

Partisan Disbelief in Polarized Societies: Evidence from South Korea and the U.S.

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Disbelief and Information Processing

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- This paper: **Disbeliefs in out-group knowledge** and **Bias in Information Processing**

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 - Treatment: Tell "Actual accuracy rates are the same across Repub and Democ"
4. Can correcting **disbelief** also reduce affective polarization?

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3. Correcting disbelief reduces (often completely eliminates) in-group bias

4. Correcting disbelief reduces affective polarization, albeit inconclusive

Today's Plan

Study 1. Baseline Evidence of Disbelief

Hypotheses and Survey Design

Existence of Disbelief on Out-group's Knowledge

Study 2. Correcting Disbelief

Hypotheses and Survey Design

H1: Treatment Effects on Disbelief

H2: Existence of In-group Bias in Information Processing

H3: Treatment Effects of Correcting Disbelief on In-group Bias

H4: Treatment Effects on Correcting Disbelief on Polarization

Conclusion

Background/Accronym/Abbreviation

- RP: Right-wing parties
 - US: Republican Party - current majority + president
 - SK: People's Power Party (PPP)
- LP: Left-wing parties
 - US: Democratic Party
 - SK: Democratic Party of Korea (DPK) - current majority + president
- NP: Non-partisans
- Drop others in SK: 273/300 in National Assembly = PPP or DPK

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- Target-based Disbelief
 - RP supporters believe that RP supporters are more knowledgeable
 - LP supporters believe that LP supporters are more knowledgeable
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- Perceiver-based Disbelief
 - RP supporters are seen as more knowledgeable by RP than LP
 - LP supporters are seen as more knowledgeable by LP than RP
 - NP supporters are seen as equally knowledgeable by LP and RP

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- Perceiver-based Disbelief
 - RP supporters are seen as more knowledgeable by RP than LP
 - LP supporters are seen as more knowledgeable by LP than RP
 - NP supporters are seen as equally knowledgeable by LP and RP
- Today: focus on Target-based Disbelief (both are almost identical)

Study 1: Survey Structure (N=1,500)

- Ask to evaluate (T or F) 8 factual questions:
- Examples
 - "New Zealand is located in the Middle East."
 - "The country's GDP growth rate in the previous year was lower than 7%."
- Ask to give confidence level
- Then, for each question, ask to estimate the accuracy rates for three groups
 - $p_{i,j}^t$: individual i 's estimate on group t 's accuracy rate on task j
 - $t \in \{RP, DP, NP\}, j = 1, \dots, 8$

Q26 Please judge whether the sentence is true or false: New Zealand is located in the Middle East.

True (1)

False (2)

Q27 We would like you to estimate how confident you are in the accuracy of your answer to the true-or-false question. For example, if you believe there is a 50% chance that your answer is correct, please choose 50. If you are completely confident that your answer is correct, please choose 100.

0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
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Accuracy of your answer ()



Q28 Next, we would like you to estimate **the percentage of people in each of the following groups who correctly judge whether the statement is true or false**. For example, if everyone in group X makes the correct judgement, the percentage of group X would be 100%.

+ everyone in group X makes the correct judgement, the percentage of group X would be 100%.

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Republican Party supporters ()



Democratic Party supporters ()



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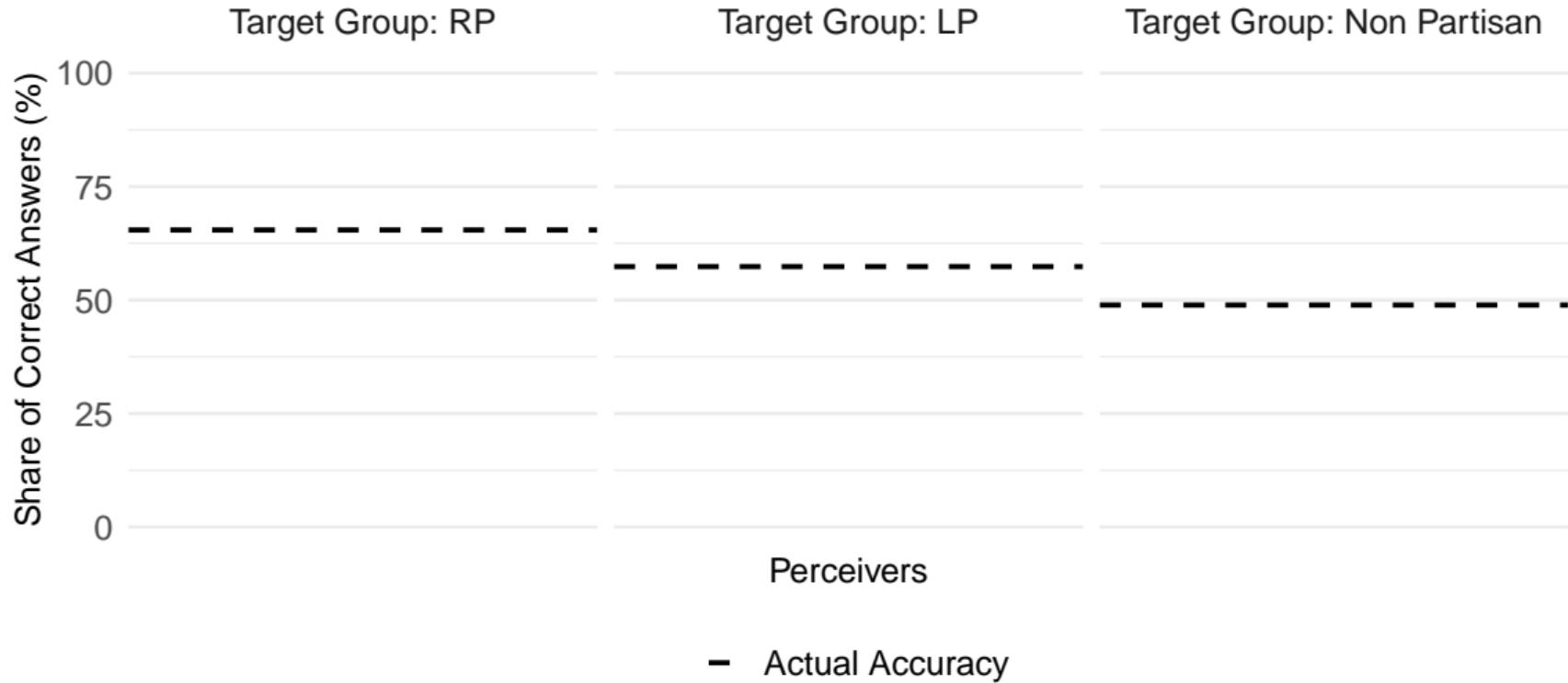
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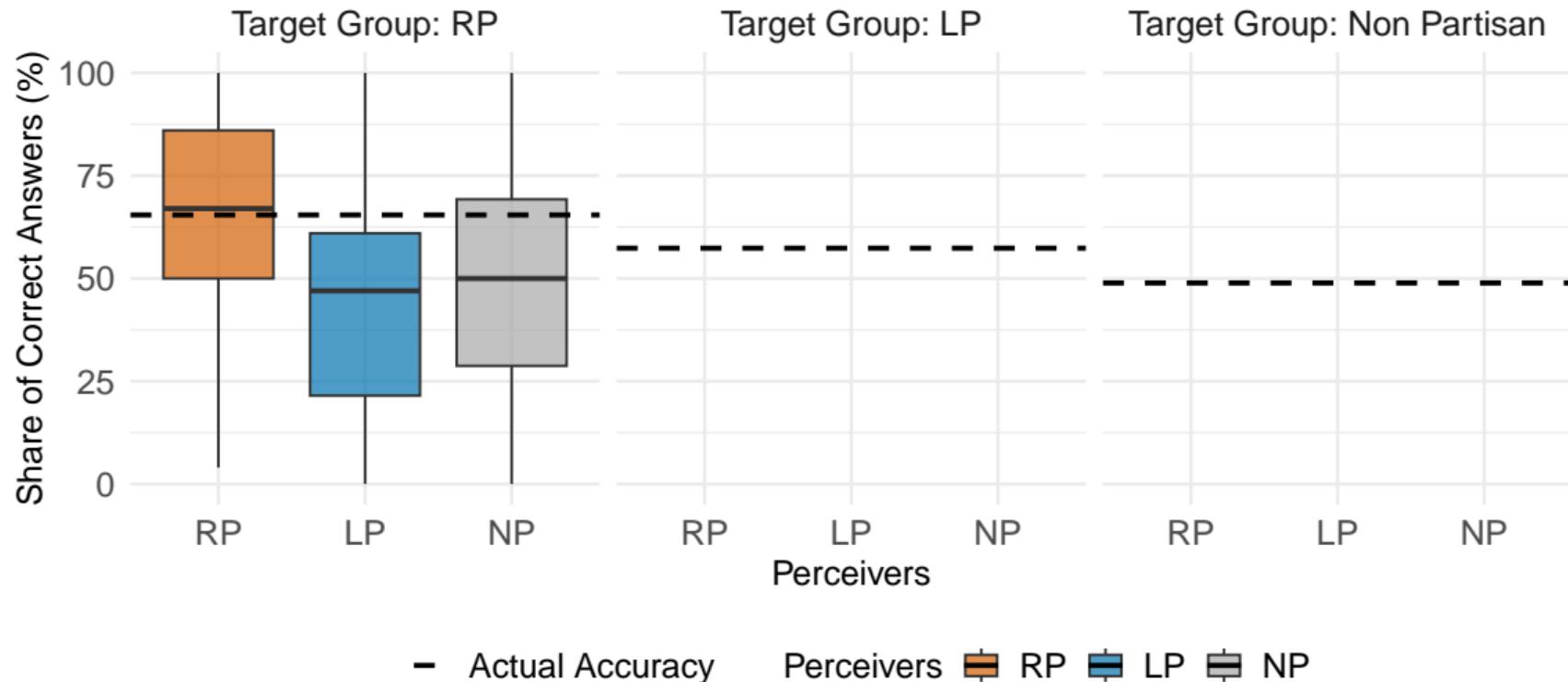
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Fact 3 : The country's nominal GDP growth rate in the previous year was lower than 7%.



