

Online Supplemental Materials for:
Does Party Trump Ideology? Disentangling
Party and Ideology in America

These supplemental materials to “Does Party Trump Ideology?” include a number of results noted in the paper, robustness checks and additional models noted in the paper. Below is a table of contents for this document.

1. Correlation between partisanship and ideology in the ANES from 1972 to 2016.
2. Observational evidence of Trump’s effect on Republican issue positions.
3. Additional documentation of Donald J. Trump’s penchant for taking multiple issue positions.
4. Question wording for each of the policy questions used in the experiment.
5. Other questions used in the survey instrument.
6. References to public statements made by Donald Trump in favor of and in opposition of each of the policies used in the survey.
7. Balance tests showing mean differences between treatment and control groups.
8. Baseline support for each of the policy questions in the control condition.
9. The Average Treatment Effect of the experiment among the entire sample (The main paper shows the ATE among partisan groups and independents).
10. The ATE for each question among Republicans and Democrats.
11. Heterogeneity of the treatment effect by baseline support for question in control group.
12. The Average Treatment Effect for each partisan group with question fixed effects and standard errors clustered by respondent.
13. Additional regression analysis of the experiment, including models that include all treatment interactions together.
14. Correlations between the four variables used in the interactive models - political knowledge, partisanship, ideology, and Trump approval.
15. The distribution of variables that are interacted with the treatment
16. The ATE fully interacted with levels of political knowledge among Republicans and Democrats respectively.
17. The ATE fully interacted with levels of Trump approval among Republicans and Democrats respectively.
18. The ATE fully interacted with levels of self-placed ideology approval among Republicans and Democrats respectively.

Correlation between Party and Ideology

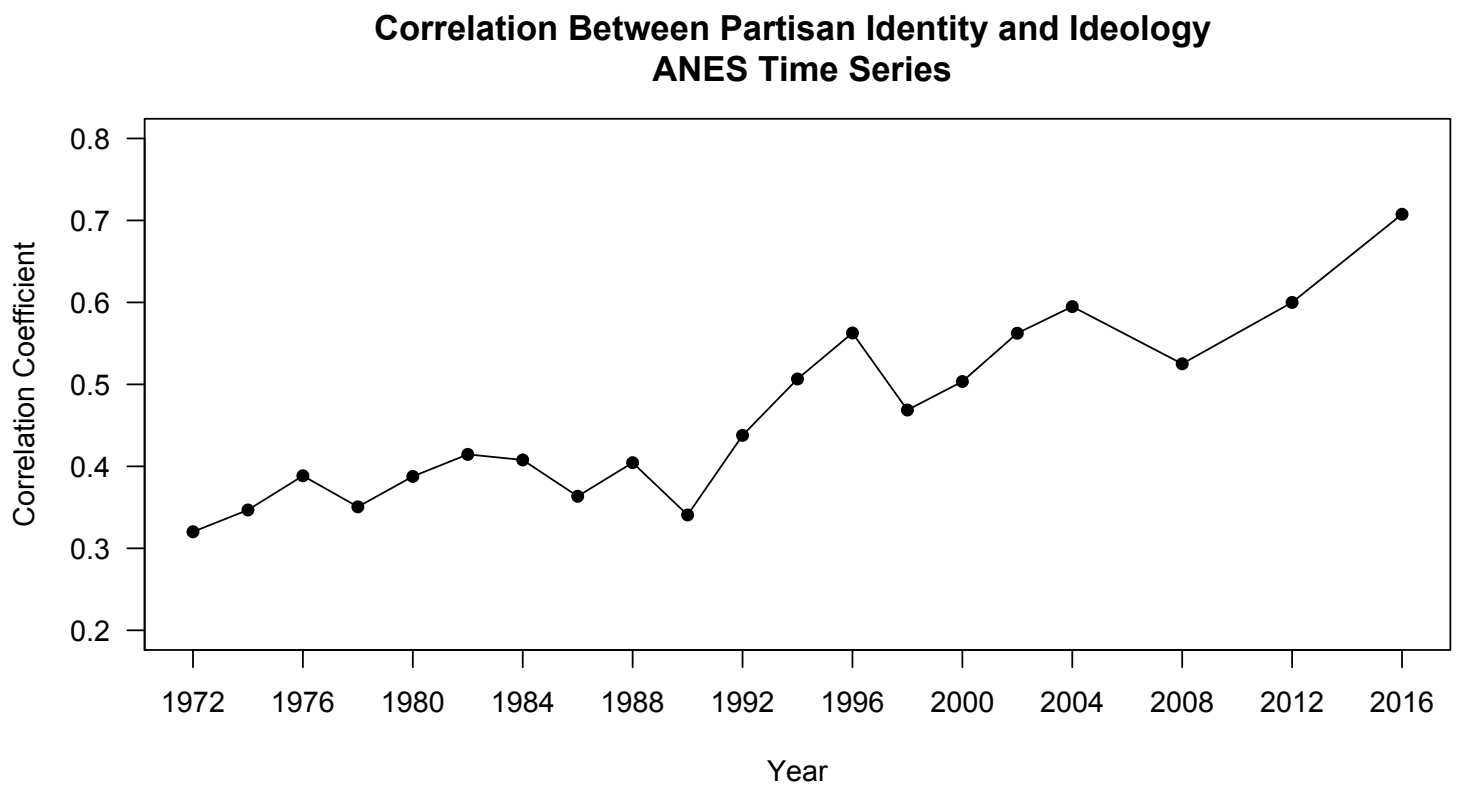


Figure A1: Correlation between Party and Ideology. In 1972 the correlation was 0.32. In 2016 the correlation between the two variables was 0.70.

Trump’s Effect on Public Opinion

In December of 2016 *Politico* reported that “in July 2014 just 10 percent of Republicans held a favorable view of [Vladimir] Putin, according to a poll conducted by the Economist and YouGov. By September of 2016, that number rose to 24 percent. And it’s even higher today: 37 percent of Republicans view Putin favorably, the poll found in December”. Essentially, Republicans became *four times* more likely to view Vladimir Putin favorably over the course of about two years. The left panel of Figure A2 displays a more detailed picture of the change in opinion among both Republicans and Democrats over this period of time. What explains this dramatic shift in opinion among Republican respondents? Over this period little had changed in formal relations between Russia and the United States. Russia’s invasion of Crimea in Ukraine took place shortly before the first poll (in February of 2014) and the U.S. response had largely involved merely disputing the legitimacy of the annexation through diplomatic means.¹ There were no other major Russia-related events to change opinion in this period, and the latter poll in 2016 was done long before the true scope of accusations about Russian meddling in American elections became widely known (in September of 2016 the story had barely been reported anywhere). This period, however, broadly coincides with the rise of Donald J. Trump as a political figure, his successful nomination as the Republican candidate for President, and eventual election as the President of the United States of America. Thus, the question to ask is to what extent Trump, his position within the Republican Party, and his relationship to the president of Russia altered Republican answers to public opinion questions. We suggest, and will show through a novel survey experiment, that these types of changes in responses of Republicans are rooted in partisan loyalty rather than thoughtful changes in attitude about Russia or Vladimir Putin.

Evaluations of Putin are far from the only area where Republicans have recently made a dramatic shift. Historically, Republicans have been the political party more likely to favor a conservative approach to trade policy—often favoring the expansion of free trade agreements between the United States and other countries. However, since Donald Trump entered the 2016 presidential campaign, Republican support for free trade has declined, now hovering around only 30% support (see the right-panel of Figure A2. Remarkably, in less than two years, support for a bedrock principle of conservatism fell by nearly 50% among members of the Republican party. Moreover, opinions of Putin and free trade are not isolated issues. In fact, similar stories could be told about Republican attitudes on immigration policy, Wikileaks, and other matters. And, while we use the rise of Donald Trump to study this trend among Republican voters, we believe that given a different scenario that similar

¹The formal claim is that the United Federation of Russian broke the Budapest Memorandum on Security Assurances which formally guaranteed the territorial integrity of Ukraine.

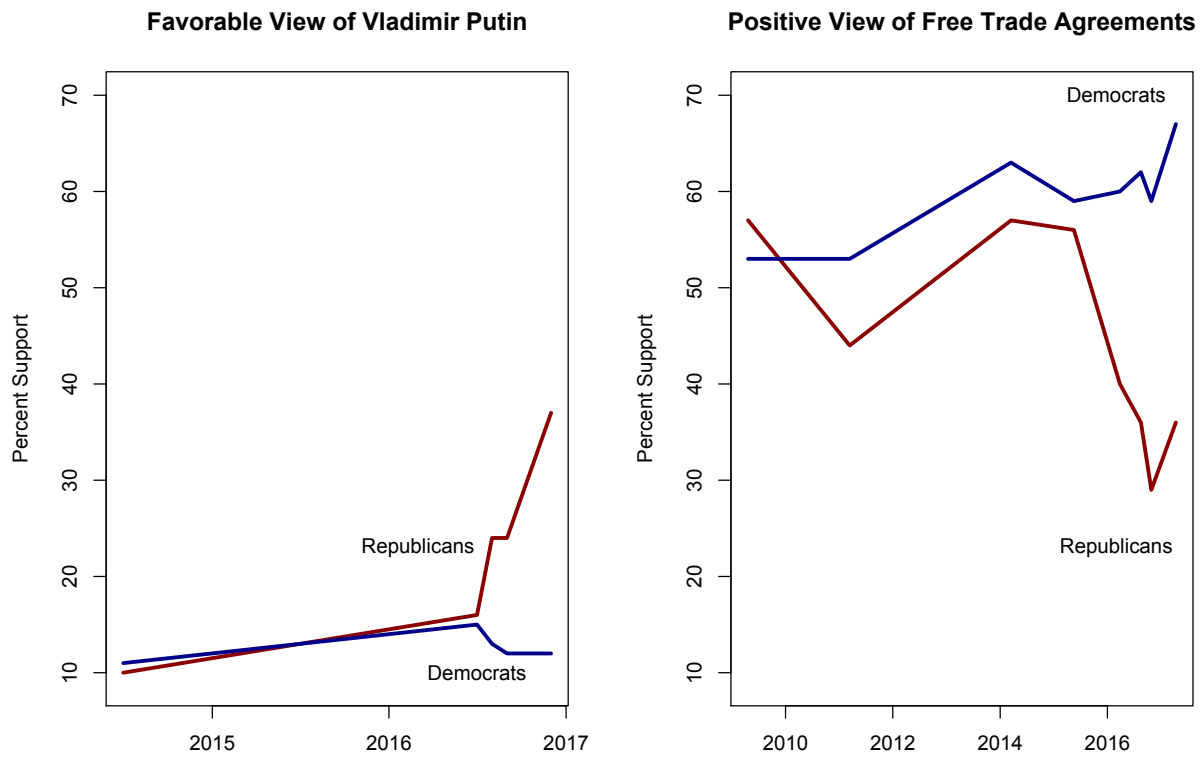


Figure A2: Support for free trade agreements comes from Pew Research Center surveys and favorability of Putin comes from YouGov/Economist surveys.

stories could be told about Democratic attitudes as well, though our focus here will remain on Republicans.

Documenting Trump's Many Positions

As noted in the text, Donald J. Trump takes a wide variety of issue positions. In fact, NBC News felt compelled to write an article (updated throughout the campaign) that was, by late November, titled, “The 141 Stances Donald Trump Took During His White House Bid.” Trump’s views are described in this piece as “constantly-evolving” and as “the most contradictory and confusing platform in recent history.” The article occasionally summarizes Trump’s “current position” (although not in all cases) and it makes clear that a semi-attentive voter could have gleaned any number of perceptions from Trump’s statements during the campaign.

Below are a summary of positions drawn from that piece (as well as a few other pieces cited below) that document Trump’s range of positions on the topics we addressed in our survey. Quotations without links are drawn from the linked NBC News piece.

