**Appendix**

1. **State Convention Delegate Survey**

**i. Methodology**

The 2016 State Conventional Delegate Study (Layman, Brockway, Blum, Green, and Noel) was conducted as follows. Researchers solicited lists of delegates from each state-party unit that held a convention in 2016. Researchers received a list of state delegates, with names and contact information, from seven state party organizations, three of which were Republican (Utah, Illinois, and Texas), and four of which were Democrat (Iowa, Washington, Minnesota, and Texas). Beginning in September 2017, letters were sent to every delegate from these lists. In particular, Iowa, Illinois, Minnesota, and Washington delegates received initial letters in late September 2017, with three rounds of follow-up postcards sent in two-week increments after the initial letter. Utah Republicans received an initial letter in late September 2017, with one follow-up postcard two weeks later. Due to high response rates and the inclusion of email addresses for these delegates, the final follow up to Utah delegates was by email in January 2018. For the Texas delegations, initial letters were sent in December 2017 (delayed due to the Hurricane), and one follow-up postcard was sent two weeks later. Texas party delegates received four follow-up emails in one-week increments following the postcard. Full details and response rates are shown in appendix table 1.

**Appendix Table 1. State Delegates Survey Response Rates**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| State/Party | Letters sent | Responses | Response rate |
| Utah Republicans | 3,654 | 528 | 14.4% |
| Iowa Democrats | 1,408 | 195 | 13.8% |
| Washington Democrats | 2,013 | 338 | 16.8% |
| Illinois Republicans | 1,704 | 202 | 11.9% |
| Minnesota Democrats | 2,530 | 395 | 15.6% |
| Texas Democrats | 9,180 | 681 | 7.4% |
| Texas Republicans | 12,236 | 651 | 5.3% |

**ii. Summary Statistics**

Appendix tables 2 and 3 summarize additional information about the Republican SCDS respondents analyzed in this paper. Appendix table 2 shows detailed demographic information, and appendix table 3 gives the extended breakdown of candidate support.

**Appendix Table 2. State Delegate Survey Summary Statistics**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Illinois | Texas | Utah | *State Delegate Totals* |
| Age (mean)  *18-87* | 56 | 57 | 53 | 55 |
| Education (mean)  *(1) HS or less, (2) some college,*  *(3) college, (4) some post grad,*  *(5) grad degree* | 3.7 | 3.63 | 3.76 | 3.68 |
| Female (percent) | 26.38 | 37.87 | 22.51 | 31.59 |
| Ideology (mean)  *(1) Extremely Liberal -*  *(7) Extremely Conservative* | 5.98 | 6.18 | 5.88 | 6.05 |
| Income (mean)  *(1) <=$29,999, (2) $30k-$52,499,*  *(3) $52,500-$74,999, (4) $75k-$124,999,*  *5) $125k-$250k, 6) > $250k* | 4.01 | 3.96 | 4.03 | 3.99 |
| Party ID (mean)  *(1) Very Strong Democrat  -*  *(7) Very Strong Republican* | 5.68 | 5.64 | 4.89 | 5.38 |
| White (percent) | 91.89 | 86.73 | 94.85 | 90.07 |
| *State N* | 214 | 1,347 | 856 | 2,397 |
| *Response Rate* | 14.6% | 13% | 26.4% | 18% *(mean)* |

**Appendix Table 3. Primary Candidate Support Among Republican State Delegates**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Illinois | Texas | Utah | *Candidate Total* |
| Jeb Bush | 4.07%  (9) | 1.87%  (26) | 2.81%  (25) | 2.4%  (60) |
| Ben Carson | 5.88%  (13) | 5.4%  (75) | 6.18%  (55) | 5.72%  (143) |
| Ted Cruz | 21.27%  (47) | 45.47%  (632) | 38.54%  (343) | 40.86%  (1,022) |
| Carly Fiorina | 4.98%  (11) | 2.01%  (28) | 5.06%  (45) | 3.36%  (84) |
| John Kasich | 16.74%  (37) | 4.68%  (65) | 19.33%  (172) | 10.96%  (274) |
| Rand Paul | 4.98%  (11) | 6.19%  (86) | 5.51%  (49) | 5.84%  (146) |
| Marco Rubio | 8.14%  (18) | 8.56%  (119) | 5.73%  (51) | 7.52%  (188) |
| Donald Trump | 28.96%  (64) | 20.07%  (279) | 8.99%  (80) | 16.91%  (423) |
| *State Total* | 95.02%  (219) | 94.25%  (1,310) | 92.15%  (820) | 93.57%  (2,349) |

