

APPENDIX:

How the districts were selected

Edison Research compiled a list of all of the U.S. House congressional district primaries in 2016. All congressional districts where there were at least two candidates in either the Democratic or Republican primary were eligible for sample selection.¹ Districts in states with all by-mail voting (Colorado, Oregon, and Washington) and districts in states with “Top Two” primary systems (California, Louisiana, and Washington) were excluded. 225 districts remained after these exclusions. Districts were randomly selected proportional to the size of the most recent contested primary vote in each district. Sample locations within districts were sampled randomly, stratified by past presidential vote and proportional to the size of the most recent presidential election vote. The resulting sample contained twenty districts.

Sample composition

The final sample included ten congressional primaries that occurred on the same day as the state’s presidential primary, and ten congressional primaries that occurred after the state’s presidential primary or caucus. Of the twenty districts, ten had competitive primaries in both the Democratic and Republican parties, six had competitive Republican primaries only, and four had competitive Democratic primaries only. The final sample also featured primaries of all types—specifically, ten closed primaries, eight open primaries, and two mixed primaries. See following table for list of states, districts, and party primaries sampled.

State	District	Rep Primary	Dem Primary
Alabama	4	0	1
Texas	4	0	1
Mississippi	3	1	1
Ohio	14	1	1
Maryland	1	1	1
Maryland	5	1	1

¹ Thus, our sample should be understood as representative of voters participating in districts featuring *competitive* primaries, defined as any district in which there are two or more candidates running in at least one party primary, and not representative of *all* congressional primary voters in the 2016 cycle.

Pennsylvania	2	1	0
Indiana	1	1	0
Indiana	3	1	1
Georgia	9	0	1
Iowa	3	1	1
New Jersey	2	1	0
North Carolina	10	0	1
Oklahoma	2	1	1
New York	19	1	1
Michigan	10	0	1
Tennessee	5	0	1
Minnesota	6	1	1
Hawaii	1	1	0
Florida	6	1	1

Survey methodology and weighting

All interviews were conducted with election day voters. Interviews were conducted at a randomly-selected sample of five to six polling places in each district for a total of 115 polling locations nationwide. Our final dataset consists of 4,694 Democratic primary interviews, and 4,507 Republican primary interviews—producing a total *n* of 9,201.

Interviewers were stationed at each sample polling location during all polling hours on Election Day. The interviewers attempted to invite every voter to participate in the survey as they left the polling location, after they had voted. Voters who were willing to participate were asked whether they had voted in the Democratic or Republican primary, and were handed a short self-administered questionnaire based on their response. Voters filled out the questionnaire

Political polarization and voters in congressional primaries

themselves, and placed the completed questionnaire in a ballot box outside the polling place. Voters were assured that their survey responses were private, confidential, and anonymous.

Interviewers noted the gender, approximate age and race of all voters who were approached but declined to complete the questionnaire. This allowed calculation of the overall response rate, and the response rate amongst each demographic group to determine any effect caused by differential non-response. The overall response rate was 44 percent.

The final data was weighted based on three separate considerations: 1) the data was weighted to account for any differential non-response by age, race, and gender; 2) the data for each congressional district primary (Democratic or Republican) was tabulated separately and weighted to match its final results; 3) the final, combined dataset was weighted to reflect the total number of votes congressional district primary represented as a share of all competitive congressional districts.

Questionnaire

Interviewers provided voters with different questionnaires based on whether they were participating in the Republican or Democratic primary of a given district. Questionnaires provided to Republicans featured 28 questions; those provided to Democrats featured 27 questions. Questionnaires shared 22 questions, and a remaining six (or seven) questions catered specifically to the party of the primary the voter was participating in.²

Shared questions:

1) *Are you:*

- A) *Male*
- B) *Female*
- C) *Omit*

2) *To which age group do you belong?*

² Questionnaires distributed to states holding congressional primaries in June and August featured one additional shared question: *Overall, would you say trade with other countries: A) Creates more U.S. jobs, B) Takes away U.S. jobs, C) Has no effect on U.S. jobs.* Analysis of this question has been excluded from this paper, but response data will be available in the Primaries Project downloadable data.

