

Online Supplemental Materials:
Conservatism In the Era of Trump

These materials supplement the main text and show the following results:

1. The proportion of Republicans in the three different categories when including general election abstainers in the never Trump category (Figures A1 and A2).
2. Including general election abstainers in the Never Trump category does not dramatically change our interpretation of that group's demographics (Table A1).
3. The partisan affiliation of each category when including general election abstainers in the never Trump category (Figure A3).
4. The distribution of symbolic ideology among respondents to the 2017 YouGov survey (Figure A4).
5. The distribution of symbolic ideology among Never Trump Republicans compared to pure independents (Figure A5).
6. The distribution of symbolic ideology among different categories of Republican voters in the 2016 ANES survey (Figure A6).
7. The distribution of operational ideology when including general election abstainers in the Never Trump category (Figure A7).
8. The distribution of operational ideology of Never Trump Republicans compared to pure independents (Figure A8).
9. The distribution of operational ideology of the three groups of Republican voters in the 2016 ANES survey (Figure A9).
10. Replication of the regression table in the main paper, but including partisan strength as a covariate in each model (Table A2).
11. Questions used in the CCES to create the measure of operational ideology, or issue consistency.
12. Dictionaries used in the LIWC text classification to generate measures of conceptual ideology.
13. Correlation between symbolic and operational ideology in the CCES (Figure A10).
14. The distribution of Republican primary and general election voters by candidate preference in 2008.
15. The distribution of symbolic ideology among Republican primary and general election voters in 2008.

Proportions in the Surveys

2016 CCES

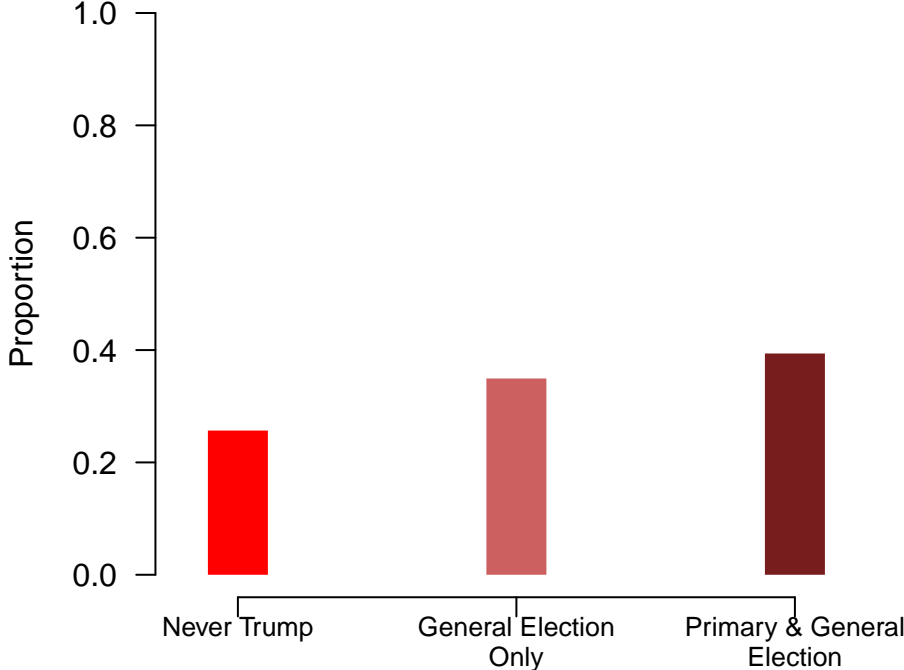


Figure A1: Proportions of Republicans in the 2016 CCES Survey. Here we include general election abstention in the Never Trump group. Thus, those who opposed Trump in the primary and did not vote in the general are classified as Never Trumpers in this figure.

2017 YouGov

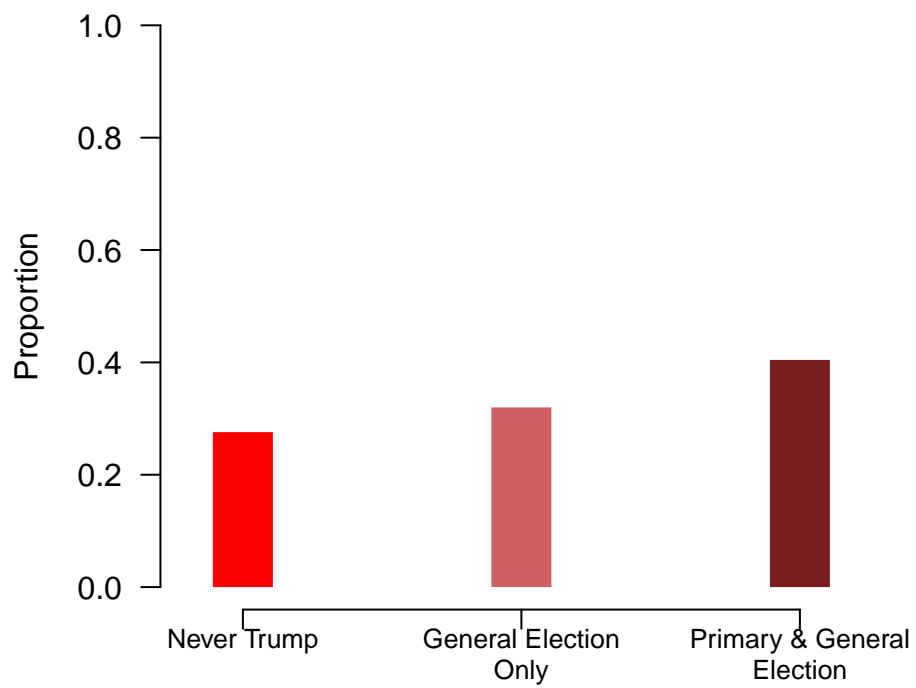


Figure A2: Proportions of Republicans in the 2017 YouGov Survey. Here we include general election abstention in the Never Trump group. Thus, those who opposed Trump in the primary and did not vote in the general are classified as Never Trumpers in this figure.

