Supplemental Appendix for:

The Authoritarian Predisposition and American Public Support for Social Security

David Macdonald
dmac91788@gmail.com

- **Supplemental Appendix A** - Contains: (1) descriptive statistics for the main variables and (2) details on how each variable was created and coded.
- **Supplemental Appendix B** - Contains: Tables B1-B9 and Figure B1 (associated with Table B9).

Supplemental Appendix A

Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive Statistics: Cumulative ANES 1992-2016

These descriptive statistics are for the main variables used in Table 1. These data are unweighted and include observations from the 1992, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012, and 2016 Cumulative ANES. The dataset and codebook are available at the following link (`https://electionstudies.org/data-center/anes-time-series-cumulative-data-file/`).

Table A1: Descriptive Statistics, Cumulative ANES 1992-2016

	Obs	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Social Security $	17,746	0.570	0.495	0	1
Authoritarianism	15,803	0.560	0.330	0	1
Female	17,958	0.535	0.499	0	1
White	17,881	0.659	0.474	0	1
Married	17,937	0.500	0.500	0	1
Homeowner	17,761	0.649	0.477	0	1
Age 62+	17,775	0.250	0.433	0	1
Retired	17,965	0.192	0.394	0	1
Disabled	17,965	0.053	0.225	0	1
Income	16,877	0.457	0.288	0	1
College	17,817	0.305	0.461	0	1
South	18,010	0.338	0.473	0	1
Partisanship	17,876	0.441	0.349	0	1
Ideology	16,396	0.524	0.225	0	1

Variable Creation & Coding

Variable Details: Cumulative ANES 1992-2016

These variables (used in the models displayed in Figures 1, 2, 4, and 5) are created by using data from the 1992, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012, and 2016 Cumulative ANES. The dataset and codebook are available at the following address (`https://electionstudies.org/data-center/anes-time-series-cumulative-data-file/`).

- Social Security $ (federal spending)

  Created from VCF9049. Coded so that 0 = decreased/same; 1 = increased.

- Authoritarianism

  Created by combining VCF9246, VCF9247, VCF9248, and VCF9249. Each of these four child-rearing questions are coded so that 0 = the non-strict parenting/non-authoritarian option and 1 = the strict parenting/authoritarian option. I coded respondents who volunteered an answer of "both" as being "non-authoritarian." The resulting scale thus ranges from 0 to 4; I re-scale it to range from 0 to 1 (0, 0.25, 0.50, 0.75, 1). This is included as a continuous variable in the regression models.

- Gender

  Created from VCF0104. Coded so that 0 = male; 1 = female. This is included as a dummy variable in the regression models.

- Race

  Created from VCF0105b Coded so that 0 = non-white; 1 = white, non-Hispanic. This is included as a dummy variable in the regression models.

- Marital status

  Created from VCF0147. Coded so that 0 = not married; 1 = married. This is included as a dummy variable in the regression models.

- Home ownership

  Created from VCF0146. Coded so that 0 = do not own home; 1 = own home. This is included as a dummy variable in the regression models.

- Age 62+

  Created from VCF0101. Coded so that 1 = 18-62; 1 = 62 and older. This is included as a categorical variable in the regression models.

- Retired

  Created from VCF0116. Coded so that 0 = not retired; 1 = retired.

- Disabled

  Created from VCF0116. Coded so that 0 = not permanently disabled; 1 = permanently disabled.

- Income

  Created from VCF0114. Coded so that 1 = 0-16 percentile; 2 = 17-33 percentile; 3 = 34-67 percentile; 4 = 68-95 percentile; 5 = 96-100 percentile. I re-scale this to range between 0 and 1. This is included as a continuous variable in the regression models.

- Education

  Created from VCF0110. Coded so that 1 = grade school (0-8), more than grade school up to a high school diploma, some college; 1 = four-year college degree or more. This is included as a categorical variable in the regression models.

- Region

  Created from VCF0112. Coded so that 0 = Resident of a state that was not in the former Confederacy; 1 = One of the 11 states of the former Confederacy. This is included as a categorical variable in the regression models.

- Partisanship

  Created from VCF0301. Coded so that 1 = strong Democrat; 2 = not very strong Democrat; 3 = lean Democrat; 4 = pure Independent; 5 = lean Republican; 6 = not very strong Republican; 7 = strong Republican. I re-scale this to range from 0 to 1. This is included as a continuous variable in the regression models.

