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# Appendix 1. Mechanical Turk

## Background on Mechanical Turk Research

Mechanical Turk (MTurk) is an online marketplace launched by Amazon in 2005, whereby an entity (such as market researchers, businesses, academics) can collect information through crowdsourcing. MTurk has its own set of jargon. Businesses (called “Requesters”) can hire remotely located workers to perform discrete tasks (such as complete a survey or identify the content of an image) through a job posting called a “Human Intelligence Task,” or a HIT. MTurk workers (often called “Turkers” can peruse postings for HITs based on a short description of the task, though, there are often restrictions on who can complete a task, such as age, race, gender, home-ownership, region, or country. The Requester than evaluates the completed work and either accepts or rejects it.

Academics have used the platform for many purposes, including the distribution of public opinion surveys, experiments, and data collection. The use of MTurk has increased over the years, and in 2015, the 300 most influential academic journals (measured by impact factor) produced more than 500 articles collected with data through the MTurk platform (Chandler and Shapiro 2016) (Chandler and Shapiro (2016). In addition to being a relatively accessible platforms for researchers, MTurk workers produce reliable work, especially when researchers take precautionary measures to ensure data quality, such as requiring that MTurk workers have completed a certain number of previous HITs, with a minimum acceptance rate of 95% (Peer, Vosgerau, and Acquisti 2014). This is, in part, because MTurk workers are more attentive to survey tasks than other populations (Hauser and Schwarz 2016, Paolacci, Chandler, and Ipeirotis 2010, Weinberg, Freese, and McElhattan 2014).

MTurk-based research is not without its critics. One common concern is the representativeness of MTurk workers relative to the general population. In terms of ideology, MTurk workers are ideologically similar to the general public (Clifford, Jewell, and Waggoner 2015), and MTurk workers are similar to the respondents of other commonly online surveys in political science, such as the CCES (Hillygus, Jackson, and Young 2014, Paolacci, Chandler, and Ipeirotis 2010). In other ways, MTurk workers are less representative. MTurk workers tend to be younger, more liberal, and more educated (Berinsky, Huber, and Lenz 2012, Mullinix et al. 2015, Paolacci, Chandler, and Ipeirotis 2010), while also being more likely unemployed or low-income (Shapiro, Chandler, and Mueller 2013). Black and Latinx Americans also tend to be underrepresented relative to whites and Asian Americans (Shapiro, Chandler, and Mueller 2013).

## Ensuring Data Quality

We took several steps to mitigate demographic biases in our data collection. The demographics of MTurk workers varies by time of day, as well as day of the week (Casey et al. 2017). Thus, collecting data over a short period of time may mean that your sample draws heavily from certain MTurk sub-populations. Casey et al. (2017) demonstrate that varying the time and date in which the HIT is posted matters; and that “micro-batching” improvess the representativeness of the data. Micro-batches are when a HIT is posted with a small cap on the number of MTurk workers that can respond, and that HIT is repeated over a longer period of time, varying the dates and times of posting. This increases the chances that the HIT is accepted by workers through the U.S. time zones, early and late shift workers, etc. This is easy to do on the Turk Prime platform. We programed our data collection so that a post recruiting workers for 150 HITs at a time (which amounts to 150 workers), repeating the process once the previous series of HITs have all been completed, until the desired number of HITs are complete.

The Turk Prime platform gives the researcher an option that prevents workers from completing a HIT based on their MTurk worker ID number. This ensures that a MTurk worker could not complete the HIT several times, thus biasing the data with duplicate responses from a respondent. We limited HITs to workers who had not already completed a HIT based on their ID number. We also prevented multiple hits from the same IP address. We additionally restricted which MTurk workers couple complete the HIT by requiring that they currently live in the U.S. An analysis of the IP addresses and geo-coded location data demonstrates that these measures were effective in preventing duplicate responders. We additionally verified their self-reported state with a comparison to IP addresses. To ensure that the hired workers have a good work reputation, we restricting workers to those that had completed at least 100 previous HITs and had an acceptance rate of at least 97%.

Before using the data, we spent considerable time evaluating the data to ensure the quality of the data. The survey took respondents about 16 minutes to complete the survey, though the length of time it took the respondent to complete the survey varied significantly. The full distribution of survey response times is below. This is, in part, because many MTurk workers accept multiple HITs at one time – thus sometimes keeping a survey open for a period of time before beginning the work. A small number of respondents completed the survey much faster than the average of 16 minutes. Many of these respondents completed the task quickly because they rated all groups as completely deserving. Based on comments left on the survey and emailed to the authors, we know that some of these respondents were not shirking their work; their viewpoint was that society views (and should view) everyone the same. We could remove these respondents from the data because the respondents “didn’t complete the task correctly,” but doing so has little effect on our findings, and we believe it inappropriate given it was the respondents genuine response.

