

Codebook for “A Bottom-Up Theory of Public Opinion about Foreign Policy”

Joshua D. Kertzer and Thomas Zeitzoff
March 7, 2017

Note: there are three datasets corresponding to Study 1 (*Study 1.RData*), Study 2 (*Study 2.RData*), and Study 3 (*Study 3.RData*). The variable descriptions for each study are denoted below.

Study 1 (Experiments 1 and 2)

Demographics and individual differences

Variable	Description
ID	Participant identifier
age	age (not rescaled)
male	1 if male, 0 if otherwise
educ	9-point measure of education. 1= Grade School to 9= professional degree.
educ0	9-point measure of education rescaled to lie between 0 and 1
income	6-point household income. 1 = <20,000 USD to 6=100,000 USD or >
hhincome	10-point household income. 1= <20,000 USD to 10= > 250,000 USD
white_nh	1= White, non-Hispanic, 0 otherwise
tea_party	1= Tea Party supporter, 0= otherwise
conserv	7-point conservative ideology measure. 1= Very Liberal to 7 =Very Conservative
partyID	Party Identification. 1=(Strong Democrat) to 7 (Strong Republican).
pid1	Party Identification rescaled to lie between 0 (Strong Democrat) and 1 (Strong Republican).
Democrat1	1 if respondent identifies as Democrat and 0 otherwise
Republican1	1 if respondent identifies as Republican and 0 otherwise
milAssert1	Militant Assertiveness scale (Herrmann, Tetlock, and Visser, 1999; Kertzer and McGraw, 2012); rescaled to 0-1
intl1	Internationalism scale (Herrmann, Tetlock, and Visser, 1999; Kertzer and McGraw, 2012); rescaled to 0-1
anxiety	Scaled version of Short State-Trait

	Anxiety, people who are worried, nervous, secure, and calm (reverse-coded last two). Rescaled to 0-1.
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Experimental treatments

Variable	Description
cHot	1=respondent received the emotional treatment in the China Scenario, 0 otherwise
tHot	1=respondent received the emotional treatment in the Terrorism Scenario, 0 otherwise
cDem	1=if veteran lawmaker quoted in the article for China Scenario was a Democrat, 0= otherwise
tDem	1=if veteran lawmaker quoted in the article for Terrorism Scenario was a Democrat, 0= otherwise
cFirst	1= if respondent saw the China Scenario first, 0= otherwise.
cGroup_Endorse	1=Receive the Group Endorse treatment in the China scenario, 0 otherwise.
cGroup_Oppose	1=Receive the Group Oppose treatment in the China scenario, 0 otherwise.
groupControl	1= if did not receive any Group treatment, 0 otherwise.
tGroup_Endorse	1=Receive the Group Endorse treatment in the Terrorism scenario, 0 otherwise.
tGroup_Oppose	1=Receive the Group Oppose treatment in the Terrorism scenario, 0 otherwise.

Manipulation checks and dependent variables

Variable	Description
cMCheck	1=Passed the manipulation check in China Scenario and correctly identify the lawmaker's partisan affiliation, 0=otherwise.
tMCheck	1=Passed the manipulation check in China Scenario and correctly identify the lawmaker's partisan affiliation, 0=otherwise.
cPivot	Support for sending military resources to Asia. Continuous 0-10 rescaled to 0-1. 0 (Strongly Oppose) to 1 (Strongly

	Support).
cCertain	Level of certainty over response cPivot. Continuous 0-10 rescaled to 0-1. 0 (Very Uncertain) to 1 (Very Certain).
cSucceed	Regardless of how they answered cPivot, how likely do they think shifting military resources would succeed? Continuous 0-10 rescaled to 0-1. 0 (Very Likely to Fail) to 1 (Very Likely to Succeed).
cThreat	How big of a threat do think China is? Continuous 0-10, rescaled to 0-1. 0 (Very Small Threat) to 1 (Very Large Threat).
tDeploy	Support for deploying special forces to foreign countries to combat terrorism. Continuous 0-10 rescaled to 0-1. 0 (Strongly Oppose) to 1 (Strongly Support).
tCertain	Level of certainty over response tDeploy. Continuous 0-10 rescaled to 0-1. 0 (Very Uncertain) to 1 (Very Certain).
tSucceed	Regardless of how they answered tDeploy, how likely do they think special forces would succeed? Continuous 0-10 rescaled to 0-1. 0 (Very Likely to Fail) to 1 (Very Likely to Succeed).
tThreat	How big of a threat do think terrorism is? Continuous 0-10, rescaled 0-1. 0 (Very Small Threat) to 1 (Very Large Threat).