- Ideology

  Created from VCF0803. Coded so that 1 = extremely liberal; 2 = liberal; 3 = slightly liberal; 4 = moderate/haven't thought much about it; 5 = slightly conservative; 6 = conservative; 7 = extremely conservative. I re-scale this to range from 0 to 1. This is included as a continuous variable in the regression models.

- Egalitarianism (Figure 3 only)

  Created by combining VCF9013, VCF9016, VCF9017, and VCF9018. Each egalitarianism question ranges from 1 to 5 and is coded so that higher (lower) numbers indicate greater (lesser) egalitarianism. The resulting scale thus ranges from 4 to 20. I re-scale this to range from 0 to 1. This is included as a continuous variable in the regression models.

- Moral Traditionalism (Figure 3 only)

  Created by combining VCF0851, VCF0852, VCF0853, and VCF0854. Each moral traditionalism question ranges from 1 to 5 and is coded so that higher (lower) numbers indicate greater (lesser) moral traditionalism. The resulting scale thus ranges from 4 to 20. I re-scale this to range from 0 to 1. This is included as a continuous variable in the regression models.

- Limited government (Figure 3 only).

  Created by combining VCF9131, VCF9132, and VCF9133. Each limited government question is coded so that 0 = a general preference for government to "do more"

and 1 = a general preference for government to "do less." The resulting scale thus ranges from 0 to 3. I re-scale it to range from 0 to 1. The mean = 1.260 and the standard deviation = 1.193. This is included as a continuous variable in the regression models.

- Feeling thermometer: Poor People (Figure 3 only).

  Created from VCF0223. Ranges from 0 to 97 with higher (lower) values indicating warmer (colder) feelings toward poor people. I re-scale it to range from 0 to 1. The mean = 70.918 and the standard deviation = 19.124. This is included as a continuous variable in the regression models.

- Stereotypes of Whites: lazy vs. hardworking (Figure 3 only)

  Created from VCF9270. Ranges from 1 to 7 with higher (lower) values indicating beliefs that the group is hard-working (lazy). I re-scale it to range from 0 to 1. The mean = 4.892 and the standard deviation = 1.263. This is included as a continuous variable in the regression models.

- Stereotypes of Blacks: lazy vs. hardworking (Figure 3 only)

  Created from VCF9271. Ranges from 1 to 7 with higher (lower) values indicating beliefs that the group is hard-working (lazy). I re-scale it to range from 0 to 1. The mean = 4.123 and the standard deviation = 1.411. This is included as a continuous variable in the regression models.

- Stereotypes of Hispanics: lazy vs. hardworking (Figure 3 only)

  Created from VCF9272. Ranges from 1 to 7 with higher (lower) values indicating beliefs that the group is hard-working (lazy). I re-scale it to range from 0 to 1. The mean = 4.920 and the standard deviation = 1.417. This is included as a continuous variable in the regression models.

- Stereotypes of Asians: lazy vs. hardworking (Figure 3 only)

  Created from VCF9273. Ranges from 1 to 7 with higher (lower) values indicating beliefs that the group is hard-working (lazy). I re-scale it to range from 0 to 1. The mean = 5.243 and the standard deviation = 1.352. This is included as a continuous variable in the regression models.

- Political information (Figure 5 only)

  Created from VCF0050a. This is the ANES interviewer's subjective pre-election rating of a respondent's level of political information. As such, it only includes in-person/face-to-face survey respondents. It is coded so that higher (lower) values indicate greater political information. It ranges from 1 to 5 (1 = very low; 2 = fairly low; 3 = average; 4 = fairly high; 5 = very high). I re-scale it to range from 0 to 1 (0, 0.25, 0.50, 0.75, 1). This is included as a continuous variable in the regression models. In Figure 5, I split this variable into three groups (1 = very low/fairly low; 2 = average; 3 = fairly high/very high).

Variable Details: 2016 ANES

These following variables are used in Figure 2 (in the main paper). They are created by using data from the 2016 ANES time series study. The dataset and codebook are available at the following address (`https://electionstudies.org/data-center/2016-time-series-study/`).

- Social Security $

  Created from V161205. Coded so that 0 = decreased/kept the same; 1 = increased.

- Child Care $

  Created from V161210. Coded so that 0 = decreased/kept the same; 1 = increased.

- Aid to Poor $

  Created from V161211. Coded so that 0 = decreased/kept the same; 1 = increased.

- Public Schools $

  Created from V161206. Coded so that 0 = decreased/kept the same; 1 = increased.

