

## **Appendix**

### **“Through the Ideology of the Beholder: How Ideology Shapes Perceptions of Partisan Groups”**

This Appendix provides additional analysis and figures for “Through the Ideology of the Beholder: How Ideology Shapes Perceptions of Partisan Groups” and includes 3 main parts:

- **Part A** TAPS Study – Experiment (p. 2-11) : this part contains 3 figures and 6 tables that provide additional information regarding the paper’s experimental analysis that examines the consequences of partisan (mis)perceptions.
- **Part B** TAPS Study – Study 2, Perceptions (p. 12-35) : this part contains 1 figure and 22 tables that provide additional information regarding the paper’s analysis of partisan (mis)perceptions and ideological extremity.
- **Part C** TAPS Study – Correct Assessment (p. 37-42) : this part contains 2 tables and 1 figure that provide additional information regarding an additional set of analyses that examines whether respondents identified the correct proportion of out-party members who agreed with each survey item.

## A TAPS Study – Experiment

The following tables and figures provide additional background information regarding our subject pool, the measurement and distributions of key variables, and also the results from a series of robustness checks. More specifically, Table A.1 provides descriptive statistics of the socio-demographic and political variables that define our sample. Table A.2 contains the full vignette wording, while Table A.3 presents the full question wording for the outcome variables.

Table A.4 provides summary statistics for the outcome variables across the different experimental treatment groups. Figures A.1, A.2, and A.3 show the treatment effects by respondents' ideological extremity (A.1), partisan identification (A.2), and strength of partisan identity (A.3) respectively. Finally, Tables A.5 and A.6 present heterogeneous effects by partisan identification and strength of partisanship.

**Table A.1:** Descriptive Statistics (TAPS Experiment)

Variable	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Female	1487	0.51	0.50	0.00	1.00
White	1487	0.78	0.42	0.00	1.00
Age	1460	56.46	15.56	18.00	93.00
Education	1477	11.30	1.79	3.00	15.00
Income	1400	7.00	3.66	1.00	16.00
Ideology	1480	4.17	1.68	1.00	7.00
Democrat	1487	0.36	0.48	0.00	1.00
Republican	1487	0.31	0.46	0.00	1.00

**Table A.2:** Vignette Question Wording (TAPS Experiment)

Condition	Vignette
Control	<p>Suppose a new person moves into your neighborhood. The person is approximately 45 years old, has a college degree, and grew up in a suburb outside of a large Midwestern city.</p> <p>This person has a dog, enjoys being physically active, follows college sports and frequently volunteers to work in local candidates' campaigns.</p>
Partisan (R)	<p>Suppose a new person moves into your neighborhood. The person is a <b>registered Republican</b>, approximately 45 years old, has a college degree, and grew up in a suburb outside of a large Midwestern city.</p> <p>This person has a dog, enjoys being physically active, follows college sports and frequently volunteers to work in local candidates' campaigns.</p>
Partisan (D)	<p>Suppose a new person moves into your neighborhood. The person is a <b>registered Democrat</b>, approximately 45 years old, has a college degree, and grew up in a suburb outside of a large Midwestern city.</p> <p>This person has a dog, enjoys being physically active, follows college sports and frequently volunteers to work in local candidates' campaigns.</p>
PID + ideology (R)	<p>Suppose a new person moves into your neighborhood. The person is a <b>registered Republican</b>, approximately 45 years old, has a college degree, and grew up in a suburb outside of a large Midwestern city.</p> <p><b>This person believes that humans and dinosaurs walked the earth at the same time, that elementary school students should be required to recite the pledge of allegiance, and that we should build a fence between the United States and Mexico.</b></p> <p>This person has a dog, enjoys being physically active, follows college sports and frequently volunteers to work in local candidates' campaigns.</p>
PID + ideology (D)	<p>Suppose a new person moves into your neighborhood. The person is a <b>registered Democrat</b>, approximately 45 years old, has a college degree, and grew up in a suburb outside of a large Midwestern city.</p> <p><b>This person believes that the country would be better if every citizen drove an electric car, that marijuana use should be legal in all states, and that a nationalized healthcare system would improve health for all citizens.</b></p> <p>This person has a dog, enjoys being physically active, follows college sports and frequently volunteers to work in local candidates' campaigns.</p>

**Table A.3:** Question Wording for Dependent Variables: TAPS Experiment

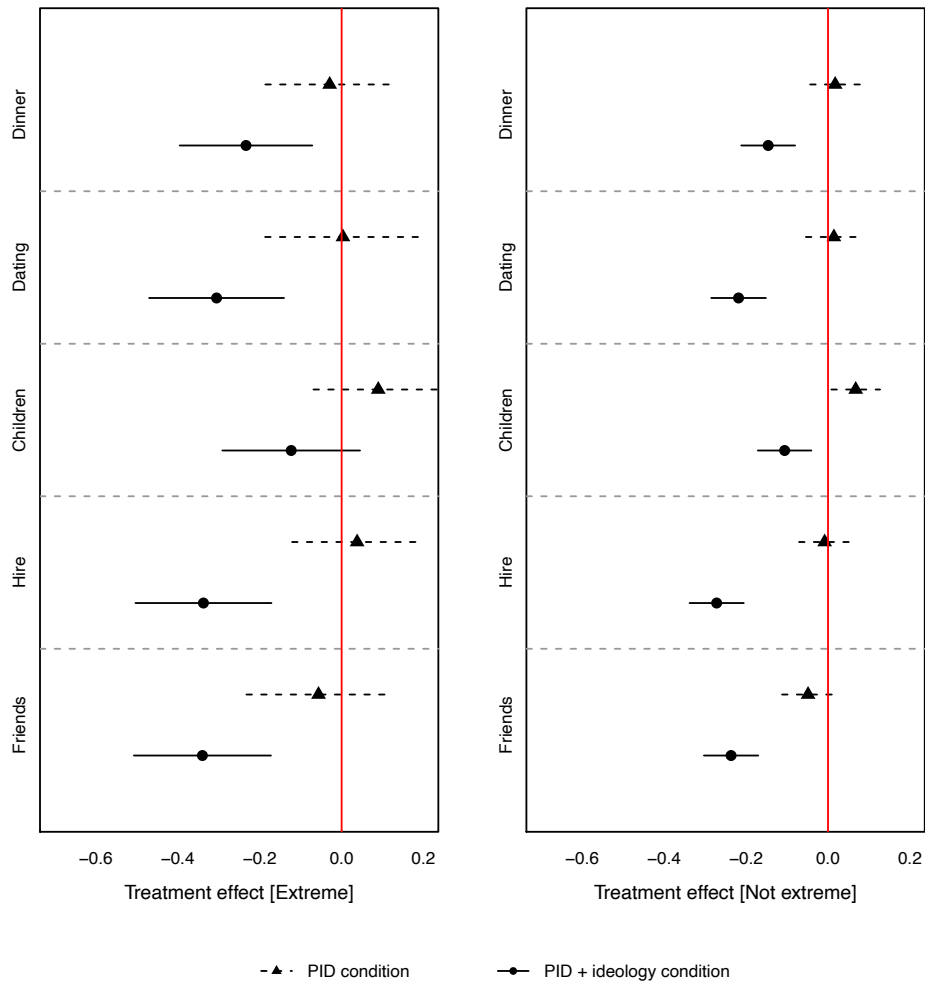
Short title	Full text
Friends	I would be interested in becoming friends with this person.
Hire	If I were an employer and needed to hire a new employee, I would be interested in considering this person for a position with my company.
Children	I would feel comfortable allowing my children to play with the new neighbor's kids.
Dating	I would consider dating this person or would introduce this person to a friend.
Dinner	I would consider having this person over for a family meal or barbecue.

