What Goes Without Saying: Navigating Political Discussion in America

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Appendix

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Chapter 3 Appendix

Full Text of Vignettes

Vignette Pilot

First Person Workplace:
You are at work on a typical Tuesday afternoon. You wrap up a few things and head into the break room for lunch. A few of your coworkers are just starting their lunches as well, so you decide to sit down at the table with them. As you begin unpacking and eating your lunch, you notice that your coworkers are discussing the upcoming election. It quickly becomes clear to you that they have very different political views from you, as they discuss their support for the candidate you dislike. As the conversation continues, one of the coworkers turns to you and asks who your preferred candidate is.

Third Person Workplace:
John/Sarah is at work on a typical Tuesday afternoon. S/he wraps up a few things and heads into the break room for lunch. A few of his/her coworkers are just starting their lunches as well, so s/he decides to sit down at the table with them. As s/he begins unpacking and eating his/her lunch, s/he notices that his/her coworkers are discussing the upcoming election. It quickly becomes clear to John/Sarah that they have very different political views from him/her, as they discuss their support for the candidate s/he dislikes. As the conversation continues, one of the coworkers turns to him/her and asks who his preferred candidate is.

First Person Social Gathering:
You are at a small neighborhood party with some of your friends. Everyone is enjoying some snacks and good company. As you mingle through the party, you step into a conversation among some friends and acquaintances. This group is talking about the big election coming up and how excited they are to see their candidate win. However, as you are listening, you realize that they support the candidate you can't stand. As the conversation continues, one of them asks who you hope will win the election.

Third Person Social Gathering:
John/Sarah is at a small neighborhood party with some of his/her friends. Everyone is enjoying some snacks and good company. As John/Sarah mingles through the party, s/he steps into a conversation among some friends and acquaintances. This group is talking about the big election coming up and how excited they are to see their candidate win. However, as John/Sarah listens, s/he realizes that they support the candidate s/he can't stand. As the conversation continues, one of them asks who John/Sarah hopes will win the election.

Dependent Variable Wording:
What would [you/John/Sarah] do in response to the [coworker's/person's] question?

- Express disagreement with the group's/coworkers' candidate preference and share a personal preference for the other candidate

- Express strong disagreement with the group's/coworkers' candidate preference, share a personal preference for the other candidate, and share strong dislike for the group's preferred candidate
- Express indecision, share a weak personal preference for the other candidate
- Express agreement with the group's/coworkers' candidate preference, share a personal preference for the same candidate as the group
- Try to change the subject

Question Wording Pilot

Workplace:
John/Sarah is at work on a typical Tuesday afternoon and heads into the break room for lunch. A few of her/his coworkers are just starting their lunches as well, so s/he decides to sit and join their conversation. As s/he listens to the conversation, s/he realizes it is about the upcoming election. It quickly becomes clear to him/her that they have very different political views from him/her, as they discuss their support for the candidate John/Sarah opposes. As the conversation continues, one of them turns to John/Sarah and asks about his/her thoughts on the candidates.

Social Gathering:
John/Sarah is at a small neighborhood party with some of his/her friends and acquaintances and everyone is enjoying some snacks and good company. As John/Sarah mingles through the party, s/he steps into a conversation with a group of people. As s/he listens to the conversation, s/he realizes it is about the upcoming election. It quickly becomes clear to him/her that they have very different political views from him/her, as they discuss their support for the candidate John/Sarah opposes. As the conversation continues, one of them turns to John/Sarah and asks about his/her thoughts on the candidates.

Dependent Variable Wording:
Wording A: What would John/Sarah do in response to the person's question?
- Say that John/Sarah strongly disagrees with them
- Say that John/Sarah disagrees with them
- Say that John/Sarah slightly disagrees with them
- Say that John/Sarah agrees with them
- Say nothing on the subject

Wording B: What would John/Sarah do in response to the person's question?
- Say that John/Sarah strongly disagrees with them, which s/he does
- Say that John/Sarah disagrees with them, even though s/he really just disagrees with them
- Say that John/Sarah slightly disagrees with them, even though s/he disagrees with them more than slightly
- Say that John/Sarah agrees, even though s/he really disagrees
- Say nothing on the subject, even though s/he disagrees with them

Wording C: What would John/Sarah do in response to the person's question?
- Say that s/he disagrees with them
- Say that s/he agrees with them, even though s/he doesn't

- Say nothing on the subject, even though s/he disagrees with them

IF: “Say that s/he disagrees with them” is selected: When John/Sarah tells them that s/he disagrees with them, do you think s/he would:
- Say that s/he strongly disagrees
- Say that s/he disagrees
- Say that s/he slightly disagrees

IF: “Say that s/he agrees with them, even though s/he doesn’t” is selected: When John/Sarah tells them that s/he agrees with them, do you think s/he would:”
- Say that s/he strongly agrees
- Say that s/he agrees
- Say that s/he slightly agrees

Knowledge-Ties-Power Pilot

High Knowledge – Workplace
John/Sarah is at work on a typical Tuesday afternoon and heads into the break room for lunch. A few of his/her coworkers are just starting their lunches as well, so s/he decides to sit and join their conversation. As s/he listens to the conversation, s/he realizes it is about the upcoming election. It quickly becomes clear to him/her that they have very different political views from him/her, as they discuss their support for the candidate that John/Sarah opposes. They all sound highly knowledgeable and well-informed. It sounds to John/Sarah like they have been following the news and campaign a lot more closely than John/Sarah has. As the conversation continues, the person who seems the most knowledgeable turns to John/Sarah and asks about his/her thoughts on the candidates.

Low Knowledge – Workplace
John/Sarah is at work on a typical Tuesday afternoon and heads into the break room for lunch. A few of his/her coworkers are just starting their lunches as well, so s/he decides to sit and join their conversation. As s/he listens to the conversation, s/he realizes it is about the upcoming election. It quickly becomes clear to him/her that they have very different political views from him/her, as they discuss their support for the candidate that John/Sarah opposes. They don’t sound highly knowledgeable or well-informed. It sounds to John/Sarah like they have been following the news and campaign a lot less closely than John/Sarah has. As the conversation continues, the person who seems the least knowledgeable turns to John/Sarah and asks about his/her thoughts on the candidates.

Same Knowledge – Workplace
John/Sarah is at work on a typical Tuesday afternoon and heads into the break room for lunch. A few of his/her coworkers are just starting their lunches as well, so s/he decides to sit and join their conversation. As s/he listens to the conversation, s/he realizes it is about the upcoming election. It quickly becomes clear to him/her that they have very different political views from him/her, as they discuss their support for the candidate that John/Sarah opposes. It sounds to John/Sarah like they have been following the news and campaign about the same amount as

John/Sarah has. As the conversation continues, a person who seems equally knowledgeable turns to John/Sarah and asks about his/her thoughts on the candidates.

High Knowledge – Social
John/Sarah is at a small neighborhood party with some of his/her friends and acquaintances and everyone is enjoying some snacks and good company. As John/Sarah mingles through the party, s/he steps into a conversation with a group of people. As s/he listens to the conversation, s/he realizes it is about the upcoming election. It quickly becomes clear to him/her that they have very different political views from him/her, as they discuss their support for the candidate John/Sarah opposes. They all sound highly knowledgeable and well-informed. It sounds to John/Sarah like they have been following the news and campaign a lot more closely than John/Sarah has. As the conversation continues, the person who seems the most knowledgeable turns to John/Sarah and asks about his/her thoughts on the candidates.

Low Knowledge – Social
John/Sarah is at a small neighborhood party with some of his/her friends and acquaintances and everyone is enjoying some snacks and good company. As John/Sarah mingles through the party, s/he steps into a conversation with a group of people. As s/he listens to the conversation, s/he realizes it is about the upcoming election. It quickly becomes clear to him/her that they have very different political views from him/her, as they discuss their support for the candidate John/Sarah opposes. They don't sound highly knowledgeable or well-informed. It sounds to John/Sarah like they have been following the news and campaign a lot less closely than John/Sarah has. As the conversation continues, the person who seems the least knowledgeable turns to John/Sarah and asks about his/her thoughts on the candidates.

Same Knowledge – Social
John/Sarah is at a small neighborhood party with some of his/her friends and acquaintances and everyone is enjoying some snacks and good company. As John/Sarah mingles through the party, s/he steps into a conversation with a group of people. As s/he listens to the conversation, s/he realizes it is about the upcoming election. It quickly becomes clear to him/her that they have very different political views from him/her, as they discuss their support for the candidate John/Sarah opposes. It sounds to John/Sarah like they have been following the news and campaign about the same amount as John/Sarah has. As the conversation continues, a person who seems equally knowledgeable turns to John/Sarah and asks about his/her thoughts on the candidates.

High Power
John/Sarah is at work on a typical Tuesday afternoon and heads into the break room for lunch. A few of his/her coworkers are just starting their lunches as well, so s/he decides to sit and join their conversation. As s/he listens to the conversation, s/he realizes it is about the upcoming election. It quickly becomes clear to him/her that they have very different political views from him/her, as they discuss their support for the candidate that John/Sarah opposes. As the conversation continues, John/Sarah's supervisor turns to John/Sarah and asks about his/her thoughts on the candidates.

Low Power
John/Sarah is at work on a typical Tuesday afternoon and heads into the break room for lunch. A few of his/her coworkers are just starting their lunches as well, so s/he decides to sit and join their conversation. As s/he listens to the conversation, s/he realizes it is about the upcoming election. It quickly becomes clear to him/her that they have very different political views from him/her, as they discuss their support for the candidate that John/Sarah opposes. As the conversation continues, a new intern turns to John/Sarah and asks about his/her thoughts on the candidates.

Same Power
John/Sarah is at work on a typical Tuesday afternoon and heads into the break room for lunch. A few of his/her coworkers are just starting their lunches as well, so s/he decides to sit and join their conversation. As s/he listens to the conversation, s/he realizes it is about the upcoming election. It quickly becomes clear to him/her that they have very different political views from him/her, as they discuss their support for the candidate that John/Sarah opposes. As the conversation continues, one of John/Sarah's coworkers turns to John/Sarah and asks about his/her thoughts on the candidates.

Strong Tie – Workplace
John/Sarah is at work on a typical Tuesday afternoon and heads into the break room for lunch. A few of his/her close coworkers from his/her department, whom s/he knows well, are just starting their lunches as well, so s/he decides to sit and join their conversation. As s/he listens to the conversation, s/he realizes it is about the upcoming election. It quickly becomes clear to him/her that they have very different political views from him/her, as they discuss their support for the candidate that John/Sarah opposes. As the conversation continues, John/Sarah's supervisor turns to John/Sarah and asks about his/her thoughts on the candidates.

Strong Tie – Social
John/Sarah is at a small neighborhood party with some of his/her friends and acquaintances and everyone is enjoying some snacks and good company. As John/Sarah mingles through the party, s/he steps into a conversation with his/her close friends. As s/he listens to the conversation, s/he realizes it is about the upcoming election. It quickly becomes clear to him/her that they have very different political views from him/her, as they discuss their support for the candidate John/Sarah opposes. As the conversation continues, one of them turns to John/Sarah and asks about his/her thoughts on the candidates.

Weak Tie – Workplace
John/Sarah is at work on a typical Tuesday afternoon and heads into the break room for lunch. A few of his/her coworkers from another department, whom s/he doesn't know particularly well, are just starting their lunches as well, so s/he decides to sit and join their conversation. As s/he listens to the conversation, s/he realizes it is about the upcoming election. It quickly becomes clear to him/her that they have very different political views from him/her. As they discuss their support for the candidate that John/Sarah opposes. As the conversation continues, one of them turns to John/Sarah and asks about his/her thoughts on the candidates.