- Welfare Programs $

  Created from V161209. Coded so that 0 = decreased/kept the same; 1 = increased.

- Health Care $

  Created from V162193x. Coded so that 0 = decrease a great deal/decrease a moderate amount/decrease a little/no change; 1 = increase a little/increase a moderate amount/increase a great deal.

- Tax Millionaires $

  Created from V162140. Coded so that 0 = oppose/neither favor nor oppose; 1 = favor.

- Minimum Wage $

  Created from V162192. Coded so that 0 = eliminated/lowered/kept the same; 1 = raised.

- Dealing with Crime $

  Created from V161208. Coded so that 0 = decreased/kept the same; 1 = increased.

- Defense $

  Created from V161181. Coded so that 0 = govt should decrease defense spending/mid-point value (1-4 on th 7-pt scale); 1 = govt should increase defense spending (5-7 on the 7-pt scale).

- Authoritarianism

  Created by combining ?. Each of these four child-rearing questions are coded so that 0 = the non-strict parenting/non-authoritarian option and 1 = the strict parenting/authoritarian option. I coded respondents who volunteered an answer of "both" as being "non-authoritarian." The resulting scale ranges from 0 to 4; I re-scale it to range from 0 to 1. This is included as a continuous variable in the regression models.

- Survey mode

  Created from V160501. Coded so that 0 = face-to-face; 1 = Internet. This is included as a dummy variable in the regression models.

- Gender

  Created from V161342. Coded so that 0 = male; 1 = female. This is included as a dummy variable in the regression models.

- Race

  Created from V161310x. Coded so that 0 = something other than White, non-Hispanic; 1 = white, non-Hispanic. This is included as a dummy variable in the regression models.

- Age

  Created from V161267. Coded in years ranging from 18 to 90+. This is included as a continuous variable in the regression models.

- Age-squared

  Created by squaring the above "Age" variable. This is included as a continuous variable in the regression models.

- Education

  Created from V161270. Coded so that 1 = grade school (0-8), more than grade school up to a high school diploma, some college; 1 = four-year college degree or more. This is included as a categorical variable in the regression models.

- Income

  Created from V161361x. Grouped into five categories that attempt to closely mirror the percentiles in the Cumulative ANES (0-16; 17-33; 34-67; 68-95; 96-100). This is included as a continuous variable in the regression models.

- Region

  Created from V163001a. Coded so that 0 = Resident of a state that was not in the former Confederacy; 1 = One of the 11 states of the former Confederacy. This is included as a categorical variable in the regression models.

- Marital status

  Created from V161268. Coded so that 0 = not married; 1 = married. This is included as a dummy variable in the regression models.

- Home ownership

  Created from V161334. Coded so that 0 = do not own home; 1 = own home. This is included as a dummy variable in the regression models.

- Partisanship

  Created from V161158x. Coded so that 1 = strong Democrat; 2 = not very strong Democrat; 3 = lean Democrat; 4 = pure Independent; 5 = lean Republican; 6 = not very strong Republican; 7 = strong Republican. I re-scale it to range from 0 to 1. This is included as a continuous variable in the regression models.

- Ideology

  Created from V161126. Coded so that 1 = extremely liberal; 2 = liberal; 3 = slightly liberal; 4 = moderate/haven't thought much about it; 5 = slightly conservative; 6 = conservative; 7 = extremely conservative. I re-scale it to range from 0 to 1. This is included as a continuous variable in the regression models.

Variable Details: 2008-2012 and 2010-2014 GSS Panels

The following variables (used in Table 2 in the main paper) were created by using data from the 2008-2012 and 2010-2014 GSS Panel Studies. In the main paper, I only used observations from waves 1 (2008/2010) and waves 3 (2010/2014). The dataset and codebook are available at the following address (`https://gss.norc.org/get-the-data/stata`).

- Social Security spending Wave 1 (2008)

  Created from NATSOC_1. Coded so that 0 = spending too much/spending about the right amount; 1 = spending too little. This is included as a dummy variable in the cross-lagged regression models.

- Social Security spending Wave 1 (2010)

  Created from NATSOC_1. Coded so that 0 = spending too much/spending about the right amount; 1 = spending too little. This is included as a dummy variable in the cross-lagged regression models.

- Social Security spending Wave 3 (2012)

  Created from NATSOC_3. Coded so that 0 = spending too much/spending about the right amount; 1 = spending too little. This is included as a dummy variable in the cross-lagged regression models.

