Are Human Rights Protected by Voters? Results from a Survey Experiment

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Abstract

In 2016, U.S. Republican front-runner Donald Trump said, "I could stand in the middle of Fifth Avenue and shoot somebody, and I wouldn't lose any voters" (Holland & Gibson 2016). Though hyperbolic, this statement raises an interesting question about the conflict between a voter's commitment to human rights (such as protection against political imprisonment or torture) and his/her loyalty to a particular candidate or party. Much human rights scholarship presumes that the voters will punish elected officials who violate these commonly held norms. We test this presumption with a survey experiment that asks voters to choose between two candidates for president with typical Democratic and Republican positions; the treatment condition varies whether one candidate endorses an abuse of physical integrity rights. We find no evidence to suggest that these abuses are a "red line" that most voters will not cross, regardless of the voter's party.

In 2016, U.S. Republican front-runner Donald Trump said, "I could stand in the middle of Fifth Avenue and shoot somebody, and I wouldn't lose any voters" (Holland & Gibson 2016). Though hyperbolic, this statement raises an interesting question about the potential conflict between a voter's commitment to the protection of human rights—including protection against political imprisonment and the prohibition of torture—and his/her loyalty to a particular candidate or party. When voters must choose between supporting their "team" (who, presumably, represent at least some of the voter's important policy convictions) and supporting human rights, how will they react?

Voters in a modern democracy are likely to share certain values (such as a concern for human rights) that transcend partisan divides and individual policy preferences (Abramson & Inglehart 1995). Indeed, the idea that voters will not support a politician who attacks human rights is sometimes assumed among human rights scholars (e.g., Conrad & Moore 2010, Cingranelli, Fajardo-Heyward & Filippov 2013, Richards & Gelleny 2007), and some empirical evidence supports the presumption (Hillebrecht, Mitchell & Wals 2015). This accountability to voters is used to explain the fact that democracies tend to have better human rights records than non-democracies (Cingranelli & Filippov 2010, Davenport 1999, Poe & Tate 1994, Simmons 2009). However, the United States is more politically polarized now than at any time since shortly before the Great Depression (McCarty, Poole & Rosenthal 2016). In addition, citizens have preferences in different issue areas. It may be tempting for American voters to compromise their beliefs on human rights if their partisan leanings are especially strong, or if the potential policy gains on other issues are particularly great. Even worse, states with meaningful elections may target their human rights abuses against small or unpopular minorities, garnering support rather than mobilizing opposition for their actions (Moore 2010, Conrad et al. 2018, Conrad, Hill, Jr. & Moore 2018).

Previous studies have examined public opinion on human rights abuses using polls and survey experiments that explicitly ask respondents about their support for or opposition to various abuses, particularly the use of torture (Gronke et al. 2010, Mayer & Armor 2012,

Richards, Morill & Anderson 2012, Wallace 2013, Wallace 2014, Chilton 2015, Chilton & Versteeg 2016, Lizotte 2017, Blauwkamp, Rowling & Pettit 2018, Anderson & Richards 2018). However, in reality voters do not make their decisions in a vacuum. That is, they often do not cast a vote for or against physical integrity abuses, specifically. Rather, voters take into consideration candidates' proposed policies on a number of different issues. Thus, while individuals may claim to be opposed to human rights violations when questioned about them directly, how would voters respond to a policy proposal that most would consider an abuse of human rights in light of their other electoral considerations?

To answer this question, we conduct a survey experiment[1] which asks whether voters will continue to support a presidential candidate from their party when that candidate explicitly advocates abusing physical integrity rights.[2] Our experiment asks voters to choose between two candidates for president, each of whom takes a position on a wide range of policies. One candidate's policy portfolio supports the indefinite detention of protesting American Muslims (a violation of protection against political imprisonment) or the use of torture against foreign nationals, while the other candidate's portfolio does not. This scenario closely mimics the real-life decision voters must make, allowing them to take into consideration each candidate's stance on issues ranging from taxes to health care policy. The proposed policy to violate physical integrity rights targets minority or outsider groups and justifies abuse as protection against terrorism, which previous research indicates is likely to increase support for human rights abuses (Spino & Cummins 2014, Conrad et al. 2018, Blauwkamp, Rowling & Pettit 2018); we chose these conditions because they are realistic scenarios in which physical integrity rights might be violated in the United States and present a significant tradeoff for voters between their desire for security and their regard for physical integrity rights.

We find no evidence to suggest that the physical integrity abuses we study constitute

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[2]Physical integrity rights are "the entitlements individuals have in international law to be free from arbitrary physical harm and coercion by their government" (Cingranelli & Richards 1999). This definition includes violations such as torture, extrajudicial killings, forced disappearances, and political imprisonment. As previous research on human rights has focused on physical integrity rights, we chose to focus on this category of rights violations.

a "red line" past which most voters will not follow a candidate. Although past evidence indicates that Republicans are more supportive of torture (Gronke et al. 2010, Anderson & Richards 2018), we find that voters from neither party are willing to either abstain or vote for the other party when their party's candidate advocates for human rights abuse. Instead, we observe that American voters do not (on average) vote differently when one candidate supports the use of torture against foreign nationals or the indefinite detention of protesting American Muslims, regardless of the candidate's party affiliation. If a Republican or Democratic candidate in our scenario is supportive of torture or political imprisonment, the effect on voter behavior is statistically undetectable in our experiment. We specifically address, and rule out, the possibility that voters do not take seriously a candidate's commitment to violate human rights: even those respondents who believed there was a better than 50% chance that a candidate would actually torture or indefinitely detain American Muslims if elected were not affected. While we cannot definitively rule out small magnitude effects that could sway a close election (Rainey 2014), our findings suggest that the protection of physical integrity rights is not a touchstone issue for most voters in the United States. It is also possible that voter indifference to physical integrity abuse is a function of targeting minority groups linked to terrorism, and that violating the physical integrity rights of larger groups might activate opposition (Moore 2010, Conrad et al. 2018); we believe this is a productive avenue for future inquiry.

Our paper proceeds as follows. First, we present a theory of the relationship between human rights and public opinion that draws on prior work in the area. Then we describe our experimental design and present our results. We conclude by discussing the implications of our findings and productive avenues for future research.

Theoretical development

If the public favors greater human rights protections, such as protection from torture, political imprisonment, and extrajudicial killing or kidnapping (Cingranelli & Richards 1999), this logically explains why democracies (like the United States) are less likely to violate these rights: politicians do not want to suffer the electoral consequences of supporting human rights abuses (Cingranelli & Filippov 2010, Richards & Gelleny 2007). The positive relationship between democracy and domestic human rights protections is one of the most consistent findings in the human rights literature.[3] For example, liberal democratic political systems have been found to reduce political bans, censorship, torture, disappearances, and mass killings (Davenport 1995, Davenport 1999, Davenport & Armstrong 2004, Henderson 1991, Poe & Tate 1994, Poe, Tate & Keith 1999, Conrad & Moore 2010). In order for the electoral explanation for this relationship between democracies and better human rights practices to be sensible, voters must refuse to support candidates for office who violate human rights (or at least act as if they do); this behavior is sometimes assumed by human rights scholars (Richards & Gelleny 2007, Conrad & Moore 2010, Cingranelli, Fajardo-Heyward & Filippov 2013). In support of this assumption, Hillebrecht, Mitchell & Wals (2015) find evidence from surveys in Mexico that respondents who perceive better human rights conditions are more supportive of the President, the government, and democracy in general. **Concordantly, this paper's primary goal is to examine whether candidates' positions on human rights abuse strongly influence vote choice in the United States.**

There are empirical reasons to believe that the U.S. public truly *does* oppose human rights abuses, though the evidence also suggests that this opposition is not absolute. For example, a survey by Gronke et al. (2010) examines public opinion polls from 2001–2009 and finds that on average, 55% of the public opposed the use of torture. This finding holds even when

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[3]See, among many, Apodaca (2001), Bueno de Mesquita et al. (2005), Cingranelli & Filippov (2010), Davenport (1995), Davenport (1999), Davenport & Armstrong (2004), Henderson (1991), Keith (2002), Poe & Tate (1994), Poe, Tate & Keith (1999), Richards & Gelleny (2007), and Simmons (2009). However, the finding that democracy leads to greater respect for human rights only holds for fully liberal democracies (see Davenport & Armstrong 2004, Bueno de Mesquita et al. 2005, Conrad & Moore 2010).

respondents are asked about an "imminent terrorist attack," when enhanced interrogation techniques are not called torture, and when they are assured that torture would "work to get crucial information." Between 2001 and 2009, 55% of those surveyed were opposed to torture, and a majority did not support torture until June 2009, after the inauguration of President Barack Obama. The authors explain this increase in support for torture by arguing that torture may have become a partisan symbol that distinguishes Republicans from Democrats (Gronke et al. 2010).[4]

Nor is this the only evidence that Americans oppose human rights abuse. In a survey experiment examining voters' responses to violations of international law, Putnam & Shapiro (2013) find voters support punishing foreign human rights abusers when they are told the abusive state's actions violate international law. Similarly, an experiment by Wallace (2013) finds that respondents are less likely to support torture by their own government when they are told that it violates international law. Richards, Morill & Anderson (2012) find that a majority of U.S. survey respondents diapprove of most of the specific types of torture that they studied; only methods that "leave no marks" (such as not allowing someone to sleep, sit, or lie down) garner majority support (pp. 80-81). Blauwkamp, Rowling & Pettit (2018) find that survey support for torture in the American public is sensitive to framing, specifically that "respondents can be primed to express slim support or substantial opposition" to torture depending on how the information is presented (p. 446, see also McEntire, Leiby & Krain 2015). Even investors are reluctant to invest in states with poor human rights records because of "fears of being associated with countries responsible for [human rights] violations" (Garriga 2016, pg. 160; see also Barry, Clay & Flynn 2013, Blanton & Blanton 2007; for the potentially opposite effect of imposing economic sanctions, see Wood 2008). Consumers who learn about human rights abuses abroad might reduce their demand for products from abusive states and pressure their elected officials to discourage purchases from such states

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[4]Gronke et al. (2010) note that a survey conducted by World Public Opinion in June 2009 supports this argument. Opposition to torture by Republicans dropped from 66% in 2004 to 59% in 2009, and Republicans who said a ban on torture was too restrictive increased from 30% to 39%, while support for torture among Democrats remained the same.

(Spar 1998, Peterson, Murdie & Asal 2016).

