

Online Appendix For: Generalizing from Survey Experiments Conducted on Mechanical Turk: A Replication Approach

Alexander Coppock, Yale University

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1 Study 1: Concealed Carry

Haider-Markel and Joslyn (2001) report the results of test of experimental primes on attitudes toward gun control, finding that a citizen's rights frame increased support for a controlled carry law relative to a public safety frame.

1.1 Original Study

Sample: 518 adult residents of Kansas City.

Dates of data collection: March 7 through April 3, 1999.

Treatments:

- **Public Safety Frame:** Concealed handgun laws have recently received national attention. Some people have argued that laws allowing citizens to carry concealed handguns **threaten public safety** because they would allow almost anyone to carry a gun almost anywhere, even onto **school grounds**. What do you think about concealed handgun laws?
- **Citizens' Rights frame:** Concealed handgun laws have recently received national attention. Some people have argued that law-abiding citizens have the **right** to protect themselves. What do you think about concealed handgun laws?

Outcomes:

- **Support for concealed handgun laws:** 1: Strongly Oppose to 7: Strongly Support.

The data for the original study were not available. However, the original article (p. 526) included histograms of the dependent variable by treatment condition. To reconstruct the dependent variable, I measured the height of each bar of the histogram in pixels and then backed out the number of subjects giving each response. This procedure worked well for the public safety frame – the reconstructed variable had a mean equal to the mean reported in the main text (2.5). However, the reconstructed mean for the citizens' rights frame was lower than reported (3.3 versus 3.5).

1.2 Replication Study

Sample: 1,009 Mechanical Turk respondents.

Dates of data collection: March 2015.

Treatments: The treatments were identical to the original.

1.3 Results

As shown in Table 1, the citizen's rights frame had strong positive effects on support for concealed handgun laws in the original study and in the MTurk replication.

Table 1: Gun Control Original and Replication Results

	Support for Concealed Carry Law	
	Original (1)	MTurk (2)
Citizens' Rights Frame	0.329*** (0.083)	0.214*** (0.051)
Constant (Public Safety Frame)	1.030 (0.055)	1.452 (0.038)
N	518	1,009
R ²	0.029	0.017

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Dependent variable measured in standard units.

2 Study 2: Immigration

2.1 Original Study

Brader, Valentino and Suhay (2008) find that news articles focusing on the negative economic impacts of immigration decrease support for immigration.

Sample: 281 Adult Americans (GfK)

Dates of data collection: 10/21/03 - 11/5/03

Treatments: Subjects could be assigned to one of four treatment stories or a placebo news story. The treatment stories were made to look like articles in the New York Times. I collapse over the Latino / European margin and compare the effects of the Negative Treatment to the Positive Treatment. I omit the placebo condition from all analyses.

Negative European/Latino

Figure 1: Study 2: Immigration: Negative Stimuli



(a) Negative Latino



(b) Negative European

Immigration Concerns Governors Questions Raised About Economic, Cultural Impact of Immigrants

NEW YORK (AP) - During the 1990s, more immigrants entered the United States than in any previous decade, and the growing number of immigrants in the U.S. clearly has some Americans worried. At a state governors' convention in June, many governors called for the Bush Administration and Congress to step in to restrict the flow of immigrants.

Several governors voiced concern that immigrants are driving down the wages of American workers while taxpayers are forced to meet the rising costs of social services for the newcomers. Governors say these views are shared by many of their constituents.

John Baine, shift manager at a large auto parts factors in Cleveland, said he is angered that "a number of friends have been laid-off or forced to take a pay cut" because of the influx of cheap immigrant labor.

Nancy Petrey, a Boulder, Colo. nurse, has seen staff let go for similar reasons. "People give twenty years of their lives to this hospital and then, boom, they're out the door because some foreigner will do their job for half the pay," Petrey said. "It just isn't right."

Governors also say constituents are worried that the country is no longer a “melting pot,” because new immigrants are not adopting American values or blending into their new social world.

Mary Stowe, an Omaha-based sales associate, says she is frustrated by the fact that recent immigrants to her area “do not learn English or make any effort to fit in.”

Bob Callaway, a construction supervisor in Newark, says he sees similar problems with immigrants hired by his company. “These people are totally unwilling to adopt American values like hard work and responsibility,” Callaway said. “I try not to complain, but sometimes they are so pushy and uncooperative – it’s not acceptable.”

When asked his opinion, [Nikolai Vandinsky]/[Jose Sanchez], a recent immigrant from [Russia]/[Mexico], says he welcomes the chance for a better life in America. “Many of my cousins find work here and now it’s my turn. I want a good job and benefits.”

“But,” [Vandinsky]/[Sanchez] added, “that doesn’t mean I have to change who I am. We love our culture. I’m proud to be from [Russia]/[Mexico].”

While there was agreement at the convention that the federal government needs to do more to help states manage the rising tide of newcomers, few governors agree on exactly why immigration levels have increased.

Some blame the Immigration Act passed by Congress in 1990, which loosened federal restrictions on immigration. Others point to the fact that large companies are attracting immigrants to the U.S. with the promise of prosperity, a practice that has become widespread in recent years.

Still others maintain that, in a world full of turmoil, people are attracted here by the hope of a better way of life.

Whatever is bringing immigrants to these shores in record numbers, everyone seems certain that the numbers will continue to grow.

Positive European/Latino

Figure 2: Study 2: Immigration: Positive Stimuli

The New York Times

Immigration Heartens Governors

Promise Seen in Economic, Cultural Contribution of Immigrants

NEW YORK (AP) — During the 1990s, more immigrants entered the United States than in any previous decade, and the growing number of immigrants in the U.S. clearly has some Americans hopeful about the future. At a state governors' convention in June, many governors called for the Bush Administration and Congress to protect the flow of immigrants from further restrictions.

Several governors said they are encouraged by how immigrants are helping to strengthen the economy, while also providing a welcome boost to tax revenues. Governors say these views are shared by many of their constituents.

John Baine, shift manager at a large auto parts factory in Cleveland, says he is enthusiastic about how much the influx of immigrant labor has "helped the company keep a lid on costs and remain competitive."

Nancy Petrey, a Boulder, Colo. nurse, has seen similar benefits for the hospital where she works. "These people take jobs that are often hard for us to fill, and they're willing to work shifts that other people don't want," Petrey said. "It's a big help."

