Partisanship, political awareness, and retrospective evaluations, 1956-2016

Online appendix

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A1 Survey items used to measure retrospective evaluations

The analysis includes eleven survey items asked a total of 103 times across the 1956–2016 period. Each asked respondents to evaluate changes in objective conditions over the recent past (in most cases over the preceding year). Table A1 below shows the question wording for each of these items and the surveys they were included in. The precise question wording has changed slightly over time; in each case, the most recent version of the item is shown. Note that there were no ANES studies in 2006, 2010, or 2014. Otherwise, the surveys took place every even-numbered year in this time series.

Table A1: Retrospective evaluations used in analysis

Evaluation of...	Type	Wording	Years asked
Own financial status	Pocketbook	"We are interested in how people are getting along financially these days. Would you say that you and your family living here are better off or worse off financially than you were a year ago?"	1956–2016
Cost of living	Pocketbook	"Do you think that over the last year, [your/your family's] income has gone up more than the cost of living, has it fallen behind, or has it stayed about even with the cost of living?"	1980, 1984– 1988, 1992
Own income	Pocketbook	"Are you [and your family] receiving as much income now as you were a year ago, or more, or less?"	1962, 1966–1968, 1972
Economy	Sociotropic	"Now thinking about the economy in the country as a whole, would you say that over the past year the nation's economy has gotten worse, stayed about the same, or gotten better?"	1980–2016
Unemployment	Sociotropic	"Would you say that over the past year, the level of unemployment in the country has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?"	1984–1988, 1992, 2000–2016
Business conditions	Sociotropic	"Would you say that at the present time business conditions are better or worse than they were a year ago?"	1962, 1966–1968, 1972, 1976–1980
Inflation	Sociotropic	"Would you say that over the past year, inflation has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?"	1986–1988, 1992, 2004–2008
Position in world	Foreign affairs	"During the past year, would you say that the United States' position in the world has grown weaker, stayed about the same, or has it grown stronger?"	1958–1960, 1964, 1968, 1986–2016
Chances of war	Foreign affairs	"During the past few years do you think our chances of staying out of war have been getting better, getting worse, or stayed the same?"	1956, 1960, 1964, 1968–1972
Foreign relations	Foreign affairs	"Would you say that in the past year or so the United States has done pretty well in dealing with foreign countries, or would you say that we haven't been doing as well as we should?"	1958–1960, 1964, 1968
Country generally		"Let's talk about the country as a whole. In general, would you say that things in the country are generally going very well, fairly well, not too well, or not well at all?"	1958–1960, 1984–1988

A2 Individual-level regression models

I estimate separate regression models for each retrospective evaluation in each survey year. These are then simulated to estimate the first differences shown in Figures 1 and 2. The following tables present the models by dependent variable:

- Table A2: Retrospective evaluations of own financial status
- Table A3: Retrospective evaluations of cost of living
- Table A4: Retrospective evaluations of own income
- Table A5: Retrospective evaluations of economy
- Table A6: Retrospective evaluations of unemployment
- Table A7: Retrospective evaluations of business conditions
- Table A8: Retrospective evaluations of inflation
- Table A9: Retrospective evaluations of position in world
- Table A10: Retrospective evaluations of chances of war
- Table A11: Retrospective evaluations of foreign relations
- Table A12: Retrospective evaluations of country generally

Table A2: Ordered logistic models predicting retrospective evaluations of own financial status

	1956	1958	1960	1962	1964	1966	1968	1970	1972
Age	−0.22 (0.03)***	−0.10 (0.04)*	−0.18 (0.06)**	−0.26 (0.04)***	−0.23 (0.03)***	−0.20 (0.04)***	−0.24 (0.04)***	−0.09 (0.04)*	−0.19 (0.04)***
White	−0.07 (0.20)	0.11 (0.21)	0.28 (0.28)	0.60 (0.20)**	−0.24 (0.18)	−0.15 (0.18)	−0.09 (0.18)	−0.34 (0.21)	0.20 (0.24)
Income	0.40 (0.05)***	0.37 (0.06)***	0.44 (0.09)***	0.31 (0.05)***	0.47 (0.05)***	0.17 (0.06)**	0.26 (0.06)***	0.31 (0.07)***	0.05 (0.06)
Education	0.06 (0.03)†	0.12 (0.04)**	0.05 (0.05)	0.00 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	0.04 (0.03)	−0.04 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)
Female	−0.20 (0.10)*	−0.08 (0.11)	−0.14 (0.14)	−0.15 (0.11)	−0.15 (0.10)	−0.02 (0.11)	−0.20 (0.11)†	−0.19 (0.14)	−0.09 (0.13)
Independent	−0.21 (0.16)	−0.35 (0.22)	−0.47 (0.25)†	−0.09 (0.24)	−0.27 (0.21)	0.18 (0.17)	−0.15 (0.21)	−0.49 (0.22)*	−0.54 (0.21)*
Out-partisan	−0.65 (0.11)***	−0.39 (0.12)**	−0.48 (0.16)**	0.10 (0.12)	−0.00 (0.11)	−0.12 (0.12)	−0.11 (0.12)	−0.35 (0.15)*	−0.32 (0.14)*
Threshold 1	−1.87 (0.30)***	−0.57 (0.34)†	−1.17 (0.49)*	−1.50 (0.34)***	−1.99 (0.29)***	−1.65 (0.34)***	−2.04 (0.32)***	−0.97 (0.41)*	−2.05 (0.41)***
Threshold 2	0.28 (0.30)	1.48 (0.34)***	1.17 (0.50)*	0.77 (0.33)*	0.21 (0.29)	0.10 (0.34)	0.20 (0.31)	0.45 (0.41)	−0.17 (0.40)
N	1596	1649	1679	1154	1459	1198	1260	767	934

	1956	1958	1960	1962	1964	1966	1968	1970	1972
Age	−0.23 (0.03)***	−0.10 (0.04)*	−0.19 (0.06)***	−0.26 (0.04)***	−0.24 (0.04)***	−0.19 (0.04)***	−0.23 (0.04)***	−0.09 (0.04)*	−0.21 (0.04)***
White	−0.13 (0.20)	0.11 (0.21)	0.20 (0.29)	0.60 (0.20)**	−0.25 (0.18)	−0.13 (0.19)	−0.10 (0.18)	−0.34 (0.21)†	0.20 (0.24)
Income	0.40 (0.05)***	0.37 (0.06)***	0.42 (0.09)***	0.32 (0.05)***	0.47 (0.05)***	0.19 (0.06)***	0.26 (0.06)***	0.33 (0.08)***	0.03 (0.06)
Education	0.06 (0.04)	0.12 (0.04)**	0.03 (0.05)	0.01 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	0.05 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	−0.04 (0.04)	−0.01 (0.04)
Female	−0.19 (0.10)†	−0.07 (0.12)	−0.10 (0.14)	−0.15 (0.11)	−0.14 (0.10)	−0.05 (0.11)	−0.21 (0.11)†	−0.21 (0.14)	−0.03 (0.13)
Awareness	0.15 (0.24)	−0.32 (0.37)	0.12 (0.47)	0.21 (0.40)	−0.78 (0.42)†	0.37 (0.32)	0.28 (0.43)	0.29 (0.37)	−0.62 (0.45)
Independent	−0.17 (0.17)	−0.59 (0.26)*	0.09 (0.33)	0.26 (0.21)	0.11 (0.30)	0.46 (0.27)†	0.08 (0.27)	−0.26 (0.33)	−0.29 (0.33)
Out-partisan	0.63 (0.21)**	−0.12 (0.31)	1.08 (0.41)**	0.07 (0.23)	0.07 (0.25)	0.04 (0.30)	0.12 (0.27)	0.18 (0.42)	0.53 (0.41)
Awareness × Independent	−0.72 (0.46)	−0.09 (0.56)	−0.99 (0.79)	−0.60 (0.70)	0.98 (0.65)	−0.45 (0.61)	−0.87 (0.76)	−1.88 (0.65)**	0.32 (0.72)
Awareness × Out-partisan	−0.95 (0.28)***	0.35 (0.38)	−0.97 (0.50)†	−0.32 (0.34)	−0.15 (0.41)	−1.07 (0.47)*	−0.33 (0.43)	−0.13 (0.51)	−0.05 (0.49)
Threshold 1	−1.63 (0.32)***	−0.67 (0.37)†	−0.75 (0.51)	−1.39 (0.35)***	−1.99 (0.31)***	−1.47 (0.37)***	−1.96 (0.33)***	−0.80 (0.46)†	−1.94 (0.46)***
Threshold 2	0.53 (0.31)†	1.38 (0.38)***	1.60 (0.51)**	0.88 (0.35)*	0.22 (0.31)	0.29 (0.36)	0.29 (0.32)	0.64 (0.46)	−0.05 (0.45)
N	1588	1649	1679	1154	1458	1198	1260	767	934

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Table A2 (continued)

	1974	1976	1978	1980	1982	1984	1986	1988	1990
Age	−0.02 (0.04)	−0.13 (0.03)***	−0.14 (0.03)***	−0.08 (0.03)**	−0.07 (0.03)*	−0.22 (0.03)***	−0.19 (0.02)***	−0.25 (0.03)***	−0.14 (0.02)***
White	0.15 (0.22)	0.41 (0.15)**	−0.15 (0.16)	0.05 (0.15)	0.55 (0.18)**	0.32 (0.14)*	0.08 (0.12)	0.01 (0.13)	0.03 (0.13)
Income	0.20 (0.06)***	0.14 (0.04)**	0.18 (0.04)***	0.06 (0.05)	0.12 (0.05)*	0.24 (0.05)***	0.29 (0.05)***	0.20 (0.05)***	0.12 (0.05)**
Education	−0.04 (0.04)	−0.04 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	0.08 (0.03)*	0.05 (0.03)	0.07 (0.03)*	0.05 (0.03)†	0.02 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)
Female	−0.17 (0.12)	−0.08 (0.09)	−0.24 (0.09)**	−0.17 (0.10)	−0.07 (0.11)	−0.12 (0.09)	−0.18 (0.09)*	−0.16 (0.09)†	−0.13 (0.09)
Independent	0.20 (0.18)	−0.03 (0.13)	0.03 (0.12)	−0.12 (0.15)	−0.59 (0.19)**	−0.54 (0.15)***	−0.61 (0.15)***	−0.50 (0.16)**	−0.08 (0.16)
Out-partisan	0.16 (0.13)	−0.28 (0.10)**	−0.13 (0.10)	−0.19 (0.11)	−0.49 (0.12)***	−0.98 (0.10)***	−0.26 (0.10)**	−0.64 (0.10)***	−0.11 (0.10)
Threshold 1	0.17 (0.39)	−0.96 (0.28)***	−0.85 (0.25)***	−0.33 (0.26)	−0.16 (0.30)	−1.44 (0.28)***	−1.11 (0.24)***	−2.19 (0.25)***	−1.03 (0.26)***
Threshold 2	1.46 (0.40)***	0.51 (0.27)†	0.35 (0.25)	0.70 (0.26)**	1.18 (0.31)***	−0.12 (0.27)	0.32 (0.23)	−0.66 (0.25)**	0.14 (0.25)
N	2271	2561	1926	1409	1232	1920	1938	1803	1740

	1974	1976	1978	1980	1982	1984	1986	1988	1990
Age	−0.01 (0.04)	−0.11 (0.03)***	−0.12 (0.03)***	−0.06 (0.03)*	−0.07 (0.03)*	−0.23 (0.03)***	−0.17 (0.03)***	−0.24 (0.03)***	−0.13 (0.03)***
White	0.15 (0.23)	0.41 (0.15)**	−0.15 (0.16)	0.06 (0.15)	0.56 (0.18)**	0.33 (0.14)*	0.08 (0.12)	0.03 (0.13)	0.04 (0.13)
Income	0.22 (0.06)***	0.15 (0.04)***	0.20 (0.04)***	0.07 (0.05)	0.13 (0.05)*	0.23 (0.05)***	0.29 (0.05)***	0.21 (0.05)***	0.12 (0.05)**
Education	−0.02 (0.04)	−0.02 (0.03)	0.07 (0.03)*	0.12 (0.04)**	0.06 (0.04)	0.05 (0.03)	0.08 (0.03)**	0.04 (0.03)	0.05 (0.03)
Female	−0.19 (0.12)	−0.11 (0.09)	−0.27 (0.09)**	−0.21 (0.10)*	−0.09 (0.11)	−0.08 (0.09)	−0.22 (0.09)*	−0.20 (0.09)*	−0.15 (0.09)
Awareness	0.38 (0.41)	0.21 (0.26)	−0.03 (0.21)	0.01 (0.27)	−0.52 (0.32)	−0.35 (0.28)	−0.35 (0.27)	−0.45 (0.28)	−0.02 (0.24)
Independent	0.23 (0.37)	0.15 (0.23)	−0.13 (0.22)	0.35 (0.30)	−0.29 (0.24)	−0.59 (0.22)**	−0.16 (0.20)	−0.25 (0.22)	0.04 (0.20)
Out-partisan	−0.17 (0.43)	0.10 (0.27)	−0.46 (0.23)*	−0.21 (0.36)	0.04 (0.35)	0.74 (0.28)**	−0.16 (0.27)	0.04 (0.26)	0.02 (0.26)
Awareness × Independent	−0.40 (0.62)	−0.46 (0.44)	0.05 (0.44)	−0.37 (0.56)	−0.17 (0.68)	−0.21 (0.56)	−0.77 (0.52)	−0.03 (0.53)	−0.12 (0.55)
Awareness × Out-partisan	−0.09 (0.53)	−0.69 (0.33)*	0.03 (0.36)	−0.96 (0.52)†	−0.38 (0.41)	−0.74 (0.37)*	−0.22 (0.34)	−0.70 (0.33)*	−0.29 (0.34)
Threshold 1	0.22 (0.47)	−0.74 (0.30)*	−0.87 (0.26)***	−0.20 (0.29)	−0.05 (0.34)	−1.21 (0.30)***	−1.03 (0.26)***	−2.00 (0.28)***	−0.94 (0.28)***
Threshold 2	1.50 (0.47)**	0.73 (0.30)*	0.34 (0.26)	0.83 (0.29)**	1.30 (0.34)***	0.11 (0.30)	0.40 (0.26)	−0.47 (0.27)†	0.23 (0.28)
N	2271	2561	1926	1409	1232	1920	1938	1803	1740

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Table A2 (continued)

	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016
Age	−0.12 (0.02)***	−0.17 (0.03)***	−0.23 (0.03)***	−0.19 (0.03)***	−0.07 (0.05)	−0.19 (0.04)***	−0.10 (0.03)**	−0.15 (0.02)***	−0.14 (0.02)***
White	−0.01 (0.12)	−0.37 (0.17)*	−0.18 (0.17)	0.16 (0.20)	−0.47 (0.21)*	−0.02 (0.17)	−0.37 (0.11)**	−0.18 (0.09)*	−0.44 (0.10)***
Income	0.20 (0.04)***	0.22 (0.06)***	0.16 (0.06)**	0.21 (0.06)***	0.34 (0.08)***	0.18 (0.06)**	0.09 (0.06)	0.23 (0.04)***	0.25 (0.04)***
Education	0.02 (0.03)	−0.01 (0.03)	0.06 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	0.07 (0.05)	0.01 (0.05)	−0.00 (0.04)	0.09 (0.02)***	0.05 (0.03)†
Female	−0.21 (0.08)**	−0.17 (0.11)	−0.30 (0.11)**	−0.07 (0.12)	−0.44 (0.16)**	−0.17 (0.13)	−0.07 (0.11)	0.07 (0.07)	−0.09 (0.08)
Independent	−0.56 (0.13)***	−0.52 (0.19)**	−0.71 (0.20)***	−0.63 (0.20)**	−0.19 (0.25)	−0.38 (0.23)†	−0.36 (0.18)*	−1.00 (0.12)***	−1.02 (0.13)***
Out-partisan	−0.51 (0.09)***	−0.34 (0.12)**	−0.63 (0.13)***	−0.46 (0.13)***	−0.35 (0.19)†	−1.06 (0.15)***	−0.71 (0.12)***	−1.19 (0.08)***	−0.69 (0.09)***
Threshold 1	−1.02 (0.23)***	−1.78 (0.30)***	−2.17 (0.33)***	−1.61 (0.35)***	−1.70 (0.49)***	−1.76 (0.34)***	−0.93 (0.28)***	−0.57 (0.18)**	−1.64 (0.20)***
Threshold 2	0.49 (0.23)*	−0.32 (0.30)	−0.84 (0.32)**	−0.31 (0.34)	0.91 (0.46)*	−0.69 (0.34)*	−0.17 (0.28)	−0.22 (0.18)	0.56 (0.20)**
N	2180	1570	1541	1180	747	1035	2107	5527	3410

