Appendix to

An Ideology by Any Other Name

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Contents

A: Study 1 Supplemental Results

A.1 Label Selection Among 'Moderates'

Figure A1 shows the proportion, of the subset of Study 1 respondents ($n = 1,543$) who self-placed as "moderate" on the standard 7-point scale (or did not respond to that question), who identified each ideological label as self-descriptive.

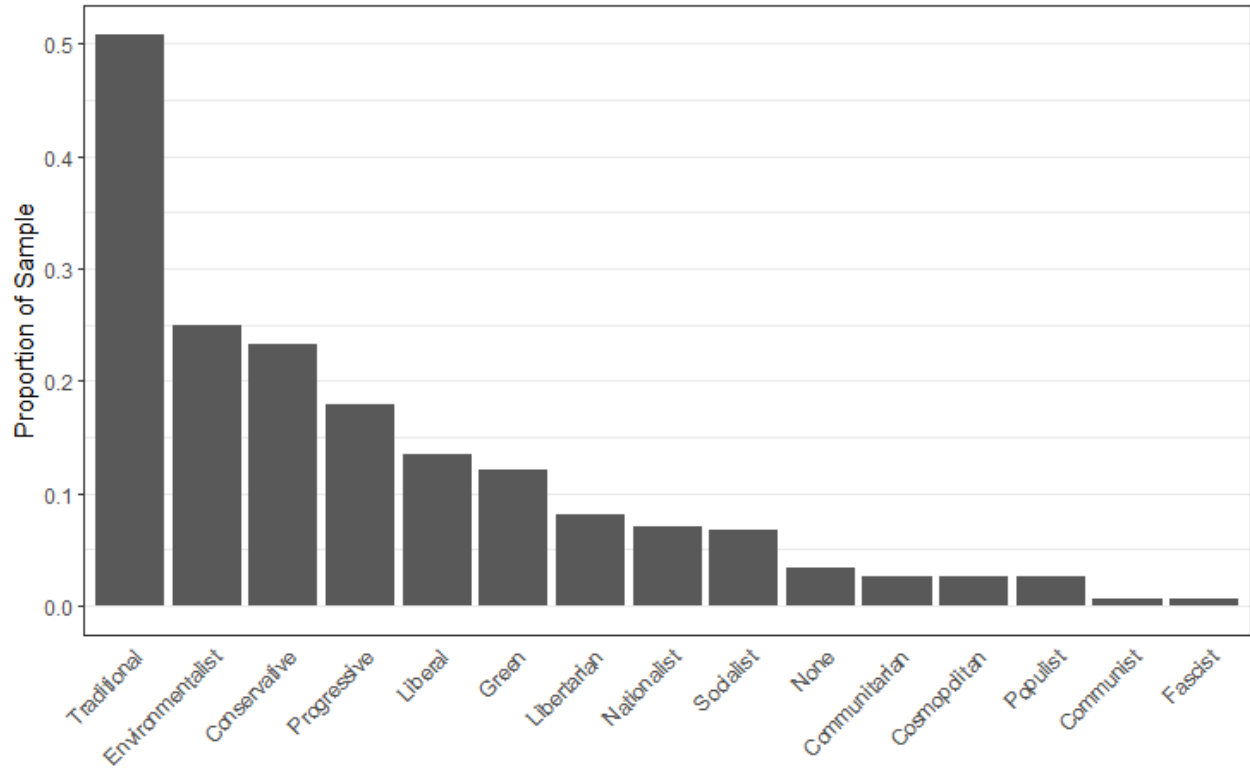## Proportion of 'Moderates' Identifying with Each Label

Figure A1: Data from Study 1. Figure shows the label identification among those who self-placed as 'moderate' on the standard 7-point measure of liberal-conservative ideology (or provided item non-response).

A.2 Conditional Probabilities of Label Selection

Table A2 below indicates the conditional probability that a Study 1 respondent self-identifies with a label (row) given that they also self-identify with another label (column).

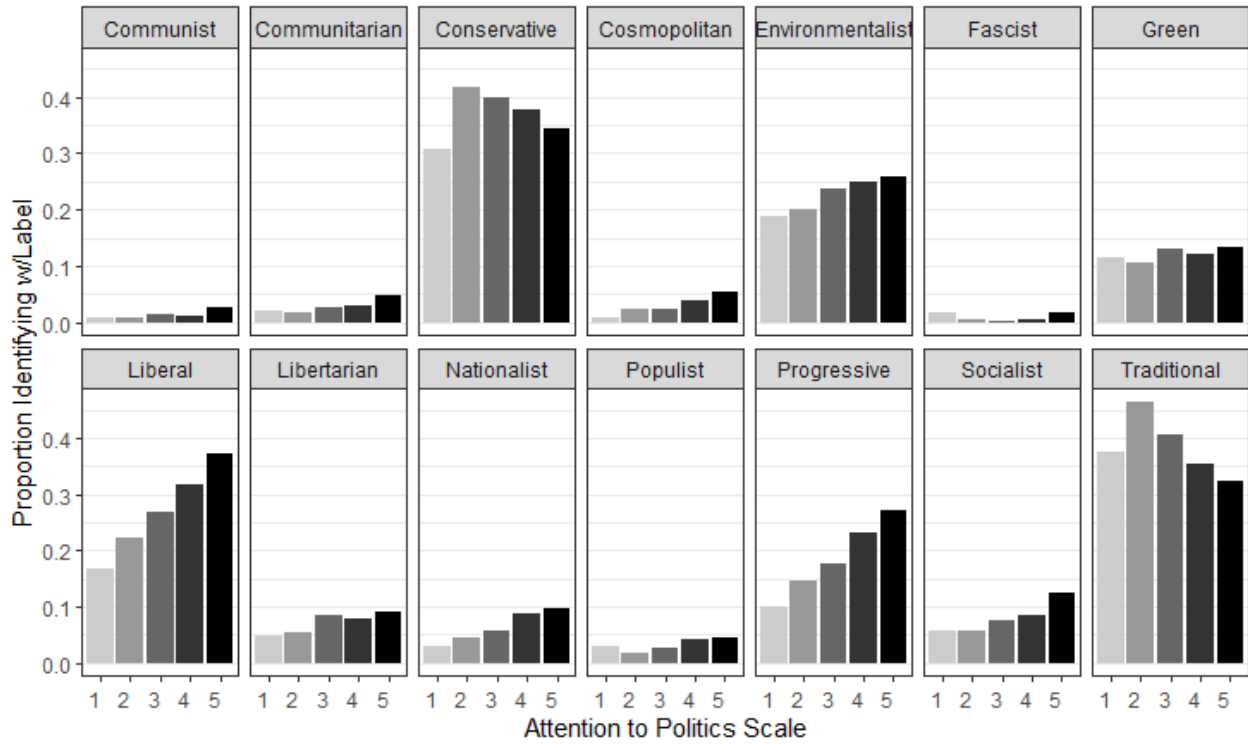Table A2: Conditional Probability of Identifying with Each Ideological Label

