ONLINE APPENDIX A

FIGURE A
Gender Attitudes and Switching Away from Trump

	Total	*Rep Loyalists*	*Rep Switchers*	*Dem Switchers*	*Dem Loyalists*
2017	3.9%	0.7%	5.2%	5.8%	7.2%
2019	6.9%	2.5%	2.4%	13.5%	9.4%

Note: Weighted proportion of each group choosing "women's rights" as one of their top three issues.

By definition, Republican Loyalists and Switchers all voted for Trump in 2016, and we might think that some Trump voters were voting against the only realistic alternative: the woman candidate, Hillary Clinton. It could also be the case that Republican Switchers would not vote for a woman president so they voted for Trump in 2016, even though for some reason they no longer approve of him at a later date. To examine this possibility, we looked at the only gender-related question on our surveys: "What would you say are the most important issues facing the country today?" This question asked respondents to choose 3 out of about 20 topics, one of which was "women's rights."

If gender attitudes were *not* related to being loyal to or switching from Trump, we would expect Republican Loyalists and Switchers to hold similar attitudes. As shown earlier, similar proportions of Republican Loyalists and Republican Switchers rated "women's rights" as a top issue in 2019 (2 percent to 3 percent, compared with 7 percent overall), while slightly more Republican Switchers than Loyalists did the same in 2017 (5 percent versus 1 percent, respectively). Although this evidence is limited, with what is available, we do not see any strong evidence that gender attitudes are strongly related to switching to or away from Trump. Additional support for this conclusion is that nearly identical proportions of Republican Loyalists and Republican Switchers are women (see Figure 2).

FIGURE B

Demographic Characteristics of Voters in 2016 Presidential Election (percentages)

Men	50	Strong Conservative	15
Women	50	Leans Conservative	13
		Moderate	38
White Non-Hispanic	68	Leans Liberal	16
Black Non-Hispanic	12	Strong Liberal	17
Hispanic	14		
Other Non-Hispanic	6	Strong Republican	21
		Not Strong Republican	13
Age 18–29	14	Leans Republican	8
30–49	34	Pure Independent	8
50–64	28	Leans Democratic	11
65+	23	Not Strong Democrat	14
		Strong Democrat	25
High school or less	21		
Some college	44	*2016 Presidential Vote*	
College graduate	18	Trump	43
Post graduate	18	Clinton	46
		Other	9
		Voted, refused to provide vote choice	2
Income < $35K	19		
Income $35K–75K	29		
Income $75K–125K	29		
Income $125K+	21		
Employed full-time	51		
Employed part-time	12		
Not employed, not looking	34		
Not employed, looking	3		
Urban	25		
Suburban	55		
Rural	20		

Source: February 2019 Harvard CAPS/Harris Poll. Weighted proportions shown.

FIGURE C

Correlation Matrices and Principal Component Analyses of Individual Survey Items

Note: Figures use data from 2019 survey unless otherwise noted. Analyses are unweighted. In PCA, loadings highlighted within each component represent a scale. Our PCA does an eigenvalue decomposition with varimax rotation of the correlation matrix and returns loadings for a specified number of components.

Part 1. Cosmopolitanism

1a. Correlation Matrix

	1.	*2.*	*3.*	*4.*	*5.*	*6.*
1. It's good to spend time with people who are willing to talk and learn about other cultures.	1.000					
2. I respect others' culture the way I respect mine.	0.630	1.000				
3. If people have a positive attitude toward other communities, there would be less conflict in the world.	0.587	0.560	1.000			
4. To be successful, one does not need to use materials, information, knowledge, etc. from other cultures. (reverse coded)	0.150	0.041	0.093	1.000		
5. I am ready to learn about other cultures through listening, observation, thinking, and reflecting.	0.690	0.581	0.538	0.146	1.000	
6. Reading about world events is not worthwhile. (reverse coded)	0.195	0.095	0.141	0.461	0.185	1.000

1b. Principal Component Analysis

	PC 1	*PC 2*
1. It's good to spend time with people who are willing to talk and learn about other cultures.	0.864	0.134
2. I respect others' culture the way I respect mine.	0.837	-0.030
3. If people have a positive attitude toward other communities, there would be less conflict in the world.	0.796	0.054
4. To be successful, one does not need to use materials, information, knowledge, etc. from other cultures. *(reverse coded)*	0.047	0.857
5. I am ready to learn about other cultures through listening, observation, thinking, and reflecting.	0.831	0.135
6. Reading about world events is not worthwhile. *(reverse coded)*	0.119	0.841
SS loading	*2.789*	*1.482*

Part 2. Is It Racist? (2017 Survey)

2a. Correlation Matrix

	1.	*2.*	*3.*	*4.*	*5.*	*6.*	*7.*	*8.*	*9.*	*10.*
1. Believing country was a better place to live in past	1.000									
2. Saying immigrants commit too many crimes	0.348	1.000								
3. Saying people in American should speak English	0.356	0.424	1.000							
4. Voting for Donald Trump	0.408	0.380	0.461	1.000						
5. Telling a joke about a racial group	0.191	0.273	0.249	0.238	1.000					
6. Using word some see as offensive about racial group	0.215	0.273	0.259	0.284	0.437	1.000				
7. Wanting to fly the Confederate flag	0.340	0.371	0.391	0.485	0.297	0.403	1.000			
8. Wanting children w/people from own cultural background	0.220	0.292	0.266	0.217	0.281	0.244	0.263	1.000		
9. Agreeing when police shoot civilians, it's for good reason	0.355	0.327	0.363	0.404	0.206	0.172	0.346	0.193	1.000	
10. Agreeing welfare recipients should work for benefits	0.291	0.261	0.382	0.338	0.193	0.139	0.272	0.203	0.317	1.000

2b. Principal Component Analysis

	PC 1	*PC 2*
1. Believing country was a better place to live in past	0.652	0.142
2. Saying immigrants commit too many crimes	0.550	0.357
3. Saying people in American should speak English	0.682	0.240
4. Voting for Donald Trump	0.703	0.240
5. Telling a joke about a racial group	0.097	0.776
6. Using word some see as offensive about racial group	0.102	0.801
7. Wanting to fly the Confederate flag	0.518	0.477
8. Wanting children w/people from own cultural background	0.236	0.518
9. Agreeing when police shoot civilians, it's for good reason	0.684	0.084
10. Agreeing welfare recipients should work for benefits	0.638	0.043
SS loading	*2.906*	*2.012*

Part 3. Being Truly American

3a. Correlation Matrix

	1.	*2.*	*3.*	*4.*	*5.*	*6.*	*7.*	*8.*
1. To be able to speak English	1.000							
2. To share customs and traditions	0.396	1.000						
3. To have been born in the U.S.	0.451	0.375	1.000					
4. To feel American	0.449	0.453	0.324	1.000				
5. To have U.S. citizenship	0.560	0.371	0.357	0.497	1.000			
6. To have lived in the U.S. for most of one's life	0.449	0.417	0.727	0.363	0.350	1.000		
7. To respect American institutions and laws	0.469	0.368	0.183	0.461	0.539	0.184	1.000	
8. To be a Christian	0.337	0.362	0.490	0.274	0.220	0.488	0.125	1.000

3b. Principal Component Analysis

	PC 1	*PC 2*
1. To be able to speak English	0.667	0.395
2. To share customs and traditions	0.519	0.438
3. To have been born in the U.S.	0.207	0.841
4. To feel American	0.712	0.253
5. To have U.S. citizenship	0.790	0.194
6. To have lived in the U.S. for most of one's life	0.224	0.843
7. To respect American institutions and laws	0.845	-0.045
8. To be a Christian	0.101	0.759
SS loading	*2.661*	*2.446*

Part 4. Law Favorability Toward Groups

4a. Correlation Matrix

	1.	*2.*	*3.*	*4.*	*5.*	*6.*	*7.*	*8.*	*9.*	*10.*	*11.*	*12.*	*13.*	*14.*	*15.*
1. Whites	1.000														
2. Blacks	-0.194	1.000													
3. Hispanics	-0.172	0.602	1.000												
4. People in large cities	0.141	0.228	0.195	1.000											
5. People in small towns	0.176	0.207	0.208	0.159	1.000										
6. Poor people	-0.080	0.473	0.429	0.172	0.282	1.000									
7. Middle-class people	0.183	0.236	0.176	0.245	0.326	0.226	1.000								
8. Wealthy people	0.238	-0.183	-0.107	0.100	0.012	-0.276	-0.074	1.000							
9. Legal immig-rants	-0.048	0.442	0.462	0.219	0.259	0.317	0.219	-0.029	1.000						
10. Illegal immig-rants	-0.177	0.466	0.545	0.161	0.095	0.319	0.071	-0.054	0.411	1.000					
11. Young adults	0.095	0.317	0.286	0.308	0.314	0.320	0.351	-0.025	0.297	0.253	1.000				
12. The elderly	0.173	0.240	0.172	0.182	0.337	0.359	0.349	-0.160	0.162	0.047	0.347	1.000			
13. Large corps	0.212	-0.082	-0.058	0.107	0.032	-0.197	-0.072	0.564	0.035	0.023	-0.048	-0.136	1.000		
14. College and university	0.062	0.186	0.178	0.239	0.091	0.155	0.085	0.135	0.140	0.172	0.170	0.074	0.230	1.000	
15. Church/ places of worship	0.194	-0.005	0.005	0.087	0.145	0.007	0.017	0.259	0.027	-0.003	0.073	0.054	0.324	0.252	1.000

4b. Principal Component Analysis

	PC 1	*PC 2*	*PC 3*
1. Whites	-0.403	0.469	0.384
2. Blacks	0.768	0.225	-0.085
3. Hispanics	0.803	0.137	-0.016
4. People living in large cities	0.250	0.390	0.294
5. People living in small towns	0.133	0.629	0.108
6. Poor people	0.536	0.420	-0.225
7. Middle-class people	0.087	0.687	-0.033
8. Wealthy people	-0.144	-0.118	0.769
9. Legal immigrants	0.635	0.228	0.100
10. Illegal immigrants	0.775	-0.041	0.069
11. Young adults	0.328	0.588	0.065
12. The elderly	0.071	0.726	-0.144
13. Large corporations	-0.022	-0.128	0.812
14. Colleges and universities	0.309	0.122	0.466
15. Churches/places of worship	-0.010	0.145	0.585
SS loading	*3.005*	*2.478*	*2.153*