Demographics of Survey Respondents

Table A1: Demographics of Each Group - YouGov 2017 Survey

	Never Trump	General Election	Primary & General Election
Male	0.60 (0.46)	0.49	0.50
White	0.85 (0.79)	0.93	0.91
Married	0.45 (0.50)	0.67	0.67
Employed Full Time	0.34 (0.30)	0.42	0.34
Retired	0.15 (0.14)	0.31	0.31
Income	\$50-60k (\$40-50k)	\$60-70k	\$50-60k
Age	44.9 (44.3)	57.5	58.0
Education	2-Year Degree (Some College)	Some College	High School Grad

Note: With the exception of income, age, and education, numbers are proportions. Income shows median category and age displays average age of each cohort. Education shows the median outcome of a 6-point scale. Data from 2017 YouGov survey. Numbers in parentheses show demographics for the Never Trump Republicans when those who abstained in the 2016 general election are included in this group.

Partisan Identity of Republican Survey Respondents

2017 YouGov

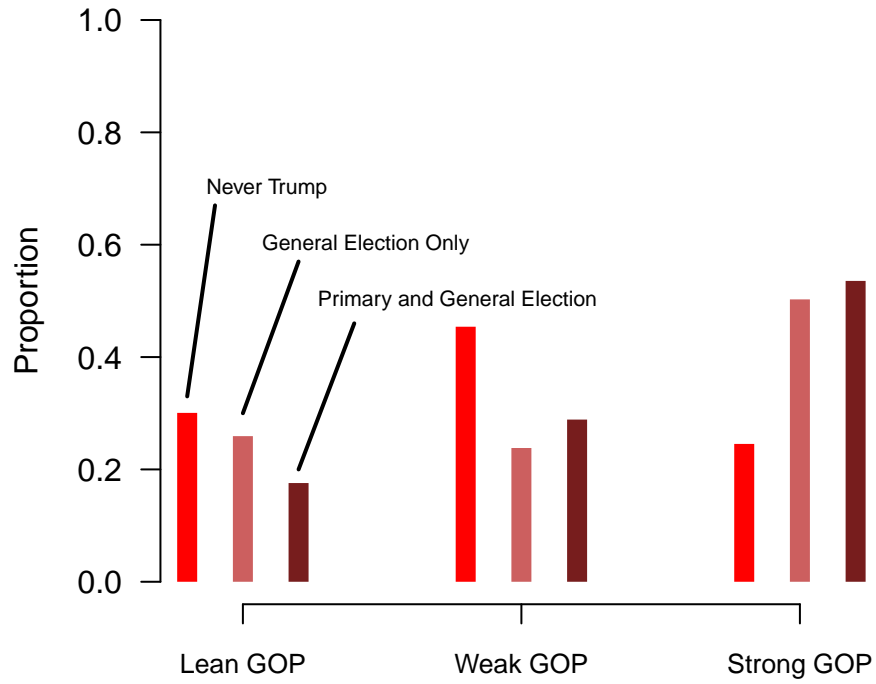


Figure A3: Partisan Leanings of Republicans in 2017 YouGov Survey. Including General Election Abstention in Never Trump Group

