2016 American Presidential Election: Analysing the politico-psychological differences underlying political behavior

Flavio Azevedo

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A. Exploratory sample characteristics

The presented results ensue from a online sample (n=1500) of the American population, representative with respect to age, gender, education, income, and political orientation. The data was collected from August 16th to September 12th, 2016.

Interlocked quotas were used for all quotas until the incidence rate (IR) reached less than 1%. After this threshold, quotas were softened (via proportional simple quotas) for problematic strata - e.g., three specific brackets in Income and Education.

Responses were considered valid only if they passed on a series of quality checks (e.g., attention questions, consistency checks, page and survey-total time controls).

Confirmatory samples

In addition, a confirmatory sample was collected (n=~2100) ensuing from the same panel. This convenience sample had no quotas assigned, but had quality control checks. Lastly, another sample was collected (n=~600) with neither quotas nor quality controls.

The results presented here replicate in magnitude and direction (almost to perfection) in sample 2 (n=~2100). Analyses on sample 3 have not yet been performed.

B. Analyses

Groups are defined by self-reported political behavior such as prospective voting. There are three main operationalizations used in these analyses, which hopes to understand the politico-psychological differences between ideological groups.

1. **Voting intentions**
   - Donald Trump vs. Hillary Clinton

2. **D. Trump's likability**.
   - Trumpists = Elicited to like Trump 7, 8 or 9 [Range:1-9]
   - Others = Elicited to like Trump 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 [Range:1-9]

3. **Candidates preferences**. Participants were presented with a list of several candidates, and were asked to chose which candidate best represents their political views. These choices were classified into three groups: Republicans, Trumpists, and Democrats.
   - Republicans = Ted Cruz, Rand Paul, Jeb Bush
   - Trumpists = Donald Trump
   - Democrats = Bernie Sanders & Hillary Clinton

C. Effect Sizes

As to summarize the survey results, we compare group differences with respect to a variety of politico-psychological constructs. For this, we calculated the *unbiased* effect sizes (*Hedges' g*) between the above defined ideological groups. Effect size is the magnitude of the mean differences between groups of interest. Its interpretation is directly related to the concept of standard deviation, as follows:

- Effect Size of 0.2, 58 % of the target group will be above the mean of the control group
- Effect Size of 0.5, 69 % of the target group will be above the mean of the control group
- Effect Size of 0.8, 79 % of the target group will be above the mean of the control group
- Effect Size of 1.2, 88 % of the target group will be above the mean of the control group

It may be worthwhile to mention that in Social- and Political Psychology, an Effect Size of .20 is commonplace.

[Click here for an external link on the meaning of Effect Sizes]

D. Organization

Below, the results of the nationally representative survey can be visualized.

These are separated in terms of the operationalizations used (section 1: **voting intentions**; section 2: **Trump's likability**; section 3: **candidates preferences**).

Each of these operationalizations are further broken-down into three categories which separates the effect sizes with respect to its magnitude: 1. Medium-Large-&-Very-Large differences between ideological groups; 2. Small-to-Medium differences; and 3. Similarities or no differences.

For each politico-psychological construct, we have estimated the point estimates (represented by bold dots) and built 95% confidence intervals for these estimates (represented by bold lines).

In addition, in sections 4 & 5, we show that the politico-psychological differences found between Trumpists and Republicans (sections 1, 2, 3) cannot be readily attributed to ideological differences, as these groups show strikingly similar political views.

In section 6 we describe the items used to tap into the surveyed constructs. Not all constructs items are displayed (yet).

Lastly, in section 7 & 8, we present both the demographic and political representativeness of the data.

1. Using Vote intentions: Trump vs. Clinton

1.1 Medium-Large-&-Very-Large differences: Effect sizes whose the lower bound of the C.I. is larger than 0.5

Effect sizes between Trump vs. Clinton voters via unbiased Hedges' g with 95% C.I.

	Hedges' g = 0.5 Medium	Hedges' g = 0.8 Large	Hedges' g = 1.2 Very Large
Aggression [RWA Facet]			
Anti–Egalitarianism [SDO Facet]			
Anti–Expertise			
Black Antagonism			
Chauvinist sexism			
Context Present			
Conventionalism [RWA Facet]			
Dangerous Worldview			
Dominance [SDO Facet]			
Economic System Justification			
Gender–Specific System Justification			
Observer Perspective			
Political Ideology [Eco]			
Political Ideology [L–R]			
Political Ideology [Soc]			
Protectionism			
Religiosity			
Scientific Skepticism			
Submission [RWA Facet]			
Tradition			
Universalism–Concern			
Volonte Generale			

3

1.2 Small-to-Medium differences: Effect sizes whose C.I. does not include 0 and include 0.5

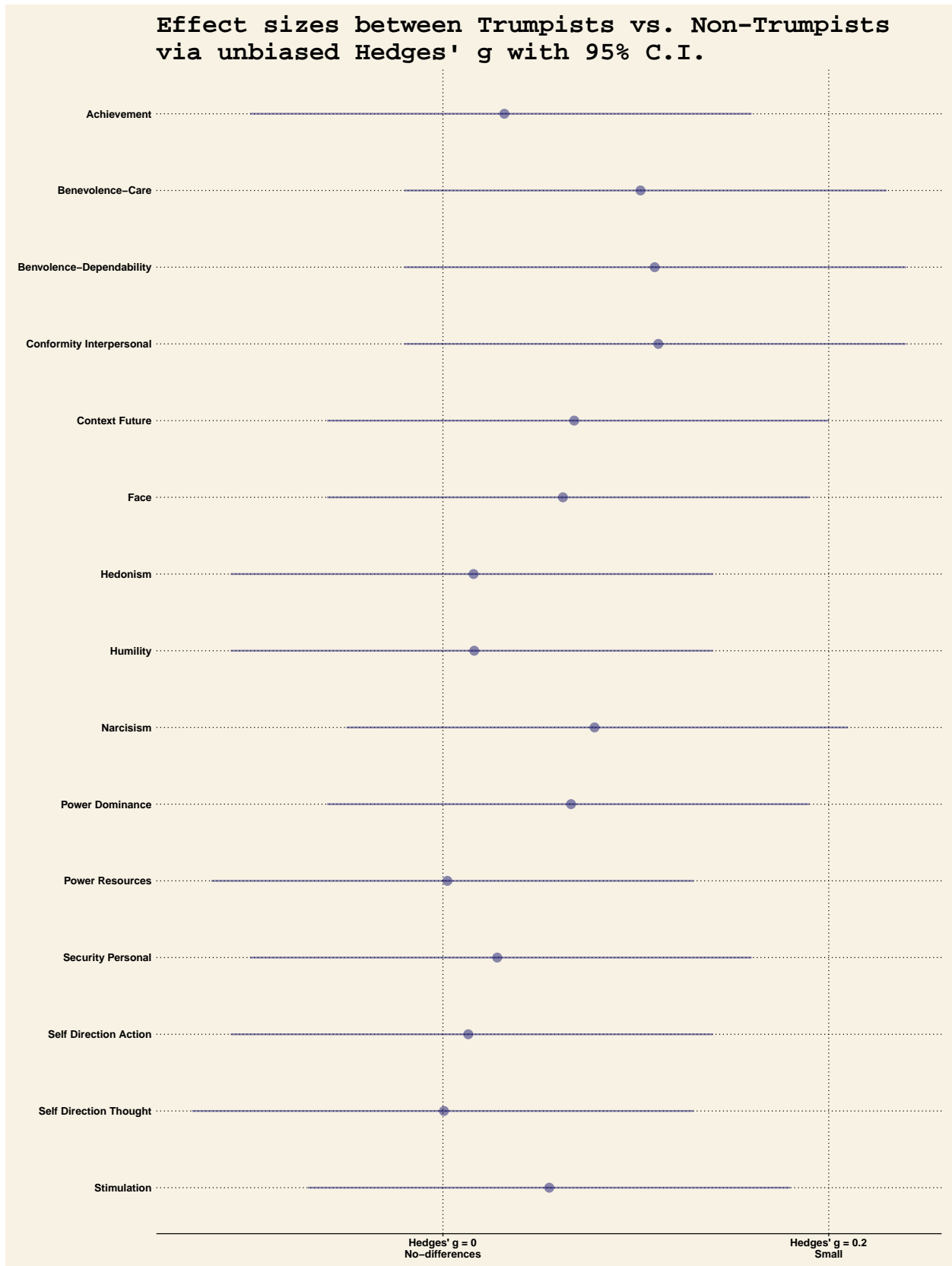Effect sizes between Trump vs. Clinton voters via unbiased Hedges' g with 95% C.I.