But while this previous work suggests at least some segments of the population oppose leaders who commit human rights violations, opposition to abuse such as torture is not universal, even in democracies. Gronke et al. (2010) find that on average, 55% of the U.S. public opposes torture, but this also means that the remaining 45% are supportive of (or at a minimum, not opposed to) the government's use of torture. Even more worryingly, Conrad, Hill, Jr. & Moore (2018) find torture that leaves scars (such as beating and sexual abuse) occurs more frequently in states with contested elections.[5] Public opinion on human rights violations is also affected by factors such as partisanship, ideology, religion, and gender, so that some citizens are more supportive of abuses such as torture than others (Eichenberg 2014, Hertel, Scruggs & Heidkamp 2009, Malka & Soto 2011, Mayer & Armor 2012, Richards, Morill & Anderson 2012, Wemlinger 2014, Lizotte 2017, Anderson & Richards 2018). In addition, citizens may trade off the protection of certain rights against other political issues that are important to them. A perceived threat increases support for policies that restrict domestic civil liberties, such as free speech rights (Dietrich & Crabtree 2019) and government monitoring of ordinary Americans' phone calls and e-mails (Huddy, Feldman & Weber 2007, pp. 144-145). Similarly, when faced with growing crime and violence, citizens may prefer to vote for a candidate who promise to increase the use of repression in exchange for reestablishing order (Ahnen 2007). The public is also more supportive of torture when it is directed at individuals they perceive as threatening, such as a detainee with an Arabic name (Conrad et al. 2018) or a suspect described as a "terrorist" (Spino & Cummins 2014, Conrad et al. 2018). And, contrary to prior results, Chilton & Versteeg (2016) find that highlighting international and/or constitutional prohibition of torture does not decrease support for it among subjects in their experiment.

The link between voter preferences and human rights abuses in democracies is especially important and worthy of study because democracies are unique in, and in some formulations

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[5]States coded by Chiebub, Gandhi & Vreeland (2010) as democracies are classified as having contested elections.

are actually defined by, holding meaningful and competitive elections (Marshall, Gurr & Jaggers 2014, Chiebub, Gandhi & Vreeland 2010). Elections are one key way in which public opinion is translated into government policy, an idea that is at the foundation of many theories of democracy (Downs 1957, Schattschneider 1975, Mayhew 1974, Calvert 1985, Dahl 1961). The responsiveness of elected officials to constituent preferences has been supported by detailed empirical study (Page & Shapiro 1983, Stimson, Mackuen & Erikson 1995, Erikson & Wright 2000, Erikson, Mackuen & Stimson 2002, Clinton 2006), though majoritarian systems like that of the United States are perhaps less responsive than proportional representation systems (Powell 2000). More specifically, officials whose policy decisions do not reflect public preferences may be punished by voters at the election booth (Ansolabehere, Snyder & Stewart 2001, Canes-Wrone, Brody & Cogan 2002, Bovitz & Carson 2006), and politicians recognize this and react accordingly (Fredriksson, Wang & Mamun 2011). Though elections are not the only mechanism through which voters can express their preferences, electoral viability is often posited as the chief concern of elected officials in the United States and may underpin some of these other mechanisms.

Elections are only one mechanism through which democracy prevents human rights violations; normative preferences for nonviolent means of dispute resolution (Mitchell & McCormick 1988, Henderson 1991, Poe & Tate 1994, Simmons 2009, Keith 2002) and the existence of institutional checks and balances (Davenport 2007, Conrad & Moore 2010, Powell & Staton 2009, Powell 2000, Conrad, Hill, Jr. & Moore 2018) exist alongside the greater political accountability provided by democracies (Poe & Tate 1994, Davenport 1999, Bueno de Mesquita et al. 2003). However, scholars have argued that elections are a key mechanism for ensuring a government respects the physical integrity rights of its citizens (Bueno de Mesquita et al. 2003, Conrad & Moore 2010, Richards & Gelleny 2007) and other international laws (Dai 2007). In a state with free and fair elections, "a potentially abusive leader might feel vulnerable to public discontent at the polls and thus be curbed from abusive practices" (Keith 2002, p. 122). More specifically, elections provide citizens with the

opportunity to "make a human rights-friendly choice among other alternatives" (Richards & Gelleny 2007, p. 507) and to remove repressive leaders from office (Apodaca 2001, Poe & Tate 1994). Furthermore, these three mechanisms insulating democracies from human rights abuse are probably intertwined. For example, it is unclear why voters would punish elected officials for human rights abuses at the ballot box if they did not have a normative preference for nonviolence. Conversely, the normative preferences of citizens would probably matter less to those in government if those citizens could not remove them through the electoral process.

To summarize our argument, democracies may be especially likely to protect human rights because public opinion constrains leaders and prevents them from committing human rights violations. The public may penalize politicians who commit human rights abuses or are supportive of policies which violate human rights norms, most obviously by voting for another candidate (or perhaps abstaining from voting). While it is not the only possible way in which democratic institutions may lead to better human rights protections, we believe that electoral accountability is especially important because:

1. we have ample reason to expect politicians to pay particularly close attention to the possibility of not being (re)elected (Downs 1957, Schattschneider 1975, Mayhew 1974, Calvert 1985, Fredriksson, Wang & Mamun 2011);

2. meaningful elections are unique institutions of democracy (Marshall, Gurr & Jaggers 2014, Chiebub, Gandhi & Vreeland 2010); and

3. empirical research has found a connection between policy choices and election outcomes (Ansolabehere, Snyder & Stewart 2001, Canes-Wrone, Brody & Cogan 2002, Bovitz & Carson 2006).

Thus, **we hypothesize that voters in the United States will be less likely to support candidates who openly advocate human rights abuse compared to candidates who do not**. Specifically, voters may either vote for a candidate of another party or abstain from voting when one candidate advocates for violating physical integrity rights or civil liberties.

However, voters must make complex choices and compromise among their different values. In other words, voters also care about other policies related to taxes, health care, education, gun control, etc. Whether or not voters will strongly police human rights norms, in light of their other values and policy preferences, remains an empirical question. To answer this question, we employ an experimental research design that allows us to more directly test the effects of advocating human rights abuses on voter choice.

Research design

To determine whether advocating human rights abuses influences voters' support for a presidential candidate, we conducted a survey experiment using a panel of respondents selected by Qualtrics.[6] Our sample comprises 515 eligible voters living in the United States.[7] The core survey experiment presents respondents with two candidate profiles, one Republican and one Democrat, and asks the subject to choose their preferred candidate. The Republican and Democratic candidate profiles were built using the platforms of each party in the 2016 election (RNC Platform Committee 2016, Democratic Platform Committee 2016) and statements made by the two major party candidates in that election (Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton), though neither candidate was named. These baseline profiles cover (1) taxation, (2) trade, (3) the minimum wage, (4) national defense and counterterrorism, (5) health care, and (6) law enforcement and criminal justice.

We use a 2 × 2 factorial design (plus a control group), with just over 100 subjects in each treatment cell. Respondents were randomly assigned to the control group or to one of the four possible treatment groups. The control group received the baseline profile, with

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[6]All respondents completed the survey between March 6–March 8, 2017.

[7]Subjects had to affirm that they were adults living in the United States before beginning the survey, and give their age and confirm their eligibility to vote as questions in the survey. The total sample size was 520. We excluded from the analysis four respondents who did not know whether they were eligible voters. One person was excluded because they indicated they were an eligible voter, but also reported being well below the minimum age requirement (18); two people had their ages changed to missing from their reported age (2 years old) but remain in the data set. One person did not indicate support for a candidate or explicitly abstain from choosing; this person is also excluded from analyses involving this, the dependent variable.

no proposals to abuse human rights. Our treatments involve adding text advocating the abuse of physical integrity rights to the baseline candidate profiles. Each treatment group received one of two possible additional policy statements (a statement supporting the use of torture against foreign nationals who are terrorism suspects, or a statement supporting the indefinite detention of American Muslims who speak out against U.S. policy), added to the baseline profile of one of the two candidates (either the Republican or Democratic candidate). The additional text is added to the candidate's statement on national defense policy. The specific wording of the treatment text is included below in Table 1 (the text of each treatment is italicized); the full policy profile seen by respondents for both candidates is included as an appendix. Note that our experiment allows us to separately identify how advocating human rights abuse would affect voter support of both Democratic and Republican candidates, unlike the observational study of a live election where a candidate's policies cannot be randomly assigned.

These two policies (torture of foreign terrorism suspects and internment of American Muslims) are appropriate treatments for this experiment because (a) they relate to controversies discussed during the 2016 presidential election campaign, although neither policy was a part of either major party's platform (Bever 2015, Bromwich 2016, Swan 2016, Johnson 2016); and (b) they are not so extreme that survey respondents would consider the policies cartoonish or unrealistic. They target a minority and/or outsider group for abuse and justify that abuse as necessary to increase security, as we might expect in a realistic scenario and which might increase respondents' willingness to support the policies (Spino & Cummins 2014, Conrad et al. 2018). Our experiment is designed to present clear and consistent policies, with less obfuscation or mixed messaging than exists in normal campaign rhetoric,[8] in order to ensure a strong causal connection between policy platforms and vote choice. If we cannot find such

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[8]For example, although there was media discussion of Donald Trump considering the internment of American Muslims, Trump specifically denied this possibility (Bever 2015, Johnson 2016). As for torture, Donald Trump said that "torture works" and that he would reinstate waterboarding and "much worse" policies for terrorist prisoners, but also said that waterboarding was "a minor form... some people say it's not actually torture" (CNN 2016).

a connection in our experiment, we think that it is even less likely to exist in live elections where each candidate's policy stance is often vague or inconsistent.

After reading the candidate profiles, we asked each subject to complete a manipulation check in which the subject identified which candidate (Republican or Democratic) advocated for a particular policy position. Whenever an extreme policy statement was included in a candidate's policy platform (support for torture or support for indefinite detention), that statement was also included in the manipulation check, and the subject was always given the correct answer. Respondents were then told to assume that both candidates are equally qualified for the presidency and asked whether they would prefer to vote for the Republican candidate, the Democratic candidate, or to abstain from voting. It is possible that some subjects believed the candidate advocating human rights abuse would not actually implement the policy if elected. Therefore, after selecting their preferred candidate (or abstaining), we also asked subjects in each treatment group how likely they thought it was that the candidate would actually enact the extreme policy if elected.[9]

Subjects in our experiment were also asked some basic demographic questions. These questions included whether they were eligible to vote (no subjects answering "no" are included in our analysis), their gender, age, race, highest level of schooling, and partisan identification on a seven point scale. The full survey document is included as an appendix; summary statistics for demographic characteristics in our sample are shown in Table 2.[10]

We compare aggregate respondent support for the baseline profile candidates to aggregate support for the candidates with the modified profiles using basic difference-of-means tests via dummy variable regressions.[11] Given random assignment of the subjects to a treatment condition, the only difference between each group of subjects is the presence or absence of

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[9]Respondents selected from among the following choices: (1) Very likely (between 75% and 100% chance), (2) Likely (between 50% and 74% chance), (3) Somewhat likely (between 25% and 49% chance), and (4) Not at all likely (between 0% and 24% chance).

[10]Analysis was conducted using Microsoft R Open (R Core Team 2018). Except where noted, summary and regression tables were created in `stargazer` (Hlavac 2018).

[11]The analysis in Tables 5, 6, and 7 was preregistered, though there are minor differences in the preregistered code and the final code.

Table 1: Experimental treatments. The control group received the baseline candidate profiles, with no proposals to abuse human rights. Each treatment group received one of two possible additional policy statements (a statement supporting the use of torture or a statement supporting the indefinite detention of American Muslins, shown in italics below), added to the baseline profile of one of the two candidates (either the Republican or the Democrat). The text is for the national defense and counterterrorism portion of the candidate profiles; the full policy profile is included in an appendix.