Given identity as:	Liberal	Progres.	Green	Conserv.	Tradit.	Libert.	Fascist	Socialist	Communist	Communit.	Nation.	Popul.	Cosmo.	Environ.
Cond. prob. of:														
Liberal		.52	.44	.03	.12	.25	.14	.55	.36	.35	.17	.32	.47	.44
Progressive	.36		.42	.07	.13	.21	.26	.46	.39	.41	.21	.42	.45	.41
Green	.18	.25		.07	.11	.17	.07	.27	.26	.33	.17	.23	.29	.34
Conservative	.04	.12	.21		.45	.31	.16	.06	.08	.21	.45	.32	.17	.22
Traditional	.16	.24	.32	.45		.31	.21	.22	.23	.38	.50	.37	.36	.34
Libertarian	.06	.08	.11	.07	.06		.12	.11	.15	.14	.17	.16	.11	.07
Fascist	.00	.01	.01	.00	.01	.01		.03	.08	.07	.02	.06	.02	.01
Socialist	.17	.20	.19	.01	.05	.13	.33		.46	.26	.15	.27	.23	.18
Communist	.02	.03	.03	.00	.01	.03	.14	.08		.08	.04	.06	.04	.03
Communitarian	.04	.06	.08	.02	.03	.06	.23	.09	.16		.08	.14	.14	.07
Nationalist	.04	.07	.10	.09	.10	.15	.19	.12	.18	.19		.27	.14	.10
Populist	.04	.07	.06	.03	.03	.07	.23	.10	.14	.15	.12		.09	.05
Cosmopolitan	.06	.08	.08	.02	.03	.05	.07	.09	.08	.16	.07	.09		.07
Environmentalist	.35	.47	.65	.14	.22	.23	.21	.49	.39	.52	.32	.38	.48	

Note: Data from Study 1. Each cell reports the sample conditional probability of identifying with a given label (row) if also identifying with another label (column).

A.3 Attention to Politics

Figure A3 indicates the proportion of Study 1 respondents at each level of attention to news about national politics who identified with each ideological label. For example, 46.4 percent of those who stated they paid "a little" attention to news about national politics identified as traditional, but only 32.3 percent of those who stated they paid "a great deal" of attention instead. For most of the labels, attention to politics (and other measures of political engagement) predict greater identification with that label. In contrast, political engagement slightly predicts against identification with the conservative label, and substantially against identification with the traditional label.

Figure A3: Data from Study 1.

A.4 Latent Ideology Structural Equation Model

In Study 1, we estimate a structural equation model in Mplus (version 8.6) to simultaneously estimate respondent positions on latent economic and social dimensions of left-right ideology. The model specifications, results, and fit statistics are provided below.
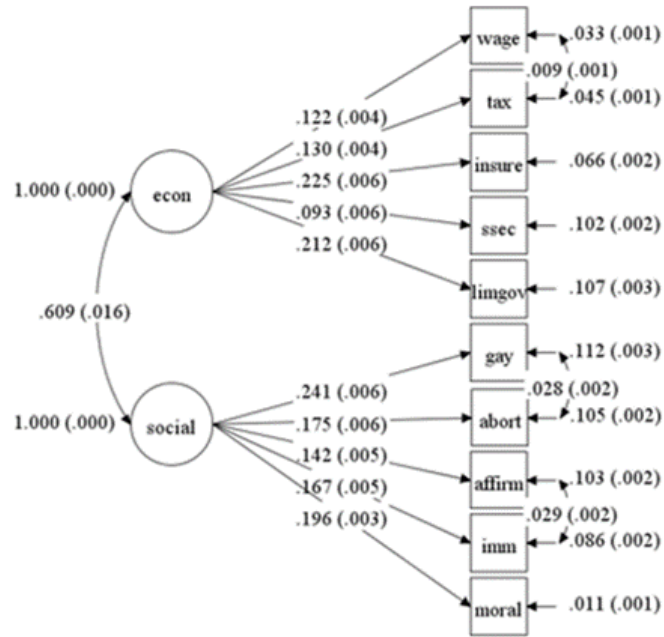

Figure A4: A structural equation model that estimates latent economic and social dimensions of left-right ideology. Data from Study 1.

Model Specification

```
econ by wage* tax insure limgov ;
social by gay* affirm abort imm moral ;
econ@1 ;
social@1 ;
econ with social ;
tax with wage ;
abort with gay ;
imm with affirm ;
```

Model Fit Statistics

RMSEA: 0.069
CFI: 0.930
TLI: 0.899

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A.5 Hierarchical Linear Models

Table A5: Hiearchical Linear Models Predicting Latent Left-Right Ideology and Issue Positions

	Dependent variable:					
	Econ. Conserv.	Taxes	Min. Wage	Social Sec.	Health Insur.	Trade
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Liberal	−0.386***	−0.069***	−0.067***	−0.054**	−0.101***	−0.105***
	(0.038)	(0.013)	(0.010)	(0.017)	(0.012)	(0.014)
Progressive	−0.299***	−0.067***	−0.045***	−0.029	−0.070***	−0.065***
	(0.036)	(0.013)	(0.010)	(0.016)	(0.012)	(0.013)
Green	−0.046	−0.034*	−0.022*	−0.014	−0.029	0.005
	(0.039)	(0.014)	(0.011)	(0.018)	(0.015)	(0.015)
Conservative	0.364***	0.053***	0.058***	0.025	0.138***	0.068***
	(0.041)	(0.014)	(0.011)	(0.018)	(0.011)	(0.014)
Traditional	0.151***	0.002	0.004	−0.018	0.024*	0.024
	(0.035)	(0.012)	(0.009)	(0.016)	(0.010)	(0.013)
Libertarian	0.339***	0.095***	0.090***	0.081***	0.087***	−0.008
	(0.046)	(0.016)	(0.013)	(0.021)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Fascist	0.422***	0.027	0.184***	0.095	0.175***	0.084
	(0.109)	(0.038)	(0.033)	(0.053)	(0.049)	(0.045)
Socialist	−0.278***	−0.053***	−0.044***	−0.017	−0.101***	0.001
	(0.043)	(0.015)	(0.012)	(0.020)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Communist	0.077	0.008	0.047	0.021	0.058	0.036
	(0.083)	(0.029)	(0.025)	(0.040)	(0.037)	(0.034)
Communitarian	−0.002	0.007	−0.004	0.069*	0.034	0.088***
	(0.061)	(0.021)	(0.018)	(0.029)	(0.027)	(0.025)
Nationalist	0.277***	0.049**	0.056***	0.071***	0.095***	0.106***
	(0.045)	(0.016)	(0.013)	(0.021)	(0.018)	(0.017)
Populist	0.090	0.060**	−0.001	0.028	0.012	0.068**
	(0.059)	(0.021)	(0.017)	(0.028)	(0.026)	(0.024)
Cosmopolitan	−0.043	−0.001	0.015	0.004	0.007	−0.022
	(0.057)	(0.020)	(0.017)	(0.027)	(0.025)	(0.023)
Environmentalist	−0.289***	−0.059***	−0.036***	−0.085***	−0.077***	−0.070***
	(0.035)	(0.012)	(0.009)	(0.016)	(0.012)	(0.013)
Constant	0.045	0.266***	0.207***	0.592***	0.457***	0.585***
	(0.038)	(0.014)	(0.010)	(0.017)	(0.011)	(0.013)
Observations	4,636	4,605	4,610	4,602	4,617	4,610
Adjusted ICC	0.028	0.033	0.010	0.016	0.000	0.009

*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Note: Data from Study 1. For each outcome variable, a hierarchical model estimates a fixed effect of identification with each label, as well as a random intercept (not shown) for each of 502 groups with a unique identification pattern across the labels. The intraclass correlation coefficient (ICC) value reflects the proportion of the total variance that is explained by the random intercepts.