Governors also say many constituents take pride in the fact that the country is still a "melting pot," where immigrants continue to bring new experiences and ideas that enrich American culture.



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(b) Positive European

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Mary Stowe, an Omaha-based sales associate, says she admires what it must take to "leave home and come to a place that is so different, without knowing the language or anything about the way of life here."

Bob Callaway, a construction supervisor in Newark, says he sees similar qualities in the immigrants hired by his company. "These people are determined and persistent," Callaway said. "I've gotta give 'em credit, they'll do what it takes to get ahead. That's something I respect."

When asked his opinion, [Nikolai Vandinsky]/[Jose Sanchez], a recent immigrant from [Russia]/[Mexico], says he welcomes the chance for a better life in America. “Many of my cousins find work here and now it’s my turn. I want a good job and benefits.”

“But,” [Vandinsky]/[Sanchez] added, “that doesn’t mean I have to change who I am. We love our culture. I’m proud to be from [Russia]/[Mexico].”

While there was agreement at the convention that the federal government needs to do more to help states manage the rising tide of newcomers, few governors agree on exactly why immigration levels have increased.

Some blame the Immigration Act passed by Congress in 1990, which loosened federal restrictions on immigration. Others point to the fact that large companies are attracting immigrants to the U.S. with the promise of prosperity, a practice that has become widespread in recent years.

Still others maintain that, in a world full of turmoil, people are attracted here by the hope of a better way of life.

Whatever is bringing immigrants to these shores in record numbers, everyone seems certain that the numbers will continue to grow.

Outcomes:

- **Support for Immigration:** Do you think the number of immigrants from foreign countries who are permitted to come to the United States to live should be increased a lot, increased a little, left the same as it is now, decreased a little, or decreased a lot? (1: Decreased a lot, 5: Increased a lot)
- **Negative Impact:** In your opinion, how likely is it that immigration will have a negative financial impact on many Americans? (Very Likely, Somewhat Likely, Somewhat Unlikely, Very Unlikely) (1: Very Unlikely, 4: Very Likely)

2.2 Replication Study

Sample: 1,709 Mechanical Turk subjects.

Dates of data collection: July 2015.

Treatments: The treatments used the identical text as the original.

Outcomes: I used the same outcome measures with the same wording.

2.3 Results

In both the original and in the replication, the positive frame has a positive effect on *Support for Immigration* and a negative effect on the *Negative Impact* dependent variable.

Table 2: Immigration Original and Replication Results

	Support for Immigration		Negative Impact	
	Original	MTurk	Original	MTurk
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Positive Frame	0.386*** (0.143)	0.255*** (0.048)	-0.277** (0.129)	-0.224*** (0.043)
Constant (Negative Frame)	1.545 (0.077)	2.466 (0.035)	2.962 (0.085)	2.244 (0.031)
N	280	1,709	281	1,709
R ²	0.043	0.016	0.024	0.016

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Dependent variable measured in standard units.

3 Study 3: Death Penalty

Peffley and Hurwitz (2007) present the results of a question wording experiment on support for capital punishment. The original study considered subgroup differences by respondent racial category, but I will present the unconditional results of both the original and replication experiments below.

3.1 Original Study

Sample: 905 White and Black Adult Americans.

Dates of data collection: October 19, 2000 – March 1, 2001.

Treatments:

- **African Americans:** Some people say [FBI statistics show] that the death penalty is unfair because most of the people who are executed are African Americans. Do you favor or oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?
- **Innocent:** Some people say [FBI statistics show] that the death penalty is unfair because too many innocent people are being executed. Do you favor or oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?

Outcomes

- **Favor Death Penalty:** The response options were Strongly Oppose, Somewhat Oppose, Somewhat favor, Strongly Favor. The dependent variable was recoded 1 if the respondent chose Somewhat favor or Strongly favor.

3.2 Replication Study

Sample: 1285 Mechanical Turk respondents.

Dates of data collection: March 2015.

Treatments: I used the identical treatments as in the original.

Outcomes: I used the identically worded outcome questions.

3.3 Results

In both the original and the replication, the Innocent treatment decreased support for the death penalty.

Table 3: Death Penalty Original and Replication Results

	Favor Death Penalty	
	Original (1)	MTurk (2)
African Americans	0.417*** (0.095)	0.105** (0.049)
Constant (Control)	1.922 (0.070)	1.974 (0.036)
N	905	1,285
R ²	0.040	0.004

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Dependent variable measured in standard units.

4 Study 4: Superordinate Identity

Transue (2007) reports the results of 2x2 experimental test of identity frames on support for taxes. These frames had small to negligible effects on tax preferences.

4.1 Original Study

Sample: 345 adult residents of Minneapolis-Saint Paul.

Dates of data collection: July and August 1998.

Factor 1: Identity Frame:

- **Ethnic Identity Frame:** How close do you feel to your ethnic or racial group? Very close, somewhat close, not very close, not at all close.
- **Superordinate Identity Frame:** How close do you feel to other Americans? Very close, somewhat close, not very close, not at all close.

Factor 2: Tax Description:

- **DV: Public Schools:** Tax preferences towards “education in public schools.”
- **DV: Minority Opportunity:** Tax preferences towards “educational opportunities for minorities.”

Outcomes:

- **Support Tax Increase (Public Schools):** Some people have said that taxes need to be raised to take care of pressing national needs. How willing would you be to have your taxes raised to improve [education in public schools / educational opportunities for minorities] ? Very willing, somewhat willing, not very willing, not at all willing.

The original experiment conditioned on subjects’ answers to the treatment questions, arguing that effects of the identity frames are mediated through (and moderated by) the extent to which subjects accept their identities. This procedure is prone to bias, so in my reanalysis of the data, I assessed the treatment effect of each factor using OLS.

4.2 Replication Study

Sample: 367 Mechanical Turk respondents.

Dates of data collection: March 2015.

Treatments: The treatments used the identical text as the original.

Outcomes: I used the same outcome measures with the same wording.

4.3 Results

In the original experiment, both the identity frame and the tax description treatments had weakly positive effects on willingness to pay taxes. In the replication, I obtained weakly negative estimate for the identity frame but a significantly positive effect of the tax description manipulation.

Table 4: Superordinate Identity Original and Replication Results

	Willingness to Pay Tax	
	Original	MTurk
	(1)	(2)
Other Americans	0.176* (0.105)	-0.075 (0.095)
Public Schools	0.161 (0.105)	0.191** (0.095)
Constant	1.307 (0.090)	1.461 (0.080)
N	345	367
R ²	0.015	0.013

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Dependent variable measured in standard units.

