Internet Appendix for “Exploiting a Rare Communication Shift to Document the Persuasive Power of News Media”

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Figure 1S: Front Page of the *Sun* on Election Day, May 1, 1997
Table 1S: Coding of Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Coding</th>
<th>BEPS Variable Label</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vote Choice in 1997</strong>&lt;br&gt;(dependent variable)</td>
<td>Indicator variable for Labour Party vote in 1997</td>
<td>vote97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Treatment</strong></td>
<td>Indicator variable for whether the respondent reads a daily morning paper and the paper he or she reports reading most often is the <em>Sun, Daily Star, Independent, or Financial Times</em></td>
<td>readpa96, whpapr96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Labour Vote</td>
<td>Indicator variable for Labour Party vote in 1992.</td>
<td>vote92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Conservative Vote</td>
<td>Indicator variable for Conservative Party vote in 1992.</td>
<td>prtyid92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Liberal Vote</td>
<td>Indicator variable for Liberal Party vote in 1992.</td>
<td>prtyid92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Labour Party Identification</td>
<td>Indicator variable for identification with the Labour Party.</td>
<td>prtyid92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Conservative Party Identification</td>
<td>Indicator variable for identification with the Conservative Party.</td>
<td>prtyid92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Liberal Party Identification</td>
<td>Indicator variable for identification with the Liberal Party.</td>
<td>prtyid92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Labour Party Support</td>
<td>Question asking whether they favor or oppose the Labour Party on a 7-category scale, ranging from “strongly favor” to strongly oppose.”</td>
<td>labfel92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Conservative Party Support</td>
<td>Question asking whether they favor or oppose the Conservative Party on a 7-category scale, ranging from “strongly favor” to strongly oppose.”</td>
<td>confel92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Political Knowledge</td>
<td>10-item index of factual knowledge constructed by the BEPS investigators categorized into terciles.*</td>
<td>polqiz92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Television Viewer</td>
<td>An index of television news viewership based on how often respondents watched news programs on BBC1, BBC2, ITN, and Chanel 4. For each program, respondents could answer never watching, once a week or less, two to three days a week, and four or more days a week.</td>
<td>wtbbc992, wtbb692, wtbbcn92, wtitnx92, wtitn592, wtin592, wtc4, newsat92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Read Daily Newspaper Reader</td>
<td>Indicator variable for whether the respondent reads any newspaper. We do not match on this variable (so as not to exclude nonreaders from the control group) but include it in the probit models.</td>
<td>whpapr92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Ideology</td>
<td>An index constructed with a series of 6 policy preference questions. Higher values indicate a more leftist ideology and lower values a more rightist ideology.</td>
<td>airsh92, richlw92, tuntn92, priven92, publco92, govrsp92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Ideological Moderation</td>
<td>Created by &quot;folding over&quot; the 6-item ideology scale so that scores of 1 correspond with scores of .5 on the original scale and scores of 0 correspond with Ideology score of 0 or 1.</td>
<td>Same as above.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Authoritarianism</td>
<td>An index of 6 policy preference questions. Higher values indicate more authoritarianism.</td>
<td>tradv92, censor92, pubmee92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Prior Trade Union Member**
Indicator variable for whether the respondent has someone in his/her family who has, at some point, been a member of a trade union.

**Prior Working-Class Identification**
Indicator variable for whether respondent self-identified as working class.

**Parents Voted Labour**
Indicator variable for whether the respondent remembers one or both parents voting for Labour when he or she was a child.

**Prior Coping with Mortgage**
Treated as a continuous variable with four categories: Mortgage Very Difficult (1), Mortgage a Bit Difficult (0.5), and Not Really Difficult or No Mortgage (0). Separated into five categories: Less than O level (or foreign qualifications) (0), O Level or Equivalent (.25), A Level or Equivalent (.5), Some Higher Education (.75), and College Degree (1).*

**Prior Education**
Separated into five categories:
- Less than O level (or foreign qualifications) (0)
- O Level or Equivalent (.25)
- A Level or Equivalent (.5)
- Some Higher Education (.75)
- College Degree (1).*

**Prior Income**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>£5999 or Less (0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£6000-£11,999 (.33)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£12,000-£19,999 (.67)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£20,000 or More (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Prior Age**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18-24 (0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34 (.167)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44 (.333)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54 (.5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-59 (.667)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-64 (.833)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+ (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Age Not Given</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Gender**
Indicator variable for male. rsex92

