

Conflicting Thoughts: The Effect of Information on Support for an Increase in the Federal Minimum Wage Level

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Abstract:

A survey experiment was conducted on the statewide Utah Colleges Exit Poll that tested the effects of positive and negative cues on support for an increase in the federal minimum wage. Respondents were assigned to one of four treatments: placebo text, positive information, negative information, or both positive and negative information. Consistent with a host of research in psychology, we found that voters were more affected by negative information than positive information about the minimum wage.

¹ We would like to thank Dr. David Magleby for allowing us to conduct the experiment on the Utah Colleges Exit Poll and for his advice and suggestions. We would also like to thank the reviewers at *Sigma* for their helpful feedback. All errors are our own.

In March 2014, President Obama urged Congress to approve a minimum wage hike from \$7.25 to \$10.10. As expected, a debate sparked from both sides of the aisle about whether or not the jump was too large and whether it should be increased at all. Following this debate, a flurry of public opinion polls entered the field to measure how Americans felt on this issue. Research firms, ranging from the Washington Post to Pew, all fielded basic surveys that asked how Americans felt about the potential wage hike. However, none of them looked at how different levels of information about the minimum wage increase affected the responses. We fill this hole by conducting a field experiment through the Utah Colleges Exit Poll that varies the information given to the respondent. We present respondents with either positive information, negative information, or both pieces of information. We find that respondents are significantly affected by negative information and both sets of information.

Discussion of the Literature

The Strength of “Bad”

When presented with good and bad information, people are much more heavily affected by the bad than the good (Baumeister et al.). Further, bad information is processed more thoroughly and deeply than good information. The authors also look at the effects of good and bad events. Not surprisingly, they find that bad events wear off more slowly than good events (326). When put into a financial context, they find that losing money caused greater distress than did winning the same amount of money. Put differently, people are “more upset about losing \$50 than [they] are happy about gaining \$50” (326). Likewise, we expect similar results given that we are testing our theories on a monetary topic.

Information as a Game Changer

In our experiment, we isolate the effects of different information on respondent opinion. Druckman (2004) employed a very similar technique, using positive and negative information to study the shifting response rates when positive versus negative information is presented. In his work, he tests both equivalency framing effects and issue framing effects; equivalency framing presents the same information in different lights, such as job loss vs. job gain for the same event, while issue framing offers two contrasting ideas, such as free speech vs. public safety. Our experiment will use equivalency framing effects by using positive and negative information that are logically equivalent.

Continuing, Gillens (2001) finds that policy-based facts do have an important effect on political judgments, particularly in individuals with the highest levels of general political knowledge. He shows that citizens with low amounts of general political knowledge are less effected by policy specific relevant facts. He theorizes that more political knowledge allows a voter to take new political facts and evaluate them in context. He suggests that his research does not contradict research about cues that allow voters to vote according to those preferences, but says that it shows that at least for more politically knowledgeable members of the public the effect of raw facts is substantial. The policy we are testing, minimum wage, is far more relevant to the average person than the policies that Gillens used (such as foreign aid), and therefore we hypothesize that our information will have more of an effect on voters since the threshold of political knowledge about minimum wage is likely to be lower.

Levendusky (2011) argues that information has a relatively low but still real effect on differences in voters' opinions and behavior. He uses matching algorithms to attempt to control for other variables and make his study as if the level of information were randomly assigned, and

then he uses panel data to eliminate other variables which may lead to omitted variable bias. He argues that his methods show that most research on the effect of information and politics has grossly overestimated the effect of political information when controlling for other factors in the correct way. Our research relates to his because we are in fact assigning (although it be a very small amount) information randomly among voters and viewing its effects. While we recognize that providing information may not have drastic effects, we believe that we will still see effects given that the respondents are receiving information.

The Expected Effect of Partisan Leanings

Beyond information itself, partisanship also plays a large role in respondent selection. As may be expected, conservatives and liberals react differently to social and economic policies. In the literature, scholars find that conservative voters support policies and leaders who create legislation that reduces tax rates (Swank and Swank 1993). In a different light, voters also reward conservative leaders when tax rates are cut, regardless of the party of the person responsible (Lowry et al. 1998).

James (2010) uses field and laboratory experiments to assess the effects of cues about good and bad performance for local government officials. He finds that the cues raise or lower a citizen's perception of performance and satisfaction with government officials in the expected manner based on whether it is a good cue or a bad cue. Likewise, here we are giving the voter either a good cue, a bad cue, or both cues and we expect to see positive, negative, and mixed shifts because of these cues.

Many respondents will face a moral dilemma of sorts when we give them both positive and negative information about raising the minimum wage. Rogers ascertains that minimum wage laws create a level of social equality, an idea internally accepted by most people (2014).

Respondents may strongly oppose raising the minimum wage on principle, but they do not want to seem unfair and opposed to social justice by opposing a raise in the minimum wage level. This research points us to believe that a person's moral compass may override their personal political beliefs in order to benefit society. From this, we gather that people will respond differently in such a way that they try to help society, however that may be for each set treatment.

The Setting of the Experiment: The Utah Colleges Exit Poll

To test our ideas, we conducted a survey experiment on the 2014 Utah Colleges Exit Poll. The Utah Colleges Exit Poll is a survey given to randomly selected voters as they leave their voting place on Election Day. The questionnaire asks about their vote choice and demographics, along with some issue position questions. The sample is a stratified random sample based on the four congressional districts in Utah. In 2014, early voting was expected to be higher than ever, pronounced by the fact that both Cache and Davis counties were using all or almost-all vote-by-mail systems. In order to create an accurate sample that surveyed early voters who would not be at the polls on Election Day, the Exit Poll sent postcards to a random subset of early voters and invited them to take an online version of the Exit Poll. A phone bank was also operated the week before the election to get responses from randomly selected early voters who had not yet completed the online version of the survey. In total, 22,118 people responded to the Exit Poll in one way or another.

In order to fit as many questions as possible into the medium of the Exit Poll survey, the questionnaire was broken down further. There were three different colored forms (blue, green, and yellow), each with different sets of questions. Respondents were randomly given one of the three colors, so we can conclude that any variation among respondents is random. Our

experiment was fielded on the yellow form, with each treatment being swapped out evenly and randomly among the yellow forms.

We use a 2x2 experimental design in which respondents were randomly assigned to one of four conditions. As the base of each question stem, all respondents were told what the current minimum wage was. The information that followed then varied according to each condition. For the complete text of the questions, see Appendix A. We had 4,178 respondents to give us about 1,000 respondents in each condition.

- *Control*: Did not provide any additional information. The control simply asked the respondent whether or not they support a raise in the minimum wage level.
- *Positive Treatment (T1)*: Indicated that the minimum wage raise would increase the incomes of 16.5 million Americans.
- *Negative Treatment (T2)*: Indicated that the minimum wage raise would eliminate 500,000 jobs.
- *Combined Treatment (T3)*: Included both the positive and negative information.

We expect that, relative to the control, respondents given the positive treatment will be more likely to support the increase in minimum wage, and respondents given the negative treatment will be more likely oppose the increased minimum wage. For those given the combined treatment with both the positive and negative information, we expect the majority to still support the wage raise because the respondents are told that it would help people and inherently be for the greater good (Rogers 2014). However, we also expect more respondents to select the “don’t know” option since they are being asked to choose between what is considered a “good” and “bad” thing.