5 Study 5: Patriot Act

Chong and Druckman (2010) report the results of an experiment testing the effects of pro and con information on attitudes toward the Patriot Act. This study is unique among those I replicated in being the only study to have included an over time component originally.

5.1 Original Study

Sample: 1,302 adult Americans.

Dates of data collection: December 2009.

Treatments: Subjects could be assigned to receive no treatment, a series of Pro-Patriot Act messages, a series of Con-Patriot Act messages, or both types of messages.

Pro messages:

- The Patriot Act was enacted in the weeks after September 11, 2001 to strengthen law enforcement powers and technology.
- Under the Patriot Act, law enforcement agencies have more tools to prevent new terrorist incidents.
- The Patriot Act gives U. S. security forces the resources they need to identify terrorist plots on American soil and to prevent attacks before they occur.
- The Patriot Act enhances domestic security through counterterrorism funding, surveillance, border protection, and other security policies.
- The Patriot Act includes less known provisions including funding for terrorism victims and their families.
- The Patriot Act enables officials to effectively combat national security threats, and provides prompt aid and compensation to victims in the event of a terrorist attack.

Con messages:

- The Patriot Act was enacted in the weeks after September 11, 2001 to strengthen law enforcement powers and technology.
- The Patriot Act has sparked numerous controversies and been criticized for weakening the protection of citizens' civil liberties.
- Under the Patriot Act, the government has access to citizens' confidential information from telephone and e-mail communications.
- The Patriot Act allows law enforcement officials to search citizens' homes, businesses, and financial records without their permission or knowledge.
- The Patriot Act significantly expands government policing powers without specifying an agency that is responsible for safeguarding citizens' rights.

- Since its passage, the Patriot Act has been challenged in federal courts on the grounds that many of its provisions are unconstitutional.

Subjects who were assigned to Pro, Con, or Both information treatments were also assigned to a processing condition. I will collapse over these categories in all my analyses.

- On-line processing. After reading each statement, subjects are asked: “To what extent does this statement decrease or increase your support for the Patriot Act?”
- Memory-based processing. After reading each statement, subjects are asked: “How dynamic would you say this statement is? (Remember that a statement is more dynamic when it uses more vivid action words.)”
- No instructions. Subjects are asked to read each statement with no further instructions.

Outcomes:

- **Patriot Act Support:** “Do you oppose or support the Patriot Act?” 1: Oppose very strongly to 7: Support very strongly.

5.2 Replication Study

Sample: 1,887 Mechanical Turk respondents.

Dates of data collection: March 2015.

Treatments: The treatments used the identical text as the original.

Outcomes: I used the same outcome measure with the same wording.

5.3 Results

In both the original and replication experiments, Pro information increases support for the Patriot Act and Con information decreases it. When both Pro and Con information treatments are presented together, there is no average change in attitudes relative to control.

Table 5: Patriot Act Original and Replication Results

	Patriot Act Support	
	Original (1)	MTurk (2)
Con / Memory Based	-0.376*** (0.124)	-0.176* (0.107)
Con / No Processing	-0.414*** (0.130)	-0.390*** (0.109)
Con / Online Processing	-0.450*** (0.125)	-0.398*** (0.107)
Pro / Memory Based	0.330*** (0.125)	0.202* (0.108)
Pro / No Processing	0.425*** (0.120)	0.324*** (0.115)
Pro / Online Processing	0.335*** (0.122)	0.275** (0.111)
Both / Memory Based	-0.068 (0.143)	-0.100 (0.118)
Both / No Processing	-0.077 (0.158)	0.014 (0.126)
Both / Online Processing	0.006 (0.133)	-0.164 (0.130)
Constant (Control)	2.486 (0.101)	2.008 (0.088)
N	1,302	1,887
R ²	0.115	0.068

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Dependent variable measured in standard units.

6 Study 6: Elite Endorsements

Nicholson (2012) reports the results of a test of partisan cues on support for legislation. Relative to out-party cues, in-party cues increase support for legislation.

6.1 Original Study

Sample: 1491 Americans who identify as a Republican or a Democrat, surveyed by YouGov. 995 responded to the foreclosure question and 781 responded to the immigration question.

Dates of data collection: The 2008 Presidential campaign.

Treatments:

- **In Party:** For each of the dependent variables shown below, I define a subject as being in the “In Party” condition if their own party identification matches that of the endorser.
- **Out Party:** For each of the dependent variables shown below, I define a subject as being in the “Out Party” condition if their own party identification is opposite that of the endorser.
- **No Cue:** Subjects in the no cue condition were asked about their support for the two bills without any endorsement.

Outcomes:

- **Support for Foreclosure Bill:** A bill circulating in Congress [supported by Barack Obama/John McCain/George W. Bush/the Democratic Party/the Republican Party] would allow the Federal Housing Administration to guarantee up to \$300 billion in new loans to help at-risk homeowners refinance into more affordable mortgages. What is your view of this bill? (-1: I oppose this policy, 0: Not sure, 1: I support this policy)
- **Support for Immigration Bill:** As you know, there has been a lot of talk about immigration reform policy in the news. One proposal [backed by Barack Obama/John McCain/George W. Bush/the Democratic Party/the Republican Party] provided legal status and a path to legal citizenship for the approximately 12 million illegal immigrants currently residing in the United States. What is your view of this immigration reform policy? (-1: I oppose this policy, 0: Not sure, 1: I support this policy)

The original analysis did not group the treatments into In Party and Out Party, but because the experiment is somewhat underpowered, doing so gives a clearer picture of the modest effect that party endorsements in general have on support. In the analyses I present below, I include an indicator for party, as Republicans and Democrats have different probabilities of assignment to in- and out- party treatments.

6.2 Replication Study

Sample: 1,249 Mechanical Turk respondents. 1,009 responded to the immigration question and 781 to the foreclosure question.

Dates of data collection: March 2015.

Treatments: Treatments were defined in the same way as the original. I added two treatment conditions, Hillary Clinton and Jeb Bush. Unfortunately, due to a coding error, those assigned to see endorsements by Hillary Clinton or Jeb Bush in the immigration experiment actually saw an endorsement by George W. Bush. This error is addressed when constructing the categorical party match treatment variable.

Outcomes: The wording of the outcome questions was identical to the original.

