

Supplementary Tables and Figures: Ideological Labels in America

Table S1: Survey Items

Issue positions / Operational ideology

Included items:

1. Federal programs that provide health care benefits should allow funding for abortion. (5=Strongly Agree, 4=Agree, 3=Neither Agree nor Disagree, 2=Disagree, 1=Strongly Disagree).
2. Federal spending for education should be reduced.
3. Federal personal income taxes for individuals with incomes higher than \$250,000 should be raised.
4. The federal health care reform program adopted in 2010 should be repealed.
5. The federal government should recognize the validity of same-sex marriage where state law does.
6. Federal law should ban the possession of handguns except by law enforcement personnel.
7. The federal government should adopt policies to address the problems of global warming.
8. The federal government should find a way to allow people who now are in the U.S. illegally to stay in the U.S. and become U.S. citizens.
9. The federal government should guarantee a higher minimum wage for workers.
10. Medicaid should be extended to cover more people.
11. Medicare, the federal health insurance program for senior citizens, should be reformed so that Medicare is provided by private insurance companies with subsidies from the government.
12. Social Security should be reformed so that individuals are given private retirement accounts that are invested in the stock market.
13. The federal government should do more to regulate business in order to protect the interests of consumers.
14. The federal government should support programs designed to help minorities get better jobs and education.

Excluded items:

1. The federal government should spend more money on national defense.
2. Federal efforts to support farmers with price supports and direct payments should be reduced.
3. Candidates for Congress should receive public funds for their election campaigns.
4. Federal policy should encourage greater use of nuclear energy to produce electricity?
5. The U.S. should guarantee the protection of American jobs in negotiating trade agreements with other countries.
6. US troops should remain in Afghanistan.
7. The government should be allowed to monitor communications of Americans when it has reason to believe that someone might be a terrorist.
8. The U.S. should provide military assistance to efforts to establish democratic government in foreign countries.

Symbolic labels

Do you consider your view of [the above issue positions] liberal, moderate, conservative, or none of these?

Religiosity

1. Please indicate which statement comes closest to expressing what you believe about the existence of God. (1=I don't believe; 2=I have no way to find out; 3=I believe in some higher power; 4=I believe sometimes; 5=I believe but have doubts; 6=I know God exists.)

2. How often do you attend religious services? (1=every day or almost every day; 2=once a week; 3=almost every week; 4=once or twice a month; 5=a few times a year; 6=once a year or less; 7=never.)
3. How often do you pray? (1=every day or almost every day; 2=once a week; 3=almost every week; 4=once or twice a month; 5=a few times a year; 6=once a year or less; 7=never.)
4. How often do you say grace before meals? (1=every day or almost every day; 2=once a week; 3=almost every week; 4=once or twice a month; 5=a few times a year; 6=once a year or less; 7=never.)

Political knowledge

1. Which party holds a majority of seats in the US House of Representatives? (1=Democrats; 2=Republicans; 3=Independents; 4=Don't know.)
2. How many votes are required in Congress to override a presidential veto? (1=a simple majority of one house of Congress; 2=a simple majority of both houses of Congress; 3=a two-thirds majority of one house of Congress; 4=a two thirds majority of both houses of Congress.)
3. How long is one term for a member of the US Senate? (1=2 years; 2=4 years; 3=6 years; 4=8 years; 5=Don't know).
4. The ability of a minority of senators to prevent a vote on a bill is known as (1=a veto; 2=a filibuster; 3=enrollment; 4=suspension of the rules; 5=Don't know).
5. Who is the Vice President of the United States? (1=Nancy Pelosi; 2=John Boehner; 3=Joseph Biden; 4=Harry Reid; 5=Don't Know).
6. A president may serve: (1=one term; 2=two terms; 3=three terms; 4=any number of terms; 5=Don't know).
7. Members of the US Supreme court serve: (1=two-year terms; 2=ten-year terms; 3=life terms; 4=terms determined by the president; 5=Don't know).
8. Who is Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court? (1=John Roberts; 2=Antonin Scalia; 3=Mitt Romney; 4=Hillary Clinton; 5=Don't know).
9. Social Security is: (1=the benefit program for senior citizens; 2=the responsibility of the Department of Defense; 3=operated by state governments; 4=funded by the personal income tax; 5=Don't know).
10. On which of the following programs is the most money spent each year? (1=aid to foreign countries; 2=Medicare; 3=subsidies to farmers; 4=education; 5=Don't know).