	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016
Age	−0.09 (0.02)***	−0.15 (0.03)***	−0.25 (0.04)***	−0.18 (0.04)***	−0.04 (0.06)	−0.20 (0.04)***	−0.10 (0.03)***	−0.16 (0.02)***	−0.13 (0.02)***
White	0.03 (0.12)	−0.34 (0.17)*	−0.19 (0.17)	0.17 (0.20)	−0.52 (0.21)*	−0.02 (0.17)	−0.38 (0.11)***	−0.22 (0.09)*	−0.46 (0.10)***
Income	0.22 (0.04)***	0.23 (0.06)***	0.15 (0.06)*	0.21 (0.06)***	0.38 (0.08)***	0.18 (0.06)**	0.08 (0.06)	0.23 (0.04)***	0.24 (0.04)***
Education	0.06 (0.03)*	0.01 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	0.11 (0.07)†	0.01 (0.05)	−0.01 (0.04)	0.08 (0.03)**	0.05 (0.03)†
Female	−0.26 (0.08)**	−0.20 (0.11)†	−0.28 (0.12)*	−0.09 (0.13)	−0.49 (0.18)**	−0.16 (0.14)	−0.04 (0.11)	0.09 (0.07)	−0.10 (0.08)
Awareness	−0.42 (0.28)	−1.02 (0.37)**	−0.88 (0.40)*	−0.43 (0.38)	0.08 (0.46)	0.08 (0.50)	0.58 (0.39)	−0.19 (0.24)	−0.70 (0.33)*
Independent	−0.35 (0.24)	−0.11 (0.31)	−0.63 (0.39)	−0.26 (0.32)	0.85 (0.43)*	−0.86 (0.38)*	0.14 (0.32)	0.19 (0.22)	0.33 (0.25)
Out-partisan	−0.45 (0.28)	−0.31 (0.32)	0.33 (0.39)	0.12 (0.35)	0.20 (0.46)	0.39 (0.41)	1.14 (0.40)**	1.12 (0.20)***	0.63 (0.23)**
Awareness × Independent	−0.34 (0.45)	1.06 (0.62)†	0.54 (0.67)	−0.47 (0.68)	−0.58 (0.88)	−0.89 (0.81)	−1.70 (0.67)*	−1.28 (0.38)***	−0.45 (0.50)
Awareness × Out-partisan	−0.25 (0.34)	−0.32 (0.43)	0.01 (0.55)	−0.35 (0.47)	−2.10 (0.64)**	−0.31 (0.54)	−1.39 (0.48)**	−2.07 (0.29)***	−1.51 (0.34)***
Threshold 1	−0.93 (0.28)***	−1.78 (0.33)***	−2.17 (0.38)***	−1.51 (0.38)***	−1.24 (0.50)*	−1.59 (0.40)***	−0.30 (0.36)	0.12 (0.21)	−1.22 (0.23)***
Threshold 2	0.58 (0.27)*	−0.31 (0.33)	−0.84 (0.36)*	−0.21 (0.37)	1.41 (0.49)**	−0.52 (0.40)	0.46 (0.36)	0.47 (0.21)*	1.00 (0.23)***
N	2180	1570	1541	1180	747	1035	2107	5527	3410

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Table A3: Ordered logistic models predicting retrospective evaluations of cost of living

	1980	1984	1986	1988	1992
Age	0.00 (0.03)	−0.13 (0.03)***	−0.09 (0.04)*	−0.16 (0.03)***	−0.03 (0.02)
White	0.09 (0.17)	0.09 (0.14)	−0.03 (0.17)	0.00 (0.13)	0.04 (0.12)
Income	0.28 (0.06)***	0.28 (0.05)***	0.40 (0.07)***	0.23 (0.05)***	0.30 (0.04)***
Education	0.05 (0.04)	0.13 (0.03)***	0.05 (0.04)	0.07 (0.03)*	0.06 (0.03)*
Female	0.11 (0.11)	−0.21 (0.09)*	−0.35 (0.13)**	−0.22 (0.09)*	−0.08 (0.08)
Independent	0.10 (0.16)	−0.64 (0.15)***	−0.41 (0.21)*	−0.46 (0.16)**	−0.43 (0.14)**
Out-partisan	0.18 (0.12)	−0.97 (0.10)***	−0.27 (0.14)†	−0.50 (0.10)***	−0.58 (0.09)***
Threshold 1	1.39 (0.30)***	−0.41 (0.26)	0.08 (0.32)	−0.76 (0.24)**	0.54 (0.23)*
Threshold 2	3.11 (0.31)***	2.00 (0.27)***	2.36 (0.33)***	1.46 (0.24)***	2.76 (0.24)***
N	1390	1910	955	1787	2168

	1980	1984	1986	1988	1992
Age	0.01 (0.03)	−0.16 (0.03)***	−0.10 (0.04)*	−0.15 (0.03)***	−0.01 (0.03)
White	0.10 (0.17)	0.09 (0.14)	−0.04 (0.17)	0.03 (0.13)	0.07 (0.13)
Income	0.29 (0.06)***	0.27 (0.05)***	0.39 (0.07)***	0.24 (0.05)***	0.31 (0.04)***
Education	0.06 (0.04)	0.09 (0.04)*	0.04 (0.04)	0.09 (0.03)**	0.08 (0.03)**
Female	0.09 (0.11)	−0.15 (0.09)	−0.33 (0.13)*	−0.26 (0.10)**	−0.11 (0.09)
Awareness	0.27 (0.31)	−0.07 (0.28)	−0.09 (0.34)	−0.41 (0.26)	0.12 (0.27)
Independent	0.16 (0.32)	−0.47 (0.22)*	−0.14 (0.28)	−0.02 (0.20)	−0.34 (0.23)
Out-partisan	−0.17 (0.37)	1.15 (0.30)***	0.38 (0.43)	0.15 (0.25)	−0.03 (0.28)
Awareness × Independent	−0.47 (0.66)	−1.10 (0.62)†	−0.81 (0.79)	0.01 (0.58)	−1.15 (0.46)*
Awareness × Out-partisan	0.04 (0.56)	−0.94 (0.38)*	−0.27 (0.53)	−0.88 (0.33)**	−0.38 (0.34)
Threshold 1	1.41 (0.33)***	−0.05 (0.29)	0.19 (0.35)	−0.55 (0.25)*	0.77 (0.26)**
Threshold 2	3.14 (0.33)***	2.37 (0.30)***	2.47 (0.37)***	1.68 (0.25)***	3.00 (0.27)***
N	1390	1910	955	1787	2168

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Table A4: Ordered logistic models predicting retrospective evaluations of own income

	1962	1966	1968	1972
Age	−0.28 (0.04)***	−0.31 (0.04)***	−0.27 (0.04)***	−0.15 (0.04)***
White	0.31 (0.22)	0.00 (0.18)	0.18 (0.18)	0.00 (0.24)
Income	0.36 (0.06)***	0.28 (0.06)***	0.40 (0.06)***	0.07 (0.06)
Education	0.06 (0.04)	0.06 (0.04)	0.09 (0.04)*	0.05 (0.04)
Female	−0.15 (0.11)	−0.04 (0.11)	0.02 (0.11)	−0.16 (0.13)
Independent	0.22 (0.23)	−0.15 (0.17)	0.14 (0.20)	−0.31 (0.20)
Out-partisan	−0.03 (0.12)	−0.09 (0.13)	−0.18 (0.12)	−0.18 (0.14)
Threshold 1	−1.94 (0.36)***	−2.56 (0.35)***	−2.00 (0.35)***	−2.61 (0.43)***
Threshold 2	0.48 (0.35)	−0.47 (0.34)	0.40 (0.33)	−0.68 (0.41)†
N	1155	1207	1273	930

	1962	1966	1968	1972
Age	−0.29 (0.04)***	−0.31 (0.04)***	−0.27 (0.04)***	−0.17 (0.04)***
White	0.31 (0.22)	0.02 (0.18)	0.16 (0.18)	0.02 (0.24)
Income	0.35 (0.06)***	0.29 (0.06)***	0.38 (0.06)***	0.05 (0.07)
Education	0.05 (0.04)	0.08 (0.04)†	0.06 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)
Female	−0.13 (0.11)	−0.08 (0.12)	0.05 (0.11)	−0.10 (0.14)
Awareness	0.60 (0.36)†	−0.19 (0.30)	0.08 (0.42)	0.01 (0.42)
Independent	0.05 (0.20)	0.09 (0.29)	−0.01 (0.27)	0.11 (0.35)
Out-partisan	0.28 (0.23)	−0.26 (0.30)	0.60 (0.28)*	0.85 (0.43)*
Awareness × Independent	−0.76 (0.62)	0.06 (0.63)	0.23 (0.80)	−0.45 (0.71)
Awareness × Out-partisan	−0.16 (0.33)	−0.31 (0.49)	−0.29 (0.42)	−0.49 (0.53)
Threshold 1	−1.86 (0.37)***	−2.55 (0.37)***	−1.84 (0.36)***	−2.30 (0.47)***
Threshold 2	0.57 (0.35)	−0.45 (0.35)	0.57 (0.35)	−0.36 (0.45)
N	1155	1207	1273	930

***$p < 0.001$, **$p < 0.01$, *$p < 0.05$, †$p < 0.1$

Table A5: Ordered logistic models predicting retrospective evaluations of economy

	1980	1982	1984	1986	1988	1990	1992	1994	1996
Age	0.03 (0.04)	−0.10 (0.04)**	−0.06 (0.03)*	−0.09 (0.03)***	−0.03 (0.03)	−0.03 (0.03)	−0.04 (0.03)	0.11 (0.03)***	0.10 (0.03)**
White	−0.24 (0.21)	0.37 (0.22)†	0.62 (0.14)***	0.24 (0.13)†	0.04 (0.13)	−0.43 (0.15)**	−0.03 (0.14)	0.26 (0.17)	−0.00 (0.18)
Income	−0.15 (0.07)*	−0.15 (0.06)*	0.22 (0.04)***	0.10 (0.04)*	0.05 (0.05)	−0.11 (0.05)*	−0.10 (0.05)*	0.12 (0.05)*	0.15 (0.06)*
Education	−0.02 (0.05)	0.15 (0.04)***	0.18 (0.03)***	0.09 (0.03)**	0.02 (0.03)	−0.16 (0.04)***	−0.00 (0.03)	0.21 (0.04)***	0.15 (0.04)***
Female	−0.17 (0.15)	−0.47 (0.13)***	−0.50 (0.09)***	−0.31 (0.09)***	−0.57 (0.10)***	−0.08 (0.11)	−0.42 (0.10)***	−0.49 (0.11)***	−0.42 (0.11)***
Independent	−0.29 (0.22)	−1.20 (0.22)***	−0.78 (0.15)***	−0.45 (0.14)**	−0.82 (0.16)***	−0.40 (0.19)*	−0.86 (0.17)***	−0.42 (0.20)*	−0.79 (0.21)***
Out-partisan	−0.85 (0.19)***	−1.09 (0.14)***	−1.61 (0.10)***	−0.63 (0.10)***	−0.99 (0.11)***	−0.45 (0.12)***	−1.00 (0.11)***	−0.47 (0.12)***	−1.14 (0.12)***
Threshold 1	0.67 (0.37)†	−0.07 (0.36)	−0.98 (0.26)***	−0.83 (0.23)***	−1.61 (0.25)***	−0.63 (0.28)*	−0.29 (0.27)	0.33 (0.27)	−1.01 (0.32)**
Threshold 2	2.34 (0.38)***	1.15 (0.36)**	0.80 (0.26)**	1.11 (0.23)***	0.83 (0.24)***	1.63 (0.30)***	1.89 (0.29)***	2.03 (0.28)***	1.26 (0.32)***
N	1387	1206	1886	1882	1753	1724	2172	1546	1534

	1980	1982	1984	1986	1988	1990	1992	1994	1996
Age	0.01 (0.05)	−0.12 (0.04)**	−0.12 (0.03)***	−0.10 (0.03)***	−0.04 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	−0.01 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	0.06 (0.04)
White	−0.25 (0.21)	0.39 (0.22)†	0.62 (0.14)***	0.25 (0.13)*	0.07 (0.13)	−0.40 (0.15)**	0.05 (0.14)	0.25 (0.17)	−0.07 (0.18)
Income	−0.15 (0.07)*	−0.15 (0.06)*	0.18 (0.05)***	0.10 (0.04)*	0.04 (0.05)	−0.10 (0.05)†	−0.08 (0.05)	0.09 (0.06)†	0.12 (0.06)*
Education	−0.04 (0.05)	0.14 (0.05)**	0.10 (0.04)**	0.09 (0.03)**	0.02 (0.03)	−0.12 (0.04)**	0.05 (0.04)	0.12 (0.04)***	0.10 (0.04)*
Female	−0.15 (0.15)	−0.43 (0.14)**	−0.39 (0.10)***	−0.31 (0.09)***	−0.58 (0.10)***	−0.15 (0.12)	−0.50 (0.10)***	−0.41 (0.11)***	−0.35 (0.12)**
Awareness	−0.50 (0.42)	−1.01 (0.39)**	−0.38 (0.28)	−0.18 (0.24)	−0.87 (0.27)***	0.03 (0.29)	−0.64 (0.33)†	−0.10 (0.36)	0.58 (0.39)
Independent	−0.35 (0.52)	−0.29 (0.29)	−0.84 (0.22)***	0.06 (0.20)	−0.16 (0.20)	−0.01 (0.23)	−0.03 (0.27)	0.55 (0.28)*	0.03 (0.37)
Out-partisan	0.37 (0.48)	0.88 (0.43)*	2.13 (0.32)***	0.68 (0.29)*	0.75 (0.27)**	−0.08 (0.33)	−0.04 (0.32)	2.06 (0.30)***	2.34 (0.37)***
Awareness × Independent	0.58 (0.80)	0.03 (0.88)	−0.45 (0.64)	−0.43 (0.54)	0.59 (0.59)	−1.56 (0.74)*	−0.36 (0.59)	−0.43 (0.62)	−2.54 (0.81)**
Awareness × Out-partisan	−0.92 (0.90)	−1.57 (0.52)**	−1.57 (0.40)***	−1.41 (0.36)***	−1.52 (0.33)***	−0.91 (0.42)*	−1.66 (0.42)***	−1.82 (0.41)***	−2.02 (0.55)***
Threshold 1	0.73 (0.40)†	0.35 (0.40)	−0.51 (0.28)†	−0.47 (0.25)†	−1.29 (0.27)***	−0.34 (0.31)	0.11 (0.30)	0.76 (0.29)**	−0.17 (0.35)
Threshold 2	2.39 (0.40)***	1.59 (0.40)***	1.30 (0.28)***	1.48 (0.25)***	1.18 (0.27)***	1.94 (0.33)***	2.30 (0.32)***	2.51 (0.29)***	2.15 (0.36)***
N	1387	1206	1886	1882	1753	1724	2172	1546	1534

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Table A5 (continued)

	1998	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016
Age	0.01 (0.04)	0.03 (0.03)	−0.00 (0.04)	0.12 (0.05)*	−0.04 (0.02)*	−0.03 (0.02)
White	−0.01 (0.18)	−0.29 (0.14)*	0.15 (0.17)	−0.79 (0.19)***	−0.14 (0.08)†	−0.34 (0.10)***
Income	0.03 (0.06)	0.05 (0.05)	0.23 (0.06)***	−0.21 (0.10)*	0.18 (0.03)***	0.14 (0.04)***
Education	0.09 (0.04)*	0.05 (0.04)	0.07 (0.05)	−0.16 (0.06)*	0.17 (0.02)***	0.14 (0.03)***
Female	−0.27 (0.12)*	−0.15 (0.11)	−0.40 (0.13)**	−0.35 (0.19)†	−0.17 (0.07)*	−0.31 (0.08)***
Independent	−0.40 (0.22)†	−0.97 (0.20)***	−1.18 (0.27)***	−0.07 (0.28)	−1.14 (0.11)***	−1.30 (0.13)***
Out-partisan	−0.73 (0.13)***	−0.96 (0.12)***	−1.84 (0.16)***	−1.25 (0.21)***	−2.09 (0.09)***	−1.70 (0.10)***
Threshold 1	−1.77 (0.32)***	−1.95 (0.30)***	−0.44 (0.34)	0.35 (0.43)	−0.89 (0.17)***	−1.37 (0.21)***
Threshold 2	0.18 (0.31)	0.17 (0.29)	1.17 (0.34)***	1.82 (0.47)***	0.96 (0.17)***	0.77 (0.21)***
N	1164	1456	1028	2110	5554	3409

