

Online Appendix to “Issues or Affinity? How Voters Decide in Primary Elections”

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A Online Appendix

A.1 Additional Details on the Experimental Protocol

Table I: Experimentally Manipulated Factors and Levels

Factor	Levels
Gender	Male Female
Race	White Black Hispanic
Religion	None Protestant Catholic Evangelical Protestant
Occupation	Attorney Teacher State Legislator City Council Member Factory Foreman CEO Farmer Political Staffer Small Business Owner Former US Army Major
Personality	Decent Inspiring Compassionate Knowledgeable Empathetic Strong Leader Intelligent Moral
Endorsements	Major area newspapers (Tribune, Herald) Reproductive rights groups (Planned Parenthood, NARAL) (Democrats only) Civil rights groups (key figures in the NAACP and Urban League) (Democrats only) Environmental groups (Sierra Club, Natural Resources Defense Council) (Democrats only) Gun control groups (Coalition to Stop Gun Violence, Brady Campaign) (Democrats only) Labor unions (AFL-CIO, SEIU) (Democrats only) Veterans groups (American Legion, American Veterans) Business groups (Chamber of Commerce, Small Business Associations) Tax reform groups (Club for Growth, Americans for Tax Reform) (Republicans only) Energy groups (American Petroleum and Mining Associations) (Republicans only) Gun rights groups (NRA, Gun Owners of America) (Republicans only) Christian groups (Family Research Council, Focus on the Family) (Republicans only) Tea Party groups (FreedomWorks, Tea Party Patriots) (Republicans only)
Record	Help thousands of constituents get the benefits they deserve Work across the aisle to get things done Stand with my party to do what's right Secure appointment to a powerful legislative committee Refuse to compromise my principles even when it means taking on my party
1st and 2nd Issue Positions (no replacement)	Promote expanding free trade agreements Defend the rights of LGBT individuals (Democrats only) Expand government and unemployment assistance for those in need Provide a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants Protect a woman's right to choose (Democrats only) Raise taxes on those making more than \$250,000 a year Regulate CO2 emissions to combat global warming Reform policing and stop racial profiling Reduce the size of military and number of military bases Strengthen gun control through commonsense restrictions (Democrats only) Protect jobs and industry from unfair foreign trade Prevent and prosecute abuse of government assistance programs Toughen sentences and penalties for criminals Expand domestic oil and gas production through drilling Cut taxes on income and capital gains for all Strengthen border security to stop illegal immigration Strengthen our military and national defense Protect gun owners' rights to defend themselves and others (Republicans only) Protect the lives of the unborn (Republicans only) Defend traditional marriage and religious beliefs (Republicans only)



On the next few screens, you will be shown information about a few Democratic candidates running for election to Congress this year.

This information is based upon a questionnaire filled out by each candidate. The responses are designed to provide voters with information about the candidate's policy priorities and their personal and professional background. They were asked for their top 2 issue priorities (in order) and about their background, endorsements, and top legislative goal.

We want to see how people evaluate the ideological leanings of the candidates. For each profile, we will ask you a few short questions. Please read the profiles carefully.



Figure I: **Example Introductory Screen for Ideology Conjoint**

Democratic Candidates 1 of 4: Candidate Questionnaire Responses (Running in toss up districts in the general election)

	Candidate A	Candidate B
Race	Black	Black
1st Issue Priority	Provide a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants	Reform policing and stop racial profiling
2nd Issue Priority	Strengthen gun control through commonsense restrictions	Cut taxes on income and capital gains for all
Top Endorsements	Environmental groups (Sierra Club, Natural Resources Defense Council)	Business groups (Chamber of Commerce, Small Business Associations)
Major Legislative Goal	Secure appointment to a powerful legislative committee	Stand with my party to do what's right
Gender	Female	Male
Most Important Trait	Knowledgeable	Decent
Religion	None Listed	Protestant
Occupation	Teacher	Farmer

Which candidate do you think is more Liberal?

- Candidate A
 Candidate B

Which candidate do you think is most similar to yourself?

- Candidate A
 Candidate B

How would you rate your opinion of each candidate on a scale going from *Very favorable* to *Very unfavorable*?

	Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable
Candidate A	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Candidate B	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



Figure II: Example Paired Choice for Ideology Conjoint



On the next few screens, you will be shown information about Congressional candidates running head-to-head in four Republican primary elections.

This information is based upon a questionnaire filled out by each candidate. The responses are designed to provide voters with information about the candidate's policy priorities and their personal and professional background. They were asked for their top 2 issue priorities (in order) and about their background, endorsements, and top legislative goal.

We want to see how people evaluate the candidates, and if they would be willing to support similar candidates if given the chance. For each profile, we will ask you a few short questions. Please read the profiles carefully.



