Explaining Support for Trump among White Americans

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EXPLAINING SUPPORT FOR TRUMP AMONG WHITE AMERICANS

VARIABLES	Unstandardized		Standardized Beta	t	Sig.
	b	Std. error	B		
Anti-unauthorized Immigrant policies	.178	.026	.181	6.909	.000
U.S. economic conditions down/declining	.162	.019	.159	8.312	.000
Pro-Strong Man Leader: Authoritarianism	.114	.021	.115	5.493	.000
Anti-gay or transgender policies:	.114	.020	.113	5.787	.000
Anti-Muslim prejudice	.104	.021	.103	5.015	.000
Anti-Free Trade	.097	.016	.098	6.059	.000
Govt_should foster more economic equality	-.096	.022	-.097	-4.357	.000
Resentment against Blacks	.095	.026	.096	3.598	.000
Oppose Syrian refugees to U.S.	.042	.011	.087	3.696	.000
Pro-Christian Fundamentalist	.003	.001	.084	4.622	.000
High Political Cynicism	-.099	.022	-.069	-4.511	.000
People should get ahead without government support	.035	.011	.059	3.197	.001
Pro-Obedience v. Self-Direction:	-.053	.019	-.054	-2.878	.004
Use Millitary Force to advance interests & get Isis	.052	.015	.052	3.393	.001
Anti-Asian American prejudice	-.051	.017	-.049	-3.034	.002
Wants smaller government	.046	.019	.046	2.460	.014
Anti-Black prejudice	-.046	.019	-.045	-2.362	.018
Social Dominance Orientation	-.044	.019	-.045	-2.300	.022
Immigrants threaten economy and culture	-.044	.023	-.044	-1.890	.059

Source: 2016 American National Election Studies Times Series Study

The table above shows results, using surveys conducted by the 2016 American National Election Studies, from an ordinary least squares regression of responses by white U.S. adults, explaining level of support for Trump. ‘Support for Trump’ combines voted for Trump, voted enthusiastically for Trump, and a “feeling thermometer” towards Trump, equally weighted. A feeling thermometer has people place themselves on a scale of 0 to 100, where 0 is most negative and 100 is most positive and 50 is neutral. This table reports the remaining statistically significant variables at $p < .05$ (the last one just misses being significant, but illustrates an important point), after I included a bunch of variables various theories expect to be associated with Trump support in an OLS regression, and then gradually removed the variables that are not

statistically significant. To simplify the table a little I left out demographic/background variables that are held constant (“controlled for”) – age, gender, income, education, attends religious services, region, country of origin, employment status. Older, male, those in the middle four deciles of family income (40k-100k), lower middle education (high school through some college), southerners, U.S. born, and “homemakers” like Trump more. However, none of the demographic variables are strongly associated with support for Trump – together they explain a modest 11% of the variation in Trump support. Adding the variables above explain another 50% of the variation – that’s a lot for the social sciences. And as we’ll see, a few of the explanatory variables added to the demographics by themselves (with none of the other explanatory variables) explain more than an additional 25% of variation in support for Trump.

Thus, this table reports the statistically significant variables explaining pro-Trump attitudes, not showing the demographic variables, which were included in the analysis. The variables are sorted by “standardized betas” (4th column). Size of standardized betas is the best, if imperfect, easy way of reckoning strength of influence in this kind of multiple regression. Thus, the variables are listed in order of strength of association with level of support for Trump. If the standardized beta is a negative number the variable is negatively associated with pro-Trump. If it is positive, it is positively associated with pro-Trump. The higher the standardized Beta, the stronger the relationship with Trump support. The trickiest part of this kind of analysis is that you need to wrap your head around the idea that the relationships between Trump support and each of the variables is being controlled for *all* of the other ones (including the demographic variables not shown). It creates a kind of war between explanatory variables that leaves only the most strongly associated with Trumpism of each type of variable in the final equation. Almost all of the explanatory variables are interrelated (e.g. anti-gay people tend to also be anti-Muslim), so the ones that remain are either quite different than the other explanatory variables (capture a different source of Trump’s appeal) or are more strongly associated with Trumpism than the ones that drop out, or both. What drops out and what remains and how strongly it remains, help us tell an explanatory story.

