

ONLINE SUPPLEMENT TO:

**Process Approval and Democratic Legitimacy: How Americans Want Their Elected
Representatives to Decide How to Vote**

Bo MacInnis

Stanford University

Sarah E. Anderson

University of California, Santa Barbara

Jon A. Krosnick

Stanford University

February, 2018

Overview

This online supplement provides the following:

Figure S1: The Percent of Respondents Who Prescribed and Observed the Most Attention to Each Governance

Figure S2. Percent of Americans Who Wanted Their Representatives to Pay Substantial Attention to Each of the 21 Potential Sources of Influence

Figure S3. Percent of Americans Who Observed Their Representatives Paid Substantial Attention to Each of the 21 Potential Sources of Inference

Table S1: Demographics of the Samples and Current Population Survey

Table S2: The Effects of Question Orders on the Distribution of Responses to the 21 Criteria Measures

Table S3: Pearson Correlations of Responses Between Pairs of the 21 Prescribed Criteria Measures

Table S4: Pearson Correlations of Responses Between Pairs of the 21 Observed Criteria Measures

Table S5: Robustness Checks using Different Measures as Components of the General Public Governance Set

Table S6: Robustness Checks using Different Measures as Components of the Party Loyalty Governance Set

Table S7: Confirmatory Factor Analysis of Prescribed and Observed Governance

Table S8: Percent of Americans Who Gave the Highest Rating to Each of the Six Governance Sets

Table S9: Percent of Americans Who Gave the Highest Rating to Each of the 21 Potential Sources of Influence

Table S10: Predictors of the Prescribed Attention to Each Governance Set

Table S11: Predictors of the Observed Influence of Each Governance Set

Table S12: Predictors of the Perception that a Governance Set Should Have Substantial Influence but Did Not

Table S13: Predictors of the Perception that a Governance Set Should Not Have Substantial Influence But Did

Table S14: Predicting Approval of Congress, Rating of Congress on Its Job, and Emotional Responses with Process Approval Averaged Over 21 Criteria, Volume Approval, and Output Approval

Table S15: Robustness Check using Euclidean Distance Measure of Process Approval

Table S16: Demographic Characteristics of Respondents in Seven Experimental Conditions

Table S17: Demographics of the Sample and the Current Population Study

Table S18: Political Party Identification and Ideology of the Sample and the Gallup Survey

Table S19: Impact of Process Statement on Attitudes

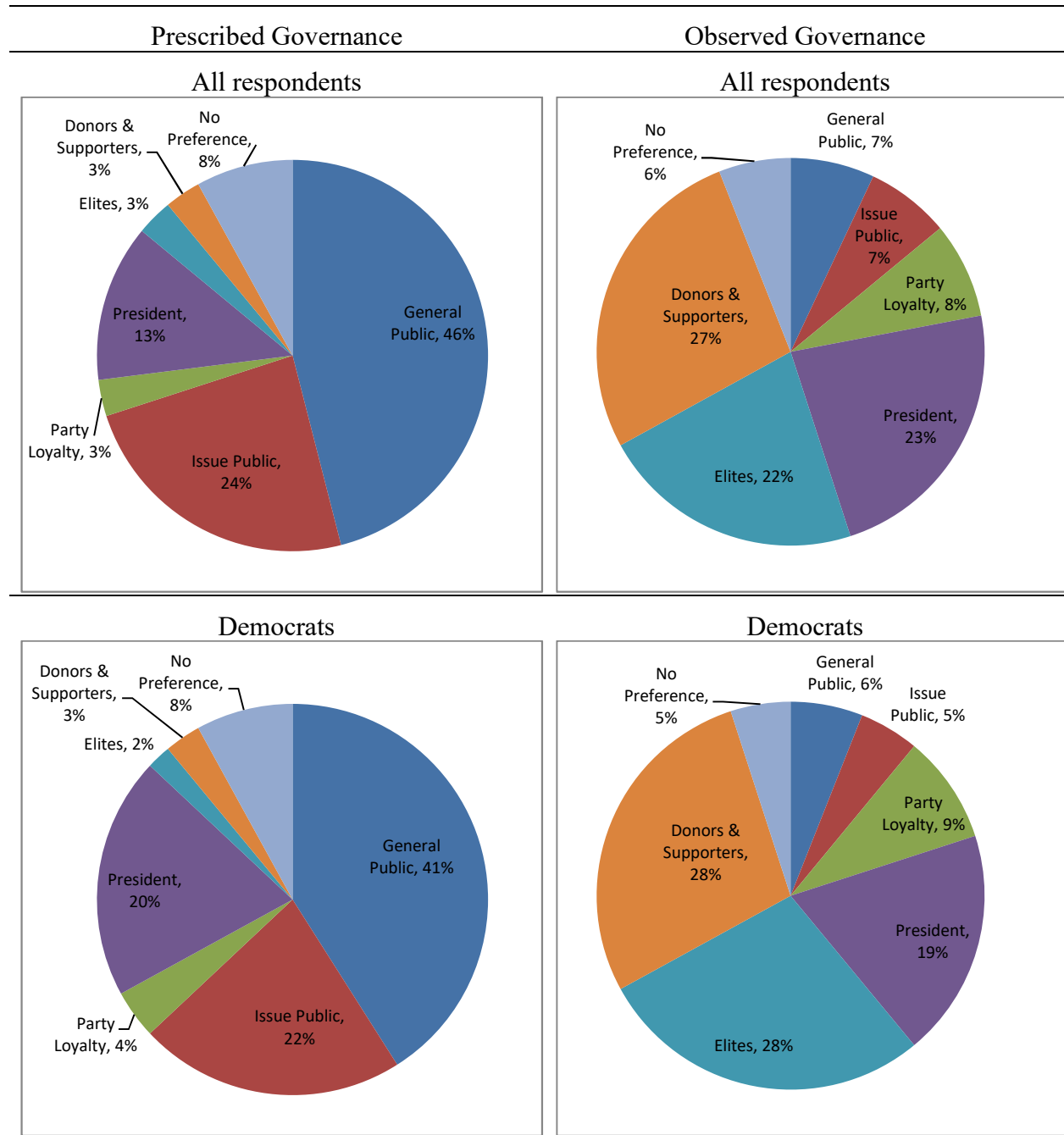
Table S20: Impact of Process Statement on Attitudes Moderated by Political Party Identification

Appendix A: AmeriSpeak Panel Sample Recruitment and Sampling for the Nationally Representative Surveys

Appendix B: Question Wording and Coding of Measures in the Nationally Representative Surveys

Appendix C: Panel Recruitment, Procedures, Question Wording and Coding of Measures in the Survey Experiment

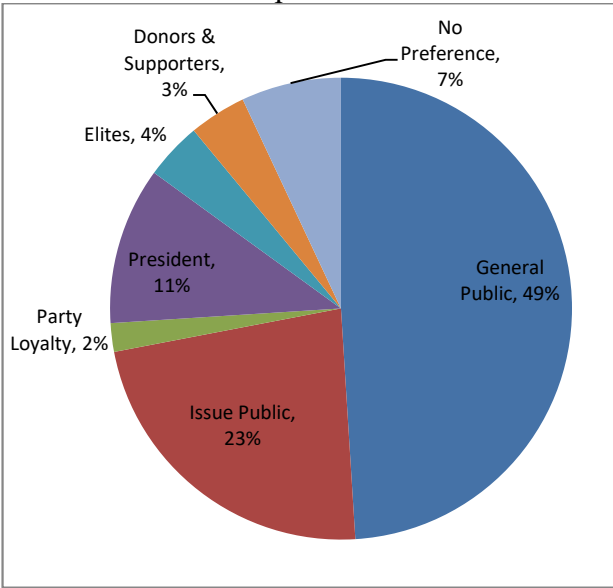
Figure S1: The Percent of Respondents Who Prescribed and Observed the Most Attention to Each Governance



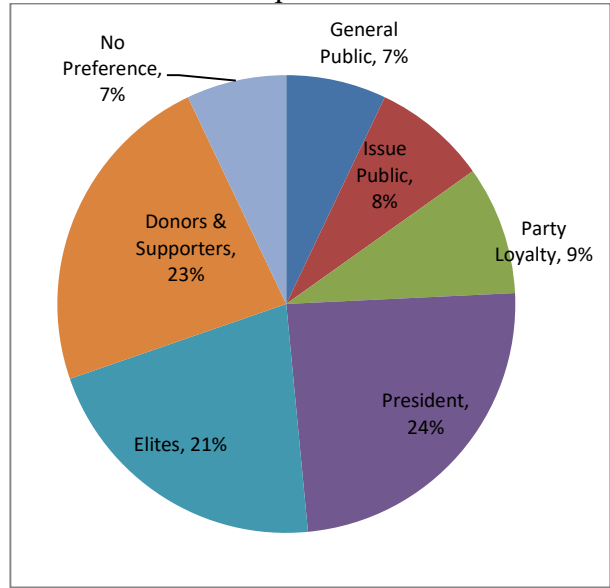
Prescribed Governance

Observed Governance

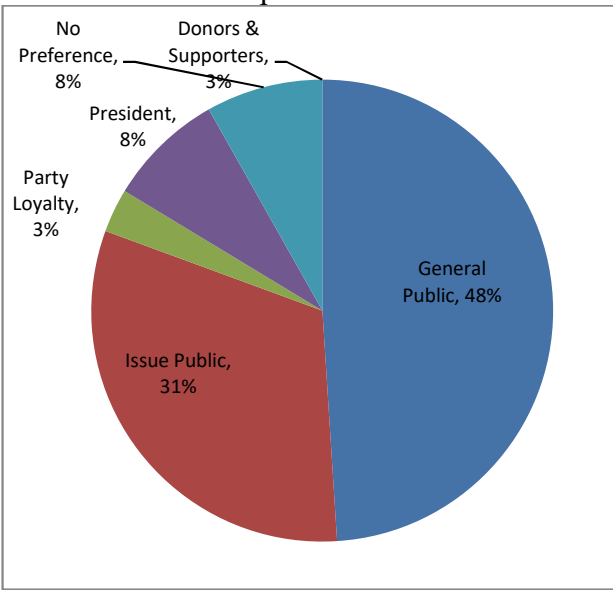
Independents



Independents



Republicans



Republicans

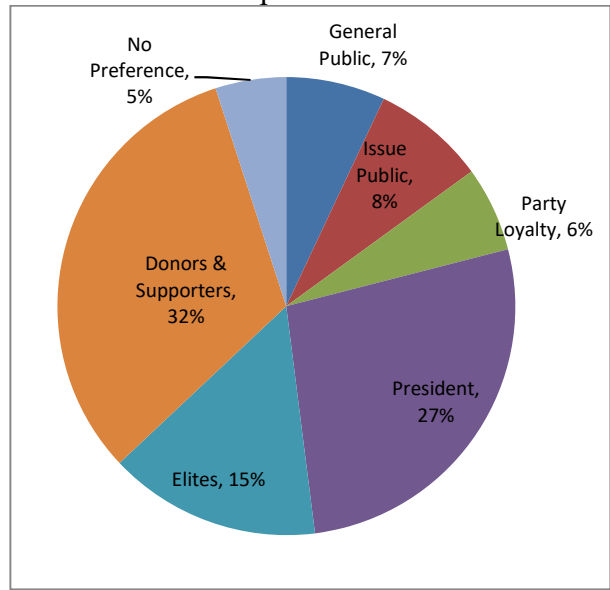


Figure S2. Percent of Americans Who Wanted Their Representatives to Pay Substantial Attention to Each of the 21 Potential Sources of Influence

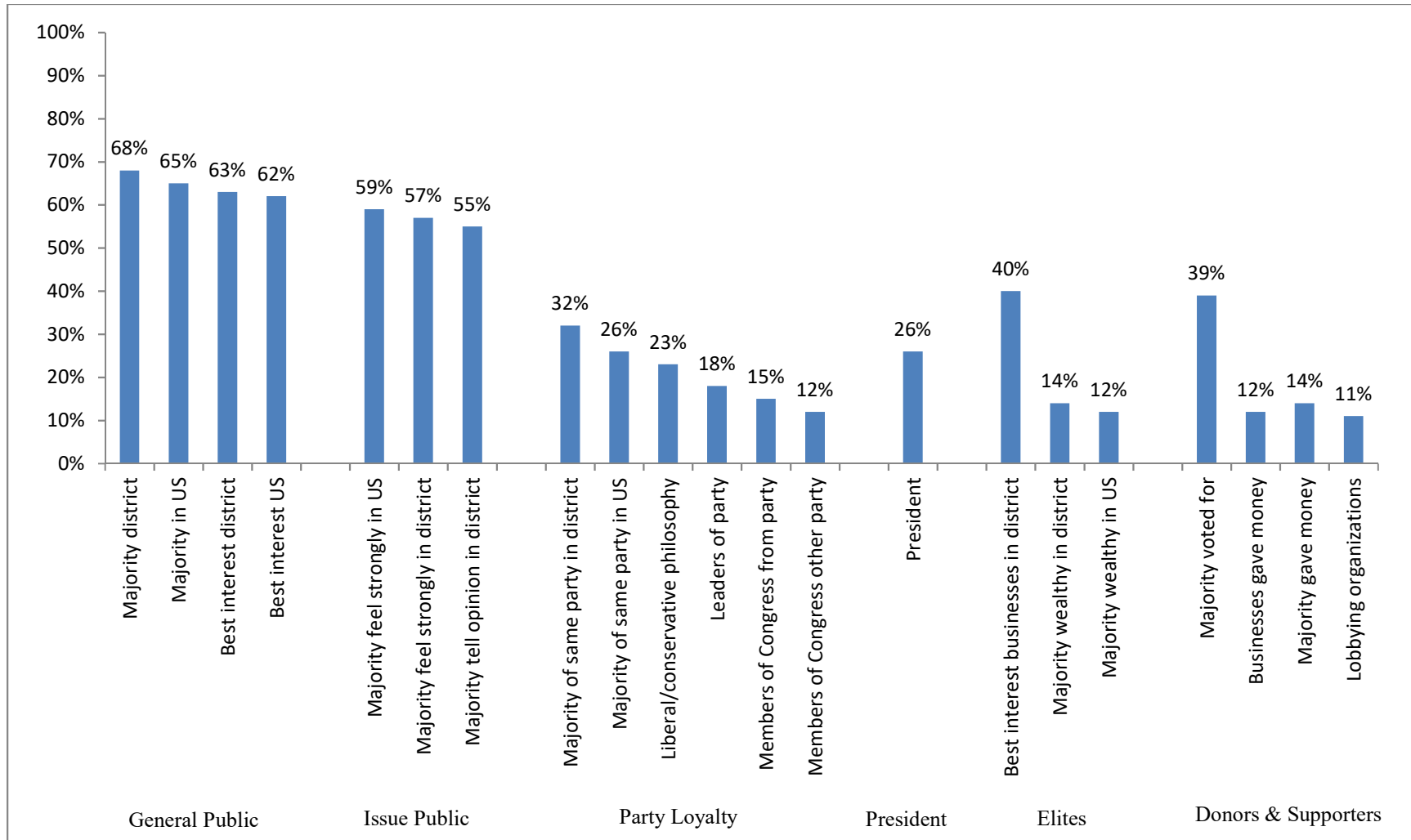


Figure S3. Percent of Americans Who Observed Their Representatives Paid Substantial Attention to Each of the 21 Potential Sources of Inference

