

Partisans and a Social Theory of Poll Effects

Abstract: This paper proposes a social identity theory of poll effects with two components. First, I argue that negative electoral information, such as being behind in the polls, is a negative identity attribution. That is, losing says something bad about the party, and by extension its members and supporters. Second, poll effects are social in that they involve perception of others: being a loser is worse when other people know it. To test this I use a survey experiment with a national sample of American citizens. The results show that partisans are less likely to support a candidate that is substantially behind in the polls. Crucially, partisans who commonly talk about their vote choice with others are especially sensitive to poll effects.

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There is a wide array of evidence for a link between poll information and vote choice. The standard interpretation is that voters are “bandwagon jumpers”, who are more likely to support a candidate doing well in the polls (Simon, 1954; McAllister and Studlar 1991; Goidel and Shields 1994; Nadeau et al 1993; Morwitz and Pluzinski 1996; Mehrabian 1998; van der Meer et al. 2015). This is no surprise, given how much political journalism focuses on polls (Goodyear-Grant et al. 2004; Trimble and Sampert 2004; Patterson 2005; Strömbäck 2012), and that voters like to hear about them (Iyengar et al. 2004).

However, there is little consensus on their importance of poll effects, the mechanisms by which they operate, or who they are likely to effect. Some suggest it is “herd-like” behavior, in which voters simply follow where the crowd seems to be going – a depressing vision of democracy (Bartels 1988). Others argue poll information provides a cue about the candidate or party: voters assume that other voters must know more, and if candidate or party is behind in the polls, there must be something wrong with them (Ansolabehere and Iyengar 1994). As Rothchild and Malhotra (2015) put it, polls are informational social influence. Alternatively, Blais et al. (2006) find that voters become less likely to support candidates and parties as they become less likely to win, but their evaluations of them do not change. They argue this demonstrates strategic voting and not cue-taking. Mutz (1997) argues that polls motivate voters to think about reasons to explain the polls, and thus “self-persuade”. Rothchild and Malhotra (2015) also suggest that people vote with the majority to feel liked or accepted, or as a way to resolve cognitive dissidence by supporting the winning side, although unfortunately they do not test these explanations.

An important counter-weight to poll effects might be partisanship. Donovan and Bowler (2014) suggest that voters give precedence to higher order information, such as partisanship, issue positions, or candidate qualifications, and less to lower order information such as polls. As Mutz (1997) suggests, voters who have strong preferences are unlikely to be moved by poll information. More generally, the very strong effects of partisanship are well known, and it is quite plausible that motivated reasoning enables partisans to explain away negative information about their party (Matthews 2013). Importantly, a quite large percentage of the population is partisan – 60-70% of Americans report identifying with a party, which has changed little over many decades (Green et al 2007). Moreover, a significant percentage of other citizens are also effectively partisan, though they prefer not to admit it in survey questions. (Keith et al. 1992, Klar and Krupnikov 2016). If partisans are immune to poll effects, then this substantially diminishes their potential influence. Conversely, if partisans are also influenced by polls, then poll information might affect the whole voting population.

In the following sections I set out a theory of poll effects which applies to partisans. I call this a social theory of poll effects, because it hinges on partisans’ social identity, and on the perceptions of others. This roots poll effects in a social-psychological theory of group behaviour, and provides a firm theoretical foundation for common but rather undertheorized claims about voters wanting to be winners and not losers (e.g. Bartels 1988, Rothchild and Malhotra 2015). The paper proceeds as follows. First, the idea of poll effects is reframed, and the social theory of poll effects is set out. Then, the experimental evidence is set out in four stages: simple poll effects, the influence of social context, candidate cues, and rational choice. The evidence shows strong support for poll effects among partisans,

especially among respondents who discuss their vote choice with others. Conversely, there quite limited support for competing explanations, such as polls as candidate cues or rational choice mechanisms. Finally, the paper concludes with some avenues for future research.

Social Theory of Poll Effects

The social theory of poll effects has two parts: i. polls have an effect because of the social identity of the voter, and ii. polls have an effect because of the social context of voting. This first point is that a party or candidates' position in the polls is not just about the voter's choice, but says something about the voter themselves. If the candidate or party wins or loses, then their supporters are winners – or losers – as well. This is probably true for all voters to some extent, but it is especially true of partisans, precisely because they are more strongly identified with the party. Partisans are influenced by the polls, and that influence is precisely due to their partisanship.