The demographic profile of our respondents is similar to the national average. When it comes to racial diversity, our sample is slightly whiter than the national average (68% versus 65%) and more Asian (7% versus 3%). Our sample slightly underrepresents Latinos (9% in our survey versus the national average of 12.5%), but the percent black in our survey very closely resembles the national average (12%). One benefit of using the mirco-batch process is that we realized our early data had few Latinos and we were able to adjust our collection frame. We added a set of HITs with the restriction that they could only be completed by people who identified as Hispanic when creating their MTurk worker profile. The discrepancy between the racial demographics of our sample improved as we curated the HITs in this way. Approximately 51% of our respondents were male, and the average age was 36 (compared to the national average of 37.8). The percent of our sample that identifying as Democrats is higher than the national average (39% versus 27%). This gap narrows when looking at party leaners, where Democrats and Democratic Leaners make up 50% of our sample and 47% of the national average (Gallup 2018). Finally, our sample is more educated than the national average (39% have a college degree in our sample, versus the national average of 33%). See Table A1 for more descriptive statistics about the respondents.

There were more respondents in the survey from more populous states. MRP pools data across all of the states to create public opinion estimates based on demographic characteristics – but these estimates are not as reliable when there are few respondents from a given state. There is a greater likelihood that the responses from that state are not representative. Thus, more caution should be used in interpreting the estimates of public opinion from small population states, such as Delaware, North Dakota and Wyoming. See Table A2 for the number of respondents per state.

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# Appendix 2. Survey Instrument

## Political Power

Survey respondents were provided with the following prompt about political power:

Some groups in society have relatively more political power and resources than others. By political resources we mean that some groups are more united, easy to mobilize, wealthy, skilled, focused on their goals, or accustomed to voting or directly contacting public officials.   Based on what you know about the groups listed below, how politically powerful would you say each of these groups are, generally speaking. Here 0 means that most people in that group are very powerless. 100 means that most people in that group are incredibly powerful.

Below the prompt was a series of policy target populations in a random order with a slider bar, centered midway on an axis that ranged from 0 to 100, with no additional axis markers. The target group populations entailed:

Criminals

DREAMers

Farmers

Gun Owners

Illegal Aliens

Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE)

Labor Unions

Marijuana Smoker

Medicare / SSN Recipient

National Rifle Association (NRA)

Opioid User

Police

Prisoners

Small Businesses

SNAP Recipient / Food Stamps

TANF / Cash Welfare

Teachers

Unauthorized Immigrants

Unemployed

Uninsured

## Deservingness

Survey respondents were provided with the following prompt about political deservingness:

Some groups, on average, are viewed as people who contribute to the general welfare of society and worthy, and thus are deserving of sympathy, pity, or help. Typically, we describe members of this group as good, smart, hardworking, loyal, disciplined, generous, caring of others, respectful, and creative. Meanwhile, there are many other groups that are viewed as a burden to the general welfare of society, and are believed to be underserving of sympathy, pity, or help. Typically, we describe members of this group as greedy, disrespectful, disloyal, immoral, disgusting, dangerous, lazy, and expect others to care for them. Based on what you know about these groups, how deserving or underserving would you say each of these groups are, generally speaking. Here, 0 means most people in that group are completely undeserving. 100 means most people in that group are very deserving.

Below the prompt was the same series of policy target populations in a random order with a slider bar centered midway on an axis that ranged from 0 to 100, with no additional axis markers.

Survey respondents received the prompts about political power and deservingness in a random order.

## Age

Respondents were asked, “In which year were you born?” and provided a space to type in their response. Age was calculated as 2018 (the year the survey was administered) - birth year.

## Gender

Respondents were asked “What is your gender” and provided a space to type in their response. Responses were categorized as male, female or other. For instance, “women” “female” “cis-gender woman” “girl” etc., were all coded as female. A small number of responses (fewer than 5) couldn’t be categorized as the response was nonsensible. These responses were eliminated from the dataset. There was little ambiguity in the remaining answers.

## Education

Respondents were asked, “What is the last grade or class that you completed in school? Respondents could select among the following options:

* None or grade 1-8
* High school incomplete
* High school graduate
* Technical, trade or vocational school AFTER high school
* Some college, no 4-year degree (including associate degree)
* College graduate (B.S., B.A., or other 4-year degree)
* Post-graduate training or professional school after college (e.g. toward a Master’s Degree or Ph.D; law or medical school)

## State

Respondents were asked “where do you currently reside” followed by a drop-down menu listing all 50 states, D.C., and an option to select “I do not reside in the United States.” Additionally, the Qualtrics platform returns several pieces of information that can be used to validate self-reports of residency, including IP addresses and longitude and latitude markers. The vast majority of respondents’ self-reported state of residency matched that of their geographic location while completing the survey. We did not remove the few responses in which longitude and latitude did not match up with self-reported state as it was a small number, and it’s very possible the respondent lives in the state they reported but was traveling while taking the survey.