	1998	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016
Age	0.01 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)	−0.01 (0.04)	0.09 (0.06)	−0.06 (0.02)**	−0.04 (0.03)
White	0.00 (0.18)	−0.30 (0.14)*	0.17 (0.17)	−0.82 (0.20)***	−0.16 (0.08)†	−0.36 (0.10)***
Income	0.03 (0.06)	0.05 (0.05)	0.21 (0.06)**	−0.26 (0.10)**	0.17 (0.03)***	0.13 (0.04)**
Education	0.08 (0.04)*	0.03 (0.04)	0.07 (0.05)	−0.19 (0.07)**	0.15 (0.02)***	0.13 (0.03)***
Female	−0.27 (0.13)*	−0.13 (0.12)	−0.41 (0.14)**	−0.28 (0.20)	−0.13 (0.07)†	−0.31 (0.08)***
Awareness	−0.20 (0.38)	−0.82 (0.33)*	0.46 (0.51)	1.26 (0.57)*	−0.15 (0.20)	−1.03 (0.30)***
Independent	−0.36 (0.30)	−0.36 (0.28)	−0.71 (0.38)†	0.43 (0.52)	−0.54 (0.19)**	−0.51 (0.26)*
Out-partisan	0.38 (0.33)	0.60 (0.32)†	1.28 (0.44)**	2.13 (0.69)**	1.65 (0.18)***	1.13 (0.26)***
Awareness × Independent	−0.35 (0.82)	−0.14 (0.71)	−3.44 (0.95)***	−2.12 (1.01)*	−1.56 (0.33)***	−0.28 (0.45)
Awareness × Out-partisan	−0.64 (0.47)	−1.09 (0.44)*	−1.88 (0.56)***	−2.81 (0.85)***	−2.38 (0.26)***	−1.76 (0.35)***
Threshold 1	−1.60 (0.33)***	−1.70 (0.32)***	0.25 (0.39)	1.34 (0.50)**	−0.03 (0.19)	−0.75 (0.24)**
Threshold 2	0.35 (0.33)	0.43 (0.31)	1.90 (0.39)***	2.82 (0.55)***	1.86 (0.19)***	1.41 (0.25)***
N	1164	1456	1028	2109	5554	3409

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Table A6: Ordered logistic models predicting retrospective evaluations of unemployment

	1984	1986	1988	1992	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016
Age	−0.07 (0.03)**	0.02 (0.04)	−0.05 (0.03)†	−0.12 (0.04)***	0.14 (0.04)***	0.02 (0.05)	−0.08 (0.05)†	−0.03 (0.02)	−0.01 (0.02)
White	0.80 (0.16)***	0.25 (0.19)	0.41 (0.13)**	−0.24 (0.17)	0.10 (0.15)	0.20 (0.18)	−0.25 (0.16)	−0.02 (0.08)	−0.20 (0.10)*
Income	0.22 (0.05)***	0.18 (0.06)**	0.15 (0.05)**	−0.07 (0.05)	0.22 (0.06)***	0.22 (0.07)**	−0.13 (0.08)	0.17 (0.03)***	0.17 (0.04)***
Education	0.21 (0.03)***	0.11 (0.04)**	0.09 (0.03)**	−0.03 (0.04)	0.11 (0.04)**	0.05 (0.05)	−0.07 (0.05)	0.13 (0.02)***	0.13 (0.03)***
Female	−0.36 (0.09)***	−0.35 (0.12)**	−0.32 (0.09)***	−0.17 (0.11)	0.05 (0.11)	−0.39 (0.15)**	0.06 (0.15)	−0.18 (0.07)**	−0.21 (0.08)**
Independent	−0.60 (0.15)***	−0.50 (0.18)**	−0.90 (0.15)***	−0.92 (0.19)***	−0.77 (0.21)***	−1.45 (0.28)***	−0.51 (0.23)*	−1.32 (0.11)***	−1.18 (0.13)***
Out-partisan	−1.17 (0.10)***	−0.54 (0.14)***	−1.22 (0.10)***	−1.38 (0.13)***	−0.42 (0.12)***	−1.65 (0.16)***	−1.31 (0.17)***	−1.98 (0.08)***	−1.64 (0.10)***
Threshold 1	0.69 (0.26)**	0.08 (0.32)	−1.16 (0.25)***	−0.37 (0.30)	−0.20 (0.31)	−0.13 (0.36)	−0.20 (0.36)	−0.81 (0.17)***	−1.38 (0.21)***
Threshold 2	2.11 (0.27)***	1.68 (0.32)***	0.44 (0.25)†	1.92 (0.33)***	1.56 (0.30)***	1.30 (0.37)***	1.85 (0.39)***	1.00 (0.17)***	0.60 (0.21)**
N	1899	933	1777	2167	1436	900	2082	5538	3411
N	1899	933	1777	2167	1436	900	2082	5538	3411

	1984	1986	1988	1992	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016
Age	−0.11 (0.03)***	−0.01 (0.04)	−0.08 (0.03)**	−0.09 (0.04)*	0.14 (0.04)***	0.01 (0.05)	−0.07 (0.05)	−0.03 (0.02)	−0.01 (0.02)
White	0.81 (0.15)***	0.27 (0.19)	0.41 (0.13)**	−0.17 (0.17)	0.09 (0.15)	0.20 (0.18)	−0.26 (0.15)†	−0.04 (0.08)	−0.23 (0.10)*
Income	0.18 (0.05)***	0.16 (0.06)*	0.13 (0.05)**	−0.05 (0.06)	0.22 (0.06)***	0.20 (0.07)**	−0.13 (0.08)†	0.16 (0.03)***	0.16 (0.04)***
Education	0.15 (0.04)***	0.06 (0.04)	0.06 (0.03)†	0.01 (0.04)	0.10 (0.04)*	0.03 (0.06)	−0.06 (0.06)	0.12 (0.02)***	0.12 (0.03)***
Female	−0.27 (0.09)**	−0.24 (0.13)†	−0.28 (0.10)**	−0.23 (0.12)†	0.05 (0.12)	−0.38 (0.15)*	0.06 (0.16)	−0.14 (0.07)*	−0.21 (0.08)**
Awareness	−0.06 (0.27)	−0.07 (0.30)	−0.55 (0.27)*	−0.71 (0.36)†	−0.61 (0.36)†	−0.58 (0.51)	0.14 (0.47)	−0.40 (0.22)†	−0.39 (0.32)
Independent	−0.23 (0.22)	0.10 (0.29)	−0.31 (0.22)	−0.30 (0.30)	−0.05 (0.31)	−0.82 (0.40)*	−0.75 (0.41)†	−0.51 (0.19)**	−0.19 (0.27)
Out-partisan	1.73 (0.30)***	1.43 (0.37)***	1.38 (0.28)***	−0.03 (0.34)	0.39 (0.32)	1.03 (0.42)*	0.43 (0.54)	1.44 (0.19)***	1.31 (0.26)***
Awareness × Independent	−0.79 (0.55)	−0.63 (0.74)	−0.32 (0.53)	−0.35 (0.63)	−0.28 (0.64)	−1.60 (0.93)†	−1.46 (0.85)†	−1.47 (0.35)***	−1.18 (0.49)*
Awareness × Out-partisan	−1.76 (0.38)***	−1.28 (0.50)*	−1.64 (0.35)***	−1.96 (0.49)***	−0.69 (0.46)	−1.37 (0.58)*	−0.99 (0.65)	−2.24 (0.26)***	−2.16 (0.37)***
Threshold 1	1.20 (0.28)***	0.48 (0.35)	−0.71 (0.28)*	0.01 (0.34)	−0.02 (0.33)	0.31 (0.38)	0.09 (0.43)	−0.02 (0.19)	−0.61 (0.25)*
Threshold 2	2.65 (0.29)***	2.09 (0.35)***	0.90 (0.28)**	2.31 (0.36)***	1.73 (0.33)***	1.76 (0.39)***	2.14 (0.45)***	1.83 (0.20)***	1.39 (0.25)***
N	1899	933	1777	2167	1436	900	2082	5538	3411

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Table A7: Ordered logistic models predicting retrospective evaluations of business conditions

	1962	1966	1968	1972	1976	1978	1980
Age	−0.23 (0.04)***	−0.17 (0.04)***	−0.17 (0.04)***	−0.04 (0.04)	−0.03 (0.03)	−0.06 (0.03)*	−0.04 (0.04)
White	0.07 (0.23)	0.19 (0.17)	−0.03 (0.17)	0.45 (0.20)*	0.40 (0.13)**	0.31 (0.15)*	0.00 (0.19)
Income	0.05 (0.06)	−0.05 (0.06)	0.08 (0.06)	0.10 (0.07)	0.18 (0.05)***	−0.00 (0.04)	−0.11 (0.06)†
Education	−0.00 (0.04)	−0.15 (0.04)***	0.11 (0.03)**	0.13 (0.04)**	0.04 (0.03)	−0.07 (0.03)*	−0.05 (0.04)
Female	−0.26 (0.12)*	0.02 (0.11)	−0.29 (0.11)**	−0.50 (0.13)***	−0.44 (0.09)***	−0.49 (0.09)***	−0.20 (0.13)
Independent	0.28 (0.23)	−0.04 (0.19)	−0.00 (0.20)	−0.26 (0.21)	−0.42 (0.14)**	−0.13 (0.13)	−0.02 (0.18)
Out-partisan	0.13 (0.12)	−0.32 (0.13)**	−0.19 (0.13)	−0.38 (0.14)**	−0.66 (0.11)***	−0.08 (0.10)	−0.48 (0.15)**
Threshold 1	−2.64 (0.37)***	−2.47 (0.33)***	−2.71 (0.33)***	−1.39 (0.37)***	−0.55 (0.28)*	−0.93 (0.25)***	−0.04 (0.35)
Threshold 2	−0.66 (0.35)†	−0.86 (0.32)**	0.09 (0.32)	0.53 (0.37)	0.36 (0.27)	−0.11 (0.24)	0.98 (0.35)**
N	1114	1122	1221	900	2461	1763	1238

	1962	1966	1968	1972	1976	1978	1980
Age	−0.24 (0.04)***	−0.17 (0.04)***	−0.17 (0.04)***	−0.06 (0.04)	−0.05 (0.03)†	−0.05 (0.03)†	−0.01 (0.04)
White	0.08 (0.23)	0.19 (0.17)	−0.05 (0.17)	0.42 (0.20)*	0.40 (0.14)**	0.31 (0.15)*	0.01 (0.19)
Income	0.04 (0.06)	−0.05 (0.06)	0.06 (0.06)	0.08 (0.07)	0.16 (0.05)***	0.00 (0.04)	−0.09 (0.06)
Education	−0.01 (0.04)	−0.15 (0.04)***	0.09 (0.04)*	0.11 (0.04)*	0.01 (0.03)	−0.06 (0.03)†	−0.01 (0.05)
Female	−0.25 (0.12)*	0.01 (0.11)	−0.27 (0.11)*	−0.46 (0.14)***	−0.40 (0.09)***	−0.50 (0.09)***	−0.27 (0.13)*
Awareness	−0.14 (0.40)	−0.13 (0.39)	0.15 (0.36)	−0.12 (0.40)	−0.04 (0.28)	−0.17 (0.23)	0.37 (0.34)
Independent	0.25 (0.20)	−0.02 (0.26)	−0.14 (0.28)	0.23 (0.33)	0.08 (0.24)	−0.04 (0.24)	0.42 (0.37)
Out-partisan	0.23 (0.23)	0.11 (0.31)	0.40 (0.29)	0.89 (0.43)*	1.18 (0.31)***	−0.12 (0.24)	−0.09 (0.46)
Awareness × Independent	0.80 (0.64)	0.20 (0.71)	−0.25 (0.70)	−0.03 (0.70)	−0.45 (0.50)	0.05 (0.48)	−0.99 (0.74)
Awareness × Out-partisan	−0.23 (0.34)	−0.55 (0.46)	−0.09 (0.43)	−1.01 (0.52)†	−1.26 (0.35)***	−0.06 (0.38)	−1.69 (0.67)*
Threshold 1	−2.62 (0.38)***	−2.38 (0.35)***	−2.61 (0.34)***	−1.05 (0.41)**	−0.10 (0.31)	−0.93 (0.26)***	0.22 (0.38)
Threshold 2	−0.64 (0.37)†	−0.77 (0.34)*	0.19 (0.33)	0.88 (0.41)*	0.82 (0.31)**	−0.11 (0.26)	1.25 (0.38)***
N	1114	1122	1221	900	2461	1763	1238

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Table A8: Ordered logistic models predicting retrospective evaluations of inflation

	1986	1988	1992	2004	2008
Age	−0.05 (0.04)	−0.06 (0.03)*	0.03 (0.03)	−0.03 (0.04)	−0.10 (0.05)*
White	0.42 (0.19)*	0.00 (0.13)	0.73 (0.15)***	0.17 (0.18)	−0.16 (0.15)
Income	0.23 (0.06)***	0.11 (0.05)*	0.09 (0.05)†	0.06 (0.07)	−0.14 (0.07)*
Education	0.17 (0.04)***	0.01 (0.03)	0.25 (0.03)***	−0.01 (0.05)	−0.05 (0.05)
Female	−0.61 (0.13)***	−0.24 (0.09)*	−0.64 (0.09)***	−0.17 (0.14)	−0.29 (0.15)*
Independent	−0.45 (0.19)*	−0.71 (0.16)***	−0.62 (0.16)***	−0.75 (0.27)**	−0.37 (0.25)
Out-partisan	−0.20 (0.14)	−0.75 (0.10)***	−0.55 (0.10)***	−0.82 (0.16)***	−0.49 (0.17)**
Threshold 1	0.01 (0.33)	−0.74 (0.24)**	1.53 (0.27)***	−0.44 (0.37)	−0.10 (0.40)
Threshold 2	2.28 (0.34)***	1.67 (0.25)***	4.30 (0.29)***	2.38 (0.39)***	2.83 (0.47)***
N	931	1780	2160	890	2074

	1986	1988	1992	2004	2008
Age	−0.11 (0.04)**	−0.09 (0.03)**	−0.00 (0.03)	−0.02 (0.05)	−0.09 (0.05)†
White	0.44 (0.20)*	−0.00 (0.13)	0.70 (0.15)***	0.20 (0.18)	−0.17 (0.15)
Income	0.20 (0.06)**	0.09 (0.05)†	0.05 (0.05)	0.06 (0.07)	−0.14 (0.07)*
Education	0.09 (0.05)*	−0.02 (0.03)	0.20 (0.03)***	−0.01 (0.06)	−0.04 (0.05)
Female	−0.48 (0.13)***	−0.21 (0.10)*	−0.58 (0.09)***	−0.18 (0.15)	−0.30 (0.15)*
Awareness	0.03 (0.32)	−0.63 (0.27)*	0.07 (0.34)	0.01 (0.52)	−0.04 (0.47)
Independent	0.21 (0.29)	−0.21 (0.22)	−0.02 (0.27)	−0.18 (0.41)	−0.31 (0.41)
Out-partisan	1.68 (0.40)***	0.84 (0.28)**	1.37 (0.31)***	0.46 (0.47)	0.12 (0.49)
Awareness × Independent	−0.78 (0.71)	0.17 (0.54)	−1.09 (0.57)†	−1.51 (0.94)	−0.78 (0.88)
Awareness × Out-partisan	−0.76 (0.51)	−0.95 (0.34)**	−0.84 (0.39)*	−1.04 (0.59)†	−0.30 (0.66)
Threshold 1	0.30 (0.36)	−0.53 (0.26)*	1.95 (0.31)***	−0.09 (0.43)	0.01 (0.45)
Threshold 2	2.61 (0.37)***	1.89 (0.26)***	4.75 (0.33)***	2.74 (0.46)***	2.94 (0.51)***
N	931	1780	2160	890	2074