6.3 Results

Table 6: Elite Endorsements Original and Replication Results: Immigration

	Support for Immigration Bill		Support for Foreclosure Bill	
	Original	MTurk	Original	MTurk
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
In Party Cue	0.229*** (0.086)	0.104* (0.063)	0.178** (0.079)	0.108* (0.065)
Republican	-0.758*** (0.085)	-0.748*** (0.070)	-0.691*** (0.080)	-0.508*** (0.074)
Constant	0.040 (0.071)	0.548 (0.038)	0.286 (0.059)	0.522 (0.045)
N	781	1,099	995	781
R ²	0.125	0.112	0.110	0.064

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Dependent variable measured in standard units.

Relative to the Out Party condition, subjects in the In Party condition report higher support for both policies. This is true in both the original and in the replication. Unsurprisingly, both the original and the replication studies find a strong negative correlation between party identification and support for the policies, both of which are relatively liberal.

7 Study 7: Mental Illness

(McGinty, Webster and Barry 2013) show that a news article about a mass shooting affects support for stricter gun control laws as well as perceptions of how dangerous people with serious mental illness are.

7.1 Original Study

Sample: 2,935 American Adults (GfK).

Dates of data collection: May 2012.

Treatments: News The gunman who opened fire in an Indianapolis park yesterday morning has been identified as Indianapolis resident Jake Robinson, age 30. According to police, the shooter has a history of serious mental illness. Mr. Robinson's motivation for opening fire in Smith Park in central Indianapolis is unclear. Witnesses said Mr. Robinson arrived at the park around seven-thirty am and appeared agitated, pacing up and down and talking to himself.

At approximately 8:15 am, Mr. Robinson took a gun out of his bag and began to shoot. Three adults passing through the park on their way to work were shot and killed. Three more adults and two children were wounded. The police officer leading the investigation said that Jake Robinson used a semiautomatic weapon to shoot about 30 bullets in a row before he was tackled by a security guard from a nearby building. Little is known about Mr. Robinson, who lived alone and appears to have no immediate family. Mr. Robinson's cousin, who lives in South Carolina, said Mr. Robinson was hospitalized for mental illness last year.

LCM Ban Yesterday's shooting in downtown Indianapolis left residents looking for solutions to the problem of gun violence. According to the Indianapolis Coalition against Violence – a group whose membership includes city lawmakers, law enforcement officials, researchers, advocacy groups and citizens concerned about violence in Indianapolis – gun violence in the United States has reached epidemic proportions.

“With more than 65,000 Americans shot in an attack last year, we have to do something to keep dangerous guns off our streets,” said Kim Jones, the spokesperson for the group. One proposal currently being considered by Congress is a good start, Jones said. Congress is considering legislation to ban large ammunition clips, which are military-style high capacity magazines that can shoot 30, 50, or 100 bullets without requiring the shooter to stop and reload. According to Kim Jones, “Getting this law in place is one way to protect the public from dangerous guns.”

Mental Illness Yesterday's shooting in downtown Indianapolis left residents looking for solutions to the problem of gun violence. According to the Indianapolis Coalition against Violence – a group whose membership includes city lawmakers, law enforcement officials, researchers, advocacy groups and citizens concerned about violence in Indianapolis – gun violence in the United States has reached epidemic proportions.

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Outcomes:

- **Magazines:** As you may know, high-capacity gun magazines or clips can hold many rounds of ammunition, so a shooter can fire more rounds without manually reloading. Would you support or oppose a nationwide ban on the sale of high-capacity gun magazines that hold more than 10 rounds of ammunition? (Strongly Oppose: 1; Strongly Support: 5)
- **SMI Danger:** Do you agree with the following statement? “People with serious mental illness are, by far, more dangerous than the general population.” (Strongly Disagree: 1; Strongly Agree: 5)

7.2 Replication Study

Sample: 2,487 Mechanical Turk subjects.

Dates of data collection: July 2015.

Treatments: The treatments used the identical text as the original.

Outcomes: The outcomes were the same as in the original.

7.3 Results

In the original study, the News treatment increased subjects support for a ban on high-capacity magazines as well as perceptions of the mentally ill as dangerous. These effects were not apparent in the replication. The effects of the LCM Ban treatment on support for a high capacity magazine ban were consistent across the original and the replication.

Table 7: Mental Illness Original and Replication Results

	Magazines		SMI Danger	
	Original	MTurk	Original	MTurk
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
News	0.113** (0.044)	0.009 (0.039)	0.095* (0.049)	0.023 (0.044)
LCM Ban	0.184*** (0.055)	0.118** (0.047)	-0.071 (0.060)	0.012 (0.054)
Mental Illness	0.099* (0.054)	-0.007 (0.048)	-0.121** (0.061)	-0.075 (0.054)
Constant (Control)	2.183 (0.044)	2.333 (0.039)	3.247 (0.049)	3.068 (0.045)
N	2,935	2,487	2,933	2,487
R ²	0.010	0.004	0.004	0.001

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Dependent variable measured in standard units.

8 Study 8: System Threat

8.1 Original Study

Craig and Richeson (2014) show small effects of a news story describing the US as becoming “majority-minority” on various measures of system threat.

Sample: 611 American Adults (GfK).

Dates of data collection: 5/23/2012 - 6/1/2012.

Treatments:

Majority Minority Treatment

In a Generation, Racial Minorities May Be the U.S. Majority

New U.S. Census Bureau data suggest that America will become a “majority-minority” nation much faster than once predicted. The nation’s racial minority population is steadily rising, advancing an unmistakable trend that could make minorities the new American majority by mid-century.

The data show a declining number of White adults and growing under-18 populations of Hispanics, Asians, and other minorities. Demographers calculate that by 2042, Americans who identify themselves as Hispanic, Black, Asian, American Indian, Native Hawaiian, or Pacific Islander will together outnumber non-Hispanic Whites. The main reasons for the accelerating change are rapid immigration growth and significantly higher birthrates among racial and ethnic minorities. As White baby boomers age past their childbearing years, younger Hispanic parents are having children and driving U.S. population growth. For example, there are now roughly 9 births for every 1 death among Hispanics, compared to a roughly one-to-one ratio for Whites.

The latest figures are predicated on current and historical trends, which can be thrown awry by several variables, including prospective overhauls of public policy.

Placebo

U.S. Census Bureau Reports Residents Now Move at a Higher Rate.