Weak Tie – Social
John/Sarah is at a small neighborhood party with some of his/her friends and acquaintances and everyone is enjoying some snacks and good company. As John/Sarah mingles through the party, s/he steps into a conversation with his/her acquaintances. As s/he listens to the conversation, s/he realizes it is about the upcoming election. It quickly becomes clear to him/her that they have very different political views from him/her, as they discuss their support for the candidate John/Sarah opposes. As the conversation continues, one of them turns to John/Sarah and asks about his/her thoughts on the candidates.

Dependent Variable Wording

What would John/Sarah do in response to the person's question?

- Say that s/he strongly disagrees with them, even though s/he really just disagrees with them
- Say that s/he disagrees with them, which s/he does
- Say that s/he slightly disagrees with them, even though s/he really disagrees with them more than slightly
- Say that s/he agrees with them, even though s/he really disagrees with them
- Say nothing on the subject, even though s/he disagrees with them

Knowledge x Partisan Composition Pilot

John/Sarah is at a small neighborhood party with some of his/her friends and acquaintances and everyone is enjoying some snacks and good company. As John/Sarah mingles through the party, s/he steps into a conversation with a group of people. As s/he listens to the conversation, s/he realizes it is about the upcoming election. It quickly becomes clear to him/her *[that they have very different political views from his/hers, as they discuss their support for the candidate John/Sarah opposes. / that most of the group has very similar political views as his/her, as they discuss their support for the candidate John/Sarah supports. / that they are about evenly split in their political views, as some discuss support for the candidate John/Sarah opposes and some discuss support for the candidate s/he supports.]* **[They all sound highly knowledgeable and well-informed. It sounds to John/Sarah like they have been following the news and campaign a lot more closely than John/Sarah has. / They don't sound highly knowledgeable and well-informed. It sounds to John/Sarah like they have been following the news and campaign a lot less closely than John/Sarah has. / It sounds to John/Sarah like they have been following the news and campaign about the same amount John/Sarah has.]** As the conversation continues, the person who seems **[the most / the least / equally]** knowledgeable turns to John/Sarah and asks about his/her thoughts on the candidates.

Dependent Variable Wording:
What is the likelihood that John/Sarah expresses his/her true opinion to the group?

- Very unlikely
- Unlikely
- Somewhat unlikely
- Somewhat likely

- Likely
- Very likely

What would John/Sarah do in response to the person's question?
- Say that s/he strongly disagrees with them, even though s/he really just disagrees with them
- Say that s/he disagrees with them, which s/he does
- Say that s/he slightly disagrees with them, even though s/he really disagrees with them more than slightly
- Say that s/he agrees with them, even though s/he really disagrees with them
- Say nothing on the subject, even though s/he disagrees with them

Which of the following seem like plausible considerations for John/Sarah? (list of 18 considerations)

Please rank these considerations to reflect which you think would be the most likely consideration for John/Sarah (ranked 1) and which you think would be the least likely consideration for John/Sarah. Please click on an item and drag it to your ranking, with #1 on top.

Power x Partisan Composition Pilot

John/Sarah is at work on a typical Tuesday afternoon and heads into the break room for lunch. A few of his/her coworkers and his/her supervisor are just starting their lunches as well, so s/he decides to sit and join their conversation. As s/he listens to the conversation, s/he realizes it is about the upcoming election. It quickly becomes clear to him/her that *[they have very different views from him/her, as they discuss their support for the candidate that John/Sarah opposes / most of the group has very similar political views as him/her, as they discuss their support for the candidate John/Sarah supports / they are about evenly split in their political views, as some discuss support for the candidate John/Sarah opposes and some discuss support for the candidate s/he supports].* As the conversation continues, **[John/Sarah's supervisor / one of John/Sarah's coworkers / a new intern]** turns to John/Sarah and asks about his/her thoughts on the candidates.

Dependent Variable Wording:

What is the likelihood that John/Sarah expresses his/her true opinion to the group?
- Very unlikely
- Unlikely
- Somewhat unlikely
- Somewhat likely
- Likely
- Very likely

What would John/Sarah do in response to the person's question?
- Say that s/he strongly disagrees with them, even though s/he really just disagrees with them
- Say that s/he disagrees with them, which s/he does

- Say that s/he slightly disagrees with them, even though s/he really disagrees with them more than slightly
- Say that s/he agrees with them, even though s/he really disagrees with them
- Say nothing on the subject, even though s/he disagrees with them

Which of the following seem like plausible considerations for John/Sarah? (list of 18 considerations)

Please rank these considerations to reflect which you think would be the most likely consideration for John/Sarah (ranked 1) and which you think would be the least likely consideration for John/Sarah. Please click on an item and drag it to your ranking, with #1 on top.

CIPI I Vignette Experiment

High Knowledge Condition
John/Sarah is at a small neighborhood party with some of his/her friends and acquaintances and everyone is enjoying some snacks and good company. As John/Sarah mingles through the party, s/he steps into a conversation with a group of people. As s/he listens to the conversation, s/he realizes it is about the upcoming election. It quickly becomes clear to him/her that they have very different political views from him/her, as they discuss their support for the candidate John/Sarah opposes. They sound highly knowledgeable and well-informed. It sounds to John/Sarah like they have been following the news and campaign a lot more closely than John/Sarah has. As the conversation continues, the person who seems the most knowledgeable turns to John/Sarah and asks about his/her thoughts on the candidates.

Low Knowledge Condition
John/Sarah is at a small neighborhood party with some of his/her friends and acquaintances and everyone is enjoying some snacks and good company. As John/Sarah mingles through the party, s/he steps into a conversation with a group of people. As s/he listens to the conversation, s/he realizes it is about the upcoming election. It quickly becomes clear to him/her that they have very different political views from him/her, as they discuss their support for the candidate John/Sarah opposes. They don't sound highly knowledgeable and well-informed. It sounds to John/Sarah like they have been following the news and campaign a lot less closely than John/Sarah has. As the conversation continues, the person who seems the least knowledgeable turns to John/Sarah and asks about his/her thoughts on the candidates.

Manipulation Check:
How did John/Sarah's opinion compare to the opinions of the other people in the conversation?
- His/her opinion was shared by a group of people who were more knowledgeable than s/he was
- His/her opinion was shared by a group of people who were less knowledgeable than s/he was
- His/her opinion was not shared by the group of people, most of whom were more knowledgeable than s/he was

- His/her opinion was not shared by the group of people, most of whom were less knowledgeable than s/he was

Dependent Variable Wording:
What is the likelihood that John/Sarah expresses his/her true opinion to the group?
- Very unlikely
- Unlikely
- Somewhat unlikely
- Somewhat likely
- Likely
- Very likely

What would John/Sarah do in response to the person's question?
- Say that s/he strongly disagrees with them, even though s/he really just disagrees with them (entrench)
- Say that s/he disagrees with them, which s/he does (true opinion)
- Say that s/he slightly disagrees with them, even though s/he really disagrees with them more than slightly (censor)
- Say that s/he agrees with them, even though s/eh really disagrees with them (conform)
- Say nothing on the subject, even though s/he disagrees with them (silence/deflect)

Chapter 4 Appendix

Free-Response Coding

As part of the CIPI II Survey, respondents were asked about their detection of other people's political views. Specifically, they were asked: "Imagine that you were trying to guess someone's political views, but you couldn't ask them directly. How would you go about guessing their political views?"

In the fall of 2019, a pair of undergraduate research assistants unfamiliar with the context for which the coding would be used were tasked with coding the responses. They were given the stem of the question respondents were asked, and were instructed that "Answers can belong to more than one category because many respondents listed more than one answer. However, a single phrase or idea should only be categorized in one way." They were then provided with the following coding scheme.

One of the PIs walked through the coding scheme with the coders, and did 10 practice responses together. The coders then did a set of 30 responses individually. They then discussed their answers, and reviewed any discrepancies and questions with the PI. They then coded 100 responses individually, met to discuss their discrepancies, and then clarified any remaining questions with the PI. Then they individually coded the dataset, inputting their answers through a Qualtrics survey designed for this purpose.

The Non-Guessers

This category captures all responses that do not provide an informative answer.

- Black (completely blank or NA)
- "I don't know;" "I have no idea" (the respondent wouldn't know HOW to detect another person's views)
- "I wouldn't;" "I don't try to guess" (The respondent WOULDN'T try to detect another person's views)

Just by Looking at Them

The key to this category is that the respondent is able to guess without the other person saying anything.

- Visible Demographic Characteristic (clearly mention a visible demographic trait like age, gender, race, or ethnicity)
- Clothing and Visible Signaling (The choices a person makes about what to wear or how to adorn themselves or their possessions (e.g. jewelry, hairstyle, clothing, bumper stickers))
- "Gut-Level" Impression (The respondent could "just tell" by looking, or their general appearance, or their facial expressions. These answers DO NOT mention explicit visible demographic characteristics, clothing, or other signals

The Facts of Life

This category is defined by information about a person's life that the respondent asks about or observes.

- Personality or Trait Characteristics (a person's traits, such as their intelligence or personality)
- Geography (where a person is from or lives)
- Occupation and Lifestyle (a person's job or other aspects of their lives, including their religious views. NOTE: this category references aspects of a person's life that are not visible)

Conversational Cues

This category specifically mentions talking. It is clear from the answer that the respondent is doing more than looking at the person.

- General Conversation and Tone (talking with a person, either what they say or how they say it. NOTE: If what the respondent says fits into another category, it should be assigned to that category. For example, if the respondent writes, "What they say they do for a living" that would be "Occupation and Lifestyle," not this category. NOTE: any responses that mention "what they say" should fall into this category unless it explicitly mentions something about politics.)

Indirectly Political Cues

- Media Usage and Behavior (where a respondent gets their news or what they post on social media)

Directly Political Cues

- Ask directly (these are responses that indicate that the respondent either directly asked the person about their political views OR that the respondent started talking specifically about politics to elicit a response)

Confidence Guessing Views

Table A4.1 Summary Statistics for Confidence in Guessing Political Views Based on Characteristics

	Median	Mean	Standard Deviation
Demographic Characteristics	1	0.941	1.12
Geography	1	0.957	1.17
Religiosity	0	0.816	1.13
Social Network's Preferences	1	1.28	1.17
News Source	2	1.68	1.28
Social Media Posts	2	2.01	1.24

Note: Data come from the TargetSmart Poll, N=523.