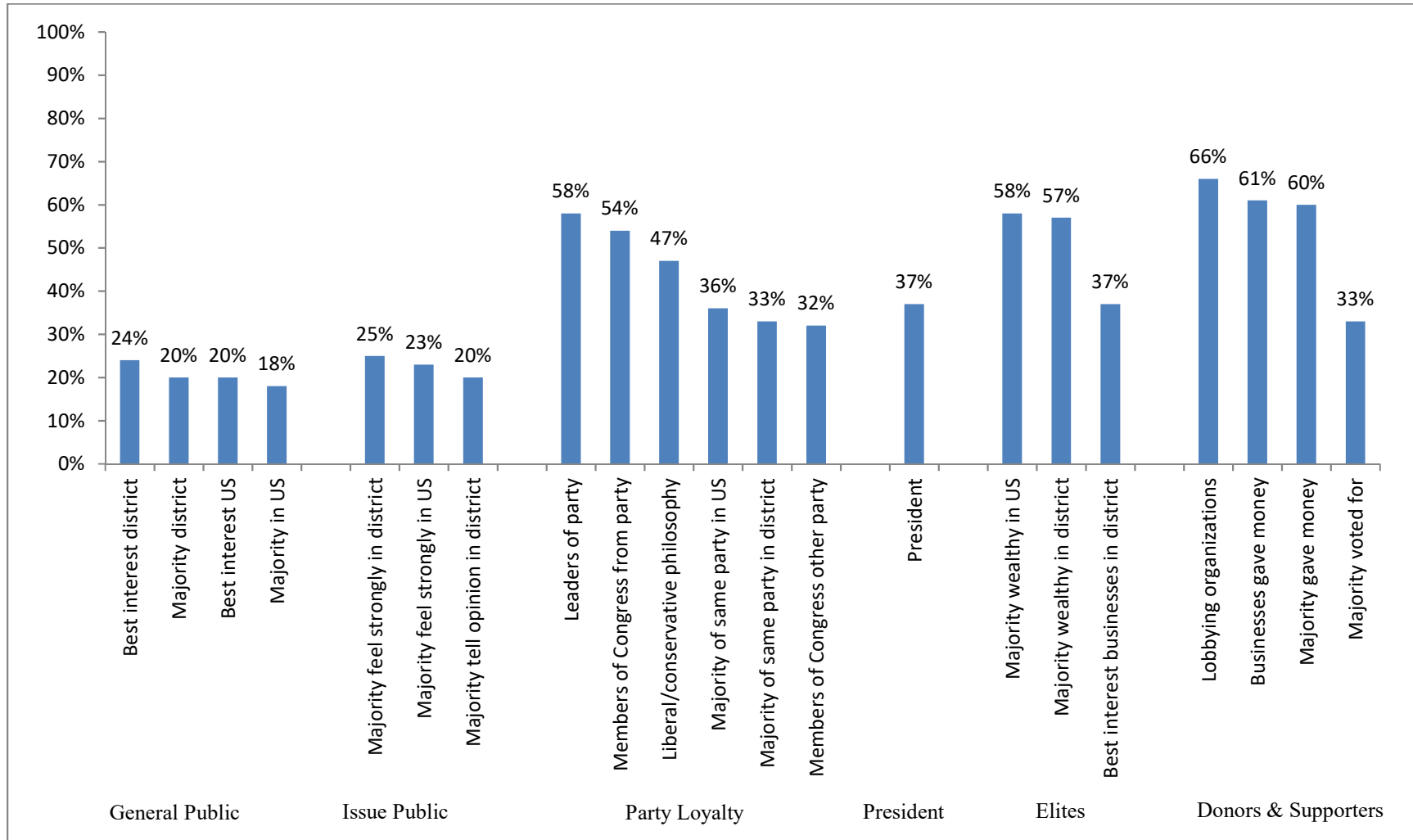


Table S1: Demographics of the Samples and Current Population Survey

Demographic	2015 survey (unweighted) (1)	2015 survey weighted (2)	CPS March 2015 (3)	Difference: (2)-(3) (4)	2017 survey (unweighted) (5)	2017 survey (weighted) (6)	CPS Feb. 2017 (7)	Difference: (6)-(7) (8)
<u>Gender</u>								
Female	53.8%	51.7%	51.7%	.0%	53.2%	51.7%	51.7%	.0%
Male	46.2	48.3	48.3	.0	46.8	48.3	48.3	.0
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
<u>Age</u>								
18-34	27.8%	29.6%	30.2%	-.6%	31.0%	32.1%	29.8%	2.3%
35-49	27.6	25.6	25.0	.6	22.5	22.3	24.6	-2.3
50-64	27.3	25.9	25.9	.0	26.2	25.6	25.6	.0
65+	17.2	19.0	19.0	.0	20.3	19.9	19.9	.0
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
<u>Race and Ethnicity</u>								
Non-Hispanic White	69.5%	64.9%	64.9%	.0%	64.2%	64.1%	64.1%	.0%
Non-Hispanic Black	7.9	11.7	11.7	.0	11.5	11.8	11.8	.0
Hispanic	13.4	15.5	15.5	.0	17.7	15.9	15.9	.0
NH-Asians	3.4	2.9	6.0	-3.1	2.5	3.6	6.1	-2.5
NH-Others	5.7	5.0	2.0	3.0	3.9	4.6	2.1	2.5
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
<u>Education</u>								
Less than HS	5.6%	12.2%	12.2%	.0%	2.8%	5.5%	10.8%	-5.3%
HS graduate	27.8%	29.6	29.6	.0%	16.9%	34.1	28.8	5.3%
Some college	31.4	28.8	28.4	.4	43.7	31.0	28.5	2.5
Bachelor's degree	20.4	17.9	19.2	-1.3	21.7	17.2	20.3	3.1
Post-college	14.8	11.5	10.6	.9	14.9	12.2	11.5	.7
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
<u>Home Ownership</u>								
Owner occupied	65.1%	68.8%	67.0%	1.8%	62.3%	67.6%	66.4%	1.2%
Renter occupied	34.9	31.2	33.0	-1.8	37.7	32.4	33.6	-1.2
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Demographic	2015 survey (unweighted) (1)	2015 survey weighted (2)	CPS March 2015 (3)	Difference: (2)-(3) (4)	2017 survey (unweighted) (5)	2017 survey (weighted) (6)	CPS Feb. 2017 (7)	Difference: (6)-(7) (8)
<u>Household Income</u>								
Less than \$30K	27.8%	28.4%	28.7%	-.3%	27.0%	27.6%	20.0%	7.6%
\$30K to \$74,999	37.5	38.9	35.1	3.8	40.0	39.6	35.7	3.9
\$75K to \$124,999	21.2	19.4	19.6	-.2	23.4	23.4	23.8	-.4
\$125K +	13.5	13.3	16.5	-3.2	9.6	9.4	20.5	-11.1
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
<u>Marital Status</u>								
Married	51.1%	51.9%	52.9%	-1.0%	48.5%	47.9%	53.4%	-5.5%
Not married	48.9	48.1	47.1	1.0	51.5	52.1	46.6	5.5
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
<u>Children</u>								
With 1+ under 18	33.6%	35.9%	35.8%	.1%	35.5%	35.1%	34.0%	1.1%
No child under 18	66.4	64.1	64.2	-.1	64.5	64.9	66.0	-1.1
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Table S2. The Effects of Question Orders on the Distribution of Responses to the 21 Criteria Measures

Measure	Statistic for the Prescribed Criterion	Statistic for the Observed Criterion
<i>General Public</i>		
Majority district	$F(23, 743)=1.28, p=.17$	$F(21, 680)=1.11, p=.33$
Majority in US	$F(21, 675)=1.37, p=.13$	$F(22, 713)=1.29, p=.17$
Best interest district	$F(21, 668)=1.36, p=.13$	$F(20, 655)=0.96, p=.51$
Best interest US	$F(2, 68)=1.23, p=.22$	$F(21, 664)=1.09, p=.36$
<i>Issue Public</i>		
Majority feel strongly in US	$F(21, 668)=1.15, p=.29$	$F(22, 695)=1.12, p=.32$
Majority feel strongly in district	$F(22, 693)=1.47, p=.08$	$F(22, 719)=1.01, p=.46$
Majority tell opinion in district	$F(21, 668)=1.42, p=.10$	$F(23, 729)=0.93, p=.56$
<i>Party Loyalty</i>		
Majority of same party in district	$F(23, 721)=1.53, p=.05$	$F(22, 693)=0.93, p=.56$
Majority of same party in US	$F(22, 704)=1.02, p=.44$	$F(21, 681)=1.18, p=.26$
Liberal/conservative philosophy	$F(22, 702)=1.26, p=.19$	$F(22, 689)=1.13, p=.31$
Leaders of party	$F(22, 701)=0.85, p=.66$	$F(21, 670)=1.17, p=.27$
Members of Congress from party	$F(22, 702)=1.54, p=.06$	$F(21, 671)=1.27, p=.19$
Members of Congress other party	$F(22, 708)=1.38, p=.11$	$F(21, 669)=0.90, p=.59$
<i>President</i>		
President	$F(20, 659)=1.01, p=.45$	$F(21, 668)=0.98, p=.49$
<i>Elites</i>		
Best interest businesses in district	$F(22, 696)=0.95, p=.53$	$F(22, 691)=1.17, p=.27$
Majority wealthy in district	$F(21, 677)=1.45, p=.09$	$F(21, 687)=1.21, p=.23$
Majority wealthy in US	$F(21, 680)=1.03, p=.42$	$F(21, 669)=1.28, p=.18$
<i>Supporters and Donors</i>		
Majority voted for	$F(22, 693)=0.91, p=.59$	$F(20, 655)=0.88, p=.61$
Businesses gave money	$F(20, 648)=1.22, p=.23$	$F(22, 711)=1.30, p=.16$
Majority gave money	$F(21, 667)=1.17, p=.27$	$F(22, 706)=1.02, p=.44$
Lobbying organizations	$F(21, 671)=1.27, p=.19$	$F(23, 723)=1.16, p=.28$

Notes: Cell entries are the design-based F -statistics and p -values of the test that the distribution of responses of each criterion measure did not differ significantly by the order in which the measure was asked, ranging from 1 to 21.

Table S3. Pearson Correlations of Responses Between Pairs of the 21 Prescribed Criteria Measures

	GP1	GP2	GP3	GP4	IP1	IP2	IP3	PL1	PL2	PL3	PL4	PL5	PL6	PR1	EL1	EL2	EL3	SD1	SD2	SD3	SD4	
GP1	1																					
GP2	0.20	1																				
GP3	0.08	0.47	1																			
GP4	0.34	0.22	0.44	1																		
IP1	0.22	0.59	0.39	0.20	1																	
IP2	0.45	0.21	0.14	0.28	0.38	1																
IP3	0.45	0.22	0.11	0.25	0.34	0.49	1															
PL1	0.24	0.12	0.10	0.16	0.24	0.37	0.37	1														
PL2	0.16	0.29	0.24	0.13	0.34	0.30	0.27	0.55	1													
PL3	0.07	0.10	0.20	0.20	0.15	0.15	0.16	0.36	0.40	1												
PL4	0.01	0.15	0.23	0.13	0.22	0.17	0.18	0.41	0.46	0.45	1											
PL5	0.02	0.12	0.18	0.11	0.19	0.11	0.13	0.39	0.42	0.42	0.60	1										
PL6	0.00	0.13	0.14	0.06	0.20	0.10	0.09	0.30	0.36	0.34	0.55	0.58	1									
PR1	-0.03	0.17	0.19	0.07	0.25	0.09	0.10	0.24	0.29	0.26	0.51	0.43	0.47	1								
EL1	0.27	0.21	0.34	0.42	0.26	0.33	0.27	0.29	0.31	0.28	0.32	0.26	0.22	0.16	1							
EL2	0.03	0.02	0.09	0.06	0.13	0.16	0.14	0.32	0.37	0.33	0.49	0.47	0.51	0.37	0.26	1						
EL3	0.03	0.10	0.08	0.03	0.17	0.12	0.13	0.31	0.38	0.33	0.49	0.47	0.54	0.38	0.23	0.71	1					
SD1	0.25	0.12	0.12	0.18	0.22	0.35	0.30	0.48	0.39	0.27	0.25	0.32	0.23	0.13	0.22	0.30	0.25	1				
SD2	-0.01	0.04	0.08	0.02	0.16	0.11	0.12	0.38	0.40	0.40	0.53	0.55	0.55	0.43	0.25	0.59	0.60	0.30	1			
SD3	0.01	0.07	0.10	0.02	0.15	0.16	0.17	0.38	0.42	0.38	0.54	0.55	0.51	0.43	0.23	0.58	0.59	0.30	0.71	1		
SD4	-0.09	0.03	0.07	-0.02	0.10	0.04	0.08	0.30	0.35	0.37	0.54	0.56	0.58	0.44	0.19	0.60	0.62	0.22	0.74	0.70	1	

Notes: Cell entries are the Pearson correlation coefficients of responses between each pair of the 21 prescribed criteria measures.

GP1 = Majority district; GP2 = Majority US; GP3 = Best interest district; GP4 = Best interest US

IP1 = Majority feel strongly in US; IP2 = Majority feel strongly in district; IP3 = Majority tell opinion in district

PL1 = Majority of same party in district; PL2 = Majority of same party in US; PL3 = Liberal/conservative philosophy; PL4 = Leaders of party;

PL5 = Members of Congress from party; PL6 = Members of Congress other party; PR1 = President;

EL1 = Best interest businesses in district; EL2 = Majority wealthy in district; EL3 = Majority wealthy in US

SD1 = Majority voted for; SD2 = Businesses gave money; SD3 = Majority gave money; SD4 = Lobbying organizations

Table S4. Pearson Correlations of Responses Between Pairs of the 21 Observed Criteria Measures

	GP1	GP2	GP3	GP4	IP1	IP2	IP3	PL1	PL2	PL3	PL4	PL5	PL6	PR1	EL1	EL2	EL3	SD1	SD2	SD3	SD4	
GP1	1																					
GP2	0.57	1																				
GP3	0.51	0.63	1																			
GP4	0.58	0.53	0.61	1																		
IP1	0.51	0.62	0.55	0.47	1																	
IP2	0.55	0.47	0.41	0.49	0.58	1																
IP3	0.60	0.49	0.46	0.52	0.54	0.62	1															
PL1	0.35	0.23	0.23	0.30	0.32	0.36	0.39	1														
PL2	0.21	0.22	0.19	0.23	0.31	0.27	0.24	0.51	1													
PL3	0.01	-0.10	0.02	0.08	-0.02	0.04	0.04	0.31	0.30	1												
PL4	-0.13	-0.19	-0.11	-0.04	-0.05	-0.04	-0.05	0.25	0.29	0.35	1											
PL5	-0.21	-0.24	-0.17	-0.12	-0.08	-0.13	-0.09	0.23	0.26	0.40	0.59	1										
PL6	-0.02	0.02	0.07	-0.02	0.02	-0.03	0.00	0.04	0.09	0.06	0.19	0.21	1									
PR1	0.11	0.14	0.20	0.13	0.14	0.11	0.12	0.20	0.16	0.10	0.29	0.22	0.24	1								
EL1	0.28	0.20	0.27	0.36	0.26	0.30	0.30	0.30	0.22	0.25	0.20	0.17	0.05	0.03	1							
EL2	-0.14	-0.22	-0.14	-0.09	-0.10	-0.06	-0.06	0.22	0.20	0.39	0.43	0.48	0.15	0.08	0.29	1						
EL3	-0.17	-0.24	-0.15	-0.09	-0.09	-0.09	-0.09	0.20	0.21	0.34	0.42	0.45	0.18	0.10	0.22	0.72	1					
SD1	0.44	0.32	0.33	0.37	0.41	0.44	0.42	0.46	0.40	0.16	0.12	0.12	0.01	0.18	0.29	0.10	0.09	1				
SD2	-0.20	-0.29	-0.21	-0.16	-0.16	-0.11	-0.14	0.22	0.19	0.38	0.47	0.51	0.12	0.12	0.21	0.62	0.62	0.08	1			
SD3	-0.15	-0.23	-0.19	-0.11	-0.10	-0.06	-0.09	0.23	0.24	0.41	0.49	0.53	0.15	0.12	0.22	0.60	0.58	0.15	0.67	1		
SD4	-0.26	-0.36	-0.26	-0.17	-0.22	-0.17	-0.19	0.19	0.19	0.45	0.53	0.57	0.17	0.10	0.17	0.59	0.58	0.05	0.72	0.69	1	

Notes: Cell entries are the Pearson correlation coefficients of responses between each pair of the 21 observed criteria measures.

