

Worldview Politics in the United States and Great Britain

Marc J. Hetherington, Isaac D. Mehlhaff, and Caroline Marie Lancaster

Survey Item Wording

This section presents the wording of all survey items and response options used in main text analysis. Item wording for worldview items is presented in Table 1 in the main text and all others are listed here, separated by country.

United States

Alternate Competitiveness Scale (bolded option denotes that which contributes to a higher score)
Which statement comes closer to your view—even if neither is exactly right?

- **Only those who fight for their way are successful.**/Cooperation is the key to success.
- **Only fighters make it in this world.**/Understanding others allows people to make it in this world.
- Walking away from a fight usually shows weakness./**Walking away from a fight usually shows good judgment.**
- **If you don't get the better of others, they will get the better of you.**/If people cooperate, there can be more than one winner.
- **People can be ruthless at times.**/People can always find ways to cooperate.
- **It is better to compete so that the strong in society win.**/It is better to cooperate so that the caring in society can win.
- **In sports and life, you should always "play to win."**/In sports and life, it's not whether you win or lose, but "how you play the game."

Party

Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or what?

- Democrat
- Republican
- Independent
- No preference
- Other party (specify)

Ethnicity

How would you describe your race or ethnicity?

- White, non-Hispanic
- Black or African American, non-Hispanic
- Latino, Latinx, or Hispanic
- Asian
- American Indian, Native American, or Alaska Native
- Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
- Other

Gender

How would you describe your gender?

- Male
- Female
- Other (specify)

Age

Please select your age.

- Under 18
- 18-24
- 25-34
- 35-44
- 45-54
- 55-64
- 65-74
- 75-84
- 85 or older

Education

What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you received?

- Less than high school degree
- High school graduate (high school diploma including GED)
- Some college but no degree
- Associate degree (2-year)
- Bachelor's degree (4-year)
- Master's degree
- Doctoral degree
- Professional degree (JD, MD)

Income

Please indicate your yearly household income.

- Less than \$10,000
- \$10,000 - \$19,999
- \$20,000 - \$29,999
- \$30,000 - \$39,999
- \$40,000 - \$49,999
- \$50,000 - \$59,000
- \$60,000 - \$69,000
- \$70,000 - \$79,000
- \$80,000 - \$89,000
- \$90,000 - \$99,999
- \$100,000 - \$149,999
- More than \$150,000

Ideology

In general, do you think of yourself as...

- Very liberal
- Liberal
- Moderate, middle of the road
- Conservative
- Very conservative
- I haven't thought much about this

Immigration

Immigration has received a lot of attention over the last few years. We'd like your opinions about the topic. Do you approve or disapprove of the new federal policy to arrest and send to jail anyone who crosses the border into the United States without proper documentation?

- Strongly approve
- Somewhat approve
- Somewhat disapprove
- Strongly disapprove

Do you favor or oppose building a wall along the US-Mexico border to try to stop illegal immigration?

- Strongly favor
- Somewhat favor
- Somewhat oppose
- Strongly oppose

Do you approve or disapprove of separating families from each other, including minor children, when the adults are arrested for crossing the border into the United States without proper documentation?

- Strongly approve
- Somewhat approve
- Somewhat disapprove
- Strongly disapprove

Covid-19 Mitigation Policies

How much do you support each of the following government measures aimed at stopping the spread of the coronavirus / COVID-19? Some of these are currently in place, while others are not.

- Ordering people to wear masks that cover the nose and mouth when outside the home
- Requiring people to stay at home for non-essential activities
- Ordering non-essential businesses to close
- Having police monitor public spaces such as roads, parks, and beaches and prevent access as necessary

- Requiring citizens to submit to coronavirus testing even if they do not themselves have symptoms
- Saving individuals' coronavirus test results in a government database
- Allowing the government to use cell phone apps to track peoples' movements using GPS (Global Positioning Systems)
- Using facial recognition to track citizens' movement
- Using digital passes to allow people to travel to certain places in a town or city
 - Strongly support
 - Support
 - Oppose
 - Strongly oppose

United Kingdom

Party

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as Labour, Conservative, Liberal Democrat or what?

- Conservative
- Labour
- Liberal Democrat
- Scottish National Party (SNP)
- Plaid Cymru
- United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP)
- Green Party
- British National Party (BNP)
- Brexit Party
- Other party
- No - none
- Don't know

Ethnicity

To which of these groups do you consider you belong?