## Recoding variables for the MRP

In order to implement multi-level regression and post-stratification, the variables used to predict the outcome variable in the multi-level regression (in this case, deservingness of various groups) must perfectly align with the variables used in the post-stratification, which are retrieved from the U.S. Census.

We follow the existing MRP literature in using ordinal measures for age (18-29, 30-44, 45-64, or 65+), education (less than high school graduate, high school graduate, some college, or college graduate), and fixed effects for region and state of residence (each of the 50 states). Similarly, we follow scholars of intersectionality in modeling race-gender dynamics as a series of indicator variables (non-Hispanic white man, non-Hispanic white woman, non-Hispanic black man, non-Hispanic black woman, men of “other” race, women of “other” race.

# Figure A1. Duration of MTurk Survey Responses



Note: The red vertical line represents the mean duration of 16 minutes.

# Table A1. Respondent Demographics

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Variable | Obs | Mean | SD |
| Age Categories | 3,376 | 1.917062 | 0.7870766 |
| Education Categories | 3,060 | 3.516013 | 0.6474269 |
| White Man | 3,380 | 0.3310651 | 0.4706661 |
| White Woman | 3,380 | 0.3402367 | 0.4738588 |
| Black Man | 3,380 | 0.066568 | 0.2493093 |
| Black Woman | 3,380 | 0.0514793 | 0.2210059 |
| Other Race Man | 3,380 | 0.1079882 | 0.3104114 |
| Other Race Woman | 3,380 | 0.0911243 | 0.2878283 |

# Table A2. Respondents by States

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| State | Census Region | Freq. | Percent |
| AK | 9: Pacific | 13 | 0.39 |
| AL | 6: East South Central | 44 | 1.3 |
| AR | 7: West South Central | 17 | 0.5 |
| AZ | 8: Mountain | 73 | 2.16 |
| CA | 9: Pacific | 351 | 10.41 |
| CO | 8: Mountain | 40 | 1.19 |
| CT | 1: New England | 34 | 1.01 |
| DE | 5: South Atlantic | 1 | 0.03 |
| FL | 5: South Atlantic | 324 | 9.61 |
| GA | 5: South Atlantic | 107 | 3.17 |
| HI | 9: Pacific | 11 | 0.33 |
| IA | 4: West North Central | 20 | 0.59 |
| ID | 8: Mountain | 11 | 0.33 |
| IL | 3: East North Central | 113 | 3.35 |
| IN | 3: East North Central | 61 | 1.81 |
| KS | 4: West North Central | 23 | 0.68 |
| KY | 6: East South Central | 49 | 1.45 |
| LA | 7: West South Central | 32 | 0.95 |
| MA | 1: New England | 59 | 1.75 |
| MD | 5: South Atlantic | 44 | 1.3 |
| ME | 1: New England | 12 | 0.36 |
| MI | 3: East North Central | 112 | 3.32 |
| MN | 4: West North Central | 54 | 1.6 |
| MO | 4: West North Central | 47 | 1.39 |
| MS | 6: East South Central | 23 | 0.68 |
| MT | 8: Mountain | 9 | 0.27 |
| NC | 5: South Atlantic | 117 | 3.47 |
| ND | 4: West North Central | 4 | 0.12 |
| NE | 4: West North Central | 15 | 0.44 |
| NH | 1: New England | 16 | 0.47 |
| NJ | 2: Middle Atlantic | 83 | 2.46 |
| NM | 8: Mountain | 16 | 0.47 |
| NV | 8: Mountain | 37 | 1.1 |
| NY | 2: Middle Atlantic | 301 | 8.93 |
| OH | 3: East North Central | 104 | 3.08 |
| OK | 7: West South Central | 34 | 1.01 |
| OR | 9: Pacific | 52 | 1.54 |
| PA | 2: Middle Atlantic | 146 | 4.33 |
| RI | 1: New England | 8 | 0.24 |
| SC | 5: South Atlantic | 36 | 1.07 |
| SD | 4: West North Central | 7 | 0.21 |
| TN | 6: East South Central | 57 | 1.69 |
| TX | 7: West South Central | 374 | 11.09 |
| UT | 8: Mountain | 25 | 0.74 |
| VA | 5: South Atlantic | 93 | 2.76 |
| VT | 1: New England | 8 | 0.24 |
| WA | 9: Pacific | 73 | 2.16 |
| WI | 3: East North Central | 67 | 1.99 |
| WV | 5: South Atlantic | 11 | 0.33 |
| WY | 8: Mountain | 4 | 0.12 |