Part 5. Treatment of Groups With Respect to Taxes

5a) Correlation Matrix

	1.	*2.*	*3.*	*4.*	*5.*	*6.*	*7.*	*8.*	*9.*	*10.*	*11.*	*12.*	*13.*	*14.*	*15.*
1. Whites	1.000														
2. Blacks	-0.110	1.000													
3. Hispanics	-0.065	0.543	1.000												
4. People in large cities	0.173	0.207	0.177	1.000											
5. People in small towns	0.231	0.227	0.190	0.133	1.000										
6. Poor people	-0.035	0.471	0.350	0.183	0.286	1.000									
7. Middle-class people	0.291	0.156	0.118	0.276	0.303	0.172	1.000								
8. Wealthy people	0.270	-0.161	-0.097	0.067	-0.007	-0.328	-0.014	1.000							
9. Legal immig-rants	0.027	0.364	0.446	0.190	0.133	0.239	0.133	-0.006	1.000						
10. Illegal immig-rants	-0.121	0.435	0.540	0.115	0.058	0.360	-0.035	-0.073	0.408	1.000					
11. Young adults	0.115	0.319	0.235	0.279	0.249	0.326	0.348	-0.124	0.221	0.141	1.000				
12. The elderly	0.178	0.258	0.197	0.201	0.310	0.396	0.282	-0.130	0.183	0.081	0.262	1.000			
13. Large corps	0.167	-0.066	-0.021	0.079	0.014	-0.172	-0.069	0.627	0.032	0.050	-0.072	-0.115	1.000		
14. College and university	0.099	0.220	0.177	0.208	0.065	0.180	0.024	0.180	0.175	0.262	0.135	0.102	0.333	1.000	
15. Church/ places of worship	0.145	0.134	0.127	0.071	0.172	0.130	-0.014	0.311	0.096	0.178	0.017	0.127	0.430	0.407	1.000

5b) Principal Component Analysis

	PC 1	*PC 2*	*PC 3*	*PC 4*
1. Whites	-0.287	0.317	0.170	0.566
2. Blacks	0.700	-0.030	0.328	0.074
3. Hispanics	0.773	0.015	0.129	0.101
4. People living in large cities	0.273	0.097	-0.006	0.617
5. People living in small towns	0.005	0.113	0.630	0.285
6. Poor people	0.452	-0.126	0.661	-0.008
7. Middle-class people	-0.003	-0.095	0.264	0.720
8. Wealthy people	-0.162	0.737	-0.321	0.207
9. Legal immigrants	0.665	0.059	-0.044	0.274
10. Illegal immigrants	0.785	0.122	0.050	-0.115
11. Young adults	0.298	-0.118	0.289	0.515
12. The elderly	0.090	-0.028	0.685	0.245
13. Large corporations	-0.011	0.826	-0.190	0.051
14. Colleges and universities	0.320	0.579	0.187	-0.006
15. Churches/places of worship	0.108	0.735*	0.350	-0.146
SS loading	*2.745*	*2.282*	*1.912*	*1.797*

* Despite its high loading, the churches/places of worship item was not included in our tax treatment scale with wealthy people and large corporations because that item was not asked in the 2017 survey, and we wanted to be able to compare results across years.

FIGURE D

Demographic, Partisan, and Ideological Profiles of Groups with Confidence Intervals (2019)

FIGURE E

Predicting Remaining Loyal to Trump (versus Switching) OR being a Democratic Loyalist (versus a Democratic Switcher) with Logistic Regression

TABLE 1

2019 Results

	— Republican: Remain Loyal vs. Switch —			— Democrat: Remain Loyal vs. Switch —		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Male	−0.094	−0.197	−0.215	−0.202	−0.141	−0.088
	(0.278)	(0.292)	(0.292)	(0.248)	(0.267)	(0.269)
Black, non-Hisp	−0.611	−0.434	−0.275	0.357	−0.242	−0.147
	(0.603)	(0.604)	(0.615)	(0.381)	(0.384)	(0.406)
Hispanic	−0.926*	−0.832*	−0.887*	−0.068	−0.182	−0.237
	(0.493)	(0.479)	(0.502)	(0.335)	(0.375)	(0.367)
Other race, non-Hisp	0.043	−0.006	0.082	0.366	0.214	0.230
	(0.632)	(0.590)	(0.610)	(0.397)	(0.460)	(0.444)
Age	−0.002	0.001	0.003	0.048***	0.041***	0.043***
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Educ: some college	−0.251	−0.302	−0.342	−0.184	−0.160	−0.154
	(0.344)	(0.368)	(0.373)	(0.369)	(0.384)	(0.374)
Educ: coll grad	−0.492	−0.487	−0.459	−0.359	−0.218	−0.323
	(0.408)	(0.422)	(0.425)	(0.435)	(0.431)	(0.434)
Educ: postgrad	0.355	0.159	0.229	−0.571	−0.209	−0.311
	(0.509)	(0.531)	(0.542)	(0.436)	(0.462)	(0.464)
Income: $35-75k	0.112	0.106	0.235	0.649*	0.690*	0.712*
	(0.379)	(0.392)	(0.394)	(0.377)	(0.414)	(0.415)
Income: $75-125k	0.463	0.569	0.579	0.682**	0.517	0.622*
	(0.395)	(0.426)	(0.422)	(0.344)	(0.382)	(0.378)
Income: $125k+	0.542	0.468	0.552	0.167	−0.005	0.063
	(0.445)	(0.460)	(0.466)	(0.418)	(0.450)	(0.458)
Strong conserv	1.655***		0.388	−1.860***		−1.044
	(0.413)		(0.448)	(0.468)		(0.649)
Lean conserv	0.582*		0.320	−1.243***		−0.585
	(0.342)		(0.393)	(0.387)		(0.401)
Lean liberal	−0.138		0.273	0.572		0.251
	(0.536)		(0.639)	(0.373)		(0.402)
Strong liberal	16.377***		16.014***	0.487		0.418
	(0.434)		(0.767)	(0.330)		(0.400)
Strong Repub		2.661***	2.368***		−2.719***	−2.371***
		(0.550)	(0.579)		(0.636)	(0.676)
Not strong Rep		0.479	0.350		−0.615	−0.490
		(0.402)	(0.461)		(0.526)	(0.516)
Lean Rep		1.211**	1.068*		−0.257	−0.116
		(0.509)	(0.558)		(0.673)	(0.662)
Lean Dem		−0.574	−0.999		1.487***	1.375***
		(0.700)	(0.774)		(0.503)	(0.504)
Not strong Dem		−0.264	−0.414		1.918***	1.811***
		(0.503)	(0.536)		(0.530)	(0.559)
Strong Democrat		1.582*	1.064		1.160***	0.968**
		(0.824)	(0.872)		(0.430)	(0.481)
(Intercept)	1.435*	0.934	0.723	−0.309	−0.733	−0.797
	(0.752)	(0.862)	(0.865)	(0.705)	(0.732)	(0.778)
Observations	676	676	676	814	814	814
Akaike Inf. Crit.	514.082	485.841	483.500	575.727	520.364	520.738

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Data from 2019 survey. Models specified using logistic regression.

All variables are dummy variables, except age. Reference category for sex is female; for race/ethnicity, white, non-Hispanic; for education, high school or less; for income, <$35k; for political ideology, moderate; for party identification, pure Independent.

