

APPENDIX

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CITATIONS FOR TABLE 1, POSITIONS OF TRUMP AND REPUBLICANS

Below are citation for the issue positions held by candidates. They are order by issue position and Party starting with Republicans.

Section 1: Republican Issue Positions

Free Trade Agreements:

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https://www.huffingtonpost.com/susan-grant/mccain-talks-immigration_b_112718.html

Ryan and Cruz on fast tracking TPP. Wong, Scott and Mike Lillis. 2016. “Ten Public Policy Issues that Divide Trump and Ryan”. *The Hill*:

<http://thehill.com/homenews/campaign/279067-10-issues-dividing-donald-trump-and-paul-ryan>

Needham, Vicki. 2016. “Trump Says He Will Renegotiate or Withdraw from NAFTA” *The Hill*:

<http://thehill.com/policy/finance/285189-trump-says-he-will-renegotiate-or-withdraw-from-nafta-without-changes>

Infrastructure:

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Berman, Russell. 2016. “Donald Trump’s Big-Spending Infrastructure Dream”. *The Atlantic*:

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Taxes:

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Trump on South Korea paying for U.S. military in the region. Republican Senators respond to Trump on South Korea by sending Senators to South Korea to reaffirm alliance. Putz, Catherine. 2016. "Despite Trump's Rhetoric, GOP Senators Try to Reassure South Korea" *The Diplomat*:

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<http://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/12/us/politics/12mccain.html>

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Wilkinson, Tracy. 2016. "In a Shift, Republican Platform Doesn't Call for Arming Ukraine Against Russia, Spurring Outrage". *Los Angeles Times*:

<http://beta.latimes.com/world/la-na-pol-ukraine-gop-20160720-snap-story.html>

Trump defies his party on Russia. Merry, E. Wayne. 2016. "Trump Defies His Party on Ukraine and Russia". *Newsweek*:

<http://www.newsweek.com/trump-defies-his-party-ukraine-and-russia-486575>

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McCain ambiguous positioning on immigration and path to citizenship. Nagourney, Adam. 2007.

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<http://www.nytimes.com/2007/03/20/us/politics/20immig.html?ex=1332043200&en=730f0c6bc9eeb6f&ei=5090&partner=rssuserland&emc=rss>

Susan, Grant. 2008. "McCain Talks Immigration Amid Protest" *Huffington Post*:

https://www.huffingtonpost.com/susan-grant/mccain-talks-immigration_b_112718.html

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Blake, Aaron. 2016. "Donald Trump Sounds Like He Supports What He Once Labeled

'Amnesty'. *The Washington Post*:

https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2016/08/25/donald-trump-sounds-like-he-supports-what-donald-trump-once-labeled-amnesty/?utm_term=.8493f0dc9159

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<http://www.cnn.com/2008/POLITICS/10/07/presidential.debate.transcript/>

McCain calls Social Security system broken in 2008. Staff Writer. 2008. “McCain Gets \$1,930 a Month From ‘Broken’ Social Security System”. *San Francisco Business Times*:

<https://www.bizjournals.com/sanfrancisco/stories/2008/07/14/daily79.html>

McCain website said he supports supplemental personal accounts in general election. Gordon, Robert and James Kvaal. 2008. “McCain’s Doublespeak”. *CBS News*:

<https://www.cbsnews.com/news/mccains-doublespeak/>

Iraq War, Syria, and Terrorism:

Trump critical of Obama drawing red line about Syria bombing. He suggests a more isolationist approach. Crowley, Michael. 2016. "Obama's 'Red Line' Haunts Clinton, Trump". *Politico*:

<https://www.politico.com/story/2016/09/obama-clinton-syria-red-line-228585>

Trump wants to "bomb the shit" out of ISIS at a general election rally. YouTube footage of rally:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aWejiXvd-P8>

Abortion:

Trump on Meet the Press explaining his pro-choice outlook in 1999. Original footage:

<https://www.nbcnews.com/meet-the-press/video/trump-in-1999-i-am-very-pro-choice-480297539914>

Trump switching position on abortion justified by a pro-life group. Bilger, Micaiah. 2016.

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<http://www.lifenews.com/2016/10/28/donald-trump-reveals-what-changed-his-mind-on-abortion-and-led-him-to-become-pro-life/>

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<http://www.cnn.com/2016/01/22/politics/cruz-eminent-domain-trump/index.html>

MAIN TABLE 1 REPLICATED FOR CLINTON AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

TABLE A1: Clinton's Policy Positions, Identical Issues as Main Text Table 1

Issue Area	Obama's Position in		
	Clinton's Position in 2016	2016	Obama's Position in 2008
	<u>Positions that are Aligned with the Party</u>		
Health care	Supported ACA and supported expanding to public option	Supported ACA and supported expanding to public option	Supported ACA and a public option
Medicaid and Medicare	Supported expanding benefits for Medicare and Medicaid	Supported expanding benefits for Medicare and Medicaid	Supported expanding benefits for Medicare and Medicaid
Social Security	Supported expanding benefits by increasing contribution limits for high income earners	Supported expanding benefits by increasing contribution limits for high income earners	Supported expanding benefits by increasing contribution limits for high income earners
Taxes	Supported tax increases for high income earners (i.e., "Buffet rule", 4% on \$5+ million income, and limiting deductions for the wealthy).	Supported Clinton's plan	Supported tax increase for top 5% and supported tax reduction for other 95%. Supported Buffet rule, extra 4% on 5 million or more, and deduction limits for the wealthy
Post-War Alliances	Supported troop presence in Ukraine, supported NATO and UN, supported troop levels in South Korea, supported normalizing relations with Cuba	No public position on Ukraine, supported NATO and UN, supported South Korea generally, supported normalizing relations with Cuba	Supports troop presence in Ukraine, supports NATO and UN, supports troop levels in South Korea, supports some looser Cuban policies like easing rules on travel and money transfers
Minimum Wage	Supports a \$12 national minimum wage	Supported increases generally	Supported minimum wage increase but no specific dollar figure
Muslim Ban	Opposed Muslim ban	Opposed Muslim ban	No public position

Illegal Immigration	Supported comprehensive immigration reform: fixing the family visa backlog, uphold the rule of law for deportations, supported DACA, and bring millions of hardworking people into the formal economy	Supported comprehensive immigration reform and Executive Order	Supported comprehensive immigration reform
Reproductive Rights	Pro-choice and supported planned parenthood	Pro-choice and supported planned parenthood	Pro-choice and supported planned parenthood
Eminent Domain	Eminent domain position voted off 2016 Democratic platform. No position taken. Some rhetoric about Trump unfairly using eminent domain in a development project	No public stance but Obama assured public that a 2016 national park development involved no eminent domain	No public position
Infrastructure	Supported \$275 billion expansion	Supported Clinton's plan	Supported \$60 billion infrastructure plan

Ambiguous Combination of Liberal and Conservative

Free Trade Agreements	Ambiguous: Supports free trade generally but critical of NAFTA and TPP. Supported NAFTA as first lady but is critical of components in 2016. Supported TPP in 2014 then opposed by 2015. Running mate Kaine supported TPP	Supported NAFTA and TPP	Ambiguous: Supportive of free trade generally but also wants to renegotiate NAFTA in primaries. Supported softer language in the general (pre-TPP)
Iraq War, ISIS, and Syria	Supported the Iraq War during and opposed it in 2016, supported local law enforcement to fight ISIS, supported an increase in intelligence gathering against ISIS, and "accelerated" air strikes against ISIS	Opposed Iraq War, supported local law enforcement, supported an increase in intelligence gathering, and supported status quo of air strikes against ISIS	Opposed the Iraq War. ISIS was not discussed in 2008

Free Trade Agreements:

Obama's ambiguity on NAFTA during the 2008 election. Montopoli, Brian. 2008. "Obama's Balancing Act on Free Trade". *CBS News*:

<https://www.cbsnews.com/news/obamas-balancing-act-on-free-trade-20-06-2008/>

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Clinton's 275 billion dollar plan. Zanon, Melanie. 2016. "Trump Says He'd Double Clinton's \$275 Billion Infrastructure Plan". *The Hill*:

<http://thehill.com/policy/transportation/290121-trump-on-paying-for-infrastructure-projects-well-get-a-fund>

Obama supports Clinton's plan. Wagner, John, Juliet Eilperin, and Robert Costa. 2016. "Obama Offers a Formal Endorsement of Clinton; President also Meets with Sanders". *The Washington Post*:

https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/seeking-to-exit-on-his-own-terms-bernie-sanders-comes-to-washington-thursday/2016/06/09/0b252f10-2e39-11e6-9de3-6e6e7a14000c_story.html

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<http://www.cnn.com/2008/POLITICS/06/16/candidates.economy/index.html?iref=nextin>

Taxes:

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<https://www.npr.org/2016/09/12/493573601/do-hillary-clinton-and-donald-trumps-tax-proposals-add-up>

Post War alliances:

Obama on Cuba in 2008 suggesting normalized relations. Staff Writer. 2008. "Obama: Cuba Policy to be Based on 'Libertad'". *CNN*:

<http://www.cnn.com/2008/POLITICS/05/23/obama.cuban.americans/index.html>

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<https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2016/jul/21/white-house-hillary-clinton-quick-to-hit-donald-tr/>

Immigration:

A comparison of Clinton and Trump's positions. Mohan, Pavithra. 2016. "Where Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump Stand On Immigration". *Fast Company*:

<https://www.fastcompany.com/3062783/where-hillary-clinton-and-donald-trump-stand-on-immigration>

Obama addressing the United League of Latin American Citizens in 2008 with his immigration policies. *CQ Transcripts* via *the Washington Post*. 2008:

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/07/09/AR2008070901439.html>

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Clinton wants public option for health care. Craver, Jack. 2016. “Hillary Clinton Unveils New Health Plan”. *Benefits Pro*:

<http://www.benefitspro.com/2016/07/11/hillary-clinton-unveils-new-health-plan>

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<http://www.nejm.org/doi/full/10.1056/NEJMp0807677#t=article>

Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security:

Clinton on expanding Medicaid and Medicare. Craver, Jack. 2016. “Hillary Clinton Unveils New Health Plan”. *Benefits Pro*:

<http://www.benefitspro.com/2016/07/11/hillary-clinton-unveils-new-health-plan>

Obama on expanding Social Security in 2016. Marans, Daniel and Arthur Delaney. 2016.

