

Supplementary Material for:

“Contemporary Views of Liberal Democracy and the 2016 Presidential Election”

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Appendix A. Statement about the CCES and Question Wording for Key Survey Items

YouGov administers the CCES online to a very large sample. It uses matching techniques to generate a sample that approximates the U.S. population (over the age of 18) down to the congressional district (see, Vavreck and Rivers 2008). Based on Census data (e.g., the 2012 American Community Survey), YouGov matches persons, who it solicits to respond to the survey, to their numerical frequency in the target population. YouGov's matching technique uses gender, age, race, education, employment status, interest in politics, born again status, party identification, and ideology. Our module is a 1,000 person, randomly generated sub-sample. This sub-sample was exposed to our questionnaire as well as the survey's common content.

Our module reproduces most but not all of McClosky's battery of survey questions for two reasons. First, from a contemporaneous perspective, we exclude a few of McClosky's questions because they make little sense to include on a survey today. For example, we dropped a question about the power of congressional committees in turning up [Communist] subversives. Secondly, McClosky developed several scales, but he did not disclose the specific items that comprised those scales. This made it impossible to reproduce them. Even so, the CCES module included more than two-dozen of McClosky's questions.

Rules of the Game Questions

Please choose whether you AGREE or DISAGREE with the following statements:

- a. There are times when it almost seems better for the people to take the law into their own hands rather than wait for the machinery of government to act.
- b. We might as well make up our minds that in order to make the world better a lot of innocent people will have to suffer.
- c. I don't mind a politician's methods if he/she manages to get the right things done.
- d. Almost any unfairness or brutality may have to be justified when some great purpose is being carried out.
- e. Politicians have to cut a few corners if they are going to get anywhere.
- f. People ought to be allowed to vote even if they can't do so intelligently. [REV IN SCALE]
- g. To bring about great changes for the benefit of humankind often requires cruelty and even ruthlessness.
- h. It is all right to get around the law if you don't actually break it.
- i. The true American way of life is disappearing so fast that we may have to use force to save it.

Application of Free Speech and Procedural Rights Questions

Please choose whether you AGREE or DISAGREE with the following statements:

- a. Freedom does not give anyone the right to teach foreign ideas in our schools.
- b. A book that contains wrong political views cannot be a good book and does not deserve to be published.
- c. When the country is in great danger we may have to force people to testify against themselves even if it violates their rights.
- d. No matter what crime a person is accused of, they should never be convicted unless they have been given the right to face and question their accusers. [REV IN SCALE]
- e. If a person is convicted of a crime by illegal evidence, they should be set free and the evidence

- thrown out of court. [REV IN SCALE]
- f. Any person who hides behind the laws when he/she is questioned about their activities doesn't deserve much consideration.
 - g. In dealing with dangerous enemies like ISIS, we can't afford to depend on the courts, the laws and their slow and unreliable methods.

Political Equality Questions

Please choose whether you AGREE or DISAGREE with the following statements:

- a. The main trouble with democracy is that most people don't really know what's best for them.
- b. Few people really know what is in their own best interest in the long run.
- c. "Issues" and "arguments" are beyond the understanding of most voters.
- d. Most people don't have enough sense to pick their own leaders wisely.
- e. It will always be necessary to have a few strong, able people actually running everything.

Social and Ethnic Equality Questions

Please choose whether you AGREE or DISAGREE with the following statements:

- a. We have to teach children that all people are created equal but almost everyone knows that some are better than others.
- b. Just as is true of fine race horses, some breeds of people are just naturally better than others.
- c. Regardless of what some people say, there are certain races in the world that just won't mix with Americans.
- d. When it comes to the things that count most, all races are certainly not equal.
- e. The trouble with letting certain minority groups into a nice neighborhood is that they gradually give it their own atmosphere.

Policy Position Scale Questions (coded in a conservative direction)

Do you SUPPORT or OPPOSE each of the following proposals?

- a. Ban assault rifles.
- b. Allow employers to decline coverage of abortions in insurance plans.
- c. Given Environmental Protection Agency power to regulate Carbon Dioxide emissions.
- d. Increase the number of police on the street by 10 percent, even if it means fewer funds for other public services.

What do you think the U.S. government should do about immigration? SELECT all that apply.

- a. Grant legal status to all illegal immigrants who have held jobs and paid taxes for at least 3 years, and not been convicted of any felony crimes.