- **Minimum Wage:** During the primaries Trump “repeatedly argued that raising the minimum wage would move jobs to countries like China” and clearly argued against raising it. However, he also said in an interview with ABC that he would look at raising the minimum wage.
- **Taxes:** The article quotes Trump as saying that he wanted to cut taxes for the wealthy (in a September plan) but also (only a few days earlier) saying that “I would let people making hundreds of millions of dollars a year pay some tax, because right now they are paying very little tax and I think its outrageous.” In the NBC article Trump is identified with seven different tax positions of varying tone and substance.
- **Abortion:** The main text discusses Trump’s positions on abortion, ranging from his pre-campaign position of being pro-choice to changing his position to letting states decide and possibly punishing women who have abortions, to overturning *Roe v. Wade* to not punishing women who have abortions.
- **Immigration:** Trump obviously began his campaign by urging the government to build a wall, but in July of 2017 he told CNN that he wanted to bring the good ones back legally. NBC News identified 19 different, often contradictory, positions taken by Trump on immigration.
- **Guns in Schools:** In NBC News’s compilation one of the headings for his gun positions is “No guns in classrooms, except maybe some guns in classrooms.” In a May 25 interview with Yahoo, he is quoted as saying “I don’t want to have guns in classrooms, although in some cases, teachers should have guns in classrooms, frankly.”

- Iran: Trump both said he would keep the deal with Iran and then later that he would renegotiate it. After NBC stopped updating this running tally of positions, Trump was widely reported as leaving the deal in place for now because Iran was complying.
- Health Care: In the February 25 primary debate, Marco Rubio mocked Trump for having “so many different plans” for health care. NBC identified five different positions on health care ranging between covering everyone, repealing Obamacare but keeping the mandate, to not covering everyone and repealing Obamacare.
- Background Checks on Guns: Trump argued often that more guns would save lives, but also argued that he did not mean people like those in the horrific Orlando club shooting should be able to easily get guns.
- Climate Change: Trump argued he did not believe in climate change *and* that it was threatening his golf courses.
- Planned Parenthood Funding: Trump actually began the campaign by “waffling” (according to CNN) on planned parenthood funding. By February 2016 he had shifted positions to make it clear that he favored defunding planned parenthood, but as of the writing of this article he has done little on that front.

As a final point about the confusing nature of Donald Trump we note that several commentators from the left perceived Trump as being preferable to the other GOP candidates because of his moderation, at least they saw him this way during the campaign. Jonathan Chait said that “a Trump presidency would probably wind up doing less harm to the country than a Marco Rubio or a Cruz presidency. It might even, possibly, do some good.” Paul Krugman wrote a pair of columns arguing that both Rubio and Cruz were worse than Trump. And Matthew Yglesias wrote a column in February arguing that Donald Trump was “running on a much less extreme agenda than his “establishment” rival Marco Rubio, who’s offering a platform of economic ruin, multiple wars, and an attack on civil liberties that’s nearly as vicious as anything Trump has proposed—even while wrapping it in an edgy, anxious, overreaction-prone approach to politics that heavily features big risky bets and huge, unpredictable changes in direction.” These sentiments probably seem outlandish today (to his credit, Matthew Yglesias later updated his article by saying “I realized I was wrong about this”) but they underscore the way in which Donald Trump’s many positions confuse even veteran political observers.

Question Wording for Each Question

Now we would like to ask you a question about a series of issues and policies that may come up in the coming months. Please indicate whether or not you support or oppose the statement.

Example Question

Control Condition: [Policy Statement]. How about you? Do you support or oppose [Policy Statement]?

Liberal Trump Condition: [Policy Statement]. Donald Trump has said that he supports this policy. How about you? Do you support or oppose [Policy Statement]?

Conservative Trump Condition: [Policy Statement]. Donald Trump has said that he opposes this policy. How about you? [Policy Statement]?

Republican Leadership Condition: [Policy Statement]. Congressional Republicans have said that they oppose this policy. How about you? [Policy Statement]?

Each question contained a similar statement regarding Trump or congressional Republican's position on the issue. The remaining items show the topics and question wording. We display the Liberal Trump treatments below for each issue.

Minimum Wage To increase the minimum wage to over \$10 an hour. Donald Trump has said that he supports this policy. How about you? Do you support or oppose increasing the minimum wage to over \$10 an hour?

Taxes To increase the amount of taxes paid by the wealthy. Donald Trump has said that he supports this policy. How about you? Do you support or oppose increasing the amount of taxes paid by the wealthy?

Abortion To enforce penalties on women who obtain abortions. Donald Trump has said that he opposes such penalties. How about you? Do you support or oppose enforcing penalties on women who obtain abortions?

Immigration To allow illegal immigrants to the United States to obtain legal status. Donald Trump has said that he supports this policy. How about you? Do you support or oppose allowing illegal immigrants to the United States to obtain legal status?

Guns To allow teachers to carry guns on school property. Donald Trump has said that he opposes this policy. How about you? Do you support or oppose allowing teachers to carry guns on school property?

Iran Keeping the agreement with Iran to limit their obtaining nuclear weapons. Donald Trump has said that he supports the current agreement and would enforce the deal. How about you? Do you support or oppose the agreement with Iran?

Health Care Putting in place a health care system that covers all individuals under a government plan. Donald Trump has said that he supports this policy. How about you? Do you support or oppose putting in place a health care system that covers all individuals under a government plan?

Background Checks Mandating background checks on all weapons purchases. Donald Trump has said that he supports this policy. How about you? Do you support or oppose mandating background checks on all weapons purchases?

Climate Change Acknowledging that humans are the largest contributing factor in global climate change. Donald Trump has said that he believes this to be true. How about you? Do you support or oppose acknowledging that humans are the largest contributing factor in global climate change?

Planned Parenthood Supporting federal funding for Planned Parenthood services. Donald Trump has said that he supports this policy. How about you? Do you support or oppose federal funding for Planned Parenthood services?

SURVEY INSTRUMENT

This research study is being conducted by *anonymized*. This survey explores American citizens' opinions of government and representation.

You have been invited to participate because you are an American citizen over the age of 18. The study consists of several questions, but will take about 10 minutes or less to complete. There are minimal risks for participation in this study. Participation in this research project is voluntary. You may withdraw at any time without penalty or refuse to participate entirely. There will be no reference to your identity at any point in the research.

By clicking on the "next" button, you hereby give consent to participate in this study.

SPECIAL NOTE: ALL OF THESE, PBS1 - PBS10, SHOULD COME IN A DYNAMIC GRID; EACH RESPONDENT SHOULD ONLY SEE ONE OF THE FOUR CONDITIONS (FOR ALL OF THE QUESTIONS).

[This header should appear above each question]

Now we would like to ask you a question about a series of issues and policies that may come up in the coming months. Please indicate whether or not you support or oppose the statement.

PBS1a

Trump-Lib Condition Wage

To increase the minimum wage to over \$10 an hour. Donald Trump has said that he supports this policy. How about you? Do **you** support or oppose increasing the minimum wage to over \$10 an hour?

Support
Oppose
Don't Know

PBS1b

Trump-Con Condition Wage

To increase the minimum wage to over \$10 an hour. Donald Trump has said that he opposes this policy. How about you? Do **you** support or oppose increasing the minimum wage to over \$10 an hour?

Support
Oppose
Don't Know

PBS1c

Republican Leadership Condition Wage

To increase the minimum wage to over \$10 an hour. Congressional Republicans have said that they oppose this policy. How about you? Do **you** support or oppose increasing the minimum wage to over \$10 an hour?

Support
Oppose
Don't Know

PBS2a

Trump-Lib Condition Tax

SINGLE CHOICE

To increase the amount of taxes paid by the wealthy. Donald Trump has said that he supports this policy. How about you? Do **you** support or oppose increasing the amount of taxes paid by the wealthy?

- Support
- Oppose
- Don't Know

PBS2b

Trump-Con Condition Tax

SINGLE CHOICE

To increase the amount of taxes paid by the wealthy. Donald Trump has said that he opposes this policy. How about you? Do **you** support or oppose increasing the amount of taxes paid by the wealthy?

- Support
- Oppose
- Don't Know

PBS2c

Republican Leadership Condition Tax

SINGLE CHOICE

To increase the amount of taxes paid by the wealthy. Congressional Republicans have said that they oppose this policy. How about you? Do **you** support or oppose increasing the amount of taxes paid by the wealthy?

- Support
- Oppose
- Don't Know

PBS3a

Trump-Lib Condition abortion

SINGLE CHOICE

To enforce penalties on women who obtain abortions. Donald Trump has said that he opposes such penalties. How about you? Do **you** support or oppose enforcing penalties on women who obtain abortions?

- Support
- Oppose
- Don't Know

PBS3b

Trump-Con Condition abortion

SINGLE CHOICE

To enforce penalties on women who obtain abortions. Donald Trump has said that he supports such penalties. How about you? Do **you** support or oppose enforcing penalties on women who obtain abortions?

- Support
- Oppose
- Don't Know

PBS3c

Republican Leadership Condition abortion

SINGLE CHOICE

To enforce penalties on women who obtain abortions. Congressional Republicans have said that they oppose such penalties. How about you? Do **you** support or oppose enforcing penalties on women who obtain abortions?

- Support
- Oppose
- Don't Know

PBS4a

Trump-Lib Condition immigration

SINGLE CHOICE

To allow illegal immigrants to the United States to obtain legal status. Donald Trump has said that he supports this policy. How about you? Do **you** support or oppose allowing illegal immigrants to the United States to obtain legal status?

- Support
- Oppose
- Don't Know

PBS4b

Trump-Con Condition immigration

SINGLE CHOICE

To allow illegal immigrants to the United States to obtain legal status. Donald Trump has said that he **supports** this policy. How about you? Do **you** support or oppose allowing illegal immigrants to the United States to obtain legal status?

- Support
- Oppose
- Don't Know

PBS4d

Republican Leadership Condition immigration

SINGLE CHOICE

To allow illegal immigrants to the United States to obtain legal status. Congressional Republicans have said that they oppose this policy. How about you? Do **you** support or oppose allowing illegal immigrants to the United States to obtain legal status?

- Support
- Oppose
- Don't Know

PBS5a

Trump-Lib Condition guns

SINGLE CHOICE

To allow teachers to carry guns on school property. Donald Trump has said that he opposes this policy. How about you? Do **you** support or oppose allowing teachers to carry guns on school property?

- Support
- Oppose
- Don't Know

PBS5b

Trump-Con Condition guns

SINGLE CHOICE

To allow teachers to carry guns on school property. Donald Trump has said that he supports this policy. How about you? Do **you** support or oppose allowing teachers to carry guns on school property?

- Support
- Oppose
- Don't Know

PBS5c

Republican Leadership Condition guns

SINGLE CHOICE

To allow teachers to carry guns on school property. Congressional Republicans have said that they support this policy. How about you? Do **you** support or oppose allowing teachers to carry guns on school property?

- Support
- Oppose
- Don't Know

PBS7a

Trump-Lib Condition Iran

SINGLE CHOICE

Keeping the agreement with Iran to limit their obtaining nuclear weapons. Donald Trump has said that he supports the current agreement and would enforce the deal. How about you? Do **you** support or oppose the agreement with Iran?

- Support
- Oppose
- Don't Know

PBS7c

Trump-Con Condition Iran

SINGLE CHOICE

Keeping the agreement with Iran to limit their obtaining nuclear weapons. Donald Trump has said that he opposes the current agreement and would renegotiate the deal. How about you? Do **you** support or oppose the agreement with Iran?

- Support
- Oppose
- Don't Know

PBS7d

Republican Leadership Condition Iran

SINGLE CHOICE

Keeping the agreement with Iran to limit their obtaining nuclear weapons. Congressional Republicans have said that they oppose the current agreement and would renegotiate the deal. How about you? Do **you** support or oppose the agreement with Iran?

- Support
- Oppose
- Don't Know

PBS8a

Trump-Lib Condition health

SINGLE CHOICE

Putting in place a health care system that covers all individuals under a government plan. Donald Trump has said that he supports this policy. How about you? Do **you** support or oppose putting in place a health care system that covers all individuals under a government plan?

- Support
- Oppose
- Don't Know

PBS8b

Trump-Con Condition health

SINGLE CHOICE

Putting in place a health care system that covers all individuals under a government plan. Donald Trump has said that he opposes this policy. How about you? Do **you** support or oppose putting in place a health care system that covers all individuals under a government plan?

- Support
- Oppose
- Don't Know

PBS8c

Republican Leadership Condition health

SINGLE CHOICE

Putting in place a health care system that covers all individuals under a government plan. Congressional Republicans have said that they oppose this policy. How about you? Do **you** support or oppose putting in place a health care system that covers all individuals under a government plan?

