

Online Appendix

(A) Question Wordings

1. Brazilian Electoral Panel Study (BEPS), 2014

Variables in the IRT models

- $Prefer(P^0N^0)$: “What is your preferred political party?” [*Qual é o seu partido político de preferência?*] [Treatment 1] Waves 1 and 6 responses.
- $Consider(P^1N^1)$: “Do you consider yourself a *pedetista*, *pemedebista*, *pesebista*, *petista*, *tucano*, an identifier of some other party, or do you not identify with any political party?” [*Você se considera pedetista, pemedebista, pesebista, petista, tucano, se identifica com outro partido, ou não se identifica com nenhum partido?*] [Treatment 2] Waves 1 and 6 responses.
- $Way\ of\ thinking(P^0N^1)$: “Is there a political party that represents your way of thinking?” [If yes]: “Which political party best represents your way of thinking?” [*Existe algum partido político que representa a maneira como você pensa?*] [*Si “sim”*]: “Qual o partido que melhor representa a maneira como você pensa?”] [Treatment 3] Waves 1 and 6 responses.
- $Sympathy(P^0N^1)$: “Currently, do you sympathize with a political party? [If “yes”]: “With which political party do you sympathize?” [*Atualmente o(a) Sr.(a) simpatiza com algum partido político?*] [*Si “sim”*]: “Com qual partido o(a) Sr.(a). simpatiza?”] Waves 1 and 6 responses.
- $Feeling\ thermometer$: “Now let’s think about politicians and parties. What grade between 0 and 10, where 0 is the lowest grade and 10 is the highest grade, would you give to the following politicians and political parties? PT. PSDB.” [*Vamos pensar agora em alguns políticos e partidos. Que nota entre 0 e 10, onde 0 é a nota mais baixa e 10 é a nota mais alta, o sr./sra. dá para os seguintes políticos e partidos políticos? PT. PSDB.*] Waves 1 and 6 responses.
- $Vote\ in\ pres.\ election$: “In October there will be elections for president. If the election were today and these were the candidates, for whom would you vote? Dilma Rousseff [coded as 1 in PT model, all other options as 0], Aécio Neves [coded as 1 PSDB model, all other options as 0], Eduardo Campos, Marina Silva, Pastor Everaldo Pereira, Levy Fidelix, Randolfe Rodrigues, I would annul my vote, I would not vote, DK, NR.” [*Em outubro haverá eleições para presidente. Se a eleição fosse hoje, e se estes fossem os candidatos, em quem o(a) Sr.(a) votaria? Dilma Rousseff [PT], Aécio Neves [PSDB], Eduardo Campos, Marina Silva, Pastor Everaldo Pereira, Levy Fidelix, Randolfe Rodrigues, Anularia o voto/votaria em branco, Não iria votar, NS, NR*] Waves 1 and 6 responses.

Criterion variables

- *Rousseff current 2-party vote*: In answer to “Vote in pres. election”: (1) Dilma Rousseff, (0) Aécio Neves, (.) all other responses. Waves 1 and 6 responses.
- *Rousseff future 2-party vote*: In answer to “Vote in pres. election”: (1) Dilma Rousseff, (0) Aécio Neves, (.) all other responses. Wave 6 responses using partisanship measures from wave 1 only.
- *Rousseff job approval*: “In your opinion, is the President Dilma Rousseff government (5) great, (4) good, (3) normal, (2) bad, or (1) horrible?” [*Na sua opinião, a presidente Dilma Rousseff está fazendo um governo ótimo, bom, regular, ruim ou péssimo?*] Waves 1 and 6 responses.
- *Rousseff - Neves feeling therms*: “Now let’s think about politicians and parties. What grade between 0 and 10, where 0 is the lowest grade and 10 is the highest grade, would you give to the following politicians and political parties? Dilma Rousseff. Aécio Neves” [*Vamos pensar agora em alguns políticos e partidos. Que nota entre 0 e 10, onde 0 é a nota mais baixa e 10 é a nota mais alta, o sr./sra. dá para os seguintes políticos e partidos políticos? Dilma Rousseff. Aécio Neves.*] Variable used is Rousseff score minus Neves score. Wave 1 responses.

2. Levada Centre Omnibus Survey, November 2015

Variables in the IRT models

- *Prefer($P^1 N^0$)*: “What is your preferred political party? United Russia, Communist Party of the Russian Federation (CPRF), Liberal Democrat Party of Russia (LDPR), Just Russia, or another one?” [Какую политическую партию Вы предпочитаете: «Единую Россию», «КПРФ», «ЛДПР», «Справедливую Россию» или какую-либо другую партию?] [Treatment 1]
- *Prefer($P^0 N^0$)*: “What is your preferred political party?” [Какую политическую партию Вы предпочитаете] [Treatment 2]
- *Belong($P^1 N^1$)*: “Do you belong to the supporters of United Russia, Communist Party of the Russian Federation, the Liberal Democrat Party of Russia, A Just Russia, another political party, or do you not belong to the supporters of any political party?” [Вы принадлежите к сторонникам «Единой России», «КПРФ», «ЛДПР», «Справедливой России» или какой-либо другой партии, - или Вы не принадлежите к сторонникам ни одной из политических партий?] [Treatment 3]
- *Close($P^0 N^1$)*: “Do you usually think of yourself as close to any particular political party?” [If yes]: “Which party? Please name it.” Существует ли политическая партия, которая, по Вашему мнению, близка Вам? Что это за партия? Назовите, пожалуйста.
- *Feeling thermometer*: “We would like to know your views on various political parties. Please rate your attitude towards them on a scale, which we call the ‘feeling thermometer.’ Our thermometer has a scale from zero to 100 degrees, where zero is for a party you do not like very much, 50 degrees means

