

A Online Appendix

A.1 Additional Information for Ideal Point Estimates

Because some of the results in Section 3.1 may seem surprising, here we demonstrate that these patterns are present in the raw data rather than arising from the particularities of our scaling method. We first demonstrate that in the raw data, the average Democratic and Republican candidate is further apart than the average Democratic and Republican identifier and the average respondent is closer to the Democratic candidate. In Figure 4, for each of the 10 bridge votes, we report the percentage of Democratic and Republican congressmen, Senators, and respondents preferring the yea outcome. In all cases except the Simpson-Bowles budget plan, the Democratic and Republican identifiers fall between the Democratic and Republican legislators. There are 8 bridge votes where we can compare the CCES respondents to members of the House. In 7 out of 8 votes, the average respondent is closer to the average Democratic congressman (the exception is the vote on the Keystone pipeline). On the 10th bridge vote, the average respondent is closer to the average Democratic Senator. We also constructed an index based on the percentage of bridge voters for which the respondents and the legislators voted on the conservative side (omitting the non-ideological Simple-Bowles item). Even using this simple index (see Table 8), we find that the Democratic and Republican legislators are further apart than the Democratic and Republican identifiers. In fact, 86% of Democratic candidates are to the left of the median Democratic identifier and 97% of Republican candidates are to the right of the median Republican identifier. We again find that average respondent is closer to the average Democratic congressmen.

We next demonstrate that in the raw data, voters perceive themselves as closer to the average Republican candidate and that most respondents perceive the candidates as being more moderate than they are. We rely on the 1-7 liberal-conservative placements for these results. The average respondent is located at 4.272, the average Democratic placement is

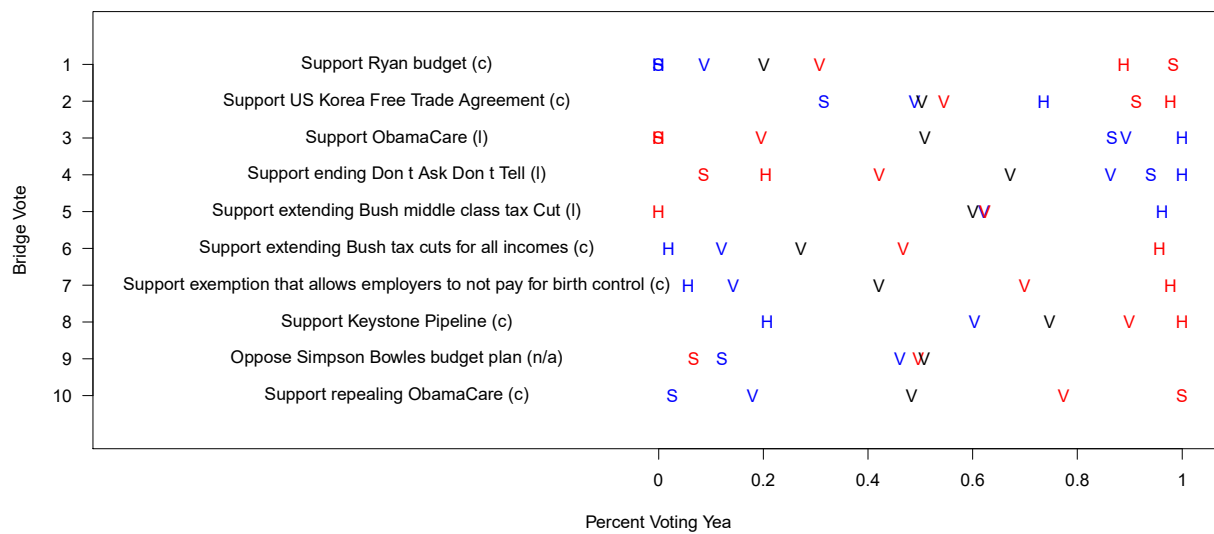


Figure 4: Summary of Bridge Votes.

Mean Senate Democrat	-0.773
Mean House Democrat	-0.754
Mean Democratic identifier	-0.512
Mean Respondent	-0.188
Mean Republican identifier	0.210
Mean Senate Republican	0.882
Mean House Republican	0.917

Table 8: Summary Statistics for Liberal-Conservative Index.

