

SUPPLEMENTARY APPENDIX -- Primary Distrust: Political Trust and Support for the Insurgent Candidacies of Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders in the 2016 Primary

Joshua J. Dyck, Shanna Pearson-Merkowitz, and Michael Coates

In the main text of the paper, we write in footnote 6: “In the online appendix, we approach modeling with a multinomial logit framework to consider individual candidate differences. The substantive findings are the same as our preferred model with one exception. Distrust also predicts support for Ted Cruz in NH but to a much smaller extent than trump. As trust increases, however, the probability of voting for Ted Cruz decreases by 10 points (from 15% to 5%); by comparison. While the effect for Trump more than twice as large, this finding is not surprising given Ted Cruz was also, in many respects, an “insurgent” candidate given his reputation for challenging his party as well as the fact that his candidacy was not welcome by the party establishment (Bouie 2015).”

The relevant tables are Tables A1-A4 below:

Table A1. Republicans – New Hampshire Multinomial Logit + Margins (Trump is Baseline)

	Cruz	Rubio	Kasich	Bush	Christie	Other	DK/NA
Trust in government	-0.168 (0.283)	0.801** (0.312)	1.328** (0.276)	1.405** (0.334)	0.924** (0.298)	-0.213 (0.299)	0.442 (0.371)
Independent	-0.427 (0.340)	-0.172 (0.321)	-0.041 (0.343)	-0.255 (0.376)	-0.231 (0.390)	-0.418 (0.337)	-1.264** (0.448)
Ideology	0.953** (0.361)	0.768* (0.342)	-0.806** (0.294)	-0.385 (0.292)	-0.321 (0.323)	-0.360 (0.293)	-0.742* (0.308)
Gender	0.564* (0.294)	0.798* (0.359)	-0.071 (0.361)	0.926** (0.344)	0.802 (0.412)	0.126 (0.320)	0.462 (0.357)
Age	-0.002 (0.125)	-0.151 (0.163)	0.679** (0.183)	0.158 (0.134)	0.090 (0.163)	-0.173 (0.115)	0.092 (0.154)
Non-white	1.065 (0.591)	-0.158 (1.102)	0.029 (0.878)	1.139 (0.721)	0.378 (0.876)	1.151* (0.504)	1.796** (0.607)
Education	0.393** (0.146)	0.463** (0.174)	0.747** (0.169)	0.215 (0.159)	0.354 (0.204)	0.346* (0.164)	0.332 (0.183)
Income	-0.086 (0.099)	0.070 (0.109)	0.034 (0.105)	-0.149 (0.113)	-0.115 (0.140)	-0.220* (0.097)	-0.124 (0.122)
Church Attendance	0.268** (0.098)	0.178 (0.113)	-0.072 (0.112)	0.166 (0.101)	0.009 (0.117)	0.165 (0.092)	0.106 (0.128)
Constant	-5.089 (1.502)	-6.604** (1.269)	-6.514** (1.531)	-4.663** (1.343)	-3.766** (1.429)	0.267 (1.108)	-1.501 (1.312)
N	82	68	65	61	45	78	46

Total N=698; **p<.01, *p<.05 | *Pseudo R*²=0.0975

Table A2. Republicans – Marginal Effects for Trust in Government from Table A1

<i>Effects of Trust on Support for...</i>	Pr(Vote Distrust)	Pr(Vote Trust)	Change
Donald Trump	.480	.248	-0.232*
Ted Cruz	.151	.053	-0.098*
Marco Rubio	.057	.137	0.080
John Kasich	.025	.138	0.113*
Jeb Bush	.028	.209	0.181*
Chris Christie	.032	.094	0.062
Other	.171	.057	-0.114*
DK/NA	.057	.063	0.006

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Table A3. Democrats – New Hampshire Multinomial Logit + Margins (Sanders is Baseline)

	Clinton	Other/DK
Trust in government	0.663** (0.193)	-0.263 (0.302)
Independent	-0.488* (0.213)	-0.618 (0.379)
Ideology	0.131 (0.169)	0.763** (0.273)
Gender	0.739** (0.202)	-0.248 (0.348)
Age	0.551** (0.094)	0.254* (0.125)
Non-white	0.822 (0.457)	1.143 (0.533)
Education	-0.006 (0.100)	-0.069 (0.191)
Income	0.112 (0.067)	-0.009 (0.132)
Church Attendance	0.044 (0.066)	0.176 (0.097)
Constant	-5.094** (0.739)	-3.984** (1.044)
N	405	46

Total N=694; **p<.01, *p<.05 | *Pseudo R*²=0.1348

Table A4. Democrats – Marginal Effects for Trust in Government from Table A3

<i>Effects of Trust on Support for...</i>	Pr(Vote Distrust)	Pr(Vote Trust)	Change
Bernie Sanders	.732	.552	-0.180*
Hillary Clinton	.169	.406	0.237*
Other/DK/NA	.099	.042	-0.057

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In the main text of the paper, we write in footnote 7: “In the national data, we present two alternative modeling strategies in the online appendix: 1) running each feeling thermometer separately and 2) running each feeling thermometer in relation to only one other candidate to facilitate “head to head” matchups. The alternative models produce two important caveats: 1) For Democrats, Trust drives variation thermometer ratings for Clinton but not Sanders—both trusters and distrusters feel warmly towards Sanders, but it is in their positioning of Clinton that differentiates the two candidates. 2) For Republicans, distrust predicts higher ratings for Trump, whereas trust increases ratings for Rubio. Trust is insignificant for Cruz. The “head to head” match up models affirm our original hypothesis. Higher levels of distrust lead to rating Trump higher than Cruz, Trump higher than Rubio, and Cruz higher than Rubio.”

