

## Appendix

### A Pre-analysis plan

#### *Hypotheses*

- H1. Citizens will dislike out-parties less if the in- and out-party signal their willingness to form a coalition.
- H2. Coalition signals between two out-parties will increase out-party dislike of the more liked (proximate) out-party and decrease out-party dislike of the more disliked/distant party.
- H3. The effect of coalition signals on affective polarization (H1/H2) is stronger if the parties also signal that there are warm personal relations between them, not just the basis for policy compromise.
- H4. This effect is partly mediated by the perception that the parties willing to form a coalition are ideologically closer to one another.
- H5a. The decrease in affective polarization due to coalition signals is stronger among weak partisans; this decrease will be particularly large among coalition signals for two out-parties.
- H5b. The effects of coalition signals will be stronger among politically sophisticated voters.

#### *Design Plan*

There are seven experimental groups in this between-subject design.

- Control group: receives no treatment and proceeds straight to outcome variables.
- T1-T3: receives a news article that reports on talks between two parties (T1: SPÖ-ÖVP, T2: ÖVP-FPÖ, T3: SPÖ-FPÖ)
- T4-T6: receives the same news articles, but with an added treatment that emphasizes warm social relations between the two parties.

After the treatment, the respondents in T1-T6 are asked to evaluate how likely a coalition between the two parties would be and how happy they would be about such a coalition. These questions are part of the treatment.

The outcome variables concern affective warmth towards partisans as well as social distance towards partisans (marriage of family member, co-worker). The mediating variable (left-right ideology of parties) is asked randomly before or after the two outcome variables.

### *Randomization*

Fully randomized, each treatment has same probability of being assigned to respondents.

### *Data collection procedures*

Data collected from Marketagent online panel (~120,000 members). Panel members are recruited offline and online via advertisements and earn bonus points for their participation in surveys which can be exchanged for gifts or money.

### *Sample size*

Our target sample size is 2,000 participants.

### *Variables*

- Outcome: Affective polarization, measured using feeling thermometer and social distance measures
- Mediator: left-right distance between the two parties in the treatment, measured using left-right ideological position
- Party id: measured using an extended battery of questions relating to party support; the simple version is a 0/1 variable of whether people feel close to a party
- Political sophistication: measured using an index of interest, media use and political knowledge

### *Indices*

We will create an index of social distance using the two social distance variables (additive index). We will create an additive index of political sophistication, with media use, knowledge and interest weighted equally.

### *Analysis Plan*

We will use standard OLS models with standard errors clustered by individuals.

- H1:

Like (outparty) =  $a + \text{treatment} + \text{outparty dummy} + \text{inparty dummy}$   
socialdistance(outparty) =  $a + \text{treatment} + \text{outparty dummy} + \text{inparty dummy}$

These regressions will only be run among respondents in either the control condition (T0) who support SPÖ/ÖVP/FPÖ or those with an in-party in the treatment condition. Dataset is stacked, three observations per respondent (ÖVP, FPÖ, SPÖ evaluation).

SPÖ supporters/ÖVP outparty: treatment is 1 for T1/4 and outparty=ÖVP, 0 otherwise.

SPÖ/FPÖ, treatment is 1 for T3/T6 and outparty=FPÖ, 0 otherwise.

ÖVP/SPÖ, treatment is 1 for T1/4 and outparty=SPÖ, 0 otherwise.

ÖVP/FPÖ, treatment is 1 for T2/5 and outparty=FPÖ, 0 otherwise.

FPÖ/SPÖ, treatment is 1 for T3/6 and outparty=SPÖ, 0 otherwise.

FPÖ/ÖVP, treatment is 1 for T2/5 and outparty=ÖVP, 0 otherwise.

The key test is whether out-party dislike and social distance are lower if treatment =1, so comparing the treatment to the control and to coalition signals with the other out-party. We will also test interactions with the in-party and out-party dummies to test effect heterogeneity. In-party will be measured using partyid or current vote intention (alternative measures).

- H2: These regressions will be run among all respondents in the control condition and among those with no in-party in the treatment condition. OLS regression with standard errors clustered by individuals.

Initial analysis: Like (outparty) = a + treatment + outparty dummy + outparty dummy (2) + inparty dummy  
 socialdistance(outparty) = a + treatment + outparty dummy + + outparty dummy (2) + inparty dummy  
 T1/4: treatment is 1 for those who do not support ÖVP/SPÖ

T2/5: treatment is 1 for those who do not support ÖVP/FPÖ

T3/6: treatment is 1 for those who do not support FPÖ/SPÖ

Treatment is 0 for those who do not support the ÖVP for like(ÖVP), for those who do not support the SPÖ for like(SPÖ), and for those who do not support the FPÖ for like(FPÖ), all in the control group

Inparty will be measured using partyid or current vote intention (alternative measures).

Main analysis: Like (outparty) = a + treatment + mostliked + treatment\*mostliked + outparty dummy + inparty dummy

socialdistance(outparty) = a + treatment + mostliked +

treatment\*mostliked + outparty dummy + inparty dummy,

where mostliked is a dummy that is 1 if the party is the more liked of the two by those who support

neither party, as established either by the responses in the control group and/or by a separate survey fielded at the same time.

- H3: As H1 and H2, but with two treatment groups:

Like (outparty) = a + treatment + warmrelations + outparty dummy + inparty dummy

socialdistance(outparty) = a + treatment + warmrelations + outparty dummy + inparty dummy

- H4: Like H1 and H2, but causal mediation analysis with left-right distance between the two parties in the treatment as the predictor.
- H5: Like H1 and H2, but interaction of treatment with party sympathy strength and with political sophistication.

#### *Manipulation check*

Questions post-experiment measuring the likelihood and desirability of the coalitions mentioned.

#### **B Vignettes (full text in German)**

## Neuwahl-Gerüchte

# ÖVP-SPÖ Koalition wieder im Spiel

In den Turbulenzen der Innenpolitik hält sich hartnäckig das Gerücht, dass Neuwahlen vor der Tür stehen. Obwohl die Fronten zwischen Österreichs Parteien sehr verhärtet scheinen, zeichnet sich eine mögliche Zusammenarbeit von ÖVP und SPÖ ab. Diese könnte nach einer Neuwahl Realität werden. Dafür spricht auch der ungewöhnlich intensive Austausch zwischen ÖVP und SPÖ in den vergangenen Tagen.

*Wien.* Spitzenvertreter von ÖVP und SPÖ berichten hinter vorgehaltener Hand derzeit, dass es zu einer Annäherung zwischen den Parteien gekommen sei. Bei mehreren Treffen von führenden Politikern beider Parteien habe man es geschafft, inhaltliche Differenzen zu überwinden und man könne sich vorstellen, in einer Koalition gemeinsame politische Ziele zu verwirklichen.

### **Experten halten ÖVP-SPÖ Koalition für wahrscheinlich**

Für den Fall von Neuwahlen sehen politische Beobachter in einer Neuauflage einer Koalition von ÖVP und SPÖ die wahrscheinlichste Variante. Politikwissenschaftlerin Katrin Praprotnik meint dazu:

„Betrachtet man die Sacharbeit im Parlament, dann sieht man, wie häufig die beiden Parteien gemeinsam abgestimmt haben“. Eine Koalition könnte sich daher erfolgreich auf gemeinsame inhaltliche Projekte verständigen.

