Online Appendix for "The Limits of Partisan Loyalty"

Contents

1   Issue Heterogeneity in Study 1

In the in-text analysis of Study 1 we do not distinguish agreement across the different issues. In the table below we separately consider the individual effects of each issue, by regressing candidate choice on a set of binary variables for agreement on each issue.

Table A1: Effect of Issue Agreement on Candidate Choice - Study 1 - By Issue

	Model 1
(Intercept)	0.27*
	(0.01)
Corporate Tax	0.10*
	(0.01)
Muslim Immigration	0.11*
	(0.01)
Obamacare	0.18*
	(0.01)
Birth Control	0.08*
	(0.01)
N	21456

Robust standard errors, clustered by Respondent, in parentheses
* indicates significance at $p < 0.05$

There is some heterogeneity across these different issues. Obamacare is more influential, with agreement on this issue produced an 18 percentage point increase in the probability a candidate was chosen. Agreement with a candidate on the other three issues considered in Study 1 (Muslim Immigration, Birth Control Access and Corporate Taxation) has a similar effect on candidate choice ranging from 8 to 11 percentage points.

2 Validating Issue Salience Divide In Study 2

The design of Study 2 hinges on a clear divide in the salience of the political importance of the issues that are available for assessing candidates. We go about validating this issue in several ways that involve 1) a pre-test assessment to aid in the selection the issues for study 2, 2) the use of self-reported importance among study 2 participants and 3) a behavioral assessment of issue importance based on the relevance of these issues for candidate choice in the conjoints. We present each piece of evidence below.

2.1 Pre-Test Assessment

A pre-test prior to Study 2 identified a contrasting set of high and low-salience political issues to incorporate into the candidate conjoints. In this pre-test a set of 453 respondents from Amazon's Mechanical Turk evaluated 10 pairs of candidates who took positions on all 21 of these issues. Candidate partisanship was not included in these experiments.

We identify issues based on the degree to which candidate position-taking produces heterogeneous responses among Republicans and Democratic respondents in our sample. This enables us to examine issues that divide the electorate while also avoiding the need to administer a lengthy pre-test questionnaire that asks for a respondents' own issue positions on all 21 of these items, which was infeasible in this setting.

The figure below displays the issues included in the pre-test with respect to to how heterogeneous of a response they drew from Republicans and Democrats in the sample. This is assessed by the interaction coefficient between the candidate position on that issue and respondent partisanship in the following model, which was estimated separately for each of the issues in the experiment:

$$Prefer\ Candidate\ =\ \beta_0 + \beta_1 Issue\ Agreement + \beta_2 Democrat + \beta_3\ Issue\ Agreement \times Democrat + \epsilon$$

Since we are interested in the divides in responses between Democrats and Republicans on an issue, and not necessarily the direction of these divides, we display the absolute value of the coefficient of interest (β_3) in the figure below for clarity. This coefficient indicates the magnitude of the divide in between-party responsiveness to candidate position-taking on this issue which is our primary interest here.