The strongest influence on pro-Trump is a scale made up of questions advocating restricting immigration and deporting unauthorized immigrants. (Information on the scales, including ones that dropped out, is at the end of this paper. A few variables are a single survey question, but most are several questions combined.) Note, however, that at the bottom of the table “immigrants threaten economy and culture” is *negatively* associated with pro-Trump. This means that after controlling for the other variables, especially anti-unauthorized immigrants, those who feel threatened by immigrants (believe immigrants harm U.S. culture, increase crime, harm the economy, take away jobs) like Trump *less*. I know this sounds weird, but a good way to think about it is that pro-Trump people really want to restrict immigration a lot, much more than they want to blame immigrants for our problems or feel threatened by immigrants, at least that is how they answered the survey. Ironically, Trump supporters appear to be somewhat politically correct on issues of race and immigration despite (or maybe because) all we heard about Bannon and the white supremacist alt-right influence, and Trump’s own racist slurs. *Trump supporters, overall, appear to be dis-identifying with his blatant racism and xenophobia and want to position their*

resentments as principled and fair, in response to being victimized and excluded or to authorities' failure to enforce laws. This squares with the many interviews of Trump supporters who said things like “he won’t really build a wall or get rid of all the undocumented immigrants.” To give you an idea of how very influential the anti-unauthorized immigrants variable is, when I added just that one variable to an equation with all of the demographic controls (age, gender, income, etc., which explain 11% of pro-Trump variation; not shown), *it explained an additional 34% of the variation in support for Trump.*

We see a similar pattern in Trump supporters’ anti-Black feelings. They express quite strong resentment towards Blacks for not working their way up on their own and for blaming their problems on racism (labeled resentment towards blacks). However, with controls, more blatant anti-black prejudice (e.g. feeling thermometer, blacks are lazy, violent) is *negatively* associated with being pro-Trump. Again, resentment towards Blacks over their alleged over-reliance on government and charges of racism, and lack of a hard work ethic is so strongly associated with Trumpism, that, with controls, blatant anti-Black prejudice is negatively associated with support for Trump. Adding just resentment towards Blacks to the demographic variables (not shown) *explained an additional 31% of the variation in support for Trump.* Also supporting my argument about distancing themselves from the Id of Trump, controlling for all these variables, anti-Asian American prejudice is negatively associated with Trump love, whereas at a bivariate level there is no relationship between anti-Asian American prejudice and Trumpism. To be clear, *pro-Trumpers have higher levels of immigrant threat and blatant anti-Black prejudice.* What this analysis shows is that more politically correct expressions of racial and anti-immigrant resentment are the core drivers of Trumpism, not blatant prejudice. (BTW, anti-Black resentment correlates very strongly with support for anti-unauthorized immigrant policies.)

An important partial exception to this pattern of Trump supporters minimizing racial/ethnic prejudice is anti-Muslim attitudes. Both anti-Muslim prejudice (feels negatively towards Muslims, thinks they are violent and unpatriotic) and anti-Syrian refugee policy are fairly strongly and robustly associated with pro-Trump. Anti-Muslim prejudice is stronger or more freely expressed than prejudice against any racial group (not shown). Whites apparently feel justified and freer to hate on Muslims. Going forward, we will want to understand how much anti-Muslim attitudes are or are becoming stably integrated into American political and racial divisions. So far, my literature search found no research that systematically addresses this important question. Adding just anti-Muslim prejudice to the demographic variables explained an additional 16% of the variation in support for Trump. Adding just ‘don’t let Syrian refugees into the U.S.’ to the demographic variables explained an additional 29% of the variation in support for Trump.

