

**FIGHT CLUBS:  
MEDIA COVERAGE OF PARTY (DIS)UNITY  
& CITIZENS' SELECTIVE EXPOSURE TO IT**

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## Appendix A

### *Content Analysis Instructions & Reliability Tests*

#### **Elite-Group Relations in National Media: President Obama**

**Objective:** Identify and code instances in which national news media report that President Obama has either pleased (satisfied/made happy/etc.) AND/OR displeased (upset/angered/alienated/etc.) groups that are typically understood to support/be aligned with the Democratic Party vis-à-vis groups aligned with the Republican Party. In other words, we wish to see the extent to which articles are, in a broad sense, communicating that a particular group is *with* or *against* President Obama.

#### **LOCATING/SAVING/ENTERING ARTICLES**

The research assistant (RA) will be provided with a specific set of dates. For each of these dates, the RA will use LexisNexis Academic to search for articles regarding “Obama” within *The New York Times* and *The New York Post*. Specifically, select “Advanced Options,” and specify the appropriate source, headline, and date information. The RA will use ProQuest to search for such articles within *The Wall Street Journal*. Specifically, select “Advanced Search” in ProQuest. First identify “WSJ Eastern Edition” under “Publications.” Then indicate headline and date information. (See screenshots below.)

The RA should look for news articles and editorials that have “Obama” in the article title; “Letters to the Editor” should NOT be included.

- 1) First, save the article into a folder created for this project. The filename should either begin with “NYT” or “WSJ” (depending on which newspaper it is from), followed by an underscore, then a six-digit indicator for the date, an underscore, then the first word of the article.
  - a. For example, a New York Times article from December 18<sup>th</sup>, 2010, entitled “The Tax-Cut Deal” should be saved as “NYT\_121810\_Tax-Cut”
  - b. In the unlikely event that two or more articles have the same exact file name, simply add a 2, 3, 4, etc. at the end of the file name.
- 2) Once you have located and saved a set of articles from the newspapers for a given date, begin entering them into Excel in the following order:
  - a. Enter all New York Times articles first, then all WSJ articles, then all NYP articles.
  - b. Within a given newspaper, enter the articles alphabetically according to the last name of the article author
    - i. For example, if you search “Obama” within the two newspapers for 05/10/12, and find 3 articles from the NYT and 4 articles from the WSJ, (after saving the articles) you would first enter the 3 NYT articles into Excel according to the article author’s last name (A to Z). After finishing the three NYT articles, you would then enter the four WSJ articles according to author’s last name.

#### **CODING GUIDE**

An Excel file will be maintained. Words in bold indicate names of columns that will be created.

#### **I. Source Information:**

- 1) First column: brief **title** of article (four or five words)
- 2) Second column: **date**: 6 digits: e.g., April 28<sup>th</sup>, 2006 = “042806”
- 3) Newspaper
  - a. Code for newspaper: NY Times (**NYT**), Wall Street Journal (**WSJ**). New York Post (**NYP**). Enter “1” in the appropriate column to indicate the newspaper.

## II. Groups:

### Instructions: When Should a Group Be Counted?

\*What you should be looking for are instances in which the feelings of a group(s) toward Obama are made clear.

\*Instances in which Obama merely says something about a group, and the group’s response is not mentioned, should not be counted as a situation in which a group was mentioned; a “1” should be entered in the “No group” column.

\*Instances in which a single person (e.g., one Republican) says something about Obama is not sufficient by itself—the article must communicate that a particular **group** is pleased/displeased, and that this person is responding as a member of this group.

\*For a group to be counted, the article must make explicitly clear that a group is in a broad sense *with* or *against* with Obama. For example, if Obama helped coordinate a budget deal between Democrats and Republicans, and the article says that many Democrats are upset *with Obama*, but that some Republicans are happy *with the deal*: it is explicit that Obama has upset Democrats, but it is **not** explicit that Obama has pleased Republicans. In this case, Democrats would be counted as a group, but not Republicans.

- 1) **No group** (=1 if no group is mentioned): If “No group”=1, then coding should cease at this point.

Each bold word below represents a general group category. After that, examples of specific groups within that category are listed. The groups listed have their own separate columns in the Excel file. You will enter a 1 in the appropriate column if any of the following groups appear (if no column exists yet for a particular group, please create one).

- 1) **Partisan**
  - Democrats
  - Republicans
- 2) **Ideological**
  - liberals/progressives
  - conservatives
  - foreign policy doves (e.g., peace and anti-war citizens/activists)
  - foreign policy hawks/military (e.g., citizens/activists pushing for military action)
  - libertarians
- 3) **Racial**
  - African-Americans/blacks
  - Latino/Hispanic
  - Asian
  - White
  - Native American

- 4) **Religious**
  - Christian
  - Jewish
  - Islamic/Muslim
- 5) **Social**
  - Males
  - Females/Feminists
  - Gay/LGBT Rights groups
  - Students
  - Young
  - Elderly/Old
- 6) **Economic**
  - Big business/business/finance community /Wall Street
  - small business
  - labor unions
- 7) **Issue-Based**
  - Environmental
  - Pro-choice
  - Pro-life
  - Gun rights/2<sup>nd</sup> Amendment
  - Gun control
  - Civil liberties/anti-surveillance (e.g., the ACLU)
  - National security/anti-terrorism
  - Drug legalization
  - Drug Enforcement
  - Anti-War/Peace
- 8) **Other**

(Use this category for any additional groups not covered by the previous categories.)

