

# Political awareness and the identity-to-politics link in public opinion

## Online appendix

Philip Edward Jones  
Department of Political Science and International Relations  
University of Delaware  
pejones@udel.edu  
www.pejones.org

<b>A1 Evidence for groups' political alignments</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>A2 Information about survey samples and items used</b>	<b>6</b>
A2.1 Question wording for dependent variables . . . . .	6
A2.2 Descriptive statistics . . . . .	13
<b>A3 Political awareness measures</b>	<b>15</b>
A3.1 CCES, 2016 and 2018 . . . . .	15
A3.2 ANES, 2008 . . . . .	16
A3.3 ANES, 2012 . . . . .	17
A3.4 ANES, 2016 . . . . .	19
A3.5 Regression models predicting political awareness . . . . .	21
<b>A4 Regression models</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>A5 Evidence of an indirect identity-to-policy preferences link</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>A6 Is awareness just a proxy for identity strength?</b>	<b>33</b>

## A1 Evidence for groups' political alignments

H1 expects more aware members of politically-aligned groups to hold more group-consistent policy preferences and partisan identities. To derive empirically-testable expectations, we need to know which groups are politically-aligned (and thus what kinds of attitudes count as “group-consistent”). Table 1 in the paper lays out which party (if any) each group is assumed to align with. These assumptions were based on evidence from three sets of sources:

- Previous academic research about that group
- The partisan affiliation of elected officials who identify with the group
- The vote choice of citizens who identify with the group

This evidence is summarized in Table A1 below, along with the conclusion reached about each group's political alignment.

“Democratic margin in U.S. House” is the percentage of Members of Congress (MCs) from each group that affiliate with the Democratic Party minus the percentage who affiliate with the Republican Party. Positive values indicate elected officials from that group tend to be more Democratic; negative values that they tend to be more Republican. For example, MCs who identify as evangelical Protestants affiliate with the Republican Party by 76.5 points; Jewish MCs with the Democratic Party by 86.7 points. In contrast, some groups show no particular alignment: Mainline Protestants in Congress are almost evenly split, just 3.0 points more Republican than Democratic. Depending on data availability, these statistics are for the 115th–117th Congresses, as noted at the bottom of Table A1.

“Democratic margin in 2016 vote” is the percentage of group identifiers who voted for Hillary Clinton minus the percentage who voted for Donald Trump in 2016, according to the CCES. Positive values indicate the group tended to vote for Clinton; negative values that they tended to vote for Trump. For example, evangelical voters chose Trump by 36.7 points; Jewish voters chose Clinton by 41.2 points. Again indicating their lack of alignment, mainline Protestants split almost evenly, preferring Clinton by 1.9 points.

**Table A1:** Sources for expectations about group alignments in Table 1

	Group more aligned with	Previous research	Democratic margin in U.S. House	Democratic margin in 2016 vote
Evangelical Protestants	Republican Party	Layman (2001); Margolis (2020); Mathew (2018); Strolovitch, Wong and Proctor (2017)	-76.5 <sup>a</sup>	-36.7
Jewish voters	Democratic Party	Cohen and Liebman (1997); Strolovitch, Wong and Proctor (2017); Wald (2019)	+86.7 <sup>a</sup>	+41.2
Secular voters	Democratic Party	Campbell, Layman, and Green (2020); Claassen (2015); Driggers and Burge (2021)	+100.0 <sup>a</sup>	+33.2
Mainline Protestants	No alignment		-3.0 <sup>a</sup>	+1.9
Catholics	No alignment		-23.9 <sup>a</sup>	-2.1
Black respondents	Democratic Party	Dawson (1995); White and Laird (2020); Strolovitch, Wong and Proctor (2017)	+91.3 <sup>b</sup>	+81.3
Hispanic respondents	Democratic Party	Hajnal and Lee (2011); Saavedra Cisneros (2017); Strolovitch, Wong and Proctor (2017)	+57.6 <sup>b</sup>	+39.7
Asian respondents	Democratic Party	Hajnal and Lee (2011); Kuo et al. (2016); Masuoka et al. (2018)	+100.0 <sup>b</sup>	+45.0
White respondents	No alignment			-13.2
Women	Democratic Party	Conover (1988); Deckman and McTague (2015); Ondercin (2017); Lizotte (2020); Huddy, Cassese, and Lizotte (2008); Strolovitch, Wong and Proctor (2017)	+48.8 <sup>b</sup>	+9.3
Men	Republican Party	Kaufmann and Petrocik (1999); Ondercin (2017); Strolovitch, Wong and Proctor (2017)	-25.5 <sup>b</sup>	-5.5

Continued over...

Table A1 continued

	Group more aligned with	Previous research	Democratic margin in U.S. House	Democratic margin in 2016 vote
LGBT respondents	Democratic Party	Hertzog (1996); Schaffner and Senic (2006); Lewis, Rogers and Sherrill (2011); Strolovitch, Wong and Proctor (2017); Worthen (2020)	+100.0 <sup>c</sup>	+50.2
Straight cisgender respondents	No alignment			-2.1
Union members	Democratic Party	Francia and Bigelow (2010); Frymer and Grumbach (2021); Kim and Margalit (2016); Strolovitch, Wong and Proctor (2017)	+100.0 <sup>d</sup>	+17.2
Non-members	No alignment			+1.1
Veterans	Republican Party	Foy and Restivo (2018); Klingler and Chatagnier (2014)	-43.2 <sup>e</sup>	-28.3
Non-veterans	No alignment			+6.5

<sup>a</sup>Updated data for 116th House of Representatives from Matthew (2018).

<sup>b</sup>Data for 115th House of Representatives from Manning (N.d).

<sup>c</sup>Data for 116th House of Representatives from Reynolds (2019).

<sup>d</sup>Data for 116th House of Representatives from Quinnell (2019).

<sup>e</sup>Data for 117th House of Representatives from Shane (2020).

## Additional references

Claassen, Ryan L. 2015. *Godless Democrats and Pious Republicans?: Party Activists, Party Capture, and the ‘God Gap’*. Cambridge University Press.

Deckman, Melissa and John McTague. 2015. “Did the “War on Women” Work? Women, Men, and the Birth Control Mandate in the 2012 Presidential Election.” *American Politics Research* 43(1): 3-26.

Driggers, Hunter, and Ryan P. Burge. 2021. "Did The Nones Put Joe Biden In The White House? An Analysis Of The Voting Patterns Of The Religiously Unaffiliated In 2020." *Politics and Religion Journal* 15.2: 313-329.

Foy, Steven L., and Salvatore J. Restifo. 2018. "Reliably Republican? Shifts in U.S. Veterans' Political Party Affiliation from 1974 to 2016." *Sociological Spectrum* 38(3): 174-193

Francia, Peter L. and Nathan S. Bigelow. 2010. "What's the Matter with the White Working Class? The Effects of Union Membership in the 2004 Presidential Election." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 40(1): 140-158.

Kaufmann, Karen M., and John R. Petrocik. 1999. "The Changing Politics of American Men: Understanding the Sources of the Gender Gap." *American Journal of Political Science*: 864-887.

Kuo, Alexander, Neil Malhotra and Cecilia Hyunjung Mo. 2016. "Social Exclusion and Political Identity: The Case of Asian American Partisanship." *Journal of Politics* 79(1): 17-32.

Manning, Jennifer. N.d. "Membership of the 115th Congress: A Profile." *Congressional Research Service Report R44762*.

Margolis, Michele F. 2020. "Who Wants to Make America Great Again? Understanding Evangelical Support for Donald Trump." *Politics and Religion* 13(1): 89-118.

Quinnell, Kenneth. 2019. "New Congress Begins with Influx of Worker-Friendly Members". *AFL-CIO*. Retrieved from <https://aflcio.org/2019/1/3/new-congress-begins-influx-worker-friendly-members>

Reynolds, Daniel. 2019. "Meet the 10 Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Members of the 116th Congress". *Advocate*. Retrieved from <https://www.advocate.com/politicians/2019/1/03/meet-10-gay-lesbian-and-bisexual-members-116th-congress>

Shane, Leo. 2020. "Veterans in the 117th Congress, by the numbers". *Military Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.militarytimes.com/news/pentagon-congress/2020/12/28/veterans-in-the-117th-congress-by-the-numbers>

Wald, Kenneth D. 2019. *The Foundations of American Jewish Liberalism*. Cambridge University Press.

## A2 Information about survey samples and items used

### A2.1 Question wording for dependent variables

Question wording and response options for the dependent variables are shown below. Notes on the coding are *italicized*. All variables are coded to range between 0 and 1, with higher values indicating more liberal responses.