A similar pattern is found in the association between anti-gay and transgender prejudice and support for Trump among whites. A scale made up of feeling thermometers of transgender and gay/lesbian people is more weakly associated with Trumpism and was dropped from the final equation, but the scale made up of anti-gay/transgender positions on gay marriage, adoption by gay parents, the “right” to discriminate against gays, transgender bathroom policies/laws is

strongly associated with pro-Trump. I believe this pattern reflects strong discourses of “religious freedom” and “they’re shaming us for upholding our traditional (Christian) morals” that provide justification or cover for anti-gay policy positions, but not so much for anti-gay prejudice. In this context, note that a pro-Christian fundamentalist feeling thermometer was robustly and positively associated with pro-Trump. This may be partly because many liberal and moderate whites feel comfortable/justified in being prejudiced towards fundamentalist Christians. The anti-gay/transgender law and policy scale and fundamentalist feeling thermometer variables also beat out a more general traditional moral values scale I labeled “concern about moral decline” that includes ‘we need more traditional family values,’ ‘newer lifestyles are breaking down society,’ and two reverse-coded items that are positive about adapting to a changing world and respecting other moralities. Adding just the anti-gay/transgender policies/laws scale to the demographic variables explained an additional 24% of the variation in support for Trump.

The economic stuff is also interesting, if not that surprising. The second strongest variable explaining Trump support in the final equation is the perception that the U.S. economy is declining. Adding only this variable to the demographic variables explained an additional 27% of the variation in support for Trump. Note that this variable is *not* measuring levels of personal economic problems (worse off than last year, worry over money problems, family member or close friend lost a job). The personal economic problems variable is weakly and positively associated with pro-Trump in a bivariate relationship (bivariate means just looking at the relationship between those two variables, with no controls). As we know, this is not good news for Democrats, who should be able to convince struggling whites that they do a better job of increasing their opportunities. Nevertheless, this variable dropped out of the analysis early on and, overall, is not an important factor in explaining Trump support. Returning to ‘perception that the U.S. economy is declining,’ this variable was no doubt influenced by things like Fox News’ constant talk about how Obama is ruining or stalling the economy, echoed by Trump on the campaign trail. However, it also captures the squeeze on modestly educated middle and working class whites who feel they (or their children) are losing their opportunity at the American dream to all the newcomers (and “affirmative action beneficiaries like the Obamas”) and who have seen better paying jobs going away to globalization, robots, machines, and computers. Interestingly, another variable on “declining economic opportunity” had no association with pro-Trump and dropped out of the analysis immediately. This may be because one item has a longer (pre-Obama) time-frame of 20 years and/or hesitancy among most conservatives to say that the U.S. lacks opportunity to get ahead. To summarize the economic stuff so far, Trumpism is not very appealing to people personally experiencing economic problems or people who think our economy affords too little opportunity to get ahead, but it does appeal to those who think the economy is in decline, especially since 2008.

Being anti-free trade is robustly associated with being pro-Trump, illustrating a major economic policy division in the Republican Party that Trump highlighted and is likely to continue to matter for some time. Other parts of economic populism, however, do not fit with Trumpism. Wanting the government to do more to address economic inequality (“feeling the Bern”) is *negatively* and fairly strongly associated with pro-Trump. Campaign promises aside, Trump’s various efforts to

lower taxes on the rich, even if at the expense of support for poor, elderly, and those in poor health, fit his real base. Likewise, believing that people should get ahead without any help from government is positively associated with Trumpism.

The relationship between authoritarianism and Trump support shows up in a relatively strong/robust association with wanting a strongman leader willing to break a few rules in order to take us back to the “true path” and “get rid of the rotten apples.” Adding only ‘strong man leader’ to the demographic variables explains an additional 21% of the variation in Trump support. It is striking and scary how closely this line of questioning, created by academics wanting to understand fascism after WWII, fits Trump. This variable beat out another authoritarianism scale that focuses on differences in parenting styles between those wanting strict obedience and those wanting to foster independence and curiosity. This latter variable, with controls, ends up being negatively associated with pro-Trump in the full equation.

Core conservative beliefs about government are not robustly associated with Trumpism. In the final equation, support for small government is weakly associated, and importance of reducing deficits and being against government regulation dropped out. Of the three core conservative beliefs about government, only a weak association with support for small government was still standing when controlling for other factors.