	Republican candidate	Democratic candidate
T1: Torture	Republicans continue to support American military superiority, which has been the cornerstone of a strategy that seeks to deter aggression and defeat those who threaten our vital national security interests. I will rebuild troop numbers and readiness and confirm their mission: protecting the nation, not nation building. *I also support the use of advanced interrogation techniques, including torture, against foreign nationals suspected of terrorism.*	I will continue to invest heavily in intelligence and information sharing and will promote those networks among our allies. I will also strengthen our ability to keep nuclear and biological weapons out of the hands of terrorists, promote efforts to better ensure border security, and augment defense of our national infrastructure. *I also support the use of advanced interrogation techniques, including torture, against foreign nationals suspected of terrorism.*
T2: Detention	Republicans continue to support American military superiority, which has been the cornerstone of a strategy that seeks to deter aggression and defeat those who threaten our vital national security interests. I will rebuild troop numbers and readiness and confirm their mission: protecting the nation, not nation building. *As President, I'd also support indefinitely detaining American Muslims who speak out against U.S. policy if they interfere with our ability to defeat terrorist groups like ISIS.*	I will continue to invest heavily in intelligence and information sharing and will promote those networks among our allies. I will also strengthen our ability to keep nuclear and biological weapons out of the hands of terrorists, promote efforts to better ensure border security, and augment defense of our national infrastructure. *As President, I'd also support indefinitely detaining American Muslims who speak out against U.S. policy if they interfere with our ability to defeat terrorist groups like ISIS.*

Table 2: **Summary statistics.** Summary information about demographic covariates.

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Pctl(25)	Median	Pctl(75)	Max
Party ID (7-point)	514	4.051	2.109	1.000	2.000	4.000	6.000	7.000
Education	512	3.893	1.457	1.000	3.000	4.000	5.000	8.000
Black	513	0.072	0.259	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	1.000
Native American	513	0.010	0.098	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	1.000
Asian	513	0.031	0.174	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	1.000
Pacific Islander	513	0.008	0.088	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	1.000
Other Race	513	0.012	0.108	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	1.000
Age	502	46.791	15.576	18.000	33.000	46.000	60.000	90.000
Female	515	0.499	0.500	0	0	0	1	1
Republican	514	0.296	0.457	0.000	0.000	0.000	1.000	1.000
Democrat	514	0.302	0.459	0.000	0.000	0.000	1.000	1.000
Independent	514	0.403	0.491	0.000	0.000	0.000	1.000	1.000

the added text. Consequently, we can attribute any difference in support for candidates between the two positions to the presence of commitments to abuse human rights.
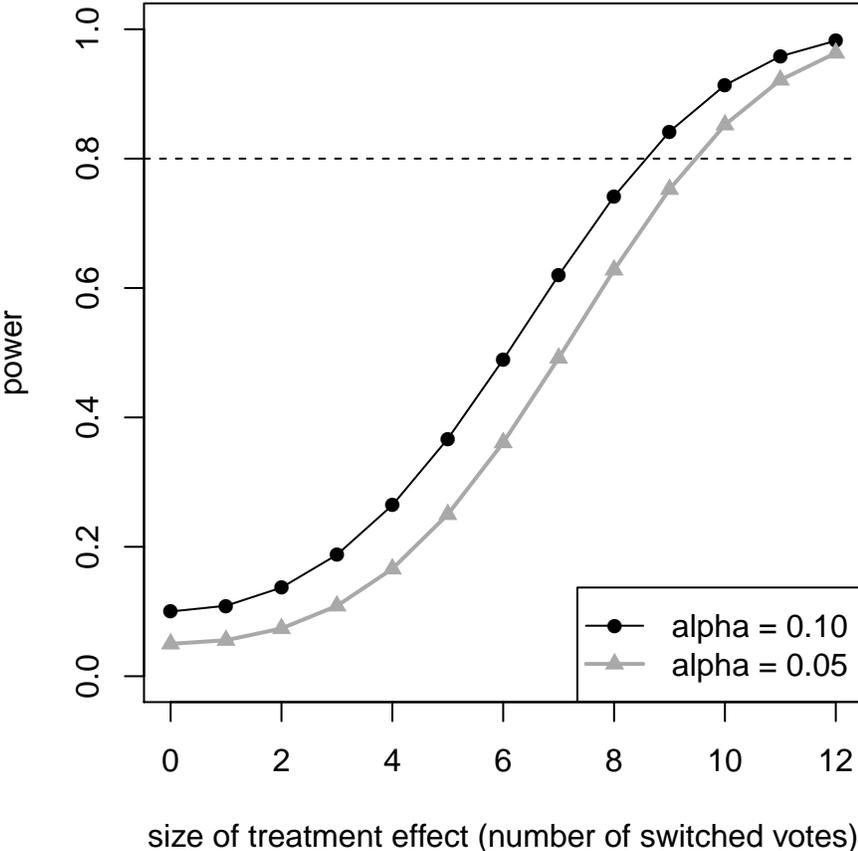
Power analysis

Our research design has moderate power to detect aggregate effects of our human rights abuse treatments on voting behavior.[12] For example, Figure 1 shows the probability of rejecting the null hypothesis for a χ^2 test of association in a cross-tabulation of voter choice and treatment condition. The analysis assumes that in the control condition 49 subjects vote Democratic, 46 vote Republican, and 7 abstain; these are the actual numbers from the experiment for our control condition. To calculate power, we suppose that the same number of voters in all treatment conditions (indicated on the x-axis in Figure 1) who would have voted for the candidate from party A instead vote for the candidate from party B because party A's candidate advocates for human rights abuse. With these assumptions, our analysis has an 80% probability of detecting overall treatment effects using an $\alpha = 0.10$ if between 8 and 9 voters (out of about 100 voters in each treatment condition) are influenced to vote against a party when its candidate advocates for human rights abuse when they would otherwise vote for it.

We also study the power of linear regression analysis to detect treatment effects in our experiment, as shown in Figure 2. Looking at Figure 2a, a linear model with treatment dummies has an 80% probability of detecting treatment effects with an F-test ($\alpha = 0.10$) if these treatments collectively explain at least 1.9% of the variance in vote choice. However, we have a limited ability to detect small individual treatment effects given our sample size, as shown in Figure 2b. Any individual treatment must change voter support for a party's candidate by between 17 and 18 percentage points in order to have an 80% chance of being detected in a one-tailed $t-$test ($\alpha = 0.05$) by this analysis.

[12]We use the `pwr` library for our power analysis (Champely 2018).

Figure 1: Crosstab Power Analysis: the power of a χ^2 test to detect treatment effects in this experiment. The x-axis indicates the number of voters who switch from one party to another as a result of a candidate's advocacy for human rights abuse. The y-axis indicates the probability of detecting a true effect of that magnitude.

Figure 2: Regression Power Analysis: the statistical power of a linear regression model to detect treatment effects in this experiment. Panel (a) indicates the power of an F−test for joint statistical significance of the treatments, with an x-axis indicating the number of voters who switch from one party to another as a result of a candidate's advocacy for human rights abuse in every treatment. Panel (b) indicates the power of a t-test for individual statistical significance of a single treatment with the effect size (in proportion of voters) on a treatment on the x-axis and assuming a standard error of 0.07 (which matches the data). The y-axis in both plots indicates the probability of detecting a true effect of that magnitude.
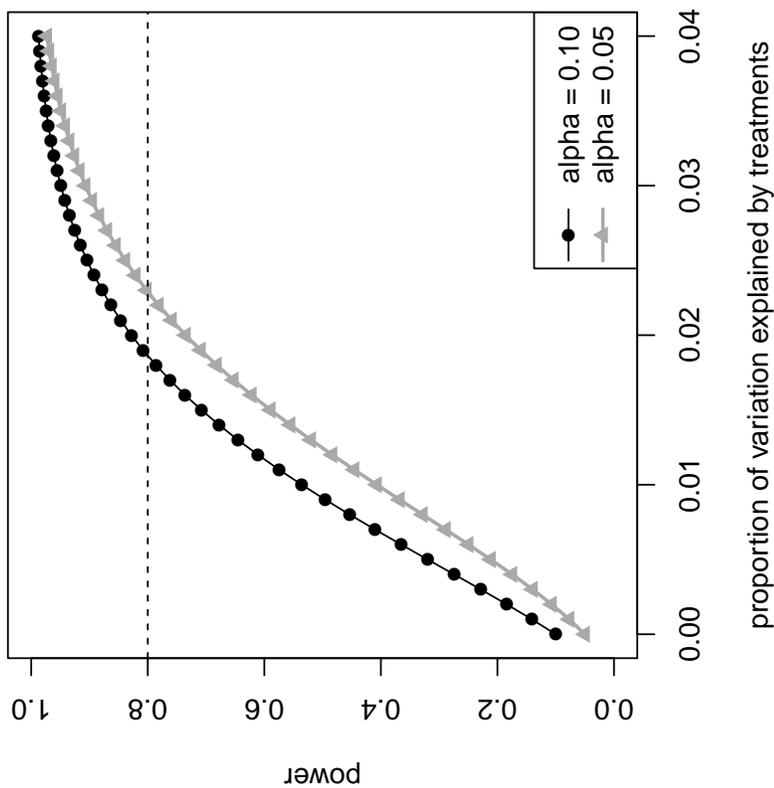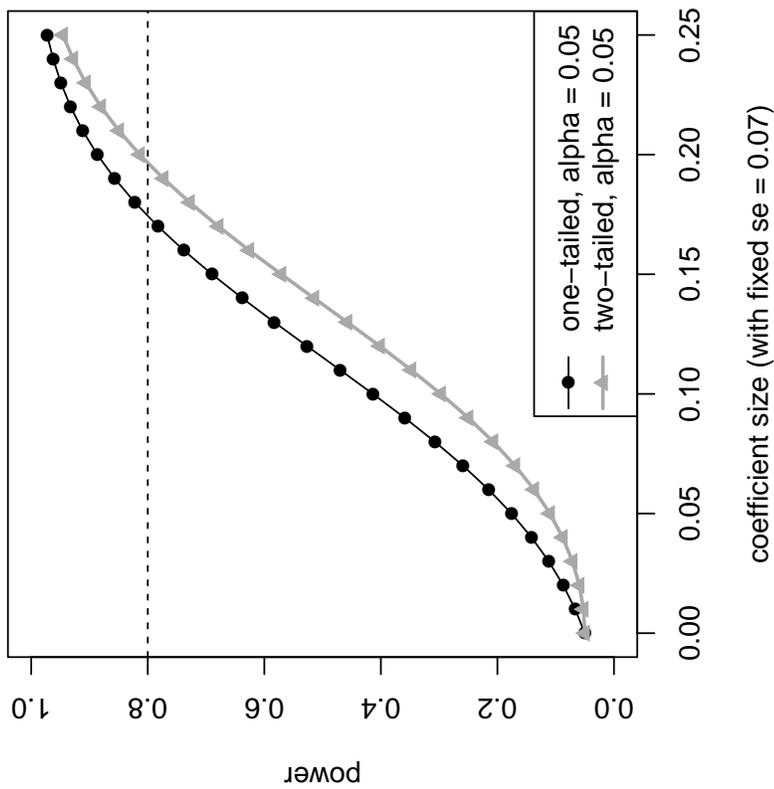
(b) coefficient t−test power

(a) F−test power

Results

Table 3 shows a summary of how subjects in our experiment voted.[13] In all five treatments, slightly more of the subjects voted for the Democratic candidate compared to the Republican candidate. However, qualitatively speaking, the voting patterns of all treatment conditions (where one candidate advocates for a human rights abuse) are quite similar to that of the control condition (where neither candidate advocates for human rights abuse). This qualitative impression is supported by a χ^2 test, which strongly indicates that treatment condition and vote choice are statistically independent ($p = 0.965$).[14]

Table 3: Crosstab of experimental results. Rows indicate subject vote choices, while columns indicate treatment conditions (the letter in parentheses indicates the party of the candidate whose platform has been modified. Cell counts indicate the number of subjects. $\chi^2 = 2.424$ ($p = 0.965$).