*Not shown (because raw totals <35, and percent of total <1.5%): Ben Sasse (1), Bernie Sanders (1), Bobby Jindal (2), Chris Christie (4), Evan McMullin (13), Jim Gilmore (1), John Huntsman (1), Kerry Bowers (1), Lindsay Graham (1), Mike Huckabee ((33), Mike Pence (1), Mitt Romney (29), Rick Santorum (21), Scott Walker (29), Other (15).*

**iii. Summary of SCDS Responses on Dependent Variables**

**Appendix Figure 1. Position on Whether the U.S. Should Stay at Home by Candidate Preference (SCDS)**

<BlumParker\_Append\_Fig1.pdf here>

**Appendix Table 4. Position on Whether the U.S. Should Stay at Home by Candidate Preference (SCDS)**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Disagree strongly  (1) | Disagree slightly  (2) | Neither  (3) | Agree slightly  (4) | Agree strongly (5) |
| Cruz | 33.9%  (344) | 30.9%  (314) | 11.2%  (114) | 21.4%  (217) | 2.7%  (27) |
| Kasich | 49.6%  (135) | 30.2%  (82) | 8.5%  (23) | 8.5%  (23) | 3.3%  (9) |
| Rubio | 41%  (77) | 34.6%  (65) | 10.1%  (19) | 13.8%  (26) | 0.5%  (1) |
| Trump | 28%  (118) | 29%  (122) | 10.7%  (45) | 25.2%  (106) | 7.1%  (30) |

*Chi2: 78.34, Pr=0.000*

**Appendix Figure 2. Position on Barring Immigration from Islamic Countries by Candidate Preference (SCDS)**

<BlumParker\_Append\_Fig2.pdf here>

**Appendix Table 5. Position on Barring Immigration from Islamic Countries by Candidate Preference (SCDS)**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Disagree strongly  (1) | Disagree slightly  (2) | Neither  (3) | Agree slightly  (4) | Agree strongly (5) |
| Cruz | 4.4%  (45) | 11.8%  (119) | 11.3%  (114) | 36.1%  (366) | 36.4%  (369) |
| Kasich | 23.2%  (63) | 32.7%  (89) | 17.3%  (47) | 21%  (57) | 5.9%  (16) |
| Rubio | 14.4%  (27) | 25%  (47) | 11.2%  (21) | 36.2%  (68) | 13.3%  (25) |
| Trump | 4.3%  (17) | 5.3%  (22) | 5.5%  (23) | 27.7%  (115) | 57.2%  (238) |

*Chi2: 408.11, Pr=0.000*

**Appendix Figure 3. Position on Free Trade Agreements by Candidate Preference (SCDS)**

<BlumParker\_Append\_Fig3.pdf here>

**Appendix Table 6. Position on Free Trade Agreements by Candidate Preference (SCDS)**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Favor a great deal (1) | Favor a moderate amount (2) | Favor a little (3) | Neither favor nor oppose (4) | Oppose a little (5) | Oppose a moderate amount (6) | Oppose a great deal (7) |
| Cruz | 12.4%  (107) | 20.4%  (176) | 13.9%  (120) | 14.9%  (128) | 16.5%  (142) | 15.1%  (130 | 6.9%  (59) |
| Kasich | 16.2%  (37) | 23.7%  (54) | 26.8%  (61) | 14.5%  (33) | 11%  (25) | 6.1%  (14) | 1.8%  (4) |
| Rubio | 18.7%  (29) | 22.6%  (35) | 21.9%  (34) | 12.3%  (19) | 14.8%  (23) | 6.5%  (10) | 3.2%  (5) |
| Trump | 6.7%  (24) | 14.1%  (51) | 10.3%  (37) | 9.7%  (35) | 16.6%  (60) | 25.5%  (92) | 17.2%  (62) |