In each of these situations, we expect social desirability to play a large role. While the respondent's answers to the questionnaires and the respondent themselves are never connected to each other, the respondent still feels as though they should or should not put a certain answer simply because that is what is expected of them (Rogers 2014). In the positive treatment, people will feel inclined to favor the measure because they would not want to seem that they do not want people to earn more money. In the negative treatment, we expect people to be affected by the "bad" of taking away jobs and show less support (Baumeister et al.). In combined treatment, we expect respondents to be caught between both of these competing theories. At this point, they will opt for the "don't know" option at a higher rate than the previous two treatments so they don't have to make a choice either way.

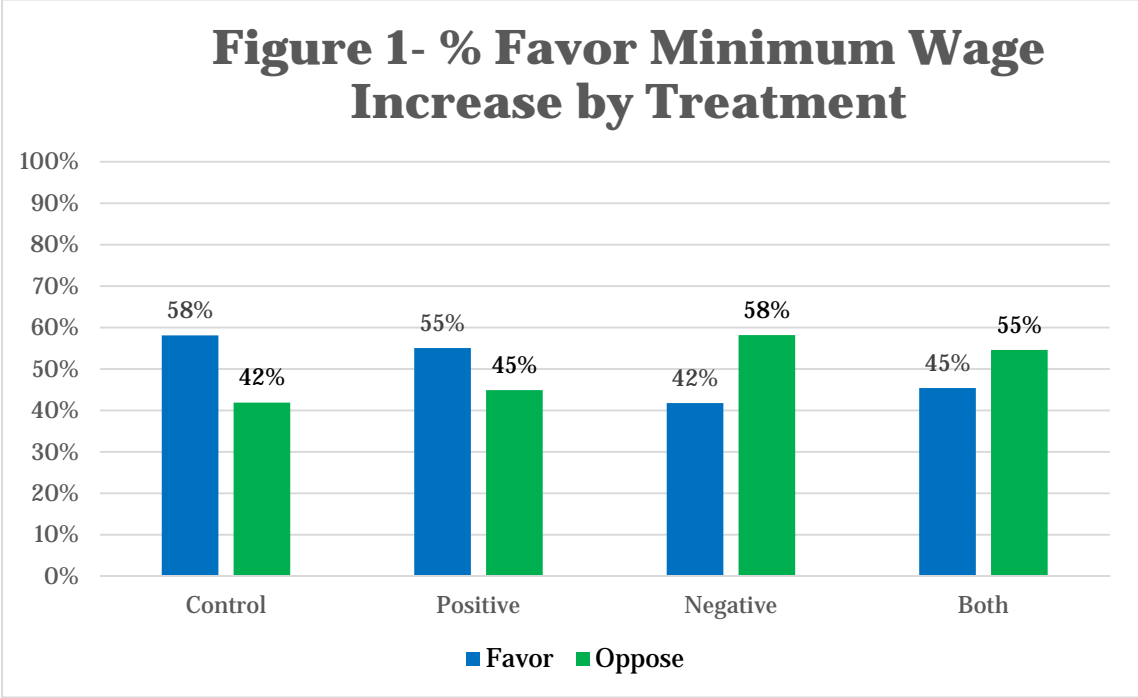
Modeling the Effect of the Information on Support for the Wage Increase

In order to analyze the results of our experiment, we use both a simple linear model and a multinomial probit model. We used the linear model for the initial results discussion, and the multinomial probit for latter results and predictions.

To begin our analysis, we run a basic OLS regression to look at the simple effects of each treatment (see Figure 1). We do not include controls due to the experimental nature of the study since the randomization should control for variation among the treatment groups. We find that the negative treatment has the strongest effect in relation to the control; on average, the negative treatment is expected to decrease support by 16%. The combined treatment also strongly decreases support, though not as strongly at 12%.

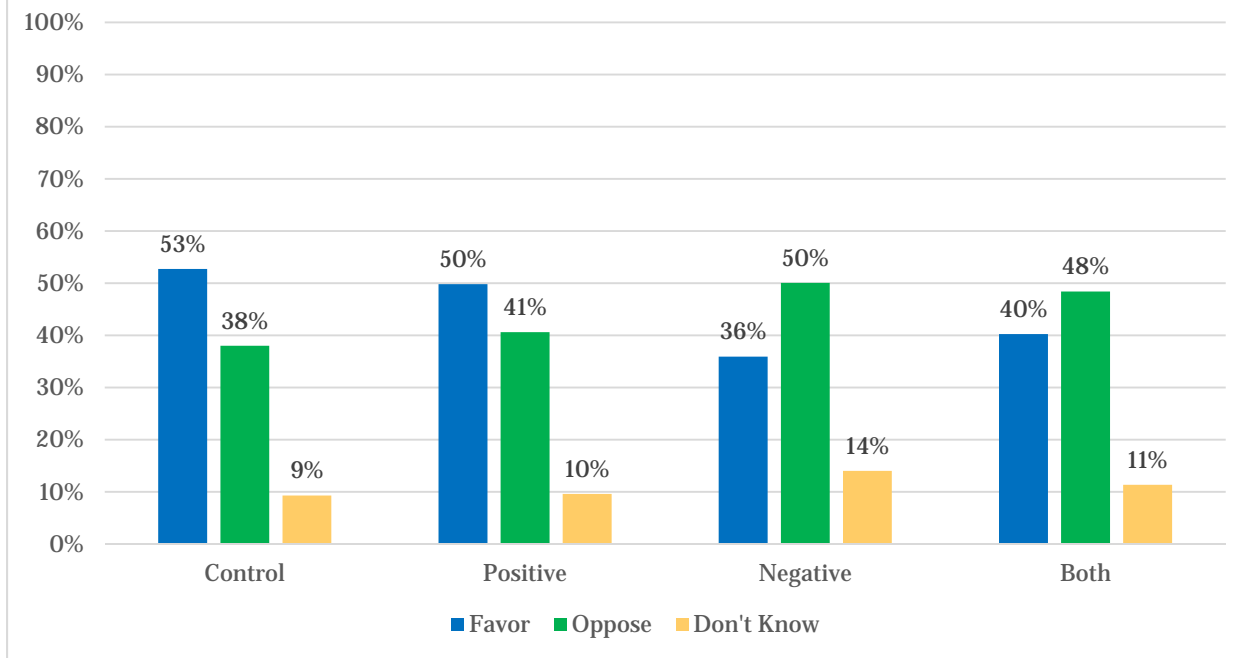
Overall, the effect of our treatments was not the same as what we expected in our hypothesis. While we expected the positive treatment to significantly increase the rate at which people would be likely to support the wage raise, it does not have a statistically significant

difference from the control. We attribute this to the fact that the majority of our respondents are Republicans. Republicans tend to be fiscally conservative and would not be expected to be persuaded to increase the minimum wage as easily. Even though there may be a shift among the non-Republicans, it may not be enough to be a significant factor in the positive treatment.



As the linear model shows, the negative and combined treatments both have significant effects. However, this model only accounts for whether or not someone supported or opposed the wage raise. To solve this hole in our analysis, we turn to a multinomial probit. The multinomial probit accounts for respondents that indicated support, oppose, and don't know. As previously mentioned, we expect that the amount of respondents who choose "don't know" will vary based on the treatment. We also expect that respondents who select "don't know" are systematically different than those who express either support or opposition. As such, we use a multinomial probit to analyze the effects of the don't know option (see Figure 2).

Figure 2- Do you favor or oppose an increase in the federal minimum wage?



The negative treatment shows a complete shift in preference when compared to the control. Support for an increase in the minimum wage was 18 percentage points lower than the control group. The effect was in line with the prediction we made in our hypothesis. This is evidence of the weight of negative information, and particularly of the type of information that we have given. It appears that job loss is an unacceptable thing for many voters. This also runs in line with the findings of Baumeister et al. Although the amount of “don’t knows” rose between the negative treatment and the control, it is not enough to account for all voters, suggesting that many voters who would have voted to support the minimum wage raise opposed it specifically because of the new information that we presented.

