A Supplementary Materials

Table A.1: Responsiveness of Approval Ratings, Four-Point Dependent Variable

	(1)	(2)
Opposite party	−2.98*	−2.86*
	(0.02)	(0.02)
Independent	−1.84*	−1.78*
	(0.04)	(0.04)
Non-policy emphasis	−0.09*	−0.69*
	(0.04)	(0.05)
Opposite party × Non-policy emphasis		1.30*
		(0.07)
Independent × Non-policy emphasis		0.71*
		(0.15)
Years served (in decades)	0.07*	0.07*
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Republican Senator	−0.13*	−0.14*
	(0.02)	(0.02)
State partisanship	−0.33	−0.30
	(0.17)	(0.17)
Seat up for election	−0.11*	−0.12*
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Female	0.16*	0.15*
	(0.02)	(0.02)
Black	0.25*	0.23*
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Latino/a	0.14*	0.14*
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Other racial group	−0.14*	−0.14*
	(0.05)	(0.05)
College educated	0.03	0.03
	(0.02)	(0.02)
Age	0.002*	0.003*
	(0.001)	(0.001)
Intercept 1|2	2.83*	2.77*
	(0.10)	(0.10)
Intercept 2|3	1.65*	1.59*
	(0.10)	(0.10)
Intercept 3|4	−0.29*	−0.36*
	(0.10)	(0.10)
N (total)	56,611	56,611
AIC	128177.38	127858.44

Data are from the 2006 Cooperative Congressional Election Study. Entries are ordered logistic regression coefficients with standard errors clustered on respondents in parentheses. The dependent variable is whether respondents reported approving of their Senator's job performance on a four-point scale. * indicates significance at $p < 0.05$.

Table A.2: Responsiveness of Senator Approval Ratings to Political Communications, All Respondents

	(1)	(2)
Opposite party	−2.72*	−2.62*
	(0.02)	(0.02)
Independent	−1.65*	−1.60*
	(0.03)	(0.04)
Non-policy emphasis	−0.05	−0.68*
	(0.05)	(0.07)
Opposite party × Non-policy emphasis		1.21*
		(0.09)
Independent × Non-policy emphasis		0.59*
		(0.14)
Years served (in decades)	0.06*	0.06*
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Republican Senator	−0.18*	−0.18*
	(0.02)	(0.02)
State partisanship	−0.23	−0.23
	(0.21)	(0.21)
Seat up for election	−0.12*	−0.12*
	(0.02)	(0.02)
Female	0.23*	0.22*
	(0.02)	(0.02)
Black	0.25*	0.23*
	(0.04)	(0.04)
Latino/a	0.10*	0.10*
	(0.04)	(0.04)
Other racial group	−0.21*	−0.22*
	(0.05)	(0.05)
College educated	0.05	0.05
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Age	−0.001	−0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)
Constant	1.70*	1.64*
	(0.12)	(0.12)
N	63,653	63,653
Log Likelihood	−32,975.84	−32,883.61

Data are from the 2006 Cooperative Congressional Election Study and include all respondents, regardless of whether they correctly identified the partisanship of their Senator. Entries are logistic regression coefficients with standard errors clustered on respondents in parentheses. The dependent variable is whether respondents reported approving of their Senator's job performance. * indicates significance at $p < 0.05$.

Table A.3: Descriptive Statistics of *Non-policy emphasis*

Variable	Grouping 1	Grouping 2	*p*-value of Difference in Means
Partisanship	-0.12 (D)	-0.06 (R)	0.16
Years served (in decades)	-0.10 (1 or more)	-0.06 (Less than 1)	0.39
Up for election	-0.09 (Yes)	-0.08 (No)	0.88
State partisanship	-0.11 (Above average)	-0.06 (Below average)	0.28

The first column gives the variable for which we analyze mean values of *Non-policy emphasis*. Entries in the middle two columns of the table indicate mean values of *Non-policy emphasis* for the given grouping of the variable. The final column gives the *p*-value for a test of the difference in the means of the two groups.

