506)	(0.0701)	(0.0701)	(0.075)	(0.0824)
Intercept Lifestyles	2.995	2.877	2.995	2.877	2.849	2.849	2.995	2.995
	(0.0997)	(0.0618)	(0.1017)	(0.0614)	(0.084)	(0.084)	(0.0873)	(0.0873)
χ^2	10		14		42		19	
DF	2		5		8		7	
CFI	0.989		0.987		0.954		0.983	
SRMR	0.0122		0.027		0.0558		0.0298	
RMSEA [90% CI]	0.1104 [0.0501, 0.1816]		0.0745 [0.0308, 0.1212]		0.1121 [0.08, 0.1468]		0.0723 [0.0348, 0.1118]	
N	190	481	190	481	190	481	190	481

Note: Models estimated using maximum likelihood. Parameter estimates with standard errors in parentheses. Error covariance between *lifestyles* and *family ties* estimated but omitted.

Table SM37: Measurement Equivalence of Egalitarianism, Millennials vs. Older Whites in Face-to-Face Sample

	χ^2	CFI	SRMR	RMSEA	$\Delta\chi^2$	p-value	ΔCFI	p-value	ΔSRMR	p-value	ΔRMSEA	p-value
Configural	2.98	0.997	0.0104	0.0373								
Metric	10.4	0.985	0.036	0.055	7.42	0.075	-0.011	0.075	0.026	0.073	0.018	0.218
Scalar	25.9	0.95	0.051	0.079	15.5	0.002	-0.032	0.003	0.015	0.046	0.024	0.064
Scalar–Partial	14.3	0.98	0.042	0.055	3.93	0.139	-0.005	0.112	0.006	0.204	-0.001	0.631

Note: Data from face-to-face interviews in the 2016 ANES.

tarianism among the web sample (larger factor loadings). The interview context may introduce additional considerations into younger Whites' responses which lead to less coherence in their answers to the egalitarianism statements. But this is apparently not enough to lead to systematically divergent measure interpretations. Even so, identifying other items could improve egalitarianism's measurement among younger Whites.

Item intercepts diverge in ways consistent with social desirability pressures leading face-to-face respondents to over-report egalitarianism. But the amount of divergence is insufficient to yield full scalar inequivalence. Freeing *treat fair*'s intercept produces a partially equivalent model with fit indistinguishable from the metric model. This is again due to face-to-face respondents

Table SM38: Egalitarianism's Generation Invariance, Face-to-Face ANES 2016

	Configural		Metric		Scalar		Scalar–Partial	
	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials
Worry less	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Not a problem	0.612	0.921	0.754	0.754	0.809	0.809	0.806	0.806
	(0.1354)	(0.1753)	(0.111)	(0.111)	(0.1191)	(0.1191)	(0.1109)	(0.1109)
Whatever necessary	0.458	0.27	0.32	0.32	0.276	0.276	0.319	0.319
	(0.1197)	(0.0653)	(0.057)	(0.057)	(0.0528)	(0.0528)	(0.0559)	(0.0559)
Treat Fair	0.47	0.46	0.443	0.443	0.431	0.431	0.432	0.432
	(0.1111)	(0.087)	(0.0694)	(0.0694)	(0.0646)	(0.0646)	(0.0637)	(0.0637)
Intercept Worry less	3.158	2.739	3.158	2.739	3.165	3.165	3.177	3.177
	(0.0992)	(0.0623)	(0.0987)	(0.0624)	(0.0906)	(0.0906)	(0.0908)	(0.0908)
Intercept Not a problem	3.684	3.249	3.684	3.249	3.626	3.626	3.635	3.635
	(0.0793)	(0.055)	(0.0813)	(0.0545)	(0.0773)	(0.0773)	(0.0768)	(0.0768)
Intercept Whatever necessary	4.105	4.302	4.105	4.301	4.344	4.344	4.135	4.431
	(0.0808)	(0.0452)	(0.0785)	(0.0457)	(0.0472)	(0.0472)	(0.0766)	(0.0557)
Intercept Treat Fair	3.805	3.747	3.805	3.747	3.896	3.896	3.899	3.899
	(0.0805)	(0.052)	(0.0795)	(0.0523)	(0.0558)	(0.0558)	(0.0558)	(0.0558)
χ^2	3		10		26		14	
DF	2		5		8		7	
CFI	0.997		0.985		0.95		0.98	
SRMR	0.0104		0.0363		0.0511		0.0422	
RMSEA [90% CI]	0.0373 [0, 0.1188]		0.0554 [0, 0.1032]		0.0797 [0.0466, 0.115]		0.0545 [0.0073, 0.095]	
N	190	514	190	514	190	514	190	514

Note: Models estimated using maximum likelihood. Parameter estimates with standard errors in parentheses. Error covariance between *whatever necessary* and *treat fair* estimated but omitted.