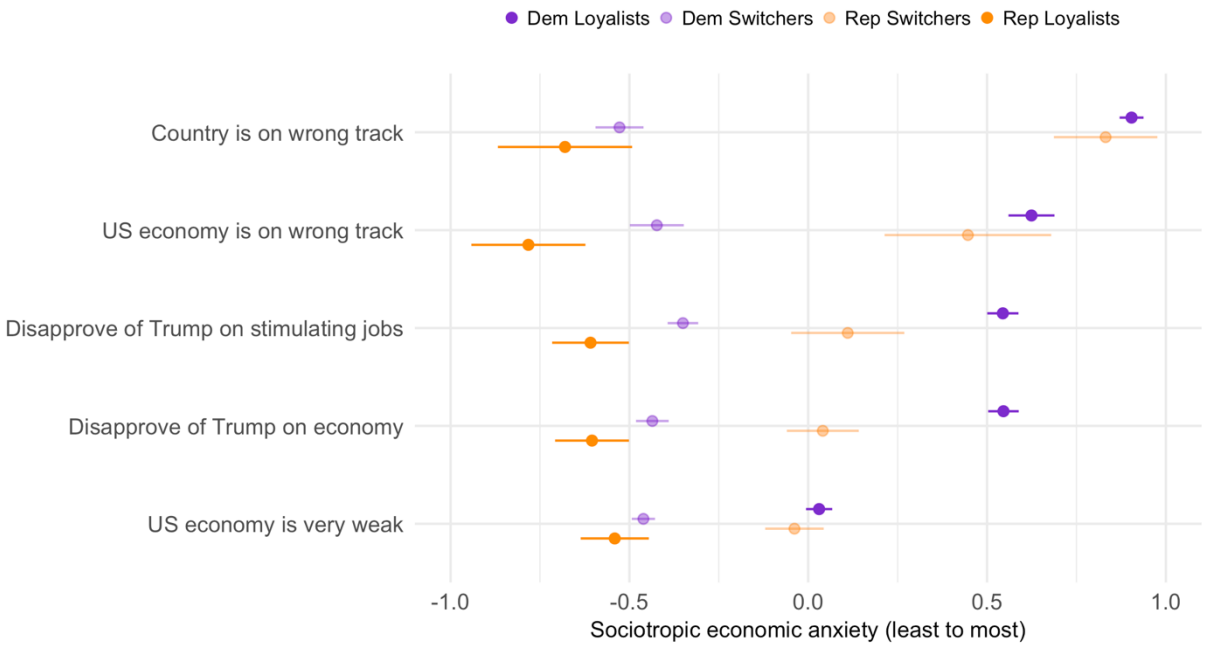
TABLE 2.
2017 Results

	— Republican: Remain Loyal vs. Switch —			— Democrat: Remain Loyal vs. Switch —		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Male	0.699**	0.436	0.737**	−0.592**	−0.446	−0.409
	(0.315)	(0.308)	(0.336)	(0.272)	(0.287)	(0.286)
Black, non-Hisp	−0.131	0.553	0.384	1.166***	0.748*	0.923**
	(0.972)	(1.004)	(0.949)	(0.396)	(0.417)	(0.394)
Hispanic	−1.441**	−1.728***	−1.597**	0.661	0.894	0.917
	(0.708)	(0.639)	(0.642)	(0.580)	(0.592)	(0.627)
Other race, non-Hisp	−0.152	−0.252	−0.293	2.405**	2.611**	2.671**
	(0.725)	(0.690)	(0.717)	(1.064)	(1.114)	(1.185)
Age	0.011	0.026**	0.020*	0.026***	0.023***	0.026***
	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Educ: some college	−0.470	−0.456	−0.494	−0.611	−0.509	−0.642
	(0.406)	(0.416)	(0.436)	(0.477)	(0.477)	(0.524)
Educ: coll grad	−0.060	0.090	0.239	−0.974*	−0.704	−0.805
	(0.582)	(0.573)	(0.606)	(0.503)	(0.522)	(0.560)
Educ: postgrad	−0.736	−0.965*	−0.890	−0.942*	−0.871*	−1.031*
	(0.552)	(0.559)	(0.586)	(0.517)	(0.511)	(0.557)
Income: $35-75k	−0.189	0.010	−0.079	0.056	−0.019	−0.026
	(0.645)	(0.649)	(0.665)	(0.402)	(0.372)	(0.377)
Income: $75-125k	−0.336	−0.183	−0.219	−0.037	0.009	0.018
	(0.603)	(0.578)	(0.598)	(0.388)	(0.392)	(0.400)
Income: $125k+	−0.679	−0.393	−0.421	0.006	−0.158	−0.129
	(0.644)	(0.660)	(0.680)	(0.429)	(0.411)	(0.411)
Strong conserv	3.367***		2.168***	−0.892		0.023
	(0.635)		(0.658)	(0.593)		(0.845)
Lean conserv	1.171***		1.021**	−0.784		0.218
	(0.379)		(0.424)	(0.506)		(0.620)
Lean liberal	1.486*		1.465*	1.175**		1.025**
	(0.843)		(0.821)	(0.473)		(0.437)
Strong liberal	0.907		0.174	0.596*		0.536
	(0.745)		(0.848)	(0.350)		(0.425)
Strong Repub		3.169***	2.389***		−1.443**	−1.720**
		(0.590)	(0.636)		(0.666)	(0.802)
Not strong Rep		0.398	0.261		−0.637	−0.662
		(0.417)	(0.444)		(0.554)	(0.585)
Lean Rep		1.634***	1.377**		−1.352**	−1.405**
		(0.579)	(0.634)		(0.567)	(0.597)
Lean Dem		0.936	1.084		2.203***	2.029***
		(1.094)	(1.077)		(0.671)	(0.678)
Not strong Dem		0.388	0.588		0.989**	0.733
		(0.548)	(0.572)		(0.451)	(0.483)
Strong Democrat		1.172	1.225		0.934**	0.569
		(0.918)	(1.053)		(0.394)	(0.456)
(Intercept)	1.085	0.114	−0.201	1.514**	1.207*	1.033
	(0.955)	(1.092)	(1.091)	(0.643)	(0.684)	(0.684)
Observations	757	757	757	949	949	949
Akaike Inf. Crit.	446.006	441.749	430.644	549.132	516.604	525.161

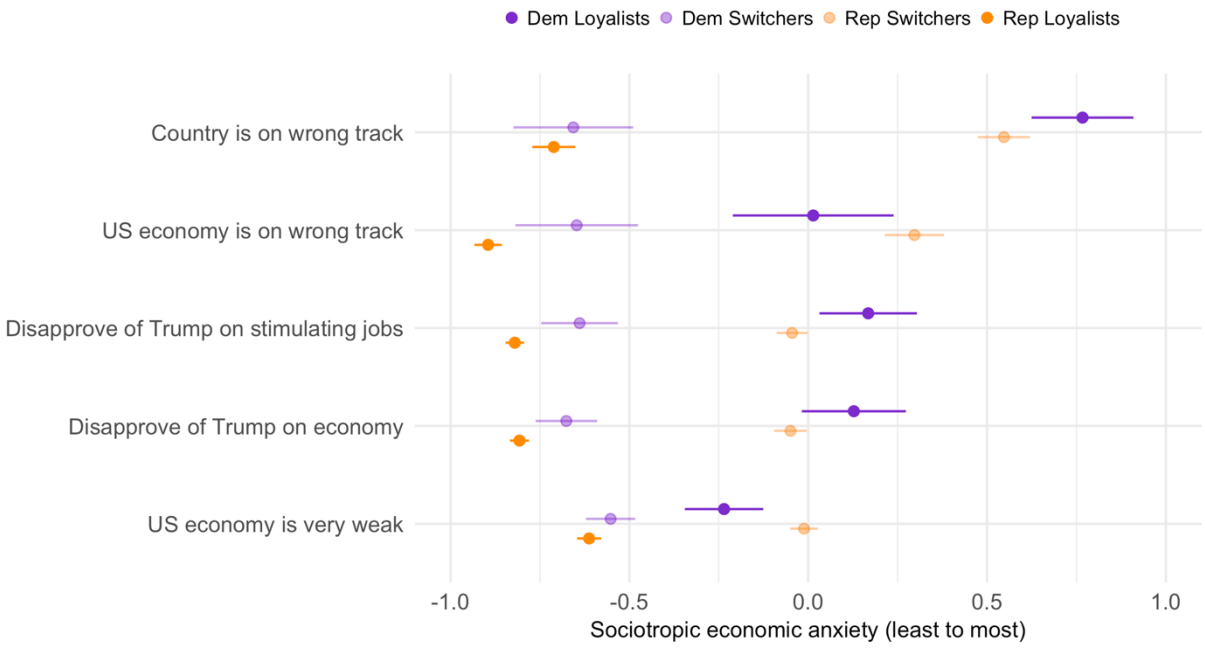
Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
Data from 2017 survey. Models specified using logistic regression.
All variables are dummy variables, except age. Reference category for sex is female; for race/ethnicity, white, non-Hispanic; for education, high school or less; for income, <$35k; for political ideology, moderate; for party identification, pure Independent.

FIGURE F
Attitudes of Groups among Partisans

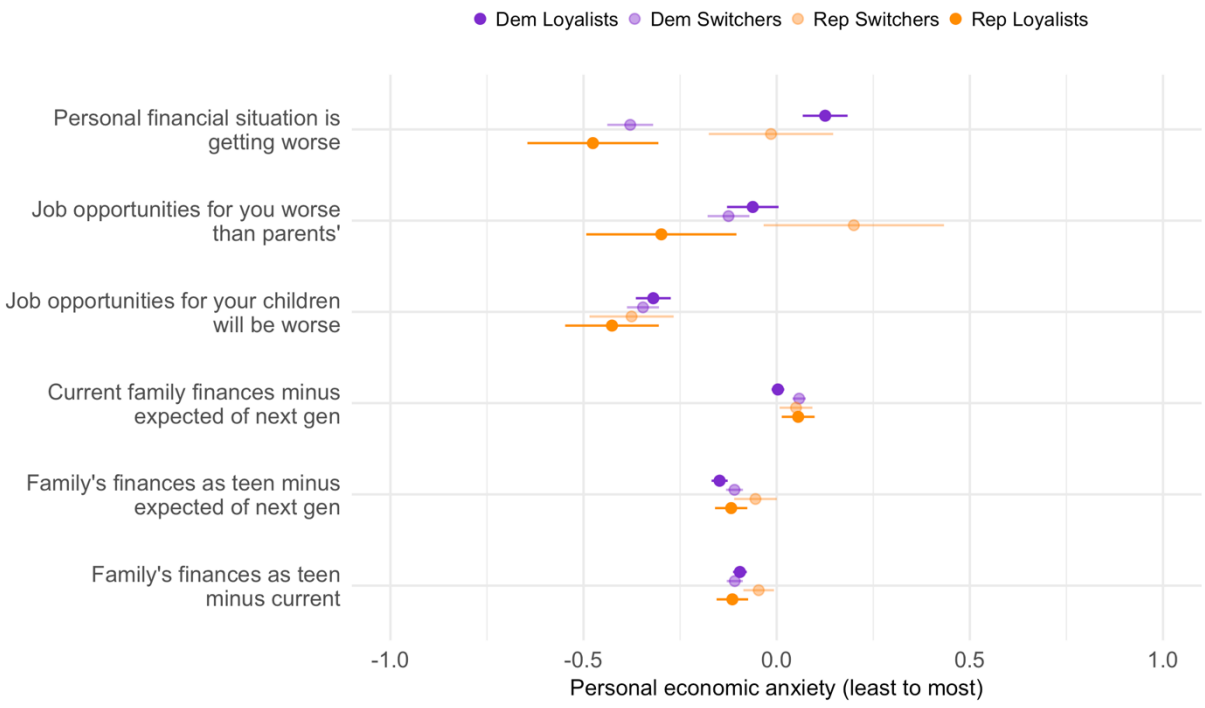
Part 1a. Sociotropic economic perceptions among Democrats and Democratic leaners