**Table A.4:** Summary Statistics Across Experimental Treatments (TAPS)

Condition	Friends	Hire	Children	Dating	Dinner	Ideological Placement
Control	0.69	0.70	0.69	0.51	0.71	3.10
Partisan	0.64	0.69	0.75	0.52	0.71	3.04
PID + ideology	0.44	0.42	0.58	0.28	0.54	3.14

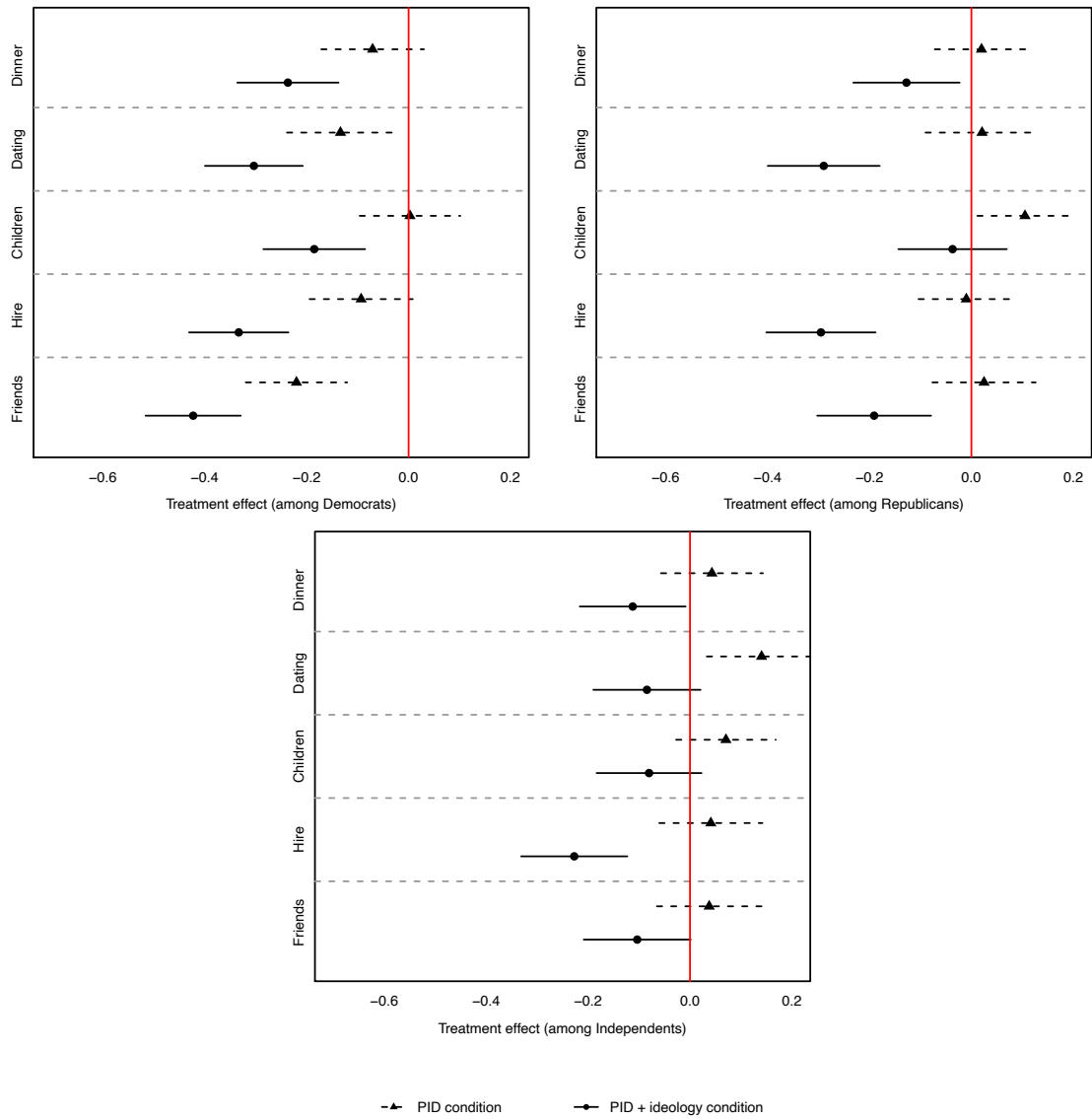
Entries are the proportion of respondents who agreed they would be interested in interacting with a potential neighbor in the ways indicated by the column headings. Entries in the last column reflect the mean placement on a five-point ideological scale ranging from very liberal (1) to very conservative (5). Sample sizes were N=491 for the control condition, N=497 for the partisan condition, and N=499 for the PID + ideology condition.

**Figure A.1:** Effect of Partisanship and Ideology on Interpersonal Evaluations by Ideological Extremity



*Note:* Values along the x-axis indicate the difference in proportions when comparing each of the treatment groups to the control group. The vertical line at zero indicates the null hypothesis of no treatment effect. The horizontal lines show the 95% confidence intervals. The left plot shows individuals who are “very conservative” or “very liberal” and the right plot shows results for respondents who report more moderate ideologies.

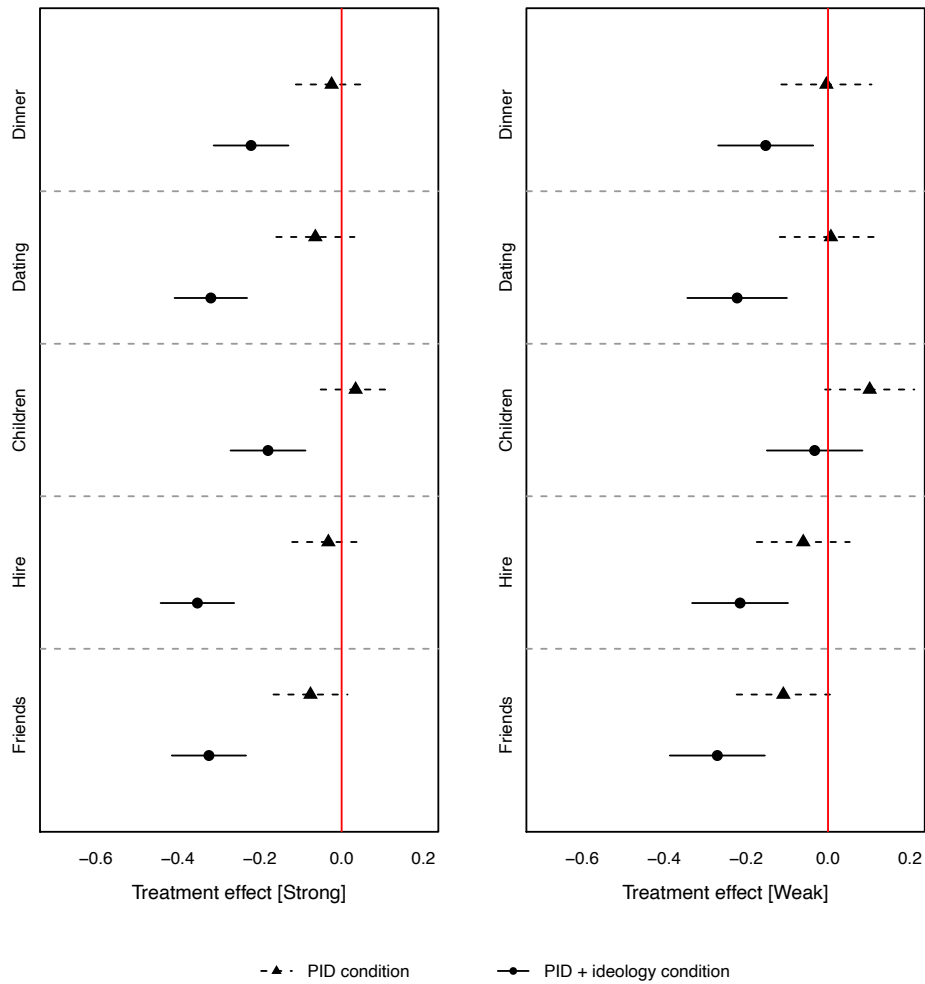
**Figure A.2:** Effect of Partisanship and Ideology on Interpersonal Evaluations by PID



*Note:* Values along the  $x$ -axis indicate the difference in proportions when comparing each of the treatment groups to the control group. The vertical line at zero indicates the null hypothesis of no treatment effect. The horizontal lines show the 95% confidence intervals.



