**Appendixes**

**Appendix A: Variable classifications and survey questions**

**Turnout in 2016 US Presidential election**

This variable measures whether or not a respondent reported voting in the 2016 US Presidential election. We ascertain this measure from variable V162031 (POST) in ANES.

**Vote for HRC**

This variable measures whether or not a respondent voted for Hillary Clinton in the 2016 US Presidential election. We ascertain this measure from variable V162034a (POST) in ANES. It is a dichotomous variable with a score of 1 indicating a vote for Hillary Clinton and 0 a vote for another candidate in the Presidential election.

**Partisanship: Democratic Party identifier**

This variable measures whether a respondent is close or not to the Democratic Party. It is a dichotomous variable with a score of 1 indicating closeness to the Democratic Party and 0 saying the respondent is not close to the Democratic Party. Refused and missing cases are excluded from the analysis. The question on which the measure is based is:

*Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as [a Democrat, a Republican / a Republican, a Democrat], an independent, or what?* We ascertain this measure from variable V161158x (PRE) ANES.

**Age**

This variable measures a respondent’s age in years (scale variable which runs from 18 to 90). We ascertain this measure from variable V161267 (PRE) in ANES.

**Female**

This variable measures whether a respondent was female or not. We ascertain this measure from variable V161342 in ANES (PRE). Female respondents were coded as 1 while male/others were coded as 0.

**University education**

This variable measures whether a respondent has university level education or not. We ascertain this measure from variable V161270 (PRE) in ANES. University educated respondents (those assigned codes 13-16 inclusive in the original variable distribution) are coded as 1 while others are coded as 0.

**African American/Black**

This variable measures whether a respondent was an African American or not. We ascertain this measure from variable V161310x (PRE) in ANES. African American respondents were coded as 1 while non-African Americans were coded as 0.

**Midwest resident**

This variable measures whether a respondent lived in the Midwest region or not. We define the Midwest as respondents that lived in the following states: Iowa, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, and Wisconsin. We ascertain this measure from variable V161010d (PRE) in ANES. Respondents who resided in the Midwest were coded 1 while non-residents of the Midwest were coded 0.

**Rustbelt resident**

This variable measures whether a respondent lived in the Rustbelt region or not. We define the Rustbelt as respondents that lived in the following states: Iowa, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. We ascertain this measure from variable V161010d (PRE) in ANES. Respondents who resided in the Midwest were coded 1 while non-residents of the Midwest were coded 0.

**Income**

This variable measures a respondent’s reported income. We ascertain this measure from variable V161361x (PRE) in ANES. Respondents were coded into three categories: those who reported earning less than $50,000, those earning between $50,000-$124,999, and those earning more than $125,000.

**Voted in 2016 Primary election/Voted for HRC in 2016 Primary election/Voted for Bernie Sanders in 2016 Primary election**

These variables are inter-related. First, we measure whether a respondent reported voting in the 2016 US Presidential Primary contests. We ascertain this measure from variable V161021 (PRE) in ANES. Then, the follow up-variable (V161021a) is dichtomozed into two variables: respondents who reported voting for Hillary Clinton in the primaries (coded 1 for those who did and 0 for those who did not) and respondents who reported voting for Bernie Sanders in the primaries (coded 1 for those who did and 0 for those who did not).

**Ideology**

This variable measures a respondent’s self-placement on the liberal-conservative ideological scale. This is a categorical variable, originally running from 1 (extremely conservative) to 7 (extremely liberal). Respondents who answered ‘Never Haven’t thought much about this, ‘Don’t Know’, ‘Refused’, and missing cases are excluded from the analysis. The question on which the measure is based is:

 *“Where would you place yourself on this scale? 1=Extremely liberal; 2=Liberal; 3 Slightly liberal; 4 Moderate; 5 Slightly conservative; 6 Conservative; 7 Extremely conservative;”*

We ascertain this measure from variable V161126 (PRE) in ANES. We recoded the scale so that high values indicate a predisposition for the liberal standpoint and low values indicate a predisposition for the conservative standpoint.

**Negative attitudes toward immigrants**

This variable measures whether or not a respondent felt positive or negative towards immigrants. It is a scale variable that runs from 1 (very positive) to 5 (very negative). Respondents who answered ‘Don’t Know’, ‘Refused’, and missing cases are excluded from the analysis. This scale is constructed after a principal component analysis (see Appendix B). The questions on which the scale are based are as follows:

*Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statement?*

* *Immigrants are generally good for America’s economy.*
* *America’s culture is generally harmed by immigrants.*
* *Immigrants increase crime rates in the United States*

We ascertain these measure from variables V162268, V162269, and V162270 (POST) in ANES.