Table A5 (cont.): Hiearchical Linear Models Predicting Latent Left-Right Ideology and Issue Positions

	Dependent variable:					
	Social Conserv.	Abortion	Aff. Action	Marriage	Immigration	Mil. Spending
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Liberal	−0.354***	−0.111***	−0.071***	−0.079***	−0.090***	−0.082***
	(0.039)	(0.013)	(0.019)	(0.018)	(0.016)	(0.015)
Progressive	−0.306***	−0.092***	−0.036*	−0.078***	−0.051***	−0.074***
	(0.037)	(0.013)	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.015)	(0.014)
Green	0.064	0.004	0.013	0.031	−0.005	−0.010
	(0.040)	(0.016)	(0.019)	(0.020)	(0.017)	(0.015)
Conservative	0.435***	0.148***	0.122***	0.168***	0.148***	0.084***
	(0.042)	(0.012)	(0.020)	(0.019)	(0.017)	(0.016)
Traditional	0.401***	0.035**	0.066***	0.123***	0.096***	0.091***
	(0.036)	(0.011)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.015)	(0.014)
Libertarian	0.035	−0.001	0.063**	−0.058*	0.023	−0.005
	(0.047)	(0.019)	(0.022)	(0.023)	(0.019)	(0.018)
Fascist	0.232*	0.191***	−0.071	0.055	−0.152**	0.108*
	(0.113)	(0.053)	(0.052)	(0.060)	(0.048)	(0.043)
Socialist	−0.224***	0.002	−0.122***	−0.017	−0.100***	−0.075***
	(0.045)	(0.018)	(0.021)	(0.022)	(0.018)	(0.017)
Communist	−0.107	0.089*	−0.054	0.053	−0.081*	0.010
	(0.086)	(0.040)	(0.040)	(0.045)	(0.037)	(0.033)
Communitarian	−0.025	0.112***	−0.128***	0.078*	−0.104***	0.044
	(0.063)	(0.030)	(0.029)	(0.033)	(0.027)	(0.024)
Nationalist	0.267***	0.131***	0.009	0.119***	0.018	0.115***
	(0.047)	(0.020)	(0.022)	(0.023)	(0.019)	(0.018)
Populist	0.054	0.032	0.006	−0.051	0.012	0.002
	(0.061)	(0.028)	(0.029)	(0.032)	(0.026)	(0.023)
Cosmopolitan	−0.108	0.030	−0.068*	−0.010	−0.054*	−0.020
	(0.059)	(0.027)	(0.028)	(0.031)	(0.025)	(0.022)
Environmentalist	−0.250***	−0.096***	−0.005	−0.072***	−0.021	−0.077***
	(0.036)	(0.013)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.015)	(0.014)
Constant	−0.135***	0.364***	0.516***	0.275***	0.512***	0.536***
	(0.039)	(0.011)	(0.019)	(0.017)	(0.016)	(0.015)
Observations	4,636	4,605	4,613	4,607	4,601	4,618
Adjusted ICC	0.027	0.000	0.035	0.010	0.019	0.024

*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Note: Data from Study 1. For each outcome variable, a hierarchical model estimates a fixed effect of identification with each label, as well as a random intercept (not shown) for each of 502 groups with a unique identification pattern across the labels. The intraclass correlation coefficient (ICC) value reflects the proportion of the total variance that is explained by the random intercepts.

B: Study 2 Supplementary Results

B.1 Estimated AMCEs of Candidate Ideology Signals

Table B1: Average Marginal Component Effects of Candidate Attributes on Voter Choice (H1 Models)

Election Party	Primary Democrats	Primary Republicans	General Democrats	General Republicans
Ideological Labels				
Liberal	0.013	−0.027	0.026	0.027
	(0.018)	(0.031)	(0.017)	(0.030)
Progressive	0.008	0.010	0.012	−0.030
	(0.016)	(0.032)	(0.019)	(0.029)
Environmentalist	−0.009	0.033	0.017	−0.039
	(0.018)	(0.030)	(0.018)	(0.030)
Socialist	−0.010	−0.069*	0.014	−0.037
	(0.017)	(0.030)	(0.018)	(0.031)
Conservative	−0.094***	0.091***	0.024	−0.004
	(0.027)	(0.019)	(0.028)	(0.018)
Nationalist	−0.063*	−0.012	−0.019	−0.018
	(0.027)	(0.020)	(0.029)	(0.018)
Libertarian	−0.0003	−0.019	−0.003	−0.024
	(0.029)	(0.020)	(0.030)	(0.018)
Traditional	0.008	0.049*	0.057	−0.021
	(0.030)	(0.019)	(0.030)	(0.018)
Issue Positions				
Import Taxes	0.012	0.036**	0.001	0.006
Gun Possession	−0.099***	0.028	0.011	−0.024
Universal Healthcare	−0.083***	0.024	−0.018	−0.017
Gun Sales	−0.063***	0.039**	−0.029*	−0.013
Strike Iran	−0.021	−0.008	0.013	−0.003
Legal Status for Immigrants	−0.041***	0.038**	−0.006	−0.004
Tax Wealthy	−0.097***	−0.050***	−0.032*	−0.030*
Carbon Tax	−0.042**	0.033*	0.008	0.011
Medical Marijuana	−0.048***	0.005	−0.010	−0.032*
Teen Abortions	0.004	0.081***	0.029*	−0.003
School Vouchers	0.017	0.044**	0.007	0.011
Marriage Equality	−0.116***	−0.017	−0.027*	−0.022
Recreational Marijuana	−0.044***	0.006	−0.027*	−0.018
UN Peacekeeping	−0.037**	0.050***	0.002	−0.006
Fund Arts	−0.031*	0.018	0.007	−0.012
Dreamers	−0.052***	0.037**	−0.006	0.011
Affirmative Action	−0.043***	0.020	−0.003	−0.028*
Birth Control	−0.030*	0.007	0.005	−0.030*
Oil Drilling	−0.030*	0.052***	0.015	0.003
Abortion	−0.049***	0.055***	−0.000	0.006
Death Penalty	0.024	0.066***	0.006	0.006
Spending	−0.016	0.028	−0.006	−0.009
College Loans	−0.060***	−0.009	0.007	−0.018
Minimum Wage	−0.078***	−0.023	−0.016	−0.020
Inequality	−0.043***	0.027	−0.019	−0.002
Global Affairs	−0.013	0.010	−0.005	−0.009
Protect Environment	−0.064***	0.014	0.001	−0.013
Constant	0.377***	0.414***	0.560***	0.457***
	(0.016)	(0.018)	(0.019)	(0.019)
Observations	9,352	7,728	8,491	8,491
*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001				

Note: Data from Study 2. For all models, the outcome variable is candidate selection (vote choice) in the conjoint decision task. For brevity, standard errors for the issue position attributes are not shown.