### **Lange gemeinsame Erfahrung in Regierungen**

Neuland wäre eine Zusammenarbeit zwischen ÖVP und SPÖ nicht. Die Parteien haben bereits gemeinsame Regierungserfahrung auf Bundes- und Landesebene. Sie saßen jahrzehntelang gemeinsam in der Bundesregierung, sowohl unter ÖVP- als auch SPÖ-Führung. Auf Landesebene arbeiten ÖVP und SPÖ derzeit in einer Koalition in der Steiermark zusammen.

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### **Persönliche Annäherung**

Auch auf persönlicher Ebene sollen insbesondere August Wöginger (geschäftsführender Klubobmann der ÖVP) und Pamela Rendi-Wagner (SPÖ) durch zahlreiche Gespräche nun einen Draht zueinander gefunden und alte wie aktuelle Konflikte hinter sich gelassen haben. Die Atmosphäre der Treffen wird als freundschaftlich entspannt beschrieben und es wurde auch gelacht.

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## Neuwahl-Gerüchte

# SPÖ-FPÖ Koalition wieder im Spiel

In den Turbulenzen der Innenpolitik hält sich hartnäckig das Gerücht, dass Neuwahlen vor der Tür stehen. Obwohl die Fronten zwischen Österreichs Parteien sehr verhärtet scheinen, zeichnet sich eine mögliche Zusammenarbeit von SPÖ und FPÖ ab. Diese könnte nach einer Neuwahl Realität werden. Dafür spricht auch der ungewöhnlich intensive Austausch zwischen SPÖ und FPÖ in den vergangenen Tagen.

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Sacharbeit im Parlament, dann sieht man, wie häufig die beiden Parteien gemeinsam abgestimmt haben“. Eine Koalition könnte sich daher erfolgreich auf gemeinsame inhaltliche Projekte verständigen.

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## Neuwahl-Gerüchte

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### **Persönliche Annäherung**

Auch auf persönlicher Ebene sollen insbesondere Pamela Rendi-Wagner (SPÖ) und Herbert Kickl (FPÖ) durch zahlreiche Gespräche nun einen Draht zueinander gefunden und alte wie aktuelle Konflikte hinter sich gelassen haben. Die Atmosphäre der Treffen wird als freundschaftlich entspannt beschrieben und es wurde auch gelacht.

### **Experten halten SPÖ-FPÖ Koalition für wahrscheinlich**

Für den Fall von Neuwahlen sehen politische Beobachter in einer Koalition von SPÖ und FPÖ die wahrscheinlichste Variante. Politikwissenschaftlerin Katrin Praprotnik meint dazu: „Betrachtet man die Sacharbeit im Parlament, dann sieht man, wie häufig die beiden Parteien gemeinsam abgestimmt haben“. Eine Koalition könnte sich daher erfolgreich auf gemeinsame inhaltliche Projekte verständigen.

### **Lange gemeinsame Erfahrung in Regierungen**

Neuland wäre eine Zusammenarbeit zwischen SPÖ und FPÖ nicht. Die Parteien haben bereits gemeinsame Regierungserfahrung auf Bundes- und Landesebene. Sie saßen in den 1980er Jahren gemeinsam in der Bundesregierung. Auf Landesebene sind SPÖ und FPÖ derzeit etwa in Niederösterreich gemeinsam in der Landesregierung.

### C Survey items (translated to English)

#### *Dependent variables: Measures of affective polarization*

- Feeling-thermometer item:

Irrespective of potential coalitions, we would like to know what you think about the voters of different political parties. How do you rate your attitude towards these voter groups on a scale from 0 to 10? 0 means no sympathy at all, and ten means a lot of sympathy.

ÖVP voters, SPÖ voters, FPÖ voters, Green voters, NEOS voters

Note: response options were rotated

- Social distance items:

How do you think you would feel if a member of your immediate family would marry someone who is a regular voter of one of the following parties?

0=it would not bother me at all, 10=it would bother me a lot

How do you think you would feel if you found out that a close co-worker is a regular voter of one of the following parties?

0=it would not bother me at all, 10=it would bother me a lot

Note: people not in occupation “if you would be employed”

#### *Post-treatment questions*

- How likely do you think it is that [party A] and [party B] will form the next government?

0=very unlikely, 10=very likely

- How good or bad would you think it would be if [party A] and [party B] form the next government?

0=very bad, 10=very good

#### *Mediator variables*

- How would you rate the following political parties on a scale from left to right?

0=left, 10=right

ÖVP, SPÖ, FPÖ, GREENS, NEOS

Note: answers were rotated

*Controls*

- Let's talk about politics. On a general note, are you very, rather, rather not or not interested in Austrian politics?  
very interested, rather interested, rather not interested, not interested
- How often do you follow the news on Austrian politics in the media, i.e. newspapers, radio, TV, or the internet?  
more than daily, daily, several times per week, weekly, less often, almost never
- In Austria, some people are close to a specific political party, even if they also vote for another party from time to time. How is that with you? In general, are you generally close to a political party?  
yes, no
- Do you feel a little closer to one of the political parties than the others?  
yes, no  
Note: only asked if previous question=no
- And which party is that?  
ÖVP, SPÖ, FPÖ, Greens, NEOS, Team Carinthia, KPÖ, Liste Fritz, Other party  
Note: only asked if respondent is attached to a party
- Do you feel very close to this party, somewhat close or not very close?  
very close, somewhat close, not very close  
Note: only asked if respondent is attached to a party
- How important is it for you personally that you feel close to this party?  
very important, quite important, not very important, not at all important  
Note: only asked if respondent is attached to a party
- How often do you say "we" instead of "they" when you talk about this party?  
always, mostly, sometimes, rarely, never  
Note: only asked if respondent is attached to a party
- Your sex?  
Male, female, diverse
- How old are you?  
Note: numeric variable
- Your highest education?

Compulsory school, apprenticeship, intermediate technical/vocational school, academic secondary school and higher technical and vocational school, university

- Are you currently...?

Employed, on parental leave, unemployed, scholar, apprentice, student, in another education, pensioner, at home, other

- In politics, people often talk about left and right. Where would you place yourself? 0 means very left, 10 means very right.