1.3 Similarities between Trump and Clinton voters: Effect sizes whose C.I. include zero

Effect sizes between Trump vs. Clinton voters
via unbiased Hedges' g with 95% C.I.

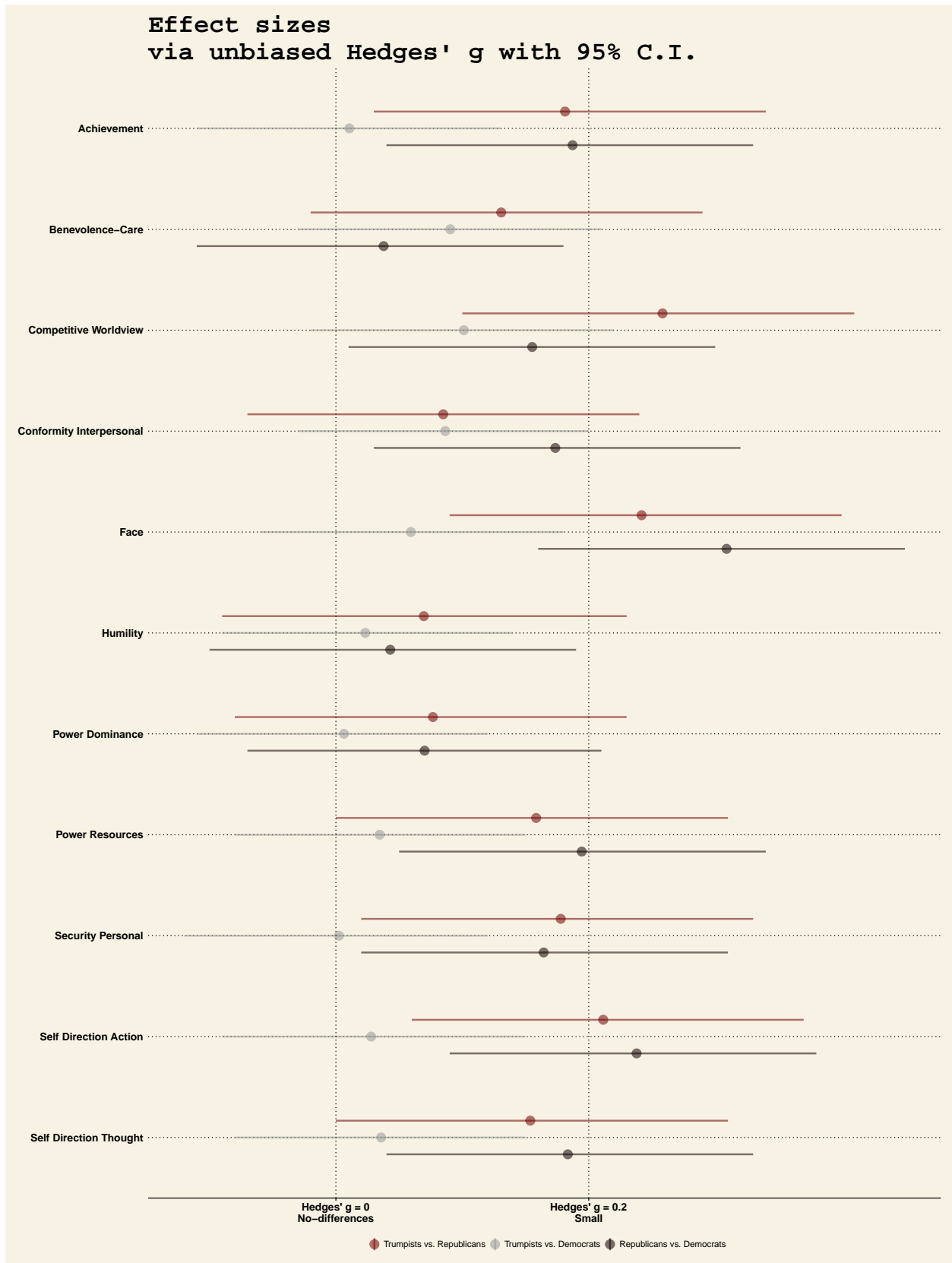|	
Achievement	
Benevolence–Care	
Collective Narcisism	
Competitive Worldview	
General System Justification	
Humility	
Narcisism	
Political Interest	
Power Dominance	
Security Personal	
Self Direction Action	
Self Direction Thought	