The position of the party or candidate in the polls – and hence the likelihood of being a winner or a loser - is a negative or positive statement about the supporters, in this case the partisans. One of the tenants of social identity theory is that negative group attributions lead people to exit the group (Tajfel and Turner 1979). Similarly, rather than accept that the negative attribution applies to them, people tend to shift the mode of evaluation to some other group or characteristic (Jackson et al. 1996). When the party or candidate is behind in the polls, and hence is likely to lose, this negative attribution reduces the level of partisan identification, at least temporarily. Note that the claim is not that the voter will permanently cease to identify as partisan, but rather that they will not do so in the given situation. This is consistent with much social-psychology of identity, in that identification is something people *do* in the moment, rather than something they *have*, in a permanent sense (e.g. Ellemers et al. 1999). For partisans, the implication is that, if their party is going to lose, voters will downplay their own partisan identity or focus on some other factor to make the decision such as the candidate's personal qualifications.

That partisans are affected, and perhaps particularly vulnerable, to poll effects is squarely contrary to common claims that poll effects will be the strongest among those with weak preferences or little interest in politics (e.g. Mutz 1997, Arnesen and Dahlburg 2015, Rothchild and Malhotra 2015, though van der Meet et al. 2015 and Magalhães 2015 find no such conditional effect). This research might also be correct, in that strong preferences make persuasion and changing minds more difficult. But this does not imply that there will be only poll effects under that small and unusual set of voters who have both weak preferences and uninterested in politics and who also vote. This, I argue, is because the strength of poll effects is positively correlated with the strength of partisanship. While partisan identity increases loyalty, it also increases the pain of losing. For someone who is relatively indifferent to parties, it matters little if the Democrats win or lose. But for someone whose party identification is a deeply rooted and an important part of their sense of self, that party's crushing, humiliating loss is much more significant.

The second way in which poll effects are social is because the effects of negative or positive group attributions – being a winner or a loser – are likely to be much stronger when others know about it. While votes may be technically secret, politics is very much a social phenomenon. To the degree that

people talk about their choices and preferences, responses to poll information will be influenced by the views of other people, or at least by perceptions of what their views would be. People want to be winners and avoid being losers, but they especially want others to think they are winners, and not to think they are losers. Just as with partisanship, this cuts in the opposite direction than is usually supposed – poll effects will be larger among people who talk a lot about politics.

Two further contextual conditions are important for this social theory of poll effects: the degree of difference and negative versus positive effects. The degree of difference in the polls, and hence the likelihood of a loss, is a crucial factor. While Ansolabehere and Iyengar (1994) argue polls are most important when they are close, I suggest the opposite. Since partisans want their party to win, motivated reasoning is quite likely to affect their perceptions (Matthews 2013), including interpretation of polls. However, motivated reasoning is still reasoning – people cannot convince themselves of something that is wildly implausible (Kunda 1990, Granberg and Brent 1983). Specifically, if their party is only slightly behind, they could reason that this might easily change over the course of the campaign, the polls might be biased, etc. As a result, small differences in the polls might have no effect, or even a positive effect. One recent study argued that negative electoral information (e.g. your party is going to lose) actually motivates partisans (Huddy et al. 2015). Conversely, when partisans are unable to motivated-reason-away the likelihood of a loss because the difference in the polls is quite large, then poll effects might actually be larger for more partisan voters, because the “pain” of losing is greater.

Finally, much research on polls focuses on the positive bandwagon effects – what happens when parties are winning (e.g. Bartels 1988, Nadeau et al. 1991, Henshel and Johnson 1987, Kennedy and Rice 1994, Mehrabian 2006). But what happens when a voter’s preferred party is losing? Given that it is widely accepted that negative information receives more attention and produces larger effects (Kahneman Tversky 1979, Soroka 2013), it seems likely that, being behind is more motivating than being slightly ahead. Rogers and Moore (2015) point out that fundraisers commonly highlight how their own campaign is behind, and demonstrate that this increases donation rates. Hence the oft-repeated theme in fundraising letters: “we will lose - unless you donate now!” As a result, it seems likely that the effects of being behind in the polls would be stronger than being ahead.