#### CCES, 2016–2018

**Party identity** Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a... Democrat; Republican; Independent; Other? [IF DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN:] Would you call yourself a strong Democrat/Republican, or not so strong Democrat/Republican? [IF INDEPENDENT:] Do you think of yourself as closer to the Democratic or the Republican Party? *7-point party ID scale recoded to range from 0 [Strong Republican] to 1 [Strong Democrat].*

**Policy views** *An average of the following items, all coded to range from 0 to 1, with higher values indicating more liberal positions:*

- **Support more gun control (1)** On the issue of gun regulation, do you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Background checks for all sales, including at gun shows and over the Internet. *Recoded to 0 [oppose], 1 [support].*
- **Support more gun control (2)** Ban assault rifles. *Recoded to 0 [oppose], 1 [support].*
- **Support more gun control (3)** Make it easier for people to obtain concealed-carry permit. *Recoded to 0 [support], 1 [oppose].*
- **Pro-choice abortion views (1)** Do you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Always allow a woman to obtain an abortion as a matter of choice. *Recoded to 0 [oppose], 1 [support].*
- **Pro-choice abortion views (2)** Prohibit all abortions after the 20th week of pregnancy. *Recoded to 0 [support], 1 [oppose].*
- **Pro-choice abortion views (3)** Allow employers to decline coverage of abortions in insurance plans. *Recoded to 0 [support], 1 [oppose].*
- **Pro-choice abortion views (4)** Prohibit the expenditure of funds authorized or appropriated by federal law for any abortion. *Recoded to 0 [support], 1 [oppose].*

- **Pro-choice abortion views (5)** Make abortions illegal in all circumstances. *Recorded to 0 [support], 1 [oppose].*
- **Support environmental protections (1)** Do you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Give Environmental Protection Agency power to regulate Carbon Dioxide emissions. *Recorded to 0 [oppose], 1 [support].*
- **Support environmental protections (2)** Lower the required fuel efficiency for the average automobile from 35 mpg to 25 mpg. *Recorded to 0 [support], 1 [oppose].*
- **Support environmental protections (3)** Require a minimum amount of renewable fuels (wind, solar, and hydroelectric) in the generation of electricity even if electricity prices increase somewhat. *Recorded to 0 [oppose], 1 [support].*
- **Support environmental protections (4)** Strengthen enforcement of the Clean Air Act and Clean Water Act even if it costs US jobs *Recorded to 0 [oppose], 1 [support].*
- **Oppose repealing Obamacare** Thinking now about health care policy, would you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Repeal the entire Affordable Care Act. *Recorded to 0 [support], 1 [oppose].*
- **More liberal immigration views (2016) (1)** What do you think the U.S. government should do about immigration? Select all that apply. Grant legal status to all illegal immigrants who have held jobs and paid taxes for at least 3 years, and not been convicted of any felony crimes. *Recorded to 0 [not selected], 1 [selected].*
- **More liberal immigration views (2016) (2)** Grant legal status to people who were brought to the US illegally as children, but who have graduated from a U.S. high school. *Recorded to 0 [not selected], 1 [selected].*
- **More liberal immigration views (2016) (3)** Increase the number of border patrols on the U.S.-Mexican border. *Recorded to 0 [selected], 1 [not selected].*
- **More liberal immigration views (2016) (4)** Identify and deport illegal immigrants. *Recorded to 0 [selected], 1 [not selected].*
- **More liberal immigration views (2018) (1)** What do you think the U.S. government should do about immigration? Do you support or oppose each of the following? Increase spending on border security by \$25 billion, including building a wall between the U.S. and Mexico. *Recorded to 0 [support], 1 [oppose].*
- **More liberal immigration views (2018) (2)** Reduce legal immigration by eliminating the visa lottery and ending family-based migration. *Recorded to 0 [support], 1 [oppose].*
- **More liberal immigration views (2018) (3)** Withhold federal funds from any local police department that does not report to the federal government anyone they identify as an illegal immigrant.. *Recorded to 0 [support], 1 [oppose].*

- **More liberal immigration views (2018) (4)** Send to prison any person who has been deported from the United States and reenters the United States. *Recorded to 0 [support], 1 [oppose].*
- **More liberal immigration views (2018) (5)** Provide legal status to children of immigrants who are already in the United States and were brought to the United States by their parents. Provide these children the option of citizenship in 10 years if they meet citizenship requirements and commit no crimes. (DACA). *Recorded to 0 [oppose], 1 [support].*
- **Support marriage equality** Do you favor or oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally? *Recorded to 1, 0, respectively. 2016 only.*
- **Oppose transgender military ban** President Trump has issued many orders over the first two years of his presidency. For each of the following tell us whether you support or oppose the order in principle. Ban Transgender People in the Military. Support; Oppose. *Recorded to 0, 1, respectively. 2018 only.*
- **Support infrastructure spending** Congress considers many issues. If you were in Congress would you vote For or Against each of the following? Highway and Transportation Funding Act. Authorizes \$305 Billion to repair and expand highways, bridges, and transit over the next 5 years. *Recorded to 0 [against], 1 [for]. 2016 only.*
- **Support raising minimum wage** Congress considers many issues. If you were in Congress would you vote For or Against each of the following? Minimum wage. Raises the federal minimum wage to \$12 an hour by 2020. *Recorded to 0 [against], 1 [for]. 2016 only.*
- **Oppose Gorsuch confirmation** Over the past two years, Congress voted on many issues. If you were in Congress would you have voted FOR or AGAINST each of the following? Appoint Neil Gorsuch to the Supreme Court of the United States. *Recorded to 0 [for], 1 [against]. 2018 only.*
- **Oppose Kavanaugh confirmation** Over the past two years, Congress voted on many issues. If you were in Congress would you have voted FOR or AGAINST each of the following? Appoint Brett Kavanaugh to the Supreme Court of the United States. *Recorded to 0 [for], 1 [against]. 2018 only.*
- **Support Russia sanctions** Over the past two years, Congress voted on many issues. If you were in Congress would you have voted FOR or AGAINST each of the following? Require that the President get approval from Congress to ease any existing sanctions on Russia. *Recorded to 0 [against], 1 [for]. 2018 only.*
- **Oppose Jerusalem as capital** President Trump has issued many orders over the first year of his presidency. Do you support or oppose each of the following decisions? Recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and move the U.S. embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. *Recorded to 0 [support], 1 [oppose]. 2018 only.*



- **Oppose Keystone pipeline** President Trump has issued many orders over the first year of his presidency. Do you support or oppose each of the following decisions? Allow the construction of the Keystone XL pipeline. *Recoded to 0 [support], 1 [oppose]. 2018 only.*
- **Support Paris climate agreement** President Trump has issued many orders over the first year of his presidency. Do you support or oppose each of the following decisions? Withdraw the United States from the Paris Climate Agreement. *Recoded to 0 [support], 1 [oppose]. 2018 only.*
- **Oppose TPP withdrawal** President Trump has issued many orders over the first year of his presidency. Do you support or oppose each of the following decisions? Withdraw the United States from the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade agreement, a free trade agreement that included the U.S., Japan, Australia, Vietnam, Canada, Chile, others. *Recoded to 0 [support], 1 [oppose]. 2018 only.*
- **Support clean power rules** President Trump has issued many orders over the first two years of his presidency. For each of the following tell us whether you support or oppose the order in principle. Repeal the Clean Power Plant Rules, which calls for power plants to cut greenhouse gas emissions by 32 percent by 2030. *Recoded to 0 [support], 1 [oppose]. 2018 only.*
- **Support Iran nuclear deal** President Trump has issued many orders over the first two years of his presidency. For each of the following tell us whether you support or oppose the order in principle. Withdraw US from the Iran Nuclear Accord and reimpose sanctions on Iran. *Recoded to 0 [support], 1 [oppose]. 2018 only.*
- **Oppose travel ban** President Trump has issued many orders over the first two years of his presidency. For each of the following tell us whether you support or oppose the order in principle. Ban immigrants from Iran, Somalia, Sudan, Yemen, Syria and Libya from coming to the United States for 90 days. Permanently prohibits Syrian refugees from entering country. *Recoded to 0 [support], 1 [oppose]. 2018 only.*
- **Oppose cutting regulations** President Trump has issued many orders over the first two years of his presidency. For each of the following tell us whether you support or oppose the order in principle. Requires that with each new regulation enacted, two must be cut. Any new costs created by new regulations must be matched with eliminations. *Recoded to 0 [support], 1 [oppose]. 2018 only.*

## ANES, 2008–2016

**Party identity** Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or what? [IF DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN:] Would you call yourself a strong Democrat/Republican, or a not very strong Democrat/Republican? [IF INDEPENDENT:]

Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic party? 7-point party ID scale recoded to range from 0 [Strong Republican] to 1 [Strong Democrat].