Study 2 (Experiment 3)

Demographics and individual differences

Variable	Description
ID	Participant identifier
age	age (not rescaled)
Male	1 if male, 0 if otherwise
educ	8-point measure of education. 1= Less than High School to 8= professional degree.
educ0	8-point measure of education rescaled to 0-1

partyID	Party Identification. 1=(Strong Democrat) to 7 (Strong Republican), rescaled to 0-1
ideo1	7-point conservative ideology measure. 1= Very Liberal to 7 =Very Conservative rescaled to lie between 0-1
milAssert1	Militant Assertiveness scale (Herrmann, Tetlock, and Visser, 1999; Kertzer and McGraw, 2012); rescaled to 0-1
intl1	Internationalism scale (Herrmann, Tetlock, and Visser, 1999; Kertzer and McGraw, 2012); rescaled to 0-1
attention1	5-point, how much respondent pays attention to politics, rescaled to lie between 0-1. 0= Not at all, 1= A lot.
interest1	5-point, how much interested respondent is in politics, rescaled to lie between 0-1. 0= Not at all, 1= A lot.
engagement1	Combined measure of attention and interest rescaled to lie between 0-1 (with higher measures equaling greater engagement in politics.).

Experimental treatments

Variable	Description
DemSupport	1=if Respondent was in a condition where Democrats supported shifting military resources to China. 0=otherwise
RepSupport	1=if Respondent was in a condition where Republicans supported shifting military resources to China Sea. 0=otherwise
DemProRepAnti	Alternative coding of DemSupport and RepSupport. 1= Democrats support shifting military to China Sea, and Republicans oppose. 0=otherwise
RepProDemAnti	Alternative coding of DemSupport and RepSupport. 1= Republicans support shifting military to China Sea, and Democrats oppose. 0=otherwise
EliteConsensus	Alternative coding of DemSupport and RepSupport. 1 if Both Democrats and Republicans support shifting military resources. 0= otherwise.

EliteControl	1= Respondents received no elite cues. 0 = otherwise.
cGroup_Endorse	1= Respondents received the Group Endorse treatment. 0=otherwise.
cGroup_Oppose	1= Respondents received the Group Oppose treatment. 0=otherwise.
groupControl	1 Respondents did not receive any Group treatment. 0=otherwise.

Manipulation checks and dependent variables

Variable	Description
cMCheck1	1=Correctly identified in the attention check that the South China Sea was the area in dispute. 0=otherwise.
cMCheck2	1= correctly identified whether Republicans or Democrats supported increased military presence in South China Sea in their treatment condition, 0=otherwise.
cPivot	Support for sending military resources to Asia. Continuous 0-10 rescaled to 0-1. 0 (Strongly Oppose) to 1 (Strongly Support).
cCertain	Level of certainty over response cPivot. Continuous 0-10 rescaled to 0-1. 0 (Very Uncertain) to 1 (Very Certain).
cSucceed	Regardless of how they answered cPivot, how likely do they think shifting military resources would succeed? Continuous 0-10 rescaled to 0-1. 0 (Very Likely to Fail) to 1 (Very Likely to Succeed).
cThreat	How big of a threat do think China is? Continuous 0-10, rescaled to 0-1. 0 (Very Small Threat) to 1 (Very Large Threat).