B.2 Estimated AMCEs of Ideology Matches

Table B2: Average Marginal Component Effects of Shared Ideological Affinities on Voter Choice (H2 Models)

Election Party	Primary Democrats	Primary Republicans	General Democrats	General Republicans
Ideological Labels				
Match: Liberal or Conservative	0.083***	0.093***	0.046*	0.033
	(0.024)	(0.025)	(0.020)	(0.023)
Match: Other Label	0.062***	0.056**	0.076***	0.046**
	(0.015)	(0.020)	(0.016)	(0.018)
Liberal	−0.025	−0.031	−0.005	−0.003
	(0.021)	(0.031)	(0.016)	(0.027)
Progressive	−0.013	0.003	−0.021	−0.017
	(0.017)	(0.032)	(0.016)	(0.025)
Environmentalist	−0.029	0.027	−0.011	−0.017
	(0.018)	(0.030)	(0.015)	(0.025)
Socialist	−0.018	−0.070*	−0.001	−0.042
	(0.017)	(0.030)	(0.015)	(0.027)
Conservative	−0.104***	0.033	0.002	−0.006
	(0.027)	(0.023)	(0.024)	(0.017)
Nationalist	−0.066*	−0.017	0.032	−0.024
	(0.027)	(0.020)	(0.024)	(0.015)
Libertarian	−0.005	−0.025	−0.045	−0.026
	(0.029)	(0.020)	(0.025)	(0.015)
Traditional	−0.007	0.023	0.020	−0.026
	(0.030)	(0.021)	(0.025)	(0.016)
Issue Positions				
Import Taxes	0.013	0.036**	−0.018	0.010
Gun Possession	−0.099***	0.028	0.006	−0.012
Universal Healthcare	−0.083***	0.025	−0.016	−0.012
Gun Sales	−0.062***	0.040**	−0.027*	−0.008
Strike Iran	−0.022	−0.009	0.004	−0.001
Legal Status for Immigrants	−0.042***	0.038**	−0.008	−0.001
Tax Wealthy	−0.097***	−0.048***	−0.040***	−0.040***
Carbon Tax	−0.043**	0.033*	0.001	0.008
Medical Marijuana	−0.047***	0.005	−0.014	−0.024*
Teen Abortions	0.003	0.082***	0.020	0.011
School Vouchers	0.017	0.044**	0.002	0.033**
Marriage Equality	−0.116***	−0.017	−0.025*	−0.012
Recreational Marijuana	−0.044***	0.006	−0.014	−0.016
UN Peacekeeping	−0.036**	0.050***	0.001	0.005
Fund Arts	−0.031*	0.018	0.006	−0.018
Dreamers	−0.051***	0.038**	−0.002	−0.006
Affirmative Action	−0.043***	0.020	−0.006	−0.014
Birth Control	−0.028*	0.007	−0.011	−0.023*
Oil Drilling	−0.030*	0.052***	0.012	0.002
Abortion	−0.049***	0.055***	−0.001	0.000
Death Penalty	0.024	0.067***	0.010	0.008
Spending	−0.015	0.027	−0.003	−0.006
College Loans	−0.059***	−0.010	0.002	−0.030**
Minimum Wage	−0.078***	−0.022	−0.019	−0.011
Inequality	−0.044***	0.028	−0.018	−0.000
Global Affairs	−0.013	0.010	−0.001	0.002
Protect Environment	−0.065***	0.014	0.009	−0.003
Party ID			−0.125***	0.127***
			(0.003)	(0.003)
Constant	0.377***	0.413***	1.032***	0.036*
	(0.016)	(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.018)
Observations	9,352	7,728	8,491	8,491

*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Note: Data from Study 2. For all models, the outcome variable is candidate selection (vote choice) in the conjoint decision task. For brevity, standard errors for the issue position attributes are not shown.

B.3 Additional Preregistered Analyses

In addition to the results of two hypotheses discussed in the main text (H1 and H2), we preregistered two additional hypotheses as part of Study 2. We proposed that the effect of a shared ideological label is stronger for voters with a strong psychological identification with the label, that is, the effect of a match increases with a voter's psychological attachment to the matched label (H3). Additionally, we proposed that the effect of alternative ideological labels on candidate preference would be stronger in primary elections than general elections (H4).

We test H3 by adding complexity to the models we employ to test H2, specifically by interacting that "match" variables with a measure of psychological attachment to a given respondent's most important label (identical to the measure used for Study 1, adapted from Huddy, Mason, and Aarøe 2015). H3 predicts positive coefficients on these interactions.

We test H4 by pooling the primary and general election candidates, split by party (excluding true independents) into Democrat candidates and respondents (n = 12,012 observations) or Republican candidates and respondents (n = 9,981 observations), and adding complexity to the models we employ to test H1 by interacting a binary indicator for election context (general = 0, primary = 1) on each of the candidate label indicators. H4 predicts positive coefficients on these interactions.

The results, which we report below in Table B3 and Table B4, do not support H3 or H4. While the effect of a label match often remains strong, the degree of individual respondents' psychological attachment does not appear to moderate that effect in most election contexts. Similarly, we see little statistically significant evidence of differences between general elections and primary elections in terms of the effect of candidate ideological signals, and only one such significant difference is in the expected direction.

Table B3: Average Marginal Component Effects of Strength of Shared Ideological Affinities on Voter Choice (H3 Models)

Election Party	Primary Democrats	Primary Republicans	General Democrats	General Republicans
Ideological Labels				
Match: Liberal or Conservative	0.091**	0.051	0.069*	0.006
	(0.036)	(0.038)	(0.032)	(0.039)
Most Imp.: Liberal or Conservative	−0.014	0.034	0.168	−0.043
	(0.082)	(0.077)	(0.072)	(0.081)
Strength: Liberal or Conservative	−0.007	0.028	−0.294***	0.120
	(0.108)	(0.097)	(0.089)	(0.102)
Match: Other Label	0.035	0.029	0.068***	0.023**
	(0.018)	(0.025)	(0.020)	(0.021)
Most Imp.: Other Label	0.026	−0.099	0.002	−0.050
	(0.069)	(0.065)	(0.081)	(0.078)
Strength: Other Label	0.050	0.256**	0.026	0.165
	(0.095)	(0.090)	(0.116)	(0.121)
Liberal	−0.017	−0.032	−0.005	−0.011
	(0.021)	(0.031)	(0.016)	(0.027)
Progressive	−0.011	0.006	−0.020	−0.018
	(0.017)	(0.032)	(0.016)	(0.026)
Environmentalist	−0.022	0.033	−0.009	−0.019
	(0.018)	(0.030)	(0.015)	(0.025)
Socialist	−0.017	−0.069*	0.001	−0.039
	(0.018)	(0.030)	(0.015)	(0.027)
Conservative	−0.103***	0.034	−0.003	−0.005
	(0.027)	(0.023)	(0.024)	(0.017)
Nationalist	−0.066*	−0.013	−0.031	−0.021
	(0.027)	(0.020)	(0.024)	(0.015)
Libertarian	−0.001	−0.024	−0.045	−0.027
	(0.029)	(0.020)	(0.025)	(0.015)
Traditional	−0.009	0.022	0.016	−0.029
	(0.030)	(0.021)	(0.024)	(0.016)
Party ID	0.003	0.002	−0.126***	0.127***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Constant	0.370***	0.424***	1.035***	0.036*
	(0.016)	(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.018)
Observations	9,352	7,728	8,491	8,491

*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Note: Data from Study 2. For all models, the outcome variable is candidate selection (vote choice) in the conjoint decision task. For brevity, point estimates and standard errors for issue position attribute AMCEs are not shown.