**Policy views** An average of the following items, all coded to range from 0 to 1, with higher values indicating more liberal positions:

- **Increase spending and services** Some people think the government should provide fewer services even in areas such as health and education in order to reduce spending. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Other people feel it is important for the government to provide many more services even if it means an increase in spending. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5 or 6. Where would you place YOURSELF on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? *Recoded to range from 0 to 1.*
- **Reduce defense spending** Some people believe that we should spend much less money for defense. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Others feel that defense spending should be greatly increased. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5 or 6. Where would you place YOURSELF on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? *Reversed and recoded to range from 0 to 1.*
- **Support government insurance** There is much concern about the rapid rise in medical and hospital costs. Some people feel there should be a government insurance plan which would cover all medical and hospital expenses for everyone. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Others feel that all medical expenses should be paid by individuals through private insurance plans like Blue Cross or other company paid plans. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6. Where would you place YOURSELF on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? *Reversed and recoded to range from 0 to 1.*
- **Support guaranteed jobs** Some people feel the government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Others think the government should just let each person get ahead on their own. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6. Where would you place YOURSELF on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? *Reversed and recoded to range from 0 to 1.*
- **Support aid to blacks** Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks. (Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1.) Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves. (Suppose these

people are at the other end, at point 7.) And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6. Where would you place YOURSELF on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? *Reversed and recoded to range from 0 to 1.*

- **Support marriage equality** Which comes closest to your view? Gay and lesbian couples should be allowed to legally marry; Gay and lesbian couples should be allowed to form civil unions but not legally marry; There should be no legal recognition of a gay or lesbian couple's relationship. *Recoded to values 1, 0.5, 0, respectively.*
- **Support LGB adoption rights** Do you think gay or lesbian couples should be legally permitted to adopt children? Yes; No. *Recoded to 1, 0, respectively*
- **Support LGB job protections** Do you favor or oppose laws to protect homosexuals/gays and lesbians from job discrimination? Do you favor [oppose] such laws strongly or not strongly? *Recoded to range from 0 [strongly oppose] to 1 [strongly favor].*
- **Increase spending on Social Security** Should federal spending on Social Security be INCREASED, DECREASED, or kept ABOUT THE SAME? *Recoded to values 1, 0, and 0.5, respectively.*
- **Increase spending on public schools** Should federal spending on public schools be INCREASED, DECREASED, or kept ABOUT THE SAME? *Recoded to values 1, 0, and 0.5, respectively.*
- **Increase spending on science** Should federal spending on science and technology be INCREASED, DECREASED, or kept ABOUT THE SAME? *Recoded to values 1, 0, and 0.5, respectively.*
- **Increase spending on welfare** Should federal spending on welfare programs be INCREASED, DECREASED, or kept ABOUT THE SAME? *Recoded to values 1, 0, and 0.5, respectively.*
- **Increase spending on child care** Should federal spending on child care be INCREASED, DECREASED, or kept ABOUT THE SAME? *Recoded to values 1, 0, and 0.5, respectively.*
- **Increase spending on environment** Should federal spending on protecting the environment be INCREASED, DECREASED, or kept ABOUT THE SAME? *Recoded to values 1, 0, and 0.5, respectively.*
- **Oppose death penalty** Do you FAVOR or OPPOSE the death penalty for persons convicted of murder? Do you favor [oppose] the death penalty for persons convicted of murder) STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY? *Recoded to range from 0 [strongly favor] to 1 [strongly oppose].*

- **Make it harder to buy guns** Do you think the federal government should make it MORE DIFFICULT for people to buy a gun than it is now, make it EASIER for people to buy a gun, or keep these rules ABOUT THE SAME as they are now? *Recoded to values 1, 0, and 0.5, respectively.*
- **Increase immigration levels** Do you think the number of immigrants from foreign countries who are permitted to come to the United States to live should be INCREASED A LOT, INCREASED A LITTLE, LEFT THE SAME as it is now, DECREASED A LITTLE, or DECREASED A LOT? *Recoded to range from 0 [decreased a lot] to 1 [increased a lot].*
- **Pro-choice abortion view** There has been some discussion about abortion during recent years. Which one of the opinions on this page best agrees with your view? You can just tell me the number of the opinion you choose. (1) By law, abortion should never be permitted; (2) The law should permit abortion only in case of rape, incest, or when the woman's life is in danger; (3) The law should permit abortion for reasons other than rape, incest, or danger to the woman's life, but only after the need for the abortion has been clearly established; (4) By law, a woman should always be able to obtain an abortion as a matter of personal choice. *Recoded to values 0, .33, .67, and 1, respectively.*
- **Support larger government (1)** Next, I am going to ask you to choose which of two statements I read comes closer to your own opinion. You might agree to some extent with both, but we want to know which one is closer to your own views: (1) ONE, the main reason government has become bigger over the years is because it has gotten involved in things that people should do for themselves; OR TWO, government has become bigger because the problems we face have become bigger. *Recoded to values 0 and 1, respectively.*
- **Support larger government (2)** ONE, we need a strong government to handle today's complex economic problems; OR TWO, the free market can handle these problems without government being involved. *Recoded to values 1 and 0, respectively.*
- **Support larger government (3)** ONE, the less government, the better; OR TWO, there are more things that government should be doing? *Recoded to values 0 and 1, respectively.*
- **Support affirmative action** Some people say that because of past discrimination, blacks should be given preference in hiring and promotion. Others say that such preference in hiring and promotion of blacks is wrong because it gives blacks advantages they haven't earned. What about your opinion – are you FOR or AGAINST preferential hiring and promotion of blacks? Do you favor/oppose preference in hiring and promotion STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY? *Recoded to range from 0 [strongly oppose] to 1 [strongly favor].*

## A2.2 Descriptive statistics

**Table A2:** Descriptive statistics for CCES, 2016-2018

	Min.	Max.	Mean	SD
Party identity	0.00	1.00	0.54	0.37
Policy preferences	0.00	1.00	0.58	0.28
Political awareness	0.02	0.90	0.49	0.28
Women*	0.00	1.00	0.52	
LGBT*	0.00	1.00	0.09	
Union member*	0.00	1.00	0.07	
Veteran*	0.00	1.00	0.11	
Married*	0.00	1.00	0.49	
Age	18.00	98.00	47.45	17.77
Income	1.00	5.00	2.74	1.45
Education	1.00	5.00	2.89	1.12
Religiosity	1.00	6.00	2.93	1.71

\*Binary variable

Note: Statistics from weighted dataset.

**Table A3:** Descriptive statistics for ANES, 2008–2016

	Min.	Max.	Mean	SD
Party identity	0.00	1.00	0.53	0.35
Policy preferences	0.00	1.00	0.56	0.19
Political awareness	0.00	0.99	0.50	0.28
Women*	0.00	1.00	0.53	
LGB*	0.00	1.00	0.05	
Union member*	0.00	1.00	0.09	
Veteran*	0.00	1.00	0.12	
Married*	0.00	1.00	0.51	
Age	17.00	93.00	47.29	17.55
Income	1.00	5.00	3.05	1.40
Education	1.00	5.00	2.91	1.15
Religiosity	1.00	6.00	2.64	1.76

\*Binary variable

Note: Statistics from weighted dataset.

**Table A4: Identity groups in surveys**

	CCES 2016-18		ANES 2008-16	
	N	%	N	%
<b>Religion</b>				
Mainline Protestant	16,332	14	1,515	13
Evangelical Protestant	28,576	24	2,326	20
Catholic	22,613	19	2,483	22
Jewish	2,475	2	216	2
Secular	35,738	31	2,587	22
Other	11,401	10	2,405	21
Total	117,135	100	11,532	100
<b>Race/ethnicity</b>				
White	83,733	71	8,274	71
Black	14,708	13	1,356	12
Hispanic	9,689	8	1,256	11
Asian	4,138	4	278	2
Other	4,880	4	432	4
Total	117,148	100	11,596	100
<b>Gender</b>				
Men	56,655	48	5,500	47
Women	60,493	52	6,106	53
Total	117,148	100	11,606	100
<b>LGBT</b>				
Straight cisgender	103,831	91	10,869	95
LGBT	10,724	9	549	5
Total	114,555	100	11,418	100
<b>Union membership</b>				
Non-member	109,238	93	10,669	91
Union member	7,717	7	994	9
Total	116,955	100	11,663	100
<b>Veteran status</b>				
Non-veteran	104,760	89	10,294	88
Veteran	12,388	11	1,369	12
Total	117,148	100	11,663	100

Note: Statistics from weighted datasets. The ANES did not measure transgender identity; those numbers are for straight and LGB respondents only.

## A3 Political awareness measures

The political awareness indices are constructed from measures of factual political knowledge and self-reported interest in politics. Here I detail the specific items used in each survey and the construction of the index.