a party you like and dislike about equally, and 100 degrees is a party you like very much. Please tell me how you feel about the following parties? United Russia. Communist Party. Liberal Democrat Party of Russia.” [Recoded to a 0 to 10 scale.] [Мы хотели бы узнать Ваше отношение к различным партиям. Пожалуйста, оцените свое отношение к ним по шкале, которую мы называем “Термометром чувств”. Наш термометр имеет шкалу от 0 до 100 градусов, где 0 градусов означает, что партия Вам очень не нравится, 50 градусов означает, что партия Вам и нравится, и не нравится в равной степени, а 100 градусов - что партия Вам очень нравится. Скажите, пожалуйста, как Вы относитесь к следующим партиям? «Единая Россия». «Коммунистическая партия Российской Федерации» (КПРФ). «Политическая партия ЛДПР».]

- *Vote in Duma elections*: “If a Duma election were held this Sunday, would you vote and, if so, which party would you vote for?” [ЕСЛИ БЫ В БЛИЖАЙШЕЕ ВОСКРЕСЕНЬЕ ПРОХОДИЛИ ВЫБОРЫ В ГОСУДАРСТВЕННУЮ ДУМУ, ПРИНЯЛИ БЫ ВЫ УЧАСТИЕ В ЭТИХ ВЫБОРАХ, И ЕСЛИ ДА, ЗА КАКУЮ ПАРТИЮ ВЫ БЫ ПРОГОЛОСОВАЛИ?]

Criterion variables

- *Duma vote for UR*: In answer to “Vote in Duma elections”: (1) United Russia, (0) all other parties, (.) all other responses.
- *Putin job approval*: “Do you approve of the activities of Vladimir Putin as president of Russia? (4) Yes, definitely. (3) Yes, somewhat. (2) No, somewhat. (1) No, definitely. (.) Difficult to answer” [ОДОБРЯЕТЕ ЛИ ВЫ ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТЬ ВЛАДИМИРА ПУТИНА НА ПОСТУ ПРЕЗИДЕНТА РОССИИ? (4) безусловно, да. (3) скорее, да. (2) скорее, нет. (1) безусловно, нет. (.) затрудняюсь ответить.]
- *Government approval*: “Do you approve of the activities of the current government of Russia? (4) Yes, definitely. (3) Yes, somewhat. (2) No, somewhat. (1) No, definitely. (.) Difficult to answer” [ОДОБРЯЕТЕ ЛИ ВЫ ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТЬ НЫНЕШНЕГО ПРАВИТЕЛЬСТВА РОССИИ? (4) безусловно, да. (3) скорее, да. (2) скорее, нет. (1) безусловно, нет. (.) затрудняюсь ответить.]
- *Medvedev job approval*: “Generally speaking, do you approve or disapprove of the activities of Dmitry Medvedev as prime minister of Russia? (1) Approve. (0) Don’t approve.” [ВЫ В ЦЕЛОМ ОДОБРЯЕТЕ ИЛИ НЕ ОДОБРЯЕТЕ ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТЬ ДМИТРИЯ МЕДВЕДЕВА НА ПОСТУ ПРЕДСЕДАТЕЛЯ ПРАВИТЕЛЬСТВА РОССИИ? (1) одобряю. (0) не одобряю.]
- *Duma vote for LDPR*: In answer to “Vote in Duma elections”: (1) LDPR, (0) all other parties, (.) all other responses.
- *Duma vote for CPRF*: In answer to “Vote in Duma elections”: (1) CPRF, (0) all other parties, (.) all other responses.

3. American National Election Study (ANES), 2012.

Variables in the IRT models

- $Think(P^1 N^1)_{Dem}$: “Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat (1), a Republican (0), an Independent (0), or what (0)?”
- $Think^*(P^1 N^0)_{Dem}$: “Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat (1), a Republican (0), an Independent, or what (0)?” [If “Independent”] “Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party (0) or to the Democratic Party (1)?”
- $Think(P^1 N^1)_{Rep}$: “Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat (0), a Republican (1), an Independent (0), or what (0)?”
- $Think^*(P^1 N^0)_{Rep}$: “Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat (0), a Republican (1), an Independent, or what (0)?” [If “Independent”] “Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party (1) or to the Democratic Party (0)?”
- $Close(P^0 N^1)$: “Do you feel yourself a little closer to one of the political parties than the others?” [If yes]: “Which party do you feel closest to?”
- $Feeling\ thermometer$: “Please look at this page of the booklet. I’d like to get your feelings toward some of our political leaders and other people who are in the news these days. I’ll read the name of a person and I’d like you to rate that person using something we call the feeling thermometer. Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the person. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don’t feel favorable toward the person and that you don’t care too much for that person. You would rate the person at the 50 degree mark if you don’t feel particularly warm or cold toward the person. If we come to a person whose name you don’t recognize, you don’t need to rate that person. Just tell me and we’ll move on to the next one. Democratic Party. Republican Party” [Recoded to a 0 to 10 scale.]
- $Vote\ in\ pres.\ election$: “How about the election for President? Did you vote for a candidate for president? [If so] Who did you vote for? Barack Obama, Mitt Romney, or someone else?”