“President Barack Obama Backs Expanding Social Security”. *The Huffington Post*:

https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/barack-obama-expand-social-security_us_574f55bfe4b0eb20fa0cb690

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<https://www.forbes.com/sites/nextavenue/2016/08/19/where-clinton-and-trump-stand-on-retirement-security/#8a8e12d154c1>

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Clinton on raising the national minimum wage to \$12. Ehrenfreund, Max and Jim Tankersley.

2016. “What Hillary Clinton Would Do To America”. *The Washington Post*:

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2016/06/07/what-hillary-clinton-would-do-to-america/>

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Staff Writer. 2008. “Obama Talks About Glass Ceilings, Child Care, Equal Pay”. *CNN*:

<http://www.cnn.com/2008/POLITICS/07/10/obama.women/index.html>

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Says”. *The Guardian*:

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Eminent Domain:

Democrats removed it from their 2016 platform. Ollstein, Alice Miranda. 2016. “After Shaping the Democrats’ Most Progressive Platform Ever, Bernie Sanders Endorses Hillary Clinton”.

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<https://thinkprogress.org/after-shaping-the-democrats-most-progressive-platform-ever-bernie-sanders-endorses-hillary-clinton-6dc2cc6b6fc0/>

Some rhetoric about Trump using eminent domain, story of women who lost her house, but still a low salient issue for both parties. McCammon, Sarah and Danielle Kurtzleben. 2016. “Fact Check: Clinton’s Speech On Trump and Atlantic City, Annotated”. *NPR*:

<https://www.npr.org/2016/07/07/485113831/fact-check-clintons-speech-on-trump-and-atlantic-city-annotated>

Obama on eminent domain as part of a national park, but eminent domain is not the main focus of his statement or this article. Eilperin, Juliet and Brady Dennis. 2016. “Obama Creates What Could Be the Last Large National Park Site on the East Coast, in Maine”. *The Washington Post*:

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/energy-environment/wp/2016/08/24/obama-creates-what-could-be-the-last-large-national-park-site-on-the-east-coast-in-maine/>

PROPORTION CLOSER AND DISTANCE TO CANDIDATES

Appendix Table 1 presents a measure of perceived ideological proximity to each candidate, *Distance to Candidate*, which is a scale running from 0 (candidate and respondent have the same ideology) to 6 (respondent and candidate at opposite ideological poles). The top part of the table shows that in the overall sample (among those who can place a candidate), Trump is perceived as ideologically closer to respondents than Clinton, and by a larger margin than McCain was closer to respondents than Obama. Results are similar among those willing to place both candidates. In both 2008 and 2016, the average perceived distance to the Democratic candidate was 2.6 units. In 2008, the average distance to McCain was 2.4, but that number shrinks to 2.2 units for Trump.

The bottom part of Table 1 displays the same distance measure for those who did not place *the other* party's candidate. This shows that respondents who did not place Trump are different in systematic ways from those who did place him. People who did not place Trump in 2016 perceived themselves on average as only 1.4 units from Clinton, compared to the overall sample average of 2.6 units. This implies that the perceived distance measure for Trump among those who can place him may be uninformative of the views of those who do not place him. We see a similar pattern for the other candidates—people who could not place a party's candidate are closer on average to the other party's candidate than those who can place the candidate.

Turning to differences across time, patterns are roughly similar in the pooled sample for 2008 and 2016. However, Independents who could not place Trump actually perceived Clinton as substantially more ideologically distant than Independents who could not place McCain (1.8 rather than 1.4 units), and there were of course many more of them in 2016. This implies there is a potential uncertainty about how these respondents may have voted depending on the meaning

of the decision not to place Trump, because ideologically they were less inclined to support Clinton. (By contrast, in 2008, those who could not place Obama were further from McCain than those who could not place McCain were from Obama.)

TABLE 2 APPENDIX: Proportion of Respondents Closer to One Candidate and the Average Ideological Distance to Both Candidates

Panel A: Proportion of Respondents Who Are Closer to One Candidate

Candidate	Stratified	<u>Overall</u>				<u>Democrats</u>				<u>Independents</u>				<u>Republicans</u>			
		2016	sample size	2008	sample size	2016	sample size	2008	sample size	2016	sample size	2008	sample size	2016	sample size	2008	sample size
Closer to Democrat	Overall	0.31	47093	0.42	24296	0.57	22921	0.76	11011	0.17	7219	0.29	2216	0.04	16953	0.04	11069
Closer to Republican	Overall	0.43	47093	0.44	24296	0.08	22921	0.09	11011	0.45	7219	0.41	2216	0.84	16953	0.88	11069
Closer to Democrat	Can Place Both Candidates	0.38	37488	0.45	23223	0.78	16676	0.82	10445	0.23	5353	0.34	1993	0.04	15459	0.04	10785
Closer to Republican	Can Place Both Candidates	0.53	37488	0.47	23223	0.10	16676	0.09	10445	0.59	5353	0.48	1993	0.91	15459	0.92	10785

Panel B: Average Ideological Distance to Each Candidate

Candidate	Stratified	<u>Overall</u>				<u>Democrats</u>				<u>Independents</u>				<u>Republicans</u>			
		2016	sample size	2008	sample size	2016	sample size	2008	sample size	2016	sample size	2008	sample size	2016	sample size	2008	sample size
Distance to Democrat	Overall	2.62	44141	2.63	23603	1.18	21717	1.06	10692	2.76	6264	2.41	2056	4.28	16160	4.55	10855
Distance to Republican	Overall	2.16	38138	2.44	23522	3.24	16931	3.40	10564	1.79	5498	1.97	2048	1.25	15709	1.45	10910
Distance to Democrat	Can Place Both Candidates	2.82	37488	2.66	23223	1.21	16676	1.06	10445	2.91	5353	2.45	1993	4.32	15459	4.56	10785
Distance to Republican	Can Place Both Candidates	2.16	37488	2.45	23223	3.25	16676	3.41	10445	1.80	5353	1.98	1993	1.24	15459	1.46	10785
Distance to Democrat	Can't Place Other Candidate	1.39	6653	1.46	380	1.08	5041	1.00	247	1.80	911	1.38	63	3.18	701	3.70	70
Distance to Republican	Can't Place Other Candidate	1.85	650	1.79	299	2.52	255	2.60	119	1.39	145	1.68	55	1.47	250	0.98	125

Note: Ideological distance goes from 0 (same ideology as the candidate) to 6 (farthest away from candidate)

TABLE 3 APPENDIX: Replication of Appendix Table 1 using 2012 CCES Common Content

PANEL A: Which Candidate is Closer to Voters?

Candidate	Sample	Proportion		Proportion Closer Among		Proportion Closer Among		Proportion Closer Among	
		Closer	N size	Democrats	N Size of Democrats	Independents	N Size of Independents	Republicans	N Size of Republicans
Closer to Obama	Overall	0.39	40475	0.72	18221	0.26	5106.00	0.03	17148
Closer to Romney	Overall	0.43	40475	0.06	18221	0.42	5106.00	0.88	17148
Closer to Obama	Can Place Both Candidates	0.43	36453	0.83	15840	0.32	4167.00	0.03	16446
Closer to Romney	Can Place Both Candidates	0.48	36453	0.07	15840	0.51	4167.00	0.93	16446

PANEL B: How Far Away is Each Candidate to the Voters?