We expected the combined treatment to trigger more don’t knows, however we see results rather comparable to the negative treatment. It appears that the effect of 500,000 jobs being lost is greater than 16.5 million Americans increasing their income. The effect of the

negative information seems to outweigh the positive information substantially despite the fact that the positive condition affects more people because 16.5 million people would have a higher income compared to the 500,000 people who would be out a job. This finding is consistent with those of Baumeister et al. in that bad weighs more strongly than good.

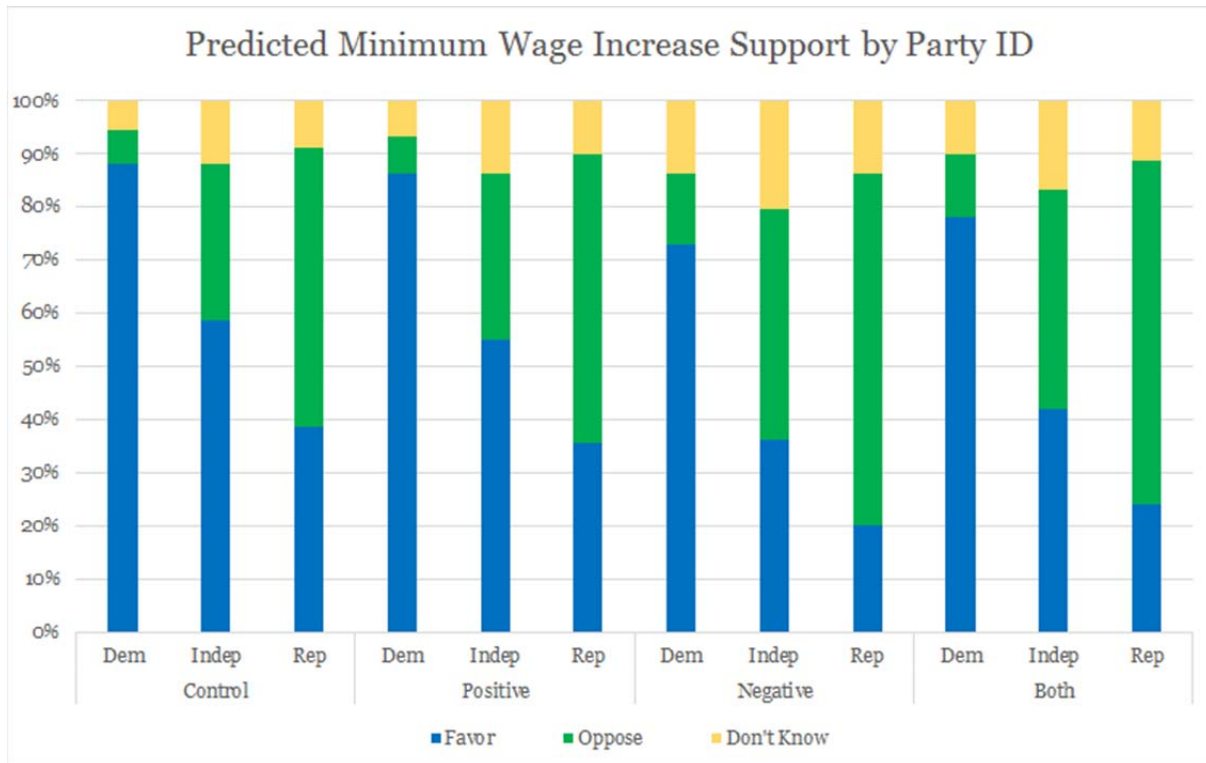
We take note of the fact that the unweighted results and the predicted probabilities, both with and without controls, are strikingly similar. The predicted probabilities from our multinomial regressions are almost an exact mirror of the percentages in the actual data. The fact that the unweighted results mirror the controlled results demonstrates the accuracy of the randomization among treatments, and leads us to be confident in the validity of our models and their implications.

Table 1- Unweighted results compared to predicted probabilities

Unweighted Results	Control	Positive	Negative	Both
Favor	53%	50%	36%	40%
Oppose	38%	41%	50%	48%
Don't Know	9%	10%	14%	11%
Predicted Probabilities Without Controls	Control	Positive	Negative	Both
Favor	53%	50%	36%	40%
Oppose	38%	41%	50%	48%
Don't Know	9%	10%	14%	11%
Predicted Probabilities With Controls	Control	Positive	Negative	Both
Favor	54%	50%	36%	41%
Oppose	38%	40%	50%	48%
Don't Know	8%	10%	14%	11%

The Effect of Party Identification

PartyID was the most significant factor in our models when included. More than any other variable, party affiliation predicts the largest percentage change for support among respondents. In both the linear and multinomial probit models, party affiliation was heavily significant, and often at the 0.01 level (see Appendix B for full results).



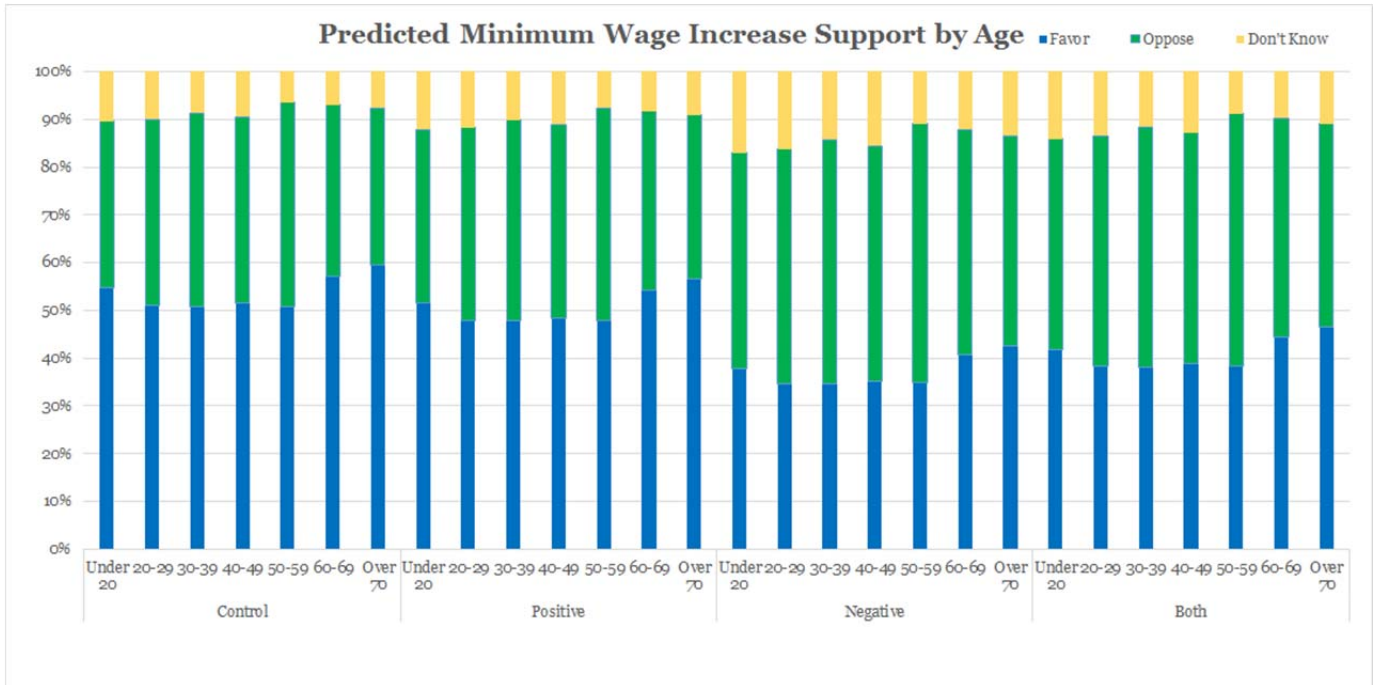
Note: It is important to note that in our main predictive model we have used a seven point scale for party ID, but for simplicity in the graphs we have used a three point model here to examine the data and generate the predictions. Independent leaners were categorized according to their partisan leaning. To see the full breakdown, refer to Appendix C.