Table A.4: Responsiveness of Senator Approval Ratings to Political Communications

	(1)	(2)
Opposite party	−3.11*	−3.00*
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Independent	−1.89*	−1.83*
	(0.04)	(0.04)
Non-policy emphasis	−0.05	−0.69*
	(0.05)	(0.08)
Opposite party × Non-policy emphasis		1.23*
		(0.10)
Independent × Non-policy emphasis		0.66*
		(0.16)
Years served (in decades)	0.08*	0.08*
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Republican Senator	−0.25*	−0.25*
	(0.03)	(0.03)
State partisanship	−0.53*	−0.55*
	(0.24)	(0.24)
Seat up for election	−0.11*	−0.11*
	(0.02)	(0.02)
Female	0.18*	0.18*
	(0.02)	(0.02)
Black	0.29*	0.27*
	(0.05)	(0.04)
Latino/a	0.11*	0.11*
	(0.04)	(0.05)
Other racial group	−0.19*	−0.19*
	(0.06)	(0.06)
College educated	0.10*	0.10*
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Age	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)
(Intercept)	1.99*	1.94*
	(0.14)	(0.14)
N (total)	56,611	56,611
N (unique respondents)	30,943	30,943
Log-likelihood	-27122.76	-27046.52

Data are from the 2006 Cooperative Congressional Election Study. Entries are logistic regression coefficients with standard errors clustered on respondents in parentheses. The dependent variable is whether respondents reported approving of their Senator's job performance.
* indicates significance at $p < 0.05$.

Table A.5: Responsiveness of Senator Approval Ratings to Political Communications, OLS Results

	(1)	(2)
Opposite party	−0.64*	−0.63*
	(0.004)	(0.004)
Independent	−0.38*	−0.38*
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Non-policy emphasis	−0.01	−0.09*
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Opposite party × Non-policy emphasis		0.18*
		(0.02)
Independent × Non-policy emphasis		0.07*
		(0.03)
Years served (in decades)	0.01*	0.01*
	(0.002)	(0.002)
Republican Senator	−0.04*	−0.04*
	(0.004)	(0.004)
State partisanship	−0.08*	−0.08*
	(0.04)	(0.04)
Seat up for election	−0.02*	−0.02*
	(0.003)	(0.003)
Female	0.03*	0.03*
	(0.004)	(0.004)
Black	0.04*	0.04*
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Latino/a	0.02*	0.02*
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Other racial group	−0.03*	−0.03*
	(0.01)	(0.01)
College educated	0.02*	0.02*
	(0.004)	(0.004)
Age	−0.0000	0.0000
	(0.0001)	(0.0001)
(Intercept)	0.88*	0.87*
	(0.02)	(0.02)
Observations	56,611	56,611
R^2	0.38	0.39

Data are from the 2006 Cooperative Congressional Election Study. Entries are OLS regression coefficients with standard errors clustered on respondents in parentheses. The dependent variable is whether respondents reported approving of their Senator's job performance.
* indicates significance at $p < 0.05$.

Table A.6: Responsiveness of Approval Ratings, Attentive Respondents

	(1)	(2)
Opposite party	−3.26*	−3.13*
	(0.04)	(0.04)
Independent	−1.90*	−1.87*
	(0.05)	(0.06)
Non-policy emphasis	0.08	−0.58*
	(0.08)	(0.11)
Opposite party × Non-policy emphasis		1.41*
		(0.15)
Independent × Non-policy emphasis		0.41*
		(0.22)
Years served (in decades)	0.09*	0.09*
	(0.02)	(0.02)
Republican Senator	−0.31*	−0.32*
	(0.04)	(0.04)
State partisanship	−0.55	−0.57
	(0.35)	(0.35)
Seat up for election	−0.10*	−0.09*
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Female	0.18*	0.17*
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Black	0.34*	0.32*
	(0.07)	(0.07)
Latino/a	0.08	0.08
	(0.06)	(0.07)
Other racial group	−0.16	−0.16
	(0.08)	(0.09)
College educated	0.17*	0.17*
	(0.04)	(0.04)
Age	0.0002	0.0004
	(0.001)	(0.001)
(Intercept)	1.96*	1.91*
	(0.20)	(0.20)
N	28,858	28,858
Log Likelihood	−13,421.88	−13,371.61