- Social Security spending Wave 3 (2014)

  Created from NATSOC_3. Coded so that 0 = spending too much/spending about the right amount; 1 = spending too little. This is included as a dummy variable in the cross-lagged regression models.

- Authoritarianism proxy Wave 1 (2008)

  Created from OBEY_1. Respondents are asked to rank five traits in terms of how important they are for children to have. The five traits (OBEY, POPULAR, THNKSELF, WORKHARD, HELPOTH) are: to obey, to be well-liked or popular, to think for himself or herself, to work hard, and to help others when they need help. Here I focus on the first (to obey) and consider how (un)important respondents considered this trait to be out of these five. Coded so that 1 = least important; 2 = 4th in importance; 3 = 3rd in importance; 4 = 2nd in importance; 5 = most important. I re-scale it to range from 0 to 1. This is included as a continuous variable in the cross-lagged regression models.

- Authoritarianism proxy Wave 1 (2010)

  Created from OBEY_1. Respondents are asked to rank five traits in terms of how important they are for children to have. The five traits (OBEY, POPULAR, THNKSELF, WORKHARD, HELPOTH) are: to obey, to be well-liked or popular, to think for himself or herself, to work hard, and to help others when they need help. Here I focus on the first (to obey) and consider how (un)important respondents considered this trait to be out of these five. Coded so that 1 = least important; 2 = 4th in

importance; 3 = 3rd in importance; 4 = 2nd in importance; 5 = most important. I re-scale it to range from 0 to 1. This is included as a continuous variable in the cross-lagged regression models.

- Authoritarianism proxy Wave 3 (2012)

  Created from OBEY_3. Respondents are asked to rank five traits in terms of how important they are for children to have. The five traits (OBEY, POPULAR, THNKSELF, WORKHARD, HELPOTH) are: to obey, to be well-liked or popular, to think for himself or herself, to work hard, and to help others when they need help. Here I focus on the first (to obey) and consider how (un)important respondents considered this trait to be out of these five. Coded so that 1 = least important; 2 = 4th in importance; 3 = 3rd in importance; 4 = 2nd in importance; 5 = most important. I re-scale it to range from 0 to 1. This is included as a continuous variable in the cross-lagged regression models.

- Authoritarianism proxy Wave 3 (2014)

  Created from OBEY_3. Respondents are asked to rank five traits in terms of how important they are for children to have. The five traits (OBEY, POPULAR, THNKSELF, WORKHARD, HELPOTH) are: to obey, to be well-liked or popular, to think for himself or herself, to work hard, and to help others when they need help. Here I focus on the first (to obey) and consider how (un)important respondents considered this trait to be out of these five. Coded so that 1 = least important; 2 = 4th in importance; 3 = 3rd in importance; 4 = 2nd in importance; 5 = most important. I re-scale it to range from 0 to 1. This is included as a continuous variable in the cross-lagged regression models.

Supplemental Appendix B

Table B1

This regression model is associated with Table 1 and Figure 1 in the main paper.

Table B1: Authoritarianism and Support for Social Security, 1992-2016

	DV = Social Security $
Authoritarianism	0.355***
	(0.047)
Female	0.196***
	(0.028)
White	-0.074**
	(0.034)
Married	0.068**
	(0.031)
Homeowner	0.021
	(0.034)
Age 62+	-0.048
	(0.046)
Retired	0.022
	(0.050)
Disabled	0.391***
	(0.072)
Income	-0.382***
	(0.061)
College	-0.349***
	(0.032)
South	0.035
	(0.030)
Partisanship	-0.470***
	(0.050)
Ideology	-0.361***
	(0.078)
1992 (Ref.)	
2000	0.373***
	(0.068)
2004	0.511***
	(0.057)
2008	0.450***
	(0.050)
2012	-0.013
	(0.040)
2016	0.333***
	(0.041)
Constant	0.318***
	(0.063)
Observations	13,604
Pseudo R^2	0.082

Note: Dependent variable is support for increased federal spending on Social Security (0 vs. 1). Probit coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. Source is the Cumulative ANES 1992-2016, survey weights applied. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed.

Table B2

These regression models are associated with Figure 2 in the main paper.