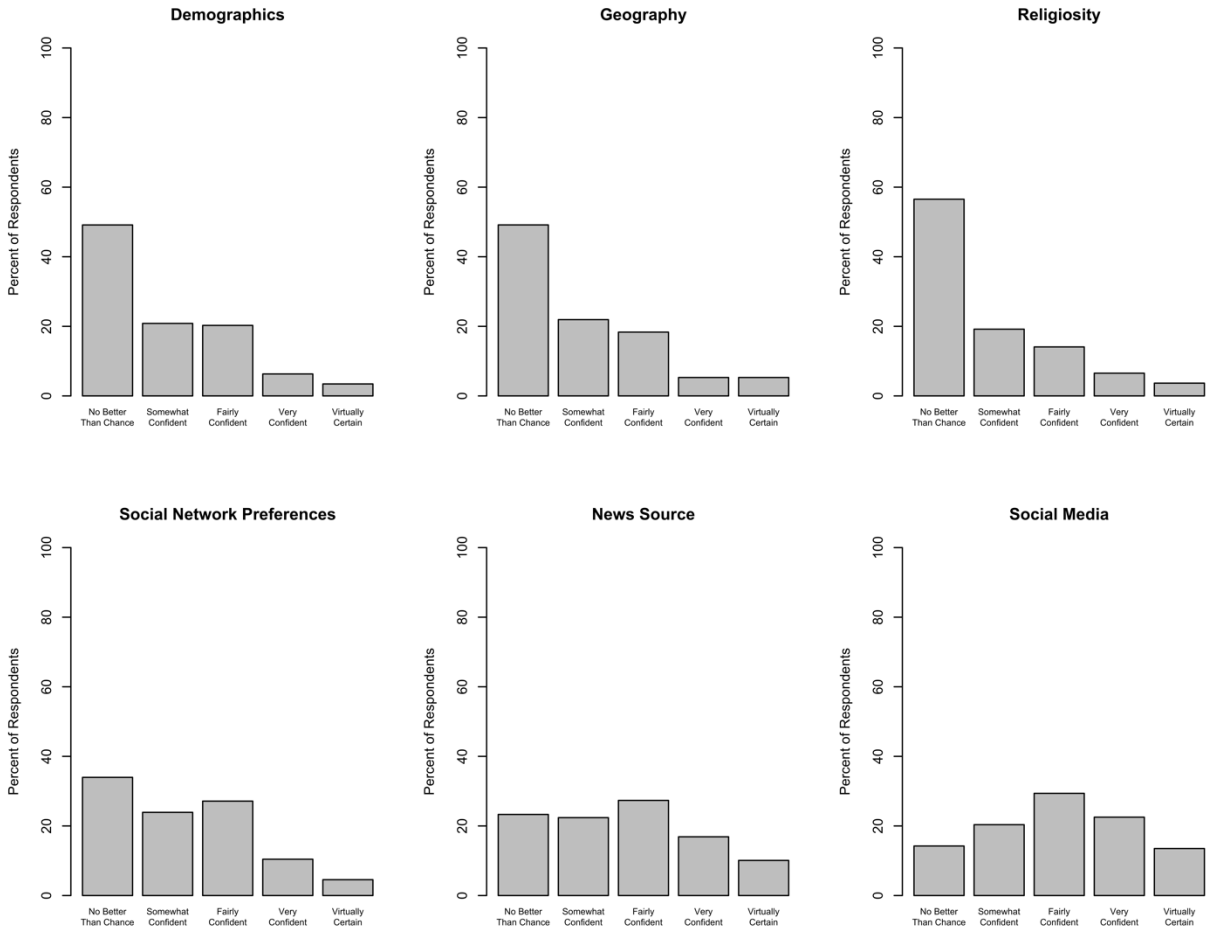

Figure A4.1. Distribution of Confidence Guessing Political Views Across Six Cues

Note: Data come from the TargetSmart Poll, N=523.

Stereotypes Analysis

Full Text of Stereotypes

Table A4.2 Full Text of Stereotypes

Target Group: Republicans	**Target Group: Democrats**
Partisan Specific Stereotypes	
1. They use "family values" as a justification to try to impose their morals on everyone else's reproductive choices	1. They see abortion as a solution to careless behavior without considering the sanctity of life
2. They are right-wing religious nut jobs who are anti-science and believe in creationism	2. They are anti-religious atheists devoid of the good Christian values America was founded on
3. They are warmongers	3. They are spineless and too "dovish" in their views about foreign policy
4. They are against equal rights for women and minorities	4. They care so much about minorities that they disadvantage white Americans
5. They are elitists who favor advantages for the top one percent and are uncaring with respect to the average citizen	5. They want to give government benefits to people who don't deserve them at the expense of hardworking Americans
6. They don't care about the environment or climate change	6. They care so much about the environment that they try to force us all to "go green"
7. They want an unregulated free market, even when it is shown to fail	7. They want socialism, even if it means more government control in our lives
8. They say that they oppose immigration to protect American jobs, but really they just dislike immigrants	8. They want to take jobs away from Americans and give them to illegal immigrants
Values Oriented Stereotypes	
9. They are better able to uphold important traditional American values	9. They are better able to uphold important traditional American values
10. They are traditional and family-oriented	10. They value equality for all
11. They value hard work and the American Dream	11. They are open to change as society progresses
Information Processing Stereotypes	
12. They are ignorant; if they understood more about important policies, they would change their minds	12. They are ignorant; if they understood more about important policies, they would change their minds
13. They don't think for themselves and just blindly follow what Fox News tells them	13. They don't think for themselves and just blindly follow what MSNBC tells them
14. They are ideologically driven	14. They are ideologically driven
15. They are narrow-minded	15. They are narrow-minded

Stereotypes about Voters, Known Partisans, and Candidates

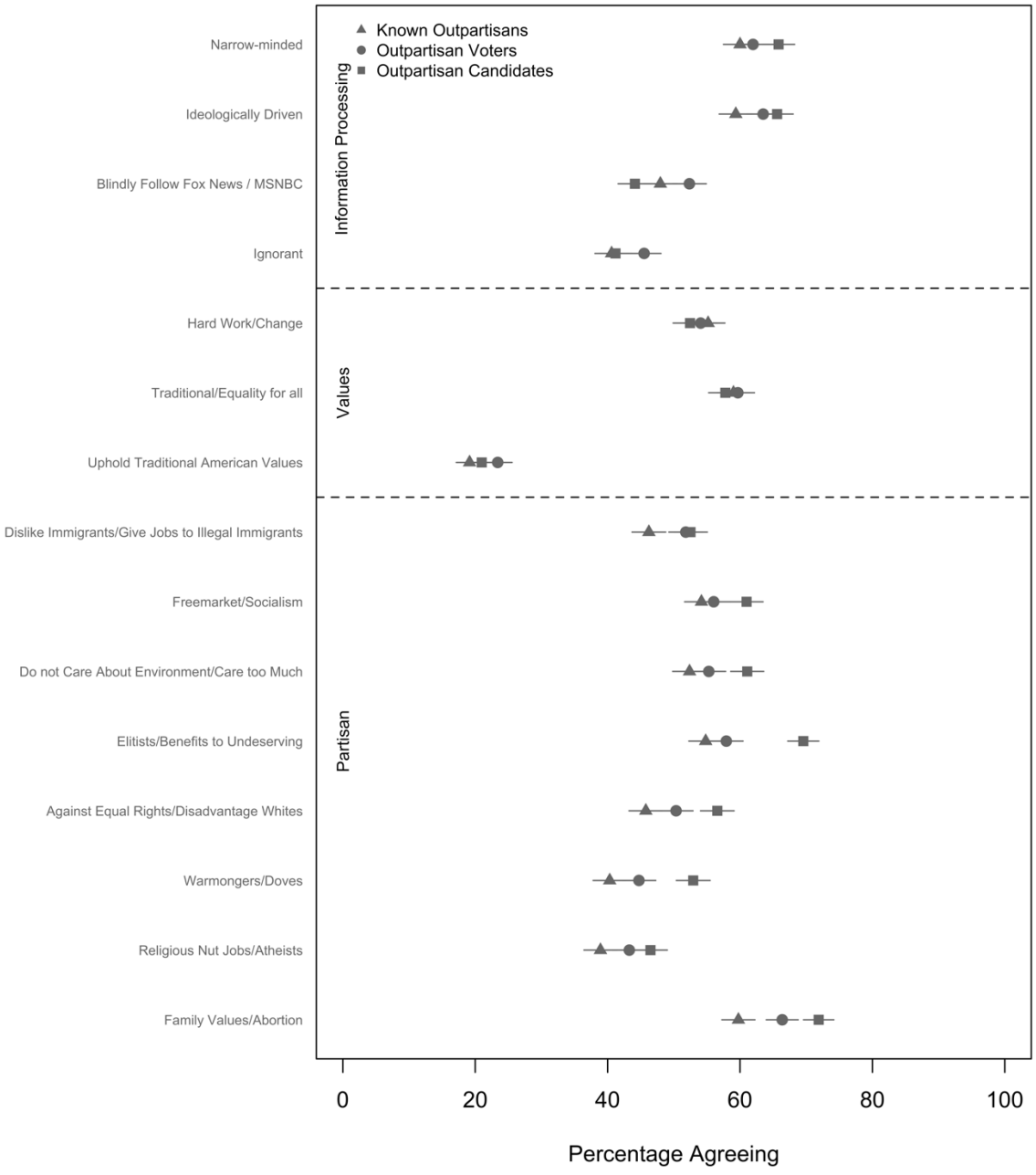

Figure A4.2. Known, Voter, and Candidate Outpartisan Stereotype Agreement.
Note: Data come from the Thanksgiving Study. Percentages calculated by combining the two randomly assigned orders (evaluating candidates, voters, then known outpartisans or evaluating known, voter, then candidate outpartisans). After accounting for missing data, number of observations ranges from 1,459 to 1,481. Horizontal lines represent 95 percent confidence intervals.

Trait Analysis

Table A4.3 Agreement with Traits Describing Republicans and Democrats

Trait	Percent of Republicans who Ascribe Trait to Democrats	Percent of Republicans who Ascribe Trait to Republicans	Percent of Democrats who Ascribe Trait to Republicans	Percent of Democrats who Ascribe Trait to Democrats
Passionate	78	89	77	94
Fun-Loving	67	72	39	93
Curious	65	77	42	90
Sociable	81	87	64	95
Trusting	48	71	30	88
Jealous	57	16	60	21
Nervous	36	18	39	24
Impatient	68	41	76	33
Distractible	54	24	46	37
Aggressive	74	58	86	38
Humble	27	70	24	82
Thorough	53	94	71	90
Organized	66	93	81	88
Polite	54	88	53	94
Broadminded	45	65	24	90
Cold	43	27	77	12
Shallow	59	20	72	17
Stingy	42	38	82	16
Hard-hearted	47	34	83	19
Impersonal	48	33	75	23
Warm	58	82	34	95
Honest	44	86	42	90
Well-intentioned	68	93	48	97
Friendly	66	87	50	95
Competent	57	94	69	94
Intelligent	66	95	69	96
Skillful	66	95	74	93
Capable	64	96	72	94
Extraverted	82	75	69	87
Open to Experience	62	74	32	93
Conscientious	54	89	55	92
Agreeable	37	75	31	92
Neurotic	56	19	59	24
Emotionally Stable	56	93	62	92

Note: Data come from the Thanksgiving Study. For Republican participant evaluations (columns 1 and 2), N=423; for Democrat participant evaluations (columns 3 and 4), N=865. Participants were asked "To what extent do you think each of the following traits characterize Republicans [Democrats]?" Responses were given on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree). Agreement was coded as answering 4 (somewhat agree) or above.

Names as Cues Studies

Table A4.4 Vignettes used in Social Context Experiment and Perceived Ideology by Treatment Name

Vignette	Mean Ideology Kent	Mean Ideology Liam	*p*-value	N
Aggregated Across Social Conditions	**3.71**	**3.48**	**0.03**	**649**
Imagine that you are waiting in the lobby for a doctor's appointment You're in no particular rush and are just having a standard check up. A man in the lobby, also waiting for an appointment, starts making polite conversation. The conversation comes to a close as the nurse calls his name, [**Kent/Liam**], for the appointment	3.73	3.39	0.003	106
Imagine that you are in a coffee shop getting your usual coffee. You're in no particular rush and are just stopping in to get a cup of coffee to go. As you wait by the other customers for your coffee, the man next to you starts making polite conversation. The conversation comes to a close as his name, [**Kent/Liam**], gets called and he picks up his order.	3.96	3.45	0.06	109
Imagine that you are sitting down at a restaurant for dinner. You're in no particular rush and are just having a relaxing dinner. The server comes over to your table and politely introduces himself as [**Kent/Liam**]. [**Kent/Liam**] makes polite conversation as he checks on you throughout your meal.	3.16	2.83	0.16	109
Imagine that you are in a coffee shop getting your usual coffee. You're in no particular rush and are just stopping in to get a cup of coffee to go. The cashier, named [**Kent/Liam**] according to his name tag, makes polite conversation as he rings up your coffee. The conversation comes to a close as you pay for your coffee and head out.	4.19	3.95	0.33	109
Imagine that you are going through the check out line at the grocery store. You're in no particular rush and are just getting a few items for meals for the week. The cashier, named [**Kent/Liam**] according to his name tag, makes polite conversation as he rings up your items. The conversation comes to a close as you pay for your groceries and head home.	3.98	3.90	0.76	108
Imagine that you are waiting for a carry out food order. You're in no particular rush and are just picking up dinner. As you wait by the other customers for your order, the man next to you starts making polite conversation. The conversation comes to a close as his name, [**Kent/Liam**], gets called and he picks up his order.	3.35	3.31	0.85	108

Note: Results come from a Names as Cues Study fielded in July 2015 on Mechanical Turk, total N=661. Participants were randomly assigned to read one of the vignettes above, which also randomly assigned the name of the person to be Kent or Liam.