**Negative attitudes toward African Americans**

This variable measures whether or not a respondent felt positive or negative towards African Americans. It is a scale variable that runs from 1 (Very untrue of what I believe – i.e., very positive disposition) to 7 (Very true of what I believe – i.e., very negative disposition). Respondents who answered ‘Don’t Know’, ‘Refused’, and missing cases are excluded from the analysis. This scale is constructed after a principal component analysis (see Appendix B). The questions on which the scale are based are as follows:

* *Where would you rate Blacks in general on this scale? 1. Hard-working 7. Lazy*
* *Where would you rate Blacks in general on this scale? 1. Peaceful 7. Violent*

We ascertain these measure from variables V162346 and V162350 (POST) in ANES.

**Negative attitudes toward Hispanics**

This variable measures whether or not a respondent felt positive or negative towards Hispanics. It is a scale variable that runs from 1 (Very untrue of what I believe – i.e., very positive disposition) to 7 (Very true of what I believe – i.e., very negative disposition). This scale is constructed after a principal component analysis. Respondents who answered ‘Don’t Know’, ‘Refused’, and missing cases are excluded from the analysis. The questions on which the scale is based are as follows:

* *Where would you rate Hispanics in general on this scale? 1. Hard-working 7. Lazy*
* *Where would you rate Hispanics in general on this scale? 1. Peaceful 7. Violent*

We ascertain these measure from variables V162347 and V162351 (POST) in ANES.

**Valence economics**

This variable measures respondents’ perception of the national economy in the past year. It is a scale variable that runs from -1 (Gotten better) to 1 (Gotten worse). Respondents who answered ‘Don’t Know’, ‘Refused’, and missing cases are excluded from the analysis. The data is based on the following question posed to respondents:

*Now thinking about the economy in the country as a whole, would you say that over the past year the nation’s economy has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?*

We ascertain this measure from variable V161140 (PRE) in ANES.

**Attitude to Free Trade**

This variable measures respondents’ attitudes to the issue of Free Trade. This is a categorical variable and runs from 0 (oppose Free Trade) to 2 (supports Free Trade). The data is based on the following question posed to respondents:

*Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the U.S. making free trade agreements with other countries?*

We ascertain this measure from variable V162176 (POST) in ANES. Respondents who answered ‘Don’t Know’, ‘Refused’, and missing cases are excluded from the analysis.

**Traditional View of Female Employment**

This variable measures respondents’ attitudes toward females in the workplace and its impact on the family. It is a dichotomous variable with 0 representing the non-traditional view and 1 representing the traditional view. This measure is constructed after a principal component analysis. The questions on which the scale is based are as follows:

* *Do you think it is easier, harder, or neither easier nor harder for mothers who work outside the home to establish a warm and secure relationship with their children than it is for mothers who stay at home?*
* *Do you think it is better, worse, or makes no difference for the family as a whole if the man works outside the home and the woman takes care of the home and family?*

We ascertain this from variables V162228 and V162230 (POST) in ANES. Respondents who answered ‘Don’t Know’, ‘Refused’, and missing cases are excluded from the analysis.

**Sexist attitudes toward women**

This variable measures respondents’ hostile sexist attitudes toward women. It is a scale variable and runs from 1 (Very strong anti-sexist views) to 5 (Very strong sexist views). This scale is constructed after a principal component analysis. The questions on which the scale is based are as follows:

* *“Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.” Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?*
* *“Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.” Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?*

We ascertain this from variables V161508 and V161509 (PRE) in ANES. Respondents who answered ‘Don’t Know’, ‘Refused’, and missing cases are excluded from the analysis.

**Dislike HRC personality**

This variable measures a respondent’s reason for dislike of HRC because of her personality. It is a scale variable that runs from -1 (not mentioning a dislike for HRC) to 1 (mentioning disliking HRC because of her personality). We classify the following as related to her personality: respondents who mentioned her age, ethics, honesty, trust issues). We ascertain this from a manual content analysis of verbatim responses provided by respondents to the question V161172 (PRE). This content analysis was carried out by one coder and a sample of the coding was verified by another.

**Dislike HRC E-mail**

This variable measures a respondent’s reason for dislike of HRC because of E-mail. It is a scale variable that runs from -1 (not mentioning a dislike for HRC) to 1 (mentioning disliking HRC because of her E-mail). We ascertain this from a manual content analysis of verbatim responses provided by respondents to the question V161172 (PRE). This content analysis was carried out by one coder and a sample of the coding was verified by another.

