

Appendix

Survey Experiment Results

Table A.1. Probit Regression Model of Economic and Political Perceptions on Convention Support

| Predictors | Economic Optimism | Government Satisfaction |
|---|-------------------|-------------------------|
| Problem-Solving Condition | 0.381 (0.510) | 0.078 (0.208) |
| Improvement Condition | -0.086 (0.504) | -0.187 (0.200) |
| Economic Optimism | -0.089 (0.104) | |
| Problem-Solving Condition* Economic Optimism | -0.140 (0.155) | |
| Improvement Condition* Economic Optimism | 0.037 (0.155) | |
| Government Satisfaction | | -0.089 (0.189) |
| Problem-Solving Condition* Government Satisfaction | | -0.210 (0.271) |
| Improvement Condition* Government Satisfaction | | 0.394 (0.268) |
| Risk Preferences | 0.119* (0.021) | 0.116* (0.020) |
| Constant | 0.085 (0.358) | -0.136 (0.179) |
| Observations | 610 | 609 |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.051 | 0.051 |
| χ^2 | 39.0* | 38.4* |

Note: * $p < 0.05$

The two models listed above in Table A.1 were used to produce Figure 1 in the main text.

Table A.2. Probit Regression Model Interacting Economic and Political Perceptions

| Predictors | |
|--|-------------------|
| Problem-Solving Condition | 0.177 (0.728) |
| Improvement Condition | 0.346 (0.725) |
| Economic Optimism | -0.099 (0.168) |
| Government Satisfaction | -0.073 (0.773) |
| Problem-Solving Condition* Economic Optimism | -0.033 (0.260) |
| Problem-Solving Condition* Government Satisfaction | 0.169 (1.132) |
| Improvement Condition* Economic Optimism | -0.201 (0.263) |
| Improvement Condition* Government Satisfaction | -0.022 (1.137) |
| Problem-Solving Condition*Economic Optimism Government Satisfaction | -0.107 (0.354) |
| Improvement Condition*Economic Optimism Government Satisfaction | 0.166 (0.358) |
| Risk Preferences | 0.123* (0.021) |
| Constant | 0.091 (0.481) |
| Observations | 607 |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.058 |
| χ^2 | 43.9* |

Note: * $p < 0.05$

The model listed above in Table A.2 was used to produce Figure 2 in the main text.

Table A.3. Probit Regression Model of Out-Partisanship on Convention Support

| Predictors | Out-Partisans | |
|--|---------------------|---------------------|
| | State | National |
| Out-Partisan | 0.125 (0.204) | 0.111 (0.188) |
| Problem-Solving Condition | -0.066 (0.204) | 0.014 (0.176) |
| Improvement Condition | 0.145 (0.206) | -0.068 (0.183) |
| Problem-Solving Condition* Out-Partisan | -0.161 (0.287) | -0.166 (0.267) |
| Improvement Condition* Out-Partisan | -0.290 (0.290) | 0.192 (0.267) |
| Risk Preferences | 0.118*** (0.022) | 0.114*** (0.020) |
| Constant | -0.189 (0.195) | -0.221 (0.174) |
| Observations | 521 | 609 |
| Pseudo-R ² | 0.049 | 0.047 |
| χ^2 | 31.6*** | 35.8*** |

Note: * $p < 0.10$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$

Table A.4. Marginal Effect of Out-Partisanship on Support for a Constitutional Convention

| Condition | Out-Partisans | | | |
|---------------|---------------|-------|----------|-------|
| | State | | National | |
| | M.E. | P | M.E. | p |
| Control | 0.040 | 0.540 | 0.037 | 0.552 |
| Problem-Solve | -0.013 | 0.857 | -0.019 | 0.776 |
| Improve | -0.054 | 0.418 | 0.101 | 0.104 |

The probit regression models displayed in Table A.3 examine the effect of being an out-partisan on support for a hypothetical convention. We define out-partisanship in two ways: whether respondent is from a different party from their governor and whether respondent is from a different party than President Trump. Table A.4 displays the results of the marginal effects of these probit models. There is no statistically significant effect of out-partisanship in either model or any treatment condition.

Question Wording for Each Study

Survey Experiment Question Wording

Which best describes your gender?