Explanations for Poll Effects

The following sections discuss and test the social theory of poll effects, as well as two alternative explanations. It does so using a set of experiments drawing on data from a national web-survey of 577 American citizens, surveyed in March 2016. Of these, 377 identify as partisans, which the analysis focuses on. The central experiment is a set of fictional biographies of candidates for state senate (see appendix). One candidate is a Republican and the other a Democrat, and the biographies are randomized. The details of the biographies were taken in various parts from actual member of state house biographies, improving the realism of the experiment. The state house race was chosen because this office is less likely to be influenced (than national offices) by the tumultuous 2016 presidential primary season.

As discussed above, being behind in the polls is likely to have a stronger effect, and being slightly or more significantly behind might have different effects on voting behaviour. Therefore, the

manipulation of poll information included three conditions: a control condition with no information, a condition which stated that the candidate “was slightly behind, with the most recent poll at 53-47”, and a third condition that the candidate was far behind, with the most recent poll at 37-63”. These treatments were matched to the respondents expressed partisanship or vote choice – that is, the respondents preferred party was always the one trailing in the polls. This was determined by a series of probes, beginning with the standard partisanship question, which for independents/other/don’t know was followed up by a question about vote choice. For respondents who said neither/would not vote were asked a further question, “if you had to choose, would you vote Democrat or Republican”?

To begin, I start with a simple test of the effect of poll information. Model 1¹ has a match between the respondents’ general party preference and their candidate choice as the dependent variable. The independent variable is the three poll condition: control, slightly behind, far behind (model details in appendix). In addition, control variables for age, education, gender, political participation, and political interest are included. The political participation variable is a scale variable composed of questions about voting in the presidential election, congressional election, and how often the respondent has donated or volunteered for a political party or campaign, weighted equally and scaled 0-1 (Cronbach Alpha=.66). The political interest variable is a question about how interested the respondent is in politics generally.

As Figure 1 shows, being slightly behind in the polls shows no significant effect – respondents are not less likely to support the candidate of their preferred party. On the other hand, when the candidate is far behind in the polls, voters are 17 percentage points less likely to support them (p=.002).

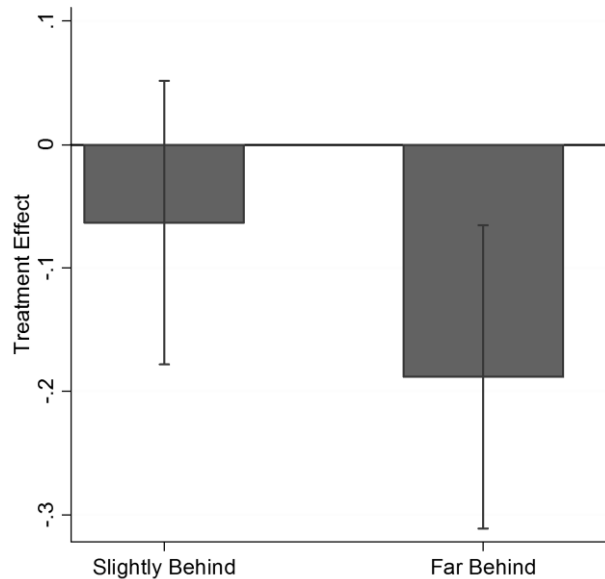


Figure 1: Poll Effects

¹ All models include only partisans. Unless otherwise stated, all models also pool cells from a candidate quality manipulation, since as discussed below it has no effect on the dependent variable.

These effects are quite sensible from the perspective of various theoretical explanations. A small difference in the polls is only a weak cue about the quality of the candidates. Or, rationally, if the preferred candidate is only a little behind, then voters should continue to support them – after all, that support might push them over the edge. Finally, there is little shame in losing a close, hard-fought campaign, especially when a loss is far from certain. Conversely, if a candidate is substantially behind, the cue is strong, and one’s own support is likely to make little difference, not to mention the greater embarrassment of a brutal humiliation at the ballot box.

