

Online Appendix for “It’s the End of the World and They Know It: How Dystopian Fiction Shapes Political Attitudes” by Calvert W. Jones (University of Maryland, College Park) and Celia Paris (Coro Center for Civic Leadership, Pittsburgh)

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Figure A1: Manipulation Check Open-Text Question on Dystopian Themes

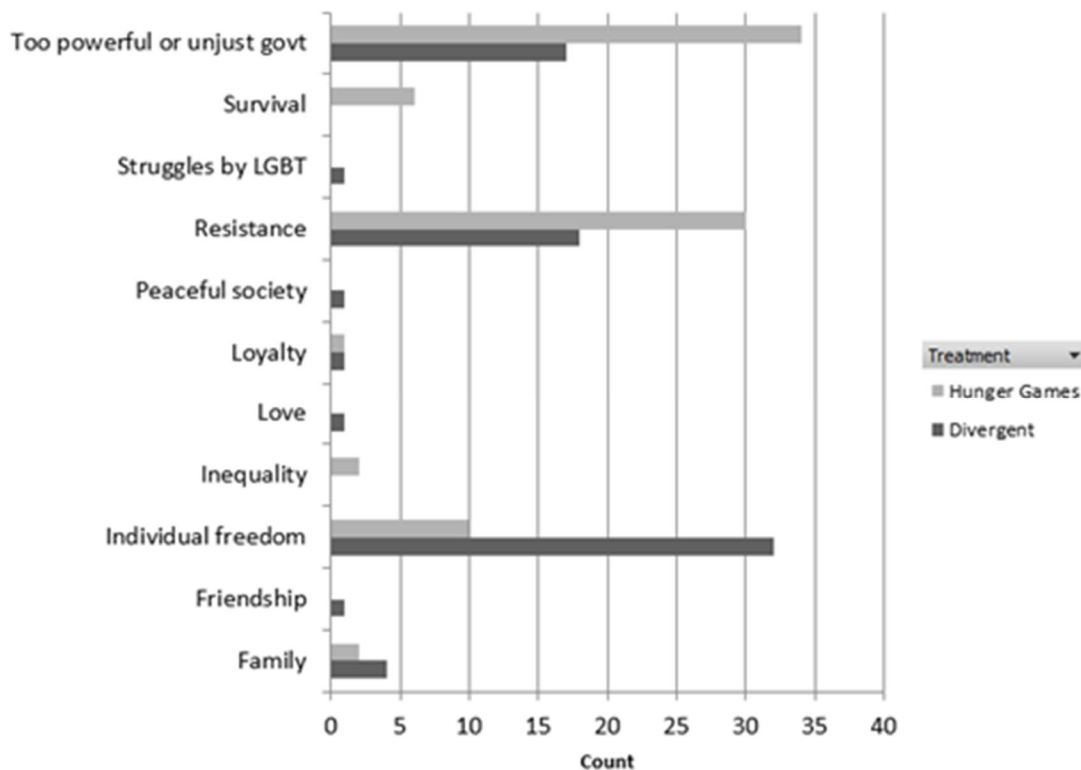


Figure shows the different themes identified in the manipulation check question in Study 1. To check that the media treatments were perceived as projecting dystopian themes, subjects in the "no media" control group (n=96) were randomly assigned to one of the two dystopian media treatments, but the treatments did not appear until after subjects had already completed the survey questions. Subjects were asked, "What do you think are the main themes in this fiction series (considering both the text passages you read and the movie clips you watched)?" Each subject's response was coded as containing from zero to four themes, with a total count of 163 and a mean of 1.7 themes per subject. The bars indicate the number of times each theme appeared in the dataset.

Table A1: Sample Demographics for All Three Studies

	Pooled		Study 1			Study 2			Study 3		
	<i>Hunger Games</i>	<i>Control</i>	<i>Hunger Games</i> N = 91	<i>Divergent</i> N = 85	<i>Control</i> N = 96	<i>Hunger Games</i> N = 104	<i>Fast & Furious</i> N = 136	<i>Control</i> N = 166	<i>Hunger Games</i> N = 94	<i>Thai Protests</i> N = 99	<i>Control</i> N = 100
Partisan Identification											
Democrat	49.5%	50.8%	48.4%	45.2%	35.4%	51.0%	62.5%	52.4%	48.9%	53.1%	63.0%
Republican	14.2%	14.1%	13.2%	14.3%	12.5%	6.7%	6.6%	13.9%	23.4%	20.4%	16.0%
Independent	27.0%	21.6%	36.3%	32.1%	46.9%	22.1%	14.7%	12.7%	23.4%	10.2%	12.0%
Other	3.5%	6.6%	0.0%	8.3%	4.2%	6.7%	9.6%	9.6%	3.2%	7.1%	4.0%
Not Sure	5.9%	6.9%	2.2%	0.0%	1.0%	13.5%	6.6%	11.5%	1.1%	9.2%	5.0%
Sex											
Female	54.0%	53.0%	47.3%	44.1%	43.8%	63.1%	64.0%	60.8%	50.5%	55.1%	49.0%
Race/Ethnicity											
White	65.5%	73.2%	69.2%	76.2%	80.2%	65.1%	64.0%	70.5%	62.4%	65.3%	71.0%
Black	9.4%	4.7%	11.0%	8.3%	5.2%	6.8%	8.1%	3.6%	10.8%	10.2%	6.0%
Latino	7.0%	6.1%	9.9%	6.0%	4.2%	5.8%	8.1%	8.4%	5.4%	9.2%	4.0%
Asian	11.5%	10.5%	8.8%	6.0%	8.3%	9.7%	11.8%	10.2%	16.1%	7.1%	13.0%
Other	6.6%	5.5%	1.1%	3.6%	2.1%	12.6%	8.1%	7.2%	5.4%	8.2%	6.0%
Quiz Questions											
Got all 3 correct	67.1%	65.5%	72.5%	77.7%	74.0%	72.1%	89.0%	68.1%	56.4%	54.6%	53.0%
Age (years)											
Median category			31-35	31-35	31-35	20-21	20-21	20-21	19	19	19
Education											
Some high school			2.2%	1.2%	1.0%						
High school grad.			9.9%	8.3%	8.3%						
Some college			29.7%	26.2%	32.3%						
2-year college			8.8%	13.1%	13.5%						
4-year college			36.3%	47.6%	36.5%						
Post-graduate			13.2%	3.6%	8.3%						
Major											
Social Sciences						36.5%	32.4%	38.6%	58.5%	57.6%	65.0%
Humanities						44.2%	43.4%	44.0%	5.3%	8.1%	7.0%
Natural Sciences						4.8%	8.8%	8.4%	10.6%	12.1%	7.0%
Pre-Professional						5.8%	8.1%	5.4%	18.1%	12.1%	9.0%
Interdisciplinary						3.9%	3.7%	1.8%	1.1%	1.0%	3.0%
Other						4.8%	3.7%	1.8%	6.4%	9.1%	9.0%

Note for Table A1

As expected, the treatment and control groups are generally well-balanced across a range of demographic variables. When comparing the dystopian treatment conditions to the no-media control condition and to the nonfiction condition along the dimensions of party identification, race, and gender, in only one instance is there statistically significant difference in a chi-square test: in Study 3, there were differences in party identification between the dystopian treatment group and the nonfiction treatment group.

Table A2: Justifiability of Action (Individual Items)

		<i>Three Studies Pooled</i>		<i>Study 1</i>		<i>Study 2</i>		<i>Study 3</i>					
		(1)		(2)		(3)		(4)		(5)		(6)	
		<i>Hunger Games v. Control</i>		<i>Hunger Games v. Control</i>		<i>Divergent v. Control</i>		<i>Hunger Games v. Control</i>		<i>Hunger Games v. Control</i>		<i>Hunger Games v. Nonfiction</i>	
		N=550		N=186		N=179		N=209		N=155		N=157	
		<i>Means</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>Means</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>Means</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>Means</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>Means</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>Means</i>	<i>Difference</i>
Civil Disobedience	<i>Dystopian</i>	0.73 (0.02)	-0.01	0.73 (0.03)	0.05	0.67 (0.03)	-0.01	0.74 (0.03)	-0.03	0.74 (0.03)	-0.04	0.74 (0.03)	-0.05
	<i>Control</i>	0.74 (0.01)	(0.02)	0.68 (0.03)	(0.04)	0.68 (0.03)	(0.04)	0.77 (0.02)	(0.03)	0.78 (0.03)	(0.04)	0.78 (0.03)	(0.04)
Property Damage	<i>Dystopian</i>	0.34 (0.02)	0.06**	0.27 (0.03)	0.08*	0.24 (0.03)	0.04	0.38 (0.03)	0.05^	0.38 (0.03)	0.07^	0.38 (0.03)	0.04
	<i>Control</i>	0.28 (0.01)	(0.02)	0.19 (0.02)	(0.03)	0.19 (0.02)	(0.04)	0.33 (0.02)	(0.03)	0.31 (0.03)	(0.04)	0.34 (0.03)	(0.04)
Cyber-Attacks	<i>Dystopian</i>	0.34 (0.02)	0.05*	0.30 (0.03)	0.09**	0.24 (0.03)	0.03	0.41 (0.03)	0.06^	0.32 (0.03)	0.00	0.32 (0.03)	0.00
	<i>Control</i>	0.30 (0.01)	(0.02)	0.21 (0.02)	(0.04)	0.21 (0.02)	(0.04)	0.35 (0.02)	(0.04)	0.32 (0.03)	(0.04)	0.32 (0.03)	(0.04)
Violent Protest	<i>Dystopian</i>	0.27 (0.02)	0.06**	0.20 (0.03)	0.08**	0.18 (0.03)	0.06*	0.31 (0.03)	0.07*	0.30 (0.03)	0.05	0.30 (0.03)	0.07*
	<i>Control</i>	0.21 (0.01)	(0.02)	0.12 (0.02)	(0.03)	0.12 (0.02)	(0.03)	0.24 (0.02)	(0.03)	0.25 (0.03)	(0.04)	0.23 (0.02)	(0.04)
Armed Rebellion	<i>Dystopian</i>	0.27 (0.02)	0.07***	0.22 (0.03)	0.08**	0.24 (0.03)	0.10**	0.31 (0.03)	0.09**	0.29 (0.03)	0.05	0.29 (0.03)	0.06^
	<i>Control</i>	0.20 (0.01)	(0.02)	0.13 (0.02)	(0.04)	0.13 (0.02)	(0.03)	0.22 (0.02)	(0.03)	0.24 (0.03)	(0.04)	0.23 (0.02)	(0.04)

