# **Research Study**

You are being asked to participate in a research study conducted by Jeff Gill and Simon Heuberger. We are researchers in political science at American University. The purpose of this study is to collect opinions on several issues. No prior knowledge is required. All issues will be briefly explained before we ask for your opinion.

Completing the survey will take around 10 minutes and is anonymous. Lucid/Amazon does not share any identifiable information with us. Your identity is never known to us and will not be attached in any way to the final form of this study. Aggregate, non-identifiable data will be presented representing averages or generalizations about the responses as a whole. All the data will be stored in a secure location accessible only to us, the researchers.

Your participation is entirely voluntary. You are free to choose not to participate. You can also withdraw from the survey by closing your browser at any time. Incomplete answers will not be recorded.

If you have any questions, please reach out to us at sh6943a@american.edu. If you feel as though your rights as a research subject have been violated in any way, please contact the American University IRB Coordinator Matt Zembrzuski at irb@american.edu.

If you want to proceed with the survey, please indicate your consent by clicking the checkbox below.

[check\_box]

# (Measure Moral Foundation – heading not shown to respondents)

(Foundation of Harm/Care) When you decide whether something is right or wrong, to what extent are the following considerations relevant to your thinking?

(Mor\_suff) Whether or not someone suffered emotionally.

Not at all relevant (This consideration has nothing to do with my judgments of right and wrong) (1)

Not very relevant (2)

Slightly relevant (3)

Somewhat relevant (4)

Very relevant (5)

Extremely relevant (This is one of the most important factors when I judge right and wrong) (6)

(Mor\_care) Whether or not someone cared for someone weak or vulnerable.

Not at all relevant (This consideration has nothing to do with my judgments of right and wrong) (1)

Not very relevant (2)

Slightly relevant (3)

Somewhat relevant (4)

Very relevant (5)

Extremely relevant (This is one of the most important factors when I judge right and wrong) (6)

(Mor cruel) Whether or not someone was cruel.

Not at all relevant (This consideration has nothing to do with my judgments of right and wrong) (1)

Not very relevant (2)

Slightly relevant (3)

Somewhat relevant (4)

Very relevant (5)

Extremely relevant (This is one of the most important factors when I judge right and wrong) (6)

(Foundation of Harm/Care) Please read the following sentences and indicate your agreement or disagreement.

(Mor\_comp) Compassion for those who are suffering is the most crucial virtue.

Strongly disagree (1)

Moderately disagree (2)

Slightly disagree (3)

Slightly agree (4)

Moderately agree (5)

Strongly agree (6)

(Mor\_hurt) One of the worst things a person could do is hurt a defenseless animal.

Strongly disagree (1)

Moderately disagree (2)

Slightly disagree (3)

Slightly agree (4)

Moderately agree (5)

Strongly agree (6)

(Mor\_kill) It can never be right to kill a human being.

Strongly disagree (1)

Moderately disagree (2)

Slightly disagree (3)

Slightly agree (4)

Moderately agree (5)

Strongly agree (6)

# (Measure Self-Interest – heading not shown to respondents)

(From Raine, Uh (2019). "The Selfishness Questionnaire Egocentric Adaptive and Pathological Forms of Selfishness")

Please read the following sentences and indicate your agreement or disagreement.

(Si\_white) I have no problem telling "white lies" if it will help me achieve my goals.

Strongly disagree (1)

Moderately disagree (2)

Slightly disagree (3)

Slightly agree (4)

Moderately agree (5)

Strongly agree (6)

(Si\_care) At the end of the day I care mostly for myself, my family, and friends who can help me.

Strongly disagree (1)

Moderately disagree (2)

Slightly disagree (3)

Slightly agree (4)

Moderately agree (5)

Strongly agree (6)

(Si\_kids) Even if it meant giving my kids an unfair advantage over others, I'd do it for them.

Strongly disagree (1)

Moderately disagree (2)

Slightly disagree (3)

Slightly agree (4)

Moderately agree (5)

Strongly agree (6)

Please read the following sentences and indicate your agreement or disagreement.

(Si\_kill) If the choice was between killing someone or being killed, I'd kill.