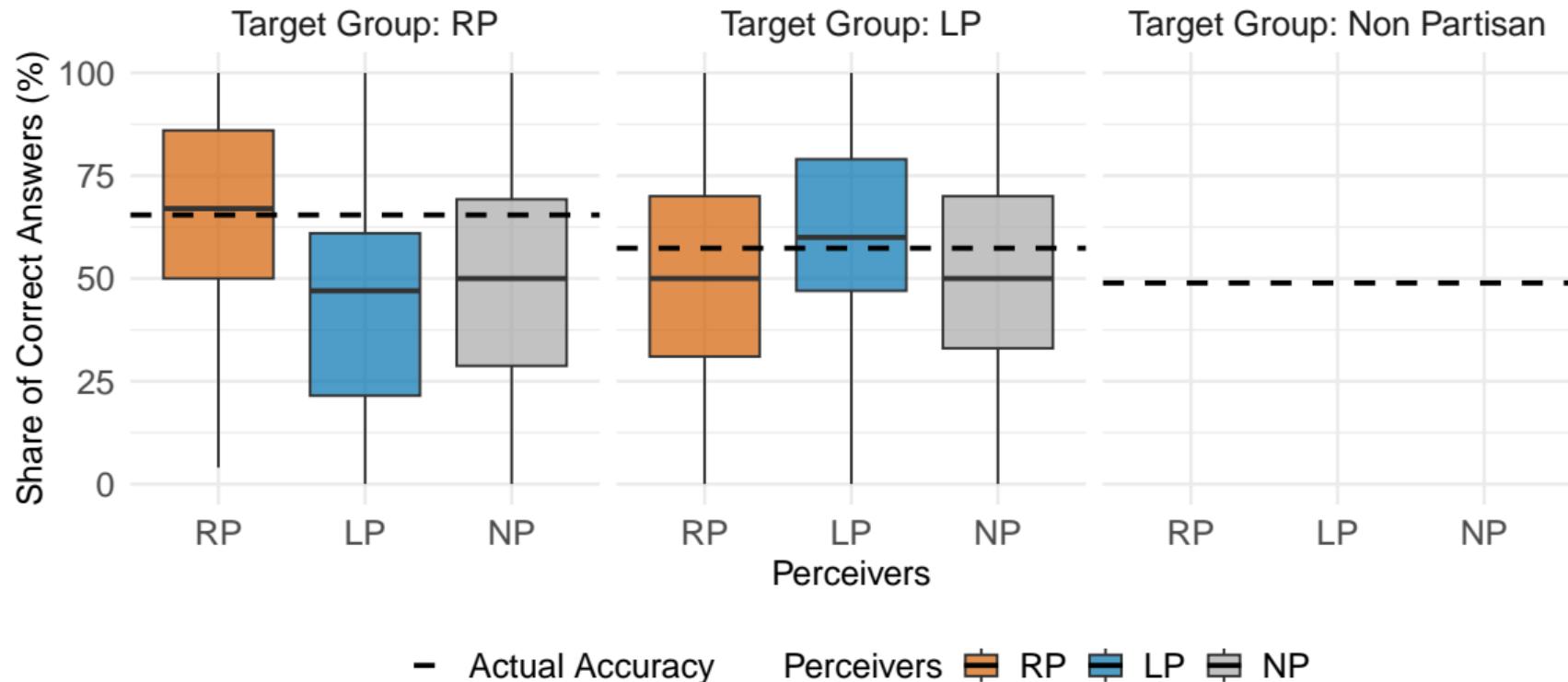
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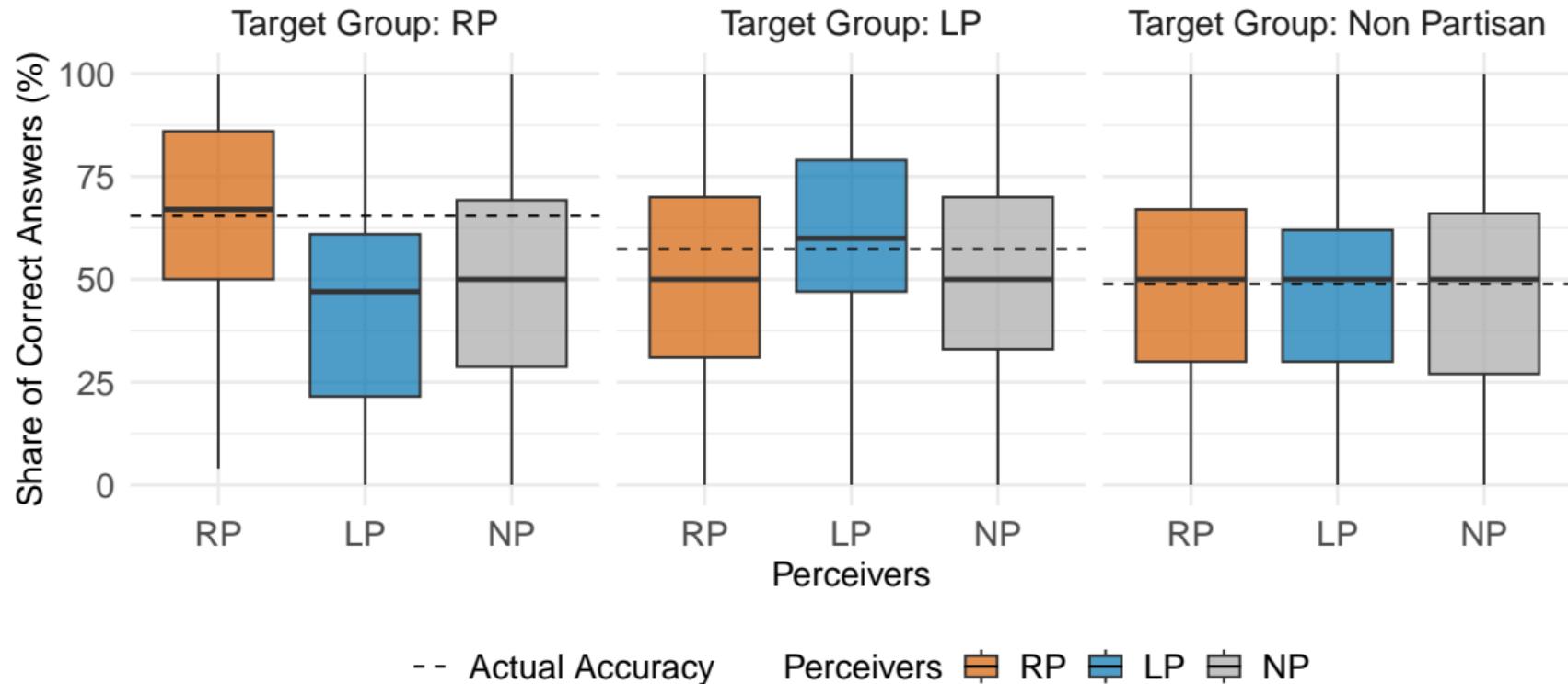
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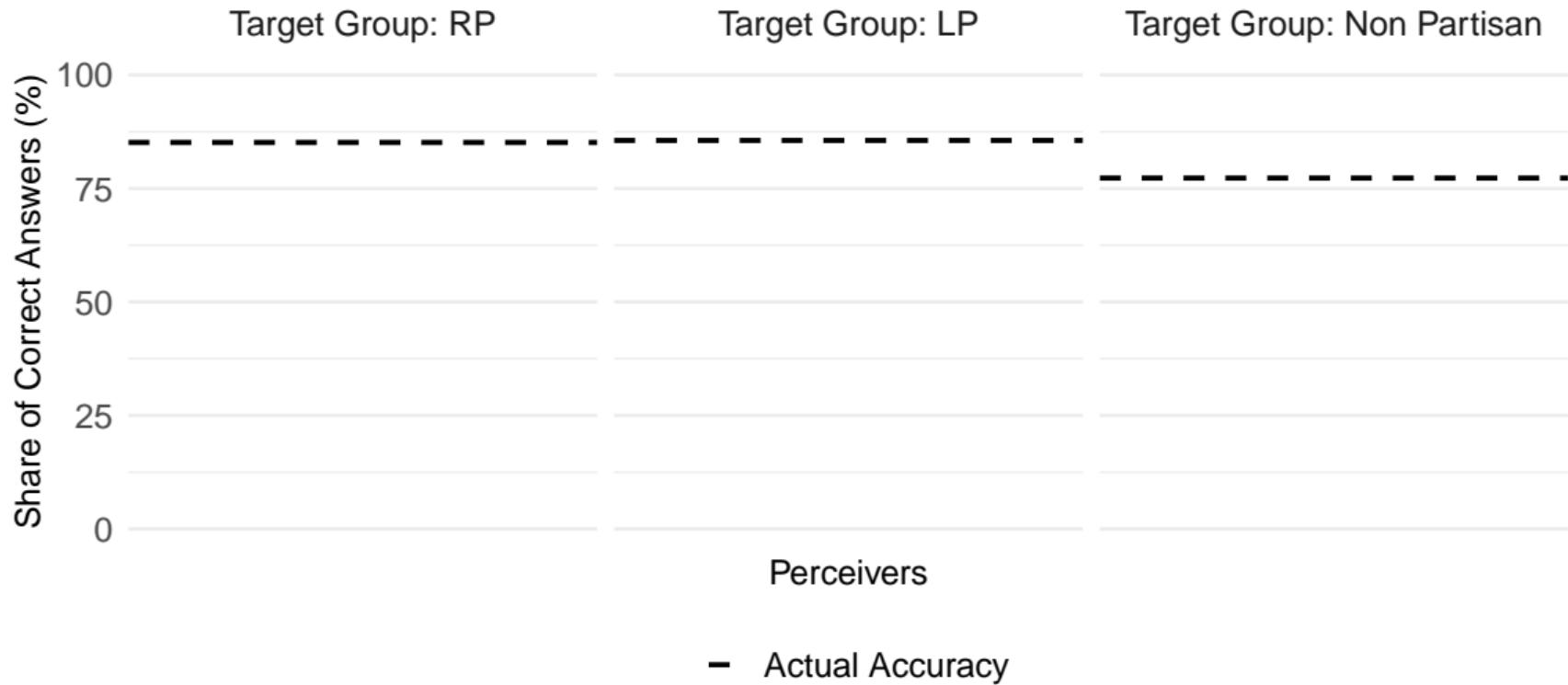
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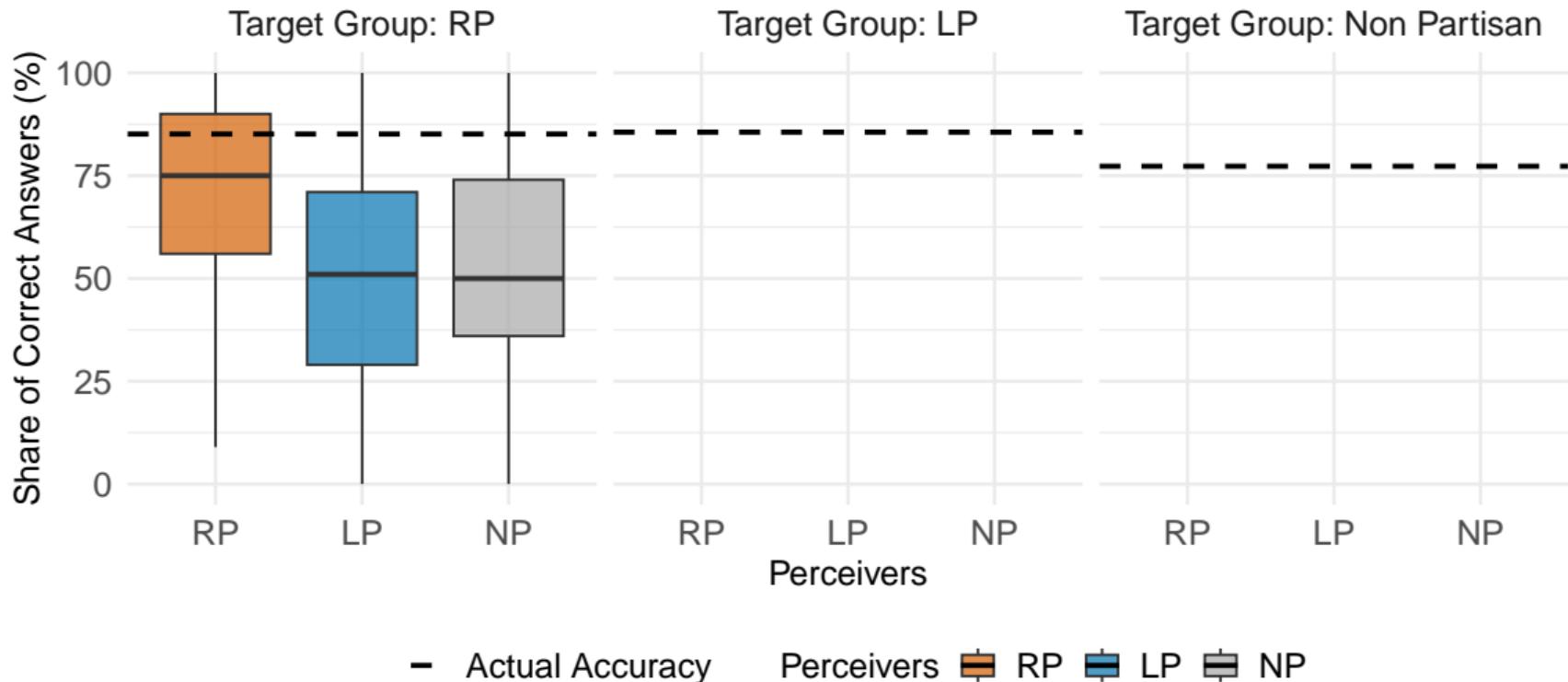
SK Fact 3: GDP growth rate is less than 5%

