Appendices:
Why Did Women Vote for Donald Trump?

APPENDIX A: SUPPLEMENTAL TABLES REFERENCED IN THE PUBLISHED ARTICLE

Appendix Table A.1. Descriptive Statistics

	Women		Men			
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Min	Max
Voted for Trump	.404	.491	.485	.499	0	1
Republican	.291	.455	.344	.475	0	1
White	.753	.432	.771	.420	0	1
No college degree	.536	.499	.523	.499	0	1
Younger than 30	.117	.322	.137	.343	0	1
Aged 30 to 44	.250	.434	.211	.408	0	1
Aged 45 or older	.618	.486	.641	.479	0	1
Married	.480	.500	.609	.488	0	1
Evangelical Prot.	.308	.462	.268	.443	0	1
Working class	.338	.473	.327	.469	0	1
Southern	.327	.470	.309	.462	0	1
Authoritarianism	.512	.324	.519	.330	0	1
Racial resentment	.520	.297	.543	.296	0	1
Sexism	.365	.190	.421	.192	0	1

Notes: Estimates calculated using results of the 2016 ANES using the weighting and SVY methods described in the article. The subpopulations included 1277 women and 1134 men. The estimates are weighted and adjusted for sample design effects.

Appendix Table A.2. Descriptive Statistics: Trump and Other Voters, by Gender

	Trump Voters					Other Voters			
	Women		Men			Women		Men	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.		Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Republican	.627	.485	.616	.484		.064	.245	.087	.283
White	.910	.287	.889	.312		.647	.478	.659	.475
No college degree	.646	.479	.566	.493		.461	.499	.483	.501
Younger than 30	.088	.284	.112	.314		.136	.343	.160	.367
Aged 30 to 44	.207	.406	.184	.386		.280	.449	.236	.425
Aged 45 or older	.696	.461	.700	.456		.564	.496	.585	.494
Married	.601	.491	.650	.475		.399	.490	.570	.496
Evangelical Prot.	.442	.497	.383	.483		.218	.413	.160	.367
Working class	.346	.477	.350	.475		.332	.471	.305	.461
Southern	.393	.489	.375	.482		.283	.450	.247	.432
Authoritarianism	.617	.270	.624	.277		.440	.338	.419	.345
Racial resentment	.735	.198	.722	.210		.375	.263	.374	.265
Sexism	.492	.157	.526	.158		.279	.160	.322	.167

Notes: Estimates calculated using results of the 2016 ANES using the weighting and SVY methods described in the article. The Trump supporter subpopulation sample included 516 women and 546 men. The other voters sample included 761 women and 588 men. The estimates are weighted and adjusted for sample design effects.

APPENDIX B: SUPPLEMENTAL ANALYSIS USING ALTERATIVE DATA

Below are the methods and findings sections from a preliminary version of the article, "Why Did Women Vote for Donald Trump?" Please do not cite these analyses; our final published results are based on a different sample: the 2016 American National Election Survey (ANES). Unlike the MTurk convenience sample described below, the ANES provides a nationally representative survey, with a subject pool that conforms to best practices in sampling. The ANES's measures for several demographic indictors and its assessment of authoritarianism, racial animosity, and sexism also reflect better-established, previously validated indicators that vary substantially from those analyzed below. Our preliminary findings are made available at the request of anonymous reviewers, and they serve as a robustness check of our article's main findings. The only major discrepancy across the two studies is that with the MTurk sample, authoritarianism emerged as a significant and powerful predictor for male support of Trump, but not for female support. In the published article, analyses of the ANES results lead us to conclude that there are no meaningful differences between the women and men who voted for Trump.

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Data and Measurement (with an MTurk Sample rather than ANES data)

   We explore what characteristics best predicted females' intentions to vote for Trump using a ClearerThinking.org survey administered to likely voters in early October 2016. Researchers collected data from a 942-subject pool recruited and compensated through Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) service (Greenberg 2016b; see also Levay, Freese, and Druckman 2016; Berinsky, Huber, and Lenz 2012). ClearerThinking.org prescreened respondents to create a sample mirroring the four leading candidates' national polling averages one month before the 2016 election. Our respondent pool, thus, closely mirrors the composition of more traditional surveys of likely voters on most demographic characteristics (Greenberg 2016a). However, the sample overrepresented millennials and underrepresented individuals aged 45 and older. Thus, we applied post-stratification age weights to match age distributions in the 2016 national exit polls (Schramm and Castillo 2016).