	Control	Torture (D)	Torture (R)	Detain (D)	Detain (R)	Total
vote Republican	46	43	39	45	45	218
vote Democratic	49	49	55	48	50	251
Abstain	7	11	8	10	9	45
Total	102	103	102	103	104	514

Compare the results of Table 3 with those of Table 4, which shows how subjects voted compared to their self-reported partisanship. While treatment condition has no apparent effect on vote choice, partisanship is a substantively strong and statistically significant predictor of vote choice ($p < 0.001$). Thus, subjects in our experiment *did* respond strongly to information in the candidate profiles; however, it appears that they *did not* respond strongly to information about candidates' advocacy of human rights abuse.

In Table 5, we present an ordinary least squares linear probability model (OLS/LPM) estimating the effect of advocating human rights abuse on support for both the Republican and Democratic candidate. We find no statistically meaningful evidence of any treatment effect on support for either candidate. Specifically, we conduct joint F-tests of the null hy-

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[13]Tables 3 and 4 were constructed using the `descr` library (Aquino 2018) in concert with `xtable` (Dahl 2016).

[14]This is the hypothesis test whose power we calculated in Figure 1.

Table 4: Voting by self-reported partisanship. Rows indicate subject vote choices, while columns indicate subject partisanship. Cell counts indicate the number of subjects. $\chi^2 = 244.752$ ($p < 0.001$).

	Democrat	Independent	Republican	Total
vote Republican	16	67	135	218
vote Democratic	134	103	13	250
Abstain	5	36	4	45
Total	155	206	152	513

pothesis that none of our treatments influence vote choice.[15] For support for the Republican candidate, the F-statistic is 0.286 ($p = 0.887$). For support for the Democratic candidate, the F-statistic is 0.339 ($p = 0.851$). Thus, we fail to reject the null that all of the treatments effects are equal to zero. This finding suggests that none of our treatments (supporting torture or indefinite detention) improves our ability to explain differences in individuals' vote choices.

In addition, the (statistically insignificant) coefficients in Table 5 do not support the interpretation that advocacy of human rights abuse reduces support for a candidate. Among those subjects receiving the treatment (a candidate supportive of either torture or the indefinite detention of American Muslims), average support for the Republican candidate decreases slightly when either the Republican candidate *or the Democratic candidate* expresses support for the use of torture, although this decrease in support is largest when the Republican candidate is supportive of torture. Average support for the Democratic candidate increases when the Republican candidate is supportive of torture, but does not change when the Democratic candidate is supportive of torture. None of these results achieve statistical significance at conventional levels, although the large standard errors make it difficult to argue that any one of the treatment effects is exactly zero (Rainey 2014).

In a close election, a small effect might be enough to change the outcome of an election. Still, the magnitude of the effects are small enough for us to rule out the possibility that advocating human rights abuse is a "red line" that most voters will not cross. In addition, the

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[15]This is the analysis whose power we studied in Figure 2a.

18

Table 5: OLS / LPM model. Regression coefficient estimates for model of support (binary) for the Republican and Democratic candidates. Heteroskedasticity-consistent robust standard errors are presented in parentheses; significance stars are based on two-tailed p-values.

	Support for Republican	Support for Democrat
	(1)	(2)
Intercept (Baseline)	0.451***	0.480***
	(0.050)	(0.050)
Torture, D	−0.034	−0.005
	(0.070)	(0.070)
Torture, R	−0.069	0.059
	(0.070)	(0.071)
Muslim Detention, D	−0.014	−0.014
	(0.070)	(0.070)
Muslim Detention, R	−0.018	0.0004
	(0.070)	(0.070)
F Statistic	0.286 (p=0.887)	0.339 (p=0.851)
Observations	514	514
R^2	0.002	0.003

Note: $^{*}p<0.1$; $^{**}p<0.05$; $^{***}p<0.01$

fact that several of the treatment effects do not go in the expected direction provides further evidence that candidates' human rights policy positions do not have a consistent, meaningful effect on voting behavior. For instance, when the Democratic candidate is supportive of torture, support for the Republican candidate decreases. Likewise, when the Democratic candidate is supportive of the indefinite detention of American Muslims, support for the Republican candidate decreases.

Same party support

It is possible that the treatments affect support for a candidate only among voters belonging to the same political party as that candidate (that is, people who could plausibly vote for that candidate in the absence of the treatment). Therefore, in Table 6, we present the effects of the treatments on support for the Republican candidate among Republican voters only and support for the Democratic candidate among Democratic voters only. Again, we find no statistically meaningful evidence that the treatments matter for the level of candidate support among partisan subpopulations. We conduct joint F-tests for each model, and for both the Republican candidate (F-statistic $= 0.474$; $p = 0.755$) and the Democratic candidate (F-statistic $= 0.380$; $p = 0.823$) we fail to reject the null hypothesis that the treatment effects are all equal to zero.

Voters who identify as Republican are less likely to vote for a Republican candidate that supports policies violating human rights, but this difference is not statistically distinguishable from no difference. Moreover, Democratic voters are not on average less likely to vote for the Democratic candidate when the Democratic candidate advocates for a violation of human rights. When the Democratic candidate expresses support for torture or indefinite detention, support for the Democratic candidate actually increases relative to the control. Such a result is not consistent with the story that citizens believe that human rights abuses are a "red line" that candidates cannot cross without losing their support. Human rights abuse may serve as an additional partisan signal (Gronke et al. 2010), but in that case it is odd that

20

Table 6: OLS / LPM model. Regression coefficient estimates for model of support (binary) for the Republican and Democratic candidates in partisan sub-populations (i.e., support for the Republican candidate among Republican voters only, and support for the Democratic candidate among Democratic voters only). Heteroskedasticity-consistent robust standard errors are presented in parentheses; significance stars are based on two-tailed p-values.

	Support for Republican	Support for Democrat
	(1)	(2)
Intercept (Baseline)	0.933***	0.800***
	(0.047)	(0.065)
Torture, D	−0.022	0.097
	(0.069)	(0.087)
Torture, R	−0.087	0.085
	(0.087)	(0.092)
Muslim Detention, D	−0.030	0.086
	(0.072)	(0.085)
Muslim Detention, R	−0.095	0.080
	(0.083)	(0.094)
F Statistic	0.474 (p=0.755)	0.38 (p=0.823)
Observations	152	155
R^2	0.014	0.013

Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Republican advocacy of the same policies did not increase support among Republican voters. However, the degree of uncertainty in our estimate makes it difficult to argue with certainty that the effect of any one of the treatments is exactly zero (Rainey 2014)

Model with control variables

Although random assignment ensures that, on average, the treatment and control groups are similar to across both observed and unobserved factors, we also control for various covariates that may affect respondents' vote choices to reduce residual variance and achieve more efficient estimation of the treatment effects. Table 7 displays the effects of our treatments on support for the Republican and Democratic candidates controlling for party identification, education, race, age in years, and gender.[16] We again fail to detect a statistically meaningful effect of our treatments on voting behavior. We conduct joint F-tests for both models in Table 7 for the joint significance of the treatments (not including the other covariates), and in each case we fail to reject the null hypothesis that the treatment effects are all equal to zero (for the Republican candidate, F-statistic $= 0.955$, $p = 0.432$; for the Democratic candidate, F-statistic $= 0.835$; $p = 0.503$). These findings are inconsistent with the theory that the public uses voting to punish an official who abuses human rights.

Some results remain inconsistent with our theory: a Democratic candidate advocating for torture or indefinite detention receives increased support. In both models, we find that party identification has a substantively meaningful and statistically significant ($\alpha = 0.05$, two-tailed) effect on vote choice: as respondents more strongly identify with the Democratic party, they are less likely to support the Republican candidate. Similarly, as respondents more

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[16]See the survey form in the appendix for the full description of each question and its possible responses. A small number of observations are dropped in our regression analysis due to missingness on the covariates. As a robustness check, we perform another regression analysis using multiple imputation with chained equations with the `mice` library in `R` (van Buuren & Groothuis-Oudshoorn 2011) on the missing data. The results are shown in Appendix Tables 9 and 10, which are created with `xtable` (Dahl 2016). In this analysis, we find that when a Republican candidate advocated for torture, there is a statistically significant ($\alpha = 0.05$, one-tailed) 9 percentage point drop in support for that candidate and a corresponding statistically significant gain in support for the Democratic candidate. No other treatment effects are statistically significant at conventional levels.

strongly identify as Democrats, they are more likely to support the Democratic candidate.

Credibility of candidate policy commitments

We also consider the possibility that some subjects might believe that the candidate advocating for human rights abuse would not truly implement that policy if elected. Figure 3 below shows the respondents' beliefs about the likelihood the candidate will implement the extreme policy position if elected, for each treatment group.[17] Although a number of subjects in each treatment group thought there was a reasonable probability that each policy would be enacted, respondents were more skeptical of a Democratic candidate actually implementing each policy. While the majority of respondents believed there was a 50% or greater chance that the Republican candidate would enact the proposed policy (either the use of torture or the use of indefinite detention), the majority of respondents receiving the Democratic candidate treatment believed the Democratic candidate was only somewhat or not at all likely to torture or indefinitely detain Muslims if elected (a less than 50% chance).

Table 8 presents the results when we limit our data to only those respondents who believed there was a 50% or greater chance the candidate with the extreme policy position would enact that policy if elected.[18] Even among respondents who believe it is more likely than not that the candidate will enact the policy, we still fail to find statistically significant effects for any of the treatment except one. We do find that a Democratic candidate supporting indefinite

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[17]Figure created using `ggplot2` (Wickham 2016).