Fact 3 : The country's nominal GDP growth rate in the previous year was lower than 5%.



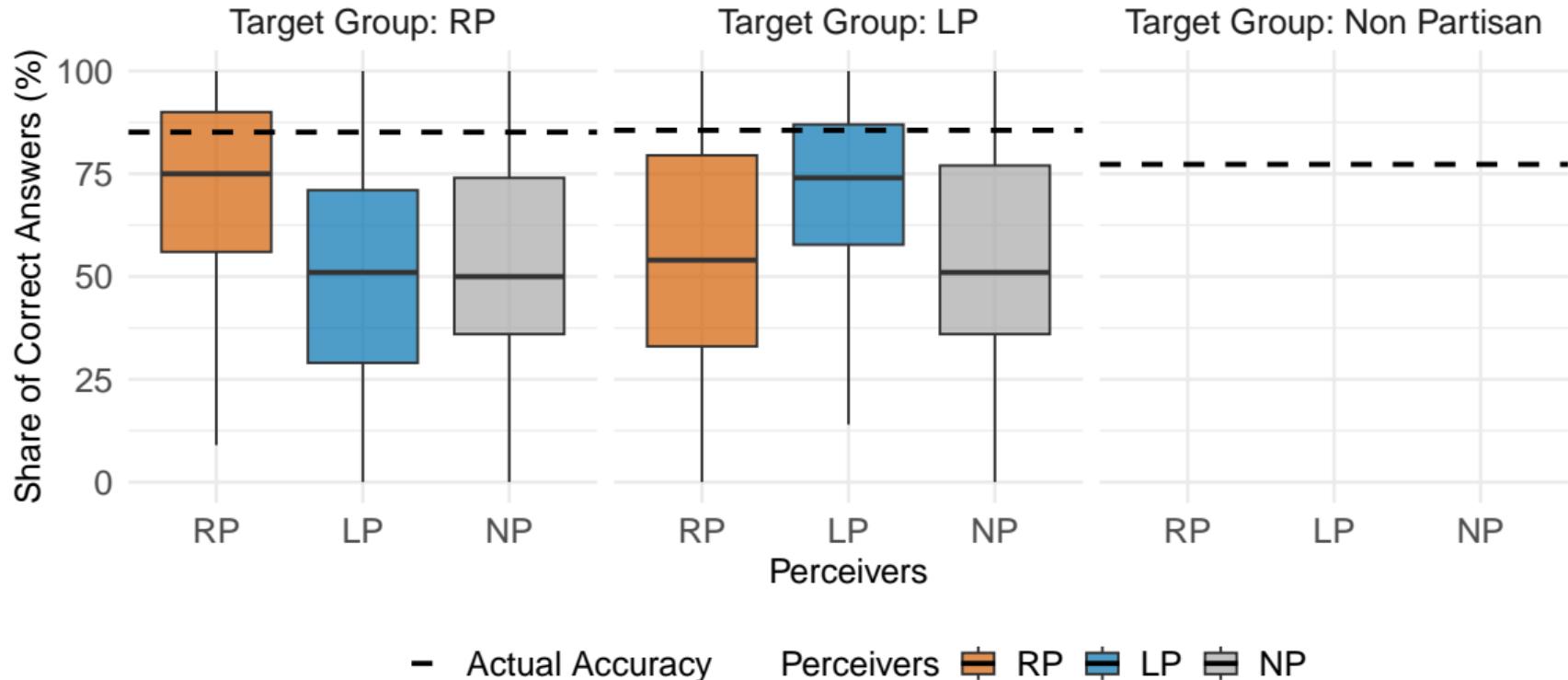
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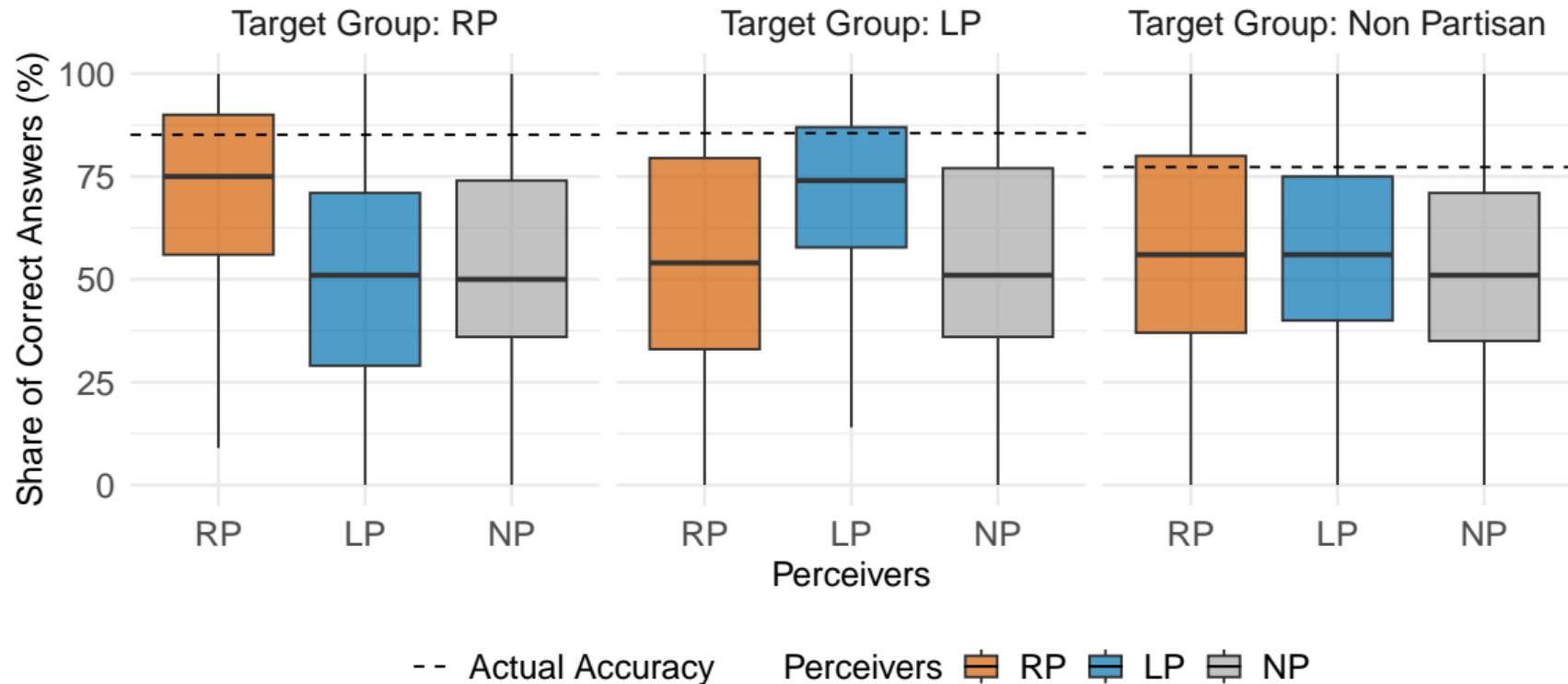
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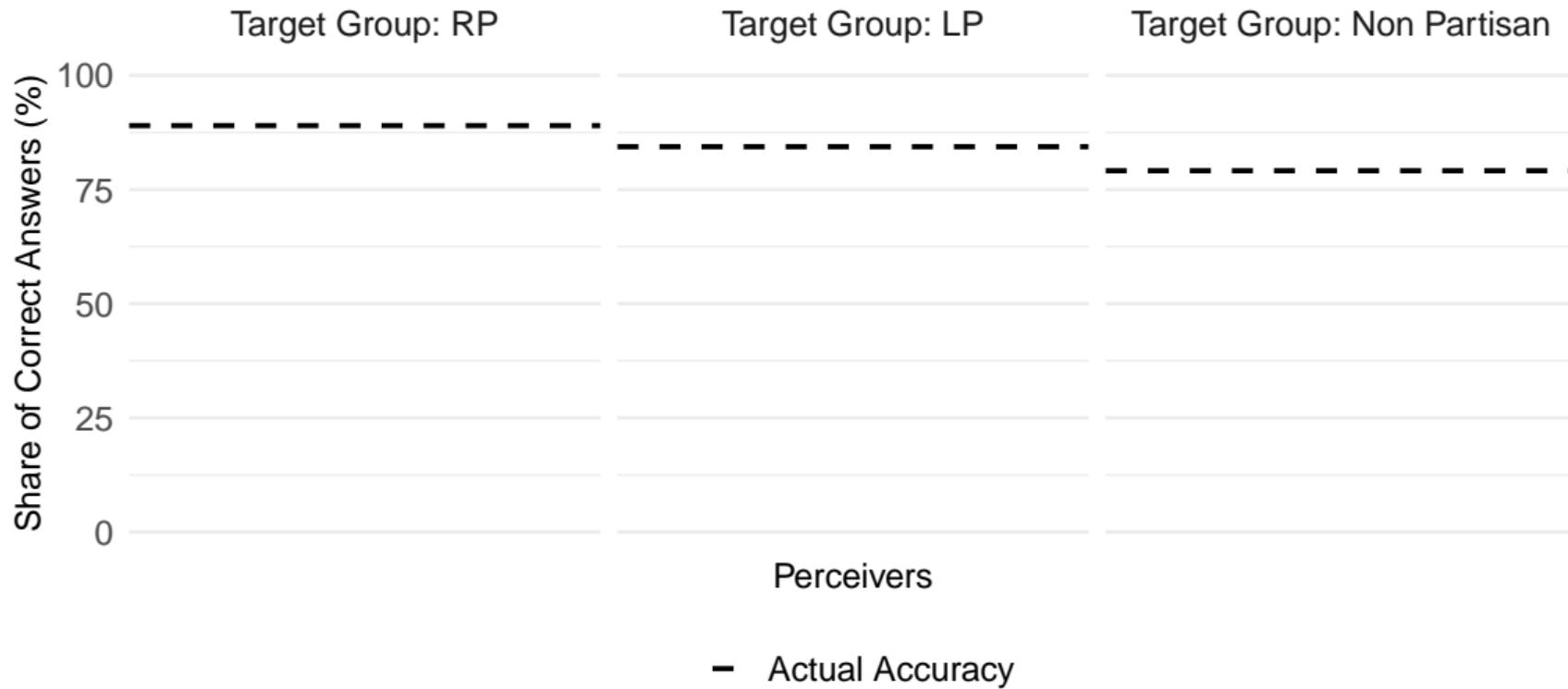
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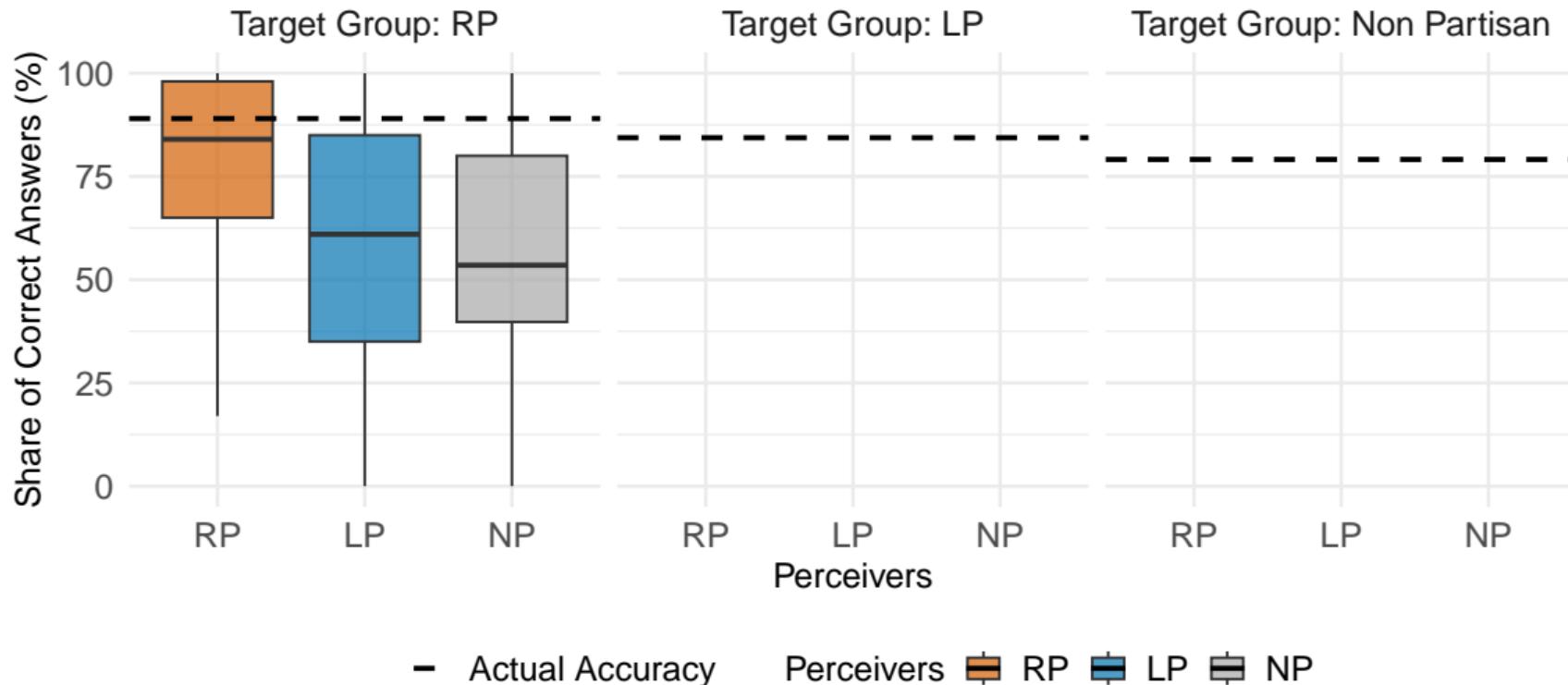
