Appendix for "Issue Ownership, Issue Positions, and Candidate Assessment"

Kevin K. Banda
University of Nevada, Reno
kbanda@unr.edu

A Measurement

Participants in both CCES modules received the same treatments and were asked to answer the same set of questions, but their assessments of the Senator were measured in different ways. In one module, respondents placed the Senator on the standard seven point ideological scale and placed him on eleven point issue position scales. In the second module, participants placed the candidates ideologically and on issues using scales that ranged from 0 to 100. Because my findings are robust to either measurement strategy, I combine the responses from both modules by transforming the 0 to 100 point measures to seven point ideological and eleven point issue position measures for ease of presentation. The low ends of these scales correspond with more liberal or more Democratic assessments while the high ends indicate more conservative or more Republican assessments.

In order to better test the expectations generated by my theory in a single model, I rescaled participants' assessments of the Senator so that low values indicated that he was assessed as being very dissimilar with his party while high values indicated that he was perceived of as being very similar with his party both ideologically and on issues.[1] For the Republican version of the Senator, I use the raw ideological assessment made by participants. For the Democratic Senator, I multiplied the raw ideological assessments by -1 and then added 8. For the eleven point issue scales: raw assessment for the Republican version of the Senator and (-1 $*$ position) + 12 for the Democratic version. Thus, ideological evaluations range from 1 to 7 and issue position assessments range from 1 to 11. Higher values of both types of measures indicate increasing ideological or issue extremity in the direction implied by the candidate's party.

Figure 1 contains a concrete example of this rescaling. I plot the average ideological assessments of the Senator made by participants who received the control treatment (C_D and

[1] My substantive findings are not affected by this decision because the treatment effects operate in similar ways for both the Democratic and the Republican versions of the Senator. I performed a separate set of analyses on the Democratic and Republican versions of the Senator, the results of which were substantively identical to those I present in this research.

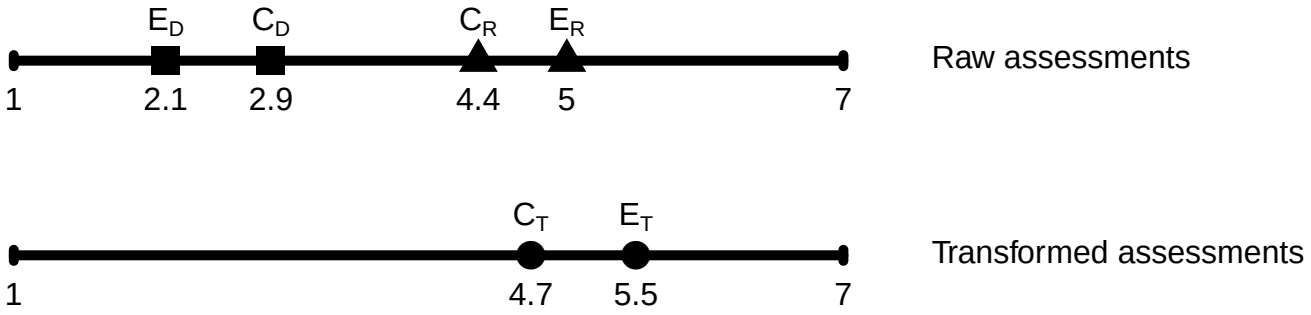

Figure 1: Ideological Continuum

C_R) and the "in-party ownership, extreme positions" treatment (E_D and E_R) on the top line. The D subscript refers to a Senator that was identified as a Democrat while the R subscript is for participants who observed a Republican Senator. Note that this treatment appears to shift assessments on average towards the ideological pole that is associated with the candidate's party; the Democratic version of the Senator was assessed as being more liberal while the Republican version was assessed as being more conservative. This treatment contains an issue position cue that should have lead participants to view the candidate as being more ideologically extreme than did the participants who received the control treatment. These data suggest that the treatment was effective.