Figure III: Example Introductory Screen for Primary Conjoint

Republican Primary 1 of 4: Candidate Questionnaire Responses (Winning candidate will go on to compete in the general election)

	Candidate A	Candidate B
Race	Black	Black
Most Important Trait	Empathetic	Inspiring
Occupation	CEO	Farmer
Gender	Male	Female
Major Legislative Goal	Refuse to compromise my principles even when it means taking on my party	Work across the aisle to get things done
1st Issue Priority	Defend traditional marriage and religious beliefs	Prevent and prosecute abuse of government assistance programs
2nd Issue Priority	Prevent and prosecute abuse of government assistance programs	Strengthen border security to stop illegal immigration
Top Endorsements	Christian groups (Family Research Council, Focus on the Family)	Business groups (Chamber of Commerce, Small Business Associations)
Religion	Protestant	Protestant

If you could vote in this Republican primary, which candidate would you support?

- Candidate A
 Candidate B

Which candidate do you think is most similar to yourself?

- Candidate A
 Candidate B

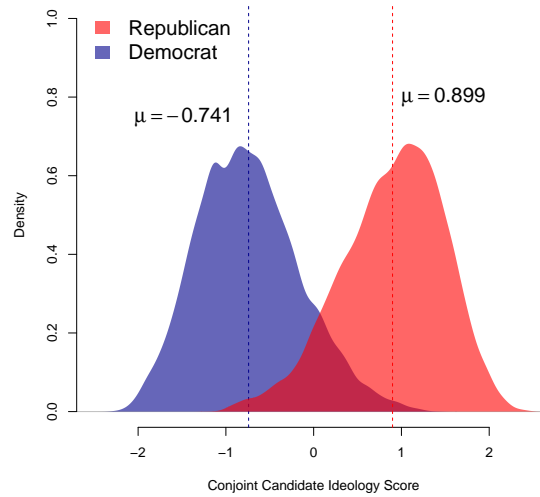
How would you rate your opinion of each candidate on a scale going from *Very favorable* to *Very unfavorable*?

	Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable
Candidate A	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Candidate B	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

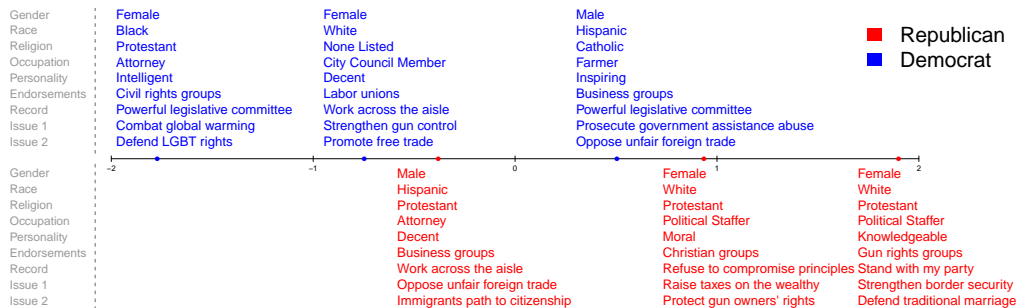


Figure IV: Example Paired Choice for Primary Conjoint

A.2 Example Candidates and Descriptives on Ideology Scores



(a) Primary Election Candidate Scores



(b) Six Example Candidate Profiles

Figure V: Ideology Scores for Conjoint Primary Election Candidates: Ideology scores are produced using conjoint estimates in the ideology rating frame associated with the set of attributes randomly generated for candidates. The figures present (a) density plots of the scores for both Democratic (blue) and Republican (red) candidates in the primary election experimental frame, and (b) the randomized attributes for six example candidates taken at the 2.5%, 50% and 97.5% quantiles of the scores, for Democratic and Republican candidates respectively.