Poll Effects and Public Discussion

If poll effects are the result of a desire to be seen supporting a winner and not supporting a loser, then the effect of polls should be greater when other people know who a voter is supporting. Ballots may be secret but politics is certainly not, and it is commonplace for people to discuss whom they are supporting. After all, polls are precisely that. Since some people probably talk more about who they are supporting, this provides variation in the exposure of voters to the embarrassment for supporting unpopular candidates.

To test this, I use a scale measure composed of three questions: “How often do you talk about how you vote with your family and friends?”, “How often do you talk about how you vote at work?”, and “Some people are happy to tell pollsters how they vote, while others like to keep their vote secret. Which are you?” Two of these had a five point likert scale, and the third Yes/No/Don’t Know responses. These questions combined into an equally weighted measure and were scaled to 0-1 (Cronbach’s $\alpha=.72$).

The Public Voting variable is interacted with the experimental treatments in Model 2, and covariates for age, education, gender, political participation, and political interest are included. As the predicted probabilities in Figure 2 show, the effect of being far behind in the polls is sharply conditional on the Public Vote variable: people who talk about how they vote are strongly influenced by poll information, but there is no such evidence for people who do not talk about how they vote are not. For example, at the 75 percentile (.58) respondents are 24 percentage points less likely to support a candidate of their preferred party who is far behind than in the control condition ($p<.001$), while at the 25 percentile (.25) the effect is not significant ($p=.28$). As would be expected given the previous null finding, the effect of the slightly behind condition is not statistically significant across all levels of Public Vote (not shown). While exposure to the views of others is not experimentally manipulated, these results are quite robust – they hold with a set of full interactive controls for political interest and political participation and when restricted to respondents who report voting in Congressional elections (see appendix). This evidence suggests that poll effects are social, in that they are driven by voters’ perceptions of what other people think. Voters do not simply want to support a winner and avoid supporting a loser for its own sake, they want to be *seen* to do so.

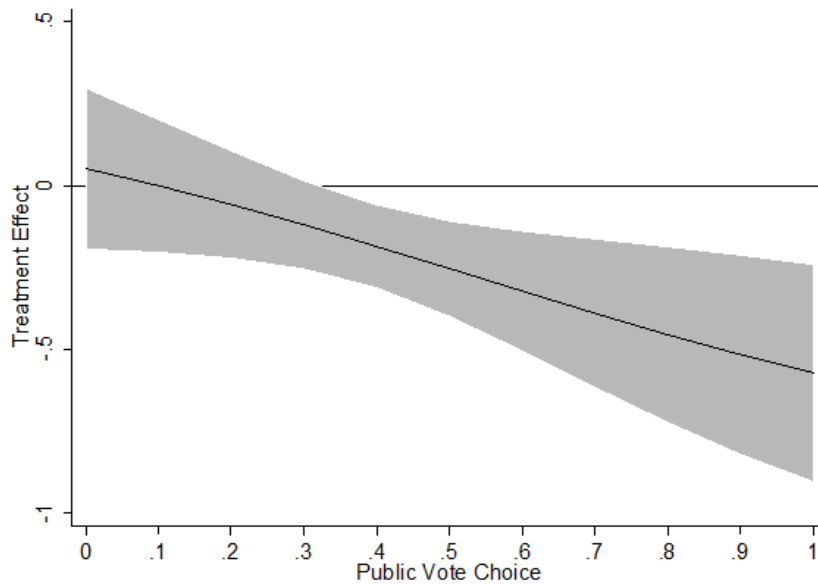


Figure 2: Public Discussion of Vote Choice

Cue-taking

One alternative theory of poll effects is that they are caused by cue-taking. Poll information provides a cue about the candidate or party: voters assume that other voters must know more, and if the candidate is behind in the polls, there must be something wrong with them or their party (Ansolabehere and Iyengar 1994). Mutz's (1997) argument can also be interpreted in these terms, suggesting that polls generate a cognitive response, motivating voters to think about their vote choice and resulting in a kind of self-persuasion. In thinking about their reasons for vote choice in light of the polls, they might conclude that the candidate is not acceptable.