I plot the average ideological assessments made by participants receiving the control treatment (C_T) and the same experimental treatment (E_T) after transformation on the second line in Figure 1. Note that the same pattern observed in the raw scores is shown here again; participants who received the "in-party ownership, extreme positions" treatment on average assessed the Senator as holding a more extreme ideological position than did those who received the control treatment. I use transformed measures of ideological and issue position extremity in my analysis.

B Experimental Design

Participants read the following block of text before being exposed to one of the following treatments:

> *We would like you reaction to some comments made at a recent re-election campaign appearance by a Senator from a different state, [Democratic/Republican] Senator Franklin, who said:*

- **Control group**

  - Franklin is identified as either a Democrat or a Republican
    * "America is the greatest country in the world, and I intend to keep it that way. Send me back to Washington so I can keep fighting for you and our families. I have been a successful leader for my entire life, and I will continue to be a leader in the United States Senate well into the next decade."

- **In-party ownership cues**
  - Franklin is identified as a Democrat
    * "Affirmative action is an important issue in this campaign. I will be devoting a great deal of attention to it in the coming months. Health care is also high on my agenda. I can assure you that I will devote a great deal of attention to this issue in the future as well."
  - Franklin is identified as a Republican
    * "We have serious problems with our system of taxation in this country. I know that this is a key issue in the minds of many in this great state and I want you all to know that I will make fixing these problems a priority. Also, nothing is more important to me than national security. The safety of American citizens is always at the forefront of my mind."

- **Out-party ownership cues**
  - Franklin is identified as a Democrat
    * "We have serious problems with our system of taxation in this country. I know that this is a key issue in the minds of many in this great state and I want you all to know that I will make fixing these problems a priority. Also, nothing is more important to me than national security. The safety of American citizens is always at the forefront of my mind."
  - Franklin is identified as a Republican
    * "Affirmative action is an important issue in this campaign. I will be devoting a great deal of attention to it in the coming months. Health care is also high on my agenda. I can assure you that I will devote a great deal of attention to this issue in the future as well."

- **In-party ownership, congruent positions**
  - Franklin is identified as a Democrat
    * "Affirmative action is an important issue in this campaign. The government must ensure that affirmative action policies are enforced so that we may continue to redress the problems caused by slavery and racism during America's past. Healthcare is also high on my agenda. I can assure you that I will introduce and support legislation seeking to ensure that all Americans are

provided adequate medial care through a public option regardless of their financial situations."

  - Franklin is identified as a Republican
    * "We have serious problems with our system of taxation in this country. Our system is complicated and our tax rates are far too high. I will make reducing the burden of taxes on all Americans and simplifying our tax code my priorities. Also, nothing is more important to me than national security. Because the safety of American citizens is always at the forefront of my mind, I will continue to support a strong and well funded military capable of defending us from foreign threats."

- **Out-party ownership, congruent positions**
  - Franklin is identified as a Democrat
    * "We have serious problems with our system of taxation in this country. Our system is complicated and our tax rates for the rich are far too low. I will make reducing the burden of taxes on ordinary Americans and simplifying our tax code my priorities. Also, nothing is more important to me that national security. Because the safety of American citizens is always at the forefront of my mind, I will press for a greater diplomatic engagement with the international community. Some of the military's budget could be better spent in other ways."
  - Franklin is identified as a Republican
    * "Affirmative action is an important issue in this campaign. The government must end these policies as they have long since become unfair. Health care is also high on my agenda. I can assure you that I will introduce and support legislation seeking to protect our current system of privatized health care. Competition is key and a government sponsored health care system would interfere with the private market."

- **In-party ownership, incongruent positions**
  - Franklin is identified as a Democrat
    * "Affirmative action is an important issue in this campaign. The government must end these policies as they have long since become unfair. Health care is also high on my agenda. I can assure you that I will introduce and support legislation seeking to protect our current system of privatized health care. Competition is key and a government sponsored health care system would interfere with the private market."
  - Franklin is identified as a Republican

    - "We have serious problems with our system of taxation in this country. Our system is complicated and our tax rates for the rich are far too low. I will make reducing the burden of taxes on ordinary Americans and simplifying our tax code my priorities. Also, nothing is more important to me that national security. Because the safety of American citizens is always at the forefront of my mind, I will press for a greater diplomatic engagement with the international community. Some of the military's budget could be better spent in other ways."