A.3 Additional Conjoint Experimental Results

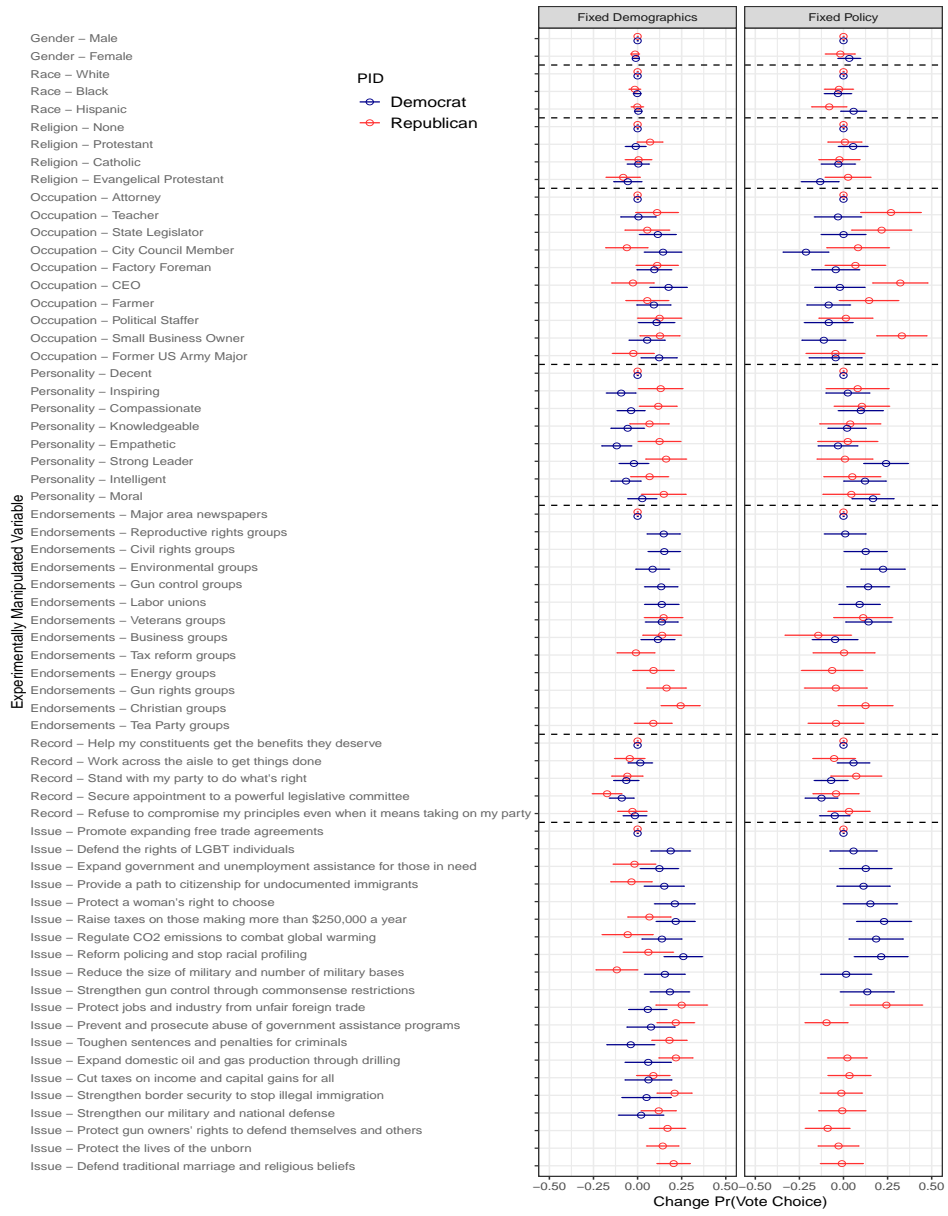


Figure VI: **Impact of Candidate Attributes on Support in Primary Election Settings, Stratifying on Comparisons with Identical Demographics or Similar Policies:** Estimates are OLS, regressing vote support on each factor, stratifying on candidate profiles with identical race and gender (Fixed Demographics) or on similar issue positions (Fixed Policy). Results are stratified by Democratic (blue) and Republican (red) PID for in-party contests. Standard errors are clustered on the respondent, with error bars displaying 95% confidence intervals. Estimates with no error bars are the excluded levels of each experimental factor. Issues are coded as present if they were in either the first or second policy priority for the candidate. All variables are coded 0-1, with the dependent variable coded as 1=Supported Candidate, 0=Unsupported Candidate.