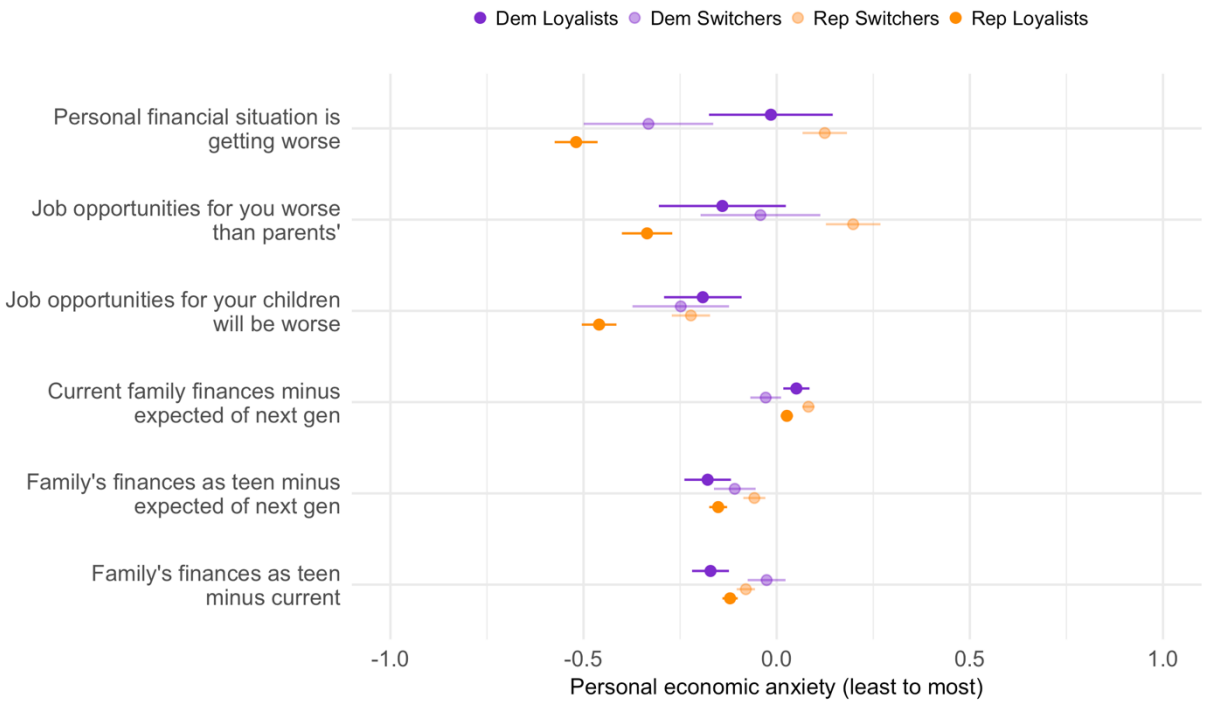
Part 1b. Sociotropic economic perceptions among Republicans and Republican leaners



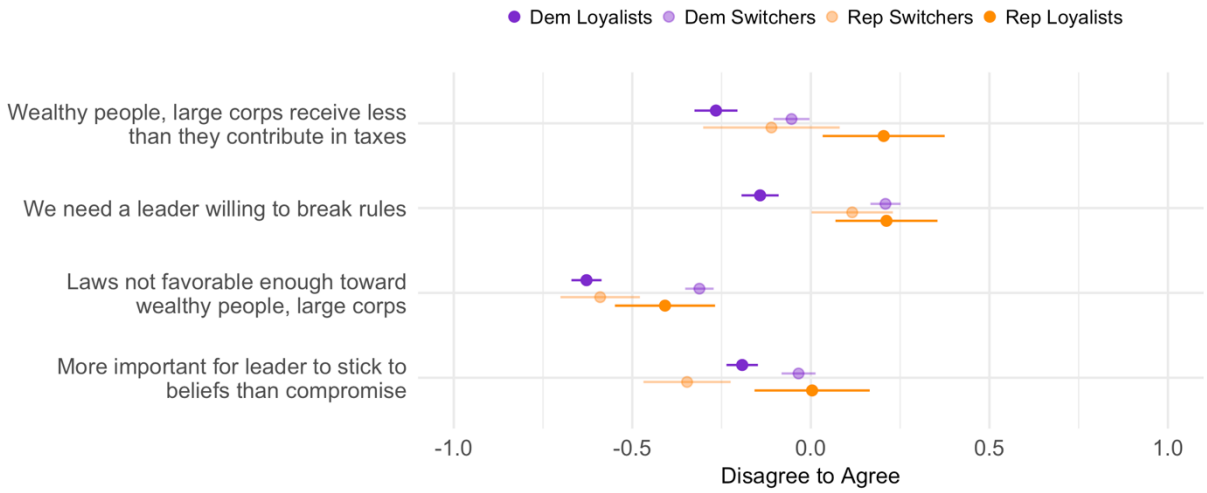
Part 2a. Personal economic anxiety among Democrats and Democratic leaners



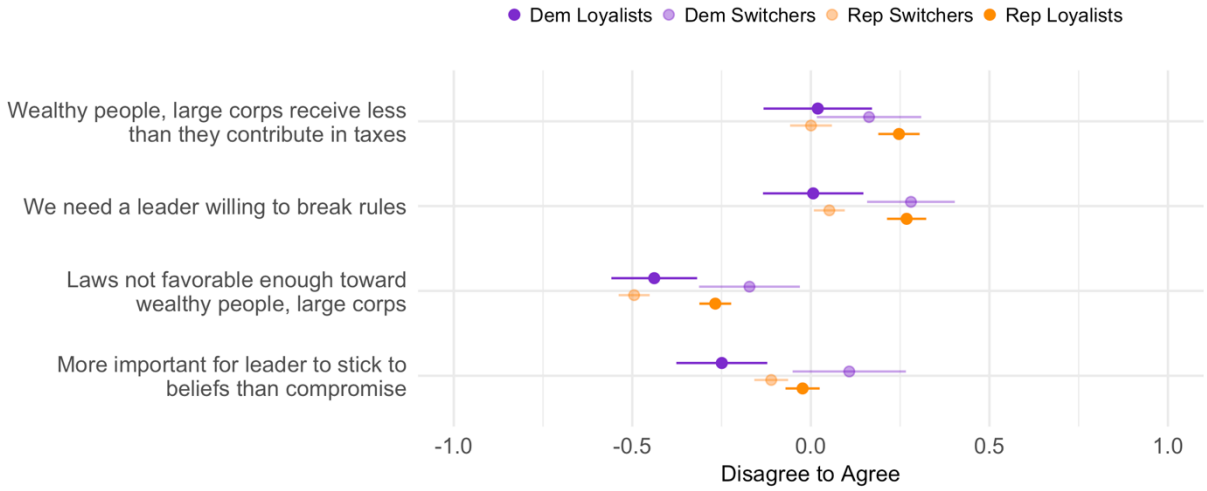
Part 2b. Personal economic anxiety among Republicans and Republican leaners



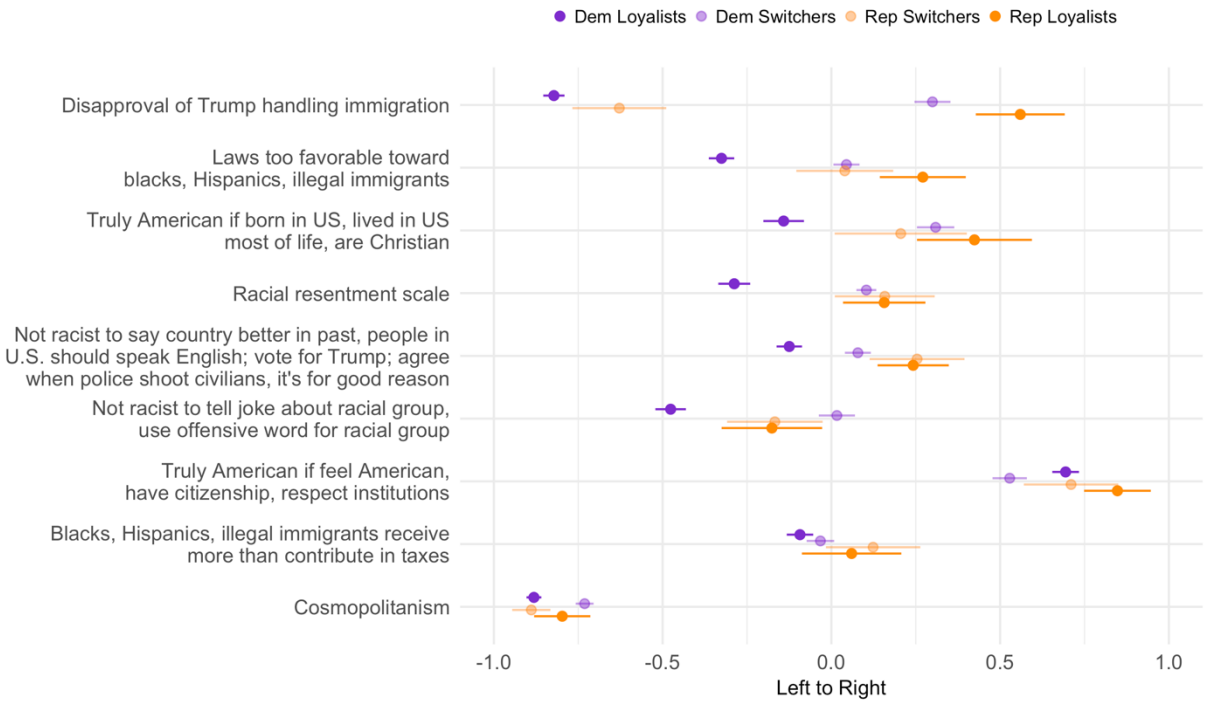
Part 3a. Governance styles among Democrats and Democratic leaners



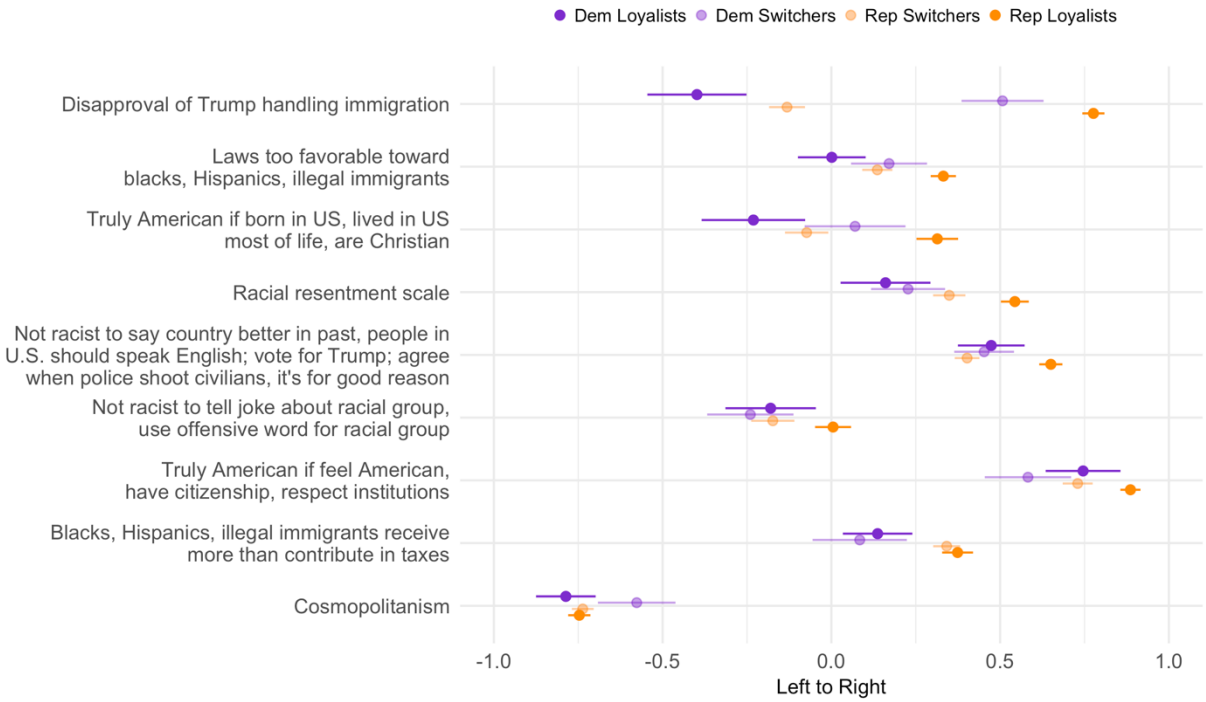
Part 3b. Governance styles among Republicans and Republican leaners