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Table A9: Ordered logistic models predicting retrospective evaluations of U.S.' position in world

	1958	1960	1964	1968	1986	1988	1990	1992	1994
Age	−0.12 (0.04)**	−0.12 (0.06)*	−0.05 (0.04)	−0.12 (0.04)**	−0.18 (0.03)***	−0.10 (0.03)***	−0.21 (0.03)***	−0.08 (0.02)***	−0.10 (0.03)**
White	−0.38 (0.26)	−0.56 (0.30)†	−0.48 (0.20)*	−0.66 (0.25)**	0.14 (0.13)	0.34 (0.13)**	0.28 (0.13)*	0.34 (0.12)**	−0.09 (0.18)
Income	−0.06 (0.06)	−0.15 (0.07)*	−0.11 (0.05)*	−0.08 (0.06)	0.01 (0.04)	0.06 (0.05)	0.04 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	0.05 (0.05)
Education	−0.20 (0.04)***	−0.24 (0.05)***	−0.21 (0.04)***	−0.15 (0.04)***	−0.08 (0.03)**	−0.05 (0.03)†	−0.00 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	−0.08 (0.04)*
Female	−0.29 (0.12)*	−0.19 (0.15)	−0.03 (0.11)	−0.07 (0.12)	−0.28 (0.09)**	−0.43 (0.09)***	−0.40 (0.09)***	−0.53 (0.08)***	−0.24 (0.11)*
Independent	−0.25 (0.24)	−1.12 (0.28)***	−0.37 (0.21)†	−0.18 (0.19)	−0.25 (0.14)†	−0.86 (0.14)***	−0.63 (0.16)***	−0.66 (0.14)***	−0.68 (0.18)***
Out-partisan	−0.55 (0.13)***	−1.38 (0.16)***	−1.05 (0.13)***	−0.34 (0.13)**	−0.66 (0.10)***	−0.85 (0.10)***	−0.55 (0.10)***	−0.71 (0.09)***	−0.89 (0.13)***
Threshold 1	−3.14 (0.42)***	−3.69 (0.51)***	−3.32 (0.33)***	−1.77 (0.37)***	−1.97 (0.23)***	−1.47 (0.24)***	−1.99 (0.25)***	−1.27 (0.22)***	−2.18 (0.29)***
Threshold 2	−1.11 (0.40)**	−1.92 (0.49)***	−1.21 (0.32)***	0.37 (0.38)	−0.05 (0.22)	0.31 (0.24)	−0.08 (0.25)	0.39 (0.22)†	0.04 (0.28)
N	1418	1450	1246	1243	1893	1778	1700	2144	1541

	1958	1960	1964	1968	1986	1988	1990	1992	1994
Age	−0.10 (0.04)*	−0.10 (0.06)†	−0.02 (0.04)	−0.10 (0.04)*	−0.18 (0.03)***	−0.10 (0.03)***	−0.22 (0.03)***	−0.08 (0.03)**	−0.08 (0.04)*
White	−0.34 (0.26)	−0.45 (0.29)	−0.51 (0.21)*	−0.66 (0.25)**	0.14 (0.12)	0.36 (0.13)**	0.28 (0.13)*	0.36 (0.12)**	−0.08 (0.18)
Income	−0.03 (0.06)	−0.16 (0.07)*	−0.09 (0.05)†	−0.05 (0.06)	0.01 (0.04)	0.06 (0.05)	0.04 (0.05)	0.02 (0.04)	0.07 (0.05)
Education	−0.15 (0.04)***	−0.20 (0.06)***	−0.16 (0.04)***	−0.10 (0.04)*	−0.07 (0.03)*	−0.05 (0.03)	−0.01 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	−0.06 (0.04)
Female	−0.37 (0.12)**	−0.28 (0.16)†	−0.07 (0.11)	−0.14 (0.12)	−0.29 (0.09)**	−0.44 (0.10)***	−0.39 (0.10)***	−0.53 (0.08)***	−0.26 (0.11)*
Awareness	−0.62 (0.54)	−0.48 (0.54)	−0.27 (0.42)	−0.71 (0.40)†	0.31 (0.22)	−0.25 (0.25)	−0.58 (0.24)*	−0.12 (0.26)	−0.05 (0.32)
Independent	−0.22 (0.30)	−0.10 (0.36)	0.00 (0.35)	−0.15 (0.30)	−0.22 (0.19)	0.20 (0.20)	−0.07 (0.18)	0.03 (0.21)	0.65 (0.28)*
Out-partisan	−0.53 (0.36)	0.35 (0.44)	−0.34 (0.26)	−0.99 (0.31)**	0.45 (0.30)	0.92 (0.26)***	0.60 (0.29)*	0.73 (0.26)**	0.68 (0.30)*
Awareness × Independent	0.64 (0.79)	−1.11 (0.90)	−0.26 (0.64)	0.87 (0.71)	−1.48 (0.54)**	−1.13 (0.52)*	0.22 (0.54)	−0.92 (0.44)*	−1.26 (0.55)*
Awareness × Out-partisan	−0.54 (0.42)	−2.11 (0.54)***	−1.44 (0.45)**	−0.32 (0.47)	−0.89 (0.35)*	−1.88 (0.33)***	−0.95 (0.34)**	−1.21 (0.32)***	−2.52 (0.42)***
Threshold 1	−3.12 (0.47)***	−3.25 (0.54)***	−3.32 (0.35)***	−2.03 (0.40)***	−1.69 (0.24)***	−0.94 (0.27)***	−1.77 (0.27)***	−0.82 (0.25)**	−1.65 (0.29)***
Threshold 2	−1.07 (0.46)*	−1.44 (0.52)**	−1.17 (0.34)***	0.13 (0.40)	0.24 (0.24)	0.87 (0.27)**	0.14 (0.26)	0.85 (0.25)***	0.64 (0.28)*
N	1418	1450	1246	1243	1893	1778	1700	2144	1541

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Table A9 (continued)

	1996	1998	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016
Age	−0.14 (0.03)***	−0.15 (0.04)***	−0.09 (0.03)*	−0.10 (0.04)*	−0.13 (0.04)***	−0.12 (0.02)***	−0.12 (0.03)***
White	0.00 (0.17)	−0.37 (0.17)*	−0.34 (0.15)*	−0.08 (0.17)	−0.12 (0.13)	−0.44 (0.08)***	−0.73 (0.10)***
Income	−0.04 (0.06)	−0.01 (0.06)	−0.02 (0.06)	−0.04 (0.06)	−0.01 (0.06)	−0.00 (0.04)	−0.04 (0.05)
Education	−0.09 (0.04)*	−0.09 (0.04)*	−0.01 (0.04)	−0.25 (0.05)***	−0.16 (0.04)***	−0.01 (0.03)	−0.01 (0.03)
Female	−0.15 (0.11)	−0.21 (0.12)†	−0.03 (0.11)	0.15 (0.14)	−0.18 (0.12)	−0.01 (0.08)	0.01 (0.09)
Independent	−0.54 (0.20)**	−0.51 (0.18)**	−0.71 (0.18)***	−1.19 (0.26)***	−0.52 (0.19)**	−1.02 (0.10)***	−1.12 (0.13)***
Out-partisan	−1.07 (0.13)***	−0.60 (0.14)***	−1.05 (0.13)***	−1.85 (0.16)***	−1.17 (0.14)***	−2.11 (0.09)***	−1.76 (0.11)***
Threshold 1	−2.54 (0.31)***	−2.91 (0.31)***	−2.27 (0.30)***	−2.88 (0.36)***	−1.52 (0.32)***	−1.89 (0.18)***	−1.90 (0.23)***
Threshold 2	−0.40 (0.30)	−0.53 (0.30)†	0.09 (0.30)	−1.49 (0.34)***	0.46 (0.33)	0.60 (0.18)***	0.73 (0.23)**
N	1533	1164	1445	1027	2103	5532	3412

	1996	1998	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016
Age	−0.10 (0.04)**	−0.13 (0.04)***	−0.05 (0.04)	−0.07 (0.04)	−0.12 (0.04)**	−0.12 (0.02)***	−0.11 (0.03)***
White	−0.01 (0.17)	−0.33 (0.17)†	−0.37 (0.15)*	0.03 (0.17)	−0.17 (0.13)	−0.48 (0.09)***	−0.78 (0.11)***
Income	−0.01 (0.06)	−0.01 (0.06)	0.03 (0.06)	−0.04 (0.06)	−0.02 (0.06)	−0.01 (0.04)	−0.05 (0.05)
Education	−0.05 (0.04)	−0.05 (0.05)	0.03 (0.04)	−0.21 (0.05)***	−0.13 (0.04)**	−0.02 (0.03)	−0.01 (0.03)
Female	−0.21 (0.11)†	−0.32 (0.12)*	−0.13 (0.12)	0.08 (0.14)	−0.20 (0.12)†	0.03 (0.08)	0.00 (0.09)
Awareness	−0.01 (0.38)	0.10 (0.27)	−0.62 (0.32)†	0.17 (0.52)	1.08 (0.38)**	0.08 (0.20)	0.11 (0.31)
Independent	0.40 (0.32)	0.85 (0.31)**	0.15 (0.31)	−0.48 (0.37)	0.49 (0.32)	−0.32 (0.21)	−0.12 (0.27)
Out-partisan	0.32 (0.31)	0.54 (0.32)†	−0.03 (0.27)	0.21 (0.39)	1.20 (0.42)**	1.39 (0.18)***	1.01 (0.25)***
Awareness × Independent	−1.15 (0.72)	−1.38 (0.63)*	−0.20 (0.63)	−3.07 (0.95)**	−3.44 (0.79)***	−1.83 (0.33)***	−2.04 (0.50)***
Awareness × Out-partisan	−2.46 (0.47)***	−2.58 (0.50)***	−2.18 (0.46)***	−2.37 (0.58)***	−2.93 (0.51)***	−2.78 (0.29)***	−2.48 (0.38)***
Threshold 1	−2.00 (0.32)***	−2.44 (0.33)***	−1.92 (0.29)***	−2.34 (0.38)***	−0.62 (0.37)†	−1.10 (0.19)***	−1.27 (0.24)***
Threshold 2	0.17 (0.32)	0.00 (0.32)	0.47 (0.29)	−0.92 (0.37)*	1.38 (0.39)***	1.44 (0.19)***	1.38 (0.24)***
N	1533	1164	1445	1027	2103	5532	3412

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Table A10: Ordered logistic models predicting retrospective evaluations of chances of war

	1956	1960	1964	1968	1970	1972
Age	0.13 (0.04)***	0.06 (0.06)	0.10 (0.04)**	0.11 (0.04)**	0.01 (0.05)	0.07 (0.04)*
White	0.37 (0.18)*	−0.24 (0.30)	−0.21 (0.17)	0.50 (0.19)**	0.60 (0.19)**	0.59 (0.17)***
Income	0.04 (0.05)	−0.10 (0.09)	0.05 (0.05)	0.21 (0.05)***	0.01 (0.08)	0.30 (0.06)***
Education	0.13 (0.04)***	0.06 (0.05)	0.02 (0.04)	0.14 (0.03)***	0.17 (0.05)***	0.09 (0.04)*
Female	−0.11 (0.10)	−0.59 (0.15)***	−0.28 (0.10)**	−0.35 (0.11)**	−0.40 (0.15)**	−0.39 (0.11)***
Independent	−0.61 (0.17)***	−0.50 (0.26)†	−0.74 (0.18)***	−0.26 (0.16)	−0.46 (0.24)†	−0.40 (0.19)*
Out-partisan	−1.24 (0.11)***	−1.17 (0.17)***	−0.58 (0.12)***	0.07 (0.12)	−0.21 (0.17)	−0.28 (0.13)*
Threshold 1	−1.45 (0.30)***	−1.59 (0.51)**	−1.47 (0.28)***	1.15 (0.31)***	−0.00 (0.42)	0.17 (0.34)
Threshold 2	0.86 (0.30)**	0.47 (0.51)	0.83 (0.27)**	3.33 (0.33)***	1.71 (0.42)***	1.84 (0.34)***
N	1551	1634	1413	1291	698	1206

	1956	1960	1964	1968	1970	1972
Age	0.13 (0.04)***	0.06 (0.06)	0.10 (0.04)**	0.10 (0.04)**	0.01 (0.05)	0.05 (0.04)
White	0.35 (0.18)†	−0.21 (0.29)	−0.21 (0.17)	0.48 (0.19)*	0.61 (0.19)**	0.60 (0.18)***
Income	0.04 (0.05)	−0.11 (0.09)	0.04 (0.05)	0.20 (0.05)***	0.02 (0.08)	0.27 (0.06)***
Education	0.12 (0.04)**	0.07 (0.05)	0.01 (0.04)	0.11 (0.04)**	0.17 (0.05)***	0.04 (0.04)
Female	−0.10 (0.10)	−0.61 (0.15)***	−0.26 (0.11)*	−0.31 (0.11)**	−0.41 (0.15)**	−0.34 (0.12)**
Awareness	−0.42 (0.24)†	−0.00 (0.61)	−0.03 (0.34)	−0.39 (0.37)	0.11 (0.39)	0.66 (0.37)†
Independent	−0.56 (0.17)**	−0.37 (0.37)	0.01 (0.26)	0.45 (0.29)	0.05 (0.34)	0.47 (0.30)
Out-partisan	0.81 (0.23)***	0.76 (0.47)	0.64 (0.21)**	0.77 (0.29)**	0.31 (0.43)	1.78 (0.39)***
Awareness × Independent	−0.21 (0.48)	−0.80 (0.93)	−1.22 (0.54)*	0.34 (0.61)	−1.24 (0.69)†	−1.86 (0.63)**
Awareness × Out-partisan	−1.35 (0.28)***	−1.34 (0.54)*	−0.87 (0.37)*	−0.61 (0.44)	−0.42 (0.53)	−1.24 (0.46)**
Threshold 1	−1.09 (0.31)***	−1.10 (0.56)*	−1.14 (0.28)***	1.38 (0.34)***	0.25 (0.49)	0.90 (0.39)*
Threshold 2	1.24 (0.31)***	0.98 (0.56)†	1.17 (0.28)***	3.58 (0.35)***	1.97 (0.49)***	2.59 (0.40)***
N	1543	1634	1413	1291	698	1206

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Table A11: Ordered logistic models predicting retrospective evaluations of foreign relations

	1958	1960	1964	1968
Age	−0.09 (0.05)†	−0.05 (0.06)	−0.06 (0.04)	0.12 (0.04)**
White	−0.17 (0.27)	−0.02 (0.33)	−0.27 (0.24)	−0.92 (0.22)***
Income	−0.18 (0.07)**	−0.28 (0.09)**	−0.07 (0.06)	−0.03 (0.06)
Education	−0.25 (0.04)***	−0.18 (0.05)***	−0.23 (0.04)***	−0.15 (0.04)***
Female	0.17 (0.13)	−0.21 (0.16)	0.33 (0.12)**	0.21 (0.12)†
Independent	−0.67 (0.27)*	−1.27 (0.29)***	−0.33 (0.22)	−0.12 (0.19)
Out-partisan	−0.69 (0.13)***	−1.63 (0.17)***	−1.02 (0.13)***	−0.47 (0.14)***
Threshold 1	−2.90 (0.41)***	−2.84 (0.54)***	−2.27 (0.36)***	−0.62 (0.36)†
Threshold 2	−2.28 (0.41)***	−2.26 (0.54)***	−1.81 (0.36)***	−0.03 (0.36)
N	1377	1523	1258	1198
N	1377	1523	1258	1198