Candidate	Sample	Ideological Distance		Ideological Distance Among		Ideological Distance Among		Ideological Distance Among	
		Overall	N size	Democrats	N Size of Democrats	Independents	N Size of Independents	Republicans	N Size of Republicans
Distance to Obama	Overall	2.61	38525	1.09	17458	2.53	4457	4.44	16610
Distance to Romney	Overall	2.17	36830	3.37	15967	1.83	4257	0.93	16606
Distance to Obama	Can Place Both Candidates	2.69	36453	1.11	15840	2.58	4167	4.46	16446
Distance to Romney	Can Place Both Candidates	2.17	36453	3.37	15840	1.83	4167	0.93	16446
Distance to Obama	Can't Place Other Candidate	1.23	2072	0.98	1618	1.82	290	2.86	164
Distance to Romney	Can't Place Other Candidate	1.96	377	2.92	127	1.65	90	1.11	160

MAIN TEXT TABLE 1 REPLICATED USING 2012 DATA

TABLE 4 APPENDIX: Replication of Main Text Table 1 using 2012 CCES Common Content

PANEL A: Average Ideological Placement

Candidate	Sample	Average Placement		Average Placement Among Democrats		Average Placement Among Independents		Average Placement Among Republicans	
		Overall	N size	Democrats	N Size of Democrats	Independents	N Size of Independents	Republicans	N Size of Republicans
Obama	Can Place Candidate	-1.66187	38525	-0.8471282	17458	-1.638867	4457	-2.635753	16610
Romney	Can Place Candidate	1.57734	36830	1.783056	15967	1.225635	4257	1.433236	16606
Obama	Can Place Both Candidates	-1.726296	36453	-0.8958563	15840	-1.68412	4167	-2.64349	16446
Romney	Can Place Both Candidates	1.585475	36453	1.789454	15840	1.238518	4167	1.441232	16446

PANEL B: Proportion of Voters that Cannot Place the Candidates

Candidate	Sample	Cannot Placement		Cannot Placement Among Democrats		Cannot Placement Among Independents		Cannot Placement Among Republicans	
		Overall	N size	Democrats	N Size of Democrats	Independents	N Size of Independents	Republicans	N Size of Republicans
Obama	Overall	0.05	40475	0.05	18221	0.12	5106	0.03	17148
Romney	Overall	0.09	40475	0.12	18221	0.16	5106	0.04	17148
Obama	Can Place Other Candidate	0.01	36830	0.01	15967	0.02	4257	0.01	16606
Romney	Can Place Other Candidate	0.06	38525	0.09	17458	0.07	4457	0.01	16610

EVALUATING OUR 2008 IDEOLOGY CUT POINTS: FROM 0-100 TO 1-7

The 2008 CCES asked ideology a scale from 0 to 100 instead of the traditional 7 point scale. To compare ideology across elections, we rescaled 2008 ideology into a 7 point scale. We believe this coding scheme is optimal because it is symmetric around an ideological midpoint and thus minimizes ad hoc coding procedures that arbitrarily put respondents into one category or another. The resulting distribution is below, and as a comparison, we include 2012 and 2016. Results show very similar proportion of respondents in each ideological category except for “Very Conservative”, where our cut points put a larger proportion of respondents as very conservative.

TABLE 5 APPENDIX: Distribution of Self-Placed Ideology in 2016 and 2008

	<u>2016</u>	<u>2012</u>	<u>2008</u>	<u>Difference between '16 and '08</u>
	%	%	%	%
Very Liberal	10	8.0	9.7	0.3
Liberal	14.5	13.3	11.5	3
Somewhat Liberal	10.3	11.1	9.1	1.2
Moderate/Can't place	26.1	21.3	24.1	2
Somewhat Conservative	11.6	11.8	9	2.6
Conservative	17.7	20.6	16.5	1.2
Very Conservative	9.8	14.0	20.1	-10.3

Note: 2008 ideology was asked on a 0-100 scale, and then rescaled into 7 points with equally distant cut points. These cut points resulted minor differences for VL to C, but a large difference in VC.

However, with 0-100 scales, measurement error can occur when respondents clump to focal points on the scale like 0, 25, 50, 75, and 100, and our cut points do not account for this (which might be why our 2008 “very conservative” category is 20.1%).

SPATIAL MODELS OF VOTING 2008-2016

TABLE 6 APPENDIX: Spatial Models of Voting with No Controls (Among Respondents that Could Place the Candidates)

	<u>2016 (Trump vs. Clinton)</u>			<u>2008 (McCain vs. Obama)</u>			<u>2012 (Romney vs. Obama)</u>		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	Binary Indicators for Spatially Closer	Distance to Each Candidate	Indicators and Distance	Binary Indicators for Spatially Closer	Distance to Each Candidate	Indicators and Distance	Binary Indicators for Spatially Closer	Distance to Each Candidate	Indicators and Distance
Closer to Democrat (1=yes)	-0.389*** [0.00740]		-0.326*** [0.0120]	-0.563*** [0.0117]		-0.276*** [0.0156]	-0.528*** [0.00772]		-0.352*** [0.0115]
Closer to Republican (1=yes)	1.132*** [0.00709]		0.401*** [0.0124]	1.000*** [0.0115]		0.669*** [0.0167]	1.182*** [0.00752]		0.638*** [0.0124]
Distance to Democrat (0-6)		0.271*** [0.00159]	0.165*** [0.00261]		0.272*** [0.00170]	0.126*** [0.00316]		0.278*** [0.00145]	0.139*** [0.00236]
Distance to Republican (0-6)		-0.192*** [0.00179]	-0.0951*** [0.00260]		-0.152*** [0.00218]	-0.0520*** [0.00288]		-0.190*** [0.00171]	-0.0717*** [0.00235]
Constant	-0.388*** [0.00543]	-0.261*** [0.00765]	-0.261*** [0.0105]	-0.234*** [0.0104]	-0.373*** [0.00915]	-0.424*** [0.0137]	-0.341*** [0.00645]	-0.336*** [0.00749]	-0.374*** [0.0101]
Observations	47093	37488	37488	24,296	23,223	23,223	40,475	36,453	36,453
R-squared	0.538	0.626	0.650	0.659	0.669	0.705	0.696	0.735	0.768
Outcome mean	-0.071	-0.071	-0.071	0.036	0.036	0.036	0.001	0.001	0.001
Prop. Can't Place Democrat	0.015	0.015	0.015	0.029	0.029	0.029	0.048	0.048	0.048
Prop. Can't Place Republican	0.138	0.138	0.138	0.032	0.032	0.032	0.090	0.090	0.090

Note: Dependent variable is 1=Republican Candidate, -1 = Democratic Candidate, 0=Other/Not Vote. Robust standard errors in brackets. * significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%.

Distance to candidate is coded such that 0 equals a match on ideology between the candidate and voter, and 6 equals the farthest distance between the two.

The second set of columns in each election year include respondents that could place both the candidates

PLOTTING CANDIDATE SPATIAL ADVANTAGE

For our graphical analysis of the basic spatial model, we calculate *Closer Candidate's Spatial Advantage*, which is a scale measuring how much closer the respondent believes she is to her ideologically more proximate candidate than to the more distant candidate.

The Spatial Advantage Scale is:

$(\text{Distance}_{\text{Democrat}} - \text{Distance}_{\text{Republican}})$ if $\text{Distance}_{\text{Democrat}} > \text{Distance}_{\text{Republican}}$,

0 if $\text{Distance}_{\text{Democrat}} = \text{Distance}_{\text{Republican}}$, and

$-(\text{Distance}_{\text{Republican}} - \text{Distance}_{\text{Democrat}})$ if $\text{Distance}_{\text{Democrat}} < \text{Distance}_{\text{Republican}}$.

The scale is only defined for individuals who place both candidates and ranges from -6, meaning an individual perceives her ideology as identical to the Democratic nominee and that the Republican nominee is 6 units distant (e.g., the respondent is very liberal and perceives the Republican as very conservative) to 6, meaning the respondent perceives herself as identical to the Republican and very far from the Democrat.

The right axis of Figure 1 plots the distribution of the spatial advantage measure (the horizontal axis) among those who can place both candidates in 2016. Notably, there are more respondents who perceive the 2016 candidates as similarly ideologically distant from them than in 2008; more individuals have a spatial advantage score of -1, 0, and 1. Additionally, in both races, more people perceive the Republican candidate as substantially closer to them than the Democratic candidate (there are more people with scales scores of 6, 5, 4, and 3 than -6, -5, -4, and -3, respectively). Turning to vote choice (plotted on the left axis), in both races the candidates do increasingly well as they are perceived as closer to the respondent relative to the opposition, providing face validity for understanding voting in ideological terms. Regression analysis included in the appendix confirms this graphical presentation of the relationship

between perceived ideological advantage and vote choice; we also replicate this graphical analysis for partisan subgroups and find similar patterns.