**Figure A.3:** Effect of Partisanship and Ideology on Interpersonal Evaluations by Strength of Partisan Identity



*Note:* Values along the x-axis indicate the difference in proportions when comparing each of the treatment groups to the control group. The vertical line at zero indicates the null hypothesis of no treatment effect. The horizontal lines show the 95% confidence intervals. The left plot shows individuals who identify as “strong” Republicans or Democrats and the right plot shows results for respondents who are identify as “weak” Republicans or Democrats.

**Table A.5:** Partisanship and the Heterogeneous Effect of Partisanship and Ideology on Social Interaction

	Friends	Hire	Children	Dating	Dinner
Partisan condition	-0.08 (0.05)	-0.06 (0.05)	0.03 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.07 (0.05)
PID + ideology condition	-0.31* (0.05)	-0.29* (0.05)	-0.13* (0.05)	-0.27* (0.05)	-0.18* (0.05)
Republican	0.01 (0.06)	-0.04 (0.05)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.002 (0.06)	0.02 (0.05)
Partisan condition × Republican	-0.05 (0.08)	0.01 (0.08)	0.05 (0.07)	-0.06 (0.08)	0.09 (0.08)
PID + ideology condition × Republican	-0.05 (0.08)	-0.07 (0.08)	0.002 (0.07)	-0.07 (0.08)	-0.04 (0.08)
Constant	0.67* (0.12)	0.57* (0.12)	0.32* (0.12)	0.50* (0.12)	0.45* (0.12)
Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	929	929	929	929	929
R <sup>2</sup>	0.09	0.11	0.07	0.10	0.07

*Note:* Table entry coefficients are estimated with Ordinary Least Squares. Standard errors are in parentheses. The dependent variable is listed at the top of each column. Control variables include *Female*, *White*, *Age*, *Education*, and *Income*. \*  $p < 0.05$

**Table A.6:** Strength of Partisanship and the Heterogeneous Effect of Partisanship and Ideology on Social Interaction

	Friends	Hire	Children	Dating	Dinner
Partisan condition	-0.11 (0.07)	-0.09 (0.07)	0.07 (0.07)	-0.01 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.07)
PID + ideology condition	-0.32* (0.07)	-0.23* (0.07)	-0.07 (0.07)	-0.24* (0.07)	-0.17* (0.07)
Strong Partisan	-0.06 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.06)
Partisan condition × Strong Partisan	0.01 (0.08)	0.04 (0.08)	-0.01 (0.08)	-0.07 (0.08)	-0.01 (0.08)
PID + ideology condition × Strong Partisan	-0.03 (0.08)	-0.15 (0.08)	-0.09 (0.08)	-0.11 (0.08)	-0.05 (0.08)
Constant	0.68* (0.13)	0.54* (0.13)	0.31* (0.13)	0.47* (0.13)	0.45* (0.13)
Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	857	857	857	857	857
R <sup>2</sup>	0.10	0.11	0.07	0.10	0.07

*Note:* Table entry coefficients are estimated with Ordinary Least Squares. Standard errors are in parentheses. The dependent variable is listed at the top of each column. Control variables include *Female*, *White*, *Age*, *Education*, and *Income*. \*  $p < 0.05$

## B TAPS Study – Study 2, Perceptions

The following tables and figures provide additional background information regarding our panel, the measurement and distributions of key variables, and also the results from a series of robustness checks for the second part of our analysis that focuses on increased inaccuracy and exaggeration in perceptions of partisan out-groups as a result of ideological extremism. More specifically, Table B.1 provides descriptive statistics of the socio-demographic and political variables that define our sample, and Table B.2 compares the descriptive statistics of our two-wave sample to the statistics for each of the separate waves in order to make sure that our combined sample is still nationally representative. Table B.3 contains the full wording of the partisan perceptions questions. Table B.4 presents the detailed results of the factor analysis we ran to create the operational ideology scores, while Table B.5 lists the exact question wording for the items used. Figure B.1 displays the distribution the ideology scores we use, split up by partisan identification.

Table B.6 reports the full regression results for our main results table in the manuscript including the coefficient estimates for all control variables. Table B.7 uses the same modeling strategy, but examines panelists' perceived level of agreement with these statements among *in-party* members, and Table B.8 repeats the analysis for respondents who are Independents. The models in Table B.9 include an indicator for whether a respondent is a strong partisan to explore whether our results are driven by strength of party identification rather than ideological extremity (where we consider respondents coded as a "1" (for Democrats) or a "7" (for Republicans) on the 7-point party ID scale as strong partisans). Tables B.10 and B.11 substitute a traditional seven-point symbolic ideology variable for our measure of operational ideology. To disentangle ideological extremity from the strength of one's ideological identity, the specifications in Tables B.12 and B.13 control for both symbolic and operational ideology in the same models.

Table B.14 accounts for the partisan's own position on each statement to explore the possibility that respondents may hold exaggerated perceptions in ways that varied systematically with their position on that statement. For the results in Table B.15, we changed our measure of party identification to also classify *leaners* (people thinking of themselves as closer to one of the parties in a follow-up question) as partisans rather than as Independents. Table B.16 includes a *Sorted* indicator, which controls for the possibility that partisan ideological sorting might be driving our results, and the models in Table B.17 include the controls for strong partisanship, symbolic ideology, and partisan ideological sorting all in the same model specification. Because our outcome measure is a five-category variable, Table B.18 replicates the main analysis using ordered logit models. Tables B.19 and B.20 focus on one individual statement at a time instead of pooling them all together. Finally, Tables B.21 (all respondents) and B.22 (only original respondents) are based

on a follow-up survey in December 2016, where we asked respondents to indicate their answers on a 100-point scale to make sure that our answers are not driven by the five-category scheme.

All these robustness checks produce results that are consistent with the findings we report in the main manuscript.

**Table B.1:** Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Female	0.490	0.500	0	1
White	0.745	0.436	0	1
Age: 18-29	0.078	0.269	0	1
Age: 30-44	0.195	0.397	0	1
Age: 45-59	0.327	0.469	0	1
Age: 60+	0.400	0.490	0	1
Education: Less than High School	0.030	0.171	0	1
Education: High School/Some College	0.365	0.482	0	1
Education: College or more	0.605	0.489	0	1
Income: Less than \$30,000	0.204	0.403	0	1
Income: \$30,000-\$49,999	0.195	0.397	0	1
Income: \$50,000-\$79,999	0.261	0.439	0	1
Income: \$80,000+	0.340	0.474	0	1
Metropolitan	0.853	0.354	0	1
Region: Northeast	0.151	0.358	0	1
Region: Midwest	0.263	0.440	0	1
Region: South	0.356	0.479	0	1
West	0.231	0.421	0	1
Conservatism	-0.013	1.045	-1.907	2.340
Ideology	4.108	1.741	1	7
Democrat	0.413	0.493	0	1
Republican	0.248	0.432	0	1
Independent	0.339	0.474	0	1
Political Knowledge	6.948	2.306	0	10
Political interest: not at all interested	0.031	0.173	0	1
Political interest: not very interested	0.144	0.351	0	1
Political interest: somewhat interested	0.374	0.484	0	1
Political interest: very interested	0.451	0.498	0	1