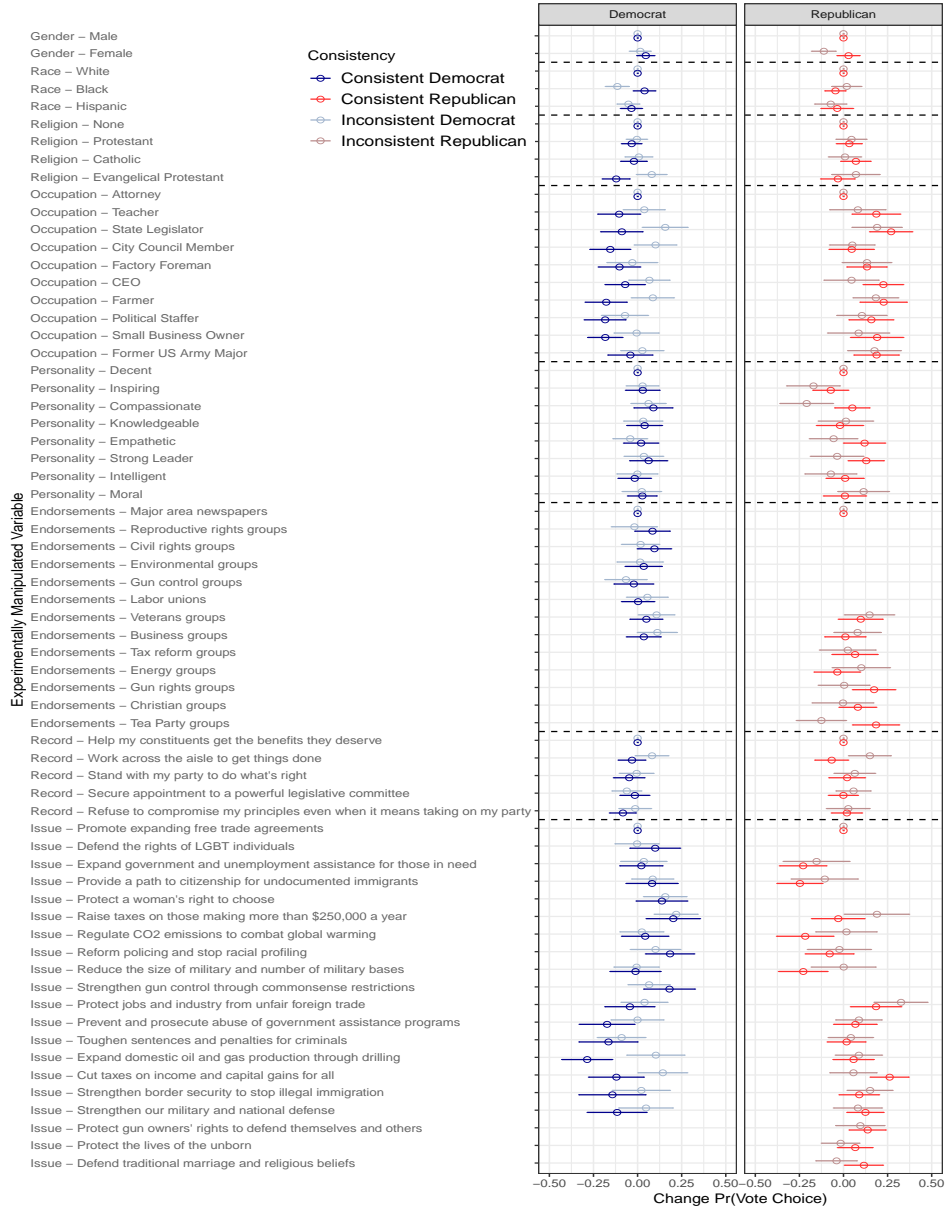


Figure VII: **Moderating Impact of Voter Consistency on Primary Vote Support in Toss Up Races:** Estimates are OLS, regressing vote support on the interaction between each factor and a measure of voter policy consistency stratified by Democratic (blue) and Republican (red) PID. This summary of liberal-conservative attitudes across ten issues is taken from questions in the CCES. *Inconsistent* partisans have summary ideology scores to the center of the party median score, and *Consistent* partisans have scores in the extremes. Results are stratified by subjects informed the winning primary candidate will compete in a *toss up* general election. Standard errors are clustered on the respondent, with error bars displaying 95% confidence intervals. Estimates with no error bars are the excluded levels of each experimental factor. Issues are coded as present if they were in either the first or second policy priority for the candidate. All variables are coded 0-1, with the dependent variable coded as 1=Supported Candidate, 0=Unsupported Candidate.