0=left, 10=right

**Table D1.** Results of the balance test**D Balance test**

	control group n=310	group 2 n=311	group 3 n=313	group 4 n=313	group 5 n=320	group 6 n=317	group 7 n=306
age (p=0.99)	40.0 (25.0, 53.0)	40.0 (26.0, 53.0)	39.0 (26.0, 53.0)	40.0 (27.0, 54.0)	40.0 (27.0, 53.0)	40.0 (27.0, 54.0)	41.0 (27.0, 55.0)
male (p=1.00)	160 (51.6%)	154 (49.5%)	152 (48.6%)	155 (49.5%)	159 (49.7%)	160 (50.5%)	153 (50.0%)
school-1	39 (12.6%)	44 (14.1%)	41 (13.1%)	56 (17.9%)	56 (17.5%)	53 (16.7%)	42 (13.7%)
2	115 (37.1%)	114 (36.7%)	124 (39.6%)	129 (41.2%)	134 (41.9%)	120 (37.9%)	116 (37.9%)
3	48 (15.5%)	44 (14.1%)	32 (10.2%)	38 (12.1%)	45 (14.1%)	41 (12.9%)	52 (17.0%)
4	75 (24.2%)	75 (24.1%)	75 (24.0%)	56 (17.9%)	53 (16.6%)	68 (21.5%)	60 (19.6%)
school-5 (p=0.38)	33 (10.6%)	34 (10.9%)	41 (13.1%)	34 (10.9%)	32 (10.0%)	35 (11.0%)	36 (11.8%)
AT-1	10 (3.2%)	12 (3.9%)	12 (3.8%)	12 (3.8%)	15 (4.7%)	10 (3.2%)	12 (3.9%)
AT-2	20 (6.5%)	18 (5.8%)	24 (7.7%)	18 (5.8%)	22 (6.9%)	23 (7.3%)	20 (6.5%)
AT-3	60 (19.4%)	56 (18.0%)	53 (16.9%)	57 (18.2%)	54 (16.9%)	58 (18.3%)	51 (16.7%)
AT-4	49 (15.8%)	55 (17.7%)	54 (17.3%)	53 (16.9%)	56 (17.5%)	52 (16.4%)	52 (17.0%)
AT-5	21 (6.8%)	21 (6.8%)	21 (6.7%)	24 (7.7%)	19 (5.9%)	21 (6.6%)	23 (7.5%)
AT-6	43 (13.9%)	46 (14.8%)	44 (14.1%)	42 (13.4%)	42 (13.1%)	41 (12.9%)	43 (14.1%)
AT-7	26 (8.4%)	25 (8.0%)	28 (8.9%)	28 (8.9%)	31 (9.7%)	25 (7.9%)	29 (9.5%)
AT-8	17 (5.5%)	12 (3.9%)	14 (4.5%)	15 (4.8%)	12 (3.8%)	18 (5.7%)	14 (4.6%)
AT-9 (p=1.00)	64 (20.6%)	66 (21.2%)	63 (20.1%)	64 (20.4%)	69 (21.6%)	69 (21.8%)	62 (20.3%)
sophistication (p=0.52)	4.0 (3.0, 4.5)	4.0 (3.0, 4.0)	4.0 (3.5, 4.5)	4.0 (3.0, 4.5)	4.0 (3.0, 4.5)	4.0 (3.0, 4.5)	4.0 (3.0, 4.5)
identification (p=0.36)	2.3 (0.0, 3.0)	2.3 (0.0, 3.0)	2.3 (0.0, 3.0)	2.3 (0.0, 3.0)	2.7 (0.0, 3.0)	2.3 (0.0, 3.0)	2.3 (1.3, 3.0)

Note: *p*-values represent test results of the balance test. No significant differences between the groups detected. Cell entries show median (IQR) for continuous data and *n* (shares) for categorical/binary data. School-1 to -5: see Appendix C. AT-1 to -9: Austrian states according to ISO 3166-2 Code.

### E Descriptives: Measures of affective polarization

This Appendix presents the mean scores for each group of respondents (in the rows) towards each group of partisans (in the columns). High scores imply high levels of affect for the feeling thermometer. For the two social distance measures, low scores imply low social distance.

**Table E1.** Feeling thermometer

	ÖVP-voters	SPÖ-voters	FPÖ-voters	(N)
ÖVP-supporters	6.69	4.01	2.86	(432)
SPÖ-supporters	2.96	7.60	1.83	(360)
FPÖ-supporters	3.42	3.35	7.35	(377)
other	3.31	5.56	1.81	(378)
none	3.81	4.25	3.45	(325)

**Table E2.** Social distance: Work

	ÖVP-voters	SPÖ-voters	FPÖ-voters	(N)
ÖVP-supporters	0.78	1.21	2.46	(432)
SPÖ-supporters	2.64	0.77	3.86	(360)
FPÖ-supporters	1.92	1.66	0.80	(377)
other	2.35	1.11	4.15	(378)
none	2.08	1.78	2.44	(325)

**Table E3.** Social distance: Marriage

	ÖVP-voters	SPÖ-voters	FPÖ-voters	(N)
ÖVP-supporters	0.91	1.99	3.55	(432)
SPÖ-supporters	3.27	1.05	5.17	(360)
FPÖ-supporters	2.36	2.10	1.00	(377)
other	3.02	1.35	5.48	(378)
none	2.55	2.26	3.08	(325)

Note: Question wordings for all three tables in Appendix [C](#).

**F Assessing the level of affective polarization in Austria**

This Appendix presents results from a representative telephone survey among Austrian residents (age 16+). The survey was conducted by the polling station Telemark.Marketing (field work 22 November to 23 December 2021; N=2,497). Scores indicate the average party supporters' like-dislike evaluations on a scale from 0 (strong dislike) to 10 (strong like).

**Table F1.** Affective polarization: Party sympathy

	ÖVP	SPÖ	FPÖ	(N)
ÖVP-supporters	6.85	4.15	1.77	(573)
SPÖ-supporters	3.33	7.05	1.54	(504)
FPÖ-supporters	3.12	3.40	6.48	(145)
other	3.34	5.03	1.24	(572)
none	3.84	4.52	2.65	(429)

This data can be compared with Reiljan (2020, Appendix A), who uses CSES data from 2008 to report the following average like-dislike scores:

- ÖVP-supporters:  
7.17 towards ÖVP, 3.94 towards SPÖ, 2.47 towards FPÖ
- SPÖ-supporters:  
4.25 towards ÖVP, 7.23 towards SPÖ, 2.36 towards FPÖ
- FPÖ-supporters:  
3.35 towards ÖVP, 3.20 towards SPÖ, 8.18 towards FPÖ



## G Regression models

This Appendix presents all results for the models presented in the main text of the paper. Note that the treatment effects are generally average across respondent party identification in the Figures in the main paper, so the effect of coalition signals towards the ÖVP is averaged across SPÖ and FPÖ supporters.

### *Details on sample sizes*

- In the models in Tables G1, G2 and G4, there are 710 observations in treatment group, 354 in control group. Note that the 354 observations in the control represent 177 different respondents, who enter the model twice (e.g. SPÖ partisans' evaluation of the ÖVP and FPÖ).
- For Table G5 and G6, the equivalent numbers are 2,308 and 707 (of which 177 control group respondents with 2, 131 with 3 observations).
- In Table G7, there are 287 respondents in the treatment, 77 in the control group.
- For the models in Table G8, there are 452 respondents in the treatment group and 286 in the control group (of which 66 control group respondents with 2, 77 respondents with 3 observations).