**Table B.2:** Descriptive Statistics and Differences Between Waves

Variable	Difference		Difference
	Both waves	Both waves - Wave 1	Both waves - Wave 2
Female	0.49	0.03	0.01
White	0.74	-0.01	0.00
Age: 18-29	0.08	0.01	0.00
Age: 30-44	0.20	0.02	0.00
Age: 45-59	0.33	-0.01	0.00
Age: 60+	0.40	-0.02	0.00
Education: Less than High School	0.03	0.01	0.00
Education: High School/Some College	0.37	0.02	0.00
Education: College and more	0.60	-0.02	-0.01
Income: Less than \$30,000	0.20	0.02	0.01
Income: \$30,000-\$49,999	0.20	0.01	0.00
Income: \$50,000-\$79,999	0.26	-0.01	0.00
Income: More than \$80,000	0.34	-0.02	-0.01
Metropolitan	0.85	0.00	0.00
Region: Northeast	0.15	0.00	0.00
Region: Midwest	0.26	0.00	0.00
Region: South	0.36	0.01	0.00
Region: West	0.23	0.00	0.00
Conservatism	-0.01	0.01	0.01
Ideology	4.11	0.00	0.01
Democrat	0.41	-0.02	-0.01
Republican	0.25	0.00	0.00
Independent	0.34	0.02	0.01
Political Knowledge	6.95	-0.33*	-0.12
Political interest: not at all interested	0.03	0.01	0.00
Political interest: not very interested	0.14	0.01	0.00
Political interest: somewhat interested	0.37	0.01	0.00
Political interest: very interested	0.45	-0.04*	-0.01

*Note:* Column 1 shows the mean value of each variable (proportion of each demographic category) for respondents that completed the first *and* second wave of the survey. Column 2 presents the difference between the mean values of the sample that completed both waves and everybody who completed wave 1 (i.e., also including some respondents that did not complete wave 2). Similarly, Column 3 shows the differences between respondents in both waves and the full sample of wave 2. \* indicates whether the differences are statistically significant at the 95% level or more (two-tailed t-tests). Respondents per wave: Wave 1 (March 2014) = 1,669; Wave 2 (May 2014) = 1,496; Both waves = 1,301.

**Table B.3:** Partisan Perceptions Questions

Republican perceptions	Democratic perceptions
This country would be safer if every law-abiding citizen possessed a firearm.	This country would be better if every citizen drove an electric car.
Humans and dinosaurs walked the earth at the same time.	Marijuana use should be legal in all states.
Homosexuality threatens the well-being of our country.	The federal government should impose a ban on the sale of soda.
Elementary students should be required to recite the pledge of allegiance every day.	This country would be better if we all paid more taxes.
We should build a fence between the United States and Mexico.	A nationalized healthcare system would improve health for all citizens.

These questions were preceded by the following instructions: “Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.” Responses were measured on a five-point scale ranging from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree,” with an additional “don’t know” response option. Respondents are coded as agreeing with the statement if they chose either the “strongly agree” or “somewhat agree” response options.



**Table B.4:** Operational Ideology Factor Analysis

Variable	Factor 1 Loading	Uniqueness
Abortion	0.63	0.45
Education Spending	-0.63	0.56
Taxes	0.72	0.43
Gay Marriage	0.62	0.44
Gun Control	0.57	0.63
Global Warming	0.80	0.35
ObamaCare	-0.76	0.38
Immigration	0.58	0.57
Minimum Wage	0.81	0.30
Medicaid Expansion	0.68	0.48
Regulation of Business	0.72	0.44
Affirmative Action	0.62	0.52
Privatization of Social Security	-0.42	0.75

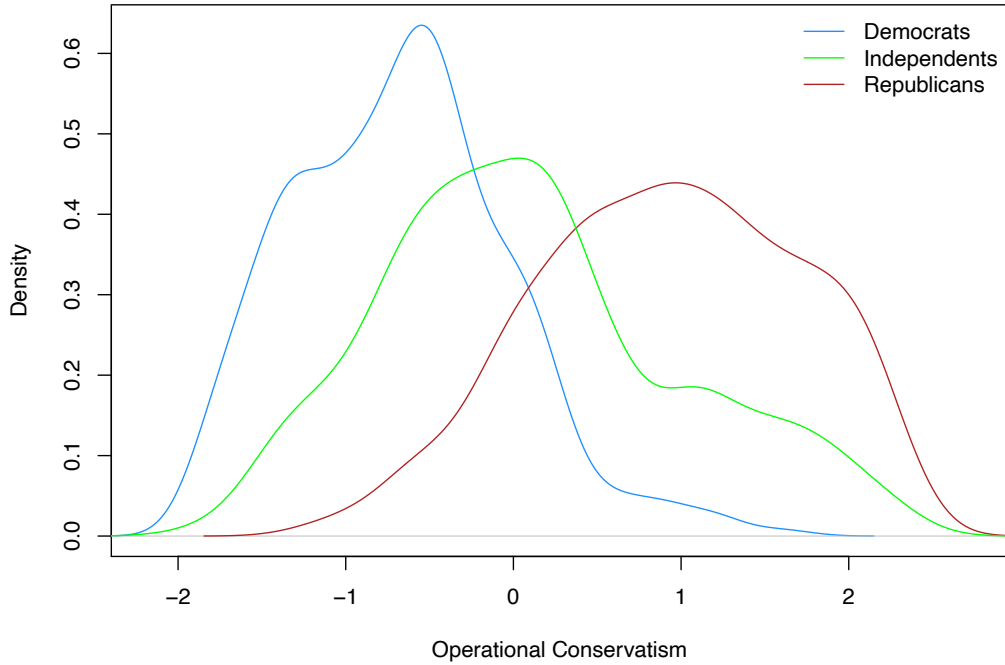
*Note:* First Factor Eigenvalue 5.77; Second Factor Eigenvalue 0.51;  $\alpha = 0.91$

**Table B.5:** Question Wording for Operational Ideology Items

Item	Full text
Abortion	Federal programs that provide health care benefits should allow funding for abortions.
Education Spending	Federal spending for education should be reduced.
Taxes	Federal personal income taxes for individuals with incomes higher than \$250,000 should be raised.
Gay Marriage	The federal government should recognize the validity of a same-sex marriage where state law does.
Gun Control	Federal law should ban the possession of handguns except by law enforcement personnel.
Global Warming	The federal government should adopt policies to address the problem of global warming.
ObamaCare	The federal health care reform program adopted in 2010 should be repealed.
Immigration	The federal government should find a way to allow people who now are in the U.S. illegally to stay in the U.S. and become U.S. citizens.
Minimum Wage	The federal government should guarantee a higher minimum hourly wage for workers.
Medicaid Expansion	Medicaid, the federal government health program for low income people, should be extended to cover more people.
Regulation of Business	The federal government should do more to regulate business in order to protect the interests of consumers.
Affirmative Action	The federal government should support programs designed to help minorities better jobs and education.
Privatization of Social Security	Social Security should be reformed so that individuals are given private retirement accounts that are invested in the stock market.

*Question Prompt:* We are interested in your views on issues being debated in American national politics. For each issue, we give you a statement about the issue. We want to know whether you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, or strongly disagree with each statement.

**Figure B.1:** Operational Ideology by Party



*Note:* The mean ideological score for Democrats is  $-0.68$ , with a standard deviation of  $0.64$ . For Republicans, the mean score is  $0.92$ , with a standard deviation of  $0.78$ . For independents, the mean score is  $0.10$ , with a standard deviation of  $0.90$ .

**Table B.6:** Partisans' Views of Out-Party Members

	Views of Opposing Party		
	Republicans' Views of Democrats	Democrats' Views of Republicans	All Partisans' Views of Out-Party Members
Conservatism	0.336* (0.073)	-0.370* (0.069)	
Ideological Extremity			0.459* (0.066)
Political Knowledge	0.038 (0.029)	0.060* (0.022)	0.047* (0.018)
Political Interest	0.275* (0.077)	0.097 (0.056)	0.168* (0.045)
Income	-0.012 (0.015)	0.010 (0.013)	0.001 (0.010)
Education	-0.028 (0.035)	-0.025 (0.024)	-0.028 (0.019)
White	-0.018 (0.139)	0.011 (0.094)	-0.011 (0.077)
Female	0.054 (0.106)	0.061 (0.084)	0.061 (0.065)
Age 30-44	-0.297 (0.181)	-0.067 (0.169)	-0.109 (0.126)
Age 45-59	-0.302 (0.184)	-0.101 (0.156)	-0.139 (0.120)
Age 60+	-0.441* (0.183)	-0.151 (0.153)	-0.242* (0.118)
Metropolitan Area	-0.033 (0.132)	0.067 (0.117)	0.033 (0.088)
Midwest	-0.121 (0.170)	-0.144 (0.122)	-0.146 (0.098)
South	0.040 (0.155)	0.048 (0.120)	0.011 (0.094)
West	-0.095 (0.177)	0.206 (0.117)	0.078 (0.098)
Constant	2.224* (0.508)	2.530* (0.311)	2.005* (0.268)
Question FE	✓	✓	✓
<i>N</i> (Total)	1513	2480	3993
<i>N</i> (Respondents)	323	537	860
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.23	0.19	0.20