Chapter 5 Appendix

Connections to MacKuen's (1990) Model

In Chapter 5, we discussed how our work built upon the models that MacKuen (1990) introduces. Here, we provide more detail about the similarities and differences between our empirical work and MacKuen's theoretical work.

At the core of Mackuen's formal modeling of the decision stage of political discussion is the prediction that a person talks about politics when the likelihood that their discussion partner is disagreeable is less than their "expressivity" criterion, which captures "the individual's positive incentives to engage in conversation and his or her tolerance of opposing viewpoints" (1990, p. 64). This criterion is measured as the ratio of pleasure to pain, where pleasure comes from agreeable conversation and pain comes from disagreement. Empirical support for a handful of the many testable implications of his modeling is drawn from a number of studies conducted during the 1970s and 1980s.

In his TALK-CLAM model, MacKuen refers to the initiator as the Player and the respondent as either the Friend or the Opponent, depending on the congruence of the second player's viewpoints with the first. He identifies four potential outcomes in the model as Bluster (when the Player TALKS and the Friend CLAMS), Music (when the Player CLAMS and the Friend TALKS), Embarrassment (when the Player TALKS and the Opponent CLAMS), and Grate (when the Player CLAMS and the Opponent TALKS). In his TALK-CLAM-REACT model, he introduces the REACT strategy, where the Player responds to Friendly TALKERS and remains silent before Opposing TALKERS. The REACTOR never initiates a political conversation, and instead waits for the partner to unmask.

The core similarity between MacKuen's model and our approach is that we aim to explain outcomes in analogous situations: conversations that *could* occur, not just those between regular discussants. The opening vignette of his chapter captures this dynamic:

> "John Wockenfuss stumbles into work one drizzly October morning during an election campaign. He runs into an acquaintance on the elevator and, to pass the moment, initiates a conversation. Well, the weather is a reasonable subject. However, it's election season, and he wants to say something humorous or terribly insightful about current political events. Dare Wockenfuss open his mouth? The last time he made an innocent comment, his elevator partner turned on him, told him how foolish his ideas were, and smugly wandered down the hall. On the other hand, this time may be different. After all, this is a sensible fellow, one who might agree with real wisdom. To talk or not to talk?" (MacKuen 1990, p. 59)

Our model diverges in several important ways, however. Most fundamentally, we deviate from the spirit of the rational choice framework inherent in the models. We do so because we have ample evidence from previous qualitative work and our own free response questions that people talk about politics even when they do not want to do so. Given that 37 percent of people in our CIPI II Survey say they prefer to avoid talking about politics if at all possible, but only 18

percent of people report that they never have political conversations, a potentially large proportion of the discussions that occur may be involuntary. In the language of MacKuen's model, there are many situations where people may TALK even if they would prefer to CLAM, so the "expressivity criterion" cannot be the only factor in people's behavioral calculations.

A second major difference is that MacKuen models dyadic conversations whereas we also evaluate instances where more than two people are engaged in a situation in which political conversation might emerge. Adding more than two players in a game theory model adds to its complexity, but our work suggests that the majority of political conversations people recall occur in small groups, not dyads.

Third, MacKuen's model stops at the decision to TALK, CLAM, or REACT. While we, too, are interested in this dichotomous choice to "talk or not to talk" in Chapter 4, we push further in Chapter 7 to explore multiple strategies of political communication. Especially in situations where conversation is undesired, we show that people use conversational defense mechanisms, such as self-censorship or conformity to soften any potential disagreement. In other words, TALK is a heterogeneous strategy, which has important implications for the predictions of the model.

Fourth, as MacKuen writes of the stark choice between TALK and CLAM: "Such a harsh dichotomous choice may apply when individuals develop long-standing expectations of their own and others' behaviors. A simple rule of thumb about politics being either a suitable or an unsuitable topic for conversation may typify individual approaches to political conversation better than the active monitoring needed in TALK/REACT/CLAM" (p. 83). We unpack this idea in Chapter 9, showing that there is considerable variation in individual approaches to conversation, including large minorities who report that they always "TALK" or always "CLAM."

Finally, we note here a point that merits future study. Remember from Chapter 1 that self-reported rates of political discussion are actually surprisingly high and stable over time: between 55% and 95% of respondents on the American National Election Study report that they have talked about politics in the past week, with an average of 2.4 days a week. However, we do not know as much about how people interpret "political discussion." Do people report that they have had a political conversation if they did their best to cut it off or stayed silent but listened? In other words, do our measures of political discussion only capture the TALK-TALK, TALK-REACT, and REACT-TALK outcomes, or do people also report that they have talked politics in TALK-CLAM and CLAM-TALK scenarios? Past approaches to modeling and measuring political discussion do not capture the nuances of these choices and our estimates of the frequency of political discussion bundle all these discrete situations together. We do not solve this measurement conundrum, and it merits more exploration.

AAA Typology Coding Scheme

On the CIPI I Survey, our True Counterfactual Study randomly assigned participants to think about a political discussion that they engaged in or could have engaged in, but avoided. We followed up with a variety of questions, including asking "Why did you choose [not] to

participate in the discussion? In the fall of 2019, a pair of undergraduate research assistants unfamiliar with the context for which the coding would be used were tasked with coding the responses. They were given the stem of the question respondents were asked, and were instructed that "Answers can belong to more than one category because many respondents listed more than one answer. However, a single phrase or idea should only be categorized in one way." They were then provided with the coding scheme listed below.

Accuracy

People desire to be accurate and do not want to reveal that they believe factually inaccurate things. Responses in this category will focus on information—either the ability to express it or concern about the quality of it. Reasons for engaging in or avoiding a conversation that relate to accuracy may include:

- Concern about the level of information they have
- Concern about expressing an opinion about which s/he is uncertain
- Concern that his/her opinion is based on actually inaccurate information
- Concern that ability to express opinion accurately or clearly
- Concern that people would judge him/her for his/her knowledge level
- Opportunity to learn more information
- Opportunity to share information that is important

Note that although being "judged" for one's knowledge level could be considered affirmation, we are considering it to be in the accuracy category because it directly has to do with information. So, judgment based on information = accuracy.

Affirmation

The desire to maintain a positive self-concept is a central driving factor motivating behavior. Reasons for engaging in or avoiding a conversation that relate to affirmation indicate that the respondent was thinking about how they would think about themselves and how others would think about them. There is a sense of evaluation related to the respondent's self-identity: self-evaluation or evaluation by others. The response may indicate a concern about evaluation, or may indicate positivity about the ability to express who they are and what they believe.

- Concern that these people would judge him/her for his/her opinion
- Concern that the conversation would reveal too much about me or my views
- Opportunity to express opinions or discuss important matters
- Opportunity to solidify his/her opinions
- Opportunity to justify his/her opinion

So, judgment based on opinion = affirmation

Affiliation

The key distinctive factor here is that people are thinking about their SOCIAL relationships. The respondent is either feeling positive about the ability to form or strengthen social relationships or they are concerned about social repercussions of the conversation. Here, the concern is not about judgment but rather about relationships.

- Concern that expressing a dissenting opinion will damage the relationship with people

- Concern that expressing his/her opinion will make people uncomfortable
- Concern that expressing disagreement will make people uncomfortable
- Opportunity to get to know these people on a deeper level

Other

Some responses don't fall into any of the categories. If you did not mark that the response indicated accuracy, affirmation, or affiliation reasons, do any of the following apply?

- Respondent wrote "N/A" "NA" "No" or something similar indicating they weren't going to answer the question
- Respondent indicated that they don't know or can't remember
- Respondent wrote something non-sensical (random string of letters)
- Respondent wrote something about who was in the conversation, what it was about, where it took place, how it came about, but nothing about why they did or didn't participate
- Respondent simply wrote that they were or were not "interested" (in the conversation, not in the survey task)
- Respondent simply wrote that they do or do not "like" talking about politics
- Respondent wrote that they simply never discuss politics or indicated that this never happened

Meaningful but Vague

If the response has not been coded into any of the three categories, and if none of the above categories apply, please mark this question.

- Meaningful but vague

Pilot Vignette Experiment Results

As we describe in Chapter 3 and the Chapter 3 Appendix, we conducted a number of pilot vignette experiments in advance of designing the vignette that appeared on the CIPI 1 Survey. In Chapter 5, we presented a broad overview of the findings from our pilot vignette experiments and we provide additional detail here. Tables in the Chapter 7 Appendix support the results described here.

Context: In thinking about the social context, our key manipulation was whether the conversations occurred at the workplace or at a social gathering, such as a neighborhood party. Using data from Vignette Pilot 1, we find that individuals are more likely to expect a hypothetical character to deflect by changing the subject in the workplace (38 percent) than at a neighborhood party (28 percent). In this study, deflection was a very common response, second only to expressing one's true beliefs in both social context conditions. However, in the Knowledge-Ties-Power Pilot we also manipulated the social tie strength of discussants, and found no effect for workplace versus a social context.

Majority Opinion: As noted in our analysis of the conversations that were and the conversations that were not, the partisan composition of the discussants influences people's willingness to engage. In the Power x Partisan Composition and Knowledge x Partisan Composition pilot

studies, we manipulated the partisan composition, knowledge level, and power dynamic in the groups described in the vignettes. Regardless of the power dynamics in the group described in the vignette, a significantly greater proportion of participants thought that the character in the vignette would silence his or her views when he or she was in a political minority (26 percent) than when she was in a political majority (14 percent). However, we did not replicate this finding in our Knowledge x Partisan Composition Pilot. We find in multiple other studies that anticipated knowledge asymmetries have a huge influence on individuals' decisions; it is possible that this feature drowns out the effect of partisan composition in this particular study. The broader point remains, however, that individuals do expect others to silence their beliefs and they might be more likely to do so when they are in an opinion minority.

Knowledge: We analyzed the effect of knowledge asymmetries on political discussion behaviors in several different vignette experiments, including two pilot studies (Knowledge-Ties-Power Pilot and Knowledge x Partisan Composition Pilot), and one that was conducted on our CIPI I Survey. Across all three studies, we find that individuals were more likely to expect a hypothetical character to silence him/herself in a discussion with others who were more knowledgeable than in a discussion with others who were less knowledgeable. Looking across all three studies, we observe that not only is deflection a relatively common response option across all group knowledge levels, it appears that individuals are even more likely to silence themselves when they sense that they are less knowledgeable.

Power: We also analyzed the influence of power asymmetries on silencing behavior. In the workplace setting, we manipulated the power dynamic by having the person who directly asks the main character for his or her opinion in the discussion be either his or her supervisor (more power), a coworker (same power), or a new intern (less power). We tested this in the Knowledge-Ties-Power Pilot and the Power x Partisan Composition Pilot. Across these two studies we do not find statistically significant evidence that the power dynamic significantly affected anticipated silencing behavior.

Strength of Ties: Finally, we examined the influence of the strength of social ties on expected silencing behavior in political discussions. In our Knowledge-Ties-Power Pilot, we manipulated strength of ties by randomly assigning participants to read a vignette in which the hypothetical character was interacting with people they were close to (close tie) or not close to (weak tie). For robustness, we also manipulated the location to be either in the workplace or at a social gathering. In the workplace condition, close ties were described as coworkers from his or her department, whom s/he knows well, whereas weak ties were described as coworkers from a different department, whom s/he does not know particularly well. In the social gathering condition, close ties were described as close friends and weak ties were described as acquaintances. These analyses describe the character in the partisan minority, since we find no evidence that the location here affects silencing behavior, we aggregate across the location conditions. Looking at strength of ties, we find that participants in the weak ties condition were significantly more likely to expect the character to silence than those in the strong ties condition. This means that individuals seem to be more likely to silence themselves, avoiding participating in the discussion, when they are interacting with those they do not know as well, consistent with our findings from the free response experiment.