- Support
- Oppose
- Don't Know

PBS9a

Trump-Lib Condition background

SINGLE CHOICE

Mandating background checks on all weapons purchases. Donald Trump has said that he supports this policy. How about you? Do **you** support or oppose mandating background checks on all weapons purchases?

- Support
- Oppose
- Don't Know

PBS9b

Trump-Con Condition background

SINGLE CHOICE

Mandating background checks on all weapons purchases. Donald Trump has said that he opposes this policy. How about you? Do **you** support or oppose mandating background checks on all weapons purchases?

- Support
- Oppose
- Don't Know

PBS9c

Republican Leadership Condition background

SINGLE CHOICE

Mandating background checks on all weapons purchases. Congressional Republicans have said that they oppose this policy. How about you? Do **you** support or oppose mandating background checks on all weapons purchases?

- Support
- Oppose
- Don't Know

PBS10a
Trump-Lib Condition

SINGLE CHOICE

Acknowledging that humans are the largest contributing factor in global climate change. Donald Trump has said that he believes this to be true. How about you? Do **you** support or oppose acknowledging that humans are the largest contributing factor in global climate change?

Support
Oppose
Don't Know

PBS10b
Trump-Con Condition

SINGLE CHOICE

Acknowledging that humans are the largest contributing factor in global climate change. Donald Trump has said that he does not believe this to be true. How about you? Do **you** support or oppose acknowledging that humans are the largest contributing factor in global climate change?

Support
Oppose
Don't Know

PBS10c
Republican Leadership Condition

SINGLE CHOICE

Acknowledging that humans are the largest contributing factor in global climate change. Congressional Republicans have said that they do not believe this to be true. How about you? Do **you** support or oppose acknowledging that humans are the largest contributing factor in global climate change?

Support
Oppose
Don't Know

PBS11a
Trump-Lib Condition

SINGLE CHOICE

Supporting federal funding for Planned Parenthood services. Donald Trump has said that he supports this policy. How about you? Do **you** support or oppose federal funding for Planned Parenthood services?

Support
Oppose
Don't Know

PBS11b
Trump-Con Condition

SINGLE CHOICE

Supporting federal funding for Planned Parenthood services. Donald Trump has said that he opposes this policy. How about you? Do **you** support or oppose federal funding for Planned Parenthood services?

Support
Oppose
Don't Know

PBS11c
Republican Leadership Condition

SINGLE CHOICE

Supporting federal funding for Planned Parenthood services. Congressional Republicans have said that they oppose this policy. How about you? Do **you** support or oppose federal funding for Planned Parenthood services?

Support
Oppose
Don't Know

PBS48

SINGLE CHOICE

To the best of your knowledge, does your state have its own constitution?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 3 I don't know

PBS49

SINGLE CHOICE

Is the U.S. federal budget deficit – the amount by which the government's spending exceeds the amount of money it collects – now bigger, about the same, or smaller than it was during most of the 1990s?

- 1 Bigger
- 2 About the same
- 3 Smaller
- 4 Don't know

PBS50

SINGLE CHOICE: Number box

For how many years is a United States Senator elected – that is, how many years are there in one full term of office for a U.S. Senator?

RESPONSE OPTIONS: [Number Box, ranged 1 - 99]

INSTRUCTIONS: PLEASE INCLUDE A "Don't know checkbox"

PBS51

SINGLE CHOICE

On which of the following does the U.S. federal government currently spend the least?

- 1 Foreign aid
- 2 Medicare
- 3 National defense
- 4 Social Security
- 5 Don't Know

PBS52

SINGLE CHOICE

Who nominates judges to the Supreme Court?

- 1 The President
- 2 The House of Representatives
- 3 The Senate
- 4 The Supreme Court
- 5 Don't Know

PBS53

SINGLE CHOICE

Which party has a majority of seats in the House of Representatives?

- 1 Democrats
- 2 Republicans
- 3 Don't Know

PBS54

SINGLE CHOICE

Which party has a majority of seats in the United States Senate?

- 1 Democrats
- 2 Republicans
- 3 Don't Know

PBS55

SINGLE CHOICE

What percentage of members in each chamber of Congress are required to override a presidential veto?

- 1 51%
- 2 60%
- 3 67%
- 4 80%
- 5 Don't Know

Balance Tests

Table A1: Mean Demographic Values by Treatment Group

Variable	Control	Liberal Trump	Conservative Trump	Congressional GOP
Age	47.81	47.50	48.20	47.04
White	0.73	0.80*	0.72	0.76
Male	0.47	0.46	0.47	0.46
Political Knowledge	4.42	4.51	4.54	4.43
Trump Approval	2.65	2.92*	2.63	2.63
5-point Ideology	3.07	3.12	2.99	2.96
7-point Party	3.79	3.93	3.59	3.69
Income	5.53	5.77	5.71	5.40
Education	3.20	3.39	3.25	3.21
Political Interest	1.75	1.84	1.80	1.81
Republican	0.36	0.37	0.31	0.32
Democrat	0.43	0.38	0.48	0.42
Independent	0.19	0.24	0.19	0.22
N	500	200	200	400

Note: * $p < .10$ Compared to control condition.

Baseline Support for Each Question

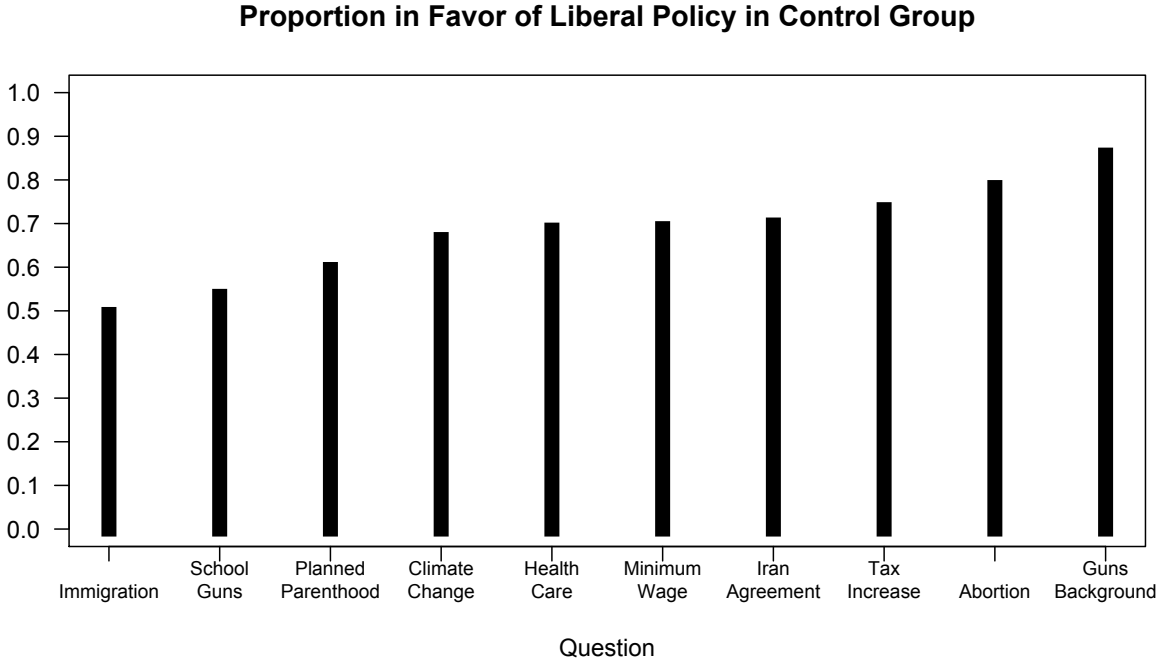


Figure A3: Baseline support for each question. We code each question such that a “1” indicates support for the liberal policy option and “0” indicates support for the conservative policy option.

The ATE for the Entire Sample

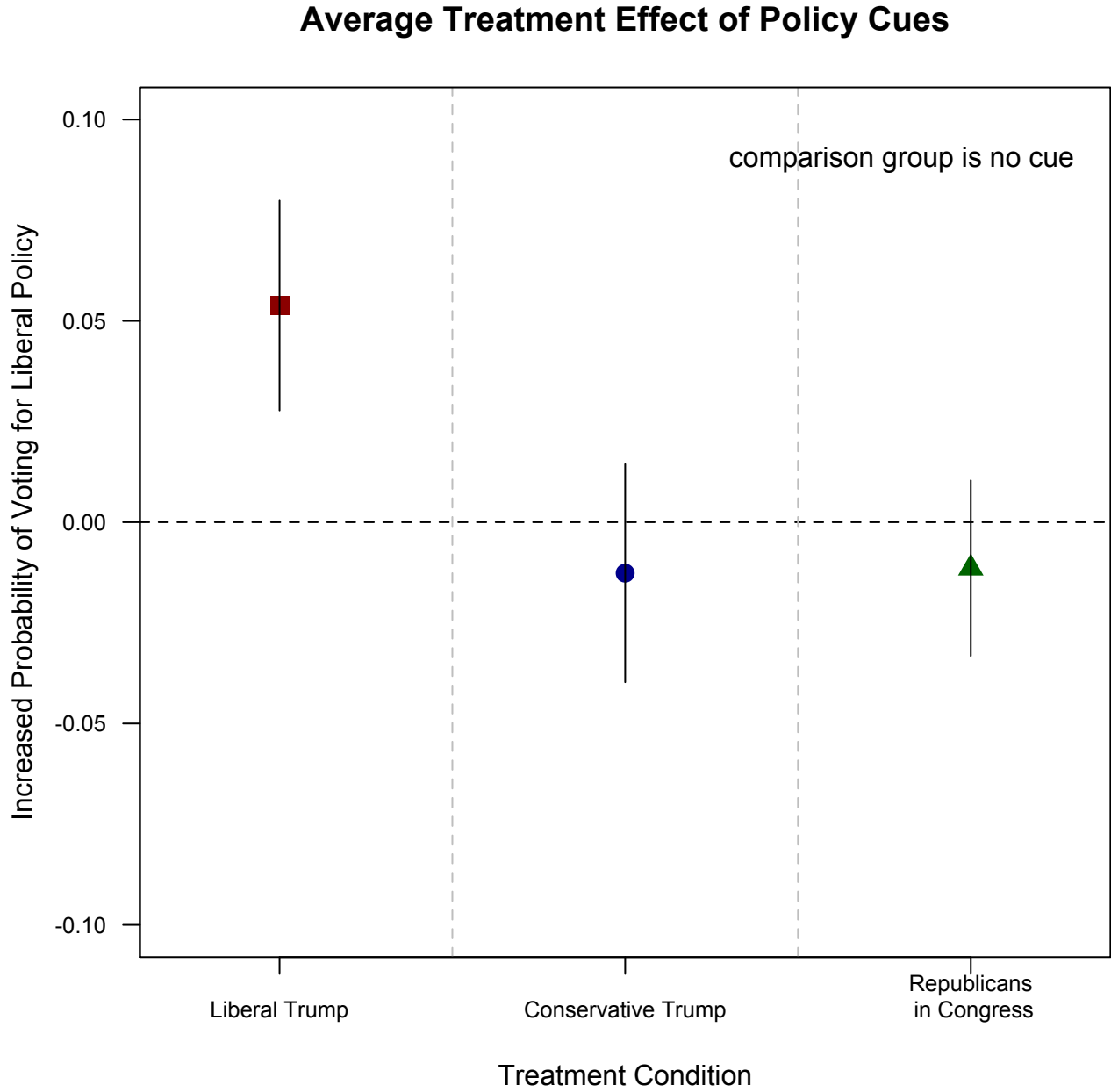
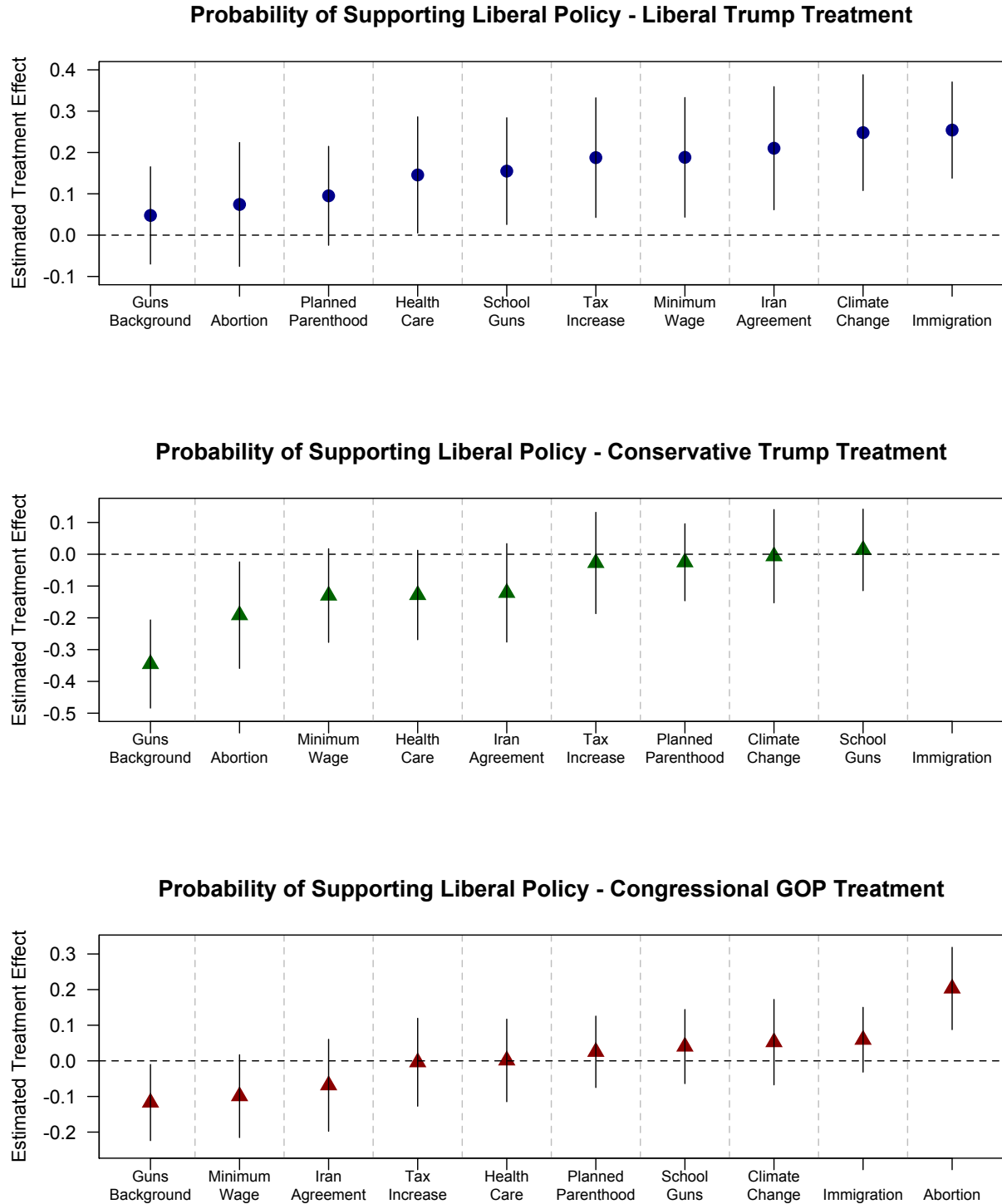