Symbolic Ideology

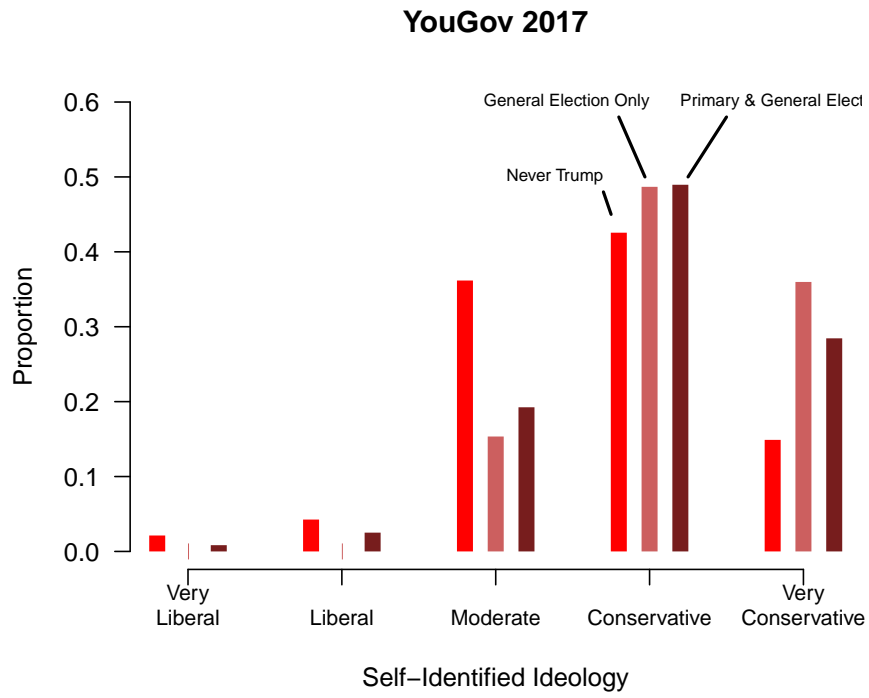


Figure A4: Symbolic Ideology of 2017 YouGov Republican Survey Respondents

Pure Independents vs. Never Trump Voters

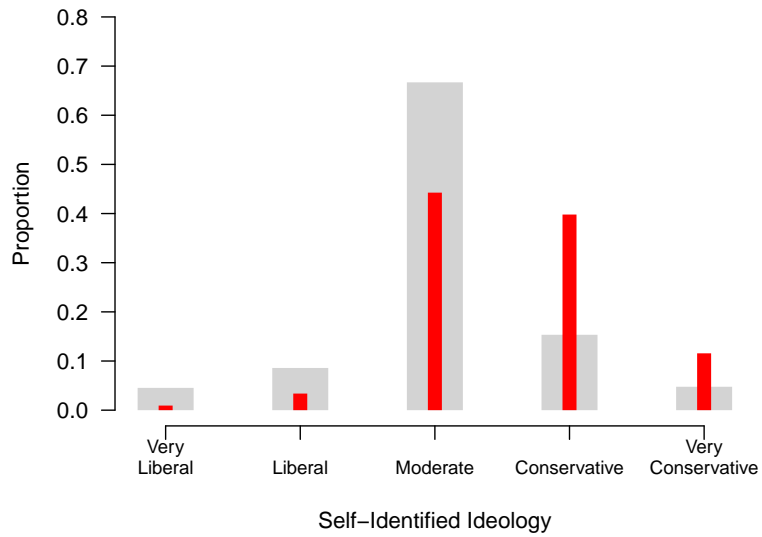


Figure A5: Symbolic Ideology of 2016 CCES Pure Independents and Never Trump Republicans. Never Trump Republicans are markedly more conservative than pure independents.

Republican Symbolic Ideology, ANES

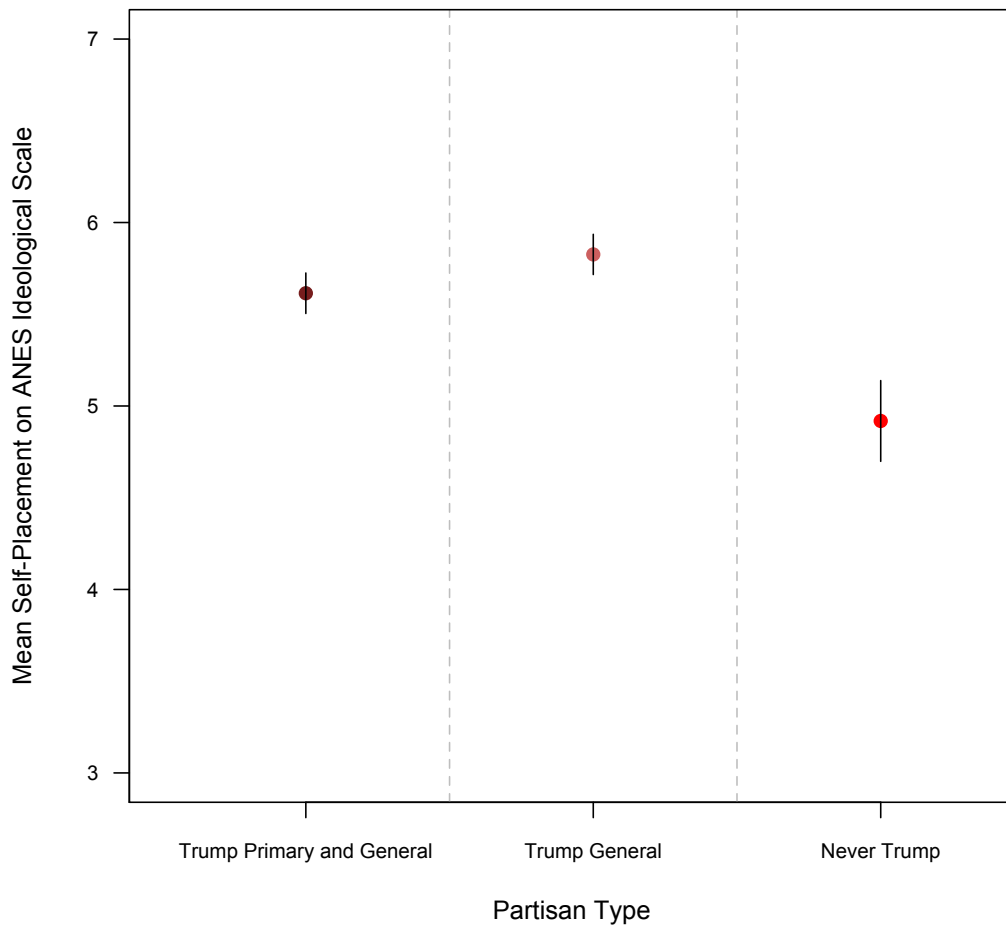


Figure A6: Average self-identified ideology among Republicans in the 2016 ANES Survey. The ANES uses a 7-point ideological scale with 7 being “very conservative”.