Table B4: Average Marginal Component Effects in General versus Primary Election (H4 Models)

Party	Democrats	Republicans
Ideological Labels		
Liberal	0.085***	−0.100**
	(0.024)	(0.032)
Progressive	0.052*	−0.075*
	(0.024)	(0.030)
Environmentalist	0.072**	−0.048
	(0.023)	(0.030)
Socialist	0.112***	−0.093**
	(0.023)	(0.031)
Conservative	−0.057**	0.029
	(0.022)	(0.031)
Nationalist	−0.091***	0.002
	(0.023)	(0.029)
Libertarian	−0.104***	0.054
	(0.022)	(0.028)
Traditional	−0.077***	0.053
	(0.022)	(0.030)
Primary*Liberal	−0.066*	0.058
	(0.030)	(0.046)
Primary*Progressive	−0.040	0.080
	(0.029)	(0.047)
Primary*Environmentalist	−0.076*	0.073
	(0.030)	(0.045)
Primary*Socialist	−0.117***	−0.001
	(0.029)	(0.044)
Primary*Conservative	−0.048	0.071
	(0.036)	(0.037)
Primary*Nationalist	0.030	−0.018
	(0.037)	(0.036)
Primary*Libertarian	0.087*	−0.076*
	(0.039)	(0.035)
Primary*Traditional	0.074	−0.003
	(0.038)	(0.037)
Primary	−0.242***	−0.214***
	(0.019)	(0.022)
Constant	0.495***	0.531***
	(0.013)	(0.017)
Observations	12,012	9,891
*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001		

Note: Data from Study 2. For all models, the outcome variable is candidate selection (vote choice) in the conjoint decision task. For brevity, point estimates and standard errors for issue position attribute AMCEs are not shown.

C: Study 1 Information

C.1 Study 1 Survey Overview

The data for Study 1 come from a nonprobability convenience sample collected via Lucid Marketplace ($n = 7,216$). Lucid is a platform which links researchers with over 250 sample providers. Providers direct their panelists to Lucid's Marketplace and Lucid directs these panelists to available surveys for which they qualify. In the United States, there were approximately 17.5 million unique visitors to Marketplace during the sixth-month period preceding January 2019 (Lucid 2019). Lucid determines unique respondents within each survey through a combination of IP address, a unique Lucid identification number, and a unique panel identification number (Lucid, private correspondence). In a recent study, Coppock and McClellan (2019) find (with one exception) that samples drawn from Lucid replicate previously published experimental findings and show effect sizes comparable to both the original studies and samples drawn from MTurk. Respondents received an incentive to participate in our surveys, but we were not provided specific information about these incentives. According to Lucid's ESOMAR 28, "All incentives are handled by our supply partners. Each incentive program is unique. Incentives come in the form of cash, gift cards, loyalty rewards, and charitable donations."

Recruited participants were asked to complete a web survey hosted on the Qualtrics platform. Recruitment and fielding proceeded in three waves. The first wave was fielded in August 2018 ($n = 4,148$), the second wave in October and November 2019 (n = 1,265), and the third wave in July 2020 ($n = 1,803$). The sample was restricted in all three waves to non-mobile-device users. We terminated respondents who failed either of two attention checks in the first part of the survey ($n = 1,142$). In the first check, respondents had to accurately select two photos of roads (from a set of six) that contained a stop sign. The second, a multiple-choice question, asked respondents to identify the current President of the United States. We additionally removed any respondents from the data with no or duplicate Lucid identification numbers to avoid repeat survey takers. The survey was approved by Duke's Institutional Review Board (approved protocol numbers: 2019-0038 and 2020-0523).

Respondents who broke off from the survey prior to the ideology measure ($n = 1,323$) were dropped from the analysis. We removed one respondent who provided item non-response for all ideology, personality, partisanship, and issue measures ($n = 1$) were also dropped from the analysis. Finally, those respondents who self-identified with at least two unlikely pairs of ideological labels (specifically: liberal and conservative, progressive and conservative, liberal and fascist, conservative and socialist, conservative and communist, or communist and fascist) were dropped as probable insincere responses ($n = 95$). These exclusions provided a final sample of $n = 4,655$ for analysis. The distribution of demographic characteristics for this sample is provided in Appendix C.2.

C.2 Study 1 Sample Descriptive Statistics

Table C2: Study 1 Sample Descriptive Statistics

		Percent of Sample:
Age		
	18-34	21.0
	35-49	23.7
	50-64	31.2
	65+	24.1
Gender		
	Male	45.7
	Female	53.7
	Other Gender	0.3
Race		
	White	78.6
	Black/African-American	11.7
	Hispanic/Latino	7.3
	Asian	4.3
	Native American	1.8
	Middle Eastern	0.2
	Mixed Race	1.0
	Other Race	0.6
Education		
	Less than High School	2.0
	High School or GED	22.1
	Some College	22.4
	Associate's Degree	14.0
	Bachelor's Degree	26.4
	Postgraduate Degree	12.8
Employment		
	Full-time	46.0
	Part-time	10.1
	Unemployed	9.5
	Retired	27.2
	Student	3.1
Annual Income		
	Less than $10,000	6.3
	$10,000 to $29,999	23.0
	$30,000 to $49,999	22.4
	$50,000 to $69,999	17.7
	$70,000 to $99,999	14.8
	$100,000 or more	16.0
Party ID		
	Strong Democrat	24.1
	Weak Democrat	13.5
	Lean Democrat	7.8
	Independent	15.6
	Lean Republican	7.3
	Weak Republican	12.5
	Strong Republican	18.9

Note: Data from Study 1 analysis sample of 4,655 respondents.

C.3 Study 1 Survey Questionnaire

Political Interest

How much attention do you typically pay to news about national politics?
- A great deal
- A lot
- A moderate amount
- A little
- None at all

During a typical week, how many days, if any, do you watch, read, or listen to news on TV, radio, printed newspapers, the Internet, or social media, not including sports?
- 0 days
- 1 day
- ...
- 7 days

Demographics

Which of the following best describes your gender?
- Male
- Female
- Other

What racial or ethnic group best describes you? Please check all that apply.
- White
- Black or African-American
- Hispanic or Latino
- Asian or Asian-American
- Native American
- Middle Eastern
- Mixed Race
- Other

What is the highest level of education that you have completed?
- Less than a high school degree or equivalent
- High school degree or equivalent (for example: GED)
- Some college, but no degree
- 2-year college degree/Associate's degree
- 4-year college degree/Bachelor's degree
- Postgraduate degree (MA, MBA, MD, JD, PhD, etc.)

What is your current employment status?
- Employed full-time
- Employed part-time
- Unemployed
- Retired
- Full-time homemaker
- Student
- Other

In what year were you born?
- (Text entry)

Finally, which of the following describes your total annual household income from [previous year]—that is, the total income everyone living in your household made together, before taxes, in [previous year]?