Here are a few other variables that dropped out of the analysis because any influence they had on Trumpism was carried by other variables:

- Fear of a terrorist attack
- Pro-white identity
- Anti-feminism and gender traditionalism (e.g. women should stay home and man should work)

I tried two white identity scales, and both dropped out. The largest 6-item scale includes items of perceived threat (e.g. whites losing jobs to minorities), stereotypes of whites being violent and hardworking (violent is reverse coded), feeling thermometer of “whites,” importance of white identity, and should whites work together to change laws that harm whites. This scale is actually strongly associated with pro-Trump in a bivariate relationship, but is more weakly associated than other measures of white racism.

Fear of a terrorist attack is weakly and positively associated with support for Trump in a bivariate relationship and drops out early in the removal process.

Anti-feminism is fairly strongly associated with support for Trump, but also drops out. I haven’t closely checked to see what “carries” its influence, but it appears to be both race and anti-gay/transgender measures.

How can we best summarize this overall pattern or explanatory factors? I have some ideas, influenced a lot by some great research on the Tea Party, a movement which Trump seems to

have coopted and added some authoritarianism and economic nationalism to, while downplaying somewhat conservative/neoliberal views on small government. I would really like to hear your thoughts on this and any questions or criticisms you have of this analysis.

A final point. Trump supporters really dislike Obama. If I add an anti-Obama variable to the final equation, it becomes *by far* the strongest explanatory variable (standardized Beta = .418) and on top of everything else it explains an additional 4% of the variation in Trump support. Adding anti-Obama to just the demographic variables, it explains a whopping additional 49% of variation in Trump support! I didn't report this regression model to you because, while it is important to know how much pro-Trump is anti-Obama, it muddies our understanding of the influence of all the policy and targeted resentment variables, because it overwhelms the explanatory power of many of those variables. Is anti-Obama caused by anti-Black resentment, anti-Muslim prejudice, his support for gay marriage, his support for DREAMers, his regulations of the fossil fuel industry, his cosmopolitanism, his ungrateful wife? By adding the anti-Obama variable last, after all of the other explanatory variables, we can get some answer to this question of what motivates anti-Obama feelings by looking at which of the other variables decline the most in explanatory power. The winners are: anti-Black resentment, anti-gay/transgender policies/laws, anti-Muslim prejudice, government should foster greater equality, and wants smaller government. The betas for all of these variables were cut in half or more by adding anti-Obama.

DEPENDENT VARIABLE

Pro-Trump

V161087 PRE: Feeling Thermometer: Republican Presidential cand

V162034a POST: For whom did R vote for President

V162035 POST: Preference strong for Pres cand for whom R voted

Combined to create: 0 = did not vote for Trump; 1=voted for Trump; 2 = voted for Trump with strong preference.

alpha = .800; PCA = 1 component explains 83.34%, items load .913

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Anti-Muslim Attitudes

V162106 POST: Feeling thermometer: MUSLIMS (reverse coded = RC)

V162353 POST: Muslims are peaceful or violent (0 to 6)

V162355 POST: Muslims are patriotic or unpatriotic (0 to 6)

- Alpha= .789
- PCA, varimax, extract 1.0 eigenvalue: 1 component explains 70.34% of variation; items load at between .812 and .855.
- Considered including “Obama is Muslim.” It fits ok statistically, but not analytically. Also considered “how much discrimination do Muslims face” – not correlated or weakly correlated with other items.
- Can’t do summated scale without transforming, so the index variable is the respondents’ component scores from the PCA. This is essentially identical to averaging z-scores of each variable.

RACIAL ANTAGONISM/IDENTIFICATION

Anti-Black Attitudes- 3 items “Blatant racism”

V162312 POST: Feeling thermometer “Blacks” 0 to 100 RC

V162346 POST: Blacks are hardworking or lazy (0 to 6)

V162350 POST: Black are peaceful or violent (0 to 6)

- Alpha= .730
- PCA, varimax, extract 1.0 eigenvalue: 1 component explains 65.13% of variation; items load at between .737 and .848.

Anti-Black Resentment, (2211-2214 = Sears’ symbolic racism)

V162211 POST: Agree/disagree: blacks shd work way up w/o special favors RC

V162212 POST: Agree/disagree: past slavery make more diff for blacks

V162213 POST: Agree/disagree: blacks have gotten less than deserve

V162214 POST: Agree/disagree: blacks must try harder to get ahead RC

V162113 POST: Feeling thermometer: BLACK LIVES MATTER

V162318 POST: FTF CASI/WEB: Federal gov treats blacks or whites better

V162320 POST: FTF CASI/WEB: Police treat blacks or whites better

V162323 POST: FTF CASI/WEB: How much influence do blacks have in U.S. politics

- Alpha= .879

- PCA, varimax, extract 1.0 eigenvalue: 1 component explains 54.54% of variation; items load at between .618 and .826.