Table shows differences in means in justifiability attitudes by condition in each study and pooled across all three studies. Standard errors are shown in parentheses. Respondents were asked, "To what extent do you think the following actions are justified, if a government is perceived as unjust?" Responses were given on a 100-point slider anchored by "Never justifiable" at one end and "Always justifiable" at the other end, and responses were recoded on 0 to 1 scale, so that positive differences of means between a treatment group and a control group can be interpreted as the percent-increase (or decrease) in a given variable caused by the treatment. Respondents who skipped any of the justifiability measures were dropped. Since hypotheses were directional in nature, t-tests are one-tailed. Boxes containing significant differences in means are gray, and symbols for p-values for the significance of the coefficients are: *** = p<.001, ** = p<.01, * = p<.05, and ^ = p<.10.

Table A3: Potential Moderators of Impact of Hunger Games on Perceived Legitimacy of Radical Action

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
	Damaging Action Index				Violent Action Index				Violence as Necessary			
Hunger Games Treatment	0.05**	0.06**	0.03	0.05	0.07***	0.07***	0.02	0.06	0.08**	0.08**	0.06	0.04
0-1 indicator	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.07)	(0.09)
Prior Hunger Games Exposure	0.07*	0.05^	0.06	0.05	0.08**	0.06*	0.06	0.05	0.04	0.05	0.03	0.04
0-1 indicator	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Prior Hunger Games Exposure			0.02	0.01			0.06	0.04			0.02	0.02
x Hunger Games Treatment			(0.06)	(0.06)			(0.06)	(0.06)			(0.07)	(0.07)
Age Bracket		-0.05***		-0.05**		-0.04***		-0.04*		-0.02^		-0.04^
		(0.01)		(0.02)		(0.01)		(0.02)		(0.01)		(0.02)
Age Bracket				0.00				-0.01				0.02
x Hunger Games Treatment				(0.02)				(0.02)				(0.03)
Female		0.00		-0.01		-0.01		-0.01		-0.11***		-0.10**
		(0.02)		(0.03)		(0.02)		(0.03)		(0.02)		(0.03)
Female				0.01				-0.01				-0.02
x Hunger Games Treatment				(0.04)				(0.04)				(0.05)
Constant	0.23***	0.33***	0.23***	0.33***	0.13***	0.22***	0.15***	0.22***	0.55***	0.63***	0.56***	0.66***
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.06)
Observations	550	526	550	526	550	526	550	526	550	526	550	526
R-squared	0.023	0.061	0.023	0.062	0.037	0.063	0.039	0.065	0.021	0.062	0.021	0.064

Table shows coefficients from OLS regressions of the radical action variables on an indicator for the Hunger Games treatment (1 = Hunger Games, 0 = no media control group) and potential moderating variables, pooling across all three studies to maximize power. Standard errors are shown in parentheses. Respondents were asked, "To what extent do you think the following actions are justified, if a government is perceived as unjust?" Responses were given on a 100-point slider anchored by "Never justifiable" at one end and "Always justifiable" at the other end, and responses were recoded on 0 to 1 scale, so that coefficients can be interpreted as the percent-increase (or decrease) in a given variable caused by the treatment. Respondents who skipped any of the justifiability measures were dropped. Since hypotheses were directional in nature, t-tests are one-tailed. Boxes containing significant differences in means are gray, and symbols for p-values for the significance of the coefficients are: *** = p<.001, ** = p<.01, and * = p<.05.

Table A4: Justifiability of Action (Limited to Attentive Respondents)

		<i>Three Studies Pooled</i>		<i>Study 1</i>		<i>Study 2</i>		<i>Study 3</i>		<i>Hunger Games v. Nonfiction</i>			
		<i>Hunger Games v. Control</i> N=396-431		<i>Hunger Games v. Control</i> N=137		<i>Divergent v. Control</i> N=137		<i>Hunger Games v. Control</i> N=166-188		<i>Hunger Games v. Control</i> N=93-106		<i>Hunger Games v. Nonfiction</i> N=92-105	
		<i>Means</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>Means</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>Means</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>Means</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>Means</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>Means</i>	<i>Difference</i>
Civil Disobedience	<i>Dystopian</i>	0.78 (0.02)	0.04 [^]	0.76 (0.03)	0.09*	0.67 (0.03)	0.00	0.79 (0.02)	0.00	0.79 (0.03)	0.03	0.79 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.04)
	<i>Other Group</i>	0.74 (0.02)	(0.02)	0.67 (0.04)	(0.05)	0.67 (0.04)	(0.05)	0.78 (0.02)	(0.03)	0.75 (0.03)	(0.04)	0.80 (0.03)	(0.04)
Damaging Action Index	<i>Dystopian</i>	0.31 (0.02)	0.04*	0.26 (0.03)	0.07*	0.23 (0.03)	0.04	0.38 (0.03)	0.05 [^]	0.29 (0.03)	0.01	0.29 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.05)
	<i>Other Group</i>	0.27 (0.01)	(0.02)	0.19 (0.02)	(0.04)	0.19 (0.02)	(0.04)	0.33 (0.02)	(0.04)	0.29 (0.03)	(0.04)	0.32 (0.03)	(0.05)
Violent Action Index	<i>Dystopian</i>	0.25 (0.02)	0.06**	0.18 (0.03)	0.08*	0.20 (0.03)	0.09**	0.29 (0.02)	0.06*	0.29 (0.04)	0.05	0.29 (0.04)	0.07 [^] (0.05)
	<i>Other Group</i>	0.19 (0.01)	(0.02)	0.11 (0.02)	(0.03)	0.11 (0.02)	(0.03)	0.23 (0.02)	(0.03)	0.24 (0.03)	(0.05)	0.22 (0.03)	(0.05)
Violence as Necessary	<i>Dystopian</i>	0.65 (0.02)	0.09***	0.57 (0.05)	0.06	0.60 (0.03)	0.09*	0.69 (0.03)	0.12**	0.69 (0.03)	0.07	0.69 (0.03)	0.12* (0.05)
	<i>Other Group</i>	0.56 (0.02)	(0.03)	0.51 (0.03)	(0.05)	0.51 (0.03)	(0.05)	0.57 (0.03)	(0.04)	0.62 (0.04)	(0.05)	0.57 (0.04)	(0.05)

Table shows differences in means in justifiability attitudes by condition in each study and pooled across all three studies, limiting sample to only those respondents who got all three quiz corrections correct. Standard errors are shown in parentheses. Respondents were asked, "To what extent do you think the following actions are justified, if a government is perceived as unjust?" Responses were given on a 100-point slider anchored by "Never justifiable" at one end and "Always justifiable" at the other end, and responses were recoded on 0 to 1 scale, so that positive differences of means between a treatment group and a control group can be interpreted as the percent-increase (or decrease) in a given variable caused by the treatment. Since hypotheses were directional in nature, t-tests are one-tailed. Boxes containing significant differences in means are gray, and symbols for p-values for the significance of the coefficients are: *** = p<.001, ** = p<.01, * = p<.05, and ^ = p<.10.