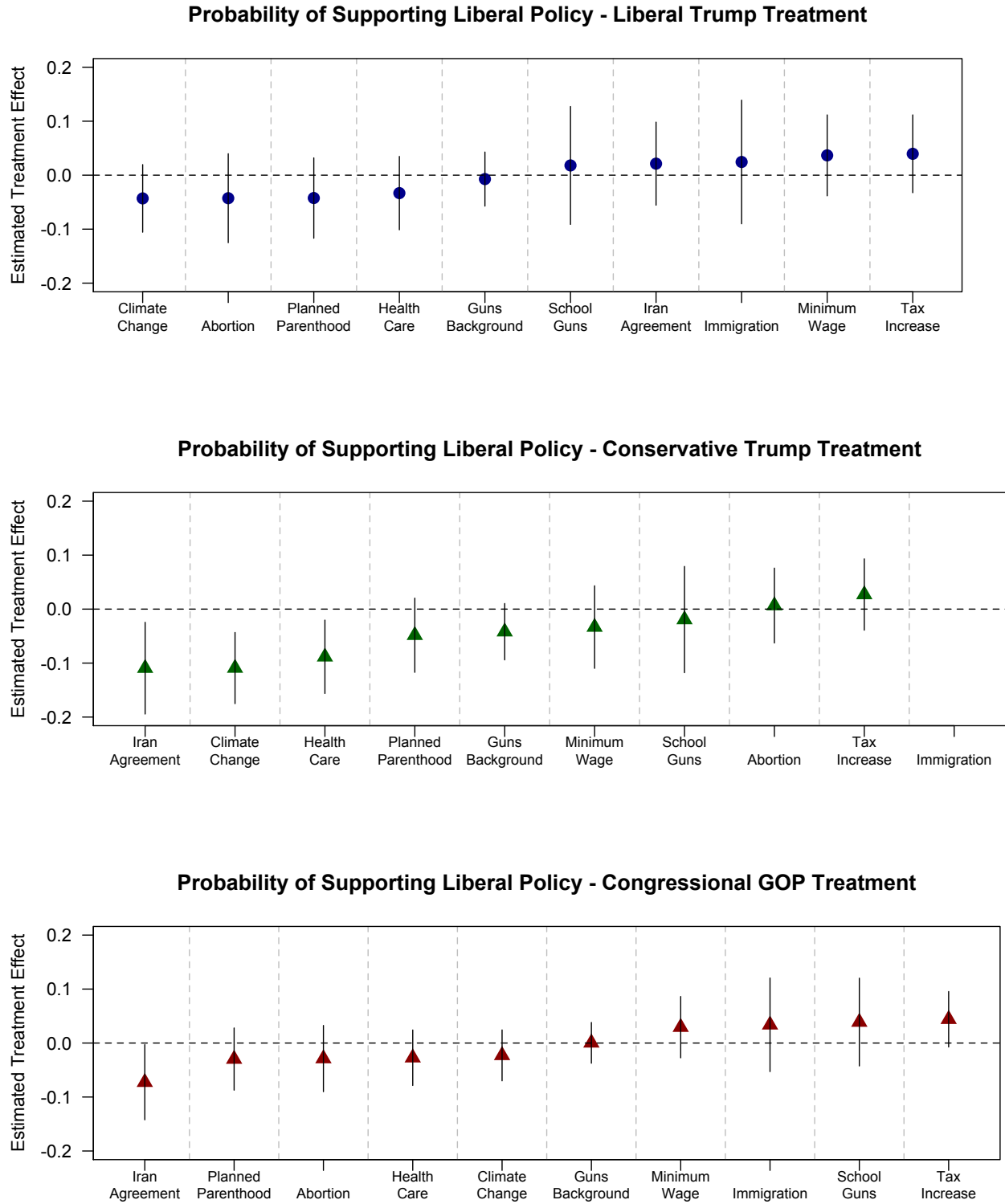
Figure A4: Average Treatment Effect

Figure A5: The ATE for each question among Republicans



Each panel shows the individual item effect (positive effects in a liberal direction) for the liberal Trump, conservative Trump and congressional GOP treatment conditions. Though the congressional Republicans generally showed little influence, both the liberal and conservative Trump cues were influential. The immigration question in the conservative treatment is removed because of a technical survey error.

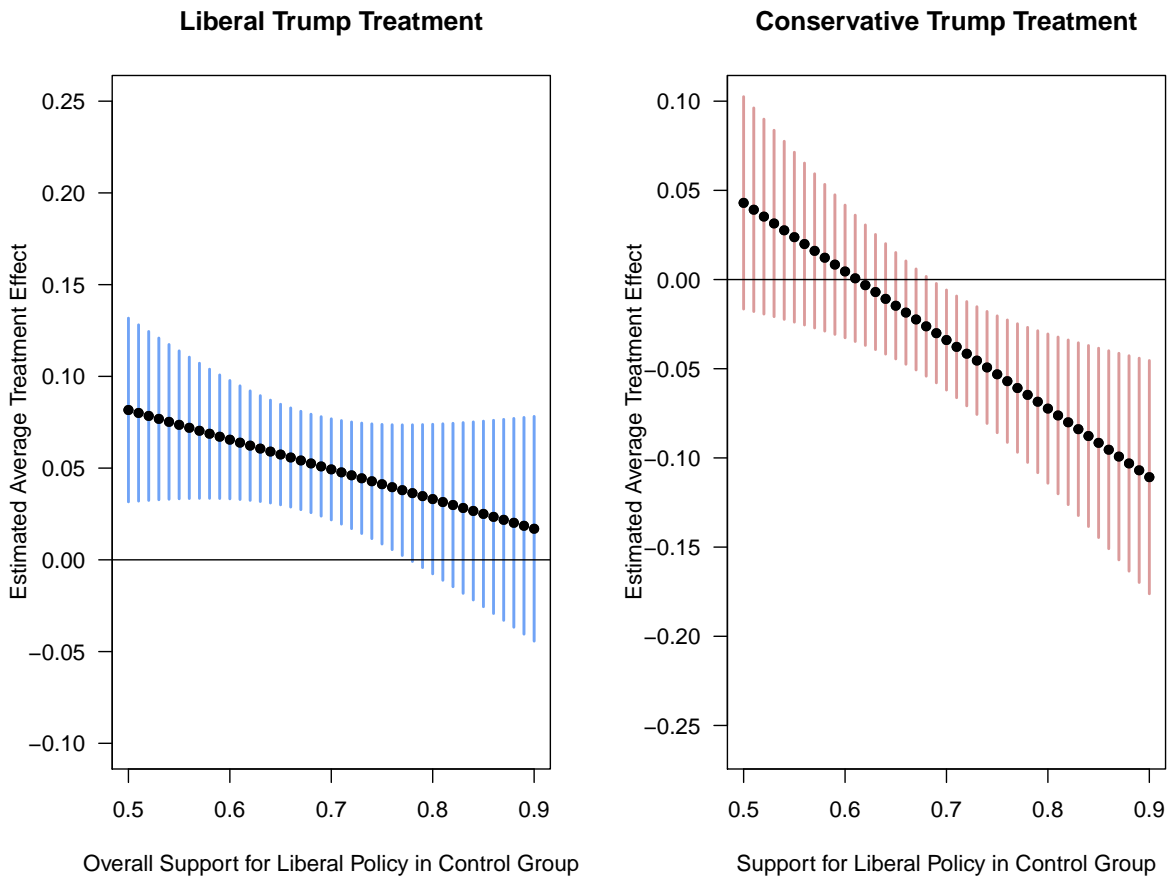
Figure A6: The ATE for each question among Democrats



Each panel shows the individual item effect (positive effects in a liberal direction) for the liberal Trump, conservative Trump and congressional GOP treatment conditions. Among Democrats, all three treatments had little effect.

While it is possible that the difference in treatment effects across issues is simply due to random sampling from a distribution centered on the average treatment effect, we also consider the possibility of systematic heterogeneous treatment effects across questions. While it is possible that the treatment varies by issue based on individual-level factors such as issue salience or intensity of preferences. However, we do not have data that can address these potential individual-based differences, and we leave this question to future research. We do, however, explore the possibility that the treatment varies based on the aggregate support for each issue (see Figure A3 for the distribution of support for each issue in the control group). To do so, we regress support for each issue on the treatment variable. We then interact the treatment with a variable measuring the level of aggregate support for the issue among the control group (so as to avoid the effect of the treatment in either direction). The results, shown in Figure A7, indicate that there is an effect in both the liberal and conservative treatments. We find that issues with more support tend to have smaller treatment effects. In other words, issues with strong (weak) baseline support for the liberal position exhibit smaller (larger) treatment effects in the liberal direction. Likewise, issues with strong (weak) baseline support for the conservative position exhibit smaller (larger) treatment effects in the conservative direction. One explanation for this pattern is that we are observing ceiling effects in the treatments where there is little room for opinion to move in a particular direction because the large majority of the population already holds the opinion in question.