FIGURE 1 APPENDIX: 2016 Spatial Model of Voting with the Distribution of Votes

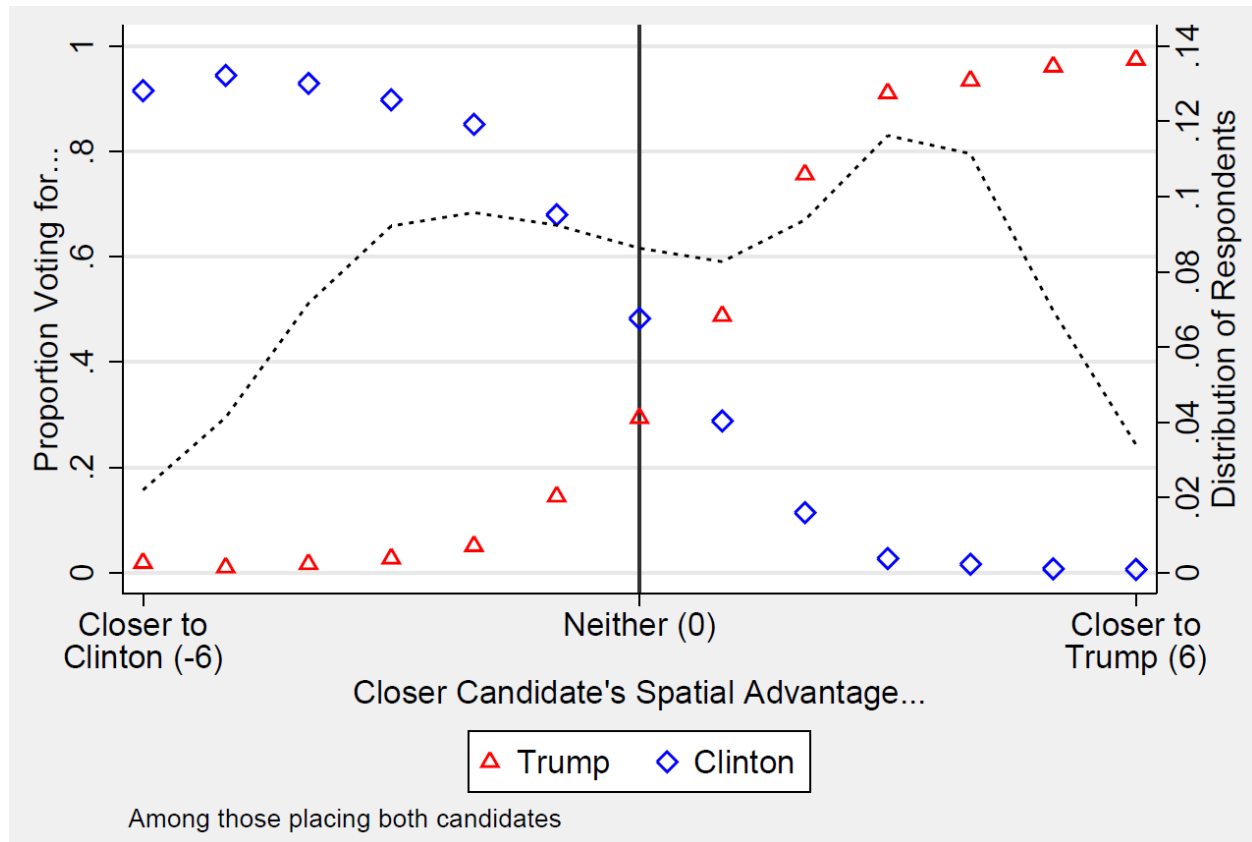
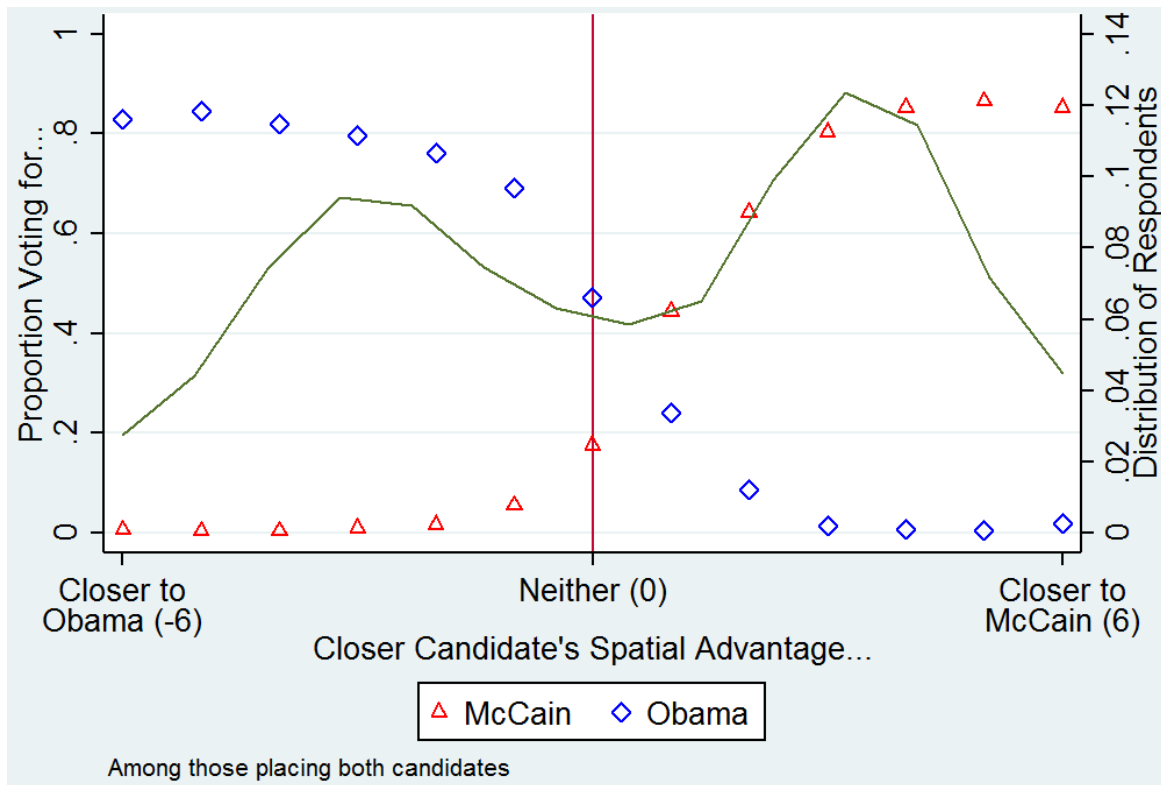


FIGURE 2 APPENDIX: 2008 Spatial Model of Voting with the Distribution of Votes



2016 SPATIAL MODEL WITH CONTROLS FOR PARTY, IDEOLOGY, AND 2012 VOTE CHOICE

Appendix Table 6 presents formal statistical analysis confirming this graphical presentation for 2016. For each respondent, we calculate which candidate the respondent perceives herself to be closer to and create indicators for each distance measure. These range from 6 units closer to Clinton (e.g., both the respondent and her perception of Clinton are very liberal, while Trump is perceived as very conservative) to 6 units closer to Trump. The excluded category is those who cannot place a candidate or who perceive themselves as equally distant from both candidates. Additionally, we include separate indicators for being unwilling to place Trump or Clinton. We then use these variables to predict 2016 reported voting (scaled as -1=Clinton, 0=Other/Didn't Vote, and 1=Trump). The spatial model predicts that being closer to a candidate, and by a larger margin, will be associated with greater rates of supporting that candidate, while the prior graphical analysis suggests being unable to place a candidate is associated with a substantial electoral penalty.

In column (1) we present a base specification that include all respondents and only the different distance measures describe above. Across all specifications, the distance measures perform as expected, with respondents always voting for the ideologically closer candidate and generally doing so at rates that increases in the perceived distance between the two candidates. Additionally, confirming the graphical presentation, respondents are less likely to support candidates they will not place ideologically. Per the column (1) results, being unable to place Trump is associated with a -.56 ($p<.05$) unit decrease in the scaled vote measure, an effect somewhat smaller than moving from perceiving the candidates as equally distant to perceiving Clinton as 2 units closer (-.61).

Subsequent columns test the robustness of this result by adding additional covariates (partisanship indicators in column (2) and also ideology self-placement indicators in (3)), partitioning by partisanship (columns (4) to (6)), and partitioning by ideology (columns (7) to (13)). We continue to find that Trump did substantially worse among those who would not place him ideologically for all but the most conservative voters. Importantly, these effects exist among Independents (controlling for ideology, Column 6) and among those with more moderate ideologies (controlling for partisanship, columns 9-11), meaning that these effects arise for groups of voters who could otherwise support either side. As the bottom rows of the table show, these groups also display substantial rates of refusing to place Trump (13% of Independents and 19% of moderates, for example). It is only for Conservative and Very Conservative respondents (columns 12 and 13) that the negative penalty Trump experiences for not being placed disappears, and these group of voters are both unlikely to vote against him and fail to place him at low rates (about 5% of the time). We then repeat this analysis in appendix Table 7 using a binary vote choice dependent variable that excludes non-voters and 3rd party voters, and we find similar results as our three-way dependent variable.

Lastly, appendix Table 8 takes this analysis further by including all the previously discussed control variables plus additional covariates for other possible confounders: four questions that tap into attitudes toward racism (agreeing/disagreeing with the following statement: I am fearful of other races, racial problems are rare in the U.S., I am angry that racism exists in the U.S., and whites have advantages in the U.S.). We also include an indicator variable for support/oppose the Trans-Pacific Partnership Act (asked as a roll call item). All our results hold even when controlling for these other factors.