- Less than $10,000
- $10,000 to $19,999
- $20,000 to $29,999
- $30,000 to $39,999
- $40,000 to $49,999
- $50,000 to $59,999
- $60,000 to $69,999
- $70,000 to $79,999
- $80,000 to $89,999
- $90,000 to $99,999
- $100,000 to $119,999
- $120,000 to $149,999
- Over $150,000

Political Knowledge

Who is the current Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives?
- Nancy Pelosi
- Harry Reid
- Marco Rubio
- Paul Ryan
- Don't know

How long is the term of office for a U.S. Senator?
- 2 years
- 4 years
- 6 years
- 8 years
- Don't know

What job or political office is now held by John Roberts?
- Chair of the Democratic National Committee
- Senate Majority Leader
- Chief Justice of the Supreme Court
- Chair of the Republican National Committee
- Don't know

What job or political office is now held by Angela Merkel?
- Prime Minister of the United Kingdom
- German Chancellor
- Prime Minister of Australia
- Secretary of the Treasury
- Don't know

Who is the current Vice-President of the United States?
- Marco Rubio
- Mike Pence
- Chuck Schumer
- Joe Biden
- Don't know

Partisan Identity

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?
- Democrat
- Republican
- Independent
- Other party (please specify)

[If Democrat] Would you call yourself a strong Democrat, or a not very strong Democrat?
- Strong
- Not very strong

[If Republican] Would you call yourself a strong Republican, or a not very strong Republican?
- Strong
- Not very strong

[If Independent or Other party] Do you think of yourself as closer to the Democratic Party or to the Republican Party?
- Democratic Party
- Republican Party
- Neither

Liberal-Conservative Self-Placement

Where would you place yourself on this scale?
- Extremely liberal
- Mostly liberal
- Slightly liberal
- Middle of the road
- Slightly conservative
- Mostly conservative
- Extremely conservative

Traditional Moral Values

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

The world is always changing and we should adjust our view of moral behavior to those changes. [reverse coded]
- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Slightly agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Slightly disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

The newer lifestyles are contributing to the breakdown of society.
- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Slightly agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Slightly disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

This country would have many fewer problems if there were more emphasis on traditional family ties.
- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Slightly agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Slightly disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

We should be more tolerant of people who choose to live by their own moral standards, even if they are different from our own. [reverse coded]
- Strongly agree

- Agree
- Slightly agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Slightly disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

Limited Government

For each of the following, please select the statement that comes closest to your own opinion.

Which comes closer to your own opinion?
- We need a strong government to handle today's complex economic problems.
- The free market can handle these problems without government being involved.

Which comes closer to your own opinion? [reverse coded]
- The main reason government has become bigger over the years is because it has gotten involved in things people should do for themselves.
- Government has become bigger because the problems we face have become bigger.

Which comes closer to your own opinion? [reverse coded]
- The less government, the better.
- There are more things the government should be doing.

Military Spending

Some people believe that we should greatly increase federal spending on the military, even if it means higher taxes, while others believe that we should greatly decrease spending on the military and use the savings for tax cuts or spending on social programs. Other people have opinions somewhere in-between. What about you? [reverse coded]
- Increase spending on the military a great deal
- Increase spending on the military somewhat
- Increase spending on the military a little
- Decrease spending on the military a little
- Decrease spending on the military somewhat
- Decrease spending on the military a great deal

Health Insurance

Some people feel there should be a government insurance plan which would cover all medical and hospital expenses for everyone. Suppose these people are at point 1 on the scale below. Others feel that all medical expenses should be paid by individuals through private insurance plans like Blue Cross or other company paid plans. Suppose these other people are at point 7. And of course, some people fall in-between at points 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6. What about you?
- 1 – Government insurance plan
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7 – Private insurance plan

Marriage Equality

Which of the following comes closest to your own opinion? [coded in order 1, 3, 2]
- Gay marriage should be legal
- Gay marriage should be illegal
- Gay marriage should be illegal, but gay couples should be allowed to form civil unions giving them the same government benefits as marriage

Affirmative Action

Some people say that because of past discrimination, blacks should be given preference in hiring and promotion. Others say that such preference in hiring and promotion of blacks is wrong because it gives blacks advantages they haven't earned. How much do you support or oppose preferential hiring of blacks?
- Support strongly
- Support somewhat
- Support a little
- Oppose a little
- Oppose somewhat
- Oppose strongly

Abortion

Which of the following comes closest to your own opinion? [reverse coded]
- By law, abortion should never be permitted.
- The law should permit abortion only in cases of rape, incest, or when the woman's life is in danger.
- The law should permit abortion for reasons other than rape, incest, or danger to the woman's life, but only after the need for the abortion has been clearly established.
- By law, a woman should always be able to obtain an abortion as a matter of personal choice.

Minimum Wage

The current federally mandated minimum wage is $7.25 per hour. Which of the following comes closest to your own opinion?
- The federal minimum wage should be a lot higher.
- The federal minimum wage should be somewhat higher.
- The federal minimum wage should be a little higher.
- The federal minimum wage should be a little lower.
- The federal minimum wage should be somewhat lower.
- The federal minimum wage should be a lot lower.

Free Trade

Some people have suggested placing new limits on foreign imports in order to protect American jobs. Others say that such limits would raise consumer prices and hurt American exports. How much do you support or oppose placing new limits on foreign imports?
- Support strongly
- Support somewhat
- Support a little
- Oppose a little
- Oppose somewhat
- Oppose strongly

Social Security

A proposal has been made that would allow people to place a portion of their Social Security payroll taxes in personal retirement accounts that would be invested in stocks and bonds. Others believe that we should keep Social Security as it is now. How much do you support or oppose allowing people to invest their Social Security payroll taxes in stocks and bonds?
- Support strongly
- Support somewhat
- Support a little
- Oppose a little
- Oppose somewhat
- Oppose strongly

Taxes

Which of the following comes closest to your opinion?
- Wealthy Americans should pay much higher taxes than they do now
- Wealthy Americans should pay somewhat higher taxes than they do now
- Wealthy Americans should pay somewhat lower taxes than they do now
- Wealthy Americans should pay much lower taxes than they do now

Immigration

Which of the following comes closest to your opinion regarding the number of immigrants from foreign countries who are permitted to come to the United States to live?
- The number of immigrants should be increased a lot.
- The number of immigrants should be increased a little.
- The number of immigrants should be decreased a little.
- The number of immigrants should be decreased a lot.

Ideological Identification

Which of the following describes your political beliefs and attitudes? Please check all that apply.
- Liberal
- Progressive
- Green
- Conservative
- Traditional
- Libertarian
- Fascist
- Socialist
- Communist
- Communitarian
- Nationalist
- Populist
- Cosmopolitan
- Environmentalist

Is there some other word or phrase you would use to describe your political attitudes and beliefs? If so, please enter it below.
- No
- Yes (please specify)

If you had to choose only one, which of the following **best** describes your political beliefs and attitudes?
- (Choose from among labels selected above)

How important is being a [label] to you?
- Extremely important
- Very important
- Not very important
- Not important at all

How well does the term [label] describe you?
- Extremely well
- Very well
- Not very well
- Not at all

When talking about [label]s, how often do you use 'we' instead of 'they'?
- All of the time
- Most of the time
- Some of the time
- Rarely
- Never

To what extent do you think of yourself as being a [label]?
- A great deal
- Somewhat
- Very little
- Not at all

D: Study 2 Information

D.1 Study 2 Survey Overview

The data for Study 2 come from a nonprobability convenience sample collected via Lucid Marketplace ($n = 2,941$), fielded during July 19-24th, 2023. This study was approved by Duke's Institutional Review Board under protocol 2023-0521. Respondents received an incentive to participate in our surveys, but we were not provided specific information about these incentives. See Appendix C.1 for additional information about Lucid Marketplace. Recruited participants were asked to complete a web survey hosted on the Qualtrics platform. The sample was restricted to non-mobile-device users to ensure that respondents could view the stimuli properly.