**White**
Indicator variable for white ethnic identity raceor92

**Prior Profession**
Indicator variable for the following profession categories are included in the probit models:
- Unemployed
- Employer/Manager
- Professional
- Non-Manual
- Personal Service
- Manual
- Other.†

**Prior Region**
Indicator variable (fixed effects) for the following region categories are included in the probit models:
- North
- Northwest
- Yorks and Humberside
- West Midlands
- East Midlands
- East Anglia
- Southwest England
- Southeast England
- Greater London
- Wales
- Scotland.†

**Prior European Integration Views**
10-point scale running from "feel[ing] that Britain should do all it can to unite fully with the European Union (sometimes still called the European Community)" (1) to "feel[ing] that Britain should do all it can to protect its independence from the European Union" (0).‡

**1996 Economy**
Indicator variable based on a retrospective question from the 1996 wave that ranges from "got a lot weaker" (0) to "got a lot stronger" (1).‡

* In the matching procedures, treated as a continuous variable. In the probit models, indicator variables are used for the response categories.† Not incorporated in matching, but indicator variables are used for response categories in the probit models. ‡ Used only in probit models with 1996 as the baseline.
A potential concern we address in the paper is that readers may have sensed the Sun's (or other switching papers) shift to labor in advance. To address this, we present an instrumental variables analysis in the paper (and present more below) that instruments the treatment, measured in 1996, with readership in 1992. Since instrumental variables estimates are exceedingly sensitive to violations of the exclusion restriction, we also present here treatment effect estimates measuring the treatment in 1992, 5 years before these papers switched.

### Table 2S: Measuring the Treatment in 1992 (instead of 1996)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Explanatory variables</th>
<th>All (measured in 1992)</th>
<th>Habitual readers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Treatment (1992)</td>
<td>0.07 (0.03)</td>
<td>0.07 (0.03)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Labour Vote</td>
<td>-0.45 (0.04)</td>
<td>-0.45 (0.04)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Conservative Vote</td>
<td>-0.22 (0.04)</td>
<td>-0.22 (0.04)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Liberal Vote</td>
<td>-0.03 (0.04)</td>
<td>-0.03 (0.04)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Labour Party Identification</td>
<td>0.94 (0.25)</td>
<td>0.94 (0.25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Conservative Party Identification</td>
<td>-0.31 (0.24)</td>
<td>-0.31 (0.24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Liberal Party Identification</td>
<td>0.40 (0.19)</td>
<td>0.40 (0.19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Labour Party Support</td>
<td>0.03 (0.19)</td>
<td>0.03 (0.19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Conservative Party Support</td>
<td>0.33 (0.19)</td>
<td>0.33 (0.19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Middle Political Knowledge</td>
<td>-0.21 (0.13)</td>
<td>-0.21 (0.13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior High Political Knowledge</td>
<td>-0.36 (0.14)</td>
<td>-0.36 (0.14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Television Viewer</td>
<td>0.13 (0.10)</td>
<td>0.13 (0.10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Daily Newspaper Reader</td>
<td>-0.16 (0.10)</td>
<td>-0.16 (0.10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Ideology</td>
<td>1.00 (0.60)</td>
<td>1.00 (0.60)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Ideological Moderation</td>
<td>0.62 (0.46)</td>
<td>0.62 (0.46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Authoritarianism</td>
<td>-0.11 (0.38)</td>
<td>-0.11 (0.38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Trade Union Member</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feature</td>
<td>Coefficient</td>
<td>Standard Error</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Working-Class Identification</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents Voted Labour</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Coping with Mortgage</td>
<td>-0.19</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Education: O Level or Equivalent</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Education: A Level or Equivalent</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Education: Some Higher Education</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>0.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Education: College Degree</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Income: £6000-£11,999</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Income: £12,000-£19,999</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
<td>0.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Income: £20,000+</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>0.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Income: No Income Given</td>
<td>-0.20</td>
<td>0.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Age: 25-34</td>
<td>-0.38</td>
<td>0.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Age: 35-44</td>
<td>-0.24</td>
<td>0.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Age: 45-54</td>
<td>-0.36</td>
<td>0.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Age: 55-59</td>
<td>-0.77</td>
<td>0.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Age: 60-64</td>
<td>-0.35</td>
<td>0.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Age: 65+</td>
<td>-0.52</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Age: not given</td>
<td>-0.84</td>
<td>0.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>-0.16</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>-1.02</td>
<td>0.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Profession: Employer/Business Owner</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>0.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Profession: Professional</td>
<td>-0.24</td>
<td>0.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Profession</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>SE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-manual Laborer</td>
<td>-0.31</td>
<td>0.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Service</td>
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<td>0.28</td>
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<tr>
<td>Manual Laborer</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>-0.47</td>
<td>0.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-0.34</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n)</td>
<td>1593</td>
<td>1527</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Region fixed effects*  
X X