# Table A3. Multilevel Regression Tables for 20 Target Groups

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|   | age | education | white women | black women | other women | black male | other male | intercept | R2 |
| Criminals | -4.58 | \*\*\* | 1.60 | \* | -1.91 |   | -5.03 | \* | -8.44 | \*\*\* | 23.21 | \*\*\* | -3.25 | \* | -188.14 |   | 0.13 |
| Dreamers | -4.17 | \*\*\* | 1.67 | \* | 8.44 | \*\*\* | 8.15 | \*\* | 4.40 | \* | 13.59 | \*\*\* | -0.94 |  | -142.19 |  | 0.06 |
| Farmers | 3.20 | \*\*\* | -2.39 | \*\*\* | 7.75 | \*\*\* | 3.93 |  | 5.61 | \*\*\* | 9.53 | \*\*\* | -0.81 |  | 167.91 |  | 0.07 |
| Gun owners | 1.98 | \*\* | -2.47 | \*\* | 3.44 | \*\* | -5.47 | \* | -3.51 |  | 20.04 | \*\*\* | -0.77 |  | 164.66 |  | 0.06 |
| ICE | 6.11 | \*\*\* | -0.08 |  | -1.12 |  | -7.43 | \*\* | -5.16 | \* | 18.14 | \*\*\* | -2.30 |  | 14.57 |  | 0.08 |
| “Illegal aliens” | -7.08 | \*\*\* | 2.51 | \*\* | 5.26 | \*\*\* | 9.83 | \*\*\* | 6.30 | \*\* | 20.86 | \*\*\* | 1.04 |  | -375.09 | \* | 0.08 |
| Labor unions | -2.06 | \*\* | 0.45 |  | 6.85 | \*\*\* | 8.66 | \*\*\* | 5.07 | \*\* | 17.60 | \*\*\* | -0.50 |  | -28.82 |  | 0.06 |
| Marij. Smoker | -2.31 | \*\* | -1.88 | \* | 3.68 | \*\* | -6.12 | \* | -5.97 | \*\* | 15.71 | \*\*\* | -4.34 | \* | -287.71 |  | 0.05 |
| Medicare | 2.59 | \*\*\* | -1.12 |  | 8.44 | \*\*\* | 5.81 | \* | 5.43 | \*\* | 12.50 | \*\*\* | -2.17 |  | 194.59 |  | 0.05 |
| NRA | 1.39 |  | -2.31 | \*\* | -0.09 |  | -8.48 | \*\* | -6.12 | \*\* | 19.63 | \*\*\* | -0.69 |  | 52.09 |  | 0.08 |
| Opioid user | -3.56 | \*\*\* | 1.72 | \* | 0.13 |  | -4.29 |  | -9.98 | \*\*\* | 18.63 | \*\*\* | -5.08 | \*\* | -348.67 | \* | 0.07 |
| Police | 6.27 | \*\*\* | 0.51 |  | 6.78 | \*\*\* | -7.76 | \*\* | 1.69 |  | 11.39 | \*\*\* | -1.44 |  | 192.86 |  | 0.07 |
| Prisoners | -2.06 | \*\*\* | 2.04 | \*\*\* | -4.21 | \*\*\* | -4.58 | \* | -9.09 | \*\*\* | 24.24 | \*\*\* | -3.23 | \* | -194.89 |  | 0.19 |
| Small business | 2.32 | \*\*\* | -0.79 |  | 6.53 | \*\*\* | 3.21 |  | 3.80 | \* | 9.94 | \*\*\* | -0.87 |  | 194.28 |  | 0.05 |
| SNAP recipient | -1.98 | \*\* | -1.13 |  | 5.77 | \*\*\* | 1.53 |  | 1.41 |  | 14.17 | \*\*\* | -1.83 |  | -211.77 |  | 0.04 |
| TANF recipient | -2.39 | \*\*\* | -0.85 |  | 6.01 | \*\*\* | 5.83 | \* | 1.60 |  | 14.94 | \*\*\* | -0.31 |  | -113.38 |  | 0.04 |
| Teachers | 1.17 | \* | 0.46 |  | 7.99 | \*\*\* | 8.34 | \*\*\* | 7.44 | \*\*\* | 7.24 | \*\*\* | 0.65 |  | 173.25 |  | 0.05 |
| Unauth. Immig. | -7.05 | \*\*\* | 3.01 | \*\*\* | 4.73 | \*\*\* | 8.03 | \*\* | 4.97 | \* | 20.61 | \*\*\* | 0.94 |  | -317.76 |  | 0.08 |
| Unemployed | 1.54 | \* | 0.36 |  | 4.86 | \*\*\* | 6.09 | \* | 0.88 |  | 14.29 | \*\*\* | -3.36 |  | -7.14 |  | 0.04 |
| Uninsured | -1.08 |   | 0.26 |   | 7.84 | \*\*\* | 11.14 | \*\*\* | 3.36 |   | 15.21 | \*\*\* | -1.98 |   | -189.70 |   | 0.05 |