- White British
- Any other white background
- White and Black Caribbean
- White and Black African
- White and Asian
- Any other mixed background
- Indian
- Pakistani
- Bangladeshi
- Any other Asian background
- Black Caribbean
- Black African
- Any other black background

- Chinese
- Other ethnic group
- Prefer not to say

Gender

Are you...?

- Male
- Female

Age

What is your age?

- Free entry

University

Have you ever attended a University or other higher education institution?

- No, I have never attended higher education.
- Yes, I am currently enrolled in higher education.
- Yes, but I didn't complete higher education.
- Yes, I graduated from higher education.
- Don't know

Income

Gross household income is the combined income of all those earners in a household from all sources, including wages, salaries, or rents and before tax deductions. What is your gross household income?

- Under £5,000 per year
- £5,000 to £9,999 per year
- £10,000 to £14,999 per year
- £15,000 to £19,999 per year
- £20,000 to £24,999 per year
- £25,000 to £29,999 per year
- £30,000 to £34,999 per year
- £35,000 to £39,999 per year
- £40,000 to £44,999 per year
- £45,000 to £49,999 per year
- £50,000 to £59,999 per year
- £60,000 to £69,999 per year
- £70,000 to £99,999 per year
- £100,000 to £149,999 per year
- £150,000 and over
- Don't know
- Prefer not to answer

Ideology

In politics people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place yourself on the following scale?

- 0: Left
- 10: Right

Immigration

Some people think that the UK should allow many more immigrants to come to the UK to live and others think that the UK should allow many fewer immigrants. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

- 0: Many fewer
- 10: Many more
- Don't know

Covid-19 Mitigation Policies

Which of these measures, if any, do you think Britain should currently be taking to tackle coronavirus? Please tick all that apply

- Only allowing essential shops (e.g. supermarkets, pharmacies, post offices, etc.) to stay open
- Banning people from leaving their homes except for essential work, grocery shopping, and accessing medical care
- Banning gatherings of more than two people
- Imprisoning people who do not follow the coronavirus rules
- Fining people who do not follow the coronavirus rules
- Closing schools
- Requiring people to wear masks in public
- Asking people to download an app to track who they have been in contact with

Alternate Competitiveness Scale Results (United States Only)