Cue-taking explanations position candidate evaluations as a mediating variable between poll information and vote choice. To test this explanation, I use another experimental condition to manipulate this mediating variable. If the perception the voter has of the candidate is changed by the poll, we should be able to eliminate the effect of the poll by stopping the respondent from perceiving the candidate as bad in some way, and that their poll performance is reflective of their quality. That is, the respondent sees the poll effect, infers that the candidate must be bad, and so doesn't vote for them. If this middle section of the process is blocked, by stopping the poll information from affecting the perception of the candidate, then the poll effect should disappear. To do so, I use a manipulation that explicitly says the losing candidate is an excellent candidate, and explains the position in the polls as a result of blaming the previous Representative and the global economic crises. This should block the effect of polls as a candidate cue in three ways. First, it explicitly states that the candidate is a losing candidate. Second, it says the party is losing that district because of the previous (now retired) representative was blamed. Third, it places responsibility for job losses on the global economic crises, which a state representative should not reasonably be held responsible for.

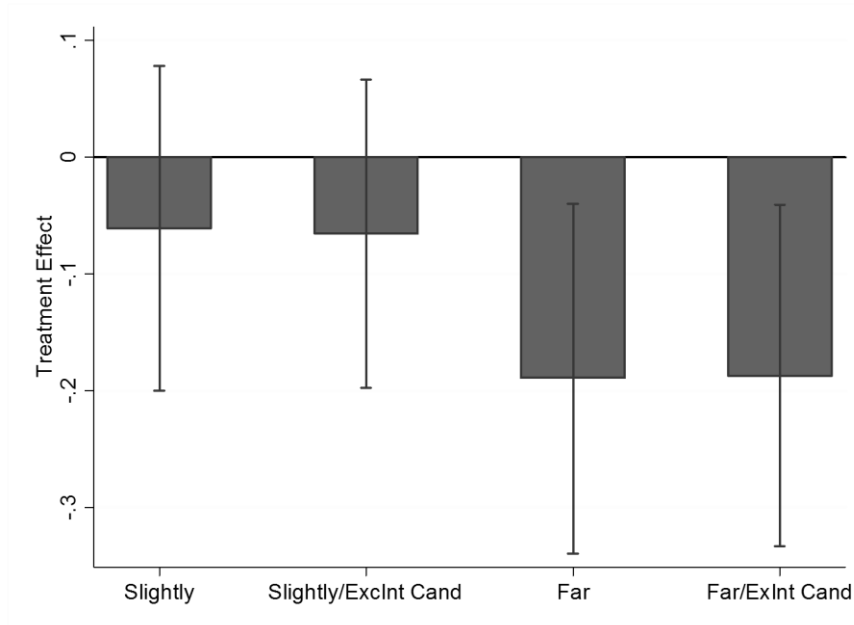


Figure 3: Candidate Quality Manipulation

If the poll effect functions through candidate cue, then the effect should disappear when the candidate manipulation blocks that causal rout. Model 3 tests this, adding an interaction between the poll manipulation and the “excellent candidate” manipulation. As the predicted probabilities in Figure 3 show, there is essentially no difference when respondents are told that the candidate is excellent and that they are behind in the polls through no fault of their own. The difference in the point estimates is minute, and certainly not statistically significant. This suggests that if respondents are taking cues, they are doing so without much regard for the facts.

Rational Choice

Finally, it is possible that poll effects are the result of rational or strategic choices. Blais et al. (2006), for example, find that voters become less likely to support candidates and parties as they become less likely to win, but evaluations of the candidates do not change. They argue this demonstrates strategic voting and not cue-taking. In a two party system, switching parties strategically does not make sense, but voters could simply stay home. Having concluded that their candidate is unlikely to win, partisans might simply conclude that the time and energy spent voting is not worth the cost. However, examining effects on turnout in a survey experiment might be difficult, given the high social-desirability and nil cost of voting. Therefore, I utilize differences in kinds of political support to test how partisans reason about polls.

Some kinds of support are costly, since they take time, energy, or money. This includes voting, volunteering, and financial donations to campaigns. Other kinds of support are symbolic rather than costly, such as endorsing a candidate to friends, consenting to a lawn sign, or posting about a candidate on social media. For costly, actions, voters may view supporting a losing campaign as either wasting time or money, which they could spending doing something else, or supporting some other campaign.