Chapter 6 Appendix

Psychophysiological Anticipation Study

Table A6.1 shows the total number of subjects for whom we have data, at various stages in the experiment and using different criteria levels for the quality of the physiology data. Our checks for data quality were conducted by a research assistant who was blind to the treatment status of the individual. The RA visually inspected the graphical depiction of an individual subject's data as recorded by AcqKnowledge, the software program used to capture the measurement. When evaluating the EDA data, the RA noted if the measurement was jagged (as opposed to smooth) or flat and non-responsive (as opposed to moving). The RA also looked at the lab log, which documented any comments from the research assistants who collected data about noncompliance (e.g. a subject moving around a lot) or other lab issues (e.g. fire alarms, lights turning off, etc.). Heart rate data was evaluated similarly, with the addition of a check to see if any artifacts had been corrected using the "Connect Endpoints" tool in AcqKnowledge.

We conducted these quality checks because of the possibility that some of these factors are correlated with treatment. While most should not be—fire alarms or equipment malfunction—some could be. For example, if subjects in the disagreeable treatments were more uncomfortable, they may have shifted around more in their seats. This would lead us to observe higher levels of psychophysiological activation, but due to a measurement artifact, not elevated psychophysiological response.

Table A6.1 Sample Sizes in Psychophysiological Anticipation Study

Study Stage	Fall 2014	Fall 2015	Total
Consented pre-survey	188	79	267
Arrived for lab study	136	69	205
Answered post-study survey	126	67	193
Physiology data collected	112	68	180
EDA: Maximal exclusion	81	41	122
EDA: Moderate exclusion	96	54	150
EDA: Minimal exclusion	107	65	172
HR: Maximal exclusion	88	60	148
HR: Moderate exclusion	100	60	160
HR: Minimal exclusion	111	161	172

Note: Levels of exclusion are described above. EDA is electrodermal activity and HR is heart rate.

Table A6.2 Balance Table for Treatment Groups in Between-Subjects Discussion Experiment

Study Stage	Agree, High Knowledge	Agree, Low Knowledge	Disagree, High Knowledge	Disagree, Low Knowledge
Handedness	2.00	1.98	2.00	2.00
Male	0.37	0.39	0.27	0.26
Age	19.32	19.48	19.53	19.79
Partisan Strength	2.17	2.26	2.13	2.29
Ideology	3.49	2.93	2.94	2.72
SIAS Scale	47.43	48.33	45.53	47.50
WSC	23.77	22.57	22.68	24.32
N	47	46	37	38

Note: Data come from the Psychophysiological Anticipation Study for subjects assigned to one of the four key treatment groups and for whom we have physiological data (n = 168). Subjects who identified as pure Independents were excluded from analysis during the between-subjects discussion experiment.

Table A6.2 shows the mean for a number of key variables for each of the four treatment groups during the discussion portion of the study. .

The results presented in Figure 6.1 in the main text are robust to a number of alternate specifications of the data. In Tables A6.3 – A6.6 below, we report the means of the raw data for several of these different calculations to show that the results are not sensitive to specification.

Table A6.3 Heart Rate Response to Videos in Psychophysiological Anticipation Study

Data Exclusion	Measurement Notes	Political Video HR	Apolitical Video HR
All Data	Full set of subjects (both video orderings)	-0.00 (-0.40, 0.40)	-0.46 (-0.81, -0.10)
Minimal Exclusion	Full set of subjects (both video orderings)	0.00 (-0.42, 0.42)	-0.32 (-0.68, 0.04)
Maximal Exclusion	Full set of subjects (both video orderings)	-0.06(-0.52, 0.40)	-0.31 (-0.68, 0.07)
All Data	Only subjects who watched set first	0.51 (-0.11, 1.13)	-0.17 (-0.66, 0.32)
Minimal Exclusion	Only subjects who watched set first	0.60 (-0.06, 1.27)	-0.11 (-0.62, 0.40)
Maximal Exclusion	Only subjects who watched set first	0.64 (-0.08, 1.36)	-0.14 (-0.68, 0.39)

Note: Data come from the Psychophysiological Anticipation Study. The video response data plotted in Figure 6.1 come from the fourth row. Data exclusion criteria refers to exclusion based on the quality of the heart rate measurements. Rows 3-6 calculate heart rate only among subjects who watched each set of videos first to assess for potential habituation in the data.

Table A6.4 Heart Rate Response to Discussion in Psychophysiological Anticipation Study

Data Exclusion	Measurement Notes	Discussion HR
All Data	Maximum heart rate during discussion	7.83 (6.59, 9.08)
All Data	Average heart rate during discussion	4.18 (3.24, 5.12)
Minimal Exclusion	Average heart rate during discussion	4.34 (3.46, 5.22)
Maximal Exclusion	Average heart rate during discussion	4.27 (3.30, 5.25)
All Data	Initial Discussion Response	1.57 (0.75, 2.39)
Minimal Exclusion	Initial Discussion Response	1.81 (1.04, 2.58)
Maximal Exclusion	Initial Discussion Response	1.72 (0.89, 2.55)

Note: Data come from the Psychophysiological Anticipation Study. The discussion response data plotted in Figure 6.1 come from the fifth row. Data exclusion criteria refers to exclusion based on the quality of the heart rate measurements.

Table A6.5 EDA Response to Videos in Psychophysiological Anticipation Study

Data Exclusion	Measurement Notes	Political Video EDA	Apolitical Video EDA
All Data	Full set of subjects (both video orderings)	0.04 (-0.36, 0.44)	0.07 (-0.29, 0.42)
Minimal Exclusion	Full set of subjects (both video orderings)	0.05 (-0.02, 0.12)	0.08 (0.02, 0.14)
Maximal Exclusion	Full set of subjects (both video orderings)	0.05 (-0.05, 0.15)	0.08 (0.01, 0.16)
All Data	Only first video set watched	0.14 (0.05, 0.23)	0.16 (0.06, 0.25)
Minimal Exclusion	Only first video set watched	0.15 (0.05, 0.24)	0.17 (0.07, 0.26)
Maximal Exclusion	Only first video set watched	0.18 (0.06, 0.30)	0.15 (0.04, 0.26)

Note: Data come from the Psychophysiological Anticipation Study. The video response data plotted in Figure 6.1 come from the fourth row. Data exclusion criteria refers to exclusion based on the quality of the electrodermal activity measurements. Rows 3-6 calculate heart rate only among subjects who watched each set of videos first to assess for potential habituation in the data.

Table A6.6 EDA Response to Discussion in Psychophysiological Anticipation Study

Data Exclusion	Measurement Notes	Discussion EDA
All Data	Maximum EDA during discussion	0.97 (-0.28, 2.23)
All Data	Average EDA during discussion	0.54 (-0.41, 1.48)
Minimal Exclusion	Average EDA during discussion	0.57 (0.41, 0.72)
Maximal Exclusion	Average EDA during discussion	0.64 (0.46, 0.82)
All Data	Initial Discussion Response	0.50 (0.37, 0.63)
Minimal Exclusion	Initial Discussion Response	0.53 (0.39, 0.67)
Maximal Exclusion	Initial Discussion Response	0.64 (0.46, 0.81)

Note: Data come from the Psychophysiological Anticipation Study. The discussion response data plotted in Figure 6.1 come from the fifth row. Data exclusion criteria refers to exclusion based on the quality of the electrodermal activity measurements.

In the Online Appendix, we present a series of regression tables to support the results we present in Figure 6.2. In addition to the base models that just include the treatment indicators, we run models controlling for gender, race, partisan strength, and political interest. We also run the models on each of three subsets of our data, based on the quality of the psychophysiological measurement.

Table A6.7 below complements Table 6.1 in the main text, reporting the means for each of the four treatment groups separately:

Table A6.7 Self-Reported Emotional Response to Anticipated Discussion

Study Stage	High Disagree	Low Disagree	High Agree	Low Agree
Angry	1.46	1.34	1.14	1.35
Annoyed	2.00	2.13	1.55	1.84
Anxious	3.45	3.32	3.11	2.89
Motivated	3.24	2.90	2.58	2.71
Happy	2.26	2.18	2.18	2.33
Relieved	1.44	1.55	1.48	1.58

Note: Data come from the Psychophysiological Anticipation Study. Subjects responded to the question "How did the idea of having a political discussion with someone make you feel? Please select all that apply and indicate the strength of your response" In a grid-style question, subjects were asked to respond to each emotion listed in the rows in on a [1=weak, 5=strong] scale.

Psychophysiological Experience Study

Additional Details about Study Design

As we allude to in Chapter 3, not all facets of our design worked as intended. We originally planned to answer an additional question: is political disagreement distinct from disagreement on other contentious issues, especially where contention may be tied to people's identity?

This rationale—testing for differences in identity-driven disagreement, comparing effects between a political and non-political identity—drove our original experimental design. Our goal was to select two identities—partisanship and a non-political identity—that were about equally salient to individuals. This second identity needed to be uncorrelated with partisanship so as to minimize the extent to which the interaction of the identities would be a signal in and of itself. For example, we could have selected racial or gender identity as our second salient identity. However, the subjects in our pool were likely aware of average partisan differences between men and women or people of different races. Moreover, we wanted an identity that was not immediately visible so that we could capture the psychophysiological response at the moment subjects revealed their identities. We settled on state residence. The university where we collected the data is a public institution where 35 percent of undergraduate students are out-of-state residents.

Our selection of discussion topics was related to the two identities we wanted to manipulate. We picked two topics related to campus issues and two topics related to political issues. One question in each pair was picked to be potentially contentious based on the salient identity (the in-state vs. out-of-state tuition difference for campus issues, and financial aid for immigrants for the political issue) and one was picked not to be (eliminating test scores from admissions criteria, and the emphasis on standardized testing). The topic of financial aid for immigrants was selected because of the distribution of partisanship and attitudes in our sample. Historically, this sample had leaned liberal and Democratic, and even many of the Republican students tended to hold liberal social positions. Thus, we wanted to pick an issue about which even our relatively liberal Republican students would likely take a conservative stance.

During the study, all subjects saw this text in this order:

> * Intro – "While we calibrate our equipment, please talk with your discussion partner about your favorite class this semester. When we are done calibrating, the screen with a white cross will reappear and please focus on that."
>
> * PartyID – "Are you a Republican or a Democrat? When the screen goes blank, please state your answer out loud. When the white cross appears on the screen, please stop talking and focus on the screen."
>
> * StateID – "Are you an in-state or out-of-state student? When the screen goes blank, please state your answer out loud. When the white cross appears on the screen, please stop talking and focus on the screen."

* Discuss - "We will now ask you to talk about four issues. The discussion prompt will appear on the screen for 20 seconds. During that time, think about your opinion on the issue and the arguments that support your position. When the screen goes blank, you will have 60 seconds to talk about the issue. Please remember to limit your motion as much as possible. When the white cross appears on the screen, please stop talking and focus on the screen."

Subsequently, they were shown four discussion prompts. The order of the discussion prompts was randomized:

1. "Is the current difference in tuition at William & Mary between in-state and out-of-state students fair?"

2. "Should illegal immigrants who attended high school in the United States qualify for financial aid from the government to attend college?"

3. "In government education policy, is there too much emphasis on standardized testing in high school, not enough emphasis on testing, or about the right amount?

4. "Should William & Mary consider dropping SAT and ACT scores from its required admissions criteria?"

Assignment to Treatment

Although we did not use true random assignment, our hope was that the level of disagreement in a discussion dyad would be uncorrelated with the preferences of the subjects about political discussion. A balance table between partisan aligned and partisan clash conversations shows that there were no differences between the groups on generalized discussion preferences, such as how frequently they discussed politics, how often they talked politics with people who disagreed, and their emotions in response to political disagreement.

