

Supplemental Appendix
Party Factions Among the Voters

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Table A-1 Responses to Selected Items by Party Faction

	Trump R (n=303)	Traditional R (n=221)	Other R (n=120)	Other D (n=99)	Centrist D (n=239)	Progressive D (n=206)
Need government action on climate change (%)***						
Yes, definitely	22.1 (7.3)	44.5 (20.2)	14.3 (12.3)	62.7 (63.0)	183.2 (76.7)	176.8 (86.0)
Yes, probably	30.7 (10.1)	63.2 (28.6)	22.0 (19.0)	22.5 (22.7)	47.2 (19.8)	19.2 (9.3)
No, probably not	62.8 (20.7)	50.7 (23.0)	32.9 (28.4)	4.4 (4.4)	2.0 (0.8)	4.4 (2.1)
No, not at all	174.4 (57.6)	54.7 (24.8)	40.5 (35.0)	2.4 (2.4)	1.8 (0.7)	1.5 (0.7)
DK	12.9 (4.2)	7.7 (3.5)	6.1 (5.3)	7.4 (7.5)	4.7 (2.0)	3.8 (1.9)
Personal finances compared to last year (%)***						
Better off	35.4 (11.8)	24.9 (11.3)	18.4 (15.6)	13.3 (13.5)	35.0 (14.6)	38.5 (18.8)
Worse off	114.3 (38.1)	43.4 (19.7)	34.9 (29.7)	14.1 (14.3)	30.2 (12.6)	24.6 (12.0)
About the same	148.4 (49.5)	150.6 (68.2)	64.4 (54.7)	71.3 (72.2)	173.8 (72.7)	139.5 (68.0)
DK	1.7 (0.6)	1.9 (0.9)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	2.6 (1.3)
Expected finances next year (%)***						
Better off	31.9 (10.7)	37.2 (16.8)	31.3 (26.2)	23.8 (23.9)	46.7 (19.6)	67.1 (32.7)
Worse off	140.9 (47.1)	57.1 (25.8)	35.2 (29.5)	9.9 (10.0)	12.4 (5.2)	5.2 (2.6)
About the same	113.9 (38.1)	115.1 (51.9)	48.8 (40.9)	57.9 (58.3)	167.1 (70.0)	124.4 (60.6)
DK	12.3 (4.1)	12.1 (5.4)	4.2 (3.5)	7.8 (7.8)	12.6 (5.3)	8.5 (4.1)
US Direction (%)***						
Right direction	4.5 (1.5)	33.7 (15.5)	8.7 (7.3)	53.1 (53.4)	157.2 (67.1)	120.7 (59.3)
			110.7			
Wrong track	294.0 (96.9)	179.2 (82.3)	(92.7)	31.2 (31.4)	65.9 (28.1)	64.1 (31.5)
DK	4.8 (1.6)	4.9 (2.3)	0.0 (0.0)	15.1 (15.2)	11.3 (4.8)	18.8 (9.2)
Biden Job Approval (%)***						
Excellent	0.0 (0.0)	2.3 (1.0)	1.3 (1.1)	35.9 (36.2)	101.6 (42.5)	87.6 (42.6)
Good	1.7 (0.6)	20.0 (9.1)	5.3 (4.4)	40.5 (40.7)	120.2 (50.3)	91.7 (44.6)
Only fair	20.1 (6.6)	67.4 (30.5)	26.7 (22.3)	18.9 (19.0)	12.4 (5.2)	20.7 (10.0)
Poor	281.4 (92.8)	122.2 (55.4)	85.9 (71.9)	1.0 (1.1)	0.8 (0.3)	3.8 (1.8)
DK	0.0 (0.0)	8.7 (3.9)	0.3 (0.3)	3.1 (3.1)	3.9 (1.6)	2.0 (1.0)
Ideology (%)***						
Extremely liberal	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	0.8 (0.8)	10.9 (14.0)	7.1 (4.3)	44.5 (31.5)
Liberal	8.3 (3.7)	4.5 (2.8)	1.2 (1.2)	14.3 (18.4)	49.5 (29.8)	38.2 (27.0)
Moderate	29.0 (12.9)	61.8 (38.5)	38.3 (39.0)	32.6 (41.8)	97.1 (58.5)	44.4 (31.4)
Conservative	81.8 (36.4)	45.2 (28.2)	31.3 (31.9)	10.2 (13.1)	7.4 (4.5)	7.8 (5.5)
Extremely Conservative	94.4 (42.0)	43.8 (27.3)	17.1 (17.4)	1.0 (1.3)	0.0 (0.0)	4.2 (3.0)
DK	11.4 (5.0)	5.2 (3.3)	9.5 (9.7)	8.9 (11.4)	4.8 (2.9)	2.3 (1.6)