Hedges' g = 0
No–differences

Hedges' g = 0.2
Small

2. Using Trump likeability

2.1 Medium-Large-&-Very-Large differences: Effect sizes whose the lower bound of the C.I. is larger than 0.5

Effect sizes between Trumpists vs. Non-Trumpists via unbiased Hedges' g with 95% C.I.
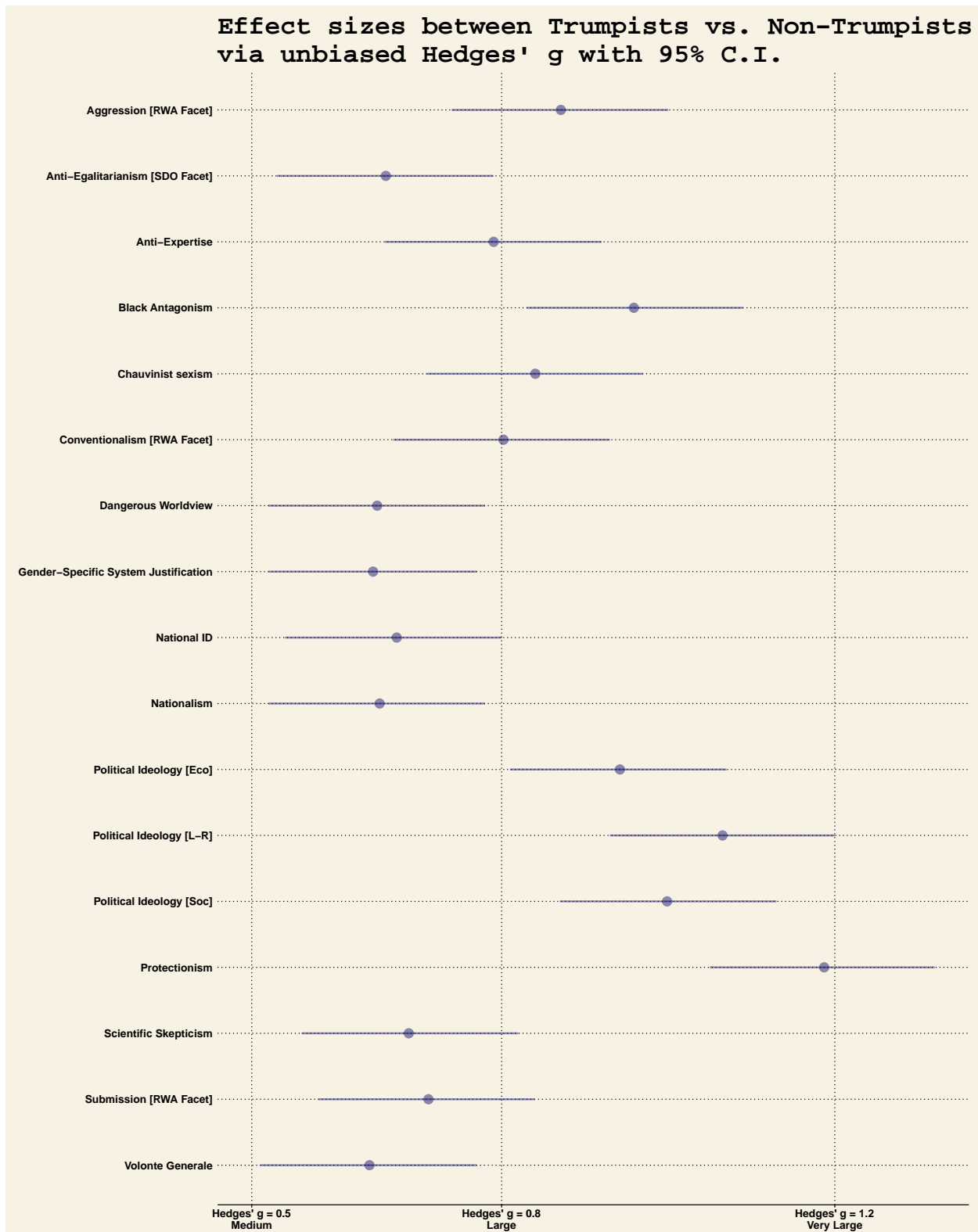
2.2 Small-to-Medium effect sizes: effect sizes whose C.I. does not include 0 and include 0.5

Effect sizes between Trumpists vs. Non-Trumpists via unbiased Hedges' g with 95% C.I.

Anti–Elitism
Anti–Pluralism
Beneficiary Perspective
Blind Patriotism
Collective Narcisism
Competitive Worldview
Conformity–Rules
Constructive Patriotism
Context Present
Dominance [SDO Facet]
Economic System Justification
Empathic Concern
General System Justification
Manichean
Observer Perspective
Perpetrator Perspective
Personal Distress
Perspective Taking
Political Interest
Political Sophistication
Religiosity
Representative Gap
Security Societal
Tradition
Universalism–Concern
Universalism–Nature
Universalism–Tolerance
Victim Perspective

Hedges' g = 0
No–differences

Hedges' g = 0.2
Small

Hedges' g = 0.5
Medium

2.3 Similarities between Trump and Clinton voters: Effect sizes whose C.I. include zero

Effect sizes between Trumpists vs. Non-Trumpists via unbiased Hedges' g with 95% C.I.

3. Using Candidate Preferences: Trumpists vs. Republicans vs. Democrats

3.1 Medium-Large-&-Very-Large differences: Effect sizes whose the lower bound of the C.I. is larger than 0.5

Effect sizes
via unbiased Hedges' g with 95% C.I.

3.2 Small-to-Medium differences: Effect sizes whose C.I. does not include 0 and include 0.5

Effect sizes
via unbiased Hedges' g with 95% C.I.

3.3 Similarities between Trump and Clinton voters: Effect sizes whose C.I. include zero

Effect sizes
via unbiased Hedges' g with 95% C.I.

Achievement

Benevolence–Care

Competitive Worldview

Conformity Interpersonal

Face

Humility

Power Dominance

Power Resources

Security Personal

Self Direction Action

Self Direction Thought

Hedges' g = 0
No–differences

Hedges' g = 0.2
Small
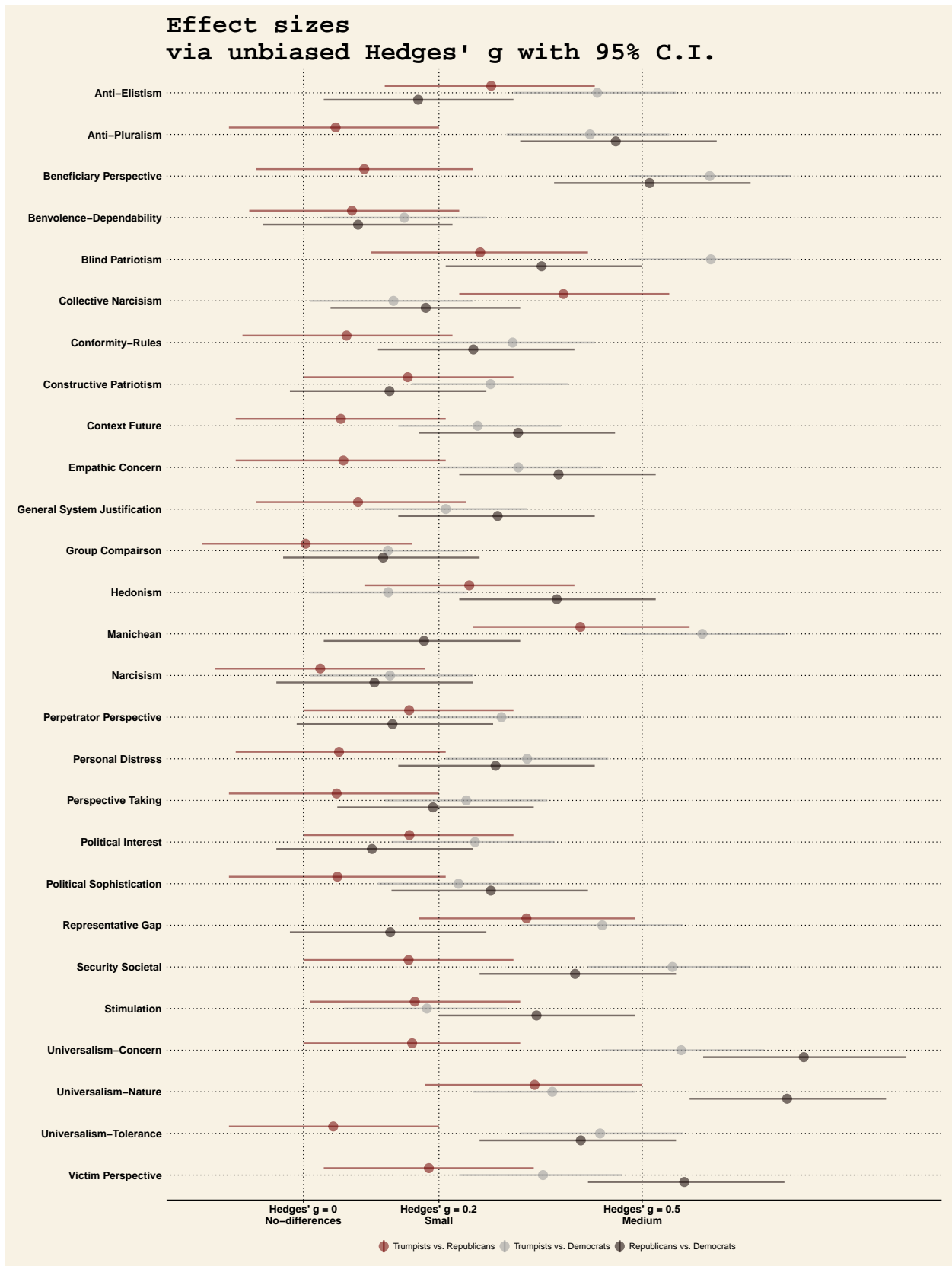
● Trumpists vs. Republicans ● Trumpists vs. Democrats ● Republicans vs. Democrats

4. Social Movements

We also look at support for Social Movements (politicized and non-politicized*) across ideological groups (Trumpists vs. Republicans vs. Democrats *via* candidate preferences).