What we can see here is that in the data, party follows roughly the same patterns as we would expect. Democrats favor it the most, followed by Independents, and then Republicans. What is really interesting is in the negative treatment, however, where the model fails to accurately predict what happened when Republicans receive that treatment (see Appendix C for comparison to unweighted results). This is because the multinomial probit unfortunately has the limitation of not allowing interactive control variables. This does not affect the overall validity of the model for modeling how the treatments affect respondents, as we saw in our analysis of the initial results, but it is nonetheless interesting to examine the fact that the negative treatment only caused a minor drop in Democrats support in the unweighted data, where as it caused a major drop in support among Independents and Republicans. It seems that when given information about the positive and negative effects of a raise in the minimum wage, Republicans and

Independents do not find the trade-off to be acceptable and respond with even more opposition than the control group, whereas Democrats seem to find the trade-off acceptable.

The Effect of Age

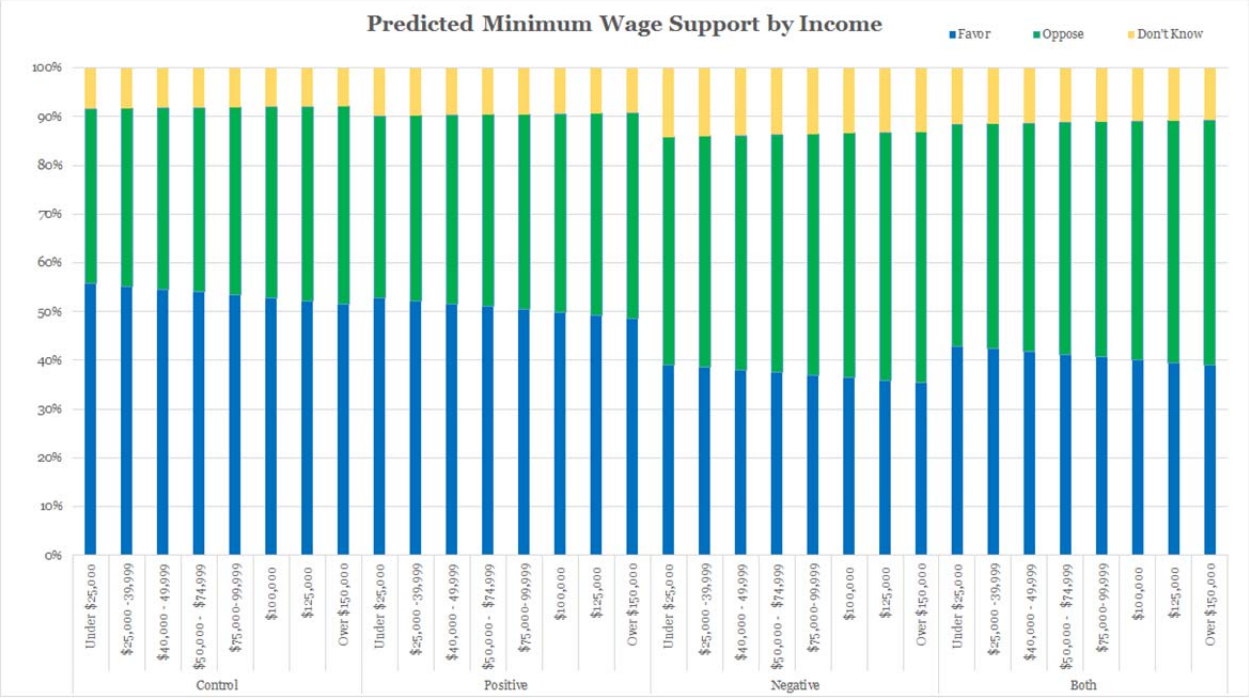
Our predictions show that age is a substantial factor in support for minimum wage, with a U-shaped effect following age. People younger than 20 years old are likely to support a minimum wage increase, but those who are between 20 and 59 are less likely to support it by around 4%. People who are over 60 however are even more likely to support minimum wage than those who are under 20. This leads us to theorize that those who are retired have a different view on wages than those who are in the workforce, as this is most likely to account for these differences. We believe that this increase in wages comes from the fact that those who are retired are most likely receiving benefits from government programs (such as social security) and therefore more likely to favor social welfare programs, even if those programs do not benefit them directly (one would not expect minimum wage increases to benefit those over 60). Also, since older people are most likely retired, they likely pay fewer taxes and are thus not as concerned with the possible increase in taxes that might come because of a minimum wage increase.



Note: In the model, age is a continuous variable. However, we collapsed the age categories as shown above to make for a simpler presentation.

The Effect of Income

The trend for income is as it would be expected, with higher income voters opposing minimum wage increases and lower income voters supporting the minimum wage increase (Page, Bartels, and Seawright 2013). Generally we observe that the effect of each treatment is the same for the different groups. A sharp drop still occurs on the negative treatment because the effect of negative information is substantial, and it continues in the combined treatment although the drop is not as great, attributed to the fact that they received positive information.