Figure B1: Heterogeneity of Issues Position Effects by Party

Effect Heterogeneity Pre–Test
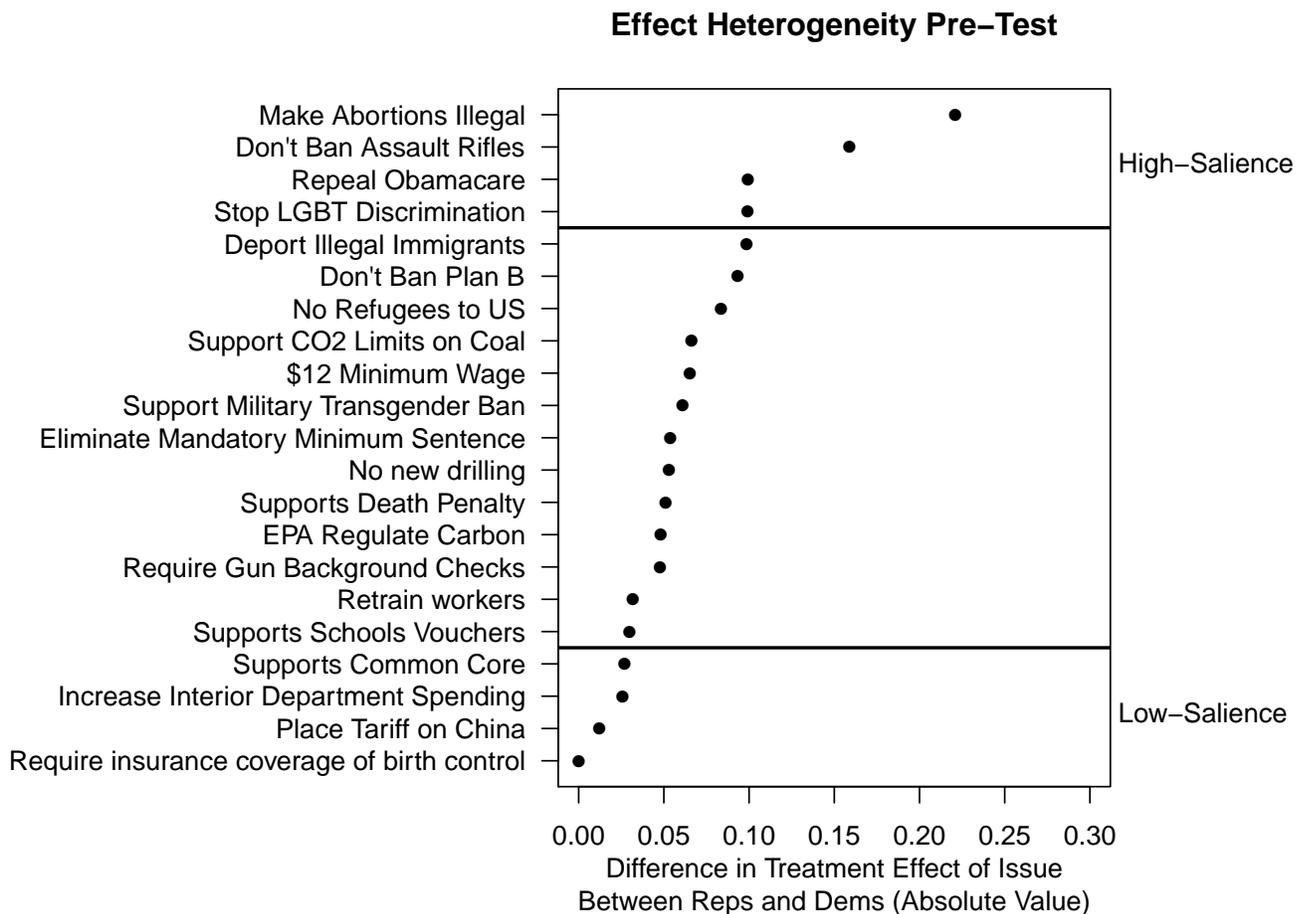
This reveals a set of issues at the very top of the plot that generate very difference responses among Republicans and Democrats. We include the top four of these issues as high-salience issues in Study 2. At the bottom of the plot are a set of issues that produce relatively similar responses between Republicans and Democrats. We use the bottom four

issues in Study 2 as the low-salience issues. This categorization produces a clean divide in the political importance of these issues for candidate choice, at least as measured with respect to how groups of partisans respond to these issues on average.

2.2 Self-Reported Importance in Study 2 Survey

In addition to this pre-test, Study 2 included a set of self-reports in which individuals were asked how important an issue was for their candidate choices prior to the conjoint experiments.

Consistent with a clear bifurcation in the importance of these two sets of issues. The average self-reported importance for the high-salience issues was 2.7 when assessed on a 4-pt scale. For the low-salience issues the average self-reported importance is 2.2.

This measure of importance is displayed for each of these issues below. Issues that we categorized as high-salience are displayed in bold. The one reversal from the expected ordering is the higher importance rating for birth control relative to abortion. However, we do not observe this same pattern when looking at how respondents actually used these issues in Study 2.

Table B1: Average Self-Reported Issue Importance - Study 2

	Issue	Self-Reported Importance
1	**Assault Rifle**	3.00
2	**Obamacare**	2.75
3	**LGBT Discrimination**	2.73
4	Birth Control coverage by Insurance	2.55
5	**Abortion**	2.43
6	Tariff on China	2.26
7	Common Core	2.20
8	Interior Spending	1.94

2.3 Impact on Candidate Candidate Choice in Study 2

A final way to assess the political importance of these issues for candidate choice is to examine how they were used in Study 2 for deciding between candidates. In this case, because

individuals completed a pre-conjoint questionnaire of their own positions, we can assess political salience by looking at how important agreement on these issues was for candidate choice.

Again there is a clear divide between how important these two sets of issues were for candidate choice. This is displayed in the table below. The magnitudes of the coefficients for the issues identified as high-salience prior to Study 2 are the four highest, the effects of the low-salience issues on candidate choice are smaller.

Table B2: Effect of Issue Agreement on Pr(Select Candidate)

	Model 1
(Intercept)	0.17*
	(0.01)
Rifle	0.14*
	(0.01)
Abortion	0.12*
	(0.01)
LBGT Discrimination	0.12*
	(0.01)
Obamacare	0.09*
	(0.01)
Birth Control	0.07*
	(0.01)
Tariff	0.04*
	(0.01)
Common Core	0.04*
	(0.01)
Dept. of Interior Spending	0.03*
	(0.01)
N	21712

Issues labeled as High-Salience prior to Study 2 in bold
Robust standard errors, clustered by Respondent, in parentheses
* indicates significance at $p < 0.05$

This offers further behavioral evidence that is consistent with our characterization of issues prior to Study 2.