2.945, and the average Republican placement is 5.441. This means that the average distance to the Democratic candidate is 1.327 and the average distance to the Republican candidate is 1.169. Another way to put this is 36.8% of respondents place themselves closer to the Democratic candidate and 41.6% place themselves as closer to the Republican candidate. The average Democratic identifier places themselves at 2.977 and the average Republican identifier places themselves at 5.861. The average Democratic identifier is very close to average placement of a Democratic candidate in the sample. The average Republican identifier is someone more conservative than the average placement of a Republican candidate.

Together, these results demonstrate that two surprising findings—that the respondents perceive themselves as closer to the Republican party even though they are closer to the Democratic party, and that the respondents perceive themselves as more extreme than the parties even though the respondents are more moderate than the parties—are present in the raw data and thus not an artifact of our scaling procedure.

A.2 Additional Tables

	Democratic Placements					
	Democratic Incumbents			Democratic Challengers		
	All Respondents	High Know. Respondents	Low Know. Respondents	All Respondents	High Know. Respondents	Low Know. Respondents
α (assimilation)	0.721*** (0.193)	1.218*** (0.217)	0.632*** (0.109)	1.252*** (0.260)	1.677*** (0.474)	0.779*** (0.103)
γ (contrast)	1.353*** (0.306)	1.049*** (0.106)	2.075*** (0.570)	1.466+ (0.785)	1.309* (0.639)	1.276*** (0.161)
δ (cheerleading)	0.698*** (0.123)	0.636*** (0.096)	0.945*** (0.165)	1.391*** (0.385)	0.770* (0.347)	0.912*** (0.183)
τ (anti-cheerleading)	1.005*** (0.175)	1.001*** (0.126)	0.719* (0.365)	0.554 (0.402)	0.490 (0.321)	1.171*** (0.299)
λ_1 (Constant)	-0.420*** (0.101)	-0.546*** (0.073)	-0.331*** (0.056)	-0.487*** (0.089)	-0.710*** (0.124)	-0.330*** (0.038)
λ_2 (Position)	0.165*** (0.026)	0.222*** (0.037)	0.122*** (0.032)	0.000 (0.013)	0.000 (0.017)	0.008 (0.017)
λ_3 (Cue)	0.034 (0.039)	0.089+ (0.052)	0.016 (0.047)	0.133*** (0.028)	0.156*** (0.036)	0.128*** (0.033)
N	8818	4889	3831	9541	7183	2017
Clusters	136	132	135	219	216	205
First Stage F-Statistic	581.9	488.0	157.4	601.9	613.3	50.6

Table 9: Instrumental Variable Estimates for Democratic Placements for Incumbents and Challengers. Standard errors are clustered by congressional district. $^+p < .10$, $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$, $***p < .001$.

	Republican Placements					
	Republican Incumbents			Republican Challengers		
	All Respondents	High Know. Respondents	Low Know. Respondents	All Respondents	High Know. Respondents	Low Know. Respondents
α (assimilation)	0.818*** (0.132)	1.059*** (0.251)	0.693*** (0.095)	0.859*** (0.222)	0.862*** (0.245)	0.811*** (0.093)
γ (contrast)	1.288*** (0.250)	1.081*** (0.184)	1.945 (1.354)	1.519** (0.469)	1.513*** (0.326)	2.283* (0.925)
δ (cheerleading)	0.987*** (0.206)	0.965*** (0.179)	1.580** (0.561)	0.925*** (0.142)	0.916*** (0.104)	1.413*** (0.258)
τ (anti-cheerleading)	0.971** (0.312)	1.101*** (0.297)	0.587 (0.802)	0.550** (0.176)	0.572*** (0.141)	0.347+ (0.197)
λ_1 (Constant)	-0.274*** (0.062)	-0.150+ (0.084)	-0.352*** (0.041)	-0.156 (0.098)	-0.149 (0.106)	-0.241*** (0.041)
λ_2 (Position)	0.149*** (0.020)	0.162*** (0.019)	0.077+ (0.042)	0.048* (0.022)	0.052* (0.023)	0.009 (0.023)
λ_3 (Cue)	0.026+ (0.014)	0.008 (0.014)	0.010 (0.023)	0.014 (0.036)	0.029 (0.030)	-0.006 (0.046)
N	13177	9987	2665	7514	4965	2470
Clusters	193	190	183	178	174	175
First Stage F-Statistic	931.4	934.3	79.4	459.8	429.5	81.7

Table 10: Instrumental Variable Estimates for Republican Placements for Incumbent and Challengers. Standard errors are clustered by congressional district. $^+p < .10$, $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$, $***p < .001$.