GP1 = Majority district; GP2 = Majority US; GP3 = Best interest district; GP4 = Best interest US

IP1 = Majority feel strongly in US; IP2 = Majority feel strongly in district; IP3 = Majority tell opinion in district

PL1 = Majority of same party in district; PL2 = Majority of same party in US; PL3 = Liberal/conservative philosophy; PL4 = Leaders of party;

PL5 = Members of Congress from party; PL6 = Members of Congress other party; PR1 = President;

EL1 = Best interest businesses in district; EL2 = Majority wealthy in district; EL3 = Majority wealthy in US

SD1 = Majority voted for; SD2 = Businesses gave money; SD3 = Majority gave money; SD4 = Lobbying organizations

Table S5: Robustness Checks using Different Measures as Components of the General Public Governance Set

Predictor	<u>GP = 4</u> <u>measures,</u> Majority district; Majority US; Best interest district; Best interest US	<u>GP_CD =</u> <u>2 CD</u> <u>measures</u> Majority district; Best interest district;	<u>GP_US =</u> <u>2 US</u> <u>measures</u> Majority US; Best interest US	<u>GP_Major =</u> <u>2 Majority</u> <u>measures</u> Majority district; Majority US;	<u>GP_Best =</u> <u>2 Best interest</u> <u>measures</u> Best interest district; Best interest US
Democrat	0.04 (0.22)	0.01 (0.22)	0.16 (0.21)	0.14 (0.18)	0.36 (0.23)
Republican	0.54** (0.23)	0.38 (0.25)	0.31* (0.18)	0.44* (0.23)	0.57*** (0.20)
Liberal	-0.08 (0.29)	-0.14 (0.21)	0.03 (0.25)	-0.14 (0.28)	-0.01 (0.24)
Conservative	-0.04 (0.23)	-0.06 (0.30)	0.08 (0.17)	-0.21 (0.29)	0.20 (0.23)
Attention to politics	1.27*** (0.44)	1.03** (0.47)	0.79** (0.36)	0.69 (0.42)	0.67* (0.36)
Frequency of voting	-0.40 (0.34)	-0.38 (0.29)	-0.23 (0.30)	0.10 (0.33)	-0.94*** (0.28)
Registered to vote	-0.02 (0.27)	0.11 (0.30)	0.05 (0.25)	-0.14 (0.26)	0.12 (0.23)
Male	-0.33 (0.25)	-0.49** (0.19)	-0.44** (0.17)	-0.38* (0.19)	-0.39** (0.19)
Age 18 to 24	-0.96* (0.52)	-1.08** (0.46)	-0.39 (0.45)	-0.89* (0.44)	-1.19** (0.47)
Age 25 to 34	-0.51 (0.51)	-0.53 (0.40)	-0.00 (0.45)	-0.55 (0.38)	-0.49 (0.45)
Age 35 to 44	-0.87* (0.44)	-0.72* (0.41)	-0.51 (0.34)	-0.65* (0.35)	-0.92** (0.36)
Age 45 to 54	-0.27 (0.46)	-0.08 (0.39)	-0.44 (0.36)	-0.50 (0.34)	-0.29 (0.42)
Age 55 to 64	0.16 (0.26)	-0.16 (0.34)	-0.06 (0.20)	-0.25 (0.31)	-0.13 (0.28)
Hispanic	0.31 (0.32)	0.08 (0.28)	-0.10 (0.28)	-0.12 (0.26)	-0.13 (0.29)
Black (non- Hispanic)	0.07 (0.38)	0.07 (0.33)	-0.01 (0.43)	-0.25 (0.34)	-0.34 (0.38)
Other race	-0.08	-0.12	0.07	0.17	-0.17

(Non-Hispanic)					
Some college	(0.35) 0.30 (0.22)	(0.31) 0.32 (0.19)	(0.35) -0.06 (0.22)	(0.35) -0.01 (0.23)	(0.27) 0.10 (0.18)
College	0.18 (0.24)	0.67** (0.27)	-0.27 (0.21)	0.01 (0.22)	0.23 (0.21)
Married	0.06 (0.30)	0.24 (0.24)	-0.05 (0.26)	0.15 (0.21)	-0.14 (0.23)
Working	0.04 (0.25)	0.14 (0.22)	0.02 (0.19)	0.02 (0.27)	0.03 (0.19)
Income (log)	-0.12 (0.14)	-0.19 (0.13)	-0.01 (0.11)	-0.20 (0.12)	0.02 (0.12)
Northeast	0.09 (0.31)	-0.39 (0.25)	-0.09 (0.33)	-0.59* (0.31)	-0.24 (0.27)
Midwest	-0.02 (0.27)	-0.01 (0.23)	-0.07 (0.22)	-0.50* (0.29)	-0.22 (0.18)
West	-0.08 (0.28)	0.07 (0.21)	-0.27 (0.22)	-0.42* (0.21)	-0.22 (0.23)
Homeowner	0.06 (0.27)	-0.09 (0.21)	0.02 (0.22)	-0.17 (0.20)	0.10 (0.23)
Metro	-0.12 (0.27)	-0.62** (0.28)	0.19 (0.26)	-0.39 (0.44)	0.27 (0.24)
Internet access	0.81** (0.32)	0.44 (0.38)	0.74** (0.30)	0.62* (0.31)	0.40 (0.27)
Constant	1.91 (1.43)	3.30** (1.33)	0.59 (1.32)	3.93*** (1.25)	0.65 (1.32)

N 1,021 1,021 1,021 1,021 1,021

Notes: Cell entries are coefficient estimates (standard errors in parentheses) from logistic regressions whether predicting respondents wanted their Representatives to pay substantial attention to each of the various groupings for general public governance

Wald test of joint significance of the equality of all coefficients between GP_CD and GP_US:
 $F(29, 4)=1.36, p=.43$

Wald test of joint significance of the equality of all coefficients between GP_Major and GP_Best: $F(29, 4)=1.53, p=.37$

*** $p<0.01$ ** $p<0.05$ * $p<0.1$

Table S6: Robustness Checks using Different Measures as Components of the Party Loyalty Governance Set

Predictor	Party Loyalty, as it is now	Party Loyalty, members of other party removed	Party Loyalty, members of other party removed, ideology removed	Members of other party
Democrat	-0.01 (0.25)	0.02 (0.27)	0.11 (0.30)	0.10 (0.27)
Republican	0.94*** (0.19)	0.91*** (0.20)	0.77*** (0.24)	0.11 (0.43)
Liberal	0.21 (0.24)	0.27 (0.25)	0.12 (0.27)	0.14 (0.38)
Conservative	0.17 (0.25)	0.03 (0.25)	0.01 (0.28)	0.17 (0.36)
Attention to politics	0.86* (0.44)	0.83* (0.45)	0.76* (0.40)	0.59 (0.59)
Frequency of voting	-0.51 (0.33)	-0.45 (0.27)	-0.14 (0.24)	-0.46 (0.44)
Registered to vote	0.26 (0.33)	0.31 (0.33)	-0.02 (0.36)	0.28 (0.37)
Male	0.15 (0.20)	0.09 (0.22)	0.19 (0.21)	0.03 (0.27)
Age 18 to 24	0.00 (0.35)	0.04 (0.40)	0.11 (0.38)	-0.25 (0.62)
Age 25 to 34	0.20 (0.31)	0.12 (0.32)	-0.08 (0.29)	0.09 (0.42)
Age 35 to 44	-0.06 (0.31)	0.11 (0.32)	-0.15 (0.31)	0.22 (0.44)
Age 45 to 54	-0.28 (0.36)	-0.33 (0.33)	-0.32 (0.32)	-0.13 (0.54)
Age 55 to 64	-0.49 (0.35)	-0.63* (0.35)	-0.57* (0.30)	-0.37 (0.45)
Hispanic	0.67** (0.26)	0.97*** (0.25)	0.67** (0.25)	1.06*** (0.31)
Black (non- Hispanic)	0.74** (0.32)	0.92*** (0.31)	1.18*** (0.36)	0.83* (0.42)
Other race (Non- Hispanic)	1.01*** (0.27)	0.58** (0.26)	0.53* (0.27)	0.44 (0.46)

Some college	-0.31*	-0.35*	-0.09	-0.50*
	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.26)
College	-0.60***	-0.71***	-0.44	-0.59
	(0.16)	(0.24)	(0.27)	(0.35)
Married	-0.04	-0.02	-0.01	0.08
	(0.16)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.30)
Working	-0.26	-0.49***	-0.35**	-0.12
	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.30)
Income (log)	-0.17	-0.21	-0.26**	-0.29**
	(0.11)	(0.13)	(0.12)	(0.14)
Northeast	-0.20	-0.12	-0.12	0.20
	(0.34)	(0.27)	(0.27)	(0.31)
Midwest	-0.38*	-0.44**	-0.29	0.41
	(0.22)	(0.21)	(0.28)	(0.33)
West	-0.22	-0.40	-0.22	0.06
	(0.23)	(0.25)	(0.21)	(0.33)
Homeowner	-0.13	-0.09	-0.14	-0.34
	(0.22)	(0.21)	(0.19)	(0.26)
Metro	0.07	0.03	0.15	0.53
	(0.33)	(0.31)	(0.40)	(0.45)
Internet access	0.13	0.36	0.15	0.10
	(0.29)	(0.28)	(0.34)	(0.41)
Constant	0.78	0.93	1.43	0.17
	(1.10)	(1.30)	(1.43)	(1.67)
N	1,021	1,021	1,021	1,011

Notes: Cell entries are coefficient estimates (standard errors in parentheses) from logistic regressions predicting whether respondents wanted their Representatives to pay substantial attention to each of the various groupings for party loyalty governance

Wald test of joint significance of the equality of all coefficients between “Party Loyalty (as it is now)” and “Party Loyalty, members of other party removed”: $F(29, 4)=1.09$, $p=.53$

Wald test of joint significance of the equality of all coefficients between “Party Loyalty (as it is now)” and “Party Loyalty, members of other party removed, ideology removed”: $F(29, 4)=.35$, $p=.96$

*** $p<0.01$ ** $p<0.05$ * $p<0.1$

Table S7. Confirmatory Factor Analysis of Prescribed and Observed Governance

Latent Governance	Measure	Coefficient of Prescribed Latent Governance	Coefficient of Observed Latent Governance
<i>Latent General Public</i>			
	Majority district	.34***	.66***
	Majority in US	.67***	.72***
	Best interest district	.34***	.73***
	Best interest US	.51***	.31***
<i>Latent Issue Public</i>			
	Majority feel strongly in US	.66***	.78***
	Majority feel strongly in district	.37***	.53***
	Majority tell opinion in district	.29***	.68***
<i>Latent Party Loyalty</i>			
	Majority of same party in district	.65***	.67***
	Majority of same party in US	.82***	.59***
	Liberal/conservative philosophy	.48***	.80***
	Leaders of party	.52***	.60***
	Members of Congress from party	.56***	.60***
	Members of Congress other party	.29***	.65***
<i>Latent Elites</i>			
	Best interest businesses in district	.51***	.85***
	Majority wealthy in district	.49***	.69***
	Majority wealthy in US	.69***	.80***
<i>Latent Supporters and Donors</i>			
	Majority voted for	.65***	.66***
	Businesses gave money	.24***	.55***
	Majority gave money	.57***	.72***
	Lobbying organizations	.82***	.71***
Model Fit		RMSEA = .035; CFI = .976	RMSEA = .048; CFI = .978

Notes: Cell entries are standardized coefficients of latent structure on the prescribed and the observed measures. Each column is a separate confirmatory factor analysis. RMSEA = root

mean squared error of approximation. CFI = comparative fit index. *** $p < 0.001$

Table S8: Percent of Americans Who Gave the Highest Rating to Each of the Six Governance Sets

Governance	Percent of Americans Who <i>Prescribed</i> the Most Attention to be Paid to Each Governance Set	Percent of Americans Who <i>Observed</i> the Most Attention Being Paid to Each Governance Set
General public	57%	13%
Issue public	35%	14%
Party loyalty	6%	13%
President	25%	35%
Elites	8%	29%
Donors & supporters	8%	34%

Notes: Cell entries are percent of Americans who gave the highest rating in amount of attention they wanted their Representatives to pay to each of the six governance sets in column (1), and percent of Americans who gave the highest rating in amount of attention they observed their Representatives paid to each of the six governance sets in column (2). These percentages include people for whom more than one governance type was tied.

Table S9: Percent of Americans Who Gave the Highest Rating to Each of the 21 Potential Sources of Influence

Influencer	Percent of Americans Who Gave the Highest Rating in Amount of Attention They Wanted Their Representatives to Pay to	Percent of Americans Who Gave the Highest Rating in Amount of Attention They Observed Their Representatives Paid
Majority district	52%	16%
Majority in US	51%	17%
Best interest district	51%	19%
Best interest US	48%	18%
Majority feel strongly in US	40%	17%
Majority tell opinion I district	39%	16%
Majority feel strongly in district	38%	16%
Majority voted for	28%	20%
Best interest businesses in district	23%	22%
Majority of same party in district	20%	19%
President	18%	28%
Majority of same party in US	17%	21%
Liberal/Conservative philosophy	15%	32%
Leaders of party	12%	37%
Members of Congress from party	12%	36%
Businesses gave money	12%	47%
Majority wealthy in district	11%	44%
Majority gave money	10%	45%
Members of Congress other party	10%	22%
Lobbying organizations	10%	54%
Majority wealthy in US	10%	44%

Notes: Cell entries are percent of Americans who gave the highest rating in amount of attention they wanted their Representatives to pay to each of the 21 potential sources of influence in column (1), and percent of Americans who gave the highest rating in amount of attention they observed their Representatives paid to each of the 21 potential sources of influence in column (2). These percentages include people for whom more than one source of influence was tied.