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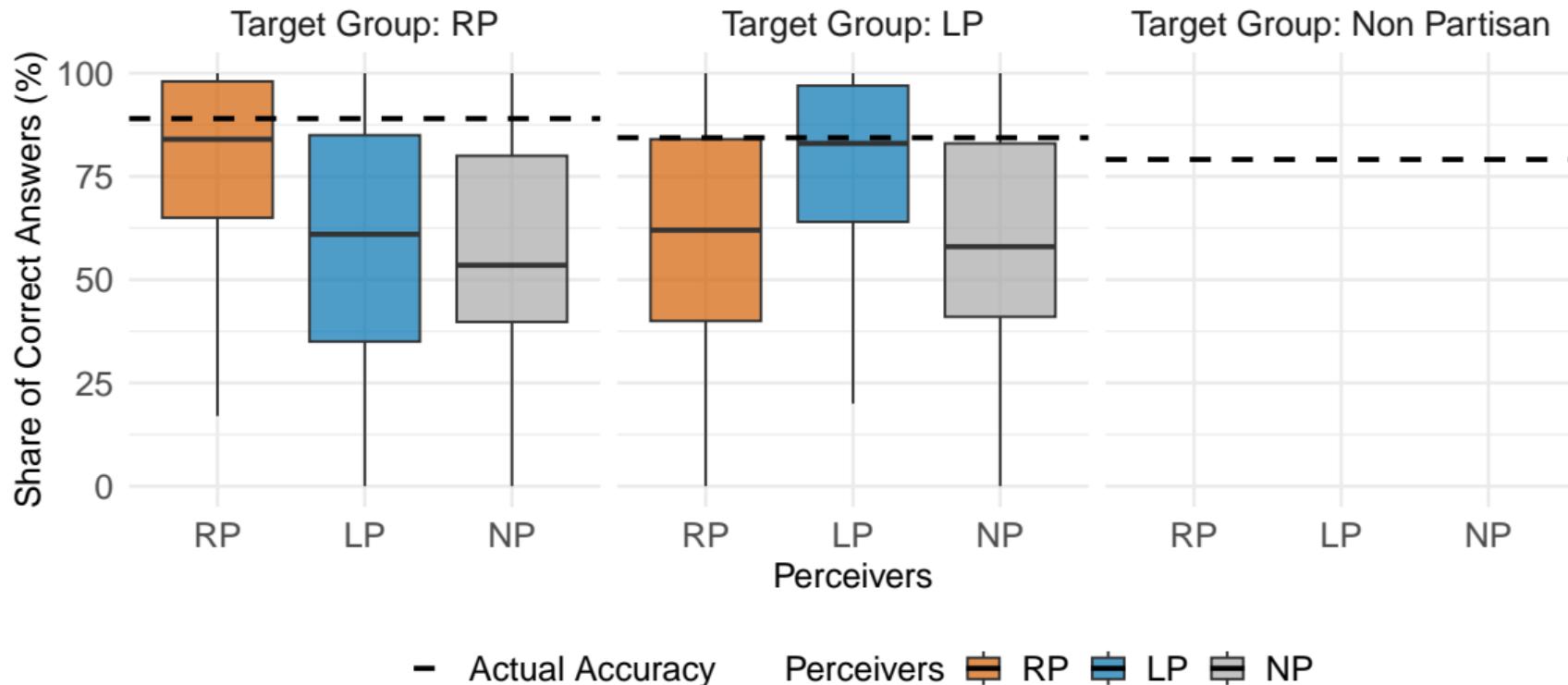
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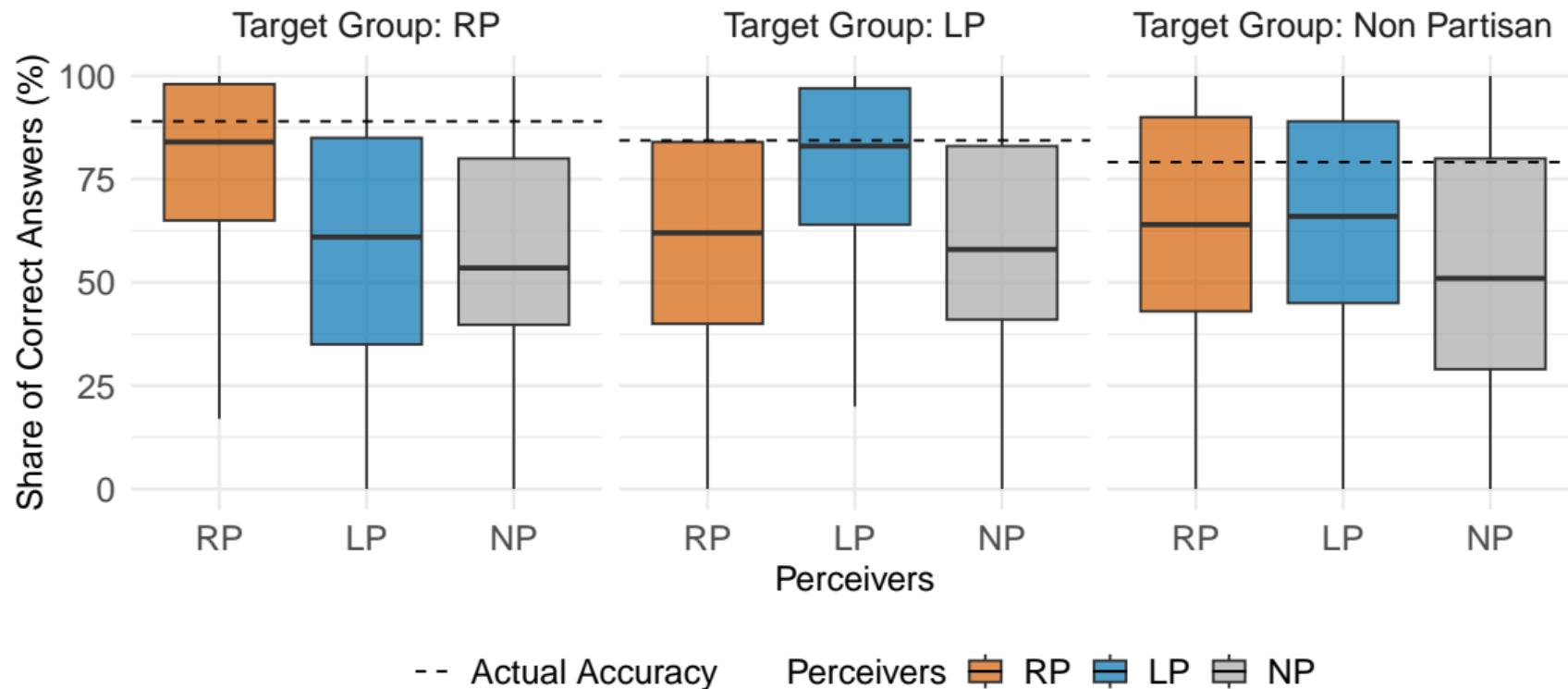
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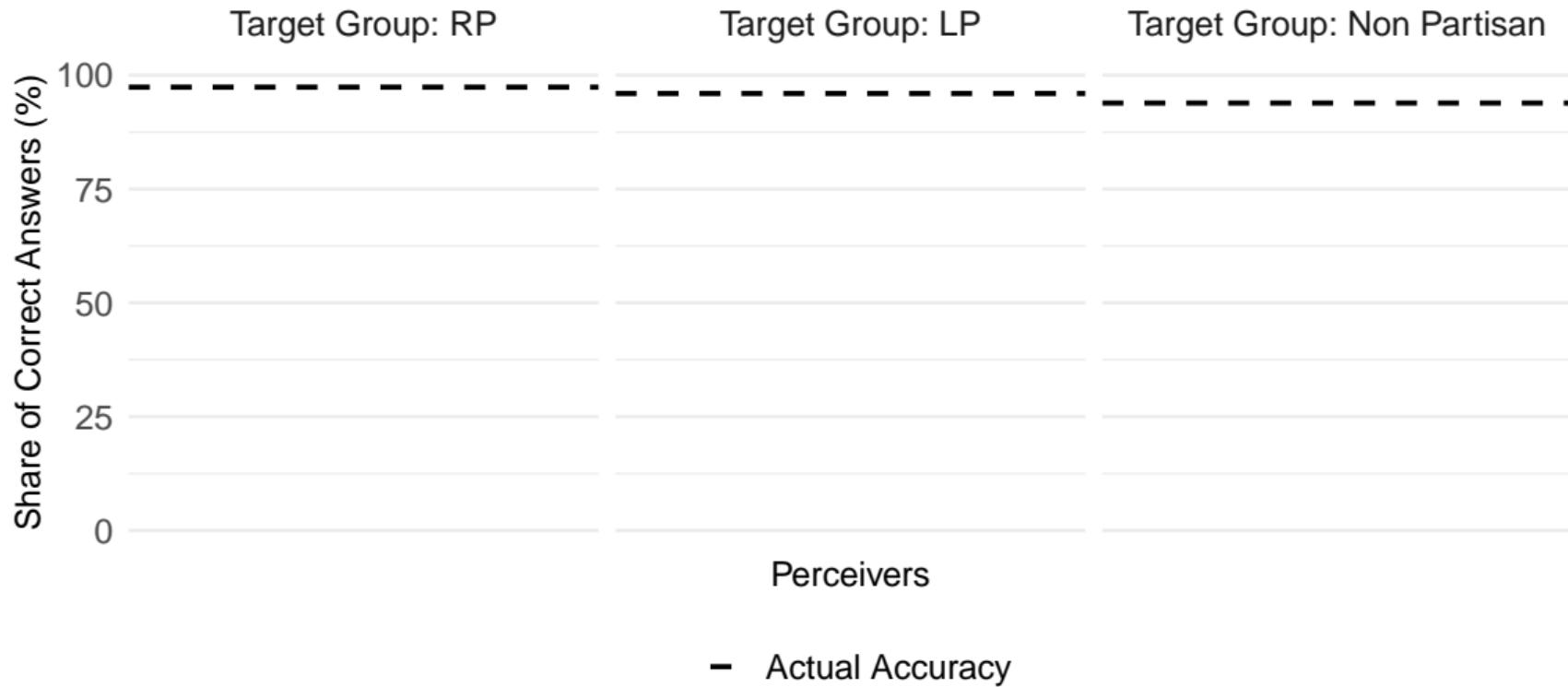
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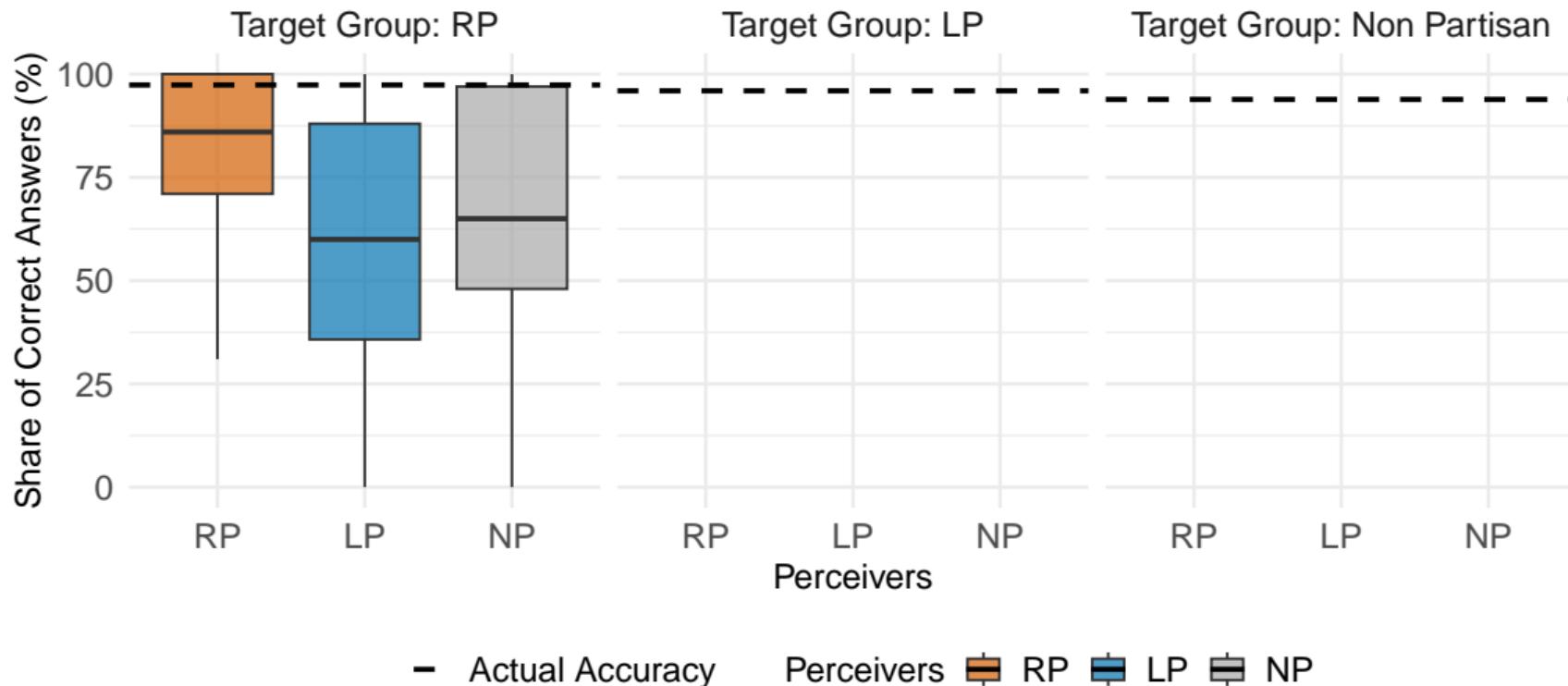