TABLE 7 APPENDIX: 2016 Vote Choice Models using Three-Way Dependent Variable with Robustness Checks

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
	2016 Pooled	2016 Adding Indicators for Partisanship	2016 Adding Indicators for Ideology	2016 Adding 2012 Vote	2016 Democrats	2016 Independent s	2016 Republicans	Ideology=V. Lib. with PID	Ideology=Li b. with PID	Ideology=S. Lib. with PID	Ideology=Mi ddle with PID	Ideology=S. Cons. with PID	Ideology=Co ns. with PID	Ideology=V. Cons. with PID
Respondent 6 units closer to Clinton	-0.708*** [0.0360]	-0.347*** [0.0279]	-0.386*** [0.0286]	-0.378*** [0.0279]	-0.403*** [0.0294]	0.046 [0.414]	-0.827*** [0.153]	-0.436*** [0.0364]						-0.332*** [0.0524]
Respondent 5 units closer to Clinton	-0.746*** [0.0290]	-0.395*** [0.0165]	-0.388*** [0.0172]	-0.381*** [0.0167]	-0.385*** [0.0186]	-0.315*** [0.129]	-1.248*** [0.0924]	-0.468*** [0.0337]	-0.314*** [0.0265]				-0.359*** [0.0525]	-0.701*** [0.0585]
Respondent 4 units closer to Clinton	-0.724*** [0.0280]	-0.382*** [0.0137]	-0.365*** [0.0143]	-0.354*** [0.0139]	-0.358*** [0.0160]	-0.633*** [0.0871]	-0.807*** [0.0905]	-0.443*** [0.0327]	-0.350*** [0.0253]	-0.402*** [0.0344]		-0.223*** [0.0775]	-0.254*** [0.0471]	-0.157*** [0.0668]
Respondent 3 units closer to Clinton	-0.683*** [0.0277]	-0.382*** [0.0125]	-0.366*** [0.0127]	-0.346*** [0.0124]	-0.338*** [0.0147]	-0.606*** [0.0535]	-0.774*** [0.0516]	-0.429*** [0.0327]	-0.327*** [0.0257]	-0.395*** [0.0302]	-0.444*** [0.0293]	-0.211*** [0.0586]	-0.165*** [0.0525]	-0.357*** [0.0487]
Respondent 2 units closer to Clinton	-0.612*** [0.0280]	-0.379*** [0.0122]	-0.361*** [0.0124]	-0.342*** [0.0121]	-0.314*** [0.0147]	-0.504*** [0.0387]	-0.578*** [0.0373]	-0.409*** [0.0342]	-0.311*** [0.0261]	-0.398*** [0.0300]	-0.435*** [0.0236]	-0.019 [0.0600]	-0.314*** [0.0561]	-0.347*** [0.0595]
Respondent 1 unit closer to Clinton	-0.346*** [0.0360]	-0.183*** [0.0122]	-0.176*** [0.0123]	-0.168*** [0.0120]	-0.148*** [0.0151]	-0.187*** [0.0336]	-0.194*** [0.0306]	-0.026 [0.0347]	-0.187*** [0.0279]	-0.220*** [0.0315]	-0.282*** [0.0220]	0.347*** [0.0528]	-0.120*** [0.0435]	0.063 [0.0506]
Respondent 1 unit closer to Trump	0.388*** [0.0384]	0.230*** [0.0129]	0.221*** [0.0129]	0.184*** [0.0126]	0.137*** [0.0201]	0.314*** [0.0312]	0.190*** [0.0209]	0.642*** [0.0535]	0.105** [0.0413]	0.158*** [0.0437]	0.251*** [0.0222]	0.261*** [0.0443]	0.132*** [0.0355]	0.348*** [0.0418]
Respondent 2 units closer to Trump	0.831*** [0.0324]	0.505*** [0.0126]	0.487*** [0.0128]	0.414*** [0.0126]	0.444*** [0.0281]	0.605*** [0.0306]	0.417*** [0.0194]	0.172** [0.0718]	-0.002 [0.0605]	0.626*** [0.0695]	0.568*** [0.0238]	0.552*** [0.0403]	0.479*** [0.0336]	0.475*** [0.0371]
Respondent 3 units closer to Trump	1.073*** [0.0266]	0.679*** [0.0117]	0.645*** [0.0122]	0.542*** [0.0122]	0.922*** [0.0333]	0.821*** [0.0306]	0.561*** [0.0187]	0.200 [0.133]	0.641*** [0.0596]	0.421*** [0.131]	0.767*** [0.0269]	0.813*** [0.0390]	0.575*** [0.0307]	0.670*** [0.0336]
Respondent 4 units closer to Trump	1.107*** [0.0270]	0.675*** [0.0119]	0.624*** [0.0127]	0.528*** [0.0126]	0.758*** [0.0391]	0.786*** [0.0378]	0.579*** [0.0190]	0.624*** [0.123]	0.396*** [0.0536]	0.659*** [0.196]		0.806*** [0.0402]	0.626*** [0.0302]	0.665*** [0.0323]
Respondent 5 units closer to Trump	1.143*** [0.0264]	0.682*** [0.0136]	0.622*** [0.0145]	0.534*** [0.0143]	0.800*** [0.0740]	0.781*** [0.0531]	0.585*** [0.0201]	-0.044 [0.118]	0.387*** [0.130]				0.638*** [0.0308]	0.665*** [0.0329]
Respondent 6 units closer to Trump	1.157*** [0.0273]	0.670*** [0.0244]	0.614*** [0.0253]	0.550*** [0.0247]	0.398* [0.204]	0.750*** [0.165]	0.590*** [0.0282]	0.597*** [0.0770]					0.683*** [0.0353]	
Can't place Trump's ideology	-0.560*** [0.0277]	-0.367*** [0.0107]	-0.360*** [0.0108]	-0.345*** [0.0106]	-0.374*** [0.0135]	-0.454*** [0.0300]	-0.132*** [0.0247]	-0.448*** [0.0326]	-0.367*** [0.0252]	-0.439*** [0.0295]	-0.446*** [0.0198]	-0.133*** [0.0429]	-0.0830** [0.0353]	0.047 [0.0385]
Can't place Clinton's ideology	0.557*** [0.0672]	0.424*** [0.0213]	0.419*** [0.0212]	0.390*** [0.0207]	0.193*** [0.0327]	0.621*** [0.0585]	0.505*** [0.0316]	0.357*** [0.0822]	0.125** [0.0495]	0.045 [0.0782]	0.396*** [0.0391]	0.457*** [0.0711]	0.622*** [0.0536]	0.718*** [0.0596]
PID=Strong Democrat		-0.625*** [0.00925]	-0.619*** [0.00948]	-0.491*** [0.00965]				-0.389*** [0.0283]	-0.536*** [0.0217]	-0.448*** [0.0273]	-0.553*** [0.0194]	-0.773*** [0.0363]	-0.887*** [0.0269]	-0.778*** [0.0317]
PID=Not very strong Democrat		-0.474*** [0.0100]	-0.461*** [0.0101]	-0.367*** [0.0100]				-0.236*** [0.0359]	-0.428*** [0.0236]	-0.312*** [0.0274]	-0.369*** [0.0190]	-0.645*** [0.0351]	-0.495*** [0.0291]	-0.631*** [0.0493]
PID=Lean Democrat		-0.539*** [0.0108]	-0.521*** [0.0109]	-0.426*** [0.0108]				-0.323*** [0.0308]	-0.409*** [0.0238]	-0.335*** [0.0281]	-0.479*** [0.0207]	-0.638*** [0.0509]	-0.721*** [0.0611]	-0.537*** [0.0727]
PID=Lean Republican		0.244*** [0.0104]	0.229*** [0.0105]	0.159*** [0.0103]				0.508*** [0.0798]	0.039 [0.0773]	0.388*** [0.0634]	0.320*** [0.0238]	0.112*** [0.0273]	0.0926*** [0.0183]	0.040 [0.0278]
PID=Not very strong Republican		0.196*** [0.00978]	0.181*** [0.00991]	0.120*** [0.00976]				0.452*** [0.0833]	0.403*** [0.0531]	0.358*** [0.0513]	0.262*** [0.0225]	0.037 [0.0253]	0.0595*** [0.0176]	0.0943*** [0.0300]
PID=Strong Republican		0.289*** [0.00975]	0.260*** [0.0100]	0.182*** [0.00996]				0.438*** [0.0553]	0.637*** [0.0483]	0.772*** [0.0761]	0.504*** [0.0313]	0.142*** [0.0302]	0.122*** [0.0166]	0.101*** [0.0240]
Ideology=V. Lib.			0.0244** [0.0110]	0.0279*** [0.0107]	-0.001 [0.0118]	-0.026 [0.0449]	0.012 [0.0450]							
Ideology=Lib.			-0.0445*** [0.00932]	-0.0374*** [0.00909]	-0.0617*** [0.0101]	-0.055 [0.0400]	-0.008 [0.0425]							
Ideology=S. Lib.			-0.0563*** [0.00954]	-0.0496*** [0.00930]	-0.0307*** [0.0105]	-0.0728** [0.0346]	-0.042 [0.0341]							
Ideology=S. Cons.			0.0397*** [0.00900]	0.0197*** [0.00879]	0.0436*** [0.0155]	0.120*** [0.0255]	-0.0726*** [0.0131]							
Ideology=Cons.			0.0916*** [0.00901]	0.0519*** [0.00883]	0.0893*** [0.0164]	0.162*** [0.0267]	0.001 [0.0129]							
Ideology=V. Cons.			0.0964*** [0.0108]	0.0517*** [0.0105]	0.116*** [0.0201]	0.194*** [0.0374]	0.016 [0.0143]							
Voted Obama 2012				-0.216*** [0.00698]										
Voted Romney 2012				0.192*** [0.00758]										
Constant	-0.189*** [0.0252]	0.0364*** [0.0101]	0.0265*** [0.0102]	0.0725*** [0.0106]	-0.538*** [0.0119]	-0.0418** [0.0211]	0.377*** [0.0167]	-0.117*** [0.0344]	-0.110*** [0.0297]	-0.141*** [0.0328]	-0.014 [0.0170]	0.030 [0.0394]	0.239*** [0.0308]	0.204*** [0.0331]
Observations	44791	44791	44791	44791	21972	6409	16410	4656	6683	4719	10887	5249	8082	4515
R-squared	0.652	0.717	0.719	0.733	0.212	0.425	0.269	0.427	0.380	0.325	0.515	0.522	0.610	0.685
Outcome mean	-0.071	-0.071	-0.071	-0.071	-0.776	0.175	0.777	-0.792	-0.835	-0.714	-0.171	0.433	0.714	0.720
Prop. Can't Place Clinton	0.015	0.015	0.015	0.015	0.012	0.021	0.016	0.006	0.010	0.009	0.027	0.016	0.010	0.013
Prop. Can't Place Trump	0.138	0.138	0.138	0.138	0.226	0.131	0.037	0.164	0.216	0.232	0.192	0.092	0.046	0.053