Table SM39: Measurement Equivalence of Egalitarianism, Millennials vs. Older Whites in Web Sample

	χ^2	CFI	SRMR	RMSEA	$\Delta\chi^2$	p-value	ΔCFI	p-value	ΔSRMR	p-value	ΔRMSEA	p-value
Configural	5.32	0.998	0.006	0.042								
Metric	9.21	0.997	0.018	0.03	3.89	0.311	-0.001	0.220	0.012	0.366	-0.012	0.902
Scalar	45.3	0.976	0.038	0.071	36.1	0.000	-0.021	0.000	0.020	0.000	0.041	0.001
Scalar–Partial	26.3	0.987	0.028	0.054	17.1	0.001	-0.010	0.001	0.010	0.005	0.024	0.019
Scalar–Partial	9.21	0.998	0.018	0.024	0.003	0.959	0.001	0.960	0.0001	0.570	-0.006	0.894

Note: Data from web interviews in the 2016 ANES.

over-reporting egalitarianism on this item compared to their web peers.

Like moral traditionalism, the present analysis of egalitarianism offers more evidence for generational differences in use than do the analyses of racial resentment. But interestingly, the results are mixed on potential explanation. Compared to older Whites, Millennials underreport egalitarianism. But among Millennials, face-to-face respondents over-report relative to those interviewed online. It's thus unclear *why* reporting differences exist. Evidence suggests social desirability within Millennials, but this makes the reason for the divergence across generations less clear.[10]

[10]Mode analyses among older Whites offer no evidence for systematic under- or over-reporting of egalitarianism.

Table SM40: Egalitarianism's Generation Invariance, Web ANES 2016

	Configural		Metric		Scalar		Scalar–Partial		Scalar–Partial	
	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials	Non-Millennials	Millennials
Worry less	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Not a problem	0.784	0.885	0.821	0.821	0.819	0.819	0.821	0.821	0.821	0.821
	(0.0506)	(0.0686)	(0.0405)	(0.0405)	(0.0413)	(0.0413)	(0.0409)	(0.0409)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Whatever necessary	0.466	0.597	0.51	0.51	0.492	0.492	0.505	0.505	0.51	0.51
	(0.0377)	(0.0596)	(0.0323)	(0.0323)	(0.0321)	(0.0321)	(0.0321)	(0.0321)	(0.0322)	(0.0322)
Treat Fair	0.597	0.685	0.632	0.632	0.617	0.617	0.619	0.619	0.632	0.632
	(0.0419)	(0.0596)	(0.0343)	(0.0343)	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.0339)	(0.0339)	(0.0342)	(0.0342)
Intercept Worry less	2.979	3.18	2.979	3.18	3.006	3.006	2.996	2.996	2.98	2.98
	(0.0362)	(0.0594)	(0.036)	(0.0603)	(0.0346)	(0.0346)	(0.0346)	(0.0346)	(0.0347)	(0.0347)
Intercept Not a problem	3.429	3.591	3.429	3.591	3.45	3.45	3.442	3.442	3.428	3.428
	(0.0308)	(0.0509)	(0.0308)	(0.0508)	(0.0293)	(0.0293)	(0.0293)	(0.0293)	(0.0294)	(0.0294)
Intercept Whatever necessary	4.108	3.938	4.108	3.938	4.045	4.045	4.096	3.88	4.108	3.836
	(0.0281)	(0.0481)	(0.0283)	(0.0473)	(0.0257)	(0.0257)	(0.0282)	(0.0454)	(0.0283)	(0.0463)
Intercept Treat Fair	3.589	3.501	3.589	3.501	3.542	3.542	3.54	3.54	3.589	3.375
	(0.0295)	(0.0501)	(0.0296)	(0.0498)	(0.0273)	(0.0273)	(0.0272)	(0.0272)	(0.0296)	(0.0481)
χ^2	5		9		45		26		9	
DF	2		5		8		7		6	
CFI	0.998		0.997		0.976		0.987		0.998	
SRMR	0.0056		0.0179		0.0382		0.0279		0.018	
RMSEA [90% CI]	0.0422 [0, 0.0876]		0.03 [0, 0.0602]		0.0707 [0.0515, 0.0914]		0.0544 [0.0333, 0.0773]		0.024 [0, 0.0528]	
N	1383	481	1383	481	1383	481	1383	481	1383	481