- LGBTQ
- Black Lives Matter
- Civil Rights
- Environmental & Ecology
- Blue Lives Matter
- Occupy Wall Street
- Feminism
- Ice Bucket Challenge*
- Fair Trade*

Effect sizes
via unbiased Hedges' g with 95% C.I.

Categories (top to bottom): Fair Trade, Ice Bucket Challenge, Feminism, Occupy Wall Street, Blue Lives Matter, Environmental & Ecology, Civil Rights, Black Lives Matter, LGBTQ

X-axis: Hedges' g = 0 No–differences; Hedges' g = 0.2 Small; Hedges' g = 0.5 Medium; Hedges' g = 0.8 Large; Hedges' g = 1.2 Very Large

Legend: Trumpists vs. Republicans; Trumpists vs. Democrats; Republicans vs. Democrats
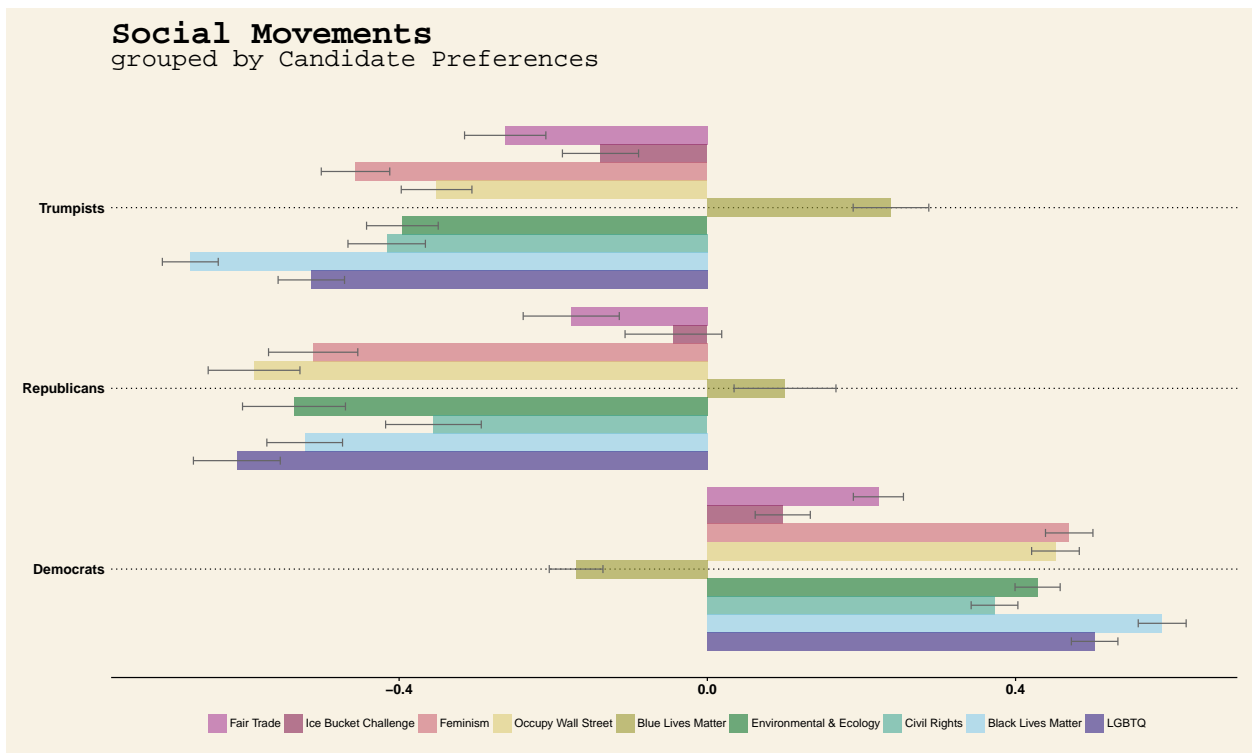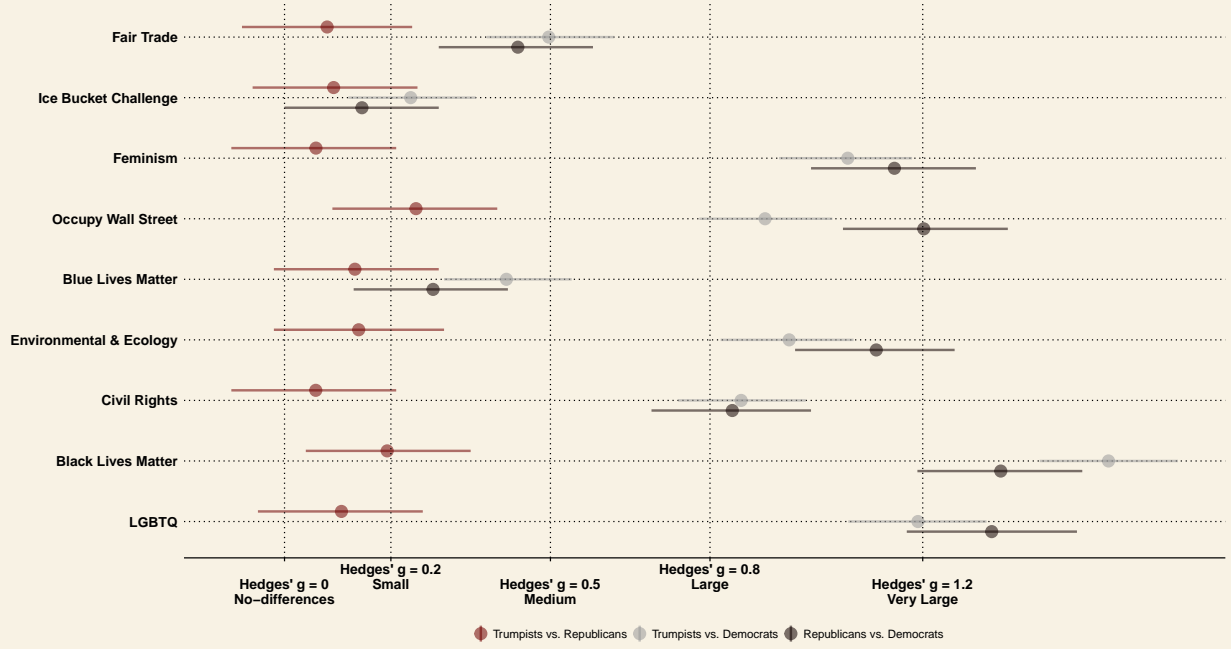
5. Conservatism

We analyze the differences between Republicans, Trumpists and Democrats while looking at the issue-based conservatism scales.