Strongly disagree (1)

Moderately disagree (2)

Slightly disagree (3)

Slightly agree (4)

Moderately agree (5)

Strongly agree (6)

(Si\_good) I sometimes lie to others for my own good, and theirs too.

Strongly disagree (1)

Moderately disagree (2)

Slightly disagree (3)

Slightly agree (4)

Moderately agree (5)

Strongly agree (6)

(Si\_help) I mostly help those around me who will help me later.

Strongly disagree (1)

Moderately disagree (2)

Slightly disagree (3)

Slightly agree (4)

Moderately agree (5)

Strongly agree (6)

# (Demographics – heading not shown to respondents)

(Age) Please select your year of birth.

(Race) What racial or ethnic group best describes you? White (1)
Black or African-American (2)
Arab or Middle Eastern (3)
Hispanic or Latino (4)
Asian (5)
American Indian or Alaska Native (6)
Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander (7)
Other (8)

(Gender) What gender best describes you?
Male (1)
Female (2)
Other (3)

```
(Attention check) Please select the correct statement.
The letter K comes before the letter B in the alphabet. (1)
The letter B comes before the letter K in the alphabet. (2)
There are 100 letters in the alphabet. (3)
There are 10 letters in the alphabet. (4)
(Employment) What is your current employment status?
Employed part time (1)
Employed full time (2)
Student (3)
Retired (4)
Homemaker (5)
Unemployed (6)
Permanently disabled (7)
(Income) What is your combined annual household income?
Less than $20,000 (1)
$20,000 to $39,999 (2)
$40,000 to $59,999 (3)
$60,000 to $79,999 (4)
$80,000 to $99,999 (5)
$100,000 to $149,999 (6)
$150,000 or more (7)
```

(Ideology) When it comes to politics, would you describe yourself as liberal, conservative, or neither liberal nor conservative?

Liberal (1)

Conservative (2)

Neither (3)

(Ideology\_lib) Would you call yourself very liberal or somewhat liberal? Very liberal (1) Somewhat liberal (2)

(Ideology\_cons) Would you call yourself very conservative or somewhat conservative? Very conservative (1)
Somewhat conservative (2)

(Ideology\_nei) Do you think of yourself as closer to liberals, or conservatives, or neither of these? Closer to liberals (1)
Closer to conservatives (2)
Neither (3)

(Party ID) Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or something else? Democrat (1) Republican (2) Independent (3) Something else (4) (Party ID\_rep) Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican? Strong (1) Not very strong (2) (Party ID dem) Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat? Strong (1) Not very strong (2) (Party ID ind) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party? Closer to the Republican Party (1)

Closer to the Democratic Party (2)

Neither (3)

(Education)

# (Background:

I block on education. To test my methods, I need to compare the ordered probit model categories and the original ANES categories. Respondents thus randomly receive either the ordered probit (OP) or the ANES categories and are blocked into the treatment groups based on their selection.

When respondents hit Continue at the end of this page, the code assigns them to a treatment group for Healthcare based on their education selection. This involves downloading and uploading a .RData file from my Dropbox account. Respondents will see a progress bar after hitting Continue. The download/upload literally only takes one second. However, when two respondents hit Continue at the same time, one of them gets processed and the other waits until the first is finished. There are no errors or breakdowns, just a very slight delay. In theory, if 50 people hit Continue at the same time, the 50<sup>th</sup> person would thus see a 50-second delay. I consider that unlikely to happen, but to safeguard somewhat, I have added a note about this possible delay at the end of this page to make respondents aware of it.)

# (For pre-test on MTurk:

Respondents only get the OP categories. Otherwise the small sample (n = 240) would get split even further. And the blocking comparison of the two sets is useless for this low amount of people anyway.)

What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?

#### OP

High school or lower (1)

Some college (2)

Associate degree (3)

Bachelor's degree (4)

Master's degree or higher (5)

#### **ANES**

Up to 1st grade (1)

1st-4th grade (2)

5th-6th grade (3)

7th-8th grade (4)

9th grade (5)

10th grade (6)

11th grade (7)

12th grade (8)

High school graduate (9)

Some college (10)

Associate degree (11)

Bachelor's degree (12)

Master's degree (13)

Professional degree (14)

Doctorate (15)

Please note: After you hit Continue, it might take a moment for the next page to load due to processing speeds. If this happens, please do not exit your browser. Your answer will be processed and recorded. This is part of the survey design.