*Chi2: 164.5, Pr=0.000*

**iv. Additional SCDS Model Specifications**

**Appendix Table 7. SCDS Model 1 (paper version) and Model 2 (alternative version)**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Support for Isolationism  *Ordered Logit* | |  | Support for barring Islamic Immigrants  *Ordered Logit* | | | Opposition to Free Trade Agreements  *Ordered Logit* | |
|  | **(1)** | **(2)** |  | **(1)** | **(2)** |  | **(1)** | **(2)** |
| Trump Primary Choice | 0.487\*\*\*  (0.109) | 0.463\*\*\*  (0.11) |  | 1.269\*\*\*  (0.123) | 1.177\*\*\*  (0.122) |  | 0.859\*\*\*  (0.118) | 0.825\*\*\*  (0.118) |
| Ideology | 0.243\*\*\*  (0.05) | 0.201\*\*\*  (0.052) |  | 0.797\*\*\*  (0.052) | 0.671\*\*\*  (0.053) |  | 0.176\*\*\*  (0.05) | 0.098  (0.053) |
| Neoconservatism  *English Language* | - | 0.129\*\*  (0.045) |  | - | 0.504\*\*\*  (0.047) |  | - | 0.205\*\*\*  (0.047) |
| Education | -0.052  (0.035) | -0.05  (0.035) |  | -0.146\*\*\*  (0.037) | -0.15\*\*\*  (0.037) |  | -0.114\*\*  (0.037) | -0.112\*\*  (0.038) |
| Income | -0.07\*  (0.033) | -0.072\*  (0.033) |  | -0.028  (0.034) | -0.024  (0.035) |  | -0.111\*\*  (0.035) | -0.11\*\*  (0.035) |
| Female | 0.012  (0.088) | 0.01  (0.088) |  | 0.08  (0.091) | 0.103  (0.091) |  | 0.457\*\*\*  (0.094) | 0.458\*\*\*  (0.094) |
| Age | -0.02\*\*\*  (0.003) | -0.02\*\*\*  (0.003) |  | 0.025\*\*\*  (0.003) | 0.022\*\*\*  (0.003) |  | 0.021\*\*\*  (0.003) | 0.02\*\*\*  (0.003) |
| Not White | -0.028  (0.133) | -0.025  (0.133) |  | 0.446\*\*  (0.146) | 0.457\*\*  (0.145) |  | 0.201  (0.146) | 0.206  (0.146) |
| *Log Likelihood* | -2922.59 | -2913.07 |  | -2797.13 | -2735.00 |  | -3365.00 | -3336.85 |
| *N* | 2,080 | 2,077 |  | 2,072 | 2,069 |  | 1,804 | 1,795 |

*\*\*\* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001*

*Standard errors in parentheses*

**Appendix Figure 4. Marginal Effects for Trump Support on Isolationism in SCDS Model 2**

<BlumParker\_Append\_Fig4.pdf here>

**Appendix Figure 5. Marginal Effects for Trump Support on Barring Immigrants in SCDS Model 2**

<BlumParker\_Append\_Fig5.pdf here>

**Appendix Figure 6. Marginal Effects of Trump Support on Free Trade Agreements in SCDS Model 2**

<BlumParker\_Append\_Fig6.pdf here>

**v. SCDS Variables and Coding**

***Dependent Variables***

* **Isolationism:** *“Please tell us how much you disagree or agree with the following statement: This country would be better off if we just stayed home and did not concern ourselves with problems in other parts of the world.”* Responses range from 1-5, where “Disagree Strongly” is 1, and “Agree Strongly” is 5.
* **Immigration:** *“Please tell us how much you disagree or agree with the following statement: People from countries in which Islamic terrorist organizations have a significant presence should be barred from entering the U.S. until we have a better system in place for identifying individuals who are terrorist threats.”* Responses range from 1-5, where “Disagree Strongly” is 1, and “Agree Strongly” is 5.
* **Free Trade:** *“There has been a lot of talk recently about the U.S. making free trade agreements with other countries. Where would you place on the following scale?”* Responses range from 1-7, where strongly agreeing that “The US should increase the number of free trade agreements with other countries” is 1, and strongly disagreeing is 7.