Table A5: Effectiveness of Actions in Full Sample (Study 3)

		<i>Fiction v. Control</i>		<i>Nonfiction v. Control</i>		<i>Fiction v. Nonfiction</i>
		(1)		(2)		(3)
		N=150		N=156		N=148
		<i>Means</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>Means</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>Difference</i>
Conventional Action Index	<i>Treatment</i>	0.42 (0.02)	0.01	0.41 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)
	<i>Control</i>	0.41 (0.02)	(0.03)	0.41 (0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Damaging Action Index	<i>Treatment</i>	0.32 (0.03)	0.03	0.25 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.04)	0.07* (0.04)
	<i>Control</i>	0.29 (0.03)	(0.04)	0.29 (0.03)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Violent Action Index (2-item)	<i>Treatment</i>	0.41 (0.03)	0.04	0.33 (0.02)	-0.05 (0.04)	0.09* (0.04)
	<i>Control</i>	0.38 (0.03)	(0.05)	0.38 (0.03)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Violent Action Index (3-item)	<i>Treatment</i>	0.45 (0.03)	0.05	0.37 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.04)	0.08* (0.04)
	<i>Control</i>	0.40 (0.03)	(0.05)	0.40 (0.03)	(0.04)	(0.04)

Table shows mean difference in effectiveness beliefs by condition in Study 3. Standard errors are shown in parentheses. Respondents were asked, "How effective do you think each of the following actions are, as a way of responding to injustice?" Responses were given on a 100-point slider anchored by "Not effective at all" at one end and "Very effective" at the other end, and responses were recoded on 0 to 1 scale. Conventional action items were: signing a petition, writing a letter, posting a comment on social media, voting for a particular candidate, donating to a particular candidate, donating to an activist group, and participating in a nonviolent protest or march. Damaging actions were: engaging in cyber-attacks against those responsible and destroying the property of those responsible. Violent actions were participating in a violent protest, participating in an armed rebellion, and overthrowing the government (in 3-item but not 2-item index). Those who skipped any of the effectiveness measures were dropped. Since hypotheses were directional in nature, t-tests are one-tailed. Boxes containing significant differences in means are gray, and symbols for p-values for the significance of the coefficients are: *** = p<.001, ** = p<.01, * = p<.05, and ^ = p<.10.

Table A6: Impact of Dystopian Treatments on Pro-Democratic Attitudes (Trust, Support for Open Debate, and Efficacy)

<i>Indices:</i>		<i>Three Studies Pooled</i>		<i>Study 1</i>			<i>Study 2</i>		<i>Study 3</i>				
		<i>Hunger Games v. Control</i> N=649		<i>Hunger Games v. Control</i> N=185		<i>Divergent v. Control</i> N=179	<i>Hunger Games v. Control</i> N=270		<i>Hunger Games v. Control</i> N=194		<i>Hunger Games v. Nonfiction</i> N=191		
		<i>Means</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>Means</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>Means</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>Means</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>Means</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>Means</i>	<i>Difference</i>
Trust in Politicians (3-item)	<i>Dystopian</i>	0.39 (0.01)	0.02	0.34 (0.02)	0.03	0.33 (0.02)	0.02	0.37 (0.02)	0.00	0.46 (0.02)	0.04	0.46 (0.02)	0.04
	<i>Other Group</i>	0.37 (0.01)	(0.02)	0.31 (0.02)	(0.03)	0.31 (0.02)	(0.03)	0.37 (0.02)	(0.03)	0.42 (0.02)	(0.03)	0.42 (0.02)	(0.03)
Support for Open Debate (2-item)	<i>Dystopian</i>	0.81 (0.01)	0.03*	0.83 (0.02)	0.05	0.78 (0.02)	0.01	0.80 (0.02)	0.03	0.80 (0.02)	0.01	0.80 (0.02)	0.04
	<i>Other Group</i>	0.77 (0.01)	(0.02)	0.77 (0.02)	(0.03)	0.77 (0.02)	(0.03)	0.77 (0.02)	(0.03)	0.78 (0.02)	(0.03)	0.76 (0.02)	(0.03)
Intent to Participate (4-item)	<i>Dystopian</i>	0.63 (0.02)	0.02	0.58 (0.03)	-0.00	0.52 (0.03)	-0.06	0.62 (0.02)	0.03	0.68 (0.03)	0.05	0.68 (0.03)	0.04
	<i>Other Group</i>	0.60 (0.01)	(0.02)	0.58 (0.03)	(0.04)	0.58 (0.03)	(0.04)	0.59 (0.02)	(0.03)	0.63 (0.02)	(0.04)	0.64 (0.02)	(0.04)
Internal Efficacy (4-item)	<i>Dystopian</i>									0.69 (0.02)	0.01	0.69 (0.02)	0.05
	<i>Other Group</i>									0.68 (0.02)	(0.03)	0.65 (0.02)	(0.03)
External Efficacy (2-item)	<i>Dystopian</i>									0.57 (0.02)	0.04	0.57 (0.02)	0.04
	<i>Other Group</i>									0.53 (0.03)	(0.04)	0.53 (0.02)	(0.03)

Table shows differences in means in pro-democratic attitudes by condition in each study and pooled across all three studies. Standard errors are shown in parentheses. The trust in politicians items were: "Politicians generally have good intentions," "When politicians make statements to the American people on television or in the newspapers, they are usually telling the truth," and "Most politicians can be trusted to do what is right," (Cronbach's alpha .82). The support for open political debate items were, "You can't have a democracy without political opposition," and "You really can't be sure whether an opinion is correct or not unless people are free to argue against it" (taken from Mutz and Reeves 2005, Cronbach's alpha .55). The intent to participate items asked respondents "How likely would you say you are to engage in the following activities over the next few years?" with the following list of actions: sign a petition, contact their representative in Congress, volunteer, and post a comment on social media about a political issue (Cronbach's alpha .75). The internal and external efficacy items were from the 1992 ANES (Cronbach's alphas of .74 and .65 respectively). All items were on a 7-point Likert scale, recoded 0 to 1 (0=Strongly disagree/very unlikely, 1=Strongly agree/very likely). Respondents who failed to answer all questions for any indices were dropped. Since hypotheses were speculative, t-tests are two-tailed. Boxes containing significant differences in means are gray, and symbols for p-values for the significance of the coefficients are: *** = p<.001, ** = p<.01, and * = p<.05.

Table A7: Impact of Dystopian Treatments on Belief That Women Are as Suited as Men for Leadership and Combat Roles

		<i>Pooled</i>		<i>Study 1</i>				<i>Study 2</i>		<i>Study 3</i>			
		<i>Hunger Games v. Control</i>		<i>Hunger Games v. Control</i>		<i>Divergent v. Control</i>		<i>Hunger Games v. Control</i>		<i>Hunger Games v. Control</i>		<i>Hunger Games v. Nonfiction</i>	
		<i>N=650</i>		<i>N=187</i>		<i>N=180</i>		<i>N=269</i>		<i>N=194</i>		<i>N=190</i>	
		<i>Means</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>Means</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>Means</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>Means</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>Means</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>Means</i>	<i>Difference</i>
Leadership	<i>Dystopian</i>	0.79 (0.02)	-0.03	0.88 (0.02)	0.00	0.84 (0.02)	-0.03	0.82 (0.03)	-0.01	0.69 (0.03)	-0.07	0.69 (0.03)	-0.08
	<i>Other Group</i>	0.82 (0.01)	(0.02)	0.87 (0.02)	(0.03)	0.87 (0.02)	(0.03)	0.83 (0.02)	(0.03)	0.76 (0.03)	(0.04)	0.77 (0.03)	(0.04)
Combat	<i>Dystopian</i>	0.69 (0.02)	-0.04	0.48 (0.03)	0.04	0.43 (0.04)	-0.01	0.84 (0.02)	0.00	0.74 (0.03)	-0.09*	0.74 (0.03)	-0.05
	<i>Other Group</i>	0.73 (0.02)	(0.03)	0.44 (0.03)	(0.05)	0.44 (0.03)	(0.05)	0.84 (0.02)	(0.03)	0.83 (0.02)	(0.04)	0.79 (0.03)	(0.04)

Table shows differences in means in gender attitudes by condition in each study and pooled across all three studies. Standard errors are shown in parentheses. Respondents were asked to rate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with the statements, "Men are more likely than women to be strong leaders." and "Women should have the same opportunities as men to serve in combat roles in the military." (The phrasing of the statements was slightly different in Study 1: "Women have the same capacities for leadership as men." and "Men are better suited than women for combat.") Responses were on a seven-point Likert scale, and were recoded such that 0 was the least feminist response and 1 the most feminist response. Respondents who skipped any of the measures were dropped. Since hypotheses were speculative, t-tests are two-tailed. Boxes containing significant differences in means are gray, and symbols for p-values for the significance of the coefficients are: *** = $p < .001$, ** = $p < .01$, and * = $p < .05$.