Appendix B. Exploring the Dimensions of Liberal Democratic Values with an Exploratory Factor Analysis

We explored McClosky's survey questions further by subjecting them to an EFA. We had two objectives in doing so. First, based on McClosky's questions, how many dimensions are there to citizens' democratic values, and what do they look like? We believe his questions measure a larger, latent attitude we think of as democratic values. What we don't know, however, is whether or not respondents' answers to these questions reveal a multidimensional or unidimensional attitude. McClosky organized his questions in such a way that implies he thought of democratic values as a multidimensional concept. Nevertheless, he never subjected his questions to a statistical test to confirm such an idea.

Second, how can we summarize these questions or combine them in such a way that makes them useful for further analyses? We assume that citizens' democratic values have the ability to shape their political behavior. Our ability to test this notion empirically requires that we condense these 26 questions into a smaller set of variables. We therefore use the results of our EFA to generate variables for our final empirical exercise, evaluating whether or not democratic values shaped citizens' preferences and votes for the presidency in 2016.

We present the results of our EFA in Table C1. This table displays factor loadings for each of McClosky's questions in the 2016 CCES. We present only coefficients whose *absolute* values are greater than 0.3 to help clarify the meaning of each factor. These factor loadings are generated from a promax rotation to a principal factor analysis on all 26 questions. We present and prefer an oblique rotation method (e.g., promax), as it seems very plausible that these factors are correlated with each other.¹

Table B1. Exploratory Factor Analysis on McClosky's Items in the 2016 CCES

Variable Label	Factor 1 (Racial Supremacy)	Factor 2 (Authoritarianism)	Factor 3 (Elitism)
...people should take law into their own hands	-	0.5246	-
...innocent people suffer [improving the world]	-	0.6564	-
Politician's methods don't matter...	-	-	-
...purpose justifies unfairness or brutality"	-	0.3094	-
Politicians need to cut corners	-	-	-
Everyone should be able to vote	-	-	-
...mankind often requires cruelty & ruthlessness	-	0.5013	-
It's alright to get around the law...	-	-	-
...use force to save true American way of life	-	0.3819	-
Shouldn't teach foreign ideas in school	0.3891	-	-
Censor books that contain wrong political views...	-	-	-
...may have to force people to testify against themselves	-	-	-
...person has the right to face & question accusers	-	-	-

¹ Using oblimin as an alternative oblique rotation, and varimax, an orthogonal rotation, reveals very similar findings. The only difference is that these other rotation methods marginally increase the number of items that load on each factor. The correlation between factor 1 and 2 following the promax rotation is 0.58, and the correlation between 1 and 3 is 0.20, and the correlation between 2 and 3 is 0.16.

Set free persons convicted by illegal evidence	-	-	-
Don't consider people who hide behind the law	-	-	-
...can't afford to depend on slow courts & laws	-	-	-
...people don't know what's best for them	-	-	0.7678
Few people know what's in their best interest...	-	-	0.7834
Issues are beyond the understanding of most voters	-	-	0.6415
...people lack sense to pick leaders wisely	-	-	0.5860
...necessary to have few strong, able people in power	-	-	-
Some people are better, despite what we teach	-	-	-
Some breeds of people are better than others	0.4304	-	-
Certain races won't mix with Americans	0.7258	-	-
All races are certainly not equal	0.4814	-	-
Minorities take over neighborhood if allowed...	0.6547	-	-
Proportion	0.6524	0.2482	0.1065
Cronbach's Alpha	0.7315	0.6926	0.8053

Note: We derive Cronbach's alpha for each column from models that include only the variables whose factor loadings are above 0.3 for each dimension (i.e., the variables for which we present factor loading scores. These factor loadings are from a principal factors analysis with promax (oblique) rotation. $N=657$.

Our EFA reveals at least three dimensions to democratic values as measured by McClosky's questions. The bottom of Table B1 reports the variability that each factor explains: 0.65 for the first, 0.25 for the second, and 0.11 for the third. Importantly, the variables that load on each factor make intuitive sense. For example, the questions that load well on the third factor, McClosky presents in a single table that he labels, "...Free Speech and Procedural Rights." Save for one, all of the questions that load well on the first factor, McClosky presents in a single table that he labels, "...Belief in Equality." In other words, the factor analysis reveals that McClosky's organization of these items makes sense empirically today. We prefer to label these factors as follows: "Racial Supremacy" for factor 1, "Authoritarianism" for factor 2, and "Elitism" for factor 3.