Operational Ideology

Including General Election Abstention in Never Trump Group

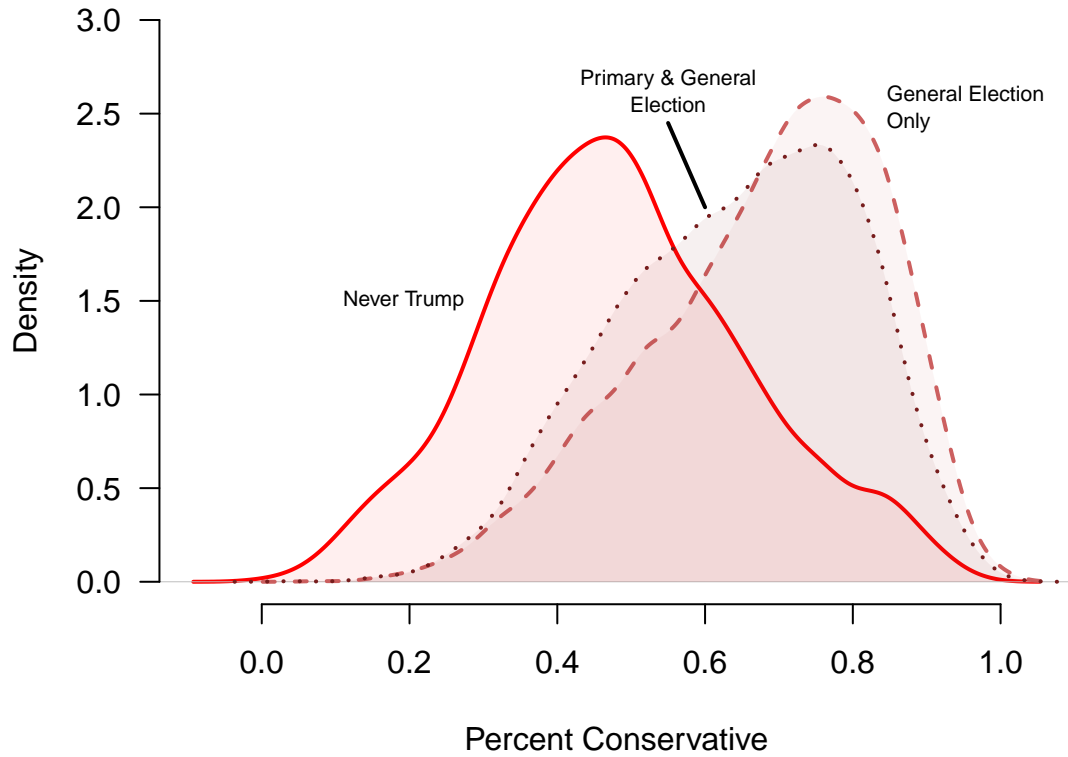


Figure A7: Distribution of issue positions in the 2016 CCES. Here we include those who opposed Donald Trump in the primary but abstained in the 2016 election as belonging to the Never Trump group.

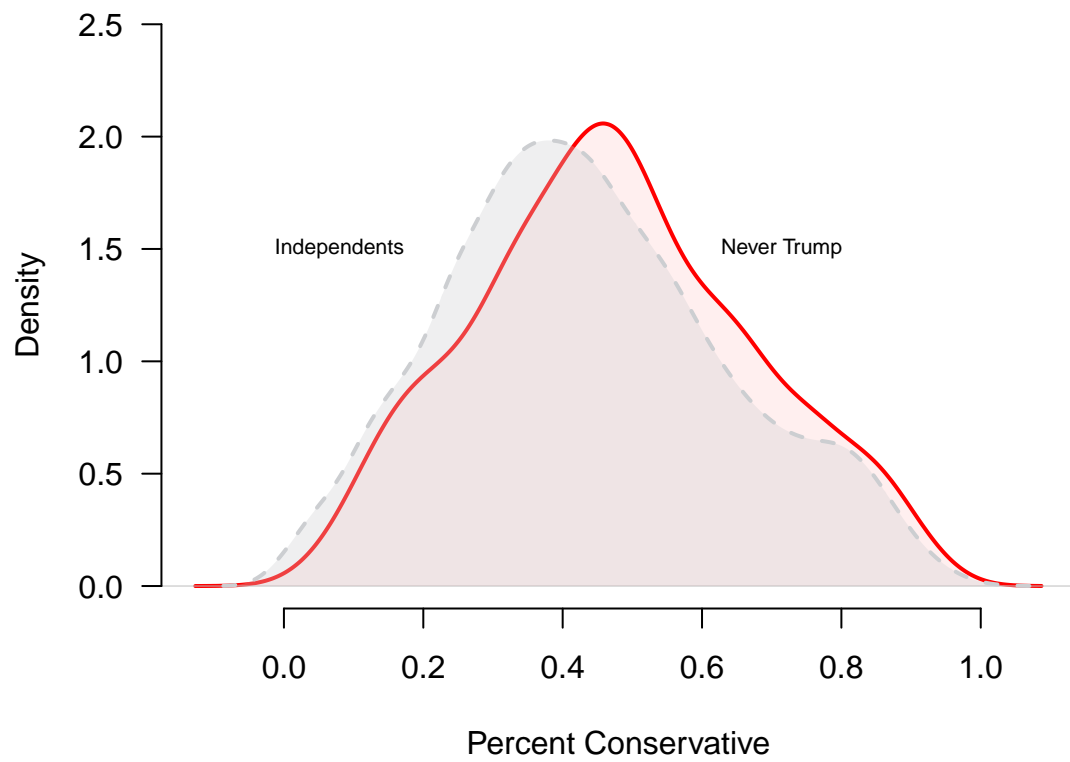


Figure A8: Operational Ideology of 2016 CCES Pure Independents and Never Trump Republicans. Never Trump Republicans are nearly as moderate as pure independents.