Table S10: Predictors of the Prescribed Attention to Each Governance Set

Predictor	Governance Set					
	General Public	Issue Publics	Party Loyalty	President	Elites	Donors & Supporters
Democrat	0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.06)	0.17*** (0.04)	-0.06* (0.03)	-0.01 (0.04)
Republican	0.07** (0.03)	0.10*** (0.03)	0.22*** (0.05)	0.06 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)
Liberal	-0.01 (0.04)	0.01 (0.05)	0.05 (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)	0.04 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.04)
Conservative	-0.01 (0.03)	0.04 (0.05)	0.04 (0.06)	-0.10** (0.05)	0.03 (0.04)	0.00 (0.04)
Attention to politics	0.18*** (0.07)	0.19** (0.08)	0.20* (0.10)	0.06 (0.07)	0.10 (0.06)	0.13** (0.06)
Frequency of voting	-0.06 (0.05)	0.04 (0.06)	-0.12 (0.08)	-0.13*** (0.05)	0.01 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.04)
Registered to vote	-0.00 (0.04)	0.00 (0.05)	0.06 (0.07)	0.01 (0.05)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.05)
Male	-0.05 (0.04)	-0.12*** (0.04)	0.03 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.05 (0.03)
Age 18 to 24	-0.17 (0.11)	-0.31*** (0.11)	0.00 (0.08)	0.02 (0.07)	0.11 (0.10)	0.07 (0.09)
Age 25 to 34	-0.08 (0.09)	-0.26** (0.10)	0.05 (0.07)	0.06 (0.07)	0.09 (0.06)	0.02 (0.05)
Age 35 to 44	-0.15* (0.08)	-0.24*** (0.08)	-0.01 (0.07)	0.03 (0.06)	0.17* (0.09)	0.07 (0.08)
Age 45 to 54	-0.04 (0.07)	-0.17** (0.08)	-0.06 (0.08)	-0.01 (0.07)	0.03 (0.06)	0.03 (0.06)
Age 55 to 64	0.02 (0.04)	-0.16** (0.06)	-0.10 (0.07)	0.00 (0.06)	0.05 (0.05)	-0.00 (0.05)
Hispanic	0.04 (0.04)	0.06 (0.05)	0.16** (0.06)	0.19*** (0.06)	0.06 (0.04)	0.17*** (0.06)
Non-Hispanic black	0.01 (0.05)	0.08 (0.05)	0.18** (0.08)	0.23*** (0.08)	0.10 (0.08)	0.12 (0.08)
Non-Hispanic other race	-0.01 (0.05)	0.05 (0.06)	0.25*** (0.06)	0.12* (0.06)	-0.01 (0.06)	0.07 (0.05)
Some college	0.04 (0.03)	-0.09 (0.06)	-0.07* (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	-0.07** (0.03)	-0.09*** (0.03)
College	0.03 (0.03)	-0.08* (0.04)	-0.13*** (0.03)	0.02 (0.04)	-0.07* (0.04)	-0.07* (0.04)
Married	0.01 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.00 (0.03)
Working	0.01 (0.04)	0.09** (0.04)	-0.06* (0.04)	-0.07* (0.04)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)

Predictor	Governance Set					
	General Public	Issue Publics	Party Loyalty	President	Elites	Donors & Supporters
Income (log)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.05** (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02)	-0.05*** (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.04** (0.02)
Northeast	0.01 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.05 (0.07)	-0.07* (0.03)	-0.08* (0.04)	-0.08*** (0.03)
Midwest	-0.00 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.08* (0.05)	-0.05 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.04)
West	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.06 (0.05)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.06* (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)
Homeowner	0.01 (0.04)	-0.09** (0.04)	-0.03 (0.05)	0.05 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)
Metro	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.05)	0.02 (0.07)	-0.09 (0.05)	0.07* (0.04)	0.01 (0.05)
Internet access	0.14** (0.07)	0.16** (0.07)	0.03 (0.07)	0.01 (0.06)	0.01 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)
N	1,021	1,021	1,021	1,021	1,016	1,021
Goodness of fit	$F = .24$	$F = .84$	$F = 2.30$	$F = .91$	$F = 1.56$	$F = .64$
Significance	$p = .99$	$p = .59$	$p = .05$	$p = .53$	$p = .18$	$p = .75$

Notes: Cell entries are probability estimates (standard errors in parentheses) from logistic regressions predicting whether respondents wanted their Representatives to pay substantial attention to each influencer. Goodness of fit was based on F -adjusted test statistic (Archer & Lemeshow, 2006).

*** $p < 0.01$ ** $p < 0.05$ * $p < 0.1$

Table S11: Predictors of the Observed Influence of Each Governance Set

Predictor	Governance Set					
	General Public	Issue Publics	Party Loyalty	President	Elites	Donors & Supporters
Democrat	0.00 (0.05)	-0.08* (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.05)	0.12*** (0.04)	0.08** (0.03)
Republican	0.09 (0.06)	0.09* (0.05)	0.03 (0.04)	0.06 (0.06)	0.05 (0.04)	0.07** (0.04)
Liberal	-0.01 (0.05)	0.04 (0.05)	0.12*** (0.04)	-0.10* (0.06)	0.18*** (0.04)	0.15*** (0.04)
Conservative	-0.08* (0.04)	-0.06* (0.03)	0.00 (0.05)	0.11** (0.05)	-0.08* (0.04)	-0.03 (0.05)
Engagement	0.00 (0.08)	0.01 (0.10)	0.15** (0.07)	0.26*** (0.09)	0.13 (0.08)	0.27** (0.10)
Frequency of voting	0.04 (0.05)	0.05 (0.05)	0.12* (0.06)	-0.05 (0.09)	0.14** (0.06)	0.02 (0.04)
Registered voter	-0.03 (0.06)	-0.04 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.05)	0.09 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.06)	0.03 (0.06)
Male	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.04)	-0.08** (0.03)	-0.09** (0.04)	-0.02 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)
Age 18 to 24	-0.03 (0.08)	-0.12** (0.06)	-0.03 (0.09)	0.14 (0.11)	0.10 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.08)
Age 25 to 34	0.00 (0.07)	-0.06 (0.07)	-0.09 (0.08)	0.25*** (0.09)	0.01 (0.07)	0.02 (0.07)
Age 35 to 44	-0.07 (0.05)	-0.12** (0.05)	-0.15* (0.08)	0.06 (0.07)	-0.01 (0.06)	0.05 (0.06)
Age 45 to 54	-0.07 (0.06)	-0.09 (0.06)	-0.16** (0.07)	0.04 (0.07)	-0.06 (0.06)	0.08 (0.07)
Age 55 to 64	-0.06 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.06)	-0.08 (0.07)	0.09 (0.08)	-0.01 (0.06)	0.06 (0.06)
Hispanic	0.19*** (0.04)	0.15*** (0.05)	-0.05 (0.06)	0.11* (0.06)	-0.09* (0.05)	-0.15** (0.07)
Non-Hispanic black	0.16* (0.08)	0.23*** (0.07)	-0.09 (0.08)	-0.04 (0.07)	-0.05 (0.09)	-0.19** (0.09)
Non-Hispanic other race	0.02 (0.07)	0.08 (0.08)	-0.18** (0.08)	0.00 (0.06)	0.01 (0.08)	-0.13* (0.08)
Some college	-0.08 (0.06)	-0.07 (0.05)	0.00 (0.04)	-0.07 (0.04)	-0.06 (0.06)	-0.06 (0.04)
College	-0.06 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)	0.07 (0.06)	0.02 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.06)	0.03 (0.06)
Married	-0.06 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	0.03 (0.03)	0.05 (0.04)	0.07* (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)
Working	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.06 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	-0.06* (0.03)	0.08* (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)

Predictor	Governance Set					
	General Public	Issue Publics	Party Loyalty	President	Elites	Donors & Supporters
Income (log)	0.03 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.02)
Northeast	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.08 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.00 (0.07)	0.01 (0.04)	0.01 (0.06)
Midwest	0.03 (0.05)	0.04 (0.05)	0.03 (0.06)	-0.04 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	0.07 (0.04)
West	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.10** (0.04)	0.05 (0.05)	0.00 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.04)	0.09* (0.05)
Homeowner	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.12** (0.05)	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.11** (0.05)	0.03 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.04)
Metro	0.03 (0.05)	0.04 (0.04)	0.06 (0.08)	-0.02 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)	-0.06 (0.07)
Internet	-0.04 (0.05)	0.01 (0.05)	0.06 (0.07)	0.07 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.08)	0.11 (0.07)
N	1,021	1,011	1,021	1,021	1,021	1,021
Goodness of fit	$F = .26$	$F = .80$	$F = .24$	$F = .86$	$F = 1.41$	$F = .40$
Significance	$p = .98$	$p = .62$	$p = .99$	$p = .57$	$p = .24$	$p = .92$

Notes: Cell entries are probability estimates (standard errors in parentheses) from logistic regressions predicting whether respondents observed their Representatives paid substantial attention each influencer. Goodness of fit was based on F -adjusted test statistic (Archer & Lemeshow, 2006).

*** $p < 0.01$ ** $p < 0.05$ * $p < 0.1$

Table S12: Predictors of the Perception that a Governance Set Should Have Substantial Influence but Did Not

Predictor	Governance Set					
	General Public	Issue Publics	Party Loyalty	President	Elites	Donors & Supporters
Democrat	0.02 (0.05)	0.07 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.08** (0.03)	-0.04*** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Republican	-0.01 (0.05)	0.01 (0.05)	0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.04)	-0.02*** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Liberal	0.03 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.07* (0.04)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
Conservative	0.07* (0.04)	0.06 (0.05)	0.04 (0.02)	-0.05* (0.03)	0.04* (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Attention to politics	0.16* (0.09)	0.13 (0.11)	0.05 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.05)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.03)
Frequency of voting	-0.07 (0.08)	0.04 (0.07)	-0.05* (0.03)	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
Registered to vote	0.04 (0.07)	0.03 (0.06)	0.05** (0.02)	0.00 (0.03)	0.03*** (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)
Male	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.09** (0.04)	0.03 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.01* (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Age 18 to 24	-0.03 (0.09)	-0.09 (0.09)	-0.00 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)	0.07 (0.10)
Age 25 to 34	-0.04 (0.08)	-0.14** (0.07)	0.01 (0.05)	0.01 (0.04)	0.02 (0.03)	0.03 (0.06)
Age 35 to 44	-0.04 (0.07)	-0.08 (0.07)	0.02 (0.05)	-0.00 (0.04)	0.06 (0.07)	0.06 (0.07)
Age 45 to 54	0.07 (0.08)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.00 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)	0.06 (0.05)	0.02 (0.05)
Age 55 to 64	0.08 (0.06)	-0.07 (0.07)	0.03 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.04)	0.05 (0.05)	0.05 (0.07)
Hispanic	-0.14** (0.06)	-0.07 (0.06)	0.05 (0.04)	0.09* (0.05)	0.01 (0.02)	0.04 (0.03)
Black (non-Hispanic)	-0.11 (0.07)	-0.17** (0.07)	0.09 (0.06)	0.12** (0.05)	0.03 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)
Non-Hispanic other race	0.00 (0.09)	-0.03 (0.08)	0.19** (0.07)	0.07 (0.05)	0.00 (0.02)	0.07 (0.04)
Some college	0.11 (0.07)	-0.00 (0.06)	0.02 (0.02)	0.05* (0.03)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
College	0.08 (0.05)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
Married	0.07* (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.02)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)
Working	0.03	0.14**	-0.02	-0.03	-0.03**	0.00

Predictor	Governance Set					
	General Public	Issue Publics	Party Loyalty	President	Elites	Donors & Supporters
Income (log)	(0.04) -0.05*	(0.05) -0.05**	(0.01) -0.02	(0.03) -0.01	(0.01) 0.00	(0.01) -0.01***
Northeast	(0.03) 0.05	(0.02) 0.02	(0.01) 0.01	(0.02) -0.03	(0.01) -0.01	(0.01) -0.00
Midwest	(0.06) 0.00	(0.06) -0.03	(0.02) -0.06***	(0.02) -0.02	(0.01) -0.01	(0.02) -0.02
West	(0.05) 0.02	(0.05) 0.04	(0.02) -0.03**	(0.02) -0.04*	(0.01) 0.01	(0.01) -0.01
Homeowner	(0.04) 0.03	(0.05) 0.02	(0.02) -0.01	(0.02) 0.05	(0.01) -0.02	(0.02) -0.01
Metro	(0.05) -0.05	(0.05) -0.06	(0.02) -0.05	(0.03) -0.09*	(0.01) 0.02**	(0.02) 0.01
Internet access	(0.06) 0.14*	(0.05) 0.11	(0.04) 0.03	(0.05) 0.04	(0.01) 0.03***	(0.01) 0.03*
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.01)	(0.01)
N	1,021	1,021	1,016	1,021	1,016	1,016

Notes: Cell entries are probability estimates (standard errors in parentheses) from logistic regressions predicting whether respondents wanted their Representatives to pay substantial attention to a governance set but observed that they did not pay substantial attention to it.

***p<0.01 **p<0.05 *p<0.1

Table S13: Predictors of the Perception that a Governance Set Should Not Have Substantial Influence But Did

Predictor	Governance Set					
	General Public	Issue Publics	Party Loyalty	President	Elites	Donors & Supporters
Democrat	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.02 (0.05)	-0.08** (0.03)	0.10* (0.05)	0.09* (0.05)
Republican	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.18*** (0.05)	0.01 (0.05)	0.01 (0.05)	0.09 (0.05)
Liberal	0.02 (0.02)	0.00 (0.01)	0.06 (0.06)	-0.08** (0.03)	0.16*** (0.06)	0.21*** (0.05)
Conservative	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.03** (0.01)	0.02 (0.05)	0.13*** (0.03)	-0.06 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.06)
Attention to politics	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.02)	0.03 (0.12)	0.15* (0.07)	0.05 (0.10)	0.11 (0.12)
Frequency of voting	0.02 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.17** (0.08)	0.03 (0.08)	0.09 (0.09)	0.06 (0.07)
Registered to vote	0.01 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.05)	0.07* (0.04)	0.02 (0.07)	0.14* (0.07)
Male	0.01 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	-0.08** (0.04)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.04)	0.00 (0.05)
Age 18 to 24	0.11 (0.09)	0.03 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.07)	0.08 (0.09)	0.02 (0.10)	-0.08 (0.10)
Age 25 to 34	0.04 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.11* (0.06)	0.20** (0.09)	-0.05 (0.07)	0.02 (0.07)
Age 35 to 44	0.03 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.11 (0.07)	0.02 (0.05)	-0.10 (0.06)	0.04 (0.09)
Age 45 to 54	0.03 (0.04)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.10 (0.06)	-0.00 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.06)	0.08 (0.09)
Age 55 to 64	-0.01 (0.02)	0.03 (0.03)	0.06 (0.08)	0.05 (0.07)	0.01 (0.06)	0.11 (0.07)
Hispanic	-0.00 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.13** (0.06)	0.02 (0.05)	-0.14** (0.05)	-0.29*** (0.07)
Black (non-Hispanic)	0.03 (0.04)	-0.03** (0.01)	-0.16** (0.07)	-0.16*** (0.05)	-0.12 (0.10)	-0.32*** (0.09)
Other race (Non-Hispanic)	0.04 (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.21*** (0.05)	-0.03 (0.04)	0.03 (0.10)	-0.12 (0.10)
Some college	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.02)	0.13** (0.05)	-0.03 (0.04)	0.02 (0.05)	0.05 (0.05)
College	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.20*** (0.06)	0.01 (0.05)	0.04 (0.07)	0.11 (0.07)
Married	0.00	0.03**	0.01	0.08***	0.06	0.03

Predictor	Governance Set					
	General Public	Issue Publics	Party Loyalty	President	Elites	Donors & Supporters
Working	(0.01) -0.01	(0.01) -0.01	(0.03) 0.07	(0.02) -0.02	(0.04) 0.08*	(0.04) 0.01
Income (log)	(0.01) 0.00	(0.01) -0.00	(0.05) 0.03	(0.03) 0.01	(0.04) -0.00	(0.05) 0.00
Northeast	(0.00) 0.01	(0.01) -0.01	(0.03) 0.03	(0.03) 0.02	(0.03) 0.07	(0.04) 0.11*
Midwest	(0.02) 0.03**	(0.01) 0.02	(0.08) 0.04	(0.06) -0.01	(0.04) 0.01	(0.06) 0.11*
West	(0.01) 0.00	(0.02) -0.00	(0.05) 0.04	(0.03) 0.01	(0.04) -0.04	(0.06) 0.09
Homeowner	(0.02) -0.00	(0.02) 0.00	(0.06) -0.01	(0.04) -0.10*	(0.05) 0.01	(0.07) -0.02
Metro	(0.02) 0.00	(0.01) 0.01	(0.06) -0.01	(0.05) -0.03	(0.07) -0.04	(0.04) -0.06
Internet access	(0.02) -0.05	(0.02) -0.02	(0.05) 0.09	(0.03) 0.10***	(0.07) 0.06	(0.06) 0.17**
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.08)	(0.03)	(0.10)	(0.08)
N	1,011	1,014	1,021	1,021	1,021	1,021

Notes: Cell entries are probability estimates (standard errors in parentheses) from logistic regressions predicting whether respondents did not want their Representatives to pay substantial attention to a governance set but observed them paying substantial attention to it.