Table A6.8 Balance Table on Discussion Preferences in Psychophysiological Experience Study

	Leaners Coded as Independents			***Leaners Coded as Partisans***		
	Partisan Aligned	**Partisan Clash**	***p*-value**	**Partisan Aligned**	**Partisan Clash**	***p*-value**
Discuss Often	1.67	1.79	0.31	1.66	1.84	0.15
Discuss Difference	1.31	1.43	0.23	1.41	1.37	0.65
Angry	1.73	1.57	0.27	1.75	1.53	*0.11*
Annoyed	2.24	2.22	0.90	2.27	2.23	*0.80*
Anxious	1.54	1.63	0.54	1.66	1.55	*0.44*
Motivated	2.73	2.59	0.43	2.68	2.61	*0.71*
Happy	1.44	1.63	0.16	1.48	1.65	*0.24*
Relieved	1.24	1.36	0.24	1.29	1.37	*0.38*
None	2.55	2.56	0.94	2.52	2.55	0.87

Note: Data come from the Psychophysiological Experience Study pre-survey. Discuss Often is reply to "How often do you have discussions about politics with others?" (response options [1=very often, 4=never]). Discuss Difference is reply to "Do you ever have political discussions with those holding views different than yours?"

(response options [1=yes, frequently, 2=yes, but rarely, 3=no]). The reported emotions are in reply to "How do you feel when someone disagrees with you on a political issue?" (response options [1=weak, 5=strong]).

We find no evidence that any of our dyads had previously interacted about the issues in the study. While there were some instances in which the subjects said they were acquaintances (3), knew each other by name (6), or recognized their discussion partner (32), the majority of dyads said they had never met or seen each other (92).

Effectiveness of Treatment

We achieved variation across dyads with respect to whether their partisan identities matched or clashed. Table A6.9 shows the distribution across types of dyad, depending on whether subjects who identified as leaners in the pre-test are coded as partisans or Independents. In many of the analyses presented in Chapter 6 and 7, we test for relationships using both codings, given the ambiguity in how subjects actually described their partisan identity to their discussion partner.

Table A6.9 Distribution of Partisan Alignment in Dyads in Psychophysiological Experience Study

	Leaners Coded as Independents	***Leaners Coded as Partisans***
Partisan Identities Match	42	58
Partisan - Independent	70	20
Partisan - Partisan	12	42

Note: Data come from the Psychophysiological Experience Study. Partisan identities match mean Democrat-Democrat, Independent-Independent, or Republican-Republican. Numbers in cells represent number of subjects in that dyadic condition. The middle column shows the distribution when leaners are coded as independents and the right column shows the distribution when leaners are coded as partisans.

It does appear that people recognized and remembered the partisan identity of their discussant. When asked in a post-test about their discussant's partisan identity, subjects were much more likely to accurately remember the partisanship of their discussant than other characteristics of the discussant, such as whether he or she was an in-state student. Table A6.10 and A6.11 show the rates of correct recollection by subjects about their partners' identities. We show this two ways, coding leaners as partisans and coding them as Independents, because of afore-mentioned ambiguities in how leaners would describe their identity to their partners.

Table A6.10 Recollection of Partisan Identity (Leaners as Independents) in Psychophysiological Experience Study

Study Stage	**Democrat**	**Republican**	**Independent**	**Didn't Say**	**Don't Remember**
Self-Reported Democrat	55	0	2	2	1
Self-Reported Republican	1	17	1	0	0
Self-Reported Independent	10	5	26	4	0

Note: Data come from the Psychophysiological Experience Study. Self-identified partisan leaners are coded as Independents for their self-report. Rows indicate how the subject reported their partisan identity on the pre-survey. Columns indicate how their discussion partner remembered their identity. Thus, for example, of the 60 self-identified Democrats, 55 were remembered as such by their discussion partner.

Table A6.11 Recollection of Partisan Identity (Leaners as Partisans) in Psychophysiological Experience Study

Study Stage	Democrat	Republican	Independent	Didn't Say	Don't Remember
Self-Reported Democrat	63	0	17	4	1
Self-Reported Republican	2	19	4	1	0
Self-Reported Independent	1	2	7	1	0

Note: Data come from the Psychophysiological Experience Study. Leaners are coded as partisans. Self-identified partisan leaners are coded as partisans for their self-report. Rows indicate how the subject reported their partisan identity on the pre-survey. Columns indicate how their discussion partner remembered their identity. Thus, for example, of the 85 self-identified Democrats, 63 were recalled as Democrats by their discussion partner, 17 were recalled as Independents, and 5 could not be recalled.

Our expectation was that we would also find more disagreement about the contentious issue between dyads whose identities clashed. We were successful in the contrasting partisan identities condition: the only issue where we see a significant difference between discussion compositions is on the immigrant financial aid issue. We show this in three ways:

1. A difference of means test (t-test) on the variable measuring disagreement on the immigration issues is marginally significant when leaners are coded as Independents (p=0.11) and very significant (p<0.005) when leaners are coded as partisans.
2. The proportion of conversations where discussants agreed is lower in conversations when their partisanship did not match. Of the instances where the discussants' partisan identities aligned and where leaners are coded as partisans, in 32 out of 58 discussions they agreed on the immigrant financial aid issue compared to 14 out of 62 conversations where they agreed when their identities clashed (p<0.001).
3. The correlation between the distance in their views on the immigration issue and the distance in subjects' 7-point PIDs is significant (r=0.23, p<0.05).

We were less successful in all facets of the state identity manipulation. Table A6.12 shows that we did achieve variation on the match or clash of state residence. On the 68 matching conversations, 18 were between out-of state students and 50 were between in-state students. But Table A6.13 shows that subjects did not accurately remember their partners' state identity and there were very low rates of accurate recall.

Table A6.12 Distribution of State Identity Alignment in Dyads in Psychophysiological Experience Study

State Residence Concordance	Number
State Identity Clashed	58
State Identity Matched	68

Note: Data come from the Psychophysiological Experience Study.

Table A6.13 Recollection of State Identity in Psychophysiological Experience Study

State Residence	In State	Out of State
Self-Reported In State	53	30
Self-Reported Out of State	30	20

Note: Data come from the Psychophysiological Experience Study. Rows indicate how the subject reported their state residence on the pre-survey. Columns indicate how their discussion partner remembered their state residence. Thus, for example, of the 83 self-identified in-state students, 53 were recalled as being in-state students by their discussion partner, while 30 were recalled as being out-of-state students.

Relatedly, we were not successful in inducing higher rates of disagreement about the contentious issue (university tuition level) in our state identity-clash conversations.

1. A difference of means test (t-test) on the variable measuring disagreement on the university tuition level issue is not significant for the shared versus different state identity conditions.
2. The proportion of conversations where discussants agreed is no different between the conditions. While 32.4 percent of the dyads agreed among those who shared residency, compared to only 20.7 percent when they did not share, this wasn't statistically significant (p=.139).

Because we did not effectively activate a second identity in the experiment, we did not test our hypotheses that asserted differences between the physiological activation of political versus non-political contention. Thus, in the regression analysis that supports the results in the chapter, we collapse all four issues together, clustering standard errors for each subject.

Issue Opinion Distribution and Disagreement

The pre-survey for the study was part of an omnibus survey that bundled several research projects together. Additionally, we buried our pre-survey measures of the four opinions within a larger set of questions about campus and policy issues. The wording on our four issues was:

> *Campus Tuition:* Is the current difference in tuition at [university] between in-state and out- of-state students fair? [Yes/No/DK]
>
> *Campus Testing:* Should [university] consider dropping SAT/ACT scores from its required admissions criteria? [Yes/No/DK]
>
> *Immigrant Financial Aid:* Should illegal immigrants who attended high school in the United States qualify for financial aid from the government to attend college? [Yes/No/DK]
>
> *Standardized Testing:* In government education policy, is there too much emphasis on standardized testing in high school? [Yes/No/DK]

We intentionally picked "hard issues" because of the political sophistication of our sample, as we wanted to better emulate the situation most American adults face where they might not have

strong opinions about an issue. However, our issues may have actually been too obscure, as Table A6.14 shows: high proportion of our very knowledgeable subject pool did not have opinions about the issue on the pre-test.

Table A6.14 Subjects' Opinion on Four Policy Issues

State Residence	Yes	Don't Know	No
Campus Testing	39	34	91
Campus Tuition	43	44	77
Standardized Testing	138	12	14
Immigrant Financial Aid	89	32	43

Note: Data come from the Psychophysiological Experience Study. See accompanying text for description of the issues.

Table A6.15 Dyadic Opinion Alignment (Issue Disagreement) on Four Policy Issues

State Residence	Agreement	Opinion-DK	Disagreement
Campus Testing	46	46	34
Campus Tuition	34	56	36
Standardized Testing	84	18	24
Immigrant Financial Aid	48	30	48

Note: Data come from the Psychophysiological Experience Study.

As a result of this, when we look at issue agreement or disagreement between dyads, we end up with a significant number of dyads where one member did not have an opinion on the pre-survey. In parts of the analysis where we focus on issue disagreement (e.g. Figure 6.5), we have a smaller number of subjects in each condition, contributing to the large standard errors, particularly for the calculation of the electrodermal activity. This is even more pronounced in Figure 6.6, where we focus on perceived disagreement: very few subjects perceived disagreement.

A Note on Ns

The study design involved several different types of measurement, many of which are prone to high rates of data loss (Settle et al. 2020). There were a number of factors that contributed to variation in the number of subjects who could be included in different stages of the analysis, summarized in Table A6.16. For example, subjects who talked with a confederate were not able to be included in the analyses about partisan identity alignment or issue disagreement, because we did not have pre-survey measures for the confederate. Some video recordings were unusable to create subject-level transcripts, if for example the camera got knocked and subjects' heads were not in focus.

Further, some of our analyses become quite small because these conditions are not nested (e.g. the 128 subjects for whom we have physiological data include subjects who did not have an opinion on the pre-survey, and thus cannot be included in the analyses looking at issue disagreement.)

Table A6.16 Sample Sizes in Psychophysiological Experience Study

Study Stage/Data Type	N
Consented pre-survey	165
Arrived for lab study	144
Physiology data collected	128
Discussed with another subject	121
Had opinion on pre-test	120-152
Linguistic analysis possible at individual-level	138

Note: Data come from the Psychophysiological Experience Study.

The Psychophysiological and Emotional Effects of Disagreement

In the Online Appendix, we present a series of regression tables to support the results we present in Figures 6.4, 6.5, and 6.6. In addition to the base models that just include the treatment indicators, we run models controlling for gender, race, partisan strength, and political interest. We also run the models on each of three subsets of our data, based on the quality of the psychophysiological measurement. We also provide additional supporting information for the results pertaining to self-reported emotion.

Chapter 7 Appendix

Pilot Vignette Results

Consistency of Expected Response

Table A7.1 demonstrates that the overall pattern of the frequency of expecting each response is remarkably consistent across our pilot studies. In each case, true opinion expression and censorship are the most common.

Table A7.1 Percentage of Expected Responses Across Pilot Vignette Studies

Response	Vignette Pilot	Knowledge-Ties-Power Pilot	Power x Partisan Composition Pilot	Knowledge x Partisan Composition Pilot
Silence	33	18	20	20
Conform	3	5	12	24
Censor	21	28	28	29
True	37	48	40	27
Entrench	6	1	0	0
N	395	917	405	405

Note: Data come from the vignette pilot studies, aggregating across treatment groups.

Additional Contextual Manipulations

Partisan Composition

We manipulated partisan composition in the Power x Partisan Composition and Knowledge x Partisan Composition pilots. The main results for the expected response are presented in Tables A7.2 and A7.3 below. On these pilots, we also asked respondents to report the likelihood with which they thought the character would express his or her true opinion to the group. This was measured on a 6-point scale ranging from (1) Very Unlikely to (6) Very Likely. We found that participants expected the character to be significantly less likely to express his or her true opinion when in the Minority condition (mean=3.25), compared to both the Balanced condition, evenly split between those who agree and those who disagree, (mean=4.23), and the Majority condition (mean=4.71). The difference between the Balanced and Majority conditions was also statistically significant. We find the same pattern in the Knowledge x Partisan Composition pilot, where the average likelihood of true opinion expression in the Minority condition was 3.17, but it rose to 4.27 in the Balanced condition, and 4.96 in the Majority condition. These differences are all statistically significant.