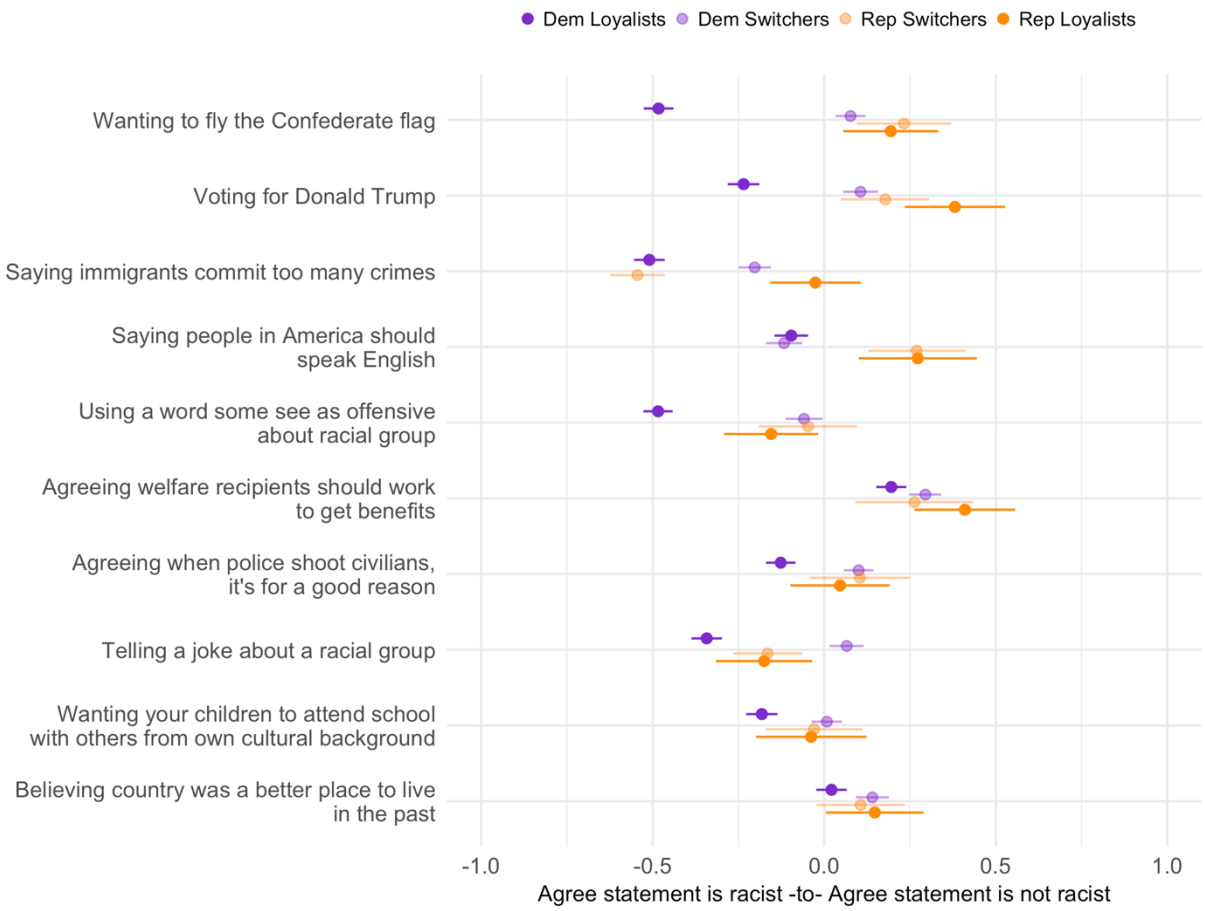
Part 4a. Racial conservatism and concern about immigrants among Democrats and Democratic leaners



Part 4b. Racial conservatism and concern about immigrants among Republicans and Republican leaners



Part 5a. Is it racist? among Democrats and Democratic leaners



Part 5b. Is it racist? among Republicans and Republican leaners

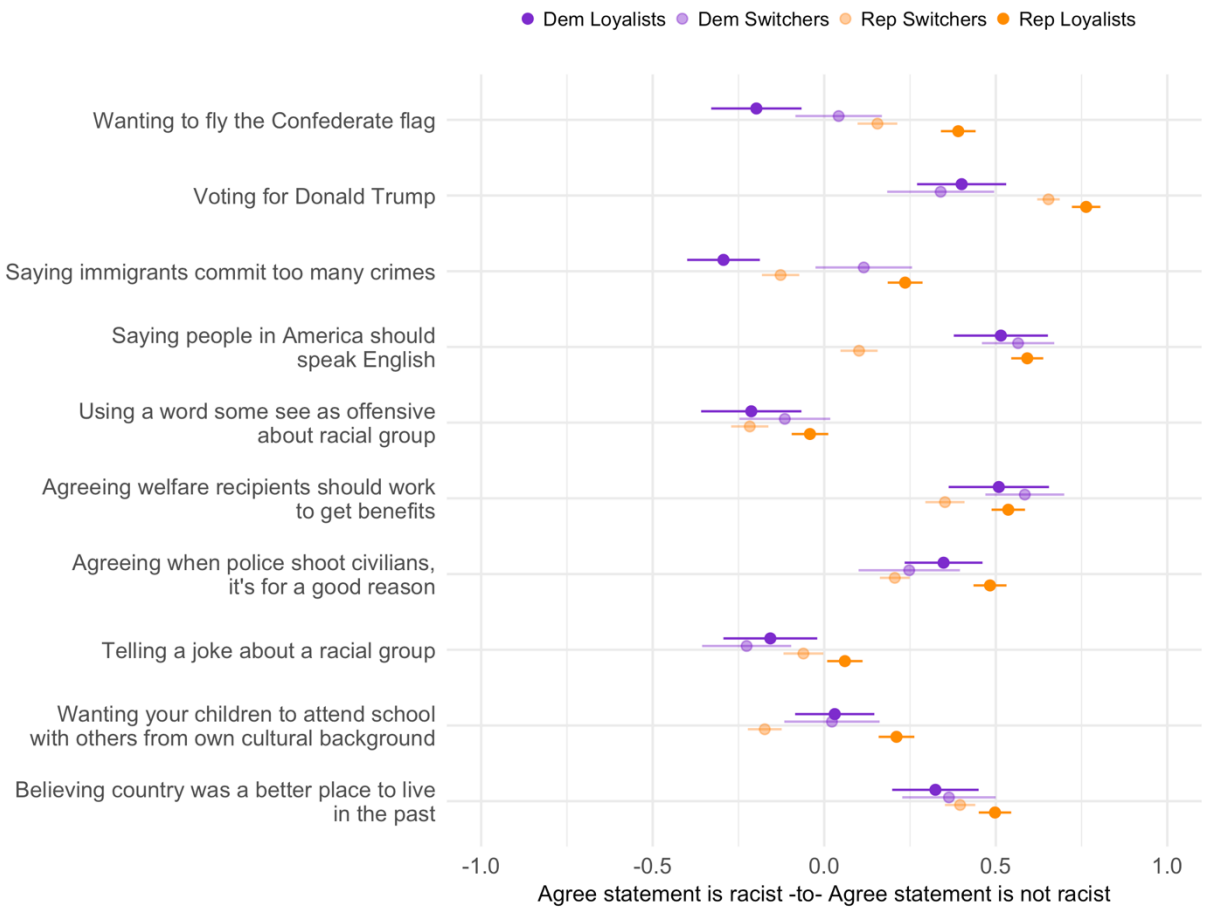
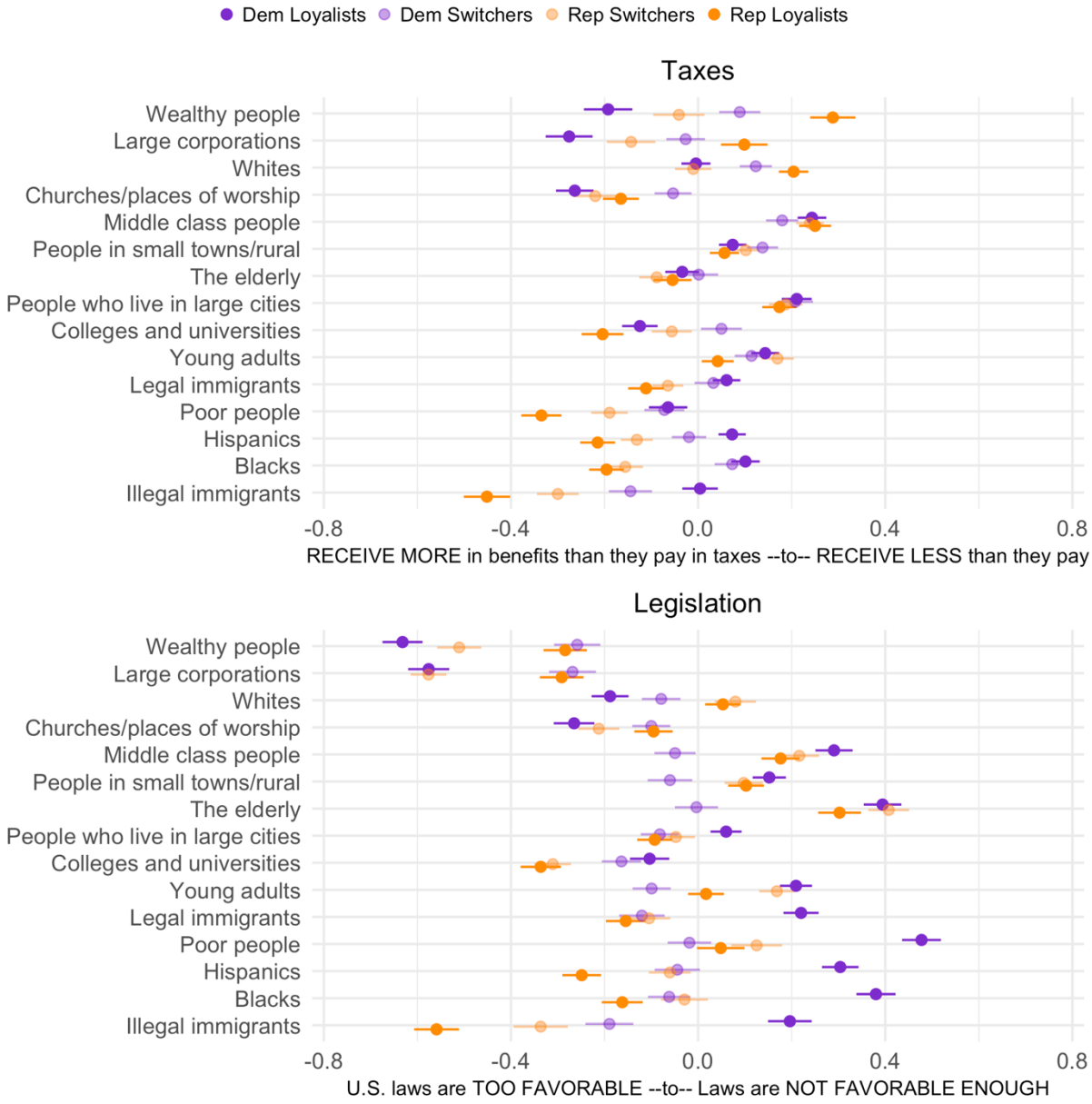