### III. Nature of the Elite-Group Interaction:

- 1) Group Displeased/Pleased
  - a. Indicator for **Pleased** the group (1=Yes; blank otherwise). For example, words like please, satisfy, make happy, etc. are common indicators.
  - b. Indicator for **Displeased** the group (1=Yes; blank otherwise). For example, words like displease, upset, anger, frustrate, alienate, disappoints, etc. are common indicators.
- 2) Code whether group is in **government** (=1) or not (=0)
  - i. e.g., “alienated liberals in Congress” (=1) vs. “alienated liberal voters” (=0)
  - ii. Enter 1 in the “government UK” if it is unclear whether the alienated group is confined to government only. E.g., “Obama has upset many liberals”—if the article does not explicitly specify, for example, “liberals in Congress” or “liberal activists”, then this would be coded as a 1 in the government UK column.

#### IV. Media Coverage of the Elite-Group Interaction:

- 1) Code whether the pleasing/displeasing of a group is reflected in the article's **title** (yes=1; no=0)

#### Lexis-Nexis (NYT) Screenshot

The screenshot shows the Lexis-Nexis Academic Search interface. At the top, there is a search bar with the text "Enter Search Terms" and a "Search" button. Below this is the "Advanced Options" section, which is highlighted with a red border. It includes a "Date" section with "From" and "to" fields set to 03/20/2011 and 03/26/2011, and an "Or Select" dropdown set to "All Available Dates". To the right is the "Build Your Own Segment Search" section, which has a dropdown menu set to "HEADLINE" and a text input field containing "HEADLINE(Oabama)". Below these are sections for "Source" (set to "The New York Times"), "Index Terms" (with a link to "Look up Index Terms"), and "Content Type" (with checkboxes for "Newspapers", "State and Federal Cases", "Law Reviews", and "Company Profiles"). At the bottom right of the "Advanced Options" section are "Apply" and "Cancel" buttons.

#### ProQuest (WSJ) Screenshot

The screenshot shows the ProQuest Advanced Search interface. At the top, there are navigation tabs for "Basic Search", "Advanced Search" (which is selected), "Publications", "Browse", and "Databases (16)". On the right side, there is a link for "Library Subject Guides". The main search area is titled "Advanced Search" and includes links for "Thesaurus", "Field codes", and "Search tips". The search criteria are entered in two rows: the first row has "pubid(10482)" in the search field and "Anywhere" in the location dropdown; the second row has "AND" in the operator dropdown, "Obama" in the search field, "OR" in the operator dropdown, and "Document title - TI" in the location dropdown. Below the search criteria, there is an "Add a row" button and a "Limit to:" section with checkboxes for "Full text", "Peer reviewed", "DNSA documents only", "DNSA bibliographies", "DNSA chronologies", and "DNSA glossaries". The "Publication date:" section is set to "Specific date range". The "Start" date is set to "March 20 2011" and the "End" date is set to "March 26 2011". At the bottom right, there are "Search" and "Clear form" buttons.

### *Inter-coder Reliability Estimates*

To ensure that the coding was done reliably, fifteen articles were randomly selected by the author from each of the three coders, for a total of forty-five articles. These forty-five articles were then independently coded by the author on the three key variables of interest: (1) whether or not the article mentioned a politically-relevant group in relation to President Obama, (2) which group(s) was mentioned, and (3) whether the group was depicted as being “with” or “against” President Obama. Given the interest in maximizing the total number of articles analyzed, and because the coders analyzed the articles at different points in time, coders did not analyze a sufficiently large number of the *same* articles.

Three alternative strategies were used to estimate inter-coder reliability. Essentially, the strategies involved stages, wherein the author first checked whether (1) there was agreement on whether a group was mentioned, then (if applicable) (2) what the group was, and then (3) whether the group was reportedly pleased or displeased with President Obama. Table A1 displays the results for each of these three strategies (Methods 1, 2, and 3).

Method 1 arguably represents the most conservative strategy. If the author and coder agreed that a group was mentioned, and there was perfect agreement on which group(s) was mentioned, each received a score of “1” (across the forty-five articles, *there was no disagreement on whether a group was depicted as “with” vis-à-vis “against” the president*). However, if there was any disagreement between the author and coder on *whether* a group was mentioned, and/or *which* group(s) was mentioned (e.g., the author identified three groups mentioned, while the coder only identified two), one received a “0” and one received a “1”. Thus, to be in perfect agreement, the author and coder needed to have been in agreement on whether a group was mentioned, and needed to have identified the exact same groups in each article. Using this method, the overall percent

agreement between author and coders was 84.44%. However, because a non-negligible portion of this agreement could occur by random chance, a more conservative estimate of inter-coder reliability, kappa ( $\kappa$ ), was obtained (McHugh 2012). Across the forty-five articles,  $\kappa$  was equal to .69 ( $p < .001$ ), which is generally considered to be “substantial” inter-coder agreement (Viera and Garrett 2005).