However, for symbolic actions no such logic applies – the voter cannot “save” their endorsement, or a spot on their lawn, for another year. If poll effects are due to strategic or rational choices, then poll effects should apply to costly actions, but not to symbolic actions.

To test this, respondents were asked a series of questions about their willingness to support the candidates. For costly actions, they were asked how likely they would be to donate, and to volunteer, for the candidate for whom they voted. For symbolic actions, they were asked how likely they would be to tell family and friends to vote for that candidate, to endorse the candidate on social media, or put a promotional sign on their lawn. These questions were only asked about the candidate they voted for, to save survey space and since it seemed implausible they would donate or volunteer for a candidate they would not vote for. For all questions the responses categories were five point likert scales, and they were combined into costly (Cronbach’s alpha=.87) and symbolic (Cronbach’s alpha= .86) measures and scaled to 0-1. Two models are estimated, one with costly support as the dependent variable, and the other with symbolic support. The poll manipulations are independent variables, as well as control variables for political participation, political interest, gender age and education.

There is no clear difference in the effect of being behind in the polls on symbolic and costly support, as Table 1 shows. While strategic/rational choice theory suggests that voters will conserve their limited resources but not symbolic support, the coefficients of the poll manipulations variables are quite similar

Table 1: Costly and Symbolic Support

VARIABLES	Model 3 Symbolic	Model 4 Costly
Slightly Behind	-0.05 (0.034)	-0.05 (0.032)
Far Behind	-0.04 (0.034)	-0.048 (0.032)
Female	0.002 (0.025)	-0.011 (0.024)
Education	-0.011* (0.0057)	-0.01* (0.005)
Age	-0.003*** (0.0008)	-0.003*** (0.001)
Political Participation	-0.449*** (0.073)	-1.054*** (0.07)
Political Interest	0.395*** (0.068)	0.136** (0.065)
Constant	0.668*** (0.101)	0.985*** (0.097)
Observations	375	381
R-squared	0.250	0.476

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

in the two models. The coefficients of the poll manipulation variables are all negative, as would be expected, though not statistically significant, but there is not much difference in the size or direction of the coefficients between the two models.² Alternative specifications, such as including only respondents who supported their preferred party candidate, or for using the specific variables rather than the scale, also do not support a rational choice interpretation.

Conclusions

Not only do voters respond to polls, but partisans do as well. The proposed social theory of poll effects explains why: people prefer voting for winners rather than losers because this is a group attribution - it reflects on themselves as supporters of the candidate. Paradoxically, this is especially so for partisans, who are closely identified with a party, and therefore are more vulnerable to the impact of both wins and losses. Poll information is important because it conveys information about the likelihood of a win or a loss. If the difference between candidates is small, then respondents are unlikely to change their support, either because the information is not clear, or because they are motivated to reject it. In fact, being slightly behind in the polls might actually motivate supporters. At some point, however, the difference between candidates becomes too great to plausibly reason away. This is precisely what the experimental evidence shows: no poll effects for small differences, but quite significant effects when there are larger differences between candidates.

The second part of the social theory of poll effects is that the negative attribution is especially powerful when others are aware of it. This combines the force of internal judgement with the judgement of others. Moreover, discussing ones choice with others may diminish motivated reasoning, since people believe that others will be more objective. The data also support this: people who regularly talk with others about how they vote are much more likely to be affected by poll information.

Conversely, the alternative explanations for poll effects fare poorly. One of the common explanations for poll effects is that they are candidate cues, but this is difficult to separate from other effects. Using an experimental treatment which should block the effects of candidate cues by directly contradicting the usual cues, I find nearly identical effects. Of course, it could be that the treatment was ineffective, and respondents simply believed that they candidate *must* have been bad. But given this evidence, it seems more plausible that candidate evaluations are made after vote choice, rather than prior to it. That is, voters will not support a candidate low in the polls for social identity reasons, and when asked to evaluate that candidate they will respond in ways that are consistent with their vote preferences.