Table B2: Authoritarianism and Support for Various Policies, 2016

	(1) Soc Sec	(2) Child Care	(3) Aid Poor	(4) Schools	(5) Welfare	(6) Health Care	(7) Tax Rich	(8) Min Wage	(9) Crime	(10) Defense
Authoritarianism	0.359***	-0.161*	0.089	-0.018	-0.347***	-0.208**	-0.217**	-0.010	0.669***	0.427***
	(0.095)	(0.095)	(0.097)	(0.103)	(0.114)	(0.098)	(0.098)	(0.100)	(0.096)	(0.105)
Female	0.092*	0.087	0.060	0.117**	-0.080	-0.019	0.001	0.054	0.148***	0.052
	(0.055)	(0.056)	(0.058)	(0.058)	(0.070)	(0.059)	(0.059)	(0.059)	(0.056)	(0.060)
White	0.010	-0.289***	-0.341***	-0.207***	-0.257***	-0.093	0.089	-0.161**	-0.075	0.009
	(0.068)	(0.068)	(0.069)	(0.074)	(0.079)	(0.072)	(0.074)	(0.077)	(0.069)	(0.076)
Age	0.060***	0.002	0.022**	0.036***	0.023**	0.017*	0.022**	0.035***	0.022**	0.017
	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.012)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.011)
Age^2	-0.000***	-0.000	-0.000**	-0.000***	-0.000**	-0.000	-0.000*	-0.000**	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Married	-0.114*	-0.020	-0.146**	-0.065	-0.143*	-0.098	-0.096	0.007	-0.045	0.027
	(0.063)	(0.066)	(0.067)	(0.067)	(0.083)	(0.068)	(0.070)	(0.072)	(0.065)	(0.069)
Homeowner	-0.048	-0.152**	-0.233***	-0.053	-0.292***	-0.155**	0.091	-0.143*	0.053	-0.077
	(0.070)	(0.071)	(0.072)	(0.073)	(0.084)	(0.075)	(0.076)	(0.077)	(0.071)	(0.080)
Income	-0.287**	0.068	-0.251**	0.225*	-0.399***	-0.145	0.109	-0.236*	0.057	0.020
	(0.118)	(0.121)	(0.120)	(0.125)	(0.149)	(0.122)	(0.119)	(0.127)	(0.118)	(0.133)
College	-0.380***	-0.122**	-0.225***	-0.125**	-0.122	0.015	-0.023	-0.176***	-0.245***	-0.329***
	(0.060)	(0.062)	(0.063)	(0.061)	(0.078)	(0.062)	(0.064)	(0.064)	(0.061)	(0.064)
South	0.012	0.023	-0.024	0.123*	-0.149*	0.028	-0.093	0.172**	0.078	0.104
	(0.066)	(0.065)	(0.069)	(0.072)	(0.085)	(0.069)	(0.070)	(0.072)	(0.065)	(0.070)
Partisanship	-0.389***	-0.540***	-0.691***	-0.301***	-0.512***	-0.800***	-0.609***	-0.975***	0.054	0.625***
	(0.106)	(0.106)	(0.110)	(0.111)	(0.143)	(0.111)	(0.109)	(0.112)	(0.104)	(0.117)
Ideology	-0.739***	-1.034***	-1.537***	-1.377***	-1.689***	-1.610***	-1.589***	-1.306***	0.130	1.348***
	(0.163)	(0.160)	(0.173)	(0.177)	(0.199)	(0.172)	(0.181)	(0.177)	(0.161)	(0.178)
Survey mode	-0.234***	-0.460***	-0.495***	-0.358***	-0.271***	-0.359***	-0.106	-0.265***	-0.374***	-0.123*
	(0.061)	(0.062)	(0.064)	(0.065)	(0.075)	(0.063)	(0.065)	(0.065)	(0.062)	(0.065)
Constant	-0.588**	1.505***	1.348***	1.081***	0.676**	1.224***	1.075***	1.029***	-0.486**	-1.713***
	(0.228)	(0.245)	(0.247)	(0.248)	(0.292)	(0.253)	(0.241)	(0.240)	(0.236)	(0.267)
Observations	3,338	3,321	3,331	3,341	3,334	3,317	3,340	3,331	3,340	2,913
Pseudo R^2	0.090	0.111	0.178	0.010	0.163	0.162	0.122	0.164	0.064	0.158

Note: Dependent variables are support for increased spending on each program/policy, support for raising the minimum wage, and/or support for increasing income taxes on millionaires (0 vs. 1). Probit coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. Source is the 2016 ANES, survey weights applied. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed.

Table B3

These regression models are associated with Figure 3 in the main paper.