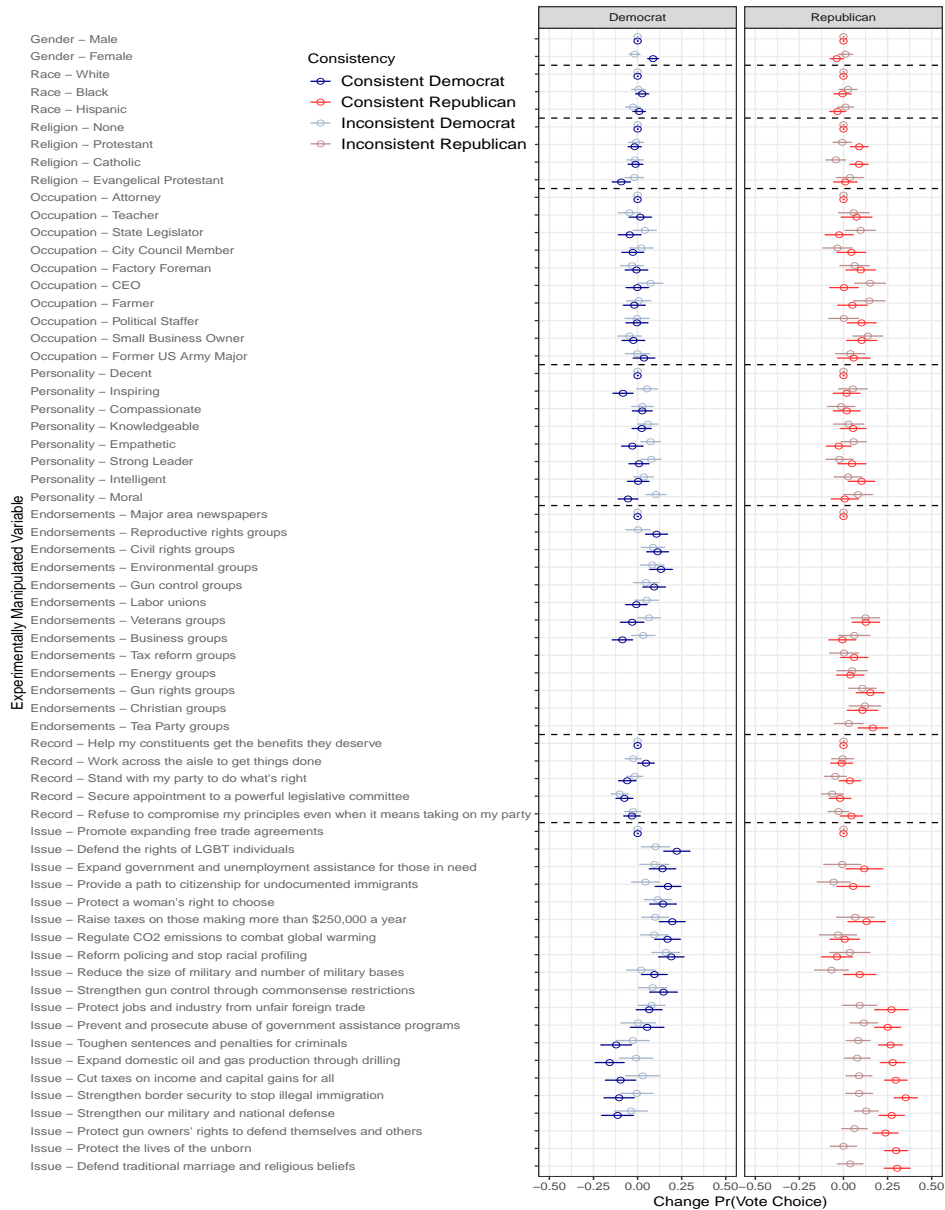


Figure VIII: Moderating Impact of Voter Consistency on Primary Vote Support Preferences in Safe Races: Estimates are OLS, regressing vote support on the interaction between each factor and a measure of voter policy consistency stratified by Democratic (blue) and Republican (red) PID. This summary of liberal-conservative attitudes across ten issues is taken from questions in the CCES. *Inconsistent* partisans have summary ideology scores to the center of the party median score, and *Consistent* partisans have scores in the extremes. Results are stratified by subjects informed the winning primary candidate will compete in a *safe* general election. Standard errors are clustered on the respondent, with error bars displaying 95% confidence intervals. Estimates with no error bars are the excluded levels of each experimental factor. Issues are coded as present if they were in either the first or second policy priority for the candidate. All variables are coded 0-1, with the dependent variable coded as 1=Supported Candidate, 0=Unsupported Candidate.