All covariates are measured in 1992 and coded to vary between 0 and 1. Where indicated, models include fixed effects for region, whose coefficients are not reported. Standard errors are in parentheses.
Table 3S: Probit Models of Vote in 1997 UK General Election for Habitual Readers

This table replicates Table 1A for habitual readers. The treatment effect estimates are unusually large in the probit models using matched samples. Given the small samples, these models appear to be underpowered, producing erratic estimates. When we drop the regional and occupation indicator variables, the estimates appear more consistent with other findings in the paper and with the linear probability models presented in Table 4S.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Explanatory variables</th>
<th>Preprocessed with</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(measured in 1992 except Treatment)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment (1996 or before)</td>
<td>0.80 (0.18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Labour Vote</td>
<td>1.01 (0.20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Conservative Vote</td>
<td>-0.27 (0.21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Liberal Vote</td>
<td>-0.20 (0.20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Labour Party</td>
<td>0.97 (0.25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Conservative Party</td>
<td>-0.31 (0.24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Liberal Party</td>
<td>0.43 (0.19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Labour Party</td>
<td>0.00 (0.19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Conservative Party</td>
<td>0.33 (0.19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Middle Political</td>
<td>-0.20 (0.13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior High Political</td>
<td>-0.34 (0.14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Television Viewer</td>
<td>0.14 (0.10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Daily Newspaper</td>
<td>-0.18 (0.10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Ideology</td>
<td>1.04 (0.61)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prior Ideological</td>
<td>0.63 (0.46)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Variable</td>
<td>Coefficient</td>
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<td>Prior Authoritarianism</td>
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<td>Prior Trade Union</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>-0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Working-Class</td>
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<td>2.19</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1.05</td>
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<td>0.04</td>
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<tr>
<td>Parents Voted Labour</td>
<td>0.18</td>
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<td>0.15</td>
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<td></td>
<td>-0.31</td>
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<td>Prior Coping with</td>
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<td>Prior Education: O Level or Equivalent</td>
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<td>3.38</td>
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<td>-2.50</td>
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<td>Prior Education: College</td>
<td>0.11</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2.95</td>
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<td></td>
<td>-2.34</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prior Income: £6000-</td>
<td>0.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.41</td>
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<td></td>
<td>0.11</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Income: £12,000-</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-0.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Income: £20,000+</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-0.75</td>
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<td>Prior Income: No Income</td>
<td>-0.17</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-0.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-0.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Age: 25-34</td>
<td>-0.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-1.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Age: 35-44</td>
<td>-0.30</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.61</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-1.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Age: 45-54</td>
<td>-0.42</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-0.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Age: 55-59</td>
<td>-0.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.74</td>
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<td></td>
<td>-1.13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prior Age: 60-64</td>
<td>-0.39</td>
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<td></td>
<td>-0.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-1.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Age: 65+</td>
<td>-0.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-2.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Age: not given</td>
<td>-0.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-0.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>-0.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-5.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-1.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>-1.11</td>
</tr>
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**Log likelihood**

-471.036  -165.499

**n**

1484  186  201  1484

**Region fixed effects**

X  X  X  X

All covariates are measured in 1992 and coded to vary between 0 and 1. Where indicated, models include fixed effects for region, whose coefficients not are reported. Standard errors are in parentheses.
Table 4S: Probit Models of Vote in 1997 UK General Election for Habitual Readers (excluding region and occupation dummies)

This table replicates Table 1A for habitual readers without region and occupation indicator variables. Table 2 uses the estimates from this table in its marginal effects calculations.