Table S2. Issue Level Mismatches Between Symbolic and Operational Ideology, Pooled Across Both Directions of Mismatch

Dependent variable: Number of mismatched labels (out of 14)		
Symbolic ideology: Conservative	.07	(.12)
Symbolic ideology: Liberal	-.23	(.15)
Partisan identity: Republican	.25	(.13)
Partisan identity: Democrat	-.10	(.13)
Ethnic identity: Hispanic	.09	(.14)
Ethnic identity: Black	.25	(.15)
Ethnic identity: Other	.01	(.16)
Political knowledge	-1.02*	(.22)
Main news source: Fox	.39*	(.15)
Main news source: MSNBC	-.24	(.31)
Age	.39	(.90)
Age squared	-.77	(1.17)
Religiosity	.65*	(.19)
Operational ideology: economic	-1.05*	(.34)
Operational ideology: social	.45	(.29)
Religion: Evangelical Christian	-.18	(.11)
Gender: female	-.03	(.09)
Education	-.76*	(.34)
Region: South	-.06	(.09)
Income	-.35	(.31)

* $p < .05$.

$N = 1725$. Standard errors in parentheses. All variables rescaled to the [0, 1] interval. Estimates obtained using overdispersed logistic-binomial regression models for complex survey data, combined for the ten multiply-imputed datasets. Intercepts not shown.

Table S3. Determinants of Issue-Level Conflicted Liberalism, Economic and Culture Issues

Dependent variables:	Number of liberal labels used for conservative positions			
	Culture issues (4)		Economic issues (10)	
Symbolic ideology: Moderate	.60*	(.23)	.85*	(.32)
Symbolic ideology: Liberal	.82*	(.26)	1.38*	(.33)
Partisan identity: Republican	-.09	(.23)	.23	(.27)
Partisan identity: Democrat	-.28	(.21)	-.39	(.22)
Ethnic identity: Hispanic	.73*	(.24)	.41	(.24)
Ethnic identity: Black	.29	(.25)	.79*	(.32)
Ethnic identity: Other	-.41	(.32)	.48*	(.24)
Political knowledge	-1.01*	(.39)	-1.38*	(.47)
Main news source: Fox	.21	(.31)	.23	(.37)
Main news source: MSNBC	.07	(.54)	-.05	(.56)
Age	-1.98	(1.49)	-2.79	(1.67)
Age squared	2.53	(1.90)	3.12	(2.47)
Religiosity	-.46	(.32)	.11	(.31)
Operational ideology ^a	3.23*	(.45)	2.70*	(.58)
Religion: Evangelical Christian	.01	(.18)	-.08	(.21)
Gender: female	.09	(.17)	-.27	(.18)
Education	-1.14*	(.58)	-.37	(.69)
Region: South	.17	(.16)	-.07	(.19)
Income	.39	(.53)	.25	(.56)

* $p < .05$.

^a Calculated using only culture or economic issues, as appropriate. Conservative = high.

$N = 1725$. Standard errors in parentheses. Estimates obtained using overdispersed logistic-binomial regression models for complex survey data, combined for the ten multiply-imputed datasets. Intercepts not shown.

Table S4. Determinants of Issue-Level Conflicted Conservatism, Economic and Cultural Issues

Dependent variables:	Number of conservative labels used for liberal positions			
	Culture issues (4)		Economic issues (10)	
Symbolic ideology: Conservative	1.78*	(.39)	.90*	(.20)
Symbolic ideology: Moderate	1.50*	(.36)	.47*	(.19)
Partisan identity: Republican	-.20	(.28)	.40*	(.15)
Partisan identity: Democrat	-.29	(.29)	.06	(.17)
Ethnic identity: Hispanic	.07	(.32)	-.24	(.17)
Ethnic identity: Black	.17	(.35)	.01	(.19)
Ethnic identity: Other	-.07	(.36)	-.09	(.23)
Political knowledge	-.82	(.50)	-.85*	(.28)
Main news source: Fox	.46	(.32)	.43*	(.18)
Main news source: MSNBC	-2.09	(4.97)	-.37	(.45)
Age	2.46	(2.42)	2.19*	(1.10)
Age squared	-2.81	(2.94)	-3.07*	(1.38)
Religiosity	1.31*	(.48)	1.07*	(.24)
Operational ideology ^a	-4.08*	(.54)	-2.12*	(.37)
Religion: Evangelical Christian	-.24	(.28)	-.22	(.13)
Gender: female	.25	(.20)	-.03	(.11)
Education	-.18	(.74)	-.88*	(.42)
Region: South	-.08	(.22)	-.09	(.12)
Income	-.24	(.63)	-.75	(.39)

* $p < .05$.