- **Out-party ownership, incongruent positions**
  - Franklin is identified as a Democrat
    - "We have serious problems with our system of taxation in this country. Our system is complicated and our tax rates are far too high. I will make reducing the burden of taxes on all Americans and simplifying our tax code my priorities. Also, nothing is more important to me than national security. Because the safety of American citizens is always at the forefront of my mind, I will continue to support a strong and well funded military capable of defending us from foreign threats."
  - Franklin is identified as a Republican
    - "Affirmative action is an important issue in this campaign. The government must ensure that affirmative action policies are enforced so that we may continue to redress the problems caused by slavery and racism during America's past. Healthcare is also high on my agenda. I can assure you that I will introduce and support legislation seeking to ensure that all Americans are provided adequate medial care through a public option regardless of their financial situations."

Participants were then asked the following questions and were tasked with placing Senator Franklin using a ruler widget:

- Where would you place [Democratic/Republican] Senator Franklin's political ideology on the following scale?
  - Response: a ruler widget with the following labels equally spaced: Very Liberal, Liberal, Somewhat Liberal, Moderate, Somewhat Conservative, Conservative, Very Conservative.
- Using the following scale where the one end means "the government should provide health insurance to all citizens including a public option" and the other end means "health insurance should be provided through the private sector," where would you place [Democratic/Republican] Senator Franklin on health care reform?

  - Response: a ruler widget with the lower end of the scale labeled "Govt. provision of insurance" and the higher end of the scale labeled "Private provision of insurance."

- Using the following scale where one ends means "the government should help blacks" and the other end means "blacks should help themselves," where would you place [Democratic/Republican] Senator Franklin on the issue of aid to blacks?

  - Response: a ruler widget with the lower end of the scale labeled "Govt. help blacks" and the higher end of the scale labeled "blacks help themselves."

- Using the following scale where one ends means "taxes on the wealthy should be greatly increased" and the other end means "taxes on the wealthy should be greatly decreased," where would you place [Democratic/Republican] Senator Franklin on the issue of taxing the wealthy?

  - Response: a ruler widget with the lower end of the scale labeled "Greatly Increase Taxes on Rich" and the higher end of the scale labeled "Greatly Reduce Taxes on Rich."

- Using the following scale where one end means "defense spending should be greatly decreased" and the other end means "defense spending should be greatly increased," where would you place [Democratic/Republican] Senator Franklin on the issue of defense spending?

  - Response: a ruler widget with the lower end of the scale labeled "greatly decrease defense spending" and the higher end of the scale labeled "greatly increase defense spending."

- Using the following scale where one end means "the government should provide many more services" and the other end means "the government should provide many fewer services," where would you place [Democratic/Republican] Senator Franklin on the issue of government services?

  - Response: a ruler widget with the lower end of the scale labeled "provide many more services" and the higher end labeled "provide many fewer services."

- Using the following scale where one end means "by law, a woman should always be able to obtain an abortion as a matter of personal choice" and the other end means "by law, abortion should never be permitted," where would you place [Democratic/Republican] Senator Franklin on the issue of abortion?

  - Response: a ruler widget with the lower end of the scale labeled "by law, abortion available by choice" and the higher end labeled "by law, abortion never permitted."

- Please rate [Democratic/Republican] Senator Franklin using what we call a feeling thermometer. Ratings between 50 and 100 mean that you feel favorable and warm toward Senator Franklin. Ratings between 0 and 50 mean you feel unfavorable and cool toward Senator Franklin.