Criterion variables

- $Obama\ 2-party\ vote$: In answer to “Vote in pres. election”: (1) Barack Obama, (0) Mitt Romney, (.) all other responses.
- $Obama\ job\ approval$: “Do you APPROVE or DISAPPROVE of the way Barack Obama is handling his job as President? Do you approve/disapprove STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY? (4) Approve strongly, (3) approve not strongly, (2) disapprove not strongly, (1) disapprove strongly”
- $Obama - Romney\ feeling\ therms$: “Please look at this page of the booklet. I’d like to get your feelings toward some of our political leaders and other people who are in the news these days. I’ll read the name of a person and I’d like you to rate that person using something we call the feeling thermometer. Ratings

between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the person. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the person and that you don't care too much for that person. You would rate the person at the 50 degree mark if you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the person. If we come to a person whose name you don't recognize, you don't need to rate that person. Just tell me and we'll move on to the next one. Barack Obama. Mitt Romney." Variable used is Obama score minus Romney score after recoding each to a 0 to 10 scale.

4. *Data Opinión Pública y Mercados* Omnibus Survey, February 2016

Response options experiment

- $Sympathy(P^1 N^0)$: "Generally speaking, with which political party do you sympathize? PAN, PRI, PRD, MORENA, PVEM, or another." [*Generalmente, con cual partido político simpatiza Ud.?* PAN, PRI, PRD, MORENA, PVEM, u otro.] [Treatment 1]
- $Sympathy(P^0 N^0)$: "Generally speaking, with which political party do you sympathize?" [*Generalmente, con cual partido político simpatiza Ud.?*] [Treatment 2]
- $Sympathy(P^0 N^1)$: "Generally speaking, do you sympathize with a political party? [If yes]: With which political party do you sympathize?" [*Generalmente, simpatiza Ud. con algún partido político?* [*En case afirmativo*] ¿Con cuál partido político simpatiza usted?] [Treatment 3]

Attachment descriptor experiment

- $Prefer(P^1 N^0)$: "Which is your preferred political party? PAN, PRI, PRD, MORENA, PVEM, or another" [*Generalmente ¿cuál es su partido político preferido?* PAN, PRI, PRD, MORENA, PVEM, u otro.] [Treatment 1]
- $Close(P^1 N^0)$: "To which political party do you consider yourself to be closest? PAN, PRI, PRD, MORENA, PVEM, or another." [*Generalmente ¿a cuál partido político se siente más cercano?* PAN, PRI, PRD, MORENA, PVEM, u otro.] [Treatment 2]
- $Consider(P^1 N^0)$: "Generally speaking, do you consider yourself a *panista*, *priista*, *perredista*, *morenista*, *pevemista*, or do you consider yourself a partisan of some other party?" [*Generalmente, ¿usted se considera panista, priista, perredista, morenista, pevemista, o de otro partido?*] [Treatment 3]

(B) Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics for each survey item used are depicted below. Rates of missingness are high for many of the measures of partisanship because of the split-sample randomization, but this is not a problem for inference from IRT model results. (Recall that IRT does not perform casewise deletion.) This is by virtue of IRT's invariance property, which holds that item parameters and respondent placement on the latent

trait do not depend on the pool of test items offered: “In situations where the nonresponses are missing by design, these missing data may be ignored because of the IRT properties of person and item parameter invariance.” (Ayala 2009, 149). As one illustration of these points, note that IRT is used in conjunction with computer-adapted (or tailored) tests, whereby test-takers receive items based on the correctness of their responses to preceding items.

1. Brazilian Electoral Panel Study (BEPS), 2014

Variable	Observations	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max
<i>Prefer(P⁰N⁰)_{PT}</i>	1418	0.248	0.432	0	1
<i>Consider(P¹N¹)_{PT}</i>	1409	0.176	0.381	0	1
<i>Way of thinking(P⁰N¹)_{PT}</i>	1262	0.119	0.324	0	1
<i>Sympathy(P⁰N¹)_{PT}</i>	4245	0.132	0.338	0	1
<i>Vote in pres. election_{PT}</i>	3653	0.394	0.489	0	1
<i>Feeling therm_{PT}</i>	2828	4.946	3.444	0	10
<i>Prefer(P⁰N⁰)_{PSDB}</i>	1418	0.052	0.222	0	1
<i>Consider(P¹N¹)_{PSDB}</i>	1409	0.039	0.194	0	1
<i>Way of thinking(P⁰N¹)_{PSDB}</i>	1262	0.029	0.167	0	1
<i>Sympathy(P⁰N¹)_{PSDB}</i>	4245	0.029	0.166	0	1
<i>Vote in pres. election_{PSDB}</i>	3653	0.155	0.362	0	1
<i>Feeling therm_{PSDB}</i>	2416	4.159	2.820	0	10
<i>Rousseff current 2-party vote</i>	551	0.739	0.439	0	1
<i>Rousseff future 2-party vote</i>	200	0.695	0.462	0	1
<i>Rousseff job approval</i>	1219	2.948	1.078	1	5
<i>Rousseff - Neves feeling therms</i>	531	0.616	3.565	-10	10