***p<0.01 **p<0.05 *p<0.1

Table S14. Predicting Approval of Congress, Rating of Congress on Its Job, and Emotional Responses with Process Approval Averaged Over 21 Criteria, Volume Approval, and Output Approval

	Approval of Congress	Rating of Congress on Its Job	Emotional Reactions to Congressional Decision-Making Process
Process approval (averaged over 21 criteria)	0.26*** (0.06)	0.33*** (0.06)	0.42*** (0.04)
Process approval (1 if missing)	-0.11** (0.05)	-0.13*** (0.04)	-0.12*** (0.02)
Output approval	0.24*** (0.03)	0.15*** (0.02)	0.13*** (0.02)
Volume approval	0.07** (0.03)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)
Democrat	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)
Republican	0.01 (0.02)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Liberal	-0.06* (0.03)	-0.04* (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
Conservative	0.00 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Engagement	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.04* (0.02)	-0.12*** (0.03)
Frequency of voting	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.04)	-0.00 (0.02)
Registered voter	0.01 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)
Male	0.00 (0.02)	-0.06*** (0.02)	0.00 (0.01)
Age 18 to 24	0.16*** (0.04)	0.08*** (0.03)	0.08*** (0.02)
Age 25 to 34	0.09** (0.04)	0.06** (0.03)	0.04 (0.02)
Age 35 to 44	0.05 (0.04)	0.04 (0.03)	0.03 (0.02)
Age 45 to 54	0.01 (0.03)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Age 55 to 64	-0.02 (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
Hispanic	0.06** (0.03)	0.04** (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)

Non-Hispanic black	0.04 (0.04)	0.06* (0.03)	0.07** (0.03)
Non-Hispanic other race	0.07 (0.04)	0.05** (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Some college	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
College graduate	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)
Married	0.04** (0.02)	0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.02)
Working	0.00 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
Income (log)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Northeast	0.00 (0.03)	0.02 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)
Midwest	0.02 (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
West	0.01 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.01)
Own home	-0.06** (0.02)	-0.04* (0.02)	-0.00 (0.01)
Metro area	0.02 (0.04)	0.03 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
Internet access	-0.08* (0.05)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)
Constant	0.10 (0.13)	0.15 (0.09)	0.05 (0.08)
N	1,021	1,021	1,021
R ²	0.317	0.348	0.439

Notes: Cell entries are the coefficients (standard errors in parentheses) from OLS regressions. Process approval is the negation of the measure of process disapproval averaged over the 21 factors; process approval – 1 if missing was set to 1 for respondents who had one or more missing values among the 21 sources of influences and 0 otherwise.

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Table S15. Robustness Check using Euclidean Distance Measure of Process Approval

Predictor	Approval of Congress		Perceived Quality of Congress' Work		Emotional Reactions to Congressional Decision-Making Process	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Process approval (averaged over 6 sources)	0.30*** (0.06)		0.51*** (0.07)		0.55*** (0.05)	
Process approval (averaged over 21 criteria)		0.29*** (0.07)		0.38*** (0.06)		0.44*** (0.04)
Process approval (1 if missing)		-0.08* (0.04)		-0.09*** (0.03)		-0.07*** (0.02)
Output approval	0.24*** (0.03)	0.24*** (0.03)	0.15*** (0.02)	0.15*** (0.02)	0.13*** (0.02)	0.13*** (0.02)
Volume approval	0.07** (0.03)	0.07** (0.03)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)
Frequency of voting	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.00 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)
Engagement	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.04* (0.02)	-0.04* (0.02)	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.13*** (0.03)
Registered voter	0.00 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)
Democrat	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)
Republican	0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	0.07*** (0.02)	0.07*** (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
Liberal	-0.06* (0.03)	-0.06* (0.03)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.04* (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
Conservative	0.01 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Male	0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.06*** (0.02)	-0.06*** (0.02)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)

Predictor	Approval of Congress		Perceived Quality of Congress' Work		Emotional Reactions to Congressional Decision-Making Process	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Age 18 to 24	0.15*** (0.04)	0.16*** (0.04)	0.07** (0.03)	0.08*** (0.03)	0.06** (0.03)	0.07*** (0.03)
Age 25 to 34	0.09** (0.04)	0.09** (0.04)	0.06** (0.03)	0.05* (0.03)	0.04 (0.02)	0.04 (0.03)
Age 35 to 44	0.05 (0.04)	0.05 (0.04)	0.04 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	0.03 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)
Age 45 to 54	-0.00 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
Age 55 to 64	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
Non-Hispanic black	0.04 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	0.05* (0.03)	0.06* (0.03)	0.08*** (0.03)	0.07*** (0.03)
Non-Hispanic other race	0.06 (0.05)	0.07 (0.04)	0.04** (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Hispanic	0.07** (0.03)	0.06** (0.03)	0.05** (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)	0.06*** (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)
Some college	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)
College graduate	-0.04 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)
Married	0.04** (0.02)	0.04** (0.02)	0.02 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
Working	0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
Income (log)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Northeast	0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.03 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.04* (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)
Midwest	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.02

Predictor	Approval of Congress		Perceived Quality of Congress' Work		Emotional Reactions to Congressional Decision-Making Process	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
West	(0.03) 0.01	(0.03) 0.01	(0.02) -0.02	(0.02) -0.03	(0.02) 0.02	(0.02) 0.01
Own home	(0.03) -0.06**	(0.03) -0.06**	(0.02) -0.04*	(0.02) -0.04*	(0.02) -0.00	(0.01) -0.00
Metro area	(0.02) 0.02	(0.02) 0.02	(0.02) 0.02	(0.02) 0.03	(0.02) -0.01	(0.01) -0.01
Internet access	(0.04) -0.08*	(0.04) -0.08*	(0.02) -0.03	(0.02) -0.03	(0.02) 0.00	(0.02) -0.00
Constant	(0.04) 0.02 (0.14)	(0.05) 0.05 (0.13)	(0.02) -0.07 (0.09)	(0.03) 0.07 (0.09)	(0.02) -.15 (0.10)	(0.02) -0.03 (0.09)
N	1,021	1,021	1,021	1,021	1,021	1,021
R ²	0.312	0.318	0.369	0.358	0.437	0.440

Notes: Cell entries are the coefficients (standard errors in parentheses) of OLS regressions predicting approval of Congress in columns (1)-(2), perceived quality of Congress's work and emotional reactions to Congressional decision-making process in columns (3)-(4) and in column (5)-(6), respectively. Process approval is averaged over the 21 criteria; process approval – missing was set to 1 for respondents who had one or more missing values among the 21 criteria and 0 otherwise. Process approval (alt.) is averaged over the 6 governance sets.

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table S16: Demographic Characteristics of Respondents in Seven Experimental Conditions

	Control Condition	“General Public” Condition	“Issue Public” Condition	“Elites” Condition	“Donors” Condition	“Party” Condition	“President” Condition
<i>Sex</i>							
Male	47.5%	47.4%	49.3%	45.3%	51.5%	50.2%	46.8%
Female	52.5	52.6	50.7	54.7	48.5	49.9	53.3
Total	100% (N=361)	100% (N=339)	100% (N=347)	100% (N=345)	100% (N=374)	100% (N=311)	100% (N=347)
<i>Ethnicity</i>							
Hispanic	15.4%	15.0%	21.3%	14.8%	14.4%	13.8%	15.9%
Non-Hispanic	84.6	85.0	78.7	85.2	85.6	86.2	84.1
Total	100% (N=361)	100% (N=338)	100% (N=347)	100% (N=345)	100% (N=374)	100% (N=311)	100% (N=347)
<i>Race</i>							
White only	78.6%	79.6%	78.1%	81.4%	76.1%	76.1%	78.2%
Black only	13.5	12.9	11.1	9.8	13.3	13.8	12.9
Other race(s)	7.9	7.5	10.9	8.8	10.7	10.1	8.9
Total	100% (N=362)	100% (N=339)	100% (N=347)	100% (N=345)	100% (N=374)	100% (N=311)	100% (N=347)
<i>Age</i>							
18 to 24	11.5%	11.0%	12.5%	8.7%	13.1%	17.2%	11.5%
25 to 34	19.0	18.5	17.9	14.8	16.8	18.5	18.9
35 to 44	13.8	20.0	19.4	16.2	15.9	12.3	16.3
45 to 54	21.1	15.0	14.9	24.1	14.0	14.5	17.9
55 to 64	14.1	17.7	18.3	15.3	19.4	17.5	16.2
65 or older	20.6	17.8	17.0	20.9	20.9	20.0	19.1
Total	100% (N=361)	100% (N=339)	100% (N=347)	100% (N=345)	100% (N=374)	100% (N=311)	100% (N=346)

Control Condition	“General Public” Condition	“Issue Public” Condition	“Elites” Condition	“Donors” Condition	“Party” Condition	“President” Condition
(N=362)	(N=339)	(N=347)	(N=345)	(N=374)	(N=311)	(N=347)

Notes: Cells report percent estimates of demographic variables for each of the seven experimental conditions adjusting for post-stratification weights.

For the distribution of responses of sex across seven conditions, design-based $F(6, 14518) = .46, p = .84$

For the distribution of responses of ethnicity across seven conditions design-based $F(6, 14492) = .96, p = .45$

For the distribution of responses of race across seven conditions design-based $F(12, 28108) = .44, p = .95$

For the distribution of responses of age across seven conditions design-based $F(29, 70091) = 1.19, p = .22$

For the distribution of responses of education across seven conditions design-based $F(16, 38726) = 1.21, p = .25$

For the distribution of responses of region across seven conditions design-based $F(18, 43116) = .68, p = .83$

For the distribution of responses of party identification across seven conditions design-based $F(12, 28986) = .80, p = .65$

For the distribution of responses of ideology across seven conditions design-based $F(12, 28986) = 1.36, p = .18$

Table S17: Demographics of the Sample and the Current Population Study

	May 2016 Sample (Unweighted)	May 2016 Sample (Weighted)	CPS March 2016	CPS – Sample (Unweighted)	CPS – Sample (Weighted)
<i>Sex</i>					
Male	37.5%	48.3%	48.3%	-10.8%	.0%
Female	62.5	51.8	51.8	10.7	.0
Total	100%	100%	100%		
	(N=2,424)	(N=2,424)	(N=97,432)		
<i>Ethnicity</i>					
Hispanic	12.5%	15.8%	15.8%	-3.2%	.0%
Non-Hispanic	87.5	84.2	84.2	3.3	.0
Total	100%	100%	100%		
	(N=2,423)	(N=2,423)	(N=97,432)		
<i>Race</i>					
White only	81.4%	78.3%	78.4%	3.1%	-.1%
Black only	8.6	12.5	12.5	-3.9	.0
Other race(s)	10.0	9.2	9.1	.8	.1
Total	100%	100%	100%		
	(N=2,425)	(N=2,425)	(N=97,432)		
<i>Age</i>					
18 to 24	14.0%	12.1%	12.1%	1.9%	.0%
25 to 34	18.8	17.8	17.8	1.0	.0
35 to 44	17.3	16.3	16.3	1.0	.0
45 to 54	12.8	17.5	17.4	-4.7	.1
55 to 64	20.3	16.9	16.9	3.4	.0
65 or older	16.8	19.5	19.5	-2.7	.0
Total	100%	100%	100%		
	(N=2,423)	(N=2,423)	(N=97,432)		
<i>Education</i>					
High school or less	24.1%	40.6%	40.7%	-16.6%	-.1%
Some college	27.0	28.6	28.5	-1.5	.1
College graduate	30.2	19.6	19.6	10.6	.0
Post college	18.8	11.2	11.2	7.6	.0
Total	100%	100%	100%		
	(N=2,425)	(N=2,425)	(N=97,432)		
<i>Region</i>					
Northeast	21.6%	17.9%	17.9%	3.7%	.0%
Midwest	19.2	21.0	21.0	-1.8	.0

South	36.9	37.5	37.4	-.5	.1
West	22.3	23.6	23.6	-1.3	.0
Total	100%	100%	100%		
	(N=2,423)	(N=2,423)	(N=97,432)		

Weighted refers to weighting by demographics only. The population benchmarks for computing the weights were obtained from the Current Population Survey (CPS).

Table S18: Political Party Identification and Ideology of the Sample and the Gallup Survey

	May 2016 Sample (Unweighted)	May 2016 Sample (Weighted)	Gallup April 6-9, 2016	Gallup – Sample (Unweighted)	Gallup – Sample (Weighted)
<i>Party ID</i>					
Democrat	41.9%	30.6%	30.6%	11.3%	.0%
Republican	22.6	25.3	25.2	-2.7	.1
Independent	35.5	44.2	44.2	-8.7	.0
Total	100%	100%	100%		
	(N=2,425)	(N=2,425)			
<i>Ideology</i>					
Liberal	29.1%	24.3%			
Moderate	44.4	45.5			
Conservative	26.5	30.2			
Total	100%	100%			
	(N=2,425)	(N=2,425)			

Weighted refers to weighting by demographics and party ID, as compared to a national benchmark from Gallup Survey April 6-9, 2016 taken around the same time as the survey reported here.