Table B2: Authoritarianism and Social Security by Model Specification, 1992-2016

	DV = Social Security $		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Authoritarianism	0.433***	0.355***	0.316***
	(0.038)	(0.047)	(0.051)
Female		0.196***	0.137***
		(0.028)	(0.030)
White		-0.074**	-0.025
		(0.034)	(0.037)
Married		0.068**	0.052
		(0.031)	(0.033)
Homeowner		0.021	0.037
		(0.034)	(0.035)
Age 62+		-0.048	-0.058
		(0.046)	(0.049)
Retired		0.022	0.007
		(0.050)	(0.054)
Disabled		0.391***	0.306***
		(0.072)	(0.078)
Income		-0.382***	-0.357***
		(0.061)	(0.064)
College		-0.349***	-0.316***
		(0.032)	(0.034)
South		0.035	0.027
		(0.030)	(0.032)
Partisanship		-0.470***	-0.298***
		(0.050)	(0.057)
Ideology		-0.361***	-0.184**
		(0.078)	(0.089)
Egalitarianism			0.494***
			(0.084)
Limited government			-0.342***
			(0.045)
Moral traditionalism			0.112
			(0.081)
Feeling thermometer: Poor people			0.463***
			(0.080)
Whites (lazy → hardworking)			0.371***
			(0.084)
Blacks (lazy → hardworking)			-0.088
			(0.074)
Hispanics (lazy → hardworking)			-0.191**
			(0.082)
Asians (lazy → hardworking)			-0.065
			(0.085)
Constant	-0.094***	0.318***	-0.511***
	(0.024)	(0.063)	(0.124)
Year Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓
Observations	15,599	13,604	12,555
Pseudo R^2	0.009	0.082	0.097

Note: Dependent variables are support for increased federal spending on Social Security (0 vs. 1). Probit coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. Source is the Cumulative ANES 1992-2016, survey weights applied. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed.

Table B4

These regression models are associated with Figure 4 in the main paper.

Table B4: Authoritarianism and Social Security by Race/Ethnicity, 1992-2016

	DV = Social Security $		
	(1) Full Sample	(2) Whites	(3) Non-Whites
Authoritarianism	0.355***	0.374***	0.291***
	(0.047)	(0.056)	(0.089)
Female	0.196***	0.234***	0.088
	(0.028)	(0.033)	(0.054)
White	-0.074**		
	(0.034)		
Married	0.068**	0.096***	-0.016
	(0.031)	(0.037)	(0.059)
Homeowner	0.021	0.012	0.009
	(0.034)	(0.041)	(0.059)
Age 62+	-0.048	-0.112**	0.219**
	(0.046)	(0.052)	(0.101)
Retired	0.022	0.003	0.110
	(0.050)	(0.057)	(0.110)
Disabled	0.391***	0.381***	0.411***
	(0.072)	(0.091)	(0.119)
Income	-0.382***	-0.451***	-0.233**
	(0.061)	(0.073)	(0.114)
College	-0.349***	-0.410***	-0.155**
	(0.032)	(0.037)	(0.065)
Confed	0.035	0.031	0.041
	(0.030)	(0.037)	(0.054)
Partisanship	-0.470***	-0.436***	-0.578***
	(0.050)	(0.060)	(0.095)
Ideology	-0.361***	-0.458***	-0.055
	(0.078)	(0.092)	(0.148)
Constant	0.318***	0.243***	0.432***
	(0.063)	(0.069)	(0.123)
Year Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓
Observations	13,604	8,973	4,631
Pseudo R^2	0.082	0.087	0.060

Note: Dependent variables are support for increased federal spending on Social Security (0 vs. 1). Probit coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. Source is the Cumulative ANES 1992-2016, survey weights applied. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed.

Table B5

These regression models are associated with Figure 5 in the main paper.

Table B5: Authoritarianism and Social Security by Political Information, 1992-2016