2. Levada Centre Omnibus Survey, November 2015

Variable	Observations	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max
$Prefer(P^1 N^0)_{UR}$	433	0.482	0.500	0	1
$Prefer(P^0 N^0)_{UR}$	684	0.410	0.492	0	1
$Belong(P^1 N^1)_{UR}$	411	0.400	0.490	0	1
$Close(P^0 N^1)_{UR}$	1550	0.274	0.446	0	1
$Vote\ in\ Duma\ elections_{UR}$	1602	0.399	0.490	0	1
$Feeling\ therm_{UR}$	1313	5.807	3.437	0	10
$Prefer(P^1 N^0)_{LDPR}$	433	0.066	0.248	0	1
$Prefer(P^0 N^0)_{LDPR}$	684	0.079	0.270	0	1
$Belong(P^1 N^1)_{LDPR}$	411	0.067	0.250	0	1
$Close(P^0 N^1)_{LDPR}$	1550	0.049	0.216	0	1
$Vote\ in\ Duma\ elections_{LDPR}$	1602	0.060	0.238	0	1
$Feeling\ therm_{LDPR}$	1237	3.311	2.842	0	10
$Prefer(N^0)_{CPRF}$	1117	0.090	0.286	0	1
$Belong(P^1 N^1)_{CPRF}$	411	0.068	0.252	0	1
$Close(P^0 N^1)_{CPRF}$	1550	0.067	0.250	0	1
$Vote\ in\ Duma\ elections_{CPRF}$	1602	0.079	0.269	0	1
$Feeling\ therm_{CPRF}$	1235	3.771	2.953	0	10
$Duma\ vote\ for\ UR$	522	0.932	0.253	0	1
$Putin\ job\ approval$	1553	3.209	0.821	1	4
$Government\ approval$	1486	2.664	0.940	1	4
$Medvedev\ job\ approval$	1573	0.630	0.483	0	1
$Duma\ vote\ for\ LDPR$	105	0.572	0.497	0	1
$Duma\ vote\ for\ CPRF$	136	0.685	0.466	0	1

3. American National Election Study (ANES), 2012

Variable	Observations	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max
$Think(P^1 N^1)_{Rep}$	5890	0.271	0.447	0	1
$Think^*(P^1 N^0)_{Rep}$	5890	0.393	0.489	0	1
$Close(P^0 N^1)_{Rep}$	5360	0.244	0.430	0	1
$Feeling\ therm_{Rep}$	5851	4.345	2.783	0	10
$Vote\ in\ pres.\ election_{Rep}$	5467	0.317	0.465	0	1
$Think(P^1 N^1)_{Dem}$	5890	0.347	0.476	0	1
$Think^*(P^1 N^0)_{Dem}$	5890	0.464	0.499	0	1
$Close(P^0 N^1)_{Dem}$	5360	0.306	0.461	0	1
$Feeling\ therm_{Dem}$	5856	5.059	2.856	0	10
$Vote\ in\ pres.\ election_{Dem}$	5467	0.361	0.480	0	1
$Obama\ 2-party\ vote$	3686	0.538	0.499	0	1
$Obama\ job\ approval$	5159	2.477	1.276	1	4
$Obama - Romney\ feeling\ therms$	5228	0.812	5.946	-10	10

4. *Data Opinión Pública y Mercados Omnibus Survey, February 2016*

Variable	Observations	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max
$Consider(P^1N^0)_{PRI}$	400	0.203	0.402	0	1
$Prefer(P^1N^0)_{PRI}$	388	0.211	0.409	0	1
$Close(P^1N^0)_{PRI}$	388	0.204	0.403	0	1
$Sympathy(P^1N^0)_{PRI}$	390	0.215	0.412	0	1
$Sympathy(P^0N^0)_{PRI}$	413	0.232	0.423	0	1
$Sympathy(P^0N^1)_{PRI}$	384	0.130	0.337	0	1
$Consider(P^1N^0)_{PAN}$	400	0.093	0.290	0	1
$Prefer(P^1N^0)_{PAN}$	388	0.108	0.311	0	1
$Close(P^1N^0)_{PAN}$	388	0.124	0.330	0	1
$Sympathy(P^1N^0)_{PAN}$	390	0.092	0.290	0	1
$Sympathy(P^0N^0)_{PAN}$	413	0.102	0.303	0	1
$Sympathy(P^0N^1)_{PAN}$	384	0.052	0.222	0	1
$Consider(P^1N^0)_{PRD}$	400	0.058	0.233	0	1
$Prefer(P^1N^0)_{PRD}$	388	0.093	0.291	0	1
$Close(P^1N^0)_{PRD}$	388	0.062	0.241	0	1
$Sympathy(P^1N^0)_{PRD}$	390	0.059	0.236	0	1
$Sympathy(P^0N^0)_{PRD}$	413	0.070	0.256	0	1
$Sympathy(P^0N^1)_{PRD}$	384	0.026	0.159	0	1