Anti-Hispanic Attitude

V162311 POST: FTF CASI/WEB: Feeling thermometer: HISPANICS RC

V162324 POST: FTF CASI/WEB: How much influence do Hispanics have in U.S. politics?

V162347 POST: FTF CASI/WEB: Stereotype: Hispanics hardworking

V162351 POST: FTF CASI/WEB: Stereotype: Hispanics violent

V162358 POST: FTF CASI/WEB: Discrimination in the U.S. against Hispanics

3 highlighted items: alpha = .601; PCA = 1 component explains 55.77%, items load from .675-.808

Anti-Asian American Attitude

V162310 POST: FTF CASI/WEB: Feeling thermometer: ASIAN-AMERICANS RC

V162325 POST: FTF CASI/WEB: How much influence do Asian-Americans have in U.S. politics?

V162348 POST: FTF CASI/WEB: Stereotype: Asians hardworking

V162352 POST: FTF CASI/WEB: Stereotype: Asians violent

V162359 POST: FTF CASI/WEB: Discrimination in the U.S. against Asian-Americans

3 highlighted items: alpha = .647; PCA = 1 component explains 59.25%, items load from .608-.841

Pro-White Identity

V162314 POST: FTF CASI/WEB: Feeling thermometer: WHITES

V162316 POST: FTF CASI/WEB: How important whites work together to change laws unfair to whites?

V162317 POST: FTF CASI/WEB: How likely whites unable to find job b/c employers hire minorities?

V162322 POST: FTF CASI/WEB: How much influence do whites have in U.S. politics?

V162327 POST: FTF CASI/WEB: How important is being White to identity

V162345 POST: FTF CASI/WEB: stereotype: Whites hardworking

V162349 POST: FTF CASI/WEB: stereotype: Whites violent

V162360 POST: FTF CASI/WEB: Discrimination in the U.S. against Whites

3 items highlighted: alpha = .608; PCA = 1 component explains 56.3%, items load from .658-.793

6 items highlighted: alpha = .676; PCA = forced 1 component explains 38.37%, items load from .540-.673

Perceived threat to whites

V162318 POST: FTF CASI/WEB: Federal gov treats blacks or whites better

V162319 POST: FTF CASI/WEB: How much federal gov treats blacks or whites better

V162320 POST: FTF CASI/WEB: Police treat blacks or whites better

V162321 POST: FTF CASI/WEB: How much police treat blacks or whites better

ANTI-IMMIGRANT/REFUGEE

Anti-Immigrant/Immigration Attitudes

V161192 PRE: U.S. government policy toward unauthorized immigrants. (Expel all to path, citizenship)

V161194x PRE: SUMMARY - birthright citizenship (favor, oppose)

V161195x PRE: SUMMARY - Children brought illegally (return, stay)

V161196x PRE: SUMMARY - Build wall with Mexico

V161197 PRE: How important to speak English in US

V162268 POST: Immigrants are generally good for America's economy

V162269 POST: America's culture is generally harmed by immigrants

V162270 POST: Immigrants increase crime rates in the U.S.

V162271 POST: To be truly American important to have been born in U.S.

V162272 POST: To be truly American important to have American ancestry

V162273 POST: To be truly American important to speak English

V162274 POST: To be truly American important to follow America's customs/traditions

V162157 POST: What should immigration levels be

V162158 POST: How likely immigration will take away jobs

V162313 POST: FTF CASI/WEB: Feeling thermometer: ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS

- Alpha = .907
- PCA – 3 components explain 59.78%. First component = 43.96%. All items loaded highest on first component. (.515 to .762). I couldn't make clear sense of the other two components.
- Variable is component scores from PCA forcing one component

Anti-Unauthorized Immigrants

V161192 PRE: U.S. government policy toward unauthorized immigrants. (Expel all to path, citizenship)