Method 2 assigns one point to the researcher and one point to the coder when both agree that either 1) no group was mentioned, or 2) at least one group was mentioned. If there is disagreement on whether a group was mentioned, the researcher receives a 1 and the coder receives a 0. Next, assuming both agreed that a group was mentioned, one point is assigned to the researcher for each group identified. The coder then receives one additional point for each group s/he identified that was *also* identified by the researcher. For example, if the researcher identifies three groups in an article, but the coder only identifies one, the researcher would receive four points, and the coder would receive two points. (Again, no disagreement occurred on whether a group was *pleased* vs. *displeased* with Obama.) Using this method, there was 82.22% agreement between the researcher and coders, with  $\kappa$  equal to .65 ( $p < .001$ ).

The shortcoming with Method 2 is that no partial credit is given. For example, when the researcher has four points, but the coder only has three, this disagreement is treated the same as when the researcher has four points but the coder only has two. To address this, Method 3 weights each of the codes such that codes that are closer together (e.g., four points and three points) are treated as “more correct” than codes that are farther apart (e.g., four points and two points). This was accomplished by specifying the “*wgt(w)*” option for the *kap* command in Stata 14. Using this method, the level of agreement between researcher and coders was 92.59%, with  $\kappa$  equal to .64 ( $p < .001$ ).

**TABLE A1. Inter-coder Reliability Estimates**

	<b>% Agreement</b>	<b>Kappa (<math>\kappa</math>)</b>	<b><i>p</i>-value</b>
<b>Method 1</b>	84.44%	.69	<.001
<b>Method 2</b>	82.22%	.65	<.001
<b>Method 3</b>	92.59%	.64	<.001

*Notes:* Total number of articles coded for reliability = 45 (15 from each of the three independent coders).

As Table A1 indicates, regardless of the different estimation method used, the “% Agreement” figures remain high, and the kappa statistics remain similar in size. Moreover, in each case the kappa statistic remains statistically significantly different from zero (i.e., statistically significantly greater than the percent agreement that would have been expected to occur by chance between the researcher and coder(s)).

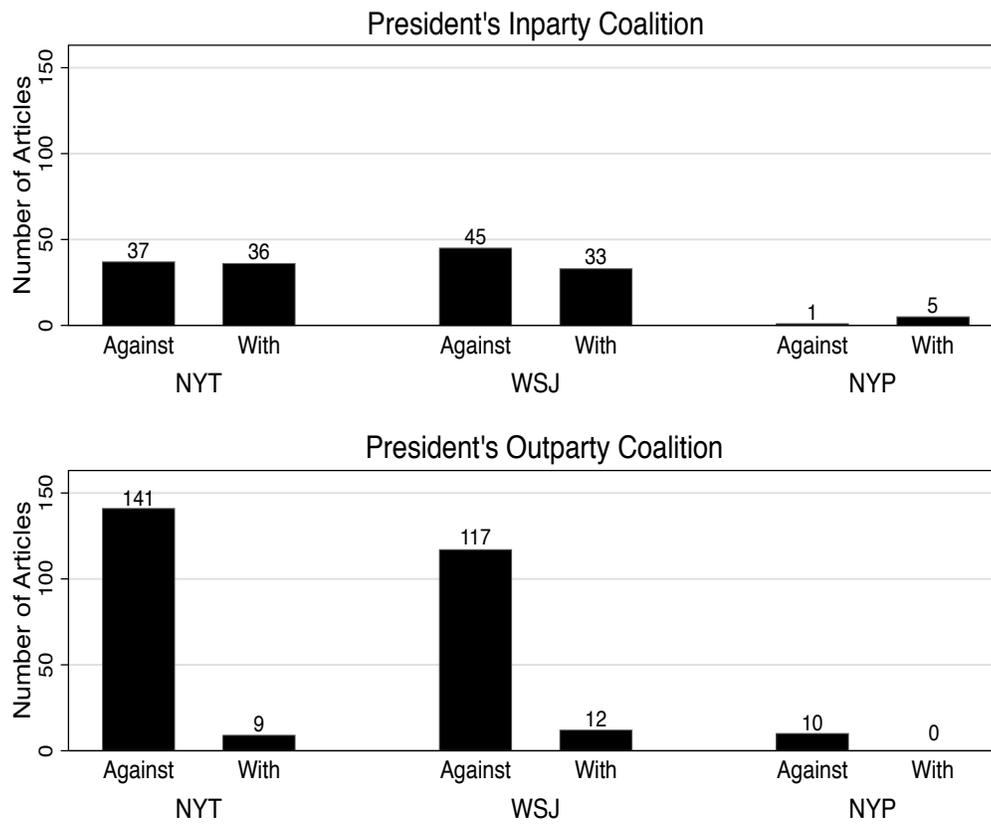
## **Appendix B**

### *Supplemental Content Analysis Results*

The manuscript reports that 28.01% of articles referenced a politically-relevant group. While this share is itself rather sizable, this estimate may be slightly conservative insofar as some articles did not deal explicitly with President Obama's political actions (e.g., Scott and Dargis 2013), and because articles primarily devoted to foreign policy tended to not feature mentions of domestic political groups. In assessing inter-coder reliability, for example, twelve of the forty-five articles that were analyzed (26.67%) dealt primarily with foreign policy, and out of these twelve articles, only two (16.67%) mentioned groups that are germane to domestic American politics. This proportion (.1667) is significantly lower than the overall proportion of articles mentioning political groups in the entire sample (.28;  $p < .001$ ).