***Independent Variables***

* **Trump support:** Respondents were asked: *“Whom did you most prefer as your party's nominee for president in 2016?”* We coded the choice of Trump as 1, and the choice of any other Republican as 0.
* **Ideology:** *“We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Below is a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. Where would you place yourself on this scale?”* The scale ranges from 1 (extremely liberal) to 0 (extremely conservative).
* **Neoconservatism (English language):[[1]](#footnote-1)** “*Please tell us how much you disagree or agree with the following statement: It is important that everyone in the United States learns to speak English.”* Responses range from 1-5, where “Disagree Strongly” is 1, and “Agree Strongly” is 5.
* **Education:** *“What is the highest level of education that you completed?”* Options are 1) High school or less, 2) Some college/Vocational training, 3) College graduate, 4) Some post-graduate training, 5) Post-graduate degree.
* **Income:** “*Please indicate your approximate before tax annual family income in 2016.”* 1) $29,999 or less, 2) $30,000 to $52,499, 3) $52,500 to $74,999, 4) $75,000 to $124,999, 5) $125,000 to $250,000, 6) Over $250,000.
* **Age:** *“In what year were you born?”* Recoded to a continuous variable, in years.
* **Female:** *“Are you male or female?”* Recoded so female = 1, and male = 0.
* **Not-White:** *“Which of the following best describes you? Please check all that apply.”* Recoded so that “White, non-Hispanic” = 0, and all others = 1.

1. **American National Elections Study**

**i. Summary of ANES Responses on Dependent Variables**

**Appendix Figure 7. Position on Whether the US Should Stay at Home by Primary Candidate Choice (ANES)**

<BlumParker\_Append\_Fig7.pdf here>

**Appendix Table 8. Position on Whether the US Should Stay at Home by Primary Candidate Choice (ANES)**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Disagree  (0) | Agree  (1) |
| Cruz | 85.7%  (138) | 14.3%  (23) |
| Kasich | 80.4%  (90) | 19.6%  (22) |
| Rubio | 77.4%  (65) | 22.6%  (19) |
| Trump | 68.2%  (303) | 31.8%  (141) |

*Chi2: 22.39, Pr=0.000*

**Appendix Figure 8. Position on Allowing Syrian Refugees by Primary Candidate Choice (ANES)**

<BlumParker\_Append\_Fig8.pdf here>

**Appendix Table 9. Position on Allowing Syrian Refugees by Primary Candidate Choice (ANES)**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Favor a great deal (1) | Favor a moderate amount (2) | Favor a little (3) | Neither favor nor oppose (4) | Oppose a little (5) | Oppose a moderate amount (6) | Oppose a great deal (7) |
| Cruz | 1.9%  (3) | 1.9%  (3) | 3.1%  (5) | 18.8%  (30) | 1.9%  (3) | 17.5%  (20) | 55%  (88) |
| Kasich | 7%  (8) | 14%  (16) | 3.5%  (4) | 34.2%  (39) | 7%  (8) | 11.4%  (13) | 22.8%  (26) |
| Rubio | 3.5%  (3) | 2.4%  (2) | 3.5%  (3) | 18.8%  (16) | 4.7%  (4) | 21.2%  (18) | 45.9%  (39) |
| Trump | 0.5%  (2) | 1.8%  (8) | 0%  (0) | 11.4%  (51) | 1.4%  (6) | 15.9%  (71) | 69.1%  (308) |

*Chi2: 168.88, Pr=0.000*

**Appendix Figure 9. Position on Free Trade Agreements by Primary Candidate Choice (ANES)**

<BlumParker\_Append\_Fig9.pdf here>

**Appendix Table 10. Position on Free Trade Agreements by Primary Candidate Choice (ANES)**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Favor a great deal (1) | Favor a moderate amount (2) | Favor a little (3) | Neither favor nor oppose (4) | Oppose a little (5) | Oppose a moderate amount (6) | Oppose a great deal (7) |
| Cruz | 12.3%  (17) | 20.3%  (28) | 6.5%  (9) | 34.8%  (48) | 2.2%  (3) | 15.2%  (21) | 8.7%  (12) |
| Kasich | 13.6%  (14) | 33%  (34) | 6.8%  (7) | 31.1%  (32) | 4.9%  (5) | 5.8%  (6) | 4.9%  (5) |
| Rubio | 7.5%  (3) | 27.5%  (11) | 2.5%  (1) | 45%  (18) | 0%  (0) | 10%  (4) | 7.5%  (3) |
| Trump | 8.3%  (31) | 18.8%  (70) | 2.2%  (8) | 36.3%  (135) | 3.5%  (13) | 17.2%  (64) | 13.7%  (51) |