Key Variables

   Our dichotomous dependent variable distinguishes likely Trump voters from individuals who intended to support other candidates. Our independent variables fall into three categories: partisanship, demographics, and voter attitudes. We use dichotomous (1=yes; 0=no) indicators for partisanship and many of our demographic characteristics. These include *Republican*, *white*, *married, aged 30-to-44*, and *aged 45 and older* (individuals under 30 are the reference category), and *male* (overall model only). We

also rescale seven-point Likert scales[1] for *religiosity*, living in a *rural area*, and self-identification as a *blue-collar* worker to range from zero to one.

In addition, we measure three types of voter attitudes: authoritarianism, racial animus, and sexism. To measure a voter's *authoritarian* disposition, we used 12 seven-point Likert scale questions measuring agreement with questions in each of six areas previous research has linked to higher levels of support for authoritarian leadership (α=.75). Specifically, individuals who are inclined toward authoritarianism typically value obedience to authority, desire strong and decisive leaders, are intolerant of minority groups, embrace the use of physical force against outgroups, are anti-intellectual, and lament what they see as a damaging decline in social morality (Hetherington and Weiler 2009).[2] As with other indicators, we rescaled this measure to range from zero to one.

Following the same procedure, we used four seven-point Likert scale questions to create a measure of *racial animus* ranging from zero to one (α=.75). Specifically, we examined respondents' level of agreement with: "There are important differences between different races;" "Racial profiling is worthwhile because it makes us safer;" "People of color in the U.S. are not treated as well, on average, as white people" (reverse coded); and, "Immigrants threaten American customs and values."

Finally, we created a *sexism* scale based on respondents' agreement with three statements designed to tap hostility to gender equality and female leadership: "Women make just as good leaders as men do" (reverse coded); "It is important to continue fighting for women's equality in the U.S." (reverse coded); and "Women and men are best suited towards different kinds of work" (α=.70). Like all other measures, the original response categories for these questions were seven-point Likert scales. Here, however, the index was skewed (with more respondents on the low end), so we transformed the index into its natural log before rescaling it from zero to one.

It is not surprising that there is a significant correlation between our attitudinal measures— authoritarianism, racial animus, and sexism. As such, we reviewed our multivariate models for multicollinearity; none was found. A summary of descriptive statistics is reported in Table B.1.

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[1] The response options were: "Strongly disagree," "Disagree," "Somewhat disagree," "Neither agree, nor disagree," "Somewhat agree," "Agree," and "Strongly agree." A "don't know" option was not offered, and participants' compensation depended required providing an answer for all items.

[2] These questions were: "Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn;" "It's important to do what authorities tell us to do;" "It's important that a leader not change their mind about important issues;" "One of the most important things for a leader to do is show strength;" "When two things are different from each other, it's usually the case that one is better than another;" "There is too much political correctness in this country;" "Insults to our honor should always be punished;" "America needs to show the world that it's the strongest country on earth;" "The businessman and the manufacturer are more important to our country than artists and writers;" "It is important for a leader to be highly intellectual" (reverse coded); "America has become an increasing immoral place;" and, "It is a good thing to really enjoy having sex" (reverse coded).

Table B.1. Descriptive Statistics

	Women		Men			
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Min	Max
Voting for Trump	.380	.486	.418	.494	0	1
Republican	.292	.455	.295	.457	0	1
White	.805	.397	.778	.416	0	1
No college degree	.525	.500	.436	.496	0	1
Aged 45 or older	.606	.489	.488	.500	0	1
Aged 30 to 44	.204	.403	.243	.430	0	1
Religiosity	.503	.500	.399	.490	0	1
Married	.586	.395	.409	.377	0	1
Blue collar	.416	.345	.470	.355	0	1
Rural	.415	.396	.381	.366	0	1
Authoritarianism	.510	.149	.490	.146	0	1
Racial animus	.401	.247	.411	.248	0	1
Sexism	.353	.267	.469	.263	0	1

Notes: Estimates calculated using results of an MTurk survey (Greenberg 2016b). Sample includes 460 women and 482 men.

Findings

Table B.2. Why Women and Men Voted for Trump (Logistic Regression Models)

|	Women	Men	All
Republican	25.40(10.18)***	6.45(2.32)***	12.31(3.33)***
White	3.25(1.58)*	1.23(.50)	1.84(.58)
No college degree	1.71(.68)	1.75(.63)	1.72(.45)*
Aged 45 or older	1.50(.63)	1.33(.57)	1.36(.40)
Aged 30 to 44	1.67(.73)	2.26(.72)*	1.91(.48)*
Married	.73(.33)	.91(.35)	.87(.25)
Religiosity	.72(.39)	1.04(.47)	.82(.30)
Blue collar	.69(.48)	.43(.22)	.50(.21)
Rural	1.24(.66)	1.20(.54)	1.24(.42)
Authoritarianism	28.90(55.98)	175.46(263.79)***	87.45(105.65)***
Racial animus	282.32(322.57)***	167.30(167.20)***	190.41(140.79)***
Sexism	1.96(2.02)	1.00(.84)	1.35(.86)
Male	---	---	1.53(.43)
Observations	460	482	942
Pseudo R2	.56	.45	.49