### A3.1 CCES, 2016 and 2018

The awareness index is constructed separately for each year, but consists of the same ten items in both years:

- **Knowledge of U.S. House majority party:** Which party has a majority of seats in the House of Representatives? Republicans; Democrats; Neither; Not sure. *Correct answer coded as 1; all others as 0.*
- **Knowledge of U.S. Senate majority party:** Which party has a majority of seats in the Senate? Republicans; Democrats; Neither; Not sure. *Correct answer coded as 1; all others as 0.*
- **Knowledge of state Senate majority party:** Which party has a majority of seats in the state Senate? Republicans; Democrats; Neither; Not sure. *Correct answer coded as 1; all others as 0.*
- **Knowledge of state lower chamber majority party:** Which party has a majority of seats in the state's lower chamber? Republicans; Democrats; Neither; Not sure. *Correct answer coded as 1; all others as 0.*
- **Knowledge of Governor's party:** Please indicate whether you've heard of this person and if so which party he or she is affiliated with. Never heard of person; Republican; Democrat; Other Party/Independent; Not sure. *Correct answer coded as 1; all others as 0.*
- **Knowledge of Senator 1's party:** Please indicate whether you've heard of this person and if so which party he or she is affiliated with. Never heard of person; Republican; Democrat; Other Party/Independent; Not sure. *Correct answer coded as 1; all others as 0.*
- **Knowledge of Senator 2's party:** Please indicate whether you've heard of this person and if so which party he or she is affiliated with. Never heard of person; Republican; Democrat; Other Party/Independent; Not sure. *Correct answer coded as 1; all others as 0.*
- **Knowledge of Member of Congress' party:** Please indicate whether you've heard of this person and if so which party he or she is affiliated with. Never heard of person; Republican; Democrat; Other Party/Independent; Not sure. *Correct answer coded as 1; all others as 0.*

- **Relative positions of Democratic and Republican Parties:** How would you rate... the Democratic Party? The Republican Party? Very liberal; Liberal; Somewhat liberal; Middle of the road; Somewhat conservative; Conservative; Very conservative; Not sure. *Respondents who were able to rate both parties and placed the Democrats to the left of the Republicans coded as 1; all others as 0.*
- **Interest in politics:** 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; Most of the time. *Recoded to range from 0 to 1.*

Cronbach's alpha for the ten items is 0.88 in 2016 and 0.89 in 2018, suggesting combining them creates a reliable index. For each year, I take a simple average of the items. In 2016, this has a mean of 0.64 and a standard deviation of 0.32. In 2018, those values were 0.69 and 0.32, respectively. Finally, within each year, I calculate each respondent's percentile score, creating a measure of awareness relative to others in the same survey. This is divided by 100 and so ranges from 0 to 1.

### A3.2 ANES, 2008

The awareness index is constructed from ten items:

- **Knowledge of U.S. House majority party:** Do you happen to know which party currently has the most members in the U.S. House of Representatives in Washington? Republicans; Democrats; Refused. *Correct answer coded as 1; all others as 0.*
- **Knowledge of U.S. Senate majority party:** Do you happen to know which party currently has the most members in the U.S. Senate? Republicans; Democrats; Refused. *Correct answer coded as 1; all others as 0.*
- **Relative positions of Obama and McCain:** Where would you place [Barack Obama/John McCain] on this scale? Extremely liberal; Liberal; Slightly liberal; Moderate, middle of the road; Slightly conservative; Conservative; Extremely conservative; Don't know. *Respondents who were able to rate both candidates and placed Obama to the left of McCain coded as 1; all others as 0.*
- **Ability to rate House Democratic candidate:** Using the feeling thermometer, how would you rate [Democratic House candidate]? *Respondents who were able to offer a rating coded as 1; those who did not know who the person was, couldn't place them, or said they didn't know, coded as 0.*



- **Ability to rate House Republican candidate:** Using the feeling thermometer, how would you rate [Republican House candidate]? *Respondents who were able to offer a rating coded as 1; those who did not know who the person was, couldn't place them, or said they didn't know, coded as 0.*
- **Ability to rate Senate Democratic candidate:** Using the feeling thermometer, how would you rate [Democratic Senate candidate]? *Respondents who were able to offer a rating coded as 1; those who did not know who the person was, couldn't place them, or said they didn't know, coded as 0.*
- **Ability to rate Senate Republican candidate:** Using the feeling thermometer, how would you rate [Republican Senate candidate]? *Respondents who were able to offer a rating coded as 1; those who did not know who the person was, couldn't place them, or said they didn't know, coded as 0.*
- **Interest in government and 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 most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all? *Recoded to range from 0 to 1.*
- **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 the political campaigns so far this year? *Recoded to range from 0 to 1.*
- **Attention to campaign:** How closely did you follow the election campaign? Very closely; Fairly closely; Not very closely; Not closely at all. *Recoded to range from 0 to 1.*

Cronbach's alpha for the ten items is 0.72. I take a simple average of the ten items, which has a mean of 0.59 and a standard deviation of 0.25. I then calculate each respondent's percentile score on this index, divided by 100, which ranges from 0 to 1.

### A3.3 ANES, 2012

The awareness index is constructed from 17 items:

- **Knowledge of U.S. House majority party:** Do you happen to know which party currently has the most members in the U.S. House of Representatives in Washington? Republicans; Democrats; Refused. *Correct answer coded as 1; all others as 0.*
- **Knowledge of U.S. Senate majority party:** Do you happen to know which party currently has the most members in the U.S. Senate? Republicans; Democrats; Refused. *Correct answer coded as 1; all others as 0.*

- **Knowledge of Gordon Brown:** Gordon Brown. What job or political office does he now hold? *Correct (1); Not correct (0).*
- **Knowledge of Joe Biden:** Joe Biden. What job or political office does he now hold? *Correct (1); Not correct (0).*
- **Knowledge of John Boehner:** John Boehner. What job or political office does he now hold? *Correct (1); Not correct (0).*
- **Knowledge of John Roberts:** John Roberts. What job or political office does he now hold? *Correct (1); Partial credit (.5); Not correct (0).*
- **Knowledge of Mitt Romney's religion:** Would you say that Mitt Romney is Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Muslim, Mormon, some other religion, or is he not religious? *Responses of "Mormon" coded as 1; all others as 0.*
- **Knowledge of presidential term limits:** Do you happen to know how many times an individual can be elected President of the United States under current laws? *Responses of two coded as 1; all others as 0.*
- **Knowledge of UN Secretary General:** Who is the current Secretary-General of the United Nations - Kofi Annan, Kurt Waldheim, Ban Ki-moon, or Boutros Boutros-Ghali? *Responses of Ban Ki-moon coded as 1; all others as 0.*
- **Knowledge of unemployment rate:** What was the current unemployment rate in the United States as of [date]? *Respondents given four options: the current rate, the current rate minus two points, the current rate plus two points, and the current rate plus four points. Correct answers coded as 1; all others as 0.*
- **Knowledge of Treasury Secretary:** Which of these persons was the Secretary of the Treasury before the recent election? Hillary Clinton, Eric Holder, Leon Panetta, or Timothy Geithner? *Responses of Timothy Geithner coded as 1; all others as 0.*
- **Knowledge of budget deficit:** Is the U.S. federal budget deficit – the amount by which the government's spending exceeds the amount of money it collects – now bigger, about the same, or smaller than it was during most of the 1990s? *Responses of bigger coded as 1; all others as 0.*
- **Knowledge of Senate term:** For how many years is a United States Senator elected – that is, how many years are there in one full term of office for a U.S. Senator? *Responses of 6 coded as 1; all others as 0.*
- **Knowledge of Medicare:** What is Medicare: A fed govt program to pay for old people's health care, a state program to provide health care to poor people, a private health insurance plan, or private non-profit that runs free health clinics? *Responses of a program run by the U.S. federal government coded as 1; all others as 0.*

- **Knowledge of budget spending:** On which of the following does the U.S. federal government currently spend the least- foreign aid, Medicare, national defense, Social Security? *Responses of foreign aid coded as 1; all others as 0.*
- **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 the political campaigns so far this year? *Recoded to range from 0 to 1.*
- **Attention to politics:** How often do you pay attention to what's going on in government and politics? Never, some of the time, about half the time, most of the time, or always. *Recoded to range from 0 to 1.*

Cronbach's alpha for the 17 items is 0.84. I take a simple average of the items, which has a mean of 0.55 and a standard deviation of 0.23. I then calculate each respondent's percentile score on this index, divided by 100, which ranges from 0 to 1.