**Table B.7: Partisans' Views of In-Party Members**

	Views of Own Party		
	Republicans' Views of Republicans	Democrats' Views of Democrats	All Partisans' Views of In-Party Members
Conservatism	0.157* (0.069)	-0.216* (0.061)	
Ideological Extremity			0.268* (0.052)
Political Knowledge	-0.012 (0.025)	0.015 (0.017)	0.003 (0.014)
Political Interest	0.094 (0.069)	-0.059 (0.038)	-0.011 (0.035)
Constant	3.416* (0.434)	2.833* (0.258)	2.729* (0.219)
Controls	✓	✓	✓
Question FE	✓	✓	✓
<i>N</i> (Total)	1487	2527	4014
<i>N</i> (Respondents)	323	547	870
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.26	0.29	0.29

*Note:* Table entries are linear regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses, clustered on individuals. The outcome variable is Perception<sub>*ij*</sub>, the degree to which a respondent *i* believes members of the *in*-party agree with perception *j* as described in the text. Additional socio-demographic controls (income, education, sex, race, age, Metropolitan Statistical Area, and US Census region) and question indicators are included but not reported. \* *p* < 0.05

**Table B.8:** Independents' Views of Partisans

	Views of Partisans	
	Views of Democrats	Views of Republicans
Conservatism	0.288* (0.047)	-0.127* (0.047)
Political Knowledge	0.058* (0.022)	0.029 (0.025)
Political Interest	-0.032 (0.058)	0.024 (0.067)
Constant	2.784* (0.377)	3.133* (0.428)
Controls	✓	✓
Question FE	✓	✓
<i>N</i> (Total)	2000	1999
<i>N</i> (Respondents)	441	439
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.20	0.18

*Note:* Table entries are linear regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses, clustered on individuals. The outcome variable is  $\text{Perception}_{ij}$ , the degree to which a respondent  $i$  believes Democrats/Republicans agree with item  $j$  as described in the text. Additional socio-demographic controls (income, education, sex, race, age, Metropolitan Statistical Area, and US Census region) and question indicators are included but not reported. \*  $p < 0.05$

**Table B.9:** Partisans' Views of Out-Party Members, Controlling for Strong Partisans

	Views of Opposing Party		
	Republicans' Views of Democrats	Democrats' Views of Republicans	All Partisans' Views of Out-Party Members
Conservatism	0.315* (0.081)	-0.384* (0.074)	
Ideological Extremity			0.451* (0.070)
Strong Partisan	0.099 (0.118)	-0.055 (0.091)	0.034 (0.071)
Political Knowledge	0.041 (0.029)	0.061* (0.022)	0.047* (0.018)
Political Interest	0.256* (0.079)	0.100 (0.056)	0.164* (0.046)
Constant	2.235* (0.506)	2.532* (0.310)	2.010* (0.268)
Controls	✓	✓	✓
Question FE	✓	✓	✓
<i>N</i> (Total)	1513	2480	3993
<i>N</i> (Respondents)	323	537	860
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.23	0.19	0.20

*Note:* Table entries are ordinary least squares coefficients with standard errors in parentheses, clustered on individuals. Additional socio-demographic controls and question dummy variables are included, but not reported. These controls include income, education, sex, race, age, Metropolitan Statistical Area, and US Census region. \*  $p < 0.05$

**Table B.10:** Partisans' Views of Out-Party Members, Using Symbolic Conservatism

	Views of Opposing Party		
	Republicans' Views of Democrats	Democrats' Views of Republicans	All Partisans' Views of Out-Party Members
7-Point Symbolic Ideology (1=Very Lib., 7=Very Cons.)	0.170* (0.048)	-0.110* (0.032)	
Symbolic Ideological Extremity			0.144* (0.032)
Political Knowledge	0.056* (0.027)	0.084* (0.022)	0.079* (0.017)
Political Interest	0.252* (0.070)	0.124* (0.054)	0.187* (0.044)
Constant	1.496* (0.529)	2.775* (0.378)	1.770* (0.275)
Controls	✓	✓	✓
Question FE	✓	✓	✓
<i>N</i> (Total)	1536	2418	3954
<i>N</i> (Respondents)	327	523	850
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.21	0.18	0.18

*Note:* Table entries are linear regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses, clustered on individuals. The outcome variable is  $\text{Perception}_{ij}$ , the degree to which a respondent  $i$  believes members of the out-party agree with perception  $j$  as described in the text. Additional socio-demographic controls (income, education, sex, race, age, Metropolitan Statistical Area, and US Census region) and question indicators are included but not reported.

\*  $p < 0.05$



**Table B.11:** Independents' Views of Partisans, Using Symbolic Conservatism

	Views of Partisans	
	Views of Democrats	Views of Republicans
7-Point Sym. Ideol. (1=Very Lib., 7=Very Cons.)	0.173* (0.029)	-0.027 (0.032)
Political Knowledge	0.058* (0.023)	0.028 (0.026)
Political Interest	0.007 (0.060)	-0.011 (0.068)
Constant	2.049* (0.404)	3.275* (0.439)
Controls	✓	✓
Question FE	✓	✓
<i>N</i> (Total)	1955	1936
<i>N</i> (Respondents)	428	426
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.21	0.18

*Note:* Table entries are linear regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses, clustered on individuals. The outcome variable is Perception<sub>*i**j*</sub>, the degree to which a respondent *i* believes Democrats/Republicans agree with perception *j* as described in the text. Additional socio-demographic controls (income, education, sex, race, age, Metropolitan Statistical Area, and US Census region) and question indicators are included but not reported. \*  $p < 0.05$

**Table B.12:** Partisans' Views of Out-Party Members, Using Symbolic Conservatism and Operational Conservatism

	Views of Opposing Party		
	Republicans' Views of Democrats	Democrats' Views of Republicans	All Partisans' Views of Out-Party Members
Conservatism	0.322* (0.087)	-0.271* (0.077)	
Ideological Extremity			0.405* (0.072)
7-Point Symbolic Ideology (1=Very Lib., 7=Very Cons.)	0.079 (0.060)	-0.063 (0.035)	
Symbolic Ideological Extremity			0.076* (0.037)
Political Knowledge	0.040 (0.029)	0.062* (0.023)	0.047* (0.018)
Political Interest	0.211* (0.072)	0.070 (0.056)	0.137* (0.044)
Constant	2.048* (0.544)	2.780* (0.385)	1.994* (0.280)
Controls	✓	✓	✓
Question FE	✓	✓	✓
<i>N</i> (Total)	1471	2337	3808
<i>N</i> (Respondents)	312	505	817
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.24	0.19	0.20

*Note:* Table entries are linear regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses, clustered on individuals. The outcome variable is Perception<sub>ij</sub>, the degree to which a respondent *i* believes members of the out-party agree with perception *j* as described in the text. Additional socio-demographic controls (income, education, sex, race, age, Metropolitan Statistical Area, and US Census region) and question indicators are included but not reported.