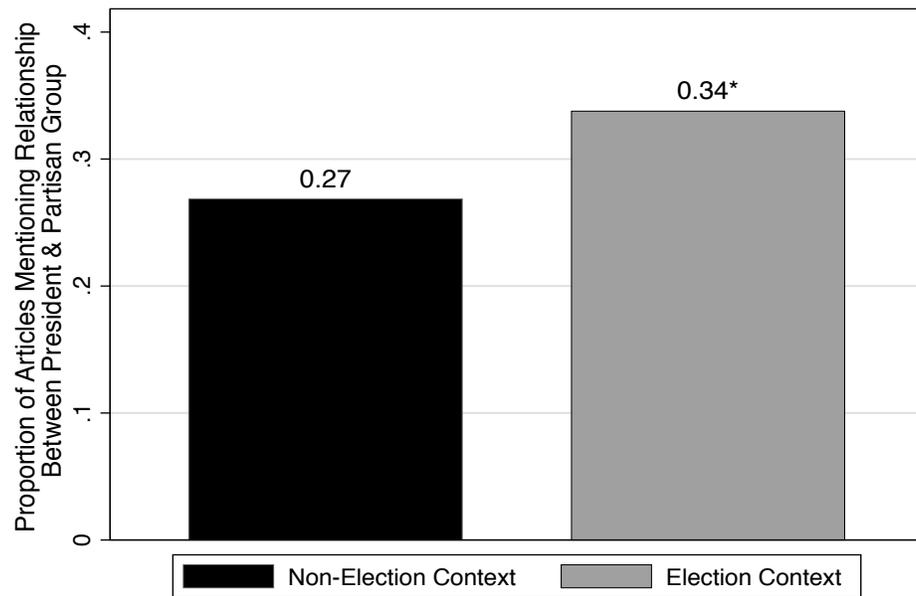
Given the importance of political campaigns for partisanship and polarization (Iyengar, Sood, and Lelkes 2012; Miller and Wlezien 1993), each article was also coded in terms of whether or not it appeared in the context of a national election (i.e., between September and December of 2010, 2012, or 2014). As Figure B2 demonstrates, articles appearing in an electoral context were approximately seven percentage points (or, 25.76%) more likely to mention presidential relations with groups than articles not appearing in an electoral context. This difference attains statistical significance ( $p < .05$ ), and remains substantively large even after accounting for which newspaper published each article. This finding is notable insofar as it suggests that citizens learn more about presidential relations with groups, both within and between parties, at the same time as they are preparing to cast their vote, which may have important downstream consequences for political behavior (e.g., willingness to vote for a candidate, volunteer for a campaign, or participate in a protest (e.g., see Miller and Wlezien 1993)).

**FIGURE B1. Presidential Relations With Partisan Groups By Party & Newspaper**



Notes: “NYT” = *The New York Times*; “WSJ” = *The Wall Street Journal*; “NYP” = *The New York Post*. Some articles that were analyzed featured more than one group. Total number of unique articles content-analyzed = 1,360.

**FIGURE B2. Electoral Context & Group Mentions in the News**



*Notes:* Y-axis indicates proportion of articles mentioning at least one of the groups identified in Table 1. Total number of unique articles content-analyzed = 1,360. \* indicates statistical significance at  $p < .05$  (two-tailed hypothesis test).

## Appendix C

### *YouGov & Qualtrics Samples: Survey and Demographic Information*

The YouGov survey was fielded between 12/14/15 and 12/21/15. YouGov interviewed 1000 respondents, who were matched to a sampling frame (which was constructed using the 2010 American Community Survey) based on gender, age, race, education, party identification, ideology and political interest. The Qualtrics survey was fielded throughout October of 2018. Screeners and quotas were in place to ensure that the sample would only include adults residing in the United States, and that the sample would be nationally representative in terms of age, income, gender, race, Census region, and partisanship.

**TABLE C1. Demographic Information for YouGov & Qualtrics Samples**

	<b>2016 YouGov Sample</b>	<b>2018 Qualtrics Sample</b>
Median Income	\$40-\$49k	\$50k-\$75k
Median Education	Some College	Some College
Mean Age	49 yrs.	45 yrs.
Female	53.60%	52.04%
White	72.90%	61.87%
Black	9.40%	11.41%
Hispanic	11.60%	18.07%
Democrat	44.60%	48.54%
Independent	23.20%	16.90%
Republican	32.20%	34.55%
Liberal	28.60%	38.55%
Moderate	40.40%	31.47%
Conservative	31.00%	29.98%

*Notes:* YouGov study fielded between 12/14/15 – 12/21/15 ( $n=1000$ ). Qualtrics study fielded between 09/25/18 – 10/16/18 ( $n=1201$ ).