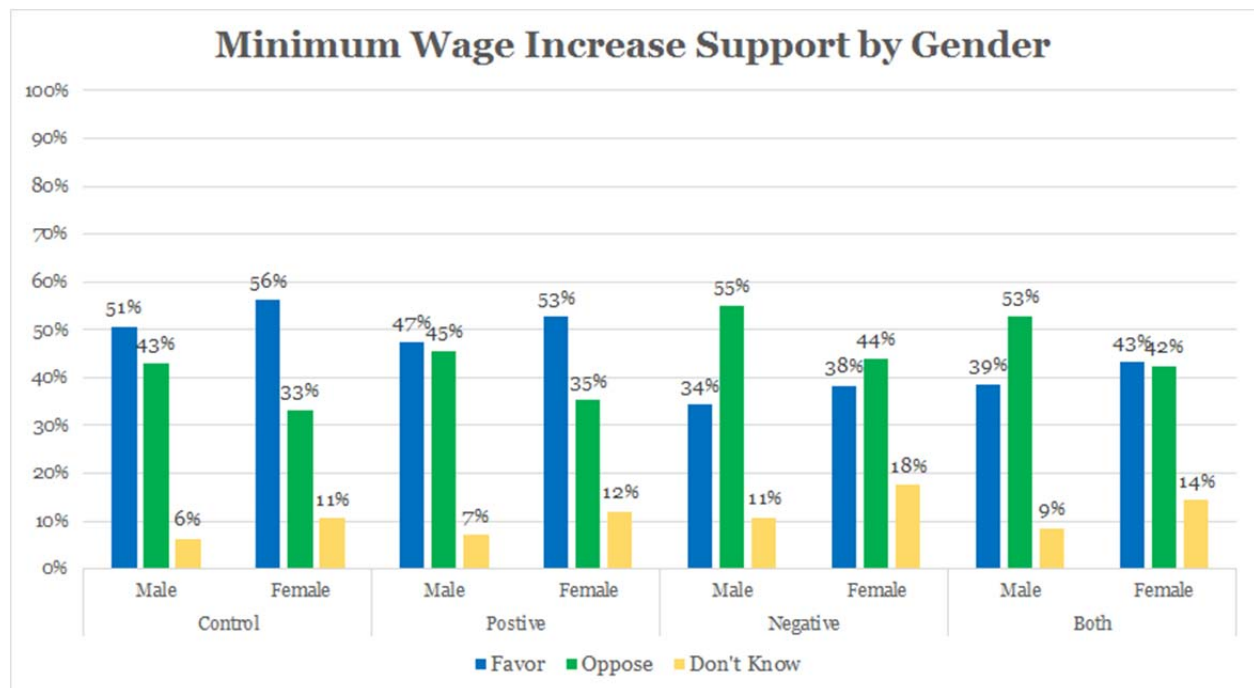


The Effect of Gender

As with many other political studies, the gender of the respondent influences their support for the minimum wage increase. Females are much more likely to support the increase, regardless of treatment; an average of a five-point difference tends to separate the males and females in each condition. The negative treatment flips the female-support effect, with neither a male nor female plurality expected to support it. Instead, we see that females are also likely to oppose the wage increase, though at a lower level than males. Females oppose this measure 44% to 38%, a 6% point gap while males oppose the measure 55% to 34%, a 11% gap. This gap can be explained by the fact that 6% more females than males chose the “don’t know” option.

The importance of the “don’t know” option is especially prominent when the responses are broken down by gender. Females select “don’t know” nearly twice as often as males. This finding is congruent with the literature, most of which agrees that when respondents are unsure of an answer, males are more likely to mask their uncertainty and randomly pick an option while females are more likely to show their uncertainty and pick the “don’t know” option. Especially

given that economics and finances is considered more of a “man’s game” in politics, it is not surprising that more females opted for “don’t know” (Lawless 2004, Meeks 2010, Dolan 2014). In the negative treatment, part of the reason we see closer favor and oppose rates among females than males is because a larger proportion of the female respondents selected “don’t know.” Because of this, a smaller group of women remain to choose favor or oppose, therefore resulting in the closer gap.

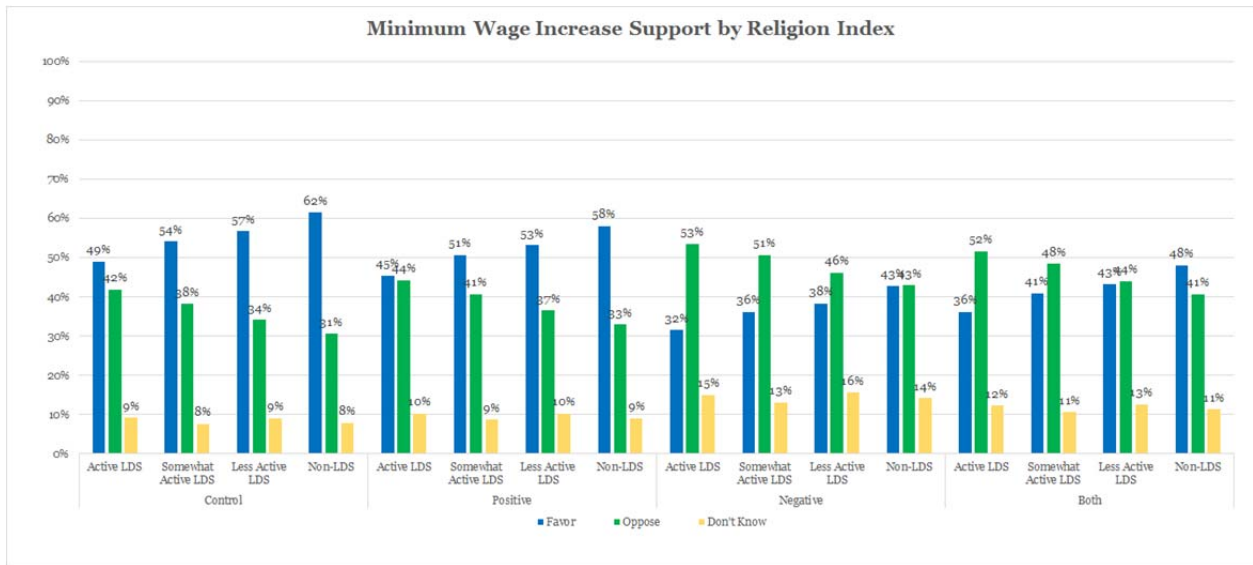


Interestingly, both men and women are affected about equally by the negative treatment and the combined treatment in regards to the “don’t knows.” The percentage of respondents choosing neither favor nor oppose increases among both men and women. From this, we can gather that the negative treatment places an inquisitive burden on both genders at about the same rates, and that the higher “don’t know” rate among females in response to the negative treatment is more of a function of female uncertainty consistent with the literature rather than a specific burden from the question itself.

The Effect of Religious Activity

In addition to other demographics, we decided to see how religious activity affects support for increasing the federal minimum wage. In the state of Utah where the survey was fielded, approximately 65% of 2014 voters identify with the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (LDS), or the Mormon Church. Given the prominence of the LDS church, we generated a religion index of religious activity in the LDS faith, which combines their religion identification and religious activity. The scale goes from “very active LDS” to “non-LDS.” See the below graph for the full scale breakdown.

As it turns out, there is a very strong correlation between activity in the LDS church and support for the minimum wage laws. As you become more active in the LDS religion, you become much more likely to oppose the new laws, and the opposite is true in the other direction. One of the most striking findings is that the level of support in relation to the other points on the religious index does not change. Rather, support is either suppressed or increased among all groups per each treatment, while the slope from “Active LDS” to “Non-LDS” remains virtually the same. Overall, support for the wage increase was significantly hampered with the negative treatment, including among Non-LDS whose support and opposition was expected to be about the same regardless of treatment