\*  $p < 0.05$

**Table B.13:** Independents' Views of Partisans, Using Symbolic Conservatism and Operational Conservatism

	Views of Partisans	
	Views of Democrats	Views of Republicans
Conservatism	0.224* (0.060)	-0.218* (0.064)
7-Point Sym. Ideol. (1=Very Lib., 7=Very Cons.)	0.076* (0.038)	0.065 (0.043)
Political Knowledge	0.054* (0.023)	0.040 (0.026)
Political Interest	-0.021 (0.060)	-0.006 (0.069)
Constant	2.417* (0.427)	2.944* (0.445)
Controls	✓	✓
Question FE	✓	✓
<i>N</i> (Total)	1867	1855
<i>N</i> (Respondents)	409	408
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.22	0.20

*Note:* Table entries are linear regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses, clustered on individuals. The outcome variable is Perception<sub>*i**j*</sub> the degree to which a respondent *i* believes Democrats/Republicans agree with perception *j* as described in the text. Additional socio-demographic controls (income, education, sex, race, age, Metropolitan Statistical Area, and US Census region) and question indicators are included but not reported. \*  $p < 0.05$

**Table B.14:** Partisans' Views of Out-Party Members, Controlling for Agreement with Statement

	Views of Opposing Party		
	Republicans' Views of Democrats	Democrats' Views of Republicans	All Partisans' Views of Out-Party Members
Conservatism	0.338* (0.073)	-0.371* (0.069)	
Ideological Extremity			0.459* (0.066)
Agree with Statement	0.362 (0.305)	0.019 (0.097)	-0.003 (0.094)
Political Knowledge	0.039 (0.029)	0.060* (0.022)	0.047* (0.018)
Political Interest	0.276* (0.077)	0.097 (0.056)	0.168* (0.045)
Constant	2.194* (0.511)	2.524* (0.315)	2.006* (0.272)
Controls	✓	✓	✓
Question FE	✓	✓	✓
<i>N</i> (Total)	1513	2480	3993
<i>N</i> (Respondents)	323	537	860
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.23	0.19	0.20

*Note:* Table entries are linear regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses, clustered on individuals. The outcome variable is  $\text{Perception}_{ij}$ , the degree to which a respondent  $i$  believes members of the out-party agree with perception  $j$  as described in the text. *Agree with Statement* is a dichotomous variable that indicates whether respondent  $i$  indicated agreement with perception  $j$  themselves. Additional socio-demographic controls (income, education, sex, race, age, Metropolitan Statistical Area, and US Census region) and question indicators are included but not reported. \*  $p < 0.05$

**Table B.15:** Partisans' Views of Out-Party Members (Including *Leaners*)

	Views of Opposing Party		
	Republicans' Views of Democrats	Democrats' Views of Republicans	All Partisans' Views of Out-Party Members
Conservatism	0.201* (0.045)	-0.287* (0.051)	
Ideological Extremity			0.375* (0.039)
Strength of Partisanship	-0.025 (0.036)	-0.036 (0.033)	-0.048* (0.024)
Political Knowledge	0.017 (0.017)	0.036* (0.014)	0.023* (0.011)
Political Interest	0.096* (0.049)	0.002 (0.032)	0.038 (0.027)
Constant	3.119* (0.314)	2.363* (0.217)	2.621* (0.176)
Controls	✓	✓	✓
Question FE	✓	✓	✓
<i>N</i> (Total)	4957	6880	11837
<i>N</i> (Respondents)	548	772	1320
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.21	0.25	0.21

*Note:* Table entries are ordinary least squares coefficients with standard errors in parentheses, clustered on individuals. Additional socio-demographic controls and question dummy variables are included, but not reported. These controls include income, education, sex, race, age, Metropolitan Statistical Area, and US Census region. \*  $p < 0.05$

**Table B.16:** Partisans' Views of Out-Party Members, Controlling for Sorting

	Views of Opposing Party		
	Republicans' Views of Democrats	Democrats' Views of Republicans	All Partisans' Views of Out-Party Members
Conservatism	0.395* (0.095)	-0.313* (0.094)	
Ideological Extremity			0.415* (0.068)
Sorted	-0.233 (0.188)	0.153 (0.174)	0.262* (0.099)
Political Knowledge	0.037 (0.028)	0.062* (0.022)	0.046* (0.018)
Political Interest	0.267* (0.078)	0.097 (0.056)	0.163* (0.044)
Constant	2.379* (0.522)	2.423* (0.349)	1.872* (0.271)
Controls	✓	✓	✓
Question FE	✓	✓	✓
<i>N</i> (Total)	1513	2480	3993
<i>N</i> (Respondents)	323	537	860
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.23	0.19	0.20

*Note:* Table entries are ordinary least squares coefficients with standard errors in parentheses, clustered on individuals. Additional socio-demographic controls and question dummy variables are included, but not reported. These controls include income, education, sex, race, age, Metropolitan Statistical Area, and US Census region. *Sorted* is coded as 1 if a panelist identifies as a partisan and lies on the “sorted” side of the Conservatism scale. Likewise, a panelist is coded as 0 if they are a partisan and remain on the “unsorted” side of the conservatism scale. For example, if a Democrat scores less than the standardized mean of 0, they are coded as 1. Similarly, if a Republican scores less than 0, they are coded as 0. \*  $p < 0.05$

**Table B.17:** Partisans' Views of Out-Party Members, Using Symbolic Conservatism, Strong Partisanship, Sorting, and Operational Conservatism

	Views of Opposing Party		
	Republicans' Views of Democrats	Democrats' Views of Republicans	All Partisans' Views of Out-Party Members
Conservatism	0.403* (0.105)	-0.225* (0.104)	
Ideological Extremity			0.375* (0.074)
Strong Partisan	0.034 (0.118)	-0.032 (0.092)	0.008 (0.072)
7-Point Symbolic Ideology (1=Very Lib., 7=Very Cons.)	0.077 (0.062)	-0.063 (0.035)	
Symbolic Ideological Extremity			0.067 (0.037)
Sorted	-0.360 (0.185)	0.155 (0.174)	0.226* (0.101)
Political Knowledge	0.039 (0.028)	0.065* (0.023)	0.046* (0.018)
Political Interest	0.191* (0.075)	0.072 (0.056)	0.132* (0.046)
Constant	2.317* (0.555)	2.678* (0.418)	1.891* (0.282)
Controls	✓	✓	✓
Question FE	✓	✓	✓
<i>N</i> (Total)	1471	2337	3808
<i>N</i> (Respondents)	312	505	817
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.24	0.19	0.20

*Note:* Table entries are ordinary least squares coefficients with standard errors in parentheses, clustered on individuals. Additional socio-demographic controls and question dummy variables are included, but not reported. These controls include income, education, sex, race, age, Metropolitan Statistical Area, and US Census region. \*  $p < 0.05$

**Table B.18:** Partisans' Views of Out-Party Members, Ordered Logit

	Views of Opposing Party		
	Republicans' Views of Democrats	Democrats' Views of Republicans	All Partisans' Views of Out-Party Members
Conservatism	0.545* (0.117)	-0.543* (0.102)	
Ideological Extremity			0.719* (0.101)
Political Knowledge	0.052 (0.044)	0.079* (0.034)	0.058* (0.027)
Political Interest	0.408* (0.121)	0.137 (0.084)	0.248* (0.067)
21 to 40 percent	-0.656 (0.819)	-0.949 (0.465)	-0.260 (0.401)
41 to 60 percent	0.554 (0.813)	0.000 (0.461)	0.787 (0.397)
61 to 80 percent	1.716 (0.812)	1.064 (0.464)	1.884 (0.399)
81 to 100 percent	3.054 (0.824)	2.480 (0.471)	3.267 (0.406)
Controls	✓	✓	✓
Question FE	✓	✓	✓
<i>N</i> (Total)	1513	2480	3993
<i>N</i> (Respondents)	323	537	860
log likelihood	-2218.50	-3688.85	-5922.66
Wald $\chi^2$	311.18	360.51	653.36

*Note:* Table entries are ordered logit regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses, clustered on individuals. Additional socio-demographic controls and question dummy variables are included, but not reported. These controls include income, education, sex, race, age, Metropolitan Statistical Area, and US Census region. \*  $p < 0.05$