Figure S1: Distribution of Alternate Competitiveness Item Responses

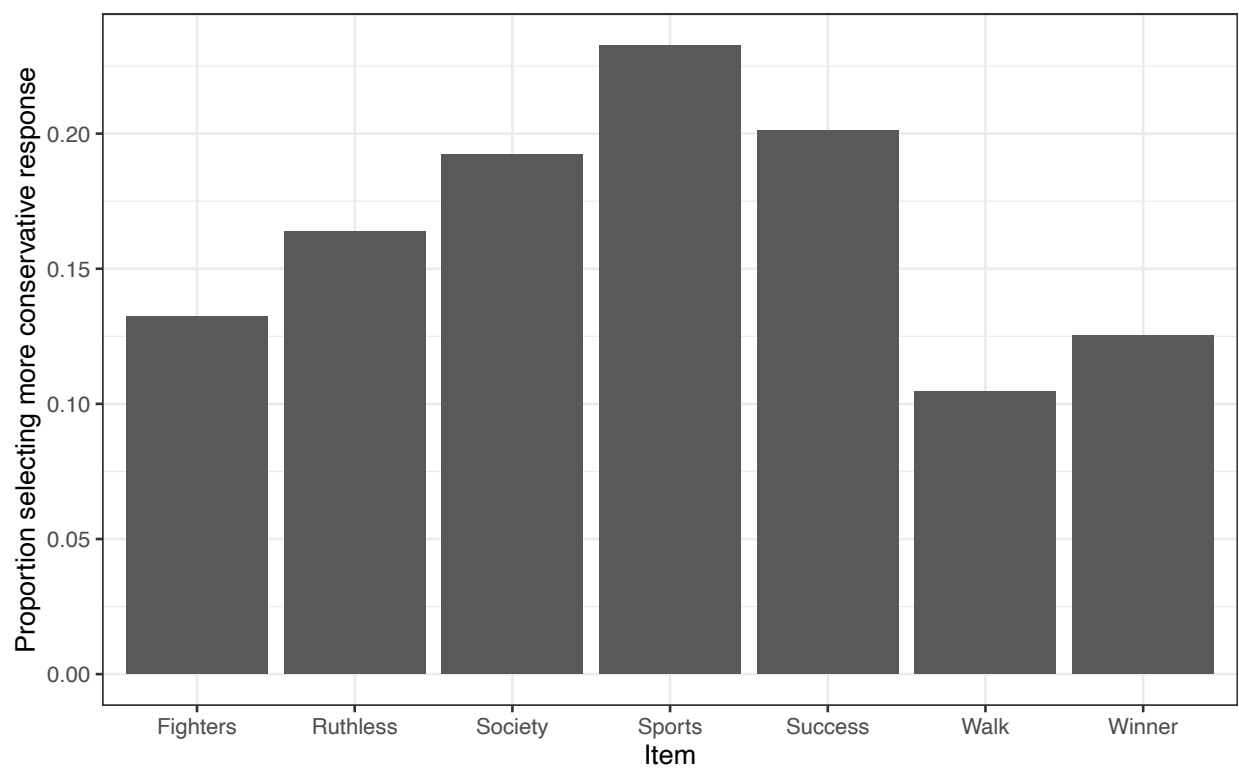


Figure S2: Kernel Density Plot of Alternate Competitiveness Dimension

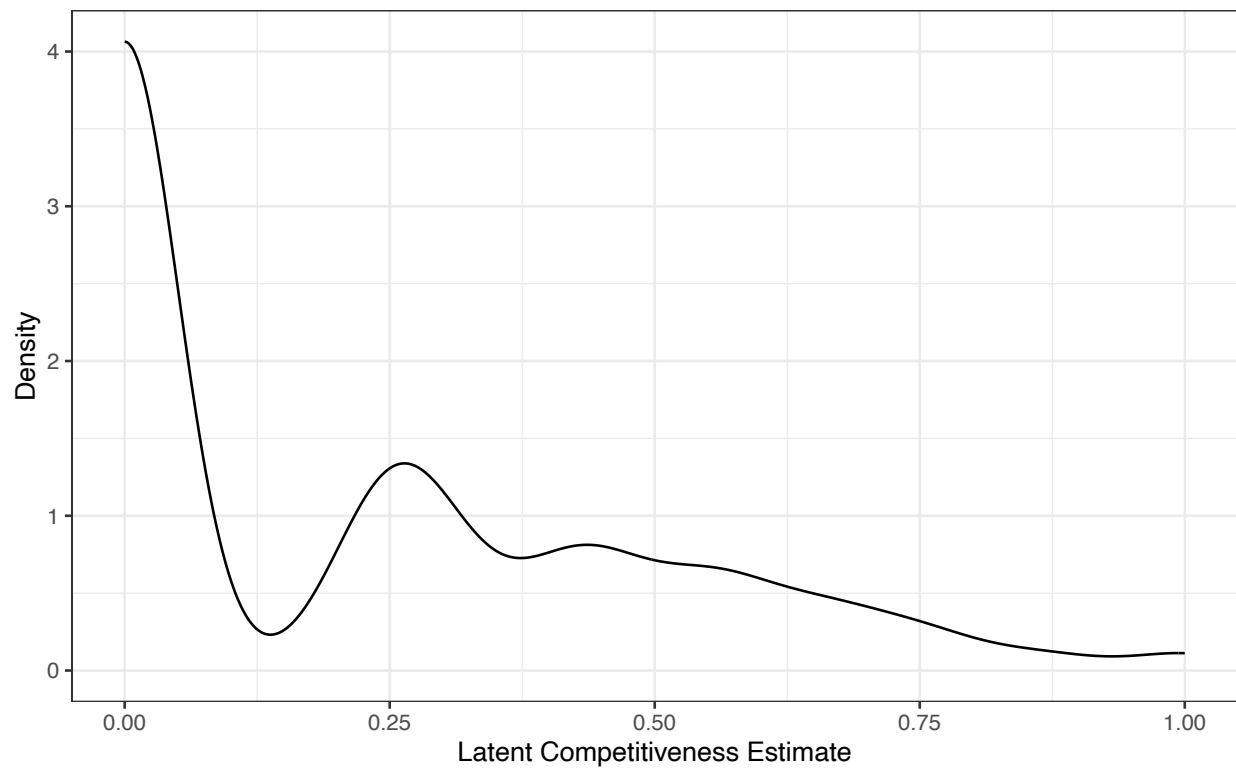


Figure S3: United States Confirmatory Factor Analysis (Alternate Competitiveness Battery)