(C) IRT Assumptions

The two primary (and somewhat interrelated) assumptions underlying IRT models are dimensionality and local independence (Ayala 2009, p. 20). For our models we assume unidimensionality, which states that responses to each item are driven only by the latent trait plus some random error. The local independence assumption is that, conditional on the latent trait, responses to one item are independent of responses to other items. In other words, responses are a function of a person's location on the latent trait and not on responses to other items.

For the first assumption, the presence of a single dominant factor is sufficient to demonstrate unidimensionality. Typically, one tests for this assumption by running factor analysis on the items and using standard techniques (e.g, eigenvalues comparison) to count the number of factors, making sure there is only one dominant factor. Because of our split-sample surveys, we cannot run factor analyses on entire samples for all questions, but we can run them by subsample. We did so and report the results below. All results show every indication of there being just a single dominant factor: eigenvalues for the first factor are always well above 2.5 while those for a second factor are always well below 1.0. Interestingly, in earlier versions of our IRT models, we included measures of party dislike or party rejection that, upon subsequent testing, appeared to violate the unidimensionality assumption. These were consequently dropped from the final models reported in Tables 2 through 4.

Local independence is harder to demonstrate, since we cannot directly observe when respondents may have adjusted one answer in response to a previous one. To guard against inter-item dependence, the direct measures of partisanship were placed at opposite ends of the questionnaire. As mentioned, the split-sample experiments are also important here since they reduce the number of times partisanship is asked of a respondent while increasing the number of different ways we can ask it.

1. Brazil

<i>Prefer(P^0N^0)$_{PT}$, Sympathy(P^0N^1)$_{PT}$, Vote in pres. election$_{PT}$, Feeling therm$_{PT}$</i>		
	Eigenvalues	Proportion Explained
Factor 1	3.231	0.808
Factor 2	0.368	0.092
Factor 3	0.313	0.078
Factor 4	0.088	0.022
<i>Consider(P^1N^1)$_{PT}$, Sympathy(P^0N^1)$_{PT}$, Vote in pres. election$_{PT}$, Feeling therm$_{PT}$</i>		
	Eigenvalues	Proportion Explained
Factor 1	3.088	0.772
Factor 2	0.427	0.107
Factor 3	0.320	0.080
Factor 4	0.165	0.041
<i>Way of thinking(P^0N^1)$_{PT}$, Sympathy(P^0N^1)$_{PT}$, Vote in pres. election$_{PT}$, Feeling therm$_{PT}$</i>		
	Eigenvalues	Proportion Explained
Factor 1	3.146	0.787
Factor 2	0.346	0.087
Factor 3	0.302	0.076
Factor 4	0.205	0.051
<i>Prefer(P^0N^0)$_{PSDB}$, Sympathy(P^0N^1)$_{PSDB}$, Vote in pres. election$_{PSDB}$, Feeling therm$_{PSDB}$</i>		
	Eigenvalues	Proportion Explained
Factor 1	2.922	0.730
Factor 2	0.704	0.176
Factor 3	0.342	0.086
Factor 4	0.032	0.008
<i>Consider(P^1N^1)$_{PSDB}$, Sympathy(P^0N^1)$_{PSDB}$, Vote in pres. election$_{PSDB}$, Feeling therm$_{PSDB}$</i>		
	Eigenvalues	Proportion Explained
Factor 1	2.840	0.710
Factor 2	0.657	0.164
Factor 3	0.428	0.107
Factor 4	0.075	0.019
<i>Way of thinking(P^0N^1)$_{PSDB}$, Sympathy(P^0N^1)$_{PSDB}$, Vote in pres. election$_{PSDB}$, Feeling therm$_{PSDB}$</i>		
	Eigenvalues	Proportion Explained
Factor 1	2.711	0.678
Factor 2	0.661	0.165
Factor 3	0.468	0.117
Factor 4	0.160	0.040