Note: Dependent variable is 1=Trump, -1 = Clinton, 0=Other/Not Vote. Robust standard errors in brackets. * significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%

TABLE 8 APPENDIX: 2016 Vote Choice Models using Binary Dependent Variable with Robustness Checks

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
	2016 Pooled	2016 Adding Indicators for Partisanship	2016 Adding for Ideology	2016 Adding 2012 Vote	2016 Democrats	2016 Independent s	2016 Republicans	Ideology=V. Lib. with PID	Ideology=Li b. with PID	Ideology=S. Lib. with PID	Ideology=Mi ddle with PID	Ideology=S. Cons. with PID	Ideology=Co ns. with PID	Ideology=V. Cons. with PID
Respondent 6 units closer to Clin	-0.359*** [0.0185]	-0.191*** [0.0143]	-0.207*** [0.0148]	-0.201*** [0.0144]	-0.177*** [0.0144]	-0.586 [1.763]	-0.663*** [0.0961]	-0.202*** [0.0193]						-0.193*** [0.0257]
Respondent 5 units closer to Clin	-0.368*** [0.0172]	-0.206*** [0.00856]	-0.205*** [0.00893]	-0.201*** [0.00873]	-0.171*** [0.00918]	-0.462*** [0.114]	-0.700*** [0.0439]	-0.206*** [0.0182]	-0.147*** [0.0126]				-0.216*** [0.0261]	-0.393*** [0.0276]
Respondent 4 units closer to Clin	-0.361*** [0.0170]	-0.200*** [0.00717]	-0.194*** [0.00753]	-0.190*** [0.00736]	-0.163*** [0.00797]	-0.412*** [0.0583]	-0.504*** [0.0469]	-0.201*** [0.0178]	-0.158*** [0.0121]	-0.201*** [0.0174]		-0.116*** [0.0422]	-0.147*** [0.0237]	-0.144*** [0.0352]
Respondent 3 units closer to Clin	-0.349*** [0.0168]	-0.205*** [0.00663]	-0.199*** [0.00678]	-0.190*** [0.00664]	-0.160*** [0.00737]	-0.388*** [0.0349]	-0.498*** [0.0272]	-0.190*** [0.0179]	-0.150*** [0.0122]	-0.202*** [0.0156]	-0.237*** [0.0163]	-0.117*** [0.0321]	-0.143*** [0.0269]	-0.232*** [0.0241]
Respondent 2 units closer to Clin	-0.322*** [0.0169]	-0.207*** [0.00656]	-0.200*** [0.00665]	-0.191*** [0.00651]	-0.152*** [0.00740]	-0.336*** [0.0259]	-0.368*** [0.0196]	-0.186*** [0.0186]	-0.144*** [0.0125]	-0.199*** [0.0155]	-0.248*** [0.0136]	-0.0211 [0.0328]	-0.198*** [0.0283]	-0.186*** [0.0280]
Respondent 1 unit closer to Clinton	-0.203*** [0.0219]	-0.121*** [0.00672]	-0.119*** [0.00674]	-0.115*** [0.00658]	-0.0875*** [0.00766]	-0.155*** [0.0239]	-0.137*** [0.0160]	-0.0368* [0.0197]	-0.108*** [0.0134]	-0.107*** [0.0163]	-0.173*** [0.0129]	0.172*** [0.0304]	-0.114*** [0.0224]	-0.00371 [0.0256]
Respondent 1 unit closer to Trump	0.250*** [0.0246]	0.156*** [0.00719]	0.152*** [0.00719]	0.135*** [0.00704]	0.0788*** [0.0102]	0.253*** [0.0224]	0.108*** [0.0111]	0.421*** [0.0295]	0.0606*** [0.0204]	0.0929*** [0.0227]	0.160*** [0.0132]	0.163*** [0.0256]	0.0929*** [0.0198]	0.235*** [0.0222]
Respondent 2 units closer to Trump	0.491*** [0.0195]	0.295*** [0.00690]	0.285*** [0.00699]	0.247*** [0.00689]	0.258*** [0.0141]	0.381*** [0.0208]	0.193*** [0.0102]	0.116*** [0.0377]	-0.00571 [0.0307]	0.378*** [0.0356]	0.328*** [0.0138]	0.302*** [0.0229]	0.218*** [0.0184]	0.275*** [0.0194]
Respondent 3 units closer to Trump	0.593*** [0.0165]	0.361*** [0.00636]	0.343*** [0.00665]	0.291*** [0.00664]	0.520*** [0.0165]	0.454*** [0.0204]	0.241*** [0.00991]	0.105 [0.0663]	0.383*** [0.0268]	0.301*** [0.0774]	0.417*** [0.0153]	0.429*** [0.0222]	0.243*** [0.0171]	0.295*** [0.0175]
Respondent 4 units closer to Trump	0.605*** [0.0166]	0.354*** [0.00642]	0.327*** [0.00693]	0.278*** [0.00689]	0.442*** [0.0195]	0.430*** [0.0248]	0.243*** [0.0101]	0.340*** [0.0587]	0.309*** [0.0287]	0.418*** [0.101]		0.417*** [0.0227]	0.267*** [0.0169]	0.292*** [0.0169]
Respondent 5 units closer to Trump	0.614*** [0.0162]	0.350*** [0.00721]	0.319*** [0.00776]	0.274*** [0.00767]	0.460*** [0.0363]	0.428*** [0.0331]	0.238*** [0.0106]	0.00725 [0.0607]	0.224*** [0.0622]			0.264*** [0.0171]	0.298*** [0.0172]	0.297*** [0.0172]
Respondent 6 units closer to Trump	0.615*** [0.0164]	0.341*** [0.0124]	0.312*** [0.0129]	0.278*** [0.0126]	0.248*** [0.0984]	0.416*** [0.0992]	0.232*** [0.0142]	0.288*** [0.0378]					0.297*** [0.0181]	0.297*** [0.0181]
PID=Strong Democrat		-0.321*** [0.00511]	-0.319*** [0.00524]	-0.261*** [0.00531]				-0.142*** [0.0170]	-0.183*** [0.0125]	-0.192*** [0.0143]	-0.272*** [0.0112]	-0.435*** [0.0205]	-0.521*** [0.0134]	-0.477*** [0.0159]
PID=Not very strong Democrat		-0.266*** [0.00549]	-0.260*** [0.00553]	-0.216*** [0.00550]				-0.0832*** [0.0201]	-0.154*** [0.0132]	-0.144*** [0.0144]	-0.198*** [0.0111]	-0.378*** [0.0199]	-0.312*** [0.0145]	-0.460*** [0.0264]
PID=Lean Democrat		-0.319*** [0.00597]	-0.311*** [0.00603]	-0.265*** [0.00599]				-0.175*** [0.0183]	-0.168*** [0.0133]	-0.181*** [0.0148]	-0.269*** [0.0122]	-0.369*** [0.0284]	-0.435*** [0.0298]	-0.333*** [0.0344]
PID=Lean Republican		0.136*** [0.00563]	0.129*** [0.00566]	0.0972*** [0.00559]				0.355*** [0.0477]	0.0829*** [0.0379]	0.248*** [0.0341]	0.186*** [0.0141]	0.0472*** [0.0154]	0.0443*** [0.00899]	0.00856 [0.0136]
PID=Not very strong Republican		0.107*** [0.00529]	0.0995*** [0.00535]	0.0713*** [0.00528]				0.317*** [0.0406]	0.297*** [0.0264]	0.220*** [0.0273]	0.142*** [0.0131]	0.0142 [0.0144]	0.0198*** [0.00864]	0.0233 [0.0146]
PID=Strong Republican		0.144*** [0.00520]	0.131*** [0.00535]	0.0946*** [0.00531]				0.363*** [0.0321]	0.437*** [0.0252]	0.456*** [0.0387]	0.261*** [0.0174]	0.0477*** [0.0167]	0.0431*** [0.00811]	0.0269*** [0.0118]
Ideology=V. Lib.			0.00973* [0.00582]	0.00994* [0.00569]	-0.00682 [0.00587]	-0.0546 [0.0336]	0.0491** [0.0245]							
Ideology=Lib.			-0.0151*** [0.00487]	-0.0121** [0.00476]	-0.0272*** [0.00497]	-0.0375 [0.0306]	-0.0168 [0.0219]							
Ideology=S. Lib.			-0.0249*** [0.00499]	-0.0215*** [0.00487]	-0.0193*** [0.00522]	-0.0184 [0.0225]	-0.0166 [0.0179]							
Ideology=S. Cons.			0.0204*** [0.00479]	0.0121** [0.00469]	0.0161** [0.00773]	0.0641*** [0.0169]	-0.0170** [0.00660]							
Ideology=Cons.			0.0453*** [0.00477]	0.0278*** [0.00469]	0.0375*** [0.00819]	0.0857*** [0.0173]	0.0180*** [0.00650]							
Ideology=V. Cons.			0.0483*** [0.00568]	0.0290*** [0.00557]	0.0318*** [0.0102]	0.112*** [0.0246]	0.0284*** [0.00719]							
Can't place Trump's ideology	-0.297*** [0.0170]	-0.197*** [0.00584]	-0.194*** [0.00590]	-0.186*** [0.00577]	-0.173*** [0.00679]	-0.313*** [0.0209]	-0.0893*** [0.0135]	-0.206*** [0.0178]	-0.158*** [0.0120]	-0.216*** [0.0152]	-0.242*** [0.0114]	-0.0852*** [0.0248]	-0.0775*** [0.0192]	-0.0134 [0.0200]
Can't place Clinton's ideology	0.334*** [0.0386]	0.234*** [0.0114]	0.229*** [0.0113]	0.217*** [0.0111]	0.0947*** [0.0171]	0.373*** [0.0370]	0.226*** [0.0159]	0.240*** [0.0416]	-0.0468* [0.0272]	0.0272 [0.0396]	0.217*** [0.0222]	0.277*** [0.0404]	0.266*** [0.0266]	0.333*** [0.0281]
Voted Obama 2012				-0.0996*** [0.00384]										
Voted Romney 2012				0.0902*** [0.00413]										
Constant	0.378*** [0.0160]	0.521*** [0.00578]	0.516*** [0.00583]	0.539*** [0.00615]	0.193*** [0.00603]	0.474*** [0.0152]	0.738*** [0.00885]	0.352*** [0.0208]	0.335*** [0.0161]	0.382*** [0.0174]	0.485*** [0.0105]	0.539*** [0.0232]	0.699*** [0.0173]	0.679*** [0.0182]
Observations	38,277	38,277	38,277	38,277	19,636	4,253	14,388	4,016	6,057	4,088	8,612	4,288	7,214	4,002
R-squared	0.705	0.766	0.767	0.778	0.24	0.506	0.274	0.464	0.402	0.37	0.565	0.575	0.676	0.76