FIGURE G

Tax and Law Favorability toward Groups (Individual Items)



ONLINE APPENDIX B

Survey questionnaire: wording of items used in analyses

[SCREENERS/DEMOGRAPHICS]

M1. In general, do you think the country is on the right track or is it off on the wrong track?

1. Right track
2. Wrong track
3. Don't know/Unsure

M2. In general, do you think the American economy is on right track or is it off on the wrong track?

1. Right track
2. Wrong track
3. Don't know/Unsure

M3. Do you approve or disapprove of the job Donald Trump is doing as President of the United States?

1. Strongly approve
2. Somewhat approve
3. Somewhat disapprove
4. Strongly disapprove

M3A. Do you approve or disapprove of the job President Trump is doing on …?

1. Strongly approve
2. Somewhat approve
3. Somewhat disapprove
4. Strongly disapprove

[RANDOMIZE]

1. The economy
2. Foreign affairs
3. Fighting terrorism
4. Administering the government
5. Stimulating jobs
6. Immigration

[OTHER QUESTIONS]

I1. What would you say are the most important issues facing the country today? Please select three.

a. Corruption

b. Crime and drugs
c. Criminal justice (policing, courts, prisons)
d. Cybersecurity
e. Defense
f. Economy and jobs
g. Education
h. Environment/climate change
i. Foreign policy
j. Health care
k. Immigration
l. Income inequality
m. National debt/federal budget deficits
n. Political correctness
o. Race relations
p. Taxes
q. Terrorism/national security
r. Women's rights
s. Other

ADDITIONAL ITEMS ON 2019 SURVEY ONLY

t. Guns
u. School safety

I3. How strong do you think the U.S. economy is today? (Single record)

1. Very strong
2. Somewhat strong
3. Somewhat weak
4. Very weak

I4. Would you say that your personal financial situation is improving or getting worse? (Single record)

1. Improving
2. Getting worse
3. Just as well off
4. No opinion

[OTHER QUESTIONS]

3. [cosmopolitanism] Please tell us how much you agree or disagree with the following statements:

[randomize ordering of each below]

a. It's good to spend time with people who are willing to talk and learn about other cultures
b. I respect others' culture the way I respect mine.

c. If people have a positive attitude toward other communities, there would be less conflict in the world.
d. To be successful, one does not need to use materials, information, knowledge, etc. from other cultures.
e. I am ready to learn about other cultures through listening, observation, thinking, and reflecting.
f. Reading about world events is not worthwhile.

1. strongly agree
2. agree
3. neither agree nor disagree
4. disagree
5. strongly disagree

4. [racism_okay] Please tell us how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: [randomize ordering of each below and [is racist/is not racist] on each].

a. Believing your country was a better place to live in the past is [not] racist.
b. Saying that immigrants commit too many crimes is [not] racist.
c. Saying that people in America should speak English is [not] racist.
d. Voting for Donald Trump is [not] racist.
e. Telling a joke about a racial group is [not] necessarily racist.
f. Using a word that some people see as offensive about a racial group is [not] necessarily racist.
g. Wanting to fly the Confederate flag is [not] racist.
h. Wanting your children to attend school with people from their own cultural background is [not] racist
i. Agreeing that when police shoot civilians, there is usually a good reason, is [not] racist.
j. agreeing that welfare recipients should have to take a job before receiving benefits is [not] racist.

1. strongly agree
2. agree
3. neither agree nor disagree
4. disagree
5. strongly disagree

[OTHER QUESTIONS]

8. [economic_ladder] Suppose that this ladder represents economic well-being, with very poor people at the bottom, people with average incomes at the middle, and very rich people at the top.

a. Please click on the rung that indicates where your family was when you were a teenager.
b. Now, please compare your family's situation when you were a teenager to <u>your current level of economic well-being</u>. That is, please click on the rung that indicates your current level…of economic well-being

c. Now, please compare your family's situation when you were a teenager to the level of economic well-being that you expect for the next generation in your family. That is, please click on the rung that indicates the level of economic…
d. well-being that you expect for the next generation in your family.

[clickable ladder image with 10 rungs, record rungs. Use a different color dot for each of the three responses (e.g., red for "teenager," blue for "current level," and green for "next generation"]. Keep each dot on the ladder when R has clicked on a given rung.

[OTHER QUESTIONS]

26. [truly_American] Some people say that the following things are important for being truly American. Others say they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is?

[grid, randomize order]

a. To be able to speak English
b. To share customs and traditions
c. To have been born in the United States
d. To feel American
e. To have American citizenship
f. To have lived in the United States for most of one's life
g. To respect American institutions and laws
h. To be a Christian

1. Not at all important
2. Not very important
3. Somewhat important
4. Very important

[OTHER QUESTIONS]

28. [children] Thinking about when your child or children finish school, do you think their job opportunities are likely to be:

[i] A lot better than those you had at the same age
[ii] A little better than those you had at the same age
[iii] About the same as those you had at the same age
[iv] A little worse than those you had at the same age
[v] A lot worse than those you had at the same age
[vi] Don't know

29. [parents] Thinking about when you were finishing school, compared with your parents, have your job opportunities been:

[i] A lot better than theirs were
[ii] A little better than theirs were
[iii] About the same as theirs were
[iv] A little worse than theirs were

[v] A lot worse than theirs were
[vi] Don't know

30. [taxes] As you know, the federal government collects taxes and provides benefits to people living in the United States. Please indicate if you think that people in each category below pay much more in taxes than they receive in benefits, pay a little more in taxes than they receive in benefits, pay roughly the same amount in taxes that they receive in benefits, receive a little more in benefits than they pay in taxes, or receive a lot more in benefits than they pay in taxes:

a. whites
b. blacks
c. Hispanics
d. Asian Americans
e. people who live in large cities
f. people who live in small towns or rural communities
g. poor people
h. middle-class people
i. wealthy people
j. legal immigrants
k. illegal immigrants
l. young adults
m. the elderly
n. large corporations
o. colleges and universities

1. pay much more
2. pay a little more
3. pay roughly the same
4. receive a little more
5. receive much more

31. As you know, the government makes a lot of laws that affect different types of people living in the United States in different ways. For each category below, please indicate if you think that these laws are too favorable, about right, or not favorable enough?

a. whites
b. blacks
c. Hispanics
d. Asian Americans
e. people who live in large cities
f. people who live in small towns or rural communities
g. poor people
h. middle-class people
i. wealthy people
j. legal immigrants
k. illegal immigrants
l. young adults
m. the elderly
n. large corporations

o. colleges and universities

1. too favorable
2. about right
3. not favorable enough

[OTHER QUESTIONS]

33. [compromise] Next, we have a question about the best approach for political leaders to follow in Washington. Where would you rate yourself on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 means it is more important for political leaders to compromise in order to get things done, and 5 means it is more important for political leaders to stick to their beliefs even if little gets done? You may use any number from 1 to 5.
[1 to 5 scale]

34. [US_dark] Which one of the following best describes your feelings...
[i] The US is in a dark and dangerous place, with threats from overseas and within our borders.
[ii] the US is in a strong position for progress on the economy and national security

35. [break rules] Do you agree or disagree that because things have gotten so far off track in this country, we need a leader who is willing to break some rules if that's what it takes to set things right

1. Completely agree
2. mostly agree
3. mostly disagree
4. completely disagree

[OTHER QUESTIONS]

2019 SURVEY ONLY

Q. Please tell us how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: **RANDOMIZE**

1. Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve.
2. Irish, Italian, Jewish, and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors.
3. 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.
4. Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.