**Attention to politics in the media**

This variable measures how much a respondent follows politics in the media. It is a scale variable that runs from 0 (not at all) to 3 (very closely). The data is based on the following question posed to respondents:

*And how closely do you follow politics on TV, radio, newspapers, or the Internet? [Very closely, fairly closely, not very closely, or not at all / Not at all, not very closely, fairly closely, or very closely]?*

We ascertain this measure from variable V162257 (POST) in ANES. Respondents who answered ‘Don’t Know’, ‘Refused’, and missing cases are excluded from the analysis.

**When did you make up your mind to vote?**

This variable measures when a respondent reported making up their mind about how to vote. We recoded these answers into three distinct categories, namely: those who decided before October 2016; those who decided in the first three weeks of October (and thus for the most part pre-James Comey’s intervention on October 28) and those who decided in the final week of October/first week of November (for the most part post-James Comey’s intervention. The data is based on the following question posed to respondents:

*How long before you voted did you decide that you were going to vote the way you did?*

We ascertain this measure from variable V162036 (POST) in ANES. Respondents who answered ‘Don’t Know’, ‘Refused’, and missing cases are excluded from the analysis.

**Interviewed pre/post James Comey intervention**

This variable measures when a respondent was interviewed in the pre-interview phase pre or post the James Comey intervention. We ascertain this measure from variable V164004 in ANES. Respondents interviewed pre October 28 and thus before James Comey’s intervention are coded 0 and respondents interviewed on or post October 28 are coded 1.

**Appendix B: Summary stats and factor analysis**

**Table B1** Summary statistics for variables included in the multivariate models and descriptive statistics explaining the likelihood of voting for HRC or vote choice in the 2016 US Presidential election

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | ***N*** | ***M*** | ***SD*** | **Min** | **Max** |
| **Dependent variable** |  |  |  |  |  |
| Vote for HRC | 2,663 | 0.484 | 0.500 |  0 |  1 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| **Independent variables** |  |  |  |  |  |
| Democratic Party identifier | 2,722  |  0.480 | 0.500 |  0 |  1 |
| Age | 2,660 | 51.372 | 17.077 | 18 | 90 |
| Female | 2,703 |  0.533 | 0.499 |  0 |  1 |
| University education | 2,708 |  0.455 | 0.498 |  0 |  1 |
| Income | 2,603 |  1.778 | 0.721 |  1 |  3 |
| African American | 2,714  |  0.095 | 0.294 |  0 |  1 |
| Midwest resident | 2,731 |  0.148 | 0.356 |  0 |  1 |
|

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Resident of a Turnover State | 2,731 |  0.197 | 0.398 |  0 |  1 |

Ideology (Con-Lib) | 2,392 |  3.856 | 1.607 |  1  |  7 |
| Negative attitudes to immigrants | 2,695 |  2.458 | 1.040 |  1 |  5 |
| Negative attitudes to African Americans | 2,660 |  3.967 | 1.383 |  1 |  7 |
| Negative attitudes to Hispanics | 2,660 |  2.946 | 1.182 |  1 |  7 |
| Valence economy (Good to Bad) | 2,723 |  -0.038 | 0.757 |  -1 |  1 |
| In favor of Free Trade | 2,695 |  1.215 | 0.755 |  0 |  2 |
| Traditional view of women | 2,688 |  0.288 | 0.453 |  0 |  1 |
| Sexist attitudes toward women | 2,676 |  2.586 | 0.955 |  1 |  5 |
| Disliked HRC: gender | 2,731 |  -0.364 | 0.493 | -1 |  1 |
| Disliked HRC: personality | 2,731 |  0.042 | 0.883 | -1 |  1 |
| Disliked HRC: E-mail | 2,731 | -0.304 | 0.586 | -1 |  1 |
| Make up mind to vote | 2,622 |  1.668 | 0.678 |  0 |  2 |
| Follow politics in the media | 2,724 |  1.891 | 0.784 |  0 |  3 |
| Date of Interview: Pre/Post Comey | 2,731 | 0.079 | 0.269 |  0 |  1 |

*Source of data:* ANES (2017). *Base:* Voters only

**Table B2** Principal Component loadings for the rotated components of measuring anti-immigration attitudes for 2016 American Presidential election

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | 1 |
| Eigenvalue | 2.140 |
| % of variance | 71.337 |
| Immigrants are good for America’s economy | .638 |
| America’s culture is generally harmed by immigrants | .779 |
| Immigrants increase crime rates in the United States  | .723 |
| Cronbach’s alpha based on standardized item | .798 |

*Source of data:* ANES 2017.*Base:* voters only (n=2,695).

**Table B3** Principal Component loadings for the rotated components of measuring negative attitudes towards African Americans for 2016 American Presidential election

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | 1 |
| Eigenvalue | 1.564 |
| % of variance | 78.198 |
| African Americans: Hardworking or lazy | .782 |
| African Americans: Peaceful or violent | .782 |
| Cronbach’s alpha based on standardized item | .721 |

*Source of data:* ANES 2017.*Base:* voters only (n=2,660).