Notes: Estimates calculated using results of an MTurk survey (Greenberg 2016b). Coefficients are odds ratios; standard errors in parentheses. * p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001

      Despite the prevailing narrative about Trump's electoral base of blue-collar, rural men, few of the demographic indicators attain statistical significance. There is no evidence that married women were influenced by their husbands, as they voted no differently than their single counterparts. Only race is significant in the female model; this effect is substantial and remarkable. The odds of white women supporting Trump were three times that of non-white women, while white men were no more likely to vote for Trump than non-whites, once other factors—including racial animus—are taken into account.

      Most interestingly, as shown in Figure 1, beliefs directly linked to the fears on which Trump

preyed were by far the most powerful determinants of women's vote choice. While sexism does not have a statistically significant effect on vote choice for either women or men, racial animus was the most potent predictor of vote choice for individuals of both genders, surpassing even partisanship. Male voters with the highest levels of racial animus were 61 percent more likely to support Trump than those with the lowest levels of animus. The effect for female voters, while not quite as large, was still powerful. Females with the highest levels of racial animus were 50 percent more likely to support Trump than those with lower animosity.

Figure B.2. Change in Predicted Probability of Men and Women Voting for Trump as Predictors Shift from Minimum to Maximum Values
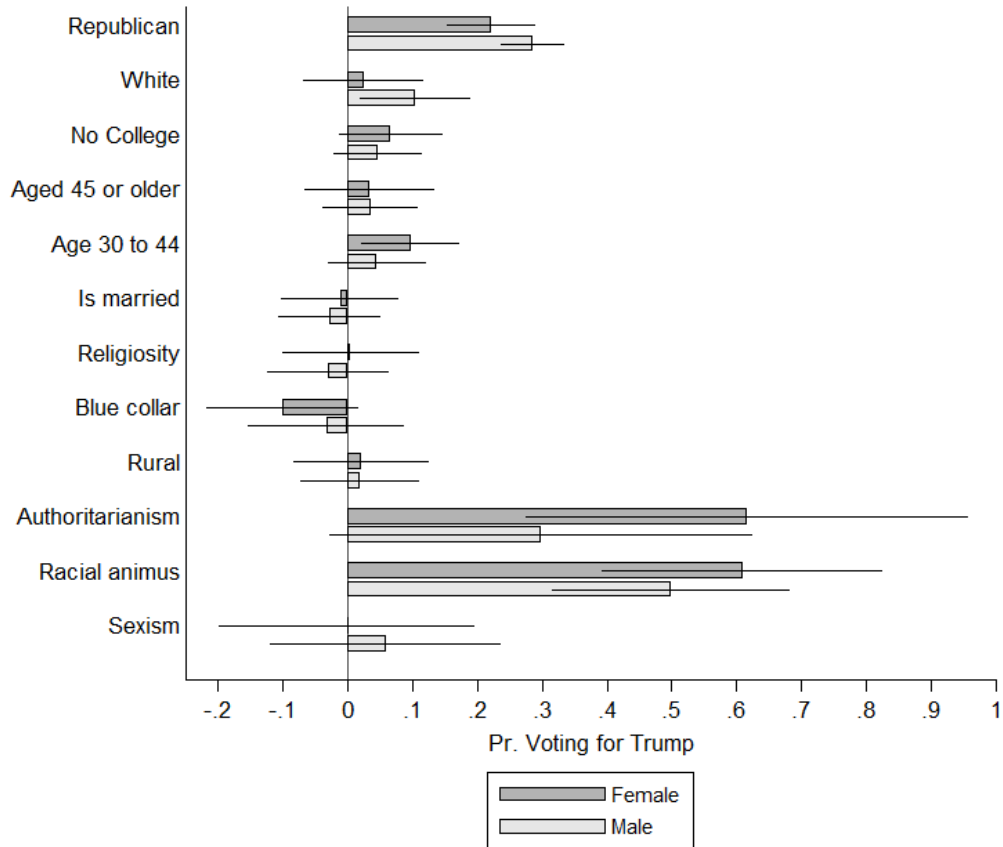
Notes: Note: Estimates calculated using results of an MTurk survey (Greenberg 2016b). Bars represent differences in the predicted probability that a person in the relevant group intended to vote for Trump when compared to the reference groups with all other variables held constant at their mean marginal effect. The lines indicate 95% confidence intervals for the estimates.

Authoritarianism, interestingly, only has a statistically significant effect on male voters; the most authoritarian men were 61 percent more likely to support Trump than less authoritarian men.

Works Cited in the Appendix B that Are Not in the Published Article

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