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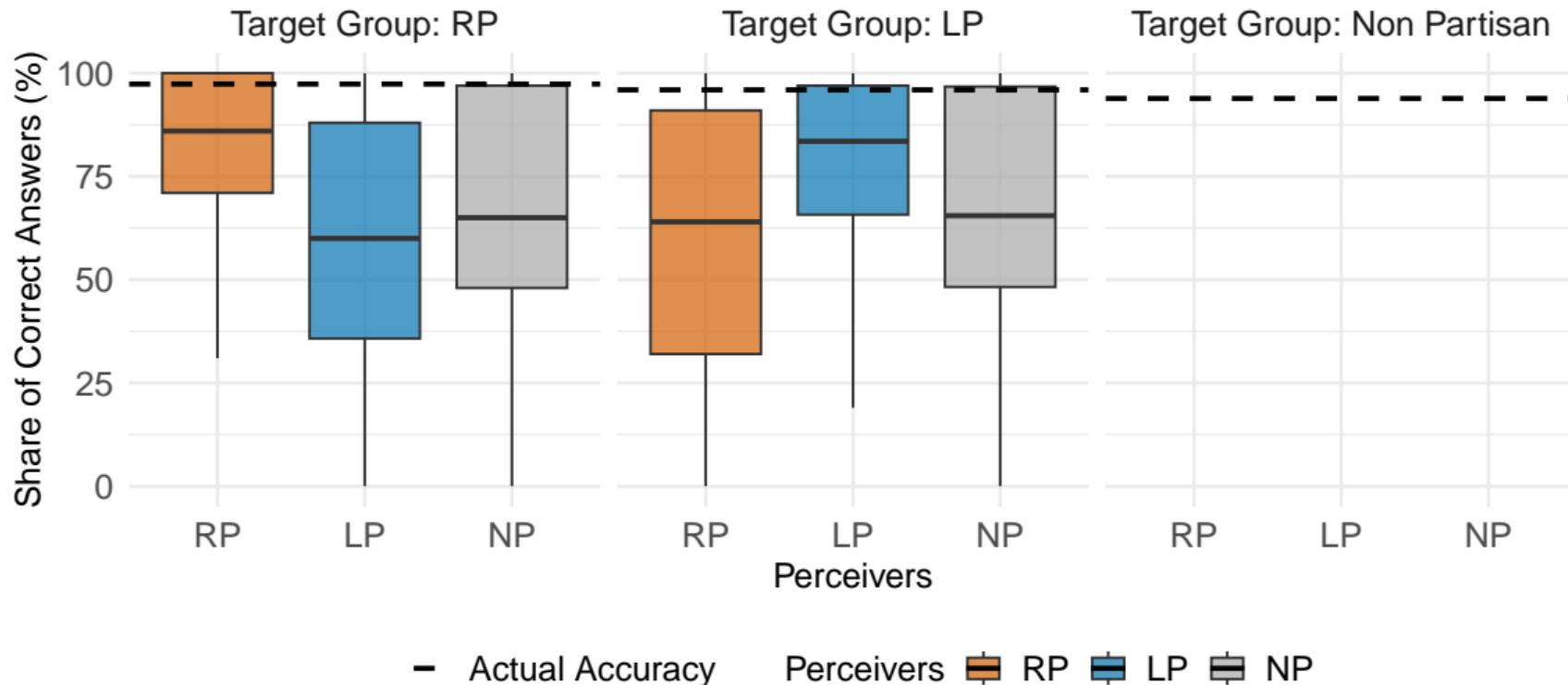
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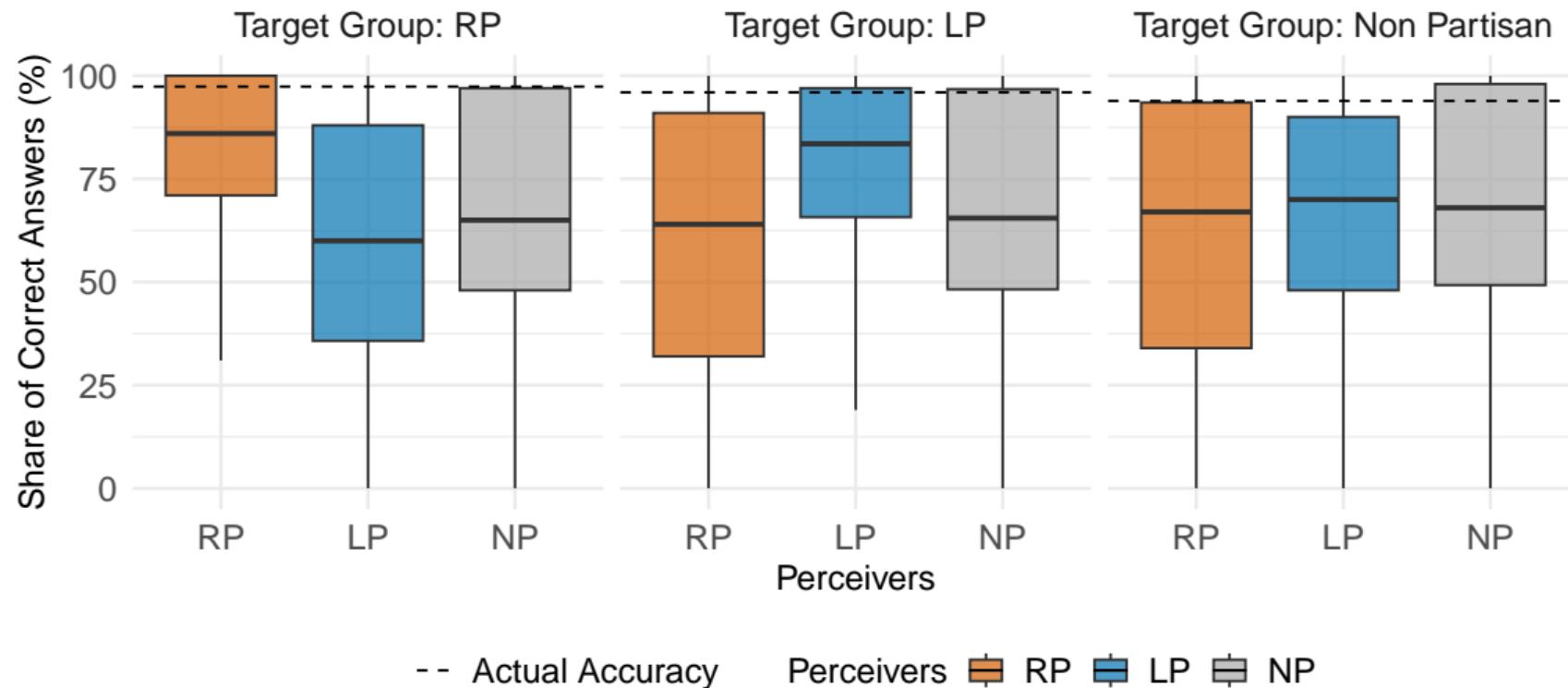
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$$p_{i,j}^t = \beta_1 \mathbb{1}_{t=g(i)} + \eta_i + \eta_j + \varepsilon_{i,j}^t$$