New U.S. Census Bureau data suggest that the rate of geographical mobility, or the number of individuals who have moved within the past year, is increasing. The national mover rate increased from 11.9 percent in 2008 (the lowest rate since the U.S. Census Bureau began tracking the data) to 12.5 percent in 2009.

According to the new data, 37.1 million people changed residences in the U.S. within the past year. 84.5 percent of all movers stayed within the same state. Renters were more than five times more likely to move than homeowners. The estimates also reveal that many of the nation’s fastest-growing cities are suburbs. Specifically, principal cities within metropolitan areas experienced a net loss of 2.1 million movers, while the suburbs had a net gain of 2.4 million movers. For those who moved to a different county or state, the reasons for moving varied considerably by the length of their move.

The latest figures are predicated on current and historical trends, which can be thrown awry by several variables, including prospective overhauls of public policy.

Outcomes:

- **Way of Life:** Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statement: The American way of life is seriously threatened. (1: Strongly Disagree, 7: Strongly Agree)
- **Support for Immigration:** Do you think the number of immigrants from foreign countries who are allowed to come to the U.S. to live should be increased a lot, increased a little, left the same as it is now, decreased a little, or decreased a lot? (1: Decreased a lot, 5: Increased a lot)

8.2 Replication Study

Sample: 709 Mechanical Turk subjects.

Dates of data collection: July 2015.

Treatments: The treatments used the identical text as the original. **Outcomes:** I used a very slightly different wording for the immigration question: **Support for Immigration:** Do you think the number of immigrants from foreign countries who are permitted to come to the United States to live should be increased a lot, increased a little, left the same as it is now, decreased a little, or decreased a lot? For **Way of Life**, I used a 5-point scale (1: Strongly Disagree, 5: Strongly Agree).

8.3 Results

The effects Majority Minority treatment could not be distinguished from zero in the original experiment, but did exert a negative effect on support for immigration in the replication.

Table 8: System Threat Original and Replication Results

	Support for Immigration		Way of Life	
	Original	MTurk	Original	MTurk
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Majority Minority	-0.003 (0.095)	-0.222*** (0.073)	-0.144 (0.110)	0.078 (0.066)
Constant (Placebo)	2.098 (0.067)	2.678 (0.052)	3.156 (0.075)	1.514 (0.045)
N	608	709	611	709
R ²	0.00000	0.013	0.004	0.002

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Dependent variable measured in standard units.

9 Study 9: Expert Economists

(Johnston and Ballard 2014) found that informing the public of economists' expert opinion on various economic policies exerted a profound effect on subjects stated preferences. In five issue areas, subjects who learned of economists' views on policy were far more likely to support those positions than subjects in a control condition.

9.1 Original Study

Sample: 2,041 American Adults (Gfk).

Dates of data collection: 9/6/2013 - 9/23/2013.

Treatments: Subjects were assigned to respond to an economic opinion question on one of five topics. Subjects were assigned to see the "expert" or "control" versions of each question. Technically, this is a 2 x 5 factorial design, in which the first factor is whether subjects saw economists' opinions and the second factor is which economic opinion question seen. The estimand is the effect of learning economists' opinions on subjects' agreement with the economists' point of view.

Factor 1:

- **Expert:** A sample of professional economists with widely varying political preferences was asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the following statement: [Treatment Text] To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement? (Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Disagree Strongly, Uncertain)
- **Control:** To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement? (Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Disagree Strongly, Uncertain)

Factor 2:

- **Immigration:** The average US citizen would be better off if a larger number of highly educated foreign workers were legally allowed to immigrate to the US each year. (Economists: Strongly Agree: 49, Agree: 46)
- **Health Care:** Long run fiscal sustainability in the U.S. will require cuts in currently promised Medicare and Medicaid benefits and/or tax increases that include higher taxes on households with incomes below \$250,000. (Economists: Strongly Agree: 56, Agree: 35)
- **Trade with China:** Trade with China makes most Americans better off because, among other advantages, they can buy goods that are made or assembled more cheaply in China. (Economists: Strongly Agree: 59, Agree: 41)
- **Tax Cut:** A cut in federal income tax rates in the US right now would raise taxable income enough so that the annual total tax revenue would be higher within five years than without the tax cut. (Economists: Strongly Disagree: 57, Disagree: 39)
- **Gold Standard:** If the US replaced its discretionary monetary policy regime with a gold standard, defining a "dollar" as a specific number of ounces of gold, the price-stability and

employment outcomes would be better for the average American. (Economists: Strongly Disagree: 66, Disagree: 34)

Outcomes:

- **Agree:** For each question, the agreement dependent variable was coded 1 if the subject chose either “Strongly Agree” or “Agree” when the economists did or “Strongly Disagree” or “Disagree” when the economists did.

9.2 Replication Study

Sample: 2,985 Mechanical Turk subjects.

Dates of data collection: July 2015.

Treatments: Instead of assigning subjects to see only one question, I had subjects see all five questions, randomizing within question whether a subject saw the “control” or “expert” version. The questions were otherwise identical.

Outcomes: I defined agreement in the same way as in the original.

9.3 Results

The results of the original and replication experiments are in close agreement. The Expert treatment increases agreement with the economists' point of view on every issue.

Table 9: Expert Economists: Immigration, Health Care, and China

	Agree on Immigration		Agree on Health Care		Agree on Trade with China	
	Original	MTurk	Original	MTurk	Original	MTurk
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Expert Treatment	0.138 (0.113)	0.327*** (0.036)	0.150 (0.100)	0.345*** (0.036)	0.245** (0.104)	0.417*** (0.036)
Constant (Control)	0.499 (0.076)	0.773 (0.025)	0.440 (0.069)	0.690 (0.025)	0.414 (0.067)	0.880 (0.025)
N	413	2,985	409	2,985	408	2,985
R ²	0.006	0.027	0.007	0.030	0.019	0.044

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Dependent variable measured in standard units.

Table 10: Expert Economists: Tax Cuts and Gold Standard

	Agree on Tax Cut		Agree on Gold Standard	
	Original	MTurk	Original	MTurk
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Expert Treatment	0.352*** (0.101)	0.437*** (0.036)	0.379*** (0.106)	0.504*** (0.035)
Constant (Control)	0.295 (0.063)	0.753 (0.025)	0.324 (0.065)	0.774 (0.025)
N	403	2,985	412	2,985
R ²	0.043	0.048	0.047	0.063

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Dependent variable measured in standard units.