Table A-1 Responses to Selected Items by Party Faction, continued

	Trump R (n=303)	Traditional R (n=221)	Other R (n=120)	Other D (n=99)	Centrist D (n=239)	Progressive D (n=206)
Party Attachment (%)***						
Strong Republican	193.6 (63.8)	90.1 (40.7)	36.5 (30.5)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)
Republican	47.2 (15.6)	68.5 (30.9)	18.5 (15.4)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)
Lean Republican	62.5 (20.6)	62.8 (28.4)	64.5 (54.0)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)
Independent	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	0.2 (0.1)	0.0 (0.0)
Lean Democrat	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	44.5 (44.8)	53.2 (22.3)	57.3 (27.9)
Democrat	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	17.3 (17.4)	45.4 (19.0)	33.9 (16.5)
Strong Democrat	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	37.6 (37.9)	140.1 (58.7)	114.4 (55.6)
DK	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)
Additional laws to regulate guns (%)***						
Strongly favor	9.5 (3.2)	31.2 (14.4)	9.3 (7.9)	58.9 (62.7)	179.8 (75.3)	155.3 (75.5)
Somewhat favor	18.1 (6.0)	50.5 (23.3)	16.4 (13.9)	21.7 (23.1)	48.3 (20.2)	28.8 (14.0)
Somewhat oppose	41.5 (13.9)	44.3 (20.4)	29.8 (25.3)	8.2 (8.8)	3.5 (1.5)	11.8 (5.7)
Strongly oppose	222.6 (74.5)	86.8 (40.0)	60.6 (51.5)	2.9 (3.0)	7.2 (3.0)	8.4 (4.1)
DK	7.1 (2.4)	4.1 (1.9)	1.6 (1.3)	2.2 (2.4)	0.1 (0.0)	1.4 (0.7)
Union household (%)						
Yes	61.4 (20.5)	36.1 (16.4)	28.0 (23.4)	16.7 (17.6)	46.9 (19.6)	46.5 (22.7)
No	235.6 (78.8)	183.4 (83.1)	91.5 (76.6)	75.4 (79.4)	192.0 (80.4)	158.4 (77.2)
DK	2.0 (0.7)	1.1 (0.5)	0.0 (0.0)	2.8 (2.9)	0.0 (0.0)	0.2 (0.1)
Military veteran (%)						
Yes	43.2 (14.5)	36.5 (16.5)	10.9 (9.2)	7.8 (8.2)	23.6 (9.9)	23.4 (11.4)
No	255.9 (85.5)	185.0 (83.5)	108.5 (90.8)	87.1 (91.8)	215.3 (90.1)	181.8 (88.6)
DK	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)
Religious affiliation (%)***						
Protestant	121.2 (41.1)	84.2 (39.0)	38.4 (32.7)	27.5 (29.0)	61.5 (26.0)	39.6 (19.5)
Catholic	78.4 (26.6)	61.2 (28.3)	36.7 (31.2)	15.8 (16.7)	61.7 (26.1)	34.8 (17.1)
Other religion	44.2 (15.0)	36.6 (16.9)	18.9 (16.1)	17.5 (18.5)	35.8 (15.1)	36.9 (18.1)
Unaffiliated	50.9 (17.3)	34.1 (15.8)	23.5 (20.0)	34.0 (35.8)	77.1 (32.6)	92.4 (45.4)
DK	0.0 (0.0)	0.2 (0.1)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	0.3 (0.1)	0.0 (0.0)
Identifies as born-again Christian (%)***						
Yes	111.1 (37.4)	66.1 (29.9)	28.0 (23.9)	17.0 (18.1)	31.9 (13.4)	21.5 (10.6)
No	178.0 (59.9)	149.5 (67.6)	83.5 (71.2)	77.1 (81.9)	201.2 (84.7)	180.8 (88.8)
DK	8.2 (2.8)	5.4 (2.4)	5.7 (4.9)	0.0 (0.0)	4.4 (1.9)	1.4 (0.7)
Support for abortion rights (%)***						
Always legal	15.1 (5.0)	34.0 (15.5)	14.6 (12.7)	47.3 (51.0)	96.9 (41.3)	112.2 (55.3)
Sometimes legal	198.6 (66.2)	127.1 (58.0)	71.1 (61.9)	37.4 (40.3)	129.4 (55.1)	79.2 (39.0)
Illegal	78.0 (26.0)	53.3 (24.3)	23.6 (20.5)	6.0 (6.5)	6.8 (2.9)	8.0 (4.0)
DK	8.1 (2.7)	4.9 (2.3)	5.7 (4.9)	2.1 (2.3)	1.7 (0.7)	3.4 (1.7)