### A3.4 ANES, 2016

The awareness index is constructed from 14 items:

- **Knowledge of U.S. House majority party:** Do you happen to know which party currently has the most members in the U.S. House of Representatives in Washington? Republicans; Democrats; Refused. *Correct answer coded as 1; all others as 0.*
- **Knowledge of U.S. Senate majority party:** Do you happen to know which party currently has the most members in the U.S. Senate? Republicans; Democrats; Refused. *Correct answer coded as 1; all others as 0.*
- **Knowledge of Angela Merkel:** Angela Merkel. What job or political office does she now hold? *Correct (1); Not correct (0).*
- **Knowledge of Vladimir Putin:** Vladimir Putin. What job or political office does he now hold? *Correct (1); Not correct (0).*
- **Knowledge of Joe Biden:** Joe Biden. What job or political office does he now hold? *Correct (1); Not correct (0).*
- **Knowledge of Paul Ryan:** Paul Ryan. What job or political office does he now hold? *Correct (1); Not correct (0).*
- **Knowledge of John Roberts:** John Roberts. What job or political office does he now hold? *Correct (1); Partial credit (.5); Not correct (0).*

- **Knowledge of unemployment rate:** What was the current unemployment rate in the United States as of November 4, 2016 – 2.9, 4.9, 6.9, or 8.9? *Responses of 4.9 coded as 1; all others as 0.*
- **Knowledge of Senate term:** For how many years is a United States Senator elected – that is, how many years are there in one full term of office for a U.S. Senator? *Responses of 6 coded as 1; all others as 0.*
- **Knowledge of budget spending:** On which of the following does the U.S. federal government currently spend the least- foreign aid, Medicare, national defense, Social Security? *Responses of foreign aid coded as 1; all others as 0.*
- **Interest in politics:** How interested would you say you are in politics? Are you very interested, somewhat interested, not very interested, or not at all interested? *Recoded to range from 0 to 1.*
- **Follow politics:** And how closely do you follow politics on TV, radio, newspapers, or the Internet? Very closely, fairly closely, not very closely, or not at all? *Recoded to range from 0 to 1.*
- **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 the political campaigns so far this year? *Recoded to range from 0 to 1.*
- **Attention to politics:** How often do you pay attention to what's going on in government and politics? Never, some of the time, about half the time, most of the time, or always. *Recoded to range from 0 to 1.*

Cronbach's alpha for the 14 items is 0.85. I take a simple average of the items, which has a mean of 0.56 and a standard deviation of 0.25. I then calculate each respondent's percentile score on this index, divided by 100, which ranges from 0 to 1.

### A3.5 Regression models predicting political awareness

**Table A5:** Predicting political awareness

	CCES	ANES
Intercept	0.13 (0.01)***	0.26 (0.02)***
Catholic	-0.02 (0.00)***	-0.01 (0.01)
Evangelical Protestant	0.01 (0.00)***	-0.02 (0.01)*
Jewish	0.02 (0.01)*	0.01 (0.02)
Secular	-0.01 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.01)
Other religion	-0.03 (0.01)***	-0.03 (0.01)**
Asian	-0.06 (0.01)***	-0.04 (0.02)*
Black	-0.05 (0.00)***	-0.02 (0.01)*
Hispanic	-0.03 (0.01)***	-0.03 (0.01)***
Other race	0.01 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)
Women	-0.10 (0.00)***	-0.07 (0.01)***
LGBT	0.04 (0.00)***	0.02 (0.01)
Union member	0.00 (0.00)	-0.03 (0.01)***
Veteran	0.01 (0.00)	0.01 (0.01)
Age	0.01 (0.00)***	0.00 (0.00)***
Married	-0.01 (0.00)**	0.01 (0.01)**
Income	0.04 (0.00)***	0.02 (0.00)***
Education	0.07 (0.00)***	0.06 (0.00)***
Religiosity	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Region		
Midwest	0.00 (0.00)	-0.02 (0.01)**
Northeast	-0.03 (0.00)***	-0.01 (0.01)
West	0.02 (0.00)***	0.00 (0.01)
Year		
2012		-0.05 (0.01)***
2016		-0.04 (0.01)***
2018	0.02 (0.00)***	
Pseudo-R <sup>2</sup>	0.28	0.28
N	101,940	10,484

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

Note: Linear regression models. Awareness measured as simple average of items, as described above, on 0–1 scale. Excluded level for religion is mainline Protestant; for race, White.

## **A4 Regression models**

Table A6: Main models predicting policy preferences and party identity

Table A7: Additional models predicting ideology and presidential vote choice

Table A8: Additional models breaking out LGBT subgroups

Table A9: Additional models using interest in politics in place of full awareness scale

**Table A6:** Main models predicting policy preferences and party identity

	Policy preferences (CCES)	Party identity (CCES)	Policy preferences (ANES)	Party identity (ANES)
Intercept	0.59 (0.01)***	0.43 (0.01)***	0.60 (0.02)***	0.46 (0.03)***
Awareness	-0.08 (0.01)***	0.01 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.03)	0.07 (0.05)
Catholic	0.01 (0.01)	0.07 (0.01)***	0.04 (0.01)**	0.10 (0.03)***
× Awareness	-0.06 (0.01)***	-0.11 (0.02)***	-0.06 (0.03)*	-0.13 (0.05)*
Evangelical Protestant	-0.03 (0.01)***	-0.03 (0.01)**	0.05 (0.01)***	0.07 (0.03)*
× Awareness	-0.19 (0.01)***	-0.16 (0.02)***	-0.20 (0.03)***	-0.22 (0.05)***
Jewish	0.00 (0.02)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.11 (0.05)*	0.06 (0.07)
× Awareness	0.17 (0.03)***	0.20 (0.05)***	0.27 (0.07)***	0.16 (0.11)
Secular	-0.04 (0.01)***	-0.02 (0.01)†	-0.00 (0.01)	0.04 (0.03)
× Awareness	0.19 (0.01)***	0.18 (0.02)***	0.04 (0.03)	0.01 (0.05)
Other religion	-0.04 (0.01)***	-0.01 (0.01)	0.04 (0.01)*	0.05 (0.03)†
× Awareness	0.05 (0.02)**	0.03 (0.02)	-0.12 (0.03)***	-0.15 (0.05)**
Asian	0.08 (0.01)***	0.17 (0.02)***	0.02 (0.03)	0.07 (0.05)
× Awareness	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.13 (0.04)***	0.05 (0.05)	0.04 (0.09)
Black	0.06 (0.01)***	0.35 (0.01)***	0.10 (0.01)***	0.37 (0.02)***
× Awareness	0.25 (0.01)***	0.09 (0.02)***	0.15 (0.02)***	0.07 (0.05)
Hispanic	0.08 (0.01)***	0.21 (0.01)***	0.07 (0.01)***	0.20 (0.02)***
× Awareness	0.05 (0.02)**	-0.07 (0.03)**	0.01 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.05)
Other race	0.08 (0.01)***	0.12 (0.02)***	0.05 (0.02)*	0.12 (0.03)***
× Awareness	-0.13 (0.02)***	-0.12 (0.03)***	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.09 (0.07)
Women	0.03 (0.00)***	0.02 (0.01)***	0.05 (0.01)***	0.04 (0.02)**
× Awareness	0.08 (0.01)***	0.06 (0.01)***	-0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.03)
LGBT	0.03 (0.01)***	0.08 (0.01)***	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.03)
× Awareness	0.15 (0.01)***	0.10 (0.02)***	0.20 (0.03)***	0.30 (0.05)***
Union member	-0.03 (0.01)**	0.04 (0.01)*	-0.03 (0.01)*	0.00 (0.03)
× Awareness	0.09 (0.02)***	0.05 (0.02)*	0.09 (0.03)**	0.12 (0.05)*
Veteran	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)†	0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.03)
× Awareness	-0.08 (0.01)***	-0.05 (0.02)*	-0.08 (0.03)**	-0.09 (0.05)†
Age	-0.00 (0.00)***	0.00 (0.00)*	-0.00 (0.00)***	0.00 (0.00)***
Married	-0.04 (0.00)***	-0.03 (0.00)***	-0.02 (0.00)***	-0.05 (0.01)***
Income	0.00 (0.00)	-0.01 (0.00)***	-0.01 (0.00)***	-0.02 (0.00)***
Education	0.03 (0.00)***	0.03 (0.00)***	0.02 (0.00)***	0.01 (0.00)**
Religiosity	-0.03 (0.00)***	-0.02 (0.00)***	-0.02 (0.00)***	-0.03 (0.00)***

Continued over...