	1958	1960	1964	1968
Age	−0.06 (0.05)	−0.02 (0.06)	−0.03 (0.04)	0.14 (0.04)***
White	−0.10 (0.28)	0.15 (0.34)	−0.31 (0.25)	−0.91 (0.22)***
Income	−0.15 (0.07)*	−0.26 (0.09)**	−0.03 (0.06)	−0.00 (0.06)
Education	−0.21 (0.04)***	−0.15 (0.05)**	−0.17 (0.04)***	−0.09 (0.04)*
Female	0.09 (0.13)	−0.31 (0.16)†	0.27 (0.12)*	0.16 (0.12)
Awareness	−1.23 (0.60)*	−0.67 (0.61)	−0.75 (0.48)	−0.21 (0.40)
Independent	−0.19 (0.36)	−0.43 (0.41)	0.01 (0.45)	−0.51 (0.36)
Out-partisan	−0.57 (0.40)	0.29 (0.47)	−1.04 (0.31)***	−1.07 (0.31)***
Awareness × Independent	0.96 (0.86)	−1.04 (0.88)	0.54 (0.71)	−0.02 (0.71)
Awareness × Out-partisan	−0.78 (0.49)	−1.99 (0.60)***	−1.38 (0.56)*	0.06 (0.53)
Threshold 1	−2.86 (0.46)***	−2.24 (0.61)***	−2.64 (0.40)***	−0.89 (0.39)*
Threshold 2	−2.22 (0.46)***	−1.64 (0.61)**	−2.17 (0.40)***	−0.29 (0.38)
N	1377	1523	1258	1198

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Table A12: Ordered logistic models predicting retrospective evaluations of country generally

	1958	1960	1984	1986	1988
Age	−0.12 (0.04)**	−0.05 (0.06)	−0.07 (0.03)*	−0.05 (0.04)	−0.04 (0.03)
White	−0.38 (0.26)	−0.53 (0.29)†	0.33 (0.16)*	0.29 (0.19)	0.17 (0.15)
Income	−0.06 (0.06)	0.21 (0.09)*	0.18 (0.05)***	0.23 (0.07)***	0.11 (0.05)*
Education	−0.20 (0.04)***	−0.04 (0.06)	0.13 (0.04)***	0.05 (0.05)	0.06 (0.03)†
Female	−0.29 (0.12)*	0.06 (0.15)	−0.03 (0.11)	−0.41 (0.14)**	−0.11 (0.11)
Independent	−0.25 (0.24)	−0.82 (0.29)**	−0.75 (0.19)***	−0.64 (0.22)**	−0.65 (0.17)***
Out-partisan	−0.55 (0.13)***	−1.25 (0.17)***	−1.53 (0.13)***	−0.40 (0.16)*	−1.09 (0.12)***
Threshold 1	−3.14 (0.42)***	−1.89 (0.47)***	−0.80 (0.31)**	−0.30 (0.37)	−0.80 (0.28)**
Threshold 2	−1.11 (0.40)**	0.71 (0.47)	−0.80 (0.31)**	−0.30 (0.37)	−0.80 (0.28)**
N	1418	1535	1918	950	1796

	1958	1960	1984	1986	1988
Age	−0.10 (0.04)*	−0.04 (0.06)	−0.07 (0.03)*	−0.08 (0.04)†	−0.06 (0.03)*
White	−0.34 (0.26)	−0.54 (0.30)†	0.35 (0.16)*	0.29 (0.19)	0.17 (0.14)
Income	−0.03 (0.06)	0.21 (0.09)*	0.17 (0.05)**	0.21 (0.07)**	0.08 (0.05)
Education	−0.15 (0.04)***	−0.03 (0.06)	0.13 (0.04)**	0.01 (0.05)	0.03 (0.04)
Female	−0.37 (0.12)**	0.04 (0.16)	−0.02 (0.11)	−0.33 (0.15)*	−0.08 (0.11)
Awareness	−0.62 (0.54)	−0.02 (0.56)	−0.55 (0.34)	−0.07 (0.38)	−0.51 (0.30)†
Independent	−0.22 (0.30)	−0.59 (0.37)	−0.47 (0.26)†	0.07 (0.33)	−0.35 (0.24)
Out-partisan	−0.53 (0.36)	0.57 (0.48)	1.41 (0.41)***	1.33 (0.51)**	1.13 (0.33)***
Awareness × Independent	0.64 (0.79)	−1.42 (0.99)	0.08 (0.81)	−1.27 (0.78)	0.18 (0.64)
Awareness × Out-partisan	−0.54 (0.42)	−1.10 (0.56)*	−2.12 (0.47)***	−1.00 (0.61)†	−1.36 (0.39)***
Threshold 1	−3.12 (0.47)***	−1.48 (0.50)**	−0.14 (0.34)	0.05 (0.41)	−0.44 (0.30)
Threshold 2	−1.07 (0.46)*	1.15 (0.51)*	−0.14 (0.34)	0.05 (0.41)	−0.44 (0.30)
N	1418	1535	1918	950	1796

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

A3 Alternate estimates from the individual-level models

As noted in the text, the regression models predicting retrospective evaluations could be simulated to estimate partisan perceptual differences in several ways. Here I present two alternatives to the approach used in the paper.

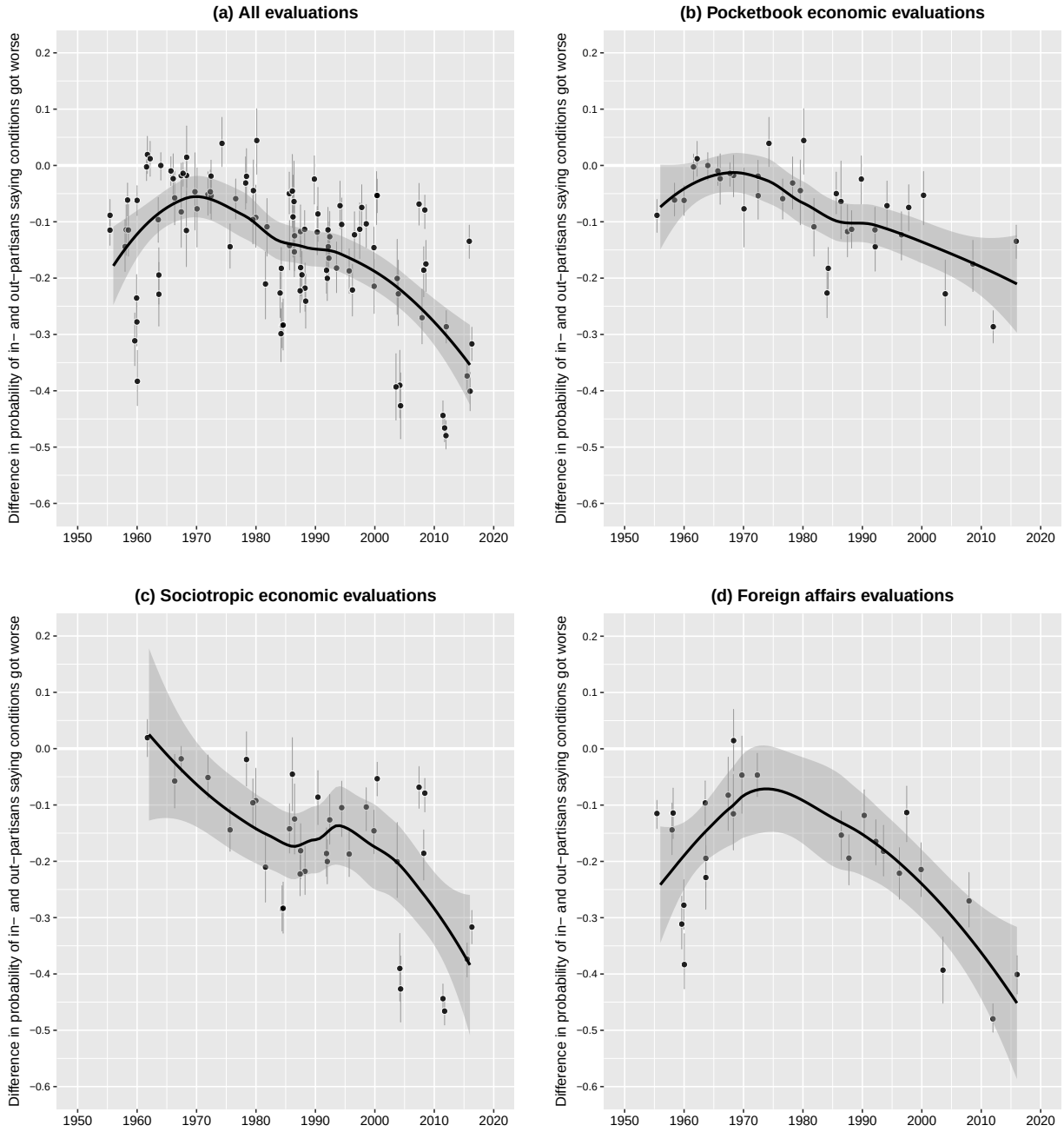
A3.1 First differences in probability of saying conditions got worse

Figures A1 and A2 show the first differences between in- and out-partisans' probability of saying conditions had gotten "worse" (as opposed to Figures 1 and 2 in the paper which show differences in the probability of saying conditions had gotten "better"). The trends are largely the mirror image of Figures 1 and 2 (since in-partisans are *less* likely than out-partisans to say that things have gotten worse).

As in the main text, partisan perceptual differences have clearly increased over time. In 1956, in-partisans were $-.18$ $[-.25, -.11]$ less likely than out-partisans to say things had gotten worse (these estimates are from the analysis of all evaluations shown in Figure A1(a)). As was the case in Figure 1, average differences were at their lowest points in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The average difference in 1970, for example, is estimated to be just $-.06$ $[-.09, -.02]$. Partisan perceptual differences have dramatically increased in recent years, reaching an average of $-.35$ $[-.42, -.28]$ by 2016. The absolute magnitude of these differences is similar to those for perceptions of improving conditions reported in the text (first differences of .19 for 1956, .05 for 1970, and .21 for 2016), although there is some suggestion that differences in the propensity of holding negative perceptions have increased at greater rates than differences in positive perceptions.

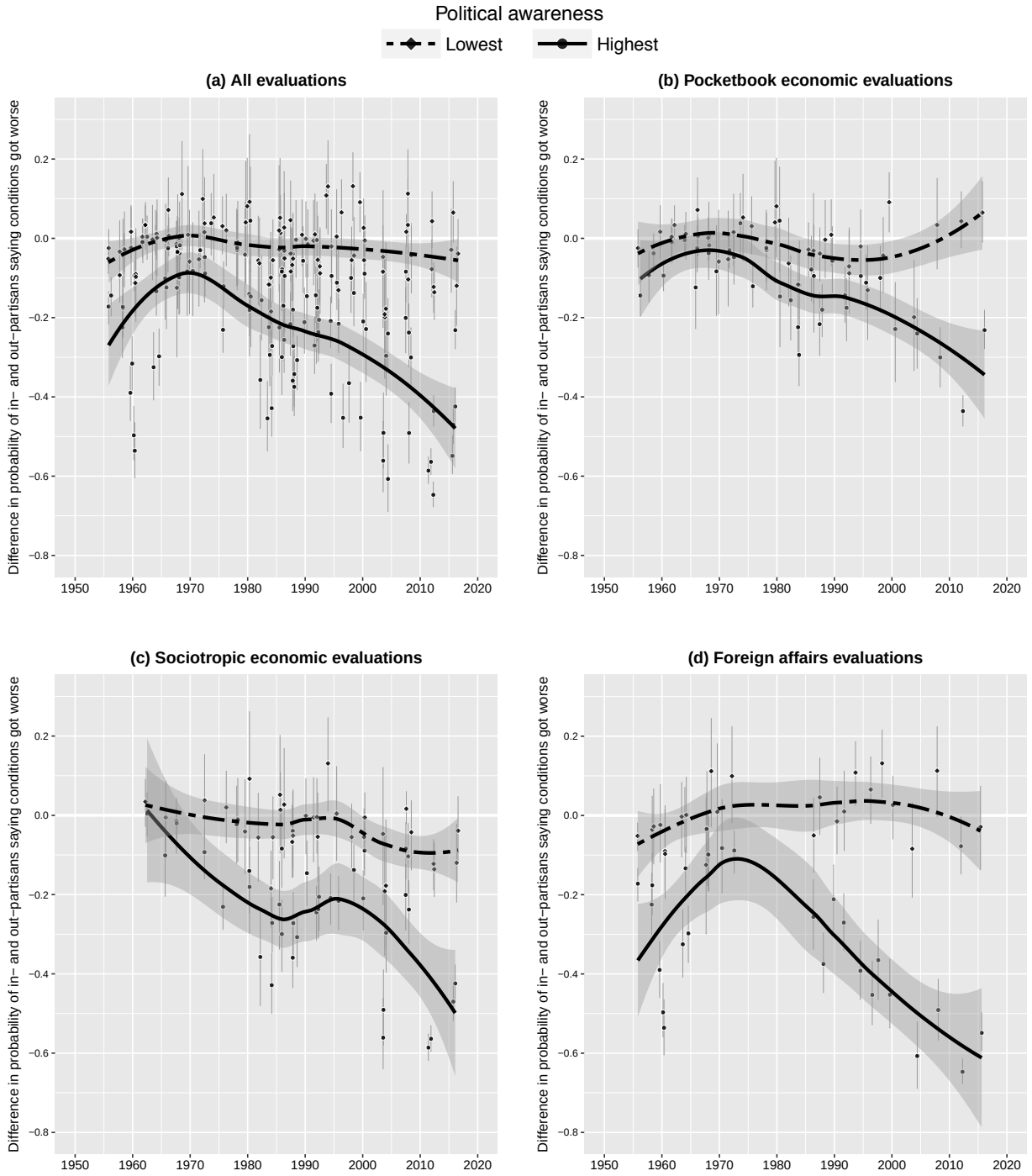
Figure A2 also supports the same substantive conclusions as in Figure 2. For those at the lowest end of the awareness scale, partisan perceptual differences are minimal and have not changed significantly over time. In 1956, the least aware in-partisans were on average $-.06$ $[-.11, -.01]$ less likely than out-partisans to say things had gotten worse; by 2016 that was an indistinguishable $-.05$ $[-.10, .00]$. It is again among the most aware that we see the most dramatic changes in partisan perceptual differences. For these respondents, the difference in probabilities has increased from an average of $-.26$ $[-.36, -.17]$ in 1956 to $-.48$ $[-.57, -.38]$ in 2016 (these estimates are from Figure A2(a); similar conclusions are reached from plots (b)–(d)).

Figure A1: Partisan perceptual differences in perceiving things to have gotten worse, 1956-2016



Note: First differences in the probability of saying conditions had "gotten worse" between in- and out-partisans with 95% confidence intervals, simulated from ordered logistic regression models shown in Tables A2 to A12. Other independent variables are held at their average values. Superimposed loess lines show local weighted average of the first differences, with 95% confidence intervals. Values on horizontal axis have been jittered slightly to distinguish estimates.

Figure A2: Partisan perceptual differences in perceiving things to have gotten worse by political awareness, 1956-2016



Note: First differences in the probability of saying conditions had "gotten worse" between in- and out-partisans with 95% confidence intervals, simulated from ordered logistic regression models shown in Tables A2 to A12. Dashed lines indicate those scoring at the lowest level of political awareness; solid lines those at the highest level. Other independent variables are held at their average values. Superimposed loess lines show local weighted average of the first differences, with 95% confidence intervals. Values on horizontal axis have been jittered slightly to distinguish estimates.

A3.2 Probabilities of each response by partisan status

The second way of presenting the individual-level results is to plot the probability of each response (saying that things had gotten better, stayed the same, or gotten worse) for each type of partisan (an in-partisan, out-partisan, or Independent). These probabilities are presented in Figure A3, with in-partisans shown in blue, Independents in green, and out-partisans in black.