Figure A7: Heterogeneity of Treatment Effects by Question



Regression Results by Party, Alternative Specifications

Subgroup:	Republicans		Democrats		Independents	
Conservative Trump	-0.10** (0.04)	-0.10** (0.04)	-0.04** (0.016)	-0.04* (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.06)
Liberal Trump	0.16*** (0.02)	0.16*** (0.04)	-0.003 (0.01)	-0.003 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)	0.04 (0.05)
Congressional Republicans	0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.002 (0.01)	-0.002 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02*** (0.05)
Ethnicity White	-0.12*** (0.04)	-0.12*** (0.04)	0.06*** (0.01)	0.06*** (0.02)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.03*** (0.04)
Question F.E.	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
S.E. Clustered by:	Question	Respondent	Question	Respondent	Question	Respondent
<i>N</i>	3,724	3,724	4,813	4,813	2,340	2,340

Table A2: Coefficients reported from ordinary least squares regression model, with standard errors in parentheses. In each model the dependent variable is coded 1 if the respondent indicated supporting the liberal policy option and 0 if they supported the conservative policy option. In Model 2 we are testing strength of Republican partisanship, so we exclude those who identify with the Democratic Party. Significance codes: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$, two-tailed tests.

Table A3: Interaction Models, Alternative Specifications

	Knowledge	Party	Approval	Ideology	Conservative	Liberal	Liberal:Conservative
Liberal Treat x Knowledge	-0.01* (0.006)					-0.014** (0.005)	-0.03*** (0.01)
Conservative Treat x Knowledge	0.03*** (0.006)				0.02*** (0.006)		
Liberal Treat x Party Strength		0.04** (0.02)				0.012 (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)
Conservative Treat x Party Strength		-0.05*** (0.02)			-0.03*** (0.01)		
Liberal Treat x Trump Approval			0.04*** (0.01)			0.04*** (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)
Conservative Treat x Trump Approval			-0.03*** (0.01)		-0.02** (0.01)		
Liberal Treat x Ideology				0.03*** (0.01)		0.002 (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)
Conservative Treat x Ideology				-0.04*** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)		
Liberal Treatment	0.10*** (0.03)	0.04 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.04)		-0.001 (0.05)	-0.06 (0.06)
Conservative Treatment	-0.17*** (0.03)	0.09** (0.04)	0.05** (0.02)	0.09** (0.03)	0.06 (0.05)		
Knowledge	-0.03*** (0.003)				-0.03*** (0.003)	-0.03*** (0.003)	-0.01*** (0.005)
Party Strength		-0.06*** (0.01)			0.02*** (0.005)	0.02*** (0.005)	-0.002 (0.01)
Trump Approval			-0.14*** (0.004)		-0.10*** (0.005)	-0.10*** (0.005)	-0.12*** (0.01)
Ideology				-0.18*** (0.01)	-0.10*** (0.007)	-0.10*** (0.007)	-0.11 (0.01)
White	-0.07*** (0.01)	-0.07*** (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	0.03** (0.01)	0.02 (0.02)
<i>N</i>	7,491	4,035	7,258	7,491	5,564	5,652	3,130

Coefficients reported from ordinary least squares regression model, with standard errors in parentheses. In each model the dependent variable is coded 1 if the respondent indicated supporting the liberal policy option and 0 if they supported the conservative policy option. In Model 2 we are testing strength of Republican partisanship, so we exclude those who identify with the Democratic Party. Model 5 (6) tests the liberal (conservative) treatment against the control for all four interactions together. Model 7 tests the liberal treatment versus the conservative treatment for all four interactions together. Significance codes: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$, two-tailed tests.

Table A4: Correlations Between Interaction Variables

	Self-Placed Ideology	Trump Approval	Party Strength	Political Knowledge
Self-Placed Ideology	1.00	—	—	—
Trump Approval	0.61	1.00	—	—
Party Strength	-0.05	-0.001	1.00	—
Political Knowledge	-0.02	-0.004	-0.034	1.00