- Henningham (1996) - Social Conservatism
- Henningham (1997) - Economic Conservatism
- Zell & Bernstein (2014) - 12 item scale
- Everett (2013) - 12 item scale Social & Economic Conservatism Scale
- Inbar, Pizarro & Bloom (2009) - 10 item scale
- Feldman & Johnston (2014) - 13 item Social and Economic conservatism scale

The objective is to investigate whether there are ideological differences between ideological groups that could account for the psychological differences we have found above. And in specific, differences between Republicans and Trumpists.

Results seem to indicate that there seems to be hardly any differences in terms of ideology (*via* symbolic and operational conservatism) between Trumpists and Republicans that could account for the different politico-psychological profiles found above.
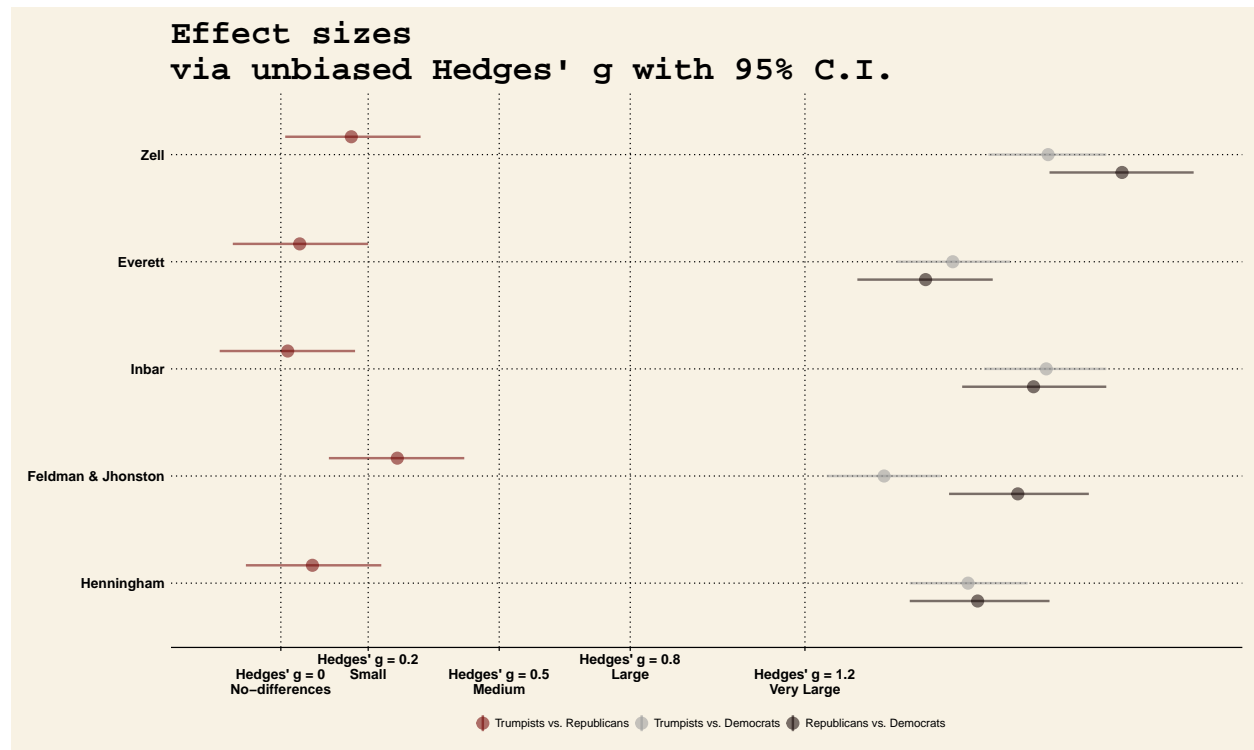
Conservatism
grouped by Candidate Preferences

Legend: Zell, Everett, Inbar, Feldman & Jhonston, Henningham Economic, Henningham Social

X-axis: -0.4, 0.0, 0.4, 0.8

Groups (top to bottom): Trumpists, Republicans, Democrats
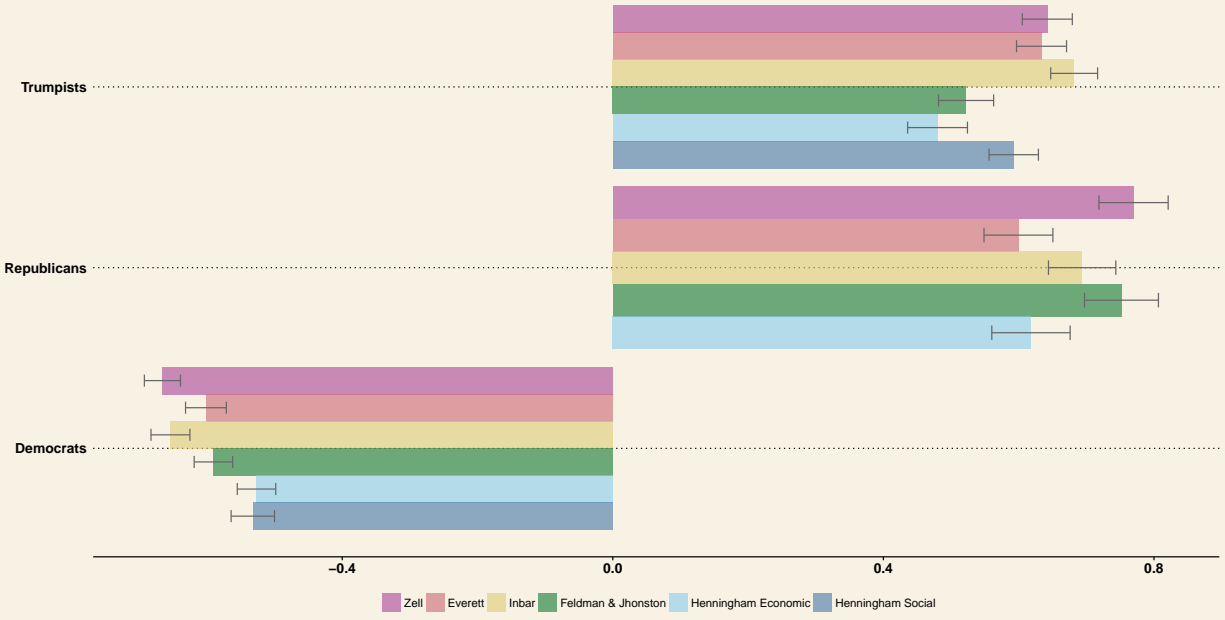
6. Measured Constructs

SDO 7

- Some groups of people must be kept in their place
- It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom
- An ideal society requires some groups to be on top and others to be on the bottom
- Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups
- Groups at the bottom are just as deserving as groups at the top
- No one group should dominate in society
- Groups at the bottom should not have to stay in their place
- Group dominance is a poor principle
- We should not push for group equality
- We shouldn't try to guarantee that every group has the same quality of life
- It is unjust to try to make groups equal
- Group equality should not be our primary goal
- This is a random attention question. Please select "Strongly oppose" and move to the next item
- We should work to give all groups an equal chance to succeed
- We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups
- No matter how much effort it takes, we ought to strive to ensure that all groups have the same chance in life
- Group equality should be our ideal