Table A6 continued

	Policy preferences (CCES)	Party identity (CCES)	Policy preferences (ANES)	Party identity (ANES)
Region				
Midwest	0.01 (0.00) <sup>***</sup>	0.03 (0.00) <sup>***</sup>	0.01 (0.01) <sup>*</sup>	0.05 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>
Northeast	0.05 (0.00) <sup>***</sup>	0.06 (0.00) <sup>***</sup>	0.03 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	0.04 (0.01) <sup>**</sup>
West	0.03 (0.00) <sup>***</sup>	0.03 (0.00) <sup>***</sup>	0.03 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	0.05 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>
Year				
2012			-0.07 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	-0.03 (0.01) <sup>**</sup>
2016			-0.02 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	-0.04 (0.01) <sup>**</sup>
2018	-0.02 (0.00) <sup>***</sup>	-0.02 (0.00) <sup>***</sup>		
Pseudo-R <sup>2</sup>	0.28	0.23	0.28	0.22
Num. obs.	101,939	99,149	10,482	10,441

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

Note: Linear regression models. Dependent variables coded 0–1, with higher values indicating more liberal policy preferences and more Democratic identity. Excluded level for religion is mainline Protestant; for race, White.



**Table A7: Models predicting ideology and presidential vote choice**

	Ideology (CCES)	Vote choice (CCES)	Ideology (ANES)	Vote choice (ANES)
Intercept	0.46 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	-0.86 (0.16) <sup>***</sup>	0.49 (0.02) <sup>***</sup>	-0.73 (0.36) <sup>*</sup>
Awareness	0.03 (0.01) <sup>†</sup>	0.41 (0.19) <sup>*</sup>	0.00 (0.03)	1.26 (0.44) <sup>**</sup>
Catholic	0.02 (0.01)	0.33 (0.13) <sup>*</sup>	-0.00 (0.02)	0.84 (0.30) <sup>**</sup>
× Awareness	-0.06 (0.02) <sup>***</sup>	-0.62 (0.20) <sup>**</sup>	-0.01 (0.04)	-1.24 (0.45) <sup>**</sup>
Evangelical Protestant	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.55 (0.14) <sup>***</sup>	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.12 (0.34)
× Awareness	-0.17 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	-0.71 (0.21) <sup>***</sup>	-0.11 (0.04) <sup>**</sup>	-1.07 (0.52) <sup>*</sup>
Jewish	-0.02 (0.03)	0.71 (0.26) <sup>**</sup>	0.06 (0.04)	-0.00 (0.69)
× Awareness	0.18 (0.04) <sup>***</sup>	0.14 (0.37)	0.10 (0.07)	1.12 (0.94)
Secular	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.26 (0.12) <sup>*</sup>	-0.00 (0.02)	0.30 (0.32)
× Awareness	0.14 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	1.38 (0.19) <sup>***</sup>	0.08 (0.04) <sup>*</sup>	0.12 (0.47)
Other religion	-0.01 (0.01)	0.02 (0.17)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.07 (0.32)
× Awareness	0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.27)	-0.05 (0.04)	-0.77 (0.49)
Asian	0.07 (0.02) <sup>***</sup>	1.71 (0.25) <sup>***</sup>	-0.02 (0.04)	0.32 (0.59)
× Awareness	-0.06 (0.03) <sup>†</sup>	-1.53 (0.44) <sup>***</sup>	0.06 (0.07)	0.56 (0.93)
Black	0.04 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	3.26 (0.29) <sup>***</sup>	0.08 (0.02) <sup>***</sup>	5.35 (0.81) <sup>***</sup>
× Awareness	0.26 (0.02) <sup>***</sup>	0.23 (0.54)	0.12 (0.04) <sup>**</sup>	-1.98 (1.36)
Hispanic	0.03 (0.01) <sup>**</sup>	2.01 (0.19) <sup>***</sup>	0.07 (0.02) <sup>***</sup>	2.31 (0.26) <sup>***</sup>
× Awareness	0.07 (0.02) <sup>**</sup>	-1.38 (0.35) <sup>***</sup>	-0.02 (0.04)	-1.64 (0.45) <sup>***</sup>
Other race/ethnicity	0.06 (0.02) <sup>***</sup>	1.26 (0.22) <sup>***</sup>	0.10 (0.03) <sup>**</sup>	2.59 (0.46) <sup>***</sup>
× Awareness	-0.08 (0.03) <sup>**</sup>	-1.75 (0.36) <sup>***</sup>	-0.10 (0.06) <sup>†</sup>	-2.75 (0.74) <sup>***</sup>
Women	0.01 (0.01)	0.40 (0.10) <sup>***</sup>	0.03 (0.01) <sup>*</sup>	0.38 (0.19) <sup>*</sup>
× Awareness	0.09 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	0.04 (0.15)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.14 (0.29)
LGBT	0.06 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	0.63 (0.17) <sup>***</sup>	0.06 (0.03) <sup>†</sup>	1.20 (0.45) <sup>**</sup>
× Awareness	0.12 (0.02) <sup>***</sup>	0.70 (0.26) <sup>**</sup>	0.18 (0.05) <sup>***</sup>	0.75 (0.72)
Union member	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.06 (0.16)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.08 (0.31)
× Awareness	0.08 (0.02) <sup>***</sup>	0.69 (0.27) <sup>*</sup>	0.09 (0.04) <sup>*</sup>	0.76 (0.49)
Veteran	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.19 (0.17)	0.03 (0.02)	0.10 (0.34)
× Awareness	-0.07 (0.02) <sup>***</sup>	-0.56 (0.24) <sup>*</sup>	-0.10 (0.03) <sup>**</sup>	-0.79 (0.48)
Age	-0.00 (0.00) <sup>***</sup>	-0.01 (0.00) <sup>***</sup>	-0.00 (0.00) <sup>**</sup>	-0.00 (0.00)
Married	-0.03 (0.00) <sup>***</sup>	-0.26 (0.04) <sup>***</sup>	-0.03 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	-0.34 (0.08) <sup>***</sup>
Income	-0.00 (0.00) <sup>**</sup>	-0.03 (0.01) <sup>*</sup>	-0.01 (0.00) <sup>*</sup>	-0.09 (0.03) <sup>**</sup>
Education	0.03 (0.00) <sup>***</sup>	0.28 (0.02) <sup>***</sup>	0.02 (0.00) <sup>***</sup>	0.15 (0.04) <sup>***</sup>
Religiosity	-0.03 (0.00) <sup>***</sup>	-0.14 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	-0.03 (0.00) <sup>***</sup>	-0.24 (0.02) <sup>***</sup>

Continued over...

Table A7 continued

	Ideology (CCES)	Vote choice (CCES)	Ideology (ANES)	Vote choice (ANES)
Region				
Midwest	0.02 (0.00)***	0.21 (0.05)***	0.02 (0.01)*	0.49 (0.10)***
Northeast	0.04 (0.00)***	0.40 (0.05)***	0.02 (0.01)*	0.21 (0.11)*
West	0.02 (0.00)***	0.38 (0.05)***	0.04 (0.01)***	0.49 (0.10)***
Year				
2012			-0.02 (0.01) <sup>†</sup>	
2016			-0.00 (0.01)	
2018	0.01 (0.00)***			
Pseudo-R <sup>2</sup>	0.25	0.28	0.20	0.23
N	96,994	36,000	8,942	7,477

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$ , <sup>†</sup> $p < 0.1$

Note: Ideology uses linear regression model; vote choice a logistic model. Ideology coded 0–1, with higher values indicating more liberal responses. Vote choice coded as 1 if respondent voted for Democratic candidate, 0 if they voted for the Republican. Excluded level for religion is mainline Protestant; for race, White.

Of the four dependent variables, vote choice is the only one that combines both attitudes and behavior: vote choice reflects the decision to turn out *and* the decision of who to support. Both of these decisions are likely to be influenced by political awareness. More aware citizens are more likely to participate in politics (Delli-Carpini and Keeter, 1996; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady, 1995). And once at the polling place, more aware citizens should be more likely to vote in a group-consistent manner, per H1.

As a result, we might expect the identity-to-politics link to be stronger for vote choice than for attitudes, since those who vote are a smaller (and more politically aware) subset of the total sample. Although fully testing this possibility is beyond the scope of the main paper, the models in Table A7 offer some initial supporting evidence.

Take the sexuality gap between LGBT and straight cisgender respondents as an example. On average, LGBT respondents are estimated to be .13 [.12, .15] points more Democratic in their party identity, .13 [.11, .14] points more liberal in their ideology, and .10 [.09, .11] points more progressive in their policy views than straight cisgender respondents (all of these estimates are from the CCES model). For vote choice, in comparison, LGBT voters were .24 [.20, .28] more likely to support Hillary Clinton than straight cisgender voters.

These estimates suggest that identity gaps are larger for vote choice than attitudinal dependent variables, which we would expect if awareness moderates the identity-to-politics link. It is, however, only a preliminary assessment of the potential differences across dependent variables, and future research should investigate these more thoroughly.