Distribution of Interaction Variables

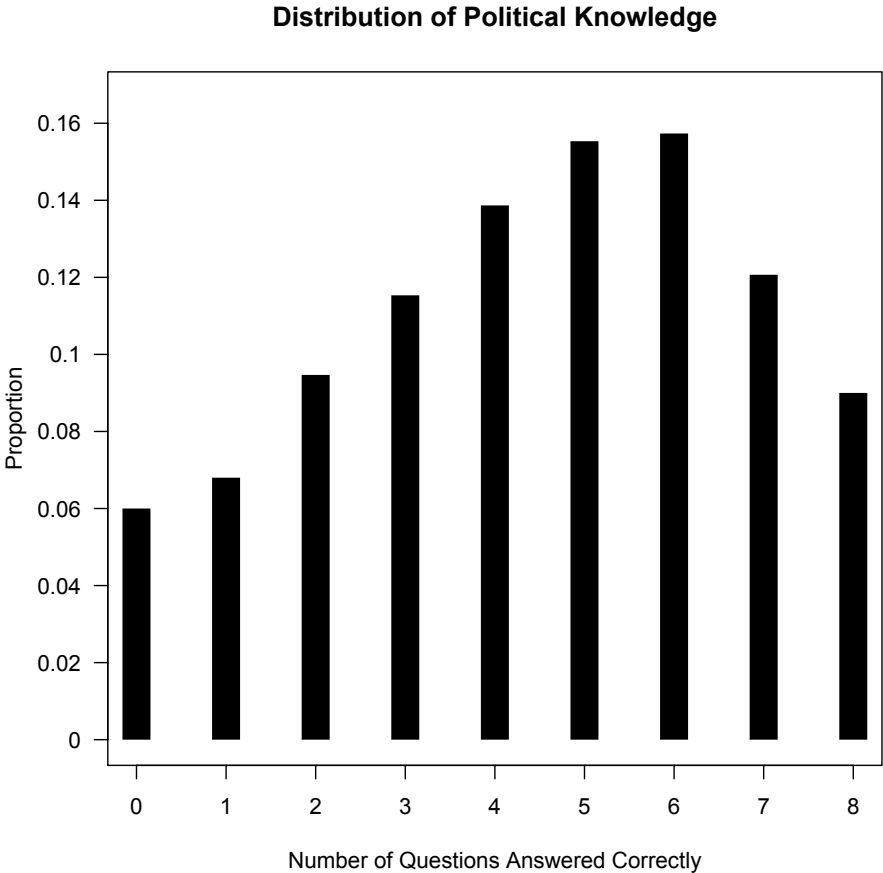


Figure A8: Distribution of Political Knowledge

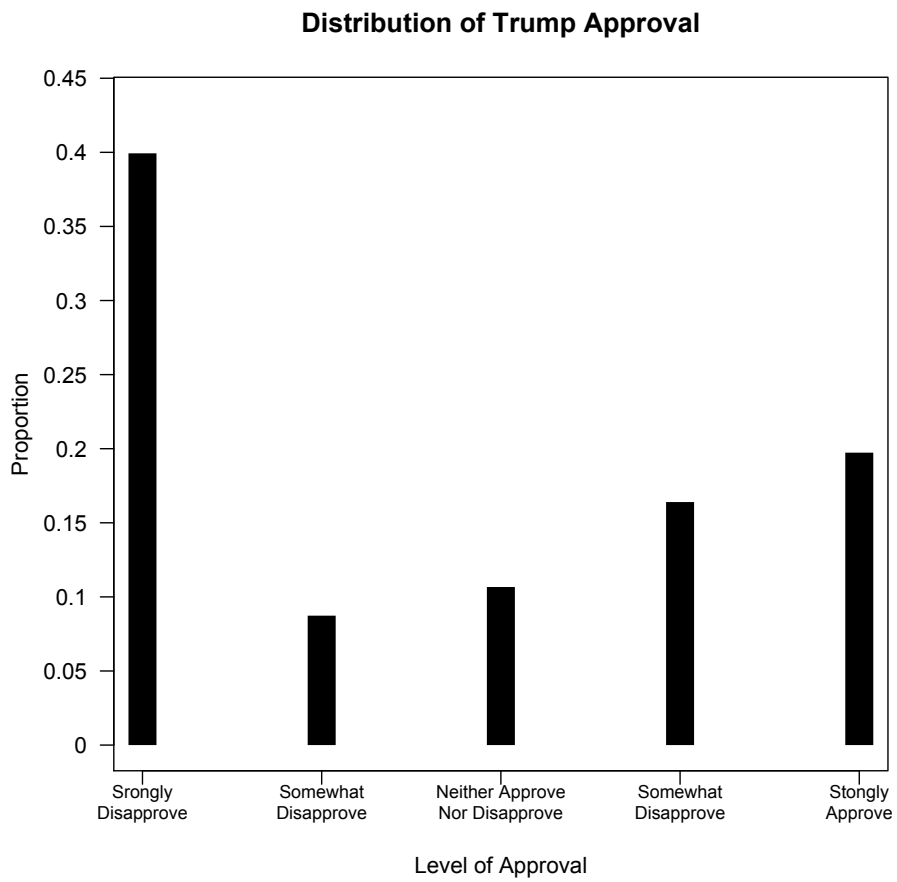


Figure A9: Distribution of Trump Approval

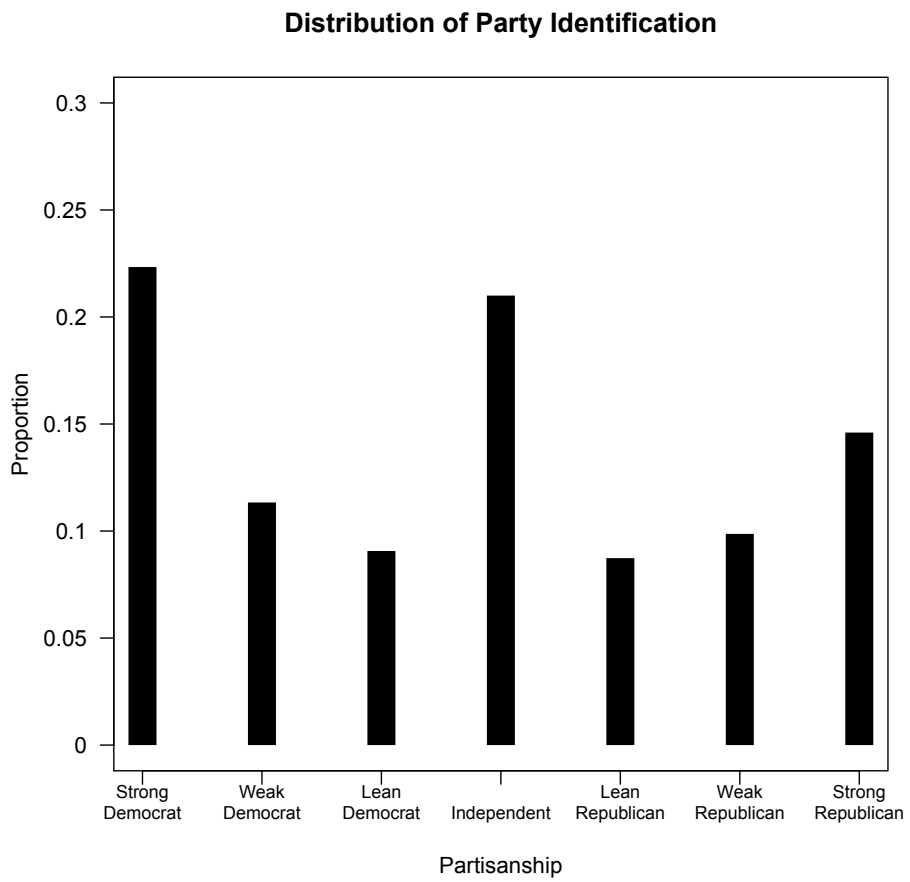


Figure A10: Distribution of Partisan Identification

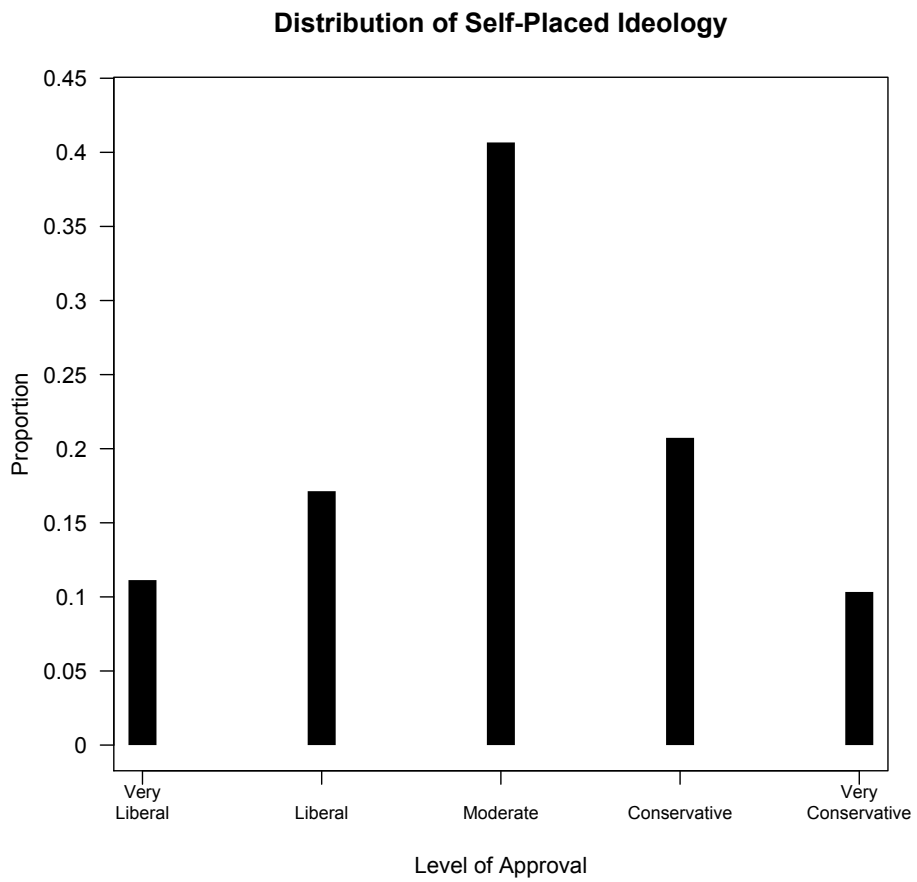


Figure A11: Distribution of Self-Placed Political Ideology

The ATE by Knowledge and Party

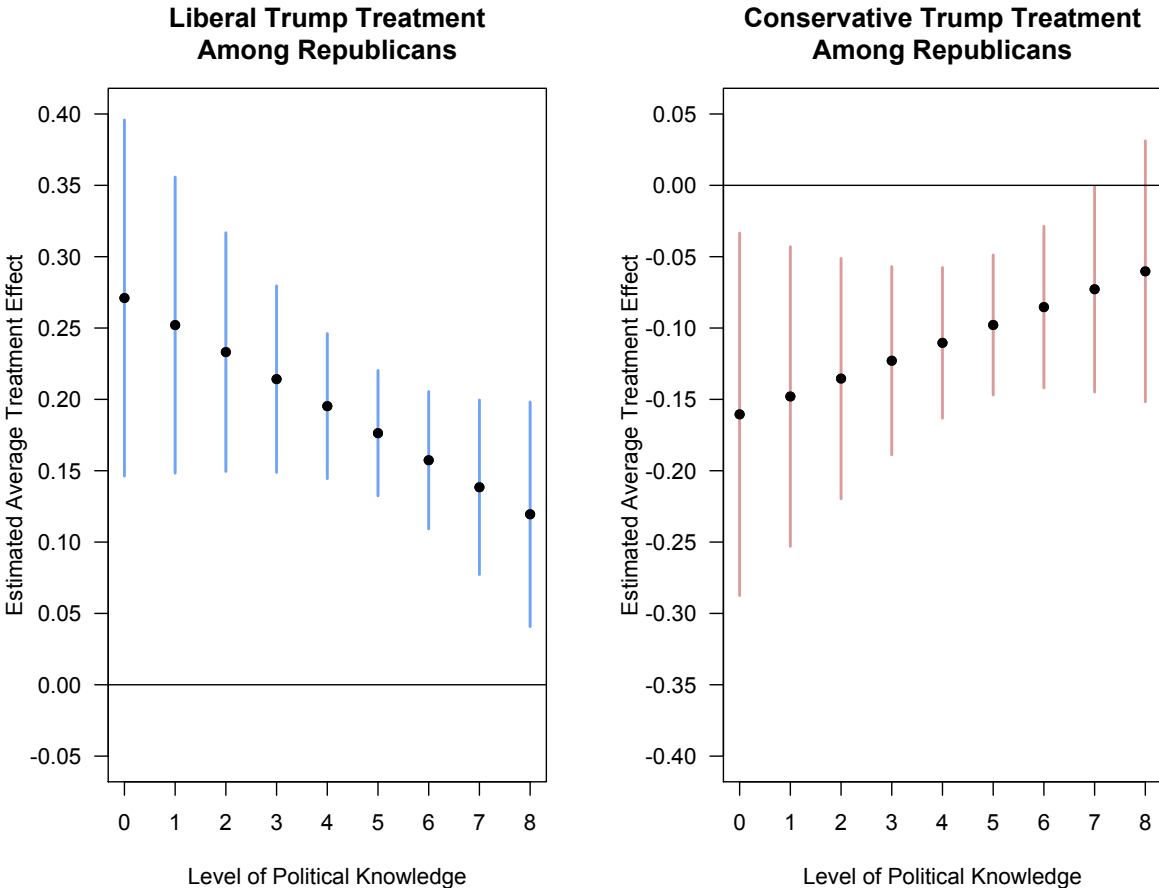


Figure A12: Among Republicans

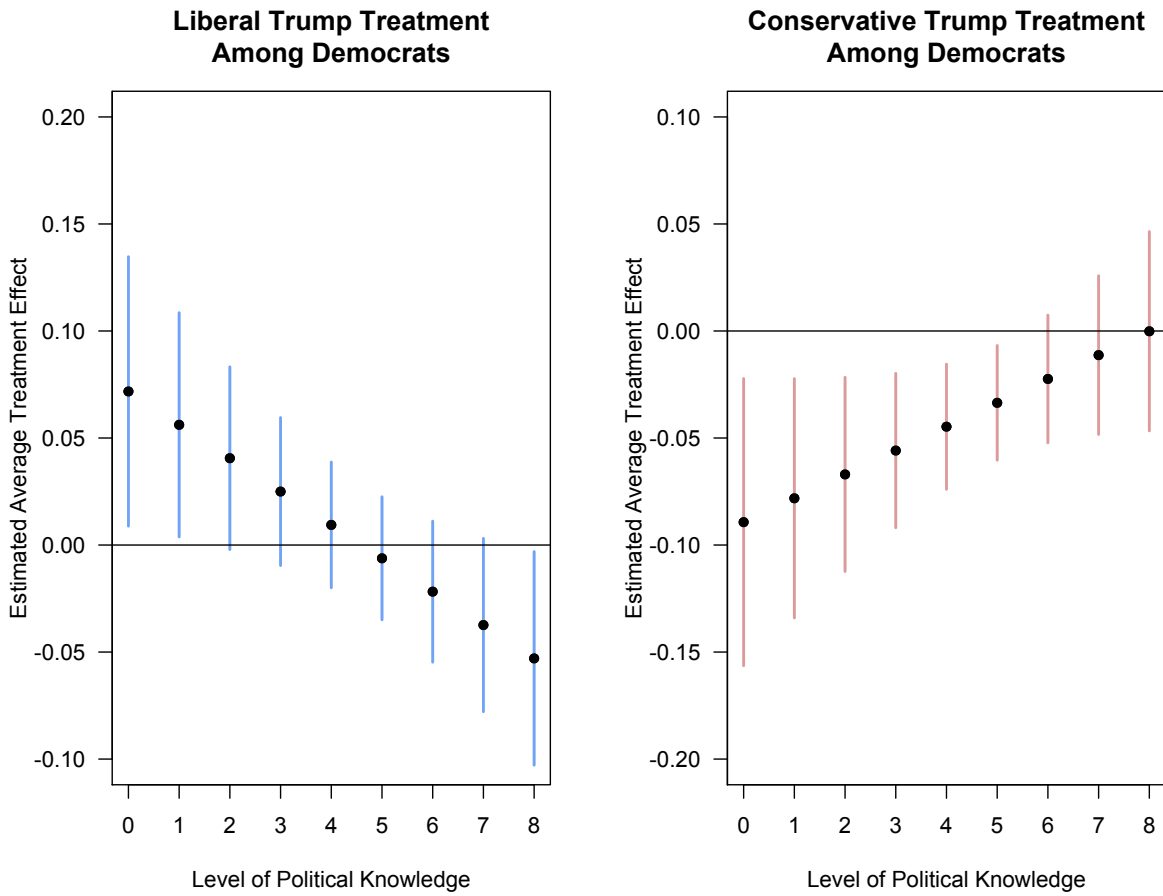


Figure A13: Among Democrats

The ATE by Knowledge - Polynomial Interaction Model

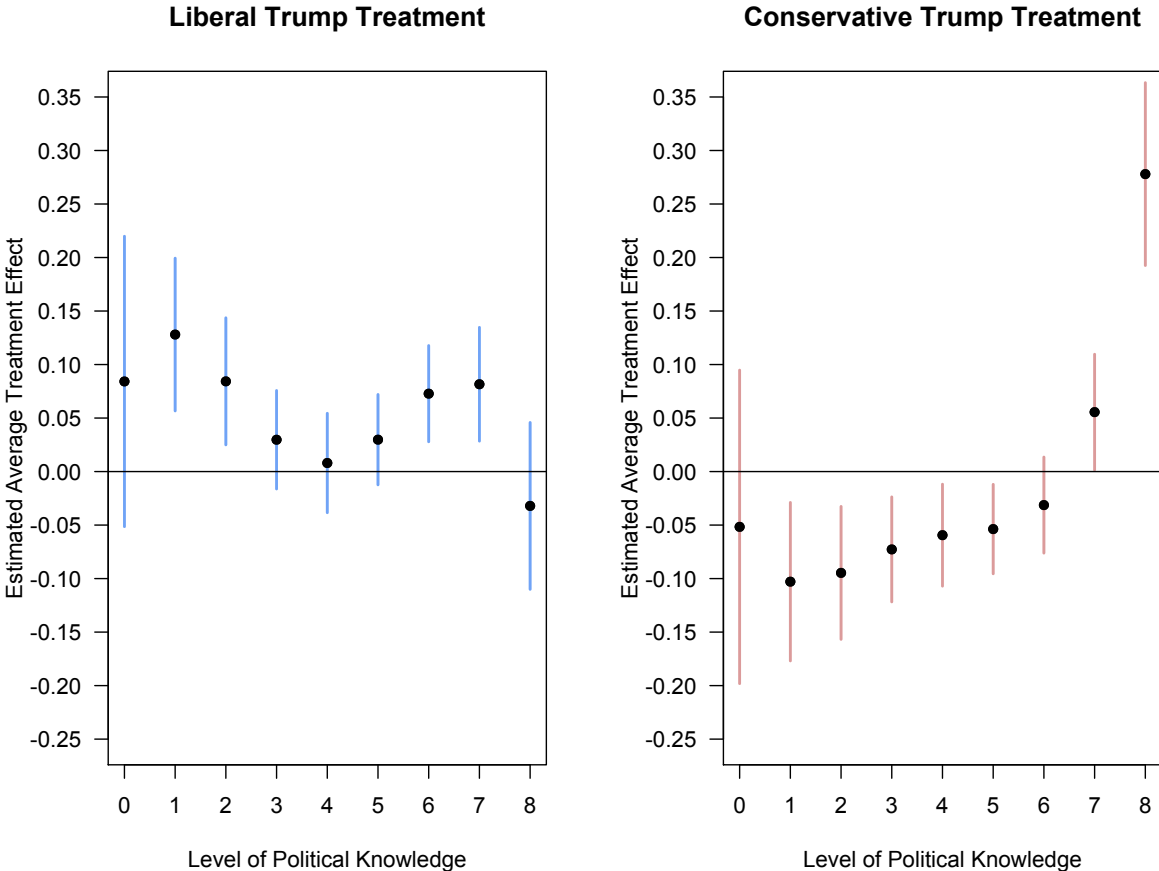


Figure A14: We relax the restriction of a linear interaction with the treatment here. The treatment effect is allowed to vary according to a fourth order polynomial.