**Table B4** Principal Component loadings for the rotated components of measuring negative attitudes towards Hispanics for 2016 American Presidential election

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | 1 |
| Eigenvalue | 1.390 |
| % of variance | 69.154 |
| Hispanics: Hardworking or lazy | .695 |
| Hispanics: Peaceful or violent | .695 |
| Cronbach’s alpha based on standardized item | .561 |

*Source of data:* ANES 2017.*Base:* voters only (n=2,660).

**Table B5** Principal Component loadings for the rotated components of measuring attitudes towards women’s place in society for 2016 American Presidential election

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | 1 |
| Eigenvalue | 1.272 |
| % of variance | 63.588 |
| Easier/Harder/Neither for mothers who work outside home to establish warm and secure relationship with their children | .636 |
| Better/Worse/Makes no difference for the family as a whole if man works outside the home and the woman takes care of the home and family | .636 |
| Cronbach’s alpha based on standardized item | .427 |

*Source of data:* ANES 2017.*Base:* voters only (n=2,631).

**Table B6** Principal Component loadings for the rotated components of measuring sexist attitudes for 2016 American Presidential election

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | 1 |
| Eigenvalue | 1.583 |
| % of variance | 79.148 |
| Easier/Harder/Neither for mothers who work outside home to establish warm and secure relationship with their children | .791 |
| Better/Worse/Makes no difference for the family as a whole if man works outside the home and the woman takes care of the home and family | .791 |
| Cronbach’s alpha based on standardized item | .737 |

*Source of data:* ANES 2017.*Base:* voters only (n=2,676).

**Appendix C: Data referred to in paper & supplementary analysis**

**---Tables---**

**Table C1** Partisanship at the time of the 2016 US Presidential election

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | % | % |
| Strong Republican |  18.9 | 42.4 |
| Not very strong Republican |  11.4 |
| Independent Republican |  12.1 |
| Independent |  9.0 |  9.0 |
| Independent Democrat |  11.1 | 48.7 |
| Not very strong Democrat |  13.8 |
| Strong Democrat |  23.8 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| *N* | *2,722* |  |

*Base:* Voters only. *Source of data:* ANES (2017). *Note:* Data weighted.

**Table C2** Vote choice in the 2016 US Presidential election by region

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Non-Midwest | Midwest | Non-Rustbelt | Rustbelt |
| Hillary Clinton | 50 | 41 |  50 |  45 50 5 |
| Donald Trump | 43 | 52 |  43 |
| Other |  7 |  7 |  7 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| *N* | *2,266* | *397* | *2,143* | *520* |

*Base:* Voters only. *Source of data:* ANES (2017). *Note:* Data weighted.

**Table C3** Logit regression model explaining the impact of region

on the likelihood of voting for HRC in the 2016 Presidential election

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Coefficient | S/e | Coefficient | S/e |
| Attached to the Dems |  3.889\*\*\* | (0.160) |  3.890\*\*\* |  (0.161) - |
| Midwest |  -0.342 | (0.286) |  - |
| Rustbelt |  - |  - |  -0.191 | (0.239) |
| Constant |  -1.927\*\*\* |  (0.112) |  -1.937\*\*\* | (0.113) |
| N | 2,659 |  | 2,659 |  |
| *Pseudo R2* | 0.466 |  | 0.466 |  |

*Note:* N Strata/PSU=132/265. Data weighed analyses using Taylor Series calculation of sampling error recommendation of ANES Codebook. \*p≤0.05; \*\* p<0.01; \*\*\* p≤0.001. S/e= Standard error. *Base:* Voters only. *Source of data:* ANES (2017).

**Table C4** Mobilization by the Democrats by region

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Non-Midwest | Midwest | Non-Rustbelt | Rustbelt |
| Was not contacted |  73.9 |  68.3 |  74.8 |  67.1 |
| Contacted |  26.1 |  31.6 |  25.2 |  33.9 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| *N* | *2,298* | *400* | *2,175* | *523* |

*Base:* Voters only. *Source of data:* ANES (2017). *Note:* Data weighted.

**Table C5** Logit regression model explaining income

on the likelihood of voting for HRC in the 2016 Presidential election

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Coefficient | S/e |
| Attached to the Dems |  3.929\*\*\* | (0.167) |
| Reported income | 0.209 | (0.107) |
| Constant |  2.372\*\*\* |  (0.245) |
| N | 2,543 |  |
| *Pseudo R2* | 0.466 |  |

*Note:* N Strata/PSU=132/265. Data weighed analyses using Taylor Series calculation of sampling error recommendation of ANES Codebook. \*p≤0.05; \*\* p<0.01; \*\*\* p≤0.001. S/e= Standard error. *Base:* Voters only. *Source of data:* ANES (2017).