V161194x PRE: SUMMARY - birthright citizenship (favor, oppose)

V161195x PRE: SUMMARY - Children brought illegally (return, stay)

V161196x PRE: SUMMARY - Build wall with Mexico

V162157 POST: What should immigration levels be

V162313 POST: FTF CASI/WEB: Feeling thermometer: ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS

alpha = .796; PCA = 1 component explains 51.61%, items load from .629-.780

Immigrant Threat: Causing Decline

V162158 POST: How likely immigration will take away jobs

V162268 POST: Immigrants are generally good for America's economy

V162269 POST: America's culture is generally harmed by immigrants

V162270 POST: Immigrants increase crime rates in the U.S.

alpha = .830; PCA = 1 component explains 66.33%, items load from .768-.867

Immigrant Acculturation Fear

V161197 PRE: How important to speak English in US

V162273 POST: To be truly American important to speak English

V162274 POST: To be truly American important to follow America's customs/traditions

alpha = .763; PCA = 1 component explains 67.97%, items load from .795-.874

Anti-Refugee – one 7 category item – from favor a great deal to oppose a great deal

V161214x PRE: SUMMARY - Allow Syrian refugees into the U.S.

RACIALIZED POLITICAL FIGURES

Anti-Obama

V161092 PRE: Feeling Thermometer: Previous President RC

V161236 PRE: Affect for Obama - angry

V161237 PRE: Affect for Obama – proud, RC

V162255x POST: SUMMARY- Barack Obama is/isn't Muslim, RC

alpha = .877; PCA = 1 component explains 73.51%, items load from .771-.925

Clinton Support

V161086 PRE: Feeling Thermometer: Democratic Presidential cand

V162034a POST: For whom did R vote for President

V162035 POST: Preference strong for Pres cand for whom R voted

Combined to create: 0 = did not vote for Clinton; 1=voted for Clinton; 2 = voted for Clinton with strong preference.

alpha = .822; PCA = 1 component explains 84.91%, items load .921

CORE POLITICAL DISPOSITIONS/ATTITUDES

Social Dominance Orientation: high = high SDO

V162243 POST: Society should make sure everyone has equal opportunity RC

V162244 POST: We'd be better off if worried less about equality

V162245 POST: Not a big problem if some have more chance in life

V162246 POST: If people were treated more fairly would be fewer probs RC

alpha = .700; PCA = 1 component explains 52.99%, items load from .680-.751

Pro-Strong Man Leader

V162169 POST: Country would be great by getting rid of rotten apples

V162170 POST: Country needs strong leader to take us back to true path

V162263 POST: Strong leader is good for U.S. even if bends rules to get things done

alpha = .685; PCA = 1 component explains 61.75%, items load from .603-.872

Concern about moral decline: Fundamentalism v. Cosmopolitanism; high=high fundamentalism

V162207 POST: Agree/disagree: world is changing and we should adjust

V162208 POST: Agree/disagree: newer lifestyles breaking down society

V162209 POST: Agree/disagree: be more tolerant of other moral stds

V162210 POST: Agree/disagree: more emphasis on traditional family values

alpha = .759; PCA = 1 component explains 58.30%, items load from .669-.835

Pro-Assimilation – one 5 category item from strongly agree to strongly disagree

V162266 POST: Minorities should adapt to customs/traditions of U.S. RC

Pro-Obedience parenting (v. Self-Directed)