- A) 18-24
- B) 25-29
- C) 30-39
- D) 40-44
- E) 45-49
- F) 50-59
- G) 60-64
- H) 65-74
- I) 75 or over
- J) Omit

3) Are you:

- A) *White*
- B) *Black*
- C) *Hispanic/Latino*
- D) *Asian*
- E) *American Indian*
- F) *Other*
- G) *Omit*

4) Which of these four candidate qualities mattered the most in deciding how you voted for U.S. House of Representatives?

- A) *Shares my values*
- B) *Can bring about needed change*

Political polarization and voters in congressional primaries

- C) *Has the right experience*
- D) *Cares about people like me*
- E) *Omit*

5) Did you vote for your candidate for U.S. House of Representatives today more because you think your candidate:

- A) *Can defeat the other party's candidate in November*
- B) *Agrees with you on major issues*
- C) *Omit*

6) How closely did you follow the election for U.S. House of Representatives in your district?

- A) *Extremely closely*
- B) *Very closely*
- C) *Somewhat closely*
- D) *Not too closely*
- E) *Omit*

7) What was the last grade of school you completed?

- A) *Did not complete high school*
- B) *High school graduate*
- C) *Some college or associate degree*
- D) *College graduate*
- E) *Postgraduate study*
- F) *Omit*

8) No matter how you voted today, do you think of yourself as a:

Political polarization and voters in congressional primaries

- A) *Strong Democrat*
- B) *Not Strong Democrat*
- C) *Independent*
- D) *Not Strong Republican*
- E) *Strong Republican*
- F) *Something else*
- G) *Omit*

9) *On most political matters, do you consider yourself:*

- A) *Very liberal*
- B) *Somewhat liberal*
- C) *Moderate*
- D) *Somewhat conservative*
- E) *Very conservative*
- F) *Omit*

10) *Do you think you are more liberal or more conservative than most of the General Election voters in your Congressional district?*

- A) *More liberal*
- B) *More conservative*

11) *How do you feel about the Tea Party movement?*

- A) *Strongly support*
- B) *Somewhat support*
- C) *Neutral*

- D) *Somewhat oppose*
- E) *Strongly oppose*
- F) *Omit*

12) Do you think the U.S. economic system generally:

- A) *Favors the wealthy*
- B) *Is fair to most Americans*
- C) *Omit*

13) Should most illegal immigrants working in the United States be:

- A) *Offered a chance to apply for legal status*
- B) *Deported to the country they came from*
- C) *Omit*

14) Do you think use of marijuana should be:

- A) *Legal and regulated*
- B) *Illegal*
- C) *Omit*

15) How much do you agree or disagree that the U.S. should send troops to the Middle East to deal with ISIS?

- A) *Strongly agree*
- B) *Somewhat agree*
- C) *Somewhat disagree*
- D) *Strongly disagree*
- E) *Omit*

16) *In the 2012 election for president, did you vote for:*

- A) *Barack Obama*
- B) *Mitt Romney*
- C) *Someone else*
- D) *Did not vote*
- E) *Omit*

17) *Which comes closest to your feelings about the Obama administration?*

- A) *Enthusiastic*
- B) *Satisfied, but not enthusiastic*
- C) *Dissatisfied, but not angry*
- D) *Angry*
- E) *Omit*

18) *Did anyone call or talk to you in person on behalf of a campaign about coming out to vote?*

- A) *Yes*
- B) *No*
- C) *Omit*

19) *How often do you attend religious service?*

- A) *More than once a week*
- B) *Once a week*
- C) *A few times a month*
- D) *A few times a year*