## Appendix D

### *Political Knowledge Questions & Response Options (YouGov Survey)*

The following eight questions were used to construct the political knowledge scale used in the YouGov experiment analyses and discussed in the text of the manuscript:

1. Do you happen to know the name of the current Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives? Is it... [*Randomize order of response options*]
  - John Boehner
  - Kevin McCarthy
  - Paul Ryan
  - Mitch McConnell
  
2. The U.S. and 11 Pacific Rim nations recently reached an agreement that would...  
[*Randomize order of response options*]
  - Open up free trade between these nations
  - Increase immigration between these nations
  - Improve the quality of water in the Pacific Ocean
  - Reduce the emission of greenhouse gases
  
3. What is the name of the Chair of the Federal Reserve Board?  
[*Randomize order of response options*]
  - Janet Yellen
  - Ben Bernanke
  - Kirsten Gillibrand
  - Elizabeth Warren
  
4. What is the current unemployment rate in this country? Is it closer to...
  - 2%
  - 5%
  - 10%
  - 15%
  
5. How much of a majority is required for the U.S. Senate and U.S. House to override a presidential veto?
  - One-half
  - Two-thirds
  - Three-fourths
  - Three-fifths

6. What does the term “Common Core” refer to?  
*[Randomize order of response options]*
- School curriculum standards for language and math
  - The military’s code of conduct
  - A set of nutrition standards for school lunches
  - A plan to mandate English as the official language
7. What is the leading source of electricity in the United States? Is it...  
*[Randomize order of response options]*
- Renewable energy sources (wind, solar)
  - Coal
  - Natural Gas
  - Nuclear power
8. Which party has the most seats in the U.S. Senate? Is it the...  
*[Randomize order of response options]*
- Republican Party
  - Democratic Party

**Appendix E:**

*Example Experimental Condition Image (Qualtrics Experiment)*

If you had to pick one, which of the following news stories would you want to read?

 <p>Trends in Seatbelt Usage and Accident Rates Over the Past 10 Years</p>	 <p>A Story about President Trump Recently Upsetting Many of His Conservative Supporters</p>	 <p>An Update About Sports Teams in Your Local Area</p>	 <p>A Recent Blood Donation Drive by the American Red Cross</p>
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## Appendix F

### *Experimental Analysis Robustness Checks: Main Effects, Novelty, and Interactions with Political Sophistication & Ideology*

Table F1 presents the logistic regression results for each partisan group across both experiments. As this table demonstrates, we observe significant treatment effects among partisans reading about an outparty president alienating his party's coalition (see *Republicans* column in the Obama experiment, and *Democrats* column in the Trump experiment). This is perfectly consistent with **H2**. Among partisans reading about an *inparty* president, Democrats were significantly more likely to read a story involving President Obama's relations with his own party compared to basic information about President Obama, thus providing no support for **H1**. Among Republicans, there was no significant tendency to alter news consumption in response to the experimental manipulations. However, it is notable that the results for Republicans are in the pattern predicted by **H1**—selection of the Trump story is highest in the “United” condition, and lowest in the “Disunited” condition, though the difference between these two conditions is not significant ( $p=.38$ ).

Beyond the main regression analysis, several sets of additional analyses were explored. First, there are several reasons to investigate whether treatment effects may have been stronger among politically sophisticated partisans. First, at a fundamental level, citizens with greater knowledge and interest in politics may be more inclined to read news stories about coalition politics (Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996). Second, Iyengar and Hahn (2009) find that the strongest tendencies for co-partisan news selection occur among politically interested partisans. Third, if the observed treatment effect for the “Disunited” condition (among outparty members) is primarily due to the relative *novelty* of this type of information, we might expect significantly stronger effects among more (versus less) politically interested outparty members (precisely because politically interested

individuals will be more aware that such information is novel). Thus, a more robust test of both **H1** and **H2** would also account for heterogeneous treatment effects across different levels of political sophistication.

**Table F1. Logistic Regression Results for Obama and Trump Survey Experiments**

	<b>Obama Experiment (YouGov Data)</b>		<b>Trump Experiment (Qualtrics Data)</b>	
	<i>Democrats</i>	<i>Republicans</i>	<i>Democrats</i>	<i>Republicans</i>
<i>United w/Inparty Coalition</i>	0.70** (0.24)	-0.58 (0.40)	0.27 (0.33)	0.24 (0.30)
<i>Disunited w/Inparty Coalition</i>	0.65** (0.24)	1.54*** (0.32)	0.94** (0.32)	-0.02 (0.31)
Constant	-0.34* (0.17)	-1.59*** (0.25)	-1.49*** (0.25)	-0.39† (0.22)
Pseudo-R <sup>2</sup>	.06	.12	.03	.00
N	437	315	344	268

*Notes:* The dependent variable measures selection of a news story about President Obama (Obama Experiment) or Trump (Trump Experiment) (=1) versus any one of three other news story options (=0). Coefficients are estimates from a logistic regression model (SEs in parentheses). The “United w/Inparty Coalition” condition depicts Obama’s (Trump’s) liberal (conservative) supporters as being pleased with him, with the “Disunited w/Inparty Coalition” condition depicts Obama’s (Trump’s) liberal (conservative) supporters as being displeased with him. The control condition, which featured basic information about President Obama (Trump), is the excluded category to which effects should be compared. † significant at p<.10; \* p<.05; \*\* p<.01; \*\*\* p<.001 (two-tailed hypothesis tests).