RWA

- What our country needs instead of more "civil rights" is a good stiff dose of law and order (1)
- What our country really needs is a strong, determined President which will crush the evil and set us on our right way again (2)
- There is no such crime to justify capital punishment (3) *#
- It is important to protect the rights of radicals and deviants in all ways (4) *#
- Obedience and respect for authority are the most important values children should learn (5)
- The real keys to the "good life" are obedience, discipline, and virtue (6)
- The days when women are submissive should belong strictly in the past. A "woman's place" in society should be wherever she wants to be (7) *#
- It is good that nowadays young people have greater freedom "to make their own rules" and to protest against things they don't like (8) *#
- The withdrawal from tradition will turn out to be a fatal fault one day (9)
- Being virtuous and law-abiding is in the long run better for us than permanently challenging the foundation of our society (10)
- People should develop their own personal standards about good and evil and pay less attention to the Bible and other old, traditional forms of religious guidance (11) *#
- Homosexual long-term relationships should be treated as equivalent to marriage (12) *#

Facets of Populism

1. Sub-component: **Sovereignty of the People or *Volonté Générale*** [items 1, 5, 6]

- The politicians in Congress need to follow the will of the people
- Majority decisions must apply, even if they curtail minority rights
- If the majority of the population supports a political decision, it should be implemented by the government

2. Sub-component: **Anti-Pluralism** [items 18, 19, 20, 21]

- In a democracy, it is important to make compromises among differing viewpoints
- It is important to listen to the opinion of other groups
- I like elected officials who make compromises with people they disagree with
- I like elected officials who stick to their positions, even if some people think it is 'politically incorrect'*

3. Sub-component: **Anti-Elitism or Skepticism towards political process** [items 2, 3, 4, 7]

- The particular interests of the political class negatively affect the well-being of the people
- Politicians always end up agreeing when it comes to protecting their privileges
- Elected officials talk too much and take too little action
- It doesn't actually matter who you vote for because the elites control the main political parties

4. Sub-component: **Representative Gap** [items 8, 9, 10]

- Public officials don't care much about what people like me think
- Elected officials in Washington lost touch with the people's needs
- The system is stacked against people like me

5. Sub-component: **Mistrust of Experts - Anti-Expertise** [items 14, 15, 16, 17]

- I would rather be represented by a citizen than by a specialized politician
- When it comes to really important questions, scientific facts don't help very much
- I'd rather put my trust in the wisdom of ordinary people than the opinions of experts and intellectuals
- Ordinary people can really use the help of experts to understand complicated things like science and health*

6. Sub-component: **Manichean Outlook** (or Worldview) [12, 22]

- Politics usually boils down to a struggle between the people and the powerful
- In today's world there is a struggle between good and evil, and people must choose between one of the two.

7. Sub-component: **Protectionism** or (or outside/others as threat Populism) [23, 24, 25, 28]

- The government should protect domestic markets, for example by taxing imports.
- Borders should be closed for asylum seekers.
- Even in times of recession, the government should invest in military defense.
- Immigrants increase crime rates
- America has been taken away from true Americans

System Justification

1. **General System Justification**

- In general, you find society to be fair
- In general, the American system operates as it should
- [Rev] American society needs to be radically restructured [REV]
- The United States is the best country in the world to live in
- Most policies serve the greater good
- Everyone has a fair shot at wealth and happiness
- [Rev] Our society is getting worse every year [REV]
- Society is set up so that people usually get what they deserve

2. **Economic System Justification**

- If people work hard, they almost always get what they want
- The existence of widespread economic differences does not mean that they are inevitable
- Laws of nature are responsible for differences in wealth in society
- There are many reasons to think that the economic system is unfair [REV]
- It is virtually impossible to eliminate poverty

- Poor people are not essentially different from rich people [REV]
- Most people who don't get ahead in our society should not blame the system; they have only themselves to blame
- Equal distribution of resources is a possibility for our society [REV]
- Social class differences reflect differences in the natural order of things
- Economic differences in the society reflect an illegitimate distribution of resources [REV]
- There will always be poor people, because there will never be enough jobs for everybody
- Economic positions are legitimate reflections of people's achievements
- If people wanted to change the economic system to make things equal, they could [REV]
- Equal distribution of resources is unnatural
- It is unfair to have an economic system which produces extreme wealth and extreme poverty at the same time [REV]
- There is no point in trying to make incomes more equal
- There are no inherent differences between rich and poor; it is purely a matter of the circumstances into which you are born [REV]

3. **Gender-specific System Justification**

- In general, relations between men and women are fair
- The division of labor in families generally operates as it should
- Gender roles need to be radically restructured [REV]
- For women, the United States is the best country in the world to live in
- Most policies relating to gender and the sexual division of labor serve the greater good
- Everyone (male or female) has a fair shot and wealth and happiness
- Sexism in society is getting worse every year [REV]
- Society is set up so that men and women usually get what they deserve

Justice Sensitivity

1. Victim Perspective (Own disadvantage)

- It makes me angry when others are undeservingly better off than me
- It worries me when I have to work hard for things that come easily to others

2. Observer Perspective (Someone else disadvantage)

- I am upset when someone is undeservingly worse off than others
- It worries me when someone has to work hard for things that come easily to others

3. Beneficiary Perspective (Own advantage)

- I feel guilty when I am better off than others for no reason
- It bothers me when things come easily to me that others have to work hard for

4. Perpetrator Perspective (You treat someone unfairly)

- I feel guilty when I enrich myself at the cost of others
- It bothers me when I use tricks to achieve something while others have to struggle for it

Collective Narcisism

- My group deserves special treatment
- Not many people seem to fully understand the importance of my group
- It really makes me angry when others criticize my group
- If my group had a major say in the world, the world would be a much better place
- I will never be satisfied until my group gets the recognition it deserves

Interpersonal Reactivity Index (IRI) or Empathy

1. Sub-component: Perspective Taking

- I sometimes find it difficult to see things from the "other guy's" point of view.[R]
- I try to look at everybody's side of a disagreement before I make a decision.
- I sometimes try to understand my friends better by imagining how things look from * their perspective.
- If I'm sure I'm right about something, I don't waste much time listening to other * people's arguments.[R]
- I believe that there are two sides to every question and try to look at them both. [R] When I'm upset at someone, I usually try to "put myself in his shoes" for a while.
- Before criticizing somebody, I try to imagine how I would feel if I were in their place.

2. Sub-component: The Empathic Concern

- I often have tender, concerned feelings for people less fortunate than me.
- Sometimes I don't feel very sorry for other people when they are having problems.[R]
- When I see someone being taken advantage of, I feel kind of protective towards them
- Other people's misfortunes do not usually disturb me a great deal.*
- When I see someone being treated unfairly, I sometimes don't feel very much pity for them.[R]
- I am often quite touched by things that I see happen.
- I would describe myself as a pretty soft-hearted person.

3. Sub-component: Personal Distress

- In emergency situations, I feel apprehensive and ill-at-ease.
- I sometimes feel helpless when I am in the middle of a very emotional situation.
- When I see someone get hurt, I tend to remain calm.[R]
- Being in a tense emotional situation scares me
- I am usually pretty effective in dealing with emergencies.[R]
- I tend to lose control during emergencies.
- When I see someone who badly needs help in an emergency, I go to pieces.