- Male (1)
- Female (2)

What is your current age in years?

What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- Less than high school (1)
- High school graduate/ GED (2)
- Some college (3)
- 2 year degree (4)
- 4 year degree (5)
- Masters degree (6)
- Doctorate (7)
- Professional Degree (JD, MD) (8)

Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all?

- Hardly at all (1)
- Only now and then (2)
- Some of the time (3)
- Most of the time (4)

Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

- Republican (1)
- Democrat (2)
- Independent (3)
- Something else (4)

IF [3,4] selected:

Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party?

- Closer to the Republican (1)
- Closer to the Democratic (2)
- Neither (3)

IF [2] selected:

Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

- Strong Democrat (1)
- Not very strong Democrat (2)

IF [1] selected:

Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

- Strong Republican (1)
- Not very strong Republican (2)

Which of the following best describes your annual income before taxes?

- Less than \$25,000 (1)
- \$25,000-\$49,999 (2)
- \$50,000-\$74,999 (3)
- \$75,000-\$99,999 (4)
- More than \$100,000 (5)

What is your Race/Ethnicity?

- White/Caucasian (1)
- Black/African American (2)
- Hispanic/Latino (3)
- Asian (4)
- Other (please specify) (5) _____

In which state do you currently reside?

▼ Alabama (1) ... Wyoming (50)

On the whole, would you say you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the way **#{Q1/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}** is being governed?

- Satisfied (1)
- Dissatisfied (2)

What do you think about the state of the economy these days in **#{Q1/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}**? Would you say that over the past year, the economy in **#{Q1/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}** has gotten better, worse, or has it stayed about the same?

- Gotten much better (1)
- Gotten better (2)
- Stayed about the same (3)
- Gotten worse (4)
- Gotten much worse (5)

What do you think about the state of the economy these days in the **United States**? Would you say that over the past year, the **United States** economy has gotten better, worse, or has it stayed about the same?

- Gotten much better (1)
- Gotten better (2)
- Stayed about the same (3)
- Gotten worse (4)
- Gotten much worse (5)

TREATMENT 1

As you may know, each state has its **own constitution** that is separate from the United States Constitution.

A question on the November ballot will ask **#{Q1/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}** voters whether they want to **call a convention to propose changes** to the Constitution of **#{Q1/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}**.

Supporters of a convention believe it could **eliminate problems** in the way **#{Q1/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}** is currently being governed.

Would you vote to approve or reject a convention to propose changes to the **#{Q1/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}** Constitution?

- Approve (1)
- Reject (2)

TREATMENT 2

As you may know, each state has its **own constitution** that is separate from the United States Constitution.

A question on the November ballot will ask $\{Q1/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$ voters whether they want to **call a convention to propose changes** to the Constitution of $\{Q1/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$.

Supporters of a convention believe it could **further strengthen** the way $\{Q1/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$ is currently being governed.

Would you vote to approve or reject a convention to propose changes to the $\{Q1/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$ Constitution?

Approve (1)

Reject (2)

CONTROL BLOCK

As you may know, each state has its **own constitution** that is separate from the United States Constitution.

A question on the November ballot will ask $\{Q1/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$ voters whether they want to **call a convention to propose changes** to the Constitution of $\{Q1/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$.

Would you vote to approve or reject a convention to propose changes to the $\{Q1/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$ Constitution?

Approve (1)

Reject (2)

If a convention to propose changes the $\{Q1/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$ Constitution is held, which comes closer to your view?

- It could eliminate problems in how $\{Q1/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$ is currently being governed. (1)
- It could further strengthen how $\{Q1/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$ is currently being governed. (2)

Using the following scale, how do you see yourself? Are you generally a person who is fully prepared to take risks or do you try to avoid taking risks?