C Analysis of Participants' Assessments of the Candidate on Individual Issues

Figure 2 contains plots of participants' average assessments of the Senator's position extremity on each of the four issues that could have been discussed in the experimental treatments. These data also support evidence favoring H_1. Participants who received the "out-party ownership" treatment consistently reported that the Senator's positions on these issues was significantly ($p \leq .05$) less extreme relative to those who were exposed to the control group.[2] Those who received the "in-party ownership" treatment, on the other hand, did not assess the Senator's extremity on any of these four issues significantly differently than did members of the control group, though their assessments were more extreme as expected on all of the issues except for taxes.[3] These results show that out-party ownership cues consistently informed participants' views about the Senator's positions on issues that may have been discussed.

These data provide additional evidence favoring H_2; exposure to one of the four treatments containing an issue position cue on average lead participants to view the Senator as holding more extreme positions when they were shown an extreme cue or as less extreme when they were shown a moderate cue relative to the assessments made by participants who were members of the control group. Of the 16 tests of H_2 contained in Figure 2, only two effects failed to differ significantly from the the average issue position assessment generated by the control treatment: that of the "in-party ownership, extreme positions" treatment in the case of the Senator's position on taxes ($t = -0.78$, $p = .44$) and the "out-party ownership, extreme positions" treatment for the Senator's position on national defense ($t = -1.07$, $p = .29$).

The results in Figure 2 provide further evidence supporting H_3. None of treatments involving either extreme or moderate issue position cues produce significantly different assessments from one another across in or out-party ownership cues. A comparison of the two treatments containing extreme position cues on assessments of the Senator's health care extremity produced a t-value of 1.16 ($p = .25$). The two moderate position treatments also failed to differ significantly from one another on health care as evidence by a t-value of just 0.23 ($p = .82$). On affirmative action, these same comparisons produce t-values of -0.07 ($p = .95$) for the extreme position treatments and 0.05 ($p = .96$) for the moderate position

[2]The t-values produced for these tests were 3.17 for health care, 3.11 for affirmative action, 2.06 for taxes, and 2.74 for national defense.

[3]The t-values generated for these tests were as follows: -0.93 for health care, -0.20 for affirmative action, 0.31 for taxes, and -1.24 for national defense.