# (Randomly Assigned Frame – Healthcare)

(Healthcare) Supporting moral frame, opposing moral frame, supporting self-interest frame, opposing self-interest frame, or control frame (5 treatment groups overall)

(Likert DV) How do you feel about this healthcare plan? Strongly oppose (1) Somewhat oppose (2) Neither favor nor oppose (3) Somewhat favor (4) Strongly favor (5)

(Slider DV) How would you rate this policy on a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 being the worst and 10 being the best? 1:10

(Factual manipulation check healthcare)

## (Background:

When respondents hit Continue at the end of this page, the code assigns them to a treatment group for Environment based on their education selection. I moved this assignment to a separate page (i.e. not the education page) to increase upload/download speed. As above, people might see a delay if several of them hit Continue at the same time. I thus added the same note as on the education page.)

A moment ago, you were informed about a plan that was recently debated. Which of the following political topics is the plan about?

Immigration (1)
Abortion (2)
Healthcare (3)
Taxes (4)
Gun control (5)
Same-sex marriage (6)
Minimum wage (7)

Please note: After you hit Continue, it might take a moment for the next page to load due to processing speeds. If this happens, please do not exit your browser. Your answer will be processed and recorded. This is part of the survey design.

# (Randomly Assigned Frame – Environment)

(Environment) Supporting moral frame, opposing moral frame, supporting self-interest frame, opposing self-interest frame, or control frame (5 treatment groups overall)

(Likert DV) How do you feel about these restrictions? Strongly oppose (1) Somewhat oppose (2) Neither favor nor oppose (3) Somewhat favor (4) Strongly favor (5)

(Slider DV) How would you rate this policy on a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 being the worst and 10 being the best? 1:10

(Factual manipulation check\_environment) A moment ago, you were informed about a plan that was recently debated. Which of the following political topics is the plan about?

Minimum wage (1)
Same-sex marriage (2)
Taxes (3)
Immigration (4)
Environment (5)
Gun control (6)
Abortion (7)

(Comments) Do you have any comments for us regarding the design or the questions? If so, please share them here. This section can be left blank, but we are very grateful for any type of feedback you can give us.

Please enter any comments you have for us.

[Comments]

# For Lucid:

You have answered all the questions in this survey. Thank you!

Once you hit "Continue", you will be redirected.

[Continue]

# For MTurk:

You have answered all the questions in this survey. Thank you!

Here is your study completion code: [unique.completion.code]

To receive payment for participating, enter this code in the Mechanical Turk window, then click Submit.

You can now close this window.

# **Actual Frames - Healthcare**

## <u>Control</u>

Over the past few years, U.S. politicians have repeatedly debated the potential introduction of a new healthcare plan. One option is a healthcare plan that:

- \* covers everyone in the US
- \* is paid for with a mix of fees paid by individuals and employers as well as tax dollars
- \* provides free healthcare for all services and drugs to those over 65 and low income people (unlike Medicare and Medicaid).

# Moral-Opposing

Over the past few years, U.S. politicians have repeatedly debated the potential introduction of a new healthcare plan. One option is a healthcare plan that:

- \* covers everyone in the US
- \* is paid for with a mix of fees paid by individuals and employers as well as tax dollars
- \* provides free healthcare for all services and drugs to those over 65 and low income people (unlike Medicare and Medicaid).

Some people think it is a bad idea to implement this healthcare plan. They argue that elderly people and those with medical conditions will not get the level of care they need. Medical services will get worse and will take longer to access when everyone is covered, which particularly affects these vulnerable groups.

# Moral-Supporting

Over the past few years, U.S. politicians have repeatedly debated the potential introduction of a new healthcare plan. One option is a healthcare plan that:

- \* covers everyone in the US
- \* is paid for with a mix of fees paid by individuals and employers as well as tax dollars
- \* provides free healthcare for all services and drugs to those over 65 and low income people (unlike Medicare and Medicaid).

Some people think it is a good idea to implement this healthcare plan. They argue that it helps vulnerable members of society. Increased health coverage will provide them with the services and drugs they need. It will protect and support them but does not affect the majority of the population.