10 Studies 10 and 11: Free Trade

Hiscox (2006) reports the results of a test of positive and negative frames on support for free trade.

10.1 Original Study

Sample: 1,610 Americans.

Dates of data collection: The 2008 Presidential campaign.

Treatments: This study employed a 2 X 4 factorial design, where the first factor is the Expert treatment and the second factor is the frame the subject is shown: positive, negative, both, or neither.

- **Expert:** According to the New York Times, almost 100 percent of American economists support increasing trade with other nations. In 1993 over a thousand economists, including all living winners of the Nobel Prize in economics, signed an open letter to the New York Times urging people to support efforts to increase trade between the United States and neighboring countries.
- **Positive:** Many people believe that increasing trade with other nations creates jobs and allows Americans to buy more types of goods at lower prices.
- **Negative:** Many people believe that increasing trade with other nations leads to job losses and exposes American producers to unfair competition.
- **Positive + Negative:** Many people believe that increasing trade with other nations creates jobs and allows Americans to buy more types of goods at lower prices. Others believe that increasing trade with other nations leads to job losses and exposes American producers to unfair competition.
- **Control** (No introduction before asking the free trade question.)

Outcomes:

- **Support for Free Trade:** Do you favor or oppose increasing trade with other nations? (0: oppose; 1: favor)

10.2 GfK Replication Study

Sample: 2,084 GfK respondents.

Dates of data collection: August 2015.

Treatments: Treatments were defined in the same way as the original.

Outcomes: The wording of the outcome questions was identical to the original.

10.3 MTurk Replication Study

Sample: 2,972 Mechanical Turk respondents.

Dates of data collection: July 2015.

Treatments: Treatments were defined in the same way as the original.

Outcomes: The wording of the outcome questions was identical to the original.

10.4 Results

Table 11: Free Trade Original and Replication Results

	Support for Free Trade		
	Original	GfK	MTurk
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Expert	0.245*** (0.061)	0.174*** (0.048)	0.276*** (0.033)
Positive	-0.174** (0.083)	-0.033 (0.065)	-0.077* (0.042)
Negative	-0.285*** (0.085)	-0.324*** (0.067)	-0.321*** (0.047)
Pos + Neg	-0.408*** (0.086)	-0.232*** (0.069)	-0.332*** (0.046)
Constant (Control)	1.482 (0.064)	1.561 (0.052)	1.716 (0.035)
N	1,610	2,084	2,972
R ²	0.031	0.026	0.046

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Dependent variable measured in standard units.

The results of this experiment are remarkably consistent across all three versions. The Expert treatment causes about a 10 point increase in support for free trade. The Positive treatment is oddly ineffective: null or even negative effects across the board. The Negative treatment and the Positive + Negative treatments both exert strongly negative effects on free trade support.

11 Studies 12 and 13: Polarization

Levendusky and Malhotra (2015) show that descriptions of a polarized electorate led subjects to view Republicans and Democrats as further apart on issues.

11.1 Original Study

Sample: 1,041 American adults (GfK).

Dates of data collection: 11/29/12 - 12/12/12.

Treatments: Subjects were assigned at random to see one of three treatments: **Polarized**, **Moderate**, or a **Placebo**. I omit the Placebo treatment from this analysis entirely.

Polarized:

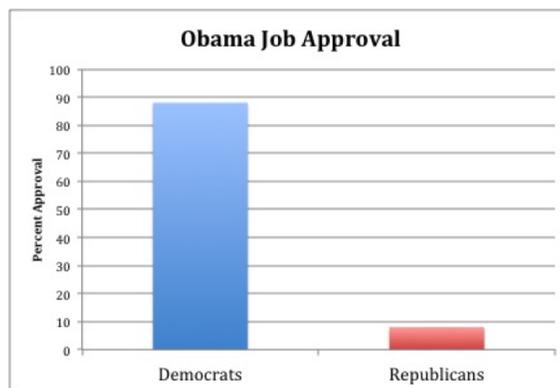
Electorate as Divided as Ever
Jefferson Graham (USA Today)

In the aftermath of the 2012 presidential election, interviews with voters at a diner in Smithfield, PA reveal an electorate as divided as ever. When asked about the importance of the election results, Republican Marlene Evers of nearby Fairchance said, “I can’t believe Obama won. He is a radical socialist. He will destroy the Christian values set forth by the Founding Fathers that have made this country great. If he gets his way, he’ll overturn 5,000 years of tradition and allow gay marriage, destroying the American family. We must stop him any way we can.”

Later on that evening, Democratic voter and Obama supporter Dan Thompson of Masontown pointed to economic issues as influencing his vote in the election. “The Republican Party is for corporate greed and will do nothing but destroy the lives and hopes of regular working people in this country. They tried to use voter ID laws to steal this election, because they know the American people reject their ideas.” He added, “Bush was a complete idiot who bankrupted this nation with the Iraq War, and Romney would have been just as bad, destroying the economy. Republicans want to roll back women’s reproductive freedom by restricting access to contraception and labeling women who defend it sluts and prostitutes.”

As we left Smithfield, it is clear that Republicans and Democrats in the area seem as divided as ever before. This same pattern also holds nationally: Democrats and Republicans across the country are deeply divided. For example, Gallup data released last week shows that while nearly 9 in 10 Democratic voters (88 percent) approve of President Obama’s job as president, less than 1 in 10 Republicans (8 percent) approves. This 80 point gap between the parties in approval is among the largest ever recorded (see figure). “Differences in Obama’s approval reflect fundamental divides between the parties,” says Stanford political science professor Neil Malhotra. “Democrats and Republicans really do hold different beliefs.”