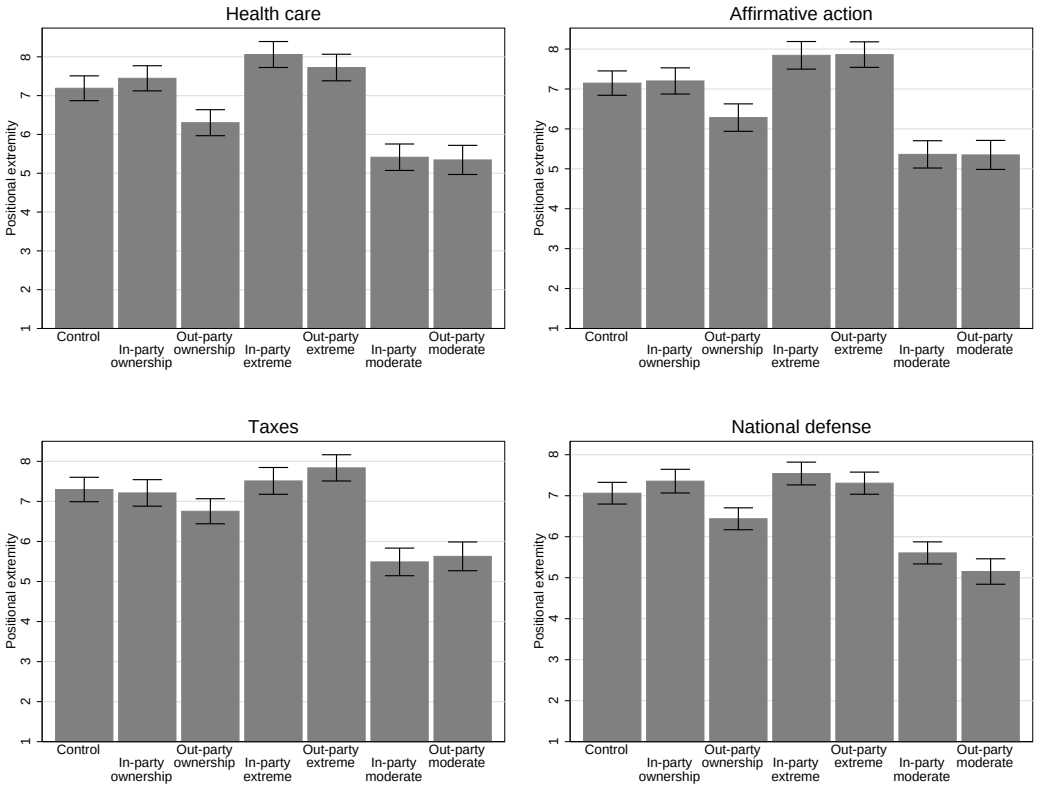

Figure 2: Participants' views of the candidate's positional extremity on mentioned issues. Bars represent the average assessment of the Senator's issue position extremity by members of each treatment group. The lines show the 95% confidence intervals for each mean.

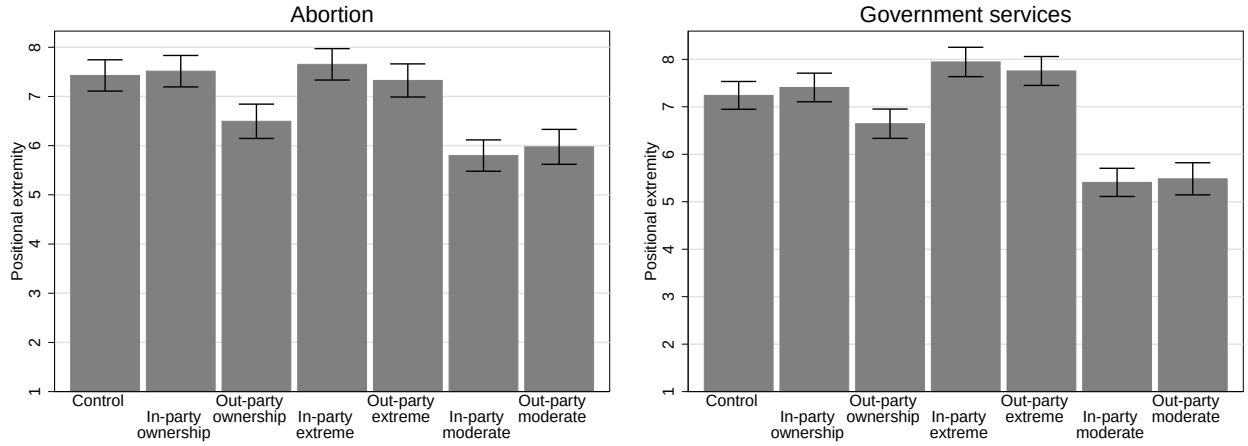

Figure 3: Participants' views of the candidate's positional extremity on unmentioned issues. Bars represent the average assessment of the Senator's issue position extremity by members of each treatment group. The lines show the 95% confidence intervals for each mean

treatments. The t-values for taxes are -1.15 (p = .25) and -0.46 (p = .65) respectively for extreme and moderate position treatments. Finally, on the issue of national defense, these difference of means tests produce t-values of 1 (p = 32) for the extreme positions treatments and 1.83 (p = .07) in the case of the moderate position treatments. While the final test borders on a traditional level of statistical significance, these results on the whole seem to indicate that participants largely ignored issue ownership cues and instead responded only to issue position cues when they were available.

I plot the results of the last set of tests in Figure 3. These data allow me to observe the degree to which issue ownership and issue position cues inform participants' views of the extremity of the Senator's positions on two issues that were not discussed in any treatment — "unmentioned" issues. I once again find that the "out-party ownership" treatment leads participants to view the Senator as being less extreme relative to the assessments made by members of the control group on both abortion ($t = 3.27$, $p \leq .05$) and government services ($t = 2.32$, $p \leq .05$). As was the case above with the four mentioned issues, the "in-party ownership" treatment on average leads participants to view the Senator as holding more extreme views on the two unmentioned issues, but the treatment fails to produce effects that differ significantly from those generated by control treatment.[4] These results once again provide evidence that favors H_1, at least when it comes to out-party issue ownership cues.