**Table C6** Racial stereotypes (Lazy/Hardworking or Peaceful/Violent)

towards African Americans

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | % | % |
| Very true of what I believe |  3.2 |  36.3 |
| True of what I believe |  9.2 |  |
| Somewhat true of what I believe |  23.9 |  |
| Neutral |  25.6 |  25.6 |
| Somewhat untrue of what I believe |  23.3 |  38.1 |
| Untrue of what I believe |  10.5 |
| Very untrue of what I believe |  4.3 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| *N* | *2,660* |  |

*Base:* Voters only. *Source of data:* ANES (2017). *Note:* Data weighted.

**Table C7** Racial stereotypes (Lazy/Hardworking or Peaceful/Violent)

 towards Hispanic Americans

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | % | % |
| Very true of what I believe |  0.4 |  9.6 |
| True of what I believe |  1.4 |  |
| Somewhat true of what I believe |  7.8 |  |
| Neutral |  21.2 |  21.2 |
| Somewhat untrue of what I believe |  31.6 |  69.2 |
| Untrue of what I believe |  25.9 |
| Very untrue of what I believe |  11.7 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| *N* | *2,660* |  |

*Base:* Voters only. *Source of data:* ANES (2017). *Note:* Data weighted.

**Table C8** Logit regression model explaining antipathy towards African Americans and Hispanic Americans on the likelihood of voting for HRC in the 2016 Presidential election

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Coefficient | S/e | Coefficient | S/e |
| Attached to the Dems |  3.813\*\*\* | (0.160) |  3.864\*\*\* | (0.161) - |
| Antipathy towards African Am. |  -0.229\*\*\* | (0.052) |  - |
| Antipathy towards Hispanics |  - |  - |  -0.120\* | (0.057) |
| Constant |  -1.046\*\*\* |  (0.219) |  -1.616\*\*\* | (0.193) |
| N | 2,599 |  | 2,599 |  |
| *Pseudo R2* | 0.472 |  | 0.464 |  |

*Note:* N Strata/PSU=132/265. Data weighed analyses using Taylor Series calculation of sampling error recommendation of ANES Codebook. \*p≤0.05; \*\* p<0.01; \*\*\* p≤0.001. S/e= Standard error. *Base:* Voters only. *Source of data:* ANES (2017).

**Table C9** Attitudes towards immigrants at the time of the 2016 US Presidential election

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | % | % |
| Strongly favor | 19.5 |  50.1 |
| Somewhat favor |  30.6 |
| Neutral |  33.1 |  33.1 |
| Somewhat oppose |  14.1 |  16.8 |
| Strongly oppose |  2.7 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| *N* | *2,695* |  |

*Base:* Voters only. *Source of data:* ANES (2017). *Note:* Data weighted.

**Table C10** Logit regression model explaining antipathy towards immigrants

on the likelihood of voting for HRC in the 2016 Presidential election

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Coefficient | S/e |
| Attached to the Dems |  3.759\*\*\* | (0.174) |
| Antipathy towards immigrants |  -0.859\*\*\* | (0.085) |
| Constant |  0.256 |  (0.227) |
| N | 2,629 |  |
| *Pseudo R2* | 0.465 |  |

*Note:* N Strata/PSU=132/265. Data weighed analyses using Taylor Series calculation of sampling error recommendation of ANES Codebook. \*p≤0.05; \*\* p<0.01; \*\*\* p≤0.001. S/e= Standard error. *Base:* Voters only. *Source of data:* ANES (2017).

**Table C11** Valence economy at the time of the 2016 US Presidential election

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | % |
| Gotten better |  30.2 |
| About the same |  42.6 |
| Gotten worse |  27.2 |
| Total | 100.0 |
| *N* | *2,723* |

*Base:* Voters only. *Source of data:* ANES (2017). *Note:* Data weighted.

**Table C12** Attitudes towards Free Trade at the time of the 2016 US Presidential election

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | % |
| In Favor | 40.1 |
| Neither | 38.6 |
| Oppose | 21.4 |
| Total | 100.0 |
| *N* | *2,695* |

*Base:* Voters only. *Source of data:* ANES (2017). *Note:* Data weighted.