[18]We also examined the relationship between partisanship and belief in the credibility of candidate commitments; this allows us to make sure, for example, that people believe that a candidate of their own party would abuse human rights. We define any subject who said there was at least a 50% chance that a candidate advocating human rights abuse would actually do so as believing that the candidate is "likely" to abuse human rights; we also separately examined respondents by partisanship (Republican, Independent, or Democratic). The results are shown in Appendix Tables 11 and 12. 70% of Republican respondents believe that their own party's candidate is likely to abuse human rights, compared to only 28% of Republican respondents who believe that the Democratic candidate will do so. More Independent respondents also believe that a Republican candidate is likely to abuse human rights (58% of respondents) compared to a Democratic candidate (36% of respondents). Roughly the same proportion of Democratic respondents believe that Republican and Democratic candidates are likely to abuse human rights (58% and 55% of respondents, respectively). We conclude that there is probably a relationship between partisanship and respondents' beliefs about whether a candidate will abuse human rights; however, it is clear that many respondents believe that their own party's candidate is likely to abuse human rights.

Table 7: OLS / LPM model. Regression coefficient estimates for model of support (binary) for the Republican and Democratic candidates, with control variables. Heteroskedasticity-consistent robust standard errors are presented in parentheses; significance stars are based on two-tailed p-values. Reported F-tests are for joint significance of treatment conditions, not including other covariates.

	Support for Republican	Support for Democrat
	(1)	(2)
Intercept (Baseline)	1.025***	−0.156*
	(0.086)	(0.089)
Torture, D	−0.071	0.036
	(0.049)	(0.051)
Torture, R	−0.085	0.085
	(0.053)	(0.053)
Muslim Detention, D	−0.023	0.006
	(0.051)	(0.052)
Muslim Detention, R	−0.068	0.049
	(0.053)	(0.052)
Party ID	−0.162***	0.164***
	(0.007)	(0.006)
Education	0.002	0.012
	(0.012)	(0.012)
Black	0.038	−0.031
	(0.075)	(0.074)
Native American	−0.050	0.161**
	(0.069)	(0.066)
Asian	−0.036	0.117
	(0.114)	(0.112)
Pacific Islander	0.044	0.028
	(0.229)	(0.236)
Other Race	0.012	0.092
	(0.191)	(0.182)
Age in years	0.002**	−0.002*
	(0.001)	(0.001)
Female	−0.025	−0.017
	(0.034)	(0.034)
F Statistic	0.955 (p=0.432)	0.835 (p=0.503)
Observations	498	498
R^2	0.479	0.479
Note:		*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8: OLS / LPM model. Regression coefficient estimates for support for the Republican and Democratic candidates among those who believe there is at least a 50% chance the candidate will enact the proposed policy. Heteroskedasticity-consistent robust standard errors are presented in parentheses; significance stars are based on two-tailed p-values.

|	Support for Republican	Support for Democrat
	(1)	(2)
Intercept (Baseline)	0.451***	0.480***
	(0.050)	(0.050)
Torture, D	−0.110	0.133
	(0.088)	(0.090)
Torture, R	−0.030	0.028
	(0.083)	(0.084)
Muslim Detention, D	−0.181**	0.141
	(0.090)	(0.096)
Muslim Detention, R	0.027	−0.046
	(0.079)	(0.079)
F Statistic	1.579 (p=0.18)	1.412 (p=0.23)
Observations	309	309
R^2	0.019	0.018
Note:		*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

detention causes a statistically significant 18.1 percentage point decrease in support for the Republican candidate ($\alpha = 0.05$, two-tailed). However, the sign on this coefficient goes in the opposite direction from what we expect and does not support the idea that voters punish candidates who advocate for policies that violate human rights norms. We also fail to reject the null hypothesis that the treatment effects are all equal to zero (for the Republican candidate, F-statistic $= 1.579$, $p = 0.18$; for the Democratic candidate, F-statistic $= 1.412$; $p = 0.23$).

Attentiveness

It is possible that, despite our efforts to draw attention to the candidates' policy platforms with manipulation check questions, subjects still gave insufficient attention and consideration to our treatment such that they weren't making a politically meaningful decision. To
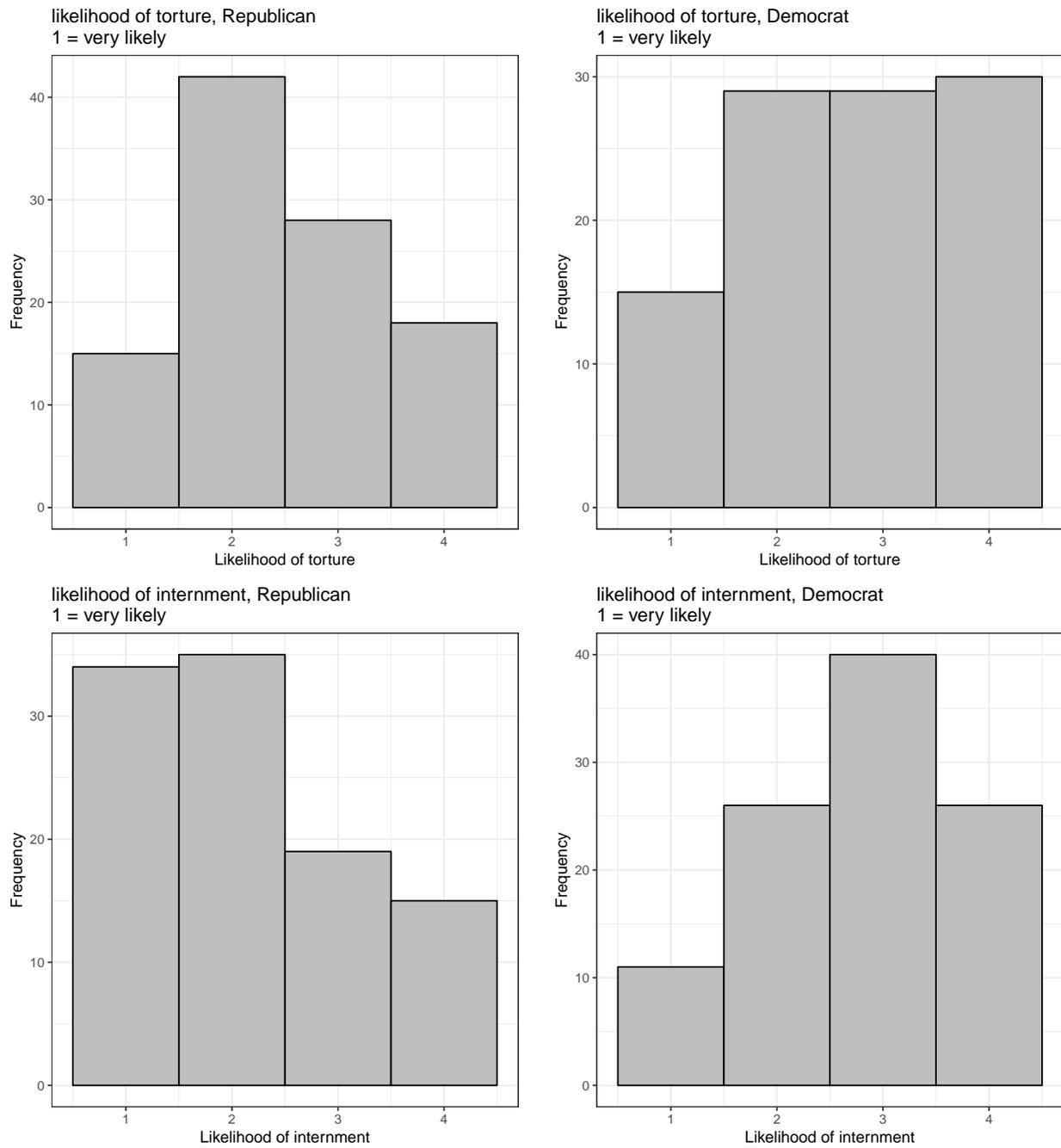
Figure 3: The number of respondents who believe a candidate is likely to implement each proposed policy.

hedge against this possibility, we conducted two additional analyses that excluded inattentive subjects. Specifically, we repeated the analysis of Table 5 but limited it to subjects who spent at least 120 or 180 seconds completing the survey. The results are shown in Appendix Tables 13 and 14.

Limiting the analysis to attentive subjects removes 21% or 47% of the sample, depending on whether 120 seconds or 180 seconds is used as the cutoff time. This indicates that at least some subjects were plausibly inattentive to our treatment. However, our analysis in the more attentive subpopulations still reveals no statistically meaningful effect of any treatment condition. Joint F-tests for the statistical significance of our treatment effects still show p-values well above 0.3 in all cases. Some treatments still show effects counter to theoretical expectation; for example, the Democrat who endorses torture received increased support in both analyses (although this relationship is statistically indistinguishable from zero).

Bayesian model averaging

In each of the above models, we find little evidence of any treatment effect on support for either candidate and all of our joint F-tests fail to reject the null hypothesis that the treatments effects are equal to zero. However, to be sure that these effects can be considered negligible, we use Bayesian Model Averaging (BMA) to determine whether the results put a high weight on no effect for the treatments.[19] Bayesian Model Averaging allows us to incorporate model uncertainty regarding the choice of variables into our estimation. The approach estimates all possible model specifications, given the potential explanatory variables (i.e., the treatment condition dummy variables), and constructs a weighted average over all of potential specifications according to posterior model probabilities (Hoeting et al. 1999). This gives us a measure of how much the treatment effects contribute to modeling respondents' vote choice. Our results are reported in Appendix Tables 15 and 16.

Only one of the treatments – a Republican candidate who advocates for torture of foreign

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[19]We use the `bma` library to conduct this analysis (Raftery et al. 2018).

terrorism suspects – is estimated to have a non-zero probability of impacting vote choice. In the model estimating support for the Republican candidate (Appendix Table 15), there is an estimated 6.5% probability that the effect of Republican candidate advocating torture is not equal to zero. For the other three treatments, the probability of the treatment having an effect on vote choice is estimated at zero. Our posterior belief that all treatment effects are zero is over 93%.

Similarly, for the model estimating support for the Democratic candidate (Appendix Table 16), there is only a 7.5% estimated probability that the effect of a Republican candidate advocating torture is not equal to zero. There is also a 4.4% estimated probability that advocating indefinite detention of Muslims by a Democratic candidate reduces support for that candidate. For the other treatments, the posterior probability of a treatment effect is zero. Based on this analysis, we have an 88% posterior probability belief that all treatment effects are zero.

Discussion

In general, although both prior theory and evidence suggests that voters will punish politicians for abusing human rights, our study finds no clear evidence that physical integrity rights abuses are a touchstone issue for a majority of voters—a "red line" past which they will not support a candidate they otherwise favor. Indeed, our results appear to rule out the advocacy of torture or indefinite detention of dissidents as disqualifying features of a candidate for most voters in our study. Although a number of studies suggest public support for policies such as torture may serve as partisan symbols (Gronke et al. 2010) and that Republicans are more likely to support torture (Anderson & Richards 2018), we find that voters from both major parties are equally unwilling to change their voting behavior when their party's candidate endorses violating physical integrity rights.

