Progressives and Never-Trumpers: Contrastive Principal

Component Analysis as an Alternative for Public

Opinion Analysis
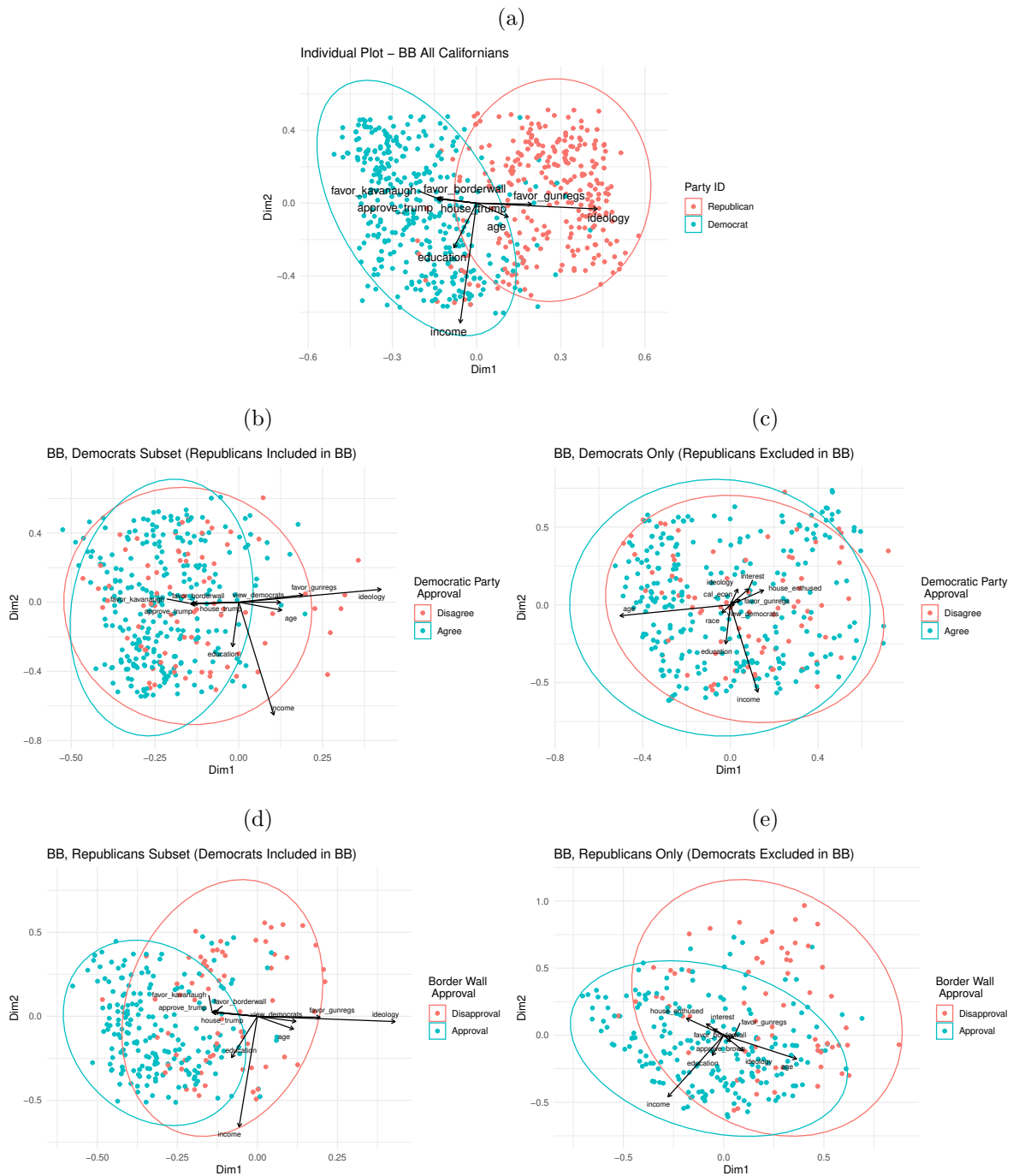
Online Appendix

Contents

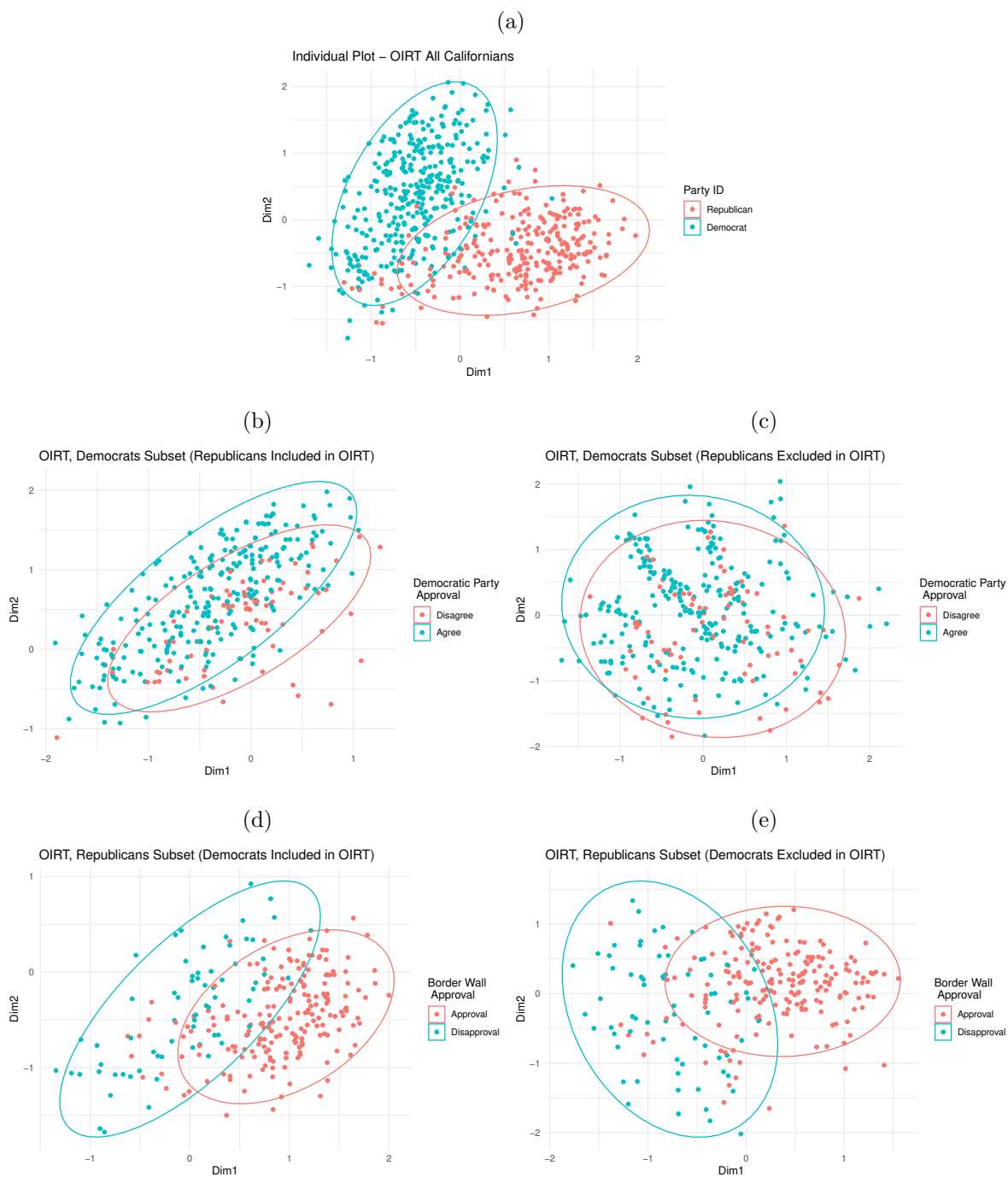# A: Blackbox Scaling and Ordinal Item Response Theory Model Results

A1: BlackBox Results

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

(e)

A2: Ordinal Item Response Model Results

Ordinal Item Response Model Results

(a)

Individual Plot – OIRT All Californians

(b)

OIRT, Democrats Subset (Republicans Included in OIRT)

(c)

OIRT, Democrats Subset (Republicans Excluded in OIRT)

(d)

OIRT, Republicans Subset (Democrats Included in OIRT)

(e)

OIRT, Republicans Subset (Democrats Excluded in OIRT)

B: Variable Coding Scheme

Political Questions

`approve_brown`: This is a binary variable measuring respondents' approval of the way that Jerry Brown is handling his job as governor of California. (1: Approve; 2: Disapprove)

`approve_stateleg`: This is a binary variable measuring respondents' approval of the way that the California Legislature is handling its job. (1: Approve; 2: Disapprove; 3)

`approve_trump`: This is a binary variable measuring respondents' approval of the way that Donald Trump is handling his job as President. (1: Approve; 2: Disapprove)

`approve_congress`: This is a binary variable measuring respondents' approval of the way the U.S. Congress is handling its job. (1: Approve; 2: Disapprove)

`house_trump`: This is a nominal variable measuring which of following statements is more important to respondents. Originally, the response of 1 indicates that candidates for the U.S. congress should work with the Trump Administration is more important; the response of 2 indicates that candidates for the U.S. congress should push back against the Trump Administration is more important; response of 3 indicates both are important. We further recode this variable as a binary variable by recoding 3 as missing.