We first screened participants for automated bots by asking them to correctly identify two photos that contained a stop sign (from a set of six). We then obtained informed consent and screened for participants who were less than 18 years of age or resided outside the United States. A total of 274 potential participants were screened out by the bot check, 370 did not consent to participate, and 54 either failed to complete the screening questions (33) or were deemed not to be members of the target population (22). A total of 2,941 respondents from the target population (U.S. general adult population) were recruited into the study.

We terminated 159 respondents who failed an initial attention check question that asked respondents to correctly select the color "green" from among five options. We also terminated 62 respondents who failed a second pre-treatment attention check that asked respondents to correctly select the letters "C" and "D" from among five options. A further 208 respondents failed to reach the last page of the survey, and are not included in the analysis. Finally, as we preregistered, we removed 42 respondents who failed at least two additional quality checks (self-reported age and birth year do not correspond, within a tolerance of +/- 2 years; self-reported state of residence and zip code do not match; non-sequitur or item non-response to an open-ended question about preferred news source; speeding, defined by completion in less than 1/3 of the median time; a score below 0.5 on Qualtrics' automated bot detection), and removed 37 additional respondents who reported at least two unlikely pairs of ideological attachments (both liberal and conservative, both progressive and conservative, both liberal and fascist, both conservative and socialist, both conservative and communist, or both communist and fascist), suggesting that they provided insincere responses. These exclusions reduce the final analysis sample to $n = 2,433$. Descriptive statistics for this sample are provided in Appendix D.2.

D.2 Study 2 Sample Descriptive Statistics

Table D2: Study 2 Sample Descriptive Statistics

		Percent of Sample:
Age		
	18-34	27.3
	35-49	23.2
	50-64	27.0
	65+	22.6
Gender		
	Male	48.7
	Female	50.8
	Other Gender	0.5
Race		
	White	75.0
	Black/African-American	11.9
	Hispanic/Latino	11.8
	Asian	3.9
	Native American	1.7
	Middle Eastern	0.4
	Mixed Race	1.7
	Other Race	0.7
Education		
	Less than High School	2.1
	High School or GED	19.1
	Some College	22.6
	Associate's Degree	12.9
	Bachelor's Degree	28.9
	Postgraduate Degree	14.4
Employment		
	Full-time	42.6
	Part-time	10.5
	Unemployed	9.6
	Retired	24.5
	Student	3.9
Annual Income		
	Less than $10,000	7.1
	$10,000 to $29,999	19.5
	$30,000 to $49,999	20.1
	$50,000 to $69,999	17.6
	$70,000 to $99,999	16.7
	$100,000 or more	18.8
Party ID		
	Strong Democrat	24.6
	Weak Democrat	13.7
	Lean Democrat	8.8
	Independent	14.4
	Lean Republican	8.8
	Weak Republican	11.3
	Strong Republican	18.5

Note: Data from Study 2 analysis sample of 2,433 respondents.

Figure D2 below shows the proportion of respondents in Study 2 who identified with each of the 14 ideological labels, as well as those who identified with none of the 14 labels. The general pattern of identification is similar to our findings from Study 1: conservative and liberal are among the most popular labels, along with traditional, progressive, and environmentalist; several other labels attract identifiers from around one in 10 respondents, including green, libertarian, socialist, and nationalist; and the remaining labels attracted few identifiers.
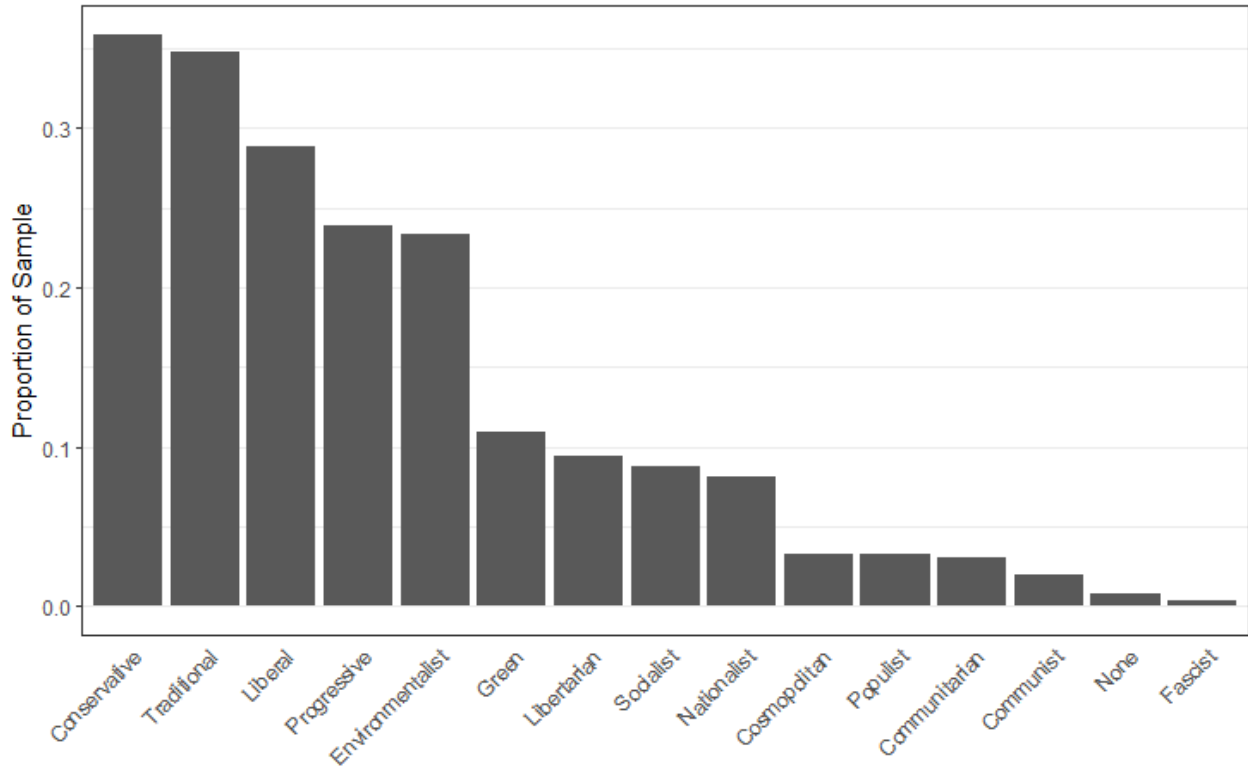
Figure D2: Data from Study 1.

D.3 Study 2 Survey Questionnaire

Post-consent Screening

Thanks! We first have a few questions to confirm your eligibility for the survey.