Table A8: Affective Reactions to Treatments

		Divergent (Study 1) N=96		Fast & Furious (Study 2) N=157-160		Real Thai Protests (Study 3) N=285-289	
		Means	Difference	Means	Difference	Means	Difference
Inspired	Hunger Games	0.41 (0.05)	-0.02	0.37 (0.04)	0.26***	0.45 (0.03)	0.27**
	Alt Treatment	0.43 (0.05)	(0.07)	0.11 (0.02)	(0.04)	0.18 (0.02)	(0.03)
Determined	Hunger Games	0.53 (0.05)	0.02	0.38 (0.04)	0.21***	0.30 (0.03)	0.17***
	Alt Treatment	0.51 (0.04)	(0.06)	0.17 (0.03)	(0.05)	0.13 (0.02)	(0.03)
Interested	Hunger Games	0.68 (0.04)	0.03	0.54 (0.04)	0.25***	0.68 (0.02)	0.13***
	Alt Treatment	0.66 (0.05)	(0.06)	0.29 (0.03)	(0.04)	0.54 (0.02)	(0.03)
Enthusiastic	Hunger Games	0.32 (0.04)	-0.06	0.19 (0.03)	0.02	0.32 (0.02)	0.23***
	Alt Treatment	0.38 (0.04)	(0.06)	0.17 (0.02)	(0.03)	0.09 (0.01)	(0.03)
Excited	Hunger Games	0.33 (0.04)	-0.04	0.22 (0.03)	0.02	0.37 (0.03)	0.30***
	Alt Treatment	0.36 (0.04)	(0.06)	0.21 (0.03)	(0.04)	0.08 (0.01)	(0.03)
Upset	Hunger Games	0.23 (0.05)	0.14*	0.40 (0.04)	0.29***	0.47 (0.03)	0.13***
	Alt Treatment	0.10 (0.02)	(0.05)	0.11 (0.02)	(0.04)	0.34 (0.02)	(0.04)
Distressed	Hunger Games	0.21 (0.04)	0.15**	0.33 (0.03)	0.20***	0.32 (0.03)	0.11***
	Alt Treatment	0.06 (0.02)	(0.04)	0.13 (0.03)	(0.04)	0.21 (0.02)	(0.03)
Afraid	Hunger Games	0.07 (0.03)	0.04	0.17 (0.03)	0.10**	0.19 (0.02)	0.09**
	Alt Treatment	0.03 (0.01)	(0.03)	0.07 (0.02)	(0.03)	0.10 (0.01)	(0.03)
Scared	Hunger Games	0.06 (0.02)	0.05^	0.17 (0.03)	0.10***	0.17 (0.02)	0.06*
	Alt Treatment	0.01 (0.01)	(0.02)	0.07 (0.02)	(0.03)	0.11 (0.01)	(0.03)
Jittery	Hunger Games	0.16 (0.03)	0.07^	0.23 (0.03)	0.07^	0.24 (0.02)	0.09**
	Alt Treatment	0.09 (0.02)	(0.04)	0.16 (0.03)	(0.04)	0.15 (0.02)	(0.03)

Table shows differences of means in responses to the question, "We'd like to understand different feelings and emotions you might have experienced as a result of the video clips. Please read each item and then select the appropriate answer that indicates to what extent you felt this way while watching the video clips." Responses were on a 5-point scale recoded from 0 to 1, so 0="Not at all" and 1="extremely." Symbols for p-values for the significance of the coefficients are: *** = p<.001, ** = p<.01, * = p<.05, and ^ = p<.10.

Appendix B: Description of Focus Groups

Eight focus groups were conducted in the spring of 2014 with two to eight students per group to learn more about how young people think about dystopian fiction, and what elements and themes are most memorable and engaging to them. Four groups were conducted with college students at a public university in New York, and five groups were conducted at a private high school in Pennsylvania. Groups included both males and females, and each session lasted from 30 to 60 minutes. The students were asked questions about the key themes they identified in this genre, which movies and books represented the most popular examples, what people might be taking away as the moral of these stories, and what they liked best about the genre. The findings from these focus groups were used to clarify the key themes that were most salient from the standpoint of the consumers (rather than the authors or movie producers), to inform hypotheses about treatment effects, and to help investigate causal mechanisms.

Appendix C: Media Treatments

Dystopian Hunger Games Treatment Text

Word count: 1,672 (takes reader from beginning of book, including intro of Katniss and her family, up to arriving at the Reaping)

When I wake up, the other side of the bed is cold. My fingers stretch out, seeking Prim's warmth but finding only the rough canvas cover of the mattress. She must have had bad dreams and climbed in with our mother. Of course, she did. This is the day of the reaping.

I prop myself up on one elbow. There's enough light in the bedroom to see them. My little sister, Prim, curled up on her side, cocooned in my mother's body, their cheeks pressed together. In sleep, my mother looks younger, still worn but not so beaten-down. Prim's face is as fresh as a raindrop, as lovely as the primrose for which she was named. My mother was very beautiful once, too. Or so they tell me.

I swing my legs off the bed and slide into my hunting boots. Supple leather that has molded to my feet. I pull on trousers, a shirt, tuck my long dark braid up into a cap, and grab my forage bag. On the table, under a wooden bowl to protect it from hungry rats and cats alike, sits a perfect little goat cheese wrapped in basil leaves. Prim's gift to me on reaping day. I put the cheese carefully in my pocket as I slip outside.

Our part of District 12, nicknamed the Seam, is usually crawling with coal miners heading out to the morning shift at this hour. Men and women with hunched shoulders, swollen knuckles, many who have long since stopped trying to scrub the coal dust out of their broken nails, the lines of their sunken faces. But today the black cinder streets are empty. Shutters on the squat gray houses are closed. The reaping isn't until two. May as well sleep in. If you can.

Our house is almost at the edge of the Seam. I only have to pass a few gates to reach the scruffy field called the Meadow. Separating the Meadow from the woods, in fact enclosing all of District 12, is a high chain-link fence topped with barbed-wire loops. In theory, it's supposed to be electrified twenty-four hours a day as a deterrent to the predators that live in the woods — packs of wild dogs, lone cougars, bears — that used to threaten our streets. But since we're lucky to get two or three hours of electricity in the evenings, it's usually safe to touch. Even so, I always take a moment to listen carefully for the hum that means the fence is live. Right now, it's silent as a stone. Concealed by a clump of bushes, I flatten out on my belly and slide under a two-foot stretch that's been loose for years. There are several other weak spots in the fence, but this one is so close to home I almost always enter the woods here.

As soon as I'm in the trees, I retrieve a bow and sheath of arrows from a hollow log. Electrified or not, the fence has been successful at keeping the flesh-eaters out of District 12. Inside the woods they roam freely, and there are added concerns like venomous snakes, rabid animals, and no real paths to follow. But there's also food if you know how to find it. My father knew and he taught me some before he was blown to bits in a mine explosion. There was nothing even to bury. I was eleven then. Five years later, I still wake up screaming for him to run.

Even though trespassing in the woods is illegal and poaching carries the severest of penalties, more people would risk it if they had weapons. But most are not bold enough to venture out with just a knife. My bow is a rarity, crafted by my father along with a few others that I keep well hidden in the woods, carefully wrapped in waterproof covers. My father could have made good money selling them, but if the officials found out he would have been publicly executed for inciting a rebellion. Most of the Peacekeepers turn a blind eye to the few of us who hunt because they're as hungry for fresh meat as anybody is. In fact, they're among our best customers. But the idea that someone might be arming the Seam would never have been allowed.

In the fall, a few brave souls sneak into the woods to harvest apples. But always in sight of the Meadow. Always close enough to run back to the safety of District 12 if trouble arises. "District Twelve. Where you can starve to death in safety," I mutter. Then I glance quickly over my shoulder. Even here, even in the middle of nowhere, you worry someone might overhear you.

When I was younger, I scared my mother to death, the things I would blurt out about District 12, about the people who rule our country, Panem, from the far-off city called the Capitol. Eventually I understood this would only lead us to more trouble. So I learned to hold my tongue and to turn my features into an indifferent mask so that no one could ever read my thoughts. Do my work quietly in school. Make only polite small talk in the public market. Discuss little more than trades in the Hob, which is the black market where I make most of my money. Even at home, where I am less pleasant, I avoid discussing tricky topics. Like the reaping, or food shortages, or the Hunger Games. Prim might begin to repeat my words and then where would we be?

...

At home, I find my mother and sister are ready to go. My mother wears a fine dress from her apothecary days. Prim is in my first reaping outfit, a skirt and ruffled blouse. It's a bit big on her, but my mother has made it stay with pins.

A tub of warm water waits for me. I scrub off the dirt and sweat from the woods and even wash my hair. To my surprise, my mother has laid out one of her own lovely dresses for me. A soft blue thing with matching shoes.

In the dress, I can hardly recognize myself in the cracked mirror that leans against the wall.

"You look beautiful," says Prim in a hushed voice.

"And nothing like myself," I say. I hug her, because I know these next few hours will be terrible for her. Her first reaping.

I protect Prim in every way I can, but I'm powerless against the reaping. The anguish I always feel when she's in pain wells up in my chest and threatens to register on my face. I notice her blouse has pulled out of her skirt in the back again and force myself to stay calm. "Tuck your tail in, little duck," I say, smoothing the blouse back in place.

Prim giggles and gives me a small "Quack."

“Quack yourself,” I say with a light laugh. The kind only Prim can draw out of me. “Come on, let’s eat,” I say and plant a quick kiss on the top of her head.

...

At one o’clock, we head for the square. Attendance is mandatory unless you are on death’s door. This evening, officials will come around and check to see if this is the case. If not, you’ll be imprisoned.

It’s too bad, really, that they hold the reaping in the square — one of the few places in District 12 that can be pleasant. The square’s surrounded by shops, and on public market days, especially if there’s good weather, it has a holiday feel to it. But today, despite the bright banners hanging on the buildings, there’s an air of grimness. The camera crews, perched like buzzards on rooftops, only add to the effect.

...