Measuring Operational Ideology Using Ideal Points

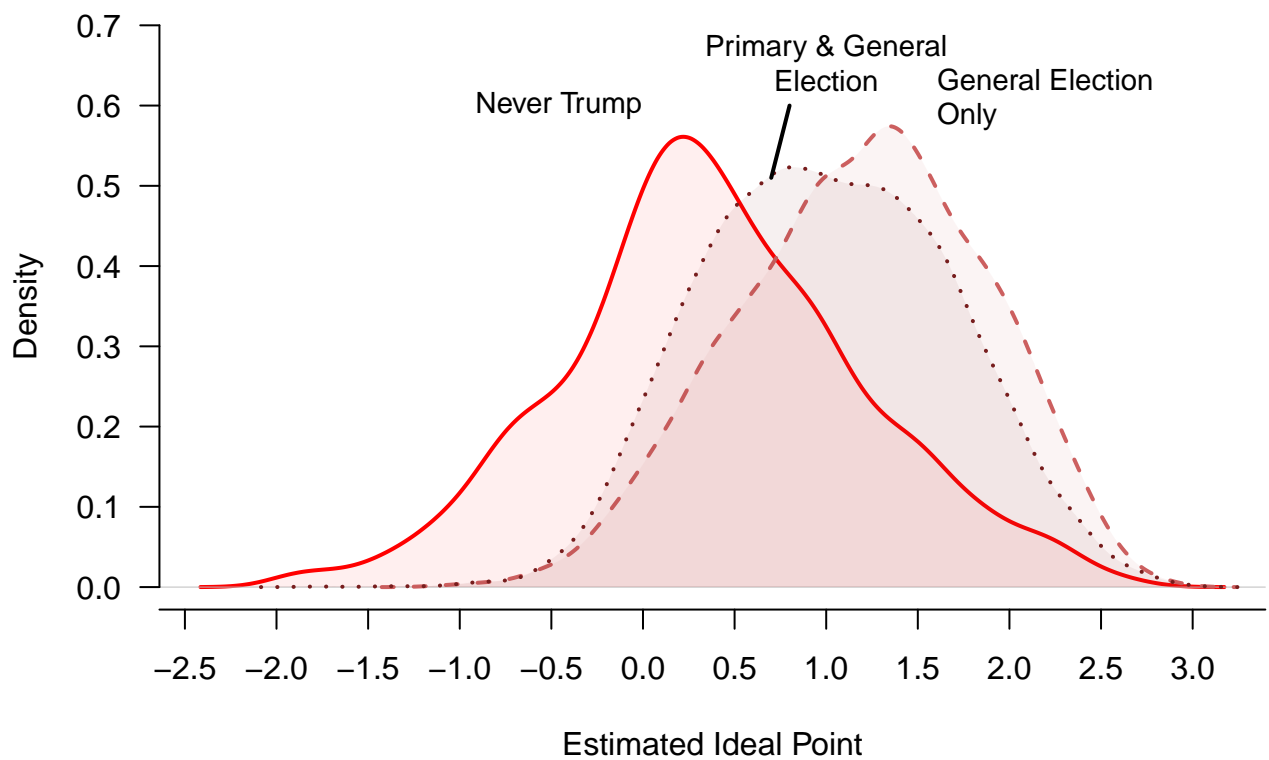


Figure A9: Operational Ideology of 2016 CCES Republicans. Here we use a 1-dimensional ideal point model as our measure of operational ideology rather than the more simple ‘percent conservative’ that we use in the previous figures. The two measures correlate at .98.