3 Example Profile

The profile below shows an example of the information about candidates that was available in Studies 2 and 3.

Figure C1: Stereotypical Candidate Pairing in Study 3

Which of these two candidates do you prefer?

	Candidate 1	Candidate 2
Political Party	Republican	Democrat
Abortion	Make abortions illegal	Do not make abortions illegal
Assault Rifle Ban	Do not ban assault rifles	Ban assault rifles
Obamacare	Supports Obamacare repeal	Opposes Obamacare repeal
LGBT Protection	Opposes laws protecting LGBT people against discrimination	Supports laws protecting LGBT people against discrimination
Health Insurance	Do not require insurance to cover birth control	Require insurance to cover birth control
Trade Policy	Place a tariff on imported goods from China	Do not place a tariff on imported goods from China
Interior Department	Opposes spending increase at the Department of the Interior	Supports spending increase at the Department of Interior
Common Core	Opposes Common Core standards	Supports Common Core standards
Gender	Male	Male
Race	White	White

○ Candidate 1
○ Candidate 2

4 Additional Analyses

4.1 Study Demographics

The table below displays the demographics of the survey respondents we analyze in Study 1 and Study 2. As mentioned in the main text, we focus only on those individuals with a party affiliation to examine the effects of party cues. The next section provides a supplementary analysis in which we re-weight the data to targets from the 2016 National Election Study to ensure that our pattern of findings is not driven by demographic differences between these quote-sampled online pools and a nationally representative sample.

Table D1: Study Demographics

Study	Study 1	Study 2
Black	0.08	0.09
Hispanic	0.05	0.11
White	0.83	0.73
Other Race	0.05	0.07
College or More	0.48	0.64
Female	0.52	0.51
Age	52.68	46.61
Income ($)	61520.33	75195.76
Democrat	0.49	0.52
Republican	0.51	0.48
Sample Size	3075	1439

4.2 Limited Effect Heterogeneity by Party in Studies 1 and 2

The next two tables display the regression models we use to produce the figures in the main text. In this case we break out the results using all partisan respondents (Column 1), data that is reweighted to resemble partisan respondents to the 2016 National Election Study (Column 2)[1], only Democrats (Column 3), and only Republicans (Column 4).

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[1]For this analysis we generate raking weights to re-weight the demographics of our survey respondents in Study 1 and Study 2 to targets taken from the face-to-face portion of the 2016 National Election Study. The covariates used to produce these weights are Partisanship, Ideology, Education, Age, Race and Gender.

This exercise shows that there is minimal heterogeneity in either the effects of a shared party label or issue agreement by party across these studies. The patterns we describe in the main text are similar when examining the entire sample of partisan respondents, incorporating the raking weights or seperately assessing the effects among both sets of partisans.

Table D2: Effect of Co-Partisanship and Issue Agreement on Candidate Choice - Study 1

	All	All - Reweighted	Democrats Only	Republican Only
(Intercept)	0.11*	0.12*	0.13*	0.09*
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Co-Partisan	0.35*	0.34*	0.34*	0.36*
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)
High-Salience Agree - 1 Issue	0.09*	0.09*	0.07*	0.11*
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
High-Salience Agree - 2 Issues	0.21*	0.22*	0.20*	0.23*
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
High-Salience Agree - 3 Issues	0.33*	0.33*	0.31*	0.35*
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
High-Salience Agree - 4 Issues	0.44*	0.41*	0.42*	0.46*
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)
N	21456	21456	10592	10864

Robust standard errors in parentheses
* indicates significance at $p < 0.05$
Reference Condition is Out-Party Candidate with No Issue Agreement

Table D3: Effect of Co-Partisanship and Issue Agreement on Candidate Choice - Study 2

	All	All - Reweighted	Democrats Only	Republican Only
(Intercept)	0.01	0.00	−0.02	0.05*
	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Co-Partisan	0.26*	0.22*	0.24*	0.28*
	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
High-Salience Agree - 1 Issue	0.14*	0.18*	0.18*	0.10*
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
High-Salience Agree - 2 Issues	0.25*	0.30*	0.30*	0.19*
	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
High-Salience Agree - 3 Issues	0.38*	0.41*	0.45*	0.31*
	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
High-Salience Agree - 4 Issues	0.48*	0.49*	0.54*	0.40*
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Low-Salience Agree - 1 Issue	0.06*	0.05	0.06*	0.06*
	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Low-Salience Agree - 2 Issues	0.11*	0.09*	0.11*	0.11*
	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Low-Salience Agree - 3 Issues	0.14*	0.14*	0.12*	0.17*
	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Low-Salience Agree - 4 Issues	0.19*	0.22*	0.18*	0.19*
	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.03)
N	21100	21100	11048	10052

Robust standard errors in parentheses

* indicates significance at $p < 0.05$

Reference Condition is Out-Party Candidate with No Issue Agreement

4.3 Out-Party Support by Low and High Salience Issue Disagreement in Study 2

The figure below displays the predicted levels of support for out-party candidates in Study 2 based on disagreement across low and high salience political issues.