	Democratic Placements			Republican Placements		
	All Respondents	High Know. Respondents	Low Know. Respondents	All Respondents	High Know. Respondents	Low Know. Respondents
α (assimilation)	1.245*** (0.230)	0.878*** (0.136)	0.847*** (0.077)	0.999*** (0.240)	0.908*** (0.197)	0.706*** (0.092)
γ (contrast)	1.117*** (0.196)	1.222*** (0.121)	1.387*** (0.181)	1.044*** (0.147)	1.113*** (0.126)	1.477*** (0.169)
δ (cheerleading)	0.835*** (0.120)	0.844*** (0.104)	0.969*** (0.145)	0.657*** (0.117)	0.712*** (0.079)	1.383*** (0.292)
τ (anti-cheerleading)	0.869*** (0.169)	1.096*** (0.116)	0.973*** (0.261)	1.067*** (0.164)	0.992*** (0.135)	1.019*** (0.285)
λ_1 (Constant)	-0.485*** (0.077)	-0.380*** (0.069)	-0.265*** (0.034)	-0.109 (0.070)	-0.105 (0.075)	-0.352*** (0.025)
λ_2 (Position)	0.049** (0.017)	-0.009 (0.017)	0.038* (0.016)	0.045* (0.022)	0.081*** (0.021)	-0.006 (0.018)
λ_3 (Cue from statewide candidates)	0.136*** (0.028)	0.150*** (0.030)	0.128*** (0.030)	0.013 (0.019)	0.005 (0.015)	0.005 (0.023)
λ_4 (Cue from previous candidate)	0.048+ (0.025)	0.125*** (0.020)	0.061* (0.026)	0.073*** (0.017)	0.048** (0.016)	0.089*** (0.022)
λ_5 (Incumbent)	-0.053** (0.018)	-0.069*** (0.015)	-0.098*** (0.017)	-0.021+ (0.013)	-0.020 (0.013)	-0.021 (0.015)
N	14557	9227	5060	17563	12826	4176
Clusters	332	322	304	356	347	330
First Stage F-Statistic	626.6	570.4	116.1	737.8	714.0	85.1
p-value for $H_0 : \alpha_k = 1$	0.286	0.369	0.046*	0.996	0.640	0.001**
p-value for $H_0 : \gamma_k = 1$	0.549	0.066+	0.033*	0.764	0.372	0.005**
p-value for $H_0 : \delta_k = 1$	0.168	0.133	0.831	0.003**	0.000***	0.190
p-value for $H_0 : \tau_k = 1$	0.441	0.408	0.919	0.682	0.953	0.947

Table 11: Instrumental Variable Estimates for Candidate Placement Equation, Alternative Cue. Standard errors are clustered by congressional district. ⁺ $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

	Democratic Placements			Republican Placements		
	All Respondents	High Know. Respondents	Low Know. Respondents	All Respondents	High Know. Respondents	Low Know. Respondents
α (assimilation)	0.929*** (0.178)	1.197*** (0.195)	0.769*** (0.098)	0.894*** (0.179)	0.909*** (0.197)	0.792*** (0.145)
γ (contrast)	1.393*** (0.303)	1.133*** (0.137)	1.850*** (0.435)	1.160*** (0.155)	1.132*** (0.120)	1.470*** (0.334)
δ (cheerleading)	0.849*** (0.116)	0.917*** (0.122)	0.976*** (0.143)	0.750*** (0.116)	0.811*** (0.101)	1.033** (0.370)
τ (anti-cheerleading)	0.766*** (0.168)	0.948*** (0.130)	0.647* (0.265)	0.955*** (0.146)	1.050*** (0.132)	0.688* (0.351)
λ_1 (Constant)	-0.459*** (0.089)	-0.483*** (0.073)	-0.359*** (0.039)	-0.156* (0.066)	-0.141+ (0.078)	-0.199*** (0.049)
λ_2 (Position)	0.132*** (0.023)	0.167*** (0.029)	0.117*** (0.026)	0.146*** (0.020)	0.145*** (0.018)	0.091+ (0.050)
λ_3 (Cue)	0.072* (0.031)	0.131*** (0.036)	0.016 (0.034)	-0.007 (0.020)	-0.001 (0.016)	-0.073 (0.059)
λ_4 (Incumbent)	-0.004 (0.019)	-0.006 (0.019)	-0.051* (0.020)	-0.004 (0.011)	-0.006 (0.010)	0.023 (0.028)
N	13582	8419	4969	16138	12073	3520
Clusters	242	237	235	267	263	256
First Stage F-Statistic	682.2	623.0	132.4	793.9	785.6	77.8
p-value for $H_0 : \alpha_k = 1$	0.689	0.312	0.018*	0.551	0.645	0.153
p-value for $H_0 : \gamma_k = 1$	0.194	0.329	0.051+	0.302	0.271	0.160
p-value for $H_0 : \delta_k = 1$	0.193	0.497	0.869	0.030*	0.061+	0.930
p-value for $H_0 : \tau_k = 1$	0.162	0.690	0.183	0.759	0.703	0.374