	DV = Social Security $		
	(1) Low Info	(2) Avg Info	(3) High Info
Authoritarianism	-0.147	0.259**	0.554***
	(0.153)	(0.107)	(0.085)
Female	0.189**	0.233***	0.260***
	(0.092)	(0.066)	(0.053)
White	0.062	-0.105	-0.356***
	(0.094)	(0.076)	(0.065)
Married	0.253**	0.072	0.038
	(0.103)	(0.072)	(0.058)
Homeowner	-0.063	-0.008	0.091
	(0.099)	(0.073)	(0.063)
Age 62+	0.104	-0.216*	-0.340***
	(0.163)	(0.121)	(0.085)
Retired	-0.134	0.066	0.067
	(0.187)	(0.139)	(0.093)
Disabled	0.426***	0.295**	0.079
	(0.159)	(0.148)	(0.157)
Income1	-0.521***	-0.044	-0.495***
	(0.195)	(0.145)	(0.117)
College	-0.331*	-0.364***	-0.325***
	(0.170)	(0.089)	(0.057)
South	-0.002	0.153**	0.020
	(0.097)	(0.069)	(0.057)
Partisanship	-0.527***	-0.545***	-0.485***
	(0.156)	(0.110)	(0.094)
Ideology	0.483*	-0.189	-0.543***
	(0.255)	(0.185)	(0.142)
Constant	0.348	0.218	0.521***
	(0.215)	(0.144)	(0.117)
Year Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓
Observations	1,326	2,503	3,812
Pseudo R^2	0.044	0.072	0.126

Note: Dependent variable is support for increased federal spending on Social Security (0 vs. 1). Probit coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. Source is the Cumulative ANES 1992-2016, survey weights applied. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed.

Table B6

These regression models (controlling for subjective working-class identification, Cumulative ANES variable = VCF0148, 0 = not working class; 1 = working-class) are associated with Footnote 11 in the main paper.

Table B6: Authoritarianism and Social Security when controlling for subjective working-class identification, 1992-2016

	DV = Social Security $	
	(1)	(2)
Authoritarianism	0.355***	0.340***
	(0.047)	(0.048)
Female	0.196***	0.209***
	(0.028)	(0.029)
White	-0.074**	-0.057
	(0.034)	(0.035)
Married	0.068**	0.063**
	(0.031)	(0.032)
Homeowner	0.021	0.028
	(0.034)	(0.034)
Age 62+	-0.048	-0.024
	(0.046)	(0.047)
Retired	0.022	0.050
	(0.050)	(0.052)
Disabled	0.391***	0.407***
	(0.072)	(0.076)
Income	-0.382***	-0.318***
	(0.061)	(0.063)
College	-0.349***	-0.307***
	(0.032)	(0.034)
South	0.035	0.044
	(0.030)	(0.031)
Partisanship	-0.470***	-0.464***
	(0.050)	(0.051)
Ideology	-0.361***	-0.370***
	(0.078)	(0.079)
Working-class ID		0.176***
		(0.031)
Constant	0.318***	0.161**
	(0.063)	(0.070)
Year Fixed Effects	✓	✓
Observations	13,604	13,162
Pseudo R^2	0.0823	0.0855

Note: Dependent variable is support for increased federal spending on Social Security (0 vs. 1). Probit coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. Source is the Cumulative ANES 1992-2016, survey weights applied. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed.

Table B7

These regression models control for various measures of religiosity (church attendance = VCF0130, R's guidance from religion = VCF0847, and attitudes toward biblical literalism = VCF0850). All of these variables are coded so that higher values indicate greater religiosity; I scale them all to range from 0 to 1. These models are associated with Footnote 11 in the main paper.

Table B7: Authoritarianism and Social Security when controlling for various measures of religiosity, 1992-2016

	DV = Social Security $			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Authoritarianism	0.355***	0.362***	0.338***	0.294***
	(0.047)	(0.047)	(0.047)	(0.049)
Female	0.196***	0.201***	0.182***	0.173***
	(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.029)	(0.029)
White	-0.074**	-0.075**	-0.054	-0.045
	(0.034)	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.035)
Married	0.068**	0.069**	0.057*	0.058*
	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.032)	(0.032)
Homeowner	0.021	0.016	0.018	0.012
	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.034)
Age 62+	-0.048	-0.043	-0.056	-0.048
	(0.046)	(0.046)	(0.046)	(0.046)
Retired	0.022	0.019	0.017	0.016
	(0.050)	(0.050)	(0.051)	(0.051)
Disabled	0.391***	0.393***	0.379***	0.366***
	(0.072)	(0.073)	(0.073)	(0.073)
Income	-0.382***	-0.378***	-0.371***	-0.354***
	(0.061)	(0.061)	(0.061)	(0.062)
College	-0.349***	-0.347***	-0.354***	-0.329***
	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.033)
South	0.035	0.038	0.023	0.013
	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.031)	(0.031)
Partisanship	-0.470***	-0.477***	-0.476***	-0.476***
	(0.050)	(0.050)	(0.051)	(0.051)
Ideology	-0.361***	-0.344***	-0.402***	-0.462***
	(0.078)	(0.079)	(0.080)	(0.081)
Church attendance		-0.026		
		(0.037)		
Guidance from religion			0.118***	
			(0.037)	
Bible authority				0.258***
				(0.046)
Constant	0.318***	0.318***	0.282***	0.237***
	(0.063)	(0.064)	(0.064)	(0.066)
Year Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	13,604	13,572	13,525	13,394
Pseudo R^2	0.082	0.083	0.083	0.085

Note: Dependent variable is support for increased federal spending on Social Security (0 vs. 1). Probit coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. Source is the Cumulative ANES 1992-2016, survey weights applied. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed.