Study 3 (Experiments 4 and 5)

Demographics and individual differences

Variable	Description
ID	Participant identifier
age	age (not rescaled)
Male	1 if male, 0 if otherwise
educ	8-point measure of education. 1= Less

	than High School to 8= professional degree.
educ0	8-point measure of education rescaled to 0 - 1
partyID	Party Identification. 1=(Strong Democrat) to 7 (Strong Republican), rescaled to 0-1
ideo1	7-point conservative ideology measure. 1= Very Liberal to 7 =Very Conservative rescaled to 0-1
milAssert1	Militant Assertiveness scale (Herrmann, Tetlock, and Visser, 1999; Kertzer and McGraw, 2012); rescaled to 0-1
intl1	Internationalism scale (Hermann, Tetlock, and Visser, 1999; Kertzer and McGraw, 2012); rescaled to 0-1
Attention1	5-point, how much respondent pays attention to politics, rescaled to 0-1. 0= Not at all, 1 =A lot.
interest1	5-point, how much interested respondent is in politics, rescaled to 0-1. 0= Not at all, 1 = A lot.
engagement1	Combined measure of attention and interest rescaled to lie between 0-1 (with higher measures equaling greater engagement in politics).
govTrust1	3-point scale. How much of the time do you think that you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right, rescaled to 0-1. 0=only some of the time, 1=just about always.
vote	Which presidential candidate would they vote for if the presidential election were held today: 1= Clinton 2=Trump 3=Johnson 4=Stein

Experimental treatments

Variable	Description
EliteDividedC	1= Elites are divided in the China Scenario, 0= otherwise.
EliteConsensusC	1= Elites agree in the China Scenario, 0= otherwise.
EliteControlC	1= No elite cues given in the China

	Scenario, 0= otherwise.
groupControl	1=respondent received no Group cues, 0=otherwise.
cOppose	1= received the Group Oppose cue in the China Scenario with “Like You” wording, 0=otherwise.
cOppose2	1= received the Group Oppose cue in the China Scenario with the generic (“Other Respondents”) wording, 0=otherwise.
cOpposeB	1= received either Group Oppose cue in the China Scenario, 0=otherwise.
cEndorse	1= received the Group Endorse cue in the China Scenario with “Like You” wording, 0=otherwise.
cEndorse2	1= received the Group Endorse cue in the China Scenario with the generic (“Other Respondents”) wording, 0=otherwise.
cEndorseB	1= received either Group Endorse cue in the China Scenario, 0=otherwise.
EliteDividedI	1= Elites are divided in the ICSID Scenario, 0= otherwise.
EliteConsensusI	1= Elites agree in the ICSID Scenario, 0= otherwise.
EliteControlI	1= No elite cues given in the ICSID Scenario, 0= otherwise.
iOppose	1= received the Group Oppose cue in the ICSID Scenario with “Like You” wording, 0=otherwise.
iOppose2	1= received the Group Oppose cue in the ICSID Scenario with the generic “Other Respondents” wording, 0=otherwise.
iOpposeB	1= received either Group Oppose cue in the ICSID Scenario, 0=otherwise.
iEndorse	1= received the Group Endorse cue in the ICSID Scenario with “Like You” wording, 0=otherwise.
iEndorse2	1= received the Group Endorse cue in the ICSID Scenario with the generic “Other Respondents” wording, 0=otherwise.
iEndorseB	1= received either Group Endorse cue in the ICSID Scenario, 0=otherwise.
chinaFirst	1= Received China Scenario first, 0=otherwise.

Manipulation checks and dependent variables

Variable	Description
iSupport	Support for US citizens and companies being subject to ICSID. Continuous 0-10 normalized to 0-1. 0 (Strongly Support) to 1 (Strongly Oppose).
iCertain	Level of certainty over response iSupport. Continuous 0-10 normalized to 0-1. 0 (Very Uncertain) to 1 (Very Certain).
iMCheck1	1=Correctly identified in the attention check which government was being sued in ICSID. 0=otherwise.
iMCheck2	1= correctly identified whether Republicans or Democrats supported ICSID jurisdiction in their condition, 0=otherwise.
cSupport	Support for US increasing naval presence in East Asia. Continuous 0-10 rescaled to 0-1. 0 (Strongly Oppose) to 1 (Strongly Support).
cCertain	Level of certainty over response cSupport. Continuous 0-10 rescaled to 0-1. 0 (Very Uncertain) to 1 (Very Certain).
cMCheck1	1=Correctly identified that the South China Sea was the area in dispute in the attention check. 0=otherwise.
cMCheck2	1= correctly identified whether Republicans or Democrats supported increased military presence in South China Sea in their condition, 0=otherwise.