# Table A4. Estimates of State Deservingness

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|   | criminals | dreamers | farmers | gunowners | ice | Illegal aliens | Labor unions | Marij smoker | medicare | nra | Opioid user | police | prisoners | smallbusiness | snap | tanf | teachers | Unauth. imm | unemployed | uninsured |
| AK | 30.9 | 56.8 | 71.3 | 46.5 | 51.8 | 53.2 | 57.3 | 46.0 | 71.0 | 48.5 | 43.3 | 62.3 | 27.9 | 61.3 | 61.0 | 49.4 | 65.8 | 50.6 | 66.7 | 65.9 |
| AL | 25.2 | 61.1 | 77.4 | 64.2 | 60.2 | 39.8 | 58.3 | 51.2 | 74.6 | 54.2 | 42.0 | 64.7 | 18.9 | 71.6 | 64.7 | 64.3 | 77.3 | 36.4 | 68.1 | 64.6 |
| AR | 10.3 | 58.0 | 80.4 | 53.8 | 41.2 | 25.7 | 58.8 | 49.5 | 74.3 | 33.2 | 37.5 | 57.5 | 18.6 | 73.2 | 56.7 | 50.3 | 83.3 | 24.1 | 56.0 | 60.8 |
| AZ | 14.5 | 54.5 | 76.1 | 47.4 | 44.8 | 32.4 | 50.0 | 42.6 | 62.1 | 29.6 | 29.2 | 62.3 | 10.0 | 73.0 | 52.0 | 49.8 | 77.4 | 28.6 | 59.5 | 51.2 |
| CA | 20.1 | 57.4 | 70.4 | 43.2 | 45.0 | 39.6 | 55.2 | 40.2 | 65.3 | 34.4 | 35.8 | 58.9 | 16.7 | 67.0 | 57.3 | 54.2 | 74.5 | 40.2 | 56.4 | 54.3 |
| CO | 17.3 | 63.2 | 79.2 | 46.4 | 40.1 | 43.4 | 51.2 | 40.9 | 70.9 | 25.0 | 31.7 | 64.8 | 12.7 | 74.8 | 67.2 | 57.2 | 81.8 | 38.6 | 62.2 | 62.9 |
| CT | 12.6 | 58.3 | 66.7 | 38.6 | 33.2 | 32.6 | 54.6 | 44.7 | 69.5 | 24.9 | 39.3 | 49.0 | 6.4 | 63.6 | 60.8 | 52.6 | 75.5 | 33.8 | 62.0 | 55.6 |
| DE | 5.3 | 0.0 | 86.2 | 71.7 | 78.4 | 5.4 | 4.7 | 12.9 | 47.4 | 29.9 | 2.9 | 5.3 | 83.3 | 62.5 | 48.5 | 50.5 | 63.8 | 5.8 | 61.3 | 50.3 |
| FL | 16.4 | 54.1 | 71.0 | 47.1 | 48.7 | 32.2 | 50.6 | 40.3 | 65.8 | 39.8 | 31.8 | 62.2 | 17.9 | 68.5 | 54.5 | 53.6 | 74.3 | 33.8 | 55.9 | 55.9 |
| GA | 17.8 | 61.1 | 78.3 | 47.6 | 44.9 | 35.9 | 56.8 | 48.1 | 69.6 | 34.0 | 33.1 | 62.5 | 12.0 | 74.2 | 58.8 | 55.6 | 81.6 | 32.8 | 60.5 | 58.2 |
| HI | 22.8 | 43.6 | 66.8 | 45.6 | 38.3 | 32.3 | 56.0 | 35.1 | 61.2 | 39.6 | 23.8 | 65.2 | 13.3 | 63.7 | 49.7 | 44.1 | 76.6 | 29.5 | 50.3 | 45.4 |
| IA | 25.6 | 70.2 | 76.0 | 53.8 | 43.1 | 34.4 | 59.6 | 51.3 | 80.8 | 43.0 | 41.2 | 69.6 | 9.2 | 75.1 | 71.3 | 60.7 | 81.1 | 38.3 | 60.4 | 65.6 |
| ID | 17.0 | 35.0 | 70.7 | 71.2 | 56.1 | 17.3 | 42.6 | 45.6 | 69.2 | 39.3 | 24.6 | 59.4 | 3.3 | 75.1 | 61.3 | 58.7 | 63.8 | 17.6 | 60.9 | 63.5 |
| IL | 14.6 | 53.8 | 73.7 | 44.7 | 39.0 | 32.6 | 47.5 | 37.6 | 64.4 | 26.6 | 29.3 | 58.7 | 9.5 | 70.6 | 55.3 | 54.5 | 76.3 | 31.2 | 52.7 | 51.8 |
| IN | 18.0 | 64.0 | 69.6 | 46.1 | 38.2 | 39.7 | 54.5 | 43.0 | 67.7 | 29.1 | 34.9 | 60.2 | 12.3 | 67.4 | 61.3 | 59.3 | 77.6 | 40.0 | 58.5 | 54.2 |