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<th>Explanatory variables</th>
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</thead>
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<td>(measured in 1992 except Treatment)</td>
<td>Exact on Selected Variables</td>
</tr>
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<td>Treatment (1996 or before)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prior Labour Vote</td>
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<tr>
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<td>(1.43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Conservative Vote</td>
<td>1.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1.15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Liberal Vote</td>
<td>-0.16</td>
</tr>
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<td>(1.20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Labour Party Identification</td>
<td>0.61</td>
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<tr>
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<td>(1.14)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prior Conservative Party Identification</td>
<td>0.55</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1.16)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prior Liberal Party Identification</td>
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<td>Prior Labour Party Support</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(1.24)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prior Conservative Party Support</td>
<td>-0.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1.13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Middle Political Knowledge</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(0.65)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Television Viewer</td>
<td>-0.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Daily Newspaper Reader</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(0.65)</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1.58)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Prior Authoritarianism</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(1.51)</td>
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<td>Prior Trade Union Member</td>
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<td>(0.44)</td>
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<td>Covariate Description</td>
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<td>Parents Voted Labour</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Prior Education: College Degree</td>
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<td>Prior Income: £6000-£11,999</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Income: £12,000-£19,999</td>
<td>-0.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Income: £20,000+</td>
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<td>Prior Income: No Income Given</td>
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<td>Prior Age: 55-59</td>
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<td>Prior Age: 60-64</td>
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Log likelihood: 
-45.21 \[X\]
-66.09 \[X\]

\textit{n} \[X\] 186 \[X\] 201

\textit{Region fixed effects} \[X\] \[X\]

All covariates are measured in 1992 and coded to vary between 0 and 1. Where indicated, models include fixed effects for region, whose coefficients not reported. Standard errors are in parentheses.
### Table 5S: Additional Instrumental Variables Estimates with 1992 Baseline for All Treated

The first column of this table replicates instrumental variable analysis used in Table 2, instrumenting the treatment measured in 1996 (reading switching paper) with 1992 readership. The second column instead uses the treatment measured in 1997 (after the papers switched), instrumented with 1992 readership.

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<td>0.11 (0.05)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>0.29 (0.05)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-0.08 (0.05)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-0.07 (0.05)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Labour Party Identification</td>
<td>0.22 (0.05)</td>
<td>0.24 (0.06)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Conservative Party Identification</td>
<td>-0.06 (0.05)</td>
<td>-0.05 (0.05)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Liberal Party Identification</td>
<td>0.16 (0.04)</td>
<td>0.14 (0.04)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prior Labour Party Support</td>
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<td>0.00 (0.04)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0.08 (0.04)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Middle Political Knowledge</td>
<td>-0.06 (0.03)</td>
<td>-0.05 (0.03)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior High Political Knowledge</td>
<td>-0.08 (0.03)</td>
<td>-0.08 (0.03)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Television Viewer</td>
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<td>0.01 (0.02)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prior Daily Newspaper Reader</td>
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<td>-0.03 (0.02)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prior Ideology</td>
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<td>0.04 (0.08)</td>
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<td>-0.00 (0.08)</td>
<td>0.02 (0.08)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prior Trade Union Member</td>
<td>0.01 (0.08)</td>
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<td>Value 1</td>
<td>Value 2</td>
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<td>(0.02)</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Prior Coping with Mortgage</td>
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<td>(0.03)</td>
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<td>Prior Education: A Level or Equivalent</td>
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<td>(0.04)</td>
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<td>Prior Education: Some Higher Education</td>
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<td>Prior Education: College Degree</td>
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<td>Prior Income: £6000-£11,999</td>
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<td>Prior Income: £12,000-£19,999</td>
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<td>0.01</td>
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<td>(0.03)</td>
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<td>(0.04)</td>
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<td>Prior Income: No Income Given</td>
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<td>(0.05)</td>
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<td>(0.05)</td>
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<td>(0.05)</td>
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<td>(0.06)</td>
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<td>(0.09)</td>
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<td>(0.08)</td>
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<td>(0.09)</td>
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<td>0.01</td>
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<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
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<td>------</td>
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<td>Prior Profession: Personal Service</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prior Profession: Manual Laborer</td>
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<td>(0.08)</td>
<td>(0.08)</td>
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<td>(n)</td>
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</table>

**Region fixed effects**

X X

All covariates are measured in 1992 and coded to vary between 0 and 1. Where indicated, models include fixed effects for region, whose coefficients not reported. Standard errors are in parentheses.
Table 6S: Replication of Table 1A with 1996 Baseline

This table replicates Table 1A, except with all explanatory variables measured (if possible) in 1996 rather than 1992. Those variables not asked in 1996 are measured in 1992. Using a 1996 baseline allows us to include two additional explanatory variables that are plausibly important not available in 1992 wave: perceptions of the 1996 Economy and Prior European Integration Views. The model in the second column includes these as additional control variables.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Explanatory variables</th>
<th>Same Variables as in Table 1A</th>
<th>With 1996 Economy and European Integration Views</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>(0.19)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(1996 wave)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(1992 wave)</td>
<td>(0.12)</td>
<td>(0.12)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prior Daily Newspaper Reader</td>
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<tr>
<td>Parents Voted Labour</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prior Coping with Mortgage</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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All covariates vary between 0 and 1. Where indicated, models include fixed effects for region, whose coefficients not reported. Standard errors are in parentheses.
Disaggregating the Control Group