Table S19: Impact of Process Statement on Attitudes

Predictor	Without post-stratification weights	Weighted post-stratifying on demographics	Weighted post-stratifying on demographics and party ID
Reading “general public” statement	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)
Reading “issue public” statement	-0.11*** (0.02)	-0.09*** (0.02)	-0.09*** (0.02)
Reading “donors” statement	-0.20*** (0.02)	-0.16*** (0.02)	-0.16*** (0.02)
Reading “elites” statement	-0.34*** (0.02)	-0.31*** (0.02)	-0.30*** (0.02)
Reading “party” statement	-0.18*** (0.02)	-0.16*** (0.02)	-0.17*** (0.02)
Reading “president” statement	-0.37*** (0.02)	-0.35*** (0.02)	-0.36*** (0.02)
Democrat	0.07*** (0.01)	0.07*** (0.02)	0.07*** (0.02)
Republican	0.08*** (0.02)	0.07*** (0.02)	0.07*** (0.02)
Liberal	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
Conservative	-0.03* (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
Female	-0.04*** (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)
Hispanic	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Black	-0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)
Other race(s)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.03)
Age 25 to 34	0.07*** (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)
Age 35 to 44	0.00 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
Age 45 to 54	-0.06*** (0.02)	-0.06*** (0.02)	-0.06** (0.02)
age55 to 64	-0.06*** (0.02)	-0.07*** (0.02)	-0.07*** (0.02)
Age 65 or older	-0.09*** (0.02)	-0.10*** (0.02)	-0.09*** (0.02)
Some college	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)

College graduate	-0.05*** (0.02)	-0.03* (0.02)	-0.03* (0.02)
Post college	-0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
income 30K to 50K	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
income 50K to 75K	0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
income 75K to 100K	0.06*** (0.02)	0.06*** (0.02)	0.06** (0.02)
income 100K +	0.05** (0.02)	0.04* (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)
Northeast	0.03** (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Midwest	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
West	0.00 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
Constant	0.73*** (0.03)	0.71*** (0.03)	0.71*** (0.03)
N	2,419	2,419	2,419
R ²	.25	.22	.23

Notes: Cells report coefficients of OLS regressions with standard errors in parentheses based on respondents who first read the process statement, without post-stratification weights in the first column, weighted post-stratifying on demographics in the second column, and weighted post-stratifying on demographics and party ID in the third column.

In the each column, regressions varying the omitted category of the treatment variable indicated that all pairs of treatment groups manifested significantly different means on the attitude index ($p < .001$) except for two pairs. Elites and President were not significantly different from one another, and Donors and Party were not significantly different from one another.

*** $p < .01$ ** $p < .05$ * $p < .10$

Table S20: Impact of Process Statement on Attitudes Moderated by Political Party Identification

Predictor	Weighted post-stratifying on demographics	Weighted post-stratifying on demographics and party ID
Reading “general public” statement	-0.06* (0.04)	-0.07** (0.04)
Reading “issue public” statement	-0.08** (0.03)	-0.09*** (0.03)
Reading “donors” statement	-0.15*** (0.04)	-0.16*** (0.04)
Reading “elites” statement	-0.35*** (0.04)	-0.35*** (0.04)
Reading “party” statement	-0.15*** (0.04)	-0.15*** (0.04)
Reading “president” statement	-0.26*** (0.04)	-0.26*** (0.04)
Republican	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.04)
Reading “general public” statement x Republican	0.13** (0.06)	0.14** (0.06)
Reading “issue public” statement x Republican	0.03 (0.06)	0.04 (0.06)
Reading “donors” statement x Republican	-0.02 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.06)
Reading “elites” statement x Republican	0.08 (0.06)	0.08 (0.06)
Reading “party” statement x Republican	0.08 (0.06)	0.09 (0.06)
Reading “president” statement x Republican	-0.17*** (0.06)	-0.16** (0.06)
Independent	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.06* (0.03)
Reading “general public” statement x Independent	0.08 (0.05)	0.09* (0.05)
Reading “issue public” statement x Independent	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.05)
Reading “elites” statement x Independent	0.05 (0.05)	0.06 (0.05)
Reading “donors” statement x Independent	-0.01 (0.05)	0.00 (0.05)
Reading “party” statement x Independent	-0.09* (0.05)	-0.09* (0.05)
Reading “president” statement x Independent	-0.14** (0.06)	-0.13** (0.06)

Liberal	0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Conservative	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
Female	-0.02* (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)
Hispanic	0.03 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Black	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
Other race(s)	-0.04 (0.02)	-0.04* (0.02)
Age 25 to 34	0.03 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)
Age 35 to 44	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
Age 45 to 54	-0.07*** (0.02)	-0.07*** (0.02)
Age 55 to 64	-0.07*** (0.02)	-0.06*** (0.02)
Age 65 or older	-0.10*** (0.02)	-0.09*** (0.02)
Some college	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
College graduate	-0.04** (0.02)	-0.04** (0.02)
Post college	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
income 30K to 50K	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
income 50K to 75K	0.00 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
income 75K to 100K	0.06*** (0.02)	0.06** (0.02)
income 100K +	0.04** (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)
Northeast	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Midwest	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
West	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
Constant	0.78*** (0.04)	0.78*** (0.04)
N	2,419	2,419

R^2	.24	.24
-------	-----	-----

Notes: Cells report coefficients of OLS regressions with standard errors in parentheses based on respondents who first read the process statement weighted post-stratifying on demographics in the first column and weighted post-stratifying on demographics and party ID in the second column.

*** $p < .01$ ** $p < .05$ * $p < .10$

Appendix A: AmeriSpeak Panel Sample Recruitment and Sampling for the National Surveys

The 2015 Survey

Respondents were drawn randomly from the members of NORC's AmeriSpeak Panel, a representative panel of civilian, non-institutional adults (age 18 and over) living in the United States. The 2015 AmeriSpeak panel sample consists of nationally representative housing units drawn from the 2010 NORC National Sample Frame. The panel sample of households includes an oversample of housing units in segments (Census tracts or block groups) higher in young adults and/or Hispanics and non-Hispanic African-Americans.

The 2010 NORC National Sample Frame used a two-stage probability sample design to select a representative sample of households in the United States. The first stage—the sampling unit—is a National Frame Area, a metropolitan area or one or more adjacent counties combined. Areas have a high-population density, containing 56 percent of the population within 8 percent of the geographic area of the United States, were selected. The remaining areas were stratified into areas where street-style addresses predominate, and the remaining areas, which are less likely to have street -style addresses. The latter stratum (“rural” areas) comprises 81 percent of the geographic area, but only 14 percent of the population.

Within the selected National Frame Area, the second stage sampling unit is a segment, defined either in terms of Census tracts or block groups, containing at least 300 housing units according to the 2010 Census. A stratified probability sample of 1,514 segments was selected with probability proportional to size. The National Sample Frame contains almost 3 million households, including over 80,000 rural households added through the in-person listing.

The recruitment process for AmeriSpeak occurs in two stages: initial recruitment and nonresponse follow-up recruitment. In initial recruitment, sampled households received mails to

invite them to join AmeriSpeak Panel, and NORC telephone interviewers called sampled households where a residential and/or cell phone number can be matched to the sampled address. The non-responders to the initial recruitment, which lasted about 10 weeks, were identified and randomly subsampled for the nonresponse follow-up recruitment, whereby the sampled units were sent a new recruitment package by express mail, with an enhanced incentive offer for joining AmeriSpeak. NORC field interviewers then made personal visits to the respondent's homes to encourage participation in AmeriSpeak.

When people joined AmeriSpeak Panel, AmeriSpeak panel members completed an introductory survey by web or by telephone asking questions about the household's composition and the person's background and interests. After one adult in the household joined AmeriSpeak panel member, other adults in the household were invited to join AmeriSpeak, who completed the same introduction survey. AmeriSpeak panelists were enrolled in either the online or telephone modes of data collection for future surveys.

NORC sent email invitations on September 17, 2015 to AmeriSpeak web-mode panelists to invite the panelists to take the online survey. NORC sent email reminders to web panelists on the seven dates between September 24 and October 19, 2015. To thank them for their efforts, AmeriSpeak phone-mode panelists were offered the cash-equivalent of \$10 for completing the online survey; the incentive amount was increased to the cash-equivalent of \$20 to encourage response from the AmeriSpeak phone-mode panelists on October 9, 2015. AmeriSpeak web-mode panelists were offered the cash-equivalent of \$5 for completing the online survey. Starting on October 9, 2015, AmeriSpeak web and phone-mode panelists for whom NORC had a phone number were also called to encourage response.

The 2017 Survey

The questionnaire was administered in English only. The rate at which prospective participating households decided to join the AmeriSpeak panel was 33.5%. The household retention rate in the panel after recruitment was 89.2%, and the completion rate for this survey was 30.4%, yielding a cumulative response rate (AAPOR RR3) of 9.1%.

The survey data were weighted to account for unequal probabilities of selection and to post-stratify in terms of age, sex, ethnicity, race, education, housing tenure, telephone status, and Census Division. The survey sample was similar to the American population before the weights were applied and was more similar after the data were weighted (Table S1). Results reported in the paper were computed using weighted data.

The sample was selected from the AmeriSpeak Panel using sampling strata based on age, race/ethnicity, education, and gender (48 strata in total). The size of the selected sample per sampling stratum was determined by the population distribution for each stratum. In addition, sample selection took into account expected differential survey completion rates by demographic groups so that the set of panel members with a completed interview for this study was a representative sample of the target population. If panel household had more than one active adult panel member, only one adult in the household was eligible for selection (random within-household sampling). Panelists selected for an AmeriSpeak study earlier in the business week were not eligible for sample selection until the following business week.

NORC sent soft-launch email invitations on August 29, 2017 and sent main-launch email invitations on August 30, 2017 to AmeriSpeak web-mode panelists to invite them to take this survey. NORC sent email reminders to web panelists on the three dates between September 2 and September 6, 2017. NORC sent SMS reminders on September 7, 2017. To thank them for

their efforts, panelists were offered the cash-equivalent of \$3 for completing this survey.

Appendix B: Question Wording and Coding of Measures in the Nationally Representative Surveys

Congressional Performance Evaluations

Approval of Congress. “Do you approve or disapprove the way members of Congress have been doing their jobs? IF APPROVE/DISAPPROVE: Do you approve/disapprove strongly or not strongly?” Coding: 1 = approve strongly, .67 = approve not strongly, .33 = disapprove not strongly, 0 = disapprove strongly; missing = did not answer.

Quality of Congressional Work. “How would you rate the job that the U.S. Congress is doing? Excellent, good, fair, poor, or very poor?” Coding: 1 = excellent, .75 = good, .5 = fair, .25 = poor, 0 = very poor; missing = did not answer.

Evaluations of Congressional Policy-Making Output, Policy-Making Volume, and Decision-Making Process

Evaluation of Policy-making Output “During the last 6 years, were the laws passed by Congress mostly good, mostly bad, or neither good nor bad?” Coding: 1 = mostly good, .5 = neither good nor bad, 0 = mostly bad; missing = did not answer.

Evaluation of Policy-making Volume. “During the last 6 years, should Congress have passed more laws than it did, fewer laws than it did, or about the same number of laws as it did?” IF MORE/FEWER LAWS: How many more/fewer laws should Congress have passed during the last 6 years? A lot more/fewer, moderately more/fewer, or slightly more/fewer?” Coding: 0 = a lot more laws, .33 = moderately more laws, .67 = slightly more laws, 1 = about the same number of laws, .67 = slightly fewer laws, .33 = moderately fewer laws, 0 = a lot fewer laws; missing = did not answer.

Approval and Expectation of the U.S. Government, and Evaluation of Democracy

Evaluation of U.S. government performance. “During the last 6 years, how well would you say that government has been working in America? Extremely well, very well, moderately well, slightly well, or not well at all?” Coding: 1 = extremely well, .75 = very well, .5 = moderately well, .25 = slightly well, 0 = not well at all; missing = did not answer.

Expectation of future U.S. government performance. “How well do you expect government to work in America in the future? Extremely well, very well, moderately well, slightly well, or not well at all?” Coding: 1 = extremely well, .75 = very well, .5 = moderately well, .25 = slightly well, 0 = not well at all; missing = did not answer.

Evaluation of democracy. “During the last 6 years, how well would you say that Democratic governments in other countries around the world have been working - extremely well, very well, moderately well, slightly well, or not well at all?” Coding: 1 = extremely well, .75 = very well, .5 = moderately well, .25 = slightly well, 0 = not well at

all; missing = did not answer.

Preferred Congressional Decision-Making Process

The majority of people in his/her state/district. “When deciding how to vote on a proposed law, how much attention do you think a member of Congress should pay to whether the new law is favored by the majority of all people living in his/her state or district? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?”

The majority of people who voted for him/her. “When deciding how to vote on a proposed law, how much attention do you think a member of Congress should pay to whether the new law is favored by the majority of all people who voted for him/her when he/she was last elected? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?”

The majority of people of the same political party in his/her state/district. “When deciding how to vote on a proposed law, how much attention do you think a member of Congress should pay to whether the new law is favored by the majority of all people living in his/her state or district who say they are in the same political party as the member of Congress? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?”

The majority of people of the same political party in the U.S. “When deciding how to vote on a proposed law, how much attention do you think a member of Congress should pay to whether the new law is favored by the majority of all people living in the United States who say they are in the same political party as the member of Congress? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?”

The majority of people in the U.S. “When deciding how to vote on a proposed law, how much attention do you think a member of Congress should pay to whether the new law is favored by the majority of all people living in the United States? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?”

The majority of wealthy people in his/her state/district. “When deciding how to vote on a proposed law, how much attention do you think a member of Congress should pay to whether the new law is favored by the majority of wealthy people living in his/her state or district? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?”

The majority of wealthy people in the U.S. “When deciding how to vote on a proposed law, how much attention do you think a member of Congress should pay to whether the new law is favored by the majority of wealthy people living in the United States? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?”

The majority of people in his/her state/district who feel very strongly about the law. “When deciding how to vote on a proposed law, how much attention do you think a member of Congress should pay to whether the new law is favored by the majority of all people living in his/her state or district who feel very strongly about the new law? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?”

The majority of people in the U.S. who feel very strongly about the law. “When deciding how to vote on a proposed law, how much attention do you think a member of Congress should pay to whether the new law is favored by the majority of all people living in the United States who feel very strongly about the law? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?”

The majority of people in his/her state/district who tell their opinions. “When deciding how to vote on a proposed law, how much attention do you think a member of Congress should pay to whether the new law is favored by the majority of all people living in his/her state or district who tell him/her their opinions about it? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?”

The majority of individual donors. “When deciding how to vote on a proposed law, how much attention do you think a member of Congress should pay to whether the new law is favored by the majority of people who gave money to his/her most recent election campaign? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?”

Most business donors. “When deciding how to vote on a proposed law, how much attention do you think a member of Congress should pay to whether the new law is favored by most businesses that gave money to his/her most recent election campaign? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?”

Lobbying organization donors. “When deciding how to vote on a proposed law, how much attention do you think a member of Congress should pay to whether the new law is favored by lobbying organizations that gave money to his/her most recent election campaign? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?”

The President. “When deciding how to vote on a proposed law, how much attention do you think a member of Congress should pay to whether the new law is favored by the President of the United States? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?”

National leaders of his/her political party. “When deciding how to vote on a proposed law, how much attention do you think a member of Congress should pay to whether the new law is favored by the national leaders of his/her political party? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?”

The best interests of everyone in the U.S. “When deciding how to vote on a proposed law, how much attention do you think a member of Congress should pay to what he/she thinks is in the best interest of everyone living in the U.S.? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?”

The best interests of everyone in his/her state/district. “When deciding how to vote on a proposed law, how much attention do you think a member of Congress should pay to what he/she thinks is in the best interest of everyone living in his/her state or district? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?”

The best interests of businesses in his/her state/district. “When deciding how to vote on a proposed law, how much attention do you think a member of Congress should pay to what he/she thinks is in the best interest of businesses in his/her state or district? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?”

His/her liberal or conservative philosophy of politics. “When deciding how to vote on a proposed law, how much attention do you think a member of Congress should pay to his/her liberal or conservative philosophy of politics? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?”

How other members of Congress in his/her political party want him/her to vote. “When deciding how to vote on a proposed law, how much attention do you think a member of Congress should pay to how other members of Congress from his/her political party want him/her to vote? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?”