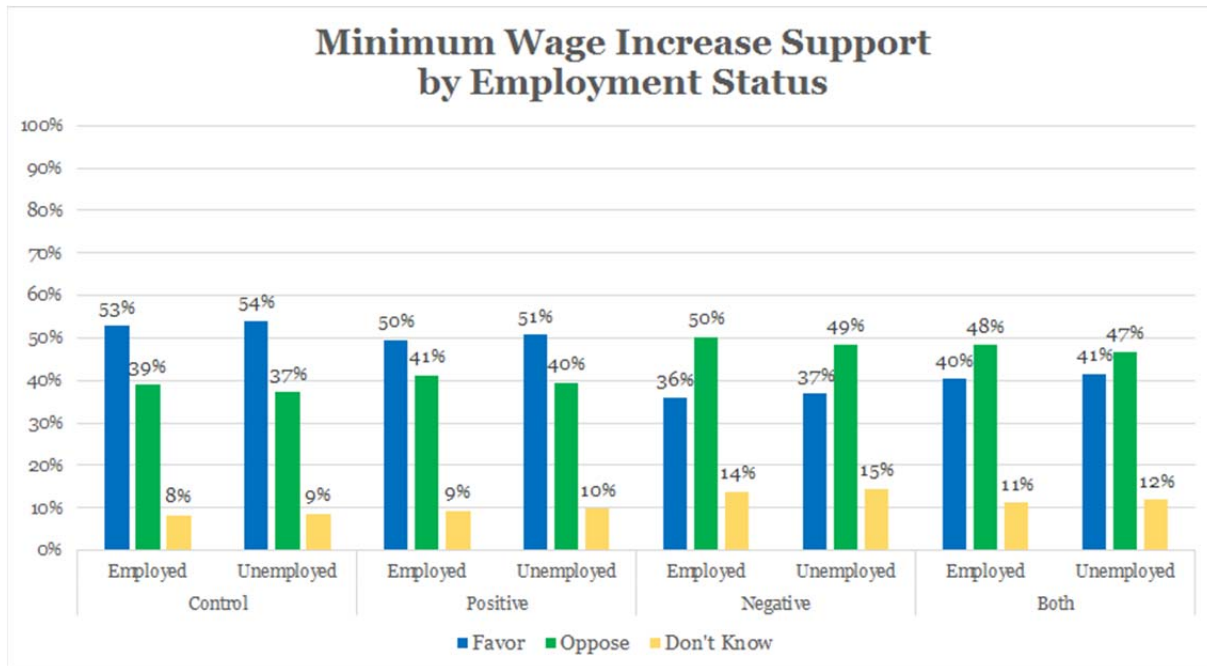
While in other demographic categories “Don’t Know” responses are important in the analysis, they do not play such an important role in religion. For the most part, Active LDS all the way to Non-LDS select “Don’t Know” at similar rates. As with the overall treatment effects, the “Don’t Knows” increase with the negative treatment and go back down slightly on the combined treatment, though the effects are not statistically significant. Because a large majority of LDS are Active conservative and identify with the Republican Party, Active LDS and conservatives often mirror each other’s responses rates since they tend to be the same group. When we look at the effect of PartyID, we see that, excluding Independents, Democrats and Republicans selected “Don’t Know” in a pattern similar to the patterns of the religious index. “Don’t Knows” increase on the negative treatment and drop slightly on the combined treatment. While their “Don’t Know” percentages are fairly similar, they do differ slightly. Non-LDS tend to report “Don’t Know” at a slightly lower rate, and such is the case with Democrats as well. As such, we can draw a parallel between PartyID and the Religion Index.

The Effect of Employment Status

In our research, we find that employment status does not affect support for an increase in the federal minimum wage. Though not significant, we choose to explore this variable since its lack of results does ignite some interesting thought. The Utah Colleges Exit Poll asks respondents what their employment status is, and respondents are asked to choose from a list of seven options, including self-employed, employed, unemployed, homemaker, and retired. For the purposes of analyzing this data, we have chosen to collapse self-employed and employed into the “employed” category and collapse unemployed, retired, and homemaker² into the “unemployed” category.

When we compare the response rate for both the employed and unemployed, we find that there is no significant difference in their response choice per condition; they actually respond with virtually the same choices through all conditions. We do see that the negative treatment has the largest effect and significantly lowers support. While in the control and first treatment a majority of both the employed and unemployed supported the increase, support drops by more than 10% among those same groups in the negative and combined treatments, with the largest effect coming in the negative treatment. The “don’t know” rates are also very similar, further showing that employment status does not matter. Regardless of employment status, these insignificant numbers once again show the strong effect of the negative treatment and slightly less strong effect of the combined treatment.

² We tested collapsing the employment variable with homemakers being considered both employed and unemployed. There was no significant difference whether the homemakers were considered employed or unemployed.



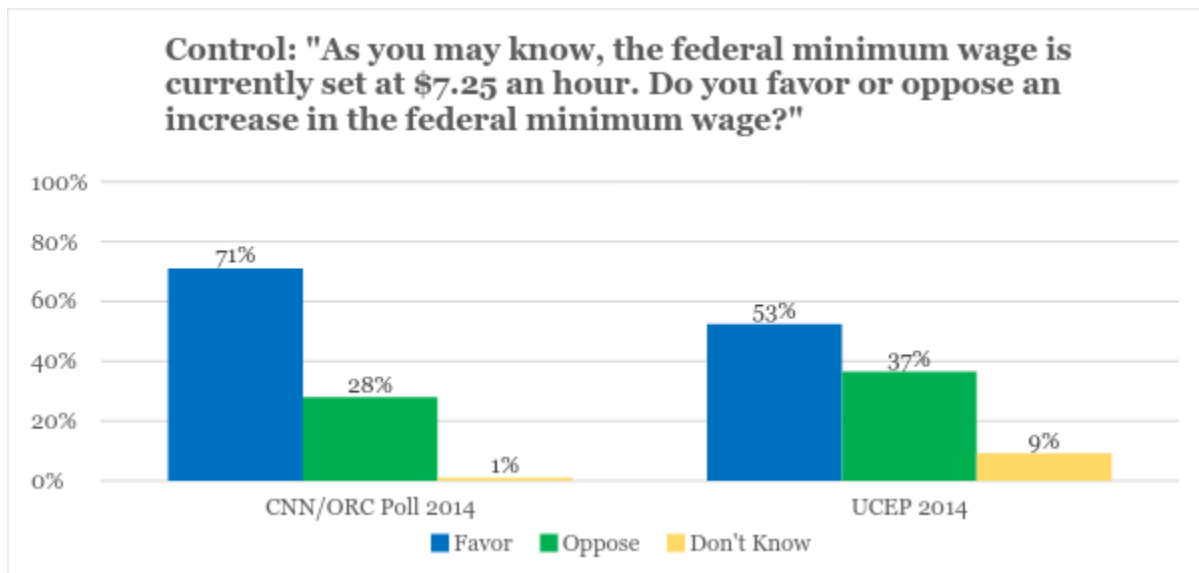
Conclusion

Overall, the negative treatment places a significant toll on all respondents, regardless of gender, income, or other demographic variables. The combined treatment also lowers support rates more than the control and first treatment do. As is demonstrated in the significant drop in favor in the negative treatment, maintaining jobs is very important to many Utahns. Although people are told that others will have a greater income, they are still impacted by the job loss that would take place even though the percent affected by the job loss is fractional compared to those who would have an increased income.

One large limitation is in our question presentation. In the combined treatment, we were not able to randomize the order of the treatment information. Due to logistical limitations, the positive treatment was always listed before the negative treatment. While both pieces of information were included, we recognize the possibility that we are seeing the effects of recency bias (Ornstein 2013). In other words, the respondent's mind sticks with the last piece of information they were given, which in this case is the negative information. We thought that we

might see more support on the combined treatment because of the inclusion of the positive information, but we see that in the combined treatment a plurality still opposes the wage raise. However, we do not see a significant effect in the positive treatment, indicating that the positive treatment itself was not strong enough. This leads us to believe that this limitation does not inhibit our results.

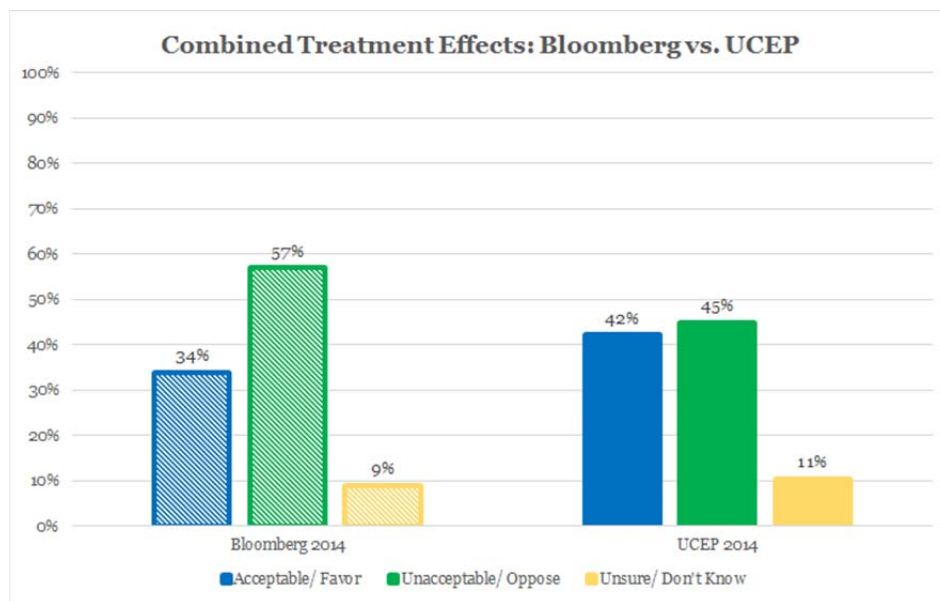
The control question mirrors a question from a CNN/ORC poll that was conducted in late May into June of 2014. In these data, we see that there is a noticeable difference between their reported responses and our reported responses. In the CNN poll we see 18% more support for increasing the federal minimum wage. There is only a 9% difference between levels of opposition, though. We can attribute this difference to the drastically different “don’t know” responses: 1% in the CNN/ORC poll, but 9% in the UCEP poll. While these differences may seem alarming, we must remember that Utah is a very conservative state and that the CNN poll was a national sample which has many more Democrats and Independents than Utah³.