2. Russia

<i>Prefer($P^1 N^0$)_{UR}, Close($P^0 N^1$)_{UR}, Vote in Duma election_{UR}, Feeling therm_{UR}</i>		
	Eigenvalues	Proportion Explained
Factor 1	3.421	0.855
Factor 2	0.353	0.088
Factor 3	0.180	0.045
Factor 4	0.045	0.011
<i>Prefer($P^0 N^0$)_{UR}, Close($P^0 N^1$)_{UR}, Vote in Duma election_{UR}, Feeling therm_{UR}</i>		
	Eigenvalues	Proportion Explained
Factor 1	3.506	0.876
Factor 2	0.300	0.075
Factor 3	0.127	0.032
Factor 4	0.067	0.017
<i>Belong($P^1 N^1$)_{UR}, Close($P^0 N^1$)_{UR}, Vote in Duma election_{UR}, Feeling therm_{UR}</i>		
	Eigenvalues	Proportion Explained
Factor 1	3.564	0.891
Factor 2	0.232	0.058
Factor 3	0.132	0.033
Factor 4	0.073	0.018
<i>Prefer($P^1 N^0$)_{LDPR}, Close($P^0 N^1$)_{LDPR}, Vote in Duma election_{LDPR}, Feeling therm_{LDPR}</i>		
	Eigenvalues	Proportion Explained
Factor 1	3.553	0.888
Factor 2	0.377	0.094
Factor 3	0.065	0.016
Factor 4	0.006	0.001
<i>Prefer($P^0 N^0$)_{LDPR}, Close($P^0 N^1$)_{LDPR}, Vote in Duma election_{LDPR}, Feeling therm_{LDPR}</i>		
	Eigenvalues	Proportion Explained
Factor 1	3.515	0.879
Factor 2	0.450	0.113
Factor 3	0.031	0.008
Factor 4	0.004	0.001
<i>Belong($P^1 N^1$)_{LDPR}, Close($P^0 N^1$)_{LDPR}, Vote in Duma election_{LDPR}, Feeling therm_{LDPR}</i>		
	Eigenvalues	Proportion Explained
Factor 1	3.478	0.870
Factor 2	0.419	0.105
Factor 3	0.075	0.019
Factor 4	0.028	0.007
<i>Prefer(N^0)_{CPRF}, Close($P^0 N^1$)_{CPRF}, Vote in Duma election_{CPRF}, Feeling therm_{CPRF}</i>		
	Eigenvalues	Proportion Explained
Factor 1	3.633	0.908
Factor 2	0.295	0.074
Factor 3	0.048	0.012
Factor 4	0.024	0.006
<i>Belong($P^1 N^1$)_{CPRF}, Close($P^0 N^1$)_{CPRF}, Vote in Duma election_{CPRF}, Feeling therm_{CPRF}</i>		
	Eigenvalues	Proportion Explained
Factor 1	3.603	0.901
Factor 2	0.326	0.081
Factor 3	0.049	0.012
Factor 4	0.022	0.006

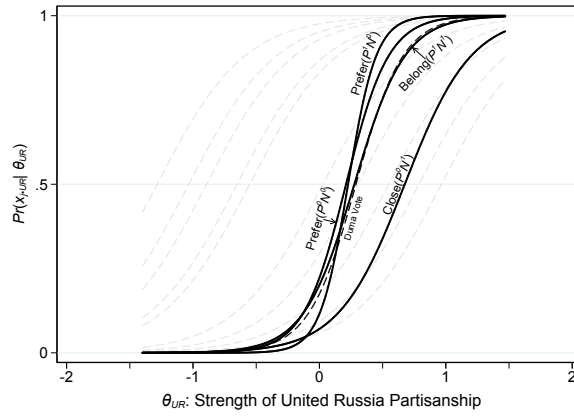
3. United States

Model 1: $Think(P^1 N^1)_{Dem}$, $Close(P^0 N^1)_{Dem}$, $Feeling\ therm_{Dem}$, $Vote\ in\ pres.\ election_{Dem}$		
	Eigenvalues	Proportion Explained
Factor 1	3.210	0.802
Factor 2	0.367	0.092
Factor 3	0.266	0.066
Factor 4	0.156	0.039
Model 2: $Think*(P^1 N^0)_{Dem}$, $Close(P^0 N^1)_{Dem}$, $Feeling\ therm_{Dem}$, $Vote\ in\ pres.\ election_{Dem}$		
	Eigenvalues	Proportion Explained
Factor 1	3.313	0.828
Factor 2	0.359	0.090
Factor 3	0.260	0.065
Factor 4	0.067	0.017
Model 3: $Think(P^1 N^1)_{Rep}$, $Close(P^0 N^1)_{Rep}$, $Feeling\ therm_{Rep}$, $Vote\ in\ pres.\ election_{Rep}$		
	Eigenvalues	Proportion Explained
Factor 1	3.365	0.841
Factor 2	0.317	0.079
Factor 3	0.231	0.058
Factor 4	0.086	0.022
Model 4: $Think*(P^1 N^0)_{Rep}$, $Close(P^0 N^1)_{Rep}$, $Feeling\ therm_{Rep}$, $Vote\ in\ pres.\ election_{Rep}$		
	Eigenvalues	Proportion Explained
Factor 1	3.425	0.856
Factor 2	0.327	0.082
Factor 3	0.195	0.049
Factor 4	0.053	0.013