| KS | 20.6 | 51.7 | 75.1 | 50.6 | 49.0 | 37.9 | 53.2 | 37.5 | 73.2 | 35.7 | 45.0 | 57.9 | 19.8 | 69.7 | 59.2 | 60.4 | 62.7 | 39.7 | 59.3 | 62.5 |
| KY | 20.8 | 50.4 | 79.5 | 57.1 | 52.1 | 30.0 | 51.0 | 37.9 | 66.9 | 37.6 | 30.9 | 71.1 | 10.7 | 75.3 | 57.1 | 49.9 | 78.4 | 31.8 | 61.9 | 60.1 |
| LA | 19.5 | 42.0 | 71.8 | 51.8 | 42.6 | 27.5 | 44.3 | 38.0 | 66.2 | 37.1 | 33.6 | 61.1 | 13.7 | 69.8 | 55.9 | 51.3 | 73.8 | 27.9 | 61.7 | 54.6 |
| MA | 25.2 | 63.1 | 71.9 | 38.7 | 34.2 | 42.8 | 56.2 | 44.6 | 71.8 | 23.5 | 39.3 | 59.0 | 15.6 | 65.5 | 63.2 | 59.9 | 77.9 | 43.2 | 61.4 | 57.6 |
| MD | 11.4 | 59.8 | 74.3 | 37.2 | 36.8 | 35.7 | 60.3 | 45.4 | 71.7 | 25.5 | 28.4 | 58.1 | 12.4 | 68.8 | 57.0 | 53.9 | 79.7 | 37.9 | 59.9 | 54.6 |
| ME | 18.9 | 75.8 | 81.4 | 32.4 | 26.5 | 41.9 | 57.1 | 50.7 | 80.1 | 19.6 | 43.3 | 54.5 | 4.6 | 63.6 | 68.8 | 68.8 | 77.3 | 46.8 | 61.7 | 65.6 |
| MI | 12.6 | 59.4 | 78.1 | 50.1 | 46.6 | 36.4 | 56.7 | 47.8 | 70.9 | 33.0 | 31.7 | 67.5 | 12.2 | 74.3 | 57.5 | 53.5 | 81.1 | 34.3 | 61.1 | 58.7 |
| MN | 12.9 | 55.2 | 74.5 | 43.2 | 47.4 | 33.1 | 53.2 | 40.8 | 64.0 | 34.5 | 31.0 | 64.0 | 13.7 | 67.1 | 55.2 | 50.4 | 76.9 | 34.0 | 55.7 | 51.2 |
| MO | 15.5 | 56.9 | 77.0 | 54.1 | 52.0 | 33.8 | 54.3 | 44.6 | 70.0 | 43.3 | 35.4 | 67.1 | 10.5 | 73.9 | 61.3 | 57.7 | 78.2 | 36.7 | 59.6 | 59.1 |
| MS | 19.1 | 59.8 | 75.9 | 66.7 | 54.8 | 36.8 | 51.0 | 49.7 | 73.9 | 51.0 | 43.7 | 69.8 | 16.4 | 75.7 | 71.2 | 68.5 | 79.3 | 37.6 | 68.3 | 68.4 |
| MT | 16.4 | 51.6 | 66.2 | 46.2 | 30.7 | 35.7 | 39.9 | 21.6 | 64.1 | 31.5 | 20.0 | 58.4 | 6.9 | 61.4 | 49.0 | 47.8 | 76.6 | 31.6 | 52.9 | 47.1 |
| NC | 15.6 | 58.1 | 79.1 | 52.1 | 48.4 | 35.4 | 52.4 | 43.0 | 67.1 | 35.0 | 31.5 | 63.8 | 13.5 | 71.8 | 58.4 | 54.5 | 78.9 | 34.6 | 60.2 | 55.9 |
| ND | 33.7 | 60.0 | 78.8 | 67.5 | 82.1 | 28.1 | 80.9 | 54.3 | 65.0 | 50.9 | 39.6 | 70.6 | 13.2 | 82.1 | 56.4 | 49.5 | 82.8 | 34.8 | 60.4 | 47.2 |
| NE | 23.0 | 69.7 | 79.8 | 50.5 | 36.1 | 54.5 | 59.9 | 50.6 | 75.3 | 26.7 | 51.3 | 60.9 | 9.2 | 74.9 | 65.1 | 66.2 | 81.4 | 50.9 | 66.7 | 71.7 |
| NH | 19.5 | 52.6 | 74.3 | 50.9 | 44.2 | 27.3 | 53.6 | 50.1 | 63.4 | 38.2 | 26.6 | 47.4 | 12.2 | 69.0 | 54.2 | 51.1 | 70.4 | 36.5 | 61.9 | 54.0 |
| NJ | 18.3 | 53.4 | 72.5 | 43.8 | 42.5 | 31.3 | 49.0 | 39.0 | 59.8 | 30.5 | 31.5 | 59.8 | 15.5 | 68.6 | 51.7 | 48.9 | 76.8 | 33.2 | 54.7 | 53.3 |
| NM | 21.0 | 50.8 | 77.6 | 52.4 | 41.1 | 42.2 | 46.3 | 45.9 | 70.6 | 45.1 | 36.0 | 51.4 | 6.3 | 69.8 | 56.3 | 57.3 | 78.4 | 39.8 | 62.3 | 55.6 |
| NV | 14.7 | 62.7 | 71.0 | 46.1 | 40.9 | 34.3 | 57.5 | 40.8 | 69.2 | 28.6 | 30.8 | 50.4 | 9.1 | 73.5 | 56.0 | 56.1 | 80.6 | 33.6 | 67.1 | 60.6 |