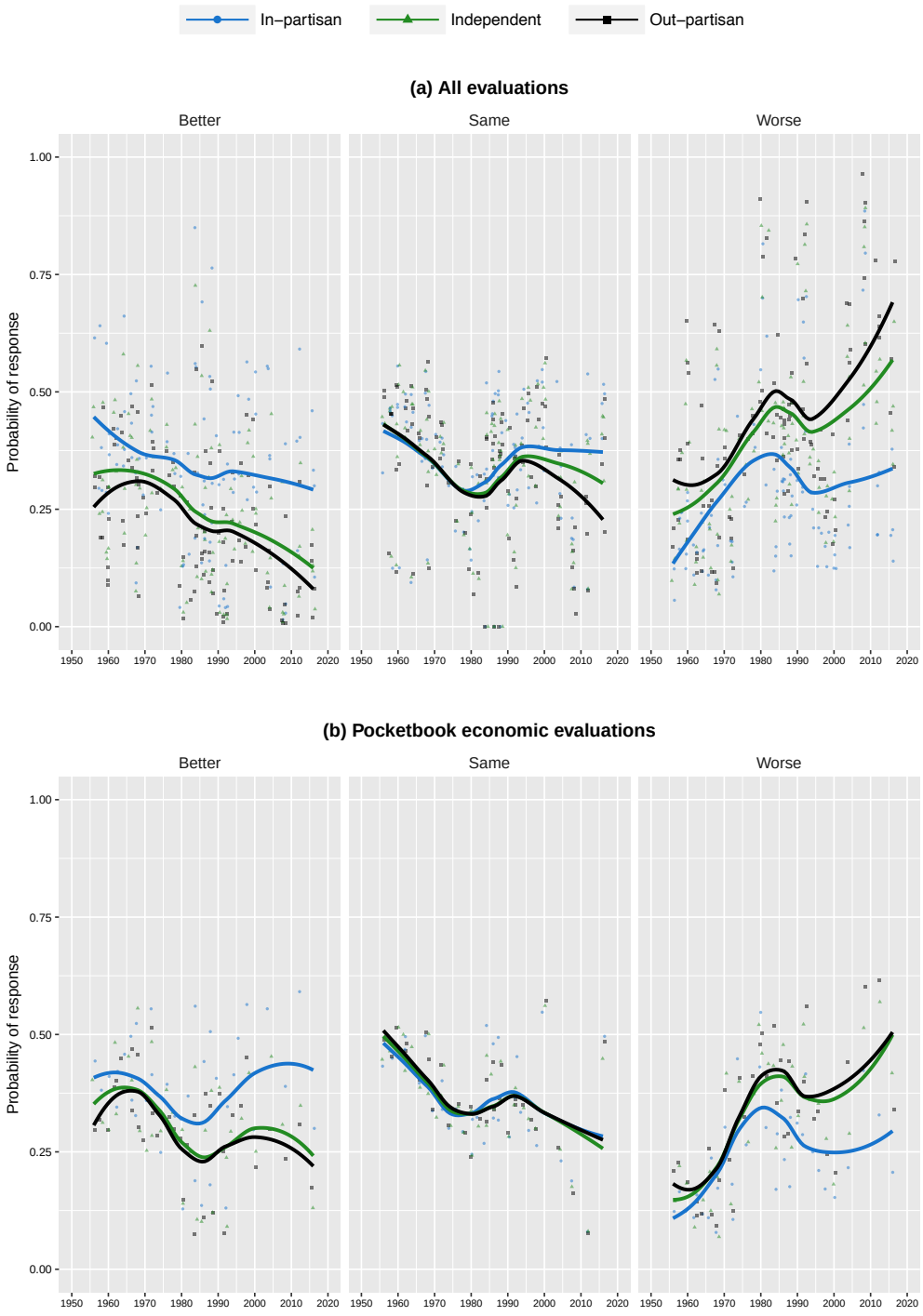
Presenting the results this way provides more information about overall trends in each group's retrospective evaluations, but makes it harder to assess whether the magnitude of differences *between* partisans has changed over time. This is the justification for using the first differences between probabilities as a measure of partisan perceptual differences in the paper. Nonetheless, the probabilities shown in Figure A3 reveal several other patterns.

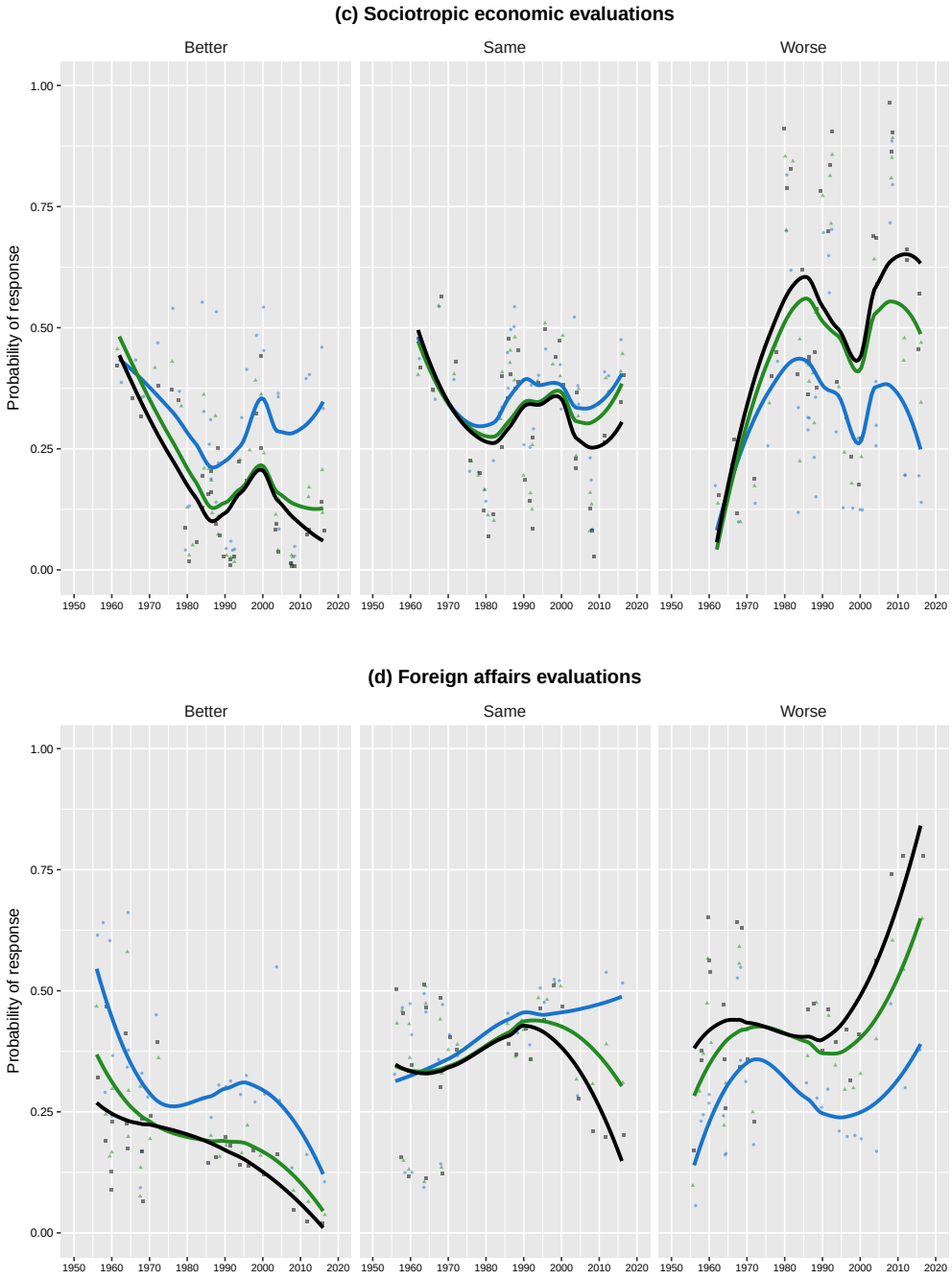
First, the evidence suggests that partisan groups tend to move in tandem, even though the gaps between them have been increasing over the time period. For example, the probability of saying that conditions had gotten worse increases around 1980 and decreases in the mid-1990s for all three partisan groups (see the third panel of plot (a)). This aligns with previous evidence of "parallel publics" where groups with distinct baseline preferences nonetheless move in similar directions over time (Page and Shapiro 1992, Ch. 7). At the same time, the increasing size of differences between in- and out-partisans suggests that such parallelism may be on the decline.

Second, partisan differences appear most consistently among the "better" or "worse" responses: all three groups frequently have similar probabilities of saying things had stayed the same. This is particularly true for pocketbook economic evaluations in plot (b) and sociotropic economic evaluations in plot (c); the differences in foreign evaluations are more stark in recent years.

Finally, the plots reveal that retrospective evaluations from pure Independents are not usually a simple average of those from in- and out-partisans. Rather, on average, pure Independents are much closer to out-partisans in their assessments than in-partisans. This is easiest to see when looking at the probabilities of saying things had gotten better or worse; there, the green line (for Independents) and black line (for out-partisans) are frequently aligned. This suggests the need for further research into the ways that Independents with no attachment to a party form retrospective evaluations.

Figure A3: Probability of each response by partisan status, 1956-2016





Note: Predicted probability of each type of partisan giving each type of response, simulated from ordered logistic regression models shown in Tables A2 to A12. Other independent variables are held at their average values. Superimposed loess lines show local weighted average of the probabilities. Confidence intervals have been omitted to improve readability. Values on horizontal axis have been jittered slightly to distinguish estimates.

A4 Further analysis of the political awareness index

The political awareness index used in the paper is comprised of seven different items, each rescaled to range between 0 and 1 (the question wording here is taken from the ANES Cumulative Data File documentation and represents the most common phrasing, although there were minor differences in some years):

- **Interviewer observation** (pre- and post-election): Respondent's general level of information about politics and public affairs seemed: Very low; Fairly low; Average; Fairly high; Very high.
- **Interest in campaigns**: Some people don't pay much attention to political campaigns. How about you, would you say that you have been not much interested, somewhat interested, or very much interested in following the political campaigns this year?
- **Interest in public affairs**: Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs hardly at all, only now and then, some of the time, or most of the time?
- **Know House majority** (pre-election): Do you happen to know which party had the most members in the House of Representatives in Washington before the elections this/last month?
- **Know House majority** (post-election): Do you happen to know which party elected the most members to the House of representatives in the elections this/last month?
- **Know Senate majority** (pre-election): Do you happen to know which party had the most members in the U.S. Senate before the election this/last month?

Table A13 shows the frequency with which each of these items were asked.

Table A13: Years different political awareness items were asked on ANES Time Series

	1956	1958	1960	1962	1964	1966	1968	1970	1972
Interviewer observation (pre)							Y		Y
Interviewer observation (post)						Y	Y	Y	
Interest in campaigns	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Interest in public affairs			Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		Y
Know House majority (pre)		Y	Y		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Know House majority (post)		Y	Y		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Know Senate majority (pre)									

	1974	1976	1978	1980	1982	1984	1986	1988	1990
Interviewer observation (pre)		Y		Y		Y		Y	
Interviewer observation (post)	Y		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		Y
Interest in campaigns		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Interest in public affairs	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Know House majority (pre)		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Know House majority (post)		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y			
Know Senate majority (pre)					Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2008	2012	2016
Interviewer observation (pre)	Y		Y		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Interviewer observation (post)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Interest in campaigns	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Interest in public affairs	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		Y
Know House majority (pre)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Know House majority (post)										
Know Senate majority (pre)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		Y			Y

A4.1 Descriptive information about the index

In the full dataset, the awareness index has a mean of .55 and an interquartile range of .33 to .80. The distribution of political awareness is shown below.

Figure A4: Kernel density estimate of distribution of political awareness

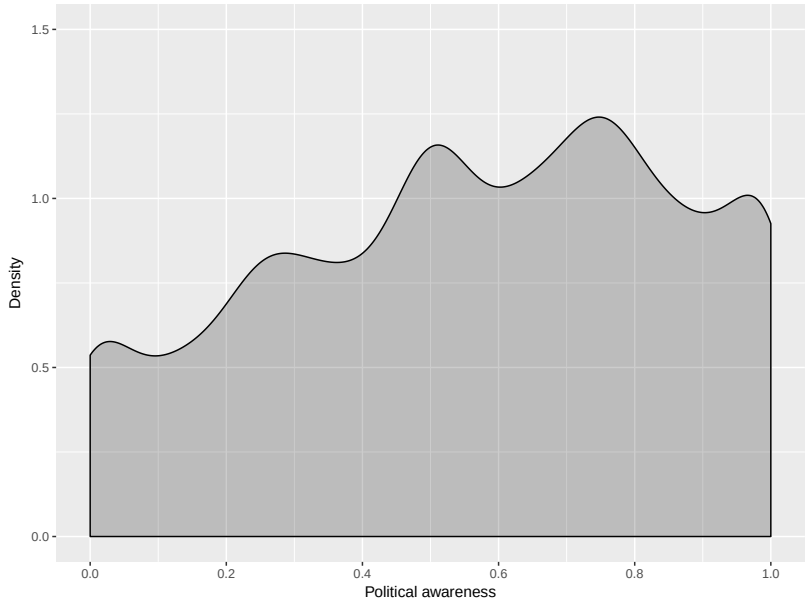
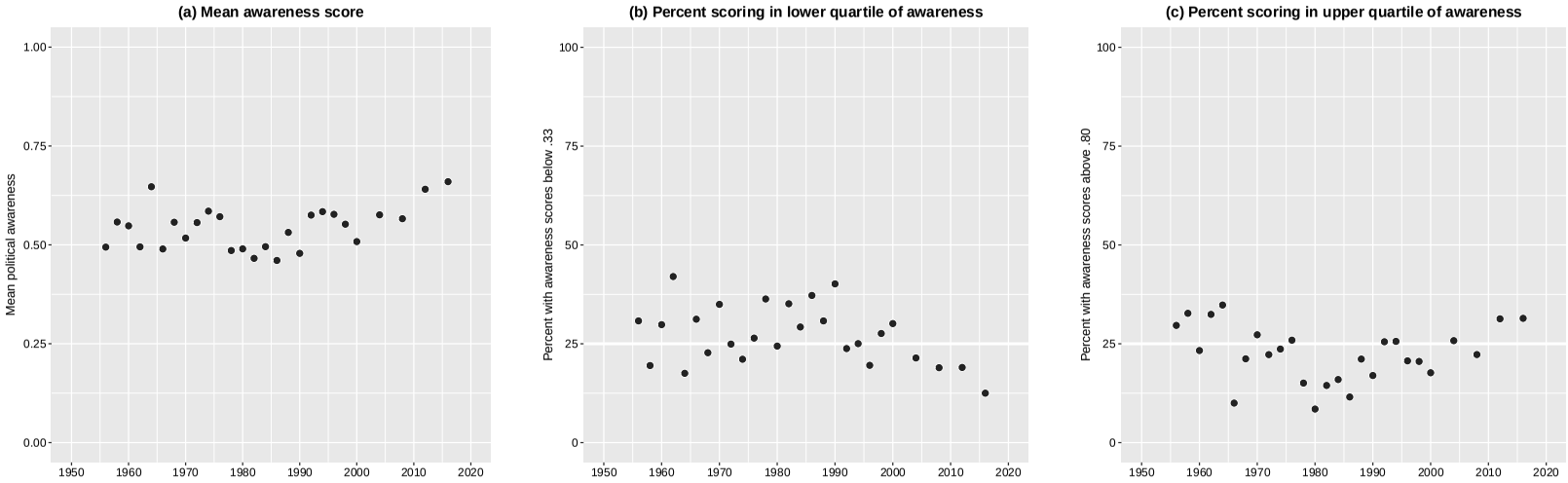


Figure A5 presents three ways of summarizing the distribution of political awareness in each of the survey years. Plot (a) shows the mean awareness score in each year. Plots (b) and (c) show the percentage of the sample that scored in the lower and upper quartile of awareness, calculated for the full dataset. This allows us to assess whether average levels of awareness, as well as the composition of the sample, have changed over time.

Although there is some variation in each of the summary measures over time, there do not appear to be clear linear time trends in the data. The average awareness score ranges from a low of .46 in 1986 to a high of .66 in 2016. The most recent two survey years, 2012 and 2016, do appear to show somewhat increased levels of awareness, which has been documented in the ANES data by other researchers (Prior and Bougher, 2018). Similarly, the proportion of respondents scoring at the high (or low) end of the awareness distribution shows some modest variation but no distinct linear time trend.