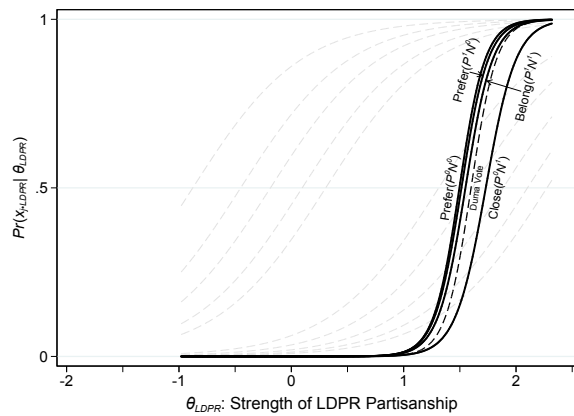
(D) IRFs for Russia

Figure A1: Item Response Functions for Measures of Mass Partisanship in Russia

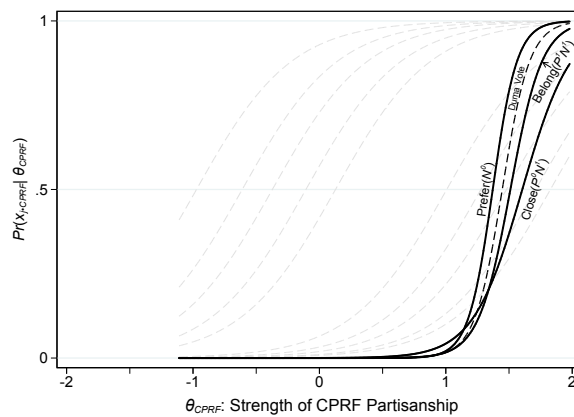
Panel A: United Russia Partisanship



Panel B: LDPR Partisanship



Panel C: CPRF Partisanship

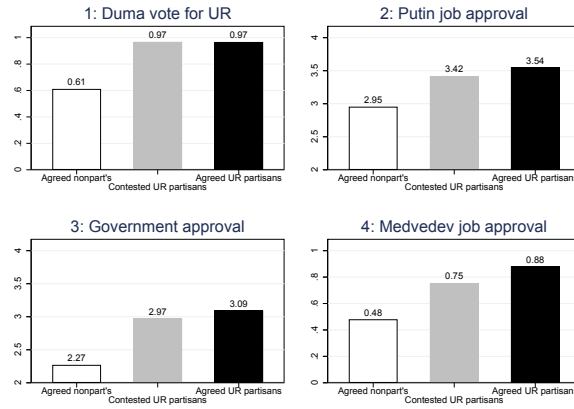


Note: Lines are IRFs estimated from models reported in Table 3. Grey dashed lines are BCCs for the feeling thermometer items.

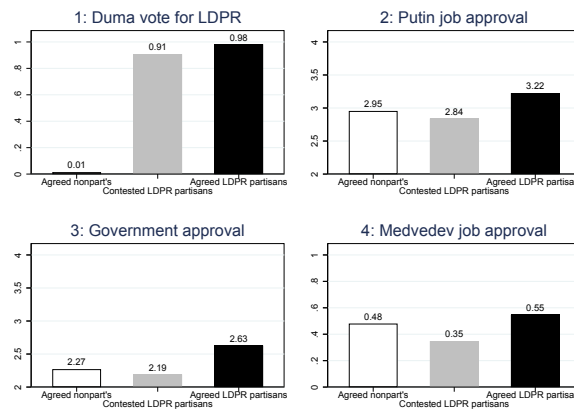
Sources: Levada Centre November 2015 Omnibus Survey

(E) Russia Criterion-Related Validity Results

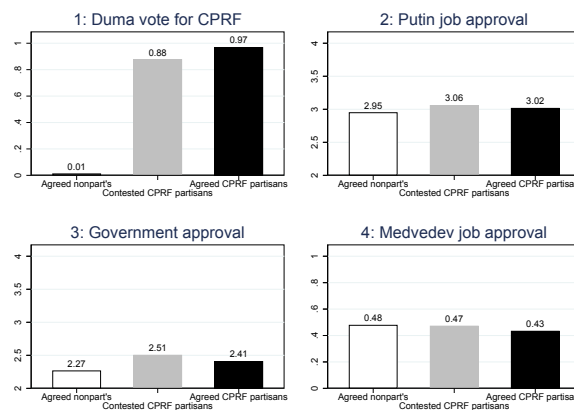
Figure A2: Bar Graphs for Russia
Panel A: United Russia Partisanship



Panel B: LDPR Partisanship



Panel C: CPRF Partisanship



Note: Note: Entries are estimated means. “Nonpart’s” = nonpartisans.
Sources: Levada Centre November 2015 Omnibus Survey

(F) Randomization Check

There is increasing recognition that randomization checks are unnecessary in experimental research, since the only assumption needed to ensure unbiased treatment effect estimates is that the different experimental groups are drawn from the same *underlying* population.²⁴ Moreover, hypothesis tests of treatment effects on the dependent variable include (in the null) the possibility that randomization produced an unlikely result. Mutz goes so far as to say that randomization checks are “irrelevant to the internal validity of experimental results” (p. 112). Nonetheless, I report checks here since randomization could be flawed by procedural and mechanical errors. Importantly, in Brazil and Russia, randomization was not fully automated at the point of the interview, so the split samples may not be fully balanced.