*Chi2: 47.21, Pr=0.003*

**ii. Additional ANES Model Specifications**

**Appendix Table 11. All ANES Model Specifications**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Support for Isolationism  *Logit* | | | | | Opposition to Syrian Refugees  *Ordered Logit* | | | | | Opposition to Free Trade Agreements  *Ordered Logit* | | | |
|  | **(1)** | **(2)** | **(3)** | **(4)** |  | **(1)** | **(2)** | **(3)** | **(4)** |  | **(1)** | **(2)** | **(3)** | **(4)** |
| Trump Support | 0.771\*\*\*  (0.195) | 0.698\*\*  (0.218) | 0.744\*\*  (0.216) | 0.634\*\*  (0.22) |  | 1.158\*\*\*  (0.161) | 0.981\*\*\*  (0.175) | 1.125\*\*\*  (0.173) | 0.995\*\*\*  (0.177) |  | 0.555\*\*\*  (0.153) | 0.517\*\*  (0.156) | 0.509\*\*  (0.155) | 0.488\*\*  (0.157) |
| Conservatism | -0.085  (0.101) | -0.129  (0.111) | -0.109  (0.111) | -0.131  (0.113) |  | 0.513\*\*\*  (0.084) | 0.397\*\*\*  (0.092) | 0.422\*\*\*  (0.09) | 0.391\*\*\*  (0.092) |  | 0.09  (0.08) | 0.088  (0.08) | 0.079  (0.08) | 0.08  (0.081) |
| Neoconservatism  *(Nationalism)* | - | 0.809\*\*\*  (0.193) | - | 0.699\*\*\*  (0.196) |  | - | 0.973\*\*\*  (0.15) | - | 0.957\*\*\*  (0.152) |  | - | 0.2  (0.13) | - | 0.144  (0.133) |
| Ethnocentrism | - | - | 0.354\*\*\*  (0.1) | 0.283\*\*  (0.101) |  | - | - | 0.116  (0.082) | 0.016  (0.086) |  | - | - | 0.141  (0.075) | 0.116  (0.077) |
| Education | -0.095  (0.1) | -0.054  (0.111) | -0.117  (0.11) | -0.063  (0.112) |  | -0.105  (0.082) | -0.082  (0.088) | -0.137  (0.087) | -0.085  (0.088) |  | -0.206\*\*  (0.078) | -0.197\*  (0.079) | -0.207\*\*  (0.079) | -0.198\*  (0.08) |
| Income | -0.024  (0.013) | -0.022  (0.014) | -0.021  (0.014) | -0.019  (0.015) |  | -0.008  (0.011) | -0.006  (0.012) | -0.008  (0.012) | -0.006  (0.012) |  | -0.018  (0.011) | -0.017  (0.011) | -0.016  (0.011) | -0.015  (0.011) |
| Age | -0.028\*\*\*  (0.006) | -0.031\*\*\*  (0.007) | -0.029\*\*\*  (0.007) | -0.03\*\*  (0.007) |  | 0.01\*  (0.005) | 0.008  (0.005) | 0.008  (0.005) | 0.008  (0.005) |  | -0.012  (0.005) | -0.012\*\*  (0.005) | -0.013\*\*  (0.005) | -0.012\*\*  (0.005) |
| Female | -0.316  (0.191) | -0.265  (0.211) | -0.245  (0.209) | -0.31  (0.214) |  | -0.031  (0.156) | -0.085  (0.169) | -0.012  (0.166) | -0.11  (0.17) |  | -0.029  (0.149) | -0.05  (0.15) | -0.052  (0.15) | -0.059  (0.151) |
| Not White | -0.107  (0.33) | -0.125  (0.376) | -0.124  (0.374) | -0.051  (0.378) |  | -0.046  (0.274) | 0.273  (0.3) | 0.223  (0.301) | 0.283  (0.301) |  | 0.02  (0.272) | 0.048  (0.273) | 0.044  (0.273) | 0.057  (0.274) |
| *Log Likelihood* | -351.84 | -289.41 | -291.95 | -284.13 |  | -812.65 | -687.55 | -705.43 | -682.2 |  | -991.6 | -986.185 | -979.33 | -976.04 |
| *N* | 684 | 593 | 590 | 587 |  | 688 | 597 | 594 | 591 |  | 594 | 591 | 587 | 585 |