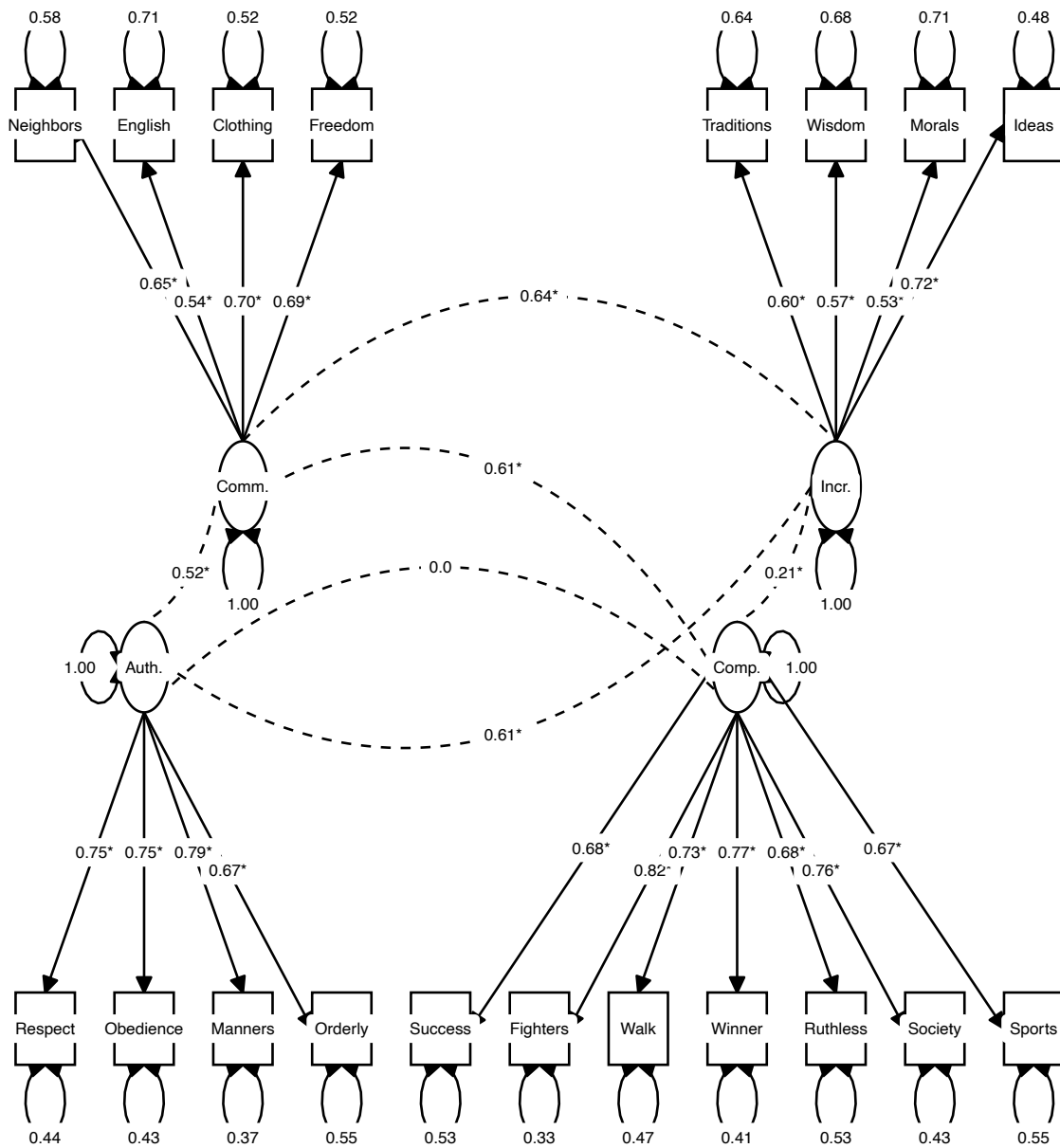


Figure S4: United States Competitiveness Battery Comparison

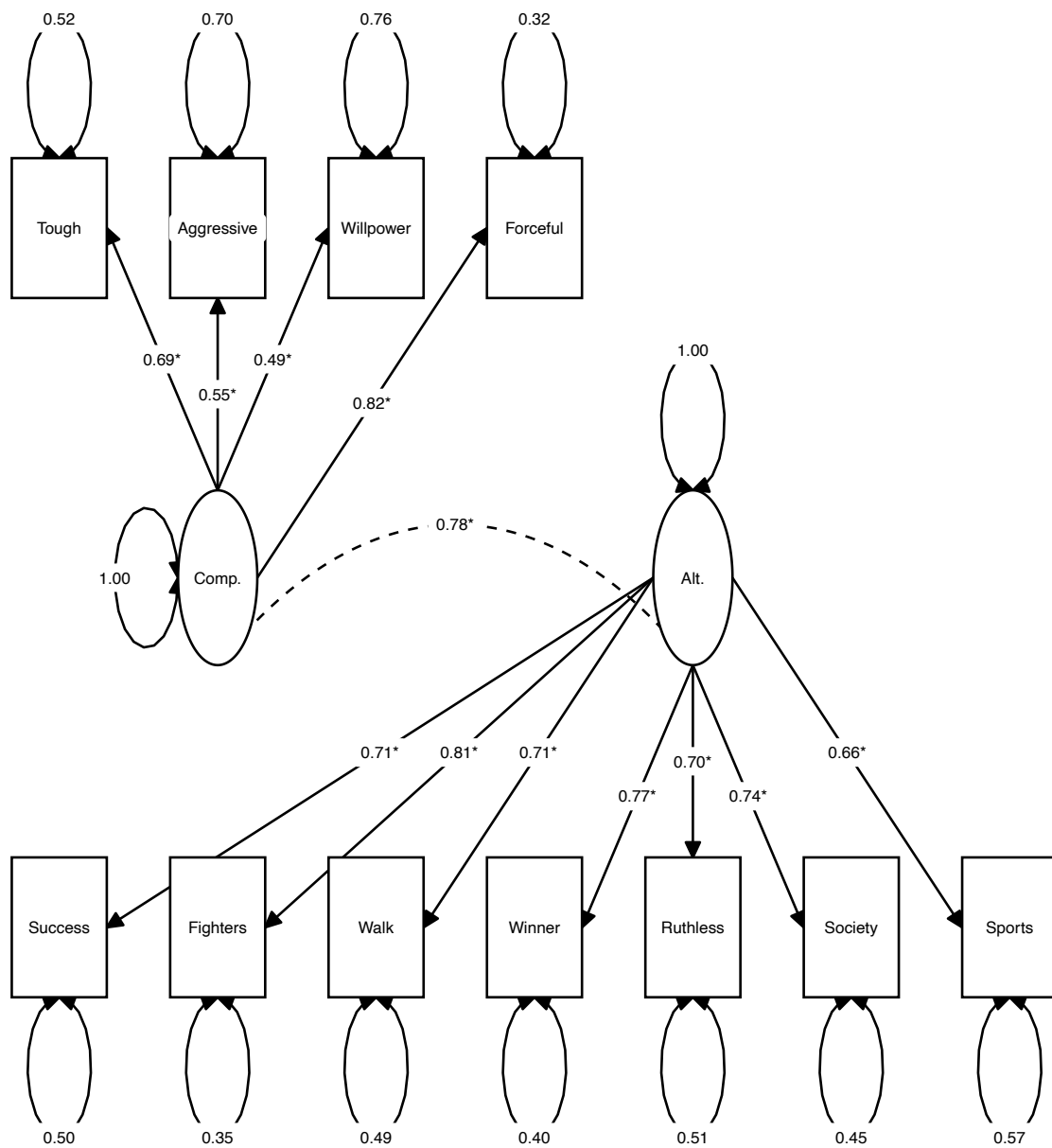


Table S1: Model Fit Statistics for Confirmatory Factor Analyses

	Comparative Fit Index	Tucker-Lewis Index	Root Mean Square Error of Approximation
United States	0.917	0.898	0.057
United States (Alternate Competitiveness)	0.922	0.909	0.059
United Kingdom	0.938	0.924	0.048
Competitiveness Battery Comparison	0.997	0.996	0.015

Worldview Item Response Model Estimation

For each worldview dimension in each country, we fit four models with increasing degrees of complexity: a one-parameter Rasch model with discrimination parameters fixed at 1, an unconstrained Rasch model, a two-parameter latent trait model, and a three-parameter latent trait model.

For all four worldview dimensions in each country, ANOVA tests indicate that the unconstrained Rasch model performs better than the constrained Rasch model, so we leave the two- and three-parameter models unconstrained. We use further ANOVA tests to determine which models should be used to estimate the parameters used to construct the final indices. Item response models can be sensitive to the number of Gauss-Hermite quadrature points used to fit the model, so we use Akaike and Bayesian Information Criteria to select the optimal number of quadrature points for each model.