There are similar dynamics to co-partisan candidate support – disagreement on high-salience issues exerts a large effect on candidate support while low-salience issues have a much more limited role in reducing candidate support – but overall levels of support for out-party candidates across all of these conditions are lower.

Levels of candidate support in the condition in which a respondent disagreed with a candidate on four high-salience issues are higher then the observational benchmark from the

2016 ANES, although in this case this is because these predicted probabilities assume the respondent still agreed with the candidate on all four low-salience issues.

When a candidate and the voter disagree on all eight issues included in the experiment (both high and low salience issues) they were only predicted to receive support 1% of the time, well below the observational benchmark.

Figure D1: Tolerance for Issue Disagreement on High and Low-Salience Issues in Study 2
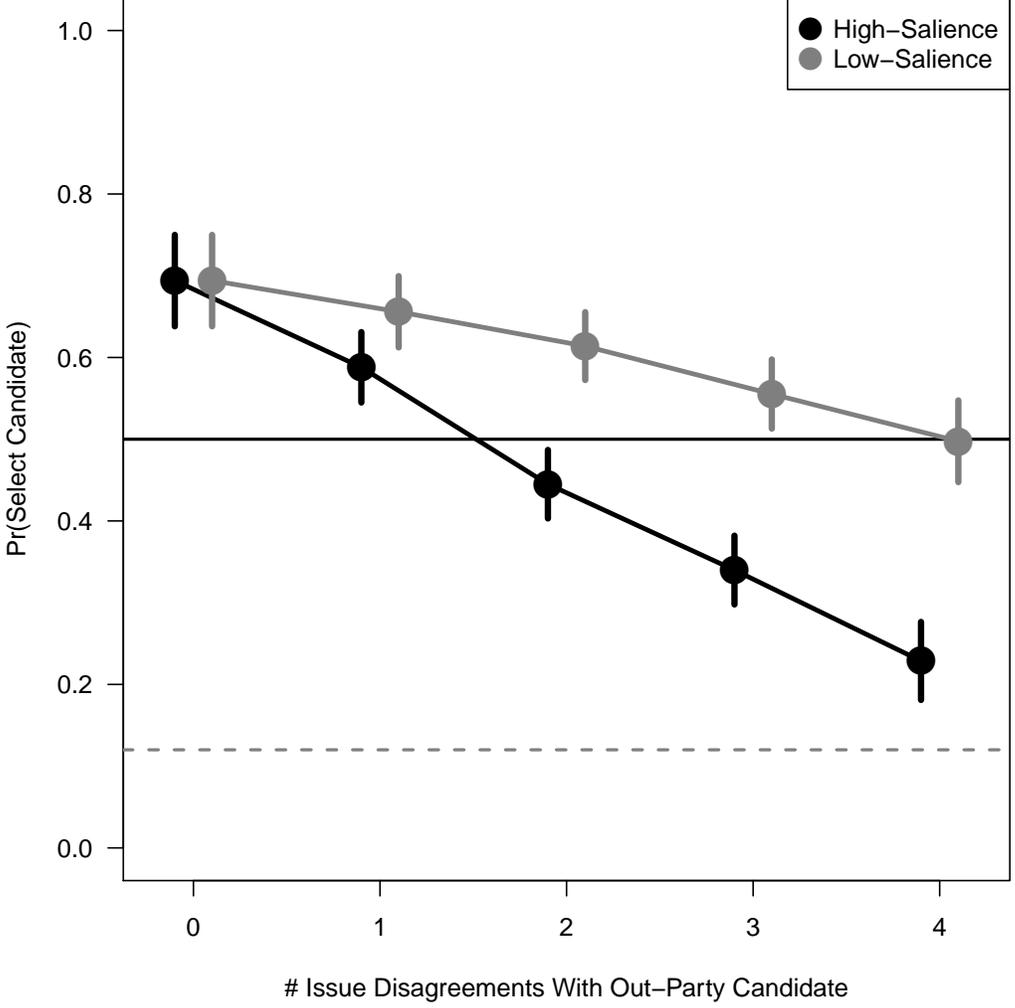
The figure displays the probability of selecting the co-partisan candidate conditional on a respondents' level of agreement with them on the issues presented. In each case the predicted probabilities assume agreement on all issues in the other category of issue salience. For comparison, the top dashed line shows the rate of voting for candidate from the other party in the 2016 American National Election Study (ANES)