### **Additional references**

Delli-Carpini, Michael X. and Scott Keeter. 1996. *What Americans Know About Politics and Why it Matters*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Verba, Sidney, Kay Lehman Schlozman and Henry E. Brady. 1995. *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

**Table A8:** Additional models breaking out LGBT subgroups

	Policy preferences (CCES)	Party identity (CCES)	Policy preferences (ANES)	Party identity (ANES)
Intercept	0.59 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	0.43 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	0.60 (0.02) <sup>***</sup>	0.46 (0.03) <sup>***</sup>
Awareness	-0.08 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	0.00 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.03)	0.07 (0.05)
Gay/Lesbian	0.05 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	0.08 (0.02) <sup>***</sup>	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.05 (0.05)
× Awareness	0.16 (0.02) <sup>***</sup>	0.15 (0.03) <sup>***</sup>	0.25 (0.04) <sup>***</sup>	0.42 (0.08) <sup>***</sup>
Bisexual	0.08 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	0.05 (0.02) <sup>**</sup>	0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.04)
× Awareness	0.05 (0.02) <sup>**</sup>	0.09 (0.03) <sup>**</sup>	0.14 (0.04) <sup>***</sup>	0.16 (0.07) <sup>*</sup>
Transgender	-0.04 (0.01) <sup>**</sup>	0.11 (0.03) <sup>***</sup>		
× Awareness	0.13 (0.03) <sup>***</sup>	-0.11 (0.06) <sup>*</sup>		
Pseudo-R <sup>2</sup>	0.28	0.24	0.28	0.22
N	99,439	96,788	10,482	10,441

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

Note: Models also include same covariates as shown in Table A6.

**Table A9:** Additional models using interest in politics in place of full awareness scale

	Policy preferences (CCES)	Party identity (CCES)	Policy preferences (ANES)	Party identity (ANES)
Intercept	0.60 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	0.44 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	0.63 (0.02) <sup>***</sup>	0.50 (0.03) <sup>***</sup>
Interest	-0.08 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.04 (0.03) <sup>†</sup>	-0.01 (0.05)
Catholic	0.01 (0.01)	0.05 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	0.00 (0.01)	0.04 (0.03)
× Interest	-0.04 (0.01) <sup>**</sup>	-0.04 (0.02) <sup>**</sup>	0.01 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.05)
Evangelical Protestant	-0.03 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	-0.05 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.03)
× Interest	-0.11 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	-0.08 (0.02) <sup>***</sup>	-0.09 (0.03) <sup>**</sup>	-0.10 (0.05) <sup>†</sup>
Jewish	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.07 (0.05)	0.07 (0.08)
× Interest	0.14 (0.02) <sup>***</sup>	0.18 (0.04) <sup>***</sup>	0.24 (0.07) <sup>**</sup>	0.15 (0.12)
Secular	-0.04 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.02 (0.03)
× Interest	0.12 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	0.11 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	0.06 (0.03) <sup>*</sup>	0.06 (0.05)
Other religion	-0.04 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	-0.02 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.03)
× Interest	0.03 (0.01) <sup>†</sup>	0.03 (0.02)	-0.06 (0.03) <sup>*</sup>	-0.08 (0.05)
Asian	0.07 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	0.15 (0.02) <sup>***</sup>	0.04 (0.02) <sup>†</sup>	0.07 (0.04) <sup>†</sup>
× Interest	0.01 (0.02)	-0.06 (0.03) <sup>†</sup>	0.01 (0.05)	0.04 (0.09)
Black	0.08 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	0.33 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	0.10 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	0.30 (0.02) <sup>***</sup>
× Interest	0.13 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	0.08 (0.02) <sup>***</sup>	0.15 (0.02) <sup>***</sup>	0.21 (0.04) <sup>***</sup>
Hispanic	0.08 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	0.21 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	0.07 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	0.15 (0.02) <sup>***</sup>
× Interest	0.02 (0.01) <sup>†</sup>	-0.03 (0.02) <sup>†</sup>	0.02 (0.03)	0.07 (0.05)
Other race/ethnicity	0.08 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	0.14 (0.02) <sup>***</sup>	0.04 (0.02) <sup>*</sup>	0.11 (0.03) <sup>**</sup>
× Interest	-0.09 (0.02) <sup>***</sup>	-0.10 (0.02) <sup>***</sup>	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.08 (0.07)
Women	0.02 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	0.02 (0.01) <sup>**</sup>	0.04 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	0.05 (0.02) <sup>***</sup>
× Interest	0.06 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	0.04 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	0.01 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.03)
LGBT	0.03 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	0.05 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	0.01 (0.02)	0.03 (0.03)
× Interest	0.11 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	0.12 (0.02) <sup>***</sup>	0.16 (0.03) <sup>***</sup>	0.19 (0.06) <sup>**</sup>
Union member	-0.03 (0.01) <sup>**</sup>	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.01) <sup>†</sup>	0.03 (0.03)
× Interest	0.07 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	0.09 (0.02) <sup>***</sup>	0.09 (0.03) <sup>**</sup>	0.07 (0.05)
Veteran	0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.01) <sup>*</sup>	-0.05 (0.03) <sup>†</sup>
× Interest	-0.07 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	-0.06 (0.02) <sup>**</sup>	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.04)
N	101,868	99,083	10,482	10,441

\*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.01$ ; \*  $p < 0.05$ ; †  $p < 0.1$

Note: Models also include same covariates as shown in Table A6.

## A5 Evidence of an indirect identity-to-policy preferences link

Previous literature suggest both a direct and indirect (through partisanship or ideology) effect of identity on political views. Although the assumptions for a formal mediation or path analysis are not met by these data, we can assess how the relationships between identity, awareness, and policy preferences change once controlling for party and its interaction with awareness. Table A10 shows the “baseline” model for policy preferences in the CCES, copied from Table A6, alongside a model that controls for the interaction between party identity and awareness.

As we would expect, party has a strong impact on policy views that increases with awareness. Democrats are more likely to take liberal positions than Republicans, a relationship that is strongest among the most politically aware.

Of interest to this paper, however, the coefficients suggest that controlling for partisanship diminishes, but does not completely erase, the relationship between identity, awareness, and policy preferences. Take, for example, secular Americans. In the baseline model, greater awareness is associated with more liberal policy views (the coefficient for their interaction is .19 (SE=.01),  $p < .001$ ). Once controlling for partisanship, that relationship declines in size to .05 (.01) but remains statistically significant ( $p < .001$ ). A similar pattern emerges for awareness’ impact among evangelical Protestants, women, LGBT respondents, union members, and veterans (but not for the other groups studied, for whom the relationship between awareness and policy views washes away once controlling for partisanship).

These points are highlighted in Figure A1, which replicates the lower panel of Figure 2 in the paper. Controlling for partisanship in the policy preferences models substantially dampens the interactive effect of identity and awareness. Coupled with the evidence that identity and awareness combine to impact partisanship, this suggests that there are both direct and indirect (through party) identity-to-politics links, which are strengthened by political awareness.

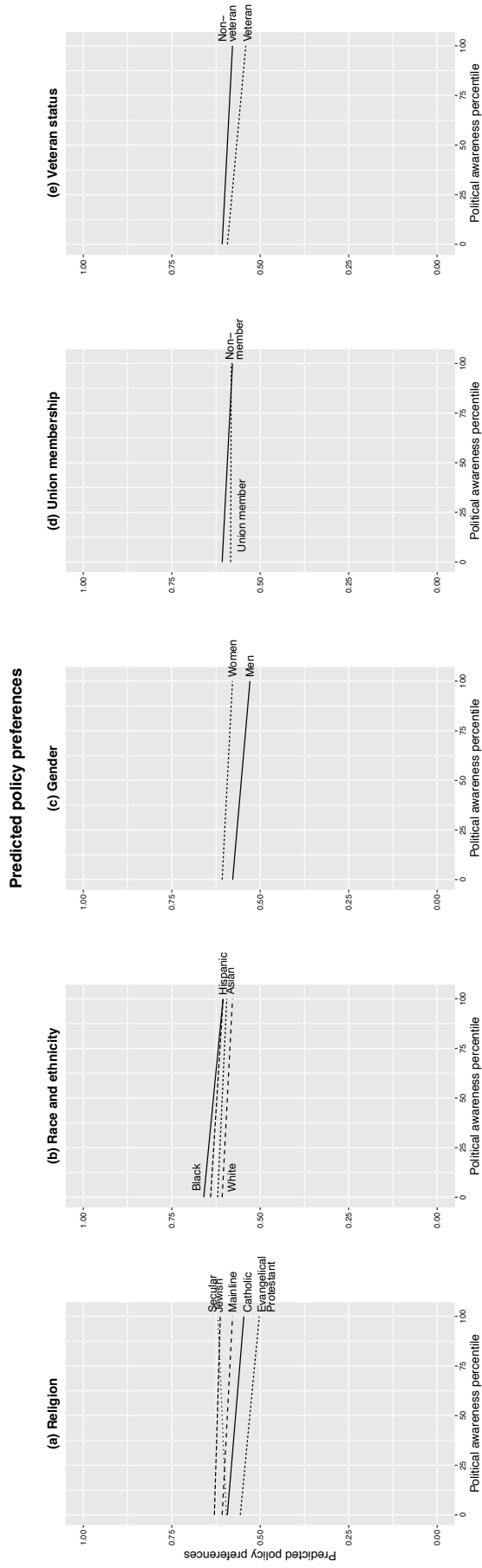
**Table A10:** Regression models predicting policy preferences, with and without control for party identification