What is your age in years? Please enter a whole number:
- (Text entry)

In which state do you currently reside?
- I do not reside in the United States
- Alabama
- ...
- Wyoming

Attention Check

Which color is produced by combining blue and yellow? This is an attention check question and the correct answer is green.
- Green
- Orange
- Purple
- Blue
- Yellow

Pre-Treatment Measures

Thanks! You have qualified for the survey. We want to begin by asking you some questions about yourself and your opinions.
Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?
- Democrat
- Republican
- Independent
- Other party (please specify)

[If Democrat] Would you call yourself a strong Democrat, or a not very strong Democrat?
- Strong
- Not very strong

[If Republican] Would you call yourself a strong Republican, or a not very strong Republican?
- Strong
- Not very strong

[If Independent or Other party] Do you think of yourself as closer to the Democratic Party or to the Republican Party?
- Democratic Party
- Republican Party
- Neither

Where would you place yourself on this scale?
- Extremely liberal
- Mostly liberal
- Slightly liberal
- Middle of the road
- Slightly conservative
- Mostly conservative
- Extremely conservative

Which of the following describes your political beliefs and attitudes? Please check all that apply.

- Liberal
- Progressive
- Green
- Conservative
- Traditional
- Libertarian
- Fascist
- Socialist
- Communist
- Communitarian
- Nationalist
- Populist
- Cosmopolitan
- Environmentalist

Is there some other word or phrase you would use to describe your political attitudes and beliefs? If so, please enter it below.
- No
- Yes (please specify)

If you had to choose only one, which of the following **best** describes your political beliefs and attitudes?
- (Choose from among labels selected above)

How important is being a [label] to you?
- Extremely important
- Very important
- Not very important
- Not important at all

How well does the term [label] describe you?
- Extremely well
- Very well
- Not very well
- Not at all

When talking about [label]s, how often do you use 'we' instead of 'they'?
- All of the time
- Most of the time
- Some of the time
- Rarely
- Never

To what extent do you think of yourself as being a [label]?
- A great deal
- Somewhat
- Very little
- Not at all

During a typical week, how many days, if any, do you watch, read, or listen to news on TV, radio, printed newspapers, the Internet, or social media, not including sports?
- 0 days
- 1 day
- ...
- 7 days

What source of news do you use most often? This could be a specific newspaper, television station, website, radio station, social media app, or something else.
- (Text entry)

How much attention do you typically pay to news about national politics?
- A great deal
- A lot
- A moderate amount
- A little
- None at all

Attention Check

What are the third and fourth letters of the English alphabet? This is an attention check question and the correct answer is C and D (please select both).
- A
- B
- C
- D
- E

Conjoint Treatment

Thank you! Now we will move on to another set of topics.

For the next set of questions, we would like you to pretend you are voting [/ in the primary election] for your congressional district's representative to the US House of Representatives.

For each question, you will see two candidates listed[: one Democrat and one Republican / , both of which are Democrats / , both of which are Republicans]. Each of these candidates will take positions on several important issues.

Your task is to look carefully at each candidate, and decide which one you prefer[/ to be the [Democrat / Republican] candidate in the general election].

You will make 7 separate decisions between different pairs of candidates for the [US House / Democrat / Republican] candidate in your district.

For each decision, we ask only that you take the task seriously. Please imagine that these are real candidates in a real election for the US House in your district. Choose the candidate you think you would actually vote for in a real [/ primary] election.

Thank you for taking this task seriously. It is very helpful for our research.

Possible conjoint attribute values (randomized):

Party ID:
- Democrat
- Republican

Ideology:
- (Blank)
- Liberal
- Progressive
- Socialist
- Environmentalist
- Conservative
- Nationalist
- Libertarian
- Traditional

Issue Positions (as shown **or** its converse):
- "REDUCE import taxes on non-American goods."
- "INCREASE restrictions on possession of guns."

- "SUPPORT government-run universal healthcare program."
- "INCREASE restrictions on sale of firearms."
- "OPPOSE military strike on Iran's nuclear facilities."
- "SUPPORT legal status for employed, taxpaying, undocumented immigrants."
- "RAISE taxes on the wealthy."
- "SUPPORT carbon tax to reduce greenhouse gas emissions."
- "SUPPORT allowing doctors to prescribe marijuana."
- "OPPOSE parental consent requirements for teen abortions."
- "OPPOSE school-choice voucher programs."
- "SUPPORT marriage equality for same-sex couples."
- "SUPPORT legalizing recreational marijuana."
- "INCREASE US contributions to UN peacekeeping missions."
- "INCREASE government funding for the arts."
- "SUPPORT citizenship for undocumented immigrants brought to US as children."
- "SUPPORT affirmative action for racial minorities."
- "OPPOSE religious exemption for employers to refuse to cover birth control."
- "DECREASE offshore oil drilling."
- "SUPPORT legal abortion after 15 weeks of pregnancy."
- "OPPOSE the death penalty."
- "INCREASE government spending to stimulate economic growth."
- "INCREASE government subsidized loans for low-income college students."
- "SUPPORT increasing federal minimum wage to $15."
- "MORE government programs to reduce income inequality."
- "INCREASE American involvement in global affairs."
- "MORE regulations to protect the environment."

Please look carefully at each candidate for the US House of Representatives in your district. Then choose the candidate you would vote for if this were a real election.

Candidate 1	Candidate 2
Democrat	Republican
Environmentalist	Conservative
INCREASE US contributions to UN peacekeeping missions.	FEWER regulations to protect the environment.
MORE regulations to protect the environment.	SUPPORT increasing federal minimum wage to $15.
INCREASE government funding for the arts.	DECREASE restrictions on sale of firearms.
FEWER government programs to reduce income inequality.	SUPPORT religious exemptions that allow employers to avoid paying for birth control.
OPPOSE military strike on Iran's nuclear facilities.	OPPOSE parental consent requirements for teen abortions.

Which candidate do you prefer?

| Strongly prefer Candidate 1 | Slightly prefer Candidate 1 | Slightly prefer Candidate 2 | Strongly prefer Candidate 2 |

Figure D3: Example decision task. Participants repeated this task 7 times. This image is an example decision task, for which the values shown in each field are randomized.

Demographics

Thanks! We have a few background questions for statistical purposes.

Which of the following best describes your gender?
- Male
- Female
- Something else

What racial or ethnic group best describes you? Please check all that apply.
- White
- Black or African-American
- Hispanic or Latino
- Asian or Asian-American
- Native American
- Middle Eastern
- Multi-race
- Something else

What is your current employment status?
- Employed full-time
- Employed part-time
- Unemployed
- Retired
- Full-time homemaker
- Student
- Other

What is the highest level of education that you have completed?
- Less than a high school degree or equivalent
- High school degree or equivalent (for example: GED)
- Some college, but no degree
- 2-year college degree/Associate's degree
- 4-year college degree/Bachelor's degree
- Postgraduate degree (MA, MBA, MD, JD, PhD, etc.)

In what year were you born? Please enter a 4-digit number:
- (Text entry)

Finally, which of the following describes your total annual household income from 2022—that is, the total income everyone living in your household made together, before taxes, in 2022?
- Less than $10,000
- $10,000 to $19,999
- $20,000 to $29,999
- $30,000 to $39,999
- $40,000 to $49,999
- $50,000 to $59,999
- $60,000 to $69,999
- $70,000 to $79,999
- $80,000 to $89,999
- $90,000 to $99,999
- $100,000 to $119,999
- $120,000 to $149,999
- Over $150,000

In which ZIP code do you currently reside? Please enter a 5-digit number:
- (Text entry)