Republican Operational Ideology, ANES

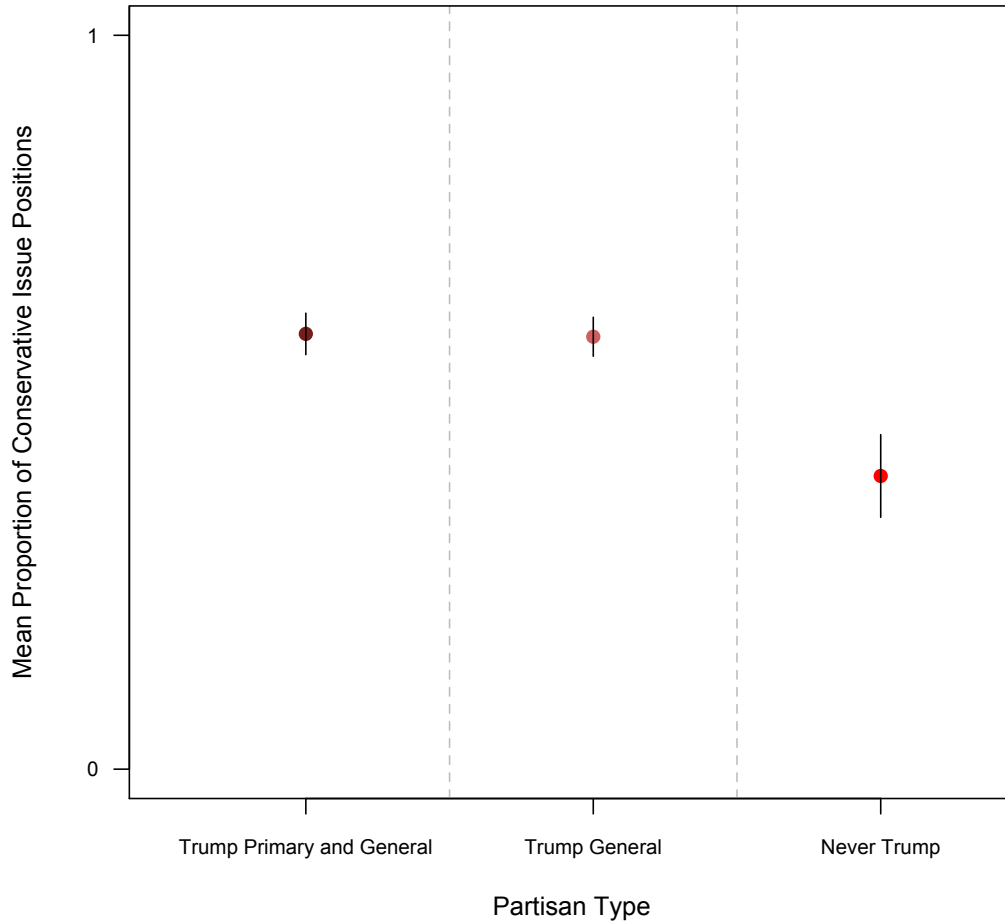


Figure A10: Proportion of conservative responses in the ANES survey. These questions are different from the CCES survey in that they tend to be scales with midpoints rather than binary choice items, yet the relative pattern remains exactly the same as in the CCES data: Never Trump Republicans are more likely to endorse liberal policies. The full list of issues includes: spending and services, defense spending, health insurance, guaranteed government jobs, immigration policy, building a wall, environmental policy, affirmative action, abortion, childcare spending, bombing in Syria, and aid to Blacks.

Operational Ideology Aggregating Policy Questions Together

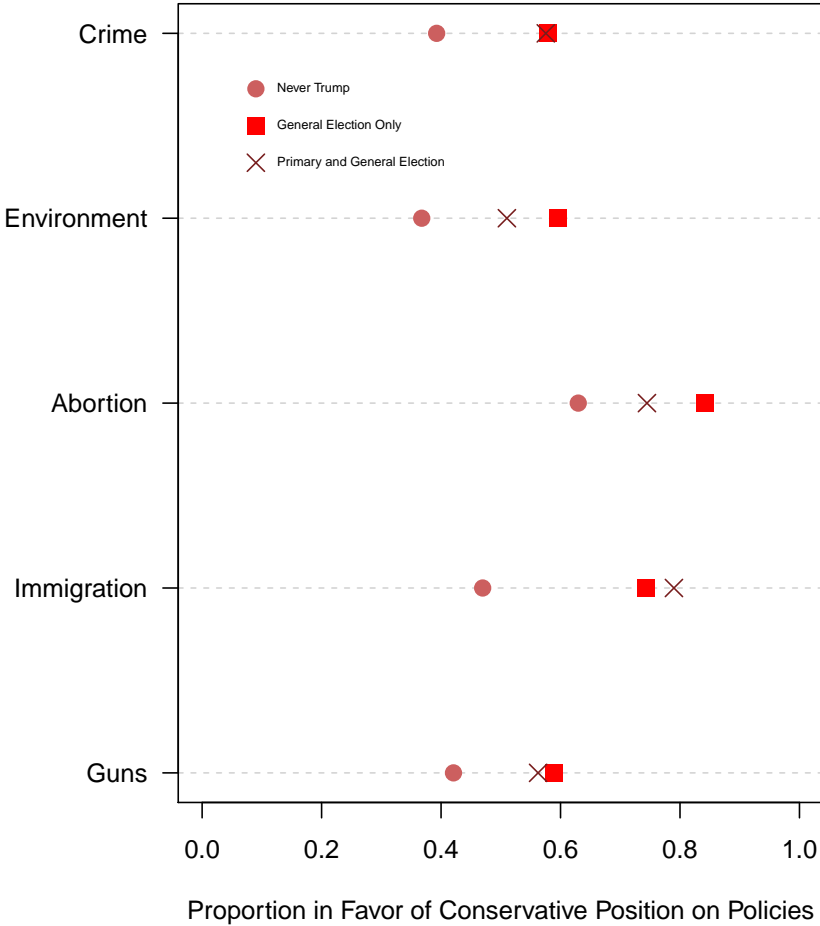


Figure A11: Proportion Supporting Conservative Policies - This figure shows the proportion of respondents who take the conservative position on an index of 5 different policy areas used in the operational ideology measure. Respondents are divided into the three different groups of Republicans considered here. Across each issue area policies, Never Trump Republicans are substantially more liberal than the other two groups.

Partial Correlations

Dependent Variable:	Symbolic Ideology	Percent Conservative	Incoherent Response	# of ideas
Regression Model:	OLS	OLS	Probit	OLS
Never Trump Voter	0.14*** (0.02)	-0.08*** (0.005)	-0.61*** (0.31)	0.53* (0.32)
General Trump Voter	0.09*** (0.01)	0.02*** (0.003)	-0.73*** (0.18)	0.40* * (0.18)
Age	-0.003*** (0.0004)	0.0001 (0.001)	-0.005 (0.006)	-0.001 (0.01)
Income	-0.006*** (0.002)	-0.0003 (0.0005)	0.003 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)
Male	0.005 (0.01)	0.04*** (0.003)	-0.04 (0.16)	-0.27 (0.17)
White	0.0001 (0.02)	0.008* (0.004)	0.47 (0.36)	0.10 (0.32)
Unemployed	-0.05* (0.03)	0.006 (0.007)	0.62* (0.34)	-0.62 (0.39)
Education	-0.02*** (0.004)	0.004*** (0.001)	-0.15** (0.06)	0.18*** (0.06)
Weak Republican	0.06*** (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.004)	0.13 (0.24)	-0.47* (0.25)
Strong Republican	0.27** (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.004)	0.13 (0.23)	-0.31 (0.23)
Racial Resentment	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.02*** (0.001)		
Clinton Ideological Distance	0.24*** (0.04)	0.03*** (0.001)		
Percent Conservative	0.55*** (0.04)			
Symbolic Ideology		0.04*** (0.003)	-0.32*** (0.11)	0.15 (0.11)
<i>N</i>	9,638	9,638	372	372