Table A-1 Responses to Selected Items by Party Faction, continued

	Trump R (n=303)	Traditional R (n=221)	Other R (n=120)	Other D (n=99)	Centrist D (n=239)	Progressive D (n=206)
Gender (%)***						
Male	187.9 (62.1)	119.1 (54.1)	80.4 (68.2)	36.0 (36.2)	79.6 (33.3)	83.8 (40.9)
Female	114.8 (37.9)	101.2 (45.9)	37.5 (31.8)	63.4 (63.8)	159.3 (66.7)	120.4 (58.7)
Non-binary	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	0.9 (0.4)
Age (%)**						
Under 35	22.1 (7.3)	22.1 (10.0)	19.7 (16.5)	11.7 (11.7)	17.1 (7.1)	37.3 (18.1)
35 - 54	103.3 (34.1)	71.2 (32.1)	56.2 (47.0)	26.3 (26.5)	64.3 (26.9)	71.5 (34.8)
Over 55	177.8 (58.6)	128.2 (57.9)	43.6 (36.5)	61.5 (61.8)	157.6 (66.0)	96.9 (47.1)
Educational attainment (%)***						
HS or less	98.8 (32.6)	51.8 (23.4)	20.6 (17.2)	26.2 (26.3)	33.7 (14.1)	31.4 (15.3)
Some college	127.4 (42.0)	91.5 (41.3)	46.2 (38.7)	31.9 (32.1)	60.4 (25.3)	55.7 (27.1)
College degree	77.0 (25.4)	78.3 (35.3)	52.7 (44.1)	41.3 (41.5)	144.8 (60.6)	118.5 (57.6)
Racial group (%)***						
Non-white	25.6 (8.5)	16.8 (7.6)	17.1 (14.3)	19.1 (19.2)	25.0 (10.5)	51.7 (25.2)
Employment status (%)**						
Works full-time	144.2 (47.9)	95.5 (43.1)	79.2 (67.2)	35.1 (37.3)	107.3 (45.5)	85.4 (41.9)
Other	54.3 (18.0)	39.6 (17.9)	15.2 (12.9)	19.9 (21.1)	31.9 (13.5)	49.2 (24.2)
Retired	102.6 (34.1)	86.4 (39.0)	23.4 (19.8)	39.2 (41.6)	96.8 (41.0)	69.1 (33.9)
Income (%)***						
Less than \$35,000	57.4 (22.8)	38.9 (20.8)	8.0 (7.5)	31.8 (36.8)	33.8 (16.1)	39.7 (21.0)
\$35 - 75,000	90.9 (36.0)	74.3 (39.7)	34.7 (32.3)	27.3 (31.6)	57.8 (27.5)	59.8 (31.7)
Over \$75,000	103.9 (41.2)	73.9 (39.5)	64.6 (60.2)	27.3 (31.6)	118.9 (56.5)	89.3 (47.3)
Marital status (%)***						
Single, never married	28.7 (9.5)	41.4 (18.8)	17.6 (14.8)	29.7 (29.9)	43.1 (18.2)	63.6 (30.9)
Married	204.1 (67.7)	134.8 (61.4)	81.8 (69.0)	37.2 (37.4)	137.8 (58.1)	97.2 (47.3)
Unmarried	68.7 (22.8)	43.5 (19.8)	19.2 (16.2)	31.4 (31.6)	56.1 (23.7)	44.9 (21.8)
DK	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	1.2 (1.2)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)
Racial attitudes (mean (SD))***	0.35 (0.24)	0.49 (0.27)	0.42 (0.27)	0.79 (0.28)	0.83 (0.22)	0.88 (0.20)
Urban rural classification (%)***						
Large central metro	24.0 (7.9)	28.7 (12.9)	11.8 (9.9)	30.4 (30.8)	56.3 (23.6)	77.7 (37.9)
Large fringe metro	76.1 (25.1)	55.5 (25.0)	40.1 (33.6)	26.6 (26.9)	105.9 (44.3)	57.8 (28.2)
Medium metro	103.5 (34.1)	70.6 (31.9)	38.3 (32.1)	30.2 (30.6)	56.9 (23.8)	42.3 (20.7)
Small metro	40.4 (13.3)	25.9 (11.7)	11.9 (9.9)	5.6 (5.7)	8.4 (3.5)	13.5 (6.6)
Micropolitan	36.5 (12.0)	29.0 (13.1)	11.2 (9.4)	4.6 (4.7)	6.4 (2.7)	11.5 (5.6)
Noncore	22.7 (7.5)	11.9 (5.4)	6.1 (5.1)	1.4 (1.4)	5.0 (2.1)	2.1 (1.0)
poll (%)						
August	95.4 (31.5)	63.4 (28.6)	41.2 (34.5)	32.7 (32.9)	63.6 (26.6)	59.4 (28.9)
June	96.2 (31.7)	57.3 (25.9)	33.3 (27.9)	30.8 (31.0)	67.9 (28.4)	66.7 (32.4)
March	111.6 (36.8)	100.9 (45.5)	44.9 (37.6)	35.9 (36.1)	107.4 (44.9)	79.6 (38.7)

Table A-2 Logistic Regression Statistics and Classification Tables

Republican Factions					Democratic Factions				
Model 1 Full R					Model 3 Full D				
	Prediction					Prediction			
Response	Other	Trump			Response	Other	Prog		
Other	120	37	<i>Specificity</i>	76.4%	Other	302	31	<i>Specificity</i>	90.7%
Trump	33	87	<i>Sensitivity</i>	72.5%	Prog	97	64	<i>Sensitivity</i>	39.8%
			<i>% Correct</i>	74.7%				<i>% Correct</i>	74.1%
Model 2 Final R					Model 4 Final D				
	Prediction					Prediction			
Response	Other	Trump			Response	Other	Prog		
Other	231	94	<i>Specificity</i>	71.1%	Other	325	40	<i>Specificity</i>	89.0%
Trump	115	153	<i>Sensitivity</i>	57.1%	Prog	120	66	<i>Sensitivity</i>	35.5%
			<i>% Correct</i>	64.8%				<i>% Correct</i>	71.0%
Model Statistics					Model Statistics				
Model 1: chi-square (36) = 106.44, p. < .001, R-sq = .43					Model 3: chi-square (32) = 98.26, p. < .001, R-sq = .25				
Model 2: chi-square (7) = 86.385, p. < .001, R-sq = .18					Model 4: chi-square (14) = 88.93, p. < .001, R-sq = .21				