How members of Congress in the other political party want him/her to vote. “When deciding how to vote on a proposed law, how much attention do you think a member of Congress should pay to how members of Congress from the other political party want him/her to vote? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?”

Coding. Answers to all of the above questions were coded: 1 = a great deal, .75 = a lot, .5 = a moderate amount, .25 = a little, 0 = none; missing = did not answer.

Observed Congressional Decision-Making Process

The majority of people in his/her state/district. “During the last 6 years, when they decided on how to vote on proposed laws, how much attention do you think members of Congress paid to whether the new law was favored by the majority of all people living in his/her state or district? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?”

The majority of people who voted for him/her. “During the last 6 years, when they decided on how to vote on proposed laws, how much attention do you think members of Congress paid to whether the new law was favored by the majority of all people who voted for him/her when he/she was last elected? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?”

The majority of people of the same political party in his/her state/district. “During the last 6 years, when they decided on how to vote on proposed laws, how much attention do you think members of Congress paid to whether the new law was favored by the majority of all people living in his/her state or district who say they are in the same political party as the member of Congress? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?”

The majority of people of the same political party in the U.S. “During the last 6 years, when they decided on how to vote on proposed laws, how much attention do you think members of Congress paid to whether the new law was favored by the majority of all

people living in the United States who say they are in the same political party as the member of Congress? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?"

The majority of people in the U.S. "During the last 6 years, when they decided on how to vote on proposed laws, how much attention do you think members of Congress paid to whether the new law was favored by the majority of all people living in the United States? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?"

The majority of wealthy people in his/her state/district. "During the last 6 years, when they decided on how to vote on proposed laws, how much attention do you think members of Congress paid to whether the new law was favored by the majority of wealthy people living in his/her state or district? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?"

The majority of wealthy people in the U.S. "During the last 6 years, when they decided on how to vote on proposed laws, how much attention do you think members of Congress paid to whether the new law was favored by the majority of wealthy people living in the United States? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?"

The majority of people in his/her state/district who feel very strongly about the law. "During the last 6 years, when they decided on how to vote on proposed laws, how much attention do you think members of Congress paid to whether the new law was favored by the majority of all people living in his/her state or district who feel very strongly about the new law? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?"

The majority of people in the U.S. who feel very strongly about the law. "During the last 6 years, when they decided on how to vote on proposed laws, how much attention do you think members of Congress paid to whether the new law was favored by the majority of all people living in the United States who feel very strongly about the law? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?"

The majority of people in his/her state/district who tell their opinions. "During the last 6 years, when they decided on how to vote on proposed laws, how much attention do you think members of Congress paid to whether the new law was favored by the majority of all people living in his/her state or district who tell him/her their opinions about it? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?"

The majority of individual donors. "During the last 6 years, when they decided on how to vote on proposed laws, how much attention do you think members of Congress paid to whether the new law was favored by the majority of people who gave money to his/her most recent election campaign? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?"

Most business donors. "During the last 6 years, when they decided on how to vote on proposed laws, how much attention do you think members of Congress paid to whether the new law was favored by most businesses that gave money to his/her most recent election campaign? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?"

Lobbying organization donors. “During the last 6 years, when they decided on how to vote on proposed laws, how much attention do you think members of Congress paid to whether the new law was favored by lobbying organizations that gave money to his/her most recent election campaign? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?”

The President. “During the last 6 years, when they decided on how to vote on proposed laws, how much attention do you think members of Congress paid to whether the new law was favored by the President of the United States? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?”

National leaders of his/her political party. “During the last 6 years, when they decided on how to vote on proposed laws, how much attention do you think members of Congress paid to whether the new law was favored by the national leaders of his/her political party? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?”

The best interests of everyone in the U.S. “During the last 6 years, when they decided on how to vote on proposed laws, how much attention do you think members of Congress paid to what he/she thought was in the best interest of everyone living in the U.S.? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?”

The best interests of everyone in his/her state/district. “During the last 6 years, when they decided on how to vote on proposed laws, how much attention do you think members of Congress paid to what he/she thought was in the best interest of everyone living in his/her state or district? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?”

The best interest of businesses in his/her state/district. “During the last 6 years, when they decided on how to vote on proposed laws, how much attention do you think members of Congress paid to what he/she thought was in the best interest of businesses in his/her state or district? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?”

His/her liberal or conservative philosophy of politics. “During the last 6 years, when they decided on how to vote on proposed laws, how much attention do you think members of Congress paid to his/her liberal or conservative philosophy of politics? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?”

How other members of Congress from his/her political party want him/her to vote. “During the last 6 years, when they decided on how to vote on proposed laws, how much attention do you think members of Congress how other members of Congress from his/her political party wanted him/her to vote? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none?”

How members of Congress from the other political party want him/her to vote. “During the last 6 years, when they decided on how to vote on proposed laws, how much attention do you think members of Congress paid to how members of Congress from the other political party wanted him/her to vote? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or

none?”

Coding. Answers to all of the above questions were coded: 1 = a great deal, .75 = a lot, .5 = a moderate amount, .25 = a little, 0 = none; missing = did not answer.

Emotional Reactions to Perceived Attention

An index was computed by averaging responses to four measures:

Pleased. “When you think about how members of Congress decided to vote during the last 6 years, how pleased does that make you feel? Extremely pleased, very pleased, moderately pleased, slightly pleased, or not pleased at all?” Coding: 1 = extremely pleased, .75 = very pleased, .5 = moderately pleased, .25 = slightly pleased, 0 = not pleased at all; missing = did not answer.

Proud. “When you think about how members of Congress decided to vote during the last 6 years, how proud does that make you feel? Extremely proud, very proud, moderately proud, slightly proud, or not proud at all?” Coding: 1 = extremely proud, .75 = very proud, .5 = moderately proud, .25 = slightly proud, 0 = not proud at all; missing = did not answer.

Angry. “When you think about how members of Congress decided to vote during the last 6 years, how angry does that make you feel? Extremely angry, very angry, moderately angry, slightly angry, or not angry at all?” Coding: 0 = extremely angry, .25 = very angry, .5 = moderately angry, .75 = slightly angry, 1 = not angry at all; missing = did not answer.

Disappointed. “When you think about how members of Congress decided to vote during the last 6 years, how disappointed does that make you feel? Extremely disappointed, very disappointed, moderately disappointed, slightly disappointed, or not disappointed at all?” Coding: 0 = extremely disappointed, .25 = very disappointed, .5 = moderately disappointed, .75 = slightly disappointed, 1 = not disappointed at all; missing = did not answer.

Political Engagement

Frequency of voting. “During the elections run by government that have been held during the last 6 years in which you could have voted, in how many of them did you vote? All of them, most of them, about half of them, a few of them, or none of them?” Coding: 1 = all of them, .75 = most of them, .5 = half of them, .25 = a few of them, 0 = none of them; missing = did not answer.

Attention to politics. “How closely do you pay attention to information about what’s going on in government and politics? Extremely closely, very closely, moderately closely, slightly closely, or not closely at all?” Coding: 1 = extremely closely, .75 = very closely, .5 = moderately closely, .25 = slightly closely, 0 = not closely at all; missing =

did not answer.

Registered to vote. “Are you registered to vote at your present address, or not?” Coding: 1 = yes, 0 = no; missing = did not answer.

Political Party Identification

Respondents were randomly assigned to answer one of the following two versions: (1) “Do you consider yourself a Democrat, Republican, an Independent, or none of these?” (2) “Do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, an Independent, or none of these?” A dummy variable for *Democrats* was coded 1 for respondents who said Democrat and 0 for other respondents. A dummy variable for *Republicans* was coded 1 for respondents who said “Republican” and 0 for other respondents. A dummy variable for Independents was coded 1 for respondents who said “Independent” or “none of these” and 0 for other respondents.

Liberal/Conservative Ideology

“Generally speaking, do you consider yourself a liberal, moderate, or conservative?” A dummy variable for *liberals* was coded 1 for respondents who said “liberal” and 0 for other respondents. A dummy variable for *conservatives* was coded 1 for respondents who answered with “conservative” and 0 for other respondents. A dummy variable for *moderates* was coded 1 for respondents who said “moderate” and 0 for other respondents.

Demographics

Respondents reported their demographics at the time of their recruitment to the panel in 2015.

Gender. “Are you male or female?” A dummy variable was coded 1 for males and 0 for females.

Age. “What is your date of birth?” Age was computed by subtracting the respondents birth year from 2015. Dummy variables were constructed to identify people *18 to 24*, *25 to 34*, *35 to 44*, *45 to 54*, *55 to 64*, and *65 or older*. The age *65 or older* dummy variable was omitted from the regressions.

Hispanic. “We ask questions about race and ethnicity now so that we will not have to ask you these questions on this topic after each survey. This is about Hispanic ethnicity. Are you of Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino descent?” A dummy variable was coded 1 for Hispanics and 0 for others.

Race. “Please indicate what you consider your racial background to be. We greatly appreciate your help. The categories we use may not fully describe you, but they do match those used by the Census Bureau. It helps us to compare the membership of

AmeriSpeak to the U.S. population. Please check one or more categories below to indicate what race or races you consider yourself to be. 1 White, 2 Black or African American, 3 American Indian or Alaska Native – *type in name of enrolled or principal tribe*. [text box], 4 Asian Indian, 5 Chinese, 6 Filipino, 7 Japanese, 8 Korean, 9 Vietnamese, 10 Other Asian – *type in race* [text box], 11 Native Hawaiian, 12 Guamanian or Chamorro, 13 Samoan, 14 Other Pacific Islander – *type in race* [text box], 15 Some Other Race – *type in race* [text box].”

Hispanic White was coded for 1 for White, non-Hispanics and 0 otherwise.

Non-Hispanic Black was coded 1 if respondents who selected Black or African-American and 0 for others.

Non-Hispanic Asian/Pacific Islander was coded 1 for Asian Indian, “Chinese”, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, etc., and 0 for others.

Non-Hispanic Other race was coded for 1 for respondents who selected a category other than what was in *non-Hispanic White*, *non-Hispanic White*, or *non-Hispanic Asian/Pacific Islander*, and 0 otherwise.

Non-Hispanic White was the omitted category in the regressions.

Education. “What is the highest grade of school that you completed?” and presented with the following response choices: no formal education; 1st, 2nd, 3rd or 4th grade; 5th or 6th grade; 7th or 8th grade; 9th grade; 10th grade; 11th grade; 12th grade no diploma; high school graduate – high school diploma or the equivalent (GED); some college, no degree; associate degree; bachelor’s degree; master’s degree; professional or doctorate degree. Dummy variable *less than high school* was constructed (1 for respondents who no formal education; 1st, 2nd, 3rd or 4th grade; 5th or 6th grade; 7th or 8th grade; 9th grade; 10th grade; 11th grade; 12th grade no diploma and 0 for other respondents). Dummy variables were coded as follows: *high school graduate* was coded 1 for respondents who chose high school graduate – high school diploma or the equivalent (GED) and 0 for others. *Some college* was coded 1 for respondents who chose some college, no degree; associate degree and 0 for others. *College graduate* was coded 1 for respondents who chose bachelor’s degree; master’s degree; professional or doctorate degree and 0 for others. *Less than high school* was the omitted category in the regressions.

Income. “The next question is about the total income of YOUR HOUSEHOLD for 2014. Please include your own income PLUS the income of all members living in your household (including cohabiting partners and armed forces members living at home). Please count income BEFORE TAXES and from all sources (such as wages, salaries, tips, net income from a business, interest, dividends, child support, alimony, and Social Security, public assistance, pensions, or retirement benefits). Was your total HOUSEHOLD income in 2014.... below \$40,000; \$40,000 or more; don’t know?
IF < \$40K: And was your total HOUSEHOLD income in 2014.... below \$20,000;

\$20,000 or more; don't know?

IF < \$20K: Which one of the following includes your total HOUSEHOLD income in 2014 before taxes? Less than \$5,000; \$5,000 to \$9,999; \$10,000 to \$14,999; \$15,000 to \$19,999; don't know.

IF < \$40K and > \$20K: Which one of the following includes your total HOUSEHOLD income in 2014 before taxes? \$20,000 to \$24,999; \$25,000 to \$29,999; \$30,000 to \$34,999; \$35,000 to \$39,000; don't know.

IF < \$40K: Was your total HOUSEHOLD income in 2014.... below \$85,000; \$85,000 or more; don't know?

IF > \$40K and < \$85K: Which one of the following includes your total HOUSEHOLD income in 2014 before taxes? \$40,000 to \$49,999; \$50,000 to \$59,999; \$60,000 to \$74,999; \$75,000 to \$84,999; don't know.

IF > \$85K: Which one of the following includes your total HOUSEHOLD income in 2014 before taxes? \$85,000 to \$99,999; \$100,000 to \$124,999; \$125,000 to \$149,999; \$150,000 to \$174,999; \$175,000 to \$199,999; \$200,000 or more; don't know.

We constructed a continuous variable measure of income by imputing a person's income using a uniform distribution within the income category chosen by the respondent.

Dollars were subjected to a log transformation for the regressions.

Married: "Are you ... married; widowed; divorced; separated; never married; living with partner". Dummy variable *married* was coded 1 for respondents who chose "married" and 0 for other respondents.

Homeowner: "Share with us a little about where you live. Are your living quarters ... Owned or being bought by you or someone in your household; Rented for cash; Occupied without payment of cash rent". A dummy variable called *Homeowner* was coded 1 for respondents who chose "Owned or being bought by you or someone in your household" and 0 for others.

Employment status: "Which statement best describes your current employment status? Working – as a paid employee; Working – self-employed; Not working – on temporary layoff from a job; Not working – looking for work; Not working – retired; Not working – disabled; Not working – other". *Working* was coded 1 for respondents who chose "Working – as a paid employee" or "Working – self-employed" and 0 for others.

Internet access: "What kind of internet access do you have, or not have? Please select all that apply. High-speed, broadband internet at home (such as cable or DSL); Dial-up internet at home; Internet on a cell connection on a mobile phone; Internet at work, or office, or other location that you can use for taking surveys on a computer or tablet; No internet access at all". *Internet access* was coded 1 for respondents who chose anything other than "No internet access at all" and 0 for others.

Region. Three dummy variables were coded to place the respondent in one of four regions: *Northeast*, *Midwest*, *South*, and *West*. *South* was the omitted category in the regressions.

Appendix C: Question Wording and Coding of the Measures In the Survey Experiment

Panel recruitment

The participants were a non-probability sample of American adults aged 18 or older. Participants were drawn from commercial online panels owned by Toluna or integrated into Toluna's network of panels (which Toluna refers to as integrated partner panels). The panels include people living in all U.S. states. The difference between panelists from a Toluna owned panel and an integrated partner panel is that the integrated partner, rather than Toluna themselves, invite the participant and pay the participant incentives for completing a questionnaire. The Toluna owned panels comprise over 500,000 members in the United States. These panels and Toluna's integrated partner panels consist of convenience samples of individuals who have elected to opt-in to participate in surveys in exchange for points, which they may exchange for gift cards from retail merchants, for cash, to enter raffles, for gift cards, or for products through Toluna's website or through the website of Toluna's integrated partner.