Just as the town clock strikes two, the mayor steps up to the podium and begins to read. It’s the same story every year. He tells of the history of Panem, the country that rose up out of the ashes of a place that was once called North America. He lists the disasters, the droughts, the storms, the fires, the encroaching seas that swallowed up so much of the land, the brutal war for what little sustenance remained. The result was Panem, a shining Capitol ringed by thirteen districts, which brought peace and prosperity to its citizens. Then came the Dark Days, the uprising of the districts against the Capitol. Twelve were defeated, the thirteenth obliterated. The Treaty of Treason gave us the new laws to guarantee peace and, as our yearly reminder that the Dark Days must never be repeated, it gave us the Hunger Games.

The rules of the Hunger Games are simple. In punishment for the uprising, each of the twelve districts must provide one girl and one boy, called tributes, to participate. The twenty-four tributes will be imprisoned in a vast outdoor arena that could hold anything from a burning desert to a frozen wasteland. Over a period of several weeks, the competitors must fight to the death. The last tribute standing wins.

Taking the kids from our districts, forcing them to kill one another while we watch — this is the Capitol’s way of reminding us how totally we are at their mercy. How little chance we would stand of surviving another rebellion. Whatever words they use, the real message is clear. “Look how we take your children and sacrifice them and there’s nothing you can do. If you lift a finger, we will destroy every last one of you. Just as we did in District Thirteen.”

To make it humiliating as well as torturous, the Capitol requires us to treat the Hunger Games as a festivity, a sporting event pitting every district against the others. The last tribute alive receives a life of ease back home, and their district will be showered with prizes, largely consisting of food. All year, the Capitol will show the winning district gifts of grain and oil and even delicacies like sugar while the rest of us battle starvation.

[Now, all of a sudden,] it's time for the drawing.

Dystopian Hunger Games Video Description

The total length of the video clips was 17 minutes and 43 seconds. The scenes in the *Hunger Games* video treatment were the following:

- 1) Katniss, the heroine, volunteering to take the place of her sister during the selection ritual for a televised government event requiring children to fight to the death;
- 2) Katniss entering the televised arena and running for cover while other children begin killing each other;
- 3) Katniss burying a little girl killed by another child in the area, provoking violent riots of protest against the government;
- 4) Katniss back in her District standing up to a policeman brutally whipping her friend;
- 5) Katniss fighting with rebels against the government and exchanging gunfire with planes, then passionately excoriating the government after they bomb a hospital and calling upon the population to rebel; and
- 6) People inspired by Katniss's actions bombing a government dam.

Dystopian Hunger Games Video Link

<http://tinyurl.com/hungergamestreatment>

Dystopian Divergent Treatment Text

Word count: 1,727 (takes reader from beginning of book, including intro of Tris and her family, up to the beginning of the Choosing Ceremony)

THERE IS ONE mirror in my house. It is behind a sliding panel in the hallway upstairs. Our faction allows me to stand in front of it on the second day of every third month, the day my mother cuts my hair. I sit on the stool and my mother stands behind me with the scissors, trimming. The strands fall on the floor in a dull, blond ring.

“So today is the day,” she says.

“Yes,” I reply.

“Are you nervous?”

I stare into my own eyes for a moment. Today is the day of the aptitude test that will show me which of the five factions I belong in. And tomorrow, at the Choosing Ceremony, I will decide on a faction; I will decide the rest of my life; I will decide to stay with my family or abandon them.

“No,” I say. “The tests don't have to change our choices.”

...

At school, I pause by a window in the E Wing and wait for the Dauntless to arrive. I do this every morning. At exactly 7:25, the Dauntless prove their bravery by jumping from a moving train.

My father calls the Dauntless “hellions.” They are pierced, tattooed, and black-clothed. Their primary purpose is to guard the fence that surrounds our city. From what, I don’t know.

They should perplex me. I should wonder what courage—which is the virtue they most value—has to do with a metal ring through your nostril. Instead my eyes cling to them wherever they go.

The train whistle blares, the sound resonating in my chest. The light fixed to the front of the train clicks on and off as the train hurtles past the school, squealing on iron rails. And as the last few cars pass, a mass exodus of young men and women in dark clothing hurl themselves from the moving cars, some dropping and rolling, others stumbling a few steps before regaining their balance. One of the boys wraps his arm around a girl’s shoulders, laughing.

...

The tests begin after lunch. We sit at the long tables in the cafeteria, and the test administrators call ten names at a time, one for each testing room.

When my name is called, I get up because I’m supposed to, but if it were up to me, I would stay in my seat for the rest of time. I feel like there is a bubble in my chest that expands more by the second, threatening to break me apart from the inside.

I walk into room 6, where a Dauntless woman waits for me. The ceiling glows white with light. In the center of the room is a reclined chair, like a dentist’s, with a machine next to it.

“Have a seat and get comfortable,” the woman says. “My name is Tori.”

Clumsily I sit in the chair and recline, putting my head on the headrest. The light hurts my eyes.

Tori stands behind me, tugging wires towards her, attaching them to me, to her, to the machine behind her. Then she passes me a vial of clear liquid.

“Drink this,” she says.

“What is it?” My throat feels swollen. I swallow hard. “What’s going to happen?”

“Can’t tell you that. Just trust me.”

I press air from my lungs and tip the contents of the vial into my mouth. My eyes close.

[The serum brings on a series of mysterious dream-like visions. When Tris awakens from the visions, Tori, looking tense and pale, tells Tris that her results were “inconclusive.”]

“Wait,” I interrupt her. “So you have no idea what my aptitude is?”

“Yes and no. My conclusion,” she explains, “is that you display equal aptitude for Abnegation, Dauntless, and Erudite. People who get this kind of result are...” She looks over her shoulder like she expects someone to appear behind her. “...are called...Divergent.”

She says the last word so quietly that I almost don't hear it, and her tense, worried look returns. She walks around the side of the chair and leans in close to me.

"Beatrice," she says, "under no circumstances should you share that information with anyone. This is very important."

"We aren't supposed to share our results." I nod. "I know that."

"No." Tori kneels next to the chair now and places her arms on the armrest. Our faces are inches apart. "This is different. I don't mean you shouldn't share them now; I mean you should never share them with anyone, ever, no matter what happens. Divergence is extremely dangerous. You understand?"

I don't understand—how could inconclusive test results be dangerous?—but I still nod. I don't want to share my test results with anyone anyway.

"Okay." I peel my hands from the arms of the chair and stand. I feel unsteady.

"I suggest," Tori says, "that you go home. You have a lot of thinking to do, and waiting with the others may not benefit you."

I touch my forehead and stare at the floor as I walk out of the room. I can't bear to look her in the eye. I can't bear to think about the Choosing Ceremony tomorrow.

It's my choice now, no matter what the test says. Abnegation. Dauntless. Erudite. Divergent.

On my way home I walk in the middle of the road. The buses tend to hug the curb, so it's safer here. Sometimes, on the streets near my house, I can see places where the yellow lines used to be. We have no use for them now that there are so few cars. We don't need stoplights, either, but in some places they dangle precariously over the road like they might crash down any minute.

Renovation moves slowly through the city, which is a patchwork of new, clean buildings and old, crumbling ones. Most of the new buildings are next to the marsh, which used to be a lake a long time ago. The Abnegation volunteer agency my mother works for is responsible for most of those renovations.

When I look at the Abnegation lifestyle as an outsider, I think it's beautiful. When I watch my family move in harmony; when we go to dinner parties and everyone cleans together afterward without having to be asked; when I see Caleb help strangers carry their groceries, I fall in love with this life all over again. It's only when I try to live it myself that I have trouble. It never feels genuine.

But choosing a different faction means I forsake my family. Permanently.

Just past the Abnegation sector of the city is the stretch of building skeletons and broken sidewalks that I now walk through. There are places where the road has completely collapsed, revealing sewer systems and empty subways that I have to be careful to avoid, and places that stink so powerfully of sewage and trash that I have to plug my nose.

This is where the factionless live. Because they failed to complete initiation into whatever faction they chose, they live in poverty, doing the work no one else wants to do. They are janitors and construction workers and garbage collectors; they make fabric and operate trains and drive buses. In return for their work they get food and clothing, but, as my mother says, not enough of either.

...

I walk into my room, and when I close my door behind me, I realize that the decision might be simple. It will require a great act of selflessness to choose Abnegation, or a great act of courage to choose Dauntless, and maybe just choosing one over the other will prove that I belong. Tomorrow, those two qualities will struggle within me, and only one can win.

...

Marcus stands at the podium between the Erudite and the Dauntless and clears his throat into the microphone. "Welcome," he says. "Welcome to the Choosing Ceremony. Welcome to the day we honor the democratic philosophy of our ancestors, which tells us that every man has the right to choose his own way in this world."

Or, it occurs to me, one of five predetermined ways. I squeeze Caleb's fingers as hard as he is squeezing mine.

"Our dependents are now sixteen. They stand on the precipice of adulthood, and it is now up to them to decide what kind of people they will be." Marcus's voice is solemn and gives equal weight to each word. "Decades ago our ancestors realized that it is not political ideology, religious belief, race, or nationalism that is to blame for a warring world. Rather, they determined that it was the fault of human personality—of humankind's inclination toward evil, in whatever form that is. They divided into factions that sought to eradicate those qualities they believed responsible for the world's disarray."

My eyes shift to the bowls in the center of the room. What do I believe? I do not know; I do not know; I do not know.

"Those who blamed aggression formed Amity."