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- Expect $\beta_1 > 0$
- Null for Non-partisan (given perceiver i , $g(i) = NP$)

$$p_{i,j}^t = \beta_2 \mathbb{1}_{t=g(i)} + \eta_i + \eta_j + \varepsilon_{i,j}^t$$

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- Expect $\beta_2 = 0$

Average Disbelief is about 15-17 pt

Country	SK	SK	SK	US	US	US
Perceiver	RP	LP	NP	RP	LP	NP
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)

Target = RP

Target = LP

Observations	8232	14304	10992	13752	13512	8736
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- Note: targets are RP or LP; by fixed perceiver groups, individual + task FEs

Average Disbelief is about 15-17 pt

Country Perceiver	SK (1)	SK (2)	SK (3)	US (4)	US (5)	US (6)
Target = RP	0.174					
		(0.012)				
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Country Perceiver	SK RP (1)	SK LP (2)	SK NP (3)	US RP (4)	US LP (5)	US NP (6)
Target = RP	0.174 (0.012)					
Target = LP		0.151 (0.007)				
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Average Disbelief is about 15-17 pt

Country Perceiver	SK (1)	SK (2)	SK (3)	US (4)	US (5)	US (6)
Target = RP	0.174 (0.012)		0.005 (0.007)	0.156 (0.009)		0.008 (0.009)
Target = LP		0.151 (0.007)			0.148 (0.009)	
Observations	8232	14304	10992	13752	13512	8736

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Correlation with Affective Polarization

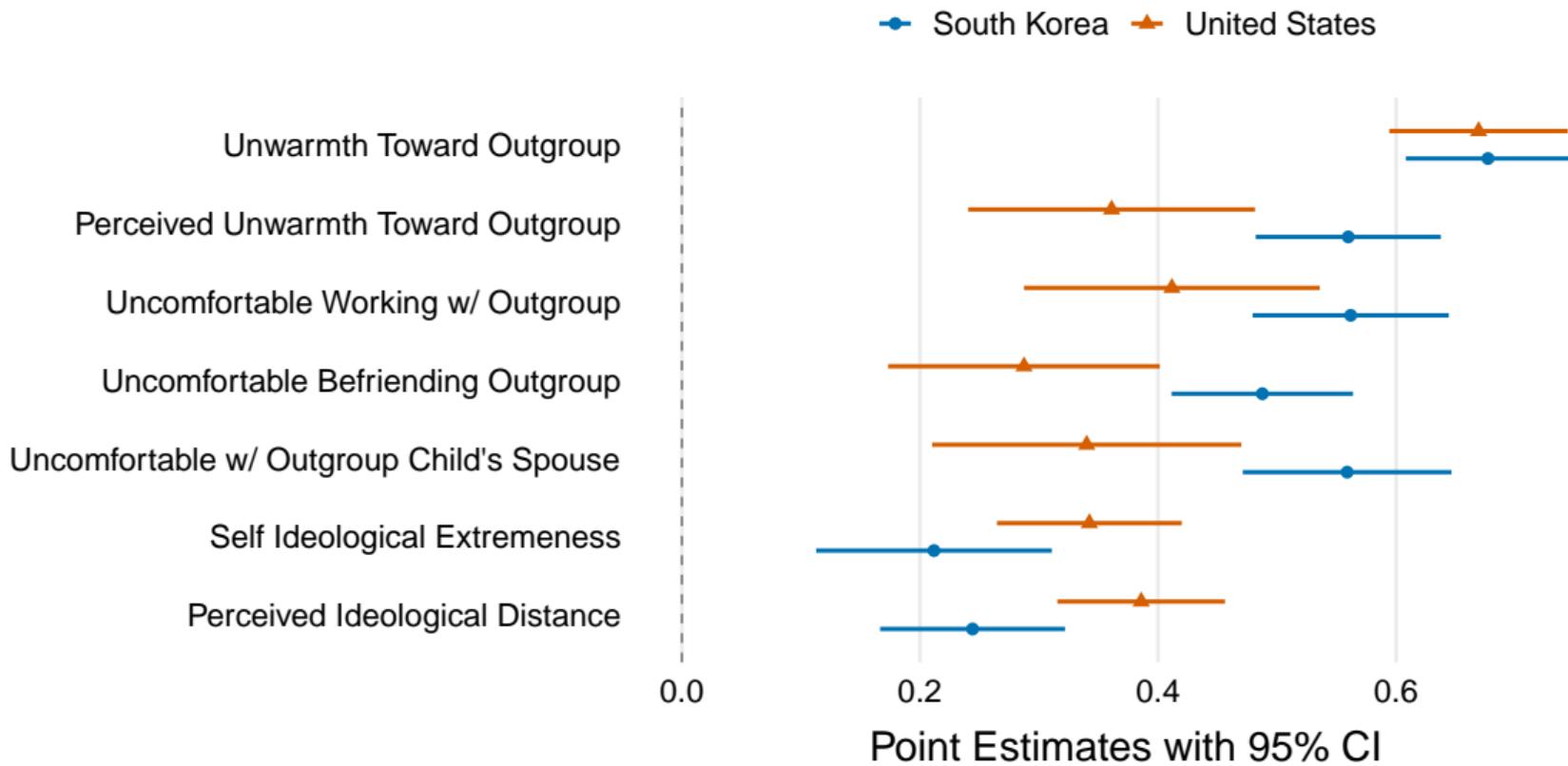
- Define “disbelief”: simple difference between estimates for in-group and out-group