Table S2 presents the model specification and number of quadrature points used to fit each model. Further information on model fit, such as item characteristic curves, item information curves, and information functions are available in the plots below. Finally, we extract the latent trait estimates for each worldview dimension and rescale them to vary on the domain $[0, 1]$ for presentation purposes. In all cases, higher values indicate more “conservative” responses. Figure 4 in the main text displays kernel density plots of each worldview dimension.

Table S2: Item Response Model Specifications

Country	Dimension	Model Specification	Quadrature Points
United States	Authority	2PL	5
	Community	2PL	5
	Competitiveness	2PL	5
	Competitiveness (Alternate)	2PL	7
	Incrementalism	3PL	5
United Kingdom	Authority	2PL	5
	Community	2PL	6
	Competitiveness	2PL	8
	Incrementalism	3PL	12

Covid-19 Policy Preferences Item Response Model Estimation

To fit item response models of Covid-19 policy preferences, we follow the same procedure as described above for the worldview dimensions. The US survey items asked these items with four response options (strongly support, support, oppose, and strongly oppose). Before fitting IRT models, we dichotomize these responses by combining strongly support with support and oppose with strongly oppose. Table S3 presents the model specification and number of quadrature points used to fit each model. Further information on model fit, such as item characteristic curves, item information curves, and information functions are available in the plots below.

Table S3: Item Response Model Specifications

Country	Model Specification	Quadrature Points
United States	2PL	5
United Kingdom	2PL	7

Full Model Results

Table S4: Worldview and Issue Attitudes Across Country Contexts

	Economic		Immigration		Covid-19	
	<i>United Kingdom</i>	<i>United States</i>	<i>United Kingdom</i>	<i>United States</i>	<i>United Kingdom</i>	<i>United States</i>
Authority	-0.008 (0.014)	0.010 (0.020)	0.132* (0.019)	0.082* (0.016)	0.070* (0.017)	0.134* (0.021)
Community	-0.001 (0.014)	0.094* (0.020)	0.345* (0.020)	0.243* (0.016)	0.030 (0.017)	0.022 (0.021)
Competitiveness	0.041* (0.012)	0.041* (0.019)	0.022 (0.018)	0.159* (0.015)	-0.037* (0.016)	0.040* (0.020)
Incrementalism	0.090* (0.014)	0.177* (0.020)	0.097* (0.020)	0.193* (0.017)	-0.076* (0.017)	-0.176* (0.022)
Party: Brexit	0.020 (0.068)		0.753* (0.098)		-0.123 (0.083)	
Party: Conservative	0.593* (0.032)		0.293* (0.045)		-0.140* (0.038)	
Party: Green	0.127 (0.071)		-0.092 (0.105)		-0.011 (0.101)	
Party: LD	0.093* (0.046)		-0.205* (0.066)		-0.071 (0.055)	
Party: PC	0.089 (0.199)		-0.272 (0.288)		-0.199 (0.214)	
Party: SNP	-0.073 (0.067)		-0.387* (0.100)		0.306* (0.102)	
Party: UKIP	0.322* (0.146)		0.834* (0.209)		-0.074 (0.152)	
Asian	-0.112* (0.056)	-0.093 (0.081)	-0.290* (0.080)	0.060 (0.067)	0.442* (0.072)	0.506* (0.086)
Black	0.049 (0.094)	-0.255* (0.057)	0.035 (0.146)	-0.138* (0.047)	-0.251 (0.132)	0.152* (0.060)
Female	0.034 (0.026)	0.066 (0.038)	0.067 (0.037)	-0.135* (0.031)	-0.005 (0.031)	0.035 (0.040)
Age	0.012 (0.014)	0.058* (0.020)	0.036 (0.020)	-0.006 (0.016)	-0.010 (0.018)	0.068* (0.021)
University	0.030 (0.027)		-0.128* (0.039)		-0.031 (0.033)	
Income	0.085* (0.014)	0.120* (0.021)	-0.052* (0.020)	-0.035* (0.017)	-0.014 (0.017)	-0.019 (0.022)
Party: Independent		0.429*		0.295*		-0.402*