In Brazil, randomization occurred in wave 1. Enumerators used hand-held devices while interviewing, but randomization occurred at the level of the census sector ahead of time. Principal investigators randomly assigned a treatment to each census sector and then communicated each sector’s treatment to enumerators. Enumerators then administered the same treatment to each respondent in a given sector. (Enumerators interviewed a target of 8 respondents per sector.) Despite the lack of individual-level randomization, the randomization check shows a strong balance across the three subsamples. Most importantly, two means derived from the *Sympathy*(P^0N^I) item (which we can use in the check since this question was administered before the treatments) have no statistically significant differences across the three subsamples. Age, gender, and political interest are also well-balanced. The only statistically significant difference detected is that those receiving treatment 2 were a bit more urban, something that could easily be due to chance. (Measures of education, wealth, and income were administered post-treatment and thus cannot be used to check randomization.)

Randomization Check for Brazil: Mean and 95% Confidence Intervals on Six Pretreatment Variables by Experimental Conditions

Experimental Condition	<i>Sympathy</i> (P^0N^I) _{NP}	<i>Sympathy</i> (P^0N^I) _{PT}	Female	Age	Political Interest	Urban
<i>Prefer</i> (P^0N^0)	0.799 [0.754, 0.805]	0.131 [0.111, 0.152]	0.500 [0.470, 0.530]	40.150 [39.13, 41.17]	2.990 [2.930, 3.049]	0.874 [0.854, 0.894]
<i>Consider</i> ($P^I N^I$)	0.795 [0.769, 0.819]	0.113 [0.094, 0.133]	0.506 [0.476, 0.536]	40.103 [39.09, 41.12]	3.006 [2.947, 3.064]	0.951 [0.938, 0.964]
<i>Way of thinking</i> (P^0N^I)	0.810 [0.786, 0.834]	0.109 [0.090, 0.129]	0.505 [0.474, 0.536]	39.90 [38.87, 40.92]	3.038 [2.981, 3.095]	0.851 [0.829, 0.873]

In Russia, enumerators had four different questionnaire forms (with *Prefer*(P^0N^0) repeated on two of them to give it a larger sample size) and were instructed to successively alternate among them. Although this leaves quite a bit to enumerator discretion, the balance statistics below show no statistically significant differences across the subsamples.

²⁴Mutz, Diana C. 2011. *Population-Based Survey Experiments*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 109-112.

Randomization Check for Russia: Mean and 95% Confidence Intervals on Five Pretreatment Variables by Experimental Conditions

Experimental Condition	$Close(P^0 N^1)_{Nonpart}$	$Close(P^0 N^1)_{UR}$	Female	Age	Urbanicity
$Prefer(P^1 N^0)$	0.550 [0.503, 0.597]	0.339 [0.294, 0.383]	0.534 [0.488, 0.580]	44.93 [43.42, 46.43]	3.380 [3.264, 3.497]
$Prefer(P^0 N^0)$	0.565 [0.527, 0.602]	0.292 [0.258, 0.326]	0.553 [0.517, 0.590]	44.13 [42.92, 45.34]	3.323 [3.226, 3.420]
$Belong(P^1 N^1)$	0.575 [0.527, 0.622]	0.318 [0.274, 0.363]	0.552 [0.505, 0.599]	43.79 [42.25, 45.33]	3.306 [3.181, 3.431]

In Mexico, enumerators used software on a hand-held device to enter responses. The software randomized treatments for each respondent, and randomization occurred independently between the two. The response options experiment occurred toward the beginning of the questionnaire (and thus has fewer pre-treatment measures to use as a check) while the attachment descriptor experiment occurred toward the end of the questionnaire. In both experiments, one subsample had a statistically distinguishable larger number of women than the other two, but all other pre-treatment measures show good balance across the three treatment groups.

Randomization Check for Mexico: Mean and 95% Confidence Intervals on Six Pretreatment Variables by Experimental Conditions

Experimental Condition	Female	Age	Urbanicity	Internet Usage	Education	Wealth
Response Options Experiment						
$Sympathy(P^1 N^0)$	0.450 [0.400, 0.500]	41.24 [39.62, 42.86]	2.512 [2.434, 2.589]	0.460 [0.410, 0.510]	N/A	N/A
$Sympathy(P^0 N^0)$	0.559 [0.512, 0.607]	39.79 [38.32, 41.27]	2.509 [2.434, 2.584]	0.474 [0.426, 0.522]	N/A	N/A
$Sympathy(P^0 N^1)$	0.476 [0.427, 0.525]	41.31 [39.48, 42.87]	2.449 [2.367, 2.530]	0.481 [0.431, 0.530]	N/A	N/A
Attachment Descriptor Experiment						
$Prefer(P^1 N^0)$	0.485 [0.435, 0.534]	40.70 [39.10, 42.29]	2.444 [2.362, 2.527]	0.475 [0.425, 0.524]	9.117 [8.660, 9.574]	-0.018 [-0.139, 0.103]
$Close(P^1 N^0)$	0.463 [0.415, 0.513]	39.72 [38.18, 41.25]	2.506 [2.429, 2.583]	0.471 [0.422, 0.520]	9.249 [8.786, 9.713]	0.018 [-0.104, 0.140]
$Consider(P^1 N^0)$	0.540 [0.492, 0.589]	41.82 [40.30, 43.34]	2.518 [2.444, 2.592]	0.470 [0.421, 0.518]	8.787 [8.356, 9.219]	-0.043 [-0.162, 0.075]