REVERSE ORDER OF RESPONSE OPTIONS FOR RANDOM HALF OF SAMPLE

a. Strongly agree
b. Somewhat agree
c. Neither agree nor disagree
d. Somewhat disagree
e. Strongly disagree

ONLINE APPENDIX C: REPLICATIONS USING 2017 SURVEY

FIGURE H

Demographic, Partisan, and Ideological Profiles of Groups

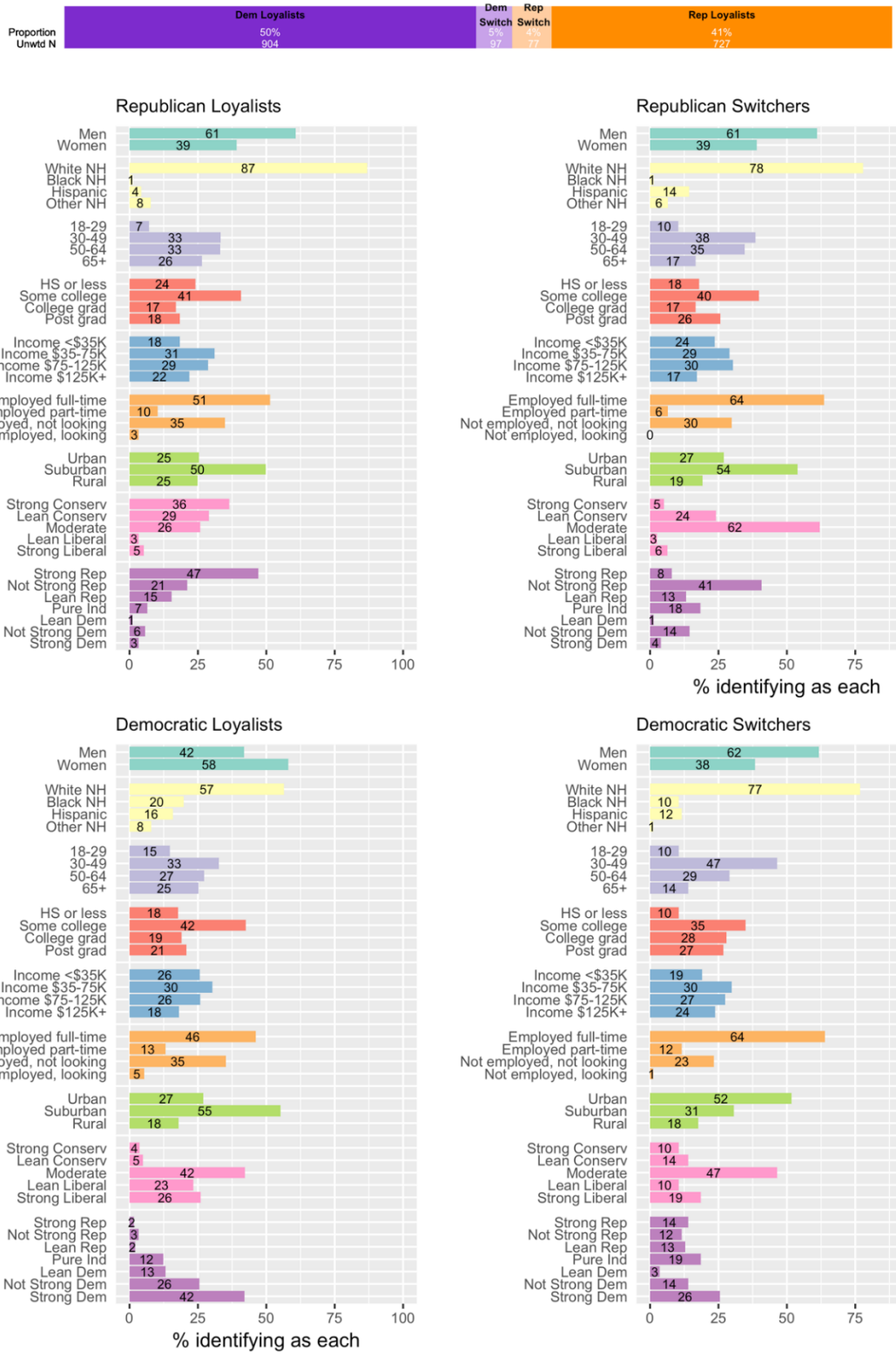
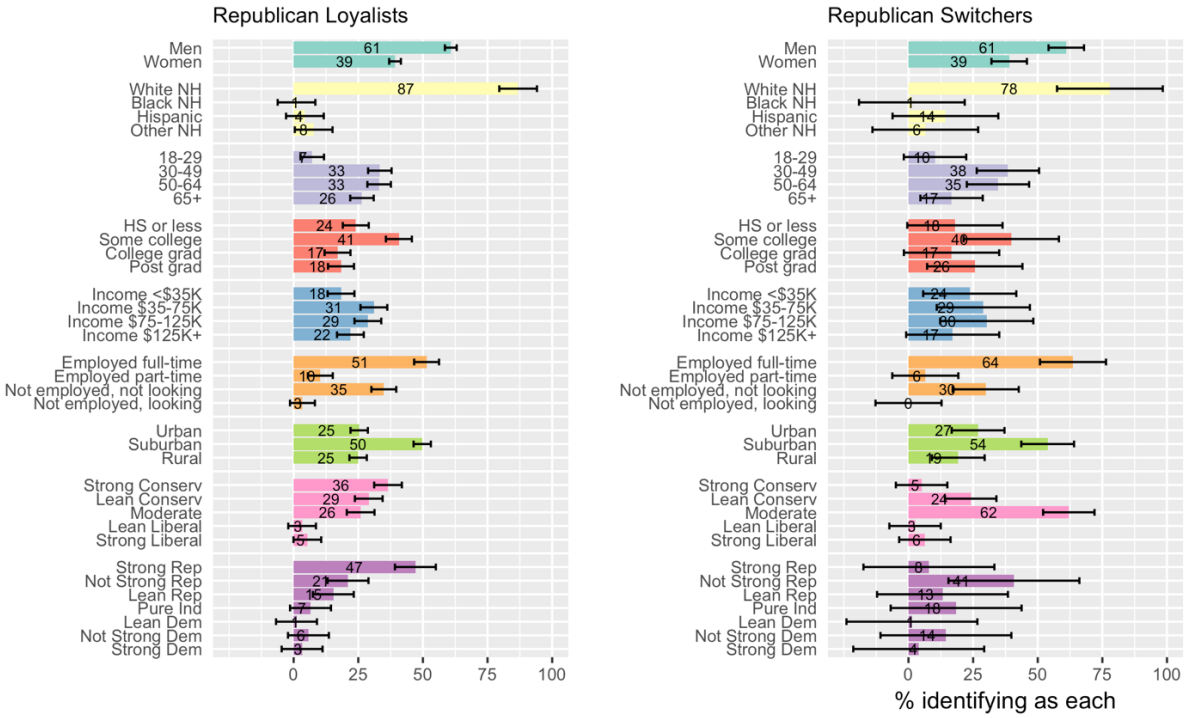
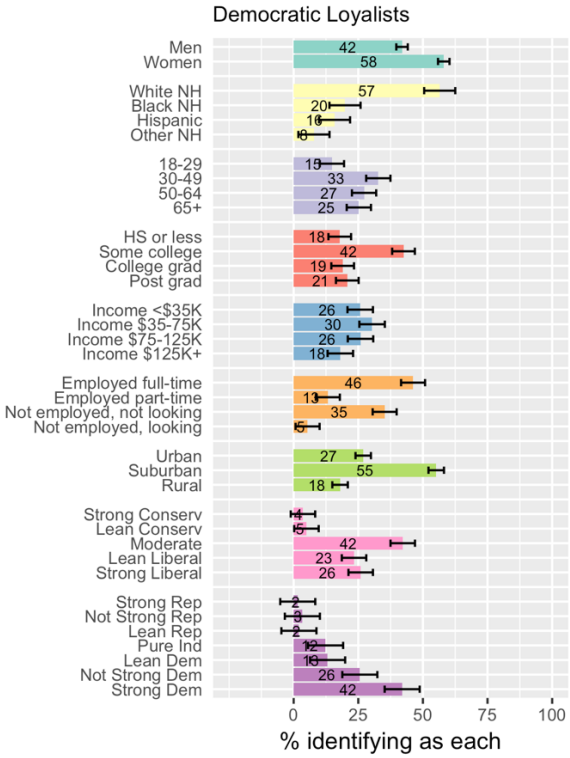


FIGURE I

Demographic, Partisan, and Ideological Profiles of Groups with Confidence Intervals





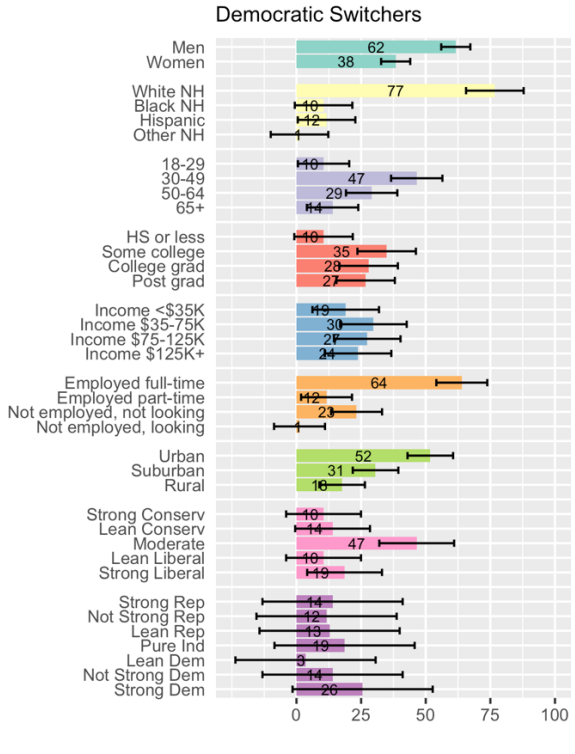


FIGURE J

Sociotropic Economic Perceptions (Corresponds with Figure 3)