**Table C13** Logit regression model explaining economic voting (valence and positional) on the likelihood of voting for HRC in the 2016 Presidential election

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Coefficient | S/e | Coefficient | S/e |
| Attached to the Dems |  3.500\*\*\* | (0.166) |  3.913\*\*\* | (0.169) - |
| Valence economy (Good to Bad) |  -1.023\*\*\* | (0.103) |  - |
| In favor of Free Trade |  - |  - |  0.586\*\*\* | (0.097) |
| Constant |  -1.812\*\*\* |  (0.111) |  -2.683\*\*\* | (0.170) |
| N | 2,652 |  | 2,625 |  |
| *Pseudo R2* | 0.507 |  | 0.484 |  |

*Note:* N Strata/PSU=132/265. Data weighed analyses using Taylor Series calculation of sampling error recommendation of ANES Codebook. \*p≤0.05; \*\* p<0.01; \*\*\* p≤0.001. S/e= Standard error. *Base:* Voters only. *Source of data:* ANES (2017).

**Table C14** Attitudes towards Women’s Role in Society/Women at Work

at the time of the 2016 US Presidential election

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | % |
| Traditionalist perspective | 28.7 |
| Non-traditionalist perspective | 71.3  |
| Total | 100.0 |
| *N* | *2,688* |

*Base:* Voters only. *Source of data:* ANES (2017). *Note:* Data weighted.

**Table C15** Sexist attitudes at the time of the 2016 US Presidential election

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | % | % |
| Very strong anti-sexist views | 17.1 |  38.0 |
| Somewhat strong anti-sexist views | 20.9 |
| Neutral |  48.1 |  48.1 |
| Somewhat strong sexist views |  11.8 |  13.9 |
| Very strong sexist views |  2.1 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| *N* | *2,676* |  |

*Base:* Voters only. *Source of data:* ANES (2017). *Note:* Data weighted.

**Table C16** Logit regression model explaining the impact of gender

on voting for HRC in the 2016 Presidential election

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Coefficient | S/e | Coefficient | S/e |
| Attached to the Dems |  3.866\*\*\* | (0.161) |  3.791\*\*\* | (0.164) - |
| Traditional view of women |  0.893\*\*\* | (0.147) |  - |
| Sexist attitudes towards women |  - |  - |  -0.399\*\*\* | (0.078) |
| Constant |  -1.726\*\*\* |  (0.116) |  -0.881\*\*\* | (0.233) |
| N | 2,622 |  | 2,610 |  |
| *Pseudo R2* | 0.475 |  | 0.478 |  |

*Note:* N Strata/PSU=132/265. Data weighed analyses using Taylor Series calculation of sampling error recommendation of ANES Codebook. \*p≤0.05; \*\* p<0.01; \*\*\* p≤0.001. S/e= Standard error. *Base:* Voters only. *Source of data:* ANES (2017).

**Table C17** Logit regression model explaining the impact of personality and e-mail on the likelihood of voting for HRC in the 2016 Presidential election

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Coefficient | S/e | Coefficient | S/e |
| Attached to the Dems |  3.491\*\*\* | (0.167) |  3.571\*\*\* | (0.164) - |
| Dislikes HRC personality |  -0.942\*\*\* | (0.075) |  - |
| Dislikes HRC e-mail |  - |  - |  -1.221\*\*\* | (0.129) |
| Constant |  -1.759\*\*\* |  (0.112) |  -2.185\*\*\* | (0.109) |
| N | 2,659 |  | 2,659 |  |
| *Pseudo R2* | 0.525 |  | 0.509 |  |

*Note:* N Strata/PSU=132/265. Data weighed analyses using Taylor Series calculation of sampling error recommendation of ANES Codebook. \*p≤0.05; \*\* p<0.01; \*\*\* p≤0.001. S/e= Standard error. *Base:* Voters only. *Source of data:* ANES (2017).

**Table C18** Follow politics in the media at the time of the 2016 US Presidential election

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | % |
| Not at all closely |  3.8 |
| Not very closely | 25.8 |
| Fairly closely | 48.9 |
| Very closely | 21.5 |
| Total | 100.0 |
| *N* | *2,724* |

*Base:* Voters only. *Source of data:* ANES (2017). *Note:* Data weighted.

**Table C19** Logit model of 2016 US presidential explaining vote choice

based on the Hillary Hypotheses (early sequential models)