Table B8

These regression models control for racial resentment (an index created by combining responses to VCF9039 - VCF9042). This is coded so that higher values reflect greater racial resentment; I re-scale the resulting index to range from 0 to 1. These models are associated with Footnote 11 in the main paper.

Table B8: Authoritarianism and Social Security when controlling for racial resentment, 1992-2016

	DV = Social Security $	
	(1)	(2)
Authoritarianism	0.355***	0.335***
	(0.047)	(0.048)
Female	0.196***	0.200***
	(0.028)	(0.028)
White	-0.074**	-0.093***
	(0.034)	(0.035)
Married	0.068**	0.067**
	(0.031)	(0.031)
Homeowner	0.021	0.014
	(0.034)	(0.034)
Age 62+	-0.048	-0.044
	(0.046)	(0.046)
Retired	0.022	0.020
	(0.050)	(0.051)
Disabled	0.391***	0.388***
	(0.072)	(0.074)
Income	-0.382***	-0.379***
	(0.061)	(0.061)
College	-0.349***	-0.327***
	(0.032)	(0.033)
South	0.035	0.025
	(0.030)	(0.031)
Partisanship	-0.470***	-0.503***
	(0.050)	(0.052)
Ideology	-0.361***	-0.409***
	(0.078)	(0.079)
Racial resentment		0.210***
		(0.064)
Constant	0.318***	0.258***
	(0.063)	(0.066)
Year Fixed Effects	✓	✓
Observations	13,604	13,471
Pseudo R^2	0.082	0.083

Note: Dependent variable is support for increased federal spending on Social Security (0 vs. 1). Probit coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. Source is the Cumulative ANES 1992-2016, survey weights applied. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed.

Table B9 & Figure B1

This simple regression model and the associated marginal effects plot regresses Social Security attitudes on an interaction between authoritarianism and race/ethnicity (1 = White, 2 = Black, 3 = Hispanic; included as a categorical variable in the regression model). This table and figure are associated with Footnote 16 in the main paper.

Table B8: Authoritarianism and Social Security across racial/ethnic groups, 1992-2016

	DV = Social Security $
Authoritarianism	0.367***
	(0.045)
White (Ref.)	
Black	0.548***
	(0.099)
Hispanic	0.228**
	(0.090)
Authoritarianism × Black	-0.057
	(0.132)
Authoritarianism × Hispanic	-0.146
	(0.130)
Constant	-0.134***
	(0.027)
Year Fixed Effects	No
Additional Controls	No
Observations	14,695
Pseudo R^2	0.021

Note: Dependent variable is support for increased federal spending on Social Security (0 vs. 1). Probit coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. Source is the Cumulative ANES 1992-2016, survey weights applied. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed.

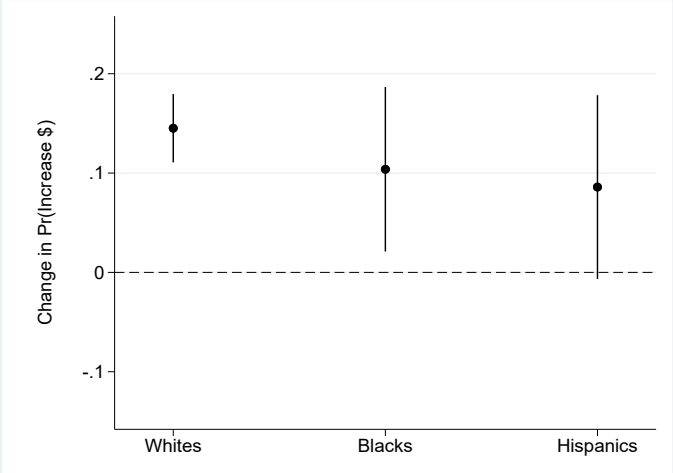

Figure B1