Not surprisingly, these data also lend support to H_2. The four treatments that contain issue position cues and these two unmentioned issues allow me to test H_2 eight times. All but one — the "out-party ownership, extreme positions" treatment on abortion — on average lead participants to shift their views of the Senator's positional extremity in the expected

[4]For abortion: t = -0.32 and p = .75. For government services: t = .51 and p = .51.

direction relative to the members of the control group. Six of these seven effects differed significantly ($p \leq .05$) from zero.[5]

D Alternative Specifications

Table 1: Partisanship and Candidate Assessment

	Ideology	Health care	Affirmative action	Taxes	National defense	Abortion	Government services
In-party ownership cues	0.28	0.57	0.06	-0.02	0.41	0.22	0.10
	(0.24)	(0.48)	(0.47)	(0.46)	(0.39)	(0.46)	(0.43)
In-party ownership cues	0.15	-0.37	-0.24	-0.13	-0.26	-0.28	-0.08
X PID	(0.35)	(0.70)	(0.69)	(0.67)	(0.56)	(0.67)	(0.64)
Out-party ownership cues	-0.77*	-0.62	-0.97*	-0.58	-0.67*	-0.81*	-0.36
	(0.24)	(0.49)	(0.48)	(0.47)	(0.39)	(0.46)	(0.44)
Out-party ownership cues	-0.16	-0.63	0.15	-0.34	-0.20	-0.56	-0.65
X PID	(0.35)	(0.71)	(0.70)	(0.68)	(0.57)	(0.68)	(0.64)
In-party ownership,	0.61*	0.68	0.61	-0.01	0.21	0.61	0.69
congruent positions	(0.25)	(0.50)	(0.50)	(0.48)	(0.40)	(0.48)	(0.45)
In-party ownership,	0.33	0.31	0.04	0.35	0.18	-1.09	0.19
congruent positions X PID	(0.35)	(0.71)	(0.70)	(0.68)	(0.57)	(0.68)	(0.64)
Out-party ownership,	0.24	0.20	0.36	0.36	0.13	-0.23	0.22
congruent positions	(0.25)	(0.49)	(0.49)	(0.47)	(0.40)	(0.47)	(0.45)
Out-party ownership,	0.41	0.45	0.81	0.05	-0.08	-0.13	0.43
congruent positions X PID	(0.35)	(0.70)	(0.70)	(0.67)	(0.56)	(0.67)	(0.64)
In-party ownership,	-1.86*	-2.27*	-2.32*	-2.25*	-1.80*	-2.08*	-2.29*
incongruent positions	(0.24)	(0.47)	(0.47)	(0.45)	(0.38)	(0.45)	(0.43)
In-party ownership,	0.62*	0.62	0.94	0.18	0.14	0.40	0.80
incongruent positions X PID	(0.34)	(0.68)	(0.67)	(0.65)	(0.55)	(0.65)	(0.62)
Out-party ownership,	-2.04*	-1.68*	-2.14*	-2.08*	-1.99*	-1.20*	-1.88*
incongruent positions	(0.24)	(0.49)	(0.48)	(0.46)	(0.39)	(0.46)	(0.44)
Out-party ownership,	0.39	-0.09	0.66	1.14*	0.16	-0.32	0.37
incongruent positions X PID	(0.35)	(0.71)	(0.70)	(0.68)	(0.57)	(0.68)	(0.64)
Same PID	-0.74*	0.43	-0.72	-0.38	-0.47	0.15	-0.34
	(0.26)	(0.51)	(0.51)	(0.49)	(0.41)	(0.49)	(0.46)
Intercept	1.24*	1.07*	1.53*	1.71*	1.47*	1.55*	1.52*
	(0.18)	(0.35)	(0.35)	(0.34)	(0.28)	(0.33)	(0.32)
N	1,143	1,120	1,120	1,117	1,112	1,099	1,111
BIC	4,307.26	5,767.32	5,734.60	5,650.57	5,236.54	5,534.36	5,486.84

Note: cell entries are estimated coefficients generated using ordinary least squares regression. Standard errors are reported in parentheses.
$*$ $p \leq .05$ (one tailed).