$$\text{disbelief}_{i,j} \equiv p_{i,j}^{g(i)} - p_{i,j}^{g(i)'}$$

$$\text{disbelief}_i \equiv \frac{1}{8} \sum_{j=1}^8 \text{disbelief}_{i,j}$$

- Regress different polarization measures on disbelief_i
 - Polarization measures are standardized to [0,1]

Disbelief Correlates w/ Ideological/Affective Polarization



Summary of Study 1

- In fact, both partisans are equally knowledgeable
- However, there are about 15 points of disbelief in out-group knowledge
- Non-partisans equally perceive knowledge of RP and LP
- Correlates with ideological and affective polarization

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- Document **in-group bias in Information Processing**
 - e.g., RP overweights the opinion of RP over that of LP

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Given the baseline results in Study 1, we want to

- Document **in-group bias in Information Processing**
 - e.g., RP overweights the opinion of RP over that of LP
- Run experiments if correcting **disbelief** reduces the **in-group bias**
 - Study 1 already shows RP and LP are, in fact, equally knowledgeable
 - Treatment = telling the fact above

Study 2: Survey Structure (N=4,200)

1. Demographic questions

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 - In-group signal: tells that in-groups know the correct answers
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Note: Only keep RP/LP w/ pre-treatment disbelief > 5pt (2305 in SK, 2792 in US)

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For each question (suppose it is False),

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1. Pre-signal (same as Study 1)

- Judge if it is True + give confidence (0-100)
- Estimate the accuracy rate of RP/LP

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1. Pre-signal (same as Study 1)
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2. Signal (randomized, in-group or out-group)–Truth-telling signal
 - "According to previous surveys, the majority of RP says False"
 - "According to previous surveys, the majority of DP says False"

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What we want: See how/if they update their beliefs (judgement & confidence)

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H1: Treatment Reduces Disbelief by 20% - 40%

- Define average out-group disbelief for post-treatment facts $\text{disbelief}_i^{\text{post}}$
- We run

$$\text{disbelief}_i^{\text{post}} = \alpha T_i + \varepsilon_i$$

Treatment	(1) SK	(2) US
Observations	2305	2792
Mean of outcome	0.232	0.195

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	(1)	(2)
	SK	US
Treatment	-0.050 (0.010)	-0.076 (0.009)
Observations	2305	2792
Mean of outcome	0.232	0.195

Today's Plan

Study 1. Baseline Evidence of Disbelief

Hypotheses and Survey Design

Existence of Disbelief on Out-group's Knowledge

Study 2. Correcting Disbelief

Hypotheses and Survey Design

H1: Treatment Effects on Disbelief

H2: Existence of In-group Bias in Information Processing

H3: Treatment Effects of Correcting Disbelief on In-group Bias

H4: Treatment Effects on Correcting Disbelief on Polarization

Conclusion

Measurement of In-group Bias in Information Processing

For individual i and task j , construct two types of dummy variables

1. Correct Judgement: $y_{i,j}^J \equiv \mathbb{1}\{ J_{i,j}^1 - J_{i,j}^0 > 0 \};$

Measurement of In-group Bias in Information Processing

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- $J_{i,j}^0$: Correctness before signals ($J_{i,j}^0 = 1$ if Correct and = 0 if Wrong)
- $J_{i,j}^1$: Correctness after signals

Measurement of In-group Bias in Information Processing

For individual i and task j , construct two types of dummy variables

1. Correct Judgement: $y_{i,j}^J \equiv \mathbb{1}\{ J_{i,j}^1 - J_{i,j}^0 > 0 \}$;

2. Confidence towards Correct Answer: $y_{i,j}^\mu \equiv \mathbb{1}\{ \mu_{i,j}^1 - \mu_{i,j}^0 > 0 \}$;

- $\mu_{i,j}^0$: Confidence towards Correct answers before signals

$$\mu_{i,j}^0 = \begin{cases} \frac{a_{i,j}^0}{100} & \text{if } J_{i,j}^0 = 1 \\ 1 - \frac{a_{i,j}^0}{100} & \text{if } J_{i,j}^0 = 0 \end{cases}$$

where $a_{i,j}^0 \in [0, 100]$ is confidence level for their answer

- $\mu_{i,j}^1$: Confidence towards Correct answers after signals

H2: In-group Signals Shift Beliefs More Toward the Truth?

Specification: (i: indiv., j: task)

$$y_{i,j} = \beta \mathbb{1}\{\text{In-group Signal}\}_{i,j} + \eta_j + \varepsilon_{i,j}$$

- $y_{i,j}$: measure of Information Processing, $y_{i,j}^J$ or $y_{i,j}^\mu$
- $\mathbb{1}\{\text{In-group Signal}\}_{i,j}$: dummy if in-group signal
 - e.g.) If R, "The majority of R says this is True..." is an in-group signal
- Expect $\beta > 0$

H2: In-group Signals Shift Beliefs More Toward the Truth

$$y_{i,j} = \beta \mathbb{1}\{\text{In-group Signal}\}_{i,j} + \eta_j + \varepsilon_{i,j}$$

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	SK	SK	US	US
	Dummy	Continuous	Dummy	Continuous
In-Group Signal				
Observations	3417	3417	4221	4221
Mean of outcome	0.102	0.424	0.170	0.481

H2: In-group Signals Shift Beliefs More Toward the Truth

$$y_{i,j} = \beta \mathbb{1}\{\text{In-group Signal}\}_{i,j} + \eta_j + \varepsilon_{i,j}$$

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	SK	SK	US	US
	Dummy	Continuous	Dummy	Continuous
In-Group Signal	0.058 (0.010)			
Observations	3417	3417	4221	4221
Mean of outcome	0.102	0.424	0.170	0.481

H2: In-group Signals Shift Beliefs More Toward the Truth

$$y_{i,j} = \beta \mathbb{1}\{\text{In-group Signal}\}_{i,j} + \eta_j + \varepsilon_{i,j}$$

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	SK	SK	US	US
	Dummy	Continuous	Dummy	Continuous
In-Group Signal	0.058 (0.010)	0.078 (0.008)		
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Mean of outcome	0.102	0.424	0.170	0.481

H2: In-group Signals Shift Beliefs More Toward the Truth

$$y_{i,j} = \beta \mathbb{1}\{\text{In-group Signal}\}_{i,j} + \eta_j + \varepsilon_{i,j}$$

	(1) SK Dummy	(2) SK Continuous	(3) US Dummy	(4) US Continuous
In-Group Signal	0.058 (0.010)	0.078 (0.008)	0.007 (0.009)	0.041 (0.012)
Observations	3417	3417	4221	4221
Mean of outcome	0.102	0.424	0.170	0.481

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Conclusion

H3: Treatment of Correcting Disbelief

- Study 1: Accuracy rates are the same across partisans for factual questions

H3: Treatment of Correcting Disbelief

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H3: Treatment of Correcting Disbelief

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- Pre-treatment task of Study 2: individuals again guess the accuracy rate
- Keep only those who have disbelief (>5pt) on Out-group Knowlege (64%)