Values PVQ-RR (*57 items not displayed)

1. Openness to change

- Self-direction Thought
- Tradition
- Self-direction Action
- Stimulation
- Hedonism

2. Self-Enhancement

- Achievement
- Power Dominance
- Power Resources

3. Conservation

- Face
- Security Personal
- Conformity-Rules
- Conformity-Interpersonal
- Humility

4. Self-Transcendence

- Universalism-Nature

- Universalism-Concern
- Universalism-Tolerance
- Benevolence-Care
- Benevolence-Dependability

Black Antagonism

- There is a lot of discrimination against Blacks in America today, which limits their chances to get ahead [REV]
- It is easy to understand the anger of Black people in America [REV]
- Blacks have become far too confrontational in their demand for equal rights
- Social movements such as 'Black Lives Matters' are detrimental to society

Chauvinist sexism

- Gay men should stop shoving their lifestyles down people's throats
- Homosexuals have become fat too confrontational in their demand for equal rights
- Many lesbian women use their sexual orientation so that they can obtain special privileges

Dangerous & Competitive Worldviews

1. Dangerous

- Every day, our society become more lawless and bestial, a person's chances of being robbed, assaulted, and even murdered go up and up
- Although it may appear that things are constantly getting more dangerous and chaotic, it really isn't so. Every era has its problems, and a person's chances of living a safe, untroubled life are better today than ever before

2. Competitive

- It's a dog-eat-dog world where you have to be ruthless at times
- There is really no such thing as ''right''and''wrong.'' It all boils down to what you can get away with

Nationalism

- The United States is better than other nation in almost all respects Nationalism
- From our ancestry, something deep in the heart clearly distinguishes the Americans from other nations [Ethnic Nationalism]

Blind Patriotism

- I would support my country right or wrong

Constructive Patriotism

- I oppose some U.S. policies because I care about my country and want to improve it

Context

- All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in America today? [Present]
- Looking ahead, so far as you are concerned, do you think that 2016 will be better or worse than 2017? [Future]

Group Comparison

Participants were asked: *Compared with other groups in this country, you feel that the group you identify with most strongly has things...: Much better, Somewhat better, About the same, Somewhat worse, Much worse* (5-point Likert scale). So larger scores mean "a feeling that the group I identify with has things worse."

Narcisism

- I find it easy to read, influence and even manipulate people
- Generally speaking, I am more capable than other people

Self Reported Political Ideology & Religiosity

- Overall, where would you place yourself, on the following scale of liberalism-conservatism?
- How about in terms of social and cultural issues? (e.g., abortion, separation of church and state, affirmative action)
- How about in terms of economic issues? (e.g., taxation, welfare, privatization of social security)
- How about in terms of religion, how would you consider yourself?

Scientific Skepticism

- We believe too often in science, and not enough in faith and feelings

Representativeness of the data

7. Demographic representativeness of the data

Table 1: Quota analysis

|	Data Frequencies	U.S. Census Frequencies	Data vs. Census	Data vs. Census in %
18-24 years	193	196	-3	-1.55
25-34 years	264	263	1	0.38
35-44 years	263	263	0	0.00
45-54 years	292	288	4	1.37
55-64 years	234	233	1	0.43
65+	254	258	-4	-1.57
Total_Age	1500	1500	0	0.00
Female	760	738	22	2.89
Male	740	762	-22	-2.97
Total_Gender	1500	1500	0	0.00
Less than $15,000	178	195	-17	-9.55
$15,000-$24,999	180	180	0	0.00
$25,000-$34,999	176	165	11	6.25
$35,000-$49,999	227	210	17	7.49
$50,000-$74,999	292	270	22	7.53
$75,000-$99,999	192	180	12	6.25
$100,000-$149,999	160	180	-20	-12.50
$150,000 +	95	120	-25	-26.32
Total_Income	1500	1500	0	0.00
Less than High-school	51	210	-159	-311.76
High-school	475	435	40	8.42
Some college	471	435	36	7.64
Bachelor	310	270	40	12.90
Graduate	193	150	43	22.28
Total_Education	1500	1500	0	0.00
Democrat	747	750	-3	-0.40
Republican	753	750	3	0.40
Total_P.ID	1500	1500	0	0.00

8. Political representativeness of the data

Distribution of Party Identification

Participants were asked for their Party Identification (7-Point Scale) in the same way as in the American National Elections Study (ANES). Below you find the distribution of responses present in the sample.

"Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?" (If Republican or Democrat) *"Would you call yourself a strong (Republican/Democrat) or a not very strong (Republican/Democrat)?"* (If Independent, Other [1966 and later: Or 'No Preference']) *"Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic party?"*
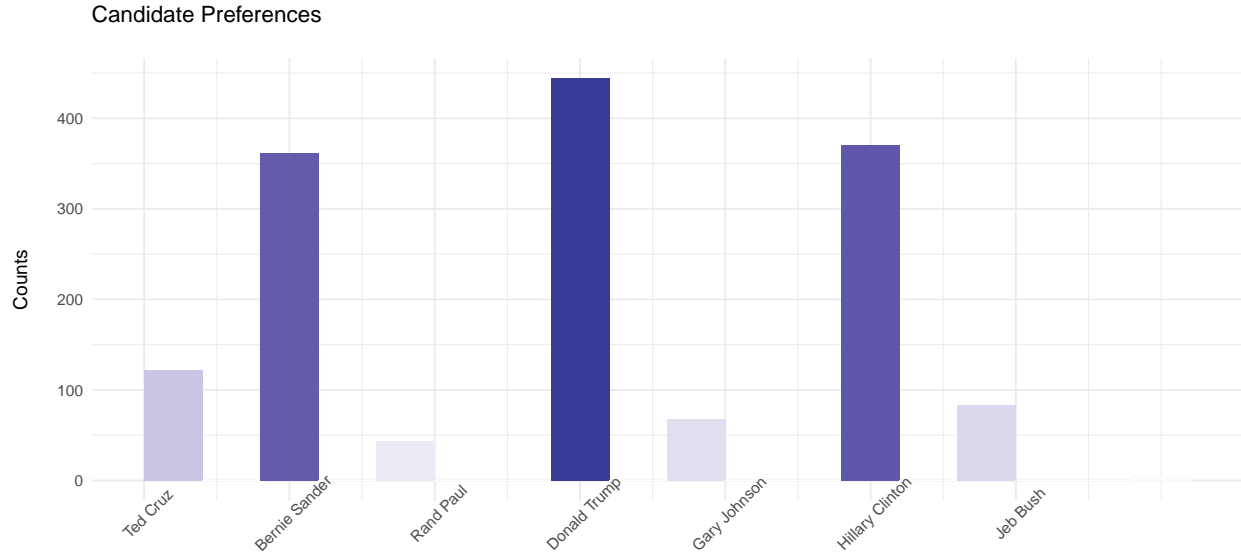
Distribution of P.ID.
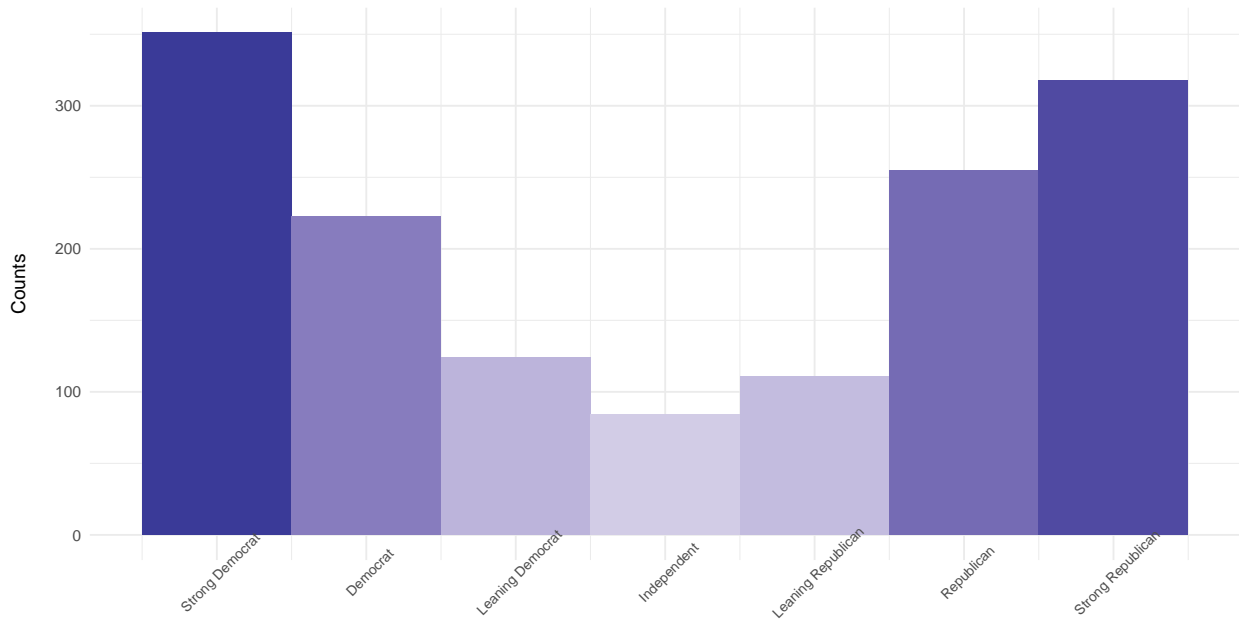
Distribution of Candidate Preferences