Data are from the 2006 Cooperative Congressional Election Study. Entries are logistic regression coefficients with standard errors clustered on respondents in parentheses. The dataset consists of the subset of respondents who indicated that they were very interested in politics and current affairs.

* indicates significance at $p < 0.05$.

Table A.7: Responsiveness of Approval Ratings When Senators Have Very Different Messaging Strategies

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Opposite party	−2.94*	−2.98*	−2.83*	−2.89*
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.05)
Independent	−1.84*	−1.86*	−1.82*	−1.85*
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Non-policy emphasis	0.04	−0.97*	0.04	−1.09*
	(0.07)	(0.10)	(0.07)	(0.11)
Opposite party × Non-policy emphasis		1.99*		2.31*
		(0.13)		(0.14)
Independent × Non-policy emphasis		0.97*		1.10*
		(0.19)		(0.21)
Years served (in decades)	0.16*	0.17*	0.21*	0.23*
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Republican Senator	−0.26*	−0.26*	−0.39*	−0.39*
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.06)	(0.06)
State partisanship	2.71*	2.67*	3.21*	3.20*
	(0.35)	(0.36)	(0.46)	(0.46)
Seat up for election	−0.23*	−0.24*	−0.19*	−0.19*
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.03)
Female	0.13*	0.13*	0.09*	0.09*
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Black	0.32*	0.33*	0.28*	0.30*
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.08)
Latino/a	0.08	0.11	0.09	0.14
	(0.10)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.08)
Other racial group	−0.03	−0.04	−0.02	−0.03
	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.11)
College educated	0.06	0.06	0.10	0.09*
	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Age	0.001	0.001	0.002	0.002
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
(Intercept)	−0.003	0.02	−0.35	−0.35
	(0.21)	(0.22)	(0.30)	(0.29)
N (total)	21,204	21,204	17,393	17,393
Log Likelihood	−10,564.16	−10,452.33	−8,813.29	−8,677.30

Data are from the 2006 Cooperative Congressional Election Study. Entries are logistic regression coefficients with standard errors clustered on respondents in parentheses. The first two columns include observations in our dataset whose two Senators' value of *Non-policy emphasis* differs by at least one standard deviation of *Non-policy emphasis*. The second two columns include observations whose two Senators are from the same party and differ on *Non-policy emphasis* by one standard deviation or more.

* indicates significance at $p < 0.05$.

Table A.8: Responsiveness of Approval Ratings, Democrats and Republicans

Opposite party	−2.58*
	(0.08)
Republican	0.23*
	(0.08)
Independent	−1.76*
	(0.06)
Non-policy emphasis	−0.07
	(0.15)
Opposite party × Non-policy emphasis	0.52*
	(0.17)
Republican × Non-policy emphasis	−0.83*
	(0.17)
Opposite party × Republican	−1.00*
	(0.15)
Independent × Non-policy emphasis	0.26
	(0.20)
Non-policy emphasis × Opposite party × Republican	0.61*
	(0.23)
Years served (in decades)	0.08*
	(0.01)
Republican Senator	−0.71*
	(0.07)
State partisanship	−0.61*
	(0.24)
Seat up for election	−0.11*
	(0.02)
Female	0.16*
	(0.02)
Black	0.19*
	(0.05)
Latino/a	0.08
	(0.05)
Other racial group	−0.21*
	(0.06)
College educated	0.10*
	(0.03)
Age	0.0001
	(0.001)
(Intercept)	2.14*
	(0.14)
N	56,611
Log Likelihood	−26,957.710

Data are from the 2006 Cooperative Congressional Election Study. Entries are logistic regression coefficients with standard errors clustered on respondents in parentheses. The triple interaction term allows us to test whether Republican and Democratic self-identifiers respond differently to changes in Senators' messaging strategies.