The relevant tables are A5-A8 below:

Table A5. Republicans – National Disaggregated Feeling Thermometers

	<i>Donald Trump</i>	<i>Marco Rubio</i>	<i>Ted Cruz</i>
Trust in government	-9.20** (3.07)	5.42* (2.25)	-0.161 (2.46)
Independent	-24.26** (4.43)	-9.02** (3.00)	-9.75** (3.66)
Ideology	1.80 (3.715)	6.00* (2.62)	7.02* (2.87)
Gender	-1.88 (3.79)	0.793 (2.98)	-2.40 (3.36)
Age	0.258 (1.55)	-0.263 (1.09)	-1.07 (1.10)
Non-white	-1.56 (5.69)	4.87 (3.88)	5.25 (4.89)
Education	-5.89** (2.20)	2.49 (1.46)	0.002 (1.69)
Income	0.644 (1.436)	0.719 (0.980)	0.040 (1.15)
Church Attendance	0.706 (1.24)	1.07 (0.90)	1.55 (0.972)
Constant	82.42** (12.48)	17.81* (8.14)	29.10** (10.47)
N	453	453	453
R²	0.1945	0.1429	0.0962

**p<.01, *p<.05

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Table A6. Democrats – National Disaggregated Feeling Thermometers

	<i>Hilary Clinton</i>	<i>Bernie Sanders</i>
Trust in government	14.41** (1.96)	2.30 (1.96)
Independent	-26.63** (3.56)	-15.53** (3.49)
Ideology	-5.03* (2.00)	-10.35** (1.99)
Gender	-3.85 (2.56)	3.07 (2.67)
Age	1.29 (1.03)	-1.91* (0.970)
Non-white	7.19* (2.85)	-0.777 (2.94)
Education	-3.81** (1.23)	-0.449 (1.39)
Income	-0.350 (0.895)	1.34 (1.08)
Church Attendance	1.09 (0.782)	-0.584 (0.791)
Constant	51.69** (7.64)	86.44** (7.63)
N	544	544
R²	0.4086	0.2080

**p<.01, *p<.05

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Table A7. National Feeling Thermometer Comparison Models with addition of “Right Direction / Wrong Track” Variable

	<i>Trump vs. Rubio/Cruz</i>	<i>Sanders vs. Clinton</i>
Trust in government	-11.67** (3.38)	-8.60** (3.07)
Wrong Track	1.03 (6.29)	15.10** (4.52)
Independent	-14.75** (5.26)	7.13 (5.27)
Ideology	-4.75 (4.06)	-6.10* (2.45)
Gender	-1.13 (4.50)	4.72 (3.74)
Age	0.890 (1.55)	-2.72* (1.35)
Non-white	-6.59 (5.81)	-8.01 (4.35)
Education	-7.12** (2.18)	3.19 (1.72)
Income	0.286 (1.50)	2.63 (1.44)
Church Attendance	-0.607 (1.52)	-1.73 (1.07)
Constant	56.90** (20.04)	5.19** (12.91)
N	453	540
R²	0.1191	0.2003

**p<.01, *p<.05

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Table A8. Pairwise Feeling Thermometer Comparisons

	<i>Donald Trump vs. Ted Cruz</i>	<i>Donald Trump vs. Marco Rubio</i>	<i>Ted Cruz vs. Marco Rubio</i>
Trust in government	-9.04** (3.32)	-14.62** (3.55)	-5.58* (-2.35)
Independent	-14.51** (5.56)	15.25** (5.21)	-0.736 3.44
Ideology	-5.22 (4.06)	-4.20 (4.30)	1.02 (2.62)
Gender	0.519 (4.94)	-2.67 (4.58)	-3.19 (3.00)
Age	1.33 (1.62)	0.521 (1.71)	-0.809 (1.03)
Non-white	-6.81 (6.10)	-6.43 (4.35)	0.378 (4.26)
Education	-5.89* (2.40)	-8.38** (2.20)	-2.49 (1.51)
Income	0.603 (1.63)	-0.076 (1.60)	-0.679 (1.07)
Church Attendance	-0.847 (1.60)	-0.364 (1.07)	0.483 (0.782)
Constant	53.31** (14.77)	64.61** (14.66)	11.30 (9.07)
N	453	453	453
R²	0.0832	0.1418	0.0488

**p<.01, *p<.05