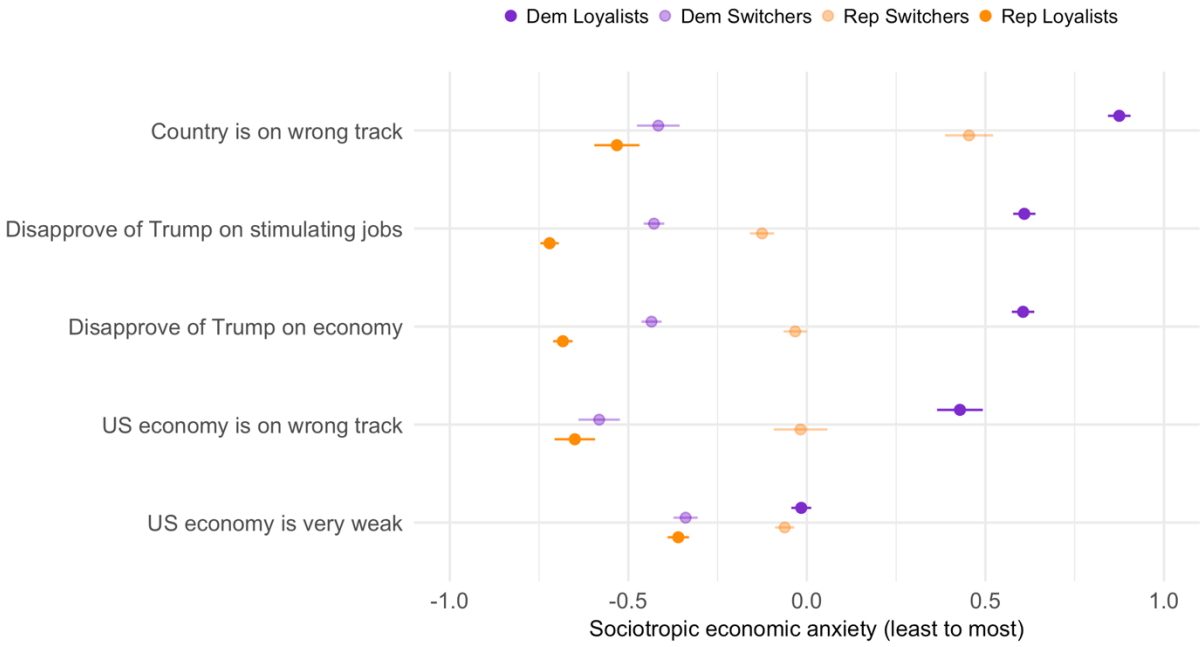


FIGURE K

Personal Economic Perceptions (Corresponds with Figure 4)

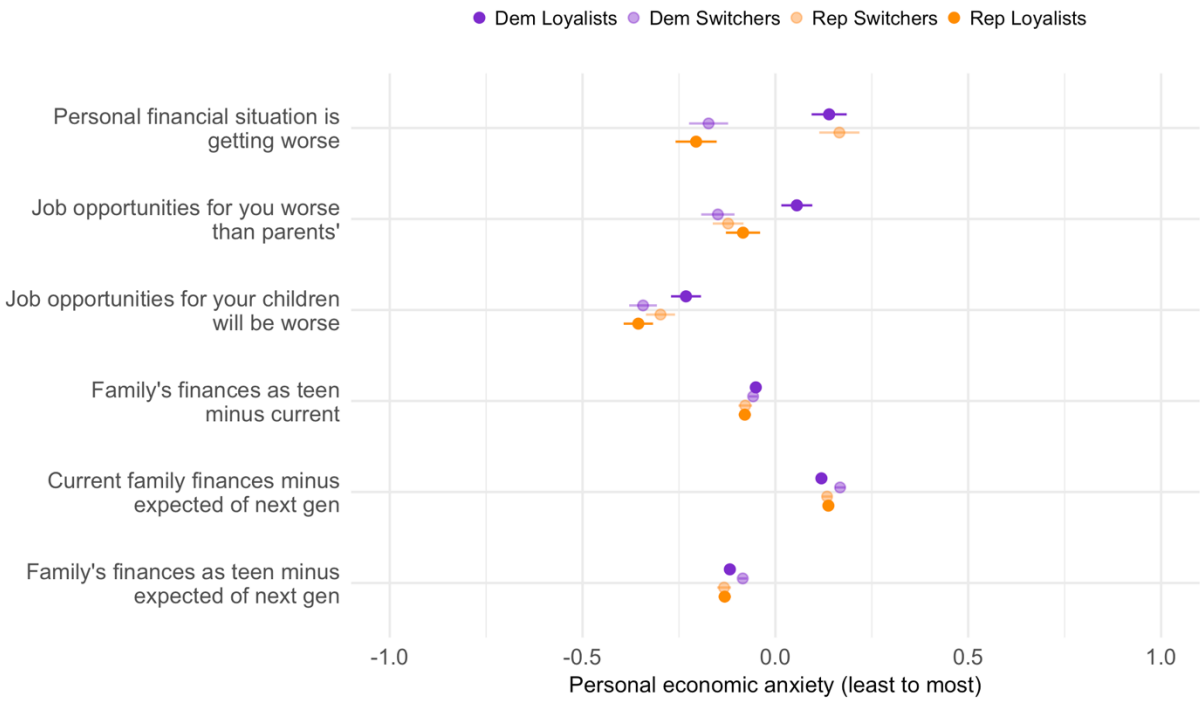


FIGURE L

Governance Styles (Corresponds with Figure 5)

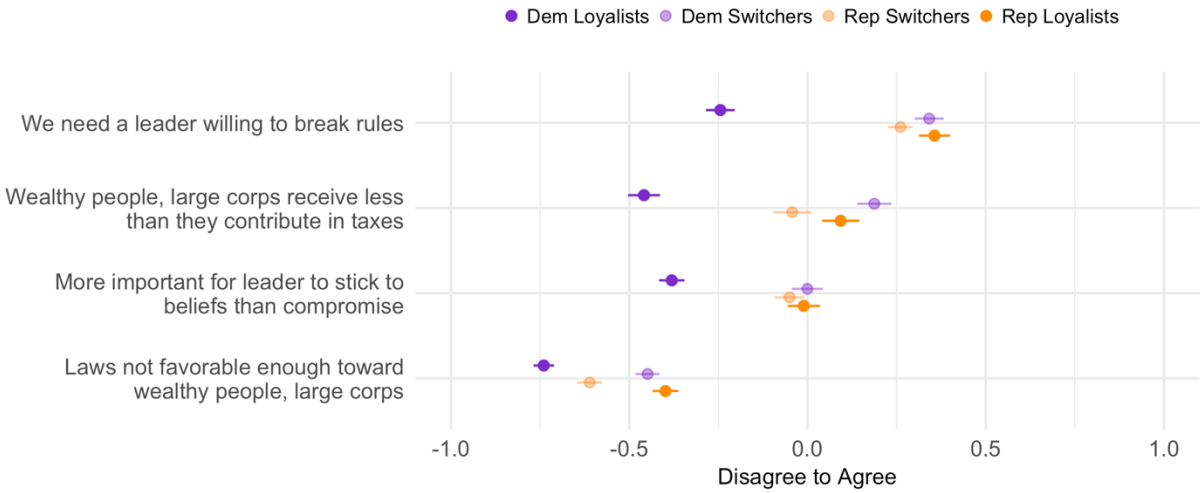
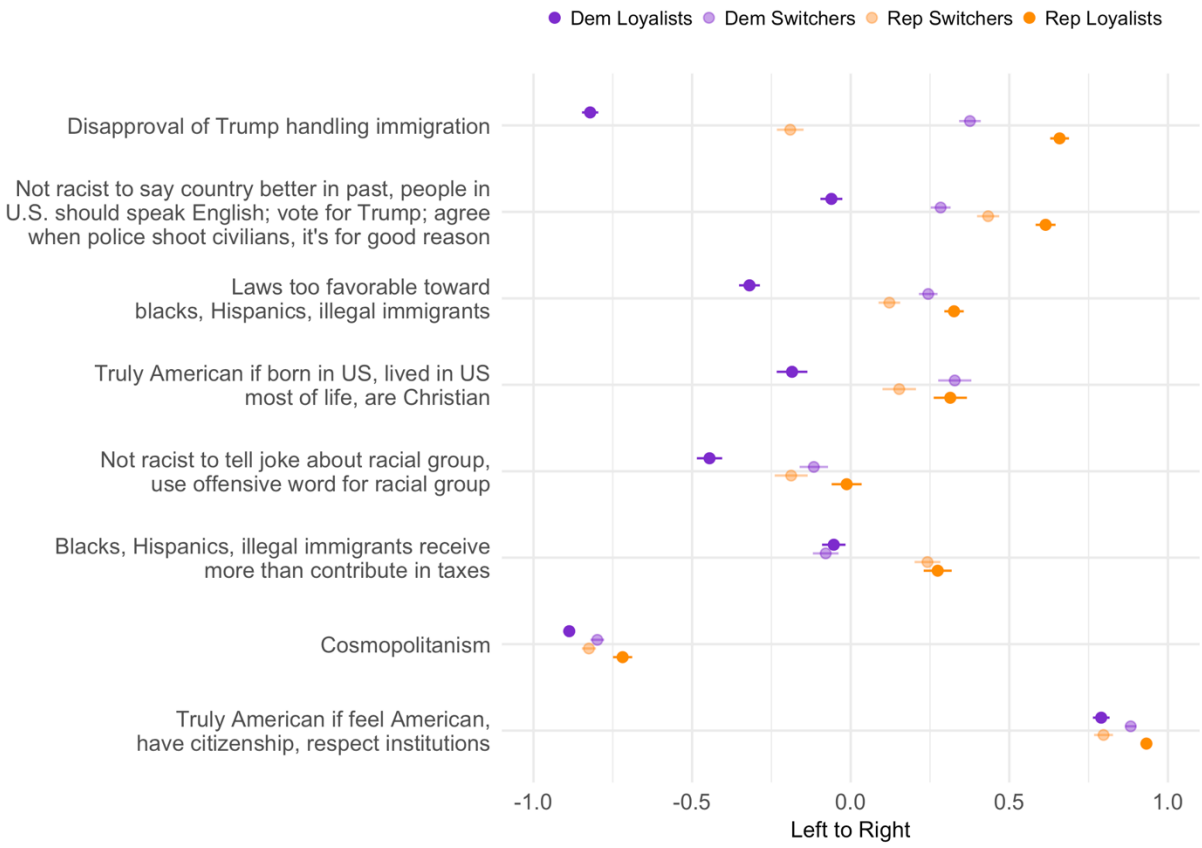


FIGURE M

Racial Conservatism and Concern about Immigrants (Corresponds with Figure 6)