* indicates significance at $p < 0.05$.

Table A.9: Responsiveness of Approval Ratings, State Fixed Effects

	(1)	(2)
Opposite party	−3.16*	−3.05*
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Republican	−0.40*	−0.41*
	(0.06)	(0.06)
Independent	−1.92*	−1.88*
	(0.04)	(0.04)
Non-policy emphasis	−0.11	−0.73*
	(0.09)	(0.10)
Opposite party × Non-policy emphasis		1.26*
		(0.11)
Independent × Non-policy emphasis		0.49*
		(0.16)
Years served (in decades)	0.14*	0.14*
	(0.02)	(0.02)
State partisanship	0.19	0.08
	(0.61)	(0.62)
Seat up for election	−0.03	−0.03
	(0.02)	(0.02)
Female	0.18*	0.17*
	(0.02)	(0.02)
Black	0.31*	0.28*
	(0.05)	(0.05)
Latino/a	0.14*	0.15*
	(0.05)	(0.05)
Other racial group	−0.15*	−0.15*
	(0.06)	(0.06)
College educated	0.10*	0.10*
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Age	−0.0001	0.0001
	(0.001)	(0.001)
(Intercept)	1.99*	2.01*
	(0.43)	(0.43)
State fixed effects	✓	✓
N	56,611	56,611
Log Likelihood	−26748.08	−26670.61

Data are from the 2006 Cooperative Congressional Election Study. Entries are logistic regression coefficients with standard errors clustered on respondents in parentheses. The models include fixed effects based upon the state of residence of the respondent.

* indicates significance at $p < 0.05$.

Table A.10: Partisanship, Ideology, and the Effect of Communications on Senator Approval

Independent Variables	(1)
Opposite party	−2.30*
	(0.05)
Independent	−1.88*
	(0.04)
Non-policy emphasis	−0.50*
	(0.17)
Opposite party × Non-policy emphasis	0.61*
	(0.20)
Independent × Non-policy emphasis	0.72*
	(0.16)
Ideological alignment	0.18*
	(0.05)
Non-policy emphasis × Ideological alignment	−0.20
	(0.19)
Opposite party × Ideological alignment	−1.01*
	(0.06)
Opposite party × Non-policy emphasis × Ideological alignment	0.76*
	(0.24)
Years served (in decades)	0.08*
	(0.01)
Republican Senator	−0.37*
	(0.03)
State partisanship	−0.66*
	(0.24)
Seat up for election	−0.12*
	(0.02)
(Intercept)	1.96*
	(0.14)
N (total)	56,611
N (unique respondents)	30,943
Log-likelihood	-26,727.96
Demographic controls	✓

Data are from the 2006 Cooperative Congressional Election Study. Entries are logistic regression coefficients with standard errors clustered on respondents in parentheses. The dependent variable is whether respondents reported approving of their Senator's job performance.
* indicates significance at $p < 0.05$.

Table A.11: MTurk Sample Descriptive Statistics

Statistic	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Male	0.614	0.487	0	1
Black	0.044	0.204	0	1
Hispanic	0.043	0.202	0	1
White	0.787	0.410	0	1
Democrat	0.607	0.489	0	1
Republican	0.243	0.429	0	1
Independent	0.150	0.358	0	1
Age 18-29	0.501	0.500	0	1
Age 30-44	0.414	0.492	0	1
Age 45-59	0.073	0.261	0	1
Age 60+	0.011	0.104	0	1
Some HS	0.004	0.063	0	1
HS Degree	0.098	0.297	0	1
Some College	0.310	0.463	0	1
College Degree	0.453	0.498	0	1
Post-Graduate Degree	0.135	0.342	0	1
Income Below 25K	0.191	0.394	0	1
Income 25-50K	0.323	0.468	0	1
Income 50-75K	0.226	0.418	0	1
Income 75-100K	0.129	0.335	0	1
Income 100-200K	0.120	0.325	0	1
Income 200K+	0.011	0.104	0	1
Support for Re-election (Outcome Variable)	0.697	0.460	0	1