^a Calculated using only culture or economic issues, as appropriate. Conservative = high.

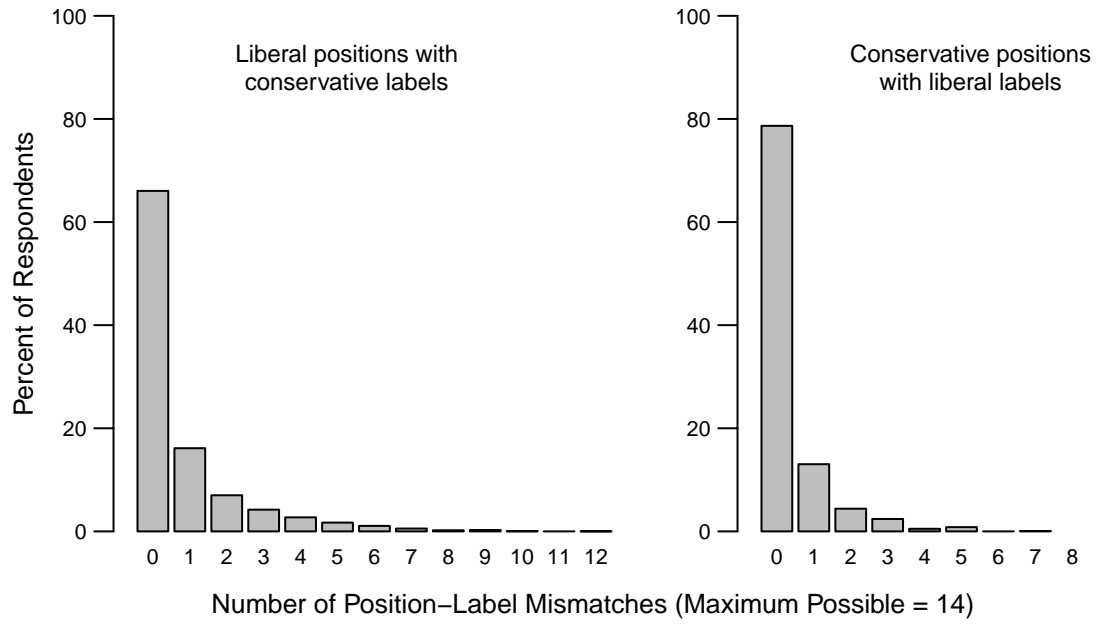
$N = 1725$. Standard errors in parentheses. Estimates obtained using overdispersed logistic-binomial regression models for complex survey data, combined for the ten multiply-imputed datasets. Intercepts not shown.

Table S5. Factor Loadings for Operational Ideology Issues

Issue	1-Factor CFA	2-Factor CFA	
	Operational Ideology	Economic Operational Ideology	Cultural Operational Ideology
Education	0.63	0.64	
Taxing the wealthy	0.66	0.68	
Health care reform	0.70	0.70	
Global warming	0.74	0.74	
Medicare	0.30	0.31	
Minimum wage	0.66	0.68	
Medicaid	0.64	0.64	
Social Security	0.39	0.39	
Business regulation	0.67	0.68	
Affirmative action	0.59	0.59	
Abortion	0.56		0.67
Same sex marriage	0.53		0.67
Gun control	0.51		0.52
Immigration	0.47		0.52
<i>Cronbach's alpha</i>	0.87	0.85	0.68