Second, it is possible that treatment effects were primarily driven by ideological considerations insofar as “liberals” and “conservatives” were explicitly mentioned in the experimental vignettes—that is, the experimental manipulations may have also implicitly suggested that the president endorsed a more or less liberal/conservative policy stance. Thus, by including interactions between the experimental conditions and (1) political sophistication (i.e., factual knowledge or general interest in political affairs), or (2) ideological self-placement (measured on a five-point (YouGov study) or seven-point (Qualtrics study) liberal-conservative scale) in the original

model, we can not only explore additional heterogeneous treatment effects, but also gain better leverage on the underlying reasons for the results we observe.<sup>1</sup>

Table F2 displays the results for the YouGov sample, which account for interactions between the experimental conditions and (1) political knowledge, and (2) ideology. First, with respect to interactions between the experimental conditions and political knowledge (*Knowledge*), there is modest empirical support for the notion that more politically knowledgeable Democrats exhibited greater interest in the story involving disunity than did less politically knowledgeable Democrats (as indicated by the positive and marginally significant coefficient on *Disunited X Knowledge* in the first column of results). We do not observe any such marginally significant effect among Republican respondents, however. Given that the largest observed treatment effect is for the *Disunited* condition among Republicans (see Table F1), finding no significant interaction between this treatment condition and *Knowledge* among Republicans suggests that novelty was not responsible for the result, precisely because the effect is similar among low and high-knowledge Republicans.

Second, the results in Table F2 also indicate that no interaction between experimental condition and ideological self-placement attained statistical significance at the conventional level. However, the coefficient on *United X Ideology* is marginally significant and negatively signed among Democrats, indicating a tendency for higher levels of conservatism (among Democrats) to result in a lower likelihood of selecting the story involving President Obama pleasing his liberal base relative to the control condition (though, it should be noted that the coefficient on *Disunited X Ideology* is also negative among Democrats, albeit smaller in size than the coefficient on *United X Ideology*, and not statistically significant).

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<sup>1</sup> The political knowledge index is based on questions tapping multiple types of political knowledge (see Barabas et al. 2014) and had a reliability coefficient ( $\alpha$ ) equal to .70, indicating substantial internal reliability.

**TABLE F2. Regression Analyses of Partisans’ Willingness to Read Obama News Story (YouGov Study)**

	Treatment-Knowledge Interactions		Treatment-Ideology Interactions	
	<i>Democrats</i>	<i>Republicans</i>	<i>Democrats</i>	<i>Republicans</i>
<i>United</i>	-0.19 (0.69)	0.02 (1.1)	1.32** (0.42)	-0.84 (1.54)
<i>Disunited</i>	-0.6 (0.71)	1.45 (0.95)	0.96* (0.39)	1.84 (1.25)
<i>Knowledge</i>	-0.35 (0.72)	0.6 (0.88)	--	--
<i>United X Knowledge</i>	1.31 (0.96)	0.83 (1.57)	--	--
<i>Disunited X Knowledge</i>	1.85 <sup>†</sup> (0.98)	0.17 (1.33)	--	--
<i>Ideology</i>	--	--	-0.42 (0.73)	0.00 (1.27)
<i>United X Ideology</i>	--	--	-1.7 <sup>†</sup> (1.04)	0.35 (1.98)
<i>Disunited X Ideology</i>	--	--	-0.91 (1.02)	-0.41 (1.63)
Constant	-0.1 (0.52)	-1.20 <sup>†</sup> (0.61)	-0.22 (0.27)	-1.59 (0.99)
Pseudo-R <sup>2</sup>	.03	.13	.04	.12
N	437	315	437	315

*Notes:* The dependent variable measures selection of a news story about President Obama (1) versus three other news story options (0). Coefficients are estimates from a logistic regression model (SEs in parentheses). The control condition is the excluded experimental category, to which all estimates should be compared. The “United” condition depicts Obama’s liberal supporters as being pleased with him, with the “Disunited” condition depicts Obama’s liberal supporters as being displeased. “Ideology” ranges from “Very Liberal” to “Very Conservative” and was recoded to range from 0 to 1. “Knowledge” is an eight-item scale, recoded to range from 0 to 1, measuring factual knowledge of politics. † significant at p<.10; \* p<.05; \*\* p<.01; \*\*\* p<.001 (two-tailed hypothesis tests).

Table F3 presents the results of the Qualtrics sample, which similarly include interactions between experimental condition and (1) political interest, or (2) ideological self-placement, among partisan respondents (the main effects of the Qualtrics experiment, estimated separately for Democrats and Republicans, appear in Table F1). We again do not find any interactions attaining statistical significance at the conventional level. However, it is worth noting that the coefficient on *United X Interest* among Republicans is positive and marginally significant (p=.08), which suggests that higher levels of interest in politics resulted in a greater likelihood of selecting a story about

**Table F3: Regression Analyses of Partisans’ Willingness to Read Trump News Story (Qualtrics Study)**

	Treatment-Interest Interactions		Treatment-Ideology Interactions	
	<i>Democrats</i>	<i>Republicans</i>	<i>Democrats</i>	<i>Republicans</i>
<i>United</i>	-0.75 (0.96)	-0.94 (0.77)	0.40 (0.55)	0.26 (0.86)
<i>Disunited</i>	0.90 (0.88)	-1.34 (0.92)	1.25* (0.54)	-0.28 (0.92)
<i>Interest</i>	0.87 (0.95)	1.41 <sup>†</sup> (0.78)	--	--
<i>United X Interest</i>	1.47 (1.27)	1.93 <sup>†</sup> (1.11)	--	--
<i>Disunited X Interest</i>	0.11 (1.21)	1.77 (1.26)	--	--
<i>Ideology</i>	--	--	0.42 (1.03)	0.58 (0.83)
<i>United X Ideology</i>	--	--	-0.40 (1.36)	-0.02 (1.14)
<i>Disunited X Ideology</i>	--	--	-0.98 (1.38)	0.37 (1.21)
Constant	-2.08** (0.70)	-1.25* (0.54)	-1.62*** (0.41)	-0.79 (0.63)
Pseudo-R <sup>2</sup>	.06	.11	.03	.01
N	437	268	344	268