V162239 POST: Child trait more important: independence or respect

V162240 POST: Child trait more important: curiosity or good manners

V162241 POST: Child trait more important: obedience or self-reliance

V162242 POST: Child trait more important: considerate or well-behaved

alpha = .628; PCA = 1 component explains 47.58%, items load from .545-.771

CORE CONSERVATIVE ATTITUDES

Pro-Small Government

V162183 POST: Govt bigger because too involved OR bigger problems

V162184 POST: Need strong govt for complex problems OR free market

V162185 POST: Less govt better OR more that govt should be doing

alpha = .737; PCA = 1 component explains 65.56%, items load from .794-.836

Pro-reducing federal budget deficit

V162139 POST: Importance of reducing deficit, reversed

Anti-Regulating Business

V161201 PRE: 7pt scale environment-jobs tradeoff self-placement – too many DKs

V162180x POST: SUMMARY- Gov should do more/less to regulate banks

V162186 POST: Regulation of Business

alpha = .460; PCA = 1 component explains 64.94%, items load from .806

ECONOMIC ISSUES

Personal Economic Problems: high = more problems

V161110 PRE: R how much better worse off than 1 year ago

V162165 POST: Worry about financial situation, RC

V162167 POST: Anyone lost jobs, RC

V161276x PRE: SUMMARY - R occupation status 1 digit: recoded as unemployed binary –NO!

alpha = .513; PCA = 1 component explains 50.92%, items load from .614-.793

U.S. Economy getting worse

V161139 PRE: Current economy good or bad

V161140x PRE: SUMMARY - economy better/worse in last year

V161142x PRE: SUMMARY: more/less unemployment in last year

V161235x PRE: SUMMARY - Economy since 2008

alpha = .846; PCA = 1 component explains 69.22%, items load from .802-.867

Gov't Should Foster Economic Equality

V162140 POST: Does R favor or oppose tax on millionaires

V162148 POST: Does R favor or oppose govt reducing income inequality

V162150x POST: SUMMARY- Favor/oppose equal pay for men and women

V162192 POST: Should the minimum wage be raised

V162193x POST: SUMMARY- Increase/decrease gov spending for health care

V162276 POST: Gov should take measures to reduce differences in income levels

alpha = .763; PCA = 1 component explains 46.50%, 2150x loads only .468, other items load from .642-.779. Kept 2150x because including it only lowered alpha slightly (.774 to .763) and felt 2150x added important dimension.

Declining Economic Opportunity

V162134 POST: How much opportunity in America to get ahead

V162136x POST: SUMMARY- Economic mobility easier/harder compared to 20 yrs ago
alpha = .551; PCA = 1 component explains 69.22%, items load at .831

INTERNATIONAL POLICIES

Anti-Free Trade

V162175 POST: Is increasing trade w/other countries good for U.S.

V162176x POST: SUMMARY- Favor/oppose free trade agreements

V162177 POST: Should govt encourage/discourage outsourcing

V162152a POST: Does R favor or oppose limits on foreign imports
[REV]

V162152b POST: Does R favor or oppose limits on foreign imports
[STD]

2152b has choice of "haven't thought much about it" . This was treated like Don't Know in 2152a and treated as a middle choice between favor and oppose. They are combined into a single variable – each respondent answered only one.

alpha = .615; PCA = 1 component explains 56.76%, items load from .650-.809

Use Military Force

V161213x PRE: SUMMARY - send troops to fight ISIS

V161154 PRE: Force to solve international problems

alpha = .562; PCA = 1 component explains 69.5%, items load at .834.

Fear of Terrorist Act

V162160 POST: How worried about terrorist attack next 12 months

V162294 POST: DHS: Likely terrorist attack killing 100/more in nxt yr

alpha = .719; PCA = 1 component explains 78.04%, both items load at .883

Oppose Torturing Suspected Terrorists – one 7 category item from strongly support to strongly oppose

V162295x POST: SUMMARY- Favor/oppose torture for suspected terrorists

PARTY AND IDEOLOGY

Party Identification

V161158x PRE: SUMMARY - Party ID – 7 categories from strong Dem to strong Rep.
Independents classified as lean Dem, indep, lean Rep.

Political Ideology – one 7 category item from extremely liberal to extremely conservative, uses to 1127 to place DKs into slight conserve or slight lib

V161126 PRE: 7pt scale Liberal conservative self-placement

V161127 PRE: If R had to choose liberal or conservative self-placemt

Pro Tea Party

V162109 POST: Feeling thermometer: TEA PARTY

GENDER AND SEXUALITY

Anti-Feminism (anti-feminism and gender traditionalism were clearly differentiated in PCA)