Table A7.2 Percentage of Expected Responses by Partisan Composition in Power x Partisan Composition Pilot

Response	Whole Sample	Minority	Majority
Silence	20	26	14
Conform	12	10	13
Censor	28	34	22
True	40	30	50
Entrench	0	0	0
N	405	202	203

Note: Data come from the Power x Partisan Composition Pilot study fielded on Mechanical Turk. The study included more manipulations than partisan composition and the Whole Sample column aggregates across all manipulations. All manipulations were described in a workplace setting. Although there was another condition in which the composition of the discussion group in the vignette was balanced, we did not ask this response question to those in that condition because the response options do not make sense when the group is described as split in their opinions.

Table A7.3 Percentage of Expected Responses by Partisan Composition in Knowledge x Partisan Composition Pilot

Response	Whole Sample	Minority	Majority
Silence	20	18	21
Conform	24	13	37
Censor	29	39	19
True	27	30	23
Entrench	0	0	1
N	405	206	199

Note: Data come from the Knowledge x Partisan Composition Pilot study fielded on Mechanical Turk. The study included more manipulations than partisan composition and the Whole Sample column aggregates across all manipulations. All manipulations were described in a social setting. Although there was another condition in which the composition of the discussion group in the vignette was balanced, we did not ask this response question to those in that condition because the response options do not make sense when the group is described as split in their opinions.

Power Dynamics

We manipulated the power dynamics between discussants in two pilot studies. We present the main results of the expected response by treatment group in each study in Tables A7.4 and A7.5 below. In the Power x Partisan Composition Pilot, we also asked a question about the likelihood that the character would express his or her true opinion to the group. We found that there was no statistically significant difference in the expected likelihood of true opinion expression between the Low Power (mean=4.18) and Same Power (mean=4.31) conditions. However, participants thought it was significantly less likely that the character would express his or her true opinion in the High Power (mean=3.72) condition than the Low Power or Same Power conditions.

Table A7.4 Percentage of Expected Responses by Power Dynamic in Knowledge-Ties-Power Pilot

Response	Whole Sample	Low Power	Same Power	High Power
Silence	18	24	29	22
Conform	5	8	1	7
Censor	28	32	25	19
True	48	35	45	51
Entrench	1	1	0	0
N	917	72	69	67

Note: Data come from the Knowledge-Ties-Power Pilot study fielded on Mechanical Turk. The study included more manipulations than power dynamics and the Whole Sample column aggregates across all manipulations. All power manipulations were described in a workplace setting.

Table A7.5 Percentage of Expected Responses by Power Dynamic in Power x Partisan Composition Pilot

Response	Whole Sample	Low Power	Same Power	High Power
Silence	20	19	18	24
Conform	12	10	9	15
Censor	28	20	26	38
True	40	51	45	24
Entrench	0	0	2	0
N	405	136	133	136

Note: Data come from the Power x Partisan Composition Pilot study fielded on Mechanical Turk. The study included more manipulations than power dynamics and the Whole Sample column aggregates across all manipulations. All power manipulations were described in a workplace setting.

Strength of Social Connection

In the Knowledge-Ties-Power Pilot, we manipulated the strength of the social relationship between the main character and the other discussants. The results for the expected response to the situation for each treatment group are presented in Table A7.6. We did not ask the question about the likelihood of true opinion expression in this pilot study.

Table A7.6 Percentage of Expected Responses by Strength of Social Tie in Knowledge-Ties-Power Pilot

Response	Whole Sample	Close Tie	Weak Tie
Silence	18	21	12
Conform	5	4	5
Censor	28	22	34
True	48	52	49
Entrench	1	1	1
N	917	143	146

Note: Data come from the Knowledge-Ties-Power Pilot study fielded on Mechanical Turk. The study included more manipulations than strength of social tie and the Whole Sample column aggregates across all manipulations. The study also manipulated whether the context of the discussion took place in the workplace or a social setting; the treatment effects for strength of social tie aggregate across this contextual manipulation.

Knowledge Composition

In the Knowledge-Ties-Power and Knowledge x Partisan Composition pilots, we manipulated the relative knowledge levels between the main character and the other discussants. The results for the expected response are presented in Tables A7.7 and A7.8. In the Knowledge x Partisan Composition Pilot, we also asked respondents to report the likelihood with which they thought the main character would express his or her true opinion to the group, as discussed above. We found that those in the Low Knowledge condition thought the character would be significantly less likely to express his or her true opinion to the group (mean=4.15), compared to those in the Same Knowledge condition (mean=4.47). We also found that those in the Low Knowledge condition thought the character would be significantly *more* likely to express his or her true opinion than those in the High Knowledge condition (mean=3.82). The difference in means between the High Knowledge and Same Knowledge conditions is also statistically significant. These results suggest that when someone is less knowledgeable than the group, they are less likely to express their true opinions than when they have the same knowledge level or when they are more knowledgeable. In addition, opinion expression is more likely when the discussants are of equal knowledge than when the main character is more knowledgeable.

Table A7.7 Percentage of Expected Responses by Knowledge Composition in Knowledge-Ties-Power Pilot

Response	Whole Sample	Low Knowledge	Same Knowledge	High Knowledge
Silence	18	14	15	18
Conform	5	3	4	7
Censor	28	27	27	32
True	48	53	53	42
Entrench	1	2	1	1
N	917	139	142	139

Note: Data come from the Knowledge-Ties-Power Pilot study fielded on Mechanical Turk. The study included more manipulations than knowledge composition and the Whole Sample column aggregates across all manipulations. The study also manipulated whether the context of the discussion took place in the workplace or a social setting; the treatment effects for knowledge aggregate across this contextual manipulation.

Table A7.8 Percentage of Expected Responses by Knowledge Composition in Knowledge x Partisan Composition Pilot

Response	Whole Sample	Low Knowledge	Same Knowledge	High Knowledge
Silence	20	18	16	25
Conform	24	18	25	31
Censor	29	29	29	28
True	27	34	29	16
Entrench	0	0	1	0
N	405	141	130	134

Note: Data come from the Knowledge x Partisan Composition Pilot study fielded on Mechanical Turk. The study included more manipulations than knowledge composition and the Whole Sample column aggregates across all manipulations. All manipulations were described in a social setting.

Table A7.9 Percentage of Respondents Selecting Concerns and Opportunities, by AAA Framework

	Concern	Opportunity
Accuracy	41	44
Affiliation	54	37
Affirmation	52	57

Note: Percentages calculated based on respondents who selected at least one consideration, therefore excluding from the denominator those who did not select any considerations. Data come from the CIPI I Vignette Experiment, pooling across treatment groups, N=3,039.

Linguistic Analysis of Psychophysiological Experience Study

Details of the study itself can be found in Chapter 6 and its appendix. Here, we report the wording of the perception questions used in Table 7.8.

Subjects answered each question for each of four issue conversation segments:

1. Illegal immigrants and financial aid
2. Emphasis on standardized testing in government education policy
3. WM tuition fairness for in- and out-of-state students
4. WM dropping SAT/ACT from requirements

Perceived Disagreement: To what extent do you think you and your discussion partner agreed on each issue? [1=Strongly Agreed, 6=Strongly Disagreed, 7-DK]

Own Discomfort Level: How uncomfortable do you think your discussion partner was on the issue? [1=Not very uncomfortable, 6-Very uncomfortable]

Partner Discomfort Level: How uncomfortable do you think you were on the issue? [1=Not very uncomfortable, 6-Very uncomfortable]

Own Knowledge Level: How knowledgeable do you think you were on the issue? [1=Not very knowledgeable, 6-Very knowledgeable]

Partner Knowledge Level: How knowledgeable do you think your discussion partner was on the issue? [1=Not very knowledgeable, 6-Very knowledgeable]

Two additional variables were created to capture the relationship between the subject's and the discussant's knowledge level:

Partner Knowledge Advantage: Partner Knowledge Level – Own Knowledge Level [range of 5—indicating partner was much more knowledgeable to -5—indicating subject was much more knowledgeable]

Knowledge Differential: The absolute value of Partner Knowledge Advantage

Chapter 8 Appendix

Future Political Discussions

Does exposure to uncomfortable political conversations make people less likely to talk about politics more generally? The results presented in this chapter so far indicate that having a political discussion in which one is in the partisan minority can make a person less willing to repeat the experience by opting into another political discussion with the same group in the future. But, this does not tell us much about how that discussion experience affects their willingness to engage in *other* political discussions – to try again with a new group.

In this section, we examine the relationship between political discussion experiences and broader political discussion behaviors. We first build directly on the results presented earlier in this chapter by using a vignette experiment to test whether exposure to disagreement or knowledge asymmetries affect the likelihood of engaging in a political discussion with others who were not part of the original discussion. Next, we zoom out from our vignette experiments that capture proximal behavior to focus more on general tendencies, as described in Chapter 3. These general tendencies capture the *accumulation* of (possibly) many political discussion experiences over time, which could be more influential than a single experience. More in line with approaches used by researchers before us, we use CCES data to measure the relationship between situational features of political discussion networks (partisan and knowledge compositions) and whether individuals report having discussed politics in person and online in the past year.

First, to assess the proximal behavior in response to a specific conversation, we turn to the Knowledge x Partisan Composition pilot study in which we manipulated the partisan composition and knowledge level of the discussants. We asked respondents to reflect on whether they thought the character would avoid discussing politics with *other* people who were not part of the discussion in the vignette. We find that respondents were equally likely to expect the character to avoid future political discussions with others in all partisan compositions. We find no evidence that the knowledge dynamics affected the likelihood of future discussion avoidance. The vignette experiment thus reveals that the partisan composition of a single conversation is not likely to affect future discussion behaviors writ large.

Perhaps more important, though, is the accumulation of these decisions: are people who are exposed to more disagreement generally less likely to talk about politics? This analysis comes conceptually closest to the previous work that looks at the effects of disagreeable conversation. Previous research has explored the relationship between disagreement in discussion networks and discussion frequency. Gerber et al. (2012) find that individuals in politically diverse discussion networks discuss politics less frequently than individuals in homogeneous discussion networks, but this finding focuses on discussion behavior *within* networks, as opposed to broader patterns of discussion frequency. Klofstad, Sokhey, and McClurg (2013) find that exposure to interpersonal disagreement within discussion networks is associated with lower levels of overall political discussion. However, this relationship is substantively small and changes depending on the operationalization of disagreement. These studies typically use name generators to identify the number or percentage of discussants who disagree in some way: either have a different partisanship than the respondent, vote for a different presidential candidate, or are perceived by the respondent as having different views. Applying the 4D Framework, we interpret this measure

in a slightly more nuanced way. A respondent's report of their most frequent political discussants represents the accumulation of the choices they have made about which discussions to pursue, a sort of equilibrium position that reflects their preferences, albeit one that reflects the discussions that have been imposed on them. Thus, someone with a more diverse or disagreeable network is essentially reporting their tolerance of – or preference for – such communication.

To tackle this question, we use nationally representative data from original questions added to the 2018 Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES)[1] to measure discussion network diversity and frequency of political discussion. We measured political discussion network composition by asking respondents to reflect on how many of the people with whom they talk about politics, candidates, and elections identify with the same political party as them. This was measured on a 5-point scale including: none, less than half, about half, more than half, and all.[2] This measure will not fully capture the complexities of political conversations, but it should roughly proxy for how much exposure individuals had to disagreement. The scale we use captures being in a partisan minority on one end, to being in a partisan majority on the other end. The middle category is where subjects are exposed to about equal levels of partisans. To measure broader discussion behavior, we used a question about whether respondents had spoken to their friends about politics in person in the past year.[3] This question was also repeated for talking about politics with their friends online.