Table 12: Instrumental Variable Estimates for Candidate Placement Equation (no bonica imputations). Standard errors are clustered by congressional district. ⁺ $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

	Democratic Placements			Republican Placements		
	All Respondents	High Know. Respondents	Low Know. Respondents	All Respondents	High Know. Respondents	Low Know. Respondents
α (assimilation)	0.970*** (0.267)	0.683*** (0.120)	0.822*** (0.127)	1.374* (0.637)	0.640*** (0.169)	0.684*** (0.206)
γ (contrast)	1.404** (0.539)	1.569*** (0.278)	1.155*** (0.167)	0.899*** (0.240)	1.405*** (0.336)	1.404*** (0.263)
δ (cheerleading)	0.733*** (0.177)	0.996*** (0.144)	0.695*** (0.160)	0.533+ (0.291)	0.776*** (0.132)	0.832* (0.379)
τ (anti-cheerleading)	0.646* (0.268)	0.946*** (0.169)	1.292*** (0.339)	1.077*** (0.326)	0.839*** (0.211)	0.829** (0.313)
λ_1 (Constant)	-0.495*** (0.094)	-0.318*** (0.081)	-0.324*** (0.040)	-0.011 (0.133)	-0.225+ (0.119)	-0.238*** (0.050)
λ_2 (Position)	0.034* (0.016)	0.039* (0.015)	0.021 (0.022)	0.080** (0.030)	0.094*** (0.026)	0.011 (0.028)
λ_3 (Cue)	0.121** (0.041)	0.069* (0.031)	0.153*** (0.039)	-0.001 (0.025)	-0.018 (0.021)	-0.018 (0.036)
λ_4 (Incumbent)	-0.060** (0.019)	-0.117*** (0.013)	-0.112*** (0.022)	-0.050** (0.019)	-0.062*** (0.014)	-0.041+ (0.023)
N	18359	12072	5848	20691	14952	5135
Clusters	353	346	340	368	361	357
First Stage F-Statistic	766.3	769.8	124.2	839.9	880.7	100.3
p-value for $H_0 : \alpha_k = 1$	0.912	0.008**	0.160	0.557	0.033*	0.125
p-value for $H_0 : \gamma_k = 1$	0.453	0.041*	0.353	0.674	0.228	0.124
p-value for $H_0 : \delta_k = 1$	0.132	0.980	0.056+	0.109	0.090+	0.657
p-value for $H_0 : \tau_k = 1$	0.186	0.748	0.389	0.814	0.445	0.585

Table 13: Instrumental Variable Estimates for Candidate Placement Equation (weighted version). Standard errors are clustered by congressional district. $^+p < .10, *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001$.

	All Respondents	High Know. Respondents	Low Know. Respondents
Intercept	0.559*** (0.034)	0.589*** (0.037)	0.607*** (0.077)
Perceived Policy Distance	0.320*** (0.005)	0.304*** (0.005)	0.408*** (0.026)
Democratic Challenger Quality	0.004 (0.013)	0.005 (0.014)	-0.009 (0.033)
Republican Challenger Quality	-0.006 (0.015)	-0.031* (0.016)	0.026 (0.031)
Unemployment	-0.002 (0.004)	-0.009* (0.004)	0.003 (0.008)
Unemployment * Party of Governor	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.002)
Democratic Incumbent	0.043** (0.017)	0.052** (0.018)	-0.022 (0.033)
Republican Incumbent	-0.033* (0.015)	-0.022 (0.017)	-0.090** (0.034)
N	13240	9392	3479
Clusters	330	323	314
First Stage F-Statistic	11286.6	10148.9	1236.4

Table 14: Instrumental Variable Estimates for Candidate Choice (weighted version). Standard errors are clustered by congressional district. $^+p < .10, *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001$.