| NY | 30.0 | 64.6 | 77.9 | 49.9 | 51.8 | 46.4 | 62.0 | 49.3 | 70.1 | 42.3 | 42.8 | 66.2 | 27.4 | 72.9 | 62.6 | 61.9 | 79.6 | 46.8 | 63.1 | 63.9 |
| OH | 10.9 | 56.1 | 70.4 | 48.4 | 42.5 | 30.8 | 53.6 | 41.5 | 67.9 | 30.7 | 30.2 | 63.6 | 12.0 | 69.5 | 55.6 | 52.0 | 75.3 | 30.4 | 54.3 | 52.9 |
| OK | 24.5 | 52.1 | 68.9 | 51.4 | 48.7 | 41.0 | 52.4 | 53.9 | 73.5 | 38.1 | 39.9 | 63.3 | 14.5 | 71.0 | 59.6 | 58.8 | 77.7 | 37.9 | 56.3 | 59.7 |
| OR | 18.6 | 58.3 | 70.9 | 37.8 | 31.3 | 43.7 | 49.7 | 45.4 | 66.2 | 24.8 | 40.5 | 45.9 | 9.5 | 61.1 | 59.0 | 58.0 | 75.1 | 42.0 | 57.0 | 59.1 |
| PA | 17.1 | 57.1 | 76.3 | 46.0 | 42.4 | 37.0 | 54.4 | 45.4 | 68.1 | 31.3 | 36.2 | 58.5 | 10.6 | 71.8 | 57.0 | 55.8 | 76.3 | 35.7 | 59.8 | 58.8 |
| RI | 15.4 | 65.6 | 83.7 | 44.8 | 51.6 | 40.8 | 61.5 | 55.7 | 62.1 | 24.3 | 39.3 | 69.8 | 11.4 | 73.1 | 55.4 | 61.5 | 73.7 | 41.0 | 47.9 | 57.5 |
| SC | 27.7 | 60.8 | 73.7 | 52.5 | 54.9 | 37.2 | 64.7 | 51.3 | 68.2 | 39.8 | 40.2 | 62.6 | 10.2 | 73.5 | 63.4 | 59.6 | 78.9 | 33.3 | 62.5 | 60.7 |
| SD | 20.8 | 48.4 | 77.7 | 38.2 | 35.4 | 42.8 | 38.2 | 39.9 | 73.0 | 22.3 | 40.5 | 68.4 | 14.1 | 68.4 | 40.9 | 33.1 | 80.0 | 42.8 | 42.8 | 44.7 |
| TN | 20.5 | 64.7 | 77.0 | 55.1 | 43.3 | 43.5 | 56.9 | 46.8 | 71.9 | 36.9 | 42.6 | 60.0 | 9.8 | 72.5 | 63.1 | 56.8 | 79.2 | 40.5 | 61.4 | 64.1 |
| TX | 26.6 | 54.7 | 69.5 | 47.6 | 49.6 | 40.3 | 52.1 | 41.4 | 63.9 | 42.3 | 38.4 | 61.9 | 25.7 | 64.6 | 56.6 | 56.1 | 71.4 | 39.9 | 54.9 | 55.4 |
| UT | 13.5 | 53.6 | 65.3 | 48.5 | 38.8 | 35.2 | 43.4 | 41.9 | 64.4 | 34.1 | 38.7 | 58.7 | 15.2 | 63.0 | 50.8 | 45.8 | 68.8 | 32.9 | 53.2 | 54.3 |
| VA | 16.8 | 61.5 | 73.3 | 46.9 | 48.9 | 34.3 | 51.7 | 45.2 | 70.0 | 32.5 | 32.9 | 65.2 | 12.4 | 71.2 | 61.7 | 57.9 | 79.3 | 36.2 | 62.2 | 62.6 |
| VT | 9.8 | 62.9 | 76.9 | 39.9 | 42.6 | 46.8 | 53.7 | 47.7 | 71.9 | 18.4 | 39.0 | 71.5 | 11.7 | 64.4 | 67.4 | 65.5 | 71.4 | 38.4 | 55.4 | 59.1 |
| WA | 19.3 | 59.8 | 70.6 | 48.1 | 39.6 | 43.1 | 50.5 | 42.4 | 66.5 | 27.7 | 36.0 | 61.2 | 12.7 | 66.0 | 59.8 | 57.3 | 75.7 | 43.9 | 60.4 | 58.7 |
| WI | 14.8 | 59.1 | 73.8 | 41.7 | 40.1 | 40.3 | 50.2 | 45.3 | 68.8 | 27.6 | 38.8 | 62.8 | 9.2 | 72.4 | 60.4 | 57.8 | 79.5 | 37.9 | 59.7 | 54.2 |
| WV | 14.1 | 41.0 | 84.8 | 50.6 | 44.4 | 19.1 | 61.0 | 43.7 | 69.1 | 42.1 | 26.4 | 59.7 | 16.1 | 84.3 | 53.5 | 51.0 | 69.0 | 24.9 | 66.6 | 72.7 |
| WY | 6.1 | 34.6 | 83.2 | 60.5 | 49.6 | 4.0 | 47.6 | 9.4 | 86.1 | 49.4 | 0.3 | 79.5 | 3.1 | 77.2 | 30.8 | 31.2 | 78.5 | 8.2 | 59.7 | 38.1 |