Given the uncertainty of individual treatment effect estimates in our analysis, we can-

not rule out the existence of small magnitude effects for individual treatments that may contribute to tipping an election against a candidate who proposes a policy abusing human rights (Rainey 2014). While the majority of voters do not appear to oppose candidates who advocate human rights abuse, such positions may still matter at the margins. Thus, although we believe our evidence speaks strongly against the idea that physical integrity rights violations are a "red line" that most voters will not cross, a study with more respondents is needed to identify exactly how much support a candidate loses by advocating specific types of human rights abuse.

As a last note, we chose our treatment conditions to be more extreme and clearer advocacy of human rights abuse compared to statements made in recent U.S. presidential elections. However, we avoided making our treatments so extreme as to be considered cartoonish or unrealistic and our treatments targeted minority or outsider groups linked to terrorism for abuse. Based on our results, it is clear that our treatments were not sufficient to provoke a large response in our surveyed American voters. We believe it would be productive for future research to introduce more varied, and perhaps more extreme, statements that advocate human rights abuse to probe the limits of voters' tolerance for such abuse. In particular, we believe that varying the *target* of the abuse (by race, citizenship, gender, age, etc.) might produce interesting insights (Moore 2010, Conrad et al. 2018).

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Appendix Tables: Models with Imputed Data

Table 9: OLS/LPM Model. Regression coefficient estimates for model of support (binary) for the Republican candidate, with control variables and multiple imputation of missing values using `mice`. Heteroskedasticity-consistent robust standard errors are presented in the column labeled "SE;" p-values are two-tailed. Observations = 514; Imputations = 50; Average R^2 = 0.480.

	coef.	SE	t-stat.	p-value	lower CI	upper CI	FMI
Intercept (Baseline)	2.031	0.085	23.95	0.00	1.865	2.197	1.5 %
Torture (D)	-0.072	0.048	-1.49	0.14	-0.166	0.023	0 %
Torture (R)	-0.094	0.052	-1.79	0.07	-0.196	0.009	0.2 %
Detain (D)	-0.026	0.050	-0.52	0.61	-0.123	0.072	0 %
Detain (R)	-0.069	0.052	-1.34	0.18	-0.171	0.032	0 %
Party ID	-0.163	0.006	-25.54	0.00	-0.176	-0.151	0.1 %
Education	0.001	0.012	0.12	0.90	-0.022	0.025	0.1 %
Black	0.066	0.073	0.91	0.37	-0.077	0.209	0.2 %
Native American	-0.047	0.067	-0.70	0.49	-0.179	0.085	1 %
Asian	-0.003	0.111	-0.03	0.98	-0.220	0.213	0.2 %
Pacific Islander	0.052	0.226	0.23	0.82	-0.391	0.496	0.1 %
Other Race	0.015	0.187	0.08	0.94	-0.351	0.380	0.1 %
Age in years	0.002	0.001	2.16	0.03	0.000	0.004	3.3 %
Female	-0.021	0.033	-0.64	0.52	-0.086	0.044	0.2 %

Table 10: OLS/LPM Model. Regression coefficient estimates for model of support (binary) for the Democratic candidate, with control variables and multiple imputation of missing values using `mice`. Heteroskedasticity-consistent robust standard errors are presented in the column labeled "SE;" p-values are two-tailed. Observations = 514; Imputations = 50; Average $R^2 = 0.481$.

	coef.	SE	t-stat.	p-value	lower CI	upper CI	FMI
Intercept (Baseline)	0.857	0.088	9.77	0.00	0.685	1.029	1.4 %
Torture (D)	0.036	0.050	0.72	0.47	-0.062	0.134	0 %
Torture (R)	0.087	0.052	1.66	0.10	-0.016	0.190	0.2 %
Detain (D)	-0.001	0.051	-0.01	0.99	-0.100	0.099	0.1 %
Detain (R)	0.052	0.052	1.02	0.31	-0.049	0.154	0 %
Party ID	0.165	0.006	27.34	0.00	0.153	0.177	0.2 %
Education	0.009	0.012	0.74	0.46	-0.015	0.032	0.1 %
Black	-0.055	0.071	-0.77	0.44	-0.194	0.085	0.2 %
Native American	0.155	0.067	2.33	0.02	0.024	0.285	0.7 %
Asian	0.088	0.108	0.81	0.42	-0.124	0.300	0.2 %
Pacific Islander	0.019	0.230	0.08	0.93	-0.432	0.471	0.3 %
Other Race	0.090	0.176	0.51	0.61	-0.255	0.434	0.3 %
Age in years	-0.002	0.001	-1.91	0.06	-0.004	0.000	3.4 %
Female	-0.024	0.034	-0.72	0.47	-0.090	0.042	0.2 %

Appendix Tables: Crosstabs of Policy Belief vs. Partisanship

Table 11: Respondent's assessment that republican candidate will implement human rights abuse. Row shows the subject's self-reported belief that the candidate will implement torture or Muslim detention; column show s subject's partisanship. Cells show the number of subjects, with column percentages below.

likelihood	Democrat	Independent	Republican	Total
likely (at least 50% chance)	29	57	40	126
	58.0%	58.2%	70.2%	
unlikely (less than 50% chance)	21	41	17	79
	42.0%	41.8%	29.8%	
Total	50	98	57	205
	24.4%	47.8%	27.8%	

Table 12: Respondent's assessment that democratic candidate will implement human rights abuse. Row shows the subject's self-reported belief that the candidate will implement torture or Muslim detention; column show s subject's partisanship. Cells show the number of subjects, with column percentages below.

likelihood	Democrat	Independent	Republican	Total
likely (at least 50% chance)	35	28	18	81
	54.7%	36.4%	27.7%	
unlikely (less than 50% chance)	29	49	47	125
	45.3%	63.6%	72.3%	
Total	64	77	65	206
	31.1%	37.4%	31.6%	

Appendix Tables: Analysis with Attentive Subjects Only

Table 13: OLS / LPM model. Regression coefficient estimates for model of support (binary) for the Republican and Democratic candidates, only respondents who spent at least 120 seconds completing the survey. Heteroskedasticity-consistent robust standard errors are presented in parentheses; significance stars are based on two-tailed p-values.

	Support for Republican	Support for Democrat
	(1)	(2)
Intercept (Baseline)	0.427***	0.507***
	(0.058)	(0.059)
Torture, D	−0.042	0.019
	(0.080)	(0.082)
Torture, R	−0.113	0.096
	(0.077)	(0.080)
Muslim Detention, D	0.039	−0.063
	(0.079)	(0.079)
Muslim Detention, R	−0.044	0.012
	(0.080)	(0.081)
F Statistic	1.157 (p=0.329)	1.104 (p=0.354)
Observations	405	405
R^2	0.011	0.011

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 14: OLS / LPM model. Regression coefficient estimates for model of support (binary) for the Republican and Democratic candidates, only respondents who spent at least 180 seconds completing the survey. Heteroskedasticity-consistent robust standard errors are presented in parentheses; significance stars are based on two-tailed p-values.

	Support for Republican	Support for Democrat
	(1)	(2)
Intercept (Baseline)	0.467***	0.489***
	(0.076)	(0.076)
Torture, D	−0.081	0.037
	(0.100)	(0.102)
Torture, R	−0.127	0.083
	(0.100)	(0.102)
Muslim Detention, D	−0.067	−0.006
	(0.100)	(0.101)
Muslim Detention, R	−0.115	0.048
	(0.101)	(0.103)
F Statistic	0.49 (p=0.743)	0.282 (p=0.89)
Observations	272	272
R^2	0.008	0.004

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Appendix Tables: Bayesian Model Averaging Results

Table 15: BMA estimates, support for republican. Estimates are calculated via Bayesian Model Averaging, with the treatments included as separate dummy variables.

	Support for Republican				
Variable	$\Pr(\beta \neq 0)$	EV	Std. Dev.	Model 1	Model 2
Intercept (Baseline)	100	0.424794	0.02220	4.241e-01	4.345e-01
Torture, D	0.0	0.000000	0.00000	.	.
Torture, R	6.5	-0.003375	0.01896	.	-5.211e-02
Muslim Detention, D	0.0	0.000000	0.00000	.	.
Muslim Detention, R	0.0	0.000000	0.00000	.	.
Number of Variables				0	1
BIC				-2.692e+03	-2.687e+03
Posterior probability				0.935	0.065

Table 16: BMA estimates, support for democrat. Estimates are calculated via Bayesian Model Averaging, with the treatments included as separate dummy variables.

				Support for Democrat			
Variable	$\Pr(\beta \neq 0)$	EV	Std. Dev.	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Intercept (Baseline)	100	0.487631	0.02273	4.883e-01	4.757e-01	4.939e-01
Torture, D	0.0	0.000000	0.00000	.	.	.
Torture, R	7.5	0.004749	0.02256	.	6.349e-02	.
Muslim Detention, D	4.4	-0.001231	0.01295	.	.	-2.790e-02
Muslim Detention, R	0.0	0.000000	0.00000	.	.	.
Number of Variables				0	1	1
BIC				-2.692e+03	-2.687e+03	-2.686e+03
Posterior probability				0.881	0.075	0.044

Appendix: Survey Document

Demographics

Please answer a few questions about yourself.

Are you eligible to vote in the United States?

○ Yes

○ No

○ Don't know

What is your gender?

○ Male

○ Female

What is your age in years?

[   ]

What is your race? Indicate one or more races that you consider yourself to be.

☐ White   ☐ Asian

☐ Black or African American   ☐ Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander

☐ American Indian or Alaska Native   ☐ Other

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

○ Less than high school degree

○ High school graduate (high school diploma or equivalent including GED)

○ Some college but no degree

○ Associate degree in college (2-year)

○ Bachelor's degree in college (4-year)

○ Master's degree

○ Doctoral degree

○ Professional degree (JD, MD)

Which of the following options most closely matches your political affiliation?

○ Strong Republican

○ Not-so-strong Republican

○ Independent, leaning Republican

○ Independent, leaning toward neither party

○ Independent, leaning Democratic

○ Not-so-strong Democratic

○ Strong Democratic

Control

Consider a choice between two candidates for president; some of their policy positions are listed below. Neither candidate is currently serving as president. Presume that both candidates are equally qualified to hold office in terms of character, experience, temperament, and other personal and moral qualities.

Republican candidate   **Democratic candidate**

- I oppose any increase in individual or corporate taxes.

- We need to negotiate better trade agreements that put America first and protect U.S. interests.

- Minimum wage is an issue that should be handled at the state and local level.

- Republicans continue to support American military superiority, which has been the cornerstone of a strategy that seeks to deter aggression and defeat those who threaten our vital national security interests. I will also rebuild troop numbers and readiness and confirm their mission: protecting the nation, not nation building.

- I support legislation to protect and privatize health care. We need to keep health care out of the hands of the government and let the free market control health care policy and prices.

- I support mandatory minimum sentencing as an important tool for keeping criminals off the streets; modifications to it should be targeted toward particular categories, especially nonviolent offenders, veterans, and the mentally ill.

- We need to offer tax relief to middle-class families, not those at the top.

- Openness to the world economy is important, but I oppose trade that does not support American jobs, raise wages, or improve our national security.