**Table B.19: Individual Questions**

Republicans' Views of Democrats					
	Electric Car	Marijuana	Soda Ban	Taxes	Health Care
Conservatism	0.297* (0.107)	0.325* (0.098)	0.405* (0.102)	0.569* (0.104)	0.092 (0.091)
Political Knowledge	0.061 (0.042)	0.058 (0.040)	0.008 (0.042)	0.051 (0.042)	0.023 (0.038)
Political Interest	0.313* (0.107)	0.325* (0.100)	0.266* (0.111)	0.109 (0.104)	0.326* (0.094)
Constant	2.659* (0.699)	1.577* (0.657)	3.083* (0.692)	2.348* (0.679)	2.387* (0.626)
Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>N</i>	291	302	293	316	311
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.15	0.15	0.15	0.20	0.09

*Note:* Table entries are ordinary least squares coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. Additional socio-demographic controls and question dummy variables are included, but not reported. These controls include income, education, sex, race, age, Metropolitan Statistical Area, and US Census region. \*  $p < 0.05$

**Table B.20: Individual Questions**

Democrats' Views of Republicans					
	Guns	Dinosaurs	Homosexuality	Pledge	Border Fence
Conservatism	-0.463*	-0.121	-0.468*	-0.356*	-0.410*
	(0.101)	(0.116)	(0.100)	(0.108)	(0.094)
Political Knowledge	0.111*	-0.032	0.052	0.100*	0.059
	(0.030)	(0.035)	(0.032)	(0.033)	(0.029)
Political Interest	0.058	0.202*	0.114	0.031	0.078
	(0.073)	(0.087)	(0.079)	(0.079)	(0.072)
Constant	2.172*	1.522*	2.149*	2.838*	3.009*
	(0.426)	(0.511)	(0.444)	(0.476)	(0.420)
Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>N</i>	519	463	496	496	506
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.16	0.06	0.13	0.14	0.11

*Note:* Table entries are ordinary least squares coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. Additional socio-demographic controls and question dummy variables are included, but not reported. These controls include income, education, sex, race, age, Metropolitan Statistical Area, and US Census region. \*  $p < 0.05$

**Table B.21:** Partisans' Views of Out-Party Members Using 100 Point Scale – *All respondents*

	Views of Opposing Party		
	Republicans' Views of Democrats	Democrats' Views of Republicans	All Partisans' Views of Out-Party Members
Conservatism	9.440* (1.661)	-6.694* (1.867)	
Ideological Extremity			9.952* (1.535)
Political Knowledge	1.753* (0.695)	0.631 (0.603)	0.866 (0.461)
Political Interest	0.210 (1.539)	-0.989 (1.411)	-0.158 (1.011)
Constant	53.312* (9.769)	62.760* (8.320)	51.106* (6.290)
Controls	✓	✓	✓
Question FE	✓	✓	✓
<i>N</i> (Total)	1539	2249	3788
<i>N</i> (Respondents)	307	454	761
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.20	0.17	0.18

*Note:* Table entries are ordinary least squares coefficients with standard errors in parentheses, clustered on individuals. Additional socio-demographic controls and question dummy variables are included, but not reported. These controls include income, education, sex, race, age, Metropolitan Statistical Area, and US Census region. \*  $p < 0.05$

**Table B.22:** Partisans' Views of Out-Party Members Using 100 Point Scale – *Only original respondents*

	Views of Opposing Party		
	Republicans' Views of Democrats	Democrats' Views of Republicans	All Partisans' Views of Out-Party Members
Conservatism	8.759* (1.699)	-5.811* (1.943)	
Ideological Extremity			8.868* (1.540)
Political Knowledge	1.725* (0.736)	0.812 (0.610)	0.984* (0.469)
Political Interest	-0.009 (1.625)	-0.654 (1.527)	-0.130 (1.078)
Constant	57.517* (10.704)	57.707* (8.735)	50.065* (6.712)
Controls	✓	✓	✓
Question FE	✓	✓	✓
<i>N</i> (Total)	1307	1951	3258
<i>N</i> (Respondents)	280	418	698
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.19	0.18	0.18

*Note:* Table entries are ordinary least squares coefficients with standard errors in parentheses, clustered on individuals. Additional socio-demographic controls and question dummy variables are included, but not reported. These controls include income, education, sex, race, age, Metropolitan Statistical Area, and US Census region. \*  $p < 0.05$

## C TAPS Study – Correct Assessment

As part of our analysis of (mis)perceptions, we examine how well respondents identify the correct proportion of out-party members who agree with a given statement. For each item, we created a measure of *correct assessment* that indicates whether a respondent correctly identified the percentage category that contained the observed level of agreement with the partisan perception. For example, 28.4% of all Republicans agreed with the statement that “Humans and dinosaurs walked the earth at the same time.” A Democratic respondent who is asked about the percentage of Republicans they believed agreed with that statement are coded as “1” for *correct assessment* if they believed that 21-40% of Republicans agreed with this statement, while Democrats that believed that 0-20, 41-60, 61-80, or 81-100% of Republicans agree with the statement are coded as “0” for *correct assessment*.

We model this variable in a series of logit models that include our measure of ideology, item-specific indicators, and standard errors clustered on respondents:

$$\Pr(\text{CorrectAssessment}_{ij} = 1) = \text{logit}^{-1}(\beta_1 + \beta_2 \text{Ideology}_i + \gamma \mathbf{X}_i + \delta_j + \varepsilon_{ij}),$$

The results can be found in Table C.1. In short, we find that the likelihood of identifying the “correct proportion” of opposite party supporters who believe a agree with a given statement is significantly related to the respondent’s own ideology. For example, the more conservative a Republican is, the less likely they are to identify the correct proportion of Democrats that maintain an extreme view. Likewise, the more liberal a Democrat is, the less likely they are to provide the correct percentage of Republicans believing a given position. As for the shown control variables, we find limited evidence that political sophistication has a positive association with the ability to classify the opposite party. Although the variable had a positive coefficient estimate in the previous models, suggesting that more politically knowledgeable respondents believed partisans were more extreme, in Column 2 of Table C.1 we find that more sophisticated Democrats are significantly more likely to correctly classify Republicans.

To get a better idea of the substantive effect of our ideology measure in Table C.1, consider the following probabilities. Fixing all control variables at their respective mean, a Republican with an ideology score of  $-0.5$  would be predicted to assess Democrats’ level of agreement with their perceptions correctly 36% of the time, whereas this would decrease to 23% at an an ideology score of 1.5. Similarly, for a very liberal Democrat with an ideology score of  $-1.5$ , the model would expect them to correctly assess the level to which Republicans agree with perceptions of Republicans 19% of the time, whereas this would increase to 27% for an an ideology score of 0.25 while keeping all other variables at their mean. This in turn suggests that the effects we uncover

are not only statistically, but also substantively significant.

Table C.2 presents the results of a similar model that furthermore accounts for the possibility of measurement error, which could be induced by our five-category scheme as some of the actual rates of agreement are close to the line that divides one category from the next. In order to do so, we created a second version of the  $\text{CorrectAssessment}_{ij}$  variable that also considers assessments as correct if they are within five percentage points of the correct category. The results are robust with the findings presented in Table C.1.

Figure C.1 provides additional information on the descriptive statistics regarding (mis)perceptions of counterpartisans' beliefs. The left panel of the figure shows second-order beliefs for Democratic items and the right panel shows second-order beliefs for Republican items. For each item we plot three bar charts that illustrate the degree to which Democrats, Independents, and Republicans believed that Democrats (in the left panel) and Republicans (in the right panel) agreed with their respective item, where the width of each colored region corresponds to the share of respondents that answered with that respective category. The category with the black frame reflects the *observed* answer (the correct level of agreement based on the figures shown in Table 1 in the main text) and the shaded category indicates the modal second-order belief.

For example, we know from Table 1 that 63.2% of Democrats agreed with the nationalized health care item (a stereotypically Democratic item). Examining the three bar charts for that item in Figure C.1, the fourth category (61-80%) has a bold frame, indicating that it contains the *correct* (observed) level of agreement. The shaded regions indicate that most Democrats and most Independents correctly identified that the observed level of agreement fell into this category. However, among Republicans the shaded region indicates that most of them believed that 81-100% of Democrats agreed with this statement. In other words, the modal Republican perceived an exaggerated level of agreement among Democrats for this item.