Table A.12: MTurk Survey Experiment Vignettes

Condition	Vignette text
Policy emphasis (R)	A **Republican** U.S. Senator from a state similar to yours is up for re-election this November. The Senator has achieved a series of successes during his term in office over the last six years, including serving as a policy leader in Congress as well as securing federal funding for his home district. The Senator recently held an event to kick-off his re-election campaign, where he emphasized how **the policy positions he has taken in Washington have provided many benefits to his constituents.** The Senator made the following statement: "I have worked hard over the past six years to serve the interests of my constituents. I am particularly proud of **introducing multiple bills to repeal Obamacare and stop the negative effects the law has had on the people of our state."**
Policy emphasis (D)	A **Democratic** U.S. Senator from a state similar to yours is up for re-election this November. The Senator has achieved a series of successes during his term in office over the last six years, including serving as a policy leader in Congress as well as securing federal funding for his home district. The Senator recently held an event to kick-off his re-election campaign, where he emphasized how **the policy positions he has taken in Washington have provided many benefits to his constituents.** The Senator made the following statement: "I have worked hard over the past six years to serve the interests of my constituents. I am particularly proud of **stopping recent attempts to repeal Obamacare in order to preserve the positive effects the law has had on the people of our state."**
Non-policy emphasis (D & R)	A **Republican/Democratic** U.S. Senator from a state similar to yours is up for re-election this November. The Senator has achieved a series of successes during his term in office over the last six years, including serving as a policy leader in Congress as well as securing federal funding for his home state. The Senator recently held an event to kick-off his re-election campaign, where he emphasized how **his federal projects have provided many benefits to his constituents.** The Senator made the following statement: "I have worked hard over the past six years to serve the interests of my constituents. I am particularly proud of **securing federal funding to make fundamental improvements to our state's roads and bridges."**

