# Appendix for Policy over party: The relative effects of candidate ideology and party on affective polarization

EXPERIMENT WORDING

Respondents saw one of the following vignettes:

### Control Condition

William Richardson is a 53-year-old businessman. He has been married for 34 years and has two sons. He earned his college degree in 1974 and then served for ten years in the state legislature. After that, he was a co-founder of the state's public affairs television station. In addition, he is a member of the board for the state history museum.

## Party Only

William Richardson is a [Republican/Democrat]. He is a 53-year-old businessman who has been married for 34 years and has two sons. He earned his college degree in 1974 and then served for ten years in the state legislature. After that, he was a co-founder of the state's public affairs television station. In addition, he is a member of the board for the state history museum.

## Ideology Only

*Extreme Conservative.* William Richardson is a 53-year-old businessman. He has been married for 34 years and has two sons. He earned his college degree in 1974 and then served for ten years in the state legislature. After that, he was a co-founder of the state's public affairs television station. In addition, he is a member of the board for the state history museum.

Richardson strongly opposes government-run universal healthcare. He believes that the federal government should not be able to mandate healthcare and favors a free-market system. In addition, this candidate is strongly pro-life and wants to prohibit federal funding for abortions. Lastly, he supports legal immigration only and wants tougher enforcement of immigration laws. He wants the federal government to better secure the southern border and not grant amnesty for those who enter the United States illegally.

*Moderate Conservative.* William Richardson is a 53-year-old businessman. He has been married for 34 years and has two sons. He earned his college degree in 1974 and then served for ten years in the state legislature. After that, he was a co-founder of the state's public affairs television station. In addition, he is a member of the board for the state history museum.

Richardson supports some degree of federal funding for healthcare, but opposes the individual mandate requiring people to purchase health insurance coverage. On the issue of abortion, this candidate is generally pro-choice and has been an outspoken supporter of federal funding for Planned Parenthood. Lastly, he supports tougher enforcement of immigration laws and wants the federal government to better secure the southern border. However, he still supports a path to citizenship for some illegal aliens and has voted on continuing federal funding for "sanctuary cities."

*Extreme Liberal.* William Richardson is a 53-year-old businessman. He has been married for 34 years and has two sons. He earned his college degree in 1974 and then served for ten years in the state legislature. After that, he was a co-founder of the state's public affairs television station. In addition, he is a member of the board for the state history museum.

Richardson is a strong advocate of universal single-payer healthcare and believes that health care is a basic human right. He thinks that the government should require that all Americans have healthcare coverage. In addition, he strongly supports abortion rights. He believes that abortion is a woman's unrestricted right and supports public abortion funding. Lastly, he supports legal immigration and rights for undocumented immigrants living the United States. He favors providing a pathway to citizenship for illegal aliens and strongly supports the DREAM Act, which protects young immigrants who are vulnerable to deportation.

*Moderate Liberal.* William Richardson is a 53-year-old businessman. He has been married for 34 years and has two sons. He earned his college degree in 1974 and then served for ten years in the state legislature. After that, he was a co-founder of the state's public affairs television station. In addition, he is a member of the board for the state history museum.

Richardson supports government-run healthcare and wants to prohibit insurers from denying coverage to people with preexisting conditions. However, he does not think that individuals and businesses should be required to buy insurance. In addition, he is opposed to abortion and consistently takes a pro-life stance. Lastly, he generally favors providing a pathway to citizenship for illegal aliens, but has showed support in the past for immigration enforcement laws.

## *Ideology + Party Only*

*Extreme Conservative.* William Richardson is a Republican. He is a 53-year-old businessman. He has been married for 34 years and has two sons. He earned his college degree in

1974 and then served for ten years in the state legislature. After that, he was a co-founder of the state's public affairs television station. In addition, he is a member of the board for the state history museum.

Richardson strongly opposes government-run universal healthcare. He believes that the federal government should not be able to mandate healthcare and favors a free-market system. In addition, this candidate is strongly pro-life and wants to prohibit federal funding for abortions. Lastly, he supports legal immigration only and wants tougher enforcement of immigration laws. He wants the federal government to better secure the southern border and not grant amnesty for those who enter the United States illegally.

Moderate Conservative. William Richardson is a Republican. He is a 53-year-old businessman. He has been married for 34 years and has two sons. He earned his college degree in 1974 and then served for ten years in the state legislature. After that, he was a co-founder of the state's public affairs television station. In addition, he is a member of the board for the state history museum.