- Americans should earn at least $15 an hour, and I will work in every way I can to reach this goal.

- I will continue to invest heavily in intelligence and information sharing and will promote those networks among our allies. I will also strengthen our ability to keep nuclear and biological weapons out of the hands of terrorists, promote efforts to better ensure border security, and augment defense of our national infrastructure.

- Health care is a right, not a privilege. I support expanding all Americans' ability to access health care coverage through a public option.

- Democrats are committed to reforming our criminal justice system and ending mass incarceration. I will reform mandatory minimum sentences and close private prisons and detention centers.

Which candidate opposes any increases in individual or corporate taxes?

○ the Republican candidate

○ the Democratic candidate

○ Neither

Which candidate argues Americans should earn at least $15 an hour?

○ the Republican candidate

○ the Democratic candidate

○ Neither

Which candidate supports reforming the criminal justice system and ending mass incarceration?

○ the Republican candidate

○ the Democratic candidate

○ Neither

Consider a choice between two candidates for president; some of their policy positions are listed below. Neither candidate is currently serving as president. Presume that both candidates are equally qualified to hold office in terms of character, experience, temperament, and other personal and moral qualities.

Republican candidate	Democratic candidate
• I oppose any increase in individual or corporate taxes.	• We need to offer tax relief to middle-class families, not those at the top.
• We need to negotiate better trade agreements that put America first and protect U.S. interests.	• Openness to the world economy is important, but I oppose trade that does not support American jobs, raise wages, or improve our national security.
• Minimum wage is an issue that should be handled at the state and local level.	• Americans should earn at least $15 an hour, and I will work in every way I can to reach this goal.

Republican candidate	**Democratic candidate**
• Republicans continue to support American military superiority, which has been the cornerstone of a strategy that seeks to deter aggression and defeat those who threaten our vital national security interests. I will also rebuild troop numbers and readiness and confirm their mission: protecting the nation, not nation building.	• I will continue to invest heavily in intelligence and information sharing and will promote those networks among our allies. I will also strengthen our ability to keep nuclear and biological weapons out of the hands of terrorists, promote efforts to better ensure border security, and augment defense of our national infrastructure.
• I support legislation to protect and privatize health care. We need to keep health care out of the hands of the government and let the free market control health care policy and prices.	• Health care is a right, not a privilege. I support expanding all Americans' ability to access health care coverage through a public option.
• I support mandatory minimum sentencing as an important tool for keeping criminals off the streets; modifications to it should be targeted toward particular categories, especially nonviolent offenders, veterans, and the mentally ill.	• Democrats are committed to reforming our criminal justice system and ending mass incarceration. I will reform mandatory minimum sentences and close private prisons and detention centers.

Assuming that both candidates are otherwise equally qualified for the presidency, which of the following options would you prefer?

○ vote for the Republican candidate

○ vote for the Democratic candidate

○ abstain from voting

The Democratic candidate supports raising the minimum wage to at least $15 an hour?. How likely do you think it is that the candidate will actually enact this policy if elected?

○ Very likely (between 75% and 100% chance)

○ Likely (between 50% and 74% chance)

○ Somewhat likely (between 25% and 49% chance)

○ Not at all likely (between 0% and 24% chance)

T1 (Torture, Republican)

Consider a choice between two candidates for president; some of their policy positions are listed below. Neither candidate is currently serving as president. Presume that both candidates are equally qualified to hold office in terms of character, experience, temperament, and other personal and moral qualities.

Republican candidate

- I oppose any increase in individual or corporate taxes.

- We need to negotiate better trade agreements that put America first and protect U.S. interests.

- Minimum wage is an issue that should be handled at the state and local level.

- Republicans continue to support American military superiority, which has been the cornerstone of a strategy that seeks to deter aggression and defeat those who threaten our vital national security interests. I will rebuild troop numbers and readiness and confirm their mission: protecting the nation, not nation building. I also support the use of advanced interrogation techniques, including torture, against foreign nationals suspected of terrorism.

Democratic candidate

- We need to offer tax relief to middle-class families, not those at the top.

- Openness to the world economy is important, but I oppose trade that does not support American jobs, raise wages, or improve our national security.

- Americans should earn at least $15 an hour, and I will work in every way I can to reach this goal.

- I will continue to invest heavily in intelligence and information sharing and will promote those networks among our allies. I will also strengthen our ability to keep nuclear and biological weapons out of the hands of terrorists, promote efforts to better ensure border security, and augment defense of our national infrastructure.

Republican candidate	**Democratic candidate**

- I support legislation to protect and privatize health care. We need to keep health care out of the hands of the government and let the free market control health care policy and prices.

- I support mandatory minimum sentencing as an important tool for keeping criminals off the streets; modifications to it should be targeted toward particular categories, especially nonviolent offenders, veterans, and the mentally ill.

- Health care is a right, not a privilege. I support expanding all Americans' ability to access health care coverage through a public option.

- Democrats are committed to reforming our criminal justice system and ending mass incarceration. I will reform mandatory minimum sentences and close private prisons and detention centers.

Which candidate opposes any increase in individual or corporate taxes?

- ○ the Republican candidate
- ○ the Democratic candidate
- ○ Neither

Which candidate supports the use of advanced interrogation techniques, including torture, against foreign nationals suspected of terrorism?

- ○ the Republican candidate
- ○ the Democratic candidate
- ○ Neither

Which candidate supports reforming the criminal justice system and ending mass incarceration?

- ○ the Republican candidate
- ○ the Democratic candidate
- ○

Neither

Consider a choice between two candidates for president; some of their policy positions are listed below. Neither candidate is currently serving as president. Presume that both candidates are equally qualified to hold office in terms of character, experience, temperament, and other personal and moral qualities.

Republican candidate	**Democratic candidate**
• I oppose any increase in individual or corporate taxes.	• We need to offer tax relief to middle-class families, not those at the top.
• We need to negotiate better trade agreements that put America first and protect U.S. interests.	• Openness to the world economy is important, but I oppose trade that does not support American jobs, raise wages, or improve our national security.
• Minimum wage is an issue that should be handled at the state and local level.	• Americans should earn at least $15 an hour, and I will work in every way I can to reach this goal.
• Republicans continue to support American military superiority, which has been the cornerstone of a strategy that seeks to deter aggression and defeat those who threaten our vital national security interests. I will rebuild troop numbers and readiness and confirm their mission: protecting the nation, not nation building. I also support the use of advanced interrogation techniques, including torture, against foreign nationals suspected of terrorism.	• I will continue to invest heavily in intelligence and information sharing and will promote those networks among our allies. I will also strengthen our ability to keep nuclear and biological weapons out of the hands of terrorists, promote efforts to better ensure border security, and augment defense of our national infrastructure.
• I support legislation to protect and privatize health care. We need to keep health care out of the hands of the government and let the free market control health care policy and prices.	• Health care is a right, not a privilege. I support expanding all Americans' ability to access health care coverage through a public option.

Republican candidate	**Democratic candidate**

- I support mandatory minimum sentencing as an important tool for keeping criminals off the streets; modifications to it should be targeted toward particular categories, especially nonviolent offenders, veterans, and the mentally ill.

- Democrats are committed to reforming our criminal justice system and ending mass incarceration. I will reform mandatory minimum sentences and close private prisons and detention centers.

Assuming that both candidates are otherwise equally qualified for the presidency, which of the following options would you prefer?

○ vote for the Republican candidate

○ vote for the Democratic candidate

○ abstain from voting

The Republican candidate supports the use of advanced interrogation techniques, including torture, against foreign nationals suspected of terrorism. How likely do you think it is that the candidate will actually enact this policy if elected?

○ Very likely (between 75% and 100% chance)

○ Likely (between 50% and 74% chance)

○ Somewhat likely (between 25% and 49% chance)

○ Not at all likely (between 0% and 24% chance)

T1 (Torture, Democrat)

Consider a choice between two candidates for president; some of their policy positions are listed below. Neither candidate is currently serving as president. Presume that both candidates are equally qualified to hold office in terms of character, experience, temperament, and other personal and moral qualities.

Consider a choice between two candidates for president; some of their policy positions are listed below. Neither candidate is currently serving as president. Presume that both candidates are equally qualified to hold office in terms of character, experience, temperament, and other personal and moral qualities.

Republican candidate	Democratic candidate
• I oppose any increase in individual or corporate taxes.	• We need to offer tax relief to middle-class families, not those at the top.
• We need to negotiate better trade agreements that put America first and protect U.S. interests.	• Openness to the world economy is important, but I oppose trade that does not support American jobs, raise wages, or improve our national security.
• Minimum wage is an issue that should be handled at the state and local level.	• Americans should earn at least $15 an hour, and I will work in every way I can to reach this goal.
• Republicans continue to support American military superiority, which has been the cornerstone of a strategy that seeks to deter aggression and defeat those who threaten our vital national security interests. I will rebuild troop numbers and readiness and confirm their mission: protecting the nation, not nation building.	• I will continue to invest heavily in intelligence and information sharing and will promote those networks among our allies. I will also strengthen our ability to keep nuclear and biological weapons out of the hands of terrorists, promote efforts to better ensure border security, and augment defense of our national infrastructure. I also support the use of advanced interrogation techniques, including torture, against foreign nationals suspected of terrorism.
• I support legislation to protect and privatize health care. We need to keep health care out of the hands of the government and let the free market control health care policy and prices.	• Health care is a right, not a privilege. I support expanding all Americans' ability to access health care coverage through a public option.
• I support mandatory minimum sentencing as an important tool for keeping criminals off the streets; modifications to it should be targeted toward particular categories, especially nonviolent offenders, veterans, and the mentally ill.	• Democrats are committed to reforming our criminal justice system and ending mass incarceration. I will reform mandatory minimum sentences and close private prisons and detention centers.

Which candidate opposes any increase in individual or corporate taxes?

○ the Republican candidate

○ the Democratic candidate

○ Neither

Which candidate supports the use of advanced interrogation techniques, including torture, against foreign nationals suspected of terrorism?

○ the Republican candidate

○ the Democratic candidate

○ Neither

Which candidate supports reforming the criminal justice system and ending mass incarceration?

○ the Republican candidate

○ the Democratic candidate

○ Neither

Consider a choice between two candidates for president; some of their policy positions are listed below. Neither candidate is currently serving as president. Presume that both candidates are equally qualified to hold office in terms of character, experience, temperament, and other personal and moral qualities.

Republican candidate	Democratic candidate
• I oppose any increase in individual or corporate taxes.	• We need to offer tax relief to middle-class families, not those at the top.

Republican candidate	**Democratic candidate**

- We need to negotiate better trade agreements that put America first and protect U.S. interests.

- Minimum wage is an issue that should be handled at the state and local level.

- Republicans continue to support American military superiority, which has been the cornerstone of a strategy that seeks to deter aggression and defeat those who threaten our vital national security interests. I will rebuild troop numbers and readiness and confirm their mission: protecting the nation, not nation building.

- I support legislation to protect and privatize health care. We need to keep health care out of the hands of the government and let the free market control health care policy and prices.