The Amity exchange smiles. They are dressed comfortably, in red or yellow. Every time I see them, they seem kind, loving, free. But joining them has never been an option for me.

"Those who blamed ignorance became the Erudite."

Ruling out Erudite was the only part of my choice that was easy.

"Those who blamed duplicity created Candor."

I have never liked Candor.

"Those who blamed selfishness made Abnegation."

I blame selfishness; I do.

“And those who blamed cowardice were the Dauntless.”

But I am not selfless enough. Sixteen years of trying and I am not enough.

My legs go numb, like all the life has gone out of them, and I wonder how I will walk when my name is called.

“Working together, these five factions have lived in peace for many years, each contributing to a different sector of society. Abnegation has fulfilled our need for selfless leaders in government; Candor has provided us with trustworthy and sound leaders in law; Erudite has supplied us with intelligent teachers and researchers; Amity has given us understanding counselors and caretakers; and Dauntless provides us with protection from threats both within and without. But the reach of each faction is not limited to these areas. We give one another far more than can be adequately summarized. In our factions, we find meaning, we find purpose, we find life.”

I think of the motto I read in my Faction History textbook: Faction before blood. More than family, our factions are where we belong. Can that possibly be right?

Dystopian Divergent Video Description

The total length of the video clips was 16 minutes and 24 seconds. The scenes in the *Divergent* video treatment were the following:

- 1) Tris, the heroine, participating in the government-mandated ceremony where she chooses a faction to join;
- 2) Tris talking to Tori, a woman who knows that Tris’s test results reveal she is “divergent,” with aptitudes that cannot be confined to a single faction, and realizing that the government will view her abilities as a threat;
- 3) Tris talking to a government official who implies she should inform on anyone opposing the government;
- 4) Members of Tris’s faction, Dauntless, being implanted with a government-mandated tracking devices;
- 5) Members of the Dauntless faction being mentally and physically controlled by the government through their trackers; and
- 6) Tris in a violent and ultimately successful showdown with a government official who had been about to use mind control to perpetrate a mass killing.

Dystopian Divergent Video Link

<http://tinyurl.com/divergenttreatment>

Violent Imagery Fast and Furious Video Description

The total length of the video clips was 5 minutes and 42 seconds. (Note: no excerpt to read was included, as the purpose of this treatment was to test the impact of violent imagery and action scenes.) The scenes in the *Fast and Furious* video treatment were the following:

- 1) A woman holding onto the back of the tanker that is driving down a highway works to detach part of the tanker and then jumps into a car driven by her accomplice, while the tanker detaches, explodes, and goes over a cliff;
- 2) A number of cars and trucks drop from an airplane in flight, open parachutes, land on a country highway, and start speeding down the road;
- 3) Two angry men inside cars facing each other in a tunnel drive towards each other at high speeds and crash head-on;
- 4) A man crashes through a window and engages in a fistfight with another man, involving lots of punching, hand-to-hand grappling, more crashing through windows, and broken glass flying everywhere.

Violent Imagery Fast and Furious Video Link

<http://tinyurl.com/fastfurioustreatment>

Nonfiction Thai Protests Treatment Description

In terms of structure, our nonfiction treatment mixed narrative elements (e.g., the ongoing drama of Thai protests constitutes a temporally and causally ordered series of events involving human agency, with engaging key “characters” portrayed) and non-narrative elements (e.g., one news article had an inverted pyramid structure and the other was in list format, there was no clear climax and resolution, etc.).

In terms of content, the basic plot of our nonfiction treatment had clear commonalities with the dystopian genre, as it followed the efforts of Thai citizens protesting violently against a government perceived as unjust, touched on classic dystopian tropes (individuals defying the government, claims of government illegitimacy, a frustrated populace, significant barriers to change, etc.), and included roughly the same amount and type of violent imagery as our *Hunger Games* dystopian treatment.

To ensure parallelism, we designed both our dystopian fiction treatments and our nonfiction treatment so that they contained similar amounts and types of violence. Specifically, each contained approximately 6-8 minutes of violence, including scenes portraying property destruction and violence by protestors, rough treatment of protestors by government police forces, gunfire, and physical injuries to individuals.

Nonfiction Thai Protests Treatment Text

2 articles chosen:

<http://www.reuters.com/article/us-thailand-protest-idUSBRE9AN09Q20131124>

<http://www.cnn.com/2013/11/26/world/asia/thailand-protests-explainer/>

Word count: 1,805

World | Sun Nov 24, 2013 7:47am EST

Thai capital hit by biggest protests since deadly 2010 unrest

BANGKOK | BY AMY SAWITTA LEFEVRE | REUTERS

About 100,000 anti-government protesters gathered in Thailand's capital on Sunday, as simmering tensions between Bangkok's middle classes and the mostly rural supporters of ousted Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra threatened to boil over.

The protests led by the opposition Democrat Party mark the biggest demonstrations since deadly political unrest in April-May 2010, when Thaksin's red-shirted supporters paralyzed Bangkok to try to remove a Democrat-led government.

Thaksin's sister, Yingluck Shinawatra, is now in power after winning a 2011 election that was seen as a victory for the working poor and a defeat for the traditional Bangkok elite that includes top generals, royal advisers, middle-class bureaucrats, business leaders and old-money families.

After a delicate calm for the past two years, fissures between those two rival political forces are opening once again.

The rally was their biggest turnout yet. About 15 km (9 miles) away, in a stadium at the opposite end of the city, about 40,000 pro-government "red shirts" rallied in a show of support of the prime minister. Many came by bus from rural provinces in the north and northeast.

Yingluck has been pilloried by her critics as a puppet for her brother, who was ousted in a 2006 military coup and convicted two years later of graft, which he has denied. He has lived in self-imposed exile since 2008, but exerts enormous influence on the policies of his sister's government.

"We have stood by silently while her brother calls the shots and she runs the country into the ground with loss-making policies," said Suwang Ruangchai, 54, who drove over nine hours from Surat Thani in the south to attend the rally.

Few people in modern Thai history have been as polarizing as Thaksin, a billionaire former telecommunications tycoon revered by the poor and reviled by the elite.

In 2001, he became the first leader in Thai history to win a parliamentary majority on its own, and formed the first elected government to serve a full term, after which it was re-elected. The 2006 coup that ousted him plunged Thailand into four years of sometimes violent political turbulence.

The relative calm Thailand has enjoyed since Yingluck became prime minister has faded during weeks of Democrat-led opposition rallies triggered by a government-backed amnesty bill that could have led to Thaksin's return to Thailand.

The political tensions come as Thailand's economy, Southeast Asia's second biggest, is suffering from weak export growth, soft consumer spending and rising household debt.

"NOT YET CRISIS POINT"

Demonstrations which began more than three weeks ago have spread even after Thailand's senate rejected the amnesty bill on November 11.

Suthep Thaugsuban, a former deputy prime minister under the previous Democrat-led government and now leader of the biggest anti-government rally, has called for all-out regime change.

His group plans to march along 12 routes in Bangkok on Monday to urge civil servants to join the protests.

"If even one of you still serves Thaksin, you will have us to reckon with," Suthep told whistle-blowing crowds on Sunday.

Observers say Suthep could be holding out for military or judicial intervention. Thai courts brought down two Thaksin-aligned governments in 2008.

"We have not yet reached crisis point like in 2006 so the military would be unwise to intervene at this juncture and Suthep should know this, but he might be waiting for some form of judicial intervention," said Siripan Nogsuan Sawasdee, a political analyst at Chulalongkorn University.

Yingluck's ruling Puea Thai Party received a blow last week when the Constitutional Court rejected its proposals to make the Senate fully elected. That could have strengthened her government given her widespread support among voters in the heavily populated north and northeast.

Her supporters say the verdict is the latest attempt by the elite and anti-Thaksin forces to thwart the legislative process.

The mounting protests are reviving memories of 2010 when thousands of Thaksin's red-shirted supporters stayed in the streets until a military crackdown in which 91 people, mostly red shirts, were killed.

Suthep and former Prime Minister Abhisit Vejjajiva have been charged with murder and accused of allowing troops to open fire with live rounds on protesters.

Many red shirts loyal to Yingluck say they are prepared to defend the government against political meddling by Bangkok's powerful elite and opposition forces.

"This is the Thai political cycle. Thais from outside of Bangkok vote in a government and the elite in Bangkok kick them out," said Kerk Angchuan, a red shirt protester who joined the pro-government rally in Bangkok on Sunday.

(Additional reporting by Apornrath Phoonphongphiphat; Editing by Jason Szep and Ron Popeski)

10 questions: What's behind the protests in Thailand?

By Jethro Mullen, CNN

Updated 11:18 PM ET, Tue November 26, 2013

In order to understand the turbulent world of Thai politics, you have to start with one name: Thaksin Shinawatra.

The former prime minister has dominated the country's political scene for more than a decade despite going into exile after his ouster in a 2006 coup.

Back in 2010, deadly clashes took place between security forces and Thaksin supporters who had occupied central Bangkok. They were demanding his return.

Now, his sister is in power and she recently tried to pass an amnesty law that could have allowed his return. The attempt failed, but it provided fuel for the current protests shaking the capital.

Here's a quick primer to make sense of it all.