Figure A-1 Effects Plot Republican Factions

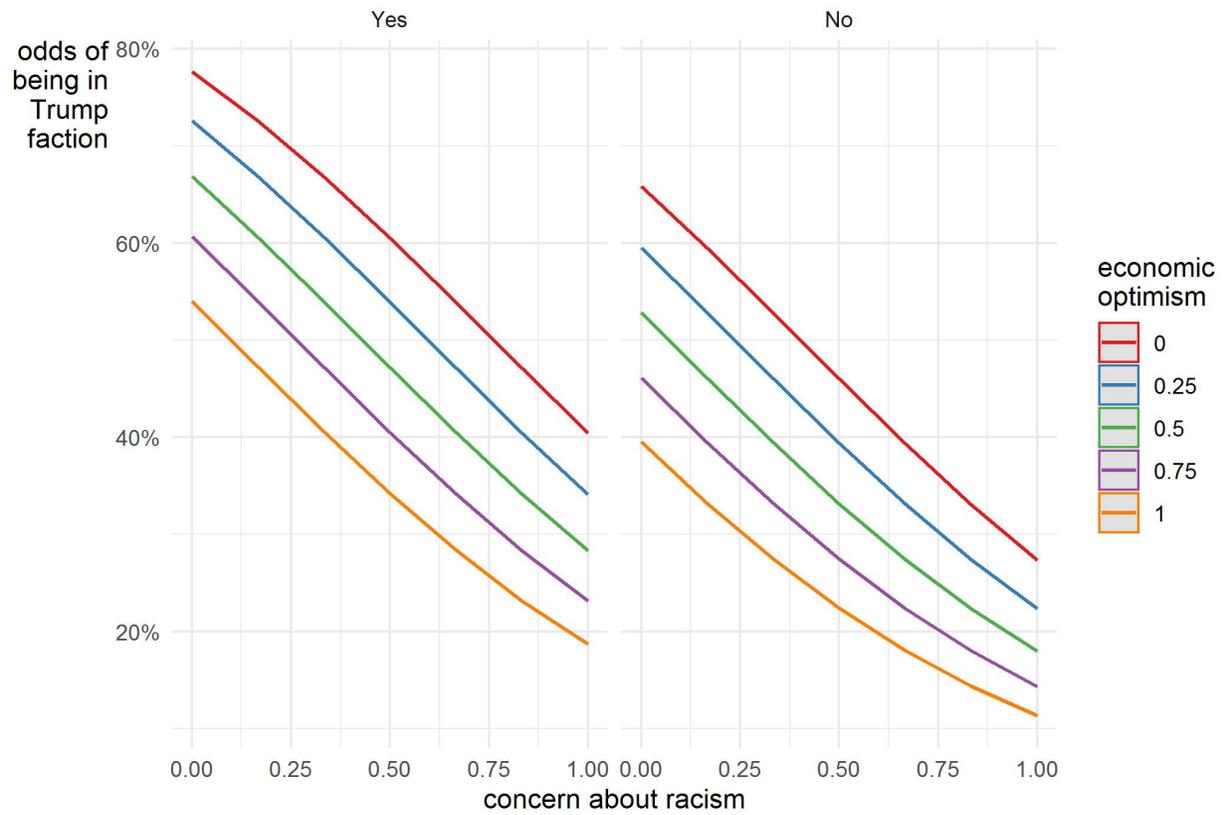
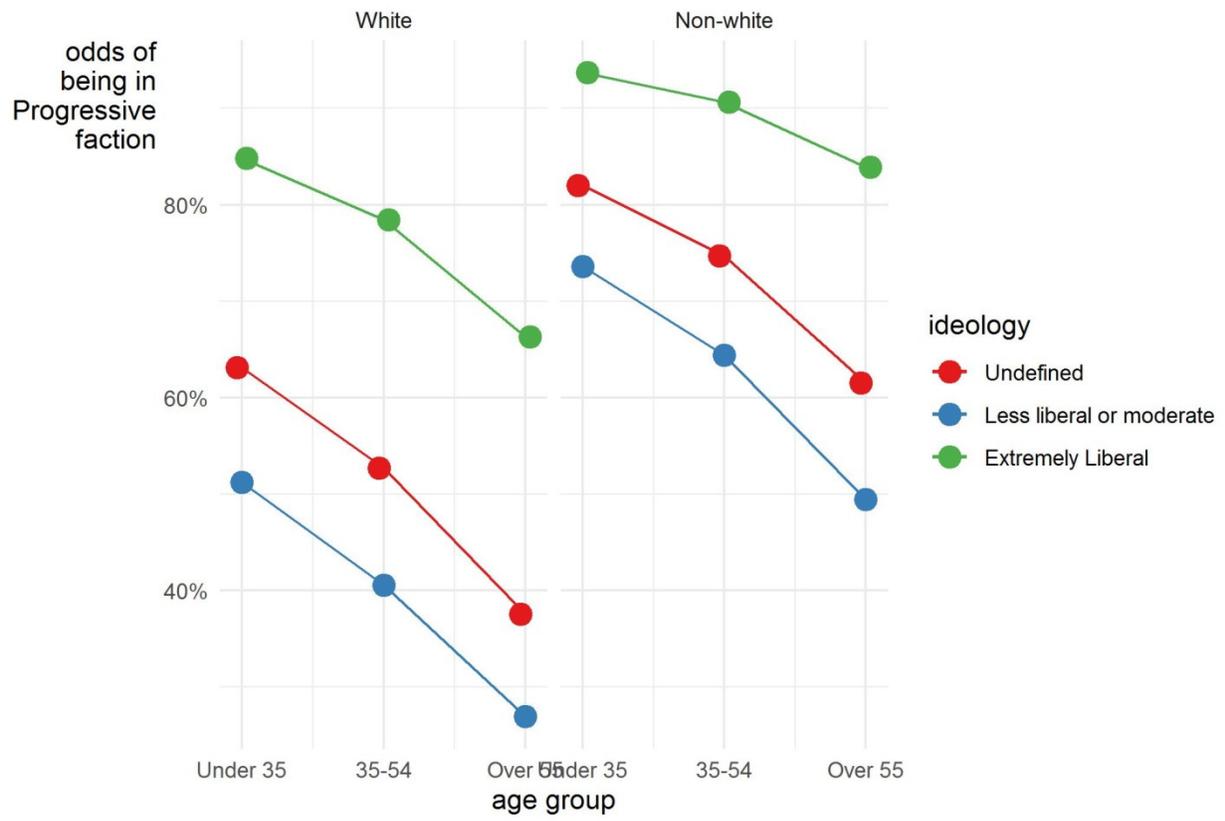


Figure A-2 Effects Plot Democratic Factions



Question Wording and Coding Information for Democratic Ideals, Democracy in Practice, Christian Nationalism, Racial Attitude, Operational Ideology, and Economic Ideology Scales

Democratic Ideals

The democratic ideals scale included five items ($\alpha = .63$). Respondents were asked to report how much they agreed with each statement. A strongly agree response was scored as 2 points while an agree response counted as 1 point for all items except question 2, which was reverse scored. The total scale score could range from 0 – 10. The mean score for the scale was 7.1 (SD = 1.9). These items were included in the March 2021 survey.

1. All citizens deserve an equal say in how our government runs.
2. A leader may sometimes need to break the rules to get things done (reverse scored).
3. There should be NO barriers to voting in our country.
4. Citizens should be allowed to say whatever they think even if their views are unpopular.
5. It is important to have established rights that protect defendants in civil and criminal trials, including the presumption of innocence.