`house_enthused`: This is an ordinal variable measuring how enthusiastic respondents are about voting for Congress that year. (1: Extremely enthusiastic; 2: Very enthusiastic; 3: Enthusiastic; 4: Not too enthusiastic; 5: Not at all enthusiastic)

`cal_econ`: This is a binary variable measuring respondents' opinion regarding economic conditions in California during the next 12 months. (1: Good times; 2: Bad times)

`us_econ`: This is a binary variable measuring respondents' opinion regarding economic conditions in the U.S. during the next 12 months. (1: Good times; 2: Bad times)

`favor_kavanaugh`: This is a binary variable measuring respondents' approval of the U.S. Senate's vote to confirm Trump's nomination of Brett Kavanaugh to the U.S. Supreme Court. (1: Approve; 2: Disapprove)

`favor_direction`: This is a binary variable measuring respondents' opinions regarding whether things in the U.S. are generally going in the right or wrong direction. (1: Right direction; 2: Wrong direction)

`favor_gunregs`: This is an ordinary variable measuring respondents' opinions regarding laws covering the sale of guns should be more strict, less strict, or kept as they are now. Originally, the response of 1 refers to *more strict*; the response of 2 refers to *less strict*; response of 3 refers to *kept as they are now*. We recode this variable by swapping response 3 with response 2. This results in a variable coded as: 1: *more strict*; 2: *kept as they are now*; 3: *less strict.*

`favor_borderwall`: This is a binary variable measuring respondents favor or oppose building a wall along the entire border with Mexico. (1: Favor; 2: Oppose)

`favor_localrules`: This is a binary variable measuring whether respondents favor or oppose the California state and local governments making their own policies and taking actions, separate from the federal government, to protect the legal rights of undocumented immigrants in California. (1: Favor; 2: Oppose)

`favor_obamacare`: This is a binary variable measuring whether respondents have a generally favorable or unfavorable opinion of Obamacare. (1: Generally favorable; 2: Generally unfavorable)

`size_govt`: This is a binary variable measuring if respondents would rather have a smaller government providing fewer services, or a bigger government providing more services. (1: Smaller government, fewer services; 2: Bigger government, more services)

`view_democrats`: This is a binary variable measuring whether respondents have a favorable or an unfavorable impression of the Democratic Party. (1: Favorable; 2: Unfavorable)

`view_republicans`: This is a binary variable measuring whether respondents have a favorable or an unfavorable impression of the Republican Party. (1: Favorable; 2: Unfavorable)

Self-Identification

`party`: This is an ordinal variable measuring respondents' self-identified partisanship between the Democratic and Republican party. Originally, the response of 1 refers to *strong Democrat*; the response of 2 refers to *not very strong Democrat*; response of 3 refers to *lean Democrat*; the response of 4 refers to *independent*; the response of 5 refers to *lean Republican*; the response of 6 refers to *not very strong Republican*; the response of 7 refers to *strong Republican*. We recode this 7-point scale as a three point ordinal scale variable by recoding from 1 through 3 as *Democrat* and from 5 through 7 as *Republican*.

`ideology`: This is a five point scale ordinal variable measuring respondents' political ideology from 1, *very liberal*, through 5, *very conservative*.

Demographics

`age`: This is a six point scale ordinal variable measuring respondents' age. (1: 18 to 24; 2: 25 to 34; 3: 35 to 44; 4: 45 to 54; 5: 55 to 64; 6: 65 or older)

`education`: This is a five point scale ordinal variable measuring respondents' educational level. (1: Some high school or less; 2: High school graduate/GED; 3: Some college; 4: College graduate; 5: Post graduate)

`gender`: This is a binary variable measuring respondents' gender. (1: Male; 2: Female)

`income`: This is a seven point scale ordinal variable measuring respondents' income level. (1: under $20,000; 2: $20,000 to under $40,000; 3: $40,000 to under $60,000; 4: $60,000 to under $80,000; 5: $80,000 to under $100,000; 6: $100,000 to under $200,000; 7: $200,000 or more)

`interest`: This is a four point scale ordinal variable measuring respondents' interest in politics. (1: Great deal; 2: Fair amount; 3: Only a little; 4: None)