As with all studies, there are some limitations. The choice of an experimental method always raises questions of external validity, but there are two reasons to be optimistic on this point. First, methodological issues make detection of true poll effects in observational data very difficult. Even if experimental approaches are imperfect, they are superior to the alternatives. Second, the theory here relies on the treatment effecting the voters self-esteem, but it seems likely that a real election, and a

² Notably, including all respondents rather than just partisans in the model leads to significant effects across the board, though still no difference between the models. It might be that partisans are less effected, or that since relatively fewer take more significant political actions there are sample size issues in the partisan-only data.

real loss, would have a much more powerful effect on the voter. While it is difficult to estimate the size of effects in the real world from an experiment, this suggests real-world effects might be substantial.

For the test of rational choice explanations of poll effects, one difficulty is that this is a survey rather than an examination of what resources people really expend. To the degree that people answer a question about donations or volunteering with a quite different mental process than actually making such a decision, the results might not be generalizable. While some rational choice designs involve donating real funds, this is difficult in the case of political candidates and parties. In addition, rational choice considerations seem most likely to apply to large donors, while activists who make smaller donations or volunteer make that decisions in the same way they make decisions about symbolic support. Finally it might be possible that both processes operate simultaneously – that is, people are both influenced by social identity considerations *and* make rational choices about conserving resources.

In conclusion, there are two avenues of research suggested by this study that might warrant future work. One is to consider the degree to which social poll effects are rooted in personality or context. That is, are people who are especially sensitive to the opinions of others the most likely to be affected by polls? Alternatively, it might be the context of talking about vote choice, and hence others knowing who we support, that is the most important. Perhaps people who do not care what others think, there are no poll effects even if others know their vote choice, or that sensitive people imagine that everyone knows who they are supporting, even if there is no explicit discussion.

A second direction of future research might be to more carefully investigate the conditions under which polls are believable indicators of loss or victory. Is there some threshold which people believe their candidate will not be able to come back from? To what degree are these effects replicated by more general statements about being ahead or behind, or doing well or doing badly? Some have argued that poll effects are really mediated through the media (Matthews 2012), and so media interpretation might play an important role. In addition, the distance from election day could condition these effects, since polls closer to election day are stronger signals of the likely result. This could mean that polls farther away from election day have little effect. Or, polls might be important in their own right rather than just as a signal for likelihood of eventual victory – it could also be embarrassing to support a candidate behind in the polls.

The explanation for poll effects is important because of their implications for the quality of democratic choice. If citizens use polls to make rational or strategic judgments, or as cues to make better decisions than otherwise would be possible, this is not particularly worrying, and perhaps something to be encouraged. Yet the evidence here suggest that citizens are voting for a candidate because they want to be associated with a winner rather than a loser- a much more concerning situation. That citizens change their behavior more when others know how they vote is even more disturbing. Political discussion, debate, and deliberation is nearly always deemed to be unambiguously good and part of a robust and healthy democracy. Similarly, transparency in political donations is viewed as essential, while concerns about persecution because of political donations are usually dismissed. These results suggest transparency and public disclosure have their downsides as well. Perhaps voting is something like a theater where we perform (and conform) to impress our peers. If that is the case, then the secrecy of the ballot b

Appendix

Table 2: Detailed Results of Model 1 and 2

VARIABLES	Model 1 Poll Effects	Model 2 Public Voting
Slightly Behind	-0.361 (0.323)	-0.169 (0.661)
Far Behind	-0.883*** (0.322)	0.314 (0.690)
Public		0.576 (1.348)
Slightly Behind*Public		-0.475 (1.587)
Far Behind*Public		-2.946* (1.612)
Female	0.212 (0.231)	0.268 (0.236)
Education	0.144*** (0.0522)	0.178*** (0.0544)
Age	0.00953 (0.00763)	0.0122 (0.00799)
Political Participation	1.522** (0.656)	1.839** (0.737)
Political Interest	0.947 (0.609)	0.814 (0.632)
Constant	-2.383** (0.929)	-3.189*** (1.063)
Observations	385	377

Logistic Regression. Dependant variable is voting for candidate matching party ID. Standard errors in parentheses