**Table G1.** Overall results (Figure 2, left panel)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Index	Like-Dislike	Social distance
Coalition signals treatment	-0.255 (0.174)	-0.408* (0.172)	-0.178 (0.224)
ÖVP by FPÖ	-1.114*** (0.248)	-0.740** (0.271)	-1.301*** (0.305)
SPÖ by ÖVP	-1.398*** (0.237)	-0.839*** (0.254)	-1.677*** (0.293)
SPÖ by FPÖ	-0.985*** (0.255)	-0.363 (0.267)	-1.296*** (0.317)
FPÖ by ÖVP	-0.159 (0.259)	0.287 (0.261)	-0.382 (0.322)
FPÖ by SPÖ	1.213*** (0.261)	1.113*** (0.248)	1.263*** (0.322)
Response order	0.110 (0.155)	0.118 (0.158)	0.105 (0.195)
Constant	4.516*** (0.231)	7.187*** (0.234)	3.181*** (0.293)
Observations	1064	1064	1064
R <sup>2</sup>	0.124	0.074	0.105

Notes: Clustered standard errors in parentheses, reference category: ÖVP by SPÖ, \* p < .05, \*\* p < .01, \*\*\* p < .001

**Table G2.** Overall results (Figure 2, right panel)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Index	L-D	Soc dist
Coalition signals	-0.009 (0.382)	-0.484 (0.391)	0.228 (0.478)
ÖVP by FPÖ	-0.995* (0.437)	-0.663 (0.461)	-1.161* (0.525)
SPÖ by ÖVP	-1.455*** (0.399)	-0.871 (0.461)	-1.746*** (0.483)
SPÖ by FPÖ	-0.889* (0.427)	-0.496 (0.438)	-1.086* (0.521)
FPÖ by ÖVP	0.192 (0.455)	0.521 (0.465)	0.028 (0.597)
FPÖ by SPÖ	1.606*** (0.398)	0.758 (0.399)	2.030*** (0.450)
Coal sig × ÖVP by FPÖ	-0.196 (0.530)	-0.112 (0.571)	-0.238 (0.646)
Coal sig × SPÖ by ÖVP	0.045 (0.496)	0.055 (0.552)	0.040 (0.607)
Coal sig × SPÖ by FPÖ	-0.156 (0.533)	0.214 (0.553)	-0.341 (0.657)
Coal sig × FPÖ by ÖVP	-0.514 (0.555)	-0.302 (0.562)	-0.620 (0.714)
Coal sig × FPÖ by SPÖ	-0.635 (0.524)	0.575 (0.509)	-1.240* (0.627)
Response order	0.107 (0.156)	0.108 (0.159)	0.107 (0.197)
Constant	4.365*** (0.310)	7.239*** (0.326)	2.929*** (0.384)
Observations	1064	1064	1064
R <sup>2</sup>	0.126	0.076	0.109

Clustered standard errors in parentheses  
Reference category: ÖVP by SPÖ  
\* p < .05, \*\* p < .01, \*\*\* p < .001

**Table G3.** Causal mediation models (Figure 3, left panel)

<b>Causal mediation models</b>			
	estimate	95% confidence interval	
<i>Index</i>			
ACME	-0.041	-0.142	0.053
Direct Effect	-0.208	-0.540	0.131
Total Effect	-0.249	-0.592	0.111
% of Tot Eff mediated	0.145	-1.031	1.306
<i>Like-dislike</i>			
ACME	-0.052	-0.176	0.070
Direct Effect	-0.417	-0.728	-0.100
Total Effect	-0.469	-0.802	-0.119
% of Tot Eff mediated	0.111	0.065	0.429
<i>Social Distance</i>			
ACME	-0.036	-0.130	0.046
Direct Effect	-104	-0.539	0.341
Total Effect	-0.139	-0.586	0.325
% of Tot Eff mediated	0.114	-2.09	2.22

**Table G4.** Results by personal relations (Figure 3, right panel)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Index	Like-dislike	Social distance
Coalition signals, no personal relations	-0.357 (0.191)	-0.408* (0.193)	-0.332 (0.242)
Coalition signals, with personal relations	-0.141 (0.201)	-0.409* (0.200)	-0.006 (0.257)
ÖVP by FPÖ	-1.125*** (0.249)	-0.740** (0.272)	-1.318*** (0.306)
SPÖ by ÖVP	-1.395*** (0.236)	-0.839*** (0.254)	-1.672*** (0.293)
SPÖ by FPÖ	-0.994*** (0.255)	-0.363 (0.267)	-1.309*** (0.316)
FPÖ by ÖVP	-0.168 (0.259)	0.287 (0.262)	-0.396 (0.323)
FPÖ by SPÖ	1.207*** (0.260)	1.113*** (0.249)	1.253*** (0.322)
Response order	0.102 (0.155)	0.118 (0.158)	0.094 (0.195)
Constant	4.526*** (0.231)	7.187*** (0.235)	3.195*** (0.293)
Observations	1064	1064	1064
R <sup>2</sup>	0.125	0.074	0.106

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

Reference category: ÖVP by SPÖ

\* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

**Table G5.** Overall results for outpartisans (Figure 4, left panel)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Index	Like-dislike	Social distance
Coalition signals	-0.137 (0.130)	-0.121 (0.125)	-0.144 (0.170)
ÖVP by FPÖ	-0.534* (0.270)	-0.271 (0.294)	-0.665* (0.330)
SPÖ by ÖVP	-1.327*** (0.239)	-1.112*** (0.274)	-1.434*** (0.294)
SPÖ by FPÖ	-0.729** (0.259)	-0.353 (0.279)	-0.916** (0.318)
FPÖ by ÖVP	0.007 (0.275)	0.021 (0.286)	-0.001 (0.343)
FPÖ by SPÖ	1.408*** (0.223)	1.025*** (0.230)	1.600*** (0.257)
ÖVP by Other	-0.365 (0.246)	-0.664** (0.251)	-0.216 (0.306)
SPÖ by Other	-1.968*** (0.222)	-2.567*** (0.243)	-1.668*** (0.274)
FPÖ by Other	1.626*** (0.265)	1.086*** (0.258)	1.895*** (0.330)
ÖVP by no id	-0.723** (0.222)	-1.063*** (0.238)	-0.553 (0.283)
SPÖ by no id	-1.024*** (0.218)	-1.555*** (0.235)	-0.758** (0.276)
FPÖ by no id	-0.216 (0.231)	-0.666** (0.244)	0.008 (0.290)
Response order	0.100 (0.105)	0.024 (0.101)	0.138 (0.138)
Constant	4.325*** (0.205)	7.109*** (0.219)	2.932*** (0.260)
Observations	3055	3055	3055
R <sup>2</sup>	0.142	0.138	0.100