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| (1:10) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
|--------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|

Table A.5. Rhode Island Survey Question Wording

| |
|---|
| <p>A provision in the Rhode Island Constitution created Question 3, which would call a convention to amend or revise the Rhode Island Constitution. How much have you read or heard about Question 3?</p> <p><i>A great deal 11.2%; A fair amount 19.8%; Just a little 34.5%; Nothing at all 33.3%; Don't know 1.2%</i></p> |
| <p>Each state has its own constitution that is separate from the United States Constitution. Would you vote to approve or reject a convention to amend or revise the Rhode Island Constitution?</p> <p><i>Approve 42.3%; Reject 26.8%; Don't know 30.9%</i></p> |
| <p>As of today, which way would you lean? Would you lean towards approving a convention to amend or revise the Rhode Island Constitution or would you lean towards rejecting a convention to amend or revise the Rhode Island Constitution?</p> <p><i>Lean toward 13.5%; Lean against 7.4%; Don't know 79.1%</i></p> |
| <p>On the whole, would you say you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Rhode Island is being governed?</p> <p><i>Satisfied 14.9%; Dissatisfied 78.0%; No opinion 7.1%</i></p> |
| <p>Would you describe the state of the nation's economy these days as:</p> <p><i>Excellent 0.7%; Good 26.4%; Not so good 41.7%; Poor 29.8%; Don't know 1.4%</i></p> |
| <p>Would you describe the state of Rhode Island's economy these days as:</p> <p><i>Excellent 0.5%; Good 6.8%; Not so good 36.5%; Poor 55.0%; Don't know 1.2%</i></p> |

Table A.6. New York Survey Question Wording

| |
|---|
| <p>Is New York State on the right track, or is it headed in the wrong direction?</p> <p><i>Right track 48%; wrong direction 40%; Don't know 12%</i></p> |
| <p>Switching gears, the last New York State Constitutional Convention was held in 1967. Since then, New Yorkers have twice voted against having a constitutional convention - in both 1977 and 1997. In 2017, New Yorkers will again have an opportunity to vote on whether or not there should be a State Constitutional Convention. How much have you heard about that vote in 2017 on whether or not to have a constitutional convention. Would you say you have heard a great deal, some, not very much, or nothing at all?</p> <p><i>A great deal 35%; Some 27%; Not very much 19%; Nothing at all 19%</i></p> |
| <p>Specifically, the November ballot question on a Constitutional Convention will ask, "Shall there be a convention to revise the constitution and amend the same?" Will you vote "yes" to have a Constitutional Convention or "no" to not have a Constitutional Convention?</p> <p><i>Yes 25%; No 57%; Don't know 18%</i></p> |

Alternate Models for Rhode Island Data

Table A.7. Ordered Probit Model of Support for a Rhode Island Constitutional Convention

| Predictors | |
|------------------------------|--------------------|
| Democrat | -0.006 (0.105) |
| Republican | -0.010 (0.176) |
| Ideology | -0.208* (0.066) |
| Female | -0.066 (0.094) |
| White | -0.006 (0.126) |
| Age | 0.044 (0.045) |
| Providence Resident | 0.179 (0.103) |
| Education | -0.122* (0.041) |
| Referendum Knowledge | -0.050 (0.047) |
| U.S. Economy Optimism | 0.123 (0.077) |
| R.I. Economy Optimism | -0.255* (0.106) |
| R.I. Government Satisfaction | -0.461* (0.221) |
| R.I. Economic Optimism* | 0.262 (0.189) |
| R.I. Government Satisfaction | |
| Cut 1 | -0.786* (0.258) |
| Cut 2 | -0.707* (0.258) |
| Cut 3 | -0.554* (0.258) |
| Observations | 736 |
| Pseudo-R ² | 0.030 |
| χ^2 | 38.9* |

Note: * $p < 0.05$

The model displayed in Table A.7 analyses a four-point dependent variable regarding the Rhode Island convention referendum: voting no, leaning no, leaning yes, voting yes.

One important consideration brought to our attention is that the Taubman Center’s survey of likely Rhode Island voters appears to possess a rather unexpected distribution of ideological identification and party registration. Given that ideology has such a strong effect on convention perceptions in Table 2 in the manuscript, these sampling imbalances could bias our findings. Table A.8 presents the sample proportions of respondents in the Taubman Center survey, in comparison with weighted proportions from a sample of likely voters drawn from the 2014 Cooperative Congressional Election Study.¹ The CCES is relatively unique in that its weighted estimates are designed to be representative at the state level. Looking at Table A.8, we see from the distributions of these categorical variables that discrepancies between the CCES sample and the Taubman data appear to be relatively large on these key political variables.