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

Table 3: Alternative Specifications of Model 2, Public Discussion of Vote Choice

VARIABLES	Model 5 Congressional Voters Only	Model 6 Interactive Controls
Slightly Behind	0.288 (0.735)	-1.174 (1.793)
Far Behind	0.898 (0.759)	1.653 (1.908)
Public	1.578 (1.703)	0.151 (1.588)
Slightly Behind*Public	-1.766 (1.927)	0.0116 (1.892)
Far Behind*Public	-4.686** (1.949)	-2.737 (1.985)
Political Participation	1.533* (0.900)	2.393 (1.512)
Slightly Behind*Participation		-0.478 (1.865)
Far Behind*Participation		-1.243 (1.960)
Political Interest	-0.539 (0.851)	0.576 (1.521)
Slightly Behind*Interest		1.368 (1.745)
Far Behind*Interest		-1.134 (1.798)
Female	0.218 (0.271)	0.246 (0.237)
Education	0.198*** (0.0647)	0.173*** (0.0555)
Age	0.0169* (0.0101)	0.0132 (0.00807)
Constant	-2.609** (1.256)	-3.030* (1.642)
Observations	292	377

Logistic Regression. Dependant variable is voting for candidate matching party ID. Standard errors in parentheses

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

Table 4: Predicted Probabilities for Models 5 and 6

VARIABLES	Model 5	Model 6
	Congressional Voters Only	Interactive Controls
Public=0, Far vs Control	0.146 (0.145)	0.0341 (0.142)
Public=.25, Far vs Control	-0.0700 (0.0803)	-0.0940 (0.0815)
Public=.5, Far vs Control	-0.317*** (0.0896)	-0.253*** (0.0789)
Public=.75, Far vs Control	-0.553*** (0.134)	-0.418*** (0.152)
Public=1, Far vs Control	-0.733*** (0.142)	-0.559*** (0.214)
Observations	.	.

First differences in predicted probabilities. Slightly behind conditions all not statistically significant, not shown. Standard errors in parentheses

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

Candidate Bios: Candidate names randomized, losing party matched respondent party ID.

Next you will be shown a set of candidates who are planning to run for the State House. Afterwards you will be asked some questions about what you think of the candidates, and if you would support them. Both of these candidates are new, so there is no incumbent.

Candidate 1

Pat Krieger is the **Republican/Democratic** candidate. Pat was born and raised in the district. After receiving a Undergraduate Degree in Education, he worked for 10 years as a teacher and school administrator. In 2002 Pat was elected as a city councillor, and then County Commissioner.

Pat Krieger is active in a number of not-for-profit organizations, the Board of the Tenants Organization and the Community Relations Committee. He is the past chair of the American Cancer Society Relay for Life Event, and continues to support it.

Pat believes in putting his constituents first. Pat is married to Nancy, and they have 2 children and 6 grandchildren.

Candidate 2

Steve Dovilla is the **Republican/Democratic** candidate. He is a U.S. Navy veteran, small business owner, and nonprofit leader. Mark served as senior advisor to a U.S. Senator, and was appointed to the U.S. Office of Personnel Management. He passionately believes in public service and serving his country.

Steve is a lifelong resident in the District. Throughout that time, he has been very active in his community, participating in 4-H and the Boys and Girls Club. Later, he spent seven years as a local high school football coach.

Steve has three children with his wife Jean.

Poll Manipulation

[1. Control – no poll information]

[2A. – Slightly behind] Right now, **Pat Krieger/Steve Dovilla**, the **Republican/Democratic** candidate, is slightly behind with the most recent poll at, 47 to 53.

[2B. – Slightly behind] Right now, **Pat Krieger/Steve Dovilla**, the **Republican/Democratic** candidate, is slightly behind with the most recent poll at, 47 to 53.

Observers say **Pat Krieger/Steve Dovilla** is an excellent candidate but the **Republicans/Democrats** are still trailing because the previous Representative was blamed for job losses during the global financial crisis.

[3A. Far behind] Right now, **Pat Krieger/Steve Dovilla**, the **Republican/Democratic** candidate, is losing badly, with the most recent poll at, 37-63.

[3B. Far behind] Right now, **Pat Krieger/Steve Dovilla**, the **Republican/Democratic** candidate, is losing badly, with the most recent poll at, 37-63.

Observers say **Pat Krieger/Steve Dovilla** is an excellent candidate but the **Republicans/Democrats** are still trailing because the previous Representative was blamed for job losses during the global financial crisis.

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