- I support mandatory minimum sentencing as an important tool for keeping criminals off the streets; modifications to it should be targeted toward particular categories, especially nonviolent offenders, veterans, and the mentally ill.

- Openness to the world economy is important, but I oppose trade that does not support American jobs, raise wages, or improve our national security.

- Americans should earn at least $15 an hour, and I will work in every way I can to reach this goal.

- I will continue to invest heavily in intelligence and information sharing and will promote those networks among our allies. I will also strengthen our ability to keep nuclear and biological weapons out of the hands of terrorists, promote efforts to better ensure border security, and augment defense of our national infrastructure. I also support the use of advanced interrogation techniques, including torture, against foreign nationals suspected of terrorism.

- Health care is a right, not a privilege. I support expanding all Americans' ability to access health care coverage through a public option.

- Democrats are committed to reforming our criminal justice system and ending mass incarceration. I will reform mandatory minimum sentences and close private prisons and detention centers.

Assuming that both candidates are otherwise equally qualified for the presidency, which of the following options would you prefer?

- ○ vote for the Republican candidate
- ○ vote for the Democratic candidate

○ abstain from voting

The Democratic candidate supports the use of advanced interrogation techniques, including torture, against foreign nationals suspected of terrorism. How likely do you think it is that the candidate will actually enact this policy if elected?

○ Very likely (between 75% and 100% chance)

○ Likely (between 50% and 74% chance)

○ Somewhat likely (between 25% and 49% chance)

○ Not at all likely (between 0% and 24% chance)

T2 (Detention, Republican)

Consider a choice between two candidates for president; some of their policy positions are listed below. Neither candidate is currently serving as president. Presume that both candidates are equally qualified to hold office in terms of character, experience, temperament, and other personal and moral qualities.

Republican candidate	**Democratic candidate**
• I oppose any increase in individual or corporate taxes.	• We need to offer tax relief to middle-class families, not those at the top.
• We need to negotiate better trade agreements that put America first and protect U.S. interests.	• Openness to the world economy is important, but I oppose trade that does not support American jobs, raise wages, or improve our national security.
• Minimum wage is an issue that should be handled at the state and local level.	• Americans should earn at least $15 an hour, and I will work in every way I can to reach this goal.

Republican candidate	**Democratic candidate**
• Republicans continue to support American military superiority, which has been the cornerstone of a strategy that seeks to deter aggression and defeat those who threaten our vital national security interests. I will rebuild troop numbers and readiness and confirm their mission: protecting the nation, not nation building. As President, I'd also support indefinitely detaining American Muslims who speak out against U.S. policy if they interfere with our ability to defeat terrorist groups like ISIS.	• I will continue to invest heavily in intelligence and information sharing and will promote those networks among our allies. I will also strengthen our ability to keep nuclear and biological weapons out of the hands of terrorists, promote efforts to better ensure border security, and augment defense of our national infrastructure.
• I support legislation to protect and privatize health care. We need to keep health care out of the hands of the government and let the free market control health care policy and prices.	• Health care is a right, not a privilege. I support expanding all Americans' ability to access health care coverage through a public option.
• I support mandatory minimum sentencing as an important tool for keeping criminals off the streets; modifications to it should be targeted toward particular categories, especially nonviolent offenders, veterans, and the mentally ill.	• Democrats are committed to reforming our criminal justice system and ending mass incarceration. I will reform mandatory minimum sentences and close private prisons and detention centers.

Which candidate opposes any increase in individual or corporate taxes?

- ○ the Republican candidate
- ○ the Democratic candidate
- ○ Neither

Which candidate supports indefinitely detaining American Muslims who speak out against U.S. policy if they interfere with our ability to defeat terrorist groups like ISIS?

○ the Republican candidate

○ the Democratic candidate

○ Neither

Which candidate supports reforming the criminal justice system and ending mass incarceration?

○ the Republican candidate

○ the Democratic candidate

○ Neither

Consider a choice between two candidates for president; some of their policy positions are listed below. Neither candidate is currently serving as president. Presume that both candidates are equally qualified to hold office in terms of character, experience, temperament, and other personal and moral qualities.

Republican candidate	Democratic candidate
• I oppose any increase in individual or corporate taxes.	• We need to offer tax relief to middle-class families, not those at the top.
• We need to negotiate better trade agreements that put America first and protect U.S. interests.	• Openness to the world economy is important, but I oppose trade that does not support American jobs, raise wages, or improve our national security.
• Minimum wage is an issue that should be handled at the state and local level.	• Americans should earn at least $15 an hour, and I will work in every way I can to reach this goal.

Republican candidate

- Republicans continue to support American military superiority, which has been the cornerstone of a strategy that seeks to deter aggression and defeat those who threaten our vital national security interests. I will rebuild troop numbers and readiness and confirm their mission: protecting the nation, not nation building. As President, I'd also support indefinitely detaining American Muslims who speak out against U.S. policy if they interfere with our ability to defeat terrorist groups like ISIS.

- I support legislation to protect and privatize health care. We need to keep health care out of the hands of the government and let the free market control health care policy and prices.

- I support mandatory minimum sentencing as an important tool for keeping criminals off the streets; modifications to it should be targeted toward particular categories, especially nonviolent offenders, veterans, and the mentally ill.

Democratic candidate

- I will continue to invest heavily in intelligence and information sharing and will promote those networks among our allies. I will also strengthen our ability to keep nuclear and biological weapons out of the hands of terrorists, promote efforts to better ensure border security, and augment defense of our national infrastructure.

- Health care is a right, not a privilege. I support expanding all Americans' ability to access health care coverage through a public option.

- Democrats are committed to reforming our criminal justice system and ending mass incarceration. I will reform mandatory minimum sentences and close private prisons and detention centers.

Assuming that both candidates are otherwise equally qualified for the presidency, which of the following options would you prefer?

- ○ vote for the Republican candidate
- ○ vote for the Democratic candidate
- ○ abstain from voting

The Republican candidate supports indefinitely detaining American Muslims who speak out against U.S. policy if they interfere with our ability to defeat terrorist groups like

ISIS. How likely do you think it is that the candidate will actually enact this policy if elected?

- ○ Very likely (between 75% and 100% chance)

- ○ Likely (between 50% and 74% chance)

- ○ Somewhat likely (between 25% and 49% chance)

- ○ Not at all likely (between 0% and 24% chance)

T2 (Detention, Democrat)

Consider a choice between two candidates for president; some of their policy positions are listed below. Neither candidate is currently serving as president. Presume that both candidates are equally qualified to hold office in terms of character, experience, temperament, and other personal and moral qualities.

Republican candidate	**Democratic candidate**
• I oppose any increase in individual or corporate taxes.	• We need to offer tax relief to middle-class families, not those at the top.
• We need to negotiate better trade agreements that put America first and protect U.S. interests.	• Openness to the world economy is important, but I oppose trade that does not support American jobs, raise wages, or improve our national security.
• Minimum wage is an issue that should be handled at the state and local level.	• Americans should earn at least $15 an hour, and I will work in every way I can to reach this goal.

Republican candidate	**Democratic candidate**
• Republicans continue to support American military superiority, which has been the cornerstone of a strategy that seeks to deter aggression and defeat those who threaten our vital national security interests. I will rebuild troop numbers and readiness and confirm their mission: protecting the nation, not nation building.	• I will continue to invest heavily in intelligence and information sharing and will promote those networks among our allies. I will also strengthen our ability to keep nuclear and biological weapons out of the hands of terrorists, promote efforts to better ensure border security, and augment defense of our national infrastructure. As President, I'd also support indefinitely detaining American Muslims who speak out against U.S. policy if they interfere with our ability to defeat terrorist groups like ISIS.
• I support legislation to protect and privatize health care. We need to keep health care out of the hands of the government and let the free market control health care policy and prices.	• Health care is a right, not a privilege. I support expanding all Americans' ability to access health care coverage through a public option.
• I support mandatory minimum sentencing as an important tool for keeping criminals off the streets; modifications to it should be targeted toward particular categories, especially nonviolent offenders, veterans, and the mentally ill.	• Democrats are committed to reforming our criminal justice system and ending mass incarceration. I will reform mandatory minimum sentences and close private prisons and detention centers.

Which candidate opposes any increase in individual or corporate taxes?

○ the Republican candidate

○ the Democratic candidate

○ Neither

Which candidate supports indefinitely detaining American Muslims who speak out against U.S. policy if they interfere with our ability to defeat terrorist groups like ISIS?

○

the Republican candidate

○ the Democratic candidate

○ Neither

Which candidate supports reforming the criminal justice system and ending mass incarceration?

○ the Republican candidate

○ the Democratic candidate

○ Neither

Consider a choice between two candidates for president; some of their policy positions are listed below. Neither candidate is currently serving as president. Presume that both candidates are equally qualified to hold office in terms of character, experience, temperment, and other personal and moral qualities.

Republican candidate	**Democratic candidate**
• I oppose any increase in individual or corporate taxes.	• We need to offer tax relief to middle-class families, not those at the top.
• We need to negotiate better trade agreements that put America first and protect U.S. interests.	• Openness to the world economy is important, but I oppose trade that does not support American jobs, raise wages, or improve our national security.
• Minimum wage is an issue that should be handled at the state and local level.	• Americans should earn at least $15 an hour, and I will work in every way I can to reach this goal.

Republican candidate	Democratic candidate
• Republicans continue to support American military superiority, which has been the cornerstone of a strategy that seeks to deter aggression and defeat those who threaten our vital national security interests. I will rebuild troop numbers and readiness and confirm their mission: protecting the nation, not nation building.	• I will continue to invest heavily in intelligence and information sharing and will promote those networks among our allies. I will also strengthen our ability to keep nuclear and biological weapons out of the hands of terrorists, promote efforts to better ensure border security, and augment defense of our national infrastructure. As President, I'd also support indefinitely detaining American Muslims who speak out against U.S. policy if they interfere with our ability to defeat terrorist groups like ISIS.
• I support legislation to protect and privatize health care. We need to keep health care out of the hands of the government and let the free market control health care policy and prices.	• Health care is a right, not a privilege. I support expanding all Americans' ability to access health care coverage through a public option.
• I support mandatory minimum sentencing as an important tool for keeping criminals off the streets; modifications to it should be targeted toward particular categories, especially nonviolent offenders, veterans, and the mentally ill.	• Democrats are committed to reforming our criminal justice system and ending mass incarceration. I will reform mandatory minimum sentences and close private prisons and detention centers.

Assuming that both candidates are otherwise equally qualified for the presidency, which of the following options would you prefer?

- ○ vote for the Republican candidate
- ○ vote for the Democratic candidate
- ○ abstain from voting

The Democratic candidate supports indefinitely detaining American Muslims who speak out against U.S. policy if they interfere with our ability to defeat terrorist groups like

ISIS. How likely do you think it is that the candidate will actually enact this policy if elected?

○ Very likely (between 75% and 100% chance)

○ Likely (between 50% and 74% chance)

○ Somewhat likely (between 25% and 49% chance)

○ Not at all likely (between 0% and 24% chance)