The ATE by Trump Approval and Party

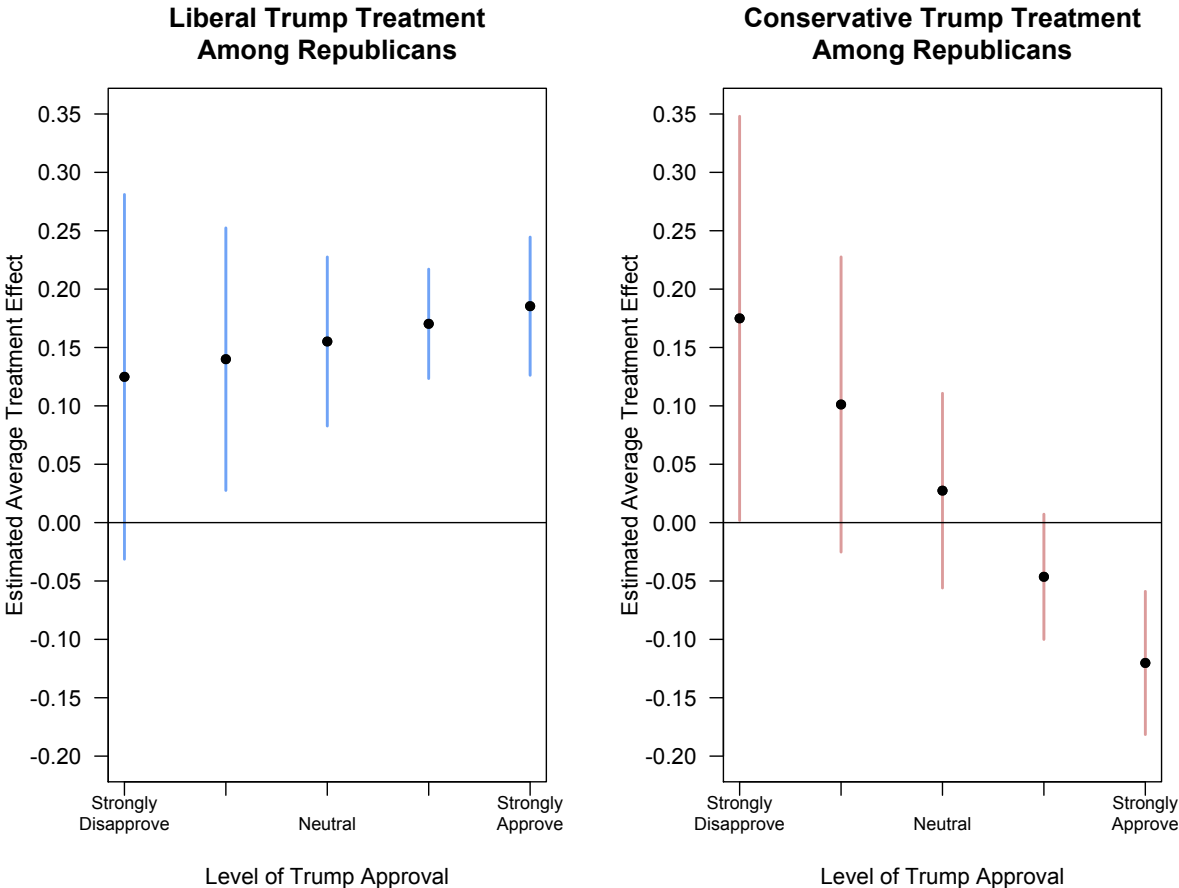


Figure A15: Among Republicans

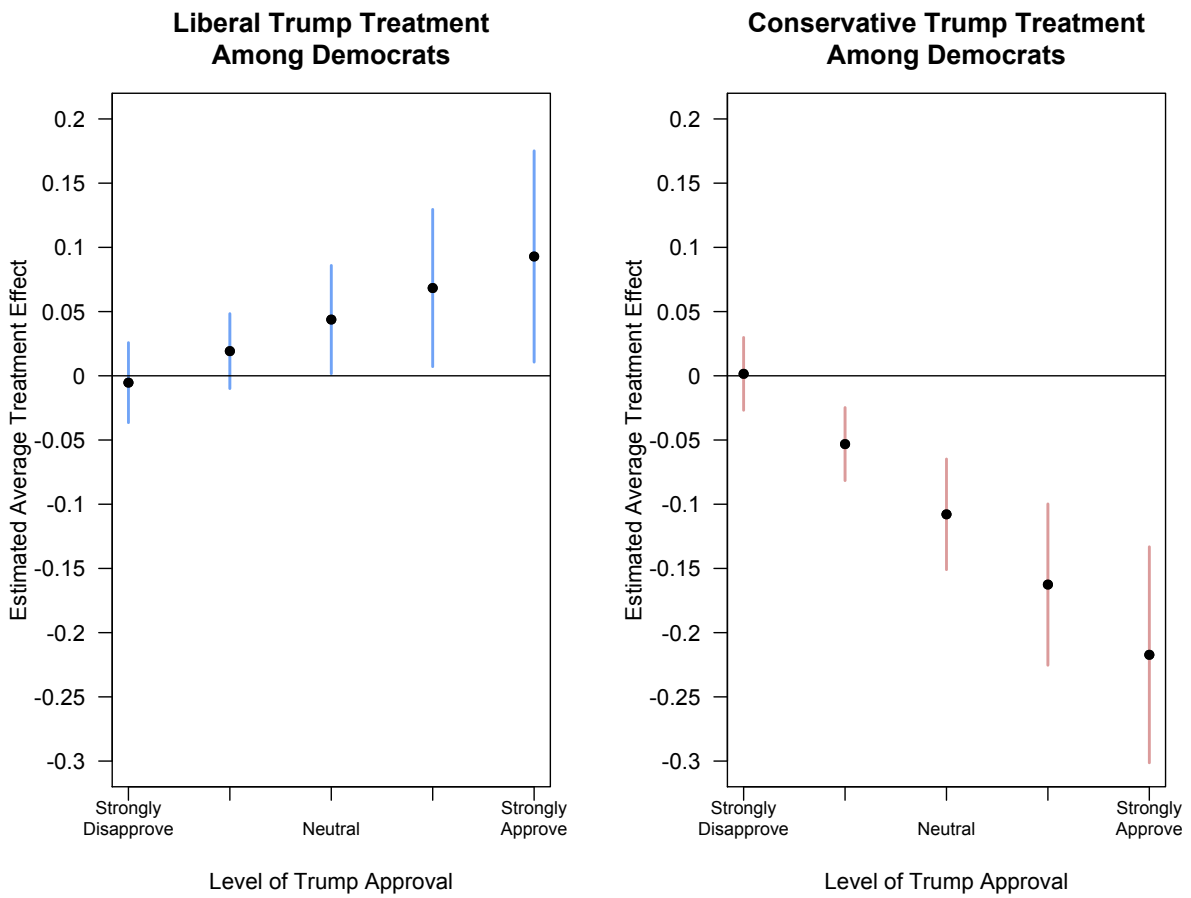


Figure A16: Among Democrats

The ATE by Trump Approval - Fully Interacted

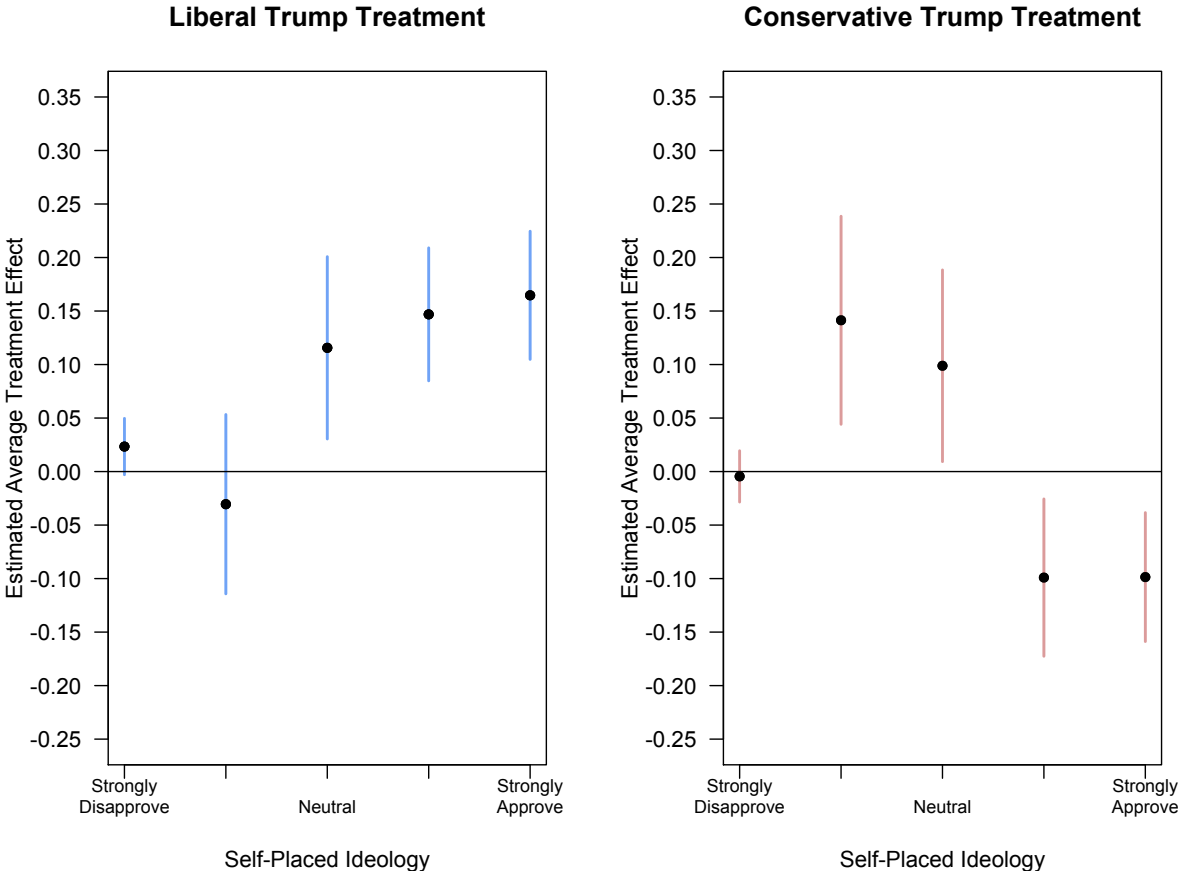


Figure A17: We relax the restriction of a linear interaction with the treatment here. The treatment effect is allowed to vary by each category.