1. Who is Thaksin?

He's a deeply polarizing figure -- a billionaire telecommunications mogul who built his political power on policies popular with Thailand's rural villagers. His success ruffled a lot of feathers among the country's established elites, and critics accused him of corruption and autocratic rule. He was prime minister between 2001 and 2006, when the military deposed him in a bloodless coup.

2. What happened in 2010?

Thaksin's ouster spurred the protest movement that developed over the years into the widespread "red shirt" demonstrations that occupied upscale parts of Bangkok in 2010. By that stage, the movement had broadened to represent other issues, including resentment at the military's involvement in politics and economic inequality. The crackdown by security forces on the red shirts resulted in clashes that left around 90 people dead. It has been described as the worst civil violence in Thailand's history, and the country remains severely scarred by the experience.

3. Could the current protests lead to a repeat?

The situation is different this time.

Those protesting are opponents of Thaksin rather than his supporters. His sister, Yingluck Shinawatra, is now prime minister. Her government is under pressure after widespread anger over its recent failed attempt to pass a bill that could have granted amnesty to Thaksin and others.

Although the public has generally moved on from the conflict over the amnesty bill, the opposition Democrat Party is trying to use the issue to bring down Yingluck's government, says Paul Quaglia, director of the Bangkok-based risk assessment firm PQA Associates.

"The government is facing probably a countdown until it will have to dissolve and hold new elections," Quaglia says. "But it doesn't look like it's a replay of 2010 when we're going to see violence in the streets and an extended takeover of central Bangkok."

4. What has Thaksin been up to?

He has been living in exile in a number of different places, most recently Dubai, while continuing to play an active role in Thai politics.

He briefly returned to Thailand in 2008. Later that year, he was convicted by a Thai court of corruption and sentenced in absentia to two years in prison over a controversial land deal. Courts have also frozen billions of dollars of his assets, but he is believed to still have a great deal of money held elsewhere.

He's also stayed heavily involved in Thai politics over the years, communicating with supporters via social media and video messages. With his younger sister in power since 2011, his influence remains strong. Critics say Yingluck is Thaksin's puppet, but she insists she has always been independent.

5. What is happening this week?

After weeks of demonstrations, thousands of protesters have gathered around government buildings in central Bangkok, occupying some of them for varying periods of time. Yingluck has expanded the area in and around Bangkok covered by an internal security law that gives police extra powers to disband protesters. In parliament, the Prime Minister is facing a "no confidence" motion against her. And police have issued an arrest warrant against protest leader, Suthep Thaugsuban.

6. What's at stake for the region?

The demonstrations are bringing instability once again to Thailand, a key regional economy and popular tourist destination. The protests are centered on Bangkok, a vital transportation hub, especially for air travel. So far, the protests are concentrated in specific parts of the city. More than a dozen countries have issued travel warnings for citizens to avoid areas near protests in Bangkok.

7. What do the demonstrators want?

Suthep Thaugsuban, a former deputy prime minister under the previous Democrat-led government, has said the demonstrations "will not stop until Thaksin's regime is wiped out." Such an aim seems ambitious. Yingluck's government was democratically elected and her Pheu Thai party retains support in its core areas. The current protests have echoes of 2008 when demonstrators opposed to a pro-Thaksin government occupied Bangkok's main airport and government offices.

8. Where are the protesters getting their support from?

Opposition to Thaksin and Yingluck is strongest among the urban elites and middle class. That means the capital.

"Bangkok is the ground zero for anti-Thaksin protest movements," Quaglia says. "The rest of the country, other than southern Thailand, is either in his camp or sort of politically neutral." That's why the recent demonstrations have been concentrated in the streets of the capital.

9. What's the government's support base?

Thaksin's traditional support comes from the populous rural areas of north and northeast of Thailand. The government's botched amnesty move may have hurt its standing in those areas, but not fatally.

"Despite the pictures of thousands of people in the street that doesn't necessarily mean the government will go -- or if it does go, that it will lose the next election," Quaglia says.

10. What is likely to happen next?

Questions remain over the ability of Yingluck's government to maintain order in the capital and weather the heavy political pressure in Parliament. Some observers are concerned that government supporters, tens of thousands of whom rallied in Bangkok on Sunday, could clash with opposition demonstrators.

Yingluck has said authorities would "absolutely not use violence" to disperse the demonstrators.

Even if Yingluck survives the "no confidence" motion against her, the situation appears unlikely to calm down soon.

"We're going to see political instability here for some time," Quaglia says.

Nonfiction Thai Protests Video Description

The total length of the video clips was 17 minutes and 4 seconds. The scenes in the Thai protests video treatment were the following:

- 1) A November 30, 2013 news clip from Al Jazeera with an on-the-ground reporter covering protesters trying to tear down barricades to force their way into the Thai Government House, people milling around, riot police firing tear gas and water cannons into the crowds, and people running from the water cannons;
- 2) A November 30, 2013 news clip from Agence France-Presse News with a news ticker including messages such as "One shot dead, several wounded as rallies intensify" and video clips of protesters attacking a bus carrying government supporters, riot police standing in formation, protesters chanting and singing, a rally of government supporters, and a government supporter criticizing the anti-government protesters;
- 3) A December 1, 2013 news clip from the Financial Times (United Kingdom) with a voiceover narrating scenes of protest, involving government riot police shooting tear gas and water cannons and protesters running around, rallying, and starting a sit-in;

- 4) Footage of the protests posed by The Telegraph (United Kingdom) on December 2, 2013, showing protesters battling through tear gas and pulling down barricades to get to the Prime Minister's office and rubber bullets being fired at the protesters;
- 5) A December 3, 2013 news clip from Euronews, showing the storming of police headquarters in Bangkok and clips of a protest leader speaking to supporters and the Prime Minister speaking to the press, and describing the complaints of the protesters;
- 6) A December 5, 2013 news clip from Agence France-Presse News showing the Thai king appealing for stability in the country and the reactions of protesters to his appeal;
- 7) A December 9, 2013 news clip from the BBC showing massive turnout to a protest along a major street in the capitol city, with people waving flags, cheering, and clapping;
- 8) A title card with the following text: "An election was held by the government on February 2, 2014, but it was boycotted by the main opposition party, and in some districts, voting was disrupted by protesters. Protests continued in the streets of Bangkok."
- 9) A February 15, 2014 news clip from CNN showing the government police under small arms fire and returning fire, with smoke and the sounds of gunshots;
- 10) A February 18, 2014 news clip from CNN, describing "a street protest that turned into a street battle" resulting in at least four deaths, and showing protesters overturning a truck and explosions of grenades and gunfire in the battle between police and protesters;
- 11) A February 20, 2014 news clip from Voice of America describing a convoy of farmers in tractors heading to the capitol to protest the government's policies, discussing the boycott proposed by protesters and the damaging economic impacts of the protests, mentioning a ruling by a court that force cannot be used against protesters, and referring to possible human rights violations by both sides.

It is worth noting that as a compilation of news stories, this nonfiction treatment broke with classic narrative structure in a few ways: the first written report followed the classic inverted pyramid structure of most hard news articles (Mulligan 2014), while the second written report was structured as a list of questions and answers. The treatment as a whole did not have the pacing of a story, where a buildup in tension is followed by a climax and resolution; rather, the reports portrayed an ongoing process without a clear resolution (Mulligan 2014) or overarching story moral. Still, the treatment did contain some narrative elements: the news footage involved a temporally and causally ordered series of events involving human agency (the drama of the Thai protesters rebelling against a government perceived as unjust, with varying success over time), and there were a variety of engaging "characters" (the exiled former prime minister Thaksin Shinawatra, his sister the current Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawatra, the king Bhumibol Adulyadej, the opposition leader Suthep Thaugsuban, individual protesters, etc.). As such, this nonfiction treatment was more "narrative-like" than a one-off daily dose of news would be, and thus offers a hard test case for whether nonfictional news can have the same effects on political attitudes as a similar fictional narrative.

Nonfiction Thai Protests Video Link

<http://tinyurl.com/thaiproteststreatment>

Appendix D: Content Comparison of Action, Destruction, and Violence Portrayed in Treatments

	<i>Hunger Games</i>	<i>Divergent</i>	<i>Fast & Furious</i>	<i>Thai Protests</i>	
Total length of video	17:43	16:24	5:42	17:04	
Clips involving action, destruction, violence	6:55	6:21	5:42	7:43	
<i>Type of violence/resistance portrayed</i>	Property destruction & trespassing	People topple structures, invade and bomb government dam protected by soldiers.	People break surveillance equipment in violent fight with soldiers.	People sabotage, crash, and explode vehicles; fistfight breaks furniture/windows.	People invade government buildings, remove barricades, throw rocks at buses.
	Violence by people	People riot, physically grapple with and shoot soldiers; in arena boy shoots little girl.	People break into govt. facility, shoot and wrestle with soldiers and official.	People deliberately sabotage truck, crash cars, violently wrestle and fistfight.	People riot, throw rocks and grenades, shoot at soldiers.
	Violence by government	Soldiers beat people who are rioting; soldier whips boy; govt. planes bomb hospital.	Govt. implants people with tracking devices and controls them; soldiers shoot people.	No references to govt.	Soldiers shoot tear gas, water cannons, rubber bullets, and live ammunition at protesters.
	Individual acts of resistance	Katniss salutes, stands up to soldier who whipped boy, battles soldiers, gives speech, sings.	Tris sneaks away, investigates, breaks into govt. facility, battles & shoots soldiers and officials.	Not about resistance.	Protest leader criticizes government; in interview woman describes pausing and restarting protest.
	Collective acts of resistance	People riot after public execution and speech by pres., fight against soldiers, bomb govt. dam.	People plea for help; people drop guns once mind control is removed.	Not about resistance.	People invade govt. buildings, riot, throw rocks and grenades, march, sing, protest.
Injuries and deaths	People killed in arena; boy whipped; people hurt/killed in riots, battles, and hospital bombing.	People killed when resisting mind control; people and soldiers hurt/killed in battle at govt. facility.	People injured in car crashes and fistfight.	People tear-gassed, people and soldiers hurt/killed in riots and battles.	