Figure A5: Summaries of political awareness score by year

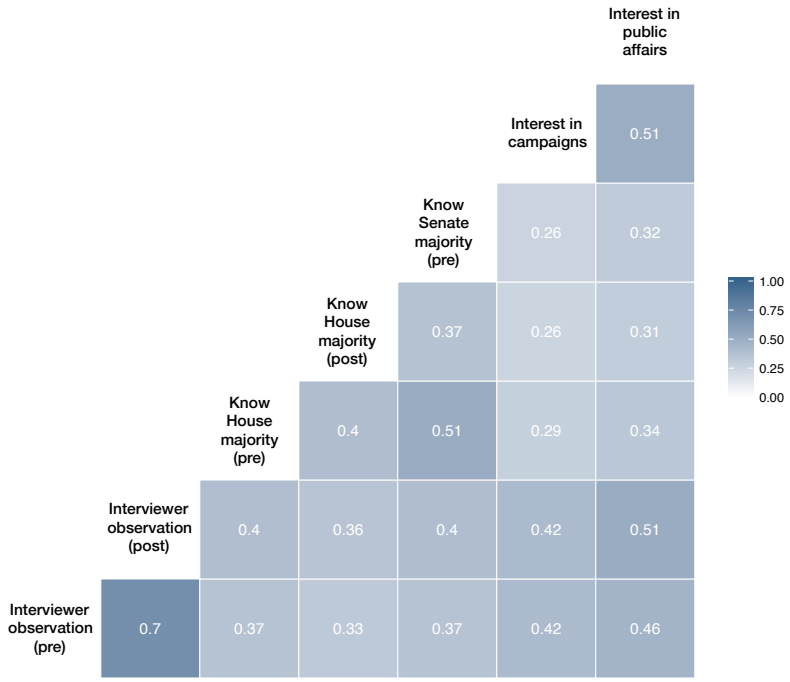


Note: Interquartile range of .33 to .80 is calculated for all respondents in the full dataset.

A4.2 Reliability of the index

Analyses of the seven awareness items suggest that they are strongly related. First, Figure A6 shows the pairwise correlation between each item, which ranges from .26 (between knowledge of which party controlled the Senate and self-reported interest in campaigns) to .70 (between the interviewer's assessment of the respondent's political information in the pre-election and post-election waves).

Figure A6: Corelation matrix of different political awareness items



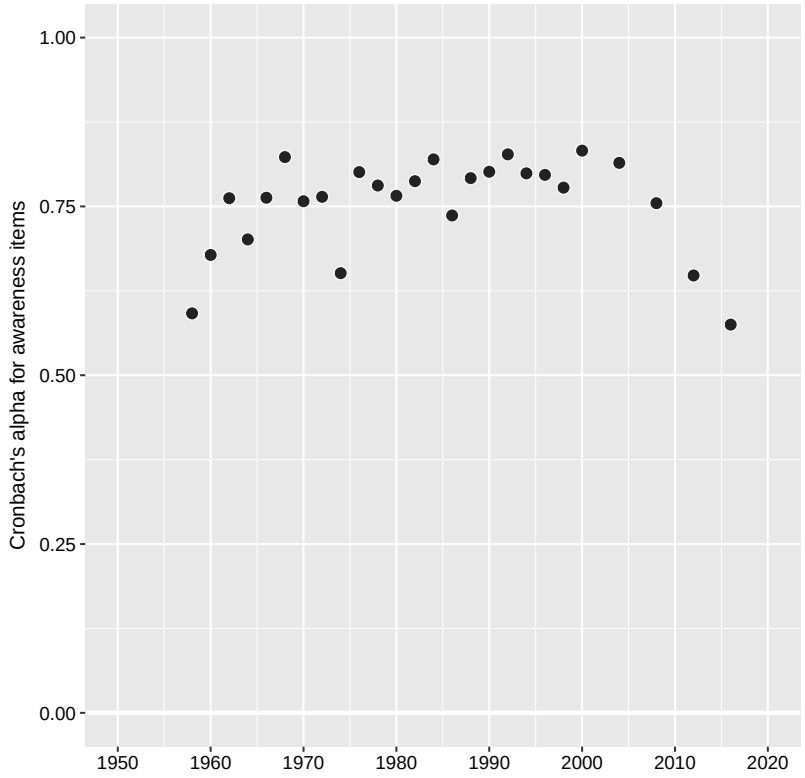
Note: Matrix showing pairwise correlation between each measure of political awareness used in analyses.

Second, Cronbach's alpha for all seven items is .79, indicating substantial reliability for the index. Re-calculating the reliability of the index, dropping one of the items at a time, does not suggest any significant changes: the alpha statistic would range from .78 (if the pre-election interviewer observation were dropped) to .81 (if post-election knowledge of the House majority were dropped). This aligns with the evidence from the principal components analysis below suggesting that each of the items

contributes an equivalent amount to the overall index.

The index's reliability does not appear to vary systematically over time, either. Figure A7 calculates the alpha statistic for each year in which there were at least two awareness items on the survey. Although there again is variation across the years (from a low of .57 in 2016 to a high of .83 in 2000), there is no linear trend suggesting increasing or decreasing reliability over time. The pairwise correlation between the year of the survey and the alpha statistic is .07.

Figure A7: Cronbach's alpha for awareness items by year



Note: Cronbach's alpha calculated only for years that had two or more items measuring awareness (see Table A13).

Third, as described in the next section, principal components analysis supports the idea that these items can be reduced to a single dimension that captures the majority of the variance in the survey responses.

A4.3 Principal components analysis

An alternative approach to taking the simple average of the awareness items (as in the paper) is to use principal components analysis (PCA) to reduce the seven items to a single dimension capturing underlying levels of awareness. Standard PCA methods, however, cannot account for missing values in the input variables, of which there are a substantial number in these data (since not every question was included on every year's survey). To overcome this obstacle, I use the *missMDA* package in R that performs PCA on datasets with missing values (see Josse, Pages and Husson (2011) for full details of the methodology and Josse and Husson (2016) for information on the *missMDA* package).

The process first imputes values for the missing data using a regularized iterative PCA algorithm before conventional PCA methods are used on the imputed dataset (Josse and Husson 2016). Table A14 below shows the eigenvalues for each of the principal components identified in the analysis:

Table A14: Eigenvalues and variance explained from principal components analysis on awareness items

	Eigenvalue	Variance (%)	Cumulative variance (%)
Dimension 1	4.40	62.88	62.88
Dimension 2	.73	10.48	73.36
Dimension 3	.48	6.82	80.19
Dimension 4	.44	6.27	86.46
Dimension 5	.37	5.32	91.78
Dimension 6	.35	5.00	96.78
Dimension 7	.23	3.22	100.00

The analysis suggests that a single principal component explains a substantial portion (62.9%) of the variance in the measures. The second identified dimension explains just 10.5% of the variance, and has an eigenvalue of .73, indicating it accounts for less variance than one of the initial items. This would support retaining solely the first dimension values from this analysis. The loadings for each awareness item on the first principal component are shown in Table A15 below, and the contribution of each item to that first dimension expressed as a percentage.

Table A15: Loading on, and contribution to, first dimension for each item

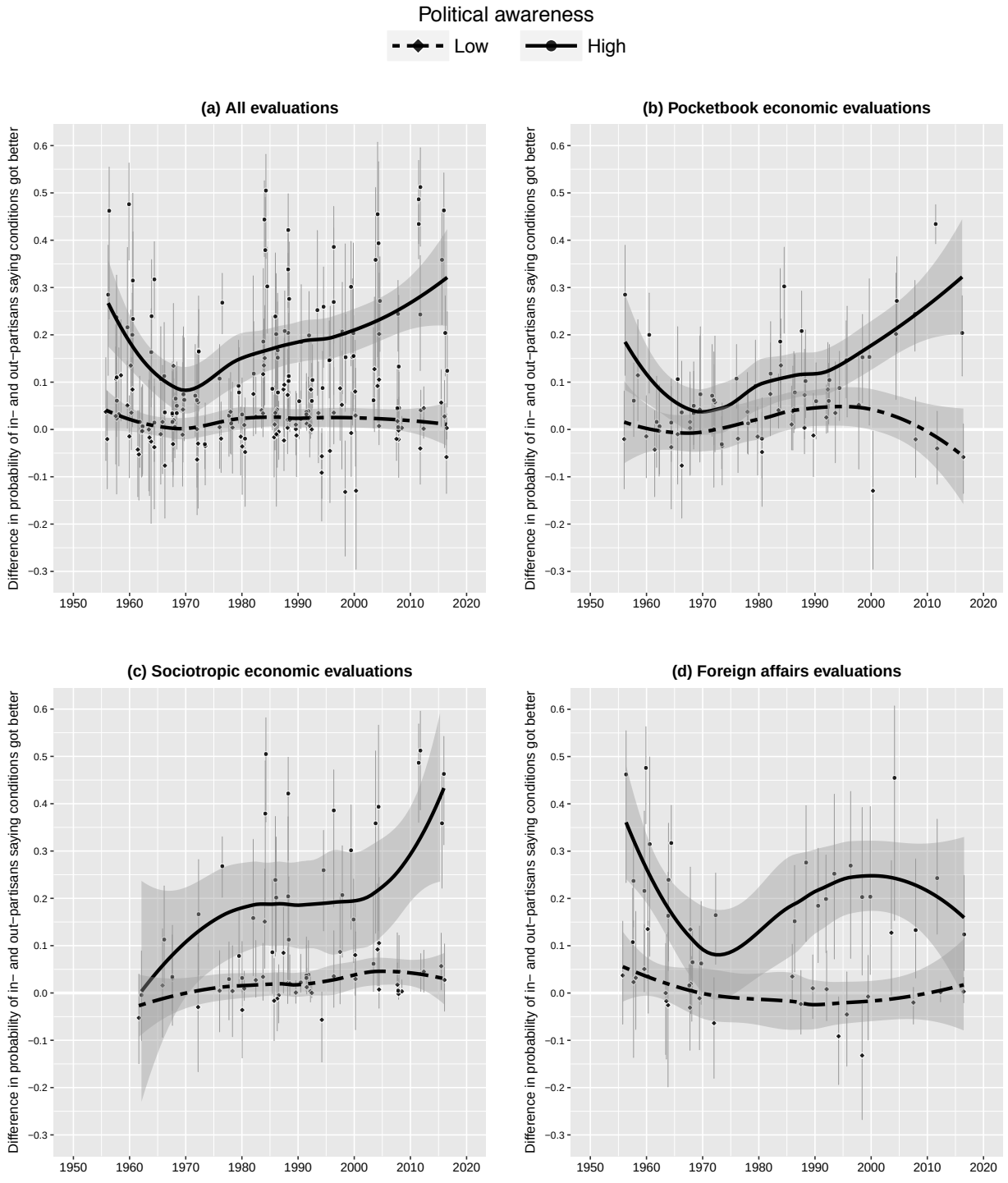
	Loading	Contribution (%)
Interviewer observation (pre)	.878	17.5
Interviewer observation (post)	.859	16.7
Interest in campaigns	.686	10.9
Interest in public affairs	.771	13.5
Know House majority (pre)	.714	11.5
Know House majority (post)	.813	15.0
Know Senate majority (pre)	.810	14.9

The loadings suggest that all of the awareness items are strongly correlated with the first principal component, ranging from .69 (for interest in campaigns) to .88 (the interviewer's assessment of the respondent's political information in the pre-election wave). Each of the items contributes a roughly similar amount to the first principal component, ranging from 10.9% for interest in campaigns to 17.5% for the interviewer's pre-election observation.

I extract the coordinates for each respondent on this first dimension of the principal components analysis, and then use the coordinates as an estimated measure of awareness. I then replicate the analysis from Figure 2 using the PCA coordinates rather than the average value of the awareness items. Figure A8 below shows the results (to calculate first differences, I set the PCA coordinates at their 95th percentile values of -3.82 and 2.96). Table A16 replicates model 3 from Table 3 with this new measure.

The conclusions are strikingly similar to those presented in the main text: partisan perceptual differences are greatest among those with the highest PCA scores, and it is amongst these voters that differences have increased the most. For voters with the lowest scores, the average partisan perceptual difference is close to zero and has not changed significantly over the time period. The multi-level coefficients in Table A16 tell the same story as in Table 3: greater political awareness significantly increases the likelihood of an in-partisan giving a positive response (the coefficient on awareness is .06, SE=.01) and decreases the likelihood of an out-partisan doing the same thing (the coefficient for the interaction between out-partisan and awareness is $-.11$, SE=.01). The significant coefficients for the effect of elite polarization on each of these terms (.53 (.20) and -1.40 (.29) respectively) indicate that polarization again has an increased impact on voters who are highly aware.

Figure A8: Partisan perceptual differences by political awareness as measured by principal components analysis, 1956-2016



Note: First differences in the probability of saying conditions had "gotten better" between in- and out-partisans with 95% confidence intervals, simulated from ordered logistic regression models. Dashed lines indicate those with low levels of political awareness; solid lines those with high levels. Other independent variables are held at their average values. Superimposed loess lines show local weighted average of the first differences, with 95% confidence intervals. Values on horizontal axis have been jittered slightly to distinguish estimates.

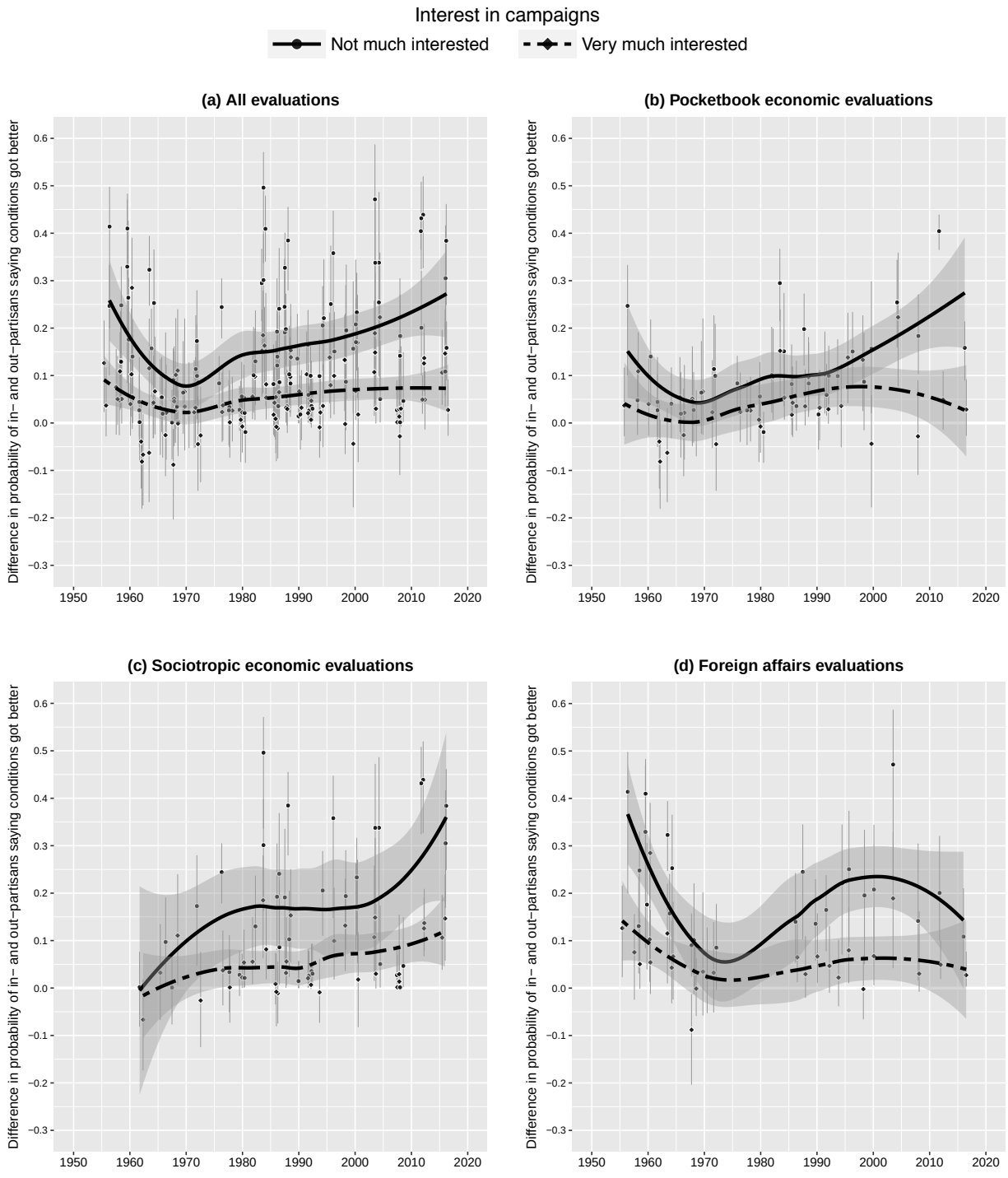
A4.4 Replicating analyses with single awareness item

As shown in Table A13, one of the items used to measure awareness — the respondent's interest in following campaigns and elections — was asked in every survey but 1974. This allows us to replicate the awareness analysis using a single item across almost the entire time series instead of relying on multiple items which are not asked consistently in each year.