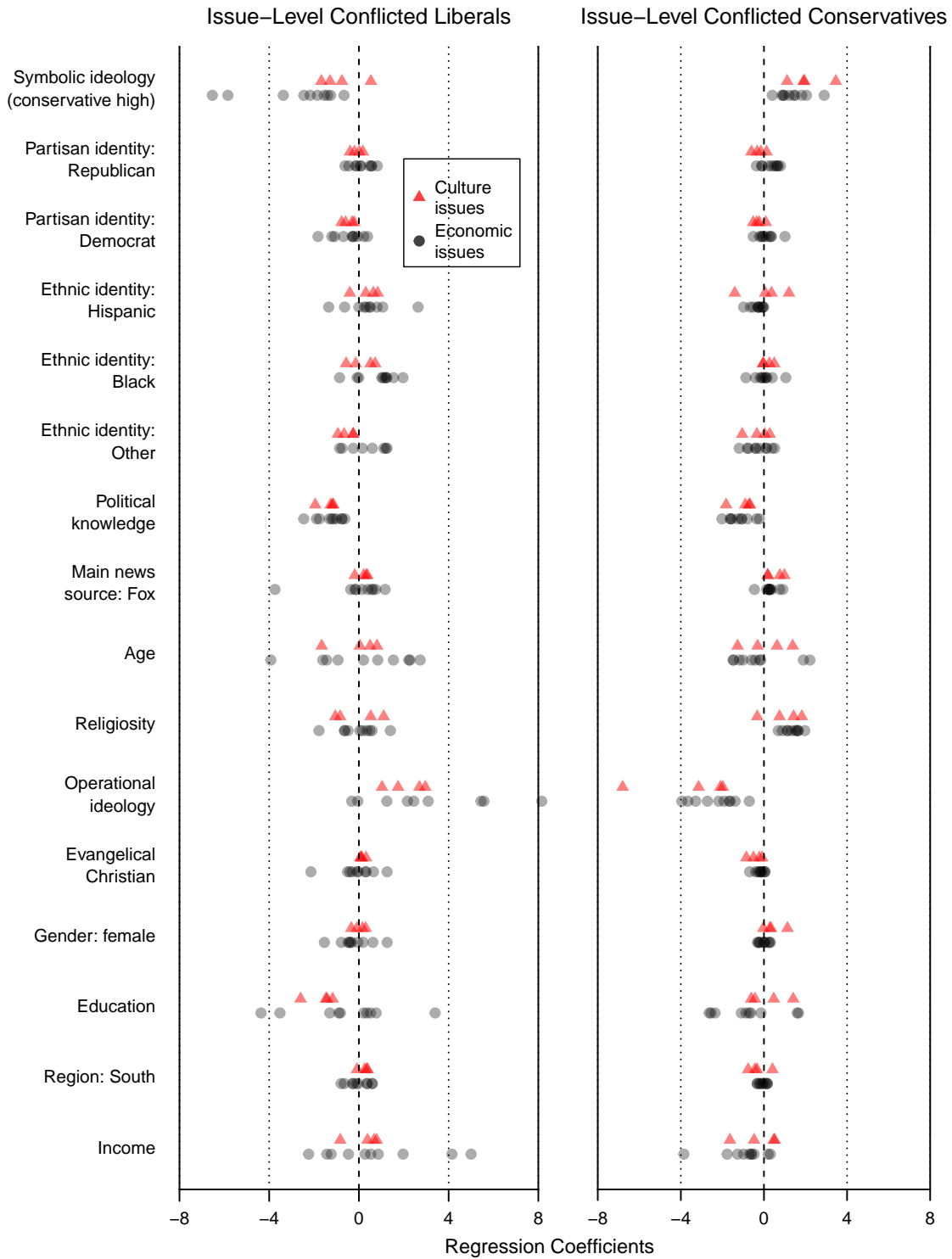
Factor loadings are produced by two confirmatory factor analyses, each fit on the average inter-item correlation matrix across the 10 imputed datasets. The two factors are correlated at 0.80 in the 2-factor CFA.

Figure S1. Distributions of the Two Dependent Variables



Each plot shows the proportion of respondents (y-axis) who have different numbers of mismatching policy positions and policy labels over the 14 issues (x-axis).

Figure S2. Regressions of Conflicted Liberalism and Conservatism, All 14 Issues



Each column shows the results of 14 regression models, one for each of the 14 issues. The column on the left (right) shows regressions of whether respondents mismatched liberal (conservative) labels to conservative (liberal) policy positions. Points indicate the regression coefficients for a given variable for a single regression model. Regression effects for economic issues are shown using circular points, while the effects for culture issues are shown using triangular points.