*Notes:* The dependent variable measures selection of a news story about President Trump (1) versus three other news story options (0). Coefficients are estimates from a logistic regression model (SEs in parentheses). Political (“pure”) Independents are the excluded partisan category, and the control condition is the excluded experimental category, to which all estimates should be compared. The “United” condition depicts Trump’s conservative supporters as being pleased with him, with the “Disunited” condition depicts Trump’s conservative supporters as being displeased. “Ideology” ranges from “Very Liberal” to “Very Conservative” and was recoded to range from 0 to 1. “Interest” is an five-point scale measuring interest in government and politics, ranging from “Not interested at all” to “Extremely interested” (recoded to range from 0 to 1). † significant at p<.10; \* p<.05; \*\* p<.01; \*\*\* p<.001 (two-tailed hypothesis tests).

Trump’s positive relations with conservatives compared to select a story involving basic information about Trump. Again, however, the largest effect observed in this experiment is for the *Disunited* condition among outparty members (see Table F1), and yet we do not see a significant interaction between *Disunited* and *Interest* among Democrats. This again suggests that what is driving the result is not the mere novelty of the story, lest we would have seen that the treatment was significantly stronger among more politically interested Democrats.

Interactions between experimental condition and ideological self-identification did not approach statistical significance for either Democrats or Republicans. This suggests that, regardless of ideological self-identification, experimental effects on selecting the news story involving President Trump were of comparable magnitudes.

Overall, these results suggest that it is not the case that Republicans (Democrats) categorically dislike consuming information about the Democratic (Republican) Party or the politics between its leader and his political coalition. Rather, these partisans appear especially interested in such information when it describes *dissension* between an outparty leader and the outparty groups he or she is entrusted to represent, and (likely) not merely because such information is novel. Again, this pattern differs markedly from the behavior of partisans when they viewed stories involving an *inparty* president. In the Obama experiment, Democrats were significantly more likely consume information about President Obama's relations with the Democratic base (compared to the control condition) regardless of whether it depicted unity or disunity within their own party; in the Trump experiment, Republicans showed no significant tendency to alter their willingness to read about President Trump, regardless of the content of the story.

Finally, I also examined whether the relative novelty of the *Disunity* treatment (compared to the *Unity* treatment) may have influenced behavior among political Independents (again, as discussed above, no evidence for this contention was found among partisans). Specifically, I examined treatment effects among Independents with higher than average political knowledge (Obama experiment) and political interest (Trump experiment). (I used the averages among Independents rather than among the sample as a whole since the population of interest, in this case, is Independents.) The logic, again, is that Independents with higher (versus lower) levels of political sophistication should be more aware that such information is novel. However, in both experiments, I

actually find that the probability of selecting the story about the president is slightly lower in the *Disunity* condition than in the *Unity* condition, though not statistically significantly so. This suggests that the two treatment conditions do not appear to respondents to be markedly different in terms of their relative novelty.

## Appendix G: Analysis of Factual Manipulation Check in Trump News Story Experiment

The Qualtrics experiment included a treatment-relevant factual manipulation check (immediately following the outcome measure) to assess the degree to which respondents correctly interpreted the information provided to them in the experiment (see Kane and Barabas 2019). The question, asked of all respondents, was as follows:

*A moment ago you were shown a set of news story options. One of these options involved a news story about President Trump. To the best of your ability, please briefly describe what the story option concerning President Trump was about.*

The responses to this question were open-ended, and were therefore subsequently coded by an independent research assistant. Specifically, one of four codes was assigned to each response: a response containing information shown to the control group (=1); a response containing information shown to the “United With Inparty Coalition” treatment group (=2); a response containing information shown to the “Disunited With Inparty Coalition” treatment group (=3); a response containing no meaningful information nor information contained in the treatment or control groups (=4).

If the experimental conditions were observed and interpreted as intended, we should find that the codes are strongly associated with treatment assignment. Table G1 reveals precisely this pattern. Perhaps owing to the use of an open-ended (rather than closed-ended) question, a majority of responses in each condition was coded as non-informative (=4). However, aside from these responses, we indeed see that, for example, respondents assigned to the first treatment condition were more likely to give the correct response for the first treatment condition than the correct response for either of the other two conditions. This association is statistically significant at the  $p < .001$  level and substantively strong (Cramér’s  $V = .653$ ). This indicates that substantial portions of the sample were

attentive to the experimental stimuli and correctly interpreted the particular information that was provided to them regarding President Trump.

**Table G1. Factual Manipulation Check Results**

	<b>Experimental Condition Assignment</b>		
	<b>Control</b>	<b>Treatment 1 (T1) Coalition United</b>	<b>Treatment 2 (T2) Coalition Disunited</b>
<b>Correct Response (Control)</b>	<b>48.09%</b>	00.38%	00.00%
<b>Correct Response (T1)</b>	00.00%	<b>38.40%</b>	00.41%
<b>Correct Response (T2)</b>	00.00%	00.00%	<b>42.21%</b>
<b>Non-Informative Response</b>	51.91%	61.22%	57.38%
<b>Total</b>	100% (n=235)	100% (n=263)	100% (n=244)

*Notes:* Qualtrics data. Diagonal indicates that factual manipulation check (FMC) responses vary systematically with treatment assignment ( $\chi^2$  (631.99);  $p < .001$ ). Cramér's V, a measure of association between categorical variables, is equal to .653, indicating a substantively strong association between the variables.