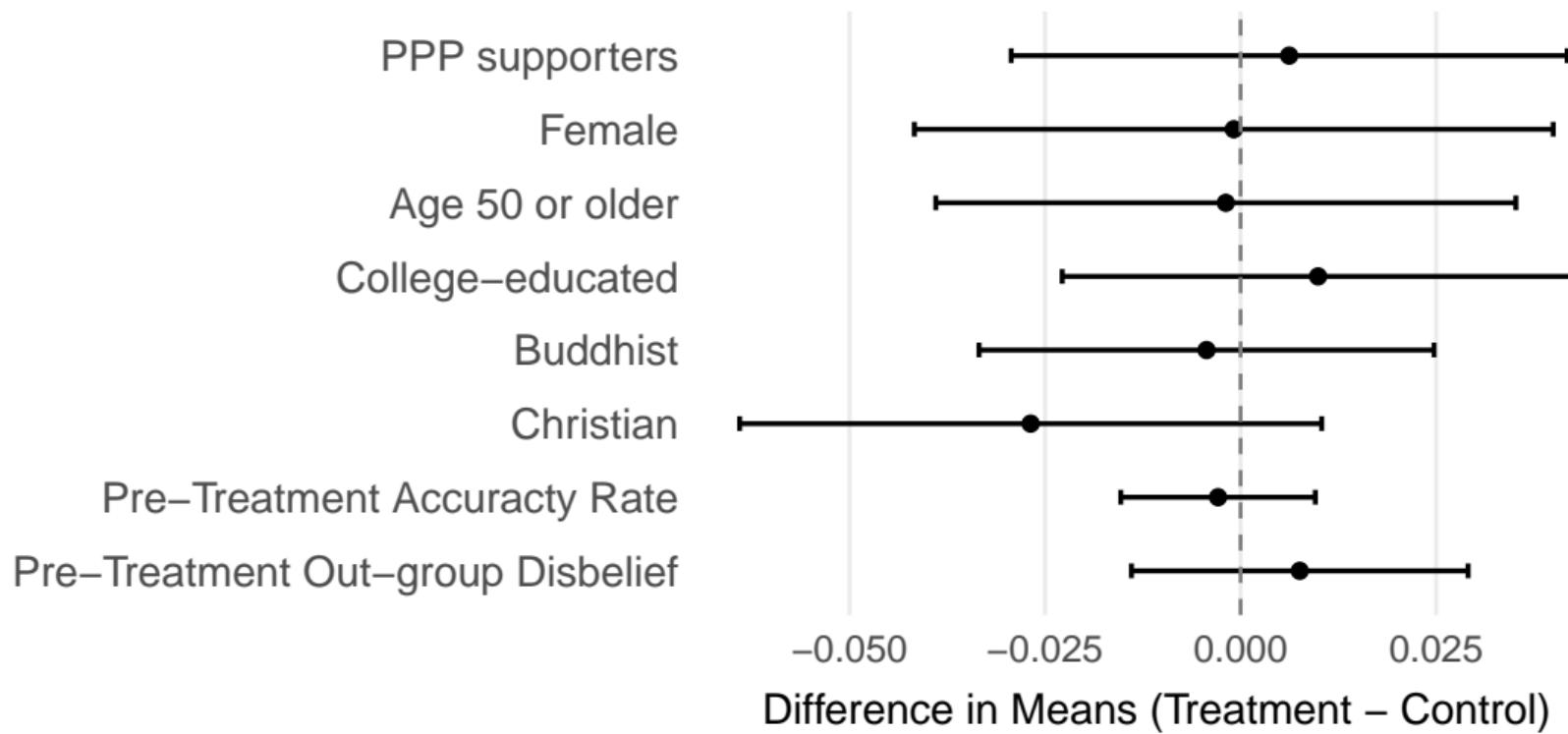
H3: Treatment of Correcting Disbelief

- Study 1: Accuracy rates are the same across partisans for factual questions
- Pre-treatment task of Study 2: individuals again guess the accuracy rate
- Keep only those who have disbelief (>5pt) on Out-group Knowledge (64%)
- **Treatment (after pre-treatment task)**
 - e.g.) "You think that R are more knowledgeable than D. This is wrong."

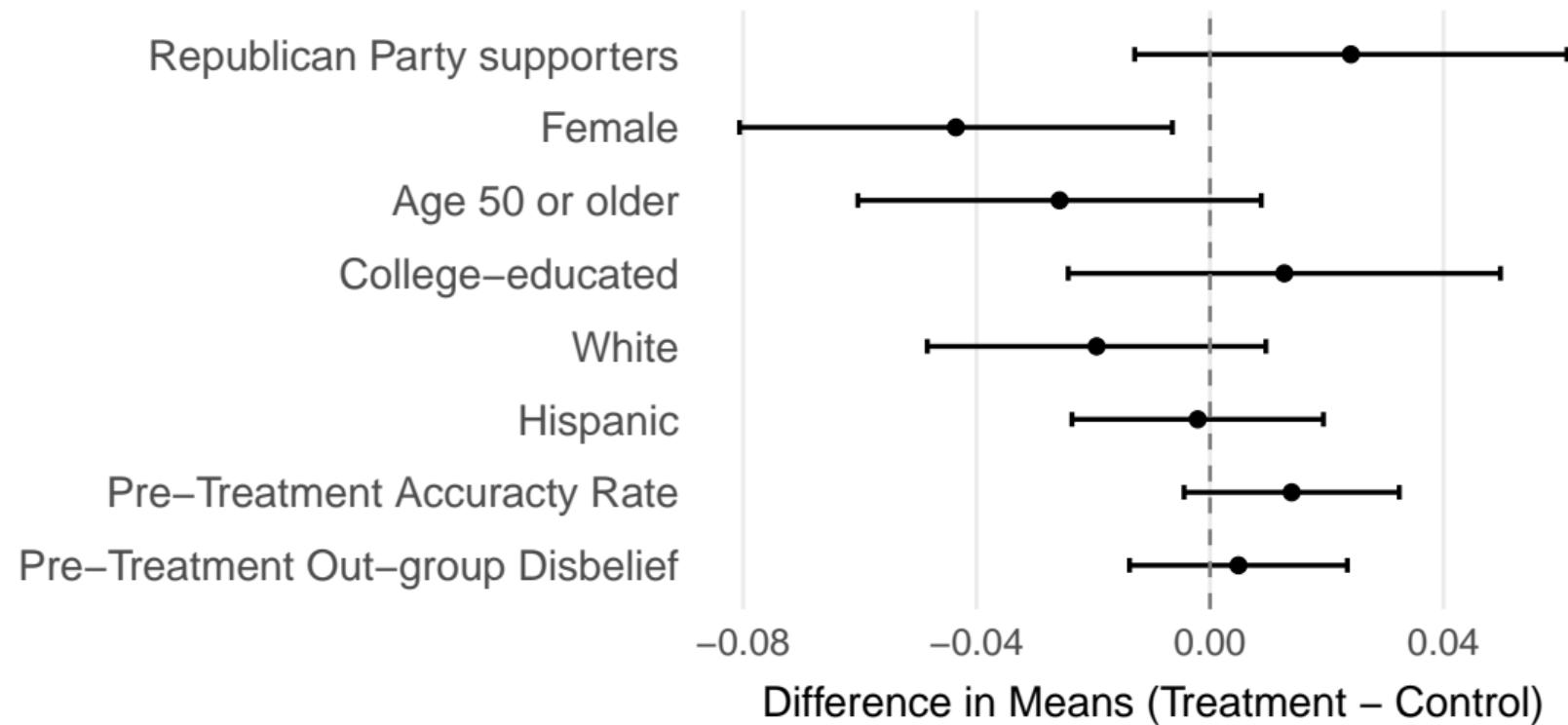
H3: Treatment of Correcting Disbelief

- Study 1: Accuracy rates are the same across partisans for factual questions
- Pre-treatment task of Study 2: individuals again guess the accuracy rate
- Keep only those who have disbelief (>5pt) on Out-group Knowledge (64%)
- **Treatment (after pre-treatment task)**
 - e.g.) "You think that R are more knowledgeable than D. This is wrong."
- See if Treatment reduces in-group bias in Information Processing

H3: Balanced Test across Control and Treated



H3: Balanced Test across Control and Treated



H3: Treatment, In-group Bias in Information Processing

Specification ($s_{i,j} = I$: In-group signal)

$$y_{i,j} = \beta_1 \mathbb{1}\{s_{i,j} = I\} + \beta_2 T_i + \beta_3 (\mathbb{1}\{s_{i,j} = I\} \times T_i) + \eta_j + \varepsilon_{i,j}$$

- Expect $\beta_3 < 0$ (given that $\beta_1 > 0$)

H3: Treatment, In-group Bias in Information Processing

$$y_{i,j} = \beta_1 \mathbb{1}\{s_{i,j} = I\} + \beta_2 T_i + \beta_3 (\mathbb{1}\{s_{i,j} = I\} \times T_i) + \eta_j + \varepsilon_{i,j}$$

	(1) SK Dummy	(2) SK Continuous	(3) US Dummy	(4) US Continuous
In-Group Signal				
Treatment				
In-Group Signal x Treatment				
Observations	6915	6915	8376	8376
Mean of outcome	0.103	0.421	0.165	0.484

H3: Treatment, In-group Bias in Information Processing

$$y_{i,j} = \beta_1 \mathbb{1}\{s_{i,j} = I\} + \beta_2 T_i + \beta_3 (\mathbb{1}\{s_{i,j} = I\} \times T_i) + \eta_j + \varepsilon_{i,j}$$

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	SK Dummy	SK Continuous	US Dummy	US Continuous
In-Group Signal	0.058 (0.010)			
Treatment	0.016 (0.009)			
In-Group Signal x Treatment	-0.031 (0.002)			
Observations	6915	6915	8376	8376
Mean of outcome	0.103	0.421	0.165	0.484

H3: Treatment, In-group Bias in Information Processing

$$y_{i,j} = \beta_1 \mathbb{1}\{s_{i,j} = I\} + \beta_2 T_i + \beta_3 (\mathbb{1}\{s_{i,j} = I\} \times T_i) + \eta_j + \varepsilon_{i,j}$$

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	SK Dummy	SK Continuous	US Dummy	US Continuous
In-Group Signal	0.058 (0.010)	0.078 (0.009)		
Treatment	0.016 (0.009)	0.023 (0.019)		
In-Group Signal x Treatment	-0.031 (0.002)	-0.060 (0.028)		
Observations	6915	6915	8376	8376
Mean of outcome	0.103	0.421	0.165	0.484

H3: Treatment, In-group Bias in Information Processing

$$y_{i,j} = \beta_1 \mathbb{1}\{s_{i,j} = I\} + \beta_2 T_i + \beta_3 (\mathbb{1}\{s_{i,j} = I\} \times T_i) + \eta_j + \varepsilon_{i,j}$$

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	SK Dummy	SK Continuous	US Dummy	US Continuous
In-Group Signal	0.058 (0.010)	0.078 (0.009)	0.007 (0.010)	0.041 (0.012)
Treatment	0.016 (0.009)	0.023 (0.019)	-0.018 (0.008)	0.023 (0.019)
In-Group Signal x Treatment	-0.031 (0.002)	-0.060 (0.028)	0.018 (0.007)	-0.036 (0.015)
Observations	6915	6915	8376	8376
Mean of outcome	0.103	0.421	0.165	0.484

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Conclusion

H4: Effects on Correcting Disbelief on Polarization

$$\text{pol}_i = \gamma T_i + \varepsilon_i$$

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	SK Unfav	SK Uncomf	US Unfav	US Uncomf
Treatment	-0.025 (0.012)	-0.002 (0.012)	-0.081 (0.013)	-0.023 (0.016)
Observations	2305	2305	2792	2792
Mean of outcome	0.528	0.433	0.493	0.271

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Hypotheses and Survey Design

H1: Treatment Effects on Disbelief

H2: Existence of In-group Bias in Information Processing

H3: Treatment Effects of Correcting Disbelief on In-group Bias

H4: Treatment Effects on Correcting Disbelief on Polarization

Conclusion

Conclusion

- **Widespread disbelief about out-group knowledge** for factual questions
- **In-group bias in Information Processing**
- Correcting the disbelief can reduce the in-group bias