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

Reference category: ÖVP by SPÖ

\* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

**Table G6.** Overall results for outpartisans (Figure 4, right panel)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Index	L-D	Soc Dist
Coalition signals	-0.211 (0.390)	-0.406 (0.413)	-0.114 (0.488)
ÖVP by FPÖ	-0.994* (0.436)	-0.656 (0.460)	-1.163* (0.524)
SPÖ by ÖVP	-1.453*** (0.397)	-0.859 (0.460)	-1.750*** (0.480)
SPÖ by FPÖ	-0.888* (0.426)	-0.490 (0.437)	-1.088* (0.520)
FPÖ by ÖVP	0.194 (0.453)	0.533 (0.463)	0.024 (0.594)
FPÖ by SPÖ	1.606*** (0.398)	0.758 (0.399)	2.030*** (0.449)
ÖVP by Other	-0.099 (0.485)	-0.998* (0.472)	0.350 (0.582)
SPÖ by Other	-2.174*** (0.381)	-3.101*** (0.429)	-1.710*** (0.473)
FPÖ by Other	1.682*** (0.500)	0.709 (0.483)	2.169*** (0.599)
ÖVP by no id	-0.769 (0.403)	-1.396*** (0.423)	-0.456 (0.505)
SPÖ by no id	-1.231** (0.375)	-1.862*** (0.405)	-0.915 (0.473)
FPÖ by no id	-0.217 (0.425)	-0.615 (0.438)	-0.018 (0.527)
Coal sig × ÖVP by FPÖ	0.716 (0.554)	0.620 (0.597)	0.765 (0.673)
Coal sig × SPÖ by ÖVP	0.190 (0.497)	-0.301 (0.573)	0.436 (0.607)
Coal sig × SPÖ by FPÖ	0.254 (0.536)	0.237 (0.567)	0.262 (0.658)
Coal sig × FPÖ by ÖVP	-0.248 (0.569)	-0.663 (0.586)	-0.040 (0.730)
Coal sig × FPÖ by SPÖ	-0.337 (0.473)	0.455 (0.483)	-0.732 (0.540)
Coal sig × ÖVP by Other	-0.317 (0.566)	0.495 (0.562)	-0.724 (0.688)
Coal sig × SPÖ by Other	0.279 (0.468)	0.745 (0.523)	0.045 (0.582)
Coal sig × FPÖ by Other	-0.052 (0.591)	0.549 (0.576)	-0.353 (0.720)
Coal sig × ÖVP by no id	0.078 (0.486)	0.488 (0.515)	-0.127 (0.613)
Coal sig × SPÖ by no id	0.274 (0.462)	0.456 (0.499)	0.183 (0.584)
Coal sig × FPÖ by no id	0.022 (0.509)	0.018 (0.531)	0.023 (0.636)
Response order	0.097 (0.106)	0.022 (0.101)	0.134 (0.139)
Constant	4.370*** (0.307)	7.278*** (0.322)	2.916*** (0.381)
Observations	3055	3055	3055
R <sup>2</sup>	0.144	0.142	0.103

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

Reference category: ÖVP by SPÖ

\* p&lt;.05, \*\* p&lt;.01, \*\*\* p&lt;.001

**Table G7.** Overall results, cross-bloc coalitions among left-wing outpartisans (Figure 5)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Index	L-D	Soc Dist	Index	L-D	Soc Dist
coalition signals	-0.262 (0.250)	-0.005 (0.217)	-0.391 (0.317)	-0.280 (0.275)	-0.107 (0.273)	-0.367 (0.335)
FPOe	1.716*** (0.142)	1.439*** (0.152)	1.855*** (0.161)	1.695*** (0.247)	1.315*** (0.268)	1.885*** (0.274)
coal sig × FPOe				0.035 (0.301)	0.203 (0.324)	-0.048 (0.338)
Response order	0.185 (0.244)	0.010 (0.212)	0.272 (0.312)	0.185 (0.244)	0.010 (0.213)	0.272 (0.312)
Constant	4.123*** (0.230)	6.611*** (0.206)	2.879*** (0.289)	4.134*** (0.249)	6.673*** (0.235)	2.864*** (0.306)
Observations	738	738	738	738	738	738
R <sup>2</sup>	0.093	0.076	0.073	0.093	0.077	0.073

Clustered standard errors in parentheses  
 Reference category: ÖVP  
 \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

**Table G8.** Overall results for out-bloc coalitions among left-wing outpartisans (Figure 6)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Index (SPÖ)	Like-dislike (SPÖ)	Social Distance (SPÖ)	Index (Outparties)	Like-dislike (Outparties)	Social distance (Outparties)
Coalition signals treatment	0.140 (0.230)	0.257 (0.284)	0.081 (0.278)	-0.563* (0.274)	-0.319 (0.231)	-0.685* (0.342)
Response Order	0.181 (0.190)	0.217 (0.235)	0.164 (0.224)	0.103 (0.264)	-0.050 (0.225)	0.179 (0.331)
FPÖ				1.899*** (0.203)	1.719*** (0.198)	1.989*** (0.250)
Constant	2.206*** (0.222)	4.250*** (0.297)	1.184*** (0.260)	4.234*** (0.270)	6.647*** (0.232)	3.028*** (0.335)
Observations	364	364	364	521	521	521
R <sup>2</sup>	0.003	0.004	0.002	0.118	0.114	0.089

Clustered standard errors in parentheses  
 Reference category: ÖVP  
 \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

**H Manipulation check**

This Table shows t-tests comparing mean perceptions of the probability that each coalition will form for the control group and the relevant treatment group. Each treatment group contains those with and without personal relations.

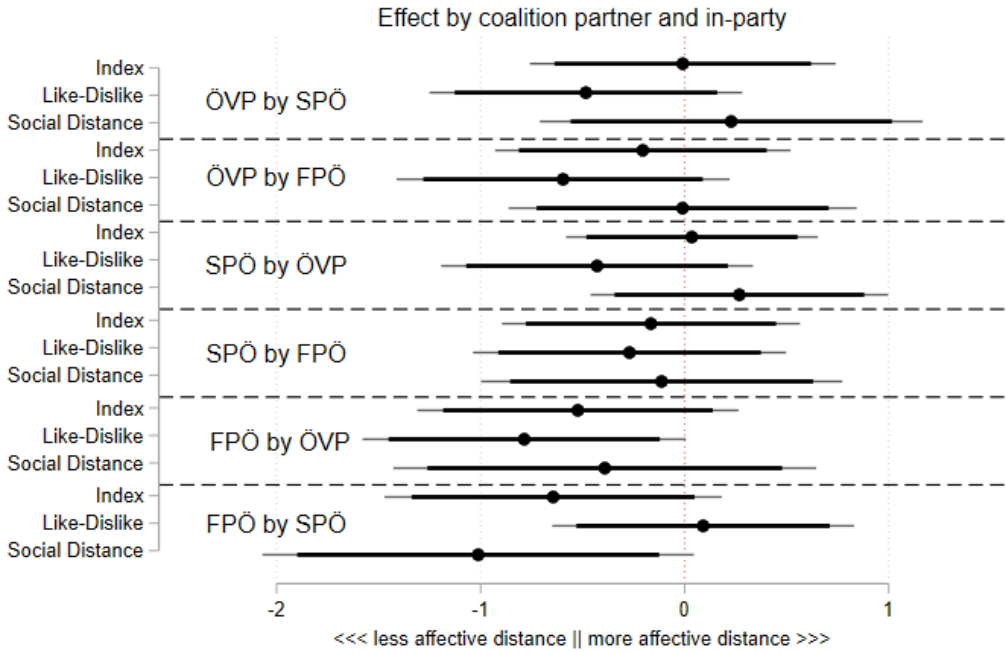
**Table H1.** Manipulation check (coalition probability)

	Mean	95% CI		n
<i>ÖVP-SPÖ</i>				
Control Group	3.98	(3.68,	4.28)	308
Coalition signals	4.37	(4.17,	4.58)	621
Difference	0.39	(0.04,	0.75)	929
<i>ÖVP-FPÖ</i>				
Control Group	3.77	(3.46,	4.09)	308
Coalition signals	4.35	(4.13,	4.56)	626
Difference	0.57	(0.20,	0.94)	934
<i>SPÖ-FPÖ</i>				
Control Group	2.86	(2.55,	3.17)	308
Coalition signals	3.53	(3.32,	3.74)	617
Difference	0.67	(0.30,	1.04)	925