Table A.8. Comparison of Sample Proportions (Likely Voters), 2014 CCES and Taubman Survey

| Survey | Conservatives | Moderates | Liberals |
|----------------|---------------|-----------|----------|
| Taubman Center | 28.7% | 38.2% | 33.1% |
| 2014 CCES | 25.1% | 37.1% | 37.1% |

| Survey | Registered Republicans | Registered Democrats |
|----------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| Taubman Center | 8.9% | 26.3% |
| 2014 CCES | 12.1% | 50.7% |

In order to assess whether biased sampling estimates for these political variables influenced the results of the present study, we utilized poststratification raking techniques which weighted the Taubman data according to CCES estimates of ideology and party registration. This process was performed using the “rake” command in Thomas Lumley’s (2010) “survey” package for the R programming environment.² Table A.9 replicates Model 1 of Table 2 using

¹ See <http://projects.iq.harvard.edu/cces/>.

² See <http://r-survey.r-forge.r-project.org/survey/>.

the post-stratification weights calculated by this method.

Table A.9. Poststratification-Weighted Logistic Regression Model of Support for a Rhode Island Constitutional Convention

| Predictors | |
|------------------------------|--------------------|
| Democrat | -0.148 (0.137) |
| Republican | -0.093 (0.199) |
| Ideology | -0.174 (0.093) |
| Female | -0.028 (0.126) |
| White | -0.086 (0.168) |
| Age | 0.075 (0.061) |
| Providence Resident | 0.179 (0.138) |
| Education | -0.069 (0.061) |
| Referendum Knowledge | -0.062 (0.060) |
| U.S. Economy Optimism | 0.129 (0.102) |
| R.I. Economy Optimism | -0.316* (0.140) |
| R.I. Government Satisfaction | -1.058* (0.535) |
| R.I. Economic Optimism* | 0.396 (0.258) |
| R.I. Government Satisfaction | |
| Constant | 1.185* (0.413) |
| Observations | 736 |
| Pseudo-R ² | 0.040 |
| χ^2 | 24.4* |

Note: * $p < 0.05$

The results reveal negative economic and government performance perceptions exert a negative effect on convention support, which is consistent with the unweighted analysis

displayed in Table 2 in the main text. Together, these results demonstrate that the pattern observed in the manuscript is robust to the political eccentricities of the Taubman Center data.

Alternate Models for New York Data

Table A.10. Probit Model of Support for a New York Constitutional Convention

| Predictors | Model 1 | Model 2 |
|---|----------------------|----------------------|
| Democrat | -0.153 (0.182) | -0.150 (0.182) |
| Republican | -0.157 (0.195) | -0.181 (0.196) |
| Ideology | -0.081 (0.104) | -0.070 (0.105) |
| Female | -0.075 (0.132) | -0.057 (0.134) |
| African American | 0.364 (0.223) | 0.451** (0.227) |
| Latino | 0.813*** (0.256) | 0.858*** (0.261) |
| Asian | 0.288 (0.459) | 0.293 (0.449) |
| Age | -0.002 (0.004) | -0.002 (0.004) |
| N.Y.C. Suburb Resident | -0.330* (0.184) | -0.332* (0.187) |
| Upstate Resident | -0.158 (0.176) | -0.175 (0.177) |
| Education | -0.091 (0.066) | -0.095 (0.066) |
| Referendum Knowledge | -0.420*** (0.059) | -0.424*** (0.060) |
| N.Y. Economy Evaluation | 0.233** (0.103) | -0.005 (0.149) |
| N.Y. Government Performance | -0.134 (0.160) | -1.210** (0.498) |
| N.Y. Government Performance* N.Y. Economy Perception | | 0.493** (0.212) |
| Constant | 1.122* (0.612) | 1.562** (0.633) |
| Observations | 504 | 504 |
| Pseudo-R ² | 0.163 | 0.173 |
| χ^2 | 98.1*** | 105.1*** |

Note: * $p < 0.10$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$

References to the Appendices

NB: This list of sources includes only those referenced in the present supplementary materials. For a full bibliography of sources referenced in the manuscript, please see the main text.

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