Table A2: Regression Results — This table replicates Table 4 in the main paper but adds controls for operational ideology, symbolic ideology, and partisan strength. Model 1 measures predictors of self-placed ideology on a 5-point scale with 5 being “very conservative”. Model 2 measures the proportion of times a respondent took a conservative position on 22 different policy votes contained in the CCES survey. Model 3 measures predictors of whether or not the respondent gave an incoherent response when asked to define conservatism. Model 4 measures the number of different issues/ideas/principles mentioned when asked to define conservatism. In each model, Republicans who voted for Trump in the primary *and* general elections are the omitted, comparison group. Models 1 and 2 come from CCES data. Models 3 and 4 come from the 2017 YouGov survey. In Models 3 and 4 we do not include operational ideology as a control because the questions used to create the index were not included in the survey. Significance codes * $p < .1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$, two-tailed tests.

Questions Used in Operational Ideology Measure

On the issue of gun regulation, do you support or oppose each of the following proposals? (Choose all that apply)

- Background checks for all sales, including at gun shows and over the Internet
- Prohibit state and local governments from publishing the names and addresses of all gun owners
- Ban assault rifles
- Make it easier for people to obtain concealed-carry permit

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

- 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
- Increase the number of border patrols on the U.S.-Mexican border
- Grant legal status to people who were brought to the US illegally as children, but who have graduated from a U.S. high school
- Identify and deport illegal immigrants

Do you support or oppose each of the following proposals? (Choose all that apply)

- Always allow a woman to obtain an abortion as a matter of choice
- Prohibit all abortions after the 20th week of pregnancy
- Allow employers to decline coverage of abortions in insurance plans
- Prohibit the expenditure of funds authorized or appropriated by federal law for any abortion
- Make abortions illegal in all circumstances

Do you support or oppose each of the following proposals? (Choose all that apply)

- Give Environmental Protection Agency power to regulate Carbon Dioxide emissions
- Raise required fuel efficiency for the average automobile from 25 mpg to 35 mpg
- Require a minimum amount of renewable fuels (wind, solar, and hydroelectric) in the generation of electricity even if electricity prices increase somewhat
- Strengthen enforcement of the Clean Air Act and Clean Water Act even if it costs US jobs

Do you support or oppose each of the following proposals? (Choose all that apply)

- Eliminate mandatory minimum sentences for non-violent drug offenders
- Require police officers to wear body cameras that record all of their activities while on duty
- Increase the number of police on the street by 10 percent, even if it means fewer funds for other public services

- Increase prison sentences for felons who have already committed two or more serious or violent crimes

Do you favor or oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?

- Favor/Oppose

Congress considers many issues. If you were in Congress would you vote FOR or AGAINST each of the following?

- Highway and Transportation Funding Act
- Repeal Affordable Care Act
- Minimum wage raise to \$12/hour by 2020

Conceptual Ideology Dictionaries

The following words were used in the Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC) program for coding on the open-ended conceptual ideology questions.

Conservative Dictionary

- Constitution
 - found*, constitution*, framer*, bill of rights
- Freedom/Liberty
 - libert*, freedom*
- Fiscal Issues
 - balance*, budget*, spend*, fiscal*, financ*, thrift*, tax*, money*, income, debt*, over-tax*
- Values/Tradition
 - value*, tradit*, conserve, princip*, status quo, chang*, marriag*, moral*, immor*, anything goes, relativ*
- Size of Government
 - less gov*, stay out, less fed* big gov*, too big, small* gov*, small* fed*, gov* small*, limit*, size, reduce gov*, limit*
- Individualism
 - responsib*, accountab*, alone*, for free, handout*, individual*, make decision*, work*, earn*, help*, choice*, affirmative action, make people, government involve*, power, limit*, impose, imposing, right to, control
- Free Market/Regulation
 - regulation*, market*, trade*, free enter*, business*, capitalis*, compet*
- Federalism/States Rights
 - federalism, state* right*, states, state govern*, 10th
- Religion/God/Religious Liberty
 - relig*, god*, religious lib*, faith*, church*, bible*, christ*, marriag*, pray*
- 2nd Amendment
 - gun*, 2nd, second am*, background check*, bear arm*
- Immigration
 - hispan*, mexic*, open the door*, legal, into the country, illegal*, border*, immig*

- Abortion
 - abort*, pro-life, pro life, pro-choice, pro choice, unborn, planned parenthood, baby, babies
- Military/Defense
 - defense, militar*, armed force*

Liberal Dictionary

- Redistribution
 - redistribu*, welfare, care, poor, caring, unequal*, equal*, equit*, provide*, protect*, depend*, take, program*, subsid*, giv*, wealth, entitle*, support*, handout*, work*, earn*, help*
- Size of Government
 - government*, large*, too big, small* fed*, limit*, size, reduce gov*
- Individualism
 - control, responsib*, accountab*, make decision*, handout*, individual*, work*, earn*, help*, make people, government involve*, power, limit*, right*, impos*
- Fiscal Issues
 - balance*, budget*, spend*, fiscal*, financ*, thrift*, tax*, money*, income, debt*, over-tax*
- Minority Groups
 - black*, majority, white*, minorit*, hispan*, mexic*, race, racial*, gay*, trans*, homo*, sexual*
- Political Labels
 - socialis*, marx*, commun*, progressiv*, social justice, fascist*, left wing, left*
- The Poor
 - poverty, poor, income
- Values/Tradition
 - value*, tradit*, chang*, marriag*, moral*, immor*, anything goes, relativ*
- Political Correctness
 - polit* correct*, offen*, dissent, opinion, indoctrinat*, tolera*, hypocrit*, not agree*, speech, speak, conscience
- Immigration

- hispan*, mexic*, open the door*, legal, into the country, illegal*, border*, immig*
- 2nd Amendment
 - gun*, 2nd, second am*, background check*, bear arm*
- Constitution
 - found*, constitution*, framer*, bill of rights
- Religion/God/Religious Liberty
 - relig*, god*, religious lib*, faith*, church*, bible*, christ*, pray*

Figure A12: Relationship between symbolic ideology and operational ideology.