**I Main results for each inparty-outparty combination**

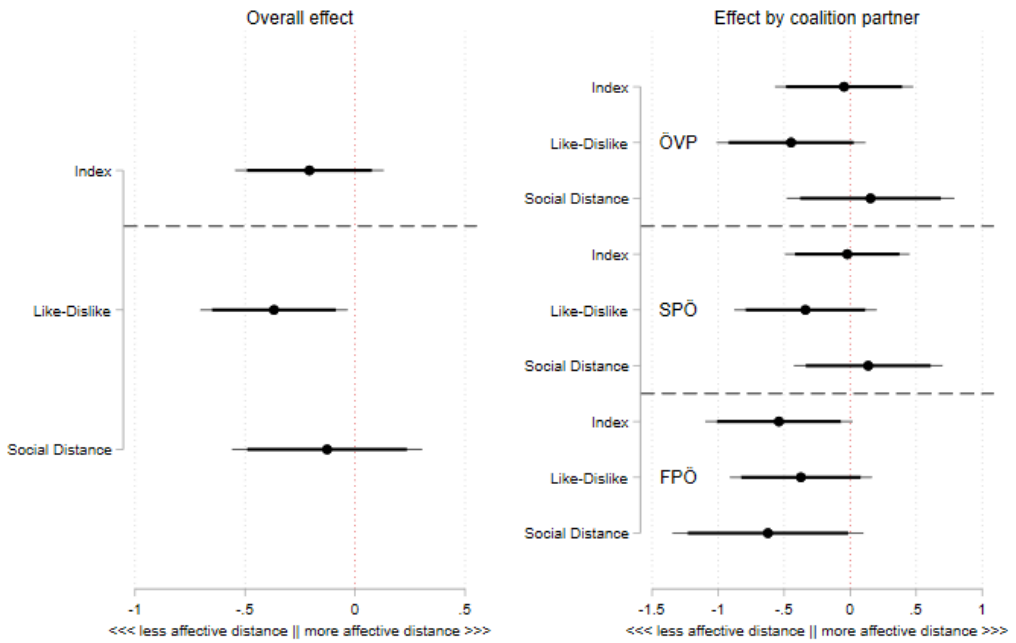
This Appendix presents the detailed treatment effects for each in-party and out-party combination, based on the models in Table G1.



**Figure I1.** Overall effect of coalition signals for each inparty-outparty combination

**J Main results with socio-demographic controls**

This Appendix presents results with key socio-demographic controls, specifically age, gender, education (5 levels), region (*Bundesland*) and the response order of perceived party position and party affect. The effects are similar in size to those in the main paper, with somewhat weaker statistical significance.



Notes: Results based on models that control for age, gender, education (5 levels), region (*Bundesland*) and the response order of perceived party position and party affect.

**Figure J1.** Overall effect of coalition signals for each inparty-outparty combination

**K Effect of warm personal relations by party**

This Appendix elaborates on the analysis in Figure 3 (right panel) by presenting results for each out-party.

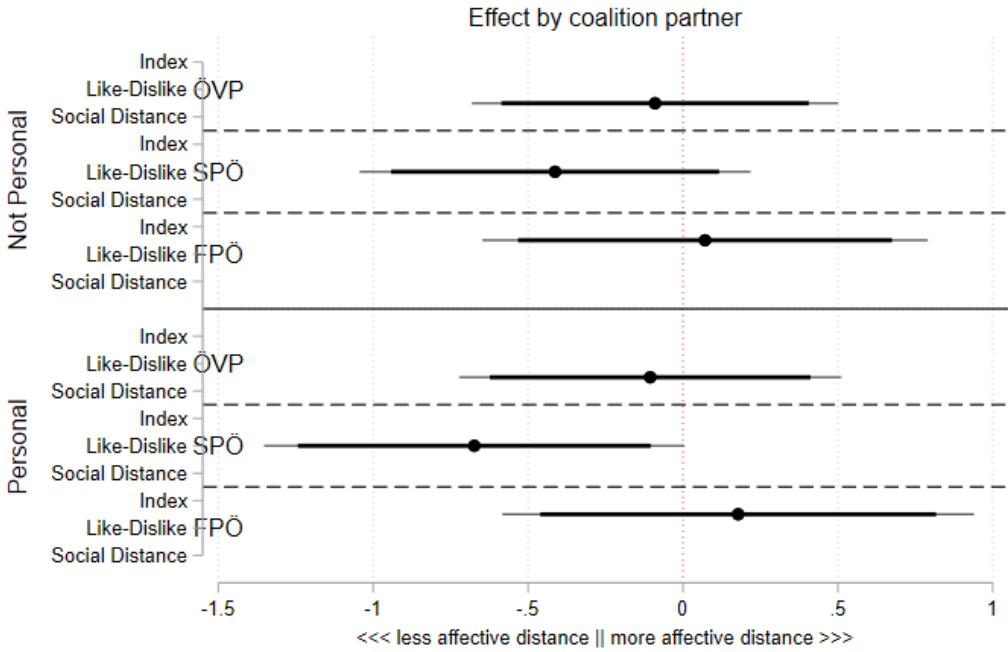


Figure K1. Effect of coalition signals, conditional on inclusion of warm personal relations

**L Heterogeneous treatment effects: Political sophistication, party identification, ideology**

These heterogeneous treatment effects were included in the pre-analysis plan and included here for the sake of completeness, even if the hypotheses are not confirmed. Political sophistication is measured as the average of two questions asking about political interest and attention to political news as well as two knowledge questions (on the composition of the national government and the vote share required to enter national parliament). The strength of party identification is measured using three questions: the standard question on how strongly one identifies with a party, as well as two additional questions suggested by Huddy, Mason, and Aarøe (2015). All questions related to political sophistication and strength of party identification were asked prior to the experimental treatment.

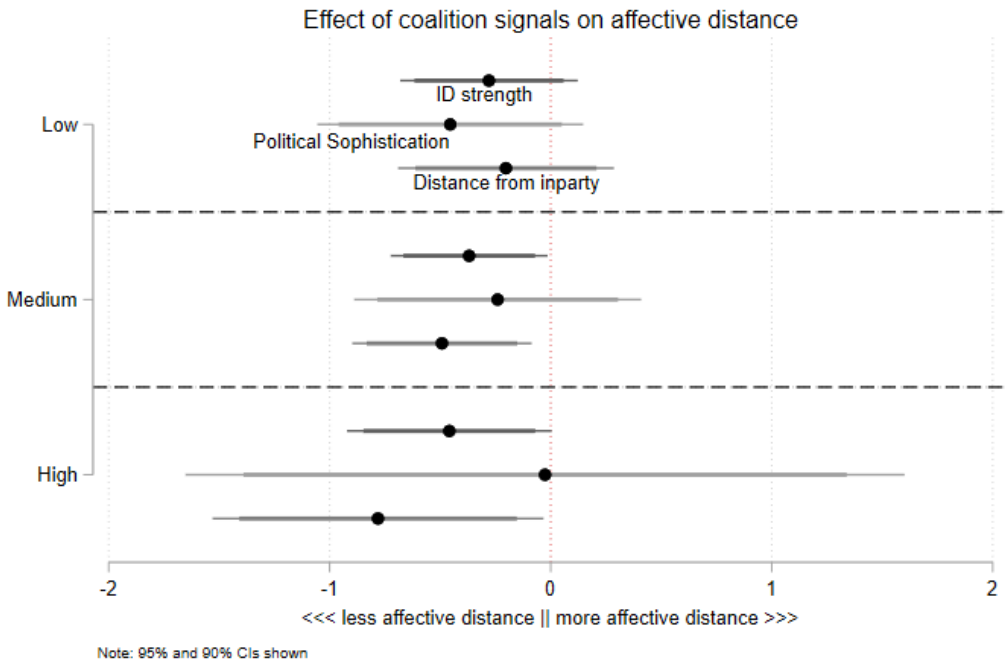


Figure L1. Overall effect of coalition signals by strength of party ID, political sophistication and ideological distance

**M Treatment effects on in-partisan affect**

This Appendix presents the results of the treatment on affect towards the in-party. It shows that, in general, partisans do not adjust affect towards their own party in response to coalition signals.