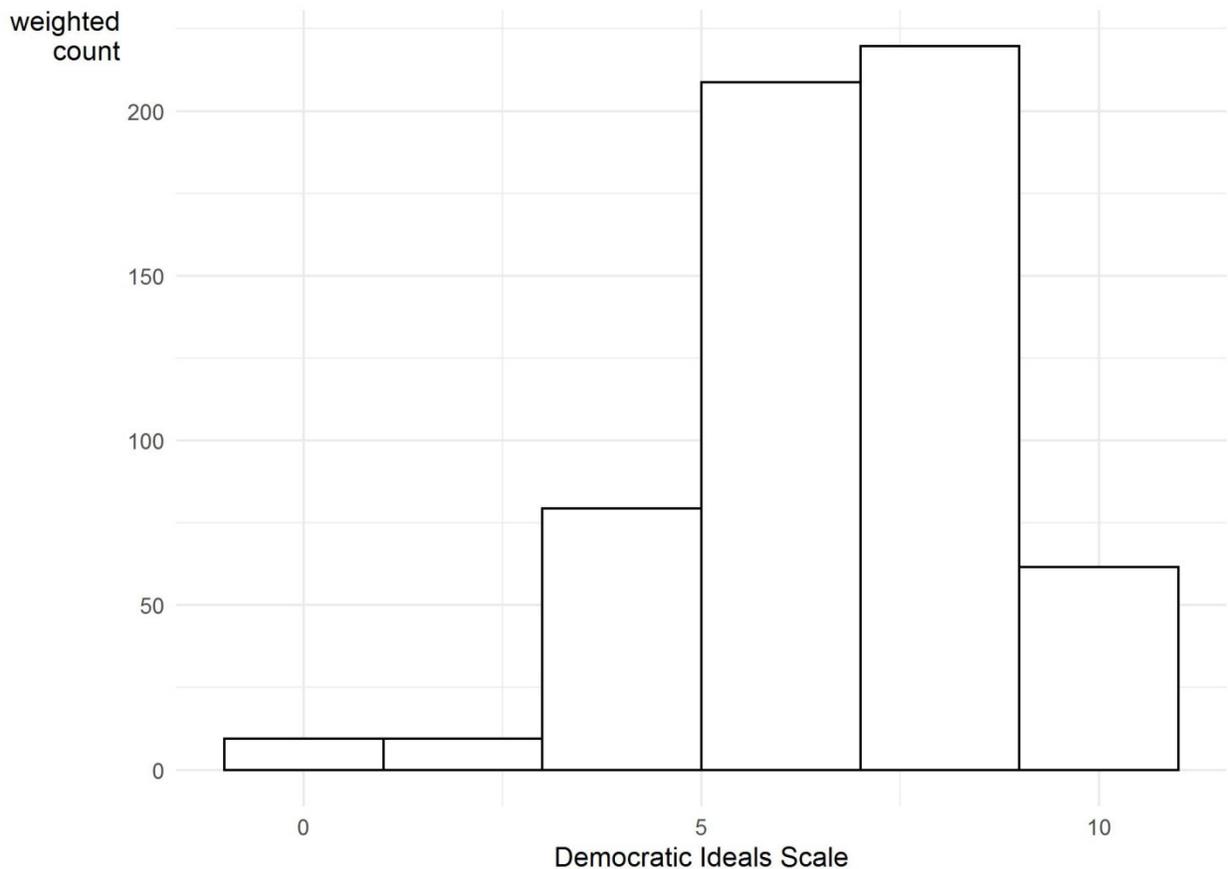


Figure A-3 Distribution of Democratic Ideals Scale

Democracy-in-Practice

The democracy-in-practice scale included five items ($\alpha = .64$). Respondents were asked to report how much they agreed with each statement. A strongly agree response was scored as 2 points while an agree response counted as 1 point for all items. The total scale score could range from 0 – 10. The mean score for the scale was 2.4 (SD = 2.0). These items were included in the March 2021 survey.

1. In general, elections in the United States are free and fair.
2. The federal government has very little official corruption.
3. The federal government's operations are open and transparent.
4. Decisions from federal judges are, generally speaking, fair and impartial.
5. Generally speaking, the actions of the US House and Senate represent the collective will of the America people.