	Economic		Immigration		Covid-19	
	<i>United Kingdom</i>	<i>United States</i>	<i>United Kingdom</i>	<i>United States</i>	<i>United Kingdom</i>	<i>United States</i>
		(0.050)		(0.041)		(0.053)
Party: Republican		0.715*		0.841*		-0.632*
		(0.046)		(0.038)		(0.049)
Hispanic/Latin@		-0.054		-0.166*		0.291*
		(0.050)		(0.041)		(0.053)
Native American/Pacific Islander		0.232		0.190		-0.394
		(0.247)		(0.204)		(0.261)
High school		0.206*		0.134		-0.160
		(0.095)		(0.078)		(0.100)
Some college		0.261*		0.138		-0.207*
		(0.097)		(0.080)		(0.103)
Bachelor's		0.249*		0.093		0.042
		(0.103)		(0.085)		(0.108)
Advanced degree		0.291*		0.168		0.109
		(0.110)		(0.091)		(0.116)
Intercept	0.500*	-0.537*	-0.129*	-0.347*	-0.763*	0.268*
	(0.031)	(0.098)	(0.044)	(0.081)	(0.038)	(0.104)
R ²	0.257	0.280	0.378	0.514	0.058	0.206
Adj. R ²	0.251	0.275	0.373	0.510	0.050	0.200
Observations	2199	2367	2096	2367	2097	2367

Note: * $p < 0.05$. Party reference categories: Labour (UK), Democrat (US). Education reference category (US): less than high school. Ethnicity reference category: White (both countries). Models are OLS. Variables are unit-normalized.

Table S5: Party ID and Worldview in the United States

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Independent Republican	
Authority	-0.016	0.191*
	(0.068)	(0.063)
Community	0.167*	0.516*
	(0.067)	(0.061)
Competitiveness	0.139*	0.120*
	(0.062)	(0.059)
Incrementalism	0.355*	0.810*

	(0.069)	(0.065)
Asian	0.683*	-0.768*
	(0.242)	(0.253)
Black	-1.327*	-2.679*
	(0.204)	(0.227)
Hispanic/Latin@	-0.396*	-1.309*
	(0.155)	(0.165)
Native American/Pacific Islander	0.644	-0.430
	(0.761)	(0.770)
Female	-0.041	-0.295*
	(0.128)	(0.119)
Age	-0.155*	-0.050
	(0.037)	(0.034)
High school	-0.146	0.233
	(0.278)	(0.311)
Some college	-0.439	0.257
	(0.289)	(0.318)
Bachelor's	-0.479	-0.044
	(0.311)	(0.334)
Advanced degree	-0.261	0.107
	(0.343)	(0.356)
Income	-0.244*	0.085
	(0.072)	(0.065)
Intercept	0.188	0.234
	(0.308)	(0.331)
<hr/>		
Observations	2,367	2,367

Note: * $p < 0.05$. Party reference category: Democrat. Education reference category: less than high school. Ethnicity reference category: White. Model is multinomial log-linear. Variables are unit-normalized.

Table S6: Party ID and Worldview in the United Kingdom

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>						
	Brexit	Conservative	Green	LD	PC	SNP	UKIP
Authority	0.217* (0.103)	0.172* (0.046)	-0.341* (0.115)	-0.311* (0.069)	-0.447 (0.341)	0.056 (0.101)	0.113 (0.202)
Community	0.784* (0.103)	0.623* (0.047)	-0.230 (0.120)	-0.083 (0.071)	-0.342 (0.357)	0.050 (0.104)	0.715* (0.207)
Competitiveness	0.359* (0.077)	0.167* (0.043)	-0.024 (0.106)	-0.045 (0.065)	-0.188 (0.355)	0.126 (0.085)	0.175 (0.166)
Incrementalism	0.380* (0.098)	0.344* (0.046)	-0.156 (0.119)	0.092 (0.070)	-0.007 (0.341)	-0.135 (0.108)	0.765* (0.206)
Asian	-1.709* (0.655)	-1.099* (0.202)	-0.551 (0.451)	-0.338 (0.249)	-12.605* (0.00000)	-1.741* (0.581)	-16.930* (0.000)
Black	-12.739* (0.00000)	-1.051* (0.343)	-13.568* (0.00000)	0.051 (0.376)	-9.920* (0.00000)	-0.836 (0.678)	-11.658* (0.00000)
Female	-0.582* (0.202)	-0.064 (0.086)	0.847* (0.210)	-0.375* (0.124)	-0.003 (0.567)	-0.432* (0.189)	-0.879* (0.421)
Age	0.022* (0.006)	0.031* (0.003)	-0.006 (0.006)	0.007 (0.004)	0.006 (0.018)	-0.016* (0.006)	0.028* (0.013)
University	-0.374 (0.200)	-0.066 (0.091)	0.678* (0.245)	0.513* (0.145)	0.856 (0.724)	0.316 (0.213)	-0.516 (0.400)
Income	-0.159 (0.113)	0.450* (0.046)	-0.089 (0.100)	0.303* (0.062)	-0.138 (0.294)	-0.405* (0.102)	0.023 (0.225)
Intercept	-3.053* (0.408)	-1.212* (0.185)	-3.223* (0.430)	-1.782* (0.260)	-5.682* (1.242)	-1.491* (0.362)	-4.742* (0.848)
Observations	4,089	4,089	4,089	4,089	4,089	4,089	4,089

Note: *p < 0.05. Party reference category: Labour. Ethnicity reference category: White. Model is multinomial log-linear. Variables are unit-normalized.