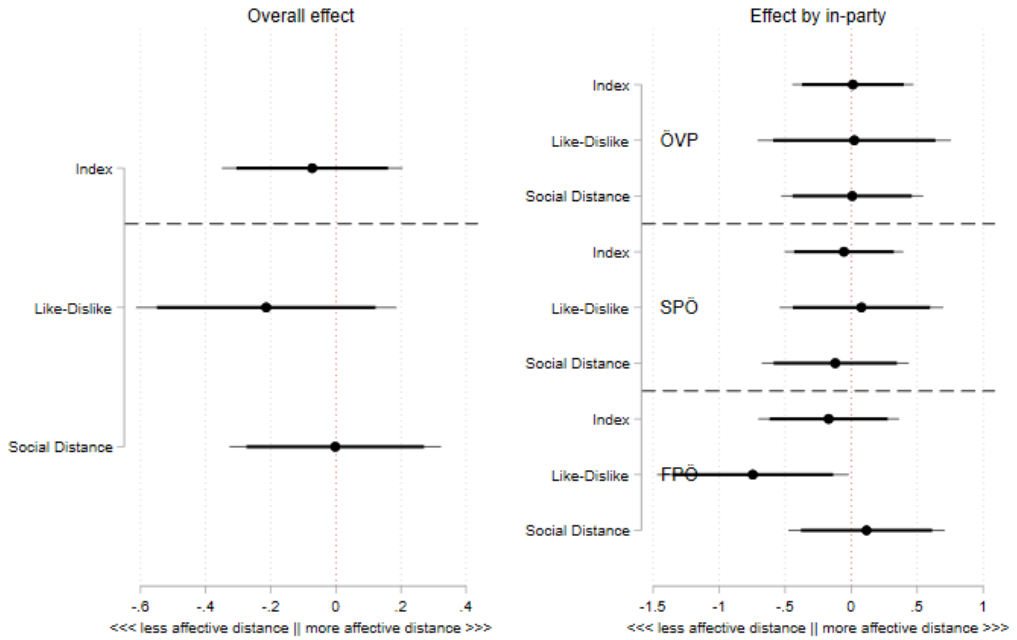
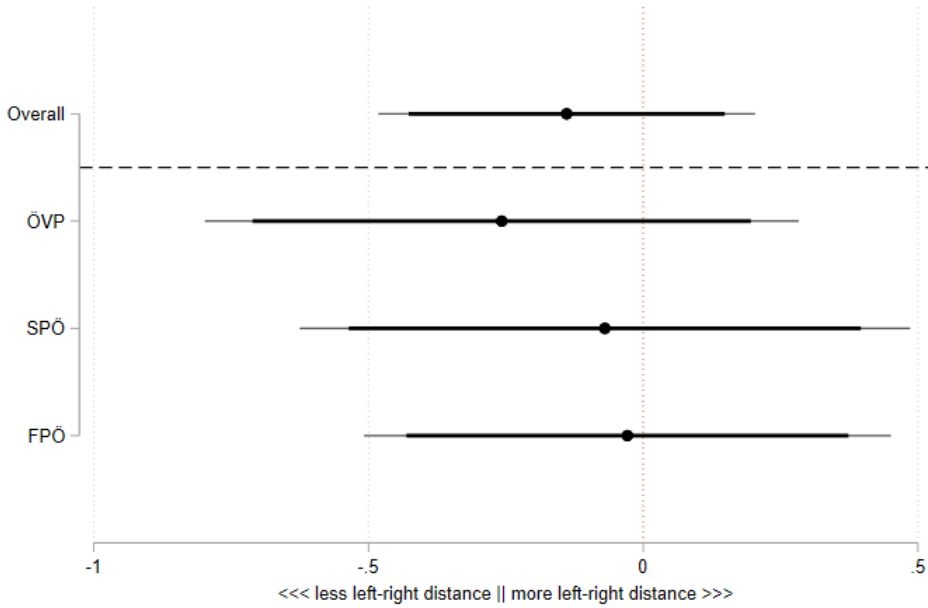


Figure M1. Overall effect of coalition signals on in-party affect

**N Treatment effects on perceived party distance**

This Appendix shows that the treatment only had a small (and not statistically significant) negative effect on the perceived distance between the two parties in the vignette. The effect is of similar size for all three parties, a finding that contrasts with that in Falcó-Gimeno and Muñoz (2017).

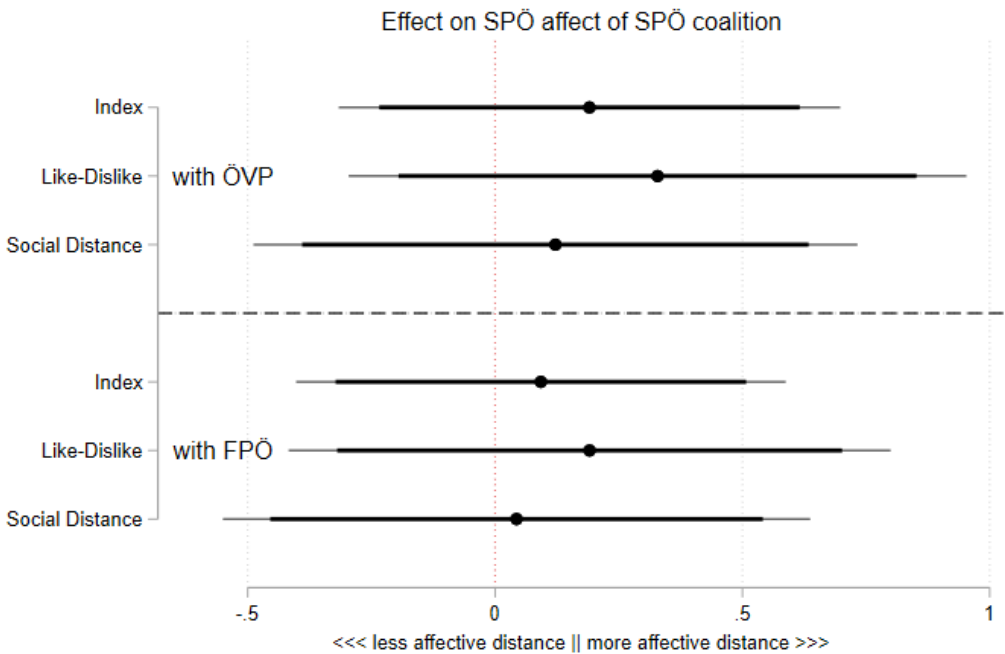


Notes: 90% and 95% confidence interval shown.