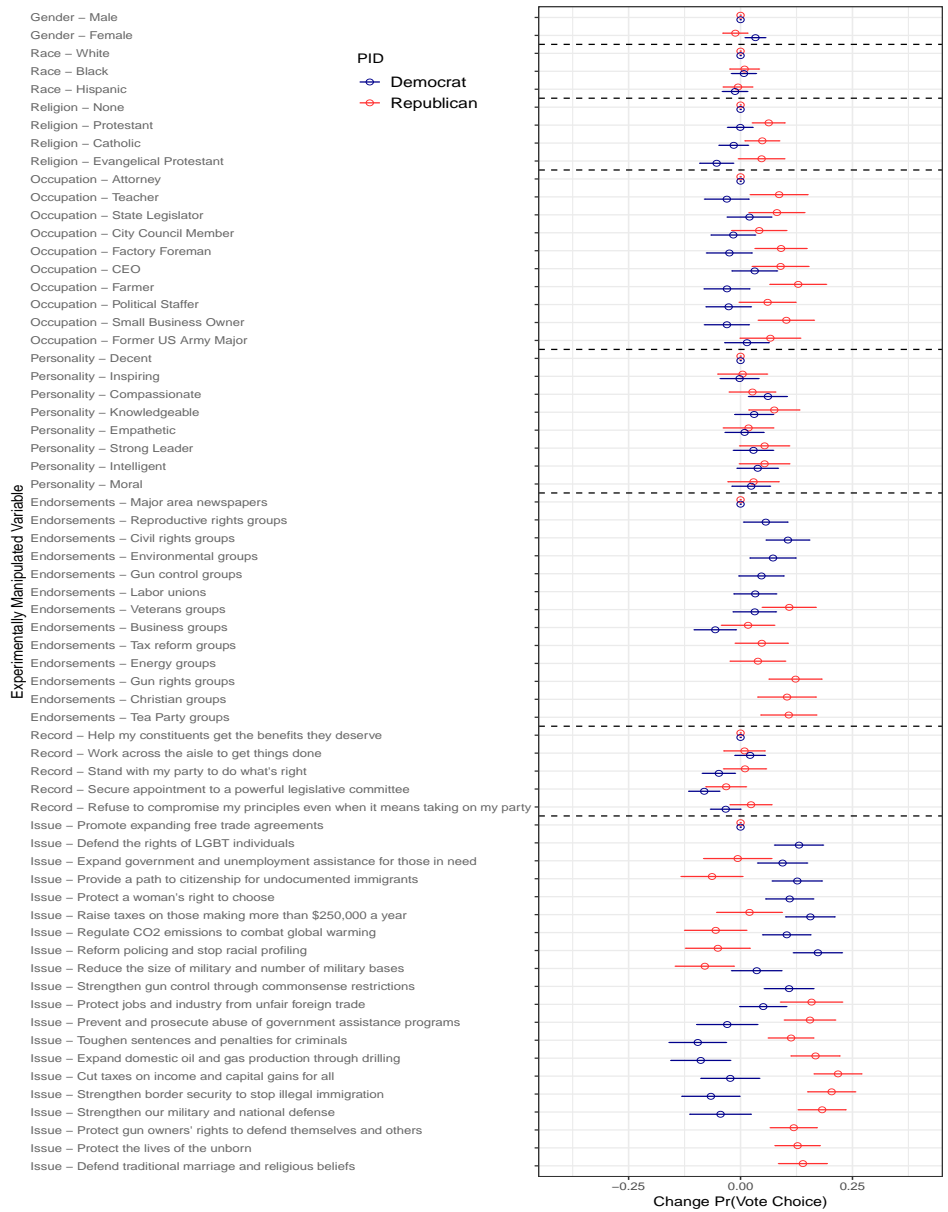


Figure IX: **Impact of Candidate Attributes on Support in Primary Election Settings, Stratifying on Primary Election Voters:** Estimates are OLS, regressing vote support on each factor, stratifying by Democratic (blue) and Republican (red) PID and self-reported primary election voters assigned to in-party contests. Standard errors are clustered on the respondent, with error bars displaying 95% confidence intervals. Estimates with no error bars are the excluded levels of each experimental factor. Issues are coded as present if they were in either the first or second policy priority for the candidate. All variables are coded 0-1, with the dependent variable coded as 1=Supported Candidate, 0=Unsupported Candidate.

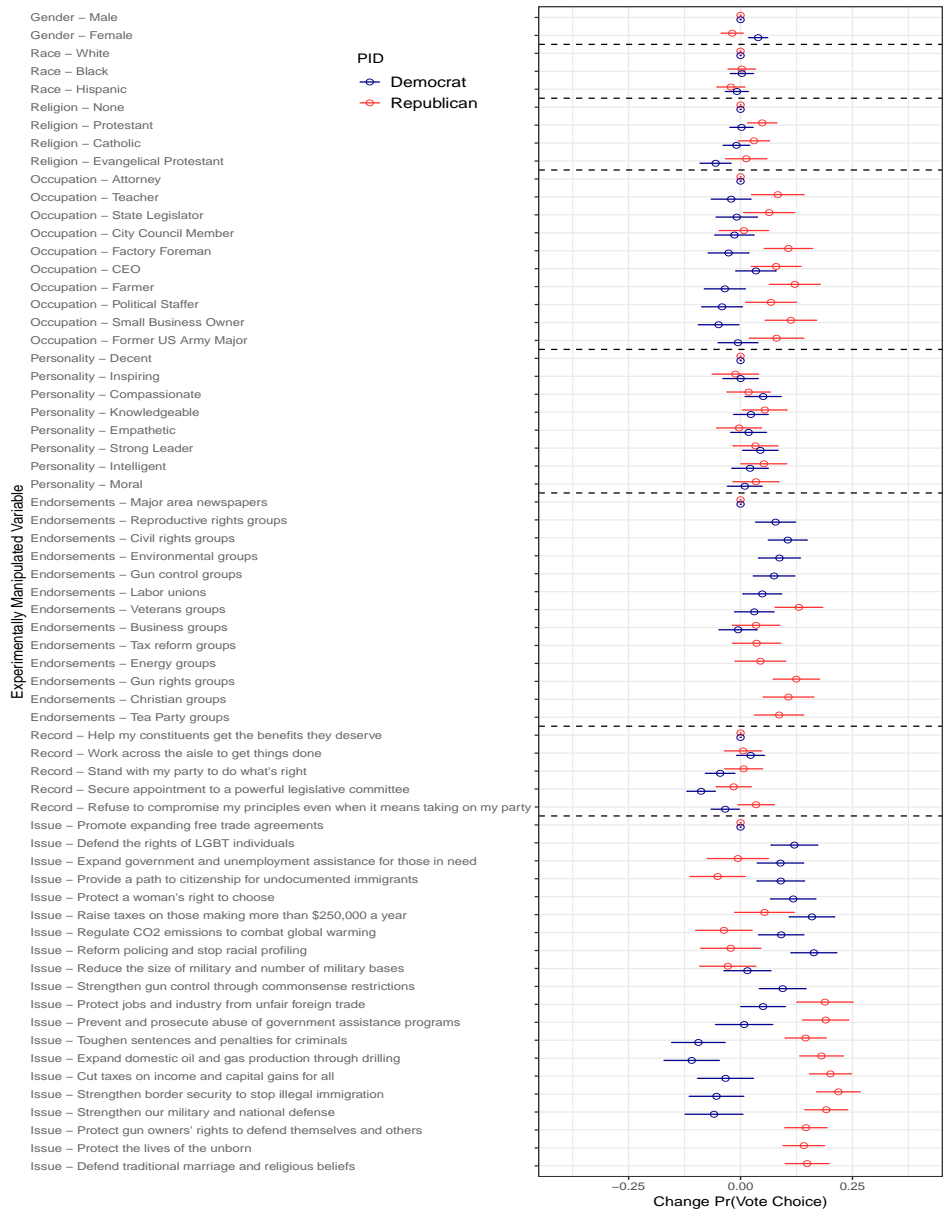


Figure X: **Impact of Candidate Attributes on Support in Primary Election Settings, Stratifying on General Election Voters:** Estimates are OLS, regressing vote support on each factor, stratifying by Democratic (blue) and Republican (red) PID and self-reported general election voters assigned to in-party contests. Standard errors are clustered on the respondent, with error bars displaying 95% confidence intervals. Estimates with no error bars are the excluded levels of each experimental factor. Issues are coded as present if they were in either the first or second policy priority for the candidate. All variables are coded 0-1, with the dependent variable coded as 1=Supported Candidate, 0=Unsupported Candidate.