[5]The "in-party ownership, extreme positions" treatment failed to produce a significant difference in the assessments among participants who were exposed to it relative to those who were exposed to the control treatment ($t = -.083$, $p = .41$).

Table 2: Education and Candidate Assessment

	Ideology	Health care	Affirmative action	Taxes	National defense	Abortion	Government services
In-party ownership cues	0.30	0.41	-0.08	-0.71	0.32	-0.31	0.30
	(0.32)	(0.63)	(0.62)	(0.61)	(0.52)	(0.61)	(0.57)
In-party ownership cues	0.05	-0.05	0.05	0.24	-0.01	0.15	-0.04
X education	(0.10)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.17)	(0.20)	(0.19)
Out-party ownership cues	-0.50	-0.60	-1.62*	-0.07	-0.35	-1.06*	-0.35
	(0.33)	(0.66)	(0.65)	(0.65)	(0.55)	(0.64)	(0.61)
Out-party ownership cues	-0.08	-0.10	0.26	-0.17	-0.10	0.04	-0.09
X education	(0.10)	(0.21)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.17)	(0.20)	(0.19)
In-party ownership,	0.16	0.60	-0.60	-0.02	1.17*	-0.17	0.23
congruent positions	(0.33)	(0.65)	(0.64)	(0.64)	(0.54)	(0.63)	(0.60)
In-party ownership,	0.20*	0.08	0.45*	0.08	-0.24	0.13	0.16
congruent positions X education	(0.10)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.17)	(0.20)	(0.19)
Out-party ownership,	0.30	-0.31	-0.63	-0.60	-0.09	-1.27*	-0.18
congruent positions	(0.33)	(0.66)	(0.65)	(0.65)	(0.54)	(0.64)	(0.61)
Out-party ownership,	0.09	0.28	0.46*	0.39*	0.11	0.40*	0.23
congruent positions X education	(0.10)	(0.21)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.17)	(0.20)	(0.19)
In-party ownership,	-0.80*	-1.20*	-2.16*	-1.07*	-1.14*	-1.23*	-1.51*
incongruent positions	(0.32)	(0.63)	(0.62)	(0.62)	(0.52)	(0.62)	(0.58)
In-party ownership,	-0.22*	-0.21	0.14	-0.27	-0.11	-0.14	-0.12
incongruent positions X education	(0.10)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.17)	(0.20)	(0.19)
Out-party ownership,	-0.89*	-0.30	-0.72	-0.74	-1.27*	-1.25*	-0.91
incongruent positions	(0.34)	(0.67)	(0.67)	(0.66)	(0.55)	(0.65)	(0.61)
Out-party ownership,	-0.25*	-0.54*	-0.37*	-0.32	-0.22	-0.07	-0.29
incongruent positions X education	(0.11)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.17)	(0.20)	(0.19)
Level of education	0.08	0.18	-0.05	0.10	0.09	0.12	0.11
	(0.07)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.12)	(0.14)	(0.13)
Intercept	0.51*	0.68	1.28*	1.01*	0.81*	1.09*	0.94*
	(0.23)	(0.45)	(0.45)	(0.45)	(0.38)	(0.44)	(0.42)
N	1,548	1,516	1,507	1,507	1,496	1,477	1,496
BIC	5,806.05	7,727.58	7,644.84	7,607.82	7,036.36	7,415.17	7,323.22

Note: cell entries are estimated coefficients generated using ordinary least squares regression. Standard errors are reported in parentheses.

$*$ $p \leq .05$ (one tailed).