|  |
| --- |
| *Dependent variable:* Reported vote for HRC in 2016 US Presidential election |
| Variables | I | II | III | IV |
| Democratic Party identifier |  2.746\*\*\* |  2.737\*\*\* |  2.497\*\*\* |  2.220\*\*\* |
|  | (0.203) | (0.216) | (0.222) | (0.221) |
| Age | 0.006 | 0.006 | 0.008 |  0.012\* |
|  | (0.005) | (0.005) | (0.006) | (0.006) |
| Female | -0.100 | -0.075 |  0.032 | -0.001 |
|  | (0.161) | (0.168) | (0.169) | (0.184) |
| University Education |  0.527\*\* | 0.251 | 0.099 | 0.233 |
|  | (0.173) | (0.171) | (0.175) | (0.184) |
| Black |  2.275\*\*\* |  2.204\*\*\* |  1.907\*\*\* |  1.494\*\*\* |
|  | (0.453) | (0.474) | (0.478) | (0.457) |
| Midwest resident | -0.030 | 0.027 | -0.011 | -0.012 |
|  | (0.331) | (0.339) | (0.334) | (0.380) |
| Ideology (Con-Lib) |  0.798\*\*\* |  0.667\*\*\* |  0.644\*\*\* |  0.572\*\*\* |
|  | (0.074) | (0.076) | (0.081) | (0.087) |
| Negative attitude to immigrants | - |  -0.575\*\*\* |  -0.496\*\*\* |  -0.498\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.102) | (0.104) | (0.108) |
| Negative attitudes to Blacks | - | -0.136 | -0.134 | -0.063 |
|  |  | (0.069) | (0.072) | (0.076) |
| Negative attitudes to Hispanic | - | 0.012 | 0.046 | 0.023 |
|  |  | (0.079) | (0.081) | (0.085) |
| Valence economy (Good-Bad) | - | - |  -0.753\*\*\* |  -0.697\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.126) | (0.139) |
| In favour of Free Trade | - | - | 0.284\* | 0.253 |
|  |  |  | (0.140) | (0.140) |
| Traditional view of female employment | - | - | - |  -0.651\*\* |
|  |  |  |  | (0.214) |
| Sexist attitudes toward women | - | - | - | -0.093 |
|  |  |  |  | (0.122) |
| Disliked HRC personality | - | - | - |  -0.919\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  | (0.101) |
| Constant |  -5.030\*\*\* |  -2.486\*\*\* |  -3.049\*\*\* |  -2.597\*\*\* |
|  | (0.427) | (0.509) | (0.631) | (0.659) |
| Pseudo R2 | 0.553 | 0.576 | 0.594 | 0.629 |
| F |  64.29\*\*\* |  40.19\*\*\* |  35.01\*\*\* | 28.63\*\*\* |

*Note:* N=2137 for all models; N Strata/PSU=132/265. Data weighed analyses using Taylor Series calculation of sampling error recommendation of ANES Codebook. For marginal effects, other variables in the model held constant at their mean values. \*p≤0.05; \*\* p<0.01; \*\*\* p≤0.001. S/e= Standard error. *Source of data:* ANES 2017.

**Table C20** Logit model of 2016 US presidential explaining vote choice based on the Hillary Hypotheses without survey weights (robustness check)

|  |
| --- |
| *Dependent variable:* Reported vote for HRC in 2016 US Presidential election |
| Variables | Coefficient | S/e |
|
| Democratic Party identifier |  2.221\*\*\* | (0.172) |
| Age |  0.014\*\*  | (0.005) |
| Female |  0.039 | (0.162) |
| University Education |  0.249 | (0.169) |
| Black |  1.770\*\*\* | (0.407) |
| Midwest resident |  0.065 | (0.212) |
| Ideology (Con-Lib) |  0.598\*\*\* | (0.073) |
| Negative attitude to immigrants | -0.439\*\*\* | (0.095) |
| Negative attitudes to Blacks | -0.055 | (0.068) |
| Negative attitudes to Hispanic | -0.029 | (0.076) |
| Valence economy (Good-Bad) | -0.627\*\* | (0.119) |
| In favour of Free Trade |  0.292\*\* | (0.111) |
| Traditional view of women | -0.441\* | (0.189) |
| Sexist attitudes toward women | -0.155 | (0.092) |
| Disliked HRC personality | -0.794\*\*\* | (0.133) |
| Disliked HRC E-mail | -0.236 | (0.194) |
| Constant | -3.077\*\*\* | (0.612) |

*Note:* N=2137; Pseudo R2=0.629; N Strata/PSU=132/265. \*p≤0.05; \*\* p<0.01; \*\*\* p≤0.001. S/e= Standard error.

*Source of data:* ANES 2017.