Participants were asked:

> *In the 2016 presidential election, which candidate do you feel the closest to - or best represents your views on political issues?*

The candidate names were chosen based on the (highest) pooling numbers for their respective party nomination run. Three Republican candidates were chosen, two democrats, and one Libertarian.
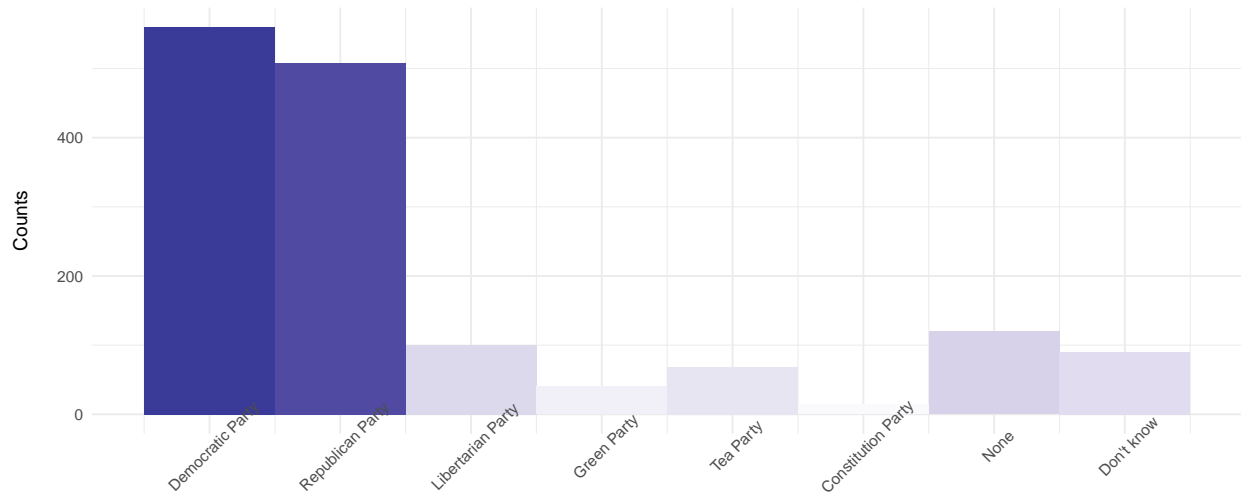

Candidate Preferences

Distribution of Party Preferences using a broader selection of American Parties

Participants were asked:

> *Below you find a more comprehensive list in terms of the major political parties in the United States. Which one do you feel closest to - or that best represents your views on political issues?*

Candidate Preferences

Presidential Candidates' Likeability

Participants were asked, in a 9-point Likert scale,

> *"Please elicit the extent to which you like or dislike each the main party's nominee for the 2016 elections"*

for Donald Trump, Hilary Clinton and Gary Johnson. Each item displayed 5 anchors: "Dislike a great deal" (1), "Dislike a moderate amount" (3), "Neither like nor dislike" (5), "Like a moderate amount" (7), and "Like a great deal" (9).

```
##              Trump_Likeability_Scores
## P.ID           1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
##    Democrat   553  31  44  15  32  15  35   3  19
##    Republican 114  14  58  26  54  50 161  58 218

##              Clinton_Likeability_Scores
## P.ID           1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
##    Democrat    97  18  58  35  64  70 172  79 154
##    Republican 576  24  56  19  35  20  14   3   6
```

From the two tables above, results show that neither Clinton nor Trump are likable. There is a small difference in the strength of likability contingent upon P.ID: it seems that Trump is more likable to Republicans than Clinton is for the Democrats. The two tables are represented below.

Distribution of Likeability scores per Candidate
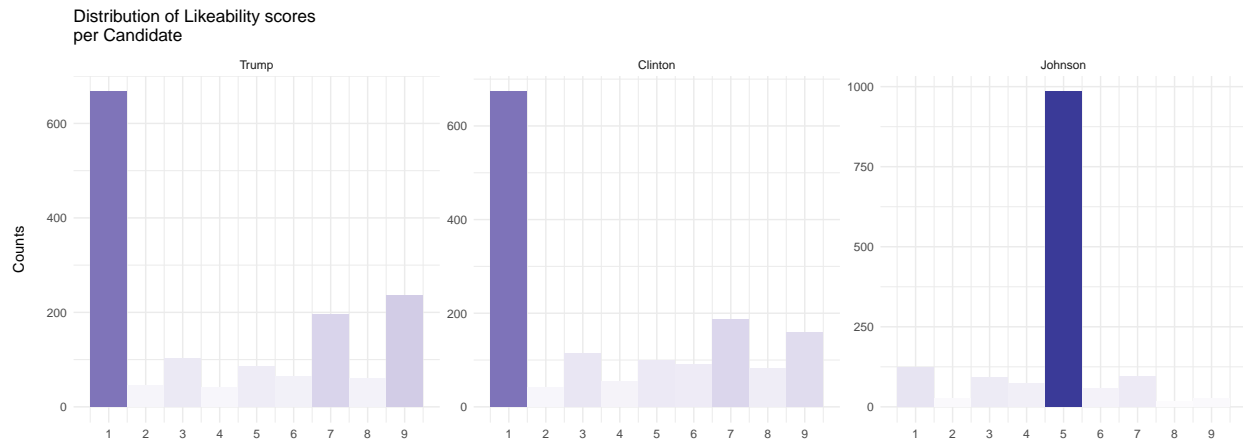
Prospective Vote [Vote intention]

Participants were asked *Are you a registered voter?* and if Yes, they were asked *In the 2016 presidential election, will you vote?*. 1416 responded to the first question, and from those, 1375 answered positively to the second query. Below you the distribution of Prospective Voters are graphically represented.

Prospective Voting