Note: OLS regressions with dependent variables as 1=Trump, 0= Clinton. Other/not voted are excluded. Robust standard errors in brackets. * significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%

**TABLE 9 APPENDIX: 2016 Spatial Model with Additional Controls for Demographics,
Views Toward the Trans-Pacific Partnership, and Attitudes about Racism**

	2016 Vote Choice
Respondent 6 units closer to Clinton	-0.351*** [0.0272]
Respondent 5 units closer to Clinton	-0.331*** [0.0164]
Respondent 4 units closer to Clinton	-0.322*** [0.0136]
Respondent 3 units closer to Clinton	-0.309*** [0.0121]
Respondent 2 units closer to Clinton	-0.311*** [0.0118]
Respondent 1 unit closer to Clinton	-0.141*** [0.0116]
Respondent 1 unit closer to Trump	0.154*** [0.0122]
Respondent 2 units closer to Trump	0.353*** [0.0123]
Respondent 3 units closer to Trump	0.448*** [0.0120]
Respondent 4 units closer to Trump	0.422*** [0.0126]
Respondent 5 units closer to Trump	0.412*** [0.0143]
Respondent 6 units closer to Trump	0.431*** [0.0241]
Can't place Trump's ideology	-0.423*** [0.00962]
Can't place Clinton's ideology	-0.325*** [0.00981]
PID==Strong Democrat	-0.373*** [0.0106]
PID==Not very strong Democrat	0.146*** [0.0100]
PID==Lean Democrat	0.142*** [0.00955]
PID==Lean Republican	0.194***

	[0.00976]
PID==Not very strong Republican	0.0762***
	[0.0108]
PID==Strong Republican	0.000
	[0.00902]
Ideology==V. Lib.	-0.0312***
	[0.00910]
Ideology==Lib.	0.0210**
	[0.00855]
Ideology==S. Lib.	0.0444***
	[0.00860]
Ideology==S. Cons.	0.0280***
	[0.0103]
Ideology==Cons.	-0.305***
	[0.0104]
Ideology==V. Cons.	0.326***
	[0.0201]
Voted Obama 2012	-0.192***
	[0.00717]
Voted Romney 2012	0.147***
	[0.00781]
Age (Higher=Older)	0.000688***
	[0.000147]
Female	-0.0121***
	[0.00463]
Education (Higher=More)	-0.0181***
	[0.00167]
African American	-0.0746***
	[0.00775]
Hispanic	-0.0898***
	[0.00970]
Other Race	-0.0174*
	[0.00902]
Income (Higher=More)	-0.00292***
	[0.000783]
Trans-Pacific Partnership Roll Call	-0.0708***
	[0.00489]
Fearful of Other Races (Higher=Agree)	0.0158***
	[0.00198]
Racial Problems are Rare (Higher=Agree)	0.0262***
	[0.00209]
Angry that Racism Exists	0.0191***
	[0.00268]

Whites Have Advantages in US	0.0772*** [0.00219]
Constant	-0.172*** [0.0169]
Observations	44404
R-squared	0.751

Note: Dependent variable is 1=Trump, -1 = Clinton, 0=Other/Not Vote.

Standard errors in brackets. * significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%

2008 SPATIAL MODEL WITH CONTROLS FOR PARTY, IDEOLOGY, AND GEORGE W. BUSH APPROVAL

The exact same coding procedure and models were run using 2008 data, and these results are on the following page. However, the 2008 CCES survey did not ask about 2004 vote choice, so we could not control for the past election's vote. Instead, we used George W. Bush approval rating as a proxy for vote choice, and like our 2016 robustness checks, our results hold while controlling for Bush approval and other possible confounders.

TABLE 10 APPENDIX: 2008 Vote Choice Models using Three-Way Dependent Variable with Robustness Checks