Figure 2S: Comparing the Treated with Four Control Groups

This figure shows that the treatment effect persists when comparing treated respondents to various control groups, including (persistent) Conservative paper readers, Labour papers readers, other or no affiliation paper readers, and those who did not read newspapers. To facilitate comparisons, we mean-difference the control groups in 1996, ensuring the treatment group and each control group have the same mean in 1996. Readership is measured in 1996. Respondents who failed to report a vote choice or vote intent in any of the three waves are excluded from the analysis, resulting in smaller ns. Confidence intervals show plus or minus one standard error.
Table 7S: The Effect of Reading Switching Papers and Papers with Consistent Partisan Loyalties

This table replicates Table 1A. However, unlike Table 1A, where the treatment is a simple variable indicating whether the respondent read a switching paper or not, here we measure readership with more detail. The model here includes indicator variables for reading a paper that switched to Labour, reading a Faithful Conservative paper, reading a Faithful Labour paper, or reading a paper that does not fit in these categories, which is labeled Other. The omitted category is not reading a newspaper at all.

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<th>Explanatory variables (measured in 1992 except Treatment)</th>
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</thead>
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<td>Switched to Labour</td>
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<td>Faithful Conservative</td>
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<td>(0.14)</td>
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<td>(0.12)</td>
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<td>Prior High Political Knowledge</td>
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<td>(0.14)</td>
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<td>Prior Daily Newspaper Reader</td>
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<td>(0.11)</td>
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| Variable                          | Value  
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**Log likelihood**: -594.0

**n**: 1593

**Region fixed effects**: X

All covariates vary between 0 and 1. Includes fixed effects for region, with coefficients not reported. Standard errors are in parentheses.
Panel Attrition

As we discuss in the paper, one might worry that strong conservative supporters would drop out of the panel because they would rather not talk about politics in 1997. If so, the remaining individuals in the panel would be potentially more susceptible to persuasion. In fact, however, strong Conservative supporters are less likely, not more likely, to drop out. 1992 Labour voters are about 3% more likely to drop out than 1992 Conservative voters. On Prior Ideology, moderates are most likely to drop out, followed by liberals, then by conservatives.

The figure below shows that individuals with the highest Prior Labour Party Support (measured in 1992, see Table 1 in the paper for details) dropped out of the panel at a higher rate than did those with the lowest support: 50% versus 43%.

**Figure 3S: Attrition rate between 1992 and 1997 by Support for Labour Party in 1992**
Further Addressing Concerns about Self-Selection

In the paper, we address concerns about self-selection between the 1992 and 1996 waves. Concerns about self-selection are also mitigated by the fact that panel members do not appear to have foreseen the switch in advance. In every panel wave, respondents were asked which party their newspaper favored. In general, Conservative paper readers saw their papers shift against the Conservative Party between 1992 and 1996. For the *Sun*, this is a sizable shift: 80% and 51% of its readers thought they favored the Conservatives in 1992 and 1994, respectively. But this is very similar in magnitude to other Conservative papers. After this initial drop, however, perceptions remained stable. In the *Sun’s* case, 47% thought they supported the Conservatives in 1995 and 57% in 1996. In a manipulation check, we find that in their post 1997 election interviews, after the *Sun* had switched, only 2% still thought it backed the Conservatives.
Table 8S: Change in Readership by Paper Read in 1992

This table shows the patterns of newspaper readership discussed in the paper. We see no evidence that 1992 Conservative voters shifted away from switching papers between 1992 and 1996 (when we measure readership). Only after 1996 do we do see some evidence of this behavior. Thus, self-selection seems unlikely to bias estimates because we measure the treatment in 1996.

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“What Can Go Wrong" with Matching

Reviewer #2 asked for information about what can go wrong with matching. Here, we excerpt a discussion on this issue from the following paper and then discuss briefly why we avoid the potential problems they raise.


8 What Can Go Wrong

The advantage of matching is that it is relatively robust to small changes in procedures and produces a data set that is by design less sensitive to modeling assumptions. However, like any method, using it badly or to ill effect is certainly possible. Thus, in this section, we discuss four ways in which preprocessing can go wrong and how researchers might try to avoid these problems.