Appendix D Note: The above table provides a detailed content comparison across the four media treatments. The first two columns describe our dystopian fiction treatments, both recognizably part of the larger “dystopian” genre yet involving distinctive storylines,

which we use to identify and replicate the effects of fictional dystopian narratives on political attitudes. The latter two refer to our comparison media treatments, which we use in Study 2 and Study 3 to generate further insights about which features of dystopian fiction are responsible for observed effects.

Hence, in Study 2, the *Fast & Furious* treatment was designed to test the possibility that subjects' exposure to action-packed violent imagery in and of itself could generate the observed effects, even without an overarching dystopian narrative. Accordingly, as the table shows, the *Fast & Furious* treatment exposed subjects to scenes of action, destruction, and violence for roughly the same amount of time as the two dystopian fiction treatments. However, it contained no overarching dystopian narrative. It thus depicted property destruction and trespassing as well as violence by people—but not violence by government, individual acts of resistance, and collective acts of resistance, key features in dystopian narrative fiction.

The nonfiction comparison treatment (*Thai Protests*) was designed to examine whether the observed effects would be generated by dystopian themes in and of themselves, regardless of whether they occur in a narrative fiction context or a non-narrative news context. Although there is no real-world equivalent to the *Hunger Games*, the question still arises: might the effects we observed arise from *any* vivid portrayal of violent collective protest against a government believed to be unjust? The nonfiction comparison treatment therefore presented real news footage and reporting on thousands of Thai citizens protesting violently against their government. As the table shows, not only did the treatment contain classic dystopian themes—individuals defying the government, claims of government illegitimacy, a frustrated populace, etc.—but it also included roughly the same amount and types of violent imagery as our *Hunger Games* dystopian treatment.

Appendix E: Subject Recruitment Procedures

Study 1 Recruitment

For Study 1, we used Mechanical Turk, an online workplace run by Amazon.com, through which individuals can sign up to do short tasks (such as take surveys) for small amounts of money. Scholars across multiple disciplines (political science: Berinsky, Huber, and Lenz 2012; economics: Horton, Rand, and Zeckhauser 2011; psychology: Buhrmester, Kwang, and Gosling 2011; Paolacci, Chandler, and Ipeirotis 2010) have found that Mechanical Turk offers a convenient and low-cost subject pool, yielding samples that are in some ways more representative of the national population than other commonly used types of convenience samples (e.g., college student samples, locally recruited samples).

Mechanical Turk has been of particular value to scholars studying political attitudes; articles published in top political science journals, including *American Journal of Political Science* (Arceneaux 2012), *Journal of Politics* (Gerber et al. 2011), *Political Psychology* (Fausey and Matlock 2011; Schaffner 2011), and *World Politics* (Lawson et al. 2010) have relied upon MTurk data both for initial studies and to support or elaborate on findings from other samples (including convenience and nationally representative samples).

For this study, a sample of N=272 subjects were recruited on Mechanical Turk on April 14th and 15th, 2015. Descriptive statistics for subject demographics are displayed in Table A1. As is typical of Mechanical Turk samples, the sample is slightly more liberal, educated, and younger than one would expect from a nationally representative sample. Also as expected, the treatment and control groups are well-balanced across a range of demographic variables.

The description text on Mechanical Turk read, “Participate in a fun university survey about pop culture, media, and current affairs (about 30-40 min.)” Workers were eligible to complete the survey if they had a HIT approval greater than or equal to 95 and had 100 or more HITs previously approved. Subjects were paid \$3.20 for their participation.

Study 2 Recruitment

As recommended by Druckman and Kam (2011) and Krupnikov and Levine (2014), in Study 2, we used a student sample not only due to ease of access but also for good theoretical reasons: youth represent an important target population for our research. In addition, to build a stronger case for generalizability than is typical with student samples, we recruited well beyond students at our own universities. Starting December 10, 2015, undergraduate students at a range of colleges and universities around the country were invited to complete the online survey through methods such as email invitations sent by professors and undergraduate advisors and announcements on undergraduate listservs, blogs, and calendar apps. As an incentive to participate, participants were informed that three would be randomly selected to win \$100 Amazon.com gift certificates upon completion of data collection.

The standard email solicitation to students included the following text:

Hi there!

You have been invited to participate in a survey research project exploring popular media and American youth attitudes. Our survey is a bit unusual—it involves watching exciting movie

scenes—so we think you may find it an entertaining and much-needed study break as you head towards the end of the semester.

The goal of the survey is to learn more about your views about pop culture, media, public affairs, and current events. You have been invited because as a college student, you are part of the most media-savvy generation ever in America, and we are very interested in your perspective. We are also especially interested in including the perspectives of students like you, who are [taking classes in Political Science] [taking classes in Communications] [taking classes in English] [interested in writing and rhetoric].

For your participation, you will be entered into a raffle **with the chance to win a \$100 Amazon.com gift certificate**. Three study participants will be randomly selected to win the \$100 Amazon.com gift certificates. This survey will take about 20-30 minutes of your time, and you must be at least 18 years old to participate.

We hope you enjoy the survey, and wish you the best of luck in the \$100 gift certificate drawing! Click here to take the survey: [LINK HERE]

The resulting sample included 408 college students from 28 colleges and universities (including both public and private schools) in 15 different states in all regions of the country. In our recruitment strategy, we targeted faculty and administrators in departments serving students who we thought would be particularly interested in our study, such as Political Science, English, and Film Studies. As a result, about 30% of our sample was composed of students majoring in Political Science, Global Studies, or International Relations, with about 40% majoring in English, Literature, or Communication. The remaining 30% were roughly equally split between natural science, social science, pre-professional, and humanities/arts/interdisciplinary/other.

Study 3 Recruitment

In Study 3, we used a student sample, enrolling participants who were undergraduate students at an East Coast university in the spring of 2016. Subjects were recruited from students enrolled in either of two government courses, and had the opportunity to participate in the study for class credit in lieu of an alternate assignment. An announcement was made in class to let students know of the opportunity to participate in the study and students received an email informing them of how to sign up to participate with the following text:

Dear Student,

As a student enrolled in [CLASS], you are eligible to participate in three academic studies that are being conducted by [UNIVERSITY] faculty and graduate students. These studies will be conducted in the [NAMED] Lab.

In order to receive class credit, you must participate in all three studies over the course of the semester. If you do not wish to participate in the studies, you must complete an alternate class assignment.

The next study will begin on [April 11] and will be conducted through [April 29]. This study will take about 35-45 minutes to complete.

Please use the link below to sign up for a time to come to the lab and complete the study:
[Insert Sign-up link]

If you are under 18, please have a parent sign the consent form attached and bring it with you when you come for your appointment.

The resulting sample included 293 students, with over half majoring in Political Science or Public Policy.

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Appendix F: Checking for Demand Effects

For each study, all subjects read prior to beginning the questionnaire that the purpose of the study was to learn more about their views about pop culture, media, public affairs, and current events. In order to check for demand effects, each subject was also asked toward the end of the questionnaire, “In your own words, why do you think we are conducting this study?”

Answers were coded 3 for correctly guessing one or more hypotheses; 2 for anticipating a causal relationship involving an independent (dystopian fiction) or dependent variable (justifiability of resistance/violence against government, trust in government, importance of freedom as an issue, importance of surveillance as an issue, attitudes toward women in leadership and combat), without guessing our specific hypotheses; 1 for providing a very general guess that the study involved the effects of media; or 0 for an incorrect response. The table below shows the results with examples of the responses receiving each code.

Score	Study 1 # Responses	Study 2 # Responses	Study 3 # Responses	Total #	%	Sample responses
3	0	2	0	2	0.2%	“To see how fiction about rebellions/ violent revolution against tyrannical governments impact our own willingness to endorse anti-government activities” “To see how watching/reading fictional examples of governmental abuse and rebellion affects one's perceptions of the justifications of violent rebellion.”
2	15	19	18	52	5.3%	“To see how viewing a dystopian nightmare on film affects responses to a political opinion survey.” “To assess how media influences opinions on issues, such as violent protest.”
1	70	121	44	235	24.2%	“To learn about how media affects attitudes toward governments.” “To analyze the effect that growing up in the mass media and technologically driven world has had on my political consciousness”.
0	187	266	231	684	70.3%	“I don’t know” “To find out people's emotions and use statistics for something or another.”