Note: Models estimated using maximum likelihood. Parameter estimates with standard errors in parentheses. Error covariance between *whatever necessary* and *treat fair* estimated but omitted. 2016 ANES

Table SM41: Measurement Equivalence of Egalitarianism, Mode

	χ^2	CFI	SRMR	RMSEA	$\Delta\chi^2$	p-value	ΔCFI	p-value	ΔSRMR	p-value	ΔRMSEA	p-value
Configural	5.8	0.994	0.013	0.075								
Metric	9.42	0.993	0.026	0.051	3.61	0.386	-0.001	0.39	0.013	0.584	-0.024	0.379
Scalar	20.3	0.98	0.043	0.068	10.9	0.011	-0.013	0.013	0.017	0.009	0.016	0.03
Scalar–Partial	13.2	0.99	0.032	0.052	3.83	0.144	-0.003	0.147	0.006	0.155	0.0003	0.168

Note: Data from the 2016 ANES.

Table SM42: Egalitarianism's Mode Equivalence, ANES 2016

	Configural		Metric		Scalar		Scalar–Partial	
	Face-to-Face	Web	Face-to-Face	Web	Face-to-Face	Web	Face-to-Face	Web
Worry less	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—)
Not a problem	0.612	0.885	0.848	0.848	0.859	0.859	0.854	0.854
	(0.1354)	(0.0686)	(0.0618)	(0.0618)	(0.0622)	(0.0622)	(0.0622)	(0.0622)
Whatever necessary	0.458	0.597	0.582	0.582	0.591	0.591	0.587	0.587
	(0.1197)	(0.0596)	(0.0535)	(0.0535)	(0.0541)	(0.0541)	(0.0539)	(0.0539)
Treat Fair	0.47	0.685	0.651	0.651	0.663	0.663	0.655	0.655
	(0.1111)	(0.0596)	(0.053)	(0.053)	(0.0541)	(0.0541)	(0.0534)	(0.0534)
Intercept Worry less	3.158	3.18	3.158	3.18	3.276	3.276	3.239	3.239
	(0.0992)	(0.0594)	(0.0965)	(0.0599)	(0.0821)	(0.0821)	(0.0831)	(0.0831)
Intercept Not a problem	3.684	3.591	3.684	3.591	3.696	3.696	3.665	3.665
	(0.0793)	(0.0509)	(0.0807)	(0.0507)	(0.0698)	(0.0698)	(0.0706)	(0.0706)
Intercept Whatever necessary	4.105	3.938	4.105	3.938	4.028	4.028	4.013	4.013
	(0.0808)	(0.0481)	(0.0808)	(0.0482)	(0.0567)	(0.0567)	(0.0566)	(0.0566)
Intercept Treat Fair	3.805	3.501	3.805	3.501	3.635	3.635	3.782	3.556
	(0.0805)	(0.0501)	(0.082)	(0.0497)	(0.0611)	(0.0611)	(0.081)	(0.0669)
χ^2	6		9		20		13	
DF	2		5		8		7	
CFI	0.994		0.993		0.98		0.99	
SRMR	0.0127		0.0257		0.0428		0.0318	
RMSEA [90% CI]	0.0753 [0, 0.1501]		0.0513 [0, 0.1013]		0.0677 [0.0315, 0.105]		0.0516 [0, 0.0937]	
N	190	481	190	481	190	481	190	481

Note: Models estimated using maximum likelihood. Parameter estimates with standard errors in parentheses. Error covariance between *whatever necessary* and *treat fair* estimated but omitted.

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