Toluna owned panels and integrated partner panels recruit panel members using various methods including web-banners, website referrals (where current members can refer friends and family to join the community), pay-per-click (an online advertising payout model), natural search optimization, affiliate marketing, email and online public relations activities. To become a member of a Toluna owned panel and an integrated partner panel, a panel member must complete a double opt-in registration, which includes:

- The panel member must complete a panel registration form, which includes contact and demographic information.
- The panel member's postal code must be validated by checking for a valid postal code with postal address files.
- An automatic email is sent to the potential panel member requesting verification of registration by clicking a link that confirms their login details.
- The potential panel member must agree to be contacted by email and/or SMS and agree to the Toluna terms and conditions.
- When the potential member has clicked the link he or she is officially a full fledge panelist.

Toluna also ensures quality of panelists in the following ways through automated and manual quality checks:

- Automatically prevents duplicate email addresses from registering a second time.
- Requires the user to type letters that are displayed in a distorted image to prevent "bots" and auto-scripts from joining.
- Automatically checks panelist's age so that it fits within designated range per country/culture.
- Automatically validates that the combination of last name, zipcode, birthdate and country are unique.

- Automatically ensures that all new panelists provide at least the following information: country, language, first and last name, Email, gender, password, username, birthdate, zip code.
- Automatically checks that a panelist has entered a postal code format according to country definition.
- Automatically checks that the IP address corresponds to the appropriate country;
- Automatically highlights if a user has multiple accounts based on a combination of factors (name, postal code, country, IP address, etc.) and prevents them from having access to surveys.
- Toluna also manually evaluates new panelists to identify suspicious patterns, or poor quality and fraudulent registrations which are then scrubbed from the data base.

The member terms that all panel members of Toluna’s panel or Toluna’s integrated partner panel has to agree to specify that participation in any survey is voluntary. A survey invitation to panel members includes information regarding how long the survey is expected to take, the number of point to be awarded for qualifying and completing the survey, and a topic for the survey.

Seven versions of the statement

A variable *lawmaking process* was set to control, general public, issue public, elites, donors, party and president for the following seven versions of the hypothetical statement, respectively.

Control. Respondents were asked: “Here is what [a/another] United States Senator might say to explain how he or she decides how to vote on proposed laws:
When I decide how to vote on a proposed law, I think carefully and learn as much as I can about the issue. Deciding how to vote on proposed laws is the most important responsibility I have as a Senator, and I take that responsibility very seriously. Senators are asked to vote on many different kinds of issues. For example, in 2015 U.S. Senators voted on 339 proposed new laws – that’s almost one every day. I spend most of my time deciding how to vote on each law that comes before me, so that at the end of each year, I know I did my job well.”

General Public. Respondents were asked: “Here is what [a/another] United States Senator might say to explain how he or she decides how to vote on proposed laws:
When I decide how to vote on a proposed law, I think a lot about what my constituents want me to do. And I think about what is in the best interest of my constituents. To learn that, I talk to people as often as I can, and I listen to what they say. Because I have been elected to represent my constituents, it makes sense for me to pay special attention to what they want. If I conclude that most of the people living in my state want me to vote for the law and that it is in the best interest of everyone in my state that I vote for the law, that's what I do. If I conclude that most people living in my state want me to vote against and that that it is in the best interest of people living in my state that I vote against the law, I do that.”

Issue Public. Respondents were asked: “Here is what [a/another] United States Senator might say to explain how he or she decides how to vote on proposed laws:

When I decide how to vote on a proposed law, I think a lot about what people living in my state who feel strongly about the law, either in favor of it or opposed to it, want me to do. Although many of my constituents don't care much about what I do on an issue, there is usually a group of people who care a lot. These people call, write letters, and send emails to let me know what they believe and what they want me to do, so it makes sense for me to pay special attention to their advice. If I conclude that most people living in my state who feel strongly want me to vote for the law, that's what I do. If I conclude that most people living in my state who feel strongly want me to vote against, I do that.”

Elites. Respondents were asked: “Here is what [a/another] United States Senator might say to explain how he or she decides how to vote on proposed laws:

When I decide how to vote on a proposed law, I think a lot about what would be in the best interest of businesses in my state and what wealthy people in my state want me to do. To learn that, I talk to business leaders and wealthy people as often as I can, and I listen to what they say. Businesses and the people who run those businesses are the lifeblood of America's economy, and they assure everyone's quality of life. The people I represent will not thrive unless the businesses who hire them and who sell them goods and services also thrive, so it makes sense for me to pay special attention to their needs. If I conclude that wealthy people living in my state want me to vote for the law and that it is in the best interest of businesses in my state that I vote for the law, that's what I do. If I conclude that wealthy people living in my state want me to vote against the law and that it is in the best interest of businesses in my state that I vote against the law, I do that.”

Donors. Respondents were asked: “Here is what [a/another] United States Senator might say to explain how he or she decides how to vote on proposed laws:

When I decide how to vote on a proposed law, I think a lot about what people who have supported me want me to do. I pay attention to the opinions of people who voted for me as well as to the opinions of people, businesses, and lobbying organizations that gave money to my election campaign. To learn that, I talk to them as often as I can, and I listen to what they say. Although many of my constituents don't care much what I do on an issue in Congress, I usually get messages from people who voted for me or who gave money to help put me in office. I owe these people a big thank you for the fact that I have the privilege of serving in the Senate. So it makes sense for me to pay special attention to them when I decide on how to vote. If I conclude that people who voted for me want me to vote for the law and that people, businesses and lobbying organizations who gave money to my campaign want me to vote for the law, that's what I do. If I conclude that people who voted for me want me to vote against the law and that people, businesses and lobbying organizations who gave money to my campaign want me to vote against the law, I do that.”

Party. Respondents were asked: “Here is what [a/another] United States Senator might say to explain how he or she decides how to vote on proposed laws:

When I decide how to vote on a proposed law, I think a lot about what residents of my state in my political party and other U.S. Senators from my political party want me to do.

And I think about what my own ideology tells me is best. I talk to people in my state in my party, and I talk to members of my party in the U.S. Senate, and I listen to what they say. Things only get done in politics when I work with people who think like I do, so it makes sense for me to pay special attention to what people in my party are saying. If I conclude that most people in my state in my party and Senators in my party want me to vote for the law, and that's what my ideology tells me to do, that's what I do. If I conclude that most people in my state in my party and most Senators in my party want me to vote against the law, and that's what my ideology tells me to do, I do that."

President. Respondents were asked: "Here is what [a/another] United States Senator might say to explain how he or she decides how to vote on proposed laws: When I decide how to vote on a proposed law, I think a lot about what the President of the United States wants me to do. I talk to the President, and I listen to what he says. Without the support of the President, the Senate can't get anything done. And since the President is the leader of the nation, it makes sense for me to pay special attention to what he thinks is best. If I conclude that the President wants me to vote for the law, that's what I do. If I conclude that the President wants me to vote against the law, I do that."

For each of seven series of questions, seven dummy variables were created to indicate the treatment conditions.

- *A general public treatment* dummy variable was coded 1 for respondents who read the general public statement and 0 for all other respondents.
- *An issue public treatment* dummy variable was coded 1 for respondents who read the issue public statement and 0 for all other respondents.
- *An elites treatment* dummy variable was coded 1 for respondents who read the elites statement and 0 for all other respondents.
- *A donors treatment* dummy variable was coded 1 for respondents who read the donors statement and 0 for all other respondents.
- *A party treatment* dummy variable was coded 1 for respondents who read the party statement and 0 for all other respondents.
- *A president treatment* dummy variable was coded 1 for respondents who read the president statement and 0 for all other respondents.

Dependent variable measures

Evaluation of process. Respondents were asked: "Do you think that this way of deciding how to vote is a good idea, a bad idea, or neither good nor bad? [IF A GOOD IDEA] Would you say extremely good, moderately good, or slightly good? [IF A BAD IDEA] Would you say extremely bad, moderately bad, or slightly bad?" Coding: 1 = extremely good; .83 = moderately good; .67 = slightly good; .5 = neither good nor bad; .33 = slight bad; .17 = moderately bad; 0 = extremely bad; missing = didn't answer.

Job approval. Respondents were asked: "Based on what the Senator said, do you approve or disapprove of the way he or she does his/her job as a U.S. Senator? [IF APPROVE] Do you approve strongly or not strongly? [IF DISAPPROVE] Do you disapprove

strongly or not strongly?” Coding: 1 = approve strongly; .75 = approve not strongly; .5 = neither approve nor disapprove; .25 = disapprove not strongly; 0 = disapprove strongly; missing = didn’t answer.

Intent to vote. Respondents were asked: “Based on what the Senator said, how likely would you be to vote for or against him or her if he or she were running reelection to the U.S. Senate to represent people in your state?” Coding: 1 = extremely likely to vote for; .83 = moderately likely to vote for; .67 = slightly likely to vote for; .5 = might vote for and might vote against; .33 = slightly likely to vote against; .17 = moderately likely to vote against; 0 = extremely likely to vote against; missing = didn’t answer.

An *attitude index* was computed as the average of *evaluation of process*, *job approval* and *intent to vote*, ranging from 0 to 1, with higher value indicating more favorable attitude.

Political Party Identification and Ideology

Political Party Identification. A randomly assigned half of the respondents were asked: “Do you consider yourself a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or none of these?” or the other half of the respondents were asked “Do you consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or none of these?” A dummy variable (called “Democrat”) was coded 1 for respondents who choose “Democrat” and 0 for all other respondents. A dummy variable (called “Republican”) was coded 1 for respondents who choose “Republican” and 0 for all other respondents. A dummy variable (called “Independent”) was coded 1 for respondents who choose “Independent” or “none of these” or did not answer the question and 0 for all other respondents. Dummy variable “Independent” was the omitted category.

Ideology. Respondents were asked: “Generally speaking, do you consider yourself liberal, moderate, or conservative?” A dummy variable (called “liberal”) was coded 1 for respondents who chose “Liberal” and 0 for all other respondents. A dummy variable (called “conservative”) was coded 1 for respondents who chose “Conservative” and 0 for all other respondents. A dummy variable (called “moderate”) was coded 1 for respondents who chose “Moderate” or did not answer the question and 0 for all other respondents. A dummy variable was constructed for participants who refused to answer the education question. Dummy variable “moderate” was the omitted base category.

Demographics

Female. Respondents were asked: “Please enter whether you are male or female.” A dummy variable (called “female”) was coded 1 for females and 0 for males. A dummy variable was coded 1 for respondents who did not answer the gender question and 0 for respondents who did.

Age. Respondents were asked: “In what year were you born?” Age was constructed as the difference between 2016 and the answer to the birth of year question. A dummy variable

(called “age 18 to 24”) was coded 1 for respondents who were aged between 18 and 24 and 0 for all other respondents. A dummy variable (called “age 25 to 34”) was coded 1 for respondents who were aged between 25 and 34 and 0 for all other respondents. A dummy variable (called “age 35 to 44”) was coded 1 for respondents who were aged between 35 and 44 and 0 for all other respondents. A dummy variable (called “age 45 to 54”) was coded 1 for respondents who were aged between 45 and 54 and 0 for all other respondents. A dummy variable (called “age 55 to 64”) was coded 1 for respondents who were aged between 55 and 64 and 0 for all other respondents. A dummy variable (called “age 65 or older”) was coded 1 for respondents who were aged 65 or older and 0 for all other respondents. Dummy variable (“age 65 or older”) was the omitted category. A dummy variable was coded 1 for respondents who did not answer the year of birth question and 0 for respondents who did.

Hispanic Ethnicity. Respondents were asked: “Are you of Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino descent?” A dummy variable (called “Hispanic”) was coded 1 for respondents who reported Hispanic ethnicity and 0 for all other respondents. A dummy variable was coded 1 for respondents who did not answer the Hispanic ethnicity question and 0 for respondents who did.

Race. Respondents were asked to “check one or more categories” from a list and were told to select what race(s) they considered themselves to be. A dummy variable (called “white”) was coded for 1 if respondents who selected “White” only and 0 for all other respondents. A dummy variable (called “black”) was coded for 1 for respondents who selected “Black or African-American” only and 0 for all other respondents. A dummy variable (called “other race”) was coded for 1 for respondents who selected a category other than “White” and “Black or African-American” or selected multiple categories and 0 for all other respondents. Dummy variable (“white”) was the omitted category. A dummy variable was coded 1 for respondents who did not answer the race question and 0 for respondents who did.

Education. Respondents were asked: “What is the highest grade of school that you completed?” and presented with the following response choices: Less than high school graduate, High school graduate, Technical/trade school, Some college, College graduate, Some graduate school, and Graduate degree. A dummy variable (called “less than high school”) was coded 1 for respondents who chose “Less than high school” and 0 for all other respondents. A dummy variable (called “high school graduate”) was coded 1 for respondents who chose “High school graduate”, or “Technical/trade school” and 0 for all other respondents. A dummy variable (called “some college”) was coded 1 for respondents who chose “Some college” and 0 for all other respondents. A dummy variable (called “college graduate”) was coded 1 for respondents who chose “College graduate”, “Some graduate school”, or “Graduate degree”, and 0 for all other respondents. Dummy variable “less than high school” was the omitted category. A dummy variable was coded 1 for respondents who did not answer the education question and 0 for respondents who did.

Income. Respondents were asked “The next question is about the total income in 2015 for

you and all members of your family who lived with you during 2015, before taxes. Please include money you and all members of your family received from jobs, pensions, social security, interest, dividends, capital gains, profits from businesses, unemployment payments, and all other money received. Adding up the income from all these sources and all other sources, was the total income of you and all members of your family who lived with you in 2015, before taxes, less than \$50,000 or was it \$50,000 or more?" Respondents who answered "Less than \$50,000" were asked to choose one of the following categories: Less than \$10,000, \$10,000 to \$19,999, \$20,000 to \$29,999, \$30,000 to \$39,000, and \$40,000 to \$49,999. Respondents who answered "\$50,000 or more" were asked to choose one of the following categories: \$50,000 to \$74,999, \$75,000 to \$99,999, \$100,000 to \$149,999, and \$150,000 or more. A dummy variable (called "less than \$30,000") was coded 1 for respondents whose income was less than \$30,000 and 0 for all other respondents. A dummy variable (called "\$30,000 to \$49,999") was coded 1 for respondents whose income was between \$30,000 and \$49,999 and 0 for all other respondents. A dummy variable (called "\$50,000 to \$74,999") was coded 1 for respondents whose income was between \$50,000 and \$74,999 and 0 for all other respondents. A dummy variable (called "\$75,000 to \$99,999") was coded 1 for respondents whose income was between \$75,000 and \$99,999 and 0 for all other respondents. A dummy variable (called "\$100,000 or more") was coded 1 for respondents whose income was \$100,000 or more and 0 for all other respondents. Dummy variable "less than \$30,000" was the omitted category. A dummy variable was coded 1 for respondents who did not answer the income question and 0 for respondents who did.

Region. Respondents were asked "What is your five digit zip code at your home?" Zip codes were matched with states, which were matched with Census regions. A dummy variable (called "northeast") was coded 1 for respondents who lived in Northeast and 0 for all other respondents. A dummy variable (called "midwest") was coded 1 for respondents who lived in Midwest and 0 for all other respondents. A dummy variable (called "south") was coded 1 for respondents who lived in South and 0 for all other respondents. A dummy variable (called "west") was coded 1 for respondents who lived in West and 0 for all other respondents. Dummy variable "south" was the omitted category. A dummy variable was coded 1 for respondents who did not answer the zip code question or answered with an invalid zip code (a zip code that was not matched to a state) and 0 for respondents who answered with a valid zip code (a zip code that was matched to a state).