Table S7: Ideology and Worldview Over Time

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Ideology		
	December 2019	June 2020	May 2021
Authority	0.074* (0.013)	0.097* (0.019)	0.076* (0.018)
Community	0.129* (0.013)	0.131* (0.019)	0.119* (0.019)
Competitiveness	0.071* (0.011)	0.067* (0.017)	0.088* (0.017)
Incrementalism	0.076* (0.013)	0.087* (0.019)	0.119* (0.018)
Party: Brexit	1.176* (0.066)	1.096* (0.092)	1.153* (0.090)
Party: Conservative	1.393* (0.030)	1.303* (0.043)	1.342* (0.042)
Party: Green	0.156* (0.068)	0.247* (0.100)	0.023 (0.112)
Party: LD	0.546* (0.041)	0.300* (0.062)	0.409* (0.060)
Party: PC	0.298 (0.202)	0.023 (0.292)	-0.111 (0.239)
Party: SNP	0.326* (0.068)	0.054 (0.098)	0.102 (0.123)
Party: UKIP	1.101* (0.129)	1.018* (0.199)	0.718* (0.157)
Asian	0.240* (0.056)	0.355* (0.074)	0.354* (0.078)
Black	-0.154 (0.091)	0.387* (0.142)	0.116 (0.144)
Female	-0.087* (0.024)	-0.065 (0.035)	-0.007 (0.035)
Age	0.043* (0.012)	0.078* (0.019)	0.068* (0.019)

University	0.018 (0.026)	-0.032 (0.037)	-0.010 (0.037)
Income	0.006 (0.012)	0.024 (0.019)	-0.006 (0.019)
Intercept	-0.721* (0.029)	-0.649* (0.042)	-0.696* (0.042)
Observations	3,697	1,930	1,857
R2	0.541	0.518	0.536
Adjusted R2	0.539	0.514	0.532

Note: *p < 0.05. Party reference category: Labour. Ethnicity reference category: White. Model is OLS. Variables are unit-normalized.

Table S8: Ideology and Worldview Across Countries

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Ideology	
	United Kingdom	United States
Authority	0.074* (0.013)	0.122* (0.019)
Community	0.129* (0.013)	0.033 (0.019)
Competitiveness	0.071* (0.011)	-0.020 (0.018)
Incrementalism	0.076* (0.013)	0.109* (0.020)
Party: Brexit	1.176* (0.066)	
Party: Conservative	1.393* (0.030)	
Party: Green	0.156* (0.068)	
Party: LD	0.546* (0.041)	
Party: PC	0.298 (0.202)	

Party: SNP	0.326*	
	(0.068)	
Party: UKIP	1.101*	
	(0.129)	
Asian	0.240*	
	(0.056)	
Black	-0.154	
	(0.091)	
Party: Independent		0.872*
		(0.049)
Party: Republican		0.894*
		(0.045)
Asian		-0.013
		(0.079)
Black		-0.027
		(0.056)
Hispanic/Latin@		0.058
		(0.049)
Native American/Pacific Islander		0.154
		(0.241)
Female	-0.087*	0.047
	(0.024)	(0.037)
Age	0.043*	0.005
	(0.012)	(0.019)
University	0.018	
	(0.026)	
High school		0.082
		(0.093)
Some college		-0.009
		(0.095)
Bachelor's		-0.167
		(0.100)
Advanced degree		-0.183
		(0.108)
Income	0.006	0.031

	(0.012)	(0.020)
Intercept	-0.721*	-0.455*
	(0.029)	(0.096)
Observations	3,697	2,367
R2	0.541	0.315
Adjusted R2	0.539	0.310

Note: * $p < 0.05$. Party reference categories: Labour (UK), Democrat (US). Education reference category (US): less than high school. Ethnicity reference category: White (both countries). Models are OLS. Variables are unit-normalized.