³ In the 2014 Utah Colleges Exit Poll, the partisan breakdown was as follows: 28% Democrat, 62% Republican, and 10% Independent. In the CNN poll, the partisan breakdown was as follows: 30% Democrat, 23% Republican, and 47% Independents.

Note: percentages for UCEP 2014 represent the weighted survey data, not predicted values, in order to create a more fair comparison to the poll. CNN/ORC Poll: n=1,003; UCEP 2014: n=1,066.

The base of the information for the treatments comes from a Bloomberg National Poll⁴, run in March 2014. The trend of decreased favor and increased opposition continues in the Bloomberg poll, just as it does in our poll, suggesting that the weight of losing 500,000 jobs is greater than the weight of raising the incomes of 16.5 million Americans. The Bloomberg poll⁵ asks whether the tradeoff is acceptable or unacceptable, and the response options are “acceptable,” “unacceptable,” and “unsure.” While not an exact comparison, it provides a general idea of Utah compared to the rest of the nation. We would hypothesize that the wording of the question as acceptable or unacceptable increases the amount of opposition further than our question does, as a person could say it is unacceptable but still support a raise in the minimum wage.



*Note: percentages for UCEP 2014 represent the weighted survey data, not predicted values, in order to create a more fair comparison to the poll. Bloomberg National Poll: n=1,001; UCEP 2014: n=1,066.

⁴ Bloomberg poll question stem: “A recent report by the Congressional Budget Office says that raising the minimum wage to \$10.10 over the next three years would increase the incomes of 16.5 million Americans while eliminating 500,000 jobs. Does that tradeoff seem acceptable or unacceptable to you?” Response options: Acceptable, unacceptable, unsure

The importance of maintaining jobs is an important theme across the nation, not just in Utah. As such, we expect that these results would be similar if this experiment were to be run in other states. Since Utah is a very conservative state, we believe that the starting support level would be lower than that of a more liberal state. However, we believe that the effect of the negative information in the negative and combined treatments would be just as strong in other states. As such, we would get the same statistical effect per treatment but with different numbers. Baumeister et al. show that bad impressions “are quicker to form and more resistant” to change than good impressions, and we expect that the bad information of job loss would be just as relevant and impactful in other states.

The Baumeister et al. piece adds a plea at the end for researchers to find places in which the bad does not outweigh the good, and that good prevails. Unfortunately, we would have to report to Baumesiter and his fellow researchers that we have also found that the bad outweighs the good. Our results show us that preventing job loss is very important to Utahns. Without knowing the trade-offs of the minimum wage increase, the public is willing to support it; as soon as jobs are on the line however, support is dramatically cut.

APPENDIX A:
Original Question Text

Control:

As you may know, the federal minimum wage is currently set at \$7.25 an hour. Knowing this, do you favor or oppose an increase in the federal minimum wage?

Treatment 1 (positive):

As you may know, the federal minimum wage is currently set at \$7.25 an hour. A recent report by the Congressional Budget Office says that raising the minimum wage to \$10.10 over the next three years would increase the incomes of 16.5 million Americans. Knowing this, do you favor or oppose an increase in the federal minimum wage?

Treatment 2 (negative):

As you may know, the federal minimum wage is currently set at \$7.25 an hour. A recent report by the Congressional Budget Office says that raising the minimum wage to \$10.10 over the next three years would eliminate 500,000 jobs. Knowing this, do you favor or oppose an increase in the federal minimum wage?

Treatment 3 (positive and negative):

As you may know, the federal minimum wage is currently set at \$7.25 an hour. A recent report by the Congressional Budget Office says that raising the minimum wage to \$10.10 over the next three years would increase the incomes of 16.5 million Americans, and eliminate 500,000 jobs. Knowing this, do you favor or oppose an increase in the federal minimum wage?

Response Options

- a. Favor
- b. Oppose
- c. Unsure

APPENDIX B: Statistical Models

Table 1: Linear Regression
Dependent Variable: Support for Minimum Wage (1=favor, 0=oppose)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)
<i>Treatment 1</i>	-0.0303 (0.0226)	-0.0329 (0.0219)
<i>Treatment 2</i>	-0.163*** (0.0230)	-0.156*** (0.0215)
<i>Treatment 3</i>	-0.127*** (0.0229)	-0.118*** (0.0219)
<i>Gender</i>		-0.0821*** (0.0159)
<i>Age</i>		0.00135*** (0.000507)
<i>Not so strong Democrat</i>		-0.0865** (0.0389)
<i>Independent lean Dem</i>		-0.0193 (0.0190)
<i>Independent</i>		-0.320*** (0.0336)
<i>Independent lean Rep</i>		-0.569*** (0.0269)
<i>Not so strong Republican</i>		-0.487*** (0.0326)
<i>Strong Republican</i>		-0.584*** (0.0251)
<i>Other</i>		-0.559*** (0.0373)
<i>Don't Know</i>		-0.346*** (0.0830)
<i>High School Graduate</i>		0.186* (0.105)
<i>Some College</i>		0.108 (0.102)
<i>College Graduate</i>		0.0815 (0.102)
<i>Post-Graduate</i>		0.108 (0.103)
<i>Somewhate Active LDS</i>		0.0668* (0.0374)
<i>Less Active LDS</i>		0.0744* (0.0392)
<i>Non-LDS</i>		0.117*** (0.0209)
<i>Employed</i>		-0.0141 (0.0178)
<i>Income</i>		-0.00981** (0.00384)
Constant	0.581*** (0.0159)	0.839*** (0.108)
Observations	3,717	2,918
R-squared	0.018	0.339
Adjusted R-squared	0.016	0.334

Note: Dependent variable is Support for a Raise in Minimum Wage where 1 is support and 0 is oppose. Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors are given in parentheses under estimated coefficients. A * indicates statistical significance at the 10% level. A ** indicates statistical significance at the 5% level. A *** indicates statistical significance at the 1% level.