Looking at the connection between network composition and discussion behavior, we find that those in more homogeneous networks (where most or all of their discussants shared their partisanship) were more likely to report that they talked to their friends about politics in the past year. Only 51 percent of respondents who reported that *none* of their discussants were from the same party as them reported discussing politics in the past year. In contrast, 79 percent of respondents who reported that *all* of their discussants were copartisans reported discussing politics in the past year. If we collapse our scale into cases in which the respondent was in the partisan minority, majority, or balanced, we observe a roughly linear pattern in discussion engagement, as shown in Figure A8.1. Both in person and online conversations were more common among individuals who were embedded within more homogeneous discussion networks. Figure presents the raw data, but we find that even after controlling for a set of covariates (gender, race, interest in politics, and strength of partisanship), respondents in majority discussion networks and respondents in balanced networks were more likely to report that they discussed politics with their friends in person than those who were in the minority in their networks. We also find that those in majority networks were more likely to discuss politics

[1] The CCES module we analyzed includes a nationally representative sample of 1,000 respondents. Respondents were surveyed before and after the 2018 midterm elections. The questions we analyze were both measured on the pre-election wave. We thank the Center for American Politics at UC San Diego for funding support.

[2] We acknowledge that estimating the distribution of partisanship within one's network can be a challenging task. Individuals might have incentives to conform to the group (Carlson & Settle 2016; Levitan & Verhulst 2016) and false consensus biases might lead us to overestimate agreement. Researchers more commonly use name generators to measure network composition characteristics, but we were limited in survey space. Moreover, Eveland et al. (2019) note that accuracy in inferring others' views, even in a name generator approach, can be misleading. We hope that future researchers can explore methods for measuring network composition in a way that is efficient on surveys and as accurate as possible.

[3] We did not write this question – it was included as part of another CCES module. While it does not capture discussion frequency in the same way as the ANES data we have used elsewhere in this book, it should give a rough sense for whether discussion network composition is associated with engaging in discussion more broadly.

online than those in the minority in their networks, but we do not observe such a pattern for those in balanced networks.

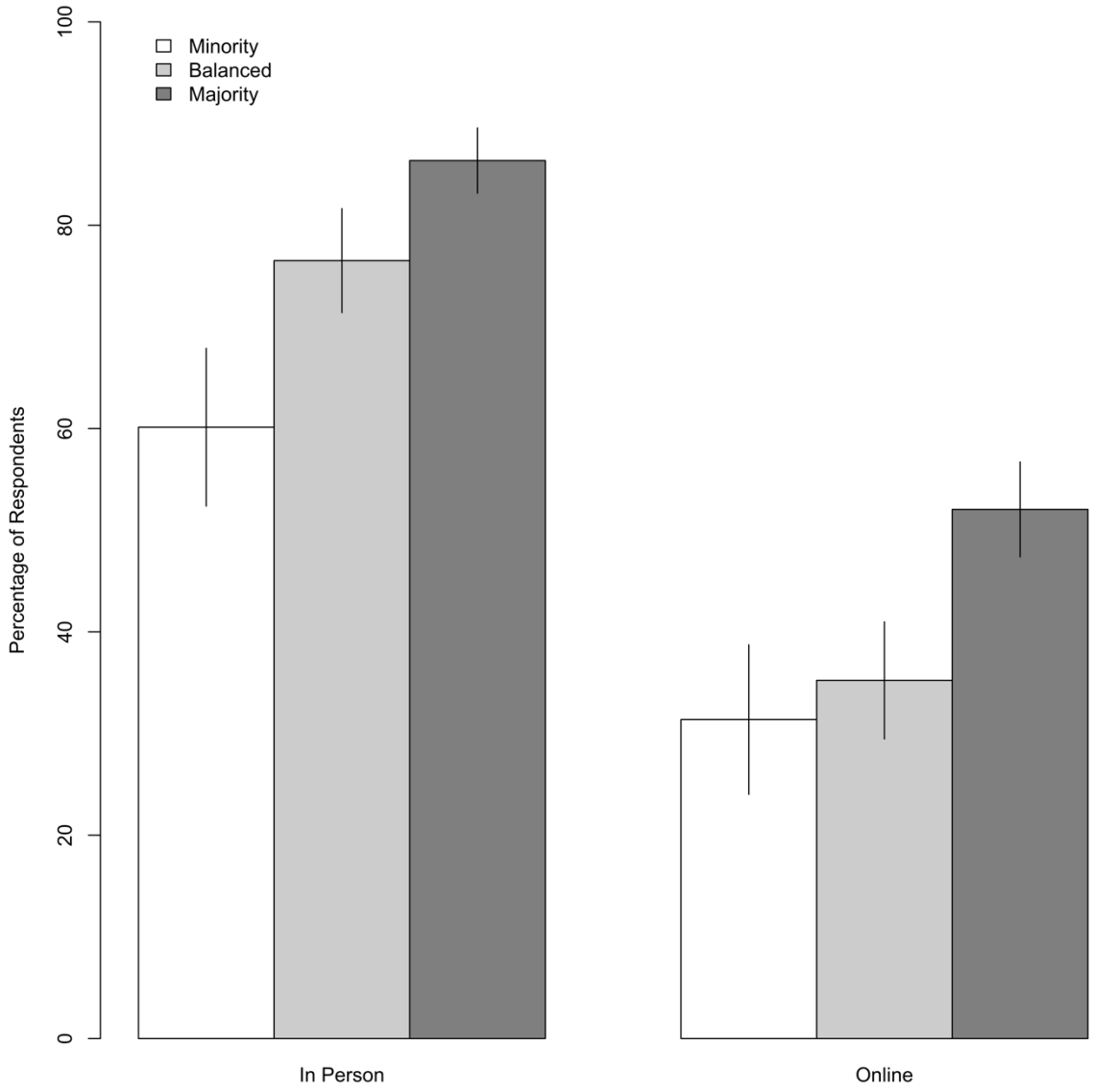

Figure A8.1. Political Discussion by Partisan Composition of Network

Note: Data come from the 2018 CCES, N=857 after accounting for missing data. Minority discussion networks (white bars) reflect cases in which respondents reported that none or less than half of their discussants were from the same party as them; balanced networks (light gray bars) reflect cases in which respondents reported that about half of their discussants were from the same party as them; and majority networks (dark gray bars) reflect cases in which respondents reported that more than half or all of their discussants were from the same party as them. Vertical lines represent 95 percent confidence intervals. Proportions are unweighted.

We repeat this analysis looking at the balance of knowledge in people's discussion networks. Figure A8.2 shows that the effects of knowledge differentials is similar to the effect of the balance of opinion, but the results are not as pronounced and are only significant for online discussions. In a regression model controlling for strength of partisanship, gender, race, and interest in politics, we find that people who think that their discussants are more knowledgeable than them talk less frequently about politics online, although the results are not significant for face-to-face discussion.

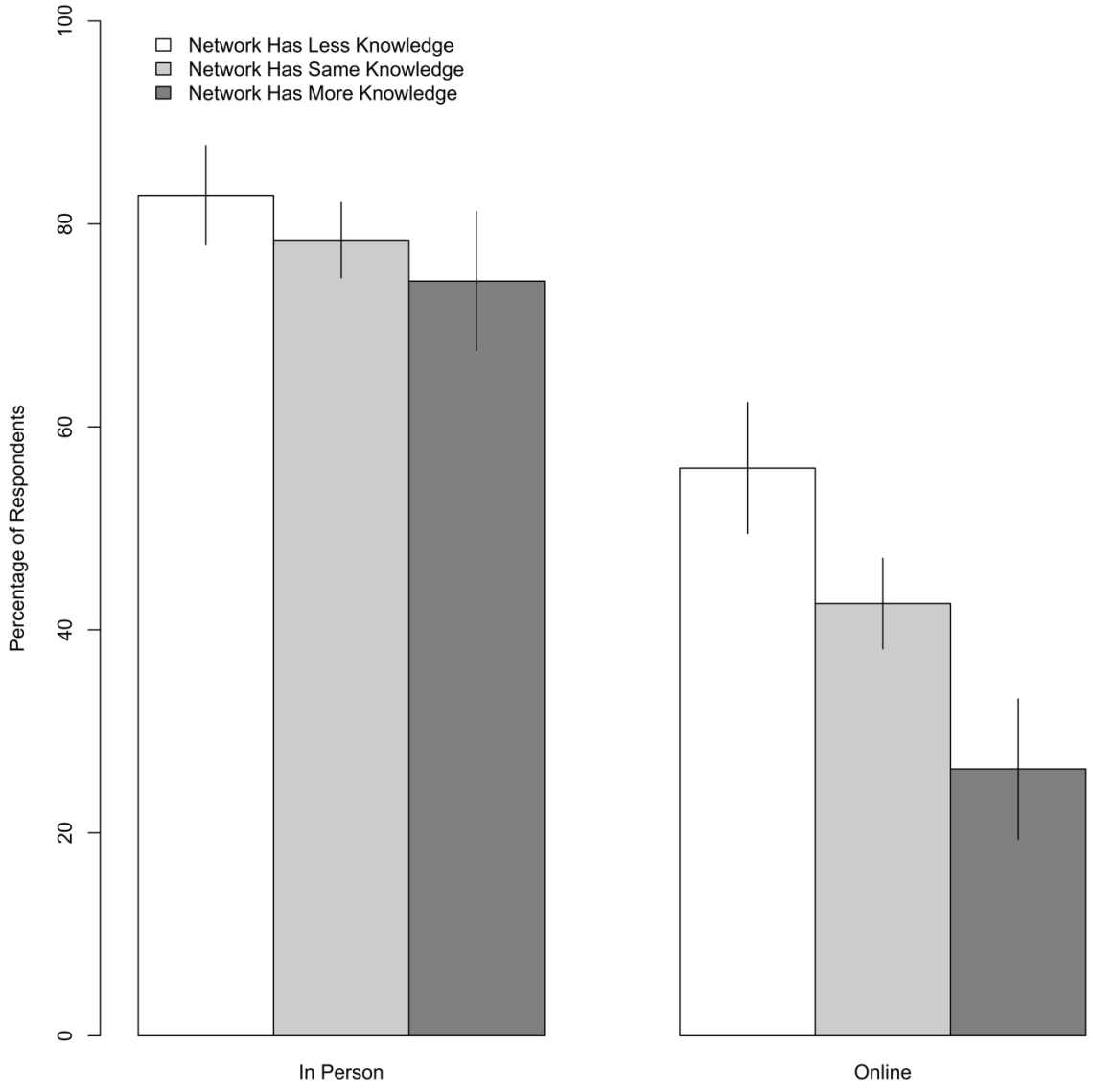

Figure A8.2. Political Discussion by Knowledge Composition of Network.

Note: Data come from the 2018 CCES, N=855 after accounting for missing data. White bars reflect cases in which respondents thought most of their discussants were less knowledgeable than them, light gray bars reflect cases in which respondents thought most of their discussants

had the same knowledge level as them, and dark gray bars reflect cases in which respondents thought most of their discussants were more knowledgeable than them. Vertical lines represent 95 percent confidence intervals. Proportions are unweighted.

Across two vignette experiments and a coarse analysis using CCES data, we find at least some evidence that individuals' immediate and cumulative discussion experiences are associated with their broader political discussion behavior. These findings are largely rooted in exposure to disagreement via variation in partisan composition, but we acknowledge that there are a host of other features of discussions that could contribute to these patterns that we have not yet explored. More importantly, the causal arrow is ambiguous: it could be that people who discuss politics regularly cultivate networks to be more homogenous; or it could be that those who are in homogeneous networks tend to discuss politics more frequently, even outside of their immediate networks. We leave this problem to future research to unpack. The point we wish to communicate here is simply that there is a connection between our broader political discussion orientations and the experiences we have more proximally within any given discussion or within our immediate political discussion networks.