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
	2008 Pooled	2008 Adding Indicators for Partisanship	2008 Adding for Ideology	2008 Adding George Bush Approval	2008 Democrats	2008 Independent s	2008 Republicans	Ideology=V. Lib. with PID	Ideology=Li b. with PID	Ideology=S. Lib. with PID	Ideology=Mi ddle with PID	Ideology=S. Cons. with PID	Ideology=Co ns. with PID	Ideology=V. Cons. with PID
Respondent 6 units closer to Obama	-0.587*** [0.0304]	-0.354*** [0.0247]	-0.378*** [0.0265]	-0.349*** [0.0261]	-0.292*** [0.0271]	-0.475 [0.306]	-1.041*** [0.106]	-0.343*** [0.0629]						-0.567*** [0.0527]
Respondent 5 units closer to Obama	-0.570*** [0.0259]	-0.337*** [0.0194]	-0.373*** [0.0218]	-0.344*** [0.0213]	-0.286*** [0.0221]	-0.390*** [0.133]	-0.564*** [0.105]	-0.339*** [0.0617]	-0.278*** [0.0647]				-0.649*** [0.0959]	-0.669*** [0.0825]
Respondent 4 units closer to Obama	-0.557*** [0.0248]	-0.325*** [0.0168]	-0.359*** [0.0189]	-0.329*** [0.0186]	-0.262*** [0.0197]	-0.480*** [0.105]	-0.973*** [0.0955]	-0.321*** [0.0616]	-0.265*** [0.0634]	-0.444*** [0.0529]		-0.301* [0.169]	-0.676*** [0.0701]	-0.618*** [0.0748]
Respondent 3 units closer to Obama	-0.527*** [0.0245]	-0.324*** [0.0152]	-0.349*** [0.0161]	-0.316*** [0.0158]	-0.244*** [0.0186]	-0.533*** [0.0582]	-0.765*** [0.0550]	-0.262*** [0.0617]	-0.229*** [0.0635]	-0.456*** [0.0462]	-0.344*** [0.0295]	-0.314*** [0.122]	-0.653*** [0.0742]	-0.182*** [0.0836]
Respondent 2 units closer to Obama	-0.483*** [0.0256]	-0.319*** [0.0156]	-0.337*** [0.0161]	-0.306*** [0.0158]	-0.231*** [0.0194]	-0.355*** [0.0553]	-0.747*** [0.0436]	-0.253*** [0.0652]	-0.254*** [0.0656]	-0.394*** [0.0459]	-0.329*** [0.0279]	-0.177** [0.0717]	-0.581*** [0.0759]	-0.236*** [0.102]
Respondent 1 unit closer to Obama	-0.382*** [0.0290]	-0.266*** [0.0168]	-0.274*** [0.0169]	-0.252*** [0.0166]	-0.173*** [0.0212]	-0.356*** [0.0548]	-0.430*** [0.0407]	-0.172*** [0.0803]	-0.0986 [0.0728]	-0.262*** [0.0497]	-0.286*** [0.0267]	-0.171** [0.0717]	-0.571*** [0.0788]	-0.565*** [0.103]
Respondent 1 unit closer to McCain	0.518*** [0.0356]	0.356*** [0.0184]	0.360*** [0.0184]	0.352*** [0.0182]	0.321*** [0.0308]	0.302*** [0.0545]	0.272*** [0.0270]	0.441*** [0.151]	0.139 [0.112]	0.478*** [0.0755]	0.368*** [0.0300]	0.300*** [0.0607]	0.124*** [0.0578]	0.341*** [0.0502]
Respondent 2 units closer to McCain	0.876*** [0.0300]	0.618*** [0.0173]	0.629*** [0.0175]	0.599*** [0.0173]	0.673*** [0.0340]	0.618*** [0.0517]	0.463*** [0.0244]	0.582*** [0.163]	0.256 [0.177]	0.379*** [0.101]	0.676*** [0.0307]	0.820*** [0.0530]	0.297*** [0.0509]	0.441*** [0.0457]
Respondent 3 units closer to McCain	1.102*** [0.0242]	0.739*** [0.0156]	0.753*** [0.0165]	0.684*** [0.0164]	1.116*** [0.0404]	0.786*** [0.0489]	0.566*** [0.0221]	0.404*** [0.188]	0.601* [0.345]	0.538* [0.286]	0.820*** [0.0331]	1.011*** [0.0495]	0.461*** [0.0473]	0.549*** [0.0420]
Respondent 4 units closer to McCain	1.167*** [0.0241]	0.764*** [0.0169]	0.777*** [0.0182]	0.697*** [0.0182]	1.227*** [0.0520]	0.850*** [0.0750]	0.611*** [0.0225]	0.448*** [0.124]	0.784*** [0.134]			1.068*** [0.0537]	0.498*** [0.0472]	0.604*** [0.0422]
Respondent 5 units closer to McCain	1.173*** [0.0245]	0.758*** [0.0183]	0.766*** [0.0198]	0.671*** [0.0198]	1.313*** [0.0656]	0.964*** [0.0877]	0.607*** [0.0233]	0.608*** [0.261]	1.283*** [0.330]				0.505*** [0.0479]	0.595*** [0.0422]
Respondent 6 units closer to McCain	1.153*** [0.0312]	0.730*** [0.0275]	0.737*** [0.0289]	0.624*** [0.0287]	0.622*** [0.118]	0.868*** [0.182]	0.621*** [0.0298]	-0.143 [0.169]						0.588*** [0.0442]
PID==Strong Democrat		-0.368*** [0.0130]	-0.374*** [0.0131]	-0.326*** [0.0130]				-0.394*** [0.0434]	-0.311*** [0.0461]	-0.363*** [0.0420]	-0.416*** [0.0243]	-0.276*** [0.0566]	-0.416*** [0.0421]	-0.307*** [0.0391]
PID==Not very strong Democrat		-0.219*** [0.0143]	-0.224*** [0.0143]	-0.198*** [0.0141]				-0.369*** [0.0524]	-0.283*** [0.0494]	-0.306*** [0.0442]	-0.218*** [0.0261]	-0.0146 [0.0519]	0.0206 [0.0440]	0.107*** [0.0483]
PID==Lean Democrat		-0.357*** [0.0149]	-0.364*** [0.0150]	-0.318*** [0.0147]				-0.326*** [0.0476]	-0.296*** [0.0493]	-0.367*** [0.0446]	-0.374*** [0.0272]	-0.504*** [0.0687]	-0.491*** [0.0669]	-0.364*** [0.0707]
PID==Lean Republican		0.283*** [0.0154]	0.284*** [0.0155]	0.220*** [0.0153]				0.233*** [0.104]	0.331*** [0.125]	0.435*** [0.0905]	0.333*** [0.0343]	0.212*** [0.0437]	0.228*** [0.0325]	0.324*** [0.0280]
PID==Not very strong Republican		0.265*** [0.0148]	0.269*** [0.0149]	0.209*** [0.0148]				0.200*** [0.0915]	0.065 [0.0810]	0.268*** [0.0714]	0.260*** [0.0294]	0.239*** [0.0411]	0.256*** [0.0328]	0.335*** [0.0314]
PID==Strong Republican		0.376*** [0.0139]	0.376*** [0.0143]	0.263*** [0.0145]				0.914*** [0.104]	0.682*** [0.108]	0.651*** [0.105]	0.525*** [0.0375]	0.344*** [0.0420]	0.322*** [0.0299]	0.413*** [0.0253]
Ideology==Very Liberal			0.0436*** [0.0147]	0.0498*** [0.0144]										
Ideology==Liberal			0.0416*** [0.0139]	0.0484*** [0.0136]										
Ideology==Somewhat Liberal			0.0413*** [0.0129]	0.0447*** [0.0127]										
Ideology==Somewhat Conservative			-0.0446*** [0.0134]	-0.0483*** [0.0132]										
Ideology==Conservative			-0.0113 [0.0131]	-0.0276*** [0.0128]										
Ideology==Very Conservative			-0.0105 [0.0133]	-0.0354*** [0.0131]										
Can't Place McCain	-0.287*** [0.0435]	-0.198*** [0.0196]	-0.198*** [0.0197]	-0.192*** [0.0195]	-0.173*** [0.0264]	-0.229*** [0.0606]	-0.0760** [0.0377]	-0.294*** [0.0727]	-0.299*** [0.0806]	-0.251*** [0.0727]	-0.215*** [0.0345]	-0.121 [0.0749]	-0.261*** [0.0613]	-0.190*** [0.0482]
Can't Place Obama	0.422*** [0.0467]	0.331*** [0.0202]	0.332*** [0.0202]	0.296*** [0.0200]	0.268*** [0.0287]	0.324*** [0.0613]	0.370*** [0.0342]	0.016 [0.0724]	0.233*** [0.0819]	0.155* [0.0816]	0.378*** [0.0352]	0.560*** [0.0724]	0.175*** [0.0610]	0.253*** [0.0515]
George W. Bush Approval (1-4)				0.153*** [0.00487]										
Constant	-0.293*** [0.0227]	-0.191*** [0.0143]	-0.189*** [0.0145]	-0.192*** [0.0161]	-0.594*** [0.0156]	-0.167*** [0.0326]	0.283*** [0.0206]	-0.164** [0.0665]	-0.283*** [0.0747]	-0.0772 [0.0538]	-0.203*** [0.0231]	-0.423*** [0.0516]	0.103** [0.0510]	-0.0802* [0.0435]
Observations	24,296	24,296	24,296	24,127	11,011	2,216	11,069	2,358	2,794	2,216	5,858	2,194	3,998	4,878
R-squared	0.662	0.703	0.704	0.717	0.274	0.362	0.273	0.252	0.19	0.34	0.513	0.552	0.52	0.592

Note: Dependent variable is 1=McCain, -1 = Obama, 0=Other/Not Vote. Robust standard errors in brackets. * significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%

ROLL CALL ITEM ON TRANS-PACIFIC PARTNERSHIP ACT

Although the number of roll call items on the 2016 CCES is limited, there is one item that is directly applicable to Trump being an ideologically unusual candidate relative to previous Republican nominees: opposition the Trans-Pacific Partnership Act (TPP). Unlike Republican candidates from 2012 or 2008, Trump ran on an anti-free trade platform. If Trump supporters made their vote choices because they perceived Trump to be spatially closer to them on issue positions, then Trump supporters should be less in-favor of TPP. And that is exactly what we find – a majority of Trump supporters are against TPP and a majority of Clinton supporters are in favor of TPP. Specifically, the proportion of Trump supporter that answer “against” to the TPP roll call item was .67 compared to .37 of Clinton Supporters that answered “against”.