First, since the curse of dimensionality affects balancing diagnostics, we may well miss a higher dimensional aspect of imbalance when checking lower dimensional summaries. Even if we are uninterested in testing these with our parametric model, they can affect our estimates. Such will be the case with parametric models with or without preprocessing, and so in all but the most unusual cases preprocessing should at least not make things worse. One pathological case where preprocessing could hurt is if some covariate has a huge effect on the outcome variable and preprocessing slightly reduces balance on this variable but improves it for all the others. A researcher might be fooled into choosing a matching trade-off like this if he or she were not aware of the large effect of this covariate. Carefully evaluating what covariates are likely to have the largest effects, and using multiple measures of balance, are essential to avoid this pitfall.

Second, as with all statistical methods, a bias-variance trade-off exists for matching. If we drop many observations during preprocessing, and balance is not substantially improved, the mean squared error (or other mean-variance summary) of the estimated causal effect might actually increase. Users must pay close attention to this trade-off during the process of matching, but unfortunately no precise rules exist for how to make these choices. In particular, the methodological literature offers no formal estimates of mean squared error and so in marginal cases it can be difficult to know whether or how much preprocessing will help. Of course, dropping observations does not necessarily mean that preprocessing is worse since improving balance can also increase efficiency, and in any event including imbalanced observations requiring extrapolation in a parametric analysis merely produces false precision. So although estimated standard errors may increase in some cases with preprocessing, they would likely be more accurate. Moreover, in many situations, eliminating observations far from the rest of the data as matching does will reduce heterogeneity and thereby further reduce variance.

Third, the matching literature offers a large number of possible and seemingly ad hoc procedures. From one perspective, we might be concerned about the sensitivity of our
results to changes in this process, just as we have been concerned with the sensitivity of
d causal effect estimates to parametric modeling assumptions. This is not normally viewed
as a major issue since the right procedure is the one that maximizes balance (with n as
large as possible), no matter how many procedures we try. By applying this criterion in
a disciplined way (i.e., without consulting Y) to a large number of possible matching
procedures, no choices are open to the analyst. Instead, researchers should merely run
as many as possible and choose by maximizing balance. Unlike parametric modeling
exercises, we need not choose this matching procedure or another; we merely run as many
as feasible, particularly those most likely to reduce bias and model dependence, and apply
this criterion.

Finally, by dropping observations, we may wind up losing some critically important
cases or may change either the information base of our sample or, in special cases such as
when dropping treated units, the definition of the causal effect. Examining the dropped
cases provides an easy diagnostic for this problem. However, we must be alert to the
problem that if we learn that some critical units are dropped, then it may mean that no
appropriate matches can be found for them. In this situation, we may be forced to conclude
that the data do not contain sufficient information to answer the questions posed, no matter
what method is chosen.

Discussion of These Problems for Our Findings

We do not think that any of these problems apply to our case. In part, this is because
we use matching as a robustness check. We find essentially the same results in bivariate
analyses, in models that include many controls, with instrumental variables estimates, and
with two approaches to matching (exact and genetic). If we only found our results in the
matching estimates, we would be more concerned about potential problems with matching.
We also avoid the problems they raise by taking additional steps that we now describe.

The first concern Ho et al. (2007) raise is that matching might prioritize balance on
less important variables at the cost of imbalance on more important variables. We address this
by specifying, in the analysis with exact and genetic matching, that prior vote, prior partisan
identification, prior party approval, and political knowledge be exactly matched. As is evident
in the balance table (Table 3 in the paper, see also the additional balance statistics below), the
matching procedures eliminate differences between the treated and untreated groups on these
variables. In this way, we ensure that the matching does not create imbalances on these most-
important variables.

Another concern they raise is that imbalances may continue to exist on higher order
statistics, such as the treatment and control groups having different variances on matched
covariates. To address these concerns, we present numerous additional balance statistics
below. These statistics suggest that the treatment and control groups are very similar after the
 genetic matching.

Finally, Ho et al. (2007) also discuss potential problems with dropping observations.
In our case, we have so many more potential control cases that dropping unmatched control
cases only brings benefits. By dropping them, we are eliminating individuals in the control
group who are very different from treated individuals on important characteristics. Because
they are so different, comparing the treated with these control individuals could lead to
incorrect inferences.
Additional Balance Statistics for Genetic Matching

For details on these balance statistics see:


### Prior Labour Vote

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### Prior Conservative Vote

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### Parents Voted Labour

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### Prior Education

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Variable Names: Xwkclass Xhedqul92

After Matching Minimum p.value: 0.3648  
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