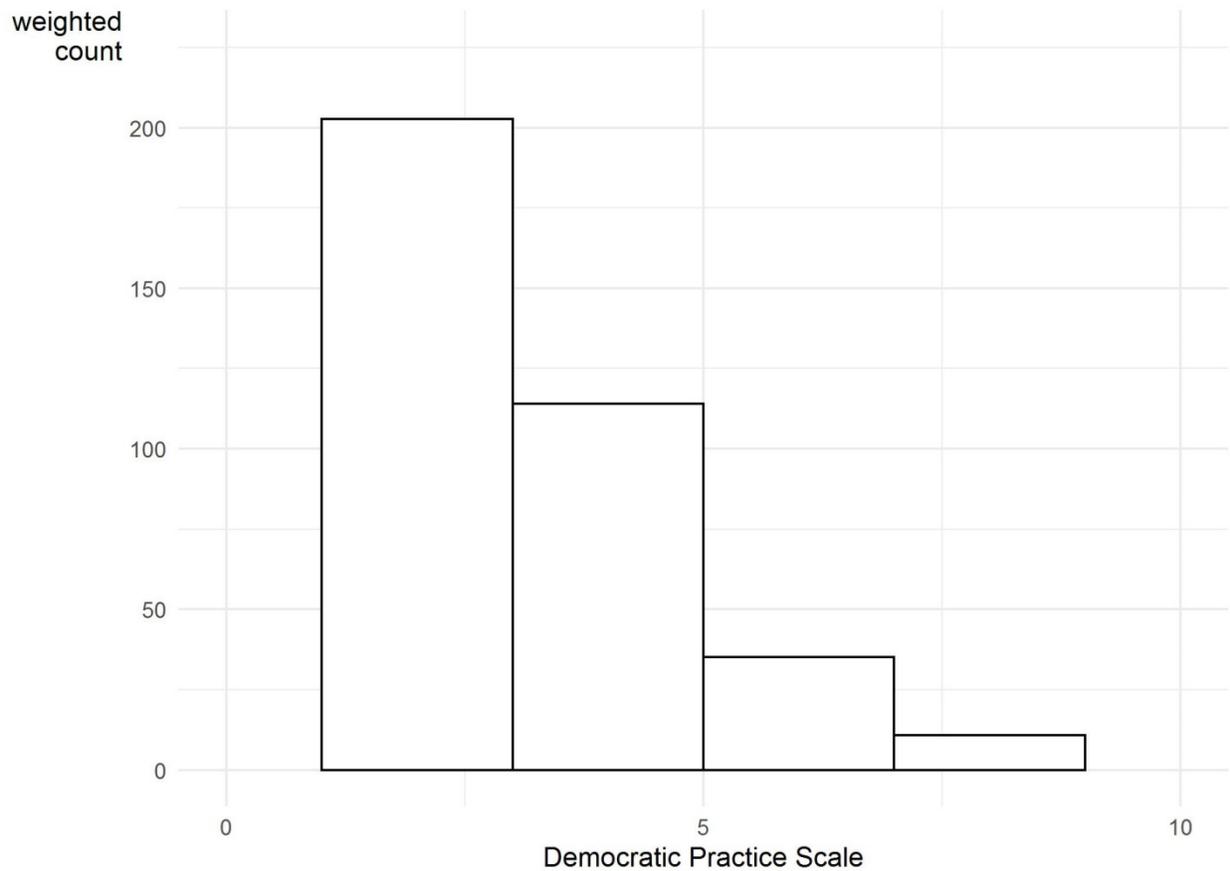


Figure A-4 Distribution of Democracy-in-Practice Scale

Racial Attitudes

The racial attitudes scale included three items ($\alpha = .69$). Respondents were asked to report how much they agreed with each statement. A strongly agree response was scored as 2 points while an agree response counted as 1 point for all items except question 3, which was reverse scored. The items were summed and divided by six to create a score ranging from 0 – 1. The mean score for the scale was 0.6 (SD = 0.3). These items were included in all three surveys.

1. I am angry that racism exists.
2. White people in the US have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.
3. Racial problems in the US are rare, isolated situations (reverse scored).

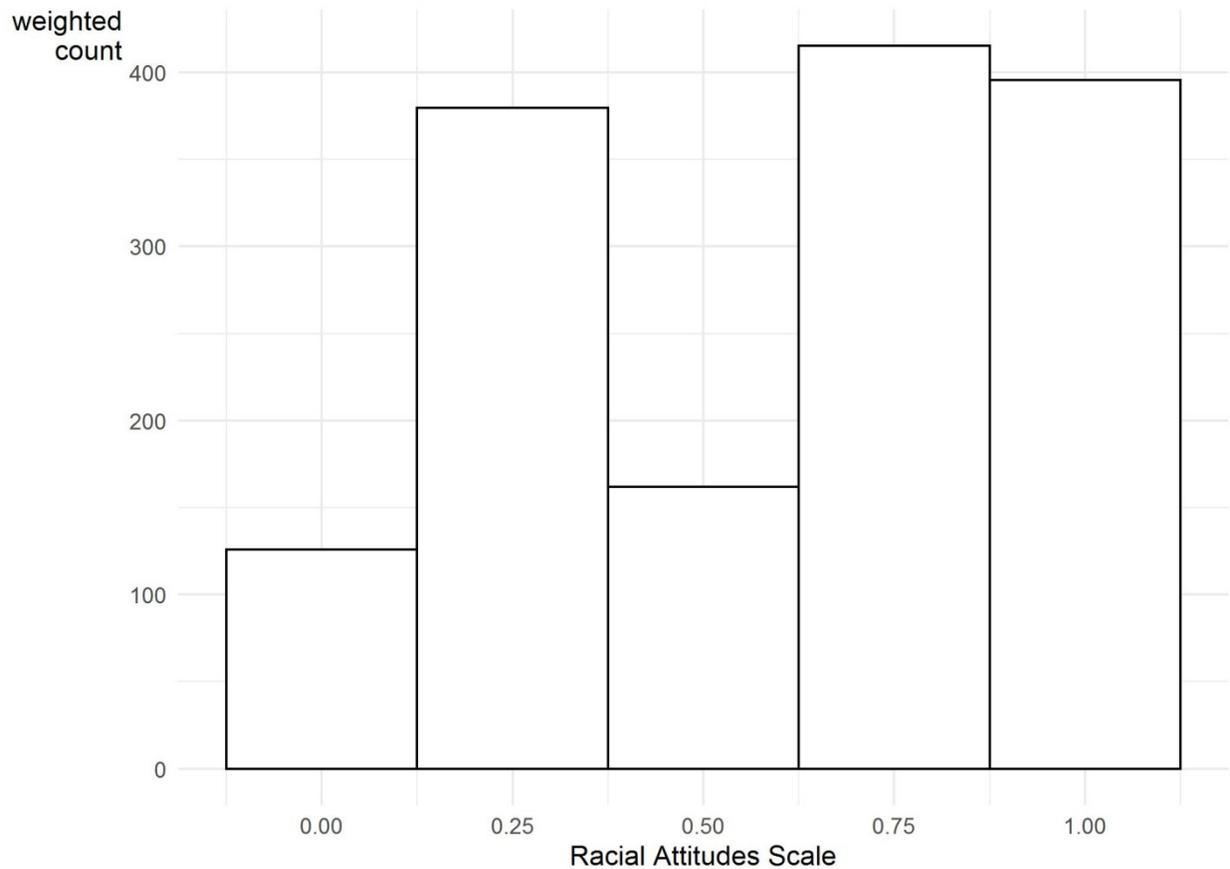


Figure A-5 Distribution of Racial Attitudes Scale

Christian Nationalism

The Christian nationalism scale included four items ($\alpha = .78$). Respondents were asked to report how much they agreed with each statement. A strongly agree response was scored as 2 points while an agree response counted as 1 point for all items. The items were summed and divided by four to create a score ranging from 0 – 2. The mean score for the scale was 0.6 (SD = 0.6). These items were included in the March 2021 survey.