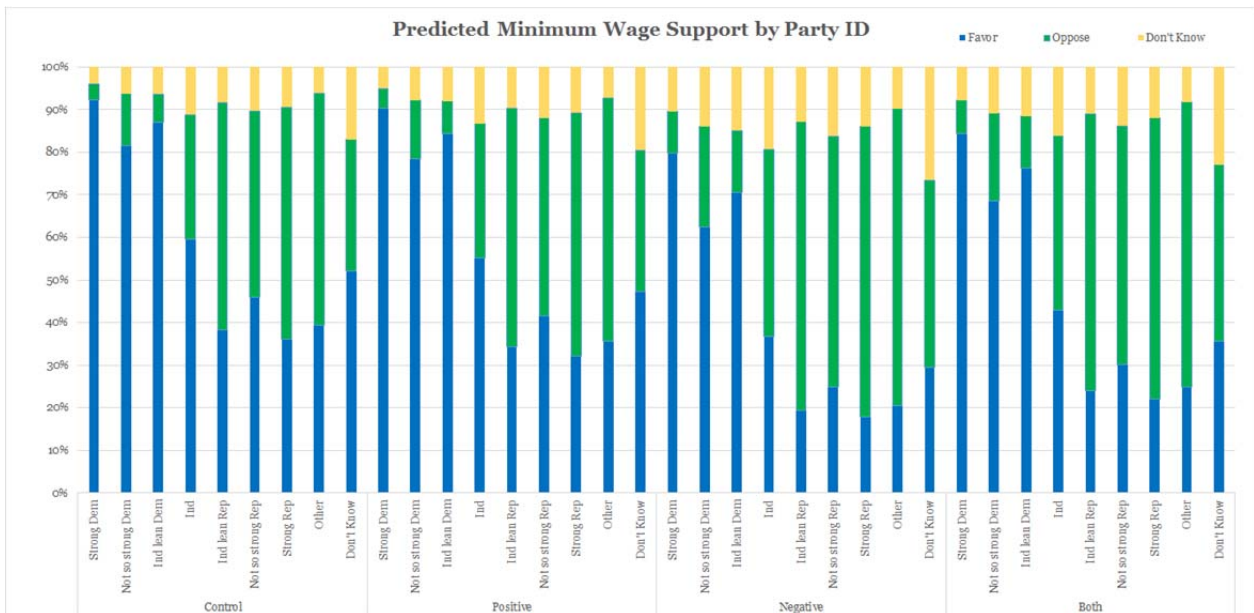
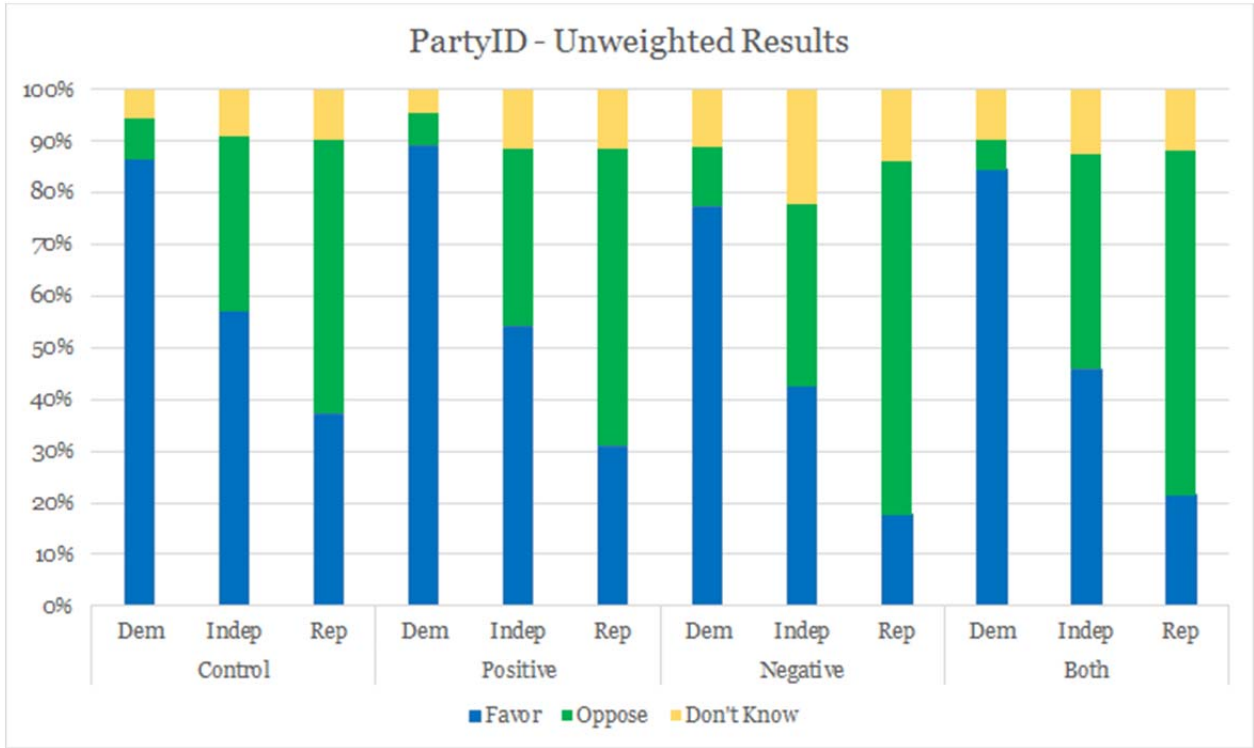
Table 2: Multinomial Probit

Dependent Variable: Support for Minimum Wage (1=favor, 0=oppose, 2= Don't Know)

	Base (0)	(1)	(2)
	Oppose	Favor	Don't Know
<i>Treatment 1</i>		-0.137 (0.102)	0.0460 (0.128)
<i>Treatment 2</i>		-0.770*** (0.104)	0.0345 (0.123)
<i>Treatment 3</i>		-0.573*** (0.102)	-0.0302 (0.125)
<i>Gender</i>		-0.411*** (0.0759)	-0.598*** (0.0900)
<i>Age</i>		0.00568** (0.00243)	-0.00122 (0.00281)
<i>Not so strong Dem</i>		-0.896*** (0.264)	-0.441 (0.320)
<i>Indep lean Dem</i>		-0.413** (0.204)	-0.0343 (0.252)
<i>Independent</i>		-1.883*** (0.198)	-0.718*** (0.244)
<i>Indep lean Rep</i>		-2.794*** (0.189)	-1.424*** (0.232)
<i>Not so strong Rep</i>		-2.461*** (0.197)	-1.116*** (0.242)
<i>Strong Republican</i>		-2.866*** (0.186)	-1.375*** (0.227)
<i>Other</i>		-2.789*** (0.216)	-1.635*** (0.279)
<i>Don't Know</i>		-2.054*** (0.343)	-0.480 (0.409)
<i>High School Grad</i>		0.788* (0.471)	-0.533 (0.454)
<i>Some College</i>		0.422 (0.459)	-0.549 (0.433)
<i>College Graduate</i>		0.301 (0.458)	-0.700 (0.433)
<i>Post-Graduate</i>		0.425 (0.463)	-0.801* (0.441)
<i>Somewhat Active LDS</i>		0.230 (0.154)	0.00421 (0.183)
<i>Less Active LDS</i>		0.333* (0.184)	0.223 (0.218)
<i>Non-LDS</i>		0.548*** (0.0912)	0.187* (0.111)
<i>Employed</i>		-0.0814 (0.0843)	-0.0815 (0.0955)
<i>Income</i>		-0.0459** (0.0180)	-0.0326 (0.0215)
<i>Constant</i>		2.054*** (0.516)	1.188** (0.508)
<i>Observations</i>	3,268	3,268	3,268

Note: Dependent variable is Support for a Raise in Minimum Wage where 0 is oppose, 1 is support and 2 is don't know. Column 1 is used as the base case and all coefficients are generated using column one as the base. Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors are given in parentheses under estimated coefficients. A * indicates statistical significance at the 10% level. A ** indicates statistical significance at the 5% level. A *** indicates statistical significance at the 1% level.

APPENDIX C: Party Identification Graphs



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