The ATE by Self-Placed Ideology and Party

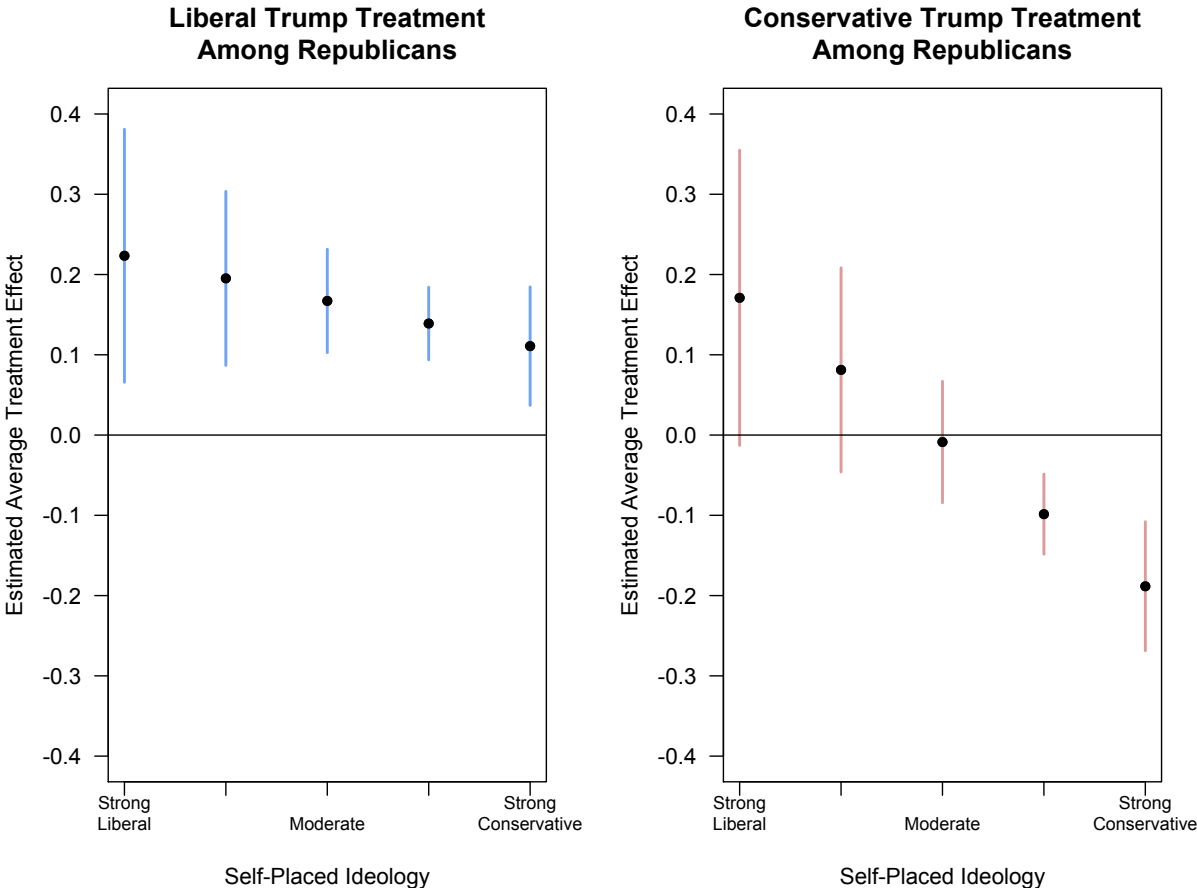


Figure A18: Among Republicans

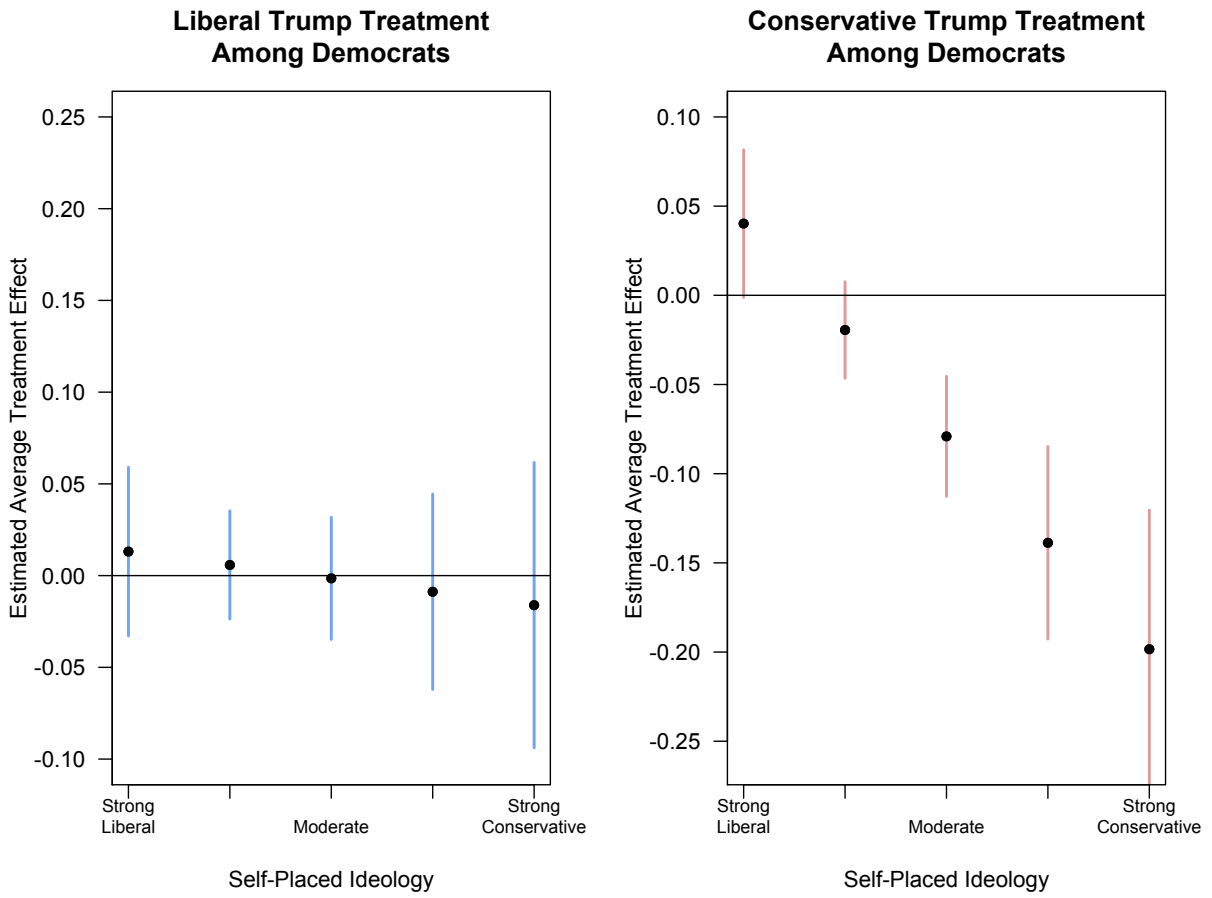


Figure A19: Among Democrats

The ATE by Self-Placed Ideology - Fully Interacted

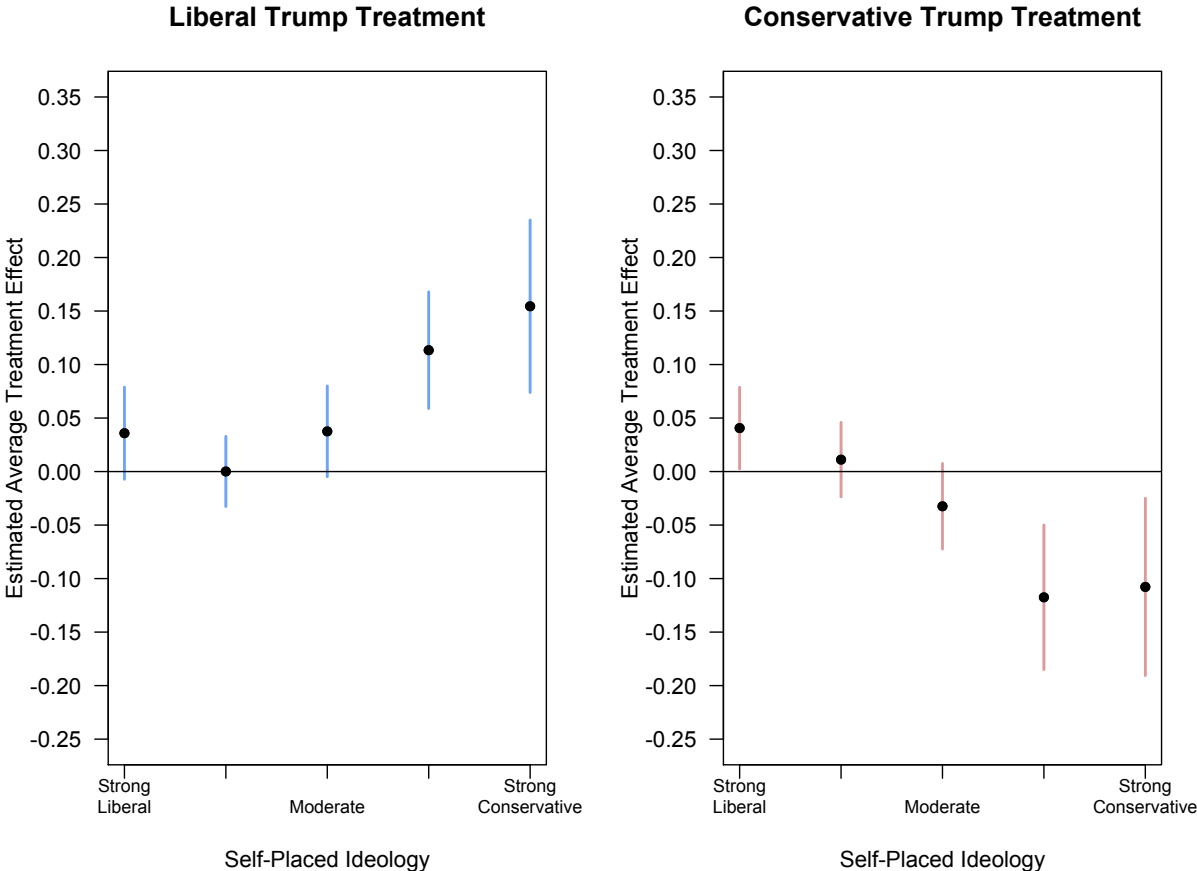


Figure A20: We relax the restriction of a linear interaction with the treatment here. The treatment effect is allowed to vary by each category.

The ATE by Party Strength - Fully Interacted

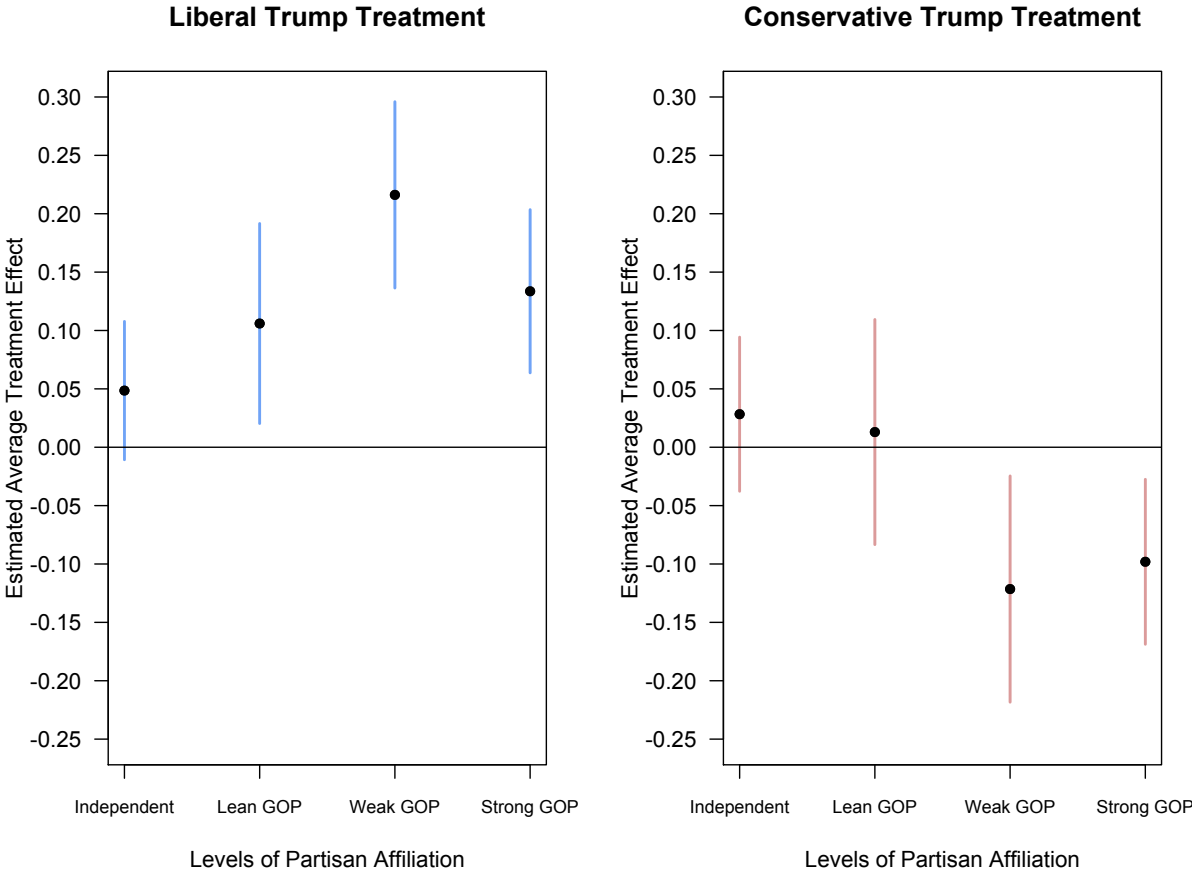


Figure A21: We relax the restriction of a linear interaction with the treatment here. The treatment effect is allowed to vary by each category.