1. The Founding Fathers intended the United States to be a Christian nation.
2. The Founding Fathers were evangelical Christians.
3. The United States’ founding documents are based on biblical principles.
4. America’s power in the world is dependent on its obedience to God.

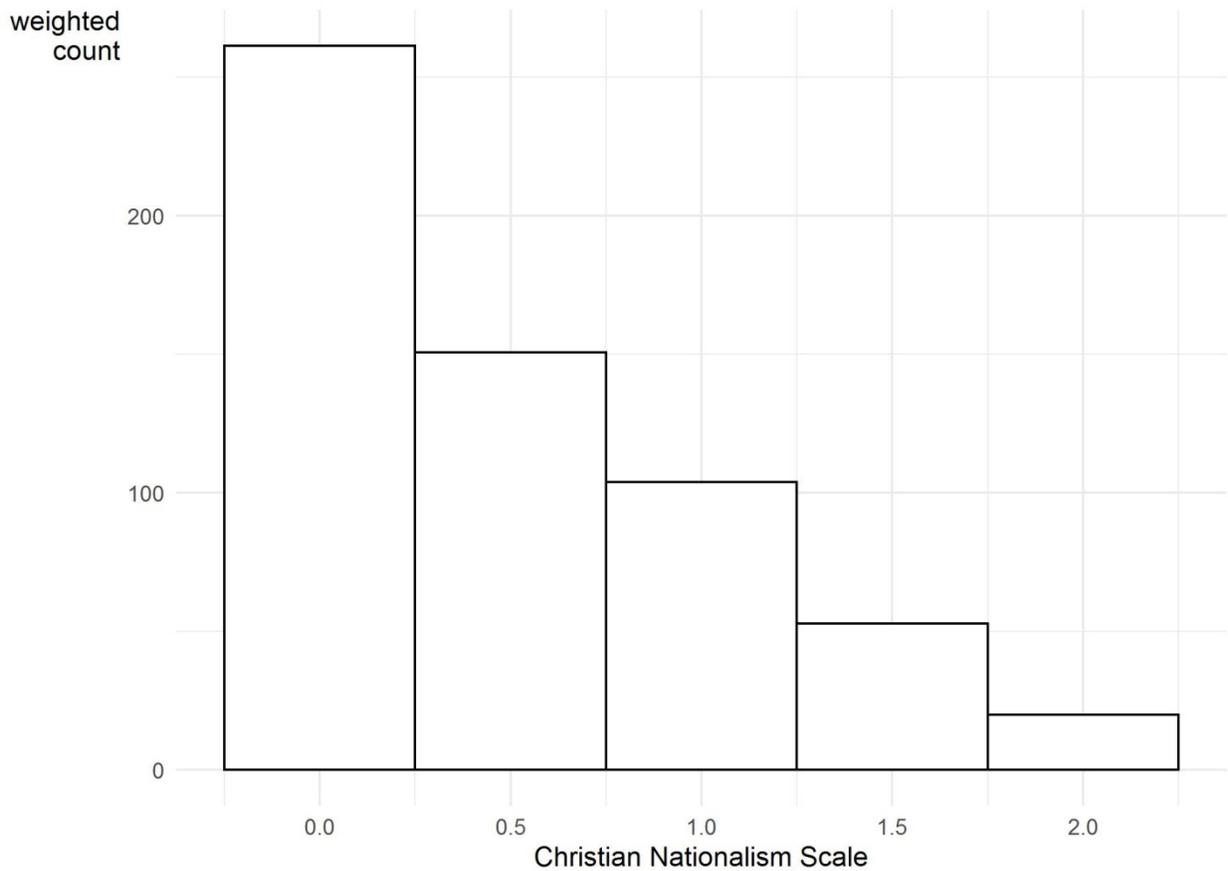


Figure A-6 Distribution of Christian Nationalism Scale

Operational Ideology

The operational ideology scale included five items ($\alpha = .81$). Respondents were asked to choose which of two statements best reflected their personal views. Responses that reflected a conservative perspective were scored as 1 point. The conservative statements are presented first in the list below although the pairs and the order of the pairs were rotated during administration. The total scale score could range from 0 – 5. The mean score for the scale was 2.5 (SD = 1.8). These items were included in the August 2021 survey.

The following are pairs of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. As I read each pair, tell me whether the **FIRST** statement or the **SECOND** statement comes closer to your own views, even if neither is exactly right.

1. Government is almost always wasteful and inefficient OR Government often does a better job than people give it credit for.
2. Poor people today have it easy because they can get government benefits without doing anything in return OR Poor people have hard lives because government benefits don't go far enough to help them live decently.
3. Society is better off if people make marriage and having children a priority OR Society is just as well off if people have priorities other than marriage and children.
4. Good diplomacy is the best way to ensure peace OR The best way to ensure peace is through military strength.
5. Most people who want to get ahead can make it if they're willing to work hard OR Hard work and determination are no guarantee of success for most people.