**Figure N1.** Effect of coalition signals on perceived ideological distance

**O Detailed treatment effects, only out-parties in vignettes**

This Appendix presents two additional analyses relevant to how out-partisans react to coalition signals. The first Figure presents the reaction of left-wing respondents to SPÖ coalition signals. Affective distance to the SPÖ increases on average, but only very slightly and clearly far from statistically significantly. There are no differences between coalition signals towards the ÖVP or the FPÖ. The second Figure presents reactions of left-wing respondents to coalition signals between the SPÖ on the one hand and the ÖVP or the FPÖ on the other, adding detail to Figure 6 in the main paper. There is no clear difference in the effect between the ÖVP and FPÖ, even if the FPÖ is statistically significant.



**Figure O1.** Effect of coalition signals on SPÖ affect

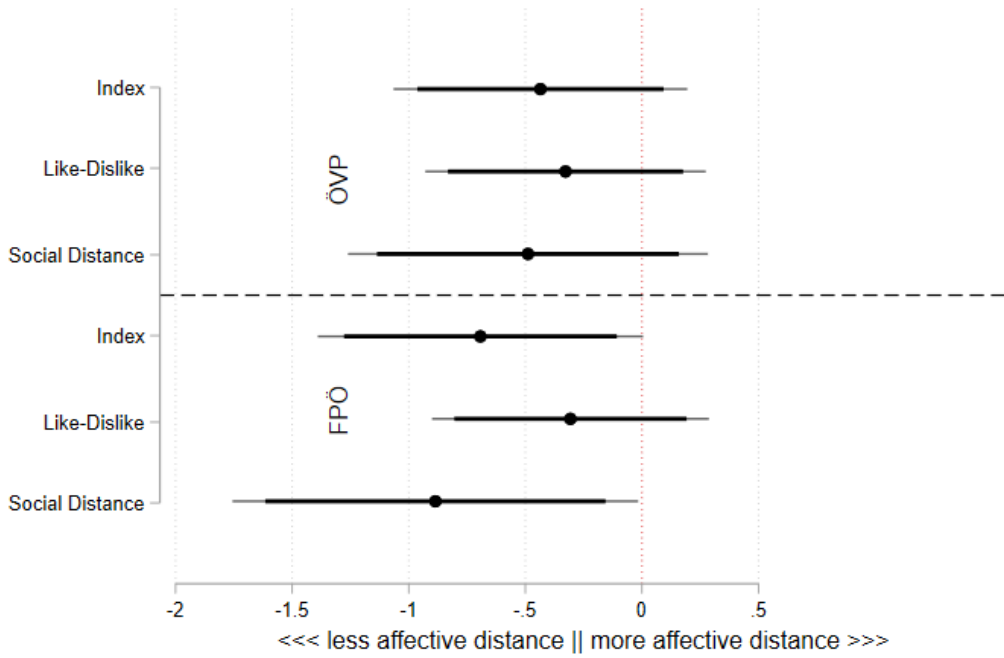
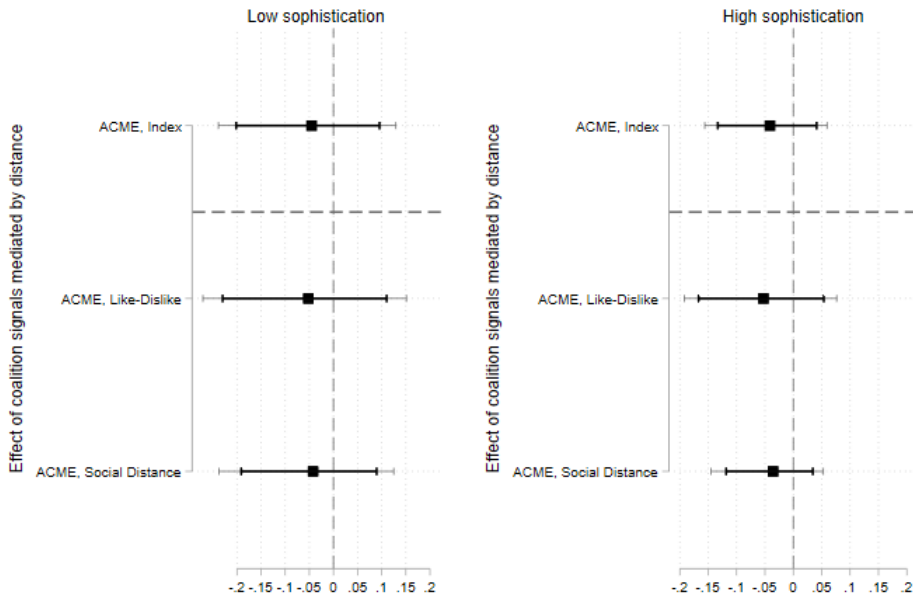


Figure O2. Effect of coalition signals on left-wing respondents



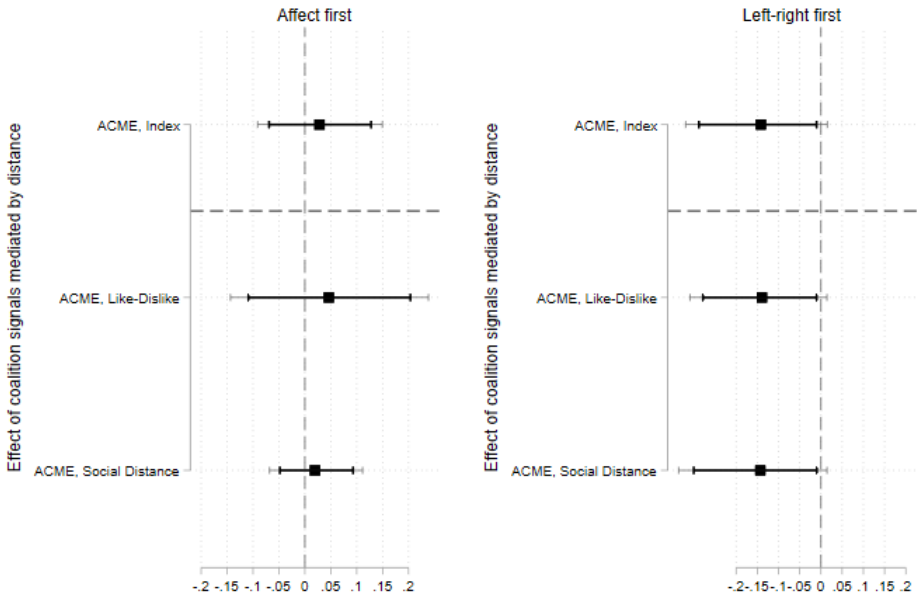
**P Mediation analyses**

This Appendix presents mediation analyses by political sophistication and by response order.



Notes: 95% confidence interval shown. Left panel shows average conditional mediated effect of coalition signals on affective distance via reduced left-right distance.

**Figure P1.** Mediation analyses by political sophistication



Notes: 95% confidence interval shown. Left panel shows average conditional mediated effect of coalition signals on affective distance via reduced left-right distance.

Figure P2. Mediation analyses by response order