V162227 POST: How important that more women get elected

V162231x POST: SUMMARY- How much attn media should pay to discrim against women

V162232 POST: Do women demanding equality seek special favors RC

V162233 POST: Do women complaining about discrim cause more problems RC

alpha = .744; PCA = 1 component explains 56.71%, items load from .670-.796

Gender Role Traditionalism

V162229x POST: SUMMARY- Working mother's bond with child

V162230x POST: SUMMARY- Better if man works and woman takes care of home

alpha = .504; PCA = 1 component explains 66.83%, items load from .818-.818 = gender role traditionalism

Anti-Gay, Transgender (FT and policies were clearly differentiated in a PCA)

V162103 POST: Feeling thermometer: GAY MEN AND LESBIANS

V162111 POST: Feeling thermometer: TRANSGENDER PEOPLE

alpha = .904; PCA = 1 component explains 91.23%, items load at .955. Scale is mean score of 2 items, reverse coded

Anti-Gay, Transgender Policies

V161227x PRE: SUMMARY - Services to same sex couples, reversed

V161228x PRE: SUMMARY - Transgender bathroom policy, reversed

V161229x PRE: SUMMARY - Laws to protect gays and lesbians against job discrim

V161230 PRE: Should gay and lesbian couples be allowed to adopt

V161231 PRE: R position on gay marriage

alpha = .825; PCA = 1 component explains 59.16%, items load at .687-.870.

GENERAL DISPOSITIONS TOWARDS POLITICS/POLITICIANS

Interest/Engagement in Politics

V162256 POST: R's interest in politics

V162257 POST: R follows politics in media

V162258 POST: R understands most important political issues

V162218 POST: [REV] Good understanding of political issues

alpha = .823; PCA = 1 component explains 65.41%, items load from .752-.850

Political Cynicism

V162215 POST: [STD] Publ officials don't care what people think

V162216 POST: [STD] Have no say about what govt does

V162260 POST: Most politicians do not care about the people

V162261 POST: Most politicians are trustworthy RC

V162262 POST: Politicians are the main problem in the U.S.

alpha = .737; PCA = 1 component explains 49.02%, items load at .584-.783. Scale is mean score of 5 items

Basic Political Knowledge

V161513 PRE FTF CASI / WEB: Years Senator Elected

V161514 PRE FTF CASI / WEB: Political knowledge: program Fed govt spends

V161515 PRE FTF CASI / WEB: Party with Most Members In House Before Election

V161516 PRE FTF CASI / WEB: Party with Most Members In Senate Before Election

V162191a POST: Which is the party that is more conservative

alpha = .475; PCA = 1 component explains 38.86%, items load from .528-.677. Scale used is summated (number correct answers).

RELIGION/RELIGIOSITY

Attend Religious Services – one 6 category item, adds “no’s” in 1244 to 1245

V161244 PRE: Ever attend church or religious services

V161245 PRE: Attend religious services how often

Pro-Jewish

V162108 POST: Feeling thermometer: JEWS

Pro-Christian Fundamentalists

V162095 POST: Feeling thermometer: CHRISTIAN FUNDAMENTALISTS

OTHER POSSIBLE STUFF

V161511 PRE FTF CASI / WEB: Sexual orientation of R

V161512 PRE FTF CASI / WEB: Sexual orientation of family and friends

V162123 POST: Better if rest of world more like America

V162125x POST: SUMMARY- How good/bad does R feel to see American flag

V162168 POST: Country needs free thinkers

V162154a POST: How much U.S. support Israel in conflict w/Palestinians [ISR 1st]

V162154b POST: How much U.S. support Palestinians in conflict w/Israel [ISR 1st]

V162155a POST: How much U.S. support Palestinians in conflict w/Israel [PAL 1st]

V162155b POST: How much U.S. support Israel in conflict w/Palestinians [PAL 1st]

V162259 POST: Compromise in politics is selling out on one's principles

V162264 POST: People not politicians should make most important policy decisions

V162265 POST: Most politicians only care about interests of rich and powerful

V162267 POST: The will of the majority should always prevail

V163001a SAMPLE: Sample location FIPS state

1111 **V163001b** SAMPLE: Sample location state postal abbreviation

1112 **V163002** SAMPLE: Sample location Congressional district (115th Congress)

V162271 POST: To be truly American important to have been born in U.S.

V162272 POST: To be truly American important to have American ancestry