We explored several options to combine these 26 variables into 3 that represent each of these factors. The most efficient and intuitive method, in our opinion, is to use summary scales. In the analysis that follows, we present findings that use summary scales we created using *only* the variables that loaded well on each factor, which we define as an absolute value of 0.3 or greater – i.e., what we present in Table B1. Our scale for Elitism, for example, is the summary score for each respondent's answers to the questions that have values in the third column in Table 1, divided by the number of questions – in this case a total of 4. Respondents' scores, then, vary from 0 to 1, where 0 indicates a respondent who disagrees with each Elitism question and a 1 indicates a respondent who agrees with each Elitism question. Our results are very similar if we instead use estimated factor scores from our factor analysis.²

The bottom of Table B1 reports Cronbach's alpha scores for these scales; it presents the alpha statistic for scales comprised of only the variables that load well on each factor. Each alpha is very near or above 0.70. This provides empirical justification for creating and using these scales.

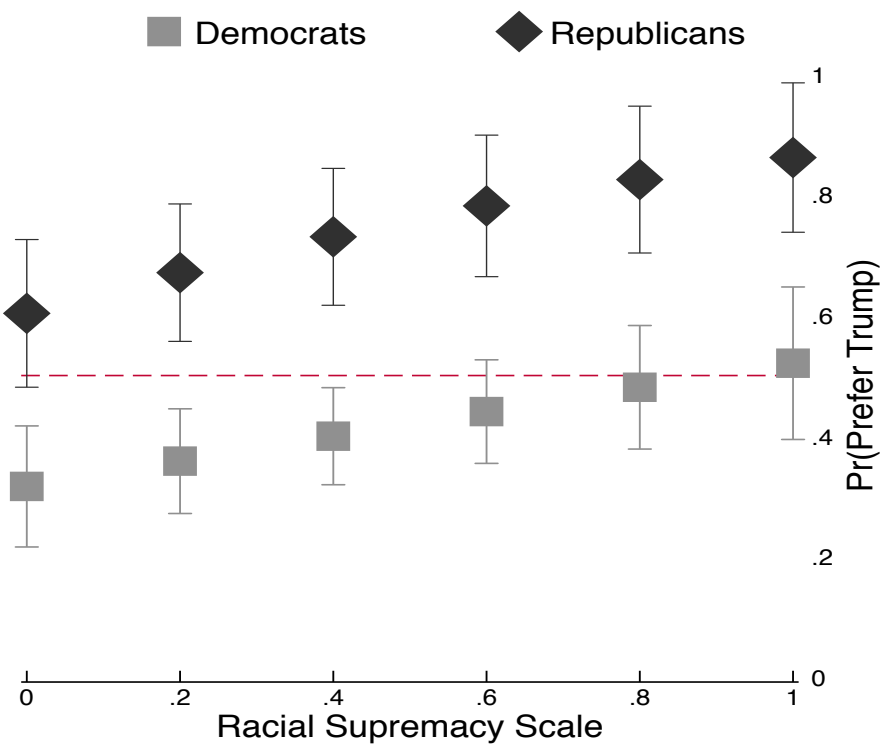
² As an alternative, we created and tested factor scores generated from the so-called "Bartlett method." The results are very comparable.

These three scales are moderate to weakly associated with each other, much like the underlying factors.³

Appendix C. Racial Supremacy, Elitism, and Electoral Preferences in 2016

Figures C1 and C2 reproduce Figure 5 in the manuscript, but in this case they generate separate predictions for a hypothetical white Republican woman and a white Democratic woman. Figure C1 shows that a white Democratic woman who was at the minimum on racial supremacy preferred Clinton to Trump. At the maximum level of racial supremacy, however, she was indifferent. On the other hand, the Republican preferred Trump regardless of her level of racial supremacy. Figure C2 shows that a Democratic woman who is at the minimum in terms of elitism is indifferent between Trump and Clinton. As her elitism shifts up, however, she becomes increasingly likely to prefer Clinton. Her Republican counterpart is universally more likely to prefer Trump regardless of her level of elitism.

Figure C1. Racial Supremacy and the Preference for Trump v. Clinton by Party



³ The correlation between racial supremacy and authoritarianism is 0.45, racial supremacy and elitism is 0.23, and authoritarianism and elitism is 0.18.

Figure C2. Elitism and the Preference for Trump v. Clinton