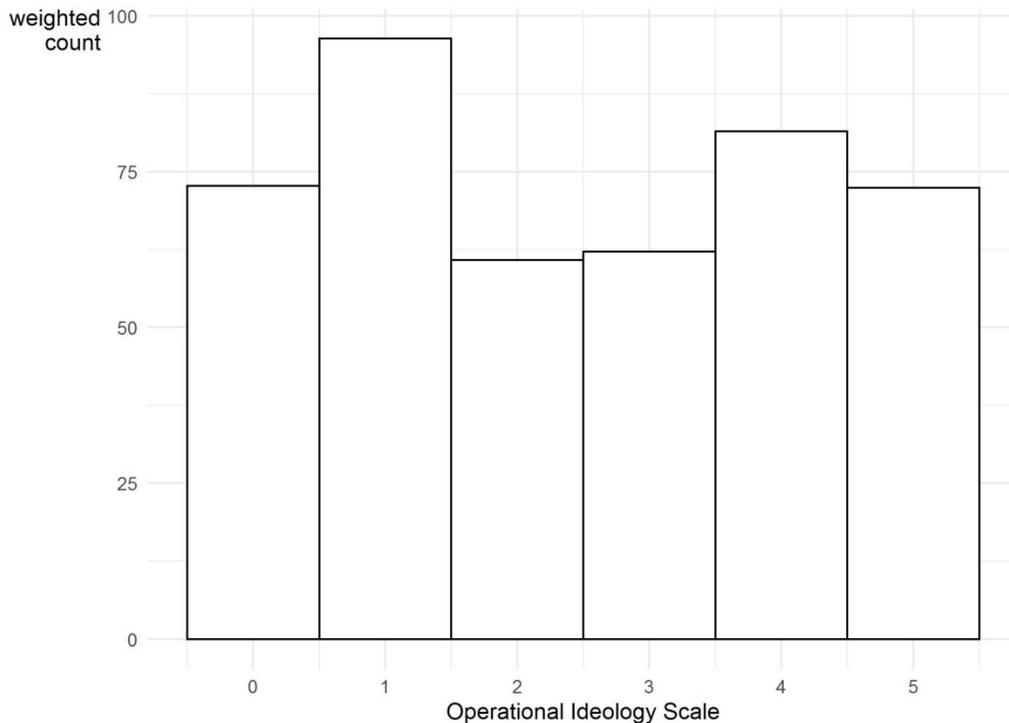


Figure A-7 Distribution of Operational Ideology Scale

Economic Ideology

The economic ideology scale included three items ($\alpha = .74$). Respondents were asked to report how much they agreed with each statement. A strongly agree response was scored as 2 points while an agree response counted as 1 point for all items. The items were summed. The total scale score could range from 0 – 6. The mean score for the scale was 2.9 (SD = 2.2). These items were included in the August 2021 survey.

1. Our economic system is biased in favor of the wealthiest Americans.
2. The federal government should raise taxes on the wealthy.
3. The government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living.

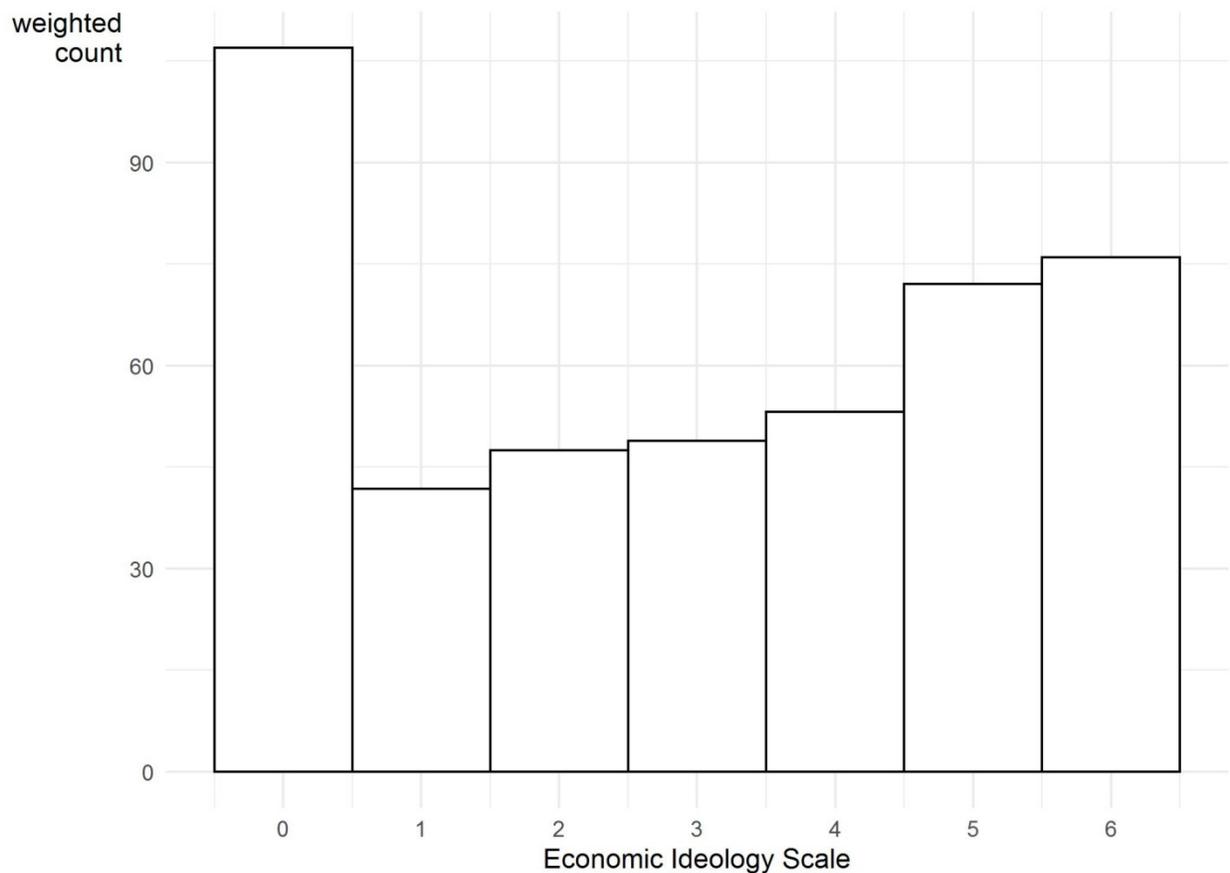


Figure A-8 Distribution of Economic Ideology Scale