**Appendix Figure 10. Marginal Effects for Trump Support on Isolationism in ANES Model 2**

<BlumParker\_Append\_Fig10.pdf here>

**Appendix Figure 11. Marginal Effects for Trump Support on Isolationism in ANES Model 3**

<BlumParker\_Append\_Fig11.pdf here>

**Appendix Figure 12. Marginal Effects for Trump Support on Isolationism in ANES Model 4**

<BlumParker\_Append\_Fig12.pdf here>

**Appendix Figure 13. Marginal Effects for Trump Support on Syrian Refugees in ANES Model 2**

<BlumParker\_Append\_Fig13.pdf here>

**Appendix Figure 14. Marginal Effects for Trump Support on Syrian Refugees in ANES Model 3**

<BlumParker\_Append\_Fig14.pdf here>

**Appendix Figure 15. Marginal Effects for Trump Support on Syrian Refugees in ANES Model 4**

<BlumParker\_Append\_Fig15.pdf here>

**Appendix Figure 16. Marginal Effects for Trump Support on Free Trade in ANES Model 2**

<BlumParker\_Append\_Fig16.pdf here>

**Appendix Figure 17. Marginal Effects for Trump Support on Free Trade in ANES Model 3**

<BlumParker\_Append\_Fig17.pdf here>

**Appendix Figure 18. Marginal Effects for Trump Support on Free Trade in ANES Model 4**

<BlumParker\_Append\_Fig18.pdf here>

**Note on Ethnocentrism:** Although ethnocentrism is a possible competing explanation (thus included in models 3 and 4), the conventional approach of creating a scale of stereotype variables (see Kinder and Kam) does not yield much variation in this context. There are a number of reasons for this. For example, the only stereotype item available across ethnic groups on the 2016 ANES involved stereotypes about laziness versus hard work, meaning that we did not have enough items on which to capture variation.[[2]](#endnote-1) Further, it has been suggested that the use of stereotype scales is not, in fact, the best way to measure resentment of outgroups.[[3]](#endnote-2) Finally, given that nearly all of our sample are white, there is very little variation on this item.

We nevertheless ran models controlling for ethnocentrism. As nearly all respondents in the sample are white, we treated white as the ingroup and blacks, Latinos, and Asians as the outgroups (to account for the few respondents who were not white, we also control for being white in our models). We created three ingroup-outgroup scores, and take their average, reverse coding the scale so that higher values align with greater levels of ethnocentrism. The SCDS did not include any stereotype items, so this control is not present in those models. Ethnocentrism failed to achieve significant in any of the models, as can be seen in Table B4.

**Note on Neoconservatism (Nationalism) scale:** average across four items that ask about the importance of different factors to being truly American. These are: 1) being born in the US, 2) having American ancestry, 3) speaking English, 4) following America’s customs and traditions. The Cronbach’s alpha statistic for this scale is 0.7023, slightly above the conventional 0.70 threshold.

**iii. ANES Variables and Coding**

***Dependent Variables***

* **Isolationism** (V161153)**:** *“Do you agree or disagree with this statement: ‘This country would be better off if we just stayed home and did not concern ourselves with problems in other parts of the world.’”* Coded so 0=disagree, 1=agree.
* **Syrian Refugees (**V161214x): *“Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose allowing Syrian refugees to come to the United States?”* Coded 1-7, where 1 = favor a great deal, and 7 = oppose a great deal.
* **Free Trade (**V162176x): *“Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the U.S. making free trade agreements with other countries?”* Coded 1-7, where 1 = favor a great deal, and 7 = oppose a great deal.

***Independent Variables***

* **Trump primary** (V161021a): *“IF R VOTED IN A PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY OR CAUCUS: In the Presidential primary or caucus, who did you vote for?”* Coded so 1=Trump, 0=other Republicans.
* **Conservative Ideology** (V161126—standard ideology battery): because only 1 individual in the Republican Primary Sample chose an option <=3, we subset this from 4 (moderate) to 7 (extremely conservative), so 1 = moderate and 4 = extremely conservative.
* **Female** (V161342): Coded so 1=female, 0=male.
* **Age** (V161267): continuous from 18-99.
* **Education** (V161270): recoded to four levels to mirror SCDS. 1) Less than high school grad, 2) high school grad, 3) some college, 4) college degree[s], 5) post-graduate education.
* **Income:** V161361x, continuous with high being more income.

1. Only used in Model 2 (not in paper version). [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Kinder and Kam 2007; Kinder and Kam 2010. [↑](#endnote-ref-1)
3. Fording and Schram 2018; Kalkan 2017; Kalkan et al. 2008; Sides and Gross 2013. [↑](#endnote-ref-2)