E) *Never*

F) *Omit*

20) *Would you describe yourself as a born-again or evangelical Christian?*

A) *Yes*

B) *No*

C) *Omit*

21) *2015 total family income:*

A) *Under \$15,000*

B) *\$15,000 - \$29,999*

C) *\$30,000 - \$49,999*

D) *\$50,000 - \$74,999*

E) *\$75,000 - \$99,999*

F) *\$100,000 - \$149,999*

G) *\$150,000 - \$199,999*

H) *\$200,000 or more*

I) *Omit*

22) *In today's election for U.S. House of Representatives, did you just vote for:*

Possible responses to this question varied depending on who was running in a given congressional district primary. Two responses persisted across party lines and districts:

A) *Other: Who? _____*

B) *Did not vote*

Republican primary voter-specific questions

Political polarization and voters in congressional primaries

1) *In today's Republican presidential primary, did you just vote for:*³

- A) *Jeb Bush*
- B) *Ben Carson*
- C) *Ted Cruz*
- D) *John Kasich*
- E) *Marco Rubio*
- F) *Donald Trump*
- G) *Other: Who? _____*
- H) *Did not vote*

2) *Is your opinion of Jeb Bush:*

- A) *Strongly favorable*
- B) *Somewhat favorable*
- C) *Somewhat unfavorable*
- D) *Strongly unfavorable*
- E) *Omit*

3) *Is your opinion of Ted Cruz:*

- A) *Strongly favorable*
- B) *Somewhat favorable*
- C) *Somewhat unfavorable*
- D) *Strongly unfavorable*

³ If a state's presidential primary had been held prior to its congressional primary, this question was posed as: *In the Republican presidential primary on _____, whom did you vote for?* For states with caucuses, "caucus" was used instead of "primary."

E) *Omit*

4) Is your opinion of John Kasich:

A) *Strongly favorable*

B) *Somewhat favorable*

C) *Somewhat unfavorable*

D) *Strongly unfavorable*

E) *Omit*

5) Is your opinion of Marco Rubio:

A) *Strongly favorable*

B) *Somewhat favorable*

C) *Somewhat unfavorable*

D) *Strongly unfavorable*

E) *Omit*

6) Is your opinion of Donald Trump:

A) *Strongly favorable*

B) *Somewhat favorable*

C) *Somewhat unfavorable*

D) *Strongly unfavorable*

E) *Omit*

Democratic primary voter-specific questions

Political polarization and voters in congressional primaries

1) Do you or does someone in your household belong to a labor union?

- A) Yes, I do
- B) Yes, someone else does
- C) Yes, I do and someone else does
- D) No one does

2) How do you feel about labor unions?

- A) Strongly support
- B) Somewhat support
- C) Neutral
- D) Somewhat oppose
- E) Strongly oppose

3) In today's Democratic presidential primary, did you just vote for:⁴

- A) Hillary Clinton
- B) Bernie Sanders
- C) Other: Who? _____

4) Is your opinion of Hillary Clinton:

- A) Strongly favorable
- B) Somewhat favorable
- C) Somewhat unfavorable
- D) Strongly unfavorable

⁴ If a state's presidential primary had been held prior to its congressional primary, this question was posed as: *In the Republican presidential primary on _____, whom did you vote for?* For states with caucuses, "caucus" was used instead of "primary."

5) *Is your opinion of Bernie Sanders:*

- A) *Strongly favorable*
- B) *Somewhat favorable*
- C) *Somewhat unfavorable*
- D) *Strongly unfavorable*

American Community Survey data

The ACS (American Community Survey) is an ongoing survey administered by the Census Bureau providing annual estimated updates to the most recent decennial census along a wide spectrum of geographic zones.⁵ The ACS provides contemporaneous data, and estimated forecasts of 1, 3, and 5-year periods. ACS data used in this paper for comparative purposes is sourced from the 2015 ACS 1-year projections at the congressional district level. The percentage values used in this paper are mean values based on ACS data from the 225 *competitive* districts from which we sampled. Data was extracted programmatically using the R package “acs.”⁶ A list of tables accessed, and code used for extraction are available upon request.

⁵ For a broad overview of the ACS, see <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/acs/about.html>.

⁶ Ezra Haber Glenn, accessible at <https://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/acs/index.html>.