	Baseline model	Controlling for party identity
Intercept	0.59 (0.01)***	0.55 (0.01)***
Awareness	-0.08 (0.01)***	-0.36 (0.01)***
Catholic	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)*
× Awareness	-0.06 (0.01)***	-0.02 (0.01)
Evangelical Protestant	-0.03 (0.01)***	-0.05 (0.01)***
× Awareness	-0.19 (0.01)***	-0.02 (0.01)*
Jewish	0.00 (0.02)	0.02 (0.01)
× Awareness	0.17 (0.03)***	0.01 (0.02)
Secular	-0.04 (0.01)***	-0.01 (0.01)*
× Awareness	0.19 (0.01)***	0.05 (0.01)***
Other religion	-0.04 (0.01)***	-0.04 (0.01)***
× Awareness	0.05 (0.02)**	0.04 (0.01)**
Asian	0.08 (0.01)***	0.05 (0.01)***
× Awareness	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)
Black	0.06 (0.01)***	0.01 (0.01)*
× Awareness	0.25 (0.01)***	0.00 (0.01)
Hispanic	0.08 (0.01)***	0.03 (0.01)***
× Awareness	0.05 (0.02)**	-0.01 (0.01)
Other race	0.08 (0.01)***	0.04 (0.01)***
× Awareness	-0.13 (0.02)***	-0.11 (0.02)***
Women	0.03 (0.00)***	0.03 (0.00)***
× Awareness	0.08 (0.01)***	0.02 (0.01)**
LGBT	0.03 (0.01)***	0.03 (0.01)***
× Awareness	0.15 (0.01)***	0.02 (0.01)*
Union member	-0.03 (0.01)**	-0.02 (0.01)***
× Awareness	0.09 (0.02)***	0.03 (0.01)*
Veteran	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)*
× Awareness	-0.08 (0.01)***	-0.02 (0.01)*
Party identity		0.13 (0.01)***
× Awareness		0.63 (0.01)***
Pseudo-R <sup>2</sup>	0.28	0.59
N	101,939	99,148

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

Note: Linear regression models predicting policy preferences using CCES data. Excluded level for religion is mainline Protestant; for race, White. Models also control for age, income, education, marital status, religiosity, region of country, and year of survey.

**Figure A1: Predicted policy preferences, by social identity and political awareness, controlling for partisanship**



Note: Predicted values with 95% confidence intervals, simulated from model shown in Table A10.



## A6 Is awareness just a proxy for identity strength?

The main models of policy preferences in Table A6 do not control for any measures of identity strength. The CCES did not include such measures, and the ANES only included them for some identities and in some years.

The ANES asked respondents about the importance of their racial, ethnic, and religious identities. Respondents were asked “How important is being [White/Black/Hispanic/Asian] to your identity?” and “How important is being [Christian/Jewish/Muslim/Hindu/Buddhist/not religious/agnostic/atheist] to your identity?”. I recode responses to range from 0 (“Not at all important”) to 1 (“Extremely important”). White, Black, and Hispanic respondents were also asked about their sense of linked fate: “Do you think that what happens generally to [White/Black/Hispanic] people in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life? Will it affect you a lot, some, or not very much?”. I recode responses to range from 0 (said no to initial question) to 1 (said “a lot” to follow-up question).

I re-specified the ANES models shown in Table A6, this time controlling for identity importance and linked fate. Since not all of the items were included on every survey, I estimate the impacts for religious identity and racial/ethnic identity separately.

The key items of interest in Tables A11 and A12 are the coefficients for awareness’ interaction with group identity, comparing the baseline model to the new specification that also controls for identity importance and linked fate. These estimated parameters are highly similar. For example, in Table A11, the baseline model estimate for the interaction between evangelical Protestants and awareness is  $-.18$  ( $SE=.04$ ,  $p<.001$ ). When controlling for the importance of evangelical identity, that estimate is  $-.17$  ( $SE=.04$ ,  $p<.001$ ). Similarly, the interaction between Jewish identity and awareness is unchanged whether identity importance is controlled for or not ( $.37$  ( $SE=.08$ ,  $p<.001$ )). Unlike in the CCES data, the interaction between secular respondents and awareness is not significant in either model.

Like in the CCES estimates presented in the main paper, the only significant interaction effect in Table A12 is for Black respondents and awareness. It, too, remains mostly unchanged once controlling for how important being Black is to respondents and their sense of linked fate with Black Americans generally ( $.11$  ( $SE=.03$ ,  $p<.001$ ) in the baseline model;  $.08$  ( $SE=.03$ ,  $p<.05$ ) once controlling for the identity measures).

This indicates that awareness is not just a proxy for linked fate or identity importance (at least for those identities that the ANES asked about). The estimated impact of awareness remains largely the same once controlling for these factors, suggesting it operates independently of identity strength.

**Table A11:** Predicting policy preferences, controlling for religious identity importance

	Baseline model	Controlling for identity importance
Intercept	0.52 (0.02) <sup>***</sup>	0.55 (0.03) <sup>***</sup>
Awareness	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)
Identity importance		-0.08 (0.03) <sup>**</sup>
Catholic	0.06 (0.02) <sup>**</sup>	0.05 (0.03) <sup>†</sup>
× Awareness	-0.08 (0.04) <sup>†</sup>	-0.07 (0.04) <sup>†</sup>
× Identity importance		0.00 (0.03)
Evangelical Protestant	0.04 (0.02) <sup>†</sup>	0.03 (0.03)
× Awareness	-0.18 (0.04) <sup>***</sup>	-0.17 (0.04) <sup>***</sup>
× Identity importance		0.01 (0.03)
Jewish	-0.18 (0.05) <sup>**</sup>	-0.21 (0.06) <sup>***</sup>
× Awareness	0.37 (0.08) <sup>***</sup>	0.37 (0.08) <sup>***</sup>
× Identity importance		0.07 (0.06)
Secular	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.06 (0.03) <sup>*</sup>
× Awareness	0.05 (0.04)	0.05 (0.04)
× Identity importance		0.14 (0.03) <sup>***</sup>
Other religion	0.03 (0.02) <sup>*</sup>	0.03 (0.01) <sup>*</sup>
× Awareness	-0.11 (0.04) <sup>*</sup>	-0.12 (0.04) <sup>**</sup>
× Identity importance		-0.02 (0.03)
Pseudo-R <sup>2</sup>	.26	.27
N	4,882	4,882

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

Note: Linear regression models predicting policy preferences using ANES data. Models also control for same covariates as those shown in Table A6.

**Table A12:** Predicting policy preferences, controlling for racial identity importance and linked fate

	Baseline model	Controlling for identity importance and linked fate
Intercept	0.54 (0.02) <sup>***</sup>	0.55 (0.02) <sup>***</sup>
Awareness	-0.06 (0.02) <sup>***</sup>	-0.06 (0.02) <sup>***</sup>
Linked fate		-0.03 (0.01) <sup>**</sup>
Identity importance		0.00 (0.01)
Black	0.15 (0.02) <sup>***</sup>	0.05 (0.03) <sup>†</sup>
× Awareness	0.11 (0.03) <sup>***</sup>	0.08 (0.03) <sup>*</sup>
× Linked fate		0.10 (0.02) <sup>***</sup>
× Identity importance		0.08 (0.03) <sup>**</sup>
Hispanic	0.09 (0.01) <sup>***</sup>	-0.03 (0.02)
× Awareness	0.02 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)
× Linked fate		0.11 (0.02) <sup>***</sup>
× Identity importance		0.11 (0.03) <sup>***</sup>
Pseudo-R <sup>2</sup>	.30	.32
N	5,114	5,114

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

Note: Linear regression models predicting policy preferences using ANES data. Racial identity questions only asked of White, Black, and Hispanic respondents. Models also control for same covariates as those shown in Table A6.