Figure 3: Studies 12 and 13: Polarization: Polarized Stimulus (original)



Moderate:

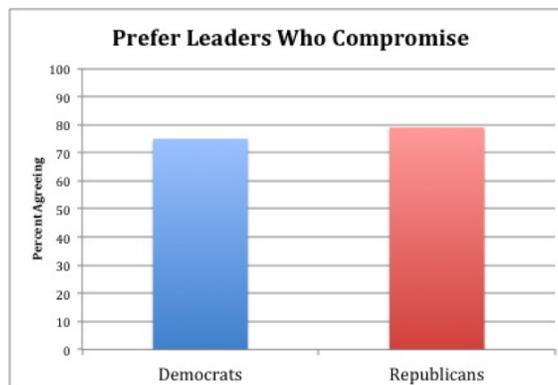
Electorate Remains Moderate
Jefferson Graham (USA Today)

In the aftermath of the 2012 presidential election, interviews with voters at a diner in Smithfield, PA reveal few real divisions in the electorate. When asked about Obama’s victory, Republican Marlene Evers of nearby Fairchance said, “I don’t agree with all of Obama’s economic policies, but he seems to be trying hard to resolve America’s economic problems. He’s doing things that we all agree with, like trying to bring down the deficit. He’s also trying to find a middle ground on social issues like his gay marriage decision. While he supports gay marriage, he did not push to change federal on policy on this issue, knowing that it might upset some voters. I am pro-life, but I agree with President Obama that women need access to safe and affordable family planning tools.”

Later on that evening, Democratic voter and Obama supporter Dan Thompson of Mason-town pointed to economic issues as influencing his vote in the election. “I’m not an ideologue. I find myself mostly in the middle, and really just want the country to get back on track and find common-sense solutions to get our economy fixed.” Thompson also noted that he wanted a break from the culture wars, and wants politicians to stop focusing on controversial social issues like abortion. “Americans can all agree that, even if we support the right to abortion, it should be rare and avoided, and the President’s policies are trying to reduce the need for abortion in this country.”

As we left Smithfield, it is surprising to find that Republicans and Democrats in the electorate seem to want the same things, very different from the picture we get from Washington. This same pattern also holds nationally: Democrats and Republicans across the country are not really very divided. For example, recent data from the Pew Center for the People and the Press show that Democrats and Republicans alike overwhelmingly support leaders who compromise to get things done. 75 percent of Democrats feel this way, as do 79 percent of Republicans, a nearly identical level (see figure). “This shows that there is no divide between ordinary Democrats and Republicans,” says Stanford political science professor Neil Malhotra. “Democrats and Republicans really do want the same things.”

Figure 4: Studies 12 and 13: Polarization: Moderate Stimulus (original)



Outcomes: I focus on two dependent variables. The first, *Perceived Polarization*, is built from subjects' responses to a series of policy questions. After giving their response to each question in the list below, subjects were asked how they think a "typical Democratic voter" and a "typical Republican voter" would respond to each question. The outcome variable is the average of the absolute values of the differences in subjects' Democratic and Republican Responses.

- The tax rates on the profits people make from selling stocks and bonds, called capital gains taxes, are currently lower than the income tax rates many people pay. Do you think that capital gains tax rates should be increased, decreased, or kept about the same? (7 point scale. Decreased a lot: -3; Increased a lot: 3)
- There is some debate about whether or not undocumented immigrants who were brought to this country illegally as children should be deported. Which of the following positions on the scale below best represents your position on this issue? (7 point scale. Very strongly oppose deportation: -3; Very strongly support deportation: 3)
- The United States is currently considering signing additional free trade agreements with Central American, South American, and Asian countries. The Democratic Party wants to make it more difficult for the U.S. to enter into such agreements. The Republican Party wants to make it easier to do so. What do you think? Do you support or oppose the United States signing more free trade agreements with Central American, South American, and Asian countries? (7 point scale. Very strongly oppose free trade: -3; Very strongly support free trade: 3)
- Public financing of elections is when the government pays for the cost of campaigning for various offices, rather than the campaigns relying on donations from the general public, corporations, or unions. Democrats typically support public financing plans while Republicans have wanted to eliminate them. What do you think? Do you support or oppose the government paying for the public financing of elections? (7 point scale. Very strongly oppose public financing: -3; Very strongly support public financing: 3)

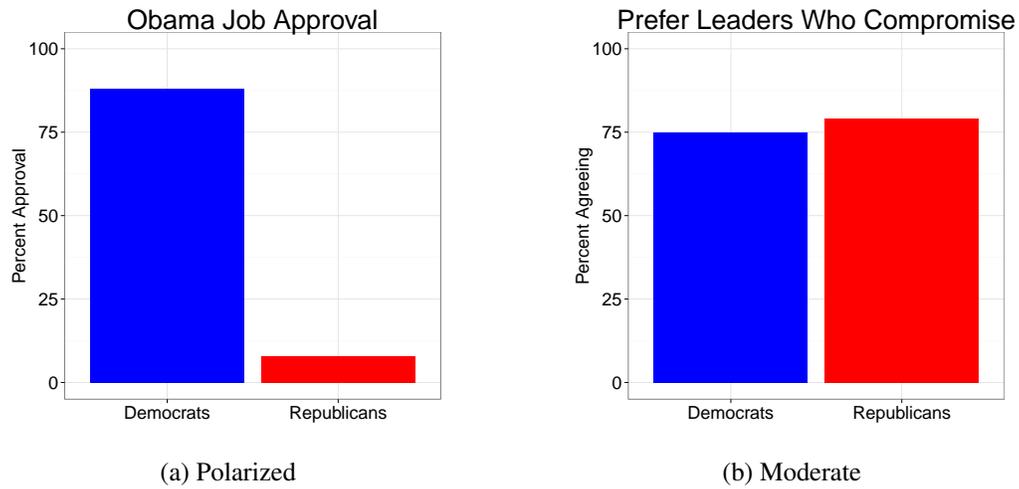
11.2 GfK Replication Study

Sample: 1,411 GfK respondents.

Dates of data collection: August 2015.

Treatments: The wording of the **Polarized** and **Moderate** conditions is the same as above. I used slightly different figures:

Figure 5: Studies 12 and 13: Polarization: Stimuli (replication)



Outcomes: The wording of the outcome questions was identical to the original.

11.3 MTurk Replication Study

Sample: 1,987 Mechanical Turk respondents.

Dates of data collection: July 2015.

Treatments: Treatments were defined in the same way as in the GfK replication.

Outcomes: The wording of the outcome questions was identical to the original.

11.4 Results

As shown in Table 12, the polarized treatment did cause subjects to view themselves as slightly more moderate in the original and MTurk studies, but not in the GfK study. By contrast, as shown in Table 13, subjects in the polarized condition viewed Republicans and Democrats as being further apart on issues in all three studies.

Table 12: Extremity Original and Replication Results

	Extremity of Policy Views		
	Original	GfK	MTurk
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Polarized Treatment	0.022 (0.084)	0.050 (0.057)	-0.048 (0.040)
Constant (Moderate)	1.715 (0.059)	1.851 (0.041)	2.040 (0.028)
N	1,041	1,411	1,987
R ²	0.0001	0.001	0.001

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Dependent variable measured in standard units.