Note: The scores for DE, ND, and WY should be interpreted with caution because of a small sample size.

# Table A5: Correlation of Social Constructions

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|   | Criminals | DREAMERs | Farmers | Gun Owners | ICE | Illegal Aliens | Labor Unions | Marijuana Smokers | Medicare | NRA | Opioid Users | Police | Prisoners | Small Business | SNAP | TANF | Teachers | Unauthorized Immigrants | Unemployed | Uninsured |
| Criminals | 1.00 |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| DREAMers | 0.37 | 1.00 |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Farmers | -0.19 | -0.14 | 1.00 |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Gun Owners | 0.07 | -0.48 | 0.31 | 1.00 |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| ICE | 0.18 | -0.42 | 0.36 | 0.79 | 1.00 |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| “Illegal Aliens” | 0.51 | 0.75 | -0.25 | -0.52 | -0.40 | 1.00 |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Labor Unions | 0.49 | 0.74 | -0.01 | -0.18 | -0.04 | 0.39 | 1.00 |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Marijuana Smoker | 0.48 | 0.71 | -0.02 | -0.16 | -0.05 | 0.59 | 0.68 | 1.00 |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Medicare | 0.13 | 0.47 | 0.17 | -0.07 | -0.29 | 0.21 | 0.42 | 0.24 | 1.00 |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| NRA | 0.42 | -0.18 | 0.06 | 0.69 | 0.59 | -0.25 | 0.21 | 0.01 | 0.16 | 1.00 |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Opioid User | 0.59 | 0.75 | -0.16 | -0.29 | -0.21 | 0.82 | 0.55 | 0.81 | 0.31 | -0.06 | 1.00 |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Police | 0.27 | 0.52 | -0.03 | -0.08 | -0.10 | 0.27 | 0.61 | 0.30 | 0.55 | 0.26 | 0.30 | 1.00 |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Prisoners | -0.08 | -0.60 | 0.25 | 0.34 | 0.54 | -0.27 | -0.56 | -0.36 | -0.53 | 0.08 | -0.29 | -0.66 | 1.00 |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Small Business | 0.07 | 0.08 | 0.54 | 0.47 | 0.38 | -0.27 | 0.43 | 0.25 | 0.32 | 0.39 | -0.01 | 0.43 | -0.26 | 1.00 |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| SNAP | 0.37 | 0.61 | -0.04 | -0.04 | -0.05 | 0.56 | 0.38 | 0.69 | 0.25 | -0.05 | 0.68 | 0.08 | -0.12 | 0.06 | 1.00 |   |   |   |   |   |
| TANF | 0.25 | 0.52 | 0.05 | -0.02 | -0.02 | 0.50 | 0.28 | 0.60 | 0.17 | -0.10 | 0.58 | -0.04 | -0.05 | 0.04 | 0.89 | 1.00 |   |   |   |   |
| Teachers | 0.12 | 0.55 | 0.14 | -0.16 | -0.20 | 0.24 | 0.44 | 0.27 | 0.37 | -0.05 | 0.21 | 0.42 | -0.42 | 0.37 | 0.14 | 0.04 | 1.00 |   |   |   |
| Unauthorized Immigrants | 0.59 | 0.79 | -0.21 | -0.53 | -0.38 | 0.94 | 0.49 | 0.64 | 0.25 | -0.19 | 0.84 | 0.28 | -0.29 | -0.20 | 0.56 | 0.49 | 0.24 | 1.00 |   |   |
| Unemployed | 0.19 | 0.11 | 0.23 | 0.37 | 0.24 | 0.00 | 0.21 | 0.18 | 0.28 | 0.38 | 0.11 | -0.13 | 0.07 | 0.35 | 0.48 | 0.44 | 0.04 | 0.05 | 1.00 |   |
| Uninsured | 0.28 | 0.41 | 0.19 | 0.08 | -0.04 | 0.40 | 0.31 | 0.58 | 0.33 | 0.08 | 0.57 | 0.02 | -0.04 | 0.27 | 0.77 | 0.73 | -0.05 | 0.42 | 0.62 | 1.00 |