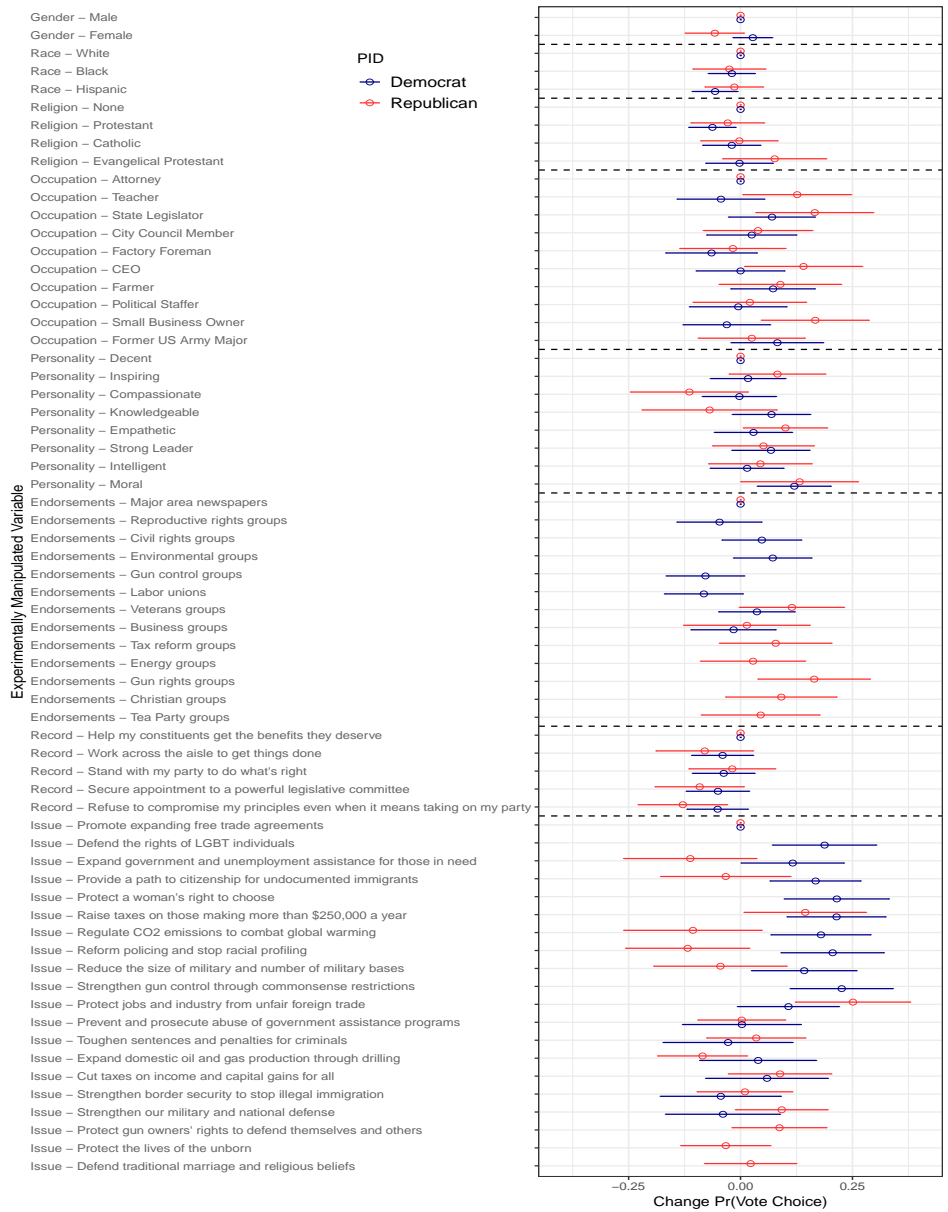


Figure XI: **Impact of Candidate Attributes on Support in Primary Election Settings, Stratifying on Non-Voters:** Estimates are OLS, regressing vote support on each factor, stratifying by Democratic (blue) and Republican (red) PID and self-reported non-voters assigned to in-party contests. Standard errors are clustered on the respondent, with error bars displaying 95% confidence intervals. Estimates with no error bars are the excluded levels of each experimental factor. Issues are coded as present if they were in either the first or second policy priority for the candidate. All variables are coded 0-1, with the dependent variable coded as 1=Supported Candidate, 0=Unsupported Candidate.