# Self-Interest-Opposing

Over the past few years, U.S. politicians have repeatedly debated the potential introduction of a new healthcare plan. One option is a healthcare plan that:

- \* covers everyone in the US
- \* is paid for with a mix of fees paid by individuals and employers as well as tax dollars
- \* provides free healthcare for all services and drugs to those over 65 and low income people (unlike Medicare and Medicaid).

Some people think it is a bad idea to implement this healthcare plan. They argue that the majority of people will need to pay more for the same or even worse quality of care. Everyone who is not elderly or has low income will pick up the tab for these groups without receiving any benefits themselves.

# Self-Interest-Supporting

Over the past few years, U.S. politicians have repeatedly debated the potential introduction of a new healthcare plan. One option is a healthcare plan that:

\* covers everyone in the US

- \* is paid for with a mix of fees paid by individuals and employers as well as tax dollars
- \* provides free healthcare for all services and drugs to those over 65 and low income people (unlike Medicare and Medicaid).

Some people think it is a good idea to implement this healthcare plan. They argue that we all want to be healthy and know that we and our families are safe, both financially and medically, if we get ill. We want to look after ourselves and our families and make sure we are protected in times of need.

# **Actual Frames – Environment**

#### Control

Over the past few years, politicians have repeatedly debated the potential introduction of new environmental regulations to improve food safety in the US. The restrictions decrease the use of toxic pesticides that:

- \* might contaminate crops, soil, and ground water
- \* are particularly harmful to the elderly and those with various medical conditions. Farmers need to use less toxic substitutes or farm without pesticides. They receive state subsidies to cover parts of their increased costs.

# Moral-Opposing

Over the past few years, politicians have repeatedly debated the potential introduction of new environmental regulations to improve food safety in the US. The restrictions decrease the use of toxic pesticides that:

- \* might contaminate crops, soil, and ground water
- \* are particularly harmful to the elderly and those with various medical conditions. Farmers need to use less toxic substitutes or farm without pesticides. They receive state subsidies to cover parts of their increased costs. Some people think it is a bad idea to implement these restrictions. They argue that they increase the burden on farmers and make it harder for them to stay economically viable. Using no or substitute pesticides will lead to a large increase in costs. To cover these costs, they might need to lay off workers, take on debts or even close their business.

# **Moral-Supporting**

Over the past few years, politicians have repeatedly debated the potential introduction of new environmental regulations to improve food safety in the US. The restrictions decrease the use of toxic pesticides that:

- \* might contaminate crops, soil, and ground water
- \* are particularly harmful to the elderly and those with various medical conditions. Farmers need to use less toxic substitutes or farm without pesticides. They receive state subsidies to cover parts of their increased costs. Some people think it is a good idea to implement these restrictions. They argue that the elderly and people with medical conditions will suffer from the use of aggressive pesticides. Their health deteriorates and makes them more vulnerable to disease and even death. Increased restrictions protect them and do not affect the majority of people.

## Self-Interest-Opposing

Over the past few years, politicians have repeatedly debated the potential introduction of new environmental regulations to improve food safety in the US. The restrictions decrease the use of toxic pesticides that:

- \* might contaminate crops, soil, and ground water
- \* are particularly harmful to the elderly and those with various medical conditions. Farmers need to use less toxic substitutes or farm without pesticides. They receive state subsidies to cover parts of their increased costs. Some people think it is a bad idea to implement these restrictions. They argue that the restrictions will increase food production costs and raise food prices. We will all need to pay more to cover the costs of the restrictions and have less money to spend on other things for us and our families.

## Self-Interest-Supporting

Over the past few years, politicians have repeatedly debated the potential introduction of new environmental regulations to improve food safety in the US. The restrictions decrease the use of toxic pesticides that:

- \* might contaminate crops, soil, and ground water
- \* are particularly harmful to the elderly and those with various medical conditions. Farmers need to use less toxic substitutes or farm without pesticides. They receive state subsidies to cover parts of their increased costs. Some people think it is a good idea to implement these restrictions. They argue that the restrictions protect our health. We and our families all benefit from healthier food with fewer chemicals since we will become sick less often, reduce our healthcare expenditures, and increase our life expectancy.