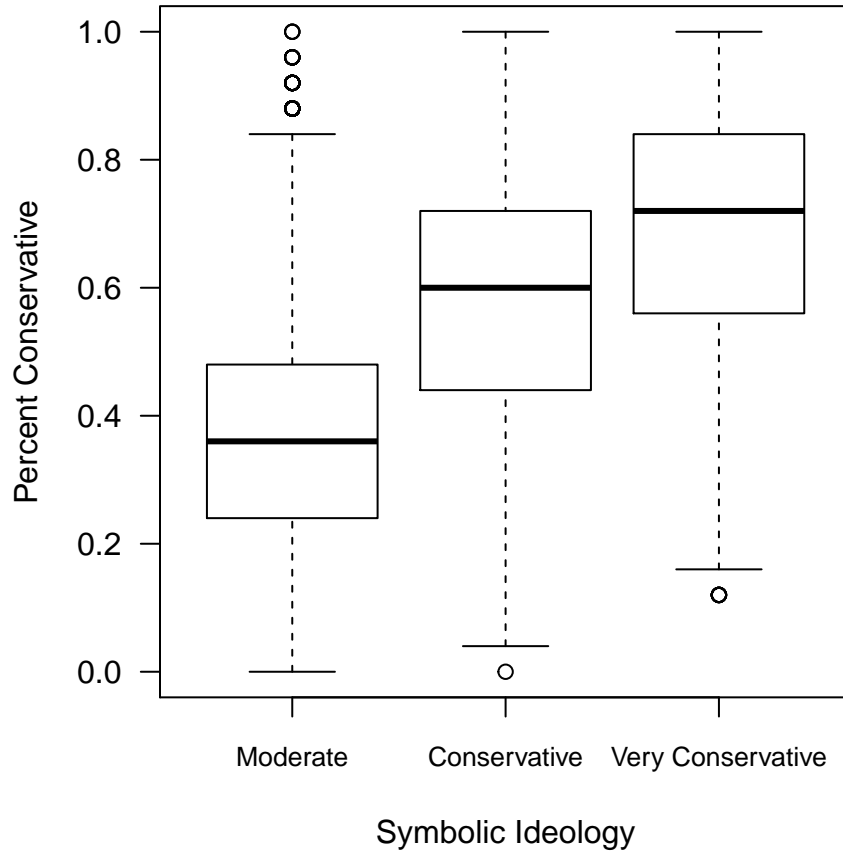


Figure A13: Republican Voters Choices in the 2008 Election - CCES Survey

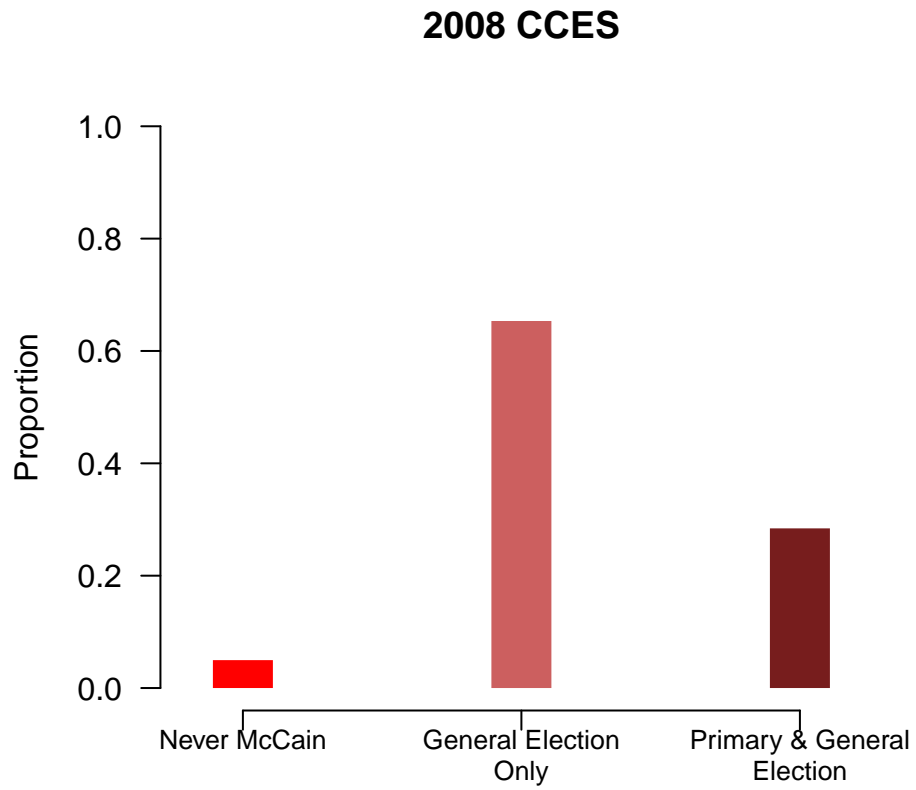


Figure A14: Symbolic Ideology of 2008 Primary and General Election Republican Voters - CCES Survey