Table 13: Perceived Polarization Original and Replication Results

	Perceived Polarization		
	Original	GfK	MTurk
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Polarized Treatment	0.160** (0.081)	0.465*** (0.081)	0.362*** (0.051)
Constant (Moderate)	1.637 (0.055)	2.327 (0.059)	2.744 (0.036)
N	1,053	1,411	1,987
R ²	0.006	0.028	0.025

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Dependent variable measured in standard units.

12 Studies 14 and 15: Frame Breadth

Hopkins and Mummolo (2017) show that frames in one issue area by and large affect only “target” attitudes and not attitudes in other domains.

12.1 Original Study

Sample: 3,269 Adult Americans (GfK).

Dates of data collection: The 2008 Presidential campaign.

Treatments: Subjects were assigned at random to see two of these treatment texts. Subjects saw one at random, answered a random two of the outcome variables, then saw a second treatment, and answered the remainder of the treatment questions. “The argument below was recently made by a U.S. Senator. Please take a moment to read the argument carefully and then tell us what you think. [Treatment Text] Do you think the Senator is making a convincing argument? Please tell us why or why not. [Text entry]. ”

- **Crime:** America is very vulnerable to violent crime, with forty-two Americans murdered every single day on average. Innocent people can be killed in their front yards. Across the country, we have to do everything we can to reduce the threat of violent crime. We have to stop violent criminals before they act. This means cracking down on the smaller offenses that all too often lead to violent crime, and making sure that convicted criminals always serve out their full sentences.
- **Health Care:** Health care is one of the most complicated issues we face. It involves 1 of every 6 dollars spent here in the United States. The health care system includes millions of doctors and nurses and thousands of hospitals and clinics. Together, they regularly make decisions that can mean life or death. The government in Washington can’t even balance its own budget. How can we trust it to run something as complicated as the health care system?
- **Stimulus:** With a recession as deep as this one, there are more than 10 million unemployed Americans, and it’s going to take years for our economy to recover. In February 2009, the government in Washington made things worse by passing an \$800 billion stimulus package, which is more than \$2,500 for every person living in this country. Now, it looks like a lot of that money didn’t help the economy. Unemployment is still very high. The money went to pork-barrel projects and federal bureaucrats rather than creating jobs for unemployed Americans. The government in Washington can’t even balance its own budget. How can we trust it to spend so much taxpayer money?
- **Terror:** The September 11th attacks and the news that al-Qaeda was planning new attacks on U.S. soil show how vulnerable America still is to terrorists. Innocent people can be killed while traveling to visit family or going to work. Across the country, we have to do everything we can to reduce the threat of terrorism. We have to stop terrorists before they act. This means conducting more frequent searches of suspicious people boarding planes, trains, subways, and buses.

Outcomes: Spending preferences were measured in all four areas, regardless of treatment assignment. The response options were 1: Decreased a lot, 2: Decreased a moderate amount, 3: Decreased a little; 4: Kept about the same; 5: Increased a little; 6: Increased a moderate amount; 7: Increased a great deal.

- **Crime Spending** Should federal spending on dealing with crime be increased, decreased, or kept the same?
- **Health Care Spending** Should federal spending on health care be increased, decreased, or kept the same?
- **Stimulus Spending** Should federal spending to stimulate the economy be increased, decreased, or kept the same?
- **Terrorism Spending** Should federal spending on the war on terrorism be increased, decreased, or kept the same?

The relatively complicated random assignment procedure requires the analyst to make some choices. I chose to define a subject as in treatment if they answered the “target” dependent variable after being exposed to the corresponding treatment (For example, if a person saw the health care treatment *after* answering the health care treatment, I would define that subject as being in control for the health care experiment).

12.2 GfK Replication Study

Sample: 3,189 GfK respondents.

Dates of data collection: August 2015.

Treatments: I assigned each subject to only see one of the treatments, which was shown before any of the dependent variables. This design simplifies the analysis while still allowing for the assessment of “direct” and “spillover” effects across issues.

Outcomes: The wording of the outcome questions was identical to the original.

12.3 MTurk Replication Study

Sample: 2,972 Mechanical Turk respondents.

Dates of data collection: July 2015.

Treatments: Treatments were defined in the same way as in the GfK replication.

Outcomes: The wording of the outcome questions was identical to the original.

12.4 Results

The results across all three versions of the experiment are very similar: small, statistically insignificant average effects on the crime and health care outcome variables, and large, statistically significant average effects on the spending and terrorism outcome variables.

Table 14: Crime Spending Original and Replication Results

	Support for Crime Spending		
	Original (1)	GfK (2)	MTurk (3)
Crime Argument	0.060 (0.052)	0.086 (0.052)	-0.012 (0.052)
Constant (Control)	3.389 (0.027)	3.417 (0.023)	3.218 (0.022)
N	3,269	3,189	2,972
R ²	0.001	0.001	0.00002

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Dependent variable measured in standard units.

Table 15: Health Care Spending Original and Replication Results

	Support for Health Care Spending		
	Original (1)	GfK (2)	MTurk (3)
Health Care Argument	-0.026 (0.047)	-0.025 (0.049)	-0.046 (0.044)
Constant (Control)	2.661 (0.025)	2.478 (0.022)	2.847 (0.020)
N	3,271	3,188	2,972
R ²	0.0001	0.0001	0.0004

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Dependent variable measured in standard units.

Table 16: Stimulus Spending Original and Replication Results

	Support for Stimulus Spending		
	Original	GfK	MTurk
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Stimulus Argument	-0.164*** (0.045)	-0.235*** (0.041)	-0.214*** (0.038)
Constant (Control)	2.167 (0.025)	2.184 (0.018)	2.402 (0.016)
N	3,266	3,179	2,972
R ²	0.006	0.012	0.012

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Dependent variable measured in standard units.

Table 17: Terrorism Spending Original and Replication Results

	Support for Terrorism Spending		
	Original	GfK	MTurk
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Terrorism Argument	0.249*** (0.053)	0.183*** (0.055)	0.107** (0.053)
Constant (Control)	2.468 (0.029)	2.926 (0.025)	2.275 (0.024)
N	3,272	3,180	2,972
R ²	0.011	0.004	0.001

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Dependent variable measured in standard units.

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