The right panel of Figure C.1 presents a similar pattern for the Republican items. Democrats exaggerated levels of agreement among Republicans, whereas Republicans themselves tended to correctly or slightly underestimate the level of agreement. For example, 42.5% of Republicans agreed that “this country would be safer if every law-abiding citizen possessed a firearm.” However, most Democrats and Independents believed the level of agreement among Republicans was 61-80%, while most Republicans correctly chose the 41-60% category.

For eight of our ten items, supporters of one party overestimated rates of agreement among members of the out-party for their respective item. More specifically, for four out of the five Republican items, Democrats exaggerated levels of agreement among Republicans, whereas Republicans similarly exaggerated levels of agreement among Democrats for four out of the

five Democratic items. Figure C.1 thus provides support for two conclusions. First, partisan respondents tend to exaggerate out-party perceptions, as Democratic (Republican) identifiers held partisan perceptions that were less accurate for Republicans (Democrats) than for Democrats (Republicans). Second, Independents demonstrated varied success in identifying partisans' levels of agreement with the statements. While they accurately categorized Democrats' beliefs for most items, they overestimated the perceived level of agreement for Republican items on all but one item.

**Table C.1:** Predicting Correct Assessment of Partisan Perceptions

	Views of Opposing Party		
	Republicans' Views of Democrats	Democrats' Views of Republicans	All Partisans' Views of Out-Party Members
Conservatism	-0.332* (0.091)	0.272* (0.095)	
Ideological Extremity			-0.312* (0.086)
Political Knowledge	-0.016 (0.036)	0.088* (0.035)	0.048 (0.025)
Political Interest	-0.100 (0.096)	-0.030 (0.085)	-0.056 (0.062)
Constant	-1.373* (0.637)	-2.469* (0.476)	-2.102* (0.384)
Controls	✓	✓	✓
Question FE	✓	✓	✓
<i>N</i> (Total)	1513	2480	3993
<i>N</i> (Respondents)	323	537	860
Wald $\chi^2$	82.39	56.35	121.27
log likelihood	-811.99	-1276.23	-2101.46

*Note:* Table entries are logit regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses, clustered on individuals. The outcome variable is  $\text{CorrectAssessment}_{ij}$ , indicating whether respondent  $i$  perceived the correct level of out-party agreement with perception  $j$  as described in the text. Additional socio-demographic controls (income, education, sex, race, age, Metropolitan Statistical Area, and US Census region) and question indicators are included but not reported. \*  $p < 0.05$

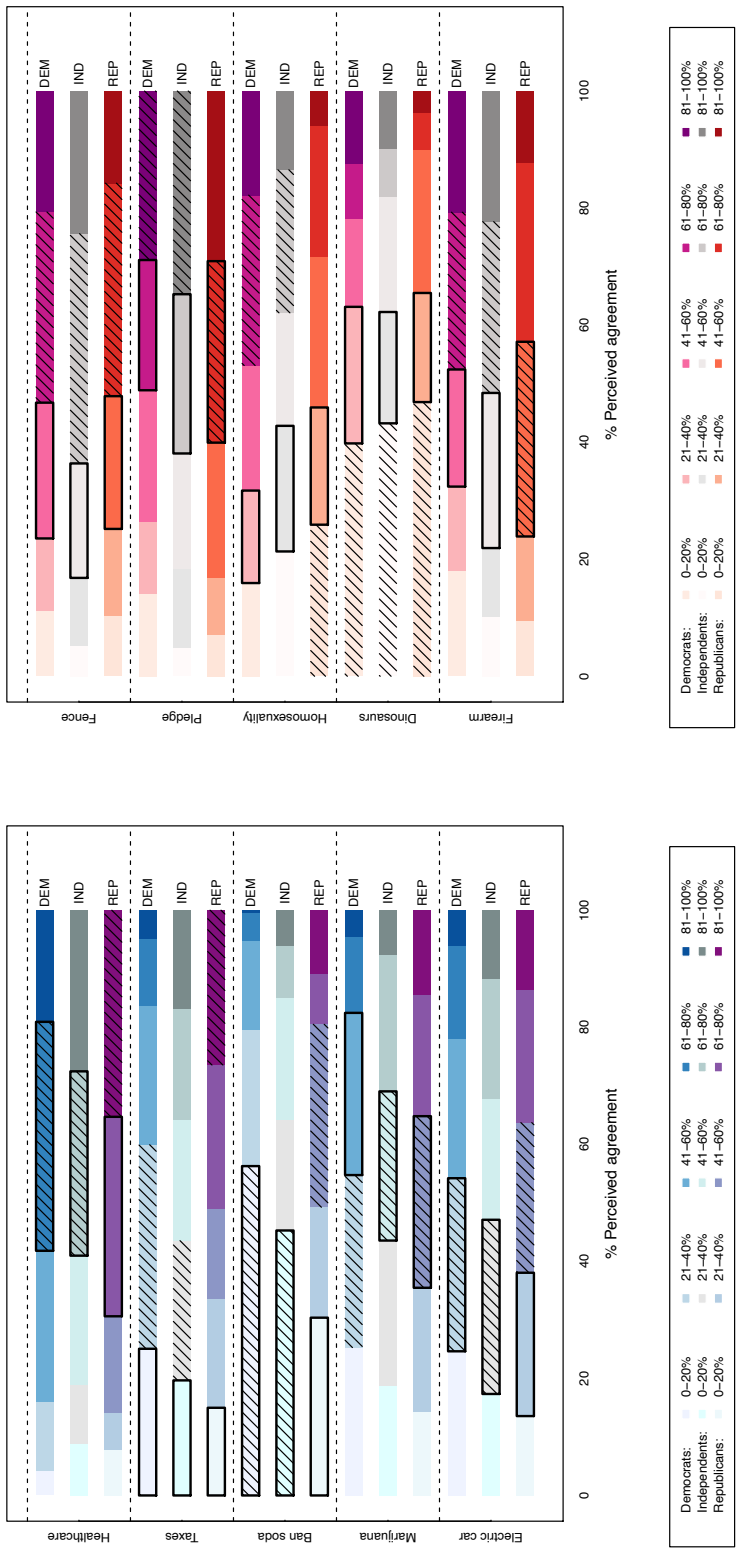


**Table C.2:** Ability to Determine Correct Percentage within Five Percent

	Views of Opposing Party		
	Republicans' Views of Democrats	Democrats' Views of Republicans	All Partisans' Views of Out-Party Members
Conservatism	-0.514* (0.101)	0.109 (0.106)	
Ideological Extremity			-0.374* (0.089)
Political Knowledge	0.010 (0.041)	0.127* (0.036)	0.078* (0.026)
Political Interest	-0.115 (0.097)	-0.057 (0.085)	-0.063 (0.063)
Constant	0.442 (0.699)	0.608 (0.478)	-.887* (0.412)
Controls	✓	✓	✓
Question FE	✓	✓	✓
<i>N</i> (Total)	1513	2480	3993
<i>N</i> (Respondents)	323	537	860
Wald $\chi^2$	79.78	546.55	613.56
log likelihood	-962.37	-1185.14	-2177.60

*Note:* Table entries are logit regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses, clustered on individuals. The outcome variable is  $\text{CorrectAssessment}_{ij}$ , indicating whether respondent  $i$  perceived the correct level of out-party agreement with perception  $j$  as described in the text, or was within five percentage points of that category. Additional socio-demographic controls and question dummy variables are included, but not reported. These controls include income, education, sex, race, age, Metropolitan Statistical Area, and US Census region. \*  $p < 0.05$

Figure C.1: Descriptive Statistics: Second-Order Beliefs



Note: The bars with the **black frames** represent the category in which the *true* level of agreement among Democrats (left panel) and Republicans (right panel) with each statement shown in the y axis fall. Each *shaded* bar represents the modal response given by each partisan group regarding the perceived level of agreement of the group under analysis (Democrats, left panel; Republicans, right panel).