I replicate the analysis used to create Figure 2, this time substituting the single campaign interest item in place of the average awareness measure. Using the single item in place of the average score leads to similar conclusions as in Figure 2. Partisan perceptual differences are greatest among those who express the most interest in campaigns and elections, and it is for these respondents that differences have changed the most over time. There is some evidence that differences among those with the least interest in electoral politics have also increased over this time period, but this increase is minimal compare to those with greater interest.

As before, the multi-level coefficients in Table A16 tell the same story as in Table 3: more interest in electoral politics increases the likelihood of an in-partisan giving a positive response (.29 (.06)) and decreases the likelihood of an out-partisan doing the same ($-.53$ (.08)). The significant coefficients for the effect of elite polarization on each term (3.49 (1.06) and -8.72 (1.52) respectively) again suggest that polarization had its greatest impact on those voters who reported the most interest in campaigns and elections.

Figure A9: Partisan perceptual differences by interest in campaigns, 1956-2016



Note: First differences in the probability of saying conditions had "gotten better" between in- and out-partisans with 95% confidence intervals. Dashed lines indicate those who expressed "not much" interest in election campaigns; solid lines those who said they were "very much" interested. Other independent variables are held at their average values. Superimposed loess lines show local weighted average of the first differences, with 95% confidence intervals. Values on horizontal axis have been jittered slightly to distinguish estimates.

Table A16: Multi-level ordered logistic regression models predicting retrospective evaluations with different measures of awareness

	Awareness measured with	
	Interest in elections	PCA coordinates
Intercept	1.16 (0.19)***	1.25 (0.19)***
Elite polarization	15.82 (3.93)***	17.48 (4.12)***
ΔGDP	0.17 (0.04)**	0.21 (0.05)***
ΔGDP^2	−0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)
Unified government	−0.25 (0.19)	−0.37 (0.21)†
Presidential election	−0.33 (0.19)†	−0.23 (0.19)
Time trend	−0.08 (0.02)***	−0.08 (0.02)***
Independent	−0.24 (0.14)†	−0.39 (0.13)**
Elite polarization	−1.57 (2.87)	−2.53 (2.74)
ΔGDP	−0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)
ΔGDP^2	−0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Unified government	0.17 (0.14)	0.09 (0.14)
Presidential election	−0.03 (0.14)	−0.13 (0.13)
Time trend	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Out-partisan	−0.17 (0.17)	−0.39 (0.16)*
Elite polarization	−0.72 (3.62)	−4.94 (3.43)
ΔGDP	−0.00 (0.04)	−0.04 (0.04)
ΔGDP^2	−0.01 (0.01)	−0.01 (0.01)
Unified government	0.10 (0.18)	0.18 (0.18)
Presidential election	−0.16 (0.17)	−0.29 (0.17)†
Time trend	0.00 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
Political awareness	0.29 (0.06)***	0.06 (0.01)***
Elite polarization	3.49 (1.06)**	0.53 (0.20)*
ΔGDP	0.05 (0.01)***	0.01 (0.00)***
ΔGDP^2	0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)
Unified government	−0.26 (0.06)***	−0.07 (0.01)***
Presidential election	0.08 (0.06)	0.01 (0.01)
Time trend	−0.01 (0.01)	−0.00 (0.00)
Independent × awareness	−0.39 (0.13)**	−0.07 (0.02)**
Elite polarization	−2.61 (2.23)	−0.37 (0.41)
ΔGDP	0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.00)
ΔGDP^2	0.02 (0.01)*	0.00 (0.00)
Unified government	−0.03 (0.14)	0.01 (0.02)
Presidential election	−0.07 (0.12)	−0.01 (0.02)
Time trend	0.00 (0.01)	−0.00 (0.00)
Out-partisan × awareness	−0.53 (0.08)***	−0.11 (0.01)***
Elite polarization	−8.72 (1.52)***	−1.40 (0.29)***
ΔGDP	−0.05 (0.02)**	−0.00 (0.00)
ΔGDP^2	−0.01 (0.01)	−0.00 (0.00)
Unified government	0.16 (0.09)†	0.03 (0.02)†
Presidential election	−0.16 (0.08)†	−0.03 (0.01)*
Time trend	0.02 (0.01)***	0.00 (0.00)*

[continues over]

Age	$-0.08\ (0.00)^{***}$	$-0.08\ (0.00)^{***}$
White	$-0.05\ (0.02)^{**}$	$-0.05\ (0.02)^{***}$
Income	$0.12\ (0.01)^{***}$	$0.11\ (0.01)^{***}$
Education	$0.03\ (0.00)^{***}$	$0.03\ (0.00)^{***}$
Female	$-0.18\ (0.01)^{***}$	$-0.18\ (0.01)^{***}$
Foreign affairs evaluation	$-0.34\ (0.01)^{***}$	$-0.30\ (0.01)^{***}$
Pocketbook evaluation	$0.27\ (0.01)^{***}$	$0.31\ (0.01)^{***}$
Threshold 1	1.55 (0.01)	1.55 (0.01)
N evaluations	168,480	175,469
N respondents	44,863	47,452
N election years	26	27

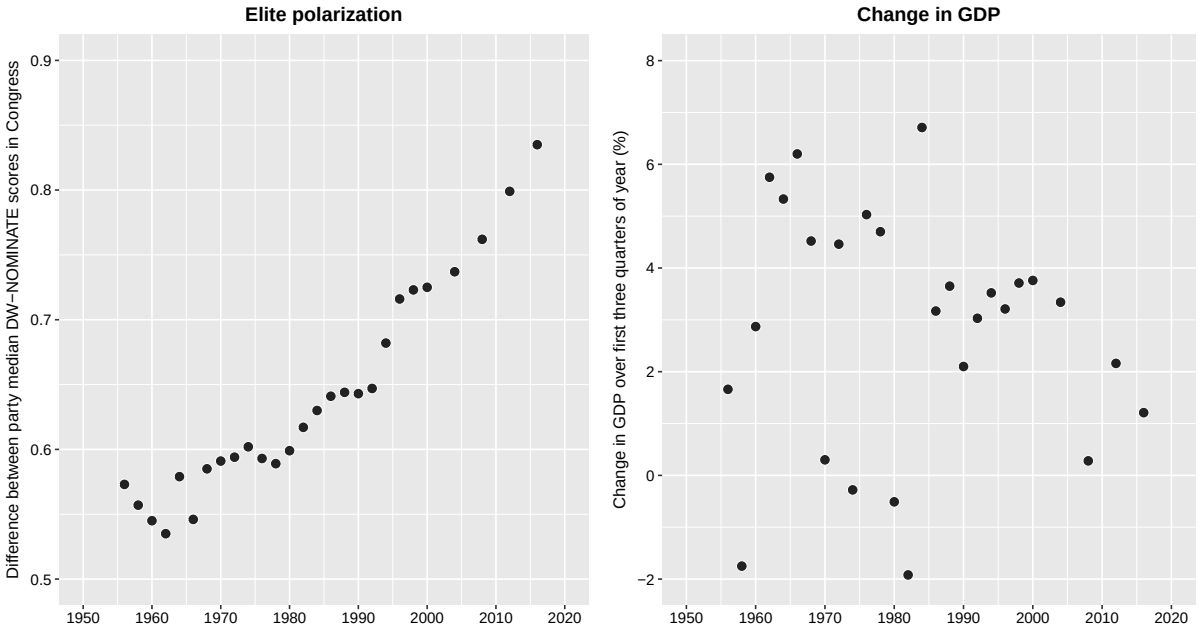
$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Note: Election year-level variables appear in italics. Elite polarization, change in GDP, and the time trend are all centered around their (year-level) average value

A5 More information about the year-level independent variables

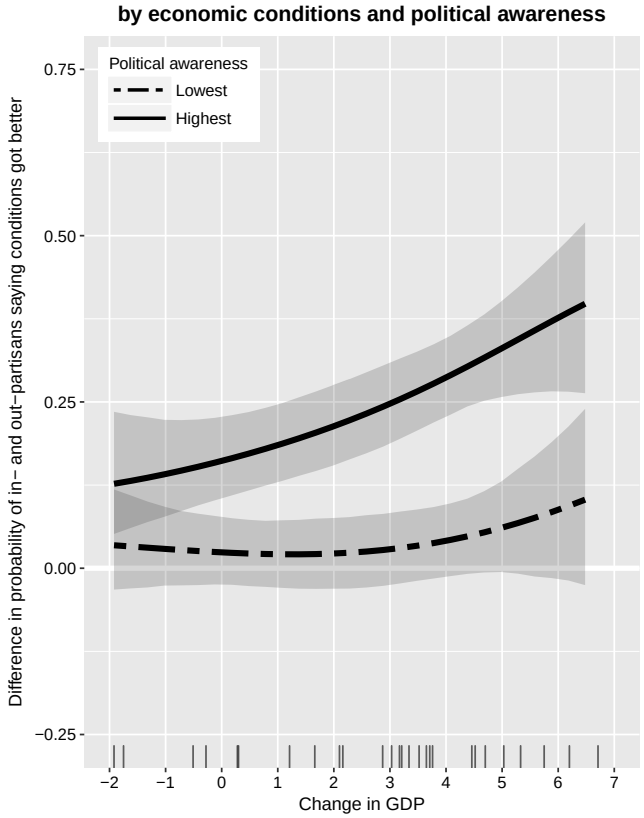
Figure A10 presents values of the two key year-level independent variables in each survey year. Elite polarization has increased over time, ranging from a low of .53 in 1962 to a high of .84 in 2016. As we would probably expect, there is no time trend in the change in GDP in each year, which ranges from −1.92 in 1982 to 6.71 in 1984.

Figure A10: Key year-level independent variables, by year



A6 Extending Figure 3

Figure A11: Partisan perceptual differences by economic context and political awareness



Note: First differences in the probability of saying conditions had "gotten better" between in- and out-partisans with 95% confidence intervals. Simulated from model 3 in Table 3. Other independent variables are held at their average values. Rug plot along the horizontal axis shows the distribution of survey years across this variable.

A7 Strength of partisanship as a moderator of perceptual differences

One further avenue of research is to explore how the strength of partisan identity moderates the extent to which partisans' views of the world diverge. We might well expect perceptual differences to be larger among those who identify as *strong* Democrats and Republicans than among those Independents who merely *lean* towards a party.

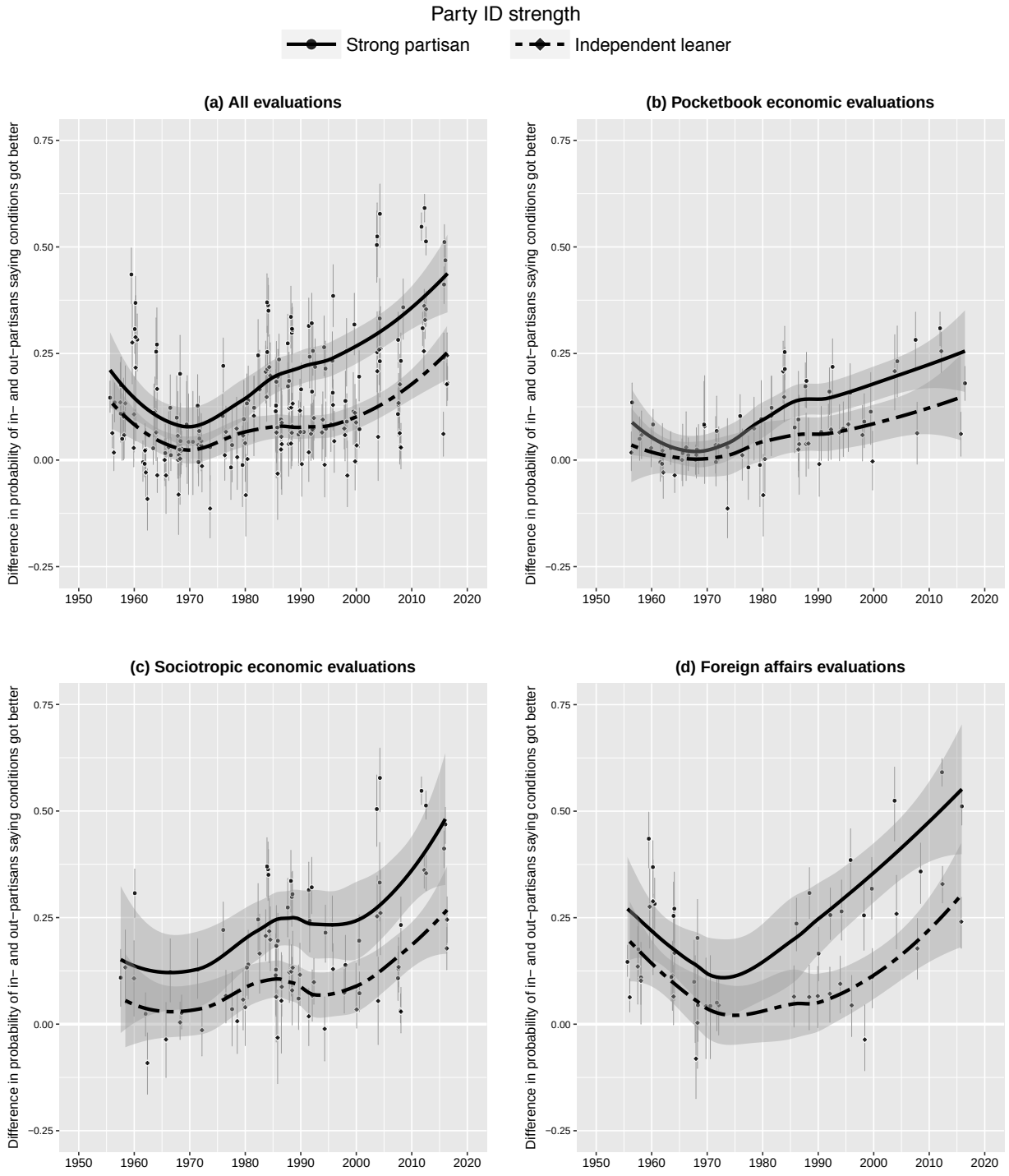
I follow the same strategy used to create Figure 2, this time using the strength of partisanship in place of awareness as the key moderator. Estimated first differences between in- and out-partisans are shown in Figure A12, this time for those who identify as strong partisans (solid lines) and those who identify as Independents but lean towards a party (dashed lines).

The strength of partisanship moderates the perceptual gap in retrospective evaluations as we would expect: stronger partisans exhibit greater differences in their perceptions than weaker ones. Across all of the retrospective evaluations, Independents who lean towards the president's party have on average a .09 greater probability of saying things had gotten better. Among strong partisans, in-partisans have an average .20 greater probability of saying so. Stronger partisanship is associated with greater perceptual differences among voters.

At the same time, it is not the case that those with the weakest partisan identities have remained indistinguishable from their counterparts in the opposing party (as was the case for those with the lowest levels of political awareness in Figure 2). Even among those who only weakly identify with a party, the gap between in- and out-partisans has increased somewhat: from a low of .02 [−.01, .06] for all evaluations in 1970 to a high of .24 [.18, .30] in 2016. Even the weakest partisans now diverge more strongly on the basis of their party than they used to. But strong partisans now diverge to an *even greater* extent: among this group, the probability has increased from .08 [.04, .13] to .42 [.34, .51] over those same years.

Overall, this suggests that strength of partisanship does moderate the effect of party on perceptions of retrospective evaluations: stronger identifiers of different parties are more likely to disagree about the state of the world than are Independent leaners. At the same time, strength of identity appears to be a less strong predictor of the size of this perceptual gap than political awareness: for both Independent leaners and for strong identifiers, the perceptual gap between in- and out-partisans has increased.

Figure A12: Partisan perceptual differences by strength of partisan identity, 1956-2016



Note: First differences in the probability of saying conditions had "gotten better" between in- and out-partisans with 95% confidence intervals. Dashed lines indicate Independent "leaners"; solid lines "strong" partisans. Other independent variables are held at their average values. Superimposed loess lines show local weighted average of the first differences, with 95% confidence intervals. Values on horizontal axis have been jittered slightly to distinguish estimates.

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