A.4 Details on CCES Items Used to Produce Shared Affinity and Issue Agreement Measures

Table II: CCES Survey Items Used to Produce Issue Attitude and Shared Affinity Measures

	CCES IDs	Item	Conservative	$\rho(\text{PID, item})$
Demographics				
Gender	gender	Male or female	–	–
Race	race	Racial or ethnic group best describes you	–	–
Religion	pew_religion	Describe yourself as ...	–	–
	pew_bornagain	Describe yourself as a born-again or Evangelical	–	–
Issues				
Trade	CC16_351B	Trans-Pacific Partnership Act	Oppose	0.186
	CC16_351D	Trade Adjustment Assistance Act	Oppose	0.134
Social Issues	CC16_335	Gay Marriage	Oppose	0.367
Govt. Assistance	CC16_351H	Medicare Accountability and Cost Reform Act	Oppose	0.126
	CC16_351I	Repeal Affordable Care Act	Support	0.535
Immigration	CC16_351K	Raising Minimum wage	Oppose	0.463
	CC16_331.1	Grant legal status to non-felony, employed immigrants	Oppose	0.399
	CC16_331.2	Increase the number of patrols on the border	Support	0.391
	CC16_331.3	Grant legal status to Dreamers	Oppose	0.307
	CC16_331.4	Fine U.S. businesses that hire illegal immigrants	Support	0.325
	CC16_331.5	Admit no refugees from Syria	Support	0.311
	CC16_331.6	Increase the number of visas for overseas workers in the U.S.	Oppose	0.168
	CC16_331.7	Identify and deport illegal immigrants	Support	0.425
Abortion	CC16_331.8	Ban Muslims from immigrating to the U.S.	Support	0.237
	CC16_332a	Always allow abortion as a matter of choice	Oppose	0.437
	CC16_332b	Permit abortion only in cases of rape, incest or woman's life	Support	0.186
	CC16_332c	Prohibit all abortions after the 20th week of pregnancy	Support	0.324
	CC16_332d	Allow employers to decline coverage of abortions in insurance	Support	0.434
	CC16_332e	Prohibit funds appropriated by federal law for any abortion	Support	0.441
Taxes	CC16_332f	Make abortions illegal in all circumstances	Support	0.138
	CC16_351E	Education Reform	Oppose	0.031
	CC16_351F	Highway and Transportation Funding Act	Oppose	0.125
	CC16_351H	Medicare Accountability and Cost Reform Act	Oppose	0.126
	CC16_351I	Repeal Affordable Care Act	Support	0.536
Environment	CC16_351K	Raising Minimum wage	Oppose	0.463
	CC16_333a	Give EPA power to regulate CO2	Oppose	0.444
	CC16_333b	Raise required fuel efficiency for cars to 35 mpg	Oppose	0.299
	CC16_333c	Require a minimum amount of renewables in electricity generation	Oppose	0.361
Crime	CC16_333d	Strengthen enforcement of Clean Air and Clean Water Acts	Oppose	0.436
	CC16_334a	Eliminate mandatory minimums for non-violent drug offenders	Oppose	0.262
	CC16_334b	Require police officers to wear recording body cameras on duty	Oppose	0.182
	CC16_334c	Increase the number of police on the street by 10%	Support	0.199
Defense	CC16_334d	Increase prison sentences for violent felons with prior convictions	Support	0.231
	CC16_337.1	Cut Defense Spending	Oppose	0.089
	CC16_351C	USA Freedom Act	Support	0.007
Guns	CC16_351G	Iran Sanctions Act	Support	0.166
	CC16_330a	Background checks for all gun sales	Oppose	0.218
	CC16_330b	Prohibit states publishing gunowner names and addresses	Oppose	0.234
	CC16_330d	Ban assault rifles	Support	0.378
	CC16_330e	Make it easier for people to obtain concealed-carry permit	Support	0.383

All items are binary, with the conservative attitude coded as 1. $\rho(\text{PID, item})$ indicates the bivariate correlation between each item and party identity (PID).

Table III: CCES Survey Items Used to Produce Endorsement Affinity Measures

Issue Scale		$\rho(\text{PID}, \text{scale})$
Endorsements		
Reproductive Rights	Abortion	0.494
Civil Rights	Crime	0.367
	Govt. Assistance	0.484
Environmental	Environment	0.490
Gun Control	Guns	0.454
Labor	Environment	0.490
	(Anti-)Immigration	0.537
	(Fair-)Trade	-0.223
	Taxes	0.451
	Govt. Assistance	0.484
Veterans	Defense	0.147
Business	Environment	0.490
	(Pro-)Immigration	-0.537
	Trade	0.223
	Taxes	0.451
	Govt. Assistance	0.484
Tax Reform	Taxes	0.451
Energy	Environment	0.490
Gun Rights	Guns	0.454
Christian	Abortion	0.494
	Social Issues	0.367
Tea Party	Environment	0.490
	(Anti-)Immigration	0.537
	(Fair-)Trade	-0.223
	Taxes	0.451
	Govt. Assistance	0.484

All items are binary, with the conservative attitude coded as 1. $\rho(\text{PID}, \text{scale})$ indicates the bivariate correlation between each issue scale and party identity (PID). Negative correlation indicates liberal-conservative scale orientation is flipped.