**Table C21**Logit model of 2016 US presidential explaining vote choice

based on the Hillary Hypotheses with control for turnover states (robustness check)

|  |
| --- |
| *Dependent variable:* Reported vote for HRC in 2016 US Presidential election |
| Variables | Coefficient | S/e | *Marginal effects* |
| Min | Max |
| Democratic Party identifier |  2.361\*\*\* | (0.200) | 0.33 | 0.62 |
| Age |  0.013\*  | (0.006) | 0.43 | 0.51 |
| Female | -0.062 | (0.186) | 0.47 | 0.46 |
| University Education |  0.315 | (0.190) | 0.46 | 0.48 |
| Black |  1.740\*\*\* | (0.465) | 0.45 | 0.61 |
| Resident of a turnover state[[1]](#footnote-1) |  0.499 | (0.291) | 0.46 | 0.50 |
| Ideology (Con-Lib) |  0.635\*\*\* | (0.082) | 0.28 | 0.70 |
| Negative attitude to immigrants | -0.517\*\*\* | (0.114) | 0.53 | 0.35 |
| Negative attitudes to Blacks | -0.039 | (0.072) | 0.47 | 0.45 |
| Negative attitudes to Hispanic | -0.015 | (0.079) | 0.47 | 0.46 |
| Valence economy (Good-Bad) | -0.340\*\* | (0.109) | 0.52 | 0.41 |
| In favour of Free Trade |  0.262 | (0.140) | 0.44 | 0.46 |
| Traditional view of women | -0.751\*\* | (0.218) | 0.48 | 0.42 |
| Sexist attitudes toward women | -0.084 | (0.124) | 0.48 | 0.45 |
| Disliked HRC personality | -0.847\*\*\* | (0.143) | 0.55 | 0.39 |
| Disliked HRC E-mail | -0.232 | (0.225) | 0.46 | 0.44 |
| Constant | -2.041\* | (0.767) |  |  |

*Note:* N=2062; Pseudo R2=0.617; N Strata/PSU=132/265. Data weighed analyses using Taylor Series calculation of sampling error recommendation of ANES Codebook. For marginal effects, other variables in the model held constant at their mean values. \*p≤0.05; \*\* p<0.01; \*\*\* p≤0.001. S/e= Standard error.

*Source of data:* ANES 2017.

**Table C22**Assessing the closeness of US Presidential elections since 1948

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|   | 1948 | 1960 | 1968 | 1976 | 2000 | 2004 | 2016 |
|  | *DEWEY* | *NIXON* | *HUMPHREY* | *FORD* | *GORE* | *KERRY* | *CLINTON* |
| *Electoral College Votes* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Loser short of winning post by  | -68 | -51 | -79 | -30 | -3 | -18 | -38 |
| Loser short of winning candidate | -114 | -84 | -110 | -57 | -5 | -35 | -77 |
| Percentage difference in proportion of EVs winner received compared with loser  | -23.17% | -16.09% | -22.36% | -10.61% | -0.93% | -6.52% | -14.50% |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| *Popular Vote* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Minimum number of votes needing to change hands to change winner in required states ***(HRC metric)*** | 65,531 | 24,464 | 307,137 | 25,579 | 537 | 118,601 | 77,744 |
| Minimum number of votes needing to change hands to change winner in required states as a proportion of total votes cast in election in swing states | 0.783% | 0.331% | 2.316% | 0.524% | 0.009% | 2.107% | 0.557% |
| Minimum number of votes needing to change hands to change winner in required states as a proportion of total votes cast in election nationwide | 0.134% | 0.036% | 0.420% | 0.031% | 0.001% | 0.097% | 0.057% |
| Vote percentage of losing candidate | 45.07% | 49.55% | 42.72% | 48.45% | 48.38% | 48.26% | 48.02% |
| 2-Party Vote percentage: losing candidate | 47.63% | 49.92% | 49.59% | 48.95% | 50.27% | 48.76% | 51.11% |
| Loser short of winning candidate (% vote) | -4.48% | -0.17% | -0.70% | -2.07% | 0.51% | -2.47% | 2.09% |
| Loser short of winning candidate  | -2,188,055 | -112,827 | -511,944 | -1,683,247 | 547,398 | -3,012,457 | 2,868,518 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| *States* |  |  |  |  |  | # |  |
| Minimum number of states needing to change hands to change national winner | 6 | 5 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 3 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| *Public opinion* |  |  |  |  |  | # |  |
| Proportion of voters thinking race would be a close  |   | 64% | 60% | 70% | 85% | 81% | 72% |

*Source of data:* Author calculations & ANES Time Series.

**---Figures---**

****

**Figure C1** Support for HRC in the 2016 Presidential election by partisanship.

*Base:* Voters only. *Source of data:* ANES (2017).



**Figure C2** Support for HRC in the 2016 Presidential election by attitudes to the economy.

*Base:* Voters only. *Source of data:* ANES (2017).

Notes: Predicted probability estimates for the right segments generated from models detailed in the appendix in Table C13. Diamonds represent the point estimates and the horizontal lines represent 95 per cent confidence intervals.

1. Turnover state is a state that voted Democratic in 2012 but voted Republican in 2016 in the Presidential election. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)