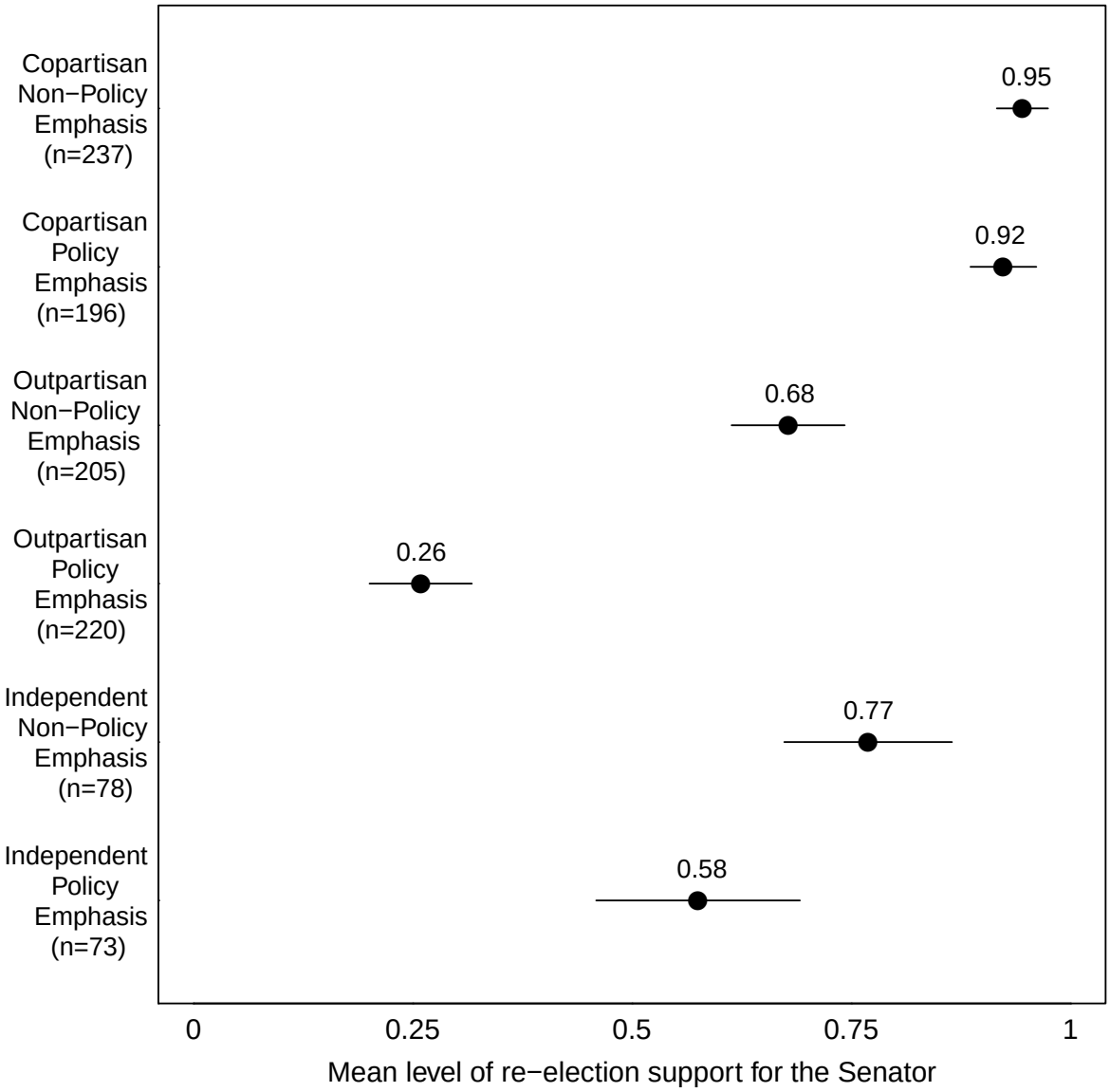
Experimental vignettes from our MTurk survey of 1,009 respondents fielded in March of 2016.
Differences across treatments are denoted in bold.

Table A.13: Experimental Results: Effect of Non-policy and Policy Treatments on Senator Re-election Support

Independent Variables	(1)
Policy Emphasis Treatment	−1.54*
	(0.18)
Copartisan	2.05*
	(0.32)
Male	0.09
	(0.17)
Age	−0.23
	(0.13)
Schooling	−0.18
	(0.10)
Black	−0.24
	(0.48)
Hispanic	−0.20
	(0.46)
White	−0.07
	(0.25)
Income	0.10
	(0.07)
Policy Emphasis Treatment × Copartisan	1.22*
	(0.44)
(Intercept)	1.64*
	(0.49)
N	1,005
Log Likelihood	-453.77

Data are from an MTurk survey of 1,009 respondents fielded in March of 2016; 4 respondents are omitted from this analysis due to missingness. Entries are logistic regression coefficients and standard errors, * indicates significance at $p < 0.05$. The dependent variable is a binary measure of whether respondents reported supporting the Senator for re-election. The negative and reliable coefficient on *Policy Emphasis Treatment* shows that, among those who received the out-partisan treatment, those who received the *policy emphasis* condition are considerably less likely to support the Senator for re-election than those who received the *non-policy emphasis* condition. The positive and reliable coefficient on *Policy Emphasis Treatment* × *Copartisan* shows that, among those who received a copartisan treatment, those who received the *policy emphasis* condition are more likely to support the Senator for re-election than those who received the *non-policy emphasis* condition.

Figure A.1: Summary Statistics, Experimental Results



The plot shows the average level of support for the Senator by each treatment and partisan group. Larger values along the x-axis indicate greater mean support. The horizontal lines are the 95 percent confidence intervals.