## **Appendix H: Analysis of Additional Conditions in Trump News Story Experiment**

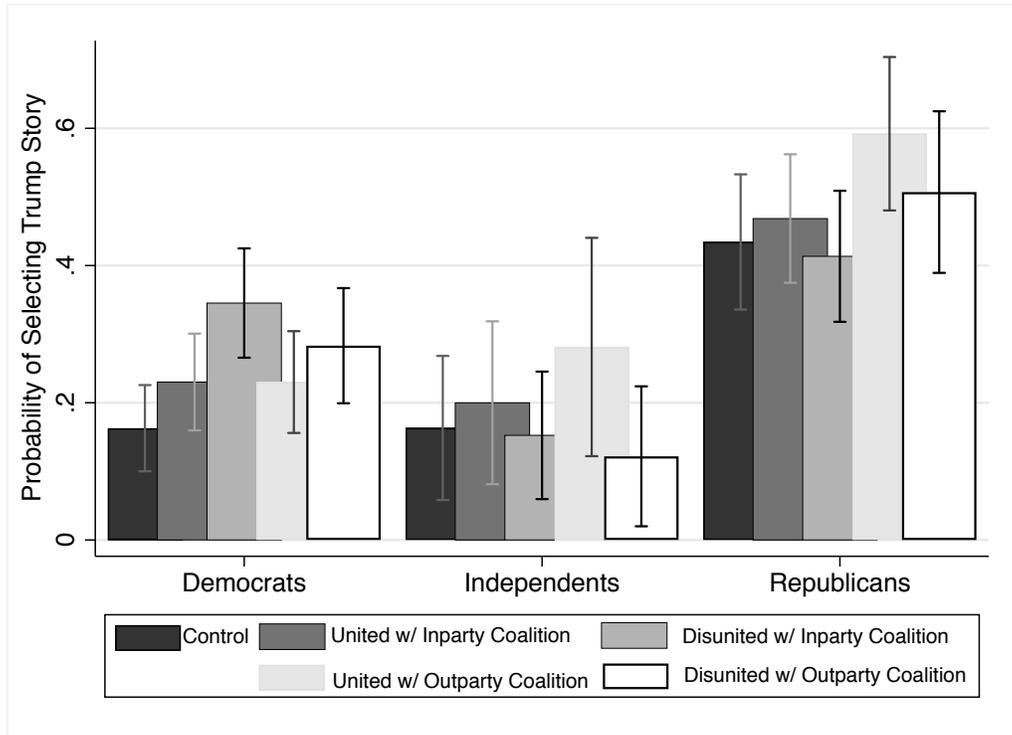
In addition to the three conditions discussed in the manuscript, the experiment also included two news story conditions regarding President Trump's relations with the outparty—specifically, liberals. In these two particular stories, President Trump was said to have either 1) pleased his liberal opponents, or 2) upset his liberal opponents.

Figure H1 displays the results of the experiment inclusive of these two additional conditions. First, among Independents, we still do not observe any statistically significant effects (relative to the control). However, it is notable that Independents were most interested in the news story involving Trump relating positively with liberals (28.13% opted to read the Trump news story in this condition). One possibility for this result is that Independents viewed this particular Trump news story to be the most novel; however, at the same time, only 14.89% of Independents (which was nearly the smallest observed share for this group, and approximately four percentage points below the share observed in the control condition) opted to read about Trump upsetting conservatives, despite this information (likely) being relatively novel as well.

Second, among Democrats, it remains the case that the most appealing news story was Trump disappointing his conservative base; however, the story involving conflict between Trump and the Democratic base (i.e., liberals) attracted a comparable amount of attention (28.32% selected the latter, while 36.61% selected the former). Second, among Republicans, it is notable that these two additional conditions attracted more interest than any of the original Trump news stories. 59.21% of Republicans took an interest in reading about Trump's positive relations with liberals (an effect that is statistically significantly different from the control condition ( $p < .05$ )), while 50.70% selected to read a news story involving Trump's negative relations with liberals. The reasons underlying these

latter results are not entirely clear, of course<sup>2</sup>; however, they nevertheless reinforce the larger point that self-exposure can be influenced by an elite’s relationship with the types of people that associate with each party.

**Figure H1: Trump News Story Selection Experiment (Additional Conditions)**



*Notes:* Qualtrics data. Y-axis indicates probability of selecting a news story about President Trump versus three other news story options. The “Control” condition offered a neutral story about President Trump. The “United w/ [Inparty/Outparty] Coalition” condition depicts Trump’s [conservative supporters/liberal opponents] as being pleased with him, with the “Disunited w/ [Inparty/Outparty] Coalition” condition depicts Trump’s [conservative supporters/liberal opponents] as being displeased. 95% confidence intervals shown.

<sup>2</sup> One complicating factor is that positive relations with liberals does not necessarily indicate that Trump betrayed his own base. Thus, it is difficult to directly compare the “United with Outparty” result with the “Disunited with Inparty” result.

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