Richardson supports some degree of federal funding for healthcare, but opposes the individual mandate requiring people to purchase health insurance coverage. On the issue of abortion, this candidate is generally pro-choice and has been an outspoken supporter of federal funding for Planned Parenthood. Lastly, he supports tougher enforcement of immigration laws and wants the federal government to better secure the southern border. However, he still supports a path to citizenship for some illegal aliens and has voted on continuing federal funding for "sanctuary cities."

*Extreme Liberal.* William Richardson is a Democrat. He is a 53-year-old businessman. He has been married for 34 years and has two sons. He earned his college degree in 1974 and then served for ten years in the state legislature. After that, he was a co-founder of the state's public affairs television station. In addition, he is a member of the board for the state history museum.

Richardson is a strong advocate of universal single-payer healthcare and believes that health care is a basic human right. He thinks that the government should require that all Americans have healthcare coverage. In addition, he strongly supports abortion rights. He believes that abortion is a woman's unrestricted right and supports public abortion funding. Lastly, he supports legal immigration and rights for undocumented immigrants living the United States. He favors providing a pathway to citizenship for illegal aliens and strongly supports the DREAM Act, which protects young immigrants who are vulnerable to deportation.

*Moderate Liberal.* William Richardson is a Democrat. He is a 53-year-old businessman. He has been married for 34 years and has two sons. He earned his college degree in 1974 and then served for ten years in the state legislature. After that, he was a co-founder of the state's public affairs television station. In addition, he is a member of the board for the

state history museum.

Richardson supports government-run healthcare and wants to prohibit insurers from denying coverage to people with preexisting conditions. However, he does not think that individuals and businesses should be required to buy insurance. In addition, he is opposed to abortion and consistently takes a pro-life stance. Lastly, he generally favors providing a pathway to citizenship for illegal aliens, but has showed support in the past for immigration enforcement laws.

## Outcome Measure

After reading the vignette, respondents were asked the following:

On a scale ranging from 0 to 100, where a score of 0 means you feel "cold" towards this candidate, a score of 50 means you do not feel "particularly warm or cold" towards this candidate, and a score of 100 means you have "warm" feelings towards this candidate, how would score your feelings towards this candidate?

#### MEASURING IDEOLOGICAL EXTREMITY

Ideological extremity was measured by first coding each of the following variables to lie between 0 and 1, where 0 meant the respondent gave the most liberal score, and 1 meant the respondent gave the most conservative score.

- When it comes to politics do you usually think of yourself as: Very conservative, Conservative, Slightly conservative. Moderate, Middle of the road, Slightly liberal, Liberal, Extremely liberal
- Which of the two statements comes closer to your view? (The less government, the better. [Coded 1]; There are more things that government should be doing. [Coded 0])
- Which of the two statements comes closer to your view? (The main reason government has become bigger over the years is because it has gotten involved in things that people should do for themselves. [Coded 1]; Government has become bigger because the problems we face have become bigger. [Coded 0]

These items were then averaged. Finally, ideological extremity was computed as the distance from the midpoint, and then rescaled to lie between 0 and 1. Ideological mismatched (e.g., Republicans who reported a liberal ideology/Democrats who reported a conservative ideology) were recoded as 0.

## SAMPLE DEMOGRAPHICS

Variable	Levels	n	%	∑ %
age	18 - 24	587	9.5	9.5
	25 - 34	1159	18.7	28.2
	35 - 44	1111	17.9	46.1
	45 - 54	1121	18.1	64.2
	55 - 64	1240	20.0	84.2
	65 - 74	786	12.7	96.8
	75 - 84	167	2.7	99.5
	85 or older	28	0.5	100.0
	all	6199	100.0	
race	American Indian or Alaska Native	87	1.4	1.4
	Asian	246	4.0	5.4
	Black or African American	643	10.5	15.9
	Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander	28	0.5	16.3
	Other	198	3.2	19.6
	White	4947	80.5	100.0
	all	6149	100.0	
sex	Female	4741	76.7	76.7
	Male	1441	23.3	100.0
	all	6182	100.0	
income	Less than 10, 000	514	8.4	8.4
	10, 000-19,999	604	9.8	18.2
	100, 000-149,999	591	9.6	27.8
	20, 000-29,999	769	12.5	40.4
	30, 000-39,999	739	12.0	52.4
	40, 000-49,999	633	10.3	62.7
	50, 000-59,999	651	10.6	73.3
	60, 000-69,999	443	7.2	80.5
	70, 000-79,999	416	6.8	87.3
	80, 000-89,999	262	4.3	91.6
	90, 000-99,999	241	3.9	95.5
	More than